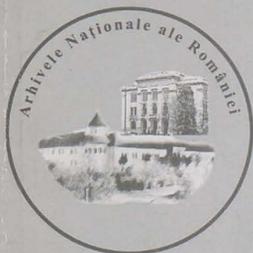


ARHIVELE NAȚIONALE ALE ROMÂNIEI  
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ROMANIA



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ARCHIVES  
REVIEW



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**ARCHIVES REVIEW**

**LXXXIV (2007)**

**Nos 3-4**

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# L'archivistique dans le monde actuel

Eric Ketelaar

## *Verum, Pulchrum, Bonum*

*Verum, Pulchrum, Bonum* – le Vrai, le Beau, le Bien. Ces trois mots sont écrits sur le mur de la salle où avaient lieu jusqu'en 1979, les examens d'archivistes aux Pays-Bas. Mon article aussi traite de trois éléments. J'aimerais vérifier la relation entre la mission de l'archiviste, la pratique archivistique et la science archivistique. Lequel de ces trois éléments correspond au Vrai, au Beau ou au Bien? Pour M. Mongrébin, l'archiviste dans *Miquette et sa mère*, de De Flers et De Caillavet (1906) la réponse était claire. Il le prouve:

“Les archives y sont très riches. C'est là que j'ai découvert, il y a cinq ans, la charte communale authentique de Château-Thierry, ce qui me valut les palmes d'officier d'Académie. L'année suivante, j'eus la chance de démontrer que cette charte était fautive, ce qui me valut la rosette d'officier de l'Instruction Publique... C'est beau, la science!”

Voyons ce que le mot **science** voulait dire alors et ce qu'il veut dire aujourd'hui.

## Temple de la science

*Verum, Pulchrum, Bonum* – trois mots qui résumaient la mission du nouveau bâtiment des Archives Nationales du Royaume des Pays-Bas, *het Algemeen Rijksarchief*, à la Haye, inauguré en 1903<sup>1</sup>. Depuis 1979 ce bâtiment ne loge plus les archives: le bâtiment du *Rijksarchief*, monument classé, fut restauré et on y loge des bureaux du Parlement néerlandais. L'esthétique et la décoration étaient définies par les fonctions du bâtiment, dessiné par Jacobus van Lokhorst, en traduisant les conceptions de ces fonctions valable à l'époque. C'étaient principalement les conceptions du patron de l'architecte Van Lokhorst, Victor de Stuers, le puissant haut fonctionnaire des Arts et Sciences. Pour De Stuers le bâtiment des Archives à la Haye était le couronnement de son programme de renouvellement du réseau national

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<sup>1</sup> Bernadette van Hellenberg Hubar-Wies van Leeuwen, In omni re vincit imitationem veritas. *Het voormalig algemeen rijksarchief te 's-Gravenhage als toetssteen van architectuurkritiek en kunsthistorie*, “Nederlands Archievenblad”, 91, 1987, p. 289-313; F. C. J. Ketelaar, *Het Rijksarchief op het breukvlak*, “Jaarboek 1998 Geschiedkundige Vereniging Die Haghe”, La Haye, 1999, p. 140-161.

d'archives: un temple des sciences, qu'on pourrait comparer à l'autre temple, créé par De Stuers, le *Rijksmuseum*, le Musée National à Amsterdam, inauguré en 1885<sup>2</sup>.

Dans l'ancien bâtiment des Archives Nationales, une entrée impressionnante avec des escaliers, véritable échelle de Jacob, conduisaient le visiteur aux lieux de culte du premier étage, vers le Vrai, le Beau, le Bien. Ces trois mots, cette conception empruntée à la philosophie thomiste, sont peints dans la salle considérée par l'architecte lui-même comme la salle la plus importante. Dans cette salle on exposait l'acte de la paix de Westphalie et d'autres bijoux de l'histoire nationale. La salle d'expositions – qui fut changée plus tard et devint salle de conférences et salle d'examens – se trouvait entre le bureau de l'Archiviste national et la salle de lecture. Dans le bureau de l'Archiviste national la décoration montre un registre ouvert d'où sort un H majuscule (Histoire). Sur la cheminée on lit: *In omni re vincit imitationem veritas*<sup>3</sup> (En tout, la vérité est plus forte que l'imitation). Dans la salle de lecture, le plafond est parsemé des lettres H et W, pour Histoire et Science (*Wetenschap*). Puis on y voit la Vierge Néerlandaise, sur son trône au milieu de pièces d'archives; sur le piédestal de son trône, on lit la lettre C pour Culture. Elle lève son glaive orné d'une couronne de lauriers: la victoire et le couronnement du travail du chercheur aux archives: *Labor Improbis Omnia Vincit*<sup>4</sup> (un travail opiniâtre vient à bout de tout), maxime qu'on retrouve dans le corridor de l'étage principal des Archives Nationales. Maxime qui résume à elle seule le programme du bâtiment: les archives, temple de la science où l'on sert la culture et pratique la science en travaillant opiniâtrement et en étudiant les archives avec zèle, mais aussi avec beaucoup d'inspiration.

### Le Manuel néerlandais

Histoire et Science. Mais l'architecte, l'archiviste et le chercheur auront-ils pensé aussi à la science archivistique en écrivant cela? En 1902 les archivistes de l'Etat réunis ont décidé que les matières archivistiques proprement dites devraient faire partie d'un futur examen d'archiviste. Ces quatre matières – qui n'étaient pas enseignées à l'Université, mais qui ne s'apprenaient qu'en travaillant dans les archives – étaient: la science archivistique, la diplomatique, la paléographie et la chronologie<sup>5</sup>. Ce qu'on appelait alors la science archivistique était pourtant pareil aux matières traitées dans le manuel néerlandais pour le classement et la description des

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<sup>2</sup> Eric Ketelaar, *Archival Temples, Archival Prisons: Modes of Power and Protection*, "Archival Science", 2, 2002, p. 221-238.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *De oratore*, III, 57.15.

<sup>4</sup> Virgile, *Georgiques*, I, 145-146.

<sup>5</sup> *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks oude archieven* 25, 1902, p. 56-67; S. Muller-J. A. Feith-R. Fruin, *Rapport inzake de academische opleiding tot eene wetenschappelijke archiefbetrekking*, "Nederlandsch Archievenblad", 19, 1910-1911, p. 64-67. Muller considéra à l'origine le classement et la description comme «une partie spécifique de la science archivistique»: "Nederlandsch Archievenblad", 2, 1893-1894, p. 10.

archives de 1898<sup>6</sup>. L'Archiviste national Theodoor van Riemsdijk l'appelait "le règlement des archives". D'autres l'appelaient archivéconomie. C'est ainsi qu'on appelait la matière principale de l'examen des archivistes, instauré par une loi de 1918. Cette discipline fut enseignée à l'Ecole des archivistes par l'Archiviste national qui succéda à Van Riemsdijk, Robert Fruin, un des trois auteurs du "*Manuel*". Pour lui, l'archivéconomie était le classement et la description des archives. C'est ainsi que le comprenait aussi son collègue belge, Joseph Cuvelier qui donna à Bruxelles un cours pratique d'archivéconomie<sup>7</sup>. En 1910, au premier congrès international des archivistes et des bibliothécaires, Cuvelier et d'autres employaient le terme archivéconomie pour la science du classement et de la description des archives. Dans l'édition française du "*Manuel*" de Muller, Feith et Fruin, qui avait paru peu avant le congrès, on retrouve le terme d'archivéconomie dans la préface d'Henri Pirenne et dans le commentaire du paragraphe 67. Le texte néerlandais et le texte allemand ne parlent pas d'archivéconomie, mais de *het archiefwezen* [la totalité des archives]. La traduction américaine dit *archival practice* [la pratique archivistique]. En effet l'archivéconomie du "*Manuel*" s'adressa à la pratique archivistique de son époque, où les archivistes se trouvaient devant des masses d'archives qui devaient être décrites et classées. Leur archivistique était l'archivistique descriptive<sup>8</sup>.

Le "*Manuel*" est souvent considéré comme le point de départ d'une évolution professionnelle. Pour l'archivistique néerlandaise c'était en fait la fin, ou si on veut la codification. En 1877 déjà Victor de Stuers avait rédigé des instructions ministérielles destinées au premier archiviste d'Etat en province, en dehors de La Haye<sup>9</sup>. Dans ces instructions, qu'on transmettait après à tous les archivistes d'Etat, on trouvait l'ordre de dresser un inventaire "scientifique" des archives selon un projet qui devrait être approuvé par le ministre. Au début, De Stuers avait voulu incorporer dans ces instructions des consignes plus détaillées. Il avait sous les yeux<sup>10</sup> le règlement belge, établi par ordonnance royale de 1851, où le **respect des fonds** était prescrit en des termes qui étaient presque mot pour mot pareils à ceux que l'on trouve dans la célèbre circulaire française du 24 avril 1841. Dans les ordonnances française et belge, on avait stipulé non seulement le respect des fonds, mais il est dit aussi que

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<sup>6</sup> S. Muller-J. A. Feith-R. Fruin, *Manuel pour le classement et la description des archives. Traduction française... par Jos. Cuvelier et Henri Stein*, La Haye, 1910.

<sup>7</sup> Carlos Wyffels, *Das Problem einer fachbezogenen Archivarsausbildung in Belgien*, "Der Archivar", 26, 1973, p. 207-214; Lawrence D. Geller, *Joseph Cuvelier, Belgian Archival Education, and the Fifth International Congress of Archivists, Brussels, 1910*, "Archivaria", 16, 1983, p. 26-34.

<sup>8</sup> Peter Horsman-Eric Ketelaar-Theo Thomassen, *New Respect for the Old Order: The Context of the Dutch Manual*, "American Archivist", 66, 2003, p. 249-270.

<sup>9</sup> H. J. H. A. G. Metselaars, *De toestandcoming van het rijksarchief in Gelderland, 1876-1877*, "Bijdragen en Mededelingen der Vereniging «Gelre»", 69, 1976/1977, p. 235-255; W. E. Goelema, *De Handleiding: nieuwlichterij of codificatie?*, dans *Respect voor de oude orde. Honderd jaar Vereniging van archivariissen in Nederland 1891-1991* (réd. Paul Brood), Hilversum, 1991, p. 61-72.

<sup>10</sup> Archives Nationales, La Haye, ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, afdeling Kunsten en Wetenschappen, inv. n°. 2310, 2401.

le classement des documents dans chaque fonds devait se faire “suivant les matières, en assignant à chacune un rang particulier. Coordonner les matières selon les cas, d’après l’ordre chronologique, topographique ou simplement alphabétique”<sup>11</sup>. Ni ces dernières lignes, ni le respect des fonds n’étaient repris dans l’instruction néerlandaise: on n’y mentionnait que la rédaction d’un “inventaire scientifique”. Mais les discussions sur l’application de l’instruction, que nous connaissons par la correspondance entre De Stuers, Van Riemsdijk, Muller et d’autres encore, montrent clairement qu’un inventaire scientifique voulut dire un inventaire basé sur le respect des fonds. Muller lui-même avait entendu De Montaignon prêchant le respect des fonds à l’Ecole des Chartes. Les Néerlandais, pourtant, ont ajouté un autre élément au respect des fonds: le respect de l’ordre primitif d’un fonds, et ainsi ils ont rejeté un classement interne artificiel des documents suivant les matières<sup>12</sup>.

### Doctrines

Ces deux principes archivistiques étaient justifiés scientifiquement dans la logique rigoureuse du *Manuel*. Le raisonnement de Muller, Feith et Fruin était scientifiquement justifié. Comme l’a dit Terry Cook: les auteurs néerlandais décrivaient scrupuleusement ce qu’ils avaient observé dans les archives, et ils formulèrent leurs principes fondamentaux et professionnels sur la base de leurs observations<sup>13</sup>. Selon Cook, le *Manuel* doit son importance à la codification de la théorie archivistique européenne et la présentation d’une méthodologie du classement et de la description des archives. Je voudrais apporter une correction à sa louange des trois Néerlandais. Le *Manuel* n’offrait pas de **théorie** archivistique, mais une **méthodologie**, développée selon une méthode phénoménologique, scientifiquement fondée. La méthodologie fut formulée en 100 règles dont on avait le droit de s’écarter et qui devraient être discutées par les collègues. En réalité cependant, ces règles furent considérées comme des dogmes incontestables et l’instrument de travail devint une bible de l’archiviste, la méthodologie devint doctrine. Le *Manuel* lui-même parle (§ 24) des exigences de la *nieuwe archiefleer*, la nouvelle **doctrine** archivistique, ce qui fut traduit pourtant dans l’édition française de 1910 comme: les exigences de la nouvelle **science** archivistique. Mais une doctrine n’est pas une science. La doctrine ne permet pas d’autre vision, elle est fondamentaliste, sans critique, elle stimule l’exégèse, pas la libre recherche scientifique.

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<sup>11</sup> Christine Nougaret, *Les instruments de recherche dans les archives*, Paris, 1999, p. 14-15.

<sup>12</sup> Michel Duchein, *Le respect des fonds en archivistique. Principes théoriques et problèmes pratiques*, “Gazette des archives”, 97, 1977, p. 87 (réimpr. dans idem, *Etudes d’archivistique 1957-1992*, Paris, 1992, p. 25; Chr. Nougaret, *Les instruments de recherche*, 14, 47, 52-53.

<sup>13</sup> Terry Cook, *What is past is prologue: a history of archival ideas since 1898, and the future paradigm shift*, “Archivaria”, 43, 1997, p. 22.

## Professionalisation

Pourtant la doctrine a une fonction notamment dans le processus de la professionnalisation. C'est clair que le *Manuel* néerlandais a joué ce rôle-là: aux Pays-Bas et ailleurs, la codification, la normalisation et la réglementation de la pratique archivistique étaient importantes et contribuent à la formation d'une discipline archivistique, la professionnalisation des archivistes, littéralement leur transformation en discipline, la formation d'une **discipline archivistique**<sup>14</sup>. Cette disciplinisation ou professionnalisation présente encore d'autres aspects: un jargon spécifique, une formation et une déontologie spécifiques et d'autres éléments encore qui constituent les fondements de la discipline archivistique<sup>15</sup>. Au lieu de parler de la discipline archivistique, on peut parler aussi de *archiefskunde* en néerlandais et en allemand, ou du **savoir archivistique**, pour la distinguer de ce que nous comprenons par la science archivistique. La science archivistique cherche la réponse à la question **pourquoi?**, tandis que le savoir se limite à **quoi? et comment?**

## Mission et Savoir

La mission de l'archiviste a connu une évolution spectaculaire. Bruno Delmas nous l'a expliquée de façon excellente dans plusieurs publications<sup>16</sup>. L'évolution du savoir archivistique allait de pair avec l'évolution de la mission de l'archiviste. L'archiviste qui, sous l'Ancien régime, travaillait dans une seule administration avait besoin de connaissances juridico-administratives. Il les trouvait dans les manuels pratiques de l'archivistique pratique. Dans les titres de ces manuels, tels que nous les trouvons en Allemagne et en Italie, on rencontre toujours les termes archivistique, science archivistique ou science de la *Registratur*. Il s'agit cependant de règles de conduite, qui constituent le savoir des archivistes. Dans cette période d'archivistique pratique, l'ingérence scientifique dans les archives se limita à la diplomatique et se ne fonda pas sur une science archivistique.

A la Révolution française beaucoup de vieilles archives perdent leur fonction

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<sup>14</sup> T. H. P. M. Thomassen, *Tussen kennis en macht: de paradox van een professie. De Vereniging van Archivarissen en de kwaliteit van de beroepsuitoefening*, dans *Respect voor de oude orde*, p. 193-216; Theo Thomassen, *Archivists between Knowledge and Power. On the independence and autonomy of archival science and the archival profession*, "Arhivski Vjesnik", 42, 1999, p. 149-167, aussi sur [www.archiefschool.nl/bibliotheek/pub.htm#ove](http://www.archiefschool.nl/bibliotheek/pub.htm#ove).

<sup>15</sup> Jean-Yves Rousseau-Carol Couture, *Les fondements de la discipline archivistique*, Sainte-Foy, 1999.

<sup>16</sup> Bruno Delmas, *Origine et développement de l'enseignement de l'archivistique*, "Archivum", 34, 1988, p. 61-73; idem, *Archival science and information technologies*, in *Information handling in offices and archives* (réd. Angelika Menne-Haritz), Munich, 1993, p. 171; idem, *Bilan et perspective de l'archivistique française au seuil du troisième millénaire*, dans *Archival science on the threshold of the year 2000* (réd. Oddo Bucci), Macerata, 1992, p. 81-109; idem, *Archival Science facing the Information Society*, "Archival Science", 1, 2001, p. 25-37.

de preuve juridique: elles sont devenues des objets historiques, dont l'administration créatrice ne se sert plus et qu'elle n'administre plus, mais elles sont administrées par "les Archives". On peut parler d'Archives (A majuscule) quand de nouvelles institutions, n'appartenant pas à l'administration qui constitue les archives (a minuscule), reprennent le contrôle des archives créées par d'autres organes publics et le font traiter par des archivistes spécialement embauchés pour faire ce travail<sup>17</sup>. La masse des vieilles archives devient une source de l'historiographie, mais, ne fût-ce que par leur quantité, la diplomatie satisfait toujours moins comme instrument disciplinaire. Les fonds d'archives doivent être classés et décrits. Cette nécessité pratique mène, on l'a vu, à l'évolution de l'archivéconomie ou archivistique descriptive.

L'administration publique qui, pendant et immédiatement après la Première Guerre Mondiale s'élargit et prit une plus grande importance crée une paperasserie énorme. Les archivistes essaient de la maîtriser en triant et en sélectionnant, en améliorant les méthodes de création de dossiers, influencés aussi par le *management scientifique* taylorienne. L'aspect utilitaire des archives redevient un élément de la mission de l'archiviste. Cet élargissement du terrain de travail de l'archiviste nécessite l'agrandissement du savoir archivistique, et, dans certains pays, elle mène à la naissance d'une nouvelle discipline: le *records management*. Ce n'est plus seulement l'archivéconomie, mais aussi l'archivage qui fera partie du savoir archivistique. Le domaine archivistique s'étend de plus en plus. Comme le décrit Delmas, on prend conscience "que les archives assurent une fonction désormais globale qui tend à prendre en compte la vie des documents depuis leur naissance."<sup>18</sup> Le savoir archivistique s'étend parallèlement.

D'autres défis s'annoncent depuis les années 70: la tâche éducative de l'archiviste, les soins toujours plus grands de la conservation matérielle, les archives audiovisuelles. La société d'information des années 90 met les archives électroniques à la portée de tous, tandis que 'la salle de lecture sans papier' (au Congrès international des Archives à Paris de 1988, elle était encore seulement un rêve<sup>19</sup>) commence à prendre forme sur l'internet. Je cite de nouveau Bruno Delmas, qui remarque:

"que les archives changent de nature et de statut avec l'évolution de la société de l'information et que nous devons redéfinir une discipline émergente."<sup>20</sup>

On pourrait évidemment expliquer ce que je viens de dire plus en détail en l'éclairant d'exemples trouvés dans des pays différents. Mais j'espère que ces

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<sup>17</sup> B. Woelderink, *De geschiedenis van het archiefwezen in Nederland in hoofdlijnen*, dans *Verslag en bijdragen rijks archiefschool 1972-1973 1973-1974*, Utrecht, 1975, p. 61-90.

<sup>18</sup> Delmas, *Bilan*, p. 90.

<sup>19</sup> Eric Ketelaar, *Exploitation of new archival materials*, "Archivum", 35, 1989, p. 189-199 = *La mise en oeuvre des nouvelles archives*, dans idem, *The Archival Image. Collected essays*, Hilversum, 1997, p. 81-92.

<sup>20</sup> Delmas, *Archival Science facing the Information Society*, p. 28.

remarques suffiront pour fonder ma conclusion: le changement (le plus souvent l'extension) de la **mission** de l'archiviste mène au changement (et à l'extension) de la **pratique** archivistique et du **savoir** archivistique. La mission, la pratique et le savoir dépendent les uns des autres.

### Science archivistique

Mais quelle est leur relation avec la **science** archivistique? Existe-t-il une science archivistique, différente de la pratique et du savoir? La science commence là où le manuel pratique, la doctrine, la réglementation et la discipline s'arrêtent. Je répète d'après Thomas Kuhn: l'excitation qu'on ressent à l'exploitation d'un nouveau territoire, l'espoir de trouver l'ordre, l'envie de mettre à l'épreuve des connaissances établies ne sont pas les moindres raisons de se consacrer à la science. Mais Kuhn mentionne aussi: le désir de se rendre utile, avec la motivation individuelle de résoudre des énigmes<sup>21</sup>.

Est-ce que cela veut dire que la science archivistique n'a rien à faire avec la mission et la pratique archivistique? Non: pour reconnaître un nouveau territoire, on doit partir d'un terrain connu, pour pouvoir trouver l'ordre, il faut comprendre l'entropie, pour mettre à l'épreuve les connaissances établies, il faut connaître l'histoire et l'application de ces connaissances.

Comme le savoir archivistique évoluait à mesure que la mission de l'archiviste changeait, ainsi la science archivistique a parcouru plusieurs phases. Sous l'Ancien Régime la science de la diplomatie suffisait. Et tard dans le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle la science archivistique en voie de développement était en fait la diplomatie. Pendant la période de l'archivistique descriptive la science archivistique s'affranchit de la diplomatie<sup>22</sup>. Alors la recherche scientifique s'oriente vers la nature du *fonds* et des principes sur lesquels il est fondé. Cette recherche scientifique était nécessaire, car, comme je l'ai déjà dit, la pratique archivistique avait besoin du savoir d'une archivistique descriptive. Mais ce qui pique notre curiosité c'est que dans des pays tels que la France et l'Allemagne, les règles suffisaient pour cela, tandis qu'aux Pays-Bas on continuait plus loin l'exploration scientifique. Theo Thomassen a suggéré que d'un côté, les particularités du développement historique des institutions néerlandaises et de leurs archives, et de l'autre côté les méthodes de classement et de description des archives en vigueur au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, ont contribué largement au fait que les concepts théoriques et la méthode de la nouvelle science archivistique ont justement été élaborés et publiés aux Pays-Bas<sup>23</sup>. On pourrait ajouter peut-être que les Néerlandais – calvinistes et républicains depuis la XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle – ont tendance à demander le 'pourquoi' de l'autorité et des règles, avant de les accepter.

Quoi qu'il en soit, je suis convaincu que les différences culturelles ont leur

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<sup>21</sup> Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3<sup>me</sup> éd., Chicago-Londres, 1996, p. 37.

<sup>22</sup> Blandine Barret-Kriegel, *La défaite de l'érudition*, Paris, 1988, p. 177-199.

<sup>23</sup> Horsman-Ketelaar-Thomassen, *New Respect*, p. 270.

influence sur la mission, le savoir et la science archivistiques, tels qu'ils existaient et existent dans les différentes communautés culturelles du monde<sup>24</sup>.

Et cela vaut également pour l'époque actuelle, appelée par Delmas l'époque de l'archivistique fonctionnelle<sup>25</sup>. Comme l'archivistique descriptive eut sa base scientifique aux Pays-Bas, ainsi l'étude scientifique qui est utile à l'archivistique fonctionnelle est née en Amérique du Nord. Cette avance a été expliquée par le fait que là, contrairement à l'Europe, on ne porte pas le lourd fardeau des masses d'archives de l'ancien régime et on peut se consacrer entièrement aux archives contemporaines. Delmas s'est servi de cet argument, sous une forme légèrement différente, quand il a affirmé que l'archivistique ne peut plus être seulement descriptive, car la part des documents postérieurs à 1950 égale (et cela en 1987!) celle des documents anciens et que les problèmes contemporains des masses exigent une approche différente<sup>26</sup>.

### Inspiration réciproque

De toute façon on a constaté qu'en Amérique du Nord et en Australie aussi la réflexion scientifique a suivi les défis des archives électroniques constatés en pratique<sup>27</sup>. L'évolution de la technologie de l'informatique et de la communication a nécessité un changement du paradigme de la science archivistique<sup>28</sup>. On a réalisé des programmes et des projets de recherches et ceux-là ont ensuite influencé la pratique. Comme exemple, je cite l'inspiration réciproque de la recherche du *records continuum* et les standards australiens et ISO du records management. Nous constatons que dans ces pays-là, mais pas seulement là, les universités, autorités, services d'archives, industrie et toutes sortes d'institutions concédantes des subventions collaborent dans le domaine de la science archivistique. Comme exemple de cette collaboration je cite le projet InterPARES2 (International Research on Permanent Authentic Records in Electronic Systems), dirigé par le professeur Luciana Duranti de l'Université de British Columbia (2002-2006)<sup>29</sup>. Il y avait des équipes nationales au Canada, aux Etats-Unis, en Australie, mais aussi une équipe européenne, une équipe africaine et une équipe asiatique et un Global Industry Team. L'équipe canadienne et l'équipe européenne étaient comparables: une vingtaine de membres individuels, presque tous attachés à des universités (avec une participation nombreuse de l'Université de British Columbia), et un nombre de membres institutionnels: cinq services d'archives nationaux et provinciaux et le Banff Centre

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<sup>24</sup> Eric Ketelaar, *Ethnologie archivistique*, "La Gazette des archives", 192, 2001, p. 7-20.

<sup>25</sup> Voir aussi: Angelika Menne-Haritz, *Archivfachliche Ausbildung: den Aufforderungen der Gesellschaft des 21. Jahrhunderts gerecht werden*, "Archivum", 39, 1994, p. 267-271.

<sup>26</sup> Delmas, *Origine*, p. 71-72; Delmas, *Bilan*, p. 99.

<sup>27</sup> Carol Couture-Marcel Lajeunesse, *La recherche en archivistique: un état de la question*, "Archives", 30, 1998-1999, 3-4, p. 11-38.

<sup>28</sup> Thomassen, *Archivists between Knowledge and Power*.

<sup>29</sup> [www.interpares.org](http://www.interpares.org).

for the Arts au Canada, tandis que les archives nationales de l'Allemagne, de l'Angleterre, de la Finlande, de la France, de l'Irlande et des Pays-Bas participaient à l'équipe européenne.

L'équipe américaine était un peu différente: la moitié environ des membres individuels étaient attachés à une université, les autres travaillaient au San Diego Supercomputer Center, au Getty Research Institute, aux archives du Musée Solomon Guggenheim, à des services professionnels ou commerciaux dans le domaine des médias audiovisuels etc. Dans cette équipe il n'y avait qu'un seul membre institutionnel: les National Archives à Washington.

Les équipes de l'Asie et de l'Afrique étaient beaucoup plus petites: chaque équipe comptait cinq à six membres individuels et un membre institutionnel seulement: les archives nationales de la Chine et de l'Afrique du Sud.

### La position inégale de la science archivistique dans le monde

InterPARES2 n'est pas représentatif de l'engagement des universités et des services d'archives du monde entier évidemment, mais je considère pourtant la constitution d'équipes de projet comme une confirmation de la position inégale de la science archivistique dans le monde actuel. Pourquoi l'Amérique latine, de grandes parties de l'Asie et de l'Afrique, de l'Europe Centrale et occidentale manquaient-elles? Bien sûr, il y a la barrière des langues, des facteurs économiques et technologiques et des différences de culture, de "programmation mentale", jouent également un rôle. Mais la science archivistique n'est pas divisée également, car une partie du monde semble toujours être emprisonnée dans l'archivistique descriptive et ainsi ne connaît littéralement pas le nouveau paradigme de l'archivistique fonctionnelle. Ou aurait-on des difficultés à découvrir l'aspect archivistique dans les besoins sociaux urgents de notre temps et à transmettre cette conscience en défis à la science archivistique? Par exemple, la Conférence Internationale de la Table Ronde des Archives a insisté sur la libéralisation de l'accès aux archives, comme réponse à la demande pressante des victimes des anciens régimes répressifs, et à des mesures d'identification et de sauvegarde des archives policières en Amérique latine, sur des initiatives en faveur du Tiers Monde en vue d'une administration fondée sur les principes de la preuve à l'heure de l'électronique<sup>30</sup>. Il s'agit d'une **politique** des archives, mais une telle politique est construite sur un terrain glissant si elle n'est pas fondée sur des recherches comparatives, exécutées avec soin, et sur d'autres recherches scientifiques. "D'une archivistique de survie, elle est devenue une archivistique d'intervention, structurée et articulée", comme Carol Couture écrit<sup>31</sup>. La science archivistique comme science sociale a aussi une mission sociale en contribuant à la politique des archives.

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<sup>30</sup> <http://old.ica.org/new/citra.php?ptextid=resolutions&ptextannee=2002&plangue=fra>

<http://old.ica.org/new/citra.php?ptextid=resolutions&ptextannee=2003&plangue=fra>

<sup>31</sup> Carol Couture *et alii*, *Les fonctions de l'archivistique contemporaine*, Sainte-Foy, 1999, p. 1.

## Collaboration

C'est aussi pourquoi la science archivistique doit collaborer avec d'autres disciplines et se laisser influencer et enrichir par elles. Cette fois encore c'est InterPARES2 qui en donne un exemple: les membres des équipes universitaires viennent de bon nombre de facultés et départements, non seulement des sciences d'information, mais aussi des études des média, de l'ingénierie, de la linguistique, de la science des arts, etc. Ailleurs, j'ai déjà signalé l'importance de l'anthropologie et de la sociologie pour la science archivistique comme science sociale<sup>32</sup>.

Je me réjouis de l'adhérence institutionnelle des services d'archives, le plus souvent des archives nationales, dans le cadre du projet InterPARES. Dans la plupart des cas, cela veut dire qu'un seul archiviste est impliqué dans la recherche. Pourtant, il y a des archives nationales avec une représentation plus nombreuse dans InterPARES2: les archives nationales de la France, des États-Unis, du Canada et de la Chine, et les services d'archives du British Columbia et d'Ontario. C'est pourquoi il n'y a aucune raison de craindre que le travail d'InterPARES – vu de l'intérieur des services d'archives – soit considéré comme marginal. Il importe de constater que ce projet exemplaire de science archivistique international est largement soutenu par les universités aussi bien que les services d'archives, c'est donc un effort **commun** de la science et de la pratique archivistique.

Le projet InterPARES montre aussi que l'industrie pourra se joindre à la science archivistique. Il y a d'autres exemples de cela, mais, à mon avis, la collaboration entre les universités et les services d'archives et l'industrie devrait être encouragée plus activement. Un problème est alors le manque d'infrastructure de la recherche scientifique archivistique. En ce qui concerne les universités: les professeurs, peu nombreux souvent, sont le plus souvent tellement occupés par l'enseignement, qu'ils n'ont pas le temps de former un projet de recherche, chercher des fonds financiers et diriger cette recherche – ne parlons pas de la possibilité de faire des recherches eux-mêmes. A mon avis les services d'archives – et je veux dire les grands services – pourraient aider en désignant par exemple un coordinateur de recherches, travaillant à temps partiel. Ce coordinateur pourrait s'occuper des pourparlers avec les universités, les bailleurs de fonds et l'industrie, et il devrait en même temps prendre soin de traduire en programmes et projets les besoins de recherche des archives. Le coordinateur de recherches pourra stimuler les archivistes, ses collègues, de participer activement à la recherche, ce qui sera un enrichissement pour l'individu, le service et la profession<sup>33</sup>. Une association d'archivistes pourra, elle aussi, y jouer un rôle, comme le prouve la participation de l'*Associazione Nazionale Archivistica Italiana* à l'équipe européenne d'InterPARES2.

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<sup>32</sup> Eric Ketelaar, *Archivistics Research Saving the Profession*, "American Archivist", 63, 2000, p. 329-330.

<sup>33</sup> E. Ketelaar, *Archivistics Research*, p. 332-336.

## Transformations

En 2002, à la 36<sup>ème</sup> Conférence Internationale de la Table Ronde des Archives Elisabeth Verry a fait remarquer que “les fortes transitions, tant institutionnelles que sociales, qu’a connues la France durant ces vingt dernières années, se sont traduites par une importante transformation du contenu du métier d’archiviste et du rôle que jouent désormais les professionnels”<sup>34</sup>. Ces transformations de la mission archivistique **en pratique** conduiront, à mon avis - et devront conduire – à de nouvelles demandes à la **science** archivistique. La science archivistique est liée à la mission et à la pratique archivistique. Ainsi, par exemple, l’évolution du records management, dont parle Mme Verry, consiste un domaine évident où la recherche scientifique archivistique, comparative aussi bien qu’appliquée, pourrait contribuer à plus d’efficacité et d’efficience dans la pratique archivistique, avec un changement paradigmatique et l’entrée dans un territoire inconnu jusqu’aujourd’hui. La science archivistique nous conduit à de nouveaux terrains, archivistiques, mais aussi technologiques, culturels et sociaux.

C’est à raison que Mme Verry indique les changements institutionnels et sociaux comme cause des changements professionnels. Les archivistes exercent leur métier non pas pour l’amour de la pratique, mais pour remplir une mission dans la société, mission qui se modifie continuellement. Les archives se constituent et sont employées parce que des individus, des organisations et la société les considèrent comme utiles et nécessaires. “Je pense, donc j’archive”<sup>35</sup> – même si (et peut-être: parce que) les mots *archive* et *archiver* ont pris un sens complètement nouveau dans la société. C’est pourquoi la science archivistique pose des questions comme par exemple: qu’est-ce qui fait qu’une société ou une organisation ou une personne constitue des archives et s’en sert de la manière dont elle le fait?<sup>36</sup> Pourra-t-on, en se servant des réponses à ces questions, formuler des jugements sur un archivage adapté à la société moderne? La science archivistique, comme archivistique sociale, change avec la société<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup> Elisabeth Verry, *La diversification de l'offre des emplois* = <http://old.ica.org/new/citra.php?pcitraprogramid=10&plangue=fra>.

<sup>35</sup> Marie-Anne Chabin, *Je pense donc j'archive. L'archive dans la société de l'information*, Paris-Montréal, 1999.

<sup>36</sup> Frank G. Burke, *The future course of archival theory in the United States*, “American Archivist”, 44, 1981, p. 42-43; Tom Nesmith, *Archives from the bottom up: social history and archival scholarship*, “Archivaria”, 14, 1982, p. 26, réimpr. dans idem (éd.), *Canadian archival studies and the rediscovery of provenance*, Metuchen-Londres, 1993, p. 180.

<sup>37</sup> Eric Ketelaar, *The future contained in time past: archival science in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*, “Journal of the Japan Society for Archival Science”, 1, 2004, p. 20-35; idem, *Archives in the Digital Age: New Uses for an Old Science*, “Archives & Social Studies: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Research”, 1, 2007, p. 167-191 = [http://socialstudies.cartagena.es/images/PDF/no0/ketelaar\\_archives.pdf](http://socialstudies.cartagena.es/images/PDF/no0/ketelaar_archives.pdf).

### **Le Vrai, le Beau, le Bien**

J'ai commencé par *Verum, Pulchrum, Bonum*. Mais le Vrai, le Beau, le Bien ne sont pas des idées isolées: *bonum et pulchrum et verum convertuntur* (le bien, le beau et le vrai coïncident). En recevant le prix Nobel de la littérature en 1970, Soljénitsyne a rappelé que le Vrai, le Beau, le Bien sont comme trois cimes convergents d'un seul arbre<sup>38</sup>. Selon lui, les trois se renforcent, mais même si l'on émondait le Vrai et le Bien, le Beau pourrait reprendre la fonction de tous les trois. En est-il ainsi de la trinité de la mission de l'archiviste, la pratique archivistique et la science archivistique? Elles se renforcent mutuellement, le bien de la mission, le vrai de la pratique et le beau de la science, elles sont inséparables au fond, mais la plus belle de toutes est la science archivistique. Car le 'pourquoi' de la science archivistique est le facteur qui se renouvelle continuellement et qui continue à donner aux questions 'quoi' et 'comment' de l'archivistique une clarté et une couleur nouvelles. Le Beau, la beauté de l'archivistique est assuré par la science archivistique.

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<sup>38</sup> <http://www.nobel.se/literature/laureates/1970/solzhenitsyn-lecture.html>. Russian text: [http://nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/literature/laureates/1970/solzhenitsyn-lecture-ru.html](http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1970/solzhenitsyn-lecture-ru.html).

# Usage des archives – Le quotidien, l’institutionnel, le patrimonial

Sylvain Senécal

## Introduction

Ce texte propose une exploration de l’usage des archives et de la valeur qui en découle. Habituellement, cet usage est pensé dans le prolongement d’une démarche historique d’exploitation des documents qui les institutionnalise en archives et en règle la valeur. La fonction d’évaluation des archives est ainsi le versant disciplinaire de l’approche des archives. Sous cet angle, l’usage des archives est considéré comme une pratique sociale institutionnalisée qui possède ses codes propres en fonction d’approches méthodologiques d’exploitation issues des disciplines des sciences humaines.

Je me propose d’examiner un autre versant, une dimension plus personnelle de la relation au document que j’appellerai ici l’archive. Je voudrais explorer une certaine conception des archives avant qu’elles ne soient officialisées, institutionnalisées en tant qu’archives socialement reconnues comme telles, c’est-à-dire alors qu’elles ont un rôle antérieur à leur fonction sociale telle que défines par un discours archivistique dominant et marquées qu’elles sont par une valeur d’information et de témoignage “authentifiée”.

Il s’agira de scruter l’usage qui est fait de l’archive au quotidien, hors du cadre institutionnel et théorique dans lequel normalement on l’inscrit. Cet examen aura pour point d’ancrage le geste créatif lié à la production d’un récit de souvenirs personnels qui implique lecture et écriture d’un texte narratif. Je convoquerai certains auteurs de récits personnels d’enfance afin d’examiner le rôle et l’usage des documents et ce qui semble les qualifier d’archive dans un tel contexte. Je pourrai alors examiner le passage d’un usage personnel de l’archive à un usage institutionnalisé; le passage d’une valeur personnelle à une valeur institutionnelle et patrimoniale. C’est tout le rapport entre une approche personnelle des archives, ce qu’elles sont et font pour nous et la version institutionnalisée et patrimoniale des archives qui sera ainsi interrogé, notamment au plan de leur fonction de connaissance, de mémoire et le plaisir même qu’elles nous procurent dans notre vie quotidienne.

## L'archive au quotidien

Une réflexion commune sera mon point de départ, celle sur le temps qui fuit, source d'angoisse, de nostalgie, d'impuissance même peut-être, et qui fait prendre la plume à certains. "Pourquoi faut-il dire adieu, dès son enfance, à tout ce qu'on aime? Pourquoi les choses se défont-elles, pourquoi tout s'en va-t-il ?"<sup>1</sup>. Je me penche ici d'abord sur les très beaux récits d'enfance d'Alain Rémond et sur les documents personnels qu'il mobilise dans son travail d'écriture. Un texte rédigé au "je" primordial où il faut assumer la subjectivité de son récit de vie. Le lecteur a le sentiment que Rémond court rapidement à reculons et qu'il voit fuir son passé sans aucune chance de percevoir un avenir. Écrire est alors la seule façon de retenir et vivre intensément le passé au présent: sentiment intime, le souvenir comme résultat du travail de l'oubli, comblé par le texte même du récit.

Les documents convoqués sont peu nombreux dans ce récit mais ils possèdent une fonction extrêmement importante puisqu'ils semblent bien être l'élément déclencheur du souvenir: ce qui initie le geste d'écriture, tentative de fonder un témoignage, une mémoire.

"... j'ai retrouvé dans mes papiers ces quelques lignes que j'ai écrites il y a longtemps, je ne sais plus quand, alors que j'essayais, en vain, de faire ce récit que, jusqu'à aujourd'hui, je n'ai jamais pu mener à bien..."<sup>2</sup>

Le document réactive quelque chose du passé chez l'auteur. De quelle façon? Certainement, en partie par la connaissance intime d'un contexte particulier d'appréhension de ces documents. Ceci n'est pas vraiment clair et il est permis de douter que cette relation *personnelle* au document et son efficacité sur le souvenir puisse être capturée pour les générations futures<sup>3</sup>.

En fait, si, j'ai pris quelque chose, dans la maison à Trans la grande photo de mariage de mes parents, dans le cadre d'origine. Je l'ai devant moi, sur mon bureau. J'ai beaucoup de mal à la regarder. Ils sont si jeunes, si beaux, si fragiles dans leur demi-sourire au photographe, à leur future vie ensemble. Le cadre est déglingué, la photo est tachée, abîmée par endroits. Je ne veux pas y toucher, je ne veux pas la restaurer. C'est la photo d'un bonheur abîmé. C'est la photo de mes parents<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Rémond, *Chaque jour est un adieu*, Paris, 2000, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> C'est certainement pour cette raison que plusieurs initiatives dans le domaine littéraire articulent une notion différente de l'archive. Voir, entre autres, *L'archivage numérique: conditions, enjeux, effets*, "Protée", 32, 2004, 2 [= <http://www.erudit.org/revue/pr/2004/v32/n2/index.html>] et les travaux de ARCHÉ: Centre québécois de recherche sur l'archive littéraire = <http://www.unites.uqam.ca/arche/>.

<sup>4</sup> A. Rémond, *op. cit.*, p. 112-113.

Toutefois, le souvenir n'est pas obligatoirement quelque chose qui passe par le document, il peut directement induire à l'écriture. Dans ce cas-ci, le rapport au document est plus complexe. Il semble être utile en tant que moyen de validation, pas nécessairement de preuve, car l'auteur prend ses distances par rapport à ces documents et il est à la recherche de ce contexte dont nous parlons ici.

La rareté de l'archive apparaît aussi dans le cas de nos propres documents personnels, soit que l'on garde très peu ou encore que l'on se "force" à conserver. Comme si notre mémoire et nos souvenirs personnels pouvaient suppléer à tout ceci. D'un point de vue personnel, l'archive ne semble pas tirer sa valeur de l'information qu'elle porte ou de sa capacité à témoigner car ce dont elle témoigne semble toujours quelque chose dont nous sommes à la recherche. Il n'y a pas ici quelque chose d'avéré, d'institué, encore moins d'institutionnalisé.

L'archive ne témoigne pas de ce qui n'a pas encore été écrit, de ce qui n'est pas encore souvenir réalisé dans un récit. Ainsi, alors que des photographies sont le point de départ du récit de Rémond, il peut dire de l'une d'elles, représentant un homme et une femme souriants, que ces gens, comme la photo, mentent. Et pourtant, à l'opposé, il accorde toute sa confiance à une autre photo: "Cette photo-là, celle de ma mère et mes deux sœurs dans la maison, à Trans, je sais qu'elle ne ment pas. Parce que j'ai vécu cet instant et tant d'autres semblables."<sup>5</sup> C'est l'individu qui devient porteur du contexte permettant de savoir, d'avoir la compréhension des éléments. L'individu avec toutes ses cohérences, ses inférences aussi. *Parce que j'ai vécu cet instant...*<sup>6</sup>

Cette valeur de témoignage, celle qu'on ne connaît pas avant d'avoir réalisé ce témoignage, d'avoir constitué le récit, c'est le miroir exact de la question de l'archiviste concernant l'évaluation et la sélection des documents. Qu'est-ce qui est utile? Qu'est-ce qui intéresse le chercheur? Ainsi, on pourrait dire avec Arlette Farge que l'écriture historique ne peut se contenter de l'archive; qui est toujours un ici et maintenant de l'événement mais qui invite à sa distance et à son dépassement.

Pour cela, il faut se tenir loin de l'archive-reflet où l'on ne puise que des informations et de l'archive-preuve qui achève des démonstrations, avec l'air d'en finir une fois pour toutes avec le matériel... Bien sûr, "l'histoire survient quand la partie est terminée", écrit Paul Ricœur, mais l'écriture de cette histoire doit garder le goût de l'inaccompli, en laissant par exemple errer les libertés après qu'elles eurent été bafouées, en refusant de rien clore, en évitant tout forme souveraine des savoirs acquis<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> De même, dans son troisième récit, *Comme une chanson dans la nuit*, Paris, 2002, à la lecture des lettres de son père en service militaire au Maroc, Rémond se plaît à imaginer que naissait là les germes de ce qui allait constituer la vie de son père, à Trans. Mais il le précise: il n'a pas vécu ces moments. Il imagine, simplement...

<sup>7</sup> Arlette Farge, *Le goût de l'archive*, Paris, 1989, p. 147.

En première analyse, l'approche archivistique de l'usage des archives trouve ici une certaine limite. Elle ne semble pas permettre de rendre compte de la valeur d'information ou de témoignage des documents dans cette constitution personnelle du récit.

Ceci pose la question de la connaissance nécessaire à la constitution du récit; la place des archives en tant que moyen de connaissance. A quoi servent ainsi les archives si elles sont peu nécessaires au récit alors qu'elles semblent très utiles au roman, par exemple afin de "documenter" une époque, d'en étoffer la description. Est-ce que le récit de Rémond est convainquant, crédible? Est-ce qu'un roman est convainquant? Est-ce une simple impression de réalisme qui est en jeu ici et quel est le rôle de l'archive dans tout ceci?

Il y a là une compréhension "professionnelle" de l'utilité et de la valeur des archives à mettre en perspective de cet usage plus personnel. L'archiviste identifie son rôle à la préservation de la valeur d'information de certains documents aux fins de l'augmentation de la connaissance dite scientifique ayant valeur pour des producteurs de connaissances, au premier chef les historiens. La valeur de témoignage, et ce qui préside à sa préservation, tient à la capacité des archives à soutenir une représentation d'une société, d'une organisation ou d'un individu que possède l'archiviste à un moment donné dans le temps.

Est-ce que la différence entre le récit de souvenirs et l'investigation historique ne dépend que de l'exercice de confrontation et de corroboration des récits, la critique du témoignage? On voit bien alors le rôle institutionnel des archives en tant que leurs valeurs d'information et de témoignage sont mobilisées au sein de cet exercice dit "scientifique". Est-ce la seule issue possible des archives? Les archives peuvent-elles servir indifféremment le récit, le roman, la science? Comment y jouent-elles leur rôle et quelle valeur est en jeu? Pour Farge, la réponse est claire:

"Souvent évoquée, cette possibilité n'est en fait ni un piège ni une tentation. L'argument selon lequel le roman ressuscite l'archive et lui donne vie n'en est pas un. Le romancier fait œuvre de fiction; que le décor soit «historique» et les personnages issus des siècles passés n'y change pas grand-chose. On peut en effet animer, avec talent ou non, des hommes et des femmes du XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle, en produisant pour le lecteur de la connivence et un grand plaisir, mais il ne s'agit point de «faire de l'histoire»."<sup>8</sup>

Des réponses à ces questions dépendent partiellement les différentes conceptions de l'évaluation que nous pouvons mettre en place: l'évaluation des archives comme expérience immédiate, l'évocation du souvenir; l'appel aux sentiments qui peut certainement engendrer une forme de populisme à valeur commerciale et qui opère de façon évidente sur les archives du web. Ou encore la tentation de tout conserver car rien ne serait joué, tout étant possible encore.

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 94.

La connaissance que procure les archives – leur valeur d’information – ne semble pas du tout nécessaire à l’évocation du souvenir. Cette valeur ne semble pas beaucoup peser dans la décision de conserver ou non des archives en notre possession. Cette connaissance, cette nécessité de corroborer étant absente, on ne peut même pas dire que c’est la nécessité de se souvenir qui est le moteur de cette conservation, à peine la possibilité de se souvenir; la possibilité de se raconter et donc de produire l’archive même. Cette même ouverture à l’avenir par l’écriture mène à tout conserver sur le plan institutionnel et à détruire ce qui ne s’institutionnalise pas sur le plan de l’archive personnelle.

Ainsi, John Irving, dans son autobiographie, *La Petite amie imaginaire*<sup>9</sup>, n’a pas réellement besoin d’archives pour se remémorer. Quelques articles publics épars lancés avec réticence, semble-t-il, à la fin de son bouquin. Se remémorer quoi au juste? Puisque la mémoire ne semble pas des plus solide. A quoi bon d’ailleurs puisqu’il ne semble même pas intéressé à asseoir la crédibilité de son récit. Il n’est pas préoccupé d’en montrer la véracité, ni même de vérifier certaines informations pourtant faciles à trouver. Même les photographies ne collaborent pas. Elles sont placées là, sans commentaires, sans liens au texte. La valeur de témoignage et même la valeur d’information sur sa vie ne semblent pas au rendez-vous. Alors, qu’en est-il des archives et de leur fonction dans un tel récit?

### Stratégies de l’oubli

En fait, l’oubli semble être un moyen qui permet à Irving de se définir à un moment donné; tel qu’en lui-même, dans le présent, opérant une sorte de stratégie de fidélité à lui-même. Serait-ce que l’oubli est une stratégie de vie au présent? C’est ce qu’Augé semble croire dans *Les formes de l’oubli*:

“Une mauvaise mémoire, c’est une mémoire en trompe l’œil, qui nous colle au présent et éloigne le trop proche pour nous donner l’illusion de la perspective. Elle donne du flou et de la profondeur aux souvenirs les plus récents. Pontalis, dans son dernier livre, cite Supervielle, qui s’écrie dans *Boire à la source*: «Et vous aussi, arrière! gens à la belle mémoire. Sachez que j’éprouve un plaisir tout particulier à ne pas me souvenir des dates exactes.» Pour d’autres, ce tremblé subtil de la mémoire qui ne doit rien au hasard (une mauvaise mémoire, ça s’entretient, ça se cultive) a pour effet de jeter un voile d’incertitude sur le mouvement du temps; si tout est ancien, rien ne l’est plus vraiment; une mauvaise mémoire, ça rajeunit.”<sup>10</sup>

Cette stratégie de l’oubli pourrait ainsi permettre de représenter qui nous sommes au présent, ici et maintenant, le passé n’en étant pas l’explicitation. Une telle stratégie laisse peu d’espoir aux archivistes quant à la conservation des documents d’une personne comme Irving. Faut-il se rabattre alors sur les archives “familiales”,

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<sup>9</sup> John Irving, *La petite amie imaginaire*, Paris, 1997.

<sup>10</sup> M. Augé, *Les formes de l’oubli*, Paris, 1998, p. 28-29.

sur l'entourage, ce qui peut être perçu comme ayant une valeur patrimoniale dans un périmètre plus large? Par nécessité, l'évaluation des archives s'étendrait-elle au cercle familial afin d'en sauver quelque chose?

Il n'est pas certain en tout cas que le plaisir de l'usage soit l'*impetus* d'un "instinct de conservation" documentaire. Il semble que Mme Farge ne nous ait donné que peu de raisons de goûter au plaisir des archives: plaisir de spécialiste, plaisir d'historien, trop confiné à un certain angle professionnel sur les documents. Qui éprouve du plaisir au contact des archives? Les lecteurs, les chercheurs, les auteurs, les archivistes: plaisir de connaître, plaisir de la découverte, de la nouveauté, de l'imprévu, plaisir du cérémonial de la salle d'archives pour certains.

L'objet d'archive procure en tant que tel un certain plaisir. L'effet de réel que sa seule présence massive procure: l'émotion, la mise à nu, le dévoilement du passé surgi de l'objet même. Le plaisir du touché ainsi que la façon dont il nous informe, omniprésent chez Farge: souvenir digital<sup>11</sup>, tactile<sup>12</sup> de l'archive qui suscite l'émotion.

On se doit de rapprocher ce phénomène du toucher de l'activité de tri, de classement et de sélection de Rémond qui revient régulièrement dans ses textes, particulièrement dans le troisième volume de son récit de jeunesse, *Comme une chanson dans la nuit*.

Mais on ne trie pas ses souvenirs comme on trie ses papiers<sup>13</sup>.

Je range mes papiers. Je trie. Je classe<sup>14</sup>.

Voilà ce qui se passe quand on range des papiers, quand on se décide à classer, à jeter, à faire le tri. On tombe sur une photo de la famille Rémond, au Teilleul<sup>15</sup>.

Ainsi, les activités personnelles d'évaluation et de sélection des archives sont peut-être plus des gestes d'oubli que de conservation par la prédominance de la manipulation des documents. L'archivistique ou la conservation et l'organisation documentaire n'est pas mémoire mais propédeutique négative du souvenir chez Rémond.

L'oubli serait-il autre chose que la face négative de la mémoire? Peut-il être quelque chose de positif? L'oubli pourrait être un moyen de la sélection des archives, sans en être toutefois la finalité; tout comme une certaine idée de la mémoire peut servir de cadre pour penser une telle fonction. Elle en serait alors un autre versant. De même, il est possible de penser que l'évaluation et la sélection des archives seraient des gestes d'oubli plutôt que de conservation.

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<sup>11</sup> A. Farge, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 82.

<sup>13</sup> A. Rémond, *Comme une chanson dans la nuit*, Paris, 2003, p. 70.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 92.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 115.

Sur un autre plan, le paradoxal “Dis-moi ce que tu oublies, je te dirai qui tu es” d’Augé<sup>16</sup>, nous montre qu’il est possible de considérer la psychanalyse comme une des voies possibles à l’analyse de ce qui se dépose en nous et dans nos centres d’archives, une fois que le temps et les gestes sont passés. L’oubli productif peut rendre possible une politique de l’oubli, sinon professionnelle, du moins patrimoniale, toujours collective, hors du champ disciplinaire des archivistes. Il peut alors tout autant exister une politique de la mémoire qu’une politique de l’oubli. Des archives nationales qui se définissent comme mémoire d’une société peuvent ainsi s’appréhender politiquement, idéologiquement, psychanalytiquement par leur charge d’oubli, consciente ou non d’elle-même.

Toutefois, il y a différence entre le plan personnel et le plan social de l’oubli. Pour Roger-Pol Droit, “On peut organiser toutes sortes de préparatifs, jamais la perte ni l’oubli”<sup>17</sup>. Il est, par contre, possible d’organiser la commémoration autant que l’oubli historique. On doit remarquer à la suite d’Augé<sup>18</sup> que s’il faut être plusieurs pour se souvenir, de même il faut être au moins deux pour oublier. Le très sage Lec<sup>19</sup> ne disait-il pas, “On peut condamner quelqu’un à l’oubli mais il faut appliquer la sentence à ceux qui se souviennent”.

Ce dosage savant de mémoire et d’oubli est une relation particulière que l’on entretient avec le temps. Augé nous offre un cadre d’analyse intéressant en relevant trois modes sous lesquels le temps est vécu en société: le retour, le suspend et le recommencement. Le retour: oublier le présent pour retrouver un passé perdu, établir une continuité avec le passé profond. Une attitude qui est fondamentalement celle qui nous pousse à rechercher les traits de famille des ancêtres chez les nouveau-nés par exemple. L’expérience du retour induit une certaine approche patrimoniale des archives. Elles se vivent ici sous le mode de l’expérience immédiate de l’émotion. Ceci implique une lecture de la valeur des archives qui reflète une préoccupation première d’héritage patrimonial basée sur une vision particulière du passé, parfois nostalgique, qui peut influencer les stratégies de sélection. Les archives ont une valeur émotive certaine, critère important, sinon de leur diffusion, du moins de leur sélection.

Seconde attitude, le suspend qui consiste à retrouver le présent en oubliant le passé et le futur. Cette attitude consiste alors à se définir au présent, là où il faut s’affranchir du passé cherchant à atteindre une identité plus vraie, tel qu’on a pu le constater dans l’autobiographie d’Irving. Les archives seraient alors l’état brutal même des choses, faisant office d’objets incontournables du présent.

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<sup>16</sup> M. Augé, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>17</sup> Roger-Paul Droit, *101 expériences de philosophie quotidienne*, Paris, 2001, p. 35.

<sup>18</sup> M. Augé, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>19</sup> Stanislaw Jerzy Lec, *Nouvelles pensées échevelées*, Paris, 1964, p. 81.

Troisième attitude: le recommencement, l’oubli du passé tourné vers le futur. Transposé aux archives, ce serait le principe directeur de l’évaluation archivistique professionnelle où on s’attend que le jugement porté par l’archiviste fasse preuve d’une certaine “objectivité” et qu’il soit tourné vers les besoins actuels des usagers.

Ces modes de gestion de l’oubli sont ainsi tout à la fois des modalités de gestion du souvenir, de la mémoire, une fois que le travail de l’oubli y a fait son œuvre. Le trop de mémoire peut être quelque chose de paralysant comme l’enseigne Borges dans “Funes ou la mémoire”. Conserver tout n’est-ce pas l’illusion d’une mémoire omnipotente, nous empêchant d’avancer et nous condamnant à sans cesse revivre ce qui a été. Comment traiter cet ensemble, si ce n’est par l’analyse, le recoupement, la synthèse, le retranchement de l’excédent et l’hypothèse créatrice, le moment du suspend où il faut laisser ce qui fut dit sans encore savoir ce qui adviendra et ce qui en sera dit. “Penser, c’est oublier des différences, c’est généraliser, abstraire.”<sup>20</sup>

Conserver n’est pas mémoriser et élaguer n’est pas oublier. S’il est possible de tout conserver, l’analyse force l’archiviste et le lecteur à discriminer, à oublier pour créer du nouveau. Sur quelles bases? L’oubli répond alors à des principes liés aux stratégies de lecture du lecteur, à ses projets. S’il n’est pas possible de tout conserver il faut “faire avec” ce qui reste et construire quelque chose à partir de lui: forme active de l’oubli. L’archiviste travaille alors avec le souvenir qu’un autre lui laisse: un souvenir qu’il ne comprend pas nécessairement mais qu’il agence, sélectionne, met en valeur selon sa propre stratégie de lecture – en fonction des usagers qu’il dessert. C’est ce qui s’appelle faire parler les archives, et ceci exige que nous nous intéressions à la notion de lecture des archives et donc à celle de lecteur usager/archiviste.

### **L’archivistique comme lecture et interprétation institutionnalisée**

Quelle que soit la définition que l’on donne du rôle de l’archiviste et de sa fonction dans la société (préserver une mémoire, représenter une organisation, conserver des documents pour fins de preuve, etc.), il n’en reste pas moins que l’activité archivistique, comme toute entreprise culturelle, en est une de lecture et d’interprétation d’une réalité et donc de construction d’un discours qui lui est propre. L’archivistique peut-elle alors être fondée en théorie où s’épuise-t-elle dans l’élucidation de la mémoire sociale? Est-elle simplement un ensemble de pratiques, une mnémotechnique semblable à celle issue de la rhétorique classique? Un auxiliaire de l’histoire ou une finalité en tant que telle? J’aurais tendance à croire qu’elle est une discipline qui définit des lieux où se fixent les images documentaires de notre mémoire collective. Elle sert à dire. Façonner un dire social pour retenir ce

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<sup>20</sup> J. L. Borges, *Funes ou la mémoire*, “Fictions”, Paris, 1956, Folio, p. 109-118 (118).

qui doit ensuite être dit. Ce lieu fondamental, cette image, c'est l'acteur social tel que représenté par l'archiviste dans sa propre fiction narrative qu'est le fonds d'archives.

L'archivistique n'est pas une science, ni une idéologie mais elle peut tout de même être fondée en tant que pratique discursive qui fonctionne à l'aide de codes réglés: elle possède une lecture caractéristique des documents, des pratiques descriptives particulières, elle produit un texte et, plus largement, elle produit des lieux et des images en forme de structures classificatoires dans lesquelles s'insèrent les documents. A ce titre, l'archivistique façonne des histoires, des lieux de mémoire dans lesquels on dépose des documents. Ces lieux sont aussi importants que les documents eux-mêmes. Ce sont les moyens de représentation de l'archiviste: la structure des fonds, le principe de provenance et celui de l'ordre original, qui se trouvent revisités par cette remise en perspective.

Toutefois, l'édifice archivistique dépend de l'usage des archives, en fait d'un certain usage particulier, de certains types d'usagers, d'une vision du travail de l'archiviste qui constitue les documents en archives. Mais il semble laisser de côté tout le travail de l'individu sur le document qui le constitue comme *son* archive. Ce hiatus nous mène bien au-delà d'une théorie de l'évaluation des archives car celle-ci est pour ainsi dire muette quant à la façon dont se réalise cette valeur des documents. La théorie de l'évaluation n'est pas une théorie de la valeur des documents. C'est dans l'utilisation courante des documents d'archives que se fonde justement la valeur de ceux-ci. Comme le dit Vuillard-Garzon<sup>21</sup>, "...sans utilisateurs les archives sont en devenir". Il faut voir de quels utilisateurs on parle.

L'archive dépend des individus et de leurs pratiques textuelles car de leur productivité et de leurs pratiques de conservation dépend la constitution même du fonds d'archives si important à l'archiviste. D'autre part, la fonction de l'archive dépend de la notion de mémoire que l'on met en branle et des pratiques de lecture propres à l'individu. Le positionnement des archives institutionnelles nécessite de situer leur place face à une certaine pratique de l'histoire, de l'écriture du récit en tant que technique de remémoration et de la mémoire; investiguer la source de l'archive singulière avant qu'elle ne devienne plurielle comme son acception professionnelle la marquera.

En ceci, l'usage des archives (personnelles et institutionnelles) est une pratique sociale en complète cohérence avec les conceptions propres de l'histoire et de la mémoire d'une époque donnée. Je suis donc en harmonie avec l'historien et anthropologue Jean-Pierre Vernant lorsqu'il nous dit,

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<sup>21</sup> Monique Vuillard-Garzon, *Le besoin d'études d'usagers des archives définitives: Un leitmotiv dans la littérature archivistique*, "Archives", 27, 2, 1995, p. 91-104 (92) = [http://www.archivistes.qc.ca/revuearchives/vol27\\_2/27-2-Vuillard-Garzon.pdf](http://www.archivistes.qc.ca/revuearchives/vol27_2/27-2-Vuillard-Garzon.pdf).

“Aux diverses époques et dans les diverses cultures, il y a solidarité entre les techniques de remémoration pratiquées, l’organisation interne de la fonction, sa place dans le système du moi et l’image que les hommes se font de la mémoire.”<sup>22</sup>

Il ne s’agit pas de faire une quelconque histoire des archives en regard de l’évolution historique de la pratique même de la mémoire. Certes, cette étude sera un jour à faire. Préalablement, toutefois, il s’agit plutôt de situer plus globalement la place des archives dans ce régime général d’une mémoire mobilisée autour d’elle-même, dans la pratique historique, littéraire, rhétorique et sociale.

### **L’usage historien des archives: récit et histoire**

Considérons alors un peu plus l’usage des archives et plus particulièrement le rapport actuel entre archives et histoire. Pour Ricœur, les archives sont comprises en fonction de la conception que l’on se fait de l’historiographie. Il discute ici du rapport entre l’histoire événementielle (positiviste), l’École des Annales (le temps long) et, ultimement, les archives.

“Pour cette tradition (positiviste, S. S.), les événements majeurs sont déjà consignés dans les archives, lesquelles d’ailleurs sont elles-mêmes déjà instituées et constituées autour des péripéties et des accidents affectant la distribution du pouvoir. C’est ainsi que la double dénonciation de l’histoire des batailles et de l’histoire événementielle constitue l’envers polémique d’un plaidoyer pour une histoire du phénomène humain total avec toutefois un fort accent sur ses conditions économiques et sociales.”<sup>23</sup>

Avec la “perte” de l’individu dans l’événement historique explicatif au profit de “l’humain total”, le document devient quelque chose de plus fondamental, plus ouvert à la lecture.

“Les faits, ces historiens ne cessent de le répéter, ne sont pas donnés dans les documents, mais les documents sont sélectionnés en fonction d’une problématique. Les documents eux-mêmes ne sont pas donnés : les archives officielles sont des institutions qui reflètent un choix implicite en faveur de l’histoire conçue comme recueil d’événements et comme chronique de l’État. Ce choix n’étant pas déclaré, le fait historique a pu paraître régi par le document et l’historien recevoir ses problèmes de ces données.”<sup>24</sup>

Ce qui nous mène à une histoire plus statistique, sérielle, où le document d’archives a une place différente dans le régime historiographique en cause. Toutefois, en histoire les problèmes sont toujours déjà pris en charge à partir de la constitution d’événements même s’ils n’en sont pas le principe explicatif dernier.

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<sup>22</sup> Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Aspects mythiques de la mémoire*, in *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs. Études de psychologie historique*, Paris, 1996, p. 109-136 (109).

<sup>23</sup> Paul Ricœur, *Temps et récit 1. L’intrigue et le récit historique*. Paris, 1983, p. 185.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 193.

“...en histoire les événements tirent leur statut proprement historique d’avoir été initialement inclus dans une chronique officielle, un témoignage oculaire, ou un récit basé sur des souvenirs personnels.”<sup>25</sup>

Il y a un lien fondamental entre récit et histoire. Suivre le récit historique de l’historien dépend de notre compétence de lecteur à suivre des histoires. Ce qui fait pourtant cette continuité c’est l’intérêt du lecteur; c’est qu’autant grande Histoire que petites histoires possèdent un récit qui mérite d’être suivi. Pour certains<sup>26</sup>, “...l’historiographie est une espèce du genre histoire racontée (*story*)”. Le récit est inhérent à l’explication historique. Comme on dit, “Raconter c’est déjà expliquer”. Pour quelle raison? Parce que le récit exige déjà de celui qui raconte, une distanciation du témoignage direct des témoins et agents des événements. Il s’agit d’un effort d’ordonnancement d’événements selon une ligne début, milieu, fin qui ordonne par cette fin même la compréhension générale des événements.

Nous sommes alors en droit de nous demander qu’elle place occupe la vérité dans cet exercice. Pour Pascal Quignard, dans sa *Rhétorique spéculative*, le récit sous-jacent à toute historiographie est à opposer à l’entreprise littéraire car il est un ensemble clos qui fait illusion quant à l’ouverture du monde à tous les possibles, puisqu’il n’y aurait aucune science pour ce qui n’est pas encore: former le récit au prix de fermer l’histoire.

“L’Histoire, produit inhumain de l’humanité, signale de temps à autre l’orage dont elle n’est qu’un débris. Le temps est un éclair plus vaste que l’Histoire. Il faudrait un vrai physicien (un philologue) pour commencer à écrire la minuscule chronique des hommes. Les historiens professionnels, c’est-à-dire gagés, outre la bride de la légende qui les hèle, et qui retient les rênes au mors qu’ils ont élu, appuyant sur les dents, la bouche par conséquent définitivement entravée, dans les récits qu’ils font, la rapetissent encore. Les littéraires approchent leurs *litterae*, qui sont de minuscules lampes qui brillent autour de leur flamme, mais qui sont impuissantes à éclairer la nuit.”<sup>27</sup>

Toutefois, cette mise en récit est la condition même de tout travail historien selon Ricœur car elle favorise le passage du narrateur à l’historien par la distanciation des événements qui est nécessaire à sa production. Il existe toujours un fonds de vérité à tout récit. Ce à quoi ne s’oppose pas Quignard car, pour lui, “Si l’auteur d’un livre créait de toutes pièces l’histoire qu’il raconte, elle n’aurait pas de sens pour personne d’autre.”<sup>28</sup>

Les récits ne peuvent être complètement et uniquement imaginés. C’est sur les sources de ce récit qu’ils s’éloignent; là où Quignard perçoit cette source dans la vie instinctive et animale de l’homme, Ricœur la place dans une attitude, une

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 202.

<sup>26</sup> Gallie, cité par P. Ricœur, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

<sup>27</sup> Pascal Quignard, *Rhétorique spéculative*, Paris, 1995, p. 84-85.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 142.

démarche de type scientifique. Pour lui, ce qui différencie récit et histoire c'est certainement la prétention d'objectivité de l'écriture historique, c'est la coupure épistémologique qui met de l'avant la question de la preuve historique.

“Conceptualisation, recherche d'objectivité, redoublement critique marquent les trois étapes de l'autonomisation de l'explication en histoire par rapport au caractère «auto-explicatif» du récit.”<sup>29</sup>

Un écart malaisé se maintient toujours entre récit et histoire et cet écart est lié à l'effort même de recherche. La fonction des archives semble être en partie constitution du récit *et* de l'histoire. Mais, dans ce travail, une zone particulière entre mémoire juste et vérité historique semble se faire jour où le témoignage individuel s'inscrit. Par ce travail d'écriture et d'officialisation historique l'archive deviendra les archives.

Le document d'archives semble se maintenir dans une sorte d'équilibre d'usage entre l'écriture littéraire et l'écriture “scientifique”. Le littéraire n'affirme pas de vérités, il est à sa perpétuelle recherche. Que peut-il avoir à faire d'une somme de connaissances scientifiquement exactes? Le genre littéraire qui pose le plus clairement le problème des frontières entre savoir et littérature est certainement le roman historique. Où se termine l'histoire et où commence le roman? La littérature utilise la science pour explorer les creux.

Tous les lecteurs le savent, les histoires inventées, comme les récits de voyage que racontait mon ami, ont cette faculté de dévoiler d'innombrables subtilités de l'existence que ne parviennent pas à transmettre les comptes rendus les plus exacts d'une situation bien identifiée, les défilés de statistiques ou les enquêtes scientifiques minutieusement préparées. La littérature s'essouffle aux portes du vrai, là où commence la science; la capacité de mentir de l'écrivain devient son mode de survie. Le mensonge de l'écrivain demeure cependant très particulier dans son rapport à la vérité: contrairement au vrai menteur, qui cache une vérité qu'il connaît très bien par un énoncé faux, qui tient à ce qu'on ignore qu'il ment, qui tire avantage de sa duperie, l'écrivain ne protège aucune vérité<sup>30</sup>.

Le roman historique, c'est tenter de jeter un pont entre deux époques, s'éclairant l'une et l'autre. Toute la difficulté est de le faire sans trahir les événements passés. Il faut que l'auteur emporte la conviction de son lecteur qu'il a un comportement éthique acceptable envers les faits et envers les mensonges qu'il lui expose clairement. La mobilisation des archives dans cette esquisse du passé, dans cette entreprise de convaincre le lecteur, laisse une question pendante sur la valeur d'information des archives, sur la nécessité de la connaissance dans l'entreprise d'un récit efficace et qui emporte l'adhésion.

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<sup>29</sup> P. Ricœur, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

<sup>30</sup> Claude Vaillancourt, *Le paradoxe de l'écrivain. Le savoir et l'écriture*, Montréal, 2003, p. 76-77.

## Les archives comme témoignage documenté

La valeur de témoignage des archives trouve sa source dans ce témoignage porté par quelqu'un. L'histoire semble asseoir toute son entreprise de vérité, par-delà tout l'effort d'écriture qui la rapproche du récit, sur ce pouvoir de rendre présente cette chose absente, le témoignage vivant.

“C'est en effet au cœur même de la preuve documentaire, la force du témoignage qui s'expose. Et je ne vois pas qu'on puisse remonter au-delà de la triple déclaration du témoin: 1) J'y étais; 2) Croyez-moi; 3) Si vous ne me croyez pas, demandez à quelqu'un d'autre... Nous disons maintenant: nous n'avons pas mieux que le témoignage et la critique du témoignage pour accréditer la représentation historique du passé.”<sup>31</sup>

La différence est aussi dans la lecture, où plutôt dans l'attente des lecteurs qui ne suspendent pas ici toute croyance comme dans le domaine de la fiction. Le lecteur s'attend à une réalité des personnages et des situations qui soit antérieure au récit. De même, c'est le lecteur seul qui peut départager ce qui est de l'ordre de la mémoire des individus et des peuples et ce qui est de l'ordre de l'investigation proprement historique. Pour Ricœur, “Il revient au destinataire du texte historique de faire, en lui-même et au plan de la discussion publique, la balance entre l'histoire et la mémoire.”<sup>32</sup>

Le témoignage est la mémoire déclarée. Ricœur considère les documents d'archives comme des témoignages formellement consignés, notamment sous le mode de la déposition judiciaire. Une définition qu'on retrouvera pour les archives judiciaires de Farge et, dans son antériorité sur l'écriture historique, aussi chez Foucault dans son *Archéologie du savoir*<sup>33</sup>. Une telle notion d'archives fondée sur le témoignage “formel” ne peut que devenir problématique face à des expériences à la limite de l'indicible, ou du non-représentable, comme l'Holocauste par exemple. De plus, la possibilité de documenter se heurte directement à la volonté d'oublier. Ricœur soulève aussi le fait que certains ne veulent pas expliquer, simplement dire et maintenir la mémoire des choses vivantes. Le témoignage passe alors par-dessus les phases de compréhension / explication et l'écriture. Le témoignage et la commémoration parfois se battent avec l'opération historiographique.

Toutefois, pris dans le courant de l'interprétation des événements propre à chaque historien, ce qui est archives est tout ce qui permet à un historien d'étayer une interprétation particulière. Mais ce n'est jamais qu'une preuve relative; relative à la possibilité d'autres preuves documentaires venant infirmer une interprétation quelconque. L'histoire évolue constamment.

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<sup>31</sup> P. Ricœur, *La mémoire, l'histoire et l'oubli*, Paris, 2000, p. 364.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 648.

<sup>33</sup> Michel Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir*, Paris, 1969.

En ce sens, la notion de preuve documentaire doit être invoquée avec modération; par comparaison avec les stades ultérieurs de l'opération historiographique, et eu égard aux permissions et exigences d'une logique probabiliste, la preuve documentaire est ce qui, en histoire, se rapproche le plus du critère poppérien de vérification et de réfutation. Sous la condition d'un large accord entre spécialistes, on peut dire qu'une interprétation factuelle a été vérifiée au sens qu'elle n'a pas été réfutée dans l'état présent de la documentation accessible<sup>34</sup>.

D'un côté, nous avons un effort "scientifique" de représentation historique qui tend à neutraliser les différentes significations vécues par les individus et, en face de cet effort, une mémoire collective qui tente de résister à cette dilution par l'activité de commémoration. Opposition? Confrontation?

Se souvenir, c'est agir, rechercher, faire quelque chose. Et cette recherche tend vers un souvenir vrai au sens de juste et non véridique au sens scientifique. Travail de la mémoire mais aussi travail sur la mémoire: publique et privée, remémoration et commémoration. L'oubli est aussi à prendre en compte comme condition de créativité individuelle, sortir de la tradition pour innover. De même, oublier le présent pour lier le futur au passé, ou encore mieux se souvenir du passé fait partie de l'acte commémoratif. La mémoire et l'oubli sont des choses inséparables. Elles se définissent l'une par rapport à l'autre, comme la vie et la mort.

Le fondement de toute historiographie est ainsi le témoignage documenté et son récit. Je pose ici que le document est déjà agissant dans cette entreprise de narration, dans l'entreprise même de remémoration, de souvenir qui est à la base d'un tel exercice. Si mémoire et histoire, l'une avec sa prétention de fidélité et l'autre avec sa prétention de vérité peuvent s'opposer sur la scène du domaine patrimonial et commémoratif<sup>35</sup>, elles sont toutefois liés par l'entreprise du récit.

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<sup>34</sup> P. Ricœur, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

<sup>35</sup> Voir, entre autres, Tzvetan Todorov, *Les abus de la mémoire*, Paris, 1995 et idem, *Mémoire du mal, tentation du bien*, Paris, 2000.

## Conclusion

Je crois avoir montré que les archives sont relativement absentes du travail des individus dans la construction de leurs récits personnels. Pas totalement toutefois. Parfois, on peut rencontrer des documents personnels qui font office de déclencheurs de la mémoire, en tant qu'objets de plaisir des sens, parfois ce qui relie par l'affect avec un certain passé. Toujours parcimonieusement.

Toutefois, les archives ont une valeur en tant qu'elles sont utilisées. "*Archives are for use, not dead storage*"<sup>36</sup>. C'est l'usage qui est inhérent à la valeur des archives. Un fonds d'archives a autant de valeur que ce qu'en font ses utilisateurs. Une telle position met l'accent sur un principe de sélection des archives basé sur leur diffusion. Ainsi, il faut conserver ce qui est diffusable et diffusé. Vision pragmatique de la valeur des archives et de leur utilité. C'est une vision qui ne semble pas partagée par Rémond, ni par tout un chacun dans sa vie quotidienne, mais plutôt par le milieu professionnel des archivistes.

Il s'agit d'un choc entre une attitude professionnelle et une attitude personnelle face aux archives. Cette attitude professionnelle ne semble pouvoir être induite chez tout un chacun que par un souci d'héritage patrimonial qui dépasse l'individu et implique un sentiment d'appartenance à quelque chose de plus vaste, en commençant par la famille immédiate. Je crois que c'est d'ailleurs ce sentiment qui pousse à la rédaction de récits de vie et d'autobiographies: la création d'une archive personnelle plutôt que la transmission d'un fonds.

Le suspend qualifie ainsi adéquatement notre rapport personnel au temps. Et comme nous l'avons vu, celui-ci est utile afin de définir notre identité car ceci exige une part d'oubli du passé. Il est donc l'attitude fondamentale face au temps propre au récit personnel, à l'autobiographie. Parler du passé, oui, mais dans une préoccupation constante du présent, de la définition de notre identité. Parler de qui on est maintenant par le biais du souvenir. Dans un tel contexte, il est peu étonnant que les archives soient moins présentes. Si on conserve essentiellement pour soi-même, on écrit toujours pour les autres. La plupart des gens ne conservent pas leurs «archives» depuis leur naissance afin qu'un jour ils puissent raconter leur propre vie dans une soudaine envie de chercher/affirmer leur identité! Ce qui est une archive ici, c'est le récit lui-même, ce qui a été produit par cet exercice d'écriture et ce qui aide le souvenir.

Ce qui est, c'est essentiellement le moment présent, l'oubli du passé et de l'avenir; l'attitude fondamentale envers le temps dans lequel nous sommes tous quotidiennement pris. Dans cette dimension des choses, il semble que ce soit bien plus une stratégie de l'oubli qui opère sur l'ensemble de nos documents (oublier ce

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<sup>36</sup> D. Gracy, *An Introduction to Archives and Manuscripts*, New York, 1981, p. 14, cité in M. Vuillard-Garzon, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

qui ne nous est pas immédiatement utile) qu'une stratégie de mémoire (conserver ce qui sera peut-être utile).

L'oubli du passé tourné vers le futur, le souci de demain, le recommencement, semble être la relation fondamentale au temps des archives institutionnalisées. Que conserver du passé pour l'avenir? Pour quels usages? Quels lecteurs? Quelle qu'en soit la réponse, les archives soutiennent ici une écriture autre. Elles fondent alors un discours, en aidant à le construire (valeur d'information) ou en le consolidant (valeur probante). Ici, une stratégie de la mémoire semble s'appliquer, là où en creux on peut discerner certaines traces (idéologiquement fondées) de l'oubli.

L'oubli du présent et du futur, le retour au passé, semble l'attitude fondamentale associée au discours patrimonial. En tant que patrimoine, les archives sont alors ce qui témoigne de ce qui a été. La mémoire devient ici devoir où s'entremêle un égal devoir d'oubli. On voit bien que ces trois attitudes ont des effets différents sur les activités d'évaluation et de sélection des documents par l'archiviste. Les documents ne possèdent pas la même valeur selon ces différentes perspectives. Comment passer de l'une à l'autre? Ce passage du cercle individuel aux perspectives historiques et patrimoniales implique un souci de l'autre qui entraîne un souci d'avenir: notre avenir qui est déjà le présent de nos enfants. Il en est de même de la perspective citoyenne. Sans ce souci, pas de mémoire collective.

# Spuren politischer Akteure im Archiv

Marc Hofer

Der Entscheid über die Archivwürdigkeit von Unterlagen ist eine zentrale, nicht delegierbare Aufgabe staatlicher Archive. Entsprechend dieser Verantwortung müssen Bewertungsentscheide nachvollziehbar sein und wissenschaftlichen Kriterien genügen. Der vorliegende Beitrag schlägt vor, die Kriterien der Bewertung zu erweitern mit dem Instrument der Politik-Analyse. Durch den Einbezug der Analyse öffentlicher Politiken – *Policies* – sollen Bewertungsentscheide kohärenter und für die historische Forschung nachvollziehbarer werden. Ziel ist eine Überlieferungsbildung, welche sich nicht nur am Nachvollzug des Verwaltungshandelns orientiert, sondern die das Handeln der politischen Akteure dokumentiert.

## Evidenzwert und Informationswert

Die heute in der archivischen Bewertung standardmässig angewendete Unterscheidung von Evidenz- und Informationswert geht auf die grundlegende Arbeit von Theodore R. Schellenberg zurück. Erstmals publiziert wurde sein Werk unter dem Titel *The Appraisal of Modern Records* im Jahr 1956, im deutschen Sprachraum aber erst mit gehöriger Verspätung rezipiert<sup>1</sup>.

Für sich genommen sind die Begriffe Evidenz- und Informationswert erstaunlich unklar. Bei einer derart grundlegenden und in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion immer wieder rezipierten kategorialen Unterscheidung wäre zu erwarten, dass der behauptete kategoriale Unterschied unmittelbar einleuchtet. Dies ist jedoch nicht der Fall, denn “Evidenz” und “Information” sind genau genommen keine Gegensätze.

Evident ist, was unmittelbar offenbar ist, was unmittelbar Beweiskraft besitzt. Evidenz kann so als direkter, empirischer Nachweis eines Sachverhalts gelten. Oder als Information, die unmittelbar einleuchtet und die ohne zusätzliche Kontextinformation bestehendem Wissen eingefügt werden kann. Schellenberg scheint den Begriff in diesem Sinn zu verwenden, wenn er die Frage nach dem Evidenzwert so formuliert: “Welchen Nachweis oder welche Evidenz gibt das Verwaltungsschriftgut über die Organisationsstruktur und Funktionsweise der Behörde, bei der es entstanden ist?”<sup>2</sup> Akten haben also dann Evidenzwert, wenn sie

<sup>1</sup> Theodore R. Schellenberg, *Die Bewertung modernen Verwaltungsschriftguts* (übers. u. hsg. v. Angelika Menne-Haaritz), Marburg, 1990.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 27.

einen Nachweis der Existenz und des Verwaltungshandelns einer Behörde darstellen. Ob es wirklich immer gelingt, diesen Nachweis unmittelbar, das heisst ohne weitere Kenntnis der Behördengeschichte und des gesellschaftlichen Umfelds zu führen, muss zumindest bezweifelt werden. Schellenberg war sich dieses Problems wohl bewusst, indem er den Evidenzwert ausdrücklich vom rechtlichen Beweiswert der Originalakten unterschied und den Evidenzwert “ziemlich willkürlich” auf den Wert bezog, “der vom Charakter und dem Stellenwert der nachgewiesenen oder belegten Angelegenheiten abhängt”<sup>3</sup>. In diesem Sinn wäre Evidenz jeglicher in den Akten vorhandene Nachweis über die Behördentätigkeit. Ein solcher Nachweis ist aber noch kein Beweis<sup>4</sup>. Erst die historisch-wissenschaftliche Interpretation kann die in den Akten vorhandenen Nachweise zu wissenschaftlichen Beweisen machen<sup>5</sup>.

Der Informationswert ist kein Gegensatz, sondern eine Erweiterung des Evidenzwerts. Informationswert haben alle Akten, die weitere Informationen enthalten, die nicht direkt den Nachweis der Behördentätigkeit betreffen. Schellenberg formuliert die Frage nach dem Informationswert genau in diesem Sinn: “Welche Informationen über Personen, Organisationen, Objekte, Probleme, Bedingungen und andere Angelegenheiten, mit denen die Behörde befasst war, sind in Akten enthalten?”<sup>6</sup> Damit löst sich die vermeintlich scharfe kategorische Trennung von Evidenzwert und Informationswert auf: ‘Evidenz’ meint Information über die Behördentätigkeit, ‘Information’ meint Information über alles andere. ‘Evident’ sind beide, da Information nur dann Information ist, wenn sie eine Bedeutung aufweist. Diese Bedeutung kann für verschiedene Rezipienten zu unterschiedlichen Zeitpunkten völlig verschieden sein. Gemeinsames Kennzeichen ist lediglich, dass gemäss dieser pragmatischen Definition Information aus Daten besteht, die für einen Empfänger eine Bedeutung hat, was wiederum meint, dass die Information durch den Rezipienten in vorhandenes Wissen eingeordnet werden kann und dieses sinnvoll ergänzt<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Dies entspricht auch der korrekten Übersetzung von “*evidential value*”. Vgl. dazu auch die deutschen Ausgabe von *Modern Archives, Principles and Techniques*, in T. Schellenberg, *op. cit.*, S. 132. Die Übersetzung von *evidential value* als “Evidenz” bleibt in der Bewertungsdiskussion umstritten. Robert Kretzschmar, *Die “neue archivistische Bewertungsdiskussion”*, “Archivalische Zeitschrift”, 82, 1999, S. 7-40 (22).

<sup>5</sup> A. Menne-Haritz in T. Schellenberg, *op. cit.*, S. 17f. und 20. Sie betont, dass “Evidenz” etwas meine, das “unmittelbar einleuchtet und keines Beweises bedarf”. Gerade der Evidenzwert von Akten ist aber keineswegs unmittelbar einleuchtend. Wer den Evidenzwert von Unterlagen eruieren will, bedarf einer umfassenden Kenntnis der Schriftgut- und Behördenorganisation.

<sup>6</sup> T. Schellenberg, *op. cit.*, S. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Rainer Kuhlen, *Information*, in *Grundlagen der praktischen Information und Dokumentation* (Hsg. v. Rainer Kuhlen, Thomas Seeger), München, 2004, S. 10-12. Ich habe mich für diese offene und pragmatische Definition des Begriffs ‘Information’ entschieden, weil dadurch keine bestimmten Inhalte präjudiziert werden. Durch den Einbezug des Rezipienten wird dennoch verdeutlicht, dass es keine völlig objektive Information geben kann, dass also auch der archivistische Bewerter als

Die Unterscheidung von Evidenz- und Informationswert reflektiert die im Selbstverständnis der Archive grundlegende Differenz von Primär- und Sekundärwert der Unterlagen. Primärwert haben Akten für die Behörde, welche die Akten gebildet hat. Dort erfüllen sie ihren primären Zweck der Steuerung des Verwaltungshandelns. Sekundärwert erlangen die Akten durch die Übernahme ins Archiv, indem sie den neuen, bei ihrer Entstehung nicht intendierten Zweck haben, für die historische Auswertung zur Verfügung zu stehen. Evidenz- und Informationswert können auch als zwei Ausprägungen dieses sekundären Werts von Akten verstanden werden. Der Evidenzwert trägt aber insofern noch deutlichere Spuren des primären Zwecks der Akten in sich, als es hierbei um den Nachweis des Verwaltungshandelns geht. Evidenzwert haben nur diejenigen Unterlagen, welche direkt die Spuren der Verwaltungstätigkeit tragen und so nachweisen, wie eine Behörde gearbeitet hat. Der Informationswert hingegen hat einen schwachen Bezug zum primären Zweck der Unterlagen. Informationswert haben alle Unterlagen, welche weitere Informationen enthalten, die nicht den Nachweis der Behördentätigkeit betreffen. Akten mit Informationswert sind unabsichtlich entstandene historische Quellen. Es dient nicht dem primären Zweck der Unterlagen, die in diesen Akten enthaltenen Informationen zu überliefern. Der sekundäre Zweck von Unterlagen mit hohem Informationswert besteht darin, als Quelle – “Überrest” – der historischen Forschung zur Verfügung zu stehen.

Dass ein staatliches Archiv Unterlagen mit Evidenzwert sichern muss, bedarf keiner weiteren Begründung. Es ist die eigentliche *raison d'être* eines Archivs, die Nachweise der Tätigkeit der Behörden aus seinem Archivsprengel zu sichern. Schwieriger ist die Eingrenzung des zu sichernden Informationswerts. Ohne klare Massstäbe, was unter dem Informationswert zu verstehen ist, droht ein Rückfall in willkürliche Bewertungspraxen.

Die Extrempositionen möglicher Auffassungen des Informationswerts wurden formuliert durch Angelika Menne-Haritz und Hans Booms. Für Menne-Haritz hat der Informationswert dem Evidenzwert zu folgen. Akten könnten nicht mehr Informationen liefern, als die Behörde ursprünglich “für ihren eigenen Bedarf zusammengestellt” habe<sup>8</sup>. Im extremen Gegensatz dazu steht die Methode der Dokumentationsprofile, wie sie durch Booms – allerdings ohne explizite Bezugnahme auf Schellenbergs Informationswert – postuliert wurde<sup>9</sup>.

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Rezipient aufzufassen ist, der sein Geschäft nur durchführen kann, indem er vorhandene Informationen in sein Wissen integriert.

<sup>8</sup> A. Menne-Haritz in T. Schellenberg, *op. cit.*, S. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Hans Booms, *Gesellschaftsordnung und Überlieferungsbildung*, “Archivalische Zeitschrift”, 68, 1972, S. 3-40 (40). Vgl. a. Conseil international des archives, Comité sur l'Evaluation, *Manuel sur l'Evaluation*, <http://www.ica.org/biblio/ManualEvaluationDRAFT-F.pdf>, S. 5.

## Der Bewertungsauftrag staatlicher Archive

Die Bewertungshoheit liegt beim Archiv. Dieser allgemein anerkannte Grundsatz hat auch Eingang in die entsprechenden Archivgesetzgebungen gefunden. Für das schweizerische Bundesarchiv wurde die formelle gesetzliche Grundlage der Bewertungshoheit mit dem Bundesgesetz über die Archivierung vom 26. Juni 1998 geschaffen<sup>10</sup>. Schon frühere Reglementierung wie die Abgabe-Weisung von 1970 kannten aber “ein Verfahren bei der Bewertung und Vernichtung von Akten”, welches den rechtlichen und administrativen Wert der Akten von ihrem zusätzlichen, historischen Wert unterschied<sup>11</sup>. Implizit war damit schon die Unterscheidung von Evidenz- und Informationswert in einem offiziellen Regelwerk eingeführt.

Das Schweizer Archivierungsgesetz legt fest, dass die “rechtlich, politisch, wirtschaftlich, historisch, sozial oder kulturell” wertvollen Unterlagen des Bundes archiviert werden sollen<sup>12</sup>. “Archivwürdig sind Unterlagen, die von juristischer oder administrativer Bedeutung sind oder einen grossen Informationswert haben.”<sup>13</sup> Damit fand auch der Informationswert Eingang in die schweizerische Archivgesetzgebung. Die Aufzählung der Eigenschaften, welche zu archivierende Unterlagen aufweisen sollen, erinnert zudem stark an Schellenbergs ausufernde Definition des Informationswerts.

Wenn ein Archiv den gesetzlichen Auftrag hat, nicht nur den Nachvollzug des Verwaltungshandelns zu gewährleisten, sondern auch den in den Verwaltungsunterlagen vorhandenen Informationswert zu sichern, dann bedeutet dies in historischer Perspektive, dass die Geschichte des betreffenden Staates im Archiv dokumentiert werden soll. Für die Bewertung ist diese allgemeine Definition noch nicht sehr hilfreich, denn die zentrale Frage bleibt unbeantwortet, welche Geschichte(n) oder wessen Geschichte zu dokumentieren seien.

Die Definitionen der Geschichte eines Staates reichen von einer rigiden Auffassung, welche nur die Geschichte der staatlichen Institutionen im engeren Sinn gelten lassen will, bis zu einem emphatischen Geschichtsverständnis, das die Geschichte des Staates in eins setzt mit der Geschichte der Nation im umfassenden Sinn.

Wird der Bewertungsauftrag des Archivs im Sinn der strikten Beschränkung auf die Geschichte der staatlichen Institutionen verstanden, braucht das Archiv nur

<sup>10</sup> Das Bundesarchiv legt in Zusammenarbeit mit den anbietepflichtigen Stellen fest, welche Unterlagen archivwürdig sind. Artikel 7 Bundesgesetz über die Archivierung vom 26. Juni 1998 (Archivierungsgesetz), SR 152.1.

<sup>11</sup> Weisungen betreffend die Abgabe von Schriftgut an das Bundesarchiv vom 30. Juni 1970 (aufgehoben), S. 12 f.

<sup>12</sup> Artikel 2 Absatz 1 Archivierungsgesetz.

<sup>13</sup> Artikel 3 Absatz 3 Archivierungsgesetz.

die Nachvollziehbarkeit des Verwaltungshandelns sicher zu stellen. Dies entspräche der blossen Sicherung der Unterlagen mit hohem Evidenzwert, jede Diskussion über den Informationswert wäre überflüssig.

Würde die emphatische Auffassung der Geschichte des Staates beziehungsweise der Nation zur Grundlage der Bewertungsarbeit, entspräche dies in der Konsequenz einem totalen Dokumentationsauftrag des Archivs. Jegliche Quellen zur Landesgeschichte müssten übernommen und dauernd aufbewahrt werden. Das Archiv würde zum Kompetenzzentrum einer *histoire totale*<sup>14</sup>. So wünschbar ein solcher Bewertungsauftrag aus Sicht der Historiker wäre, so unerfüllbar ist er für ein staatliches Archiv.

Kann nicht die totale Geschichte der Nation dokumentiert werden, drängt sich für ein staatliches Archiv die Konzentration auf die politische Geschichte auf, wobei auch der Begriff des Politischen näher bestimmt werden muss. Wer oder was gehört zur Sphäre der Politik zum Beispiel des schweizerischen Bundesstaates? Ist alles Politik? Nein: aber alles kann zum Gegenstand der Politik werden, und alle können in Politik einbezogen sein. Hier soll aber nicht ein emphatischer Geschichtsbegriff durch einen ebenso emphatischen und damit für jede Abgrenzung nutzlosen Politikbegriff ersetzt werden. "Politik" oder *politique* meint zuerst die Meinungsbildung und Entscheidung zur Steuerung des Staates. Dieser allgemein bekannte und akzeptierte Politikbegriff lässt sich anwenden auf die Tätigkeit der Parlamente, Exekutiven, politischen Parteien und Bewegungen. Nicht darin enthalten ist die ganze Aktivität der Verwaltung, welche die politischen Entscheidungen ausführt. Diese Tätigkeiten werden im allgemeinen unter dem Begriff "öffentliche Politik" oder *policy* zusammengefasst. Grundsätzlich ist damit jede staatliche Aktion gemeint, die auf ein gesellschaftliches Bedürfnis antwortet<sup>15</sup>.

Jedes Problem kann zum Gegenstand einer öffentlichen Politik gemacht werden. Eine abschliessende Liste der öffentlichen Politiken gibt es genauso wenig wie ein objektives historisches Prinzip, das der Bewertung zu Grunde gelegt werden könnte<sup>16</sup>. Politikfelder können als Subsysteme des politisch-administrativen Systems beschrieben werden. Sie sind als "Ensemble politisch vermittelter gesellschaftlicher Anforderungen und Probleme" zu beschreiben<sup>17</sup>. Bezogen auf das Archiv bedeutet dies: Nicht bloss das Verwaltungshandeln, sondern das ganze Ensemble von

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<sup>14</sup> Im Ulrich Hof, *Von den Chroniken der alten Eidgenossenschaft bis zur neuen "Geschichte der Schweiz – und der Schweizer"*, in *Geschichte der Schweiz – und der Schweizer*, Basel, 1983<sup>2</sup>, Bd. 1, S. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Die Analyse öffentlicher Politiken schliesst eine Lücke zwischen der traditionellen Politikwissenschaft und der Verwaltungswissenschaft. Peter Knöpfel, Corinne Larrue, Frédéric Varone, *Analyse et pilotage des politiques publiques*, Basel, 2001, S. 4f.

<sup>16</sup> Anders: Ingo Rösler, *Zur Erkenntnistheorie archivischer Überlieferungsbildung in Deutschland. Ansichten eines Archivars der ehemaligen DDR*, *Forum Bewertung*, 2005 = <http://www.forumbewertung.de/beitraege/1025.pdf>, S. 54.

<sup>17</sup> *Verwaltungshandeln in Politikfeldern* (hsg. v. Dieter Grunow), Opladen, 2003, S. 24.

Aktivitäten, welche eine öffentliche Politik ausmachen, tritt in das Blickfeld der Bewertung.

Somit wäre als Zwischenergebnis und Arbeitshypothese folgende Definitionen des Informationswerts festzuhalten:

1. Informationswert haben Unterlagen, die das Funktionieren einer öffentlichen Politik dokumentieren.
2. Dies trifft auch auf Unterlagen zu, die von Aktenbildnern stammen, die nicht Teil der staatlichen Verwaltung sind.
3. Unterlagen, die nicht im Zusammenhang einer öffentlichen Politik entstanden sind, haben keinen Informationswert.
4. Dies trifft auch dann zu, wenn die Akten durch eine staatliche Behörde gebildet wurden.

### **Vom Nachvollzug des Verwaltungshandelns zur Geschichte der Akteure**

Spätestens seit Schellenberg trat das Handeln des Staates in das Blickfeld der archivischen Bewertung. Die Spuren staatlicher Aktivität sollen im Archiv konserviert werden. Damit sind auch die Akteure des Staates im Fokus der Bewertung. Nur waren dies in der Bewertung, die sich vor allem am Evidenzwert orientierte, in erster Linie die staatlichen Autoritäten.

Diese am Evidenzwert orientierte Bewertung setzt einen eingeschränkten Begriff des Politischen voraus. Einseitig werden nur staatliche Behörden in der Wahrnehmung ihrer gesetzlichen Kompetenzen als überlieferungswürdig befunden. Es ist eine auf den Staat und seine Verwaltung zentrierte Betrachtungsweise, die nur den Akteuren im staatlichen System Handlungskompetenz zuerkennt. Alle durch das Verwaltungshandeln Betroffenen erscheinen in dieser Optik als Objekte des staatlichen Apparats, ohne dass ihnen eigene Handlungskompetenz zugestanden würde. Mit derselben Einschränkung zu kämpfen hat auch der systemtheoretische Ansatz, der den Staat als geschlossenes System im Sinne Luhmanns auffasst. Die Wirklichkeit ist darin nur die Wirklichkeit des administrativen Systems, die Umwelt dieses Systems kommt darin vor als Fakten, die gemäss den Normen eben dieses Systems bearbeitet werden<sup>18</sup>. Die Politikgestaltung ist in dieser Optik einseitig die Aktivität des administrativen Systems, welches sich seine eigene Realität schafft.

Für die Analyse des Informationswerts empfiehlt sich deshalb ein Ansatz, der nicht vom geschlossenen Verwaltungssystem ausgeht, sondern von einer Definition öffentlicher Politik, welche auch die Akteure ausserhalb staatlicher Strukturen als aktive Gestalter anerkennt und welche den ganzen Zyklus einer Politik in Betracht zieht.

<sup>18</sup> Andreas und Kathrin Pilger, *Die Bewertung von Verwaltungsschriftgut als Beobachtung zweiter Ordnung*, "Der Archivar", 56, S. 111-118 (112).

Der Zyklus einer öffentlichen Politik kann in vier Phasen eingeteilt werden<sup>19</sup>:

1. *Agenda-Setting*: Ein Problem wird als durch den Staat zu lösendes Problem erkannt. Das Produkt dieser ersten Phase ist die Definition des zu lösenden Problems.

2. *Programmierung*: Die gesetzlichen Grundlagen einer Politik werden geschaffen (Verfassung, Gesetze, Verordnungen). Weiter werden die Zuständigkeiten und Verantwortlichkeiten der mit der Umsetzung betrauten staatlichen Akteure festgelegt.

3. *Umsetzung*: In einem Aktionsplan werden die Prioritäten der Politikumsetzung festgelegt, was auch die Zuteilung der Ressourcen beinhaltet. Die Umsetzung erfolgt schliesslich in Verwaltungsakten (Entscheide der Behörden und Gerichte).

4. *Evaluation*: Die Produkte und Auswirkungen (Output und Outcom) einer Politik werden auf ihre Effizienz und Effektivität evaluiert.

In jeder Phase des Zyklus einer öffentlichen Politik kann ein Rückgriff zu einer beliebigen früheren Phase erfolgen. In der Phase der Umsetzung ist es ohne weiteres möglich, die Grundsätze wieder in Frage zu stellen. Umgekehrt gibt es öffentliche Politiken, die nie alle Phasen des Zyklus durchlaufen.

Die Akteure einer öffentlichen Politik werden entsprechend ihrer Rolle in drei Kategorien eingeteilt<sup>20</sup>:

1. *Behörde*: Staatliche Akteure, welche mit der Ausarbeitung des Verwaltungsprogramms und mit der Umsetzung der Politik betraut sind.

2. *Zielgruppe*: In der Regel nicht-staatliche Akteure, auf deren Verhalten mit der öffentlichen Politik eingewirkt werden soll. Beispiel: Asylbewerber als Zielgruppe der Asylpolitik.

3. *Nutzniesser*: Staatliche oder nicht-staatliche Akteure, für welche eine öffentliche Politik durchgeführt werden soll. Beispiel: Wanderer und Fussgänger als Nutzniesser der Wanderwegpolitik.

Soll das Archiv die öffentlichen Politiken des Staates dokumentieren, reicht eine auf den Evidenzwert der Unterlagen konzentrierte Bewertung nicht aus. Die Geschichte der Politiken wäre nur als Behördengeschichte im Archiv zu finden. Einzelne Phasen der Politikentwicklung und das Handeln möglicherweise entscheidender Akteure könnten nicht mehr erforscht werden.

Dies trifft besonders zu auf die erste Phase im Zyklus, das Agenda-Setting. Wird ein Problem nicht durch die Verwaltung selber, sondern einen nicht-staatlichen Akteur zum politischen Thema gemacht, fallen die Unterlagen, welche diese entscheidende Phase der Problemdefinition dokumentieren, bei Aktenbildnern an, deren Unterlagen nie ins Archiv gelangten, wenn sich die Bewertung auf die reine Evidenzwertsicherung beschränkte. Noch gravierender wären die Lücken bei den Akteuren. Nur die Behörde als per definitionem staatliche Instanz liegt im Fokus der

<sup>19</sup> Knöpfel, *op. cit.*, S. 129 f.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 65.

Evidenzwertsicherung. Das Handeln der anderen Akteure, ohne deren Einbezug die Politikentwicklung nicht zu verstehen ist, wäre im Archiv nicht dokumentiert.

### **Staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure**

Die an die Neurezeption von Schellenberg in Deutschland anschließende Bewertungsdiskussion orientierte sich an den Fragen, ob “archivische Bewertung sich vorrangig an inhaltlichen Kriterien oder an formalen Gesichtspunkten orientieren soll” und ob “ihr Ziel vorrangig das Abbild der Gesellschaft oder der Tätigkeit von Dienststellen ist”<sup>21</sup>. Wird der Bewertung die Analyse öffentlicher Politiken und der daran beteiligten Akteure zu Grunde gelegt, lassen sich diese Fragen annähernd beantworten. Da die Analyse einer Politik immer auch auf deren Inhalt abzielt, müssen inhaltliche Kriterien bei der Bewertung immer einbezogen werden, selbstverständlich unter Einbezug auch formaler Kriterien, ohne die eine Politik nicht beschrieben werden kann. Zu diesen formalen Kriterien gehören Fragen nach den gesetzlichen Grundlagen, nach der Verteilung der Kompetenzen im politisch-administrativen System und selbstverständlich auch die Frage nach der Federführung im Verwaltungsverfahren.

Die zweite Frage bedarf einer differenzierteren Antwort. Wäre das Ziel der Bewertung bloss die Abbildung der Tätigkeit von Dienststellen, erübrigte sich jede Diskussion um den Informationswert. Die Archivare müssten sich jedoch den Vorwurf gefallen lassen, den wesentlichen Gehalt der historischen Überlieferung auszublenden und die Geschichte auf die reine Verwaltungsgeschichte zu reduzieren. Wäre aber die Dokumentation der Gesellschaft ein Ziel der Bewertung, würde dies nicht nur die Archivare, sondern alle Archive als Institutionen völlig überfordern. Den Ausweg aus diesem Dilemma eröffnet die Analyse öffentlicher Politiken und ihrer Akteure. Dieses Bewertungsziel mittlerer Reichweite verzichtet darauf, die gesellschaftliche Totalität zu überliefern. Es begreift aber die Geschichte des Staates als Ensemble von Geschichten der durch diesen Staat vollzogenen Politiken. Ins Blickfeld der Bewertung geraten so immer auch die an der Gestaltung dieser Politiken beteiligten Akteure. Klarzustellen ist hier sogleich, dass nicht die Geschichte dieser Akteure selber Gegenstand der Bewertung ist, sondern dass sie nur in ihrer Qualität als *Akteure* einer Politik von Interesse sind.

Diese Beschränkung der Bewertung der Akteure auf ihre Qualität als *Akteur* hat Konsequenzen bis zur historischen Auswertung der Quellen im Archiv. Der Forscher wird dereinst nachvollziehen können, welche Rolle die Akteure im Rahmen einer Politik gespielt haben. Je nach dem Gehalt der betreffenden Politik können dabei unterschiedlichste Inhalte ins Blickfeld der Forschung rücken.

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<sup>21</sup> R. Kretzschmar, *op. cit.*, S. 12.

Dementsprechend werden diese Quellen auch für verschiedenste historische Teildisziplinen von der Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Sozialgeschichte bis zur Kunstgeschichte von Interesse sein. Eine vollständige Überlieferung der ganzen Geschichte aller beteiligten Akteure wird aber nur ausnahmsweise im Archiv vorzufinden sein. Annähernd vollständig kann nur die Überlieferung derjenigen Akteure sein, bei denen es sich um staatliche Institutionen handelt. Die Überlieferung der anderen, nicht-staatlichen Akteure wird sich auf deren Rolle beschränken, die sie in eben dieser Eigenschaft als Akteur einer öffentlichen Politik hatten.

Anhand zweier öffentlicher Politiken lässt sich dieses Problem eingehender darstellen. Beide sind Politiken des schweizerischen Bundesstaates, die sich aber in Bezug auf Dauer und vor allem in der Zahl und den Eigenschaften der involvierten Akteure deutlich unterscheiden.

### Asylpolitik

Seit dem 1. Januar 1981 gibt es auf Bundesebene ein Asylgesetz. Selbstverständlich gab es schon vorher eine Flüchtlingspolitik, die teils durch Bundesstellen, teils durch die Kantone vollzogen wurde. Mit dem neuen Asylgesetz wurde aber erstmals das Recht auf Asyl mit klarer Kompetenzordnung geregelt<sup>22</sup>. Konnte vor dem Asylgesetz die Flüchtlingspolitik als Teilgebiet der Ausländerpolitik aufgefasst werden, wird hier mit dem neuen Asylgesetz die Asylpolitik zu einer eigenständigen öffentlichen Politik, deren Akteure zu einem wichtigen Teil im Gesetz selber ausdrücklich angesprochen werden. Die Asylpolitik war und ist Gegenstand öffentlicher Kontroversen, was es verschiedenen Akteuren erlaubt, in allen Etappen der Politikentwicklung einzugreifen. Besonders die häufigen Gesetzesrevisionen boten den Kontrahenten immer wieder Gelegenheiten, diese öffentliche Politik in ihrem Sinn zu beeinflussen<sup>23</sup>.

Der zentrale Akteur der Asylpolitik ist das Bundesamt für Migration bzw. bis Ende 2004 das Bundesamt für Flüchtlinge<sup>24</sup>. Es ist die mit dem Gesetzesvollzug

<sup>22</sup> Vor dem Asylgesetz vom 5. Oktober 1979 (in Kraft getreten am 1.1.1981) bestand das Asylrecht aus einer weitgehend zersplitterten Sammlung verschiedener Erlasse, die oft nur auf Verordnungsstufe oder als departementale Richtlinien erlassen worden waren. Koordinationskommission des Vereins Schweizerischer Archivarinnen und Archivare: Personendossiers und Personendaten aus dem Bereich der Fremdenpolizei (Archivierungsempfehlung), 1998 = [http://www.vsa-aas.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/texte/ag\\_koko/f\\_03.doc](http://www.vsa-aas.org/fileadmin/user_upload/texte/ag_koko/f_03.doc), S. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Das heute gültige Asylgesetz stammt vom 26. Juni 1998 (SR 142.31) und trat am 1. Oktober 1999 in Kraft. Damit wurden das frühere Asylgesetz vom 5. Oktober 1979 und der Bundesbeschluss vom 16. Dezember 1994 über Sparmassnahmen im Asyl- und Ausländerbereich aufgehoben. Artikel 120 Asylgesetz.

<sup>24</sup> Die Kompetenz zum Vollzug des Asylgesetzes lag ab 1981 beim Bundesamt für Polizei, 1985-1990 beim Delegierten für das Flüchtlingswesen, 1991-2004 beim Bundesamt für Flüchtlinge und ab 2005 beim Bundesamt für Migration, das aus der Fusion des Bundesamts für Flüchtlinge mit dem Bundesamt für Ausländerfragen hervorgegangen ist.

beauftragte Behörde, welche über die Asylgewährung erstinstanzlich entscheidet<sup>25</sup>. Die Anhörungen der Asylbewerber zu deren Fluchtgründen und die Vorbereitung des Asylentscheides können durch kantonale Behörden durchgeführt werden<sup>26</sup>. Der letztinstanzliche Entscheid über Beschwerden gegen Entscheide des Bundesamts für Migration betreffend die Verweigerung des Asyls oder das Nichteintreten auf ein Asylgesuch liegt bei der Asylrekurskommission, welcher im Asylverfahren die Funktion eines Fachgerichts zukommt<sup>27</sup>.

Als Zielgruppe der Asylpolitik können die Asylbewerber gelten. Es ist das Verhalten der Asylbewerber, das durch diese Politik direkt beeinflusst wird. Einerseits eröffnet ihnen das Asylgesetz die Chance, ein Asylgesuch zu stellen und so wenigstens vorübergehend in der Schweiz das Aufenthaltsrecht zu erlangen. Andererseits zielt die Asylpolitik darauf ab, die Asylgesuche einer strengen Prüfung zu unterziehen und alle Asylbewerber, deren Gesuch abgelehnt wurde, zum möglichst schnellen Verlassen des Landes zu bewegen. Jeder Asylbewerber ist somit ein Akteur der Asylpolitik, der durch sein Verhalten den Vollzug der Asylpolitik mitgestaltet. Auch das Gesetz weist den Asylbewerbern eine aktive Rolle zu, indem es sie verpflichtet, an der Feststellung des Sachverhalts mitzuwirken. Es ist die Pflicht des Asylbewerbers, seine Fluchtgründe glaubhaft darzulegen<sup>28</sup>. Diese Pflicht enthebt die Behörde von der Verpflichtung, selber den ganzen Sachverhalt vollständig abzuklären. Sie eröffnet aber auch dem Asylbewerber Möglichkeiten, den Gang des Verfahrens zu beeinflussen. In den durch die Behörde geführten Dossiers finden sich so Spuren beider Akteure. In schriftlichen Eingaben, in Protokollen von Anhörungen wird nachvollziehbar, wie die Asylbewerber den Gang des Verfahrens zu ihren Gunsten zu beeinflussen versuchen. Unvermeidlicherweise offenbaren die Asylbewerber im Rahmen des Verfahrens auch viele Informationen über die Verhältnisse in ihrem Heimatland und zu ihrer individuellen Lebenssituation. Diese Informationen fallen aber immer im Rahmen eines Verfahrens an, dessen Ziel darin besteht, einen Asylentscheid zu fällen. In den Dossiers der Asylbewerber sind also keine authentischen Informationen enthalten zu Lebensverhältnissen, zur politischen und sozialen Situation im betreffenden Land. Jeder zukünftige Historiker wird sich bei der Interpretation dieser Quellen bewusst sein müssen, dass alle diese Informationen vorgebracht wurden, um den Gang eines Verwaltungsverfahrens zu beeinflussen. Kurz gesagt: in den Akten wird man nie die wirkliche Geschichte der Asylbewerber finden, hingegen wird sich das Verhalten dieser Akteure im Rahmen der Durchführung einer öffentlichen Politik nachvollziehen lassen.

Neben den Asylbewerbern sind auch die Hilfswerke Akteure der Asylpolitik. Sie beziehen nicht nur Stellung in der politischen Auseinandersetzung, sie haben auch eine aktive Rolle bei der Durchführung der Asylverfahren. Das Gesetz sieht

<sup>25</sup> Artikel 25 Asylgesetz.

<sup>26</sup> Artikel 27, 29 und 31 Asylgesetz.

<sup>27</sup> Artikel 105 Absatz 1 Asylgesetz.

<sup>28</sup> Artikel 8 Absatz 1 Asylgesetz.

ausdrücklich vor, dass bei den Anhörungen von Asylbewerbern ein Vertreter oder eine Vertreterin der Hilfswerke anwesend ist. Die Hilfswerke können die Feststellung des Sachverhalts beeinflussen, haben aber keine Parteirechte<sup>29</sup>. Die Spuren der Einlassungen der Hilfswerkvertreter finden sich in den Akten der Behörde. Sie bezeugen, wie die Hilfswerke die ihnen durch das Gesetz gewährten beziehungsweise eingeschränkten Möglichkeiten wahrgenommen haben. Die Hilfswerke führen daneben aber auch ihre eigenen Akten, die teilweise in derselben Weise organisiert sind wie die Akten des Bundesamts. Anhand der sogenannten ZAR-Nummer (ZAR = Zentrales Ausländerregister) lassen sich für jeden Asylbewerber die Dossiers des Bundesamts und der Hilfswerke zusammenführen.

Die Asylpolitik ist seit ihrem Bestehen besonders umstritten. Dies bedeutet, dass neben den direkt als Behörde oder als Zielgruppe involvierten Akteuren noch weitere Akteure auf diese Politik massgeblichen Einfluss ausüben. Seit 1981 kamen in der Schweiz fünf Vorlagen zur Volksabstimmung, welche die Asylpolitik direkt betrafen<sup>30</sup>. Jede dieser Abstimmungen ermöglichte es den daran interessierten Parteien, die Grundsätze der Asylpolitik erneut in Frage zu stellen. Die politische Programmierung stand mehrmals zur Debatte, über die Definition des zu lösenden Problems wurde in der Öffentlichkeit heftig gestritten. Die daraus resultierenden Neuformulierungen der Asylpolitik hinterliessen wiederum ihre Spuren in den Akten der Behörden und Hilfswerke.

Wegleitend für die Archivierung der Akten der Asylbewerber ist die Empfehlung der Koordinationskommission des Vereins Schweizerischer Archivarinnen und Archivare zu "Personendossiers und Personendaten aus dem Bereich der Fremdenpolizei". Darin wird ausdrücklich festgelegt, dass die Asylbewerberdossiers aus dem Bundesamt für Flüchtlinge integral durch das schweizerische Bundesarchiv zu übernehmen seien<sup>31</sup>. Diese Empfehlung ist sicher einerseits gerechtfertigt wegen der existenziellen Konsequenzen eines Asylentscheids für die direkt Betroffenen. Andererseits sind auch die individuellen Spielräume der Asylbewerber recht gross. Die Durchführung der Asylpolitik wird wesentlich mitgestaltet durch diese direkt betroffenen Akteure. Die Archivierung einer Zufallsauswahl der Dossiers ergäbe somit ein verfälschtes Bild. Die Übernahme der Asylbewerberdossiers aus dem Bundesamt für Migration und der Asylrekurskommission ist vorgesehen, soll aber erst in den nächsten Jahren durchgeführt werden<sup>32</sup>. Bereits übernommen wurden hingegen Akten einiger der an

<sup>29</sup> Artikel 30 Asylgesetz.

<sup>30</sup> 5.4.1987: Änderung des Asylgesetzes, 4.12.1988: Volksinitiative für die Begrenzung der Einwanderung, 4.12.1994: Bundesgesetz über Zwangsmassnahmen im Ausländerrecht, 13.6.1999: Asylgesetz und Dringliche Massnahmen im Asyl- und Ausländerbereich.

<sup>31</sup> Die Personendossiers, welche nicht Asylbewerber betreffen, werden nur in einer statistischen Zufallsauswahl archiviert. Koordinationskommission a. a. O., S. 6.

<sup>32</sup> 2001 hatten die Asylbewerberdossiers im Bundesamt für Flüchtlinge einen Gesamtumfang von acht Laufkilo-metern (jährlicher Zuwachs: ca. 750 laufende Meter).

den Asylverfahren beteiligten Hilfswerke<sup>33</sup>. Somit wird im Bundesarchiv das Handeln der Behörde und der Zielgruppe der Asylpolitik in weiten Teilen nachvollziehbar sein. Die zahlreichen Debatten zur Asylpolitik sind aus veröffentlichten Quellen zu erschliessen. Hingegen sind die dahinter stehenden Entscheidungsprozesse der beteiligten Akteure bis jetzt noch nirgends gesichert. In Betracht fallen hier vor allem die Parteien am äussersten rechten Rand des politischen Spektrums, die bei der laufenden Neuformulierung der Asylpolitik einen Einfluss ausüben, der weit grösser ist als es ihr Wähleranteil vermuten liesse. Hier besteht noch eine Überlieferungslücke, die zu schliessen nicht einfach sein wird.

### Wanderwegpolitik

Auch die Wanderwege sind Gegenstand einer öffentlichen Politik auf Bundesebene. Seit dem 18. Februar 1979 ist die Anlage und Erhaltung der Fuss- und Wanderwege eine Kompetenz mit Verfassungsrang<sup>34</sup>. Die Durchführung der Wanderwegpolitik ist im Bundesgesetz über die Fuss- und Wanderwege geregelt. Es handelt sich hier um ein typisches Beispiel des sogenannten Vollzugsföderalismus, indem die hauptsächlichen Kompetenzen der Politikumsetzung den Kantonen übertragen sind<sup>35</sup>. Die Bundeskompetenzen beschränken sich auf die Berücksichtigung der Fuss- und Wanderwege bei eigenen Bauvorhaben sowie auf die fachliche Beratung und Unterstützung der Kantone<sup>36</sup>. Diese Bundeskompetenzen werden heute durch das Bundesamt für Strassen wahrgenommen<sup>37</sup>. Für die Planung, Anlage und Erhaltung der Fuss- und Wanderwegnetze können Bund und Kantone zudem private Fachorganisationen beiziehen und ihnen einzelne Aufgaben übertragen<sup>38</sup>. Gemäss diesen gesetzlichen Rahmenbedingungen ist das Feld der Akteure für die Umsetzung der Wanderwegpolitik abgesteckt. Der Bund hat dabei eine koordinierende und beratende Funktion. Die entscheidenden Akteure sind die Kantone, welche als Behörde mit den jeweiligen privaten Fachorganisationen die Wanderwegpolitik vollziehen. Das heisst wiederum, dass die meisten und aussagekräftigsten Akten zum Politikvollzug bei kantonalen Behörden und ihren privaten Partnern anfallen. Verantwortlich für die Archivierung dieser Unterlagen

<sup>33</sup> Hilfswerk der evangelischen Kirchen der Schweiz (Bundesarchiv-Sign. J2.233), Schweizerisches Rotes Kreuz (Bundesarchiv-Sign. J2.10002), Caritas (Bundesarchiv-Sign. J2.262, J2.263, J2.264, J2.265, J2.266, J2.267 und J2.268).

<sup>34</sup> Annahme des Gegenvorschlags zur Fuss- und Wanderweginitiative in der Volksabstimmung mit über 77% Ja-Stimmen. Artikel 88 Bundesverfassung vom 18. April 1999 (SR 101).

<sup>35</sup> *Planung, Koordination, Anlage und Erhaltung von Fuss- und Wanderwegen sind Aufgaben der Kantone. Artikel 4, 5 und 6 Fuss- und Wanderweggesetz vom 4. Oktober 1985 (SR 704).*

<sup>36</sup> Artikel 10 und 11 Fuss- und Wanderweggesetz.

<sup>37</sup> Artikel 2 Verordnung über Fuss- und Wanderwege vom 26. November 1986 (SR 704.1). Früher lag diese Kompetenz beim Bundesamt für Bundesamt für Forstwesen und Landschaftsschutz (1985-1989) und beim Bundesamt für Umwelt, Wald und Landschaft (1989-2002).

<sup>38</sup> Artikel 8 Fuss- und Wanderweggesetz.

sind die jeweiligen Staatsarchive. Also kann sich das Bundesarchiv damit begnügen, die voraussichtlich wenigen Unterlagen aus dem Bundesamt für Strassen zu sichern, welche die Wahrnehmung der eigentlichen Bundeskompetenzen betreffen? Für den Politikvollzug ist dies sicher zutreffend.

Völlig anders war die Situation in der Phase des Agenda-Settings. Es war ein privates Komitee, das sich den Erhalt und die Förderung der Fuss- und Wanderwege zum Ziel setzte. Mit dem Mittel einer eidgenössischen Volksinitiative<sup>39</sup> gelang es der „Arbeitsgruppe zur Förderung der Fuss- und Wanderwege“ ihr Anliegen auf die politische Agenda zu setzen. Diese Arbeitsgruppe stand in Verbindung zu den traditionellen Vereinigungen für Wanderwege, war aber organisatorisch unabhängig. Das Anliegen „Förderung der Wanderwege“ war auch parteipolitisch nicht eindeutig zuzuordnen. Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, dass in den Akten der eidgenössischen Räte und des Bundesrates diese frühesten Anstösse erst Spuren hinterlassen haben, als das Initiativkomitee zur Realisierung seines Vorhabens schritt und deswegen mit den offiziellen Stellen Kontakt aufnahm. Aber auch diese Überlieferung ist alles andere als vollständig, enthält sie doch nur den Niederschlag der Kontakte des Initiativkomitees mit den zuständigen Bundesstellen. Deshalb ist es als grosser Erfolg zu werten, dass die Unterlagen der Arbeitsgruppe zur Förderung der Fuss- und Wanderwege vollständig im Bundesarchiv gesichert werden konnten<sup>40</sup>. Somit ist die Tätigkeit desjenigen Akteurs, welcher das Problem überhaupt zu einem auf Bundesebene zu lösenden politischen Problem macht, lückenlos im Bundesarchiv nachvollziehbar. Die Akten beginnen 1970 mit dem ersten Leserbrief, der die Angelegenheit ins Rollen brachte und reichen bis zur Vernehmlassung zum Fuss- und Wanderweggesetz von 1985.

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<sup>39</sup> In der Schweiz kann durch ein Volksbegehren die Änderung der Bundesverfassung verlangt werden. Um Gültigkeit zu erlangen, muss eine solche Initiative mindestens von 100 000 Stimmberechtigten unterzeichnet sein.

<sup>40</sup> Die Unterlagen wurden durch einen der hauptsächlichen Initiatanten, Prof. Hugo Bachmann, zusammengestellt und abgeliefert. Die Unterlagen sind noch in Bearbeitung, ein Bestand wurde deshalb noch nicht eröffnet.

## Der Wert des Informationswerts

Vor dem Hintergrund dieser beiden Beispiele zeigt sich der Nutzen einer Politikanalyse für die Bestimmung des Informationswerts. Indem die wesentlichen Akteure einer öffentlichen Politik identifiziert werden, ergeben sich die entscheidenden Anhaltspunkte, welche Informationen zu sichern sind, um nicht bloss das Verwaltungshandeln im Sinn des Evidenzwerts zu überliefern, sondern die Quellen zu bewahren, welche die politische Geschichte eines Staates der zukünftigen historischen Forschung zugänglich machen. Diese Neufassung des Informationswerts ist also eine Erweiterung und eine Einschränkung zugleich: Die Bewertung öffnet ihren Blickwinkel, indem sie alle Akteure einer öffentlichen Politik einbezieht, unabhängig davon, ob es sich um staatliche Institutionen oder um andere, an der Politik beteiligte Akteure handelt. Damit entsteht auch ein griffiges Bewertungsinstrument für Unterlagen nicht-staatlicher Akteure. Es wird so möglich, diejenigen Privatarchive zu identifizieren, welche eine ergänzende Überlieferung beinhalten und so die Quellen zur Geschichte einer Politik im Archiv vervollständigen können. Eingeschränkt wird der Informationswert insofern, als mit der Politikanalyse alle weiteren Informationswerte als Begründung für die Archivierung ausser Betracht fallen. Informationen über “Personen, Organisationen, Objekte, Probleme, Bedingungen und andere Angelegenheiten, mit den die Behörde befasst war”, sind für die Archivierung nur noch dann von Interesse, wenn sie die Geschichte einer öffentlichen Politik dokumentieren.

Bei der Bestimmung von Informationswerten mit den Instrumenten der Politikanalyse gilt es zwei Dimensionen zu beachten:

1. Die Rollen der Akteure: Nicht alle Unterlagen zu einem Akteur sind archivwürdig. Zu berücksichtigen sind der Einfluss des Akteurs auf die Politikprogrammierung, sein Gestaltungs- und Ermessensspielraum und der Grad der Betroffenheit des Akteurs durch die betreffende Politik.

2. Die Phasen der Politikprogrammierung: Die Bedeutung der Akteure kann sehr unterschiedlich sein, je nachdem ob es um die erste Definition des durch die Politik zu lösenden Problems geht oder ob es sich um die Umsetzung einer bereits etablierten und weitgehend unbestrittenen Politik handelt.

Die Rolle der Akteure war die entscheidende Dimension bei der Bewertung der Akten der Asylbewerber. Die Behörden (Bundesamt für Migration und die Asylrekurskommission) haben bei der Umsetzung einen grossen Gestaltungs- und Ermessensspielraum. Auch die Asylbewerber als Akteure in der Zielgruppe haben einen gewissen Spielraum, welcher den weiteren Fortgang des Verfahrens beeinflusst. Zudem ist ihre individuelle Betroffenheit als hoch einzuschätzen, da der Asylentscheid für jeden Asylbewerber sehr einschneidende und direkte Konsequenzen hat. Dies sind zwei Argumente, welche die vollständige Archivierung der Asylbewerberdossiers rechtfertigen.

Die Unterlagen des Initiativkomitees für Fuss- und Wanderwege sind dagegen archivwürdig, weil sie eine bestimmte Phase der Politikprogrammierung dokumentieren. Sie sind die originalen und einzigartigen Quellen für die Phasen der Problemdefinition und der Formulierung des politischen Programms der Wanderwegpolitik. Für die Umsetzung der Wanderwegpolitik spielen dagegen andere Akteure eine wichtigere Rolle.

Wird die Analyse des Informationswerts an die Politikanalyse gekoppelt, ergibt sich für die Bewertungsarbeit ein zweifacher Nutzen. Zum ersten entfällt die Beliebigkeit, welche die Anwendung der Kategorie "Informationswert" in der Bewertungsarbeit so schwierig macht. Es steht nicht mehr im subjektiven Ermessen des Bewerter, ob angebotene Unterlagen wegen ihres Informationswerts archivwürdig sind. Zum anderen trägt die Analyse der öffentlichen Politiken zur Kohärenz der Überlieferungsbildung im Archiv bei.

Die Bewertung muss eine Methode sein, die wissenschaftlich fundiert und praktisch anwendbar ist. Eine rein theoretische Fundierung der Bewertung reicht nicht aus. Sie muss in der Praxis des Archivs funktionieren und sie soll den gesetzlichen Auftrag respektieren<sup>41</sup>. Schliesslich wird der Bewerter in der Anwendung dieser Methode, im Bemühen um Unparteilichkeit und in Ausführung seines gesetzlichen Auftrags einen begründeten und nachvollziehbaren Entscheid fällen, der stets ein Werturteil beinhaltet<sup>42</sup>.

Für die Umsetzung der Politikanalyse als Instrument zur Bestimmung des Informationswerts drängt sich ein Ansatz *top-down* auf. Auf der obersten Ebene sind die Politikfelder zu identifizieren, welche im Bund eine Rolle spielen. Es geht hier um allgemeine und in der Zeit relativ konstante Einteilungen. Solche Politikfelder sind zum Beispiel die Aussenpolitik, Verteidigungspolitik, Forschungspolitik, Sozialpolitik, Migrationspolitik oder Verkehrspolitik<sup>43</sup>. Dieser Ansatz hat eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit dem niederländischen PIVOT-Modell, allerdings mit dem Unterschied, dass hier nicht Kompetenzen und Behörden, sondern Politiken und Akteure identifiziert werden sollen<sup>44</sup>. In den Politikfeldern finden sich die öffentlichen Politiken, die vergleichsweise wenig beständig sind, ihren Charakter und ihre Bedeutung schnell entsprechend der Tagesaktualität ändern können. So ist die

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<sup>41</sup> Frank Boles, Mark A. Greene, *Et Tu Schellenberg? Thoughts on the Dagger of American Appraisal Theory*, "American Archivist", 59, 1996, S. 298-310 (309-310).

<sup>42</sup> Wer Unparteilichkeit für unvereinbar hält mit der Auswahl, wie sie die Bewertung treffen muss, verkennet den Charakter des modernen Verwaltungsschriftguts. Zu einer dezidiert anderen Position vgl. Luciana Duranti, *The Concept of Appraisal and Archival Theory*, "American Archivist", 57, 1994, S. 328-344 (343 f).

<sup>43</sup> Entscheidend für die Definition ist der materielle Gehalt eines Politikfeldes. Dessen Grenzen können sich dementsprechend mit der Zeit verschieben. Verwaltungshandeln a. a. O., S. 23.

<sup>44</sup> Hol Roelof, *Die Zergliederung der Handlungsträger. PIVOT: Die Umstellung der Bewertung von Papier auf die Bewertung von Handlungen durch die zentralen Staatsarchive in den Niederlanden nach 1940*, in *Bilanz und Perspektiven archivischer Bewertung* (hsg. v. Andrea Wettmann), Marburg, 1994, S. 52 f.

Asylpolitik ein Teil des Politikfeldes Migrationspolitik, die Wanderwegpolitik Teil des Politikfeldes Verkehrspolitik. Zu jeder öffentlichen Politik gehören wiederum Akteure, welche diese Politik gestalten. Die Rollen der Akteure sind demselben Wandel unterworfen wie die öffentliche Politik selber. Die Akteure einer Politik sind es schliesslich, deren Spuren sich in den Akten finden, über deren Archivwürdigkeit die Bewertung zu entscheiden hat.

# **Etre archiviste dans la Roumanie des années 1951-1989.**

## **Etude de cas: Les Archives départementales de Cluj**

**Paula Ivan**

Notre démarche concernant la place des Archives et de l'archiviste dans la société roumaine à l'époque communiste impose, avant tout, quelques précisions sur l'objet ainsi circonscrit et sur les sources documentaires utilisées. Nous ne nous avons pas proposés une reconstitution positiviste de l'évolution institutionnelle des Archives dans les années 1951-1989, ni du statut de l'archiviste ainsi qu'il était décrit par la législation de l'époque – même si les essais dans cette direction, souvent pertinentes, sont pourtant trop rares pour permettre une reconstitution systématique et nécessaire de l'histoire récente de l'institution<sup>1</sup>. Notre intérêt sera dirigé vers l'analyse des aspects définitoires concernant les mécanismes de fonctionnement des Archives dans le contexte général de la société roumaine et vers la compréhension du rôle de l'archiviste comme gardien de la mémoire écrite de la nation roumaine. Sa perception de soi et du système institutionnel des Archives fera également l'objet de notre étude. Nous essayerons d'esquisser la position allouée aux Archives par le régime communiste dans les rouages de la propagande officielle, une position qui a été plus ou moins assumée par l'institution. Notre essai de comprendre les mécanismes de construction identitaire de l'institution et des ses employés représente, dans cette perspective, un travail de pionnier que nous assumons avec toutes ses difficultés et ses éventuelles faiblesses.

Pour ce qui est de sources utilisées, notre matériel se structure en deux parties: une première utilisant des ressources bibliographiques et documentaires provenant des Archives d'Etat de Cluj et une deuxième constituée à base d'entretiens-témoignages avec des archivistes et des ex-archivistes de Cluj qui ont travaillé dans l'institution entre 1951 et 1989<sup>2</sup>.

Pour la deuxième partie de l'étude, une précision méthodologique est indispensable à propos des sources utilisées, étant donné que l'analyse des mentalités au niveau d'une institution, à base de témoignages oraux, n'a bénéficié jusqu'à présent que d'une attention marginale de la part des historiens roumains. Ceci malgré le fait que la "petite histoire" fait partie intégrante de la "grande histoire" et les histoires individuelles mises ensemble articulent finalement l'histoire collective.

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<sup>1</sup> Voir à ce propos les travaux de Ioan Drăgan, Marin Radu Mocanu, Ionel Gal, Laurențiu Mera, Tudor Rățoi.

<sup>2</sup> Une partie des entretiens a été réalisée par transcription des témoignages oraux; un autre lot d'interviewés nous a répondu par écrit.

Dans ce contexte, toute approche historique de la dictature communiste roumaine serait condamnée à l'échec en absence d'une utilisation pertinente de la source documentaire représentée par le témoignage oral. Heureusement, ces dernières années on peut observer un courant de reconstitution de la mémoire, manifesté par une préoccupation accrue pour l'histoire orale. Ce phénomène traduit également une adaptation des auteurs/éditeurs à l'intérêt du public, un intérêt qui a, avant tout, une explication sociologique: la suspicion devant l'histoire comme discipline, c'est-à-dire devant les abus historiographiques des dernières six décennies<sup>3</sup> et, en contrepartie, la tendance de retrouver les sources primaires des événements historiques. La mémoire est subjective mais même ainsi elle peut fournir plein d'informations d'ordre psychologique qui permettent au lecteur, au consommateur d'histoire écrite de s'y retrouver avec ses dilemmes, ses aspirations, son univers mental. L'homme ordinaire rejette les schémas et l'abstrait, qu'il trouve trop sèches, éloignés de ses attentes et par conséquent manquant d'intérêt<sup>4</sup>. Par contre, avec l'histoire orale, le chercheur se trouve dans la proximité de son sujet ayant pour source la mémoire devenue témoignage. Par conséquent, la principale vertu de l'histoire orale consiste en un contact direct entre l'historien et son interlocuteur.

Pour notre sujet d'intérêt, marqué encore par de grandes sensibilités, l'enjeu de l'approche interdisciplinaire et de l'utilisation d'une palette plus large de sources – tant "conventionnelles" que "non conventionnelles" – n'est pas nécessairement la réalisation d'une "reconstitution" complète, mais la compréhension de ce qui est la part de "l'impondérable" dans l'histoire. Par l'entretien et par le témoignage comme produit de ce premier, nous essayons de récupérer la mémoire d'une histoire interdite, condamnée à l'oubli, mystifiée par l'idéologie totalitaire; une mémoire dont l'objet est représenté par les sentiments, les incertitudes et les angoisses des individus. La pertinence de ces aveux, appartenant à de témoins tant directs qu'indirects à l'évolution des Archives au long de la période communiste, consiste en la relation ainsi instituée entre biographie et histoire<sup>5</sup>. Les gens, comme autant de destins individuels, sont impliqués dans l'histoire collective et deviennent acteurs de celle-ci.

Il existe, dans l'historiographie roumaine, une polémique concernant la primauté du témoignage oral, respectivement du document d'archives en tant que source historique, notamment dans la démarche de l'histoire récente. Il est pourtant évident que les sources, de n'importe quelle nature, sont à utiliser *sine ira et studio*, de manière complémentaire, conformément au principe qu'il n'y a pas de document supérieur aux autres mais que chacun à sa façon contribue à la compréhension du passé.

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<sup>3</sup> Alexandru Zub, *În orizontul istoriei*, Iași, 1994, p. 197-199.

<sup>4</sup> Doru Radosav, *Donbas – O istorie deportată (O tentativă de istorie orală)*, in *Instaurarea comunismului între rezistență și opresiune*, Bucarest, 1995, p. 430.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, *Istoria subiectivă*, in idem, *Suferința nu se dă la frați*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 5.

Les documents d'archives présentent l'avantage de ne pas pouvoir être modifiés par des événements ou des changements ultérieurs, tandis que la mémoire, elle, est soumise à des fluctuations. Mais à leur tour, les documents peuvent être incomplets ou biaisés. Les documents portent, d'une manière ou d'une autre, l'empreinte de celui qui les a produits. Le plus souvent, surtout dans le cas des documents créés par les institutions d'un régime totalitaire, ils sont encadrés dans des schémas et des typologies spécifiques qui peuvent parfois voiler le vecteur humain pour privilégier l'événement ou le quantitatif, eux-mêmes détournés le plus souvent par l'intervention du politique. L'écriture idéologisée enrichit les conflits, les tensions, les positions des individus (surtout à l'intérieur d'une société qui se proclame égalitaire) d'une coloration sémantique secondaire. Parallèlement, les institutions d'un régime communiste ont la tendance quasi-permanente de minimiser au niveau du document écrit ces "défauts" qui pourraient nuire à l'image d'une société qui se veut parfaite. Par exemple, le directeur de la Direction Régionale Transylvanie des Archives d'Etat, Ștefan Meteș, a été obligé de se retirer, en 1949, pour être ultérieurement emprisonné à Sighet, entre 1951 et 1955. Mais les documents conservés dans les Archives de Cluj "se taisent" sur cette affaire, aussi comme ils "se taisent" sur d'autres cas similaires, quand des archivistes ont "décidé" de hâter leur retraite. Même quand ces situations sont signalées de manière officielle, les documents ne contiennent aucune référence à leurs motivations réelles. Dans cette situation, l'enquête orale peut clarifier les circonstances historiques. Elle fournit, comme on le verra ci-dessous, des informations sur les événements, mais aussi sur la vie quotidienne, sur l'état d'esprit des employés, sur les mécanismes de la mémoire du groupe professionnel.

Les régimes totalitaires du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle ont institué une menace insoupçonnée jusqu'à leur apparition: celle de la destruction de la mémoire. Comprenant que les territoires et les peuples sont plus faciles à conquérir quand on contrôle les informations et les communications, ces régimes politiques ont établi un monopole de la mémoire et ont voulu la modifier dans sa substance-même<sup>6</sup>.

La mémoire des archivistes roumains a été elle-aussi faite prisonnière par le régime communiste. A son tour, la tradition de l'institution en tant que source de légitimation a fait l'objet de la "furie prolétaire" ou a été utilisée pour des buts idéologiques, au service des intérêts du Parti-Etat. Ce n'est donc pas par hasard qu'en 1957 une publication anniversaire affirmait que tous les régimes passés n'ont fait rien de plus que "détruire les Archives"<sup>7</sup>, tandis que la Loi des Archives adoptée en 1925, qui a réglementé le fonctionnement de l'institution au long de trois décennies, était cataloguée comme "bourgeoise"<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Tzvetan Todorov, *Abuzurile memoriei*, Timișoara, 1999, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> I. Paraschiv, *Arhivele Statului în Republica Populară Română*, in *Arhivele Statului. 125 de ani de activitate. 1831-1956*, Bucarest, 1957, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Marin Radu Mocanu, *Arhivele Naționale și societatea românească*, Bucarest, 1997, p. 13.

Quand les événements vécus par un individu, une communauté ou une institution sont exceptionnels, la récupération de la mémoire devient un devoir: celui de témoigner pour que ce témoignage puisse être utilisé par l'historien d'une manière avisée mais aussi pour qu'il sert de référence au présent et à l'avenir. Le passé peut servir au présent si on apprend ses leçons. Le passé peut servir d'exemple pour ne plus répéter les injustices et les erreurs, pour que les abus du passé ne se répètent plus jamais. Finalement, les témoignages sur le passé peuvent articuler une forme de justice sociale: "Quand la justice n'arrive pas à se constituer en mémoire, la mémoire elle-même peut devenir un acte de justice."<sup>9</sup>

Par la récupération de la mémoire – dans notre cas particulier, par les témoignages de ceux qui ont travaillé aux Archives de Cluj à l'époque communiste – on est en mesure d'appréhender le fonctionnement de l'institution, sa place dans les cadres généraux du système répressif, son rôle dans le mécanisme de la propagande officielle mais aussi les sentiments, les attentes, les réalisations et les mécontentements de ses employés, leur manière d'assimiler leur propre passé, leurs remords mais aussi leurs sentiments de devoir accompli à l'intérieur des limitations imposées par un régime restrictif.

L'interrogation de l'imaginaire social, ainsi qu'elle est pratiquée par «la nouvelle école d'histoire» de Marc Bloch et Lucien Febvre<sup>10</sup>, est indispensable à une "histoire totale", qui se propose de reconstituer le tableau général à partir de ses différentes pièces, par la valorisation non-discriminatoire d'une pluralité de sources. Son but est celui de mettre en exergue les aspects caractéristiques d'un groupe ou d'une communauté, tout en refusant les limitations et les préjugés. Nous pensons donc que l'histoire ne peut plus se contenter d'étudier exclusivement des phénomènes considérés comme "objectifs", mais elle devrait également se pencher sur les représentations sociales de ces phénomènes, valorisant des sources longtemps jugées "médiocres" (des témoignages oraux, des journaux, des interviews, etc.)<sup>11</sup>.

La place d'une institution publique et de sa communauté professionnelle dans une certaine période historique ne peut pas être comprise que dans le contexte plus large des réalités politiques, sociales, économiques et culturelles de l'époque. Les années 1951-1989 circonscrivent les différentes étapes de l'implémentation, de la consolidation, de la crise et finalement de la chute du communisme roumain. Dans les années 1948-1958, la société roumaine a été le terrain d'implémentation du modèle politique stalinien, dont le trait distinctif était l'action dure, autoritaire, prépondérant coercitive du politique sur le corps social<sup>12</sup>. La principale préoccupation des nouvelles autorités était l'élimination de toute concurrence interne. La terreur a eu, par conséquent, une motivation politique et elle exprimait avant tout la nature des rapports entre la nouvelle élite politique (étrangère tant à la société

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<sup>9</sup> Ana Blandiana, citation reprise de *Memoria ca formă de justiție*, Bucarest, 1994, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Simona Nicoară, *Istorie și imaginar*, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, p. 161.

<sup>11</sup> Jacques le Goff, *Pentru un alt Ev Mediu*, tome 1, Bucarest, 1986, p. 28.

<sup>12</sup> Marin Radu Mocanu, *Arhivele și statul*, Bucarest, 2000, p. 30.

traditionnelle roumaine qu'au système de valeurs construit et consolidé dans l'entre-deux-guerres) et le reste du corps social<sup>13</sup>. La nouvelle élite a créé les mécanismes de sa politique répressive, dont le but était la destruction des anciennes institutions de l'Etat roumain d'avant la guerre, de l'ancien système de valeurs culturelles mais aussi l'élimination de la compétition politique des individus et des groupes qui, au moins en théorie, auraient pu représenter des rivaux dans l'exercice du pouvoir. Le décret 221 de 30 août 1949 consacrait l'existence de la *Securitatea Poporului* ("La Sécurité du Peuple") tandis que le décret 25 de 23 janvier 1949 stipulait la création de la Direction Générale de la Milice, par dissolution des anciens services de Police et Gendarmerie. On constituait de cette manière les deux principaux piliers institutionnels de la répression communiste en Roumanie. D'ailleurs, toutes les institutions de l'Etat sont soumises au même processus de transformation structurelle, destiné à les rendre compatibles avec les nouvelles exigences du pouvoir politique.

Dans les Archives, l'instauration du "nouvel ordre" a été marquée par le passage de l'institution du Ministère de l'Education Nationale sous le patronage du Ministère de l'Intérieur, suite au décret no. 17 de la Grande Assemblée Nationale, adopté le 27 janvier 1951. L'Arrêté du Conseil des Ministres no. 472 du 29 mai 1951, concernant "Les attributions et le fonctionnement de la Direction des Archives d'Etat" abrogeait la Loi des Archives de 1925 et le Règlement de 1872<sup>14</sup>. L'Arrêté stipulait que les Archives d'Etat étaient organisées et fonctionnaient *auprès* le Ministère de l'Intérieur, cette particule "auprès" constituant un premier signe de la marginalité de l'institution dans un ministère dont la principale attribution était la coercition dans le but de protéger le système totalitaire. Le nouvel acte normatif introduisait le principe de l'autorité des Archives d'Etat par rapport à toutes les autres Archives des institutions et des entreprises. Les Archives d'Etat réalisaient l'assistance méthodologique, le contrôle, l'élaboration des normes obligatoires concernant la collecte, l'évaluation, le tri, l'élimination et le classement des archives sur tout le territoire de la Roumanie. Elles préservaient également les archives d'importance historique et nationale<sup>15</sup>, que les autres institutions étaient obligées de rendre aux Archives d'Etat 25 ans après leur constitution. Le Ministère de l'Intérieur avait la liberté d'établir à lui seul les critères et les conditions pour l'accessibilité publique des documents, soient-ils destinés à une utilisation scientifique ou pratique, mais aussi dans des "buts spécifiques" dont la spécificité n'était pas précisée. On ouvrait ainsi la porte de la censure dans le domaine archivistique<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Stelian Tănase, *Elite și societate. Guvernarea Gheorghiu-Dej*, Bucarest, 2006, p. 71.

<sup>14</sup> *Istoricul Arhivelor Statului*, in *Arhivele Statului la 125 de ani*, p. 54.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Ioan Drăgan, *Arhivele Statului din Cluj. 75 de ani în serviciul științei istorice (1920-1995)*, in *Din istoria Arhivelor ardeleni. 75 de ani de la înființarea Arhivelor Statului Cluj*, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 19.

Du point de vu organisationnel, la Direction Régionale Cluj des Archives d'Etat devient, en 1951, le Service Régional de Cluj de la Direction des Archives d'Etat, avec des compétences territoriales étendues à toutes les Archives de la Région administrative de Cluj. Ce type d'organisation survit jusqu'au 1<sup>er</sup> avril 1969 quand on organise la Branche Départementale de Cluj des Archives d'Etat, dans le département nouvellement constitué de Cluj et ayant encore des compétences sur les magasins de Turda et Dej. Ce dernier modèle d'organisation subsiste inchangé jusqu'en 1989.

Dans ce contexte, on devrait remarquer la place des Archives de Cluj dans le développement du réseaux des Archives en Transylvanie et dans le Banat ainsi que les effort de la Direction de Cluj d'organiser, en 1951, d'autre structures institutionnelles dans les villes de Dej, Turda et Zalău<sup>17</sup>. Cet effort administratif a été dirigé d'une manière pertinente par Ioan Marcus qui, entre 1951-1953, a également œuvré à la constitution des Services Régionaux de Târgu-Mureș, Oradea et Baia Mare<sup>18</sup>.

Sous l'angle législatif, un repère significatif est constitué par l'année 1957, quand la Grande Assemblée Nationale adopte le Décret 353 du 26 juillet pour la constitution du Fond Archivistique National. Le Décret est ultérieurement complété par l'Arrêté du Conseil des Ministres 119 du 13 août sur l'organisation et le fonctionnement de la Direction Générale des Archives de l'Etat (DGAS) et l'administration du Fond Archivistique National. Il s'ajoute les "Instructions générales no. 6720 pour l'organisation et le fonctionnement des Archives des organismes et des institutions d'Etat, des organisations économiques, socialistes et des masses". Le Décret du 26 juillet introduit ainsi la notion de "Fond Archivistique d'Etat" et détaille les attributions de la DGAS en tant qu'unique administrateur de ce fond. Les Instructions 6720 introduisent dans la pratique archivistique de tous les administrateurs d'archives, la Liste de classement des dossiers ("*Nomenclator*") et la Liste des termes de conservation des documents. Par ces mesures organisationnelles, on a réalisé une unité des pratiques de constitution et d'administration des archives roumaines. L'institution des Archives d'Etat a été investie avec des attributions d'assistance et de contrôle qui, même si elles ont été parfois encombrantes pour les administrateurs d'archives, se sont montrées bénéfiques pour la protection des documents.

En matière d'accès, la nouvelle législation prévoyait que l'utilisation des documents d'archives se faisait "au bénéfice de l'Etat démocrate-populaire, dans le but de développer l'économie et la culture, pour les intérêts du peuple travailleur."

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. DJAN Cluj, fond ASC, dossier 494/1951, p. 18-19.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Ioan Drăgan, *Contribuția Arhivelor clujene la dezvoltarea rețelei Arhivelor Naționale din Transilvania*, in *Direcția județeană Bacău a Arhivelor Naționale*, tome 1, Bucarest, 2001, p. 86.

Le Fond Archivistique d'Etat devrait être utilisé pour des propos "multilatéraux", politiques, économiques et culturels, dans l'éducation communiste des masses, etc<sup>19</sup>.

Un autre repère important dans l'activité des Archives roumaines est représenté par l'année 1971, quand un nouveau décret, adopté par le Conseil d'Etat – le décret no. 472 – étend l'autorité de l'Etat à tous les documents existants sur le territoire du pays, y compris les archives des cultes et les archives culturelles. En dehors de ses buts policiers, ce décret, devenu en 1972 la Loi no. 20, visait également un aspect positif dans ses intentions mais difficile à mettre en pratique: une meilleure conservation et mise en valeur des documents. Le même décret fixait, par exemple, à 30 ans le délai de consultation des documents, nonobstant le statut juridique de leurs auteurs ou détenteurs<sup>20</sup>. En 1976 et 1984, de nouvelles normes archivistiques ont été publiées, synthétisant les différents règlements antérieurs. Cette histoire du processus législatif et normatif dans le domaine des archives rend compte du profil de l'archivistique roumaine actuelle, dont les acquis théoriques ont pour fondement l'expérience pratique accumulée au long de ces années difficiles.

Pour comprendre la position des Archives d'Etat dans les années 1951-1989, une discussion est indispensable sur la place de l'institution à l'intérieur du Ministère de l'Intérieur et implicitement sur les ingérences du Parti communiste dans la définition de ses attributions. En tant que pilier du régime politique, le Ministère de l'Intérieur a été le principal instrument de la répression politique. Dès le 7 décembre 1953, ce ministère incluait également la police politique roumaine, la *Securitate*<sup>21</sup>. Le ministère a exercé une tutelle encombrante sur l'institution des Archives, dont la mission culturelle et les activités spécifiques lui étaient largement étrangères. Après 1953, des officiers de l'appareil policier ont été nommés directeurs de la Direction Générale des Archives. Leur autorité sur les Archives départementales s'exerçait tant de manière directe que par l'intermédiaire des inspectorats de Milice locaux. Par exemple, à un moment donné, la correspondance entre le Service de Cluj et la Direction des Archives se faisait par l'intermédiaire de l'Inspectorat de la Milice régionale<sup>22</sup>. On peut donc affirmer, en s'appuyant sur les documents de l'époque, que les Archives territoriales avaient en fait une double subordination: d'une part, à l'égard de la Direction Générale des Archives, d'autre part, de l'Inspectorat du Ministère de l'Intérieur. Les commandants régionaux et départementaux de l'Inspectorat exerçaient leur pouvoir tant dans les questions matérielles que dans celles concernant l'organisation et le personnel, souvent d'une manière discriminatoire.

Le Ministère de l'Intérieur a vigoureusement appliqué la politique du parti communiste y compris dans ses propres rangs, d'une façon qui a déterminé que la

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Sarcini actuale ale activității arhivistice în lumina documentelor Congresului al III-lea al PMR*, "Revista Arhivelor", IV, 1961, 1, p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. DJAN Cluj, fond ASC, dossier 1118, tome I/1974, p. 272.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Trupele de Securitate (1949-1989)*, Bucarest, 2004, p. 16.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. DJAN Cluj, Fond ASC, dossier 651/1959, p. 11.

situation des archivistes roumains ait été encore pire que celle des autres professions intellectuelles du pays: ingérences dans la vie privée, une très stricte surveillance policière des individus, des obligations hors du profil du métier, ajoutées d'une manière pénible et parfois même humiliante, endoctrinement par l'intermède de l'enseignement politique-idéologique obligatoire en dehors du programme de travail, interdiction des relations avec des citoyens étrangers, des normes excessivement rigides dans l'exercice des attributions spécifiques.

En accord avec la Securitate, la Direction Générale des Archives d'Etat exerçait un contrôle sévère de l'accès à l'information. Des centaines de mètres linéaires d'archives ont reçu un statut de "secret", surtout suite à un ordre de 1974 qui instituait le Fond des "archives spéciales"<sup>23</sup>. Dans ces conditions, l'archiviste devenait un suspect virtuel, un possible traître et hypothétique trafiquant d'informations secrètes. Pour prévenir la "fuite" d'informations confidentielles, un Ordre de 20 février 1959 instituait un contrôle sévère sur toutes les informations destinées à être publiées, tant celles concernant l'institution que celles concernant les documents qu'elle détenait. Toute publication devrait être préalablement soumise à l'approbation de la DGAS. Le même régime fonctionnait pour les expositions et les participations à des manifestations scientifiques<sup>24</sup>.

Le culte du secret, le dossier de cadres "idéologiquement correct", les normes de travail, la délation ont éloigné des Archives une bonne partie de leurs employés et ont donné naissance à des graves conflits entre les membres de la communauté professionnelle. Cette situation générale a eu un impact négatif sur la qualité du travail dans les Archives.

L'appartenance à un ministère tout-puissant dans la Roumanie de l'époque a eu tout de même un effet positif indirect: elle a facilité l'obtention des moyens matériels indispensables à l'efficacité institutionnelle. Le Service Départementale de Cluj a reçu en 1951 deux bâtiments sur la rue Horea auxquels, en 1958, se sont ajoutés les anciens locaux du Pénitencier pour mineur, rue Mihail Kogălniceanu. En 1966, on a commencé la construction d'un nouveau bâtiment, plus moderne, spécialement conçu pour abriter les Archives. Ce bâtiment est devenu utilisable en 1968, ce qui a permis une croissance rapide de la quantité d'archives conservée dans des différentes locations appartenant aux Archives de Cluj: de 2000 mètres linéaires en 1945 à presque 6000 en 1970<sup>25</sup>. L'institution a été dotée d'un atelier de reliure, d'un atelier de restauration des documents (dès 1960), d'un laboratoire de photographie et microfilmage (dès 1978), avec des effets positifs dans l'activité de conservation des documents.

Mais au niveau officiel, le rôle et les statuts de l'institution et de ses employés sont dépendants des directives provenant du parti communiste. Par

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. I. Drăgan, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. DJAN Cluj, fonde ASC, dossier 651/1959, p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> Alexandru Matei, *50 de ani de la înființarea Arhivelor Statului Cluj*, DJAN Cluj, Collection de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque documentaire, 37/17.

conséquent, on procède à de nombreuses redéfinitions des priorités, conformément aux commandements politiques. Les Archives d'Etat parcourent, en somme, le même trajet que celui de la société roumaine dans son ensemble: les années 1948-1958 correspondent à l'expérience du modèle soviétique; dans les années 1958-1964, le régime communiste roumain tente de se gagner l'autonomie par rapport à la tutelle politico-militaire de l'URSS; dès 1965, un régime Ceausescu qui s'annonçait "national et libéralisant"<sup>26</sup> se transforme graduellement en expérience néostalinienne pour finir, dans les années 1980, en exaltation démesurée de la personnalité du leader. Dans les Archives, les préoccupations théoriques sont gouvernées par les exigences idéologiques formulées dans les documents officiels du PCR. Dans la pratique archivistique, l'utilisation des documents n'est plus gouvernée par le syntagme "les archives au service des historiens", mais par "les archives au service de la construction socialiste"<sup>27</sup>.

Un moment sensible dans l'évolution de l'image publique des Archives d'Etat de Cluj est représenté par l'année 1974, quand, sur la base juridique d'un amendement au Décret 472/1971, on saisit 339 fonds et collections provenant de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine – Filiale de Cluj –, 39 fonds et collections de la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Cluj et 24 de l'Institut d'Histoire et d'Archéologie. Ces saisies ont généré de multiples résistances et tensions. Malgré l'existence d'une base juridique et même malgré le fait que le versement de ces archives dans les magasins des Archives d'Etat leur a assurée de meilleures conditions de conservation, l'action a contribué à la formation d'une image publique des Archives Départementale de Cluj comme institution de la police politique<sup>28</sup>.

Au moment où le parti communiste annexe l'histoire nationale, les Archives d'Etat sont devenues une institution plus visible. L'acteur politique impose par la suite, tant à l'institution qu'à son personnel, une place importante dans le mécanisme idéologique et de propagande. L'appropriation de l'histoire nationale par le PCR a eu pour effet secondaire la reconsidération à des fins politiques de la notion de patrimoine archivistique et de l'accessibilité publique de celui-ci. Les modalités de valorisation des documents d'archives ont été elles-aussi reconfigurées pour servir les buts de la propagande. Par exemple, si dans les années 1960 les expositions de documents sont plutôt rares et le premier colloque scientifique est organisé seulement en 1970, à l'occasion du demi-centenaire des Archives de Cluj, à partir de 1971 l'activité de mise en valeur en accord avec la ligne idéologique officielle se fait d'une manière beaucoup plus systématique. L'explication est, sans doute, à rechercher dans l'évolution de la "mini-révolution culturelle" de Nicolae Ceaușescu, qui a signifié la subordination de l'histoire – et des institutions liées à sa production – à la

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Marin Radu Mocanu, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Sarcini actuale ale activității arhivistice în lumina documentelor Congresului al III-lea al PMR*, "Revista Arhivelor", IV, 1961, 1, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. I. Drăgan, *Șapte decenii de activitate a Arhivelor Statului din Cluj*, Collection de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Documentaire, no. 7/25, p. 9.

propagande officielle<sup>29</sup>. La mise en valeur des documents a commencé à signifier, dans ce contexte, non seulement l'édition de documents, mais aussi – et surtout – l'organisation de “manifestation culturelles, éducatives et de propagande”.<sup>30</sup> La célébration des événements inscrits dans le calendrier des rites politiques communistes devient ainsi la priorité absolue des Archives d'Etat et, implicitement, des Archives de Cluj.

La place de l'archiviste, ainsi qu'elle est illustrée par les documents des Archives d'Etat – Cluj, suit de façon symétrique le destin de l'institution. Celle-ci oscille entre les valeurs traditionnelles liées à sa mission de dépositaire de la mémoire écrite et les commandements idéologiques conjoncturels, visant le démantèlement du “passé capitaliste” et de “l'odieux régime bourgeois-latifundiaire”<sup>31</sup>. Dû à ces contraintes, la profession d'archiviste est loin d'être parmi les plus recherchées dans la Roumanie communiste. La crise de professionnels est encore plus aggravée par l'absence de l'enseignement archivistique de niveau universitaire (pratiquement anéanti dès 1948), par l'inflexibilité du système, par les rigueurs du “dossier personnel” et surtout par le régime de travail normé suivant des critères incompatibles avec une profession intellectuelle. Dans le cas spécifique des Archives de Cluj, le petit nombre de personnel ayant une instruction élémentaire a obligé les diplômés d'université à accomplir des tâches inférieures à leur niveau d'éducation. D'ailleurs, le nombre d'employés a été constamment sous-dimensionné dans les Archives roumaines, tout au long de la période communiste. Ont existé, bien sûr, des archivistes qui ont dédié toute leur vie à cette profession, certains avec une notoriété académique incontestable<sup>32</sup>. Leur action s'est concrétisée dans le sauvetage de nombreux fonds et collections d'archives qui ont été ouverts à la recherche scientifique, en l'édition de recueils de documents en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Histoire de Cluj, en des études publiées dans les différents périodiques archivistiques.

Ces efforts de survie professionnelle rendent compte du fait que la place de l'archiviste dans la perception publique signifie, plus que la place de l'institution, une réalité mouvante, difficile de surprendre à travers les sources écrites mais plus facile à circonscrire par les moyens de l'histoire orale.

Entre 14 avril et 25 juillet 2006 nous avons réalisé un nombre de 10 entretiens avec des archivistes de Cluj, retraités ou encore actifs dans la profession. Les sujets ont eu à répondre à deux questions: 1. Quelle était la place des Archives de Cluj (en tant qu'institution) dans la société locale avant 1989? 2. Quelle est la place des mêmes Archives dans la société de Cluj, après 1989? Les questions ont été

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. idem, *Arhivele Statului din Cluj. 75 de ani în slujba științei istorice*, in *Din istoria Arhivelor ardeleni*, Cluj Napoca, 2005, p. 27.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. DJAN Cluj, fond ASC, dossier 1264/1979, p. 72-76.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Sarcini actuale...*, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. I. Drăgan, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

délibérément formulées d'une manière générale, en évitant de particulariser dans le but d'encourager des réponses aussi détaillées que possibles et surtout de prévenir l'autocensure. Les réponses ainsi obtenues ébauchent un profil général du métier et des perceptions sur le métier dans une période historique dont la mémoire est, de nos jours, particulièrement disputée, qui a laissé des traces dramatiques dans le "mental" des individus et de la collectivité. Comme réaction générale, nous avons constaté que, pour tous nos interlocuteurs, le fait de raconter leur passé récent a été vécu comme une libération longuement attendue<sup>33</sup>. Dans la plupart des témoignages, on ne fait pas une différence nette entre la représentation sociale de l'institution et celle du métier. Les souvenirs s'entremêlent, les sujets sont portés à superposer les destins des individuels et le destin collectif, de la communauté professionnelle. L'impression quasi-généralisée est d'avoir vécu une invasion irrésistible et illimitée du politique dans l'évolution de la profession.

Concernant la représentation publique de l'institution, les sujets insistent surtout sur le moment 1951: "C'est par la législation qui a instituer une obédience [au politique] pour quatre décennies dans l'histoire des Archives roumaines qu'on a établi la place de l'institution dans l'ensemble des institutions de l'Etat; c'est par la mesure radicale d'englober la Direction des Archives d'Etat dans les structures et la subordination du Ministère de l'Intérieur [en 1951 – n. a.], en la réorganisant et en lui fixant des attributions en ce sens."<sup>34</sup> On remarque, par ailleurs, que la subordination au Ministère de l'Intérieur pourrait avoir une justification à l'intérieur d'un Etat démocratique "mais dans la zone d'influence soviétique, le Ministère de l'Intérieur était l'organe principal de la répression [...], les Archives et les archivistes, qui auraient dû être des professionnels avec un niveau supérieur d'instruction, ont été subordonnés à un ministère policier, ayant un régime de caserne. Nous étions contrôlés par un ministère qui ne connaissait pas très bien ni même la notion d'*archives* d'autant moins la notion d'*archives anciennes*." On cite l'exemple de la Décision du Conseil des Ministres no. 51/ 1951, signée par le ministre de l'Intérieur, qui stipulait que les centres destinés à récupérer le papier recyclable et d'autres déchets écologiques devaient, entre autres, collecter des "archives anciennes".<sup>35</sup> Le témoin raconte une histoire déroulée à Cluj à l'automne 1951: les archivistes se sont mobilisés pour récupérer des dossier humides et gelés, appartenant au Fonds de la Préfecture du Département Dâmbovitza, dans un dépôt de déchets de la ville. On se souvient ironiquement des disputes avec les gitans qui y traînaient et qui redoutaient la compétition avec les archivistes. On rajoute que, après la subordination des Archives au Ministère de l'Intérieur, dans un premier temps, la composante culturelle et scientifique de l'institution a presque complètement disparu. Entre 1950 et 1957, la

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<sup>33</sup> Les attitudes individuelles autour de la participation à notre enquête ont varié des demandes expresses d'anonymisation à la disponibilité déclarée d'assumer le contenu des entretiens comme dépositions personnelles.

<sup>34</sup> Entretien no. 6, du 7 mai 2006.

<sup>35</sup> Entretien no. 4 du 28 avril 2006.

principale activité était celle “de terrain”, “mais sans finalement produire les effets escomptés, à cause de la disproportion entre le petit nombre d’archiviste et le grand nombre d’institutions qu’ils étaient censés de contrôler.”<sup>36</sup>

La théorie archivistique roumaine a adopté, de manière quasi-dogmatique, les normes de l’archivistique soviétique: “On a publié des kilos de livres d’auteurs soviétiques, nous étions obligés de les étudier, leur thèses ont imprimé l’esprit de ‘vigilance révolutionnaire’ dans notre pratique archivistique.”<sup>37</sup> Toujours dans les années 1950 “une vraie «boucherie archivistique» s’est produite, quand un groupe d’historiens a fait sortir des documents des différents fonds d’archives, concernant l’histoire du mouvement ouvrier en Roumanie, et les a fait transférer à l’Institut d’Histoire du PCR”<sup>38</sup>. Entre les conséquences de la subordination au Ministère de l’Intérieur, “la Direction des Archives d’Etat, surtout après qu’elle a commencé être assurée par des officiers supérieurs de la *Securitate* qui étaient en même temps des activistes du PCR, a assimilé l’activité archivistique à celle des ‘travailleurs’ des usines et des organisations socialistes.”<sup>39</sup>

La totalité des sujets s’accorde sur quelques grands thèmes récurrents: l’intervention abusive du politique dans l’activité professionnelle, la domination d’un esprit de caserne, la marginalisation des Archives à l’intérieur d’un ministère ignorant leur vraie mission, celle de préserver le patrimoine culturel: “Jusqu’en 1989, en tant que structure du Ministère de l’Intérieur, les Archives ont été la dernière préoccupation des responsables du ministère; nous étions considérés en dessous des appareteurs.”<sup>40</sup>

L’activité des Archives était rythmée par les “compétitions socialistes”, avec des engagements d’accomplir en dix mois le plan de travail annuel, des normes rigides, des “stakhanovistes”, des analyses du travail accompagnée par des critiques et d’autocritiques: “Le plan, il était à accomplir, n’importe quoi de plus s’y interposait, on exigeait de la quantité et non pas de la qualité. Il n’y avait pas de spécialisations, tous faisaient de tout ce qui faisait naître une routine fatigante.”<sup>41</sup> Les organes de direction du PCR, surtout ceux agissant au niveau local, intervenaient dans l’élaboration des plans de travail, imposant l’utilisation des archivistes comme “propagandistes dans les entreprises de Cluj”<sup>42</sup>. L’enseignement idéologique devient par ailleurs prépondérant; son responsable était à un moment donné “un chauffeur de la *Securitate* qui nous endoctrinait dans le matérialisme dialectique”<sup>43</sup>.

Il y a pourtant des références à l’enseignement professionnel et aux aspects positifs de la formation continue des archivistes, des échanges d’expérience, des

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<sup>36</sup> Entretien no. 5, du 3 mai 2006.

<sup>37</sup> Entretien no. 4, du 28 avril 2006.

<sup>38</sup> Entretien no. 5, du 3 mai 2006.

<sup>39</sup> Entretien no. 4, du 28 avril 2006.

<sup>40</sup> Entretien no. 1, du 14 avril 2006.

<sup>41</sup> Entretien no. 2, du 19 avril 2006.

<sup>42</sup> Entretien no. 5, du 3 mai 2006.

<sup>43</sup> Entretien no. 4, du 28 avril 2006.

cours de langues et paléographies anciennes: “Le perfectionnement professionnel s’est fait systématiquement aux frais de l’Etat. J’ai suivi des cours d’un mois donnés par des professeurs de l’Université. Des cours de paléographies étaient périodiquement organisés et le perfectionnement individuel comptait 4 heures par semaine dans le plan de travail.”<sup>44</sup>

Les succès obtenus par la communauté professionnelle (sont mentionnés notamment les versements de fonds importants pour l’histoire nationale<sup>45</sup>, les efforts pour restaurer les documents d’archives et pour améliorer les conditions de conservation dans les magasins<sup>46</sup>) concerne la lutte pour préserver la normalité de la profession. Les archivistes de Cluj ont réussi, pour la première fois en Roumanie, d’attirer des fonds pour un nouveau bâtiment spécialement destiné aux Archives, d’obtenir la réhabilitation de leur premier directeur, l’historien Stefan Metes (condamné et incarcéré dans les années 1950 pour des raisons politiques), d’imposer la célébration de la Journée des Archives comme partie de la “Décade culturelle de Cluj”, d’assurer la longévité de leur session scientifique annuelle, “Les Archives au service de la science et de la culture”, devenue traditionnelle et qui se poursuit jusqu’à présent<sup>47</sup>.

Les résultats positifs dans la théorie et la pratique archivistique sont expliqués par “la survie, malgré tous les obstacles, de l’archivistique [roumaine] traditionnelle, issue de l’Ecole de Sacerdoțeanu<sup>48</sup>; même si marginalisés, ses représentants ont continué et ont réussi de transmettre à la nouvelle génération les valeurs de l’archivistique classique. L’existence dans les bibliothèques des anciennes publications archivistiques ainsi que la parution – même si elle fut copieusement censurée – du manuel de Sacerdoțeanu ont contribué à la perpétuation d’une tradition archivistique.”<sup>49</sup> La tradition perpétuée par des moyens indirects est donc invoquée comme vecteur principal de la survie professionnelle.

Réticents quand il s’agit de leurs biographies personnelles, les témoins ne parlent presque pas de leurs propres contributions à l’évolution de l’archivistique roumaine ou de leurs contributions historiographiques. Chacun des sujets semble se trouver plus à l’aise quand il parle des contributions des tiers ou des difficultés rencontrées à la publication des travaux d’archivistique: “Même s’il a existé un ‘chef-isme’ extrême (les archivistes n’étaient pas autorisés de publier avant que leurs matériaux soient supervisés par le chef direct), dans l’archivistique tout comme dans

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<sup>44</sup> Entretien no. 5, du 3 mai 2006.

<sup>45</sup> Entretien no. 7, du 22 mai 2006.

<sup>46</sup> Entretien no. 6, du 7 mai 2006.

<sup>47</sup> Entretien no. 6, du 7 mai 2006.

<sup>48</sup> Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu (1904-1976), directeur des Archives d’Etat de 1938 à 1953, professeur à l’Ecole Supérieure d’Archivistique de Bucarest, entre 1929-1948, professeur à l’Institut d’Archivistique, Bibliologie et Muséographie (1948-1950) et à la Faculté d’Histoire de l’Université de Bucarest (1950-1970), auteur de nombreuses études et travaux d’archivistique, dont le plus connu est le manuel d’archivistique publié en 1970.

<sup>49</sup> Entretien no. 4, du 28 avril 2006.

les autres domaines [de la vie scientifique] sont apparus les soi-disant coordonnateurs, qui n'avaient aucune éducation dans la spécialité mais au moins, de cette manière, on a laissé paraître des ouvrages utiles. Par exemple, la bibliothécaire Ioana Botezan, qui a travaillé des années et des années au Catalogue Cipariu, a dû accepter comme co-auteur le chef du Service d'Archives de Cluj. Dans les deux Guides de Cluj, les auteurs des différents chapitres ne sont même pas mentionnés. Et cela, avec la 'contribution' de la Direction Générale.<sup>50</sup> Un autre témoin identifie les effets de la politisation excessive du métier d'archiviste: "La conscience professionnelle de l'archiviste a été pervertie [par les commandements idéologiques]: son idéal est devenu celui de s'affirmer comme ... historien!"<sup>51</sup>

Les rapports entre les Archives de Cluj et la DGAS sont évoqués dans les entretiens, soit pour accuser la centralisation excessive du système comme cause principale du manque d'initiative au niveau local, soit pour décrire des situations spécifiques: "Il y a eu dans la Direction Générale, des responsables qui, tout en proférant les slogans du jour, étaient néanmoins des vrais professionnels avec lesquelles on pouvait avoir un dialogue [...] et, en général, les archivistes ont traité les fonds en respectant les normes archivistiques appliquées par leurs collègues européens."<sup>52</sup> Parmi les évolutions positives sont considérées les cercles professionnels régionaux, organisés avec le support de la Direction Générale. Ces rencontres constituaient autant d'occasions pour les échanges d'expérience et ont également joué un rôle dans la cristallisation d'opinions qui ont permis la généralisation d'une pratique archivistique unitaire.

On estime, en général, que la place des Archives de Cluj dans le système général des Archives d'Etat a été largement déterminé par des perceptions subjectives: "l'importance de la Filiale de Cluj était conçue en fonction de la manière dont on percevait son directeur et du degré d'obéissance de celui-là", des contradictions autour des initiatives locales, de l'immobilisme de la direction centrale<sup>53</sup>. Même si les considérations formulées par nos sujets ne visent directement la nature des rapports et les limites des compétences à l'intérieur du système, elles témoignent d'un état d'esprit liée au passé récent et qui, en fin du compte, pourrait être interprété en termes de "patriotisme local". On peut remarquer une certaine attitude à l'égard du Centre qui relève d'un jeu des altérités caractérisant le mental de la périphérie. La mémoire collective conserve une image bipolaire nous – l'autre, superposée à l'image périphérie – centre d'une manière destinée à légitimer l'identité et le capital symbolique locaux.

L'image des Archives dans leurs rapports avec les autres institutions de l'Etat s'articule en fonction de la nature de leurs attributions. Les institutions contrôlées par les Archives se sont montrées plutôt réticentes et méfiante,

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>51</sup> Entretien no. 9, du 27 juin 2006.

<sup>52</sup> Entretien no. 4, du 28 avril 2006.

<sup>53</sup> Entretien no. 2, du 28 avril 2006.

soupçonnant des saisies de leurs fonds d'archives. Mais en même temps, l'autorité des Archives était reconnue: suite aux activités d'assistance et de contrôle de la part des archivistes, une bonne partie des institutions publiques ont adopté des stratégies de gestion de leurs propres archives: "Dans la perception publique, les Archives étaient une institution 'de l'Intérieur', pleine de secrets et de coins obscurs. C'était dangereux d'avoir affaire si tes archives n'étaient bien gardées."<sup>54</sup> L'institution était généralement perçue comme "une caserne"<sup>55</sup> enfermant entre les mêmes murs des individus et des documents; cette perception est devenue encore plus forte après la création du fond des "archives spéciales" qui a sorti hors de l'usage scientifique des fonds entiers ou des fragments de fonds "contenant des informations hostiles ou inacceptables pour le pouvoir politique"<sup>56</sup>.

Loin d'être nombreuses, les relations avec les institutions culturelles et de la recherche étaient plutôt évitées. Les collaborations étaient à leur tour "artificielles"<sup>57</sup>, déterminées le plus souvent par des impératifs idéologiques et de propagande: "Nous étions invités à des colloques juste pour remplir les salles. A l'occasion des fêtes officielles, nous étions envoyés dans les départements tenir des discours aux femmes de ménage, dans les centres industriels, pour parler devant les travailleurs"<sup>58</sup>. Une autre remarque critique concerne les thèmes de ces conférences: "Nous étions invités seulement pour parler sur le PCR et le mouvement ouvrier"<sup>59</sup>. Les défaillances dans les relations institutionnelles avec la Bibliothèque de l'Académie, l'Institut d'Histoire, les musées, l'Université de Cluj sont également à expliquer par le traitement dont bénéficiaient les employés de ces institutions dans les salles de lecture des Archives: "En tant qu'historien, il était impossible d'éviter les Archives. Si on avait une position importante (comme Ștefan Pascu ou David Prodan), on était dans les bonnes grâces du Parti ou de la *Securitate*, au niveau local ou <d'en haut>, le traitement qu'on te réservait était meilleur, on recevait les documents demandés. Sinon, il y avait toujours des 'explications' qu'on pouvait dépasser avec les innombrables moyens de la petite corruption nationale"<sup>60</sup>.

On a reçu des réponses beaucoup plus émotionnelles aux questions concernant l'image de l'archiviste avant 1989. Sur ce point, une distinction s'impose entre les témoignages de ceux qui ont détenu des responsabilités dans l'équipe de direction, plus préoccupés du destin de l'institution et les "simples archivistes" qui ont assumé au niveau du mental individuel le statut de leur profession dans un contexte historique particulier. Les réponses de ces derniers essaient surtout de déceler leurs propres sentiments, dilemmes, joies ou frustrations, résultant de leurs histoires personnelles. Réfléchir au rôle de l'archiviste à l'époque communiste

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<sup>54</sup> Entretien no. 9, du 27 juin 2006.

<sup>55</sup> Entretien no. 10, du 25 juillet 2006.

<sup>56</sup> Entretien no. 8, [2006].

<sup>57</sup> Entretien no. 2, du 19 avril 2006.

<sup>58</sup> Entretien no. 10, du 25 juillet 2006.

<sup>59</sup> Entretien no. 1, du 14 avril 2006.

<sup>60</sup> Entretien no. 9, du 27 juin 2006.

représente pour eux une occasion d'analyse rétrospective de leurs trajets professionnels individuels. C'est en survolant ces réflexions individuelles qu'on réussit à reconstituer une perception collective sur l'histoire institutionnelle.

Synthétisant les informations ainsi obtenues, on peut constater que les sujets voient une relation inextricable entre le statut de l'archiviste et la place des Archives dans le système institutionnel communiste. Mais il existe aussi une préoccupation de justifier sa propre trajectoire professionnelle au-delà les circonstances historiques: "J'avais la conscience d'être archiviste et j'ai toujours essayé d'enrichir mes connaissances [professionnelles] en participant aux cours de perfectionnement que nous avions la possibilité de suivre. Nous avons eu à profiter de l'expérience de la génération plus âgée pour nous familiariser avec les principes de l'archivistique classique."<sup>61</sup>. D'autres évoquent le statut plutôt confus et peu honorable de la profession: "L'archiviste n'avait pas une identité précise. Même pour ce milieu professionnel restreint, le sens de l'identité est resté précaire. L'archiviste avait la conscience de son spécifique professionnel, mais aussi du peu de considération qui lui été accordée. C'est pourquoi il s'est trouvé une autre identité, plus honorable, celle d'historien"<sup>62</sup>; ou on assume seulement le statut de "simple employé, exécutant, je n'avais jamais le sentiment d'être spécialisé en quoi que ce soit"<sup>63</sup>.

La narration autobiographique n'est pas seulement une mise en cause de sa propre identité mais elle fait également référence à l'image de l'archiviste aux yeux de son public: "Pour le public, l'archiviste était l'homme 'de l'Intérieur'. Puisqu'il n'était pas agent de la Milice, tout le monde supposait qu'il était agent de *la Securitate*. C'est dur de lutter contre un préjugé. Il y en a eu qui ont même acquiescé à cette identité fautive, puisqu'elle leur offrait un ascendant social. Dans le Ministère de l'Intérieur, [l'archiviste] était un civil, un 'camarade professeur'. Pour les milieux académiques, il était un auxiliaire agissant dans un domaine inférieur, digne de trop peu de considération, envie pour son monopole de l'information dont il faisait parfois usage"<sup>64</sup>.

Les références aux interventions du Parti Communiste dans la vie de la communauté archivistique et même dans les vies personnelles des archivistes ne sont pas rares. Il s'ajoute les souvenirs de l'atmosphère de suspicion et de la surveillance exercée par la *Securitate*: "Tout tournait autour de l'organisation du Parti"<sup>65</sup>, "en tant que membre du Parti, on était autorisé de prendre la parole dans les assemblées [...]. S'il y avait des visites protocolaires, nous [les membres du Parti] étions surveillés; quand nous apparaissions, on changeait les nappes..."<sup>66</sup>. La vie privée pouvait faire l'objet de débats publics en cas de «déviation» de la morale communiste: "J'ai

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<sup>61</sup> Entretien no. 5, le 3 mai 2006.

<sup>62</sup> Entretien no. 9, du 27 juin 2006.

<sup>63</sup> Entretien no. 2, le 19 avril 2006.

<sup>64</sup> Entretien no. 9, du 27 juin 2006.

<sup>65</sup> Entretien no. 2, du 19 avril 2006.

<sup>66</sup> Entretien no. 1, du 14 avril 2006. (Les micros de la Securitate étaient d'habitude installés sous les tables dans les salles de réunion – note du traducteur.)

protesté contre les débats publics concernant la vie privée des employés<sup>67</sup>. N'empêche que certains sont encore traumatisés par ce type d'expérience: "Après une dispute avec les responsables du Parti, un des employé, qui était épileptique, est parti en mission et mourut dans un accident"<sup>68</sup>. L'authenticité de cette information n'a pas été confirmée par d'autres sujets; il est pourtant significatif que la mémoire de cet événement dramatique soit liée par notre source à un autre mal, le Parti.

Les relations à l'intérieur de la collectivité sont marquées au niveau du discours par une délimitation nette entre les relations professionnelles (décrites comme étant collégiales: échange d'expérience, support accordé aux débutants, etc.) et les relations personnelles, informelles, dominées par la peur, la suspicion et parfois même la méchanceté. Cette atmosphère est décrite comme étant délibérément entretenue par la direction, pour pouvoir ainsi contrôler les employés et prévenir les éventuelles "défections".

Nous avons remarqué chez les sujets une tendance générale à se décrire comme des victimes et à mettre sur le compte du système leur aliénation en tant qu'individus. Il y en a qui admettent que leur statut a été plutôt satisfaisant, dû au fait d'être titulaires de postes dans un ministère important et au niveau plutôt élevé des salaires. On apprécie à ce propos que "au moins dans la Direction Cluj des Archives d'Etat, chacun des archivistes a pu bénéficier d'un minimum de conditions pour son épanouissement professionnel, en fonction de ses propres capacités"<sup>69</sup>. Mais dans la plupart des entretiens, les personnes se souviennent surtout des persécutions administratives, des promotions discrétionnaires, de fait de se sentir à chaque instant surveillés, des manières dont on entretenait la peur et de la suspicion parmi les employés, du manque de motivation professionnelle, de la contrainte d'abandonner leur profession pour participer aux manifestations de la propagande officielle. Ces attitudes pourraient avoir une explication dans le fait que la mémoire retient surtout les événements dramatiques. Aussi, les interprétations historiographiques du communisme roumain après 1989 ont certainement influencé le processus de remémoration. Les explications manichéistes, axées sur le conflit entre le Bien et le Mal (communisme versus tradition, idéologie et propagande officielles versus pratique archivistique, archivistique soviétique versus archivistique traditionnelle) sont dominantes dans les récits.

La sélectivité est un trait spécifique des processus de remémoration. Les contenus de la mémoire collective se modifient en fonction de différents vecteurs: les informations diffusées par mass media, les valeurs dominantes, les attitudes à l'égard des évolutions postcommunistes, les influences d'un groupe social<sup>70</sup>. Quand on comprend cette réalité, on comprend aussi pourquoi la plupart des sujets ne parle que très peu ou pas de tout des aspects positifs de leur vie personnelle et de l'évolution de

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<sup>67</sup> Entretien no. 5, du 3 mai 2006.

<sup>68</sup> Entretien no. 1, du 14 avril 2006.

<sup>69</sup> Entretien no. 6, du 7 mai 2006.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Lavinia Betea, *Mentalități și remanențe comuniste*, Bucarest, 2005, p. 26.

l'institution. Il est aussi vrai que les archivistes roumains n'ont pas l'habitude de se mettre en cause, de débattre sur leur situation professionnelle. A l'image négative que leur profession a dans l'opinion roumaine, elle opposent en général la modestie et le silence assumé. Cette attitude est la bonne? C'est à l'avenir de le décider. L'essence des 10 témoignages est contenue dans cette phrase conclusive: "Je ne regrette rien. Le travail, je l'ai aimé, c'est le régime que je n'ai pas aimé"<sup>71</sup>.

Les Archives roumaines ont eu depuis toujours une relation spéciale avec l'histoire politique. Elles ont ainsi appris à traverser les temps de crise: quand les autorités de l'Etat n'ont pas compris leur vraie mission professionnelle, la persévérance et le dévouement des archivistes ont su défendre cette mission. A la fin de notre démarche, nous ne pouvons que reprendre l'un des desiderata de la profession: peut-être qu'un jour, les Archives trouveront de la place pour constituer des archives audio préservant les "voix" de leurs employés qui racontent leurs expériences professionnelles aux temps difficiles au bénéfice des archivistes roumains d'un futur que nous tous l'espérons meilleur.

#### LISTE DES ENTRETIENS

- Entretien no. 1, femme, 57 ans, réalisé le 14 avril 2006 à Cluj-Napoca
- Entretien no. 2, femme, 52 ans, réalisé le 19 avril 2006 à Cluj-Napoca
- Entretien no. 3, femme, 57 ans, réalisé le 21 avril 2006 à Cluj-Napoca
- Entretien no. 4, mâle, 85 ans, réalisé le 28 avril 2006 à Cluj-Napoca
- Entretien no. 5, mâle, 62 ans, réalisé le 3 mai 2006 à Cluj-Napoca
- Entretien no. 6, mâle, 74 ans, réalisé le 7 mai 2006 à Cluj-Napoca
- Entretien no. 7, mâle, 70 ans, réalisé le 22 mai 2006 à Cluj-Napoca
- Entretien no. 8, femme, 51 ans, réalisé en 2006 à Cluj-Napoca
- Entretien no. 9, mâle, 53 ans, réalisé le 27 juin 2006 à Cluj-Napoca
- Entretien no. 10, femme, 61 ans, réalisé le 25 juin 2006 à Cluj-Napoca

Traduction du roumain par Alina Pavelescu

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<sup>71</sup> Entretien no. 10, du 25 juillet 2006.

# Was ist, was macht ein Archiv (aus)?

## Zum neuen Leitbild des Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchivs\*

Ferdinand Opll

Archive als zumeist wenig auffällige, zugleich freilich völlig unverzichtbare Bestandteile geordneter Verwaltungen leiden nicht selten unter dem Problem, eine eigene Identität zu entwickeln wie auch ein verständliches Bild und eine tragfähige Vorstellung von ihren Aufgaben und ihrer Zweckbestimmung nach außen zu tragen. Und dennoch – ist es nicht hohe, ja höchste Pflicht fachkundiger Archivarinnen und Archivare, sich immer wieder darum zu bemühen, Verständnis für ihre Tätigkeit zu wecken? Ist es nicht – und dies gerade in Zeiten, in denen durchaus zu Recht verstärkt nach den Kosten für solche Einrichtungen, damit nach deren allfälligem Nutzen für die Gesellschaft gefragt wird – von geradezu zentraler Bedeutung, alle nur denkbaren Anstrengungen in diese Richtung hin zu unternehmen?

Das Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv als Teil der Verwaltung von Stadt und Land Wien in Form der Magistratsabteilung 8 ist innerhalb des letzten Jahrzehnts intensiv in Überlegungen einer grundlegenden Verwaltungsreform nach den Prinzipien des *New Public Management* (Neues Steuerungsmodell)<sup>1</sup> einbezogen worden. Eine 1996 in Auftrag gegebene betriebswirtschaftliche Untersuchung der Stadtverwaltung durch Externe mit dem Ziel, den Magistrat unter Steigerung von Effizienz und Bürgerorientierung zu einem “Dienstleistungskonzern” zu entwickeln, nahm auch das Archiv in den Blick. Die grundsätzliche Unternehmensphilosophie der Wiener Stadtverwaltung sollte sich in der Folge verstärkt an Prinzipien des *New Public Management* orientieren, Ausbildungen im Managementbereich wurden angeboten und in Anspruch genommen. Das Ausmaß an Kompetenzen und Eigenverantwortung in den einzelnen Abteilungen des Magistrats erfuhr beständig Ausweitung, Prinzipien der Orientierung an den erbrachten Produkten, d. h. am *output*, griffen immer mehr Platz, ebenso wie man der Beachtung der Interessen von Kund/innen und Mitarbeiter/innen eine ungleich größere Bedeutung als zuvor zuzumessen begann.

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\* Vortragsmanuskript für den Vortrag am Österreichischen Archivtag in Graz am 9. November 2007, 9.00 Uhr (20 Minuten Dauer).

<sup>1</sup> Kuno Schedler-Isabella Proeller, *New Public Management*, Berg-Stuttgart-Wien, 2000.

Die Verabschiedung eines eigenen Archivgesetzes im Jahr 2000<sup>2</sup> wie die Errichtung des Neubaus für das Archiv im Gasometer “D” in Wien-Simmering – ohne Zweifel die größten Projekte des Archivs seit vielen Jahrzehnten<sup>3</sup> – führten zu einer Verzögerung im Hinblick auf die Auswirkungen der großen Verwaltungsreform des gesamten Magistrats auf die Dienststelle. Ab 2002 hielten dann immer mehr Elemente des *New Public Management* in den Geschäftsablauf des Archivs ihren Einzug: Zu nennen sind etwa der Aufbau einer eigenen Stabsstelle für Kontrakt, Controlling und Berichtswesen und dann im Herbst 2003 erstmals der Abschluss eines Kontraktes über die mit Magistratsdirektion und zuständigem Stadtrat vereinbarten Ziele für das folgende Kalenderjahr<sup>4</sup>.

Nicht nur die große Vielfalt an Aufgaben – neben dem Kernbereich der Archivierung der Führung einer Archivbibliothek und die inhaltliche Erschließung der Vorgänge im Wiener Gemeinderat und Landtag in Form einer eigenen Informationsdatenbank (Infodat Wien), die Herausgabe wissenschaftlicher Städtatlanten, die regelmäßige Organisation von Archivausstellungen und die Herausgabe von Publikationen auf dem Gebiet der Wiener und der vergleichenden Stadtgeschichte –, auch die intensiven Kontakte des Archivs mit diversen archivwissenschaftlichen Fachverbänden im In- und Ausland führte neben der kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit Methoden und Konsequenzen des *New Public Management* dazu, dass die Notwendigkeit einer Darlegung von Zielen, Sinn und Zweck archivischer Tätigkeit als immer dringender notwendig empfunden wurde. Diese Diskussionen und Überlegungen liefen insbesondere in der Dienststelle selbst, hier führten sie zur Ausbildung von Foren des Meinungsaustausches. Aus all dem erwuchs schließlich gegen Anfang des Jahres 2006 der Plan, ein möglichst prägnantes und aussagekräftiges Leitbild für das Archiv zu erarbeiten. Solch ein Leitbild sollte im Idealfall Antworten auf die Frage der Gemeinsamkeit der intern nicht selten nebeneinander laufenden Agenden bieten und dabei zugleich Mitarbeiter/innen<sup>5</sup> aus sämtlichen Verwendungsbereichen vereinen: von akademisch ausgebildeten Archivar/innen, Bibliothekar/innen, Historiker/innen, Politolog/innen und Restauratoren über Kolleg/innen mit Matura, technische Fachkräfte, Kanzlei- und Schreibkräfte bis hin zu der für die übertragenen Aufgaben völlig unverzichtbaren Gruppe an Amtsgehilf/innen. Solch ein Leitbild sollte letztlich maßgeblich helfen, den wichtigen Schritt hin zu Ausbildung und Vergewisserung der eigenen Identität zu tun. Darüber hinaus war mit dessen Erarbeitung zugleich die Idee verbunden, ein Instrument zu schaffen, das es einfacher machen sollte, das Archiv nach außen hinsichtlich seiner Ziele, damit auch im Hinblick auf die

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<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand Opll, *Das Wiener Archivgesetz und seine Auswirkung auf die Umsetzung archivischer Aufgaben*, “Scrinium”, 56 (2002), S. 26-33.

<sup>3</sup> F. Opll (Hg.), *Das neue Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv im Gasometer “D” in Wien-Simmering, Festschrift zu seiner Eröffnung*, Wien, 2001.

<sup>4</sup> F. Opll-Helmut Kretschmer, *Tätigkeitsbericht des Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchivs 2001-2005*, Wien, 2006, S. 5 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Der Personalstand des Archivs umfasst derzeit etwas mehr als 60 Personen.

Bedeutung, den Sinn und Nutzen solch einer Einrichtung, klarer und verständlicher zu präsentieren.

Was machen nun Geisteswissenschaftler/innen, wenn sie mit solch einem Projekt beginnen? Sie suchen – und das ist keinesfalls kritisch gemeint, vielmehr äußerst sinnvoll – nach Vorbildern, nach bereits vorliegenden Modellen, an denen sie sich orientieren oder auch reiben können, die jedenfalls einen guten Ausgangspunkt für solche intellektuelle Prozesse bieten. Dabei zeigte sich jedoch sehr rasch, dass es innerhalb des Archivwesens, zumal dem des deutschsprachigen Raumes, bislang nur eher wenige Anstöße gibt, ein Leitbild für die jeweilige Institution zu erarbeiten. Ein Beispiel für ein archivisches Leitbild bietet etwa das Deutsche Bundesarchiv mit dem dreiteiligen Slogan

*“Wissen bereitstellen, Quellen erschließen, Geschichtsverständnis fördern.”*<sup>6</sup>

Erklärungen, was ein Archiv tut und wofür dies gut sein soll, gibt es freilich häufig, doch sind damit zumeist Hinweise auf archivgesetzliche Regelungen, die Geschichte des Archivs, dessen wesentliche Aktivitäten oder – und das gar nicht selten – die Betonung der Rolle als “Gedächtnis der (jeweiligen) Gesellschaft” verbunden, damit nicht anders, als dies auch das Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv bislang vertreten hat<sup>7</sup>. Peter Csendes ist eine wichtige Präzisierung im Hinblick auf Wirkungsweise wie Selbstverständnis von Archiven zu verdanken, indem er deren Bedeutung als “Gewissen der Gesellschaft” stärker herausgearbeitet und betont hat<sup>8</sup>.

Bemühungen um Selbstdarstellung und Präsentation haben insbesondere im angelsächsischen Bereich Tradition. Dennoch ist weder bei den National Archives des Vereinigten Königreichs bei der National Archives and Records Administration der USA von einem echten Leitbild, somit der Festlegung von ideal anzustrebenden Zielen bzw. der Verständigung auf eine gemeinsame Auffassung in der Art einer Unternehmensphilosophie, gegeben. Das NARA bietet unter Fragen wie etwa “*What’s an Archives?*” oder “*What’s an Archivist?*” durchaus Antworten auf häufig an Archive gestellte Fragen. Unter den Begriffen “*Vision Statement*” und “*Mission Statement*”<sup>9</sup> geht das amerikanische Staatsarchiv allerdings einen Schritt weiter:

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<sup>6</sup> [http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aufgaben\\_organisation/aufgaben/00874/index.html](http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aufgaben_organisation/aufgaben/00874/index.html) (Status: 1. Juni 2007).

<sup>7</sup> Siehe dazu etwa das Stadtarchiv Nürnberg (<http://www.stadtarchiv.nuernberg.de/aufgaben/index.html>); Status: 1. Juni 2007) oder auch das Landesarchiv Berlin (<http://www.landesarchiv-berlin.de/lab-neu/start.html>); Status: 1. Juni 2007); zum Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv siehe <http://www.wien.gv.at/kultur/archiv/aufgabe.html> (Status: 7. August 2007).

<sup>8</sup> Peter Csendes, *Metaphern für Archive – das Archiv als Metapher?*, “Stadtarchiv und Stadtgeschichte. FS Fritz Mayrhofer” (wie Anm. 3), S. 49 ff.

<sup>9</sup> NARA: <http://www.archives.gov/about/info/mission.html> (Status: 1. Juni 2007).

*“Vision Statement/NARA:*

*As the nation’s record keeper, it is our vision that all Americans will understand the vital role records play in a democracy, and their own personal stake in the National Archives. Our holdings and diverse programs will be available to more people than ever before through modern technology and dynamic partnerships. The stories of our nation and our people are told in the records and artifacts cared for in NARA facilities around the country. We want all Americans to be inspired to explore the records of their country.”*

*“Mission Statement/NARA:*

*The National Archives and Records Administration serves American democracy by safeguarding and preserving the records of our Government, ensuring that the people can discover, use, and learn from this documentary heritage. We ensure continuing access to the essential documentation of the rights of American citizens and the actions of their government. We support democracy, promote civic education, and facilitate historical understanding of our national experience.”*

Einen bemerkenswerten, für unseren Kontext durchaus beachtenswerten Web-Auftritt eines Archivs aus dem angelsächsischen Bereich bietet das bereits genannt Staatsarchiv des Vereinigten Königreichs TNA, das mit den Worten *“Who we are, what we do and how we operate”*<sup>10</sup> eine Reihe von durchaus praktischen Hinweisen bietet, und unter *“About us”* seine *“vision”* folgendermaßen präzisiert:

*“Lead and transform information management  
Guarantee the survival of today’s information for tomorrow  
Bring history to life for everyone”*

Der hier gebotene exemplarische Befund bedeutet keineswegs, dass es Archiven an ebenso gut überlegten wie eindringlichen Präsentationen ihrer Geschichte, ihrer Bestände, ihrer Leistungen für die Öffentlichkeit etc. mangelte, im Gegenteil: Homepages von Archiven sind im Regelfall Musterbeispiele für umfassende Informationen, was angesichts von deren Bedeutung innerhalb der Informationsgesellschaft letztlich auch nicht weiter verwundern kann. Sie bleiben freilich insgesamt ganz markant auf die äußere Hülle, auf Besonderheiten der Bestände, auf das Öffnen des Zugangs zu historischen Daten und historischem

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<sup>10</sup> [http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/about/whowhathow.htm?source=ddmenu\\_about1](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/about/whowhathow.htm?source=ddmenu_about1) (Status: 1. Juni 2007) und [http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/about/?source=ddmenu\\_about0](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/about/?source=ddmenu_about0) (Status: 1. Juni 2007).

Wissen fokussiert, ohne wirklich Grundsätzliches über die Zielvorstellungen der Institutionen selbst auszusagen. – Fündig wird man in diesem Zusammenhang dagegen beim Internationalen Archivrat, der mit seinem 1996 in Peking verabschiedeten “Kodex ethischer Grundsätze für Archivarinnen und Archivare” verpflichtende Festlegungen für unseren Berufsstand aufgestellt hat. Wiewohl kein Leitbild, vielmehr eine dezidiert das Ethos des Berufsstandes erklärende Festlegung, war damit aus berufsspezifischer Sicht ein wichtiger Schritt getan<sup>11</sup>.

Die Erfordernisse einer modernen Öffentlichkeitsarbeit führten im Wiener Stadtarchiv zu neuen Überlegungen im Hinblick auf einen möglichst wirkungsvollen Auftritt nach außen. Eine neue Initiative auf dem Felde der Bemühungen um Außenwirksamkeit – die Aktivitäten des Archivs im Bereich Öffentlichkeitsarbeit hatten schon seit der Eröffnung des neuen Gebäudes 2001 nachhaltig zugenommen – lief im Frühjahr 2006 an. Rasch zeigte sich der Wunsch nach einem Slogan, der sich von einer bloßen Wiederholung des zuletzt beinahe inflationär gebrauchten “Gedächtnis” begriffs unterschied und abhob. Ganz wesentlich ging es bei den Überlegungen darum, die zukunftsgerichtete Dimension archivischer Tätigkeit, Archivar/innen aus ihrer täglichen Arbeit absolut vertraut, der Öffentlichkeit aber eben kaum bewusst, verstärkt in den Mittelpunkt zu rücken. Es sollte, ja es musste klar gemacht werden, dass Archive eben nicht nur ein reiches Erbe der und zur Vergangenheit bewahren, pflegen und nutzbar machen, sondern mit der steten Übernahme neu angebotener und auf ihre Archivwürdigkeit geprüfter Unterlagen dafür Vorsorge treffen, dass das Morgen sich des Heute, das dann bereits Vergangenheit geworden sein wird, auf der Grundlage authentischer Informationen vergewissern kann.

Rasch war klar, dass das Ziel ein neu erarbeitetes Leitbild sein musste, wobei zugleich die Chance gegeben war, diesen Prozess zur verstärkten Integration des gesamten Teams an Mitarbeiter/innen zu nutzen. Unter der moderierenden Anleitung eines externen Beraters liefen die Beratungen in einem Team sämtlicher Bedienstetenkategorien (Akademiker/innen bis zu Amtsgehilf/innen) im Spätjahr 2006 an. Am Ende des Prozesses sollte nicht nur eine mehr oder weniger lange, mehr oder weniger eindrückliche Auflistung von Zielvorstellungen stehen, sondern eine Fokussierung und Konzentrierung auf einen möglichst prägnanten Leitsatz erreicht werden. Nachdem man sich darauf geeinigt hatte, dass vier thematische Bereiche (Kernkompetenzen – Aspekte der Kund/innenorientierung – Qualitätsfestlegungen für die geleisteten Arbeiten – Charakterisierung des Teambegriffs) wurden zunächst Leitsätze zu diesen vier Themenkomplexen erarbeitet. Die letzte Fokussierung erfuhr der gesamte Prozess schließlich in dem Ringen um den die gesamten Zielvorstellungen umfassenden obersten Leitsatz. Dieser wurde schließlich in dem Wortpaar: “Einsicht in Vergangenheit – Aussicht auf Erinnerung” gefunden. Dieses Wortpaar hat den Vorteil, sowohl die bewahrende, (rechts)sichernde Funktion des Archivs wie zugleich dessen Auftrag, permanent mit Ausrichtung auf die Zukunft an

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<sup>11</sup> <http://www.ica.org/fr/node/30080> (Status: 7. August 2007).

der Errichtung und Sicherung möglicher Einsicht in Vergangenheit zu arbeiten, klar zu machen.

Noch in der Endphase des Diskussionsprozesses wurden Präsentationen des Leitbildes, eine für die gesamte Abteilung, eine zweite für einen größeren Kreis an archivspezifischer Öffentlichkeit, geplant. Für die externe Präsentation wurde eine regelrechte Inszenierung ausgearbeitet. Kernstück war zum einen ein Folder als traditionelles, zum anderen, als ungewöhnliches, Interesse stimulierendes Medium, ein Puzzle. Ganz zu Beginn stand auch die Idee, eine liegende Acht ( $\infty$ ) als Bildelement einzuführen: Verbindung zwischen “unendlich” und der Abteilungsnummer, die dem Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv im Rahmen der Abteilungen der Wiener Stadtverwaltung (Magistratsabteilung 8) zukommt. Ein achteiliges Puzzle aus Plexiglas mit einer durch eine graphisch als Schnur gestalteten, liegenden Acht (“roter Faden”) wurde angefertigt, es zeigt den Haupt- sowie die vier Kernsätze des Leitbildes. Die rote Schnur stand dabei für den “roten Faden”, den Archivar/innen für ihre Kund/innen auf der Suche nach den gewünschten Unterlagen legen. In acht Depots des Archivs wurden acht verschiedene Archivalien verborgen, zu denen vom Depoteingang her ein stärkerer roter Bindfaden quer durch die Regale gespannt wurde, um damit nicht nur die Orientierung zum Ziel vorzugeben, sondern zugleich das Motiv des “roten Fadens” nochmals aufzugreifen. Dass Archivalien ausgewählt wurden, die das Interesse eines breiteren Publikums finden würden, ist selbstverständlich (Testament der Adele Bloch-Bauer<sup>12</sup>, erste Rede einer Frau im Wiener Gemeinderat, etc.). Gemeinsam mit diesen acht Archivdokumenten wurde in den Depots je ein Teil des achteiligen Puzzles aus Plexiglas mit “versteckt”. Die zur Präsentation geladenen Gäste (Vertreter aus Politik, Wiener Stadtverwaltung, anderen Archiven, Mitgliedern des Vorstandes des Vereins für Geschichte<sup>13</sup> der Stadt Wien und Angehörige des Lehrkörpers der Universität Wien) mussten sodann unter der Anleitung Mitarbeiter/innen des Archivs die versteckten Archivalien in den Depots selbst anhand des ausgelegten “roten Fadens” finden. Gemeinsam mit den gleichfalls dort liegenden Puzzlesteinen kehrten sie wieder in den Vortragsaal des Archivs zurück, wo sie das achteilige Puzzle, damit das neue Leitbild des Archiv, zusammensetzten.

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<sup>12</sup> Das Testament vom 19. Jänner 1923 (WStLA, Hauptarchivs-Akten, Persönlichkeiten) ist auch im Internet nachzulesen: [http://www.adele.at/Klage\\_von\\_Dr\\_Stefan\\_Gulner\\_m/Vorgelegte\\_Urkunden/Testament\\_vom\\_19\\_1\\_1923\\_von\\_Ad/testament\\_vom\\_19\\_1\\_1923\\_von\\_ad.html](http://www.adele.at/Klage_von_Dr_Stefan_Gulner_m/Vorgelegte_Urkunden/Testament_vom_19_1_1923_von_Ad/testament_vom_19_1_1923_von_ad.html) (Status: 7. August 2007).

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. F. Opll, *Verein und Archiv. Gedanken aus der Sicht einer bewährten Partnerschaft*, “WGBll.”, 58, 2003, S. 166-173.

Das Team des Archivs hat mit diesem Leitbild einen Kanon von Absichten, Verhaltensweisen, bisweilen auch geradezu ethischen Grundsätzen formuliert, an denen es sich ausrichten kann. In Hinkunft wird überprüfbar sein, in welchem Ausmaß die Ziele des Leitbildes erreicht werden, wo nachzubessern, zu korrigieren ist und neue Anläufe zu unternehmen sind. Künftige Überprüfungsmaßnahmen, Evaluierungen werden damit durchaus notwendig und wichtig sein. Zugleich ist zu hoffen, dass mittels dieses Leitbildes auch die Zweckbestimmung von Archiven, deren Nutzen für die Gesellschaft, ja deren Unverzichtbarkeit für ein gedeihliches Gemeinwesen deutlicher und verständlicher an die Gesellschaft vermittelt und in diese hineingetragen werden kann, als dies bislang auf der Grundlage eines zuletzt allzu inflationär gebrauchten “Gedächtnis-Begriffes” allein möglich gewesen ist.

## **Anhang**

Das neue Leitbild des Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchivs (siehe: <http://www.wien.gv.at/kultur/archiv/leitbild.html>; Status: 7. August 2007).

### ***Einsicht in Vergangenheit - Aussicht auf Erinnerung***

#### ***Wir machen Erinnern möglich.***

- *Wir archivieren durch Bewertung das Richtige.*
- *Wir bieten einzigartige Bestände und Dokumentationen.*
- *Wir sind Schnittstelle von Wissenschaft, Verwaltung, Politik und Zivilgesellschaft.*
- *Wir sichern den demokratischen Zugang zur authentischen Information und tragen damit auch zur Rechtssicherheit bei.*
- *Wir leiten Sie durch den von uns gebauten Informations- und Wissensraum.*
- *Wir gewährleisten Nachvollziehbarkeit.*
- *Wir ermöglichen wissenschaftliche Forschung und nehmen an ihr teil.*

#### ***Wir öffnen Ihnen Raum und Zeit.***

- *Der Zweck der Archivierung ist die Nutzung.*
- *Wir handeln professionell, höflich, aufmerksam und verantwortungsbewusst.*
- *Wir beantworten Ihre Fragen kompetent, individuell, zuverlässig und korrekt:*
  - *Im Rahmen rechtlicher Gegebenheiten und klarer Richtlinien*
  - *Auf Basis unserer Bestände*
- *Wir bedienen uns modernster Technologien, dennoch braucht Qualität Zeit.*
- *Wir stellen Unterlagen für Sie bereit:*
  - *Wir vermitteln Information.*
  - *Wir liefern authentische Nachweise.*
- *Die Grenzen des Archivs sind die Grenzen unserer Recherche.*

***Wir sind Anwältinnen und Anwälte eines geordneten Vergessens und Erinnerns.***

- *Wir zeichnen uns durch qualitativ-fachspezifische Ausbildung und Bereitschaft zur ständigen Weiterentwicklung aus.*
- *Unser Tätigkeitsprofil ist durch Flexibilität in Denken und Handeln geprägt.*
- *Wir verfügen über die Fähigkeit zur Adaption und Vernetzung, zum schnellen Erfassen unterschiedlicher, simultan auftretender Aufgaben.*
- *Multidisziplinarität, Wissenstransfer, Wissensmanagement und Einbindung in den aktuellen Wissenschaftsdiskurs sind selbstverständlicher Teil unserer Arbeit.*
- *Wir orientieren und messen uns an internationalen Qualitätsstandards.*
- *Strukturierte Arbeitsabläufe lassen uns das Richtige richtig tun.*
- *Unser Verhalten ist durch Kommunikationskompetenz und professionelles Auftreten charakterisiert.*

***Wir arbeiten gemeinsam an unseren Aufgaben.***

- *Klare Aufgabenverteilung und Verantwortungsbewusstsein auf allen Ebenen sind die Grundlagen.*
- *Unsere persönliche Initiative und unsere Motivation sind Voraussetzungen für erfolgreiche Teamarbeit.*
- *Gegenseitige Wertschätzung und Anerkennung der Leistung der Anderen sichern Zusammenarbeit.*
- *Kommunikation, Offenheit für Kritik und Bereitschaft zur Diskussion sind Teil unseres Selbstverständnisses.*
- *Professionelle Führung auf allen Ebenen gewährleistet Qualität.*



# Historique et genèse de “Portail International Archivistique Francophone” ou PIAF

Gérard Ermisse

Depuis de très longues années par le hasard des circonstances et fonctions professionnelles au sein du Ministère de la Culture français (et aussi en raison de mon attachement personnel à ce beau pays et à ses habitants), je me suis trouvé en position d’intermédiaire entre les deux communautés d’archivistes de France et de Roumanie. Ceci m’a valu de me rendre assez souvent à Bucarest et dans certains chefs lieux de province à l’invitation des Archives nationales de Roumanie. En septembre 1998, certains s’en souviennent, j’ai eu la charge d’organiser au nom de la France et du Conseil international des Archives, une Table ronde internationale placée sous l’égide du Conseil de l’Europe sous le titre général de: “Mémoire et histoire: les Etats européens face aux droits des citoyens du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle”. Cette conférence a brossé un panorama aussi complet que possible des problèmes que posent l’ouverture et la démocratisation du secteur des Archives dans un pays qui vient de retrouver la démocratie après des années de privation de ses libertés essentielles; la conférence fut hébergée par la Chambre des Députés de Roumanie et coorganisée avec elle, en particulier avec M. Virgil Nițulescu, aujourd’hui Secrétaire d’Etat au Ministère de la Culture roumain.

Depuis lors, tant à la tête de l’Inspection générale qu’à celle des Archives nationales de Paris, j’ai eu la chance de recevoir à Paris les stagiaires du Stage technique international des archives et de rencontrer ainsi les nombreux collègues et amis roumains présents à Paris à cette occasion: ce fut toujours avec grand plaisir et beaucoup de profit. Ainsi sont nées des relations de travail fructueuses et cordiales.

Par ailleurs, depuis l’an passé, la Présidence de l’AIAF (Association internationale des archives francophones) m’a été confiée en remplacement de Moncef Fakh-fakh. C’est à ce titre que je suis venu présenter le projet de l’AIAF, le “Portail international archivistique francophone”, autrement dit le “PIAF”, à Giurgiu lors de la Conférence organisée par Carmen Dobrotă, Présidente de la Fédération des archivistes roumains et Adriana Miron, Directrice des Archives de Giurgiu, les 24 et 25 mai 2007. On me demande aujourd’hui de présenter le Portail francophone dans la revue *Revista Arhivelor*. C’est un très grand honneur pour moi et je tiens à en remercier celles et ceux à qui je le dois.

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Quelques informations sur la genèse de ce qui est désormais un outil commun à notre communauté des archivistes unis autour de la langue française ne seront pas inutiles.

A l'origine de ce projet, on trouve l'effacement de l'archivistique francophone au sein du CIA, effacement constaté et ressenti très fortement lors de la CITRA (Conférence internationale de la Table ronde des Archives) de Stockholm à l'automne de 1998. On parlait beaucoup à cette époque d'un projet de formation à l'archivistique financé par le PNUD, le Programme de développement des Nations Unies, pour 1 million de dollars US et destiné à éditer des brochures de formation pour les archivistes des pays en voie de développement. Initialement le projet visait l'édition en 3 langues: anglais, français et espagnol. Finalement confié en exclusivité par le Conseil international des archives à l'IRMT (International records management trust) il aboutit à la conception et la diffusion d'un produit strictement anglophone, mis au point au sein de cette communauté, principalement à destination des pays partageant cette langue et cette culture. Ce projet intitulé "Managing Public Sector Records" comportait à l'époque une petite vingtaine de brochures, des vidéo-cassettes et un CD-Rom.

Les autres communautés étaient en l'occurrence oubliées: d'où le mécontentement des archivistes français, canadiens et plus largement francophones. J'étais présent à cette CITRA de 1998 et quelque peu étonné, comme beaucoup de francophones, de la perte subite d'influence du français au sein du CIA (Conseil international des archives). Heureusement, les choses se sont un peu rétablies depuis lors!

On nous proposa lors des discussions de Stockholm, de faire traduire – à nos frais! – ces modules de formation... puis de les adapter à notre contexte, pour pouvoir les diffuser dans notre langue. Cela fut engagé pour quelques modules avec l'aide de la BIEF, organisme de l'Agence intergouvernementale de la Francophonie, et de l'AAF (Association des archivistes français): le résultat n'était pas et ne pouvait pas être convaincant.

A l'occasion d'une réunion convoquée par le nouveau secrétaire général du CIA à Paris, le 25 janvier 2000, je proposai donc de renoncer à cette adaptation au demeurant fort coûteuse et de s'engager dans un projet d'un autre ordre: concevoir un produit francophone multiculturel et coopératif, ce qui fut accepté par les personnes présentes et vivement soutenu par Moncef Fakh-fakh, Directeur des Archives de Tunisie. Mais restait la question cruciale du financement: c'est alors que l'on se mit en quête d'un "porteur" de projet susceptible de recevoir des financements. Ce ne pouvait être qu'une association. Il en existait une, l'AIAF (Association internationale des archives francophones), coquille un peu vide et en panne de projets justement, mais dont le mérite était de rassembler les principaux services d'archives francophones. Aucune administration nationale ne pouvant recevoir directement de subvention des autres, ni être un interlocuteur valable pour des organisations inter-gouvernementales comme l'Agence intergouvernementale de la Francophonie, l'option du recours à l'AIAF, présidée par notre collègue tunisien M Fakh-Fakh, était la bonne: elle se matérialisa au cours de l'année 2001.

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Cette évocation un peu longue de la préhistoire du projet PIAF était nécessaire pour expliciter les origines et la genèse de ce grand projet collectif, pris en mains aujourd'hui par de très nombreuses personnes et institutions. Dans cet esprit, il faut insister sur le rôle moteur de la Direction des Archives de France, où le projet fut porté par Jean Le Pottier et moi-même; du CIA avec l'investissement du Secrétaire général-adjoint Marcel Caya et des Archives nationales de Tunisie, dont le Directeur Moncef Fakh-Fakh était, heureux hasard, en même temps Président de l'AIAF. Sans oublier le rôle joué par d'autres amis et collègues comme Suzanne Richer, responsable de la BIEF à cette époque pionnière.

La réunion véritablement fondatrice fut celle de Paris les 4 et 5 octobre 2001, à laquelle assista pour la première fois, le Directeur de l'INTIF (Institut des nouvelles technologies francophone), Pietro Sicuro. Son engagement personnel ainsi que la décision de soutenir ce grand projet au sein de l'Agence intergouvernementale de la Francophonie et de l'INTIF par des dotations généreuses nous a permis de concrétiser ce rêve. Il a incité judicieusement les partenaires à se retourner vers leur gouvernement respectif pour qu'ils financent très confortablement la réalisation d'un portail sur Internet à travers les programmes de l'Agence intergouvernementale de la Francophonie. Le rôle personnel de Martine de Boisdeffre et de Christoph Graf pour obtenir des subventions des deux gouvernements français et suisse, ne peut être passé sous silence. L'engagement des administrations nationales des Archives suisses, françaises, québécoises, tunisiennes et canadiennes fut et reste déterminant: il faut le souligner... mais cela n'exclut pas, bien au contraire, de futurs soutiens d'autres pays.

Le séminaire de Tunis, du 25 au 28 février 2002, fut à coup sûr la première conséquence positive des encouragements et des financements de l'INTIF. Pour la première fois, tous les partenaires et surtout les auteurs pressentis se retrouvaient réunis pour 3 journées de travail, destinées à définir le projet dans toutes ses composantes. C'est à Tunis que s'est imposée et concrétisée l'idée des 3 volets (formation, documentation, et forum professionnel). Le plan du volet "formation" a été adopté lors de ce séminaire fondateur. Pour sa coordination, le choix d'une archiviste française ayant vécu et travaillé au Maroc s'est révélé particulièrement judicieux et fécond: il s'agit de Marie-Edith Brejon de Lavergnée. Les méthodologies de l'enseignement à distance pratiqué tant à l'Université de Toulouse qu'à celle de Dakar ont été mises à profit. Certains choix techniques en découlèrent: ils se trouvent validés aujourd'hui par la réalisation même de notre portail. La coopération active de l'Université de Toulouse sur le plan technique a été un indéniable facteur de succès. Le mérite en revient à Eric Castex et son collaborateur Eric Ferrante, confortés dans leur travail par les informaticiens des différents pays impliqués dans le projet.

La mise en œuvre a été plus longue que prévue: c'est la loi du genre. Néanmoins, un prototype a été présenté à Vienne au Congrès international des archives en août 2004 et le Portail fut inauguré à Tunis, à l'occasion du Sommet mondial de la Société de l'information le 17 novembre 2005. A cette date, est mis en ligne le volet "Se former". Depuis lors en juillet 2006, le deuxième volet "Se

documenter” a été mis en ligne à son tour dans sa première version. Il continue à se perfectionner en ce moment même. Le troisième volet, le Forum, a été abandonné, du moins sous cette forme: nous en reparlerons plus loin.

Au total le budget de l’opération pour les 4 années de conception, de création, de développement informatique et de mise en service, entre 2002 et 2006, est environ de 600 000 Euros: ce qui n’est pas si mal. Un budget annuel, certes modeste mais indispensable, de fonctionnement assurera la vie et la pérennité de ce beau produit issu des nouvelles technologies de l’information. L’organisation matérielle et financière a entièrement reposé sur les épaules de la secrétaire trésorière de l’AIAF, Directrice des Archives nationales du Québec, Mme Sylvie Lemieux, assistée de Jean Pierre Therrien et maintenant sur celles de son successeur Carol Couture.

L’avenir du portail sera assuré par la participation active des grandes institutions nationales d’archives des pays de la Francophonie, des Associations professionnelles d’archivistes et des organismes de formation en archives, en particulier des Universités et des Ecoles d’archives. C’est la phase de développement qui se déroule en ce moment. Nous avons en 2007 recueilli un budget de 17 000 Euros: il en faudrait 30 000 pour faire vivre normalement le Portail! Nous nous sommes refusés à faire payer quoi que ce soit aux utilisateurs: nous espérons tenir toujours cette ligne grâce à la générosité des pays qui nous supportent financièrement.

Le succès de notre initiative, viendra des réactions encourageantes – espérons-le! – des archivistes en poste et des enseignants et des étudiants en archivistique, qui en sont les premiers usagers. Les statistiques de consultation jusqu’à ce jour sont très encourageantes.

La morale à retirer d’un projet coopératif de cette importance est que Nord et Sud y contribuent quasiment à égalité en terme d’apports archivistique, si ce n’est de financement, et qu’ils en retireront bénéfice tous les deux, car les archivistes ont les mêmes besoins de formation et de culture professionnelle dans ces deux zones de notre planète. Le PIAF est autant utile aux archivistes isolés dans les petites villes françaises ou canadiennes que dans d’autres pays moins organisés en matière de formation des archivistes.

## **Presentation du PIAF**

A Giurgiu, la présentation du PIAF reposait sur des diapositives Power point et des copies d’écran du Portail, qu’il est impossible de reproduire ici. Incontestablement, les lecteurs auront intérêt à se reporter au site du Portail sur Internet: <http://www.piaf-archives.org> pour compléter la lecture de cet article

*Qu’est ce que le PIAF?* Tel était le titre général de ma présentation Power-point. Trois déclinaisons de ce titre général scandaient les trois chapitres qui la structuraient.

## Qu'est ce que le PIAF? Un projet exemplaire?

En guise d'introduction le premier chapitre s'intitulait "Qu'est ce que le PIAF? Un projet exemplaire?" et reprenait en résumé l'historique ci-dessus: je n'y reviens donc pas. J'insistais toutefois à la fin de ce premier chapitre sur le fait que nous devons assurer la pérennité du produit.

Cela suppose en premier lieu d'obtenir de nos soutiens habituels un budget annuel de maintenance et de mise à jour du Portail. La bataille n'est pas encore gagnée. Nous cherchons encore des sources de financement, comme je l'indiquais ci-dessus.

Cela suppose aussi de diversifier le contenu et de ce point de vue nous attendons toutes les contributions possibles des collègues des pays francophones qui, à travers un réseau de "correspondants officiels", peuvent augmenter le contenu des cours de formation ou procurer des informations sur l'archivistique et les archivistes de leurs pays. Pour les Archives nationales de Roumanie, le correspondant officiel du PIAF est Adriana Miron et pour la Fédération, Carmen Dobrotă, la Présidente, assure le lien avec nous.

Un des atouts techniques du PIAF vient de ce qu'il est basé sur une technologie, source ouverte: le serveur d'applications Zope et la plateforme logicielle CPS (Collaborative Portal Server), qui en fait un outil idéal de travail collaboratif. La plateforme CPS est une solution modulaire libre de gestion de contenus, de travail collaboratif et de *work-flow*. Chaque contributeur obtient des droits différents selon son statut pour écrire et publier directement sur le Portail dans telle ou telle partie de celui-ci. Toutes les contributions sont soumises aux membres du Comité éditorial du Portail, et plus spécialement aux responsables de chacun des volets. Les "correspondants officiels" seront amenés à devenir les principaux collaborateurs et contributeurs du Portail.

Nous sommes, en effet, aujourd'hui, après la **première phase** de création et de mise en ligne du PIAF, entrés dans la **deuxième phase** de diffusion, de valorisation, de diversification et d'enrichissement des contenus. Nous souhaitons faire du Portail l'outil d'expression et le forum de notre communauté des archivistes francophones. Outil dont la forme sera diverse, variée et inattendue.

Ainsi, en ce moment, par exemple, se met en place un usage pédagogique du Portail pour les enseignants et étudiants en archivistique. Un nouvel espace intitulé "e-formation", qui leur est dévolu, s'ouvre sur le PIAF pour leur servir d'outil de travail en commun. Le même espace servira à valoriser et publier les meilleurs travaux d'étudiants réalisés à partir des modules de formation en ligne sur le Portail. Cet usage n'était pas prévu initialement: d'autres d'une autre nature peuvent survenir ultérieurement. Le PIAF a vocation à évoluer sans cesse en fonction de l'imagination de notre communauté francophone. Le succès du PIAF dépendra donc de ses usages et du dynamisme de ses usagers. Au vu des statistiques de fréquentation depuis sa

mise en service on peut être assez optimiste, comme le montrent les graphiques statistiques ci-dessous<sup>1</sup>.

### **Qu'est ce que le PIAF au plan technique?**

Le second chapitre présentait les aspects techniques pilotés par l'Université de Toulouse qui, à partir du logiciel de génération de cours en ligne *Galatea* développé avec l'Université de Louvain, s'est fait une spécialité de ce type d'application informatique. *Galatea* est un générateur de contenus e-learning basé sur le langage xhtml. Il permet de créer des modules hypertexte de formation en ligne au format xhtml, interopérable aux normes AICC et SCORM. Il se trouve aussi que l'Université de Dakar, siège de l'EBAD, qui forme nombre d'archivistes africains, utilise ce même logiciel et coopère avec l'Université de Toulouse.

Le PIAF s'appuie donc sur un SGD (Système de gestion documentaire), la plateforme CPS Collaborative Portal Server, logiciel libre fondé sur des standards ouverts et interopérables. C'est une GED (gestion électronique de documents) et un WCM (Web-content management) s'appuyant sur une gestion en *work-flow* pour tous les documents utilisés dans les différents modules du Portail. Le PIAF a fait le choix de fonctionner avec des environnements logiciels libre comme la technologie Zope-CPS largement répandue et utilisée pour la conception de portails collaboratifs. Le PIAF est hébergé sur les serveurs du Ministère de la culture français.

Les lecteurs intéressés par cet aspect plus technique du PIAF pourront interroger directement notre administrateur à Toulouse: M. Eric Castex, qui a mis toute la technique au point avec l'aide des Archives de France, du Québec, du Canada et de sociétés privées spécialisées.

### **Qu'est ce que le PIAF? Quel est son contenu?**

Enfin le troisième et dernier chapitre de la présentation faite à la Conférence de Giurgiu, abordait l'essentiel: la présentation détaillée du contenu du Portail. Mieux vaut, comme je l'indiquais consulter directement le site et découvrir ainsi son contenu et ses fonctionnalités.

Le Portail est divisé en deux volets principaux, précédés d'un volet de présentation du projet et des équipes qui l'ont mis au point et en sont responsables.

Le premier volet, le plus important à nos yeux, est le volet "Se Former". Dès les origines, les concepteurs ont souhaité faire de la formation professionnelle par Internet leur priorité absolue: le volet "Se Former" est donc le fruit du travail d'une trentaine d'auteurs et collaborateurs; il est structuré en 14 modules soit au total 165 heures théoriques d'enseignement ou d'apprentissage. Le nombre des écrans en ligne pour ce volet s'élève à 3000 environ plus 1000 écrans d'illustration avec de nombreuses photos ou vidéos. S'y ajoutent 234 écrans d'exercice.

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<sup>1</sup> Voir les annexes à la fin de l'article (n. éd.).

Il repose sur 4 principes de base:

- une vision intégrée de l'archivistique francophone, soit "une même archivistique pour des pratiques différentes"
- une harmonisation des concepts
- un lien fort entre théorie et pratique
- la pérennité et l'actualisation constante des contenus

Le public visé est celui des archivistes en poste dans nos services, ou des personnes en charge d'archives, et n'ayant pas reçu de formation initiale de base. La deuxième cible est constituée des archivistes en fonction qui souhaitent mettre à jour ou approfondir leur connaissances professionnelles. Ensuite vient le public du monde de l'enseignement de l'archivistique: maîtres et élèves des écoles et Universités francophones. Et enfin dernière cible, la plus large: toute personne travaillant dans n'importe quel organisme concerné par la gestion des archives, des dossiers et documents courants, classiques ou électroniques.

Les 14 modules sont regroupés en 7 cours:

- cours 1: les fondamentaux
- cours 2: législation et réglementation
- cours 3: gestion et traitement
- cours 4: conservation et prévention
- cours 5: communication et valorisation
- cours 6: création d'un service d'archives
- cours 7: partenariats et coopération

Chaque module précise ses objectifs, donne une bibliographie sommaire, des études de cas, des exercices et un glossaire, donne aussi des conseils d'utilisation, et est appuyé par des documents multimédia (photos, films vidéo, animations). Le PIAF propose de nombreux exercices d'autoévaluation, dont certains assez sophistiqués, d'autres plus ludiques et plus simples: cela rend la matière plus vivante et moins austère.

Le Volet "Se Documenter" a vocation à rassembler des données sur le domaine professionnel, utiles aux archivistes, surtout à ceux qui sont éloignés des ressources documentaires ou d'information. Il s'agit là encore de rompre, grâce aux TIC, l'isolement de certains d'entre nous: isolement géographique et matériel ou isolement moral.

Il est composé de 5 modules :

- le "babillard"
- l'annuaire des services d'archives francophones
- la bibliographie générale du PIAF
- Un recueil de textes
- Un outil terminologique

Le **babillard** permet de trouver les nouvelles récentes des organismes d'archives ou de porter à connaissance des événements ou des manifestations.

L'**annuaire**, quand il sera parvenu à son achèvement, permettra de trouver rapidement les coordonnées des services d'archives de niveau régional, national et

international, les Ecoles et Universités et toutes les institutions qui composent le monde archivistique francophone dès lors qu'elles sont présentes sur Internet.

La **bibliographie** rassemblera l'essentiel de la production en langue française.

Le **recueil de textes** offrira les "incunables" et textes majeurs de notre discipline, en français et dans les langues usuelles.

Enfin le glossaire ou **outil terminologique** permettra d'élucider les difficultés de compréhension des termes techniques inhérents à notre profession.

Ces modules ont vocation à recevoir sans cesse de nouvelles données: nous vous invitons donc à y contribuer directement ou indirectement via les deux correspondantes roumaines du Portail.

Depuis peu le volet "Se Documenter" a changé de forme et se trouve plus accessible et présenté directement sur le premier écran du PIAF: sa lecture en est facilitée. Depuis peu une animatrice du portail (*webmaster* en anglais) a été recrutée: elle fera vivre le Portail en le mettant à jour, en donnant vie aux rubriques d'actualité, en gérant les liens avec nos "abonnés" par des messages personnels en réponse aux questions, et surtout par une **Lettre** régulière d'information adressée par messagerie aux abonnés.

\* \* \*

Notre ambition après cet effort de conception initial est de parvenir à faire du PIAF le "forum" d'échanges et de travail des archivistes qui utilisent le français, dans tous les pays membres officiels ou non de la Francophonie. Ce "forum" restera très ouvert, mais il sera de très haut niveau professionnel pour le différencier d'autres lieux plus bavards que sérieux. Pour cela, nous devons conserver une équipe nombreuse et motivée qui puisse animer le Portail et aussi contrôler la qualité et la pertinence des informations qu'il véhicule. La qualité est un de nos premiers soucis. La diversité au sein du monde francophone en est un autre: nous souhaitons que chaque pays puisse se retrouver dans le PIAF et pour cela nous faisons appel aux archivistes et aux institutions d'archives et souhaitons leur collaboration active. Ainsi, s'enrichira le contenu des cours de formation et circulera l'information et la documentation dont nous avons besoin au quotidien hors de notre champ strictement national: le PIAF vient en complément des systèmes nationaux de formation et d'information créés par les Archives ou les Associations d'archivistes des différents pays. Il vient aussi en complément des sites du Conseil international des archives ou de l'Unesco.

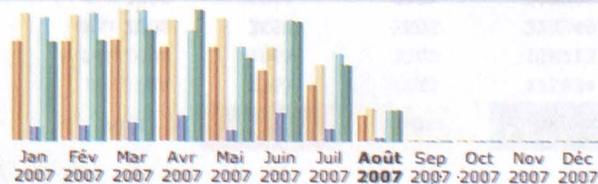
Le PIAF devrait ainsi contribuer à élever le niveau professionnel dans les zones où cela est le plus nécessaire, dans les zones les plus démunies de structures professionnelles fortes, et faire avancer un peu partout dans le monde francophone, l'archivistique et le secteur des Archives: c'est notre souhait le plus vif. Ainsi, en moins de 10 ans, nous aurons gagné notre "pari de Stockholm"!

Statistique [www.piaf-archives.org](http://www.piaf-archives.org) au 18 août 2007:

Vous avez été 81555 a visité notre site au cours du premier semestre 2007 contre 67705 pour l'ensemble de l'année 2006. Nous vous en remercions.

Prêt de 10000 visites par mois dont 30, 22 % sont des retours

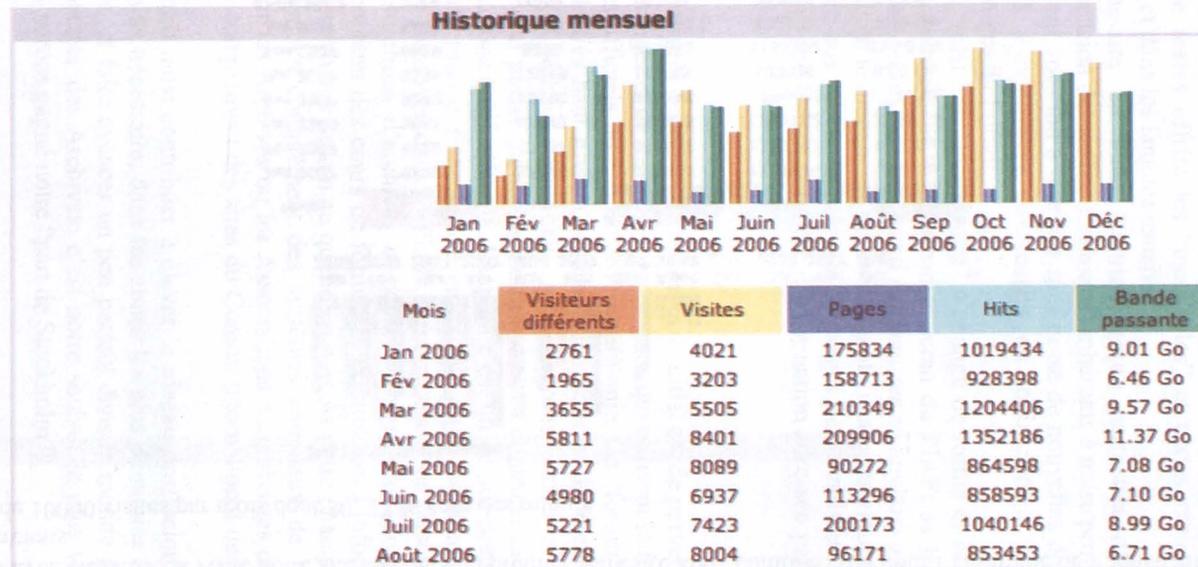
### Historique mensuel



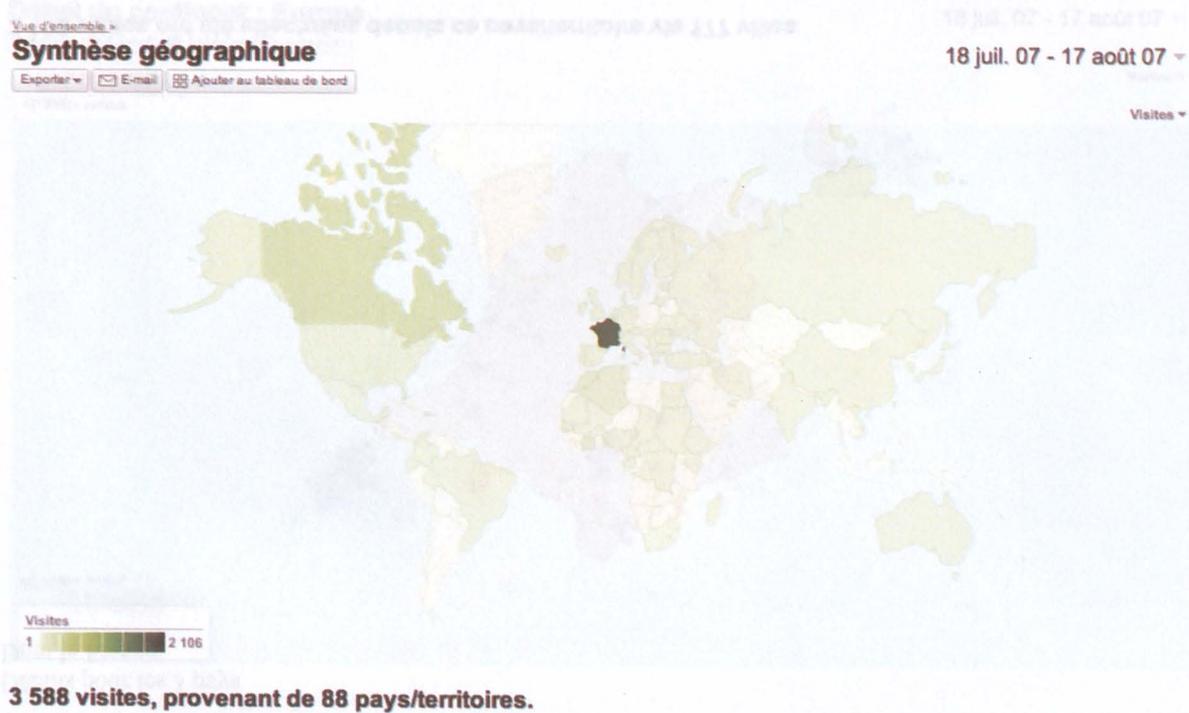
Mois	Visiteurs différents	Visites	Pages	Hits	Bande passante
Jan 2007	9828	12476	135400	1177074	9.68 Go
Fév 2007	9720	12337	140517	1217242	9.81 Go
Mar 2007	9941	12840	169356	1243752	10.80 Go
Avr 2007	9240	11890	238749	1056488	12.73 Go
Mai 2007	9259	12019	103069	908076	8.07 Go
Juin 2007	6939	9239	273843	1156300	11.60 Go
Juil 2007	5440	7505	115193	832073	7.38 Go
<b>Août 2007</b>	<b>2564</b>	<b>3249</b>	<b>35910</b>	<b>294091</b>	<b>3.03 Go</b>
Sep 2007	0	0	0	0	0
Oct 2007	0	0	0	0	0
Nov 2007	0	0	0	0	0
Déc 2007	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>62931</b>	<b>81555</b>	<b>1212037</b>	<b>7885096</b>	<b>73.12 Go</b>

22 minutes en moyenne de temps passé sur le site contre 14, 30 pour les primo arrivants

Par comparaison rappel des connexions au mois d'août de l'année 2006 :



L'origine géographique:



Détails pour les 3 pays  
Dont la France:

Zoom arrière



**2 106 visites ont été effectuées depuis ce pays/territoire via 177 villes**

Pour l'Europe:

### Détail du continent : Europe

Exporter ▼ E-mail Ajouter au tableau de bord

18 juil. 07 - 17 août 07 ▼

Zoom arrière

Visites ▼



Pour l'Amérique du Nord:

### Détail de la région : Northern America

Exporter ▾ E-mail Ajouter au tableau de bord

Zoom arrière



Continent africain:

[Vue d'ensemble »](#)

### Détail du continent : Africa

[Exporter](#) [E-mail](#) [Ajouter au tableau de bord](#)

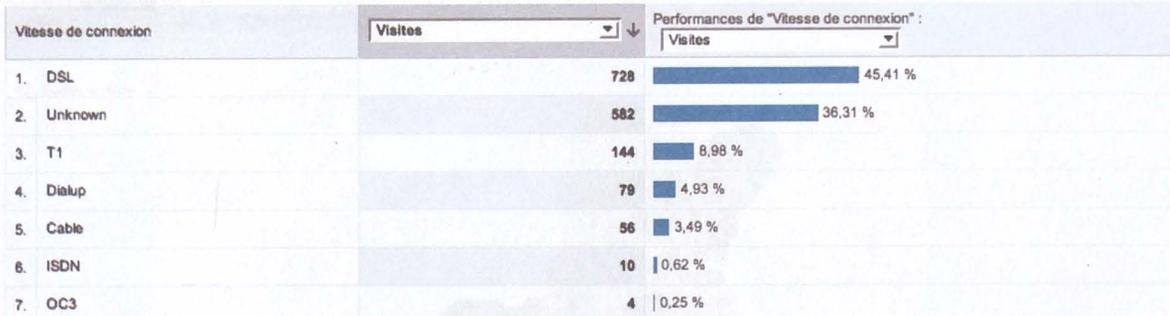
18 juil. 07 - 17 août 07 ▾

Visites ▾

[Zoom arrière](#)



Les types d'accès internet depuis le continent africain:



OC3 = réseau large bande 155 Mbits  
 Dialup: 56 kbits connexion avec modem  
 ISDN: réseaux numérisés  
 T1 réseau fibre optique

# Über den Quellenwert von Fotografien

Wolf Buchmann

## 1. Die Authentizität von Fotoaufnahmen

Fotografien gelten einerseits als sicher und vertrauenswürdig, z.B. als Beweismittel im Straf- oder Zivilrecht<sup>1</sup>. Andererseits wurden und werden sie aus politischen und kommerziellen Gründen vor Veröffentlichungen häufig manipuliert und verfälscht. Das Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland hat unter dem Titel: Bilder, die lügen im Jahr 2000 diesem Thema eine ganze Ausstellung gewidmet<sup>2</sup>. Zweifel an der Authentizität mancher Fotografien führen dazu, dass auch zweifelsfrei authentische Fotografien als angebliche Fälschungen oder Manipulationen diskreditiert werden, wenn das Bild nicht mit der Erinnerung oder politischen und moralischen Überzeugungen des Betrachters übereinstimmt. Im Spannungsfeld zwischen akzeptierter Glaubwürdigkeit und realen oder unterstellten Manipulationen muss der Historiker und der Archivar Kriterien entwickeln, unter welchen Voraussetzungen und für welche Fragestellungen Fotografien als verlässliche Grundlage wissenschaftlicher Darstellungen und administrativer Entscheidungen dienen können.

In der geschichtswissenschaftlichen Literatur dienten Fotografien früher zumeist nur als Illustration ohne Bedeutung für den Inhalt der Veröffentlichung. Fotografien als Quelle ernst zu nehmen, für audiovisuelle Unterlagen quellenkritische Methoden zu entwickeln, wurde von Historikern wiederholt gefordert<sup>3</sup>, aber zunächst kaum realisiert. Mit der sogenannten "Wehrmachtausstellung" begann 1995 in Deutschland eine intensive Diskussion um die Authentizität der gezeigten Fotografien und ihren Wert als historische Quellen<sup>4</sup>. Es wurde dabei deutlich, dass im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert entwickelte Methoden der

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<sup>1</sup> So wurde in dem Strafverfahren gegen die Wachmannschaften des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1963/65 in Frankfurt die Aussage des Angeklagten Scherpe, er habe einen Zeugen nie gesehen, durch die Vorlage eines Fotos mit beiden Personen widerlegt, vgl. Hermann Langbein, *Der Auschwitz-Prozess, Eine Dokumentation*, Band 2, Frankfurt/Main 1995, S. 770 f.; Cornelia Brink, *Ikonen der Vernichtung: Öffentlicher Gebrauch von Fotografien aus nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern nach 1945*, Berlin 1998, S. 119.

<sup>2</sup> X für U, *Bilder, die lügen*, Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung der Stiftung Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Hg.), 2. Auflage, Bonn, 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Hans Günter Hockerts, *Zeitgeschichte in Deutschland, Begriff, Methoden, Themensfelder*, in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Beilage zur Wochenzeitung Das Parlament vom 16. Juli 1993*, S. 7 f.

<sup>4</sup> Miriam Arani: "und an den Fotos entzündete sich die Kritik", *Die "Wehrmachtausstellung", deren Kritiker und die Neukonzeption. Ein Beitrag aus fotohistorisch-quellenkritischer Sicht*, "Fotogeschichte, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Ästhetik der Fotografie", Heft 85/86, 202, S. 97-124.

klassischen historischen Hilfswissenschaften für schriftliche Quellen grundsätzlich auch für audiovisuelles Material anzuwenden sind. Dies gilt vor allem für die Anwendung des Provenienzprinzips bei der Organisation der Fotografien in einem Archiv, bei ihrer formalen Beschreibung und inhaltlichen Erschließung und bei der Interpretation. In der seit Mitte der neunziger Jahre sehr stark angewachsenen Literatur hat sich für Fotografien der Begriff der “Kontextualisierung” eingebürgert. Im Rahmen dieser Kontextualisierung sind vor jeder Auswertung von Fotografien folgende Kernfragen zu stellen:

- Wer hat wann, wo, in wessen Auftrag und mit welcher Absicht fotografiert?
- Wie wurde das Foto unmittelbar nach dem Aufnehmen und in den Folgejahren benutzt und interpretiert?
- Wie ist die Überlieferungsgeschichte des Negativs und der Rückvergrößerungen?

Das Bundesarchiv war in den Auseinandersetzungen um Fotografien in der Wehrmachtausstellung gezwungen, diese Fragen für einige Fotografien aus seinen Beständen zu beantworten. In einer der auflagenstärksten Zeitungen Österreichs, der “Kronzeitung”, war behauptet worden, Aufnahmen in dieser Ausstellung seien manipuliert. Dagegen wurde von einem der Historiker, die die Ausstellung erarbeitet hatten, beim Landesgericht für Strafsachen in Wien Klage erhoben. Im Verlauf dieses Verfahrens hatte ein vom Gericht offiziell bestellter Gutachter mit technischen Argumenten behauptet, Photoaufnahmen jüdischer Einwohner von Mogilew seien durch das Einkopieren weißer Sterne in die Photoaufnahmen manipuliert worden.



**Bild 1: Angeblich gefälschte Aufnahme aus Mogilew**

Die Aufnahmen kamen aus dem Bundesarchiv, das zu den Vorwürfen im Rahmen der Gerichtsverfahren Stellung nehmen mußte<sup>5</sup>. Es konnte nachgewiesen werden, dass es sich um Aufnahmen eines namentlich bekannten Bildberichterstatters einer Propagandakompanie (PK) handelt<sup>6</sup>. Die beanstandeten Bilder sind Teil einer Aufnahmeserie auf drei Kleinbildfilmen mit zusammen 104 Aufnahmen. Die Negativfilme wurden während des Krieges ins Bildarchiv des Bildpresseamts in Berlin übernommen, nach 1945 durch amerikanische Truppen beschlagnahmt und später dem Bundesarchiv übergeben. Eine einzelne Rückvergrößerung<sup>7</sup> wurde unmittelbar nach den Aufnahmen beschriftet und dem Scherl-Verlag überlassen, dessen Bestände zum Teil vom Zentralen Bildarchiv der DDR, und nach der Vereinigung der beiden deutschen Staaten vom Bundesarchiv übernommen wurden.

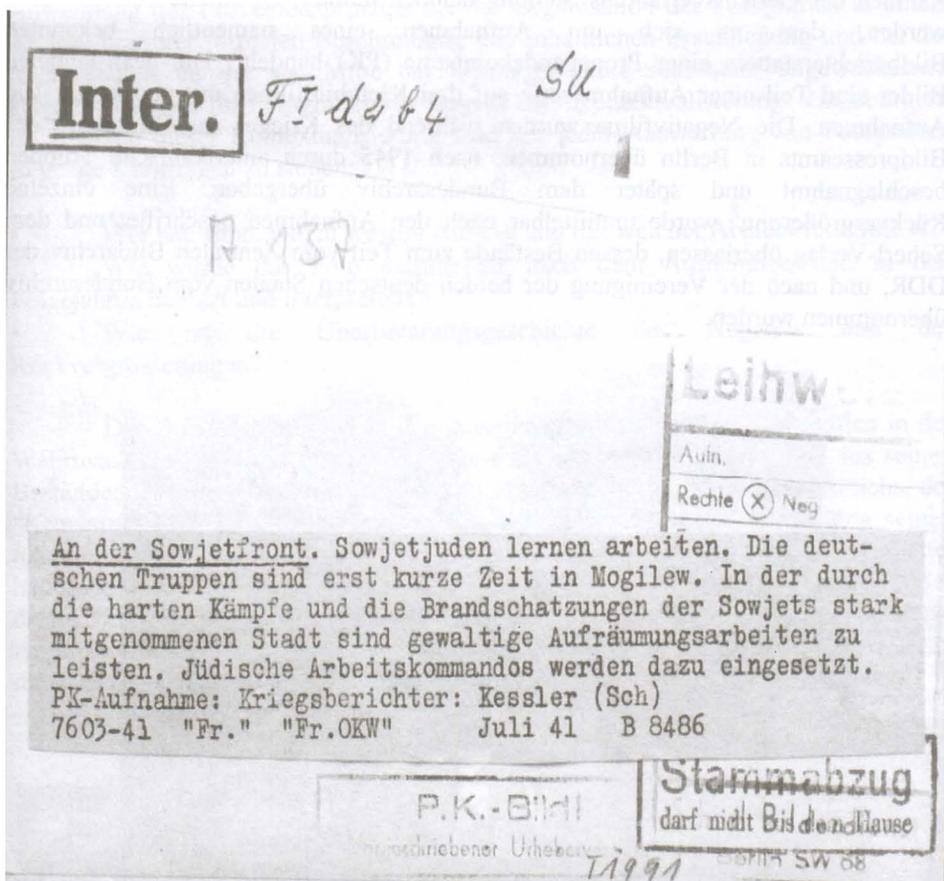


**Bild 2: Mogilewfoto des Scherl-Verlags,**

<sup>5</sup> Bundesarchiv Bild 101/138/1083/26, Bildberichterstatter Rudolf Kessler, Propagandakompanie 689.

<sup>6</sup> Zu den Einzelheiten der Entstehung der Fotos, der Biografie des Fotografen und der Überlieferungsgeschichte der Filme vgl. Wolf Buchmann, *Bilder in Archiven, Empfehlungen für den Umgang mit historischen Fotografien*, in *Ein Jahrhundert wird besichtigt. Momentaufnahmen aus Deutschland* (hrsg. im Auftrag des Bundesarchivs von Gisela Müller), Bundesarchiv Koblenz, 2004, S. 27 bis 41.

<sup>7</sup> Negativnummer dieses Bildes: Bundesarchiv Bild 101 I/138/1084/11.



**Bild 3: Mogilewfoto des Scherlverlags, Bildlegende**

Der Name des Fotografen war durch die Beschriftung der Negativtaschen aus dem Bildarchiv des Bildpresseamts bekannt, damit war der Rückgriff auf seine militärischen Personalunterlagen möglich. Der genaue Ort und die Zeit der Aufnahmen ergaben sich aus der Bildlegende. Eindeutig belegbar sind auch die getrennt verlaufenen Überlieferungsgeschichten der Negativfilme und der Rückvergrößerung. Die Kontextualisierung war also in diesem Fall so vollständig und mit so eindeutigem Ergebnis möglich, dass das technische Gutachten mit dem

Fälschungsvorwurf zweifelsfrei widerlegt war. Dies gilt auch für alle weiteren Fälschungsvorwürfe gegen Aufnahmen in der Wehrmachtsausstellung, die sich auf Fotos der Propagandakompanien im Bundesarchiv bezogen.

Bei einer Konferenz in Hamburg wurden im Juni 1999 die damals bereits vorliegenden Erfahrungen von Historikern und Archivaren mit historischen Fotografien diskutiert und umgesetzt in Empfehlungen für deren Sicherung und Benutzung. Insbesondere die Beachtung der ersten fünf Punkte ist eine wichtige Voraussetzung für die Verwendung von Fotografien als Quelle für die historische Forschung und andere Fragestellungen.

### **Empfehlungen für Archivierung von Bildern**

1. Bei der Übernahme historischer Aufnahmen sind die Herkunft, der Entstehungszusammenhang, der Photograph, die bisherige Überlieferungsgeschichte und ggf. Die Inhaber von Verwertungsrechten zu dokumentieren, auch für Duplikatfilme, soweit mit vertretbarem Aufwand zu ermitteln.

2. Grundlage der Ordnung historischer Aufnahmen im Archiv ist das Provenienzprinzip, nach dem Bilder ihrer Herkunft folgend zu Beständen formiert werden. Von dieser Ordnung zu trennen ist die inhaltliche Erschließung, die nicht durch Aufteilung von Bildern in bestandsübergreifende sachthematische Serien, sondern durch geeignete Findmittel wie Datenbanksysteme erfolgen soll.

3. Werden historische Aufnahmen aus konservatorischen Gründen umkopiert, ist die früheste überlieferte Fassung eines Bildes, möglichst das erste in der Kamera belichtete Negativ, aufzubewahren.

4. Bei Restaurierungsmaßnahmen von historischen Aufnahmen sind die anerkannten Regeln für die Bearbeitung von schriftlichem Archivgut entsprechend anzuwenden, insbesondere sind Verfahren und die Maßnahme selbst so zu dokumentieren, dass Art und Umfang der Restaurierungsmaßnahmen erkennbar sind.

5. Bei der Veröffentlichung von Photos ist auf die früheste vorliegende Überlieferungsform und Bildbeschriftung zurückzugreifen, bzw. Zu verweisen. Der Photograph, die Verwahrstelle, deren Signatur, der Ort, Zeitpunkt und Entstehungszusammenhang der Aufnahme sind anzugeben, soweit verfügbar oder mit vertretbarem Aufwand zu ermitteln.

6. Für historische Aufnahmen aus der Zeit des 2. Weltkrieges sollte ein geeignetes Nachweissystem als Modell aufgebaut werden, das Informationen über entsprechende Bildbestände und –sammlungen in europäischen Archiven, Museen und anderen Verwahrstellen ausweist.

7. Archive und andere Verwahrstellen sichern historische Aufnahmen als Kulturgut. Diese primäre Sicherungsaufgabe darf durch Privatisierung oder Kommerzialisierung nicht in Frage gestellt oder gefährdet werden.

## 2. Die Auswertung von Fotografien

Die Auswertungs- oder Interpretationsmöglichkeiten von Fotografien sind weit gespannt, insbesondere wenn diese Empfehlungen beachtet werden:

### 2.1 Das Foto als unmittelbar auszuwertende Quelle

Fotografien bieten unmittelbar Informationen für wissenschaftliche und administrative Zwecke, auf die hier nur in Auswahl und beispielhaft hingewiesen werden kann:

- Fotografien von Gebäuden und Inneneinrichtungen sind für die Architekturgeschichte im Allgemeinen, insbesondere aber für die Rekonstruktion von zerstörten Gebäuden, Innenräumen und Einrichtungen von Bedeutung.

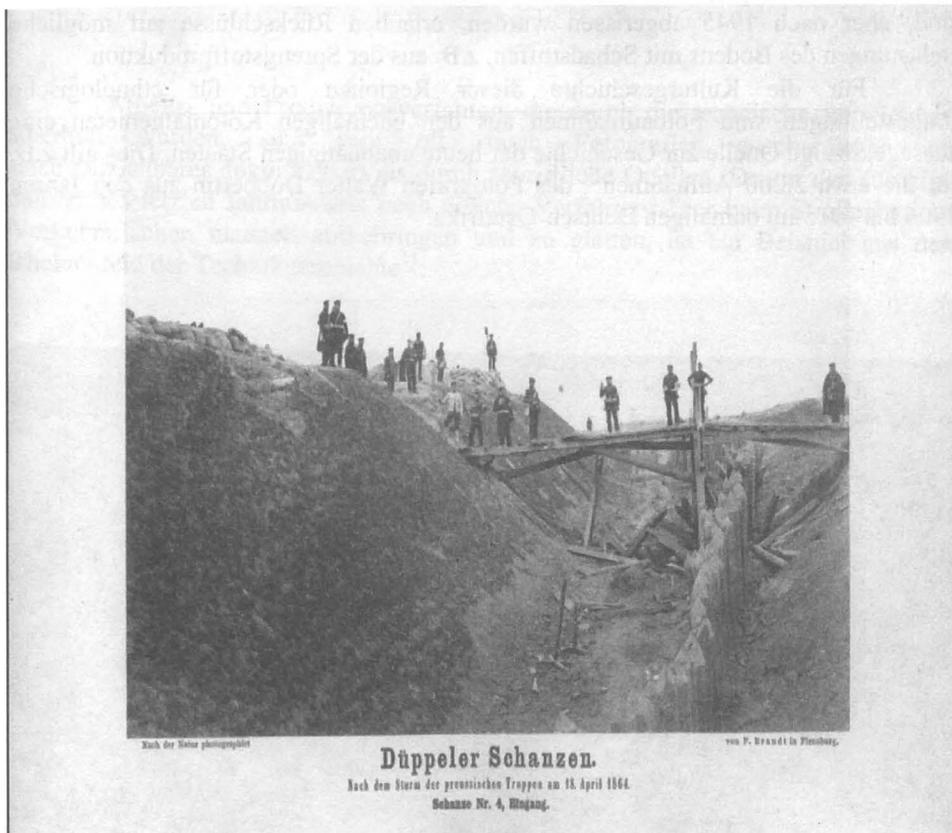
Das Bernsteinzimmer, ein an allen Wänden mit Bernstein verkleideter Raum, war ein Geschenk des preußischen Königs Friedrich Wilhelm I an den russischen Zaren Peter den Großen im Jahr 1716. Von deutschen Truppen wurde es im Katharinenpalast in Zarskoje Selo demontiert, nach Königsberg gebracht und ist seitdem verschollen. Das Zimmer konnte in den Jahren 1976 bis 2003 anhand einer Farb- und einiger Schwarz-Weissaufnahmen aus der Zeit vor 1945 rekonstruiert werden.

Die Restaurierung der 1904 erbauten größten Synagoge Deutschlands im Berliner Stadtteil Prenzlauer Berg wurde im Sommer 2007 abgeschlossen. Eine wichtige Vorlage für die Restauratoren waren Fotografien aus der Baubeschreibung, die anlässlich des Neubaus vor mehr als einhundert Jahren erstellt wurde<sup>8</sup>.

- Fotografien dokumentieren den Stand der Waffen- und Befestigungstechnik, die aktuelle Lage an einem Schauplatz kriegerischer Ereignisse als Quelle zur Militärgeschichte ergänzend zu Plänen, Zeichnungen oder Beschreibungen.

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<sup>8</sup> Jähel Mielke, *Aus dunklen Zeiten ans Licht*, "Süddeutsche Zeitung", Nr. 200 vom 31.09.2007, S. 12.



**Bild 4: Düppeler Schanzen**

Eine der ältesten Aufnahmen des Bundesarchivs aus dem preußisch-österreichischen Krieg gegen Dänemark aus dem Jahr 1864 zeigt die archaisch anmutenden dänischen Befestigungsanlagen nach ihrer Erstürmung. Diese Serie von Bildern, aufgenommen auf Glasplatten, ist ein frühes Beispiel für den Einsatz der Fotografie bei der Kriegsberichterstattung<sup>9</sup>.

• Zweck häufiger Benutzungsanfragen im Bundesarchiv ist die Auswertung von Luftbildaufnahmen aus der Zeit während und nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg zur Ermittlung von Altlasten im Gelände: Bombenrichter, die längst eingeebnet wurden, geben Hinweise auf möglicherweise im Boden noch verborgene Blindgänger; Fabrikationsstätten und Lagerhallen, die auf den Fotografien noch identifizierbar

<sup>9</sup> Bundesarchiv Bild 146-1972-055-44.

sind, aber nach 1945 abgerissen wurden, erlauben Rückschlüsse auf mögliche Belastungen des Bodens mit Schadstoffen, z.B. aus der Sprengstoffproduktion.

• Für die Kulturgeschichte dieser Regionen oder für ethnologische Fragestellungen sind Fotoaufnahmen aus den ehemaligen Kolonialgebieten eine aussagekräftige Quelle zur Geschichte der heute unabhängigen Staaten. Dies gilt z.B. für die etwa 2.200 Aufnahmen<sup>10</sup> des Fotografen Walter Dobbertin aus den Jahren 1906 bis 1915 im damaligen Deutsch-Ostafrika.



**Bild 5: Teerarbeiten**

<sup>10</sup> Bundesarchiv Bestand Bild 105 Sammlung Walter Dobbertin.

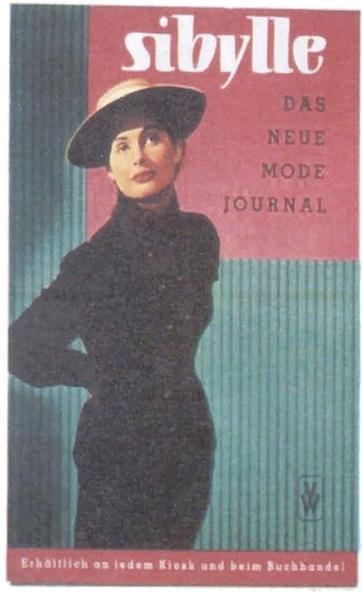
- Arbeits- und Produktionsverfahren, die durch die technische Entwicklung überholt wurden, sind sehr oft durch Fotografien anschaulicher und nachvollziehbarer dokumentiert als durch schriftliche Quellen. Das in den fünfziger Jahren des letzten Jahrhunderts noch übliche Verfahren, Teer beim Straßenbau auf Verkehrsflächen manuell aufzubringen und zu glätten, ist ein Beispiel aus dem Themenfeld der Technikgeschichte<sup>11</sup>.



**Bild 6: Wohnverhältnisse**

<sup>11</sup> Bundesarchiv Bild 183-2007-0918-500.

- Für die Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte belegen Fotografien der Wohnungen, die oft zugleich Arbeitsstätte der Familienmitglieder waren, die schwierigen Lebensbedingungen ganzer Bevölkerungsschichten am Rande des Existenzminimums eindrucksvoller als statistische Zahlen über Familiengrößen und jeweils verfügbaren Wohnraum<sup>12</sup>.
- Luftbildaufnahmen liefern der Archäologie durch Verfärbungen des Bodens oder Unterschiede im Pflanzenwuchs Hinweise auf verborgene Fundstätten und erlauben Abgrenzungen früherer Wohn- und Befestigungsanlagen.
- Für die Klimaforschung belegen z.B. historische und aktuelle Gletscheraufnahmen im Vergleich den Nachweis langfristiger Veränderungen des Klimas.



**Bild 7 und 8: Frauenbilder 1949 und 1956**

<sup>12</sup> Bundesarchiv Bild 183-1983-0225-309. "Wohnungselend in Deutschland um 1919. In dieser Wohnung, die aus einer Stube und Küche bestand, lebten 11 Personen."

Für die Kultur- oder Mentalitätsgeschichte sind Fotoaufnahmen für die Werbung von besonderem Interesse. Für den Zweck der Aufnahmen, Produkte erfolgreich zu vermarkten, wird der Fotograf abbilden, was in der jeweils aktuellen Vorstellung seiner Zielgruppe als schön, modern und zeitgemäß empfunden wird. Der Wandel des Frauenbilds in der deutschen Gesellschaft lässt sich an Fotografien verdeutlichen: das Bild der blonden Frau aus dem Jahr 1949 ist in Frisur, Tracht und Körperhaltung dem traditionellen Ideal vergangener Jahre verpflichtet, das Bild aus dem Jahr 1956 verweist auf ein neues Selbstverständnis der Frau<sup>13</sup>.

Die Reihe der Beispiele, in denen Fotos unmittelbar abzulesende Informationen bieten, ließe sich weiter fortsetzen.

## 2.2 Die Sicht des Fotografen auf sein Sujet

Auf einer zweiten Interpretationsebene liegt der Ansatz, zu verstehen, welchen Eindruck der Fotograf durch die Auswahl seines Sujets und die Inszenierung einer Fotoaufnahme erzielen oder welche Informationen er indirekt vermitteln will.



**Bild 9: Demütigung eines Juden**

<sup>13</sup> *Modell Gundel, Leipziger Herbstmesse 1949, Bundesarchiv Bild 183-09958-0575 und Werbeplakat für die Zeitschrift Sibylle 1956, Bundesarchiv Plak 103-016-011.*

Auch dieses Bild aus dem Bundesarchiv wurde nach einer Veröffentlichung in der Wochenzeitung „Die Zeit“ von ehemaligen Wehrmachtangehörigen als Fälschung zurückgewiesen. Es ist zweifelsfrei authentisch<sup>14</sup> und dokumentiert nicht nur den Vorgang der Demütigung eines älteren jüdischen Mannes, sondern ebenso das antisemitische Motiv für die Erstellung der Aufnahmen. Die Beleidigung und Erniedrigung eines jüdischen Menschen wurde für die deutschen Soldaten als unterhaltsamer Spaß inszeniert und erlaubt Rückschlüsse auf deren Prägung durch die NS-Ideologie. Auch mit anderen dramaturgischen Mitteln, z.B. dem Blickwinkel von oben nach unten, einem weit geöffneten Mund, unrasierten Gesichtern und zerlumpter Kleidung wurden hinter der Ostfront Aufnahmen von im damaligen Sinn rassistisch minderwertigen Menschen gestaltet und veröffentlicht.

Die Frage nach der Sicht des Fotografen auf sein Sujet ist nicht nur bei Propagandaufnahmen in totalitären Systemen von Interesse. Atelieraufnahmen des 19. Jahrhunderts inszenieren ein Bild der bürgerlichen Familie, das in der Gruppierung der Personen und der Dekorationselemente mit Palmen, Möbeln und schweren Vorhängen zu der sozialen Selbsteinschätzung der abgebildeten Familie korrespondiert. Fotografien aus den deutschen Kolonialgebieten zeigen halbnackte Frauen vor ihren einfachen Lehmhütten mit fast unbekleideten federgeschmückten und tätowierten Männern im Kontrast zu der disziplinierten Gruppe der Angehörigen der deutschen Schutztruppe in Uniform und militärischer Ordnung beim „Parademarsch auf dem Bismarckplatz“ in Daressalam<sup>15</sup>. In den ausgezeichneten Fotoaufnahmen der deutschen Reichstagsabgeordneten des Fotografen Julius Braatz wird die Gruppe der polnischen Parlamentarier im deutschen Reichstag vor einem Medaillon an der Wand abgebildet mit dem Fichtezeitat: „Das heiligste Recht einer Nation ist es, als solche zu bestehen und anerkannt zu werden.“ Die verdeckten Botschaften in diesen Fotografien erschließen sich dem kritischen Betrachter, wenn er der Empfehlung folgt, „Kontextualisierung zu betreiben, d.h: die Zusammenhänge der Herstellung, der Verwendung und vielleicht des Wahrnehmens oder des Wegsehens, des Übersehens so weit es geht zu erschließen“, damit „den Schritt von der naiven zu der reflektierten Bildbetrachtung zu machen“<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> *Stellungnahme des Bundesarchivs*, „Die Zeit“, Ausgabe Nr. 40 vom 27.09.1996, S. 10.

<sup>15</sup> Bundesarchiv Bild 105/DOA 6157.

<sup>16</sup> „Bilder gegen den Strich lesen“, *Alf Lüdtke und Volker Reinhardt im Gespräch über Herrschaftspropaganda durch Photographien und Kunstwerke*, „Frankfurter Rundschau“ vom 27. Oktober 1990.

### 2.3 Die öffentliche Wirkungen von Fotografien

Ein weiterer aussagekräftiger Interpretationsansatz ist die Analyse der beabsichtigten und der erzielten öffentlichen Wirkung einer Fotografie.



**Bild 10: Reichspräsident Ebert beim Baden**

Das Foto zeigt den Reichspräsidenten Friedrich Ebert und den Reichswehrminister Noske in Badehosen 1919 bei der Eröffnung eines Kinderheims im Seebad Haffkrug/Ostsee<sup>17</sup>. Das Foto wurde von republikfeindlichen nationalen Gruppen sehr erfolgreich instrumentalisiert im Kampf gegen die SPD und die Republik<sup>18</sup>.

Im 2. Weltkrieg wurde die geforderte antisemitische Wirkung von Aufnahmen osteuropäischer Juden in der deutschen Bevölkerung überprüft. Die Ergebnisse wurden in den Meldungen aus dem Reich, den Geheimen Lageberichten des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS, festgehalten und im Sinne der NS-Ideologie begrüßt<sup>19</sup>. Die Bedeutung, die der Wirkung von Fotos und Filmen in der Öffentlichkeit zugemessen wird, zeigt sich auch in den Versuchen, die Veröffentlichung von Fotografien zu verhindern. Durch Bestechung konnte ein Fotograf in der ersten Nacht nach dem Tod Bismarcks heimlich eine Aufnahme des Verstorbenen in seinem Sterbebett machen, deren Veröffentlichung die Familie Bismarck fünfzig Jahre lang verhindern konnte<sup>20</sup>.

Ein vor und nach 1945 hochrangiger deutscher Bankier und Industrieller, Baron August von Finck, wurde am 18. Juli 1937 mit Hitler zusammen bei der Eröffnung des "Hauses der deutschen Kunst" fotografiert – seine Versuche, eine Veröffentlichung des Fotos nach 1945 zu verhindern, scheiterten und damit seine Bemühung, die öffentlichkeitswirksame Dokumentation einer in den Akten belegten und seit 1937 bekannten Tatsache zu verhindern<sup>21</sup>. Das Beispiel belegt auch einen für die Ausstellungs- und Veröffentlichungspraxis von Quellen wichtigen Unterschied: die Öffentlichkeit wird eine Aktenpublikation oder eine dokumentengesättigte Ausstellung mit geringerer Aufmerksamkeit wahrnehmen als eine Fotoausstellung, deren Bilder sehr viel stärker provozieren und zum Widerspruch reizen als ein Aktenvermerk oder Brief zum gleichen Thema.

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<sup>17</sup> Bundesarchiv Bild 146-1987-076-13. Das Bild wurde auch als Titelblatt der "Berliner Illustrierten Zeitung" am 24. August 1919 veröffentlicht.

<sup>18</sup> Niels H.M. Albrecht, *Die Macht einer Verleumdungskampagne, Antidemokratische Agitationen der Presse und Justiz gegen die Weimarer Republik und ihren ersten Reichspräsidenten vom "Badebild" bis zum Magdeburger Prozeß*, Dissertation Universität Bremen, 2002.

<sup>19</sup> *Meldungen aus dem Reich, Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS 1938-1945* (hrsg. von Heinz Boberach), Band 7, Herrsching 1984, S. 2445.

<sup>20</sup> Lothar Machtan, *Bismarcks Tod und Deutschlands Tränen. Eine historische Reportage*, München, 1998.

<sup>21</sup> "Süddeutsche Zeitung" vom 18. Juli 2007, Nr. 163, S. 15.

## 2.4 Bildmanipulationen als Interpretationsansatz



**Bild 11: Vereinigungsparteitag der KPD und SPD 1946, ganzes Bild**

Ausgangspunkt war die Frage, wie die Authentizität eines Fotos gesichert werden kann. Manipulierte Aufnahmen sind selbstverständlich nicht ohne Wert für die Forschung – eine Fälschung ebenso wie ein ungerechtfertigter Fälschungsvorwurf kann andere und manchmal interessantere Fragen beantworten als sie an das authentische Bild zu stellen sind. Ein Foto, das bei dem sogenannten Vereinigungsparteitag der KPD mit der SPD in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone im April 1946 gemacht wurde, zeigt den bekannten Händedruck zwischen Otto Grotewohl und Wilhelm Pieck<sup>22</sup>. Die zweite Person von rechts ist Erich Gniffke,

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<sup>22</sup> Bundesarchiv Bild 183-H26980.

SPD Mitglied, damals ein entschiedener Befürworter der Vereinigung von SPD und KPD und Mitglied im ersten Zentralsekretariat der neuen SED. 1948 floh er in den Westen und war auf dem Foto politisch nicht mehr tragbar. Durch eine Verfügung auf der Rückseite des Fotos wurde festgelegt, dass es nur noch als Ausschnitt aus der ersten, authentischen Fassung benutzt werden dürfe.



**Bild 12: Vereinigungsparteitag der KPD und SPD 1946, Ausschnitt.**

Dabei passierte allerdings das Missgeschick, dass bei der Festlegung des Ausschnitts die Nase des Herrn Gniffke im Bild blieb<sup>23</sup>, die am rechten Bildrand auf dem Revers des Jacketts von Walter Ulbricht immer noch deutlich zu erkennen ist. Unbeschadet der dilettantischen Ausführung belegt der Vorgang, wie wichtig die Führung eines Staates ein historisches Foto als politisches Dokument nahm, das nun nicht so sehr eine Quelle zu dem Vereinigungsparteitag als vielmehr eine Quelle zum Umgang der DDR-Führung mit einer historischen Quelle ist.

### 3. Zusammenfassung

Die besondere Verantwortung des Archivars, Bibliothekars oder Dokumentars, der für Bildbestände oder – sammlungen zuständig ist, liegt bei der Arbeit mit Fotografien zunächst bei der technischen Sicherung des Materials<sup>24</sup>, vor allem aber in der Beachtung der Regeln oder Empfehlungen, die dem Historiker die Kontextualisierung der Aufnahmen ermöglichen. Die Möglichkeiten der Auswertung von Fotografien und deren Interpretationsmöglichkeiten werden bestimmt durch die Qualität dieser Kontextinformationen. Unter den genannten Interpretationsoptionen ist die Frage nach der Sicht des Fotografen auf sein Sujet, nach der dazu korrespondierenden Gestaltung oder Inszenierung seines Bildes von besonderem Interesse. Jens Jäger zitiert in seiner Einführung in die Historische Bildforschung Klaus Tenfelde mit der Feststellung, dass “für einzelne, wichtige historische Fragestellungen ... die Bildquelle also geradezu unentbehrlich und auch unübertrefflich (ist), so, wenn es um Wahrnehmung und deren Formung und um die «Bilder» geht, die Menschen voneinander und von ihren Umgebungen hatten.”<sup>25</sup> Dieser Aussage ist auf dem Hintergrund der im letzten Jahrzehnt geführten Diskussionen um den Wert historischer Fotografien als Quelle für die wissenschaftliche Forschung grundsätzlich zuzustimmen.

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<sup>23</sup> Bundesarchiv Bild 183-H26980R.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. dazu zuletzt: Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler, Diane Vogt-O'Connor, *Photographs: archival care and management*, Chicago, 2006.

<sup>25</sup> Jens Jäger, *Photographie: Bilder der Neuzeit, Einführung in die Historische Bildforschung*, Tübingen, 2000, S. 37.



# Konservierung und Internetpräsentation von Fotobeständen des Staatsarchivs Freiburg

Christof Strauss

## Bilder als Archivquellen

Was unterscheidet Bilder von gewöhnlichen Akten? Auf den ersten Blick lässt sich diese Frage vor allem hinsichtlich der physischen Beschaffenheit sehr leicht beantworten: ein Streifen mit Filmnegativen ist augenscheinlich etwas vollständig anderes als ein zusammengehefteter Stapel Papier. Stellt man sich dieselbe Frage hingegen als Historiker hinsichtlich des Quellenwerts dieser Unterlagen wird die Antwort schon schwieriger. Das mutmaßlich wichtigste Unterscheidungskriterium ist die Tatsache, dass Akten in sich und zusammen mit anderen Akten einen Entstehungszusammenhang bilden. Sie sind oft über Jahre oder Jahrzehnte hindurch kontinuierlich angewachsen und das greifbare Ergebnis von Reflexions- und Entscheidungsprozessen sowie von umfänglicher sozialer Interaktion zahlreicher Beteiligter in Form von Korrespondenzen oder Besprechungen. Bilder hingegen sind häufig Einzelstücke oder Teil einer Serie von Einzelstücken, deren Entstehungszusammenhang meist nur der Fotograf kennt, und falls entsprechende Informationen zu den Bildern fehlen oder der Fotograf keine Auskunft mehr geben kann, erschwert dies die Interpretation der Bilder ungemein. Überdies entstehen viele Fotos – die Kunstfotografie einmal ausgenommen – nicht als das Ergebnis längerfristiger Reflexionsprozesse wie etwa Denkschriften in Akten, sondern sind das Produkt der oft spontanen Entscheidung des Fotografierenden, den Auslöser der Kamera zu betätigen. Vielleicht bergen Bilder daher eher als gewöhnliche schriftliche Quellen die große Gefahr, fehlinterpretiert und hinsichtlich ihres Quellenwerts über- oder unterbewertet zu werden.

Hat man in Deutschland daher lange Zeit das Bild oder das Foto als Quelle eher reserviert betrachtet<sup>1</sup>, ist nunmehr aber zu beobachten, dass angesichts des rasanten technischen Fortschritts, der Bedeutung des Internet und des großen Einflusses der Massenmedien, die täglich Milliarden von Menschen mit einer Flut von Bildern überschwemmen, ein Prozess des Umdenkens eingesetzt hat, wie nicht zuletzt das Thema des letztjährigen Jahreskongresses der deutschen Historiker verdeutlicht, der Bilder und ihren Quellenwert als Thema hatte.

Nunmehr sind die Archivarinnen und Archivare als diejenigen, die die historische Forschung mit entsprechenden Quellen zu versorgen haben also

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<sup>1</sup> Vgl. dazu Axel Schildt, *Das Jahrhundert der Massenmedien. Ansichten zu einer künftigen Geschichte der Öffentlichkeit*, "Geschichte und Gesellschaft", 27, 2001, S. 177-206 (177).

gefordert, auf diese Entwicklung zu reagieren, und entsprechendes Material in aufbereiteter Form zur Verfügung zu stellen. Sofern das Medium Bild tatsächlich eine prekäre Quelle darstellt, würde sich die Arbeit der Archive mit Fotosammlungen entsprechend heikel gestalten. Bilder sind aber nur auf den ersten Blick trügerische oder wenig zuverlässige Quellen. Denn gerade ihre vermeintlichen Schwächen machen ihren eigentlichen Wert aus. Der Schnappschuss einer Straßenszene in irgendeiner Großstadt bildet sicherlich nur einen Moment ab, zeigt aber gerade durch seine Unmittelbarkeit die soziale Wirklichkeit vielleicht besser als etwa ein vielseitiges Aktenschriftstück, das als Ergebnis von langwierigen Reflexions- und sozialen Interaktionsprozessen durch zahllose Rücksichtnahmen, sprachliche Kompromisse und taktische Sematik geprägt wird.

Gerade für die Archive bedeutet die Forderung der historischen Forschung nach Bildern daher nicht nur mehr Aufwand und Arbeit, sondern vor allem die Chance, sich die Schätze in den eigenen Häusern zu Nutze zu machen und sich neben der Vielzahl anderer kultureller Institutionen besser zu plazieren. Denn anders als bei vielen Akten, benötigt man zum Betrachten von Bildern keine Fremdsprachen- und keine paläographischen Kenntnisse. Durch ihre Eingängigkeit und den leichten Zugang werden Bilder somit zum idealen Medium, um gerade Schülern und interessierten Laien den Zugang zu historischen Themen zu erleichtern. Natürlich müssen auch Bilder einer eingehenden Quellenkritik unterzogen werden, um ihrer Suggestivkraft nicht zu erliegen und natürlich müssen sie in einen Entstehungskontext eingebettet werden, der sich zumeist aus den konventionellen schriftlichen Quellen ergibt. Beachtet man aber diese Vorsichtsmaßnahmen, so bieten Bildbestände den Archiven indes die Chance, bei einer breiten Öffentlichkeit nicht nur als unverzichtbarer Informationsdienstleister wahrgenommen zu werden, sondern vor allem als das, was sie idealtypisch sein sollten, nämlich als das Gedächtnis der Gesellschaft<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Zu Bildern als Quelle – auch über Fotografien hinaus – und zu deren Interpretation vgl. etwa Rainer Wohlfeil, *Das Bild als Geschichtsquelle*, "Historische Zeitschrift", 243, 1986, S. 91-100; Erwin Panofsky, *Ikongraphie und Ikonologie (1939/1955)*, in *Ikongraphie und Ikonologie. Theorien-Entwicklung-Probleme* (Hg. von Ekkehard Kaemmerling), Köln<sup>6</sup>, 1994, S. 207-225; idem, *Zum Problem der Beschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der bildenden Kunst (1932/1964)*, in ebd., S. 185-206; Heike Talkenberger, *Von der Illustration zur Interpretation: das Bild als Historische Quelle*, "Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung", 21, 1994, S. 289-313 (290ff.); Jens Jäger, *Photographie: Bilder der Neuzeit. Einführung in die historische Bildforschung*, Tübingen, 2000, v. a. S. 65-87.

## Allgemeine Voraussetzungen für die Nutzbarmachung von Bildbeständen

Angesichts der steigenden Nachfrage der historischen Forschung nach adäquat erschlossenen Bildbeständen und der unzweifelhaften Wechselwirkung zwischen Bildern und gesellschaftlichen Prozessen muss man also fragen: “Welche Voraussetzungen müssen Archive schaffen, damit vorhandene Bildquellen die ihnen innewohnende Bedeutung als historische Quelle erlangen können?” Es reicht nicht aus darauf hinzuweisen, dass Archive ja öffentlich zugängliche Institutionen sind und jedermann für die Nutzung offenstehen. “Fotos, die unerschlossen und womöglich noch als Negativstreifen ein Schattendasein in hinteren Regionen der Magazinräume fristen, sind zwar prinzipiell öffentlich zugänglich, faktisch aber unbenutzbar und wertlos, weil selbst die Archivmitarbeiter ihren Wert als Folge mangelnder Visualisierung meist nicht einzuschätzen vermögen. Will man tatsächlich vorhandene fotografische «Schätze» heben, die Voraussetzungen dafür schaffen, dass diese historische Bedeutung erlangen und damit auch das Archiv in seiner Rolle als kollektives Gedächtnis der Gesellschaft aufwerten, müssen folgende Bedingungen erfüllt sein”<sup>3</sup>:

### a) Ubiquitäre Zugänglichkeit

Es ist in Zeiten des Internet und der Suchmaschinen Nutzern nur schwer zu vermitteln, warum man für die Betrachtung einer Reihe von Fotos lange Reisen auf sich nehmen sollte. In dieser Hinsicht gibt es zur Digitalisierung und dem Einstellen von Bildern ins Internet keine Alternative. Bilder sind so an jedem Punkt der Welt rund um die Uhr betrachtbar.

### b) Sofortige Verfügbarkeit

Hat ein Nutzer ein Bild im Internetangebot eines Archivs entdeckt, sollte es auch sofort verfügbar sein. Neben der konventionellen Bestellung wäre zumindest zu überlegen, ob zukünftig nicht auch Downloads angeboten werden können.

### c) Zusammenführung von Bild und Informationen zum Bild

Der Nutzer benötigt – ohne komplizierten arbeitstechnischen Aufwand wie langwieriges Hin- und Herblättern in analogen Registerbänden – ein schnell verfügbares und unmittelbares Nebeneinander von Bild und Bildinformation, denn eine Hintergrundinformation zu einem Bild ohne dessen Visualisierung ist ebenso problematisch wie die Beurteilung eines Bildes ohne die unmittelbare Einbettung in den Entstehungskontext. Visualisierung indessen setzt zwingend voraus, dass Bilder

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<sup>3</sup> Christof Strauß, *Macht der Bilder – Ohnmacht der Archive? Erschließung und Vermarktung von Bildbeständen im Staatsarchiv Freiburg*, in *Digitale Bilder und Filme im Archiv. Marketing und Vermarktung. Vorträge des 66. Südwestdeutschen Archivtags am 24. Juni 2006 in Karlsruhe-Durlach* (Hg. von Michael Wettengel), Stuttgart, 2007, S. 95-105 (S. 98). Zu den vier Kriterien vgl. *ibidem*, S. 98-101.

erkennbar sind. Film- oder Glasplattenegative müssen daher, bevor sie benutzbar sind, zunächst einmal durch die Fertigung von Scans überhaupt erst “ansehbar” gemacht werden.

d) **Verlässlichkeit der Bildbeschreibungen**

Die Interpretation eines Bildes bleibt dem Nutzer überlassen. Archive aber müssen, sobald Bilder und Bildinformationen (beispielsweise Beschriftungen aus Fotoalben, auf der Bildrückseite oder in Registern) zusammengeführt wurden, den Nutzer auf die Herkunft der Bildinformation aufmerksam zu machen. Ebenso ist darauf hinzuweisen, ob es sich um eine Information handelt, die dem Bild bereits beim Eintreffen im Archiv zugeordnet war, oder ob die Information im Zuge archivischer Erschließung gewonnen wurde. Schließlich ist es notwendig, die Überlieferungsgeschichte eines Fotobestandes sorgfältig zu eruieren. Sind diese Bedingungen erfüllt, liegt die Verantwortung für jede weitere Interpretation nunmehr ausschließlich beim Nutzer.

### **Fotobestände im Staatsarchiv Freiburg**

Das Staatsarchiv Freiburg als Abteilung 3 des Landesarchivs Baden-Württemberg verfügt über eine Reihe bedeutender Bildbestände, allen voran die Fotosammlung Willy Pragher. Weiter zu nennen sind in diesem Zusammenhang der fotografische Nachlass des Filmpioniers und Riefenstahl-Kameramanns Josef Allgeier oder eine über 2.400 Abbildungen umfassende Allgemeine Bildersammlung. Entsprechend der genannten vier Qualitätskriterien wurde mit dem Digitalisieren und Erschließen dieser Fotosammlungen begonnen. Die Arbeiten an den letzten beiden Beständen sind abgeschlossen, die Digitalisierung der Sammlung Pragher ist noch in vollem Gange.

In konservatorischer Hinsicht stellt Digitalisierung nur partiell einen wirklichen Fortschritt dar. Die Schonung der Originale und der Rückgriff auf Scans sind sicherlich positive Nebeneffekte von Digitalisierungsprojekten. Indes ist das Phänomen der kontinuierlichen Qualitätsverschlechterung, wie sie bei analogen Unterlagen zu beobachten ist und die den Archiven die Möglichkeit bietet, Schäden frühzeitig zu erkennen und Maßnahmen zum Aufhalten oder zur Verlangsamung des Zerfallsprozesses zu treffen, bei digitalen Unterlagen nicht gegeben, da sich digitale Datenträger im ungünstigsten Fall binär verhalten, das heißt die auf ihnen gespeicherten Informationen sind entweder zu 100% vorhanden oder vollständig verschwunden, rein graduelle Qualitätsverluste gibt es nicht<sup>4</sup>.

Bei der Nutzung ist der Mehrwert einer Digitalisierung von Bildbeständen für die Nutzer und die Archive jedoch offenkundig. Zu nennen sind hierbei erstens

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<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Rudolf Gschwind, *Grundfragen digitaler Archivierung. Ansatzpunkte neuer Lösungswege für die Langzeitsicherung*, “Rundbrief Fotografie”, 12, 4, 2005 [N.F. 48], S. 25-30 (S. 25).

verbesserte Recherchemöglichkeiten bei Anfragen, zweitens eine Arbeitsentlastung in Zeiten personeller Engpässe, da Nutzer Recherchen in Bildbeständen nun vom heimischen Arbeitsplatz aus erledigen können und bei der Bestellung von Bildern auf einen bereits vorhandenen Fundus von Scans zurückgegriffen werden kann und schließlich drittens – im günstigsten Fall - die Erschließung neuer Nutzergruppen.

### Die Fotosammlung Willy Pragher

Die Sammlung Willy Pragher ist wohl eine der bedeutendsten im Land Baden-Württemberg. Mehrere hunderttausend fotografische Abbildungen verschiedenster Art machen sie zur größten Bildersammlung, die in einem baden-württembergischen Staatsarchiv verwahrt wird. Überdies ist ihr Quellenwert immens, da Willy Pragher aufgrund der Dauer und der Bandbreite seines Wirkens zweifellos als ein überaus bedeutender Bildchronist des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts anzusehen ist. Praghers Lebenswerk ist nicht zuletzt auch ein Stück Fotografiegeschichte, an dem sich die technische Weiterentwicklung von der Glasplatte zum modernen Kleinbildfilm überaus anschaulich dokumentieren lässt<sup>5</sup>.

#### a) Erwerb der Fotosammlung Pragher:

Schon zu Lebzeiten wollte Willy Pragher, sein fotografisches Archiv langfristig für die Nachwelt sichern und eine mögliche Zersplitterung des Bestandes vermeiden. Daher hatte er die Sammlung bereits Ende der 1980er Jahre der Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg zum Kauf angeboten. Diesen erlebte Willy Pragher nicht mehr. Doch im Jahr nach seinem Tod konnte der Erwerb dann mit Mitteln der Stiftung Kulturgut Baden-Württemberg realisiert werden, und die Sammlung gelangte im Mai 1993 ins Staatsarchiv Freiburg. Das Land Baden-Württemberg erwarb mit den Bildern auch sämtliche Verwertungsrechte, was alle rechtlichen Fragen bei der Nutzung des Bestandes erheblich vereinfachte<sup>6</sup>.

#### b) Struktur der Sammlung:

Die Fotosammlung Pragher umfasst folgende Überlieferungsformen: Glasplattenegative, Filmnegative, Kleindiapositive, Mittelformatdiapositive, Papierpositive (systematisch geordnet), Papierpositive (numerisch geordnet).

Ihren exakten zahlenmäßigen Umfang zu benennen ist allerdings – sofern man keine arbeitsökonomisch wenig sinnvolle Einzelzählung durchführt – nicht ohne weiteres möglich. Praghers Registerbände weisen insgesamt gut 126.000 Positionen aus. Die Zahl der im Staatsarchiv Freiburg tatsächlich vorliegenden fotografischen

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<sup>5</sup> Für einen Überblick vgl. Martin Stingl, *Der Fotonachlaß Willy Pragher im Staatsarchiv Freiburg*, "Rundbrief Fotografie", 9, 4, 2002 [N.F. 36], S. 27-31.

<sup>6</sup> Zum Erwerb der Sammlung vgl. *ibidem*, S. 27.

Zeugnisse in den oben genannten unterschiedlichen Überlieferungsformen ist jedoch beträchtlich höher, da sich zum einen hinter einer Nummer in den Registerbänden oft ganze Serien von alphabetisch fortlaufend nummerierten Bilder verbergen, zum anderen existieren auch zahlreiche Positivabzüge in verschiedenen Formaten, die Pragher im Laufe seines langen Berufslebens für die unterschiedlichsten Zwecke gefertigt hat. Die älteste Überlieferung bilden die mehr als 5.000 Glasplattenegative, daneben sind ca. 18.000 Kleindiapositive, gut 10.000 Mittelformatdiapositive und etwa 52.000 Papierpositive in systematischer Reihenfolge zu nennen. Die exakte Menge der Filmnegative ist erst zu ermitteln, wenn diese vollständig gescannt sind, ihre Zahl dürfte aber bei etwa 240.000 liegen. Rechnet man noch die etwa 55.000 bis 60.000 Papierpositive in numerischer Reihenfolge hinzu, so umfasst die Sammlung Pragher insgesamt mehrere hunderttausend fotografische Erzeugnisse.

#### c) Praghers Registerbände und die innere Ordnung des Fotobestandes

Hinsichtlich der Ordnung des Bestandes, erwiesen sich Praghers Vorarbeiten als überaus hilfreich. Als Bildjournalist, der jederzeit und schnell in der Lage sein musste, passende Bildmaterialien für potentielle Kunden in seinem Archiv zu finden, befand sich Praghers Bildarchiv bei der Übernahme durch das Staatsarchiv Freiburg in einem sehr guten Ordnungszustand. Dabei mag auch sein frühzeitiger Entschluss eine Rolle gespielt haben, das Bildarchiv der Nachwelt zu überliefern.

Pragher katalogisierte seine Aufnahmen in insgesamt 13 Registerbänden und versah sie mit einer fortlaufenden Nummerierung, wobei sich unter einer Nummer häufig mehrere Aufnahmen finden lassen, bei denen dann die Bildnummer mit Buchstaben erweitert wurde. Die Registerbände enthalten für annähernd alle Bilder eine kurze Beschreibung des Bildinhalts, Angaben über den Ort der Aufnahme, das Aufnahmedatum, den genauen Aufnahmezeitpunkt (Uhrzeit), die seinerzeit herrschenden Lichtverhältnisse sowie technische Informationen etwa über Formate und Blenden. Eine Spalte in den Registerbänden ist mit *Reg.Nr.* gekennzeichnet. Hier kommt ein Ordnungsschema zur Anwendung, das die Struktur der gesamten Sammlung bis heute prägt. Pragher legte seine Aufnahmen nämlich nicht in numerischer Reihenfolge ab, sondern bildete Themenordner wie etwa *Schwarzwald* oder *Bukarest*, die mit der Zeit immer weiter ergänzt wurden, so dass sich zu einem Thema durchaus Bilder aus verschiedenen Jahrzehnten finden lassen und damit innerhalb der Ordner Springnummern auftreten. Parallel zu den Registerbänden erstellte Pragher einen Index (Orte, Personen und Sachen), bei dem sich hinter den Schlagwörtern dann die entsprechenden Bildnummern finden lassen.

#### d) Konservatorische Maßnahmen

Die umfangreiche konservatorische Sicherung der Sammlung war nach deren Ankauf ein notwendiger und folgerichtiger Schritt, da hierbei zunächst falsch eingeordnete Negative und Bilder identifiziert und wieder richtig zugeordnet werden konnten. Damit wurden einerseits die Voraussetzungen für eine langfristige

Sicherung der Originale geschaffen und gleichzeitig Erschließungsarbeiten wie etwa das Scannen der Aufnahmen entsprechend vorbereitet. Die insgesamt knapp drei Jahre von November 2001 bis September 2004 dauernden Arbeiten wurden wiederum von der Stiftung Kulturgut Baden-Württemberg finanziert. Das Gesamtprojekt wurde dabei in fünf Arbeitspakete aufgeteilt, die sich an der physischen Beschaffenheit der vorliegenden Materialien orientierten und nacheinander abgearbeitet wurden: Filmnegative, Glasplatten, Diapositive, Papierpositive, Findmittel.

Die Filmnegative wurden zunächst aus ihren konservatorisch bedenklichen Pergaminhüllen und den fast durchgängig beschädigten säurehaltigen Hängeheftern entfernt. Dabei wurden bei Bedarf Reinigungsarbeiten vorgenommen, da zahlreichen Negativstreifen noch Reste von Selbstklebebändern anhafteten. Überdies mussten die Ränder der Negativstreifen überwiegend neu oder deutlicher mit den entsprechenden Bildnummern beschriftet werden. Bedarfsweise wurde auch der numerisch korrekte Ordnungszustand der Negativstreifen beziehungsweise ihre richtige Zuordnung zu einzelnen Bildordnern wieder hergestellt. Die Lagerung in Hängeordnern konnte beibehalten werden, wobei nunmehr konservatorisch einwandfreie Sichthüllen und Mappen verwendet wurden.

Die Glasplattennegative mussten zunächst gründlichst gereinigt werden. Parallel zur Reinigung und Neuverpackung in säurefreie Hüllen und spezielle Boxen scannte ein Mitarbeiter sämtliche Platten hochauflösend. Damit wurde die Grundlage für alle weiteren ähnlich gelagerten Erschließungsarbeiten gelegt. Folgerichtig waren die 5.000 Glasplatten der Sammlung auch der erste Teil des fotografischen Nachlasses von Willy Pragher, den das Staatsarchiv Freiburg seinen Nutzern im Internet präsentieren konnte. Auch die Diapositive und Papierpositive wurden sämtlich in konservatorisch unbedenkliche Verpackungen umgelagert. Ein Arbeitspaket wurde für das Staatsarchiv Freiburg im Institut für Erhaltung von Archiv- und Bibliotheksgut in Ludwigsburg erledigt: Mit der Mikroverfilmung der Registerbände liegen diese nun auf einem alterungsbeständigen Medium vor und können unbedenklich genutzt werden.

#### e) Digitalisierung, Erschließungsarbeiten und Präsentation im Internet

Angesichts des steigenden Bedarfs der historischen Forschung nach adäquat aufgearbeiteten Bildbeständen und aufgrund des historischen Wertes der Sammlung Pragher galt und gilt es auch weiterhin, eine möglichst große Anzahl von Pragher-Bildern zu scannen und ins Internet einzustellen.

Nachdem die Bearbeitung der etwa 5.000 Glasplattennegative und 11.000 Rumänienbilder Praghers abgeschlossen werden konnte, werden derzeit – mit Mitteln der Stiftung Kulturgut – ca. 35.000 Filmnegative mit baden-württembergischen Motiven bearbeitet, von denen ebenfalls bereits ca. 20.000 im Netz einsehbar sind.

Die Scans werden hochauflösend als Tiff-Dateien und auch als JPG-Dateien gespeichert. Auf diese Weise können – je nach Beschaffenheit der Vorlagen – deutlich über 200 Scans pro Arbeitstag durch einen Mitarbeiter erstellt werden. Die

Bilder werden dann auf einem Server für die Online-Findmittel hinterlegt, in einer so geringen Auflösung, das durch Herunterladen keine reproduzierbaren Vorlagen erstellt werden können.

Parallel erfolgt die Erschließung der Bilder in der Software scope Archiv, die in der baden-württembergischen Archivverwaltung seit 2004/2005 zum Einsatz kommt. Über eine Schnittstelle werden die Verzeichnungsdatensätze ins Internet exportiert und schließlich mit den Bildern verknüpft. Ergebnis sind Online-Findbücher, die kontinuierlich ergänzt werden können.

Da bisweilen mehrere Teile der Sammlung Pragher parallel bearbeitet wurden, war es technisch notwendig, die Sammlung in einzelne Blöcke aufzuteilen. Insofern existieren zum Bestand W 134 (Sammlung Willy Pragher) im Moment vier Online-Findmittel. Der Bestand bleibt dessen ungeachtet als Einheit bestehen und nach Abschluss der Arbeiten steht einer möglichen Zusammenführung der Findmittel nichts im Wege. Die bereits im Internet verfügbaren Teile der Sammlung Pragher erfüllen damit drei der oben genannten Qualitätskriterien: sie sind allgemein verfügbar; die Bilder und die dazu gehörigen von Pragher erstellten Bildbeschriftungen sind unmittelbar miteinander verknüpft und gleichzeitig ansehbar.

Ziel des Staatsarchivs Freiburg für die Zukunft muss es aber bleiben, sämtliche Aufnahmen der Sammlung Pragher im Internet verfügbar zu machen. Daher werden die Arbeiten auch unabhängig von Sonderprojekten wie etwa Ausstellungen kontinuierlich vorangetrieben und wird bei der Bearbeitung der Filmnegative und der Dias auf Praghers System der Bildordner zurückgegriffen. Indem man Bildordner für Bildordner scant, ist gewährleistet, dass es zu keinen Überschneidungen und Lücken kommt. Die Positive – eigentlich erfreuliche Nebenprodukte von Praghers alltäglicher Arbeit als Fotojournalist – können nach Abschluss der Arbeiten an den Negativen und Dias dann herangezogen werden, falls ein Negativ oder ein Dia im Original nicht mehr vorhanden sein sollte. Bei den Online-Findmitteln zur Sammlung Pragher bilden daher die Bildordner folgerichtig auch die obersten Gliederungspunkte<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Zur Struktur der Sammlung, ihrer Erschließung und Digitalisierung, den Registerbänden sowie zu konservatorischen Maßnahmen vgl. Christof Strauß, *Der Bestand Willy Pragher im Staatsarchiv Freiburg*, in *Brechungen. Willy Pragher. Rumänische Bildräume 1924-1944* (Hg. vom Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde und dem Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg; Bearbeitet von Kurt Hochstuhl und Josef Wolf), Ostfildern, 2007, S. 39-46.

f) Nutzung<sup>8</sup>

Nachdem bereits mehrere zehntausend Prager-Bilder im Internet einsehbar sind, lässt sich in diesem Bereich zumindest ein Zwischenfazit über das bisher Erreichte ziehen. Zudem soll zum Ausgangspunkt der Ausführungen zurückgekehrt und die Frage beantwortet werden, ob Fotobestände tatsächlich helfen können, die Archive im Vergleich zu anderen kulturellen Einrichtungen adäquat zu plazieren und ein Feedback nicht nur in jenen Kreisen zu erzielen, die aufgrund ihres beruflichen Interesses ohnehin zu den Archivbenutzern zählen, sondern auch weitere Gruppen in der Gesellschaft zu erreichen, die bislang von Archiven nichts oder wenig wissen, oder die eine gewisse Schwellenangst von einem Besuch in einem Archiv abhält.

Die Frage kann aufgrund der bisherigen Erfahrungen im Staatsarchiv Freiburg mit der Fotosammlung Prager nur bejaht werden. Das Scannen der Filmnegative hat zunächst einmal den Archivmitarbeitern selbst die Augen dafür geöffnet, welche unvergleichlichen zeitgeschichtlichen Dokumente sich im Staatsarchiv Freiburg befinden. Gerade bei den Rumänienfotografien entfalten viele Aufnahmen ihre Wirkung erst, wenn man sie im Internet oder sogar großformatig wie etwa in der Ausstellung "Brechungen" betrachten kann. Um ein weiteres Beispiel anzuführen: das Staatsarchiv Freiburg wurde bei der Bearbeitung der Sammlung auch auf eine ganze Bilderserie aufmerksam, bei der Prager die Studentenproteste in Freiburg Ende der sechziger Jahre abgelichtet hat, gerade angesichts des 2008 anstehenden Jahrestages der damaligen Ereignisse eine wahre Fundgrube!

Stehen Bilder erst einmal im Internet und sind für jedermann betrachtbar, stellen sich die positiven Folgen langsam aber sicher von alleine ein: die Nachfrage nach Prager-Bildern hat seit deren Digitalisierung deutlich zugenommen, und jedes Projekt, bei dem Bilder der Sammlung benutzt werden, wird ihren Bekanntheitsgrad wiederum weiter steigern. Sind Bilder überdies nicht nur leicht zugänglich, sondern auch in Form von Reproduktionen leicht verfügbar, werden sie auch für weitere Projekte interessant: Bilder können bei archivpädagogischen Fortbildungen mit Lehrern eingesetzt werden, bei denen diese ermuntert werden, Archivmaterial im Unterricht zu verwenden; und auch für Schüler selbst kann das Archiv zum Lernort werden, wenn die dort benutzten Quellen eben nicht sämtlich verstaubt, langweilig und schwer leserlich sind, sondern lebendig und spannend.

Bilder sind zuweilen schwierige Quellen. Die Schwierigkeiten, die sich beim Interpretieren und bei der Kontextuierung von Bildquellen ergeben, werden indes durch eine Reihe von unschätzbaren Vorzügen aufgewogen: Bilder sind Dokumente von hohem wissenschaftlichen Wert, Bilder können darüber hinaus Kunstwerke sein, die durch ihre Komposition und ihre Ästhetik auch Nichthistoriker in ihren Bann ziehen. Bilder sind aber vor allem eines: das ideale Medium, um eine Vielzahl von

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<sup>8</sup> Zu Fragen der öffentlichkeitswirksamen Präsentation von Bildbeständen vgl. Kurt Hochstuhl, *Fotonachlässe im Staatsarchiv Freiburg i. Br. Überlegungen zu Erschließung und Vermarktung*, "Rundbrief Fotografie", 12, 2 2005 [N.F. 46], S. 26-32.

Menschen vom Sinn und Nutzen der Archive zu überzeugen, um deren wichtige Arbeit lebendig und ansprechend darzustellen und um Erschließung und Konservierung nicht um ihrer selbst willen zu betreiben, sondern mit deren Ergebnissen von der Gesellschaft wahrgenommen zu werden und in sie hinein zu wirken.

# Online-Findbuch zu den Fotosammlungen im Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg

**Konrad Krimm**

Die Idee, eine Datenbank zu den Fotobeständen in den Staatsarchiven eines Bundeslands aufzubauen, liegt nicht weit abseits vom Weg. Jeder, der sich mit Bildquellen beschäftigt, kennt deren Faszination, und jeder Archivar kennt auch seine Köder, die er auslegen kann, um Nutzer an Archivbestände heranzuführen. Die Tür direkt zu Fotobeständen zu öffnen, ist leichter, als mit der subtilen Systematik von Beständeübersichten zu locken; wir wollen dezent schweigen von den Nutzern (und von den ablieferungspflichtigen Behörden), die gar nicht wissen, dass Fotos zum Archivgut gehören. Und auch von den Vorteilen einer aktualisierbaren Datenbank ist hier nicht zu reden.

Der Anstoß für die Arbeit am Fotoinventar kam jedoch aus der Archivpolitik. Das "Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg" besteht erst seit 2005: Eine Verwaltungsreform hat aus der bisherigen Landesarchivdirektion und den Staatsarchiven eine neue Einheitsbehörde mit 10 Abteilungen gemacht. Dahinter stehen aber immer noch die alten Häuser und die ganz verschiedenen Traditionen der Archivgeschichte in (Nord- und Süd-) Baden, Hohenlohe, Hohenzollern, Löwenstein und Württemberg – verschiedene Bestände, verschiedene Gliederungen und natürlich auch verschiedene Interessen. Nach der Umstrukturierung zum neuen Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg stellte sich fast von selbst die Frage, ob denn bei dieser Mannigfaltigkeit sachthematische Inventare denkbar seien, die die neu gebackene Behörde, also die Gesamtheit der staatlichen Archive, ebenso abbilden könnten wie der gemeinsame Haushalt oder das Organisationsstatut. Unser Internet-Portal besteht schon länger und es bildet nach wie vor ein schönes, gemeinsames *Entrée* – aber dahinter verzweigen sich die Zugänge zu den historischen Archivlandschaften doch sehr rasch und gemeinsame Inventare aller Staatsarchive waren nicht vertreten; das verhinderte schon die Provenienzstruktur der Bestände. Eine gemeinsame Datenbank zu Auswanderern im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert (vor allem nach Osteuropa und Amerika) ist wichtig und viel benutzt, aber sie wurde bisher fast nur aus dem Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart und dem Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe heraus erarbeitet. Das Inventar zu den Fotobeständen will zeigen, dass ein gemeinsames Inventar aller Häuser trotzdem möglich und auch sinnvoll ist. Das Fotoinventar soll beispielhaft demonstrieren, dass es Quellengruppen gibt, für die die Archivsprengel tatsächlich nicht die gleiche Bedeutung haben wie für klassische staatliche Verwaltungsakten.

Das soll nicht heißen, dass in der baden-württembergischen Foto-Archivlandschaft freie Willkür herrscht. Die Lagerorte sind immer begründet und in der Tektonik jedes Staatsarchivs haben die Fotobestände ihren kontextbezogenen Ort. Aber die Grenzen sind dabei doch fließender gezogen. Berufsfotografen arbeiten

nach Auftrag und Lebenssituation lokal, regional und überregional – das unterliegt keiner Regel und die Zahl der Fotografenarchive in den Staatsarchiven ist nicht gering. Auch in den Nachlässen mit ihren oft umfangreichen Fotosammlungen begegnen Interessen, die keine Grenzen kennen: Soziale Welten, Forschungsthemen, Kriegserfahrungen und oft auch einfache Sammel-Passionen führen in heterogene, weiträumige Bildlandschaften. Auch Behördenbildbestände können überraschend großräumig angelegt sein, sei es wegen grenzüberschreitender Kompetenzen, sei es wegen der Dokumentation fachverwandter Projekte – als ein Beispiel für viele mag hier die badische Wasser – und Straßenbaudirektion genügen, die sich um 1880 Aufnahmen bayerischer Brücken und Schleusen beschaffte.

Dabei wird der klassische Suchpfad zu Fotobeständen – wenn wir einmal von der eher unzuverlässigen Stichwort-Recherche nach *Fotos* o.ä. absehen – nach wie vor durch die Beständeübersichten der Staatsarchive führen. Das Fotoinventar will lediglich einen weiteren, erleichterten Zugang öffnen. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass jeder vorgestellte Fotobestand mit seiner Beschreibung in der jeweiligen Beständeübersicht verknüpft ist, man sich also vergewissern kann, an welcher Stelle der Tektonik eines Staatsarchivs man sich denn gerade befindet. Ebenso kurz ist der Weg zum Online-Findbuch, im Idealfall zu den Digitalisaten selbst; das jüngste Beispiel dafür sind die Glasplattenegative des Sigmaringer Fotoateliers Kugler aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Auch die Gliederung des Fotoinventars bezieht sich auf die Entstehung von Beständen, sie ist wie die Beständeübersichten an Provenienzen orientiert; Bezugsrahmen ist dabei aber jetzt das ganze Land, nicht der einzelne Archivsprengel.

Um der Quellengattung gerecht zu werden, stehen Fotografen-Archive am Anfang. Es war schon die Rede davon, dass sich die Fotografen in ihrem Arbeitsfeld nur in wenigen Fällen auf den Standort der Niederlassung beschränkt haben. Meist fanden sie ihre Themen im großen biografischen Radius, auch wenn sie nicht Willy Pragher hießen: Bei dem Karlsruher Rolf Kellner etwa oder bei Karl Blumenthal aus Wildbad war es nicht anders, ganz zu schweigen von Leni Riefenstahls Kameramann Sepp Allgeier. Jeder Fotobestand wird durch *Nähere Angaben* und mit maximal vier Beispielbildern vorgestellt. Die Texte geben außer den Formalien Hinweise auf Entstehung, Bedeutung, Überlieferungsgeschichte, Schwerpunkte und Besonderheiten, Fotografen, Literatur und Benutzungsmodalitäten. Der Kommentar ist nicht streng normiert und entspricht dem jeweils aktuellen Kenntnis- und Erschließungsstand; es gibt lange und kurze Texte und die Varianten spiegeln auch Stil und Traditionen der jeweiligen Häuser in der Beständebeschreibung. Die Bildpräsentation entspricht dem Standard, mit dem das Landesarchiv Bilder ins Netz stellt. Jedes Bild kann in einem besonderen Modul betrachtet werden. Das ermöglicht eine Isolierung jedes Bild-Details und verhindert gleichzeitig, dass die Fotografie als ganze in hoher Auflösung heruntergeladen werden kann. Der gewählte Bildausschnitt kann wie mit einer Lupe vergrößert werden; das Ausschnittfenster bleibt dabei neben dem Gesamtbild stehen, sodass der Betrachter beim Fokussieren einzelner Teile den Überblick über das Gesamtbild behält. Mit den Ausschnitten verändern sich auch die

optischen Bezüge, Details werden intensiver wahrgenommen – der Ausschnitt schafft eine neue Fotografie mit eigener ästhetischer Qualität. Ausschnitte und Gesamtansicht werden *on-the-fly* generiert und als JPG übertragen; dadurch bleiben die Datenmenge klein und die Geschwindigkeit hoch.

Gegenüber den Fotografen-Nachlässen in Museen und Sammlungen fallen die Atelierarchive in den baden-württembergischen Staatsarchiven nach ihrer Anzahl freilich nicht so sehr ins Gewicht; auf der anderen Seite lassen sich gerade die echten Fotografen-Nachlässe über Internetseiten relativ gut nachweisen. Das gilt nicht für die zweite, die Hauptgruppe des Fotoinventars, die Fotobestände, die bei Behörden, Vereinen, Firmen oder adligen und bürgerlichen Sammlern entstanden sind. Für die staatlichen Dienststellen war eine Gliederung zu finden, die möglichst lange gültig, also unabhängig von kurzfristigen Kompetenzverschiebungen bleiben kann. So ließ sich die Reihe auf Idealressorts wie Inneres, Justiz, Finanzen, Militär usw. beschränken; die Systematik hatte ja nicht nur synchron eine Vielzahl von Geschäftsbereichen überschaubar zusammenzuführen, sondern auch diachron die Verwaltungsspielarten aus der Zeit vor und nach den großen Zäsuren des 20. Jahrhunderts zu harmonisieren. Innerhalb eines Ressorts gilt ein logisches Gefälle, das sich an den Behördenhierarchien orientiert. Wesentliche Benutzungshilfe sollte sein, dass nun gleiche oder ähnliche staatliche Aufgaben beieinander stehen, dass also z.B. die Landesbefliegungen der Vermessungsverwaltung – die eben nicht nach Baden und Württemberg getrennte, sondern projektbezogen auch ganz anders definierte Räume erfassen können – eine Gruppe bilden oder die Porträtsammlungen des XIII. (württembergischen) und XIV. (badischen) Armeekorps wieder in dem Verbund erscheinen, in dem sie entstanden sind.

Fällt schon bei den staatlichen Dienststellen das auf, was man nicht vermutet – Fotos von Psychatriepatienten um 1900 aus Weinsberg mit nicht kriminalpathologischem, sondern psychologischem Interesse, oder japanische Brückenkonstruktionen à la River Quai von 1928 bei der badischen Eisenbahndirektion – so gilt dieser thematische Makrokosmos noch mehr für Sammlungen bei Firmen, Vereinen, Parteien, Adligen und Bürgerlichen. Vor allem die großen Adelsarchivbestände spiegeln das frühe Interesse an dem neuen Medium, das sich so vorzüglich zur öffentlichen Präsentation von Herrschaft eignete. Sie zeigen aber auch die nahezu grenzenlose alteuropäische Welt; Verwandtschaft (von *Queen Victoria* bis zu König Carol I. oder Carmen Sylva), Geschenke, exotische Forschungsinteressen und Reisen ließen beim Hochadel, bei den Häusern Baden, Hohenlohe oder Württemberg Fotobestände entstehen, die zu den großen Sammlungen in Deutschland zählen. Ich widerstehe der Versuchung, aus dem Bestand der Herzoge von Urach Fotos des afrikanischen Koloniallebens zu zeigen, sondern bleibe im Land bei dem ebenso spektakulären Abriss des Vorgängerbaus von Burg Lichtenstein (Lichtenstein ist eine Art württembergisches Neuschwanstein) bzw. einem reichstreuen Pflichtbild des Fürsten Bismarck aus dem Haus Hohenlohe.

Die Themenvielfalt ist auch das Merkmal der dritten Großgruppe, der Foto-Sammlungen der Staatsarchive; sie wurden nicht unter die Behörden-Sammlungen

eingereiht – zu denen sie streng genommen gehören –, da sie im seltensten Fall systematisch angelegt, meist zufällig zusammengekommen sind. Funde in Akten, Geschenke von Einzelstücken, manchmal auch ein gezielter Kauf zur landeskundlichen Ergänzungsdokumentation ließen über lange Zeit Bestände entstehen, die man getrost als reine Sammelsurien bezeichnen darf. Das nimmt dem Einzelfoto nichts von seinem jeweils besonderen Quellenwert; durch den Verlust von Kontext ist freilich gerade dieser Quellenwert vielfach auch wieder beschnitten worden.

Zu den Auswahlkriterien des Fotoinventars: Es stellt Bestände vor, die ganz oder teilweise aus Fotos bestehen. Teilweise soll heißen: Bestände mit Fotos, die als Quellengruppe eigenständig verzeichnet sind. Wo dabei die Grenze zum marginalen Fotopäckchen – etwa in einem Familienarchiv oder Nachlass – zu ziehen war, hat jedes Staatsarchiv für sich entschieden. Dass diese Entscheidung verschieden ausfallen konnte, ist verständlich; mit jeder Aktualisierung der Datenbank werden sich diese Unterschiede ausgleichen. Dagegen verweist das Fotoinventar grundsätzlich **nicht** auf Bestände, bei denen Fotos nur in Akten enthalten sind. Das klingt plausibel, bedeutet aber den Verzicht auf große, wichtige Archivaliengruppen wie Strafprozessakten oder Passanträge der NS-Zeit. So ist die Entscheidung nur pragmatisch gemeint: Das Fotoinventar durfte nicht ins Uferlose führen, sondern sollte – ökonomisch vertretbar – in überschaubarer Zeit sinnvoll zu füllen sein. Auch soll es nur Fotobeständen gelten, bei denen die Fotos Primärmaterial sind. Alle archivischen Sammlungen reproduzierter Archivalien fielen damit weg; trotzdem aufgenommen wurden nur einige wenige Bestände, bei denen die Fotos von der Sekundär- zur Primärquelle geworden sind (z.B. die im Zweiten Weltkrieg systematisch angelegte Fotodokumentation von Adelsporträts in badischen und elsässischen Schlössern; die Originale sind heute zu einem beträchtlichen Teil verschollen).

Auch mit solchen Einschränkungen erfasst das Fotoinventar bei seinem Start rund 150 Bestände in den sieben Häusern des Landesarchivs. Dahinter stehen etwa eine  $\frac{3}{4}$  Million Fotos. Gut die Hälfte davon entfällt auf die Sammlung Prager im Staatsarchiv Freiburg. Aber auch der Rest der Welt, also etwa 300 000 – 400 000 Fotos, kann sich sehen lassen. Das Inventar führt in eine reiche, historische vielfältige Quellenlandschaft ein, die es zu entdecken lohnt. Ob sich dieses Nutzerangebot ausweiten lässt, sollte diskutiert werden. Die strukturellen Grenzen sind durch die Einbindung des Fotoinventars der Staatsarchive als Baustein von Scope-Archiv zunächst deutlich gezogen, Verknüpfungen zu anderen online-Systemen außerhalb des Landesarchiv nicht ganz einfach. Die Nutzer fragen aber weniger nach Archivprogrammen und staatlichen oder kommunalen Zuständigkeiten als nach Themen, die sie interessieren. Sie möchten wissen, welche Fotobestände sie in den öffentlichen Sammlungen ihrer Stadt, ihrer Region, ihres Bundeslands finden. Es sollte lohnen, Informationen anzubieten, die über das Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg hinausreichen, sei es nach innen (zu den Kommunen), sei es nach außen (zu den Nachbarn). Das Fotoinventar des Landesarchivs Baden-Württemberg könnte zum Weiterdenken anregen (<http://www.la-bw.de/fotoinventar>).



Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg - Inventar: Fotografien - Strukturansicht - Mozilla

http://www.la-bw.de/la2/inventar/struktur.php?inventar=Foto&abrid=la-bw-archiv-01

Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg - Invent...

**Inventar: Fotografien - Strukturansicht**  
1 Fotografien, Ateliers

- 1 Fotografien, Ateliers
- 2 Sammlungen
- 3 Archivische Sammlungen

**Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen** Bestand  
**N 1/68**  
**Fotoatelier Kugler in Sigmaringen: Glasplattenegative**  
ca. 10000 Glasplatten (16,8 1916-1938 lfd.m)  
[.Nähere Angaben](#) [.Abbildungen](#) [.Beständeübersicht](#) [.Findbuch mit Digitalisaten](#)

**Staatsarchiv Wertheim** Bestand  
**S-N 35**

Suche

Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg - Inventar: Fotografien - Strukturansicht - Mozilla

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http://www.la.bw.de/inf/21/inventar/struktur.php?anzweigbid=5156744ad\_bestand=23500&version=Fotoatelier&bid=4&anzweigbid=01&anzweigbid=01&anzweigbid=01

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Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg - Invent...

**Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg**

- 1 Fotografien, Ateliers
- 2 Sammlungen
- 3 Archivische Sammlungen

**Inventar: Fotografien - Strukturansicht**  
1 Fotografien, Ateliers



**Entstehung**

Das Fotoatelier Kugler wurde von Johann Gottlieb Friedrich Kugler (1851-1907) gegründet und nach seinem Tod 1907 bis 1916 wahrscheinlich von einer Erbgemeinschaft weitergeführt. 1920 übernahmen Kuglers Tochter Anna und ihr Mann Ernst Reinhard Karl Franz Heinemann das Fotoatelier und hatten es bis zu seinem Tod 1938 inne. Erbe war Anna Heinemanns Sohn aus erster Ehe Hermann Etter, nach dessen Tod 1958 das Kuglersche Haus an den Landesverband der Schweinezüchter in Württemberg-Hohenzollern e. V. verkauft wurde, auf dessen Dachboden die Fotoplatten 1992 wiederentdeckt wurden.

**Bedeutung**

Regionalgeschichte; Kirchengeschichte; Kulturgeschichte; Brauchtum; Tradition; Kriegsgeschichte; Technikgeschichte.

**Schwerpunkte**

1. Weltkrieg; Porträts, Familienfeiern; Technik und Arbeit; Gebäude- und Ortsansichten und Aufnahmen vom politisch-kulturellen Leben im südlichen Hohenzollern.

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Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg Inventar: Fotografien Abbildungen Auswahl Mozilla

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Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg - Invent...



**Bild 1**  
Auf dem Balkan, 1913 (StAF T 1 Zug.  
2005/58 Nr. 50)



**Bild 2**  
Inuit mit Kind, 1926 (StAF T 1 Zug.  
2005/58 Nr. 2642)



**Bild 3**  
Marokko, 1931 (StAF T 1 Zug. 2005/58  
Nr. 2904)



Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg - Inventar: Fotografien - Strukturansicht - Mozilla

Datei Bearbeiten Ansicht Gänge Lesezeichen Eintrag Drucker Hilfe

http://www.la-bw.de/la21/inventar/struktur.php?inventar=fotografien&klasse=02.01&arcsortklass=02.01.02

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Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg - Inventar...

- 1 Fotografien, Ateliers
- 2 Sammlungen
  - 2.1 Dienststellen
    - 2.1.1 Gesamtstaat, Äußeres und Hof
    - 2.1.2 Inneres
    - 2.1.3 Kultus
    - 2.1.4 Finanzen
    - 2.1.5 Wirtschaft, Landwirtschaft, Umwelt
    - 2.1.7 Militär
    - 2.1.8 Reich/Bund
  - 2.2 Vereine, Verbände
  - 2.3 Firmen
  - 2.4 Adel
  - 2.5 Private
- 3 Archivische Sammlungen

## Inventar: Fotografien - Strukturansicht

2 Sammlungen

- 2.1 Dienststellen
  - 2.1.2 Inneres

4 Einträge

- ↳ **Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg F 234 VI**
Bestand

**Staatliche Heilanstalt Weinsberg: Fotosammlung Kemmler**

914 Glasplatten 1903-1915

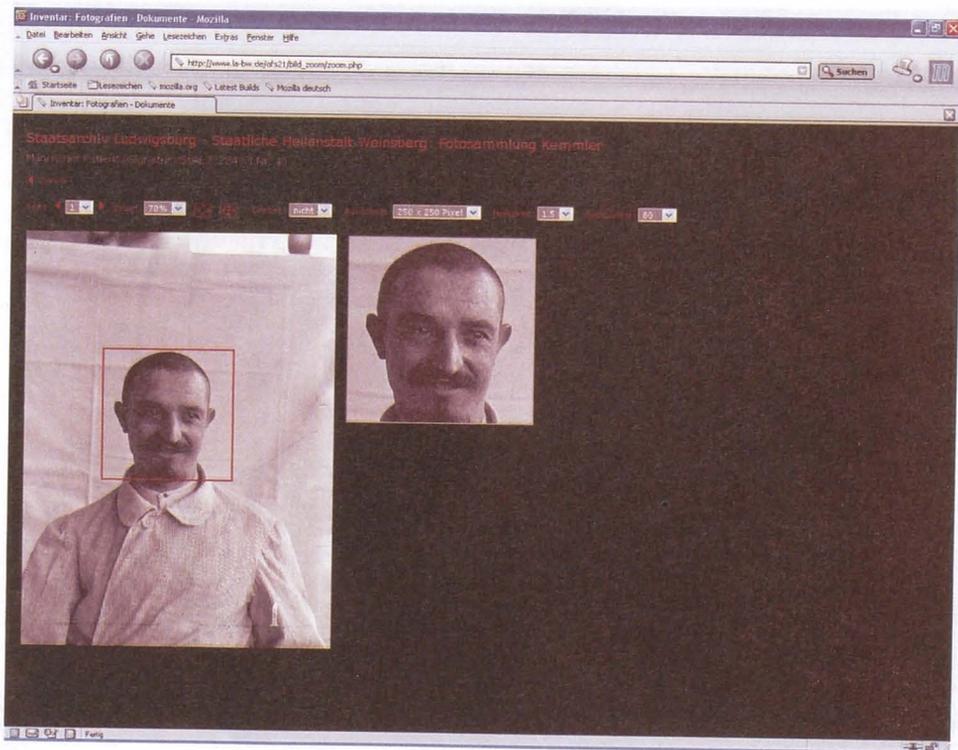
[Nähere Angaben](#) [Abbildungen](#) [Beständeübersicht](#)
- ↳ **Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart J 310**
Bestand

**Landesbefliegung Baden-Württemberg**

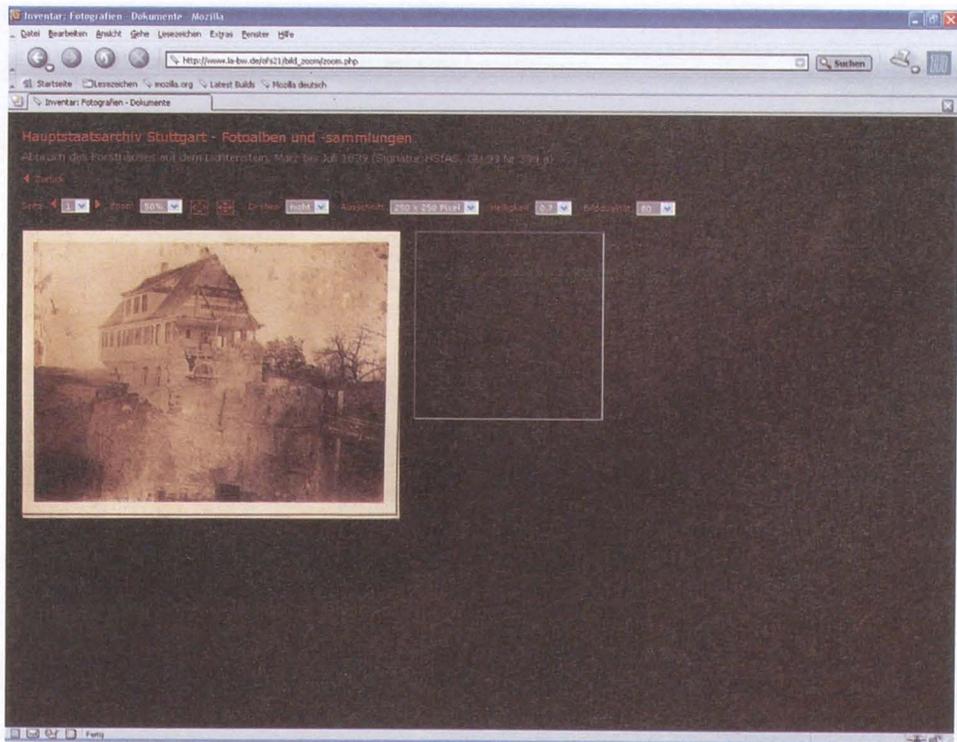
ca. 150 Filmrollen (ca. 19.000 Aufnahmen) 1968

[Nähere Angaben](#) [Abbildungen](#) [Beständeübersicht](#)
- ↳ **Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe 477 L**
Bestand

**Landesvermessungsamt Baden-Württemberg, Außenstelle Karlsruhe: Luftbilder**









Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg - Inventar: Fotografien - Strukturansicht - Mozilla

http://www.la-bw.de/la/CI/Inventar/struktur.php?inventar=Fotografien&idSamml=03&stAW=03.7

Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg

- 1 Fotografien, Ateliers
- 2 Sammlungen
- 3 Archivische Sammlungen
  - 3.1 StAF
  - 3.2 GLAK
  - 3.4 HZAN
  - 3.5 StAS
  - 3.6 HStAS
  - 3.7 StAW

### Inventar: Fotografien - Strukturansicht

3 Archivische Sammlungen  
3.7 StAW

3 Einträge

- Staatsarchiv Wertheim A- 57 I** Bestand

**Fotosammlung I**

193 Stück 20. Jh.

[Nähere Angaben](#) [Abbildungen](#) [Beständeübersicht](#)
- Staatsarchiv Wertheim A- 57 II** Bestand

**Fotosammlung (Stadt Wertheim und Main-Tauber-Kreis)**

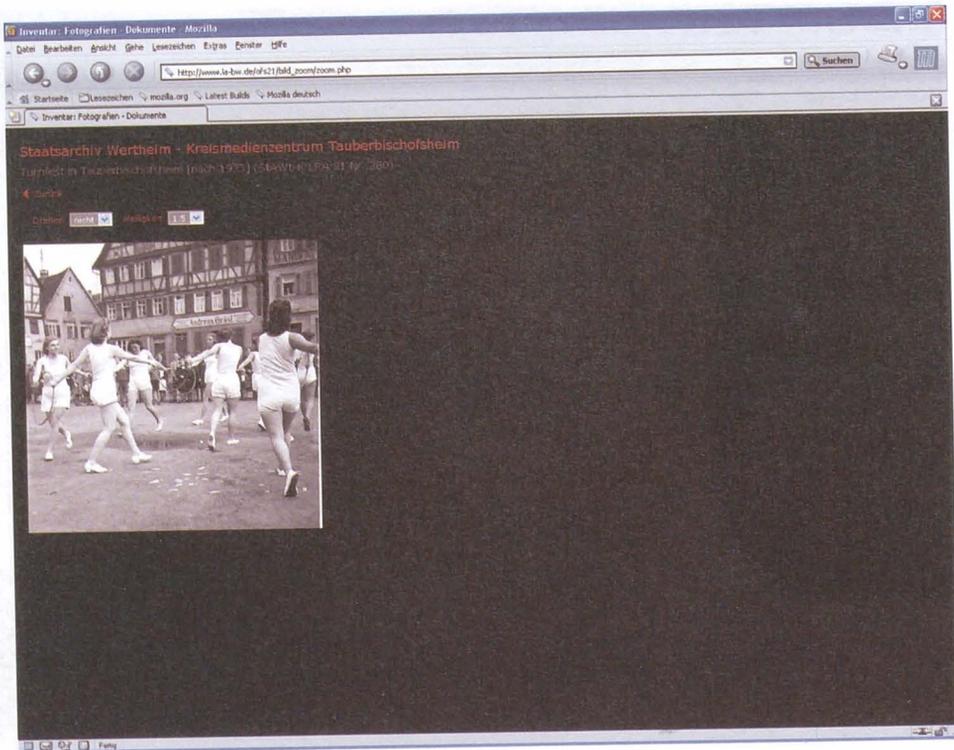
ca. 4000 Stück 19./20. Jh.

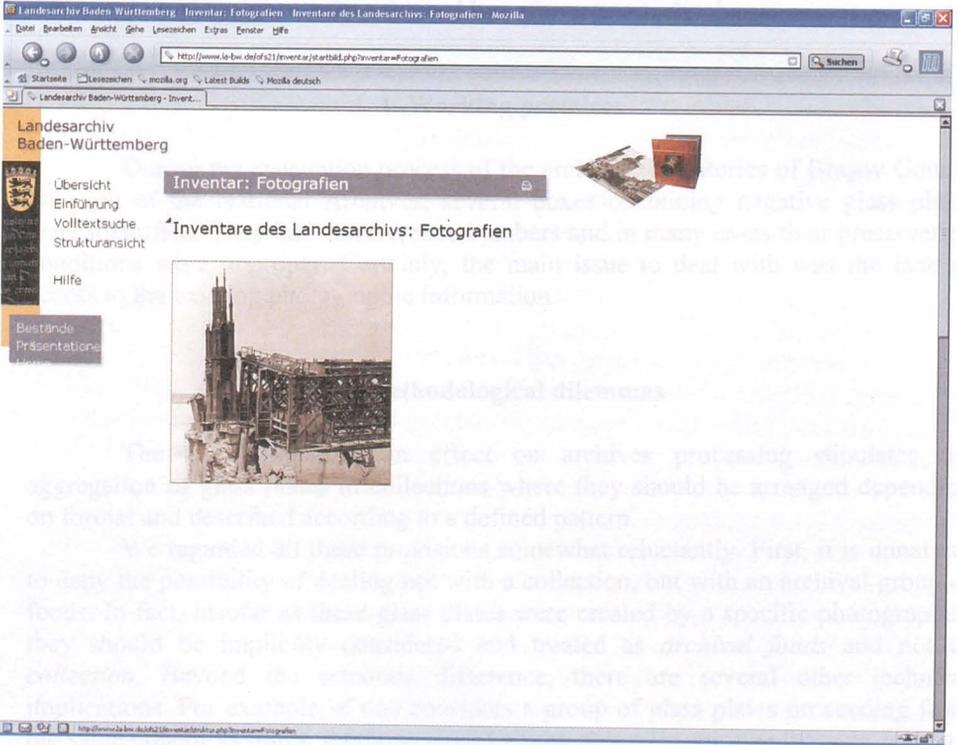
[Nähere Angaben](#) [Abbildungen](#) [Beständeübersicht](#)
- Staatsarchiv Wertheim K-LRA 91** Bestand

**Kreismedienzentrum Tauberbischofsheim**

1,40 1935-1997

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# An Experience of Glass Plates Processing

Bogdan-Florin Popovici

The purpose of this paper is to present an archival processing experiment, without attempting to prescribe it as a pattern to follow. The objective was to carry out an archival processing meant to meet the requirements in the current trends of on-line finding aids editing, so that the need of physical and intellectual control over documentary materials can be achieved by information technology.

## 1. Working premises

During the evacuation process of the archival repositories of Braşov County Division of the National Archives, several boxes containing negative glass plates were identified. They had no reference numbers and in many cases their preservation conditions were improper. Certainly, the main issue to deal with was the lack of access to the existing photographic information.

## 2. Methodological dilemmas

The actual standard in effect on archives processing stipulates the aggregation of glass plates in collections where they should be arranged depending on format and described according to a defined pattern.

We regarded all these provisions somewhat reluctantly. First, it is unnatural to deny the possibility of dealing not with a collection, but with an archival group or fonds. In fact, insofar as these glass plates were created by a specific photographer, they should be implicitly considered and treated as *archival fonds* and not as *collection*. Beyond the semantic difference, there are several other technical implications. For example, if one considers a group of glass plates proceeding from the same creator as fonds, then one would not be able to re-arrange them on formats, but would have to cling to the primary organization made by the creator of the fonds (*respect des fonds*). Secondly, I also find it inappropriate to describe these documents according to the limited areas requested by the standard inventory; based on each individual case, one should provide as many details as possible in order to assist the user with accurate descriptions. Finally, I considered it natural that insofar as the master copies of the plates are in a digital format, the description and arrangement of the metadata should be equally processed in the digital environment.

### 3. Case study

The plates were stored in completely inappropriate metal boxes, and were grouped together or placed in wax paper envelopes. The only identification elements of their provenance could have been the other analogous metal boxes. The glass plates of different formats had no reference number, and at a simple glance their sequence did not show a logical classification. There were two options:

- 1) Either the images had no connection with one another and were grouped in boxes by one person with a view of being preserved; in this case the documents should have been re-arranged on formats and integrated within a larger collection of photo plates; or
- 2) They came from the same creator, and although there was no visible order in their arrangement, they shared an organic bond. In this case, the format-based re-arrangement would have damaged the potential link between documents, which otherwise could have been useful for the dating, the identification of the creator, etc.

Analyzing these two possibilities, I concluded that the first option, the one pursuing the rules enacted, could damage irrecoverably the potential connection between the items by not bringing any new elements but a “librarian” order, namely the format grouping. However, the second option would enable the maintenance of a potential origin, and would not cause any damage during the preservation process, in spite of relying on different formats. For this reason, I decided to keep the documents in their original order, while the description was to be made serially, with the reference numbers from 1 to infinite; the metadata would be also based on keywords, which could enable a virtual thematic re-grouping. This approach seemed to comply with the spirit of our profession that the archivist is an agent, an interface between the creator of the documents and the user, limiting as much as possible the intervention over the documentary material.

I considered redundant the customary paper-based description of documents (at item level), and hence I chose from the very beginning the PC-based solution. I also opted to capture the master copy by a built-in transparency adapter, having for result a digital copy of the glass plate negative. At this moment of planning, I had to consider the option of the software in use. Looking for professional solutions, I realized that Adobe Photoshop application recommends the metadata encoding through XMP standard (*Extensible Metadata Platform*). XMP is based on XML – the encoding standard of archival finding aids for on-line display. One advantage of this option is that metadata are embedded within the image, so that the image transfer involves also the metadata transfer; secondly, the conversion into a different format does not alter the metadata (at least, in the conversion from \*.tif to \*.jpeg); moreover, once the metadata encoded, they may be extracted and exported as an XML file, and hence the possibility of multiple conversions so as to use or process them in web

pages, databases, etc. Therefore, through metadata XMP encoding, one could provide both access to information (through the creation of a documents finding aid) and transfer of an image to a user requesting it, containing all data necessary for the understanding of the document context, structure, and contents.

One professional practice should be given a special attention. It is often considered that an image or the characters in it have to be identified in order to make an appropriate description of the document. In our opinion, this stance is slightly exaggerated. Many times it is almost impossible to identify images, people or moments captured. Whether one can accept it or not, the past is peculiar enough as to offer a variety of particular cases that an archivist could not reveal, regardless of his willingness to be informed; either they are not public cases or they are part of a rather hermetic past that we sometimes find hard to accept. For this reason I opine that the image description should remain an option opened for future completion. It is very likely that one user, well-informed, more experienced and involved in the research of a specific subject could make a more accurate identification and description. In our prospect, this should be assumed and encouraged, while recommendations from other users should never be taken for offences to an archivist's expertise, but the recognition of one's contribution to the disentanglement of a past not as clear as one wished it to be.

Another problem that emerged was related to preservation after processing. The ideal solution would have been an envelope made by a very delicate type of paper, which would have not damaged the suspension. A different possibility, in absence of the previous one, could have been a four-opening envelope, since the classic envelope could have damaged the photo suspension through friction when the plate was inserted or pulled out. Due to time and supplies shortage, this solution was not feasible either. In these conditions, using the paper acid free cardboard for documents, I created a double-opening "folder" for each plate. The simplicity of this solution brought in the – assumed – risk that the plate slid off its protection means on the sides, and I was not able to come up with a more convenient idea. Several such "folders" were grouped in envelopes and kept vertically – which was supposed to prevent the risk of breaking of the glass plates through accidental pressing on their surface.

#### **4. The procedure**

The glass plates were removed one by one from their initial position; they were cleaned of dust and scanned at 600 dpi, the maximum allowed by the scanner in use. They were further inserted in the above mentioned folders, which carried a reference number made of 4 digits (0001, 0002, etc.). Copies were identified by a small letter (0008a, 0008b, etc.). After taking 4 to 6 scanned images, the plates were

inserted in a bigger envelope, which carried the reference numbers contained (0001-0006).

We should add that apart from the plates, at a certain moment I identified the existence of photo film clichés (in fact, one frame each). Obviously, I considered it a professional mistake to take out these clichés and transform them into a photo film collection. The film frames were processed in the same way as the plates, specifying only the name of the medium.

After creating the protective envelope for the document, the next step was the description of the images. The basic result was usable in few cases, the image requesting a minimum digital processing. On the other hand, considering the obtained image as an archival master, I also thought of the situation when a potential user could get a copy of this image, having a superior processing capacity. Thus, I opted for an intervention that should improve the image without affecting it permanently. The solution used was that of applying processing effects on a layer. Whoever obtains a copy of that image will be able to remove the layer and process the image. Our aim was achieved, the image being improved enough to be identified.

The metadata offered by Adobe Photoshop are not destined to the old archival images. I was hereby forced to amount a series of existing fields with others, appropriate to our needs, and during the description processing I had to correct these equivalences. For the description I used the following fields (in alphabetical order):

*Author*

*Color space (for copy)*

*Copyright Notice*

*Copyright Status*

*Date captured (for copy)*

*Date of document*

*Description*

*Description Writer*

*Document title*

*Keywords*

*Original Title*

*Pixel dimension(for copy)*

*Polarity*

*Preservation status*

*Reference number*

*Remarks*

*Resolution (for copy)*

*Support dimensions*

*Technique of capture (for copy)*

After the capture and description of one box by the presented means, I realized that the chosen solution was the optimum one. The plates found in certain positions within one box and sharing several common features suggested they all came from the same creator. At the same time, the dating with a relative accuracy (within a 5 years period) of a photo enabled a relative association of the other images to the specified time period, which was further confirmed.

When the metadata were extracted out of files by a special cataloguing application (*WhereisIt*), the existence of keywords permitted the grouping on subjects. For example, if one user wishes to research “portraits”, one keyword is enough to interrogate and find all reference numbers of the portrait images; same for the “landscapes”, “buildings”, etc. all these without looking for the arrangement on arbitrary criteria of the original documentary material.

From the cataloguing application mentioned the metadata can be exported in XML and from here in databases or as an \*.html page. In both cases, the names of the fields in English are translated into Romanian and re-grouped according to the Romanian description hierarchy. From the \*.tif master copy, two different resolution \*.jpeg copies were generated so as to make them available in digital form. These copies would be eventually integrated within a finding aid that can be printed or posted on the web.

## 5. Conclusions

Our experiment on the processing of the existing photo material has led so far to the achievement of the expected results. When the reading room is provided with a computer terminal or when this finding can be posted on the web, I will be able to appraise more accurately the result of archival processing.



# The Creation and Evolution of the Ecclesiastic Domain in Moldavia (the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries)

Arcadie M. Bodale

The Metropolitan Seat of Suceava, the bishoprics of Roman, Rădăuți and later of Huși, and the monasteries of the Moldavian Country have enjoyed a particular attention from the scholars. However, the creation and evolution of the ecclesiastic domain at the East of the Carpathians have been only partially researched by now, in general works<sup>1</sup> regarding the Romanian medieval states' economic and social life. Thus, the greatest number of these articles has confined itself to the enumeration of a certain monastery's estates<sup>2</sup>, without analyzing the manner in which these monastery domains were created and the social relationship that caused them or that were generated by them. Beside, several scholars have intended to argue their own opinions<sup>3</sup> regarding their times' social realities by the appeal to history. Thus, in order to explain the agrarian question in Romania's modern period, the historians 'proved' that the 'feudal' property was created by the buying up of the free community's estates by the nobility and church. Finally, some other scholars have attempted to analyze the medieval social and economic phenomena in the light of the period when they lived and were educated and which they have had to/have wished to legitimate<sup>4</sup>. It is about the Marxist historiography, which has justified the existence

<sup>1</sup> See N. Stoicescu, *Repertoriul bibliografic al localităților și monumentelor medievale din Moldova*, Bucharest, 1974, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Arun Pumnul, *Privire rapede preste doua sute șese-dzeci și septe den proprietățile așa numite moșii manascirești, den carile s-au format mareșul fund relegiunariu al Bisericii dreptcredincioase răsăritene din Bucovina*, Cernăuți, 1865; Isidor Onciul, *Fondul religionariu gr. or. al Bucovinei. Substratul, formarea, desvoltarea, administrarea și starea lui de față*, "Candela", 1885; Em. Grigorovitz, *Dicționarul geografic al Bucovinei*, Bucharest, 1908; Dimitrie Dan, *Mănăstirea și comuna Putna. Cu două apendice*, Bucharest, 1905, p. 19-25 [hereafter: Dan, *Putna*]; idem, *Mănăstirea Sucevița. Cu anexe de documente ale Suceviței și Schitului celui Mare. Cu ilustrațiuni*, Bucharest, 1923, p. 107-118 [hereafter: Dan, *Sucevița*].

<sup>3</sup> Radu Rosetti, *Pământul, sătenii și stăpânii în Moldova*, I: *De la origini până la 1837*, București, 1907, *passim*; Victor Slăvescu, *Istoricul Fondului bisericesc din Bucovina. Cu Prilejul lucrării d-lui I. Nistor*, "Economia Națională. Revista economică, statistică și financiară", XLII, 1921, no 8-9, p. 215-225.

<sup>4</sup> V. Costăchel, P. P. Panaitescu and A. Cazacu, *Viața feudală în Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV-XVII)*, Bucharest, 1957; Barbu T. Cămpina, *Ideile călăuzitoare ale politicii lui Ștefan cel Mare*, "Studii, Revistă de Istorie", X, 1957, no 4, p. 57-66; Alexandru I. Gonța, *Satul în Moldova medievală. Instituțiile*, Bucharest, 1986; C. Cihodaru, *Forme de proprietate feudală în Moldova*, "Studii și Cercetări Științifice", VI, (1955), no 3-4, p. 1-30; idem, *Brașiștile și apariția rezervei senioriale în Moldova*, "Analele Științifice ale Universității «Al. I. Cuza»", new series, *Istorie*, III,

of the Communist political regime's existence through condemning all the forms of property, regarded as the origin of the social injustice, and inventing 'the feudal exploitation' and 'the class struggle' in Wallachia and Moldavia. It was thus a justification for the Communist collectivization, by substituting 'the private property' with 'the common property' over the earth and 'the means of production'. Moreover, according to the Marxist historians, the boyars and monasteries were blamable for 'the brutal exploitation of the masses' and for the decay of the cities<sup>5</sup>, because of the buying up of the earth inside of the boroughs.

The absence of a study purposely devoted to this matter has induced an incomplete and erroneous image of the political, social and religious life of Moldavia from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. For this reason, this article would emphasize the creation and evolution of the ecclesiastic domain by the setting up of the Phanariot regime.

During the middle ages, the Church in the Romanian Principalities enjoyed a special attention on the part of the clergy, but also of the princes, boyars and free holders. All these beneficients endowed Christ's Houses with cult objects – relics, *odăjdii* [= clergy vestment], airs, liturgical books, crosses, icons, silver ware, bells, candlesticks, chandeliers, wine, frankincense, oil, and so on –, money, animals and especially estates. Some of the monasteries also received partial or total privileges from the central power, for the wealth that represented the monastic synod's domain. All these donations and privileges for *res ecclesia* caused the specific features of each monastic domain.

In the Romanian medieval space, the Church's domain was created and developed especially because of the donations offered by the great founders.

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1957, 1-2, p. 27-54; D. Ciurea, *Precizări în problema evoluției marii proprietăți feudale în Moldova în secolele XVII-XVIII*, "Studii, Revista de Istorie", 22, 1969, no 1, p. 3-19; N. Corivan, I. Grămadă, *Despre gospodăria feudală în Moldova în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea pe marginea «Catastihului de samile tuturor manastirilor de taradin leat 7250 pâna la leat 7251»*, "Studii si Materiale de Istorie Medie", V, 1962, p. 257-277; A. V. Boldur, *Biserica în timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare. Cu prilejul împlinirii a 460 de ani de la moartea marelui voievod*, "Biserica Ortodoxă Română", LXXXII, 1964, no 7-8, p. 717-729; V. Mihordea, *Relațiile agrare din secolul al XVIII-lea în Moldova*, Bucharest, 1968; N. Grigoraș, *Instituțiile feudale din Moldova*, Bucharest, 1971; idem, *Imunitățile și privilegiile fiscale în Moldova (de la începutul statului până la mijlocul secolului al XVIII)*, "Revista de Istorie", 1974, no 1, p. 55-77; Ștefan Ștefănescu, *Relațiile sociale în raport cu proprietatea funciară în țările române în sec. XII-XVI*, in *Stat, societate, națiune. Interpretări istorice* (ed. by Nicolae Edroiu, Aurel Raduțiu, Pompiliu Teodor), Cluj-Napoca, 1982, p. 161-172; Pavel Blaj, Ioan Iosep, *Contribuții la cunoașterea braniștilor din Bucovina*, "Suceava", XVII-XVIII-XIX, 1990-1991-1992, p. 90-104.

<sup>5</sup> N. Grigoraș, *Din raporturile târgurilor moldovenești cu mănăstirile în epoca fanariotă*, "Studii și cercetări istorice. Buletin al Institutului de Istorie Națională «A.D. Xenopol»", X, 1941, no 1, p. 15-26; idem, *Proprietatea funciară și imobiliară a meseriașilor, negustorilor, boierilor și mănăstirilor din orașele moldovenești. Regimul și rolul ei (sec. XV-XVIII)*, "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie «A.D. Xenopol»", VII, 1970, p. 83-105; idem, *Proprietatea funciară a orașelor moldovenești în timpul orânduirii feudale și evoluția ei*, "Studii și Cercetări Științifice. Seria Istorie", XII, 1961, no 2, p. 213-232.

Indifferent whether the princes, boyars or hierarchs raised or renewed a foundation, they also had to assure it with the means of its durability and of the accomplishing of the purpose for which it had been raised<sup>6</sup>.

The development of the ecclesiastic domain occurred also because of the tiny founders' and benefactors' donations. These latter were the princes or the princesses, boyars and/or their women, monks and priests, free holders and even the serfs of the monasteries. However, the tiny founders were usually relatives or friends of the great founders<sup>7</sup>.

Many of the tiny founders were also hierarchs or monks responsible with the *metanie* [= rosary] in the monastery that they endowed<sup>8</sup>. By such donations, they respected the Byzantine monastic canons<sup>9</sup>, offering their own *ocină* [= inherited land] to the monastic community that they belonged.

The most of the donations of the founders and benefactors originated in their right earnings<sup>10</sup>: inheritances, purchases, or exchanges. Then, the donations offered to the churches by the princes from the *ocine* of the princely domain belong to the same category<sup>11</sup>. Nevertheless, it seems that these donations were temporary, being guaranteed only during the lifetime of the merciful prince, although the latter required their successors to do not injure his donation and made imprecations for this. The fact that the founder prince urged his successor on the see of Moldavia to confirm the donation almost in all the acts of donation and mercy proves that only these ones had the right and possibility to injure these princely acts concluded by their ancestors. It was for this reason that the Moldavian monks were constrained to demand for successive confirmations from the founder's immediate successors<sup>12</sup>. By this kind of confirmations, the first founder's donation was sanctioned by tradition and oldness, so that the other princes did not dare to injure the ancestors' acts of mercy in order to do not fall under the founders' curse.

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<sup>6</sup> Arcadie M. Bodale, *Contribuții la istoria domeniului mănăstirii Putna de la constituirea sa până la reformele lui Constantin Mavrocordat (1466-1542)*, excerpt from "Caiete critice", new series, 6-7 (16-17), 2000-2001, p. 131-162 [hereafter: Bodale, *Contribuții*]; idem, *Semnificațiile actelor ctitoricești de pe Valea Suceviței*, "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie «A.D. Xenopol»", XXXVII (2000), p. 37-50 [hereafter: Bodale, *Semnificațiile*].

<sup>7</sup> Bodale, *Contribuții*; idem, *Semnificațiile*.

<sup>8</sup> Bodale, *Semnificațiile*.

<sup>9</sup> Nicodem Milaș, *Dreptul Bisericesc Oriental*, Bucharest, 1915, p. 547-553.

<sup>10</sup> *Pomelnicul <mănăstirii Sucevița> no. 740 II ex 1863*, p. IIIv, în Dan, *Sucevița*, p. 182 [hereafter: *Pomelnic*].

<sup>11</sup> Bodale, *Contribuții*; idem, *Semnificațiile*.

<sup>12</sup> See *Documenta Romaniae Historica, A., Moldova* [hereafter: *DRH. A.*], III, Bucharest, 1980 (ed. by C. Cihodaru, I. Caproșu, N. Ciocan), p. 508-509, no 285; Mihai Costăchescu, *Documente moldovenești de la Ștefăniță voievod (1517-1527)*, Iași, 1943, p. 243-245, no 48; *Moldova în Epoca Feudalismului, II: Documente slavo-românești (veacurile XV-XVI)* (ed. by D. M. Dragnev, A. N. Nikitici, L. I. Svetlicinaia, P. V. Sovietov; editor-in-chief L. V. Cerepnin), Chișinău, 1978, p. 264-265, no 83 [hereafter: *MEF*].

Then, the successive confirmations for an *ocină* or a privilege always conceal the fact that the right of possession over them was contested by other owners or by the princely servants, who many times violated them. This thing was also proved by the final formula of the charter that confirmed the monastery's possession over the estate or over a certain right of exemption or judging over its people. These formulae usually include interdictions over those that could injure the right acquired by the monastery through the princely mercy in the princely domain, the most common being: “[...] *Și altul să nu se amestece înaintea cărții domniei mele [...]* / And nobody would involve against my princely book”<sup>13</sup>. Sometimes these injuries of the monks' rights are also demonstrated by the penalties included in the charters against those that would involve in the monastery's possessions and would disregard the princely confirmation charter, such as “[...] *cine ar începe sfada sau pâra [...]* acela să plătească *zavesca* [...] / he who would start the quarrel or the denunciation [...] would pay the *zavesca* [= fine]”<sup>14</sup>, “*vor fi de mare pedeapsa de la domnia mea /* they would be under great penalty from my princely dignity”, “*vor da gloaba domniei mele /* they would give *gloabă* [= fine] to my princely dignity”<sup>15</sup>.

Sometimes, their rivals canceled this kind of donations from the princely domain offered by several princes when they the throne, in order to annul the memory of their enemies. We mention here the case of the monastery of Greci, which Prince Alexandru Lăpușeanu had endowed with the villages of Nicorești and Selicicani. However, by perpetrating a “secularization” *avant la lettre* of some of the Church's goods, Ion Vodă did not recognize the legitimacy of the donation acts done by his uncle, under the circumstances that the latter had been his rival for the throne of Moldavia. Thus, this prince confiscated the above-mentioned villages, probably restoring them to the princely courts that they had belonged to. However, Ion Vodă's successor, that is Petru *Șchiopul*, restored the village of Nicorești to the monks of Sfântul Nicolae de la Greci, and Iancu Sasu (1579-1582) confirmed them the village retroceded by his predecessor and restored the village of Selicicani on Bașeu<sup>16</sup>. Afterwards, invoking the heritage of the founder position from his father, Aron vodă (1591-1592; 1592-1595), rebuilt Sfântul Nicolae Monastery and endowed it with the villages of Averești and Rânzești (1594). On this occasion, he replaced the monks of Athos brought from Greci by Petru *Șchiopu* to his father's monastery with Romanian monks. The returning of the Romanian monks to Aron vodă's monastery was temporary, since Ieremia Moghilă (1595-1600; 1600-1606) listened the *jalbă* [=

<sup>13</sup> DRH. A., I, Bucharest, 1975 (ed. by C. Cihodaru, I. Caproșu, L. Șimanschi), p. 23, no 16; *Documente privind istoria României, A. Moldova, veacul XVII, II (1606-1610)*, Bucharest, 1953, p. 133, no 163 [hereafter: *DIR. A., veac XVII*].

<sup>14</sup> DRH. A., I, p. 58, no 40.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem, passim*.

<sup>16</sup> A. M. Bodale, *Ciitori și călugări de la mănăstirea Sfântul Nicolae (Aron Vodă de lângă Iași). Un episod al relațiilor ecleziastice greco-române la sfârșitul secolului XVI și începutul secolului XVII*, in *Interferențe româno-elene (secolele XV-XX)* (ed. by Leonidas Rados), Iași, 2003, p. 31-45 [hereafter: Bodale, *Ciitori*].

petition] of Zografu Monastery's community and restored its *metoc* [= succursal monastery]. For this, the prince was still constrained to contest publicly Aron vodă's position of founder, a fact that was effected in the extraction of the villages of Averești and Rânzești from the monastery's dominion, since they were not confirmed to the Athonite monastery on May 25, 1606<sup>17</sup>. The prince's decision was caused among other reasons by his friendship with the first Basarab on the Moldavian throne and by the Moghilă family's repugnance to Aron vodă. The official recognition of founder position to Aron vodă for Sfântul Nicolae Monastery in Tarina occurred no later than during the rule of Ștefan II Tomșa, the enemy of Moghilă family, when the *Aroneni* regained the villages of Averești and Rânzești<sup>18</sup>.

The donations offered from the princely domain to the Church by the princes' wives and daughters, who held *moșii de hrană* [= supporting estates] only during the lifetime, were at the limit of justice. In order to be perpetual, these donations had to be confirmed by the princes. It is the case of lady Ruxanda, Bogdan III's wife, who offered the village of Cuciurul in the county of Cernăuți, with all its *pricuturi* [= annexes], to Putna Monastery<sup>19</sup>. Since the village was princely<sup>20</sup>, it would be taken from the monastery by Ștefan Rareș<sup>21</sup>, although the monks of Putna would redeem it from this prince for 400 Hungarian *galbeni* [= ducats]<sup>22</sup> and it would be confirmed later by Petru Șchiopul<sup>23</sup>. Then, it is also the case of a part of the domain at Volovăț, on which the Moghilă family raised the Sucevița Monastery. This territory had belonged to the *ocol* [= district] of the Badeuți and by the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century had been the *ocina* with which the Moldavian princes had endowed

<sup>17</sup> Ioan Caproșu, Petronel Zahariuc, *Documente pivoitoare la istoria orașului Iași, I: Acte interne (1408-1660)*, Iași, 1999, p. 99-100, no 68.

<sup>18</sup> Bodale, *Cititori*.

<sup>19</sup> *DIR. A, veac XVI, III: 1571-1590*, Bucharest, 1951, p. 47-48, no 63.

<sup>20</sup> The fact that this village was not “*dreapta cumpărătură a mătușii domniei mele, doamnei Ruxanda / the right purchase of my princely aunt, Lady Ruzanda*”, as Petru Șchiopul said (*ibidem*), is proved by the fact that those in Putna redeemed this village from the prince “*din banii mănăstirii / from the monastery's money*” (*ibidem, veac XVI, II: 1551-1570*, Bucharest, 1951, p. 19, no 17 and III, p. 47-48, no 63), “*ca să nu lase în pagubă pomenirea mătușii mele / so that my aunt's memory be not damaged*” (*ibidem, veac XVI, II, p. 47-48, no 63*), while Petru Șchiopul, the above mentioned lady's nephew, did not restore to the monks the redemption that they had vien, but only confirmed the village to them. We suppose that the village had been offered from the princely domain by Bogdan cel Chior to Ruxanda his wife, during her lifetime, in order to be *de hrană* [= for support] to her. Since it was gifted by this lady to Putna Monastery, it came under this monastery's possession, probably as long as the donor was alive. After her death, Ștefan Petrovici would retort it to the princely domain: “[...] *căci acest sat a fost al domniei mele [...]* / because this village had belonged to my princely dignity” (*ibidem, veac XVI, II, p. 19, nr. 17*) or “*de vreme ce acest sat este drept domnesc de la întemeierea țării / since this village is princely right since the foundation of the country*” (*ibidem, veac XVI, III, p. 47-48, no 63*).

<sup>21</sup> Petru Șchiopul justified his predecessor's gesture “*pentru niște cheltuieli ce a știut / for several expenses that he knew*” (*ibidem*).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem, veac XVI, II, p. 19, no 17 and veac XVI, III, p. 47-48, no 63.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem, veac XVI, III, p. 47-48, no 63.*

their wives and daughters in order to be of their *hrană* [= support]. Consequently, the villages of Sucevița and Novoselița (Movoileani) were probably gifted by Petru Rareș or by his sons Iliăș or Ștefan to his daughter/their sister Maria, as dowry. Once owners of these villages, Petru Rareș's daughter and her husband Ioan Moghilă achieved the state of protectors of the hermitage in the area. This position of lifelong owner over the mentioned estates made that Maria Rareș and *logofăt* [= chancellor] Ioan Moghilă<sup>24</sup> be considered also as founders of the monastery raised by their sons at Sucevița. The donation of Petru *Șchiopul* to Sucevița Monastery proves that these estates had not been for ages of the Moghilă family: “*am dat, și am miluit și am întărit nou ziditei mănăstiri [...] un sat din satele noastre care au fost drepte domnești [...], anume Sucevița [...] cu munții / I gave and I took pity and I confirmed [...] a village among the villages that had been right princely to the new built monastery [...], namely Sucevița [...] with the mountains*”<sup>25</sup>. Whether the Byzantine foundation right was to be respected in its letter and spirit, then such a situation could cause the loss of the position of great founder by Gheorghe and Ieremia Moghilă. Thereof, we consider that such a right was not applied in its letter in the Romanian space. Nevertheless, the fact that this monastery was built by the Moghilă family on an estate temporarily under their dominion would allow that the state of great founders of Sucevița Monastery be achieved also by the princes when the above mentioned villages were to be restored to the *ocol* [= district] of Bădeuți. We consider that such a situation was difficult to be accepted by the Moghilă family's haughtiness, since its members not only exhibited their family's wealth and power, but also underlined their progeny from the ancient rulers of Moldavia. Consequently, in order to do not put the Moghilă family's state as great founders of this dwelling in danger and in the name of his friendship with it, the prince consecrated a situation *de facto*: the estates gifted to Maria Rareș during her lifetime and on which her sons built their foundation came *de jure* irrevocably in Moghilă family's and their monastery's possession<sup>26</sup>.

The donations offered from the villages previously taken to the prejudice of the prince because of *hiclenie* [= faithlessness] are also at the limit of justice<sup>27</sup>. This

<sup>24</sup> Studying the votive picture at Sucevița Monastery, Victor Brătulescu demonstrates the fact that the portrait of *logofăt* [= chancellor] Ioan Moghilă as pendant of lady Maria is represented immediately after the image of Metropolitan Gheorghe (Victor Brătulescu, *Portretul logofătului Ioan Movilă (monahul Ioanichie) în tabloul votiv de la Sucevița*, “Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei”, XLII, 1966, no 1-2, p. 23-53).

<sup>25</sup> Teodor Bălan, *Documente bucovinene, I: 1507-1653*, Cernăuți, 1933, p. 88-89, no 32 [hereafter: Bălan, *Documente*].

<sup>26</sup> Bodale, *Semnificațiile*.

<sup>27</sup> Although the princes in the Romanian Principalities had the absolute right to confiscate the faithless boyards' estates, it seems that this right was enclosed in time even by the princes. Thus, under the circumstances of the struggles for the throne and of the rule's instability, the princes gradually and irreversibly crushed this privilege, since they regarded all those that sustained them unconditionally as faithful servants. Therefore, whether the wealth of such a right and faithful servant had been taken by a certain predecessor on the throne who had been one of their or of their

deed was caused by the fact that these estates were not a result of the donor's right acquisition, as the Church's canons and tradition demanded<sup>28</sup>. Then, some of these donations were offered because of revenge and did not fulfill the condition to be perpetrated "*cu inima curată și luminată / with pure and enlightened heart*"<sup>29</sup>. This is obvious especially beginning with the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, under the circumstances of the gradual land irreversible crushing of the central power's right to take the *hicleni* [= faithless] boyars' estates to the princely domain, it occurred that the princes to aspire after the firmness of their measures through the endowment of the church with such an estates<sup>30</sup>. Therefore, their gesture conceals these voyvodes' fear that a successor favorable to their enemies would revoke their measure.

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parents' enemy, then the new princes usually revoked this decision, for all those that opposed to their enemies were "*slugi credincioase ale domniei și țării / prince's and country's faithful servants*".. thus, a boyard could very well be *hiclean* [= faithless] for a voyvode and the right and faithful servant for another. Thus it occurred that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century several confiscations of villages because of *hiclenie* [= faithlessness] be temporary and revocable. This phenomenon becomes general in time, especially beginning with the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This lack of lastingness of the confiscations of the ocine was probably due also to the fact that not all these measures were taken for the proved guilt, since several princes prove themselves greedy with regard to a certain boyards' wealth ("*Ion vodă [...] dacă a primit scaunul domniei, s-a apucat să adune aur [...] Dacă se afla pe undeva aur, se repezea și-l aducea la dânsul, căci era robul aurului [emphasis mine]; a lipsit chiar pe ostași de leafa lor / Ion vodă [...] began to collect gold if he took the rule [...]. Whether there was gold somewhere, he hurried and brought it with him, because he was the gold's slave; he even deprived the soldiers of the their salary*" (*Cronica lui Azarie, in Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI publicate de Ion Bogdan*, (ed. by P. P. Panaitescu), Bucharest, 1959, p. 149; see also vornicul Grigore Ureche and Simeon Dascalul, *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei până la Aron Vodă <1359-1595>* (ed. by Constantin C. Giurescu), Craiova, 1934, p. 157, especially under the circumstances of the princely domain's restriction.

<sup>28</sup> One should notice that the following advice was inscribed in a diptych of Sucevița Monastery, after the noting of the various holy fathers that had lived in this dwelling and previous to the mentioning of the its initial or later founders: "*dacă vrei să moștenești viața de veci, și să câștigi împărăția ceriului, și să fii scris în cărțile vieții, și să te mântuiești de munca de veci, să adaogi și să ajutori acest hram din dreptul tău câștig și din toată inima ta, cu dorința către Dumnedzău, ca să fie amintiți în vecii vecilor cătitorii, și părinții, și frații noștri și tot neamul creștinesc, care au binevoit să se înscrie aici / if you want to inherit the eternal life and to reach the Heaven's Empire and to be written in the books of life and to eternally be redeemed of your work, [then you should] add to and to sustain this devotion from your right income and from all your heart, with the will of God, so that the founders and the fathers and our brothers and the whole Christian people that have been willing to be inscribed here be mentioned for ever" (*Pomelnic*, p. 182).*

<sup>29</sup> *DIR, A, veac XVII*, II, p. 141, no 177; p 152, no 195; p. 154, no 197; p. 157, no 203; p. 165, no 214; p. 208, no 277 etc.

<sup>30</sup> We mention here the case of the village of Rânzești from the *ocol* [= district] of the borough of Bârlad, which Petru Șchiopul gifted to *postelnic* [= seneschal] Melestan (*ibidem, veac XVI*, IV: 1591-1600, Bucharest, 1952, p. 117-118, no 144 and *veac XVII*, vol V: 1621-1625, Bucharest, 1957, p. 185-186, no 255). In December 1593, Melestan the *postelnic* raised along with Loboda the *hatman* [= hetman] against Aron vodă (see N. Iorga, *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor*, I, Bucharest, 1895, p. 134; *DIR, A, veac XVII*, V, p. 185, no 255), so that the new prince confiscated it because of *hiclenie* [= faithlessness] and put it again under the obedience of the court

Although the disinherited families made numerous requests to have their *ocină* and *dedină* restored, the church was ousted from such estates only seldom. Thus, although many of the *ocine* taken by the princes and offered to the *ocoale* [= districts] or to other boyars were acquired by the *hicleni*'s relatives from other princes, who proved to be more merciful with regard to the sins committed by these disinherited parents, the most of the endowments to the monasteries were confirmed by the subsequent princes to the Church. This fact was caused both by the clergy's influence in the period's society and the fear of the curse in the donation charters.

Sometimes, the Church's endowment could be done "*rău și fără cale / unworthily and well for nothing*". First, it is about the donations of several villages bought by their founders *cu împresurare* [= with enclosures]. Thus, according to their wish to consolidate their own monasteries, the great founders – princes, great boyars, or hierarchs – abused of their social position and dispersed boyars' or free holders' money, taking their *ocine* by force in order to donate them to these dwellings. Also because of the fear for curse, these badly done donations were often inflexible. Anyhow, when the new princes were declared enemies of these founders or when the free holders done an injustice brought clear proofs that they had suffered such an injuries, the princes restored the *ocine* taken without justice.

Then, the great founders but also the monks set up documentary fakes in order to legitimize their pretensions over several estates. Sometimes, these acts were set up in the state chancellery. The most of the times, the *ocine* achieved by such a documents were gifted to the Church<sup>31</sup>.

Another mean of injury was the non-restoration to the new owners of all the acts of the estates exchanged, a fact that allowed the monks to emit new pretensions over them. Thus, on June 17, 1712, Nicolae Mavrocordat confirmed to Sucevița Monastery to take the *zeciuială* [= tithe] from the village of Nahoreni and from a half

in Bârlad initially, and later gifted it to his monastery in Tarina Iașilor (*ibidem*, *veac XVI*, IV, p. 117-118, no 144; Ioan Caproșu, Petronel Zahariuc, *op. cit.*, p. 62-63, no 39). In exchange, it seems that the Moghilă family, the enemy of Aron vodă, took the village of Rânzești from Sfântul Nicolae Monastery and restored it to *postelnic* Melestan's family. This conclusion could be inferred from the fact that under Ieremia Moghila (*ibidem*, p. 99-100, no 68) and Radu Mihnea (*DIR, A, veac XVII*, IV: 1616-1620, Bucharest, 1956, p. 261-263, no 318 and p. 296-297, no 363) the village is not mentioned among the monastery's *ocine* anymore. It would be only on February 14, 1623, when Ștefan Tomsa II would confiscate it from the *postelnic*'s successors and restore it to the monks in Tarina (*ibidem*, *veac XVII*, V, p. 185-186, no 255).

Then, it is the case of the village of Mândrești, which belonged to Petru Hudici, but the ancestors of the Moghilă family lost probably because of *hiclenie* [= faithlessness] so that it became princely (*ibidem*, *veac XVI*, III, p. 223, no 275; Gh. Ghibănescu, *Surete și izvoade. Documente slavo-române*, XIX, Iași, 1929, p. 177-178, no 127 [hereafter: Ghibănescu, *Surete*]; Bălan, *Documente*, II: 1519-1662, Cernăuți, 1934, p. 37-38, no 9). Nevertheless, the Moghilă family demanded the "*rău și fără cale / unworthy and good for nothing*" village (see below, our explanation) in order to donate it to Sucevița Monastery.

<sup>31</sup> Bodale, *Semnificațiile*.

of Hrusovăț<sup>32</sup>, although these estates were not possessed anymore by the monks for almost one century<sup>33</sup>.

Another method to enrich the Church and to develop the monastery *ocoale* [= districts] was the purchase of estates. The great founders or the monks could do this. It was usually done with justice, without that the buyers be done an injustice or be constrained to sell their *ocine*. The most eloquent example of such a founder is Stephen the Great. However, in other cases the great founders constrained the owners of several *ocine* in the surroundings of their foundations to sell them in order to endow the monasteries.

A particular case was the purchase done by the princes, who enjoyed the right of *dominum eminens* when they were interested in an estate. Thus, the estate's owners sold their *ocină* to the prince and received the proper price, without that these sales be considered as being under pressure and oppression.

Sometimes, the monasteries also bought by themselves the estates they were interested in. At other times, the monks redeemed the *ocine* offered as donation from several founders that were not entitled to offer them, so that "*a nu pieri pomenirea ctitorilor lor / the memory of their founders do not disappear*". It is the case of the *ocine* gifted well for nothing and without justice by the ladies and their daughters for *hrană* [= support] from the princely domain. Then, there are the *ocine* injured by the boyard or clerk great founders for the endowment of the dwellings raised for the height of God.

In order to buy these *ocine*, the Church and the great founders did not usually come up against the owners' opposition. This fact is due on the one side to the needs of these sellers for money, but especially to their wish to contribute to the putting into execution of deeds to please God, by facilitating the holy churches to acquire wealth, so that the latter are able to accomplish the vocation for which they had been built. The diptychs probably mentioned several sellers as benefactors of the dwellings for which they consented to alienate their estates. Several owners also accepted the offer made by the princes, boyars and Church's hierarchs to sell their *ocină* consequent to the wish for becoming close to those or to avoid their enmity.

The sales of estates by the monks also established the extension of the monastery domain. The importance of these sales was extremely scanty, for the Romanian medieval law did not entitle the Church to sell its estates<sup>34</sup>. This was because these *ocine* did not belong to the monks, but to the monastery, and their dissipation was regarded as similar to the larceny in the church<sup>35</sup>. This also explains

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<sup>32</sup> *Din tezauul documentar sucevean. Catalog de documente (1393-1848)* (ed. by Vasile Gh. Miron, Mihai Ștefan Ceaușu, Gavril Irimescu, Sevastița Irimescu), Bucharest, 1983, p. 216, no 653.

<sup>33</sup> *DIR. A., veac XVII, III: 1611-1615*, 1954, p. 195, no 294.

<sup>34</sup> N. Milas, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

<sup>35</sup> *DRH. A., XIX: 1626-1628* (edited by Haralambie Chircă), Bucharest, 1969, p. 144-148, no 121 and p. 149-153, no 122; N. Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor* [hereafter: Iorga, *Studii*], V, part I, *Cârți domnești, zapise și răvașe*, Bucharest, 1903, p. 97-98, no 91; Teodor Codrescu, *Uricariul*, VII, Iași, 1875, p. 23.

the central power's interventions to protect the monastery goods, for the sale of the monastery estates could put in danger the accomplishment of the mission for which the dwelling had been raised. The synod had only the right to administer these *ocine* in order to feed itself and to endow the God's House in which it lived. For this reason, the Church sold very few estates and it was exclusively due to the needs and poverty that these monasteries came to, because of the wars and their taxation<sup>36</sup>. However, according to the local custom, the monks needed to sell the fathers' estates, without answering for these sales to anyone.

Sometimes, the monks allowed several great boyars to redeem the fathers' *ocine* that had been gifted to the monasteries by their relatives. These redemptions were possible only because of these high officials' importance in the country's

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<sup>36</sup> We mention the case of Putna Monastery, which sold Novoselița and Stroinții between 1664 and 1665 (Bălan, *Documente*, III: 1573-1720, Cernăuți, 1937, p. 12, no 7 and p. 18, no 12) in order to pay the imposts to the prince. We notice the fact that these two villages were the only estates sold by those of Putna.

It was afterwards, in 1661, when Humor Monastery, “*agiugând la mare nevoie și greutate întru acea vreme, întâmplându-se mare foamete [mare] în țară, rămâind la toată lipsa hranei și rămâind și viile pustii, au socotit decăt să să răsăpască soborul și decăt să rămâie viile pustii, mai bine să caute din moșiile sfintei mănăstiri un loc undeva să îl cheltuiască să-și prindă hrana și cheltuiala vie. Și așa s-au socotit cu toți frații până la unul și au scos la vânzare o seliște, anume Strahotinul, ci iaste pe Jijia, în ținutul Hârlăului [...]. Deci au socotit să nu piardă de tot moșia, ci să ia și bani și alta în preț și să le dea și o bucată de loc să fie de treabă mănăstirii. Deci așa au socotit la tocmală pentru o sută de galbeni bani gata, și 50 de matce și a patra parte din sat de Derzsca / coming to great needs and precariousness in those times, occurring great famine in the country, coming to the complete lack of food and the vineyards deserted, it was decided that, than the people be dispersed and the vineyards be deserted, it would be better to look among the holy monastery's estates for a place where to spend so that to eat and to spend alive. It was thus that all the friars considered and put for sale a *seliște* [= fireplace], that is Strahotinul, which is on Jijia, in the district of Hârlău [...]. So, they decided to do not lose the whole estate, but to take both money and another one included in the price and to have a place given to be for monastery's necessities. So, they decided to negotiate for 100 ducats in cash and 50 *matce* [= river beds] and the fourth part of the village on Derzsca” (Biblioteca Academiei Române-București, Ms. rom. nr. 111, *Condica Sfintei mănăstiri Humorului cu toate uricele moșiilor și a daniilor ctitorilor*, p. 49r, no 6). Although the buyer, that is Dumitru Nacul *vistier*, pays everything (*ibidem*, p. 49, no 6 and p. 50, no 7), his successors restored in 1691 the estate of Strahotinul on Jijia to Humor Monastery (*ibidem*, p. 50r-51v, no 9). This conclusion was due to the fear for curse (*ibidem*). The same fear made that Vasile Talpa left the *seliște* of Glodeni to those of Humor on his deathbed in 1672, although he had bought it from them (*ibidem*, p. 43-43v, no 3). Then, in 1680, being in “*mare nevoie / great need*” the same monastery sold 2 *fălci* [= ancient unit of measure] of vineyard at Cotnari (*ibidem*, p. 78, no 6). These successive sales attest the difficult situation of Humor Monastery in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, the fear for the fears in the charters manifested by the buyers but also by the sellers made that the monks make efforts and succeed in regaining of these estates by the monastery.*

At other times, the monks used to sell their monastery's *ocine* in order to repair their deteriorated dwelling.

political, social and economic life, the right of *protimisis* being still invoked<sup>37</sup>. Usually, when a dwelling came without justice in an estate's possession, the monks sold it so that the legal owner did not disinherit them. In this case, the former owners had only few chances to regain their fathers' *ocine*.

Although the monastic synods were not able to sell their estates, they found means out in order to cover the pressing financial needs. Thus, they resorted to the practice of *orândă*<sup>38</sup>, which had the advantage to bring liquidities to the monasteries, although it deprived them of several rights (the tithe, the boyard right). The leasing of several monastery estates was caused only by the existence of those leaseholders interested in them and not by the impossibility for the monastery to administer them<sup>39</sup>. The custom of leasing the monastery estates by the monks became general in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This custom provoked numerous losses to the Church, so that several princes were constrained to take measures to prohibit the practice of *orândă*. Despite this, because of the princes' instability, and of monastic synods' need for liquidities, the mentioned measures did not produce any expected result, so that at the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century almost all the monastery estates were 'sold' to several leaseholders. At the same time, the monasteries 'produced' liquidities also by transforming the obligations of several monastery villages in a money donation<sup>40</sup>.

One could conclude that the cattle sales brought important revenues to the synod and sometimes surpassed the incomes achieved through leasing<sup>41</sup>. This face was due on the one side to the great number of cattle that could be reared on the monasteries' *braniște* [= fenced-in districts], and on the other side to the high price of the cattle in Moldavia<sup>42</sup>.

The exchanges of *ocine* also caused the creation and evolution of the ecclesiastic domain. At the beginning, they were done under the founder's patronage<sup>43</sup>, but after their death, all the monasteries took advantage by themselves

<sup>37</sup> Thus, the Moghilă family redeemed the village of Verbia from Voroneț Monastery. The settlement had been selt by their nephew Dumitru, *părcălab* [= chief magistrate of a city] Vascan Moghilă to Avram the monk, and this latter gave it those of Voroneț (*DIR. A, veac XVI*, III, p. 193-194, no 247 and p. 228-229, no 279).

<sup>38</sup> Ioan Bogdan, *Sămile mănăstirilor de țară din Moldova pe anul 1742*, "Buletinul Comisiei Istorice a României", I, 1915, p. 235-236.

<sup>39</sup> In the case of Sucevița, it resulted from the fact that the leased villages either were settled in the nearby of the monastery (Horodnic), or disposed of Sucevița's *metoace* [= succursal monasteries], because of a greater concentration of contiguous villages (Ibănești) or of a particular economic importance (Mândrești and the mobile bridge on the Siret river).

<sup>40</sup> I. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>42</sup> Thus, the monks of Sucevița achieved 50 lei from saling of five cattles, meaning the same price that they achieved from the lease of the most important monastery estate, that is Mândrești with the mobile bridge on the Siret river (*Ibidem*).

<sup>43</sup> Thus, Bishop Gheorghe Moghilă had in view the consolidation of Sucevița's landed hinterland. For this reason, on June 20, 1589 the hierarch of Rădăuți exchanged (Bălan, *Documente*, I, p. 110-111, no 44) the village of Stanilești in the Hotin district with the village of Holovăț, settled in the

from the right to exchange the estates. Sometimes, these exchanges were also concluded from the initiative or with the assistance of the hierarchs with the *metanie* in that dwelling<sup>44</sup>. These acts of exchange were concluded with the country's princes<sup>45</sup>, great<sup>46</sup> or little boyars<sup>47</sup>, freeholders and other monasteries<sup>48</sup>. Usually, the estates exchanges with the prince were concluded by virtue of the prince's right of *dominium eminens*<sup>49</sup>. Actually, the princes resorted to these exchanges in order to endow their own foundations and to restore the princely domain. Sometimes, the monasteries were constrained to exchange their villages because of several hierarchs' or great boyars' political, social and economic position, the latter intending thus to endow their own foundations and dwelling of *metanie*<sup>50</sup>.

Usually, the exchanges were concluded with justice and both sides' will. Whether the estates' value was not appropriate and the exchange partners were disadvantaged and did not receive the price's difference for their *ocină*, these latter

vicinity of his foundation. Stanilesti came under the power of Sucevița in the times of Aron Vodă (MEF, II: *Documente slavo-românești (veacurile XV-XVI)* (ed. by D. M. Dragnev, A. N. Nikitici, L. I. Svetlicinaia, P. V. Sovetov, editor-in-chief L. V. Cerepnin), Chișinău, 1978, p. 358, no 116), a fact that allowed Bishop Gheorghe to exchange it one more time, on March 20, 1598, this time for the village of Solca (Bălan, *Documente*, I, p. 124-126, no 50). In exchange, Ieremia Moghilă did not follow his brother's effort to consolidate Sucevița's hinterland. Through the exchanges that he did and patronized, he intended to concentrate Sucevița's villages in the district of Hotin. This goal was not strange to the fact that many villages in the district of Hotin had belonged to his ancestors, that is Stanileștii, Overcăuții, Lincova, Hrusevăt, Tuleatin, Nahoreani or Voronoviții. Thus, these villages along with the domain of Sucevița had to assure the military and economic base to the prince in order to return to Moldavia, in case that he would be removed from the throne. This is the only explanation for the fact that on November 23, 1605 Ieremia vodă exchanged an estate settled in his monastery's neighbourhood – it is about the Southern part of the village of Dornesti on Suceava river with five eighths of Hrusevăt and one eighth of Tuleatin in Hotin (*ibidem*, II, p. 62-63, no 19). At the same time, Sucevița was guided to exchange the village of Noscova in the district of Soroca with Nahoreanii of Toader Moghilă (*ibidem*, p. 62-63, no 19). The Moghilă family's philo-Polish politics, the fact that the *ocine* of Hrusevăt, Tuleatin and those in Nahoreani brought only a scanty income to the monks (*DIR. A., veac XVII*, III, p. 195, no 294), and also the date of the exchanges, that is November 23, 1605 lead us to believe that the prince became cautious consequent to the war against Mihai Viteazul.

<sup>44</sup> See Bodale, *Contribuții*, p. 150.

<sup>45</sup> Bălan, *Documente*, I, p. 160-161, no 74; V. A. Urechia, *Miron Costin-Opere Complete*, I, p. 214-215, no 7.

<sup>46</sup> V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, I, Bucharest, 1886, p. 214-215, no 7.

<sup>47</sup> *DIR. A., veac XVII*, V, p. 352, no 464.

<sup>48</sup> *DIR. A., veac XVII*, V, p. 317-318, no 420; Bălan, *Documente*, I, p. 192, no 94.

<sup>49</sup> Thus, several princes endowed their own foundations by 'infringing' those of Sucevița's possession rights. For instance, this is the case of Ștefan II Tomsa, who confiscated the village of Solca (nowadays, the commune of Arbore) from the Moghilă family's monastery and gave it to his own foundation from Solca (Bălan, *Documente*, I, p.160-161, no 74). In order to do not come under the incidence of the curse and to avoid the Divine punishment, the prince indemnified the synod on the Sucevița Valley by offering it two *fâlci* of vineyards at Cotnari, a silver chalice, 700 Hungarian *zloți* and the villages of Stănilești (*ibidem*) and Verbia (V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, p. 214-215, no 7).

<sup>50</sup> *DRH. A.*, XIX, p. 592, no 433.

could invert the exchange with the support of a new prince, to whom they had to prove that they had suffered from the coercion and injury of those that urged them to give their villages<sup>51</sup>. Many times, the monks concluded these exchanges in order to remove their needs, since the monasteries were constrained to give better *ocine* for worse ones, but receiving money for the value difference. Consequently, these exchanges were a masked form of selling of the monastery *ocine*. In other words, the local custom was avoided so that the synod received liquidities and escaped the dwelling of prejudice<sup>52</sup>.

At last, the extent of the monastery *ocoale* [= districts] was appointed also by the *împresurări* [= enclosures]. The economic value of the claimed piece of place established the most of the enclosures of boundaries. Sometimes, they could be caused also by the lack of the ancient borders or by the modification in time of the natural – the variations of the brooks' and rivers' flows – or artificial borderlines, such as the physical disappearance of the borderlines – trees, prickles, osiers. When the villages disappeared and became *seliști* or changed their names, the news monks did not know where the former estates had been – or did not want to know and – “*cu urice drepte / with right charters*” but “*fără cale și fără dreptate / worthless and without justice*”, demanded villages that had the same name with those of the former monastery estates<sup>53</sup>. Also with the aid of the ancient charters and *drese* [= documents] of the monastery, one could detect cases when the monks demand for *ocine* that had been possessed by their monastery, but which the monks before them had sold or changed without delivering all the estates' acts to the new owners<sup>54</sup>. The prince confirmed some of these enclosures, but the most of them were unmasked and the monks were regarded as remained by the country's entire law.

At the same time, one could also notice several enclosures of whole estates through the agency of false acts. Through these fakes, set up in monasteries or even in the princely chancellery, the monks intended to acquire estates of other owners. The most important enclosures of this kind were concluded over the princely *braniște* [= forest], with the founders' and monks' purpose to make a border around their monastery. Among the Moldavian monasteries, it was only Putna, Tazlău, and Neamț who had original charters for these *braniști*. Although they had acts for their *braniști*, these monasteries asked for confirmations also from the princes that succeeded on

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<sup>51</sup> *DIR. A., veac XVII*, III, p. 195, no 294; Bălan, *Documente*, II, p. 62-63, no 19; Dan, *Sucevița*, p. 115, no 25 and note 10; N. Iorga, *Studii*, V, p. 254 and p. 411; see also Bălan, *Documente*, I, p. 103, no 41.

<sup>52</sup> *DIR. A., veac XVII*, III, p. 187-190, no 285 and no 288.

<sup>53</sup> Thus, Humor Monastery attempted to acquire the village of Stroinți belonging to Putna Monastery through the agency of a charter delivered for one of its village with the same name, but which was dispersed and became a deserted place (see Bodale, *Contribuții*, p. 147-148).

<sup>54</sup> This is the reason why the saling acts of several *ocine* specified that the village's most ancient charters had been given on the buyer's or changing partner's own hand, and that whether other *drese* would appear, “*sa nu se fie în samă / to do not take into account*”. It seems that the method of enclosure by preserving the estate's ancient acts was very usual for those times.

the monastery founders' throne, because these estates had belonged to the princely domain and the less merciful princes could cancel the donations. The precedent that monasteries received *braniști* and the custom that the monks received confirmation for them from other princes induced also other monasteries to ask for such a *braniști* with no justice and on the bases of false charters. The successes gained by these encouraged later that all the monasteries in the mountain area attempt to make protected border around them. Then, some enclosures of estates were carried out by the monks on the prejudice of other monasteries, but also of the boyars' and freeholders' estates, especially when the laymen had no direct descendants<sup>55</sup>.

When the monastic dwellings achieved enclosure estates, several synods changed the villages received by their monastery with enclosure with other monks<sup>56</sup>. By these means, the clergy rendered difficult the legal owners' endeavor to regain the *ocine*, while the monasteries earned important wealth.

On other occasions, the monasteries also suffered enclosures from the side of the great boyars, Church's hierarchs and rival monasteries. Although these enclosures were confirmed by several hostile or not informed princes, this kind of losses were usually temporary, because the injured monks asked for their justice from other princes.

Created through donations, purchasing, exchanges or enclosures, the monastery domains had a particular extension and importance in Moldavian economic, social, political, and cultural life. Their creation caused the relationship between founders and monasteries, between monasteries and the people on the domain and, last but not least, the relationship between the country's religious institutions.

Translated from Romanian by Șerban Marin

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<sup>55</sup> Dan, *Sucevița*, p. 129-130, no 24; Ghibănescu, *Surete*, XII, p. 19, no d.

<sup>56</sup> *DIR. A, veac XVII*, V, p. 317-318, no 420; Bălan, *Documente*, I, p. 192, no 94 and p. 238, no 134, II, p. 145-146, no 71.

# The Child Abandonment in Bucharest in Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century (1830-1840)

Nicoleta Roman

The modern times were marked by changes emerging even at the level of child perception. The concern for the child and what he represents for society becomes more and more clear. There were adopted several decisions aimed at preventing child mortality, protecting and raising orphans so as to be further reintegrated within society and geared in activities meant to enable them make ends meet. We are not going to approach the subject of the children whose future was secured by the family, but of those whose destiny was left to the hands of the unknown. Abandoned, renegade, undesired, they were struggling to stay alive so as to find a place among their kin. The *Cutie milei* [= Charity box] was created by Prince Alexandru Ipsilanti in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (1775) in this purpose. The mutual assistance fund concerned only those who were living an “amputated life”<sup>1</sup>. In fact, the main concerns of the Princely Court were to ensure physical survival, to preserve parental inheritance, and last but no least to educate these orphans. The orphans had been monitored by this capacitated organisation since 1780 under the *Pravnilceasca condică* [= the Register of Laws], and later on under the *Codul Callimah* [= Callimah Code] and *Legiuirea Caragea* [= Caragea Act]<sup>2</sup>. The *Regulamentul Organic* [Organic Regulation] required a new directorate destined to cover the *Institutul Sărmanilor, al Cerșetorilor și Casele Ajutătoare* [= Institute of the Poor and Beggars and the Aid Funds]. In January 1832 the structure of the new organisation was settled and named the *Eforia Caselor Făcătoare de Bine* [= Ephorate of the Charities]. Apart from the three ephors (*biv vel serdar* [= cavalry commander] Gr. Obedeanu, *biv vel comis* [= equeery] Gr. Cantacuzino and *aga* [= police prefect] Constantin Bălăceanu<sup>3</sup>) there were a director, a cashier, a registering clerk and two *logofeți* [= chancellors], all

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<sup>1</sup> Ligia Livadă Cadeschi, *De la milă la filantropie: instituții de asistare a săracilor în Țara Românească și Moldova în sec. XVIII*, Bucharest, 2001. The expression is used in the chapter “Copii săraci. Copii orfani. Instrucția școlară gratuită, tutela și orfanotrografia”. There are similar mentions related to this subject in Constanța Ghițulescu, *Forme juridice și practice de transmitere a patrimoniului. Femeia și zestrea sa în Țara Românească în secolul XVIII*, “Revista Istorică”, XIV, 5-6, 2003, p. 208-209.

<sup>2</sup> *Pravnilceasca condică (1780)*, Bucharest, 1957, p. 105; *Codul Callimach*, Bucharest, 1958, p. 141 and 143.

<sup>3</sup> In May 1832, a few months after its foundation, *aga* Bălăceanu was appointed together with *serdarul* Obedeanu and *comisul* Cantacuzino to “*completui numărul a trei efori / complete the number of ephors*”, which leads us to believe that the first ephor Șt. Moshu was no longer a leader of the organisation. D.A.N.I.C., *Eforia Caselor Făcătoare de Bine*, file 1/1832, p. 13.

having a well-established salary. Although from the very beginning the Ephorate wished to be an independent organisation, it was not able to gain this privilege, being subordinated to the *Logofeția Pricinilor Bisericești* [= Chancellery of Ecclesiastic Affairs], which was an agent between the Prince and those who suffered:

*“îngrijirea asupra tuturor așezămintelor caselor făcătoare de bine și folos<ului> obștească fiind asupra Logofeției Pricinilor Bisericești, carele este mijlocitor și organul trebuințelor acestor așezămături către domn / all charities and public welfare bodies being under the supervision of the Chancellery of Ecclesiastic Affairs, which is the agent and the organ of the needs of these establishments before the Prince”<sup>4</sup>*

Hence, the Church and the Prince remain the main charity agents. Despite the wish to take control over this segment that gained the appreciation of the Prince by the population, the State was in a permanent competition with the Church. The Prince becomes closer to his subjects, more visible and more tangible on the occasion of different holidays – religious or of a different nature – making gestures meant to engrave him in the collective memory and to create traditions.

The Ephorate of the Charities to which the Institute of the Poor was subordinated, and which had become the main social assistance organisation since 1832, defined orphans as follows:

*“sunt numire de copii sărmani să înțelege copiii aceia care să leapădă pă la biserici, pă la porțile caselor și pă la drumuri în mila creștinilor. Sau aceia ce să vor dovedi că au rămas fără părinți în desăvârșită sărăcie / orphans are those children who are abandoned to churches, house gates, on roads to the mercy of Christians. Or those who will be proved to have been left without parents in complete poverty”<sup>5</sup>.*

The orphans were seen as a structural category of the poor, besides the aged people and the disabled, towards whom the society showed an empathic attitude which evolved in time – as shown by Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi – from compassion to philanthropy<sup>6</sup>. A second category is that of people who become poor due to political, economical and other circumstances. The number of the poor increases after plague and cholera epidemics, after natural calamities such as earthquakes and floods, after fires that devastate cities and towns. They become more numerous beginning with

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<sup>4</sup> D.A.N.I.C., *Eforia Caselor Făcătoare de Bine*, file 1/1832, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> D.A.N.I.C., *Logofeția Pricinilor Bisericești*, file 127/1832, p. 22. In the correspondance carried by the Ephorate of the Charities with the Chancellery of Ecclesiastic Affairs, Article 22 of the Internal Regulations is recurrent.

<sup>6</sup> Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *op. cit.* A vast study on this subject but referring however to modern Russia is signed by Daniel D. Kaiser, *The poor and disabled in early XVIII century Russian towns*, “Journal of Social History”, 32, 1, 1998, p. 124 -136.

the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>, when the streets of Bucharest were packing with poor people towards whom the society and State did not know how to react. One step taken into this direction was the Charity box, many wealthy people being urged to donate money there.

The abandonment reasons were varied: poverty, the sickness/death of parents, changes of the social status and most often illegitimate relationships. There was a custom related to the latter one of rearing the illegitimate children of the master on his own estate, near the manor, and with his wife's consent. This practice was accounted in the writings of Gheorghe Sion and his contemporaries, who informed of the relationships between the boyars and their gypsy bondmaids, such as the chancellor Dumitrache Canta-Paşcanu. Although he loved and appreciated his wife, he had a gypsy bondmaid named Maria. They had an offspring of this affair named Dincă. Profira, the wife of the grand boyar Paşcanu, was aware of this affair and also of Dincă. One step taken immediately was to have Maria married to one of her kin. Right before her death, Maria is pardoned through a *carte de iertăciune* [forgiveness book] and freed. Since he had no heirs, Dumitrache Paşcanu owns Dincă as his son. Dincă's attempts to be pardoned by the widow of the grand *logofăt* fail each time. He eventually commits suicide. Many women would not have granted him this favour due to the frustration related to their inability of giving heirs to the husband. This would have been a means to punish not only the unfaithful husband, but also the woman who had succeeded in a field where they did not: maternity. Nevertheless, Profira has another reason. She overcame the grief caused by her husband's infidelity and started to be affectionate towards Dincă, not quite as a mother but as an aunt. Her only chance of keeping him close to her, educate him and thus fulfilling her wish to become a mother was that of not freeing him<sup>8</sup>. But before anything why did boyar women accept the affairs of their husbands with gypsy bondmaids? One possible answer is given by Profira herself:

"[...] *Astea nu strică casa. E pericol atuncea când bărbatul se încurcă pe afară cu nemfoaicele sau unguroaicele cari le storc pungele, cu cucoane de ale noastre, cari-i silesc să se despartă, ca să le ia pe ele. Dar nişte biete roabe... Eh! plăceri trecătoare, ca nişte stele sclipitoare!* / [...] They don't break households. It is risky when the husband has affairs with German or Hungarian women deplete their money; with our ladies who force them to separate so that they can take them. But some poor bondmaids... Heh! Transient pleasures like twinkling stars!"<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Plague epidemics are registered in Bucharest in 1735, 1752, 1792, 1818, while earthquakes took place in 1771, 1787, 1789, 1793, 1798, 1829, 1838, according to the information in our possession. The floods affected the Wallachian capital in 1814 and 1837, while the fires constantly destroyed a part of the city (1766, 1804, 1847).

<sup>8</sup> G. Sion, *Proză. Suvenire contimpurane*, Bucharest, 1956, p. 81 in the chapter "*Emanciparea țiganilor*".

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 81.

Bondmaids did not ask for money and could not claim marriage. For this reason (with some exceptions) women were willing to overlook their husbands' affairs. Gypsy bondmaids and servants were the most convenient mistresses for newly wed boyars, particularly when the wife was a religious woman or had different concerns than conjugal life. They served for the initiation of young boyars into their sexual life, thing that was encouraged by friends and parents. Used to such customs, they would continue regardless of the consequences. They did not fear the idea of having offspring. The commonest proposition made to the future mother was to have her married and dowered. This solution was meant to bring benefits to both parties: the young woman was rendered a home otherwise denied by the loss of her integrity, while he kept his rank intact given the scandal of such an affair. Not keeping the promise entailed the exposure and scorn of the entire society. The woman left alone had three choices: raising her child in the poverty and isolation assumed with the birth, the child abandonment on the stairs of a church, and in the worst case, the infanticide.

Proves of such illicit liaisons are rare. Some were confessed in the notes attached to the babies, others were revealed by the inquiries made by authorities; inquiries were mandatory when babies were found. Ralița was not hazardously abandoned in front of the house of Anica Deșloaica in February 1833, with a note on her neck accusing the master of the boyar family:

*“Coco<a>ne Costache,*

*Etăși copilu, cu tine l-am făcut, ție Ț-il leapădu și ce-i ți să faci cu elu. Eu, fată săracă, m-ai înșălatu că o să faci zestră <și> nu mi-ai dat nici o para și m-ai lăsatu dă nu pociu să mă urnescu în lume. Numele <ei> Ralița. Eu, Dumitra / Master Costache, This is your offspring, conceived with you; I leave it to you to do as you please. I am a poor girl and you lied to me that you'd give me a dowry, but you didn't give me a nickel, and you left me that I can't stir in the world. Her name, Ralița. Mine, Dumitra”<sup>10</sup>*

Ralița is mentioned in the register kept by the Ephorate of the Charities for the children under the care of the Institute of the Poor, a clear sign of her father's rejection, of his refuse to own and adopt her<sup>11</sup>.

Women who suffered from cholera, dropsy or typhoid fever were wandering in the streets of the city seeking help for their children and cure for their pain. Being refused out of contamination fear, they would abandon their children in order to give them another chance. The women would go back to their relatives or in isolated places so as to return recovered – in some cases – and claim their parental rights. At the death of her husband, Despa comes to Bucharest as many others being heavy

<sup>10</sup> D.A.N.I.C., *Eforia Caselor Făcătoare de Bine*, file 17/1832, p. 66.

<sup>11</sup> The adoption of a child outside marriage was a form of legitimization.

with child, and she falls sick with dropsy after the birth of her child. Weakened, unable to breastfeed and without any money, she appeals to the women on her street and to the midwife of *Comisia Vopselii* [= the Commission of Colours]<sup>12</sup> where she was living – who is also the god-mother of her little boy – so as the new-born can be fed with milk. Although at the beginning they seemed to be willing to help her, when they learned of her health condition they turned their back on her “*zicând că sunt bolnavă de dropică / saying I was suffering from dropsy*”. Creative enough and seeing her child

“*se sfârșea de foame, adeseori îl punea pă la uliță și pă la biserici pentru ca să hrănească cu țâță de către femeile ce nu-l cunoștea / dying of starvation, she often left him in the streets or at the church to be breastfed by the women who didn’t know him.*”<sup>13</sup>

This practice could not continue and Despa was forced to abandon him at the Box. Since her illness became worse, she was taken unconscious to her hamlet – Filipeștii de Târg, Prahova County – where, under the strict care of her mother she recovered. After marrying Adam Săcan, she confesses she had a child abandoned in Popa Soare Street in Bucharest and she wishes to take him back. The man not only that does not object to his wife’s wish, but he covers the expenses related to the home bringing of the child. Following her leads, Despa finds the midwife and learns that her boy had been entrusted by the Ephorate to a nurse in Dealul Spirii Street. Advised to address to that organisation so as to have him back lawfully, the woman manages to demonstrate she was his mother. Safta, the wife of Sandu the tailor, and Ușa the wife of the *dorobanț* [= soldier] Alexe witness that Despa had been *îngreucată* [= impregnated]<sup>14</sup>. Further on, other people such as Dumitrana, Ioana *moașa* [= the midwife], and father Ioan confirm that she had given birth months ago in Popa Soare Street and that her son was christened Panait. After examining the certificate and testimonies, the Ephorate was forced to restore the child to his mother on condition she paid 200 lei to cover the care expenses of the organisation (diapers and nurse).

The number of non-christened children was equally high and in such circumstances the Ephorate was assisted by the Church. The christening of new-borns was carried out soon after the inquiries undertaken to find his parents; the god-parents were the midwife from the *Vopsea* or some inhabitant of that street. Not much medical knowledge was needed so as to settle the approximate age of an abandoned child (“*ca de patru luni / of four months or so*”; “*ca la doi ani / of two years old*”). Confronting with cases when the child was old enough so as to be

<sup>12</sup> Bucharest was divided into 5 *vopseli* (colours; here, districts): Red, Green, Yellow, Blue, and Black.

<sup>13</sup> D.A.N.I.C., *Eforia Caselor Făcătoare de Bine*, file 56/1832, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> In Romanian “*îngreucată*”, an archaism synonym of “impregnated”.

considered already christened, the ephors had to appeal to the metropolitan to advise them on the implementation of a special procedure. The child found in mid-March 1832 at the gate of St. Anton Church on Curtea Veche Street was almost a year old. The metropolitan gives a prompt response:

*“[...] că de a se boteza acum nu să poate până nu să va da mai întâiu în public, prin tobă, de aceasta că adecă cine va fi acela ce au lepădat copilu- < / > să vie în taină și să lipească o hârtie tot la acel loc unde s-au găsit acel copil, prin care să facă dovadă de este botezat sau nu. Și atunci, după aceia, de nu va fi botezat să va boteza. / [...] to christen him now is not possible until it is publicly announced by the drum, that is why whoever abandoned the child should secretly come and leave a paper in the same place that child was found so as to make prove whether he was christened or not. And then if he was not christened, he shall be.”<sup>15</sup>*

The effect was immediate, since shortly after, a woman came to the Directorate and declared that she had christened the boy by the name of Gheorghe and that it had been announced publicly in Bucharest. The Ephorate, in order to prevent similar situations, requested the settling of procedures for the abandoned children with notes attesting their religion. Regardless of what the certificate/note accounts, the child would be re-christened under the “*legea pravoslavnică a Răsăritului* / Eastern religious law”. This was the decision taken by the Church and bringing new members. In the same year, Ianuș, a Catholic child, was re-christened and entrusted to Zoița to raise him. She was the wife of Pană, the coachman of the boyar Constantin Cantacuzino<sup>16</sup>.

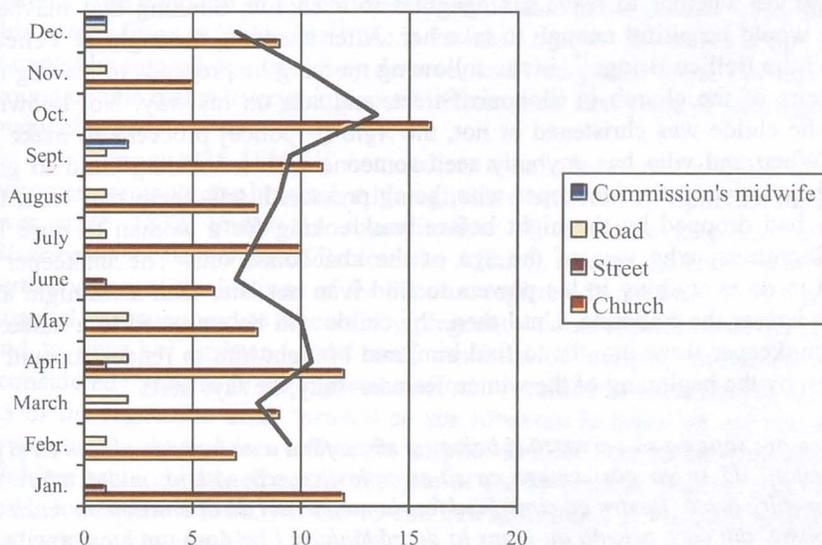
Either they are new-born or over 3-4 years old; either they carry notes with them, christening certificates or they are simply anonymous, all of these children go through a series of identification procedures before they are entrusted to other people who would rear them. The places where they were found (the church, the street, the road, before the Commission) are inscribed within the requirements of the Ephorate’s regulation so as to be considered abandoned or registered in the registers of the Institute of the Poor. From the table above pertaining to the child abandonment in the capital-city of Wallachia for the year 1834, we notice that the majority of children is left in places belonging to the Church (porch, stairs, pulpit, etc), often without any identification item. A similar conclusion is available for the period extending to 1840. The Church could offer double assistance to the new-born, material and spiritual (the christening). The priest is many times registered in the records regarding the infantile abandonment. He is the one to write the note, the baptism certificate of the child who would be later on abandoned; he is the one to give advice. Moreover, he is a guarantor of the respectability, responsibility and honour of the

<sup>15</sup> D.A.N.I.C., *Eforia Caselor Făcătoare de Bine*, file 70/1833, p. 87.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 132.

community he lives in. The certificates issued by the Ephorate were first signed by priests and after by inhabitants. They also warranted for the morality of the family the child would be adopted by. In 1832, the Commission of the Black *Vopsea* requested to the coachman Dumitrache and his wife Stana to bring a certificate attesting they could raise a child. The priests and inhabitants are the ones to sign the certificate, arguing that Dumitrache is “*omu muncitor / hard-working man*” and has the means to raise the child he wished to adopt: owns a two-room house, a crooked kitchen, a wattle barn, horse and wagon. That would suffice for priests to give their approval. Such recommendations are requested and required by the Ephorate when it receives adoption claims from the “*obraze proaste / mischievous*”. On the other hand, the abandonment in public places, such as the church, would warrant the child survival, while his abandonment on a street, a field or ditches demonstrated the desire of his physical elimination, the timing of the abandonment being important (in the morning, at night).

The frequency of the places where the children were abandoned in Bucharest in 1834.



The procedure for the cases when children were found abandoned entailed to bring them before the Commission of *Vopsea*, which would draft a report addressed to the Ephorate including data on the place and context the child was found. The person to have found and brought the new-born before the Commission was obliged to offer all the details and to sign the report. The priest, the *epistat*<sup>17</sup>, the midwife or

<sup>17</sup> Police officer.

any other inhabitant would describe most minutely the moment the child was found, and their first impetus. By the beginning of January 1833, while patrolling, the *epistat* in charge of Flămânda Street found “*o copilă lepădată în tinda bisericii, cu un răvășel legat la gât cuprinzător că este botezată și numele ei Sultana / a childe left on the porch of the church with a note on her neck sustaining she had been christened by the name of Sultana*”<sup>18</sup> as he declared himself. Father Stoica confirmed it by a certificate issued to the Directorate. On their own initiative, they gave the childe to Maria to breastfeed her, because she was frail, defenceless and dying. They promised two lei on a daily basis and now they have come to ask for the rights of the woman and childe. The Ephorate takes the responsibility of raising the childe, having her medically examined and entrusting her to a nurse accepted by the organisation.

If the parents are not found, which rarely happens, they are requested to take responsibility. The widowed men are unable to raise new-born children, and if they do not immediately find a wife to take on motherly duties, they eventually abandon them. After his wife died in child-birth, Ivan desperately tried for 4 months to take care alone of his suckling child, but he has not succeeded. He complaints to neighbours, he empties the cup of his sorrows in taverns, but all in vain. He finds it hard to decide whether to leave his daughter to a church, thinking that maybe a Christian would be pitiful enough to take her. After spending the night at Velicu’s inn, round the Beilicu Bridge<sup>19</sup>, in the following morning he proceeds to leaving her on the stairs of the church in Slobozia Street, and sets on his way. Not knowing whether the childe was christened or not, the *Agia* [= police] proceeds to make an inquiry. When and who has anybody seen someone with a suckling child to give away? They arrive at the innkeeper who, being pressured, tells them that Ivan, the man who had dropped by the night before was looking for a woman to raise his childe, Gherghina, who was of the age of the abandoned one. The innkeeper is requested to do everything in his powers to find Ivan not later than a fortnight and bring him before the Ephorate. Until then, the childe will be entrusted to a nurse. It took the innkeeper three months to find him, and brought him to render account in November, by the beginning of the winter. Remorsefully, he says that:

*“nu are soție ca să-i crească și bolnav și sărac fiind o au lepădat, zicând că și pă ceilalți dă se va găsi cineva ca să să milostivească să-i ia, multă iubire dă omenire arată. Pentru că cinci fiind fost la număr, cel dă al cincilea au murit dă foame, din care pricină au ajuns la deznădăjduire / he does not have a wife to raise them, and being ill and poor he left her, adding that his other children too, if anyone was merciful to take them, then that person was too kind at heart. With five children, the fifth having died of hunger, he was overwhelmed with despair”*<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> D.A.N.I.C., *Eforia Caselor Făcătoare de Bine*, file 70/1833, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> The current Calea Șerban Vodă.

<sup>20</sup> D.A.N.I.C., *Eforia Caselor Făcătoare de Bine*, file 70/1833, p. 435-435 overleaf.

The man can only receive guidance in finding a nurse, but the child cannot be taken by the Institute of the Poor since she has only one parent. In certain cases, the Ephorate can accept to pay a nurse, but not to give allowance to the child. As we may notice, the abandonment is also favoured by the great number of successive births in the poor families, which caused the death of young mothers. This practice has different finalities. First, ensuring a hereditary line, since in the 19<sup>th</sup> century medicine was not common everywhere and the principle of survival was governing. There are cases when women delivered over 10 children of whom only a few – four or five – survive. In the most fortunate case. Child mortality is a banal fact especially in an environment where the concern for the living individual is not a priority. Women fall into few categories: mothers, wives, but mostly economic agents. They work the field, in the household and at times take extra jobs (sewing, laundering, nursing, etc.) to give them extra money. All of these do not allow a focus on the child. The growing number of children and the income decrease determine certain families to proceed to abandonment, especially when the mother dies. In the countryside, on the other hand, children start to work from a very early age, thus helping the parents. The youngest of the children is responsible of his parents when they age, and this is a tradition in Wallachia<sup>21</sup>. He is the one to inherit the native home, bidding his parents the respect and care they deserve, and living with them. For this reason the young couple makes everything possible from their first years of marriage to have as many children.

During 1838-1839, if not earlier, a new location for child abandonment becomes common: the hospital. Although there had been an Ephorate for Hospitals<sup>22</sup> ever since 1832, under the subordination of the same *Logofeție a Pricinilor Bisericești* [= Chancellery of Ecclesiastic Affairs], data on the children brought to the birth hospital of the Institute of the Poor are registered only from 1839 onwards. This hospital was supposed to receive any pregnant woman regardless of her social status and to give her assistance; the staff consisted of doctors, midwives, and nurses (considered “*școlare în meșteșugul moșitului* / trained in midwifery”). Under article 15 of the regulation draft “*pruncii ce vor rămânea în spital să vor trimite la Casa orfanotrofii* / the children left in the hospital shall be sent to the Orphanage”<sup>23</sup>. The children were christened at the expense of the institution, bearing a certificate that tends to become a form. All the 18 children abandoned in the birth hospital in 1839 had a document as such:

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<sup>21</sup> Violeta Barbu, *Privilegiul mezinului: între realitatea juridică și ficțiunea basmului*, “Arhiva genealogică”, III, 1998, p. 49-62.

<sup>22</sup> D.A.N.I.C., *Eforia Caselor Făcătoare de Bine*, file 1/1832, p. 8. The three ephors are: *vornic* [minister for Internal Affairs] Mihai Ghica, *logofăt* [chancellor] Mihai Racoviță, and *căminar* [collector of duties on spirits] Alecu Ghica.

<sup>23</sup> D.A.N.I.C., *Eforia Caselor Făcătoare de Bine*, file 264/1839, p. 5.

*“Potrivit cu legiuirea întocmită prin art. al 15-lea din proiectul acestui spital să îndreptează către cinstita Eforie un copil, parte bărbătească, născut la 30 ale trecutului octombrie, din una dintre femeile sărmame ce sunt adunate la acest spital în despărțirea de al doilea, botezat fiind la 31 tot ale trecutei luni, cu numele Constantin pentru care să însoțește și biletu<|> botezului drept dovadă și de a căreia primire va binevoi cinstita Eforie a înapoia cinstit răspuns / According to the provision stipulated in article 15 of the draft regulation of this hospital one child of male sex is entrusted to the honourable Ephorate; he was born on the 30<sup>th</sup> of October by one of the poor women gathered in this hospital in the second department, and christened on the 31<sup>st</sup> of the past month by the name of Constantin. Enclosed find the certificate attesting his christening, and kindly request the honourable Ephorate to send reply.”<sup>24</sup>*

The number of abandoned children grew from one year to the other as shown in the table below, those found in the streets or churches being added to those in the birth hospital. In 1838, the number of abandoned children in Bucharest was close to 310. A foreign envoy – the Consul of Prussia in Jassy, C. A. Kuch – provided a higher figure for Wallachia, mentioning the charities near monasteries:

*“Așezămintele de binefacere întemeiate și întreținute de către mănăstiri se împart în trei categorii, adică un orfelinat, un spital și un azil pentru săraci. În orfelinat sunt crescuți și copiii găsiți al căror număr se ridică de obicei la 400. În acest scop sunt alocați o sută de mii de piaștri anual / The charity establishments built and aided by monasteries fall under three categories, an orphanage, a hospital and an asylum for the poor. The abandoned children are raised in an orphanage and their number usually extends to 400. One thousand piaștri are granted annually for this purpose.”<sup>25</sup>*

The data related to the years 1833, 1835 and 1839 are incomplete, but sufficient to observe that an annual number of over 130 children were abandoned in Bucharest during 1833-1838<sup>26</sup>, however their number decreased gradually. 131 children were abandoned both in 1833 and 1834. The number reaches the highest peak in 1837, when 151 children are registered, while the following year the number drops to 129. Another interesting aspect is that related to the months when children

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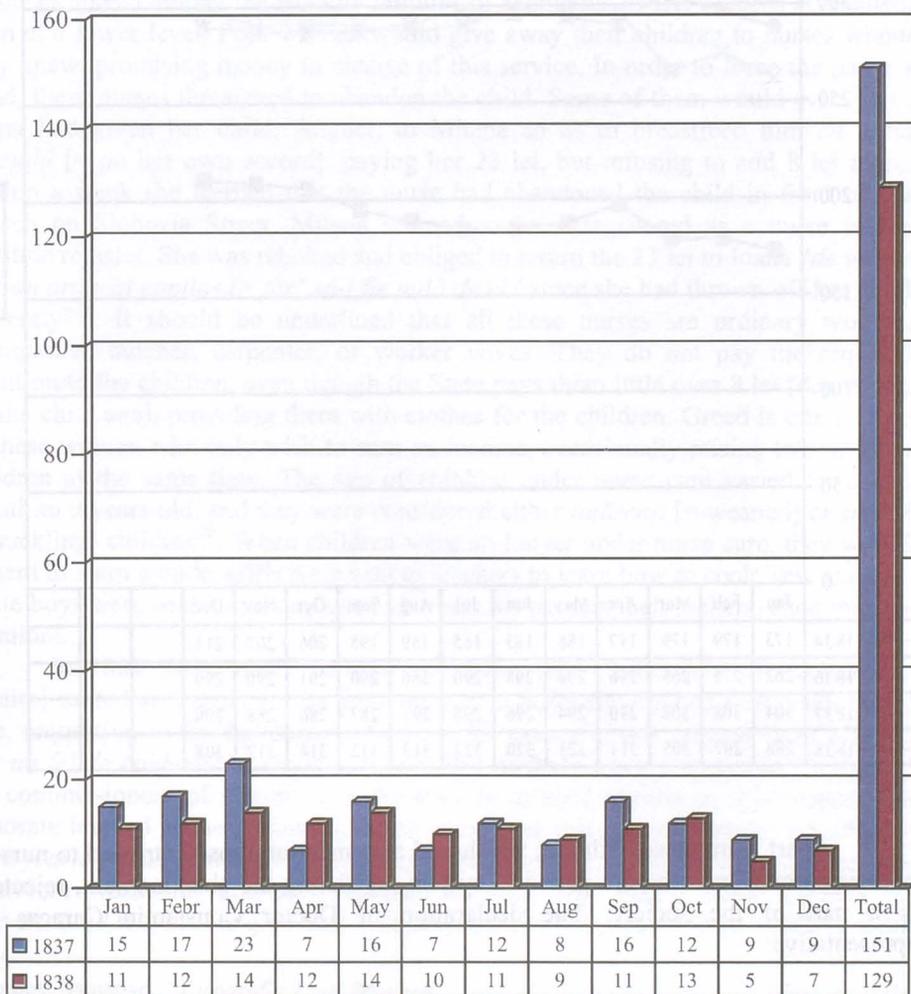
<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 53.

<sup>25</sup> C. A. Kuch, *Moldauisch-Walachische Zustände in den Jahren 1828 bis 1843*, Leipzig, 1844, p. 211.

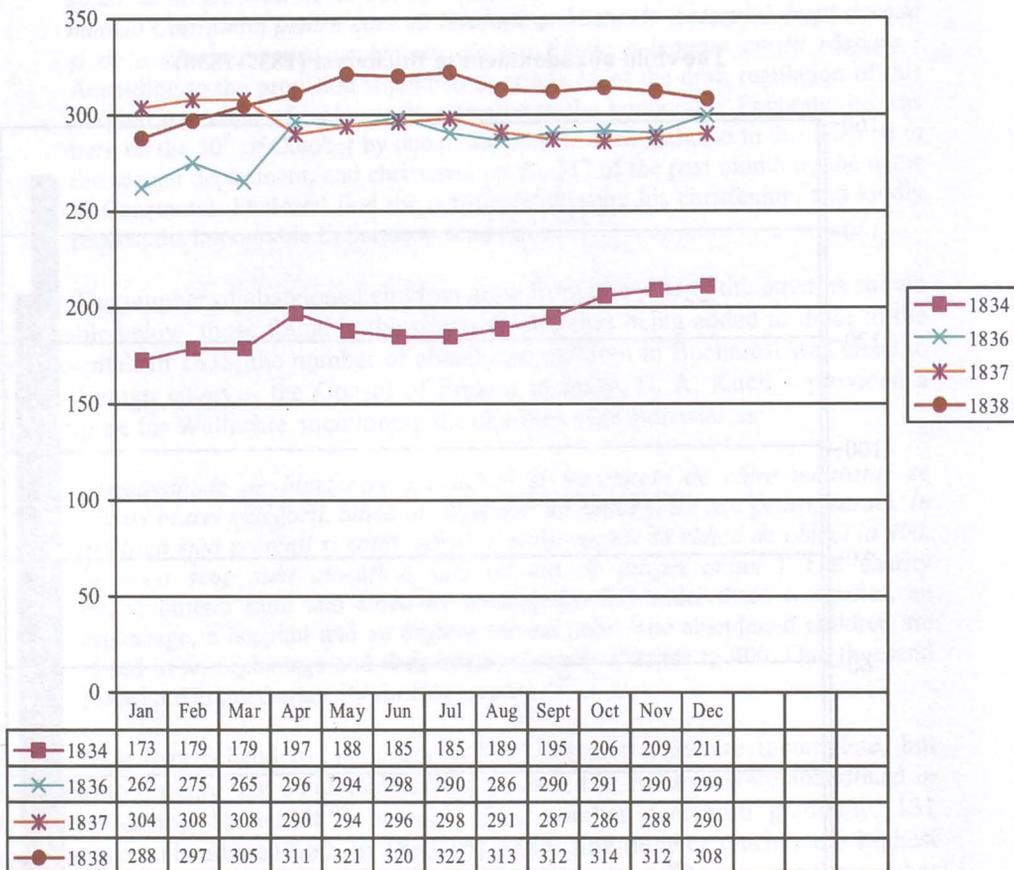
<sup>26</sup> We know from documents that at the end of December 1833 there were 173 children in the Institute, 7 being abandoned that month. 1834 was covered for each month with information on the child abandonment. A gap occurs again in 1835. We know due to the 1836 register that by the end of December 1835 there were 262 children at the Institute. These data, even though incomplete, enable us to reconstruct the evolution of child abandonment in Bucharest. You may review year 1834 in the table below because the information related to this year is vast, complete and can be used as a reference point for 1836 – 1838.

were abandoned. One may notice that the most frequent months for child abandonment were mid-winter and spring months.

**The child abandonment in Bucharest (1837-1838)**



## The orphans in the care of the Institute of Poor (1834-1838)



Apart from these children, we should also mention those entrusted to nurses by their parents and who are part of a system legislating the abandonment, rejected by a part of the society. The declaration of Doctor Constantin Caracș is representative:

*“Femeile tuturilor boierilor, mai ales ale celor de clasa întâia, cari au o stare materială mai bună, sunt surde la glasul sfânt al naturii [...] și nu aduc copilului lor laptele matern, ci îl dau unor doici necinstite, femei înjosite sau nedemne de a purta numele de mame; acestea înlătură fără conștiință și fără inimă proprii lor prunci, primind pentru o mică leafă pe alții / The boyar women, particularly*

the first class ones, who have better living conditions are deaf to the sacred voice of nature [...] and do not feed their child with breast milk, but they give it to some dishonest nurses, vile women or unworthy to bear the name of mother; the latter ones remove their own children unscrupulously and ruthlessly, receiving others in change of a small amount<sup>27</sup>.

The indifference manifested towards the child and the transfer of duties were practices spread among the wealthy families of Muntenia, as Dr. Caracaș accounted, even at a lower level. Poor women would give away their children to nurses whom they knew, promising money in change of this service. In order to force the payer's hand, these nurses threatened to abandon the child. Some of them would even do it. Ioana had given her child, Anghel, to Mitana so as to breastfeed him *cu bună învoială* [= on her own accord], paying her 23 lei, but refusing to add 8 lei more. Within a week she learned that the nurse had abandoned the child in front of the church on Slobozia Street. Mitana seemed to be unregistered as a nurse in the Institute register. She was rebuked and obliged to return the 23 lei to Ioana "*de vreme ce i-au aruncat copilul <l> fără să-i fie milă de el / since she had thrown off her child pitilessly*"<sup>28</sup>. It should be underlined that all these nurses are ordinary women, ploughman, butcher, carpenter, or worker wives. They do not pay the required attention to the children, even though the State pays them little over 8 lei (depending on the child age), providing them with clothes for the children. Greed is one feature of these women who only wish to earn an income, occasionally raising two or three children at the same time. The age of children under nurse care varied from one month to 9 years old, and they were considered either *înjărcați* [= weaned] or *sugari* [= suckling] children<sup>29</sup>. When children were no longer under nurse care, they would be sent to learn a trade. Girls were sent to teachers to learn how to cook, sew and cut, while boys were sent as apprentices to barbers, carpenters, belt makers, shoe makers or tailors.

In 1834, *Logofeția Pricinilor Bisericești* [the Chancellery of Ecclesiastic Affairs] started an inquiry on the great number of children who had died under nurse care, requesting to the Ephorate to find out the causes of this process "*mai ales că nici un fel de epidemie n-au fost / especially that there was no epidemic*"<sup>30</sup>. Urging the commissioners of colours and the doctors to send reports in this matter, the Ephorate learned at the beginning of the same year that many children "*să aduc în stare foarte proastă, slabi, bolnavi și cu răni pă trupurile lor / are brought in bad condition, weak, ill, and with wounds all over the body*". Their mothers or "*născătoare / the ones to give birth*", as they were called, treated them hostilely until

<sup>27</sup> Pompei Samaritan, "*Topografia Țării Românești*": o veche monografie sanitară a Munteniei de Constantin Caracaș, București, 1937, p. 87.

<sup>28</sup> D.A.N.I.C., *Eforia Caselor Făcătoare de Bine*, file 70/1838, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> Important in this matter are the lists of children under nurse care in Bucharest. The lists were kept by the Ephorate of the Charities.

<sup>30</sup> D.A.N.I.C., *Eforia Caselor Făcătoare de Bine*, file 109/1834, p. 29.

abandonment (“*ii țin ascunși și nehrăniți până găesc îndemnare a-i lepăda / they keep them hidden and unfed until they find a reason to throw them off*”). The rearing conditions provide by the nurses known and examined by the doctors were very bad, and although they were urged to go to the Commission’s doctor at any sign of disease, only few did as requested. They preferred to hide, ignore or treat the child themselves:

“*cei ce sunt mai întremați când se întâmplă de să bolnăvesc nu aleargă doica numaidecât la dohtor să arate [...] ci pentru că este fugă de osteneală sau că pricina bolii o socotește micu lucru, după acele rele obiceiuri întrebuițează buruieni și descânțețe și tocmai când să iuțește boala atunci aleargă la dohtor, când nu poate să-l ajute / those who are in good health, when they happen to fall ill, the nurse doesn’t run to the doctor to show [...] because she runs away from the trouble or she thinks the illness is trifle, and uses those herbs and disenchantments following vile customs, but when the illness becomes worse only then she goes see a doctor, and then it’s too late.*”<sup>31</sup>

Being informed of all these aspects, the Chancellery decided that the Ephorate should keep two nurses, ready to look after the abandoned children. The doctors would accept the women who wish to be registered and paid under the Ephorate as nurses only after “*să va vizitarisi / examination*”, being in good health and financially stable so as to be able to raise a child. A chancellor paid with 150 lei a month coordinated the daily activities performed by the organisation. The increase of staff members and of medical restrictions was meant to limit child mortality.

*La mère cruelle*<sup>32</sup> is also a reality in Romania, not only in the Western world, this expression implying not only the idea of abandonment, but equally of abuse or criminal act. We encounter the woman who isolates her child as step mother, who leaves him on the church stairs or at the bosom of a different woman, but also the woman to proceeds to infanticide as a final and definite solution. The illegitimacy recurrence of these phenomena is hard to identify, but it has a decisive role nonetheless. The State gives legitimacy and a stable home to the child through the adoption certificates it issues. The Parish, the Town-hall, or in our case the Commission and hospital are the neutral spaces which facilitate the status change, the one of legitimacy and social recognition<sup>33</sup>. Child abandonment is an individual act; in few cases it happens that children are abandoned by the same person. The child age may be an indication in establishing the cause. If it involves a new-born, it is more likely that he was abandoned because of the mother’s shame to have a *copil din flori*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 40 (overleaf).

<sup>32</sup> An expression coined by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *La maison et le nom: Stratégies et rituels dans l’italie de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1990, p. 396.

<sup>33</sup> Giovanna Cappelletto, *Infanzia abbandonata e ruoli de mediazione sociale nella Verona del Settecento*, “Quaderni storici”, XI, 33, 3, 1976, p. 243.

[= love child], illegitimate. Abandonment of children over one year old suggests the financial difficulties faced by the family. However, this is not a rule to apply to all cases. Even the children born in families can be abandoned; the lack of financial means not allowing their upbringing. Although they are found in different parts of Bucharest, they can be also brought from the villages/hamlets nearby. Lacking an identification element (the christening certificate), the abandonment moment cannot be restored. The *Vopsea* Commission attempts through the *Agie* to do this thing appealing to community, making a public announcement of events that happened in such and such street or church of Bucharest, in hope to find the parents or at least a relative that would become a guardian to the child. In early 19<sup>th</sup> century, despite the steps taken by authorities, the increasing number of abandoned children and death toll cannot be stopped. Chicken pox and smallpox are diseases ending their lives. The negligence of women who believe to be paid insufficiently to nurse them properly is another cause. Poverty and vice are the two driving forces for child abandonment in early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and they emphasise once more the lack of balance between the social classes, customs and prejudices of those times.

Translated from Romanian by Adina Rățoi



# A Chapter of the Italian Immigration in the Romanian Principalities: the Italians of Bucharest (1831-1878)

Raluca Tomi

“*Moldova și Valahia sunt bucăți de Paradis pentru o mână harnică și înțeleaptă / Moldavia and Wallachia are pieces of Paradise for a hardworking and wise hand*”, and Bucharest “*poate fi comparat cu un diamant de foarte mare preț în montura cea mai rudimentară / may be compared to an extremely precious diamond in the most rudimentary setting*”, the Austrian captain Ștefan Dietrich<sup>1</sup> used to say in 1855. The exotic mixture of Eastern customs, fashions and Western influences are perceived in all the information of the foreign travelers, especially in those of the westerners. The French consul Eugène Pujade wrote: Bucharest

“*este orașul contrastelor, se văd aici palate sau cel puțin case de locuit și cocioabe îngrozitoare... bărbați eleganți și femei elegante îmbrăcate după ultima modă a Parisului și țărani înveșmântați ca dacii de acum două mii de ani... Viața orientală ce se duce și cea europeană, care o înlocuiește, merg cot la cot, se succed ca într-o panoramă / is the city of contrasts, one might see here palaces or at least inhabitable homes, as well as horrible shanties... stylish men and elegant women dressed up in latest Parisian fashion style and peasants clothed as Dacians used to clothe two thousand years ago... The fading Eastern life and the replacing European one complete one another as in a panorama*”<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the social contrasts, the travelers are also amazed by the diversity of the ethnic groups. Benjamin Barker, agent of the Biblical Society, was impressed by the motley population of the Wallachian capital, during his 1834 visit:

“*Populația Bucureștiului... este alcătuită din munteni, moldoveni, bulgari, greci, armeni, evrei, germani, unguri, ruși, români transilvăneni, câțiva francezi și italieni și mulți țigani / The Bucharest population... is made up of Wallachians, Moldavians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Germans, Hungarians, Russians, Transylvanian Romanians, some Frenchmen and Italians, and many Gypsies*”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Apud C. C. Giurescu, *Istoria Bucureștilor*, Bucharest, 1979, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> See the translation of Benjamin Barker's voyage in *Călători străini despre țările române în secolul al XIX-lea* [hereafter: *Călători străini*], new series, III: 1831-1840, Bucharest, 2006, p. 205.

The number of the inhabitants of Bucharest varied in the voyage information depending on how well the travelers were informed. If Charles de Bois le Comte provided a number of 72,595 inhabitants for Bucharest in 1834, based on the results of the 1831 census, of whom 1795 were foreigners (1,226 Austrians, 236 Russians, 158 Prussians, 94 Englishmen, 80 Frenchmen)<sup>4</sup>, Benjamin Barker<sup>5</sup> and Auguste Labatut<sup>6</sup> considered that the capital had 80,000 inhabitants, and Charles B. Elliot argued that Bucharest had around 100,000 inhabitants<sup>7</sup> in the fourth decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The foreign population that lived in Bucharest may be quantified by census registrations<sup>8</sup>. The organic regulation stipulated the organization of censuses every seven years, an essential practice for the institutional development of a modern state, prepared for the evaluation and surveillance of its own demographic potential. The abovementioned fundamental law strictly regulated *Chipul facerii sau a înscrierii catagrafiei*<sup>9</sup>. It was the beginning of the “statistic fervor” period, such as M. Wastergaard<sup>10</sup> called it in a moment of inspiration.

As early as 1807, Bucharest was organized from an administrative point of view into five colors or “*vopseluri / dyes*” controlled by commissars or heralds, and corresponding to the old small rural districts. In 1831 there was a new territorial redistribution of these five dyes, each being administered by a commissar under the direct subordination of the great *aga*, in a period when the town had 78 streets. The five “dyes” were: *the red dye (the small rural district of Târgul din Năuntru)*, in the center of the town; *the blue dye (the small rural district of Broșteni)*, in the southern part; *the yellow dye (the small rural district of Podul Mogoșoaiei)*, in the northern part; *the black dye (the small rural district of Târgul de Afară)*, in the east; *the green dye (the small rural district of Gorgani)*, in the west<sup>11</sup>. During the same year, there were 1795 inhabitants under foreign jurisdiction (which did not necessarily mean that they had the nationality of that jurisdiction), and they were distributed on colors as follows: 761 in the red one (119 Russians, 509 Austrians, 48 Prussians, 43 Britons, 41 Frenchmen, 1 Greek); 137 in the yellow one (103 Austrians, 19 Russians, 9 Prussians, 5 Frenchmen, 1 Britons); 109 in the black one (78 Austrians, 21 Russians,

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<sup>4</sup> See the translation of Bois le Comte memoir in *Călători străini*, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> See the translation of Benjamin Barker in *Călători străini*, p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> See the translation of Auguste Labatut in *Călători străini*, p. 701.

<sup>7</sup> See the translation of Charles B. Elliot’s relationship in *Călători străini*, p. 364.

<sup>8</sup> The Romanian historiography mentions the aggregate taxes and imposts of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Treasury (lost forever), the 18<sup>th</sup> century inventories and those dating from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>9</sup> See *Regulamentele organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei* (ed. by Paul Negulescu and George Alexianu), Bucharest, 1944, p. 194-195.

<sup>10</sup> See Ion Donat and G. Retegan, *La Valachie en 1838 (D’après une source statistique inédite)*, “Revue Roumaine d’Histoire”, 5, 1965, p. 926.

<sup>11</sup> See Florian Georgescu, *Aspecte privind împărțirea administrativă și evoluția demografică din Bucureștii anilor (1831-1848)*, “Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie”, III, 1965, p. 54.

6 Prussians, 4 Britons); 195 in the blue one (142 Austrians, 20 Russians, 12 Britons, 13 Prussians, 8 Frenchmen); 289 in the green one (212 Austrians, 28 Russians, 24 Prussians, 16 Britons, 9 Frenchmen)<sup>12</sup>. Even if the above mentioned figures outdistance our study by 2 years, we considered it necessary to present them in order to have a general view on the foreign Bucharest subjects, starting with the Russian occupation.

One of the most important censuses, elaborated according to the organic regulations standards, is the one dating from 1838, to which many studies have been dedicated<sup>13</sup>. It is an extremely important document, not only for outdistancing by eight years a similar study made in France, just like Georgeta Filitti mentioned, but also for its many headings that might provide us an accurate ensemble of the Wallachian society, if published unabridged. The census headings were: item number, surname and first name, nationality, age, marital status, rank, profession, traveler/resident, child bearing, handicaps, protection, animals raised: horses, oxen, buffalos, pigs, dogs. Of course, just like any other census, it has limits due to those who drew up the registers—for example the one from the red dye was the most thorough in Bucharest, trying to fill in all the headings, but we cannot say the same thing about those who drew up the records for Brăila, as they left completely empty headings etc. In his 1838 study dedicated to censuses, Mihai Chiriță identified the number of foreign families: Serbians-1280 families, Greeks-663, Gypsies-285, Armenians-190, Germans-173, Jews-171, Albanians-137, Russians-55, Hungarians-37, Frenchmen-16, Poles-5, Italians-5, Bugarians-5, and other 18 different nationalities (Catholics-Papists, Saxons, Baptized, Muslims, Evangelists, Lutherans, Turks, A-Romanians), calculating a 33,9 percentage, meaning a third of the capital population<sup>14</sup>. A detailed analysis of the yellow dye was made by Georgeta Filitti, who studied the ethnic group of the inhabitants of the 18 streets and found the following statistic data: Gypsies-1115, Serbians (actually Bulgarians)-870, Armenians-743, Greeks-384, Germans-159, Hungarians-142, Albanians-141, Jews-27, Hungarians-24, 6 Frenchmen, 2 Prussians, 2 Italians (in the Sf. Vineri and in Popa Cosma streets)<sup>15</sup>.

The 1859 census, which did not follow a similar pattern in both principalities although Al. Ioan Cuza was their ruler at that time, confirmed a population of

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, annexes I-V, p. 77-81; see also *Uricariu sau Colecțiunile de diferite acte care pot servi la Istoria Românilor* (ed. by Theodor Codrescu), XVI-XVII, Iași, 1891 [hereafter, *Uricariu*], p. 176-177.

<sup>13</sup> I. Donat and G. Retegan, *op. cit.*; G. Retegan, *Primul recensământ modern al populației și agriculturii Țării românești: 1838*, "Revista Statistică", 4 and 5/1964, p. 157-171; Mihai Chiriță, *Obșteasca catagrafie de la 1838*, "Studii și Materiale de Istorie Modernă", XVI, 2000-2001, p. 133-144; Georgeta Filitti, *Observații pe marginea Catagrafiei din 1838 (Vopseaua Galbenă, București) I*, "Revista Arhivelor", 1-2, 2003, p. 103-121.

<sup>14</sup> See M. Chiriță, *op. cit.*, p. 137-138.

<sup>15</sup> See G. Filitti, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

2,400,741 inhabitants<sup>16</sup> in Wallachia. The forms for Wallachia did not have a heading concerning the structure of the population according to nationality, just like it had been done for Moldavia. The inhabitants were divided according to religion and protections. The most numerous were the Austrian subjects – 17,686, followed by: Greeks – 4,768, Turks – 1,949, Prussians – 1,512, Russians – 1,243, Britons – 1,070, Frenchmen – 530, Italians – 108, etc<sup>17</sup>. Bucharest had 121,734 inhabitants<sup>18</sup>.

What was the situation of the Italians in Bucharest between 1837 and 1876? We will try to answer this question corroborating several archival sources from the *Arhiva Istorică a Ministerului Afacerilor Externe* [Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – AIMAE], *Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale* [the Central Historical National Archives – ANIC], *Arhivele Istorice ale Municipiului București* [the Historical Archives of Bucharest Municipality – AIMB], published documents, the press of that time etc.

We tried to draw tables for the Italians from Bucharest based on the information found in the archival documents, and also to answer the following questions: their number, the year of their arrival in Bucharest, the place of origin, marital status, age, profession, observations. There have been over 100 Italians in Bucharest for the studied period. We cannot provide a precise number because we have not used all the sources, for example we did not have access to the reports of the Italian consuls from the capital, dating from the period between 1859 and 1876, these documents being found only in the Italian archives. Therefore, the numbers are provisional; the only certitude is that it is larger than the one known up to present. From the point of view of security, most of them had Sardinian citizenship-22 until 1859 (we emphasize the fact that security is not specified in all the cases), then the Austrian one-6, French-4, British-1. As there has been no Sardinian consulate in Bucharest until 1859, the problems of the Italians were given to the British consulate. In this regard, on the 12<sup>th</sup>/24<sup>th</sup> of October 1850, Carlo Berzolese was writing to Ioan Marcu, Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest:

*“J’ai l’honneur d’accuser réception de la note dont vous avez bien voulu m’honorer en date du 5 courant no 4195 relative à la vérification des titres de séjour des sujets étrangers établis à Bucarest et comme les intérêts des sujets sardes établis à Bucarest sont confiés à l’honorable Consulat général de Sa Majesté Britannique, j’ai écrit par ce même courrier à Monsieur le gérant de ce Consulat général pour qu’il se charge de faire remplir à cette circonstance les formalités arrêtées par l’Autorité locale à l’instar des autres étrangers ressortissants des divers consulats généraux établis à Bucarest”<sup>19</sup>.*

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<sup>16</sup> Grigore Chiriță, *Societatea din Principatele Unite în perioada constituirii statului național (1856-1866)*, Bucharest, 2004, p. 24.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 34.

<sup>18</sup> V. Mateescu, *Populația orașului București în secolele XIX-XX*, “Revista statistică”, 8, 1959, no 9, p. 57-61.

<sup>19</sup> AIMAE, vol. 51, p. 73.

Many of the Italians who arrived in Bucharest were aged between 20 and 40, most of them being already married and a few widowers or single. We know for sure that two of those registered in the tables were born in Bucharest, namely the case of the Gianelloni brothers, Roberto and Giacomo. Many of them were coming from the north-eastern provinces of the peninsula, from the towns Genoa, Alessandria, Turin from Savoy, a few were coming from Venice, Ancona, Florence, Rome. Their professions were: cereal trade – in 1857, 54 such merchants in Bucharest were asking for the withdrawal of the free pass payment, to which are added other 12 mentioned in other documents –, followed by the liberal professions (teachers, doctors, clerks, architects, painters, musicians, actors), handicraftsmen (bakers, wig makers, jewelers), and from the second half roads and railways contractors.

After the Treaty of Adrianople, there was an important upsurge of the principalities' trade, and the foreign travelers become aware of this fact. Jean Alexandre Vaillant was one of the most informed foreigners who had lived in Wallachia for almost 12 years. He was the author of *La Romanie*, one of the most complex accounts on the Romanian society in the transition period to modernity. He described the trade development as follows:

*“Comerțul se face în Principate de către negustorii en-gros, lipscanii, mărchitanii, toți germani sau ardeleni, armeni sau greci, ruși sau evrei. Negustorii en-gros exportă cereale, piei, animale, lânături, miere și vin; importă zahăr englezesc, cafea, vinuri din Insule, articole de fierărie și fier din Germania; lipscanii importă din Leipzig toate mărfurile din Franța, Anglia, Austria și Germania: postavuri, mătăsuri, muselin, pânzeturi, stofe din India, sticlă, cristale, bijuterii și în general toate articolele de noutate și de lux, argintărie și caroserii (pentru trăsurii) din Viena, parfumuri și mănuși din Franța, mobile din Pesta și ceai englezesc. Mărchitanii, împreună cu librarii, fierarii, cușitarii, cazangiii, lucrătorii care fac lăzi, importă din Rusia unelte din fontă și aramă galbenă, porțelan obișnuit, valize, blănuri, piei, ceai, articole de birou, echipamente militare, toate acestea neprelucrate precum și frângerii, lumânări, săpun și vele de Odesa. Armenii și grecii, care fac în general comerț de coloniale, cafea, zahăr, rom, tămâie, importă: uleiuri, orez, măsline, fructe, pește sărat, icre negre și tutun din Turcia; stofe din India, Persia și Damasc, săpun din Candia și Adrianopole, pantofi orientali; metale și culori pentru pictură. București și Iași sunt cele două mari antrepozite ale acestui comerț, și toate produsele le sunt aduse prin porturile Galați și Brăila, prin diversele scări ale Dunării și prin trecătorile Vulcan, Turnu Roșu, Brașov, Mamornița și Prisăcani / In the Principalities, the trade is made by engross merchants, lipscani, chapmen, all of them Germans or Transylvanians, Armenians or Greeks, Russians or Jews. The engross merchants export cereal, leather, animals, wool, honey and wine; they import English sugar, coffee, wines from the Islands, iron items and iron from Germany, the lipscani import from Leipzig all the merchandise from France, England, Austria and Germany: clothes, silk,*

muslin, linen, materials from India, glassware, crystals, jewelry, and usually all the newest and luxurious articles, silverware and bodies (for coaches) from Vienna, perfumes and gloves from France, furniture from Pest and English tea. Chapmen, together with booksellers, ironsmiths, knife smiths, boiler makers, box makers, import from Russia cast iron and yellow copper tools, common china, suitcases, fur coats, leather, tea, office items, military equipments, all in raw condition, as well as ropes, candles, soap and Odessa sails. Armenians and Greeks, who usually trade colonial products, coffee, sugar, rum, incense, import: oils, rice, olives, fruit, salty fish, caviar and tobacco from Turkey; materials from India, Persia and Damascus, soap from Candia and Adrianople, oriental shoes, metals and painting dyes. Bucharest and Iași are the two large warehouses for this trade, and all the products are brought via Galați and Brăila harbors, through the various Danube stairs and the passages of Vulcan, Turmu Roșu, Brașov, Mamornița, and Prisăceni<sup>20</sup>

Next we will present some of the most representative figures of the Italian merchants in Bucharest, as they are illustrated in the Romanian archives. The documentary materials reveal some personalities like Giuseppe Canevaro, who left Galați and arrived in Bucharest in 1842. He had done business with the Pedemontes in the Danubian harbor, especially with Giovanni Batista. On April 9/21, 1843, Canevaro wrote to the Sardinian consulate in Galați about his belongings left in the town, which were to be sold by one of his negotiators<sup>21</sup>. We should also note the fact that the Italian merchant was under British protection right from the moment of the settlement in the capital. The famous Gerolamo Monolo<sup>22</sup> is mentioned as early as 1838, his dancing room being well-known by the Bucharest high life. The Italian had a famous restaurant and a room for theatrical performances<sup>23</sup>. It is here that the first Romanian play was performed in Romanian in 1834. Momolo's room

*“se afla pe locul lui Iordache Slătineanu, în colțul pe care îl face actuala stradă Edgar Quinet cu strada Academiei...Clădirea avea ziduri de paiantă cu moloz și era căptușită cu scânduri. Sala lunguiață și cu tavanul jos, avea un rând de loji, despărțite între ele cu un stâlp de lemn, pe care era așezată o lampă. Teatrul*

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<sup>20</sup> See Jean Alexandre Vaillant, *La Roumanie ou Histoire, Langue, Littérature, Orographie, Statistique des Roumains*, III, Paris, 1844, p. 61.

<sup>21</sup> Canevaro to the Sardinian consulate in Galați, in ANIC, Italian microfilms collection, reel 5, c. 1178: “Il sottoscritto Giuseppe Canevaro, re suddito, ho l'onore di esporre a questo consolato, che finno dall'agosto dell'anno 1841 parti per stabilire una casa di commercio tuttora esistente in Bucarest sotto la dita di G.Canevaro e Cie, che lascia qui, prima della sua partenza, diverse oggetti a mani di questo signor Costantino”.

<sup>22</sup> ANIC, *Catagrafii* [Inventories] content, *Catagrafia din 1838* [The 1838 Inventory], red color no 82, p. 440-441. See a beautiful incursion in the world of old balls in Adrian Silvan Ionescu, *Balurile din secolul al XIX-lea*, Bucharest, 1997.

<sup>23</sup> Ramiro Ortiz, *Per la Storia della Cultura italiana in Rumania. Studi e ricerche*, Bucharest, 1916, p. 129.

*Momolo avea 15 rânduri de bănci de lemn, învelite în chembrică, formând cele trei staluri. În fund era galeria pe șapte trepte cu lavițe goale de lemn. Lângă scenă era loja domnească, îmbrăcată cu roșu, iar peste drum de această lojă, față în față erau trei canapele, în care lua loc Curtea / was located on Iordache Slătineanu's land, at the corner of the current Edgar Quinet Street and Academiei Street... The building had half-timber plaster walls and it was planked. The oblong low-ceiling room had a row of boxes, separated by a wooden pole with a lamp. The Momolo theatre had 15 rows of benches, covered with cambric, which formed the three stalls. In the back there was the gallery on seven steps with empty wooden benches. Near the stage there was the princely box, covered with red, and across this box there were three benches where the Court used to sit*"<sup>24</sup>

In the 1850's, Giovanni Flore, the confectioner, delighted the upper crust with genuine Neapolitan ice-cream<sup>25</sup>, and Comorelli, one of his fellow countrymen, had a more modest confectionery in the Romanian passage<sup>26</sup>. We have also some undiscovered information on Domenico Bernato, the leech merchant, accused of smuggling. The leech trade was attentively supervised by the Romanian state, and Ami Boué wrote in 1840:

*"Lipitorile din Țara Românească se exportă prin Orșova, unde există, ca la Semlin și Aleksinaș, pe frontiera sârbo-turcă, agenți întotdeauna gata să le trimită mai departe pentru a evita carantina / Leeches are exported from Wallachia via Orșova, where there are agents, just like in Slemín and Aleksinaș, always ready to send them further away, in order to avoid quarantine"*<sup>27</sup>

It seems like Italians were attracted to this type of trade. In 1843, Alexis du Valon wrote that he had met such a merchant in Cernavodă, and in 1844 there was the outbreak of the Domenico Bernato case, in a time when the leech trade was forbidden. Another case kept in the archives is that of Lazzaro Serafimi, owner of a cafeteria located in Fălcoianu's houses, near the *Brâncovenesc* hospital. After being accused of allowing gambling in his building, the owner was arrested and searched by the police, in November 1859, without informing the consular authorities. Lazzaro Serafimi was a British inhabitant under foreign jurisdiction and he made protests at the English consulate in the capital. His witnesses were Mayer, British vice-consul in Giurgiu, and the English merchant Grant, who lived in Bucharest<sup>28</sup>. In 1853, more than 50 Italian grain merchants were asking the minister of internal affairs to exempt

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<sup>24</sup> Ioan Massof, *Istoria teatrului Național din București 1877-1937*, Bucharest, 1938, p. 285-286.

<sup>25</sup> See C. C. Giurescu, *Istoria Bucureștilor*, p. 276; Ulysse de Marsillac, *Bucureștiul în veacul al XIX-lea*. Bucharest, 1999, p. 130.

<sup>26</sup> C. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

<sup>27</sup> See the narration of his travel in *Călători străini*, p. 886.

<sup>28</sup> AIMAE, vol. 60, p. 251-254.

them from the payment of the free pass, so that their freedom of movement and business is not burdened:

*“Consulatul general al Italiei mi-a scris ieri o notă cu nr. 81 în sprijinul aici alăturatei petiții a unui număr însemnat de grânari italieni care se plâng că fiind siliți a face mereu în interesul comerțului lor excursiuni din capitală afară și viceversa sunt la fiecare voiaj nevoiți a cere de la poliție bilete de ieșire din oraș. Repetirea îndesită a acestei formalități în privința acestor negocianți, fiind foarte împiedicătoare atât pentru dâșii cât și pentru comerț și acești oameni fiind cunoscuți de onorabili și natura comerțului lor fiind negreșit avantaioasă pantru producțiunea patriei noastre, vin a mă ruga, domnule ministru, să binevoiți a da cât mai neamânat prefecturii poliției instrucțiunile necesare pentru a se libera tuturor grânarilor în genere fără distincțiune de naționalitate bilete de voie din capitală pe tot timpul ce ei petrec în țara noastră pentru comerțul lor / The general consulate of Italy wrote me a note registered under no 81 yesterday to support the enclosed petition by several Italian grain merchants who complain that they always have to ask the police for tickets to go out of town, because of their frequent trade travels out from and back to the capital. The frequent repetition of this formality regarding these negotiators being very hindering for them, as well as for the trade, and these people being known as honorable people and the nature of their trade being undoubtedly favorable for the production in our country, I kindly ask you, Minister, to give the necessary instructions to the police prefecture as soon as possible, so that they issue free passes to all the grain merchants, without nationality distinctions, for all the time they are spending in our country for their trade”<sup>29</sup>*

We have also information on other Italian merchants, such as: Giovanni Sonna, whose fortune would be taken care of after his death by Cervetto Antonio, the Sardinian consul of Galați.

Apart from merchants, there were also Italian handicraftsmen in Bucharest. As early as 1834, Charles de Bois le Comte wrote:

*“Fertilitatea puțin obișnuită a solului Țării Românești și așezarea ei prielnică exportului răsplătind din plin și sigur munca, lasă puțină mână de lucru disponibilă pentru fabrici și fac exploatarea agricolă mai rentabilă decât industria manufacturieră. Cu toate acestea Țara Românească nu e cu totul lipsită de resurse din acest punct de vedere. Există o industrie casnică, producând în fiecare gospodărie cele necesare acesteia / The unusual richness of the Wallachian soil and the site favorable to exportation that totally and unquestionably rewards the work, leave less working hand available for factories and render the agricultural exploitation more profitable than the*

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<sup>29</sup> ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne-Afaceri italieni* [Ministry of Internal Affairs-Italian Business], file 237/1863, p. 29.

manufacturing industry. Nevertheless, from this point of view, Wallachia is not completely left without resources. There is a domestic industry that produces all that is needed inside the household”.

The same traveler provided statistics for 1831, according to which there were 1617 workshops and small factories in Wallachia<sup>30</sup>. 134 of these were potteries, 131 hay deposits, 70 tanneries, 9 wool factories, 22 headcloths, 553 distillers etc<sup>31</sup>. In the same inventory, there were mentioned 100 manufactures in Bucharest, among which: three candle workshops, 8 oil workshops, 1 stocking workshop, 1 for head clothes, 3 for hats, 64 for buckets, 5 for silk and wool, 2 for soap<sup>32</sup>. Altogether, there were 1802 craftsmen grouped in corporations. From the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there is an increase in the number of industrial establishments. Apart from the water mills, there are also the steam mills-the famous mill of Asan of 1853-the breweries and sugar factories, the Filaret gas factory, the CFR Workshop etc<sup>33</sup>. In 1863 there were: 29 bakeries, 50 gas and oil workshops, 5 tanneries, 5 breweries, 4 vinegar factories etc<sup>34</sup>. The number of the Italian handicraftsmen from Bucharest is relatively small as compared to other professions. Let us remind here the bakers Simon Andrenovici, G. Panezzi, G. Coralli, the house painter Martini-all of them mentioned in the 1838 census; the carpenter Oliva Francesco, son of the wood carver Filippo, born in Odessa, who was 22 years old in 1846, considered as able for the military service in Piedmont<sup>35</sup>, Zanchi Giovanni-jeweler and Giuseppe Ausenio, wig maker<sup>36</sup>. It is a remarkable fact that in 1855 there lived in Bucharest the widow Tabanelli with her son, who had a milliner workshop in Galați in 1842. For the year 1857, Vilarozi was mentioned, silk worms keeper, brought to build a school of this type in Pantelimon<sup>37</sup>. The document signed by 15 Italian brick makers settled in Bucharest in 1857 is a special one. In 1879, they were asking for naturalization and land reform, according to the rural law from 1864. We should remind the fact that, after the independence war, newly-married couples were put in possession of land, and the Italians thought that they could receive land if they were Romanian citizens<sup>38</sup>.

In 1860 it was the beginning of the carved stone pavement in Bucharest, while at the beginning of the eighth decade the first horse tram line was introduced<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> See the relating of Bois le Comte's report in *Călători străini*, III, new series, p. 107.

<sup>31</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria comerțului românesc, epoca mai nouă*, Bucharest, 1925, p. 154.

<sup>32</sup> See *Uricariu*, p. 176-177.

<sup>33</sup> C. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>34</sup> See D. Mihalache, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>35</sup> *Documente privitoare la legaturile economice dintre Principatele Romane si Regatul Sardiniei*, (ed. by Dimitrie Bodin), Bucuresti, 1941 [hereafter, Bodin, *Documente*], p. 178.

<sup>36</sup> ANIC, Italian microfilms collection, reel no 7, c. 748.

<sup>37</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Câteva documente din 1860*, "Studii italiene. Roma", IV, 1937, p. 163.

<sup>38</sup> ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne-Afaceri italieni*, file 68/1879, p. 8.

<sup>39</sup> C. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

Italian firms with tradition in this type of labor have been hired for the improvement of the street pavement. The 1868 contract was concluded between D. A. Cantacuzino and the entrepreneurs company Giacomo Fassoti, Giovanni Fedelis, G. Buffa, Nicola Giacomo<sup>40</sup>. The pay lists of the Italian workers from the same period have also been kept. It is interesting that they were better paid than the native ones. We can provide the names of the Italians who had probably come to Bucharest for the short term, and who were engaged in these labors, from the presence lists: Carlo Demartin, Carlo Savoi, Giovanni Paganini, Gelicutti Giacomo, Giovanni Klaus, Angelo Caravagio, Giorgino Morandini, Giovanni Viggelio, Giovanni Croato, Giuseppe Carolini, Giacomo Carolini<sup>41</sup>. The affluence of Italians in Bucharest increased during the reign of Al. Ioan Cuza. In 1860 there entered the capital 107 Italians, compared to 6355 Austrians, 1971 Turks, 303 Prussians, 238 Frenchmen, 186 Greeks, 134 Serbians, 119 Russians, 93 Britons, 14 Belgians, 14 Dutchmen<sup>42</sup>. In 1861 there entered 224 Italians, compared to 8024 Austrians, 2289 Turks, 319 Frenchmen, 310 Prussians, 168 Greeks, 125 Russians etc. The greater affluence of Italians was in the months of June-112, May-46, which shows that they had probably come for seasonal work in the town, most likely for the road construction<sup>43</sup>.

The Italians were also owners of great hotels in Bucharest. Captain Wilhelm Derblich reminded that in 1855 the owner of “*Hôtel d’Europe*” was an Italian, and in 1858 the hotel owned by Giovanni Fieschi opened on Șelari Street. Built on a place bought three years before, the hotel had, with the exception of apartments, a restaurant and a café, where one could read “*cele mai bune ziare franceze, române, germane, grece și italiene / the best French, Romanian, German, Greek and Italian newspapers*”<sup>44</sup>.

The Italian, diplomatic language of the Middle Ages, was used in the principalities by the cultural elite of the country. There were teachers in Bucharest, and even private academies where Italian could be learned. As early as 1820, the Swiss François Recordon had such a private school where students used to learn French, German, Italian, and Latin<sup>45</sup>. Italian was spoken both at the Court and in the homes of common people. In 1827, Charles Colville Frankland spoke with the ruler Grigore Ghica “in Italian and French”<sup>46</sup>, and the painter Miklós Barabás wrote that

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<sup>40</sup> National Library, Kogălniceanu content, file 619, p. 398-401.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>42</sup> ANIC, *fond Ministerul de Interne* [Ministry of Internal Affairs content], file 631/1862, p. 83-84.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 82-83.

<sup>44</sup> Maria Magdalena Ioniță, *Casa și familia Capșa în România modernă (1852-1950)*, Bucharest, 2000, p. 16; see also Cristina Năstăsache, *Romanian-italian interferences in the Second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century*, “*Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia*”, 2 (2002), p. 182.

<sup>45</sup> Gheorghe Pârnuță, *Istoria învățămîntului și culturii din orașul București*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 115.

<sup>46</sup> See the relating of his travel in *Călători străini*, new series, II, p. 280; see also George Potra, *Bucureștii văzuți de călători străini (secolele XVI-XIX)*, Bucharest, 1982, p. 145-146.

the members of the Raimondi family used to speak Greek, French, Italian, Hungarian<sup>47</sup>.

One of the most important academies founded by Italians was that of Luigi Gianelloni. Most likely, Gianelloni arrived in the country in 1825, and in 1835 he founded an academy for young boys<sup>48</sup>. At the beginning he had 23 students, and the headquarters were in the Golescu houses on Mogoșoaiei<sup>49</sup> Bridge. The authorization that the Italian had received on January 22, 1837 from the Ephors of the Wallachian Schools for the opening of the academy was kept, or:

*“L’Euphorie de l’Instruction Publique autorise Monsieur Louis Janelloni d’établir un pensionnat conformément à la demande qu’il a adressée à cet égard à l’Euphorie sous no 648”*. And he continues, emphasizing the fact that the main objectives of this educational institution had to be: *“les principaux efforts doivent avoir pour objet d’inspirer à leur élèves la vénération des choses saintes, le respect des lois et des autorités établis, l’amour de l’ordre et de la patrie, et de faire des hommes d’honneur et de probité avant d’en faire des savants”*<sup>50</sup>

During the fifth decade, Gianelloni’s academy distinguished by seriousness. The archives keep several certificates signed by parents who were satisfied with the Italian’s services. For the year 1844, the certificate was signed, among others, by colonel Ioan Voinescu, *clucer* Simion Marcovici, *paharnic* Samurçaș, *paharnic* Nicolae Bobescu, *serdar* Bujoreanu, *serdar* Dobre Cogălniceanu, *medelnicer* Alexandru Mavrodin, *căminar* Mihail Darvary, *clucer* E. Berendei, *serdar* Constantin Krețulescu, *stolnic* E. Bîlciurescu, *vistierunic* Andrei Dașcov, *pitar* Constantin Angelescu<sup>51</sup>. In 1846, the certificate was signed by high noblemen: *ban* George Filipescu, *ban* Teodor Văcărescu, George Golescu, *logofăt* Constantin Cantacuzino, Grigore Grădișteanu, *logofăt* Constantin Bălăceanu, Alecu Vilara, *mare logofăt* and minister of justice, *logofăt* Constantin Herescu, prince Constantin Suțu etc<sup>52</sup>. The importance of the academy was also emphasized by the participation of several personalities with high positions in the state at the end of the school year celebrations. In 1843 the attendants to the celebrations: Ilarion, bishop of Argeș, *marele clucer* Petrache Poenaru and *paharnic* Simion Marcovici, and in 1844: the Russian general consul, Dașcov, *marele logofăt* Ioan Filipescu; in 1845 there were

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<sup>47</sup> See the relating of his travel in *Călători străini*, new series, III, p. 55.

<sup>48</sup> ANIC, *fond Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice* [Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction content], file 20/1849, p. 23. In 1853, Gianelloni wrote to Mr. Barbu Știrbei that he had arrived in the country 28 years before and that he had been running an academy for young boys for 18 years.

<sup>49</sup> V. A. Urechia, *Istoria școalelor de la 1800-1864*, t. I, Bucharest, 1892, p. 240.

<sup>50</sup> AIMB, *fond Arhiepiscopia romano-catolică a Bucureștilor* [Bucharest Roman Catholic Archbishopric content], file 85/ 1837, p. 4.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 16.

present at the prize awarding: Emanoil Florescu, Daşcov, Robert Colquhoun, *culcer* Petreche Poenaru. In 1847, as a consequence of the great fire that devastated the capital, the academy board decided to decrease the taxes and renovated the building. It seems that starting from 1842 the academy functioned in the houses of lieutenant Păucescu from Sfinții Apostoli<sup>53</sup>. Gianelloni had several conflicts with him, and they ended up to the Capital's police station. Lieutenant Păucescu breeched the terms of the renting contract, according to which the building should have been renovated, therefore Gianelloni reacted promptly<sup>54</sup>. In 1853 he moved the headquarters on Beilicului bridge (Şerban Vodă)<sup>55</sup>. During the revolution of 1848, Gianelloni found his refuge, together with his family, in the parish house of the Catholic Church in Bucharest<sup>56</sup>. On March 30, 1849, Gianelloni wrote to General Duhamel, in order to receive the prolongation of the state subvention:

*“chef d’une institution que je dirige depuis nombre d’années dans cette capitale j’ai obtenu du gouvernement local à différentes époques des certificats qui sont foi de la conduite irréprochable que j’ai tenue des services que j’ai rendus au pays et du droits que j’ai acquis... En plaçant sous les yeux de Votre Excellence les titres dont je suis muni et qui attestent mes longs services, j’ose Vous supplier de daigner les prendre en considération et d’user de Sa puissante influence pour qu’il soit accordé à mon établissement une subvention annuelle convenable et en rapport avec ces mêmes services.”<sup>57</sup>*

Only a few months later, he wrote an impressive letter to the ruler Barbu Ştirbei, in which he presented all the services he had brought to the capital education and the fact that he was not subsidized by the state, that he had no stipendiary students and that he had not managed to make a fortune during all those education years. He was asking for a life indemnity, by virtue of his titles recognized by the suzerain and protective powers and the dissolving of the debts created during the troubled years 1846-1849. He concluded by saying that it was painful for him not to be able to ensure the minimum for existence for his sons, after so many years of work<sup>58</sup>. In 1851, the Ephors of School decided that all the leaders of academies send their students at the national College, so that they follow the courses of the gymnasium school. He forced the private academies to use the same textbooks as in public schools, and to follow the same curriculum. At least once a month, each student had to be controlled by an inspector<sup>59</sup>. Gianelloni accepted the new stipulations. He wrote about this to the Ephors of Schools, informing them that he

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<sup>53</sup> G. Potra, *Din Bucureştii de ieri*, II, Bucharest, 1990, p. 42-45.

<sup>54</sup> AIMB, *Agia oraşului Bucureşti* [Bucharest police station], file 1311/1842, p. 19, 32.

<sup>55</sup> Gh. Pârnuţă, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>56</sup> AIMB, *fond Arhiepiscopia romano-catolică a Bucureştilor*, file 125/1848, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> ANIC, *fond Ministerul Cultelor şi Instrucţiunii Publice*, file 20/1849, p. 5.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 20-21.

<sup>59</sup> Gh. Pârnuţă, *op. cit.*, p. 195-196.

had established the taxes for boarders at 36 francs per year, for day pupils at 18 francs, and that all his students were to be sent to Sf. Sava College<sup>60</sup>. The lists of the prize-winning pupils of the Gianelloni academy were kept for the years 1852 and 1853<sup>61</sup>. Gianelloni died in Paris<sup>62</sup> in 1856, leaving his elder son, Roberto, at the leadership of the academy. In 1858<sup>63</sup>, the latter one seemed to want to give up his Sardinian citizenship, but he would finally lead the academy created by his father. In 1861, the academy still existed, and among its teachers there were: F. Allunenu, D. Tomescu, M. Jacumy, B. Pisone, A. Fottescu, Marsillac, Cernătescu, Iordache Papu<sup>64</sup>. Toma Brătianu, Alexandru Vilara, the two sons of Van Saanen: Gustav and Robert, Librecht's sons, all of them would be students in Roberto Gianelloni's academy between 1863 and 1865. It is remarkable the fact that he received subventions from the government, from the funds of the submitted monasteries<sup>65</sup>. As a picturesque fact, the other son of Luigi Gianelloni, Giacomo, who was a British subject, was involved in a romantic affair with Zinca Uescu. In 1855, the girl left her parents and went to Gianelloni's house from the Lucaci Street, the black dye<sup>66</sup>.

Other academies for young boys were those led by Stefano Coliva in 1843, and Gerolamo Abbeatici in 1846. The latter was also the author of an Italian language textbook. We should mention that there appeared several such textbooks at that time, one of them being the one signed by Dimitrie Iarcu from Colțea School, which was published in 1846. The author's argument was very interesting: "the Italian language managed to become respected in Europe and all over the civilized world", and the merchant "has to learn it because there are many terms that come from it"<sup>67</sup>.

The academies for young girls were numerous at that time as well. The most famous were led by: Caroline Vaillant, Maria Masența, Elise d'Angelo, Marie Caine, Margareta Veinster. There was also Saint Mary Catholic institute, which had 140 students both catholic and orthodox in 1864, and where the Italian teacher was Emilia Branzii<sup>68</sup>. In the school year 1862-1863, Emilia Luzzatto opened another

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<sup>60</sup> ANIC, *fond Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice*, file 289/1851, p. 12.

<sup>61</sup> Prize-winning pupils in 1852: Husein Bey, Joseph Tall, Athanasie Demetrius, Nicoale Bobescu, Panaiotu Agy; in 1853: Carol Dgianoglu, Dimitrie Dragnavitch, A. Vreta, Nicolae Bălulescu, George Dgianoglu, Jean Bodyros, Jean Cristovici, Jean Mihăilescu, see NABB, Roman Catholic Archbishopric content, file 85/1837, p. 22.

<sup>62</sup> ANIC, Italian microfilms collection, reel 93, c. 244.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, c. 279.

<sup>64</sup> ANIC, *fond Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice*, dos. 785/1862, p. 16.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 525/1863, p. 3, 4, 5.

<sup>66</sup> AIMB, *Agia orașului București*, dos. 456/1856, f. 7.

<sup>67</sup> Alexandru Marcu, *Un manual de conversație în limba italiană din 1846*, "Roma. Studii italiene", IV, 1937, p. 165-166.

<sup>68</sup> Gh. Pănuță, *op. cit.*, p. 157. We should mention that in 1865, Saint Mary School, founded at the initiative of Monsignor Angelo Parsi from Bucharest, was asking for a subvention from the Romanian state, as the Bavarian and Austrian protectors didn't send funds anymore. See ANIC, *fond Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice*, file 193/1865, p. 16-17.

academy for young girls. In December 1864, Emilia Luzzatto asked to Mrs. Elena Cuza to give her 6-7 stipendiary students. Dimitrie Bolintineanu, who was minister of cults and education, answered her that her demand could be satisfied. Thus, there were recorded as stipendiary students of the state: the daughters of Tufianu and Luca Ghiță, the last clerk of St. Visarion Street, the daughter of Iosif Simion, clerk, the daughter of Ecaterina Csida, widower, the daughter of Nicoale Avramovici, sub-surgeon at the state prison<sup>69</sup>. Except for those, the academy received another five, three of them being mentioned in documents: Smaranda Caramzulea, Adelaida Deitman, and Elena Urlățeanu<sup>70</sup>. Between 1866 and 1867, the Luzzatto academy receives 9 students and also subventions from the state for them<sup>71</sup>.

Among the Italian teachers who taught at the gymnasiums in Bucharest, there was also Orazio Spinazzola. Neapolitan, law graduate, compromised during the 1848 revolutions, he had to exile himself to Greece “*a cărei limbă și literatură veche și modernă a învățat-o cu drag / whose old and modern literature and language he happily learnt*”<sup>72</sup>. After a short stop over in Constantinople, where he taught Greek and Latin philology, he settled in Bucharest, where he became a teacher at Sf. Sava Gymnasium. He was author of several Italian language textbooks: *Abecedariulu italianu*, *Grammatica limbei italiene*, *Floarea literaturii italiene*, all of them published in 1862, and *Lezioni di letteratura italiana*, published in 1871<sup>73</sup>. In 1865, he suggested the foundation of an Italian language and literature department at the Faculty of letters in Bucharest, in parallel with a Romanian language department in Turin<sup>74</sup>.

In the winter of 1869, Gian Luigi Frollo came to Bucharest, where he had obtained an Italian teacher job after a contest at “Matei Basarab”. He distinguished in the academic world by his implication in the polemics regarding the Romanian orthography. In the first years of the eighth decade, he published: *Limba națională și limbile străine în Școalele României*, *O nouă încercare de soluționare a problemului ortografic*. Thus, he gained the admiration of Titu Maiorescu, Aron Densușianu, but especially that of Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, who would become a faithful supporter of his linguistic actions<sup>75</sup>. In 1875, Aron Densușianu asked him to participate in the action started by teacher Giovanni Papanti from Livorno, which was intended to translate the 9<sup>th</sup> tale of Boccaccio’s “Decameron” in 700 languages and Neo-Latin dialects. He encouraged him to do the translation in Macedo-Romanian, and thus to

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibidem*, file 159/1864, p. 1-24.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 92.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 136, 146.

<sup>72</sup> Dimitrie Bodin, *Știri despre Orazio Spinazzola*, “Roma. Studii Italiene”, V, 1938, p. 43.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 44-45.

<sup>74</sup> Alice Marcu, *Pentru istoricul catedrei de italiană de la Universitatea din București (1856)*, “Roma. Studii italiene”, IV, 1937, p. 146-147.

<sup>75</sup> C. H. Niculescu, *Gian Luigi Frollo*, “Roma. Studii italiene”, IV, 1937, p. 96-97.

complete the projected album<sup>76</sup>. In 1877 died Ullysse de Marsillac, teacher of French language and literature at the Faculty of Letters. In 1878, after a contest, the job would be taken by Frollo, who was heartily supported by B. P. Hasdeu<sup>77</sup>. The department would be the History of the Neo-Latin Literatures. At Frollo's death, the historian Ion Bogdan said:

*“Frollo s-a identificat mult cu noua sa patrie, înălțat prin meritele sale personale la catedra de la Universitatea din București, el i-a învățat pe studenți încă de la începutul activității sale didactice să iubească istoria și să aibă cea mai mare încredere în viitorul poporului român. Acesta este spiritul în care a lucrat, pe parcursul a mai mult de douăzeci de ani, cu o deosebită râvnă și o punctualitate exemplară. Corectitudinea, independența caracterului, acestea sunt calitățile deosebite ale lui Frollo, ce-l fac să rămână în amintirea celor care l-au cunoscut / Frollo identified a lot with his new homeland, he grew by his own merits at the department of the University of Bucharest, and he taught students, from the very beginning of his didactic career, how to love history and to have great confidence in the future of the Romanian people. This was his working spirit, for more than twenty years, with great ardor and exemplary punctuality. Uprightness, independence of character, these were Frollo's exceptional qualities, which made him remain in the memory of those who knew him.”*<sup>78</sup>

Apart from Frollo and Spinazolla, Clelia Bruzzesi, teacher at the Central School, was also remarkable, and Marco Antonio Canini was also teacher of Italian for a short time. After the 1848 Revolution in Venice, he exiled himself in Constantinople, where he knew Romualdo Tecco, Omer pasha, György Klapka, and the countess of Belgioisio. The first of Canini's stays in the Principalities was the one from 1857 – 1859. He arrived in Bucharest in November 1857, he was a friend of Vasile Boerescu and G. Valentineanu, and he made himself known by the translation of the librettos of Verdi's operas. In 1858 he projected the foundation of a philological, scientific and commercial institute. Scarlat Kretzulescu, Ioan Lenș, Vasile Porumbaru, Gheorghe Magheru, Ștefan and Nicolae Golescu helped him with this initiative. In January 1859 he witnessed the election of Al. Ioan Cuza on the Moldavian throne, and gave him poetry about that occasion: *Inno alla Romania*. Canini also elaborated: *“Buletinul răzbelului din Italia”*, which was published between May 27/June 8 and 7/19 July 1859, with an ambitious program exposed in the first issue. Italy, from which Romania received the name and language in Antiquity, became “the heart of the modern civilization”. The editor's intention was to render the evolution of the French-Sardinian-Austrian war, on the basis of the

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<sup>76</sup> Romanian Academy Library [hereafter, RAL], correspondence G. L. Frollo, S 8 (2)/CCCXXVIII.

<sup>77</sup> C. H. Niculescu, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

<sup>78</sup> Ion Bogdan, *Commemorazione funebre Gian Luigi Frollo*, 1899, LAR, Big archive 1830.

information from the Italian, French, German and English newspapers, not only for satisfying the readers' curiosity, but also for didactic reasons:

*“România să fie gata nu numai a asculta istoria, dar și pentru a o face... de a o face în mod demn de străbunii și de frații lor francezi și italieni / Romania must be ready not only to pay attention to the history, but also to make it... to make it with dignity towards its ancestors and French and Italian brothers”<sup>79</sup>.*

An important space in the publication was occupied by the military information taken from “*Indépendance Belge*”, “Daily News”, “Morning Post”. There was news about the Magenta victory, the organization of the Sardinian army, the war preparations in France, the bloody battle of Solferino<sup>80</sup>. The unity of the Neo-Latin languages, which became an obvious cultural reality, was in Canini's opinion one possible political-military alliance, with the purpose of defeating the common enemies:

*“Nici o națiune din Europa nu e mai interesată în triumful alianței italo-franceze ca națiunea română; precum Austria apasă o mare parte din frumoasa Italie, apasă și o parte din frumoasa Românie / No European nation is more interested in the victory of the Italian-French alliance than the Romanian nation; Austria puts pressure not only on a large part of beautiful Italy, but also on a part of beautiful Romania.”<sup>81</sup>*

Another temporary publication elaborated by Canini was “*Libertatea și înfrățirea popoarelor*”. In the first issue of July 9/21 1859, there was an article *Omul de la 2 Decembrie*, in which Napoleon III was accused of treason, after signing the peace treaty of Villafranca, according to which Venice continued to be a possession of the Austrian Empire. “*Napoleon cel Mic a mințit înaintea Italiei, înaintea lumii, înaintea lui Dumnezeu / Napoleon the Little lied to Italy, to the world, to God*”, he betrayed France, Italy, Poland and Romania, “*vechiul carbonar din 1832 a devenit mântuitorul Austriei, amicul lui Franz Iosef / the old 1832 carbonaro became the savior of Austria and Franz Josef's friend*”. The tragic destiny of Venice was expressed by the words:

*“nenorociți italieni, dar mai cu seamă nenorociți venețieni! Ați văzut câteodată un om care stă să se înece și zărește o scândură și vrea să se apuce de dânsa, când deodată îi e smulsă din mâini? Astfel sunt sârmanii venețieni... Venețienii așteptau pe un alt Napoleon să repare crimele Franței de la 1797... Nenorocita Veneție, amăgită și trădată de două ori! / poor Italians, and especially poor Venetians! Have you ever seen a man drowning, who sees a board and wants to*

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<sup>79</sup> “Buletinul războiului din Italia”, no 1, May 27/ June 8, 1859.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*, June 7/19, June 10/22, 13725 June 1859.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibidem*, May 29/June 9 1859.

grab it, but suddenly it is taken away from him? Such are poor Venetians... Venetians were waiting for another Napoleon to fix the crimes of France since 1797... Poor Venice, disappointed and betrayed twice!”

The article stirred the reaction of the French consul, Louis Béclard, who, on July 10/22 asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to firmly intervene against the Italian<sup>82</sup>. At his turn, Nicolae Kretzulescu, minister of internal affairs, intervened promptly, and on July 11/23 he was writing to the minister of foreign affairs:

*“Mai înainte de a primi adresa dumneavoastră cu nr. 1901, subscrisul, informându-mă cu indignațiune de vinovata cutezare a italianului M. A. Canini cu publicarea unui articol injurios asupra Maiestății sale Împăratul Napoleon..., luase-mi cuvenitele măsuri spre a nu rămânea asemenea faptă fără cuvenita sa pedeapsă și în urma comunicațiunii ce mi s-a făcut prin sus-citata dumneavoastră adresă, văzînd că susnumitul a dat la lumină fără autorizația guvernului gazeta intitulată Libertatea și Înfrățirea popoarelor, în care s-a publicat zisul articol, pe dată am dat ordin domnului Prefect al Poliției capitalei pentru oprirea acelei gazete, iar avînd în vedere îndoita culpă în care a căzut acel Canini și mai ales acele injurii ce au fost primite cu indignațiune de toți românii, abuzînd astfel de ospitalitatea ce a găsit în această țară, știind că acel italian a intrat în pămînt românesc fără pașaport și nici nu a găsi de cuviință, nici aici să reguleze după rînduielele așezate pentru străini prin poliție șederea lui în țară, apoi după unele ca acestea acel Canini, neputîndu-se considera decît ca vagabond, subscrisul a dat ordin poliției ca să scoată peste frontieră pe asemenea om, ce n-a știut să facă decît cea mai urăcioasă întrebuițare de ospitalitatea ce i s-a dat aici / Before receiving your address no 1901, the subscriber, learning with indignation about the blameworthy audacity of the Italian M. A. Canini, who published an injurious article about His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon..., I took the necessary measures in order not to let such deed unpunished, and after the communication that I received by means of your above-mentioned address, seeing that the above-named published the newspaper called *Libertatea și Înfrățirea popoarelor* without the government’s authorization, where he published the above-mentioned article, I gave immediate order to the Police Prefect of the capital, so that he should stop the publication of that newspaper, and taking into consideration the double mistake that Canini had made and especially those injuries received with indignation by all Romanians, thus abusing of the hospitality he has found in this country, knowing that that Italian entered the Romanian land without passport and did not find it suitable to settle according to the system established for strangers by the police, after all this Canini being considered nothing but a vagabond, the subscriber gave order to the police to banish such a man who did nothing else but use in the most unpleasant way the hospitality that was given to him here”<sup>83</sup>.*

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<sup>82</sup> AIMAE, file 111, p. 228.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 230.

Canini tried once again to go to the Principalities in 1862, but he had to quit. Without giving up the friendships he had made here, he would maintain a rich correspondence with Vasile Boerescu. We find out from these letters about his intention to found a society in Turin, *Societatea Filarmonică*, through which personalities of the Italian culture could donate books for the Romanian National Library<sup>84</sup>.

The teachers teaching music in Bucharest held a particular position. One of Ioan Cămpineanu's intimates was the music teacher Bongiani<sup>85</sup>. In September 1849, Ludovic Guglielmi presented to the ruler Barbu Știrbei a project for the foundation of the National Philharmonic School. He was a composer, he had worked in Naples as a student of the Royal School of this city, and then he had had concerts in Milan, Vienna, and Paris<sup>86</sup>. Benedetti Franchetti took over Guglielmo's project and founded a Philharmonic. In 1852, Franchetti, former fighter in Garibaldi's troops, came to Bucharest in order to lead the opera choir<sup>87</sup>. In 1873, Ettore Carini, former component of Milan *La Scala*<sup>88</sup>, became double bass teacher at the Conservatory, and Vaschelli taught music at Iulia Malanotti's academy. Cosimo Constanza and Margherita Tizzoni, singer at the Italian opera, also gave vocal music private lessons<sup>89</sup>.

The Romanian state appealed to Italian specialists in different fields, in order to reorganize the cultural institutions. One of them was Carlo Ferrerati, naturalist and museographer. The directors of the universities in Turin and Genoa sent natural history objects to Bucharest<sup>90</sup>. According to Benzi's recommendations<sup>91</sup>, Ferrerati became director of Bucharest National Museum, during 1860-1864. Ulysse de Marsillac appreciated the museographer's work as follows:

*“Să spunem înainte de toate, căci așa este drept, că excelenta stare în care se găsește astăzi Muzeul de Istorie Naturală din București este, în mare parte, opera domnului Ferrerati, fostul director al muzeului / First of all, it is a right thing to say that the current excellent condition of Bucharest Natural History Museum is very much Mr. Ferrerati's work, former director of the museum”*<sup>92</sup>.

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<sup>84</sup> Canini to Vasile Boerescu, Turin, February 16, 1874, National Library, Saint Georges content, p. CXXVII, file 3.

<sup>85</sup> D. Rosetti, *Dicționarul contemporanilor*, Bucharest, 1898, p. 34.

<sup>86</sup> Gh. Pârnușă, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>87</sup> Ulysse de Marsillac, *Bucureștiul în veacul al XIX-lea*, Bucharest, 1999, p. 143.

<sup>88</sup> D. Rosetti, *Dicționarul contemporanilor*, p. 43.

<sup>89</sup> Gh. Pârnușă, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>90</sup> Strambio to Nicolae Kretzulescu, Bucharest, October 9/21 1859, MFA, Historical archive content, vol. 261, p. 6.

<sup>91</sup> LAR, Ioan Bălăceanu correspondence, S 11(1)/CCCXLIII.

<sup>92</sup> U. de Marsillac, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

After resigning from the director position, Ferrerati became dragoman of the Italian Agency and general Consulate<sup>93</sup>. In the agronomic field, Ugo Calindri was called from Ancona<sup>94</sup>. He did not stay in Wallachia for a long time because of some misunderstandings with the clerks, and he went back to his country<sup>95</sup>.

Apart from Canini we could also mention G. Gargiulo and Enrico Croce as publicists, who tried to support in different ways the Romanian culture and cause before the European cabinets. The former was a music teacher, who studied in Academies of Rome and Milan. For a period of time he was a teacher at Bucharest Conservatory. In 1866 he was in Iași, applying for a music teacher job. Having no success, he came back to Bucharest, where he published the weekly newspaper of musical culture “*Eco musicale di Romania, ziar de muzică, belle-arte, teatru și varietăți*”<sup>96</sup>, together with the poet N. Ținc, from 1896 to 1871. The periodical contained articles dedicated to the Romanian musical institutions: the Belle-Arte School<sup>97</sup>, Bucharest School of Music<sup>98</sup>, the Philharmonic Society<sup>99</sup>, portraits of the singers: Malibran<sup>100</sup>, the tenor Rubini<sup>101</sup>, of the composers: Carl Maria von Weber<sup>102</sup>, Cimarosa<sup>103</sup>, Beethoven<sup>104</sup>, Bellini<sup>105</sup>. Every issue had chronicles of the Italian opera performances, at that time led by Benedetto Franchetti. The name of Enrico Croce, one of the most important Italian publicists, contributor to “*Revista Europeană*”, director of the newspaper “*Lombardia*”, was related to the publication in Bucharest of the biweekly “*La voce di Romania, primo diario italo-romeno in Romania*”, from October 31, 1878 to January 30, 1879. After traveling in Romania, Enrico Croce became a devoted supporter of Romanian independence in the Italian press. In this sense, he wrote to C. A. Rosetti:

*“Je suis enthousiaste de votre belle Roumanie, Monsieur Rosetti. J’ai cherché à plusieurs reprises d’entrer en correspondance avec vos hommes d’état et vos journalistes en leur offrant la publicité de mon journal pour tacher que la Roumanie est un peu mieux connu en Italie”*<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> ANIC, *fond Ministerul de Interne*, file 59/1870, p. 151.

<sup>94</sup> Bodin, *Documente*, p. 277.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 281.

<sup>96</sup> Claudiu Isopescu, *La stampa periodica romeno-italiana in Romania e in Italia*, Rome, 1937, p. 22.

<sup>97</sup> “*Eco Musicale*”, no 2/1870.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibidem*, no 24/1870.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibidem*, no 3/1869.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, no 10/1869.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibidem*, no 11/1869.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibidem*, no 14/1870.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibidem*, no 23/1870.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibidem*, no 27/1870.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibidem*, no 33/1870.

<sup>106</sup> See the letter published by Alexandru Marcu in “*Roma*”, no 4, 1927, p. 32-35.

In the article program of the periodical “*La voce d’Italia*”, the editor’s generous and ambitious objectives were presented as follows: the desire to win over the Italian public opinion, in favor of the Romanian cause, to increase the awareness of the existence of a Latin space that fought with dignity for independence. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> issue, of October 22/November 3, 1878—the last one of the collection BAR—the articles are remarkable by their diversity. Under the title *Liga greco-latină*, there was the first appearance of the editorial that underlined the importance of Romanians and Greeks in the geopolitical strategy of Eastern Europe, considering them to be a very important barrier against pan-Slavism. There were presented information on the activity of the commission for the delimitation of the Dobrudja frontier between Bulgaria and Romania. In 1877, Luigi Cazzavillan came to Bucharest, being one of the most prolific Italian journalists settled in Romania. Born in 1852, he was involved as a young man in the battle for the liberation of Italy, participating in 1866 in the Austrian-Italian-Prussian war. During the French-Prussian conflict, he fought by the side of Garibaldi at Dijon, and was promoted sub-lieutenant. Then he became a clerk at the General Office of the railways in Turin. In 1876 he founded the Italian legion in order to fight in Serbia against the Turks. In 1877 he arrived in Romania, where he became war correspondent of the “*Secolo*” newspaper from Milan. Supported by C. A. Rosetti, he became a drawer at the Ministry of Public Works, and then an employer at the General Office of the railways. He became an Italian teacher at Sfântul Sava and Matei Basarab. After 1880 he began his career as a publicist<sup>107</sup>.

Another important category was that of doctors. In 1831 Pietro Ferrari was mentioned, who had his doctor’s degree in medicine at Padua and who was decorated by Russia in 1833<sup>108</sup>. In 1838 he was 63 years old and an Austrian subject<sup>109</sup>. The 1838 inventory mentioned several doctors: Adolfo Pregli<sup>110</sup>, the surgeon Francesco Nisate, aged 35, single, Austrian subject<sup>111</sup>. In 1844, the doctor Claudio Agostini suggested to Mavru a program for the control of the venereal diseases<sup>112</sup>, and Eduard Vignali, who had had his doctor’s degree in medicine at Modena in 1853, began to practice medicine in Bucharest in 1863<sup>113</sup>. Several doctors arrived in the principalities on the occasion of the Crimean War. Thus, Volfrino Marini was a battalion doctor in the army, and then we would have a private consulting room in Bosel Passage. In 1872 he was a doctor of the blue dye, and in 1876 of the yellow dye<sup>114</sup>. In 1877 Eduard Caponi was in Bucharest as well, participating in the 1866

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<sup>107</sup> Claudiu Isopescu, *op. cit.*, p. 28-32; Almanac of the Magazine “*Lumea ilustrată*”, 1898, p. 124.

<sup>108</sup> V. A. Urechia, *Istoria școalelor de la 1800-1864*, p. 255.

<sup>109</sup> ANIC, *fond Catagrafii*, Bucharest, 82/1838, p. 305.

<sup>110</sup> ANIC, *fond Catagrafii*, Bucharest, 83/1838, position 1764.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibidem*, 82/1838, p. 238.

<sup>112</sup> Victor Gomoiu, *Repertoriu de medici, farmaciști, veterinari, din ținuturile românești. Adaos*, Bucharest, 1941, p. 9.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 454.

<sup>114</sup> V. Gomoiu, *Repertoriu de medici, farmaciști, veterinari, din ținuturile românești*, I: *Before 1870*, Brăila, p. 267-268.

campaign in the northern part of Italy<sup>115</sup>. A remarkable figure among the pharmacists from Bucharest was Josif Raimondi, an Austrian subject who arrived here as early as 1800, and was owner of the “*La Speranza*” pharmacy. In 1833 he distinguished in the prevention of the cholera epidemic<sup>116</sup>. The 1838 census mentioned another Italian who was a pharmacist, a certain Giovanni aged 50, bachelor and inhabitant of the blue dye, in the Radu Vodă Street<sup>117</sup>.

The censuses data show the reality. Edifices were being built in Bucharest. The number of carpenters, painters, joiners, stone cutters, potters and brick makers was increasing. We have already mentioned the example of the 15 families, most of them Italian brick makers, who wanted to be naturalized. Apart from artisans, there were also “*arhitectoni*” [architects] and foreign engineers, brought by the municipalities in order to raise public edifices, or by private individuals<sup>118</sup>. The Italian architects known for their particular achievements also contributed to the building of several Bucharest constructions. From 1855 to 1874, G. Bonomelli would be part of the technical service of Bucharest town-hall and would build several private houses<sup>119</sup>. Other architects were Giulini<sup>120</sup> and Bolzano, who was mentioned as early as 1847, as a general director for bridges and roads<sup>121</sup>.

The Italian theatre of Bucharest was frequented by the elite. As early as the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, troupes of Italian artists performed throughout the principalities. In 1833 there was an initiative for the foundation of an Italian theatre, when Honore Costa and Claude Bongianini addressed a petition to Pavel Kiselev. In this petition they mentioned the fact that the village *vornic* Mihail Cornescu was ready to build a theatre on a land that belonged to him. There was supposed to be a troupe of 14 actors and 24 musicians. Although the petition was not approved, the two petitioners still remained in the principalities. Costa would be consultant of the town-hall in examining the foreign artists, and Bongianini would teach in the Philharmonic School<sup>122</sup>. The Italian opera was founded in 1843, when V. Sansoni concluded a contract with Bucharest town-hall and received a subvention of 600 imperial ducats. He had to present two new operas per month. The first representation was on September 15, 1844, with *Norma*. It should be mentioned that nearly all the repertoire of the foreign troupes was made of Italian operas. In the “*Curierul Românesc*” it was mentioned that:

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<sup>115</sup> *Ibidem*, Appendage, p. 29.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibidem*, I, p. 353.

<sup>117</sup> ANIC, *fond Catagrafii*, Bucharest, 85/1838, p. 107.

<sup>118</sup> Ionel Zănescu, *Meșteri și arhitecți constructori în Bucureștii primei jumătăți a veacului al XIX-lea*, “*Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie*”, XII, 1997, p. 82.

<sup>119</sup> Cezara Mucenic, *Bucureștii, un veac de arhitectură civilă. Secolul XIX*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 56.

<sup>120</sup> I. Zănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>121</sup> Gh. T. Marinescu, *Documente privitoare la Brăila*, I, Brăila, 1929, p. 56.

<sup>122</sup> Ion Horea Rădulescu, *Contribuții la istoria operei italiene din București*, “*Studii italiene. Roma*”, IV, 1937, p. 38-40.

“*Limba italiană o socotesc ca o nouă arie și un frumos început pentru cultivarea limbei noastre și opera italiană ca o adevărată însuflețire a gustului celui întreg asupra muzicei. Numai teatrul italian poate să ne fie un bun model și adevărat învățător pentru un teatru național / I consider the Italian language to be a new aria and a beautiful beginning for the cultivation of our language, and the Italian opera to be a true liveliness of the entire taste for music. It is only the Italian theatre that can be a good model and a true teacher for a national theatre*”<sup>123</sup>.

The opera had representations four times a week. At that time, the one responsible for bringing the troupes was Benedetto Franchetti. Thus, the inhabitants of Bucharest could listen to the famous singers: Ponti dell’Armi, Patierno, Milesi, Sparapani, Bertollazzi<sup>124</sup>. Before Franchetti, Harieta Karl Philippidieu<sup>125</sup> and Ulise Crețeanu<sup>126</sup> were the ones responsible for the destiny of the Italian theatre. After 1858, Vasile Hiotu was responsible for the destiny of the Italian opera for some time<sup>127</sup>.

Among the Italian sculptors settled in Bucharest, we should mention Filippo Oliva from San Remo, former military, who was already in the capital in 1846<sup>128</sup>. Unfortunately, he died six years later, when he was coming back from Livorno, where he had bought some marble<sup>129</sup>. One of his eight children, Pietro, would follow his father’s profession.

The archives also kept some cases of Italians who infringed the country’s laws, and the Romanian authorities had to take measures against them. One of them was Mariano Cedrowski, who arrived in Bucharest in 1852 and lived at the hotel for some time. Because he had no money to pay for the hotel services, the owner took his free pass that he had received at his arrival in the capital and notified the police about the existence of the Sardinian subject. As his passport was expired and he had no free pass, Cedrowski did not go to the police, but he took refuge in the house of a Jew that he knew. After a while he was confined by the police, and thus an incident was started, in which there were involved the general consulate of Great Britain-the Sardinian subject from the capital being under his jurisdiction-, the Romanian authorities, the representative of Sardinian agency in Constantinople, Miglioratti, the minister of foreign affairs of the Sublime Porte, Aali pasha. The correspondence between the above-mentioned personalities in March-May 1852 was numerous, and it shows once again the efforts of the Romanian authorities to supervise the foreigners who breached the law in what passports were concerned. It is an example

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<sup>123</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 50-51.

<sup>124</sup> U. de Marsillac, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>125</sup> AIMB, *fond Primăria orașului București* [Bucharest Townhall content], file 9/1847, p. 1.

<sup>126</sup> AIMB, *fond Primăria orașului București*, file 116/1854, p. 2.

<sup>127</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Câteva documente din 1860 privind legăturile noastre cu Italia*, “Studii italiene. Roma”, VII, 1940, p. 163.

<sup>128</sup> Bodin, *Documente*, p. 179.

<sup>129</sup> ANIC, Italian microfilms collection, reel 4, c. 816.

that demonstrates the pressure that was made by the foreign consulates on the Romanian authorities, in order to protect the interests of the foreign subjects, in the detriment of the internal legislation. Another case was that of Giuseppe Guazio. In May 1862, he was arrested because he had no passport. By the note dating from May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1862, the Italian Agency in Bucharest protested, showing that the Italian had been illegally confined, without mentioning the fact that he had no passport<sup>130</sup>. However, Corlătescu, the prefect of Prahova district, wrote in a telegram dating from May 19:

*“Giuseppe Guazio nu a fost arestat și nici nu este arestat. Găsit fără pașaport a dat garanția să aducă în șase zile / Giuseppe Guazio has not been and isn't currently arrested. He was found without passport but he guaranteed bringing it within six days.”*<sup>131</sup>

The documents also prove the collaboration between the Romanian and Italian authorities for the apprehension of several delinquents. In 1862, the Italian agency in Bucharest was asking for the help of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in order to apprehend Ludovic Raimondi,

*“supus italian, care a fugit de la Pisa cu mai multe obiecte de valoare furate de la marchizul Tanari, prefectul zisului oraș și că se asigură că furul ar fi luat drumul Turciei și că ar fi probabil ca el să vie a se refugia în principate, poate cu hârtii false și sub un pseudonim / Italian subject, who had run away from Pisa with several valuable objects stolen from marquis Tanari, the prefect of the so-called town and they were sure that the thief had gone to Turkey and he would probably come to take refuge in the principalities, perhaps with false papers and a pseudonym”*<sup>132</sup>.

There were also those about it was known that they had come to the principalities, but their trace had been lost. We should remind only two of these numerous cases. In 1860, a certain Jean Veitzeker from Genoa was hunted by the police. He was married to a Piedmont woman and was a Sardinian subject. During the Crimean War, he had settled in Bucharest where he taught French and Italian<sup>133</sup>. In 1866, Comelli Antonio, a mason settled in Bucharest, was being looked for by his wife<sup>134</sup>.

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<sup>130</sup> ANIC, *fond Ministerul de Interne*, file 461 / 1862, p. 5.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 7.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 2. There was also a description of the thief: age 27, medium stature, blue eyes, scar at the back of the head, brown hair, and the stolen object were: a pin and a brilliant brooch, three golden bracelets and one with black enamel with diamond stars, another one with pearls, 100 francs.

<sup>133</sup> AIMAE, file 77, p. 118-119.

<sup>134</sup> ANIC, *fond Ministerul de Interne*, file 237/1863, p. 2.

The archivist documents from the period we analyzed prove the permanent or temporary settlement of the Italians, most of them natives of the north-western parts of the peninsula. In the last quarter of the century, as the last researches have shown<sup>135</sup>, the geographical area where the Italians would come from would be the north-eastern region, and their number at the edge of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries would be increasing, this period being considered by specialists the peak of “the great emigration”. We tried to demonstrate that from 1831 to 1878 the Italians settled in Bucharest had different professions. If during the first decades there predominated the liberal professions-teachers, doctors, chemists, publicists, artists-since 1860 there were mentioned especially merchants, small enterprisers, but mostly architects, constructors, workers involved in town-planning activities, roads and railways construction. This idea is happily expressed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by one of the Italians whose family had been settled in Romania decades before:

*“În orice muncă dificilă, în orice lucru unde se întâlnea lupta titanică a umanității pentru progres: căi ferate, construcții grandioase, instalații electrice complicate, de la tunelul de la Simplon până la digurile egiptene, de la reșterea orașelor elvețiene și germane până la cultura pământului în La Plata, muncitorul italian, robust, ferm, neobosit ne apare ca un campion al muncii / In any hard work, in any thing where one could see the titanic effort of humanity for progress: railways, great buildings, complicated electrical installations, from the Simplon tunnel to the Egyptian dams, from the reconstruction of the Swiss and German cities to the land culture in La Plata, the Italian worker, vigorous, firm, assiduous, appears as a champion of work.”*<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Dinu Rudolf, *Appunti per una storia dell'emigrazione italiana in Romania nel periodo 1878-1914: il Veneto come il principale serbatoio di piccole comunità in movimento*, in *Dall'Adriatico al Mar Nero: veneziani e romeni tracciati di storie comuni* (ed. by Grigore Arbore Popescu), Rome, 2003; Antonio Ricci, *Gli italiani in Romania: migranti tra Ottocento e Novecento*, “Anuarul Institutului Italo-Român”, 2004, p. 206-225.

<sup>136</sup> I. Barberis, *Despre relațiunile între România și Italia*, “Revista Ateneului”, 1907, no 2, p. 15.

# The National Liberal Party and the National Peasant Party Assembly of Alba-Iulia (May 1928)

Ovidiu Buruiană

*“Moartea lui Ionel Brătianu a prăbușit sistemul dictaturii camuflate, lăsând liberă în mișcări o democrație rahitică. Voința lui autoritară o împiedicase să aibă o dezvoltare normală / The death of Ionel Brătianu broke down the disguised dictatorship system, letting loose a rachitic democracy. His authoritarian drive had hindered its normal development.” (Pamfil Șeicaru)<sup>1</sup>*

On May 6, 1928, the National Peasant Party (NPP) organized in Alba-Iulia, the symbolic capital of the United Romania, one of the most important political events in Romanian inter-war history. It was regarded by the majority of participants and contemporaries as a “popular gathering unequalled before”<sup>2</sup>, and it coincided for NPP leaders with the ideal timing within the legitimizing sequence of their own power aspirations. According to the estimations made by neutral observers<sup>3</sup>, a hundred thousand people, peasants from Transylvania, but also workers from the Jiu Valley, had come to promote the cause embodied in the action taken by the party led by Iuliu Maniu. In *Chemarea Partidului Național-Țărănesc adresată poporului* [= The Appeal of the National Peasant Party addressed to the people], the enforcement of freedom and the establishment of “*belșugului pentru țara asta frumoasă și pentru toți fiii ei bravi și cinștiți* / the welfare of this country and of its brave and honest sons” set up the basis of a privileged relations with “*împărăția omeniei, legei și*

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<sup>1</sup> Pamfil Șeicaru, *Ionel Brătianu, arhitectul României Mari*, in idem, *Scrieri din exil*, vol. II, *Portrete politice* (ed. by I. Opreșan), Bucharest, 2002, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> This syntagma reflecting the public discussion of that time belonged to Constantin Argetoianu; see *Memorii. Pentru cei de mâine. Amintiri din vremea celor de ieri*, vol. VIII, part VII: 1926-1930 (ed. by Stelian Neagoe), Bucharest, 1997, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> N. Iorga, *Memorii (Agonia regală și Regența)*, vol. V, Bucharest, 1935, p. 286; when presenting the Alba-Iulia assembly as “*adunarea națională a poporului românesc* / the national assembly of the Romanian People”, NPP members argued that 150-200,000 people had attended the manifestation in the symbolic capital of Great Romania (ANIC, Fond Direcția Generală a Poliției, file 3/1928, p. 105). Like the Liberals, the members of Averescu Party limited the number of participants to 40,000 Romanians (Al. Averescu, *Limpezirea unei situațiuni. Alba-Iulia de abis. Articole publicate în ziarul “Îndreptarea”*. *Numerile: 107, 108 și 109 din Marți 15, Mercuri 16 și Joi 17 Mai 1928*, Bucharest, 1928).

*dreptății* / the reign of honour, law, and justice”<sup>4</sup>. Thus, after the ousting of the Liberal Party from governing everything became tangible for most of the people, and this was the declared purpose of the meeting. The discourse by Ion Mihalache on the gathering from Alba-Iulia, foreseen as “*revoluția care să mântuiască națiunea românească* / the revolution to redeem the Romanian nation”<sup>5</sup>, included the essential terms of the national peasant representations: beyond a party congress, “*adunarea națională* / the national assembly” of the people proposed a “new era” for the Romanian society. The assembly-congress symbiosis had to refute the Liberal governing prolongation.

The description of these events is not the unique purpose of this paper. Their arrangement in an uncomfortable space would be obvious, since the actions and their effects are generally known through the effort made by a great number of historians performing on the Romanian inter-war political scene. I shall further attempt to draw an analysis that shifts the focus on the Royal crisis or the fight over power of NPP members – the favourite approach of this event<sup>6</sup> – towards the representations of the Romanian inter-war political system. The meaning of the Alba-Iulia assembly (May 1928) transcends the suggested interpretative restrictions, of NPP governing “conquest” stage and/or of Carlist restoration trial. Internalized by all the political actors as one crossroad in the Romanian post-WW I political life, this gathering represented a moment in the institutionalisation process of the oppositionist practice aiming to power, a new political game in time of masses and universal suffrage. Meanwhile, it is also interesting to learn the means used by the Liberals to prescribe or re-write the NPP radical attempt unfavourable to them as party, and to modify the political power system.

## 1. The Actors

The gathering of Alba-Iulia has a prehistory, which began after the death of Ion I. C. Brătianu and after the NPP refuse to come to a political compromise, fact that eventually expressed the more obvious weakness of the government led by Vintilă Brătianu. “*Național-tărăniștii au putut să ridice capul și să revendice, în fine,*

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<sup>4</sup> ANIC, Fond Direcția Generală a Poliției, file 3/1928, p. 43; see also *Poporului Român. Chemarea Partidului Național-Tărănesc*, “Dreptatea”, II, no 162, Monday, April 30, 1928.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Politica de amenințare și de anarhie continuă*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6031, Wednesday, March 28, 1928.

<sup>6</sup> Among those dealing with this moment I should like to mention Ioan Scurtu in particular, with *Istoria României între anii 1919-1940. Evoluția regimului politic de la democrație la dictatură*, Bucharest, 1996, with a chapter dealing with this event essential for inter-War Romania (*Campania Partidului Național-Tărănesc pentru răsturnarea guvernului*, p. 84-106); see also, idem, *Istoria Partidului Național-Tărănesc*, Bucharest, 1994, p. 87-99; I. Agrigoroaiei, *România interbelică*, vol. I, Iași, 2002, p. 161; I. Ciupercă, *Opoziție și putere*, Iași, p. 249-256, although he insists mostly on the overthrowing campaign and not on the assembly itself; Apostol Stan, *Iuliu Maniu. Naționalism sau democrație. Biografia unui mare român*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 172-174 etc.; there is also an approach of the event by Dan Alecu, *Alba-Iulia. 6 mai 1928*, Constanța, 1928.

*serios puterea* / The National Peasants were able to raise their heads and finally claim the power seriously”<sup>7</sup>, noted Constantin Argetoianu. The action taken by the group led by Iuliu Maniu had a double objective: to bring to power a National Peasant government as legitimate representative of the nation, which entailed the organisation of free elections and the reiteration of the new society of the United Romania. NPP’s opposition was multi-faceted, violent in speeches, aiming at exercising a constant pressure upon the authoritative factors. The contest of the Liberals seizing the power, springing from the rejection of a Parliament “*izvorât din violență și fraudă* / created from violence and fraud”, equally involved the *de jure* non-recognition of Regency. Accused of sympathising with Brătianu, the constitutional factor seemed to have been “*alcătuit fără concursul liber exprimat al națiunii* / formed without the free expressed participation of the nation” and also an emanation of the Liberal Parliament “fabricated” in 1922. Beyond the *democratism* of such reasoning, the national peasant speech represented a manner to exert pressure on the High Institution, the public opinion being projected as a second constitutional arbitrator<sup>8</sup>. Under the circumstances of Vintilă Brătianu government crisis, Iuliu Maniu claimed the power refusing “*orice formulă care n-ar cuprinde dominația lui absolută, fără nici o condiție și fără nici o rezervă* / any formula that would be

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<sup>7</sup> C. Argetoianu, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>8</sup> Iuliu Maniu declared in the national peasant reunion of Craiova (February 12, 1928), that the government is maintaind “by the gendarmes’ mercy and the Regency grace / *din mila jandarmilor și grația Regenței*”; Mihai Popovici made use of similar terms: “*Parlamentul era o adunătură* / the Parliament was a mob” (in *Setea de putere. Agitația anarhică și de dezordine continuă*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 5995, Tuesday, February 14, 1928); see also I. Scurtu, *Iuliu Maniu. Activitatea politică*, Bucharest, 1995, p. 45; in an interview for the Parisian newspaper “*l’Oeuvre*” (cf. *Alt interviu al d-lui Madgearu*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 5988, Monday, February 6, 1928), Virgil Madgearu had stated that “*guvernele se schimbă nu numai fiindcă arbitru constituțional o vrea, dar și când opinia publică o cere* / governments change not only at the constitutional arbitrator wish, but also when the public polls request it”; “*Regența este datoare să privească realitățile în față* / the Regency is obliged to face realities”, the national peasant leader considered (see also *Datoria Regenței*, “Dreptatea”, II, no 105, Monday, February 20, 1928); in a speech on the political situation given before the general assembly of NPP Bucharest organisation, the same politician and president of branch maintained that “*noi nu recunoaștem Regența decât de fapt și nu de drept; am pornit de la ideea că noi avem nevoie în țara românească de un factor constituțional independent, care să fie arbitru între partidele politice* / we recognize the Regency only as fact and not as right; we started from the idea that we need an independent constitutional factor in Romania, which should be an arbitrator for the political parties” (“Dreptatea”, II, no 148, Wednesday, April 11, 1928). As Iuliu Maniu argued in an interview for “*Le Petit Parisien*” to question the role of the institution of Regency was a fact based on the unfulfillment of its duties. Constitutionally placed above the parties, the Regency imitated King Ferdinand’s stance of “*monarh absolut* / absolute monarch” in supporting the Liberals. However, what had been tolerable for founder of Great Romania could not continue under the current situation, NPP members thought. To fight against Vintilă Brătianu government by legal or non-legal means (the appeal to the Prince, the Republic) depended exclusively on the Regency. It was a matter of “*șantaj politic* / political blackmail” for the Liberals (cf. “Viitorul”, XX, no 5956, Thursday, December 29, 1927).

devoided of his absolute domination, without any condition or reservation”; according to N. Iorga, he was “*ca un biruitor care nu e dispus să discute și să facă tranzacții cu nimeni* / as a victor not willing to discuss or transact with anyone”<sup>9</sup>. By not accepting “*sfatul cuminte* / the reasonable advice” given by Regent Buzdugan, who brought in Vintilă Brătianu’s offer to leave the power somewhat later in the interest of the same opponents<sup>10</sup>, the National Peasant leader drove the party towards a manifest and total opposition. The fast deterioration of the government-opposition relation became a feature of the Romanian public space at the end of 1927, as noticed by Grigore Trancu-Iași<sup>11</sup>.

“The civic resistance / *rezistența cetățenească*”, adopted by the National Peasants in November that year so as to impose the respect of the law from bottom to top<sup>12</sup>, was followed by the discrediting abroad of the government attempt to acquire a stabilization loan, justified by the fact that it had neither the endorsement of the nation nor the moral authority to conclude such a transaction. Promoted by several important newspapers (“*Dimineața* / The Morning”, “*Adevărul* / The Truth”, “*Lupta* / The Fight”, “*Cuvântul* / The Word”, “*Curentul* / The Course”, etc.) and by intellectuals with great influence on the public (Nichifor Crainic, Constantin Rădulescu-Motru etc.)<sup>13</sup>, **the campaign for overthrowing** the Liberals from power resorted constantly to the nation and to the entire society, regardless of the political and ethnic space, in order to carry out a joint political action against the “dictatorship” and as a promise for another democratic kind of sociability<sup>14</sup>. The provincial events of Jassy, Făgăraș, Craiova, Ploiești, Czernowitz and Galatz (at the beginning of 1928), which had proved the support given by the masses to the party, escalated into an uprising on March 18 in Bucharest<sup>15</sup>. The motion adopted on that occasion with regard to the necessity of the immediate overthrowing of the Liberals from power was rejected by the Regency based on the fact that decisions could not have been taken under the street pressure<sup>16</sup>, and worsened the political relations. The

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<sup>9</sup> N. Iorga, *Orizonturile mele. O viață de om așa cum a fost* (ed. by Valeriu and Sanda Râpeanu), București, 1976, p. 731; see also Mihail Rusenescu-Ioan Saizu, *Viața politică în România. 1922-1928*, Bucharest, 1979, p. 229; I. Scurtu, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>10</sup> N. Iorga, *România contemporană de la 1904 la 1930. Supt trei regi. Istorie a unei lupte pentru un ideal moral și național*, București, 1999, p. 362.

<sup>11</sup> Grigore Trancu-Iași, *Memorii politice (1921-1938)* (ed. by Fabian Anton), Bucharest, 2001, p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> I. Mihalache, “*Rezistența cetățenească*”. *Fundamentul ei moral*, “Dreptatea”, II, no 79, Friday, January 20, 1928. See also Armand Călinescu, *Însemnări politice. 1916-1939* (ed. by Al. Gh. Savu), Bucharest, 1990, p. 75; I. Scurtu, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>13</sup> See for example C. Rădulescu-Motru, *Criza politică*, “Ideea Europeană. Socială, critică, artistică & literară”, IX, no 210, April 1, 1928, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> In that period NPP concluded agreements with the Social Democratic Party and with groups representing the Hungarian and German ethnics (N. Iorga, *Memorii*, p. 280).

<sup>15</sup> I. Ciupercă, *op. cit.*; I. Scurtu, *op. cit.*, p. 89; M. Rusenescu-I. Saizu, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

<sup>16</sup> The leading article in “Viitorul” newspaper considered the moment as a political naiveté: a governmental party “*să-și inchipuiască ... că au să facă o adunare de câteva mii de oameni, aduși*

withdrawal from the Parliament and the attempt to form an independent legislative body was only the introduction of this new “constitutional” assembly in Alba-Iulia, the “key” of the entire system<sup>17</sup>. Two Romanian states seemed to emerge, and this impression was reinforced by the extremely visible absence of the National Peasants at the celebration dedicated to the union with Bessarabia. In fact, this was the continuation of an older practice that of denying to the Liberal government its authority to control the historical data and hereby deprive it of the capacity to make the contests more relative by the joint commemoration of a past intrinsically connected to the Liberals<sup>18</sup>.

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The Alba-Iulia assembly of May 1928<sup>19</sup> together with the other smaller reunions organized in Bucharest, Craiova, Czernowitz, Jassy and Brăila condensed both symbolically and ritually the entire “overthrowing campaign” conducted by the National Peasant Party. According to the contradictory information provided by the Security Special Service<sup>20</sup>, the assembly reinforced the apprehensions of the Liberal government. The most defined fears were related to the overthrowing of the constitutional order by the arrival of the former Prince Carol to preside the national celebration on May 10; the materialisation of this omnipresent and cultivated rumour of a “sensational event” that was to happen<sup>21</sup>; the potential outbreak of a revolution,

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*din toate colțurile țării și că aceasta să fie suficient pentru Înalta Regență să demită guvernul. Prin asemenea mijloace nu se poate revendica puterea în România Mare / to fancy ... it would gather a few thousands of people brought from all over the country and that be enough for the High Regency to dismiss the government. The power cannot be claimed in Great Romania by such means” (Național-tărăniștii s-au retras iarăși din Parlament, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6026, Wednesday, March 21, 1928); see also N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 279.*

<sup>17</sup> Idem, *România contemporană*, p. 362; Idem, *Memorii*, p. 277; A. Călinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>18</sup> *Aniversarea unirii Basarabiei. Ce s-a petrecut în ziua de 9 aprilie la Chișinău*, “Dreptatea”, II, no 151, Saturday, April 14, 1928; from the National Peasant perspective, the Liberals seemed to follow assiduously the celebrations so as to make “*înjghebări festive / festive gatherings*”. According to them, the time for celebrations would come when “*națiunea liberă, în voința și în credința ei, va putea să-și exprime dorințele și va putea porni la realizarea lor / the free nation, in its will and faith, will be able to express its wishes and pursue their achievement*” (*Monopolizatorii serbărilor naționale*, “Dreptatea”, II, no 162, Monday, April 30, 1928); A. Stan, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>19</sup> I. Scurtu, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>20</sup> ANIC, fond Brătianu, file 468, p. 20-21: on the one hand, the government was informed of the great expectations that the leaders in Budapest and Moscow had for the assembly that was to take place in Alba-Iulia, expecting riots meant to jolt the Romanian state, entailing a potential armed intervention; on the other hand, it was mentioned that there were no troop actions, the experienced informers not observing any guards, foreign youngmen, trucks or hidden food storages; in an information analysis, the General Inspector Bianu considered that the reports showed a great number of contradictions without any criticism (ANIC, fond Direcția Generală a Poliției, file 3/1928, p. 47).

<sup>21</sup> C. Argetoianu, *op. cit.*, p. 230; N. Iorga, *Memorii*, p. 286; Idem, *România contemporană*, p. 363; I. Scurtu, *op. cit.*, p. 93-94; see also *Partidul Național-tărănist de conivență cu ex-prințul Carol*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6067, Sunday, May 13, 1928.

the riots caused by Communists and irredentists that would lead to the intervention of Hungary and Bolshevik Russia; and finally the partition of Romania<sup>22</sup>. On the other hand, it emphasized the aspirations to power of the party led by Maniu or the hopes for change of an important part of the Romanian society.

## 2. The Speeches

This event, formally known as the general congress of the National Peasant Party<sup>23</sup>, associated the nation to the statutory delegates of the party. The people had been summoned to offer an express mandate to the group led by Iuliu Maniu regarding the political, social, and economic emancipation by adequate means and conditions. The exemplary mobilisation of the National Peasants and Transylvanians reiterated the Revolution of 1848 and the Assembly of Blaj<sup>24</sup>. The comparison made by N. Iorga in this respect is convincing:

*“D. Maniu se vedea la 1848, iar liberalii i se arătau ca niște unguri, dușmani din naștere, prigonitori de veacuri / Mr. Maniu fancied himself in 1848, while the Liberals appeared to him as Hungarians, natural born enemies, oppressors for centuries.”<sup>25</sup>*

Settling the venue of the meeting in Alba-Iulia, a privileged space in the history of our raising nation (connected with the Roman Dacia, Michael the Brave, Horea's martyrdom, Avram Iancu's detention, the union of 1918), augmented the impression that it was a symbolic conquest of the country by the nation, a dramatic action of different type of power<sup>26</sup>. The National Peasant speeches were quasi-revolutionary<sup>27</sup>, overloaded with meanings referring to “*continuitatea străduințelor*

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<sup>22</sup> *Apa trece, pietrele rămân*, “Glasul Ardealului”, II, no 19, Sunday, May 13, 1928, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> I. Scurtu, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>24</sup> N. Iorga, *România contemporană*, p. 362; the “*Dimineața*” newspaper compared the National Peasant reunion of Făgăraș to that of 1848 on the Blaj Plain, *Rebeliunea de la Făgăraș. Cine sunt cetățenii care au provocat-o și săvârșit-o*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 5989, Tuesday, February 7, 1928. For the mobilisation of the Transylvanians and the one in the Jiu Valley (the workers from Lupeni, Vulcan, Petroșani, etc.), see *Notele and Rapoartele of the Inspectoratul General de Siguranță Cluj* or of *Serviciului Special de Siguranță Petroșani* in May 1928 (ANIC, Fond Președinția Consiliului de Miniștri, Serviciul Special de Informații, file 5/1928, p. 9-13).

<sup>25</sup> N. Iorga, *O viață*, p. 729.

<sup>26</sup> As David Kertzer asserts, “*o demonstrație de masă poate fi interpretată ca o capturare simbolică a unui oraș sau unei capitale / a mass demonstration cannot be regarded as a symbolic seizing of a city or capital*” (David Kertzer, *Ritual, politică și putere* (transl. by Sultana Avram and Teodor Fleșeriu, foreword by Radu Florescu), Bucharest, 2002, p. 136).

<sup>27</sup> Sever Bocu declared to a Hungarian newspaper that one million people would oppose in Alba-Iulia to the 60,000 soldiers sent by the government (cf. *Amenințări de carnaval*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6035, Sunday, April 1, 1928); the antithetical terms prevailed in the National Peasant speech: in a mobilisation order addressed to the inhabitants of Banat, the above mentioned leader spoke about the overthrowing of the government or about Jilava (cf. *Politica de duplicitate național-țărănistă*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 5984, Thursday, February 2, 1928). The “occasional” poems favoured the

*seculare ale neamului românesc pentru dezrobire și unire / the continuity of the Romanian nation secular endeavours of emancipation and union” (Chemarea Partidul Național-Țărănesc adresată poporului / The Appeal of the National Peasant Party addressed to the people<sup>28</sup>). In a message entitled “Către poporul român din Județ / To the Romanian people from the counties”, the president of Sibiu NPP organisation, Ioan Boauriu, stated that:*

*“Patria e în pericol [...] [și avem] sfânta datorie să mergem s-o apărăm... așa cum au făcut înaintașii noștri în anul 1848 pe Câmpia Libertății... un mare sfat în cetatea lui Mihai Viteazul... / Our country is in danger [...] [and we have] the sacred duty to protect it ... as our forefathers did in 1848 on the Liberty Plain ... a great council in the city of Michael the Brave.”<sup>29</sup>*

The Liberal government was accused that

*“duce războiul împotriva provinciilor alipite, împotriva claselor producătoare și a maselor populare din întreaga țară; că a transformat votul în minciună, țara nemaivând Reprezentanță națională de 8 ani; că făcuse din armată un instrument de partid pentru a robi provinciile unite; că ruinase economia / is waging war against the united territories, against the producers and popular masses all over the country; that it transformed the vote into lie, since the country has not had a national Representation for 8 years; that it transformed the army in a party instrument so as to enslave the united provinces; that it had ruined the economy”;*

*“clică despotică și hrăpăreață / a despotic and predaceous pack”, “hidră a grecoteilor / hydra of Greeks” (according to N. Romanescu, the National Peasant leader of Craiova), “pojghiță fanariotă, conducătoare azi / Phanariot leading crust” (according to Ion Mihalache, in “Țărănismul”), in the National Peasant conception the National Liberal Party symbolised the pre-war Little Romania, centralised, sharing Eastern administration and governing methods, a fictitious parliamentary regime, and practicing economic xenophobia. From a Transylvanian perspective, the Liberals brought in the nostalgia of the Hungarian ruling in Transylvania and pre-eminence before the entire Romanian nation. Thus, Alba-Iulia resembled the day of*

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legitimate violence: *“Hai române nu uita / Toți la Alba Iulia / Săriți cu domn Maniu toți / Să scăpăm țara de hoți / De hoți și de șobolani / Că-i destul de zece ani / Că din ceea ce muncim / Numai biruri mari plătim / Let’s go Romanians, don’t forget / To join Maniu in Alba-Iulia/ To free the country of thieves / Of thieves and rats / ‘Cause we’ve had enough for ten years / To pay only taxes of what we gain” (“Dimineața”, XXIV, no 7687, May 5, 1928, apud I. Scurtu, *Istoria României între anii 1919-1940*, p. 92-93).*

<sup>28</sup> *Poporului Român. Chemarea Partidului Național-Țărănesc*, “Dreptatea”, II, no 162, Monday, April 30, 1928.

<sup>29</sup> *Atmosfera de ațătare în care se pregătește Adunarea de la Alba Iulia*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6056, Saturday, April 28, 1928.

judgement of the people<sup>30</sup>. The ritual connected the participants with a long protesting tradition, and the legitimacy of former actions being lent to the present one: the same order hierarchy from one man to another, the same tribunes, the same sacred flags of the peasant legions were overlapping, according to Iorga, in the image of a storm that “*amenință și să ia cu dânsa orice / threatens to take everything away*”<sup>31</sup>.

The discursive radicalism of the Transylvanian leaders was doubled by the National Peasants an increasing tendency towards a quasi-military organisation of the participants, the so-called unarmed “*grupuri de gărzi naționale / national guards groups*” created in order to efficiently oppose the authorities<sup>32</sup>. The violent and total contest against the others imposed a civil war atmosphere, some of the Transylvanian peasants brandishing on the eve of the meeting in Alba Iulia “*ciomagile și cuțitele / the cudgels and the knives*”, and asking “*cine este liberal să-l omoare / who was Liberal to kill him*”<sup>33</sup>.

### 3. The Liberals and the National Peasant Assembly

At first, the Liberals did not give much importance to the National Peasant project. The Minister of Interior, I. G. Duca, took a leave in March and left for

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<sup>30</sup> Vaida Voevod had given many declarations in this direction, such as “*legalitatea era în vechea Ungarie mai respectată decât în România, unde este dată pradă experimentelor politicianismului liberal și averescan / the legality was more respected in former Hungary than Romania, where it fell prey to the Liberal and Averescan petty political experiments*”, affirmations taken with satisfaction by the Hungarian politicians and the press in Budapest; the Transylvanian politician was constrained to reply to “*acestei mistificări maghiare / this Hungarian mystification*” in “*Adevărul*” of October 24 (ANIC, fond familia Brătianu, file 112/1928, p. 25). Similarly, Aurel Vlad considered at the meeting held in Bucharest in March 1928 that the current slavery is even more oppressive than the Hungarian one (cf. *Campania de răsturnare național-fărăniștă-comunistă; “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6025, Wednesday, March 21, 1928*). A National Peasant Party manifesto diffused in Bessarabia declared that in Alba-Iulia “*se va hotări soarta României și a noroadelor trăitoare în ea / the fate of Romania and its people will be decided*” (in *Agitația anarhică. Un manifest agitator al național-fărăniștilor în Basarabia, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6035, Sunday, April 1, 1928*); see also I. Scurtu, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>31</sup> N. Iorga, *România contemporană*, p. 362; Idem, *O viață*, p. 728.

<sup>32</sup> See *Raportul Brigăzii de Siguranță Diciosânmartin din 23 mai 1928*, in ANIC, Fond Direcția Generală a Poliției, file 3/1928, p. 58-58 v.; as a peasant said, “*boierii nu vor să știe de nimic alt de cât de frică / the boyards do not want to know of anything but of fear*” (*Notă de la Blaj*, in May 16, 1928, ANIC, fond Brătianu, file 468/1928, p. 53).

<sup>33</sup> Copy from *Raportul Poliției Gărei Simeria No. 225 din 8 Maiu 1928* (referring to the events prior to May 6) către *Inspectoratul General de Siguranță Timișoara* (ANIC, Fond Direcția Generală a Poliției, file 3/1928, f. 70). The radicalism that accompanied the assembly of Alba-Iulia: the manifesto calling the Transylvanians stated that no village was to be absent. “*De la 18 ani în sus numai vânzătorii poporului vor rămânea acasă! / Of the people aged over 18, only the traitors will stay home!*”. Alba-Iulia had to mean “*marele praznic al împlinirii dorințelor poporului și al învierii politice a neamului nostru / the great feast of our people’s wishes accomplishment and of our nation’s political revival*” (ANIC, fond Direcția Generală a Poliției, file 3/1928, p. 43).

Venice<sup>34</sup>. The several recallings of the meeting (October 1, 1927; November 20, 1927; March 15, April 22, 1928) gave the impression of a ridiculous preparation, of a “revolution play”. The Liberals placed the action of their political opponents in the scope of ridicule, regarding it as a campaign to disinform the public opinion through “*Dimineața*” and “*Adevărul*” newspapers, “*anumita presă / a specific type of press*”, as they named the publications favourable to the National Peasants. The delay of the Alba-Iulia assembly, considered a failure by the Liberals since the beginning of the opposition campaign had an internal political party motivation, which meant to save time and maintain the unity in the circumstances of a long opposition<sup>35</sup>. Further on confronted with the upsurge of society against the state authorities and with the powerful symbolic meaning of the event, the leaders the Liberal Party changed their attitude.

The Liberal approach with regard to the National Peasant Party activity entailed the change of the power system and the marginalisation of the National Liberal Party a public level, and it was based on speech and action with many interference points.

**3.1. The Liberal speech with regard to Alba-Iulia.** The Liberal discourse attempted to impose a certain image for the National Peasants, which was to invalidate the latter as positive political factors. The moment of the assembly of Alba-Iulia in May 1928 propelled what I call the **Liberal dogma**, which is a speech meant to prescribe the political conflict and at the same time to invalidate the competing projects of the opposition (National Peasant mainly) in the public area. The representation of the National Peasants as incapable of a positive governing act, as anarchists, anti-nationalists, and anti-patriotic was consolidated in the period prior to the meeting. The contest action promoted by the National Peasant Party, the revolutionary ideas and rhetoric that gave content and form to the opposition manifestation convinced the Liberals that they were facing a radical culture hostile to the methods accepted in Romania until then. In his “*Memorii / Memoirs*”, C. Argetoianu describes the concern of the Liberal leaders (Duca) with regard to a potential revolution<sup>36</sup>. Therefore, the defining components of the National Peasant action represented a second direction in the Liberal speech. **The civic resistance, the civil struggle, or overthrowing campaign** were reduced by the Liberals to prosaic formulae (as the refusal to pay taxes) and translated into the terms of the political life

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<sup>34</sup> *Bluff-ul “Congresului general” național-tărănist*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6044, Wednesday, April 11, 1928; C. Argetoianu, *op. cit.*, p. 230; see also the declaration given by I. G. Duca to the foreign newspapers correspondents in Romania, according to which the political events in the country lacked any importance, being mere political demonstrations that could not decide upon the existence of a government (cf. “*Glasul Bucovinei*”, XI, no 2627, Thursday, March 22, 1928, p. 1).

<sup>35</sup> *Motivetele amânării întrunirii dela Alba-Iulia*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 5041, Saturday, April 7, 1928; *Național-tărăniștii și presa lor răspândesc știri mincinoase asupra proporției întrunirii de mâine*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6063, Sunday, May 7, 1928.

<sup>36</sup> C. Argetoianu, *op. cit.*, p. 253-255.

anarchy, the Romanian state, and society dissolution: the insubordination towards authorities, the class hatred, Bolshevik political attitude of obstinate negation, action against the general interest with the enemies of the united state (the Communists and the minorities), the sabotage against loans and stabilisation<sup>37</sup>. The invalidation of the National Peasant means and representations, through the appeal to violent terminology and leftist revolutionism, also made of the Liberals the defenders of the nation, protectors of its traditions and historical interests. According to them, these oppositionist techniques and practices represented the endurance of the post-War troubled period, when the “spirits” were drifting and the values were discerned with difficulty.

**The campaign of overthrowing** made the object of Constantin Argetoianu’s interested and interesting meditations. In an interview given to “*Lupta*” newspaper and taken by “*Viitorul / The Future*”<sup>38</sup>, the Liberal minister limited this syntagma to an exclusivist decisional area, voiding it of its popular content so much used by the National Peasants. According to this versatile politician, **the overthrowing campaign** had been invented during King Carol I reign being supported by the Palace, and translated into **democratic appearance**, that is the public opinion influence upon the changing of the government. Promoted with agreement of all party leaders, it was a part of the common rotation ritual of the two governing parties, Liberal and Conservative. As I. G. Duca underlined, the “solution” for the National Peasant Party was not such a campaign, but the revolution or the legal and control opposition against the government’s acts<sup>39</sup>. Since the first term of the binominal was prohibited in the Romanian public space<sup>40</sup>, the only possibility, according to the leader from Vâlcea, remained the right and simple way of political waiting, entailing the normal withdrawal of Vintilă Brătianu government once its platform was carried out. According to the Liberals, the National Peasant meetings, the mobilisation of the population, the action of overthrowing were part of the political blackmail, destined to impress the Regency (“*locul înalt / the high rank*”)<sup>41</sup>. The overthrowing campaign became one of the proofs of the petty politics by NPP leaders, those that did not promote any programme, but only ‘trivial’ formulae regarding social justice, democracy, legality and democracy, accompanied by

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<sup>37</sup> *Greșelile. “Rezistența cetățenească sau școala anarhiei,”* “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6152, Tuesday, August 21, 1928; “*Istoria se repetă. Campaniile de răsturnare,* “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6162, Sunday, September 2, 1928.

<sup>38</sup> “Viitorul”, XXI, no 5977, Sunday, January 22, 1928; see also C. Argetoianu, *op. cit.*, p. 226-229.

<sup>39</sup> *Situația politică. Interview-ul d-lui I. G. Duca, Ministrul de Interne,* “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6030, Sunday, March 25, 1928.

<sup>40</sup> At the level of the Romanian political culture, the term “revolution / revoluție” is bivalent. It was prohibited despite the fact that the Romanians claimed their evolution from a complex revolutionary process including the French Revolution and their own revolutionary myths, that is the actions of 1821 and 1848, the union of 1859, and so on. The approach to Bolshevik Russia transformed any radical manifestation into an official public speech fad.

<sup>41</sup> *În plină operetă,* “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6053, Sunday, April 22, 1928.

accusations against the government. The meetings were transformed into events by a “certain” type of press, independent by form but offering a manifest assistance to the National Peasants and, according to the Liberals, defying the truth and deceiving the public opinion. The Liberals argued that the substance of the opposition manifestations was not nurtured by the Peasants only, but also by “*ciurucurile vieții sociale din Capitală, vechii clienți ai Justiției, aventurierii lumii orientale sau elementele aruncate de Soviete* / the scamps of the social life of Bucharest, the usual clients of Justice, the soldiers of fortune of the Eastern world or the elements cast by the Soviets”, or the few village people brought for one thousand lei<sup>42</sup>.

In the attempt to invalidate these meeting as a means of pressure, the NPP ties with leftist elements and political groups representing the minorities of Romania were intensely speculated by the Liberal press in a nationalist political manner. For a party that pretended to be governmental, “national”, mean to ensure “order”, the “collusion” with the Social-Communists was a serious drawback, for it thus legitimised the objective – the overthrowing of the government and the dissolution of the current Romanian state – and the latter’s “agenda”, that is: Bujor’s release, the pulling down of prisons, the amnesty of the crimes committed by the Communists against the state security, and so on. The the language borrowed from the two Internationales – the Green and the Red through C. Stere and Cristescu-Plăpumarul, the speeches delivered in foreign languages for the Jewish, Polish or Ukrainian “pseudo-citizens”<sup>43</sup> appeared as a conspiracy against the state interests and the annulment of the Romanian identity. The Liberals defined as “rebellion” the opposition’s struggle to overthrow the government.

For the Liberals the campaign had failed also because of the scarce participation of the masses as compared to what had been expected. In Făgăraș, the Liberals exemplified, Transylvanians did not gather in great number (thousands of chariots and horsemen) to attend the meeting, as it had been presented by several newspaper special editions. As an overbidding clear attempt to caricature the opposition’s action, the articles in “*Viitorul*” illustrated for the readers the despair of the National Peasant members of Parliament who had taken with the first train after the end of the manifestation. In addition, a peasant wedding was brought to the Square of Făgăraș Townhall so as to highlight an intense participation. The description of these meetings in the terms of a provincial fair, where “*oratorii țipau precum clovnii care invită publicul la panoramă* / the public speakers screamed like clowns that invite the public to panorama”, was destined to induce to the Bucharest public and the followers to the live image of Caragiale’s world. Placed most often

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<sup>42</sup> *Agitația anarhică. Național-țărăniștii au atacat dinastia și au propagat dezordinea la Galați*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6013, Tuesday, March 6, 1928.

<sup>43</sup> *Maniu, Ștefanov & Comp. Tovărășia național-țărăniștilor cu comuniștii*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 5997, Friday, February 17, 1928; *Campania de răsturnare național-țărăniștă-comunistă*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6025, Wednesday, March 11, 1928; *PNT uneltește împotriva unității statului*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6007, Wednesday, February 29, 1928, further to the fifth National Peasant meeting of Czernowitz on February 28, 1928.

within the scope of the operetta performance and the burlesque, the Liberal attempt was a warning for the “serious people” and an urge to anticipation. It finally represented a mechanism of the authorities to prescribe the terms in which the action of overthrowing was supposed to be considered. According to the Liberals, the meetings were meant to provoke incidents and disorder that would force authorities to react and afterwards to allow the protest against “the illegal acts” and “the abuses by the government”<sup>44</sup>. *Conu’ Leonida*’s thinking reflected a whole area of political culture.

**3.2. The Counter-demonstrations.** The Liberal response was not manifested only by speeches. A campaign of meetings “of order” and “civic”, rigorously organized by the National Liberal Party, unlike the “anarchical” ones of the National Peasants (that pushed the whole country in abyss)<sup>45</sup> represented an attempt to stop the opposition’s offensive. At the same time, they had to prove to the Regency the support that the Liberal party held at national level and the legitimacy of its power. For the opponents the popularity thus structured was nothing but a legitimacy counterfeit for it excluded the only element that validated the democracy: the free elections<sup>46</sup>. The Liberals still supported their efficiency as they emphasised the political capacity of the Liberal group and sustained the creation of an impact image of the proposed nature and goals. It was also an aspect that depended on their party: apart from the importance of the direct communication with the public and the opponent forces, these mass rituals aimed at having a considerable effect upon the participants, thus strengthening the identification with the group they belonged to and amplifying the opposition against their rivals by demonisation and disqualification, as the latter were always attending the demonstrations symbolically. The Liberals attentively manipulated the symbols in combination with the emotional impact resulted from the convening of so many people in the name of a common cause<sup>47</sup>.

The great number of the meetings (“*pentru o întrunire național-țărănistă sunt 10 liberale; pentru un agitator național-țărănist sunt 10 oameni de ordine / there are ten Liberal meetings for one National Peasant; there are ten men of order for a National Peasant propagandist*”, according to predictions made in a Liberal article) convened the real country and the peasant world. Although the Liberal

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<sup>44</sup> “*Rebeliunea*” *dela Focșani. Cine sunt cetățenii cari au provocat-o și săvârșit-o*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 5989, Tuesday, February 7, 1928; *Trădătorii. Cum se descalifică un partid*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6984, Thursday, February 2, 1928.

<sup>45</sup> *Efectele campaniei național-țărăniste*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 5996, Thursday, February 16, 1928.

<sup>46</sup> “*Cel mai bine fără fotografi și fără ingineri / Best without photographers and engineers*”, affirmed confidently the National Peasants (in *Cum vor liberalii să-și dovedească... popularitatea*, “Dreptatea”, II, no 323, Thursday, November 8, 1928).

<sup>47</sup> As David Kertzer mentioned, the struggle between the political forces is generally abstract and distant from the daily experience of most people. Demonstrations are a means to make politics become palpable; the symbolic dramatisation of the conflict makes an individual to be able to identify abstract principles with human beings and to identify a political position with tangible symbols (D. I. Kertzer, *op. cit.*, p. 136).

manifestation related to the ordinary Romanian peasant concerned with the silence of his work, as he had been conceived by the *sămănătorist* and *poporanist* literature, Vintilă Brătianu government thus found how to justify the endurance of its politics<sup>48</sup>. The citizens' affluence was comparable, especially during the manifestations of Jassy and Braşov<sup>49</sup>, where, according to Liberal sources, the participation amounted to 5,000 - 35,000 persons. The bid of popularity was extremely visible in other towns as well: Focşani, Piteşti, Giurgiu, Târgovişte (February 5), Calafat, Slatina (February 16, "*cea mai mare întrunire publică ținută vreodată în oraş / the largest public meeting ever held in urban areas*"), Rădăuţi, Deva, Czernowitz, Suceava, Câmpulung, etc. The aspect of political struggle within the party had to be taken into consideration in order to interpret the Liberal counter-manifestation<sup>50</sup>. Many of the Liberal meetings double the National Peasant ones not only from the point of view of venues, but also of overlapping: for instance, the meeting in Czernowitz took place on Monday, February 28, 1928, the day following the National Peasant meeting<sup>51</sup>. Nevertheless, as Armand Călinescu wrote, under the circumstances of efforts made by the state authorities and secret funds, "*e greu să se tragă o concluzie exactă asupra popularităţii reale / it is difficult to draw an accurate conclusion on its true popularity*"<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> As I. G. Duca depicted the National Peasant campaign, the surface turmoils and anxieties could not deflect the government from its path "*de consolidare a ţării întregite / of consolidating the united country*" (*Situaţia politică. Interview-ul d-lui I. G. Duca, Ministrul de Interne, "Viitorul", XXI, no 6030, Sunday, March 25, 1928*).

<sup>49</sup> The first from the series of spring party meetings (in Jassy) was to a great extent the quintessence of the ones to follow (*Pentru consolidarea Țării. Dela strălucita manifestație cetățenească din Iași, "Viitorul", XXI, no 5995, Tuesday, February 14, 1928*); the local press also gave a great deal of consideration to this manifestation, which was supposed to demonstrate that the country was not in favour of the National Peasant Party (see the numerous articles in "*Glasul Bucovinei / Bukowine's Voice*" local newspaper: *Grandioasa manifestare a Partidului național-liberal, "Glasul Bucovinei", XI, no 2596, Wednesday, February 15, 1928, p. 1*; D. Marmeliuc, *Manifestația cetățenească dela Iași, "Glasul Bucovinei", XI, no 2597, Thursday, February 16, 1928, p. 1*; *Marele Congres al Partidului național-liberal, "Glasul Bucovinei", XI, no 2599, Saturday, February 18, 1928, p. 1*; *Impunătoarea manifestare cetățenească din Braşov, "Viitorul", XXI, no 6001, Tuesday, February 21, 1928*).

<sup>50</sup> The leader of Hunedoara organisation at that moment, the very ambitious Gheorghe Tătărescu, managed to gather 15,000 people (*Impunătoarea manifestație populară din Deva, "Viitorul", XXI, no 6013, Tuesday, March 6, 1928*).

<sup>51</sup> Mihai D. Ralea considered that the Liberals proved lack of imagination when copying servilely the National Peasant manifestations (*Logica unei întruniri, "Dreptatea", II, no 103, Saturday, February 18, 1928*).

<sup>52</sup> Armand Călinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 79; the National Peasants accused Brătianu government that the manifestations favourable to the National Liberal Party were based on State logistics (a humbug by Mr. Guță Tătărescu, Romulus Voinescu, the Director General of the State Security, and General Davidoglu, the head of the Gendarmerie), since the followers and the individual people, "*gata să-și închirieze conștiința pe câțiva poli și rachiu / ready to rent out their conscious for some change and brandy*" were hired by the pretors (county chiefs), civilian gendarmes, mayors, notaries (*Cum își fac liberalii întrunirile, "Dreptatea", II, no 90, Friday, February 3, 1928, O întâlnire și un*

Similarly, the wish to reduce the emotional impact of the meeting of Alba-Iulia led I. G. Duca to propose the organisation of a concurrent Averescan meeting in the Capital, attended by just as many people as in Transylvania. The project was abandoned due to political reasons, because it implied the explicit support of an opponent's popularity, including the logistics or financial difficulties connected with the dislocation of such a great number of persons to Bucharest<sup>53</sup>.

The text that accompanies the Liberal manifestation is almost identical, with slight changes. The meeting scenario is also identical: crowds of people in the public square, the reception at the administrative palace, Vintilă I. C. Brătianu's message read by the head of the local Liberal organisation, the speeches by politicians, first of those representing the Romanian regions (Bessarabia, Bukowine, Banat, Transylvania, Dobrudja) in the main halls of the town, the telegram of support, the public banquet. The last speaker was invariably I. G. Duca, NLP General Secretary, who energetically participated in most of the meetings, thus strengthening the conviction that he was the dynamic drive of the response campaign initiated by the Liberals. The uniformity of the action and speech, the similar public spectacle in various geographic areas gave the impression unity in the country around the government and the National Liberal Party. Our focus on this kind of Liberal approach also implies different determinations than the descriptive aspect. The National Liberal Party action concentrates a system of representations which the Liberals attempted to accredit directly now, without supporting the agency of the printed press – meaning, the papers, the reviews, the propagandistic booklets – with regard to contemporary Romania and the functionality of its political regime. The meetings reveal the Liberal political culture from the assumed standpoint of the party.

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*surrogat*, "Dreptatea", II, no 100, Wednesday, February 15, 1928); in an interpellation in the Chamber of Deputies (the assembly of February 16, 1928), M. Costăchescu, the National Peasant leader of Jassy, argued that the Liberal meeting of Jassy had taken advantage of trains free of charge (in "Dreptatea", II, no 103, Saturday, February 18, 1928); according to the National Peasants, there was also an action to cavil at the meetings of this party; further to a petition by the Liberal prefect Eduard D. Lazarescu, on the eve of the meeting of Jassy, the Ministry of Domains sent 20 waggons of maize for the villagers living in the droughty areas of the county, which were to be distributed specifically on the meeting day, *Cum vor liberalii să-și dovedească... popularitatea*, "Dreptatea", II, no 94, Wednesday, February 8, 1928.

<sup>53</sup> C. Argetoianu, *op. cit.*, p. 248; it was an action that would give the impression of a competition over power, since in fact not only the National Peasant Party claimed the power (cf. *Potrivit ordinului liberalilor, averescanii se agită*, "Dreptatea", II, no 132, Friday, March 23, 1928); in that period, the National Peasants considered that C. Argetoianu was the author of the plan, assisted by "Guță" Tătărescu, the Security, and General Davidoglu (*Lovitura d.-lui C. Argetoianu*, "Dreptatea", II, no 157, Monday, April 23, 1928). Finally, NPP leaders could speak with satisfaction, as a recognition of their own capacity, about the failure of the Averescan "counter-manifestation", about the "demoralisation" of the Liberals, who regarded the Averescan competition as useless, ridiculous, and ineffective (in "Dreptatea", II, no 159, Friday, April 27, 1928).

**The meeting in Jassy.** In order to demarcate the Liberal public manifestation dating from the period of the National Peasant contest, I shall further on refer to the meeting organised by the Liberal Party on Sunday, February 12, 1928, in Jassy, as it is described by the “official” press (“*Viitorul*”). The first from the series of sping party meetings, this manifestation is to a great extent the quintessence of the following ones. The analysis makes use mainly of the method in which this meeting was illustrated – the photos of the crowds sustained the Liberal message – and reflected in the pages of “*Viitorul*”, the National Liberal Party’s official newspaper<sup>54</sup>.

As a hypostasis of the country and a retort to the accusation coming from the opposition different milieus – especially from the National Peasants – stating that the Liberal Party was the representative of the industrial and financial bourgeoisie of Romania, the meeting signified “the people’s manifestation” of thousands of citizens from towns and villages, from every social class throughout Moldavia, Bessarbia, and Bukowine. The peasants from the Transylvanian regions were also present so as to “fraternise” with the descendants of Stephen the Great and Alexander the Good. Politicians from all the historical regions of the country would brotherly “greet” the Romanians from all over. The idea of representing and the circumscription of the entire Romania dominate the Liberal message of those times. The meeting also designated “*marele șfat al poporului cu sfetnicii lui Ion I. C. Brătianu din vremurile mari ale istoriei naționale* / the great council of the people with Ion I. C. Brătianu’s advisors from a grand epoch in the national history”. Invoked many times by the speakers, the names of the prominent Liberal predecessors such as Ion I. C. Brătianu, “*prezidentul politic al istoriei moderne a României* / the political president of the modern history of Romania”, Gh. Mârzescu (Georgel), the Party’s regretted local chief, “*moldoveanul de treabă și de inimă, cu glas duios și blând, cald și înaripat* / the honourable and good-hearted Moldavian, with a tender and gentle voice, affectionate and enthusiastic” (Vasile P. Sassu), etc., conferred legitimacy to the Liberal present. As underlined by Victor Iamandi, the Liberal great leaders “*n-ar fi putut realiza ceea ce vedem astăzi fără organizația de fier a partidului* / could not have accomplished what we see today without the iron organisation of the party”. The references to a near or remote past are abundant in the Liberal speech conveying a moral force to the government led by Vintilă Brătianu. The political tradition and expertise entitled NLP leaders to appear as the guarantee of the constitutional order defence, from the perspective of the organisers of the meeting. The authority gained

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<sup>54</sup> Pentru consolidarea Țării. Dela strălucita manifestație cetățenească din Iași, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 5995, Tuesday, February 14, 1928; the local press also offered a great space to this manifestation, which was supposed to demonstrate that the country was not supporting the National Peasant Party (see the numerous articles in “*Glasul Bucovinei*” local newspaper: *Grandioasa manifestare a Partidului național-liberal*, “*Glasul Bucovinei*”, XI, no 2596, Wednesday, February 15, 1928, p. 1; D. Marmeliuc, *Manifestația cetățenească dela Iași*, “*Glasul Bucovinei*”, XI, no 2597, Thursday, February 16, 1928, p. 1; *Marele Congres al Partidului național-liberal*, “*Glasul Bucovinei*”, XI, no 2599, Saturday, February 18, 1928, p. 1).

by the generations that knew how to sacrifice for their country secured the evolution of the present carried out now by the Liberals. The meeting represented the resolution to sustain the government called by the great and wise King Ferdinand to govern in difficult times so as to keep the order and consolidate the united Romania. The constant reference to the Liberal speech on the information of June 1927 suggests the fact that the manner by which the National Liberal Party had seized power represented an objective of the public discourse. In fact, the Liberals had to offer their own account of this moment. I. G. Duca's speech, the most entitled orator attending the meeting of Jassi in February 1928, entered the Liberal response within the terms of party sacrifice and country general interests: "*noi n-am venit la guvern acum 8 luni de plăcere / we did not come to power for pleasure eight months ago*", the NLP leader stated.

*"Ca să desăvârșim organizarea noastră de partid ar fi trebuit să mai stăm în opoziție, dar am venit chemați de Marele Rege Ferdinand, pentru că a socotit că în momentul morței e necesar la cârmă un guvern care să asigure fără nici o sguđuire moștenirea tronului și respectul constituțional. Am îndeplinit această dorință. Era momentul greu, când vrăjmașii de pretutindeni stăteau la pândă / In order to complete our party organisation, we would have had to stay in opposition, but we were summoned by the Great King Ferdinand, because he considered that at his death the country needed a government to ensure without convulsion the succession to the throne and the constitutional respect. We made his wish come true. It was a difficult time when enemies were lurking."*

The symbolic geography of medieval Moldavia sustained this "lively" and mobilising history. As in the vojvodal times, the masses rushed in from Hotin, Soroca to Cetatea Albă. The vigorous men from the Mountains of Neamț and other mountain regions, the hard-working free peasants from counties of Moldavia and of the Lower Land had made their way to the Capital of the ancient province, "*leagănul primei uniri, reazemul rezistenței din marele război, orașul reformelor democratice / the cradle of the first union, the resistance support in the Great War, the city of the democratic reforms*". The massive presence of moving verbs was meant to underline one more time the participation and vitality of the gathering. The language imbued with military terms competed with this grandiose image: "*batalioane de cetățeni / battalions of citizens*", "*delegații se îndreaptă în ordine / the delegates made their way in order*"; in the Union Square, the foremost peasants took the floor before the crowd "*masate sub cerul liber pentru a exprima hotărârea de a lupta din rășputeri pentru menținerea ordinii și liniștei; toată lumea aștepta cuvântul de ordine al membrilor guvernului pentru a porni la acțiune / gathered in the open air to express their determination to fight for the order and peace keeping; everybody waited for the government's countersign urging to take action*" etc. Nevertheless, the approach was an invitation to peace, a sign of the Liberal governing order and stability. In democratic societies, the army is an institution that guarantees the fundamental

values. Although the confrontation, along with the invalidation of the National Peasant opposition actions, represented the finality of Liberal manifestation, this manifestation was in fact nothing but a competition of the people's support images, whose addressee was the Regency: "*împotriva plutoanelor și batalioanelor agitatoare ale d-lui Mihalache, noi am mobilizat marea armată a partidului nostru... armata păcii... a ordinii* / against Mr. Mihalache's instigating platoons and battalions, we mobilised our party's great army ... the army of peace ... of order", sustained Vasile P. Sassu, the leader of Constanța county organisation. "*Două partide stau în față în față* / Two parties stay opposite to one another", I. G. Duca also underlined: "*unul care clădește, altul care se ceartă fiindcă aleargă după putere* / one that builds, the other that raws in its run for power". The dichotomy promoted the Liberal speech, the representative of the labour world and progress after a conflict with the National Peasants, disciples of Caragiale's old school, as C. Argetoianu mentioned. The idea of the NPP governing incapability - the Peasant Dr. N. Lupu, allied with the National Liberal Party governing, compared the opposition with a lunatic in need of a strait jacket – justified the Liberal "*postul de veghe* / on guard stance". "*Noi vrem să plecăm dela guvern, dar nu putem, deoarece n-avem pe cine lăsa în loc* / We wish to withdraw from governing, but we can't, because we've got no replacer", snarled C. Argetoianu. "*Ne e frică că trebuie să guvernăm încă mulți ani* / We are afraid that we have to govern for many years", Ion Pillat also suggested.

The stands taken by the Liberal leaders and voiced in the 5 biggest halls in town (Sidoli, Elisabeta, *Sala Societății de Gimnastică și Sport*, sala II, *Sala și curtea Binder*) and in the balcony of a club from the Union Square followed a certain order of the speakers. There is also a hierarchy of the orators, the Liberal ministers always taking the floor by the end – I. G. Duca is the last to take the floor – hence, a certain display of the message with an upward trend in the accusation gravity<sup>55</sup>. It is also a differentiation in the importance of the halls: in "Sidoli" were present the party's and government's personalities (Ion Borcea – on behalf of the Peasant Party Dr. N. Lupu, Mr. Cateli, senator of Bălți, D. Marmeliuc – who greeted the organisations from Bukowine, General Traian Moșoiu – the symbol of heroism in the war for the union, Victor Iamandi, Leonte Moldovanu, the Vice-president of the Senate Tony Iliescu, Ion Pillat, Dr. N. Lupu, I. Th. Florescu, Avram Imbroane, Alexandru Lapedatu – the minister of Cults, Ion Inculeț – the minister of Health, I. Gh. Duca), the reunion being opened and presided by Gheorghe I. Brătianu, the President of the county organisation. In the other venues (attended by speakers such as Ștefan Ioan, George Onose, deputy of Covurlui, Ramiro Savinescu the head of Botoșani organisation, J. Valjean, the Vice-president of the Chamber, N. D. Chirculescu, and others), the meetings were presided by the Vice-presidents of Jassy county organisation, Constantin Toma, Osvald Racoviță, D. Dimitriu, etc.

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<sup>55</sup> Given his talent, the poet Ion Pillat was able to present "*drama campaniei național-țărăniște* / the National Peasant campaign drama" in six acts.

A banquet would end the manifestation, as an illustration of the harmony and political triumph. It was a victory “*a celor ce nu făceau politică, ci slujeau țara* / of those that did not do politics, but served who the country”, of the people with governing expertise, as C. Argetoianu argued. According to the Liberal leaders, Jassy had demonstrated that “*țara nu era cu PNȚ* / the country was not supporting NPP”, as the National Peasants usurpingly pretended. The whole country was supporting the Liberal government and party, because the country wanted peace: this was the final statement in the Liberal message. The failure was excluded given that the Liberal interests were identified with those of the nation. The Liberals represented an army without reservation, and their defeat entailed the defeat of the country. From this perspective, the manner in which the the newspapers of the opposition or the “servile” press had presented the National Liberal meeting by comparing it numerically with the previous Peasant manifestation, seemed to be an impiety, an ordered discrediting. The Liberals could not count more than 3-4,000 National-Peasant participans, including soldiers of fortune that had clandestinely crossed the country borders to enrol in the instigators’ army, a compared to the 30-35,000 leaders that were present at the Liberal meeting. As a strengthening disparity through the appeal to history, the old men of Jassy commented that “*așa o revărsare de popor nu se văzuse nici în vremurile de mobilizare* / such an overflowing of people has never been seen, not even in the times of mobilisation”.

**3.3. Administrative pressures upon the press.** The campaign against the hostile press represented a peculiar direction of the Liberal response to the contestation of the National Liberal Party governing. Included in the category of “*așa-zisei prese independente* / so called independent press”, of “*anumitei prese* / a certain press”, “*Adevărul*” and “*Dimineața*” newspapers, but also Nae Ionescu’s “*Cuvântul*” or Pamfil Șeicaru’s “*Curentul*” made the object of the constant pressure exerted by the Liberals. Condemned for their past and accused for their present, they had become part of the normative speech developed by the National Liberal Party leaders. The callous accusations made by the party press or the “servile” press (“*Viitorul*”, “*Universul* / The Universe”) against those newspapers did not pursue the essence the anti-Liberal articles or the slandering information, but the qualification of the publication on the whole as unreasonable. Being in the anti-Romanian camp during World War I, the inaugural moment and founder of the new society, the executive directors of those papers were treated as impostors or adventurers, servants of the German or Austrian-Hungarian invaders (registered on “*Gunther’s list*”)<sup>56</sup>. The accusation of having received funds from Moscow represented the second plan to

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<sup>56</sup> As established by his colleague from “*Universul*”, Emanuel Socor was “*degradat, alungat din armată, condamnat la muncă silnică pentru crimă împotriva Statului* / degraded, discharged from the army, condemned to forced labour for crimes against the State”, Constantin Graur as “*venit la București pe timpul ocupației germane, îmbrăcat în uniformă de ofițer austriac* / comer to Bucharest during the German occupation, dressed in Austrian officer uniform”, Titus Enacovici (from “*Cuvântul*”) as a “*îmbogățit de război* / war prey hunter” (*Anumita presă și fondurile sovietice*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6011, Sunday, March 4, 1928).

annihilate the press of a certain leftist orientation (“*Dimineața*”, “*Adevărul*”). The campaign for the rehabilitation and release of Mihail Bujor, transformed in “*martir al teroarei burheze din România / martyr of the bourgeois terror of Romania*”, the gratuitous dispatch of “*foi / leaflets*” containing revolutionary messages to villages were interpreted by the Liberals as visible signs of national betrayal<sup>57</sup>. The Liberals blamed constantly these daily papers for applying methodically an anti-national programme whose objective was the weakening of the state by denigrating its institutions (Parliament, administration, magistrature, army) and by distorting the social reality (“*mistificarea țării / the mystification of the country*”), which was considered rotten<sup>58</sup>. At any rate, the Liberal approach based on media aimed at immediate political struggle. The Liberals had been bothered mostly by the exploiting image that “*Ardealul este la picioarele d-lui Maniu / Transylvania bowed before Mr. Maniu*”, an image created by the press of Bucharest. For them, the participation to the National Peasant political action distorted facts severely<sup>59</sup>.

In this context, the Liberals maintained the existence of confusion between the freedom of the press and the anarchy, speaking of high moral, political, and social mission of the party information organs<sup>60</sup>. The pressures of National Liberal Party did not transform in simple rhetoric condemnation. Beyond the notorious inter-War tolerance, the censorship was imposed by the Liberals as a “*regretabilă și vremelnică necesitate / regrettable and provisional necessity*”<sup>61</sup>: the publication of the “blackmail” newspaper “*Cuvântul*” was suspended for eight days by the Senate (the session of February 16, 1928) de to the obstinate publication of “*știrilor dovedite false și pentru atmosfera de știrbire a autorității guvernului / news that proved to be false and the atmosphere created to prejudice the government’s authority*”<sup>62</sup>. The Journalists’ Union also received a unofficial warning, further to the appointment of Pamfil Șeicaru as president, who had been accused of “joining” this independent structure within the National Peasant Party<sup>63</sup>.

**3.4. The prelude of the separation.** The Liberals’ more visible anger towards the modified and unstable political games was also felt at parliamentary level. The vehemence of the National Peasant contestation against the legitimacy of Brătianu government, the language violence and excess of the legislative authority did surprise the Liberals. The sympathy for the Parliament crisis, caused by the

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<sup>57</sup> *Martirul românismului: Bujor! La guvern cu sprijinul Moscovei*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6004, Friday, February 24, 1928; *Anumita presă și fondurile sovietice*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6011, Sunday, March 4, 1928.

<sup>58</sup> *Presa națională și interesele naționale*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6094, Friday, June 15, 1928.

<sup>59</sup> *Țara adevărată*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6005, Saturday, February 25, 1928.

<sup>60</sup> *După demascarea anumitei prese. Legea presei – o necesitate*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6008, Wednesday, February 29, 1928.

<sup>61</sup> *Din consecințele greșelilor politice*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6107, Friday, June 29, 1928.

<sup>62</sup> *Libertatea presei. Cazul ziarului de șantaj “Cuvântul” la Senat*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6024, Monday, March 19, 1928.

<sup>63</sup> “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6102, Sunday, June 24, 1928.

attitude “*de local de mahala / of suburban pub*”, of triviality, “*de surugiu / of coachman*” language used by the Peasant politicians, signified their concern with regard to the political adversity they confronted with in the two Chambers, and that had transformed into hostility and not loyal fight<sup>64</sup>. The dismissal of several National Peasant deputies from the legislative expressed the Liberal greater unavailability in terms of political negotiation as a core democratic mechanism<sup>65</sup>. The siding of the National Peasant Transylvanian deputies with the sanctioned leaders, by leaving jointly the premises<sup>66</sup>, deepened the political crisis. The whole National Peasant parliamentary block withdrew from the National Representation on March 19, a direct consequence of the Regency’s refusal to approve the motion of the party’s meeting in Bucharest handed by Iuliu Maniu on the previous day. The creation of their own parliament, formed with the removed deputies and those party candidates that had been “stolen” at ballots during the elections of 1927, attempted to an extreme extent to illegitimise the power held by the National Liberal Party. The Liberal response demonstrated the irrevocable adversity between the two competing forces and the critical feature of the democratic political culture in the inter-War period. The sedition scenario of petty politics was brought back into discussion by the Liberals. They historicised the moment of their withdrawal from the Parliament, registering it within a sequence of similar events in order to reduce its meaning and consequences and to counterpoise the National Peasant interpretation with reference to the lack of national Representation. I. G. Duca defined the National Peasant boycott within an opposition system; according to the Liberal leader, it was a remake of a previous action from the Budapest legislative framed in the Parliament of the Great and united Romania<sup>67</sup>. The suggestion of new parliamentary elections for the seats of

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<sup>64</sup> In the Chamber session of January 26, 1928, Alexandru Vaida Voevod had declared that “*nu s-a lăsat intimidat de furia tigrilor de la Budapesta, nu se va lăsa bătut de ploșnițele din Vecchiul Regat / [he] was not intimidated by the fury of Budapest tigers, he will not be defeated by the bugs of the Old Kingdom*” (in “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 5981, Saturday, January 28, 1928); Mihai Popovici named “*the lupiști*” as “*excremente ale partidului liberal / defecations of Liberal Party*” (*Violența în politică – arma celor slabi*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 5994, Saturday, February 13, 1928); *Eroarea fundamentală a partidului național jărănesc*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6089, Friday, June 8, 1928). The feeling was amplified after the drama in Yugoslavian *Scupcina*. The “*Patria / The Homeland*” newspaper of Cluj asked a rhetoric question with regard to this event: “*ce se va întâmpla la noi când coarda se va rupe? / what will happen here when the rope gets broken?*” (*O sfidare. Amenințări nesăbuite național-jărăniste*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 6102, Sunday, June 24, 1928).

<sup>65</sup> The removal of Pompiliu Ioanițescu, Sever Bocu, Virgil Madgearu and Dr. Aurel Dobrescu for 5-10-30 days from the Chamber’s Disciplinary Commission, in the session of February 10, 1928, and further on a similar step (to exclude for 30 sessions) applied to NPP Vice-president, Alexandru Vaida Voevod, on February 14 (in “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 5994, Monday, February 13, 1928); for the National Peasants this measure represented a new challenge (*Miluiții jandarmilor în Parlament provoacă țara*, “*Dreptatea*”, II, no 98, Sunday, February 12, 1928).

<sup>66</sup> *O manifestare regionalistă la Cameră*, “*Viitorul*”, XXI, no 5997, Friday, February 17, 1928.

<sup>67</sup> Thus, the fact that the National Peasants withdrew had no importance, as the Liberal leaders affirmed. The Liberals had also withdrawn ten times during the last ten years and they would return for the daily allowance, accusing the National Peasants for not forgetting to sign in the presence

those who had withdrawn and which were to be declared as vacant, according to the regulations of both Chambers, pursued to take the National Peasant Party outside the public space. By not taking part in the hypothetical elections the Liberals would eventually impose an opposition that was convenient to them, “*un curent mai sănătos în viața politică a statului, formațiune care să înțeleagă altfel acțiunea împotriva guvernului* / a healthier trend in the state political life, an organization that would understand the action against the government”<sup>68</sup>.

The speech competition did not offer a winning position to the government, unable to identify itself with the symbols recognised by the entire society as being of political order: the nation, the religion, the constitution. Under the circumstances of the Liberal wearing, the National Peasants undermined the government’s attempts to identify them ultimately with various libellous identities: “communist”, “subversive”, etc. The organisation of the “national assembly”-congress of Alba-Iulia was meant to eliminate the accusation of regionalism.

(to be continued)

Translated from Romanian by Adina Rătoi and Șerban Marin

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register in order to cash the 1,000 lei per day, “*bani fără muncă / workless money !*” (*Național-țărăniștii s-au retras iarăși din Parlament*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6026, Wednesday, March 21, 1928; “Viitorul”, XXI, no 5998, Saturday, February 18, 1928); although the Liberals adopted the tone of confrontation, many neutral observers urged on moderation: according to G. Hârsu, editor of “*Parlamentul / The Parliament*” review, although it did not reach the anticipated effects, the National Peasants’ withdrawal from the Parliament affected the Romanian frail democracy, while the unanimity was “*mult mai primejdioasă în efecte posibile decât rezultatul celor mai violente și neparlamentare dezbateri* / much more dangerous in possible effects than the result of the most violent and non-parliamentary debates” (G. Hârsu, *Retragerea opoziției*, “Parlamentul”, I, no 19, Thursday, March 22, 1928, p. 1).

<sup>68</sup> *Care este situația politică după ultimele evenimente*, “Viitorul”, XXI, no 6027, Thursday, March 22, 1928.



# La Banque Nationale de Roumanie et la Banque des Règlements Internationaux.

## Les méandres d'une collaboration

Brîndușa Costache

Comme toute banque d'émission, la Banque Nationale de Roumanie (BNR) a développé au fil du temps de nombreuses relations avec les institutions étrangères de crédit. Parmi eux, une place à part a été détenue par la Banque des Règlements Internationaux (BRI), dont l'institution roumaine d'émission a été l'un des actionnaires. Les relations entre la BRI et la BNR ont pris des formes des plus diverses, du paiement des dettes de guerre allemandes, réglementées par le Plan Young, à la gestion d'une partie de la réserve d'or et à l'essai de construire un cadre organisé pour les fluxes financiers internationaux. La présente étude ne se propose pas de suivre la totalité de ces aspects mais seulement de situer dans le contexte plus large, celui des relations entre les deux banques, la problématique des crédits obtenus par l'institut d'émission de la BRI pour l'Etat roumain.

### 1. La Banque Nationale de Roumanie, actionnaire de la Banque des Règlements Internationaux

La Banque des Règlements Internationaux a été créée en 1930 comme autorité financière agissant en tant qu'agent des opérations bancaires prévues dans le Plan Young. Ce Plan établissait les modalités de paiement des dédommagements par l'Allemagne et par les autres pays vaincus dans la Première Guerre Mondiale. Les banques fondatrices de la BRI ont été: la Banque Nationale de Belgique, la Banque d'Angleterre, la Banque de France, Reichsbank, la Banque d'Italie, la Banque Industrielle du Japon ainsi que, des Etats-Unis, un groupe bancaire constitué par J. P. Morgan & Co et *The First National Bank*, les deux de New York, et *The First International Bank* de Chicago<sup>1</sup>.

La Banque Nationale de Roumanie saluait, le 16 février 1930, l'apparition de la nouvelle institution de crédit: "*Rolul acestei bănci, care abia ia ființă poate deveni considerabil în viața politică-economică mondială / Le rôle de cette banque qui vient juste d'être créée, pourrait se montrer très important pour la vie politique et économique internationale.*"<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vasile Grigorcea, *Cooperarea băncilor de emisiune și Banca Reglementelor Internationale*, Bucarest, 1937, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Banca Națională a României, *Raportul Consiliului de administrație către Adunarea generală ordinară a acționarilor din 16 februarie 1930*, Bucarest, 1930, p. 7.

Conformément à son statut, la BRI se proposait de “*favorizarea cooperării băncilor centrale și furnizarea de facilități suplimentare pentru operațiunile financiare internaționale / favoriser la coopération des banques centrales et d’offrir des facilités supplémentaires pour les opérations financières internationales*”<sup>3</sup>. La BRI agissait également comme mandataire dans les relations financières internationales suite aux accords entre les Etats intéressés.

Membres de la BRI pouvaient devenir des banques des pays intéressés dans le sujet des réparations de guerre ou des banques d’Etat des pays qui utilisaient l’étalon monétaire or ou l’étalon or-dévises<sup>4</sup>. En 1969, le Statut de la BRI a été modifié en éliminant la clause qu’imposait cette condition. On estimait à l’époque qu’il était beaucoup plus important “de prendre en compte l’intérêt de déterminer la participation à la banque du nombre le plus grand possible de banques centrales ayant une contribution substantielle à la coopération monétaire internationale et à l’activité de la banque.”<sup>5</sup>

Le capital statuaire de la BRI était au début de 500 millions de francs-or suisses, divisé en 200.000 actions nominatives à 2.500 francs-or suisses chacune. Dans une première étape, on a considéré suffisant un capital de seulement ¼ du capital statuaire ce qui a fait que seulement 25% des actions émises aient été payées<sup>6</sup>.

La relation entre la Banque Nationale de Roumanie et la Banque des Règlements Internationaux s’est établie comme conséquence du rôle que cette dernière l’a eu dans la collecte et la distribution des dédommagements allemands.

A l’été 1930, la direction de la BNR a accepté l’invitation des administrateurs de la BRI de souscrire au capital de cette dernière 4000 actions en valeur totale de 10 millions de francs suisses. Un premier versement – et d’ailleurs le seul – a été réalisé le 30 juin 1930<sup>7</sup>.

En 1969, le capital de la BRI a été augmenté, de 500 million francs-or suisses à 1.500 millions francs-or suisses par deux émissions de 200.000 actions à une valeur nominale de 500 millions de francs-or suisses. Le capital de la première émission a été assuré des réserves constituées par prélèvement des bénéfices et il aurait dû être versé en proportion de 25%. Chacun des actionnaires recevait une action nouvelle qui remplaçait l’une antérieure. Autrement dit, la BNR recevait 4.000 actions ayant une valeur nominale de 10 millions de francs-or suisses sans être censée de verser un supplément de capital. La deuxième émission était destinée aux six banques fondatrices en proportion de 55%, le reste pouvant être souscrit par d’autres banques centrales intéressées de devenir membres de la BRI<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Banque des Règlements Internationaux, *Statut*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>5</sup> Archives de la BNR, fond  *Direcția valutară și metale prețioase* , dossier 20/1965-1969, p. 21-24.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> Archives de la BNR, fond *Serviciul Secretariat*, dossier 19/1930, p. 319-323.

<sup>8</sup> Archives de la BNR, fond  *Direcția valutară și metale prețioase* , dossier 20/1965-1969, p. 21-24.

La participation au capital de la BRI a également posé pour la BNR des problèmes liés aux prévisions statutaires. En février 1931, l'Assemblée générale extraordinaire des actionnaires était sollicitée d'accepter une modification du Statut, au sens d'un développement des opérations sur les marchés étrangers. Par conséquent, l'article 20 dudit document précisait, dans sa forme modifiée, que la BNR pouvait recevoir des dépôts des banques d'émission étrangères et de la BRI, tout en étant autorisée de placer des fonds, tant en effets qu'en valeur, à des courtes et moyennes échéances, soit en dépôts à intérêt dans des banques roumaines<sup>9</sup>.

La qualité d'actionnaire à la BRI apportait à la BNR des dividendes annuels. Entre 1930 et 1942, la BRI a distribué aux propriétaires des actions représentant bénéfices annuels en proportion de 6% du capital effectivement versé. Les dividendes distribués dans cet intervalle aux actionnaires de la BNR ont représenté 150.000 francs-or suisses. Dans les années suivantes, les sommes distribuées comme dividendes ont diminué, la cote des actionnaires roumains baissant en 1944 à 99.800 francs-or suisses. Dès 1945, les dividendes ne sont plus distribués, le bénéfice net de la BRI étant destiné à approvisionner un compte réservé pour couvrir les charges éventuelles à la fin de la guerre<sup>10</sup>.

La distribution des dividendes a été reprise en 1951, quand on a alloué dans ce but une cote d'environ 2% par action<sup>11</sup>. Graduellement, le pourcentage distribué comme dividendes a été augmenté jusqu'à 6% en 1957-1958. Les sommes reçues par la BNR comme dividendes annuels ont constamment augmenté, de 71.600 francs-or suisses, en 1951, à 1.400.000 francs-or suisses en 1988<sup>12</sup>.

## 2. Principes et pratique du partenariat

La collaboration entre les deux institutions bancaires s'appuie sur quelques principes imposés par le Statut de la BRI. Cette dernière avait l'obligation de subordonner la politique monétaire des banques centrales dans les pays membres. A leur tour, ces banques pouvaient s'opposer au déroulement de certaines opérations sur le territoire de leurs pays d'origine, dans les cas où ces opérations affectaient leurs propres intérêts. Egalement, les banques membres donnaient leur accord pour le déroulement de certaines opérations ou d'une seule sur une période déterminée<sup>13</sup>. De plus, les partenaires de la BRI devaient être agréés par les banques membres.

Les opérations statutaires étaient très variées, mais on prenait des réserves à l'égard de l'autorité des banques d'émission et de leur implication dans les activités politiques. De ce point de vue, la BRI n'avait pas le droit d'émission de billets,

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<sup>9</sup> Banca Națională a României, *Raportul Consiliului general către Adunarea generală extarordinară a acționarilor, din 15 februarie 1931*, Bucarest, 1931.

<sup>10</sup> Archives de la BNR, fond *Direcția valutară și metale prețioase*, dossier 2/1951-1958, p. 417-421.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 421.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>13</sup> Banque des Réglements Internationaux, *Statut*.

d'ouvrir des comptes courants pour les gouvernements ou au nom d'eux, de financer des affaires en proportion majoritaire<sup>14</sup>.

Au cours de son activité, la BRI était censée de garder un grand volume de liquidité dans la perspective d'un investissement rapide, au cas de nécessité, pour supporter les banques centrales ou pour participer à la réglementation des relations financières internationales.

Conformément à son statut, les activités de la BRI se développaient sur deux axes principales: assurer un climat propice pour la coopération des banques centrales dans le but de fluidiser les transactions internationales et la mise en application des prévisions du Plan Young.

L'activité de la BRI en tant que mandataire pour le paiement des dettes de guerre allemandes n'a pas duré longtemps. Le début de la Grande Crise économique a déterminé, par le Moratoire Hoover et le Protocole de Londres (le 11 août 1931), la suspension pour un an des paiements des dettes intergouvernementales, y compris ceux les dettes de guerre. Plus tard, par le Traité de Lausanne (le 9 juillet 1932), la dette de l'Allemagne a été réduite de 3 milliards Deutschemarks-or, ce qui a pratiquement signifié l'annulation de la créance.

Après la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale, les relations entre la BNR et la BRI ont été marquées par le changement de régime politique en Roumanie. Longtemps après, la participation à l'assemblée de la BRI et l'appartenance à cette institution internationale de crédit ont été regardées avec suspicion, d'autant plus que la banque centrale de l'URSS n'en faisait pas partie. Cette attitude a changé à mesure que les autorités de Bucarest se sont rendues compte que, en utilisant cette situation, on pouvait obtenir des crédits en devises, nécessaires pour le développement de l'économie nationale et pouvaient également établir des relations avec d'autres institutions bancaires du camp capitaliste. En juin 1958, les documents d'archives précisaient que les contacts des représentants de la BNR avec des officiels de la BRI *"au fost mai strânse decât în trecut / ont été plus étroits qu'avant."* Les délégués roumains mentionnaient dans leurs rapports sur les déplacements à Basel:

*"ni s-a propus cu oarecare stăruință ca, atunci când ar mai face în viitor diverse operații cu metal, Banca de Stat să le realizeze, cel puțin parțial, prin Banca Reglementelor Internaționale. Este vorba atât de operațiuni de vânzare-cumpărare, de transport și de manipulare a barelor de aur, cât și de constituirea de depozite de metal la BRI, ceea ce ar facilita în practică obținerea unor avansuri pe termen scurt de la această bancă. Banca Națională a Ungariei și Banca de Stat Cehoslovacă efectuează asemenea operații cu metal prin BRI / on nous a proposé, avec une certaine persuasion, pour le cas où il y aura dans l'avenir des diverses opérations avec métal, que la Banque d'Etat les réalise, au moins partiellement, par la BRI. Il s'agit tant d'opérations d'achat-vente, de transport et de manipulation des barres d'or que de la constitution de*

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem.*

dépôts en métal dans la BRI, ce que faciliterait en pratique l'obtention d'avances à court terme de la part de cette banque. La Banque Nationale de Hongrie et la Banque d'Etat de la Tchécoslovaquie effectuent déjà des opérations en métal par l'intermédiaire de la BRI."<sup>15</sup>

On appréciait également que les réunions de l'Assemblée générale auraient facilité les contacts avec des officiels d'autres banques centrales, ainsi que la documentation et le recueil d'informations de nature économique ou financière.

### 3. Crédits obtenus de la BRI – avantages et limites

L'obtention de crédits de la BRI est comptée par la partie roumaine parmi les avantages de la collaboration avec cette banque. L'aspect a été l'un des plus importants dans le cadre des relations développées entre les deux institutions bancaires dans l'après-guerre.

Le premier de ces crédits a eu un caractère de nécessité, étant contracté dans des conditions économiques particulièrement graves, en 1947. A l'époque, l'institut d'émission de Bucarest a obtenu 2 millions de francs-or suisses pour une période de 12 mois (18 juillet 1947-18 juillet 1948), avec un intérêt de 3,5% et garanti en or à l'aide des dépôts constitués à la Banque Nationale Suisse<sup>16</sup>.

Cet épisode a été suivi par une longue période où les relations ont été interrompues, surtout pour des considérations idéologiques et moins pour des raisons économiques. Seulement vers les années 1960, l'attitude des autorités roumaines a radicalement changée. A partir de 1962, la BNR a obtenu plusieurs crédits financiers en francs suisses, dollars américains et Deutschemarks. Beaucoup de ces lignes de crédit ont été prolongées plusieurs fois. De cette manière, en 1975, on constate que la Roumanie avait reçu de la BRI, au long des 10 années précédentes, des "crédits avantageux" en valeur de 330 millions dollars américains, à termes de 1-2 ans, avec des intérêts renégociés à chaque trimestre. Les sommes respectives ont été versées à la Banque Roumaine de Commerce Extérieur. En 1975, on déroulait déjà deux crédits en valeur de 100 millions de francs suisses<sup>17</sup>.

Après 1980, à la seule exception de 30 millions dollars, il n'y a eu plus de nouveaux crédits et les prêts entamés, dont le financement avait été plusieurs fois prolongés, ont été remboursés. L'octroi de nouveaux crédits ou la prolongation de ceux déjà octroyés ont été conditionnés par la constitution d'un dépôt à terme de la banque d'émission de Bucarest à la BRI. Par conséquent, si en 1975 la BNR avait à la BRI deux comptes courants en francs suisses et en dollars américains,

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<sup>15</sup> Archives de la BNR, fond *Directia valutară și metale prețioase*, dossier 2/1959-1965, p. 755-761.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier 2/1951-1958, p. 271.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier 15/1975, p. 109.

approvisionnés avec “des petites sommes”<sup>18</sup>, en 1979, la direction de la banque de Basel appréciait positivement l’ouverture par la BNR d’un compte à terme, sollicité comme garantie pour les sommes empruntées<sup>19</sup>.

L’explication de ce changement d’attitude réside en la perte de crédibilité de la Roumanie dans ses relations à l’extérieur après des syncopes dans le remboursement à terme des tranches de sa dette extérieure. Quelques années plus tard, en 1984, suite aux efforts des Roumains de rembourser les crédits à l’extérieur, le président de la BRI, Fritz Leutwiler, a félicité les autorités roumaines pour l’amélioration de la situation financière de la Roumanie. Le pays regagnait ainsi la confiance des milieux financiers internationaux.

*“Existența la BRI a unui volum relativ important de depozite în valută și în aur, spunea președintele Leutwiler, a făcut ca situația BNR să fie apreciată cu totul altfel decât situația altor bănci centrale, care au luat credite fără a avea o acoperire în depozite. Depozitele, a insistat el, constituie un element care are o mare importanță morală deoarece ele asigură posibilitatea de a se face față la orice situație temporară ce ar putea apare. / L’existence à la BRI d’un volume assez important de dépôts en devises et en or, soulignait le président Leutwiler, a fait que la situation de la BNR soit appréciée d’une manière différente que la situation d’autres banques centrales qui ont bénéficié de crédits sans avoir une couverture en dépôts. Les dépôts, insistait-il, constituent un élément de grande importance morale parce qu’ils assurent la possibilité de faire face à toute situation temporaire qui pourrait apparaître.”*

Au cours des entretiens occasionnées par les réunions de la BRI, les représentants d’autres banques ont également formulé des appréciations favorables: Union des Banques Suisses, la Banque Européenne des Investissements, le Fond Monétaire International<sup>20</sup>. Malgré cela, quand en 1985 les autorités roumaines ont sollicité des nouveaux crédits, la BRI a adopté une position réservée. Les dirigeants de la banque ont précisé que celle-là accordait seulement des prêts à court terme et que la Roumanie avait déjà des crédits qui avait été plusieurs fois prolongés, le volume total de ses dettes montant à 230 millions dollars dont seulement 145 millions étaient garantis par le dépôt en or à la BRI. Dans cette situation, la Roumanie ne pouvait contracter qu’un crédit de 30 millions dollars, à utiliser immédiatement et un crédit de 50-70 millions dollars qui devait être garanti avec un dépôt en or d’approximative 8 tonnes à déposer à la Banque Nationale de Suisse. Finalement, la BNR a obtenu seulement le crédit sans garantie qui a été ultérieurement prolongé de 6 mois<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier 3/1979-1980, p. 120-121.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier 2/1984-1986, p. 569.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 302-303.

En décembre 1986, les trois crédits de 50 millions francs suisses chacun, qui étaient encore en déroulement, ont été renouvelés d'une année mais la BRI a exigé le remboursement à terme du crédit obtenu en 1985. En échange, on a accepté la prolongation des crédits garantis en or<sup>22</sup>.

A part les crédits financiers, dès 1966, on a discuté la possibilité d'obtenir des crédits garantis en or (*swap*). Au début, les autorités roumaines ont sollicité un crédit financier de 20-25 millions de dollars remboursable en 24 mois. Mais la direction de la BRI a conditionné l'octroi de ce crédit de la constitution d'un dépôt en or pour les 24 mois, avec un intérêt de 1/8-2/9. "*Cererea a fost justificată prin faptul că BRI nu deține fonduri pe termene mai lungi, deoarece în mod uzual atrage fonduri de la băncile centrale numai pe termen scurt de maxim 6 luni.* / La demande a été motivée, précisait le représentant roumain, par le fait que la BRI ne détient pas des fonds à plus longs termes, parce qu'en général elle attire des fonds des banques centrales seulement à un terme de maximum 6 mois." Après des négociations, la BNR a obtenu un crédit de 20 millions dollars pour 18 mois, à base d'un dépôt de 10 tonnes d'or<sup>23</sup>.

Quelques années plus tard, en juillet 1975, quand les autorités de Bucarest ont désiré d'obtenir de nouveaux crédits de la BRI, on leur a précisé qu'il existait la possibilité d'une garantie en or pour les sommes sollicitées<sup>24</sup>.

Dans le contexte de la crise des dettes extérieures de la Roumanie, la BNR a obtenu plusieurs crédits *swap* en francs suisses, Deutschemarks et dollars américains. En 1980, la BNR avait à la BRI une dette de 250 millions dollars américains et 135 millions Deutschemarks. Une année plus tard, en 1981, elle avait contracté deux nouveaux crédits de 32, respectivement 31 millions Deutschemarks, un troisième, de 16,5 millions dollars, venant à se rajouter en 1985.

Mais l'obtention de crédits ne représentait pas le seul intérêt des autorités de Bucarest, car l'administration et le remboursement de la dette extérieure étaient eux-aussi des problèmes importants. Au fil du temps, ils se sont retrouvés au cœur des sujets abordés par les représentants de la BNR qui ont participé aux réunions annuelles des membres de la BRI. Depuis 1976, les mêmes problèmes ont été soulevés dans les réunions des gouverneurs des banques centrales des pays socialistes membres de la BRI.

Entre 1977 et 1980, les documents attestent que dans le cadre des réunions de Basel, les pays communistes étaient particulièrement intéressés de développer les relations économiques entre l'Est et l'Ouest, d'obtenir de nouveaux crédits et de diversifier les relations commerciales, en particulier les exports vers les pays industrialisés en échange des devises nécessaires pour rembourser les crédits déjà obtenus<sup>25</sup>. Quant à la Roumanie, elle était préoccupée par la situation et les

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier 7/1986-1987, p. 337-339.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier 20/1965-1969, pp. 344-345.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier 17/1973-1975, p. 79.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier 15/pp.247-249.

perspectives des devises des pays occidentaux, devises utilisées dans les opérations commerciales entre pays socialistes et pays industrialisés, par le niveau des intérêts aux crédits et par la situation du dollar américain en tant que devise de réserve<sup>26</sup>. De cette perspective, en décembre 1979, le représentant de la BNR précisait que “*BRI poate aduce o contribuție activă la întărirea responsabilității autorităților monetare din țările a căror monede sunt larg folosite în plățile internaționale, față de comunitatea internațională care folosește monedele în cauză / la BRI pourrait apporter une contribution active à la responsabilisation des autorités financières des pays dont les monnaies sont largement utilisées pour les paiements internationaux, devant les communauté internationale qui utilise lesdites monnaies.*”<sup>27</sup>

La question de la dette extérieure des pays socialistes a été analysée en décembre 1981 par le directeur général de la BRI, Alexandre Lamfalussy, qui a rédigé un commentaire par groupes de pays concernant les modalités de réaliser, par l’intermède du système bancaire international, le financement du déficit de la balance de paiement. Il a montré entre autres que la dette nette des pays de l’Europe de l’Est avait monté de 36,9 milliards de dollars vers la fin de l’année 1978, à 47,8 milliards de dollars en juin 1981, en précisant que les chiffres mentionnés concernaient seulement les crédits bancaires, et non pas ceux gouvernementales ou commerciaux. La situation par pays était néanmoins différenciée. Dans la période en discussion, la dette bancaire nette de la Pologne avait augmenté de 10,0 à 13,6 milliards de dollars, celle de l’URSS de 6,9 à 10,5 milliards de dollars, celle de la RDA de 5 à 7,8 milliards de dollars, celle de la Roumanie de 2,3 à 4,8 milliards tandis que celle de la Bulgarie a baissé de 2,7 à 1,3 milliards de dollars<sup>28</sup>. Il en résultait que même si les chiffres absolus de la croissance de la dette extérieure dans le cas de la Roumanie ne dépassaient pas la dette d’autres pays communistes, proportionnellement ils avaient doublé dans quelques années. La situation était d’autant plus difficile qu’il existait des retards de paiements à la BRI et aux entreprises de commerce extérieur.

En ce qui concerne l’administration et le remboursement de la dette extérieure de la Roumanie, les contacts directs entre les représentants de la BNR et ceux de la BRI ont occasionné l’échange d’opinions avec les banquiers étrangers et ont permis de faire connaître la position de la Roumanie. Par conséquent, vers 1985 on peut constater une amélioration de la crédibilité des autorités roumaines dans le monde financier international, à mesure qu’on arrivait à rembourser une partie de la dette extérieure. Les officiels de la BRI montraient, en juin 1986, que la consolidation de cette position était conditionnée par l’habileté d’éviter les retardements des paiements à terme. On recommandait entre autre d’accroître les recettes et les réserves de devises utilisables en cas d’urgence, par exemple quand

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier 3/1979-1980, p. 186-190.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier 29/1979-1984, p. 495-497.

les débiteurs de la Roumanie n'étaient pas en mesure d'honorer leurs obligations dans les délais<sup>29</sup>.

Une année plus tard, cette attitude s'accompagnait de l'invitation faite à la Roumanie par les banquiers étrangers de contracter de nouveaux crédits. En juin 1987, plusieurs représentants des banques occidentales faisaient des appréciations favorables à l'adresse de la Roumanie au sujet des excellents résultats obtenus dans l'effort de réduire la dette extérieure, ce qui a déterminé une nouvelle amélioration de la crédibilité du pays sur le marché financier international. Cette prémisse permettait, parallèlement à la réduction de la dette extérieure, de contracter de nouveaux crédits pour assurer l'importation de technologies et la modernisation de certaines branches et entreprises. On pouvait ainsi gagner, suivant les remarques des banquiers étrangers, de nouveaux revenus en devises et donc la possibilité de continuer la réduction de la dette extérieure avec des efforts moins pénibles<sup>30</sup>.

Pourtant ce genre de suggestions n'a pas été accepté par les autorités de Bucarest qui désiraient le paiement intégral de la dette extérieure, nonobstant les coûts d'une telle décision. Au début de l'année 1988 on a initié des démarches pour les paiements en avance des crédits obtenus de la BRI, dans le but de réduire de 40% le solde du crédit non-remboursé en francs suisses et de récupérer la commission d'ouverture des lignes de crédit<sup>31</sup>. Les négociations ainsi ouvertes avec les officiels de la BRI n'ont pas produit les résultats escomptés. Il y avait la possibilité de paiement en avance des crédits reçus par la Roumanie, mais le paiement devrait être fait en les mêmes devises utilisées au moment où on avait obtenu le crédit et sans réduction des soldes.

Les représentants de la BNR ont été conseillés de ne pas solliciter la discussion de leurs points de vue dans le Conseil d'administration de la BRI, puisqu'une telle approche aurait pu nuire à la crédibilité de la banque centrale de Bucarest. Au moment où elle aurait sollicité de nouveaux crédits, la BNR pouvait avoir à affronter une demande de garanties supplémentaires tandis que jusque là l'institut roumain d'émission avait bénéficié de la part de la BRI du traitement appliqué aux actionnaires<sup>32</sup>. L'échec de cette démarche a largement démontré les limites des rapports entre les deux banques.

Les officiels de Bucarest n'avaient qu'à accepter les conditions ainsi imposées par la direction de la BRI pour éviter de nuire à l'image de la BNR devant l'institution de crédit de Basel et implicitement à sa propre crédibilité sur le marché international.

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier 2/1984-1986, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, dossier 16/1984-1988, pp. 249-230.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 19.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 31-32.

#### 4. Conclusions

Dans l'ensemble des relations internationales de la Banque Nationale Roumaine, les rapports avec la Banque des Règlements Internationaux occupent une place à part dû tant à leur ancienneté qu'à leur spécificité. En tant que première institution de crédit international à laquelle la BNR est devenue actionnaire, l'obtention de cette qualité de la part de la BRI a imposé la modification du Statut de la banque centrale de Bucarest au sens d'un élargissement de ses possibilités d'agir sur le marché international. En connexion avec sa qualité d'actionnaire à la BRI, la BNR a pu rentrer dans le monde financier international après la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale et le changement de régime politique à Bucarest. Par l'intermédiaire de la BRI, les officiels de Bucarest ont eu une voie directe de connaître les attitudes des représentants de la finance internationale à l'égard de la Roumanie et de promouvoir les intérêts du pays en établissant des relations avec d'autres institutions de crédit dans le but d'obtenir des prêts nécessaires au développement de l'économie nationale.

Traduction du roumain par Alina Pavelescu

## “*Hrisovu*”, 1941-1947: Scholarship in a Time of Crisis

Paul E. Michelson

At the end of November, 1940, Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, Director General of the *Arhiva Statului* [State Archives] and Director of the *Școala de Arhivistică* [School of Archivistics] in Bucharest, presented his annual report<sup>1</sup>. In it, he announced the forthcoming inauguration of a new scholarly journal for the *Școala de Arhivistică* to complement the *Arhiva Statului*'s own journal, the *Revista Arhivelor*<sup>2</sup>.

These were not the most auspicious times for initiating new academic endeavors. Indeed, rarely had the Romanian Kingdom seen grimmer days. The 1930s machinations of King Charles II had backfired, both internally and externally<sup>3</sup>. World War II had broken out in September 1939, marking the final collapse of the League of Nations and the full reassertion of brutal power politics as epitomized by the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop pact<sup>4</sup>. The shocking defeat of France – the main architect and support of the Versailles system – in June 1940 led to a Soviet ultimatum to Romania that had resulted in the amputation of Bucovina and Bessarabia from the Romanian state. This was followed by the disastrous August 1940 Vienna arbitration which stripped Romania of the Southern Dobroudja and Northern Transylvania; in two months Romania had lost a third of its pre-war territory and population. The precipitous departure of King Charles from Romania in September 1940 in a hail of bullets had culminated in the establishment of the National Legionary state under General Ion Antonescu in collaboration with the fascist hoodlums of the *Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail* [Legion of the Archangel Michael]<sup>5</sup>. The murders of numerous interwar Romanian luminaries ensued, including Nicolae Iorga and Virgil Madgearu. And, as if these political crises were not enough, in November 1940, Romania was devastated by the most powerful earthquake ever to strike the country.

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<sup>1</sup> Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare (1 Ianuarie-31 Decembrie 1940)*, “*Revista Arhivelor*”, 4 (1940-1941), p. 335-378, dated 24 November 1940.

<sup>2</sup> Which had appeared sporadically since 1924.

<sup>3</sup> For a summary, see Rebecca Haynes, *Romanian Diplomacy Towards Germany, 1936-1940*, London, 2000.

<sup>4</sup> See my *The Nazi-Soviet Pact and the Outbreak of World War II*, “*Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*”, 31 (1992), p. 65-102.

<sup>5</sup> See Dennis Deletant, *Hitler’s Forgotten Ally: Ion Antonescu and His Regime, Romania 1940–1944*, London, 2006.

Sacerdoțeanu's report reflected these calamities. "This has been the year of great misfortunes which have fallen upon our country one after another," misfortunes which naturally also impacted the national archives<sup>6</sup>. As Romanian state structures were hastily uprooted in Bucovina, Bessarabia and Transylvania, it had proved impossible for them "to evacuate anything from the very important archives in Cernăuți and Chișinău ... [while] from Năsăud we have not been able to find out anything."<sup>7</sup> Though they were able to transport most of the Transylvanian archives from Cluj to Romanian held Sibiu, they could not avoid the damage inherent in such a move<sup>8</sup>. Finally, archival facilities in Craiova and Iași were impacted by the earthquake<sup>9</sup>.

Remarkably, many Romanian scholars were not daunted by this avalanche of disasters. Sacerdoțeanu was one of these. He was convinced that despite all of the difficulties confronting them, Romania's archivists would continue to move their work forward. Indeed, these hardships only seemed to spur them toward greater efforts on behalf of their country and people<sup>10</sup>.

The perceived obligation on the part of scholars to act as tribunes of the Romanian nation is one of the perpetual themes – and poignant dilemmas – of Romanian culture. This stance led to a continuous struggle between "civic passion and intellectual scruple."<sup>11</sup> From the Romanian Middle Ages, "The image of the scholar withdrawn in the quiet of his office, far from the passions which agitate society, and trying to decipher the meaning of history *sine ira et studio* was always more of an aspiration than a reality. The historian has always been a child of the citadel, to whose destiny his work is tied."<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, that citadel seemed to be almost continually under siege. Sacerdoțeanu and his archival colleagues perforce

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<sup>6</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Dare de seamă*, "Revista Arhivelor", 1940-1941, p. 335. Abundant documentary materials for the period under consideration are provided in the "Revista Arhivelor"'s "Cronica arhivelor", and "Diverse" rubrics, Sacerdoțeanu's annual reports, and the "Partea administrativă" and "Informații" rubrics of *Hrisovul*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 335. Cf. *Diverse*, "Revista Arhivelor", 4 (1940-1941), p. 204, which concludes "We hope that we will find them intact upon our soon return."

<sup>8</sup> Idem, *Dare de seamă 1940*, "Revista Arhivelor", 1940-1941, p. 335. See further the annexes to Sacerdoțeanu's report dealing with Cluj, pp. 362-363, Chișinău, pp. 374-376, and Cernăuți, pp. 376-378. For losses during the move from Cluj to Sibiu, see idem, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1941 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, "Revista Arhivelor", 5 (1942-1943), pp. 190-194.

<sup>9</sup> Idem, *Dare de seamă 1940*, "Revista Arhivelor", 1940-1941, annexes for Bucharest, p. 345, Iași, p. 365, and Craiova, p. 373.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 335.

<sup>11</sup> Al. Zub, *Biruit-au gândul (note despre istorismul românesc)*, Iași, 1983, p. 11, and p. 9-34 for an elaboration. Also useful is Alexandru Dușu's discussion of the philosopher-patriot in Romanian culture. See his *European Intellectual Movements and Modernization of Romanian Culture*, Bucharest, 1981, p. 70 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Al. Zub, *Biruit-a*, 1983, p. 32-33.

subscribed to the same fortress mentality, though in circumstances where others were much more unrestrained.

The new publication was to be named “*Hrisovul*”, a title derived from “*hrisov*”, the name for the impressive high acts of Romanian medieval chancelleries, lavishly decorated with seals and calligraphy; that is, one of the major pieces of Romanian archivistics<sup>13</sup>. Between this announcement and the actual appearance of “*Hrisovul*” in late 1941, Romanian history underwent a few more of its contortions. The failed Legionary uprising in January 1941 brought about a rout of the green-shirts and the installation of the Antonescu military dictatorship which would last to 1944. This was followed in June 1941 by the opening of the war in the East with the Nazi invasion of Germany’s erstwhile ally, the Soviet Union. Romania joined in the anti-Bolshevik crusade, regaining Bucovina and Bessarabia for its troubles<sup>14</sup>. Needless to say, this expansion of the World War, Romania’s direct involvement in it, and continued internal political turmoil further complicated life for the *Arhiva Statului*<sup>15</sup>.

For example, a continuing issue concerned the pulping of archival materials without their having been reviewed by archival specialists<sup>16</sup>. During the Legionary state era of 1940-1941, the problem was aggravated by the fact that discarded documents were to be turned over free to the *Comandamentul Legionar al Materiilor prime* [The Legionary Command of the Raw Materials], which doubtless had very little interest in preserving documentary materials from the preceding regimes and a high interest in making money<sup>17</sup>. This was strenuously protested by Sacerdoțeanu, who pointed out that such supposedly charitable donations had accelerated the loss of Romania’s documentary heritage, especially those in foreign languages and the

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<sup>13</sup> “Hrisov”, in *Dicționar al științelor speciale ale istoriei. Arhivistică, cronologie, diplomatică, genealogie, heraldică, paleografie, sigilografie* (ed. by Ionel Gal), București, 1982, p. 133.

<sup>14</sup> Leading Sacerdoțeanu to celebrate this as a good year for the Romanian people: “Our institution has recovered its patrimony in Cernăuți and Chișinău, while the country has restored its boundaries, thanks to the power of the Romanian army and the unequalled spiritual power of Marshal Ion Antonescu. These are pages of epic written with Romanian blood and decisiveness, which the chroniclers of our times will write forever in the annals of our history.” A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Dare de seamă 1941*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1942-1943, p. 166.

<sup>15</sup> For 1940-1941, see *Cronica Arhivelor. 1 Septembrie 1940-31 August 1941*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 4 (1940-1941), pp. 449-467; and annexes to A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Dare de seamă 1941*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1942-1943: for Cluj-Sibiu, p. 190-194; and for Chișinău, p. 198-206. The 1941 report for Cernăuți was subsequently published in idem, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1942 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 5 (1942-1943), p. 419-420.

<sup>16</sup> See the decrees of the *Consiliul de Miniștri* [Council of Ministers], 1 November 1938 and 3 June 1939 in *Cronica arhivelor. Decrete regale, Jurnal al Consiliului de Miniștri, Decizii Ministeriale și comunicate oficiale (1 Oct. 1938-31 August 1939)*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 4 (1936-1939), p. 436-437. And in April 1940, the *Arhiva Statului* had reported that regional archival materials were being destroyed, discarded, and pulped without any sort of control by experts. See *Cronica Arhivelor. Sept. 1939-31 August 1940*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 4 (1940-1941), p. 201-202.

<sup>17</sup> Decree of 10 January 1941, *Cronica*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1940-1941, p. 451.

Cyrillic alphabet. Such a process “is extremely costly to national historical interests ... of the *Arhiva Statului*, and, thus, of the state itself.”<sup>18</sup>

Volume 1 of “*Hrisovul*”, sub-titled *Buletinul Școalei de Arhivistică* [The Bulletin of the School of Archivistics], appeared in December 1941, under the editorship of Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu<sup>19</sup>. Its program statement<sup>20</sup> began by noting the perilous times through which the Romanian people were passing. Sacerdoțeanu observed that Romanian historical periodicals were plentiful: why yet another? The answer was that “*Hrisovul*” would be much narrower in scope than the others, concentrating on the historical document both for itself and as a historical source. In addition, it had the practical scope of providing an organ for the *Școala de Arhivistică*, whose mission was to follow in the tradition of the renowned *École des Chartes* in Paris. The basic commitments of this mission were summarized by Sacerdoțeanu as “Erudition, Probity, and Abnegation.”

The founders of the *Școala de Arhivistică* had planned such a journal from the 1920s. Thus, the new review’s subject matter closely followed the profile of its institutional parent, including the publication of historical documents, textual editions, studies of the special or auxiliary sciences of history, and material related to the education and preparation of archival specialists<sup>21</sup>. The main points of *Hrisovul*’s program included:

1. an emphasis on method and works of an archivist nature: “studies of the smallest detail ... the description, analysis and indexing of archival fonds, catalogues, bibliographies, and surveys of library holdings.” In other words, the kind of painstaking works of abnegation that one could expect from archivists;
2. works of erudition, such as textual studies and editions and other foundational materials;
3. critical studies, but stressing objectivity and an irenic spirit. “We have nothing to hide, nothing to fear, probity being the *sine qua non* of our work”;
4. Lastly, the journal was designed to publicize the work of the *Școala de Arhivistică*, “not only how we work, but who we are, what we prepare for, and what we can do.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Cronica*, “Revista Arhivelor”, 1940-1941, p. 451 ff., for the relevant decree and Sacerdoțeanu’s 18 January 1941 response, Nr. 60.

<sup>19</sup> „*Hrisovul*”, 1 (1941), 568 p. + V plates. Registered for publication 24 March 1941. Likely published in December 1941 (see following note). 500 copies printed.

<sup>20</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Cuvânt preliminar*, “*Hrisovul*”, 1 (1941), p. 7-10, signed 25 March 1941. Because of the circumstances alluded to above, this first volume actually appeared in print considerably later, possibly in late December 1941 when a copy of 1 (1941) was sent to the Ministry of Education. Nr. 570, 24 December 1941, “*Hrisovul*”, 2 (1942), p. 279.

<sup>21</sup> “*Hrisovul*”, in *Dicționar* (ed. by Gal), 1982, p. 133. Cf. *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești* (ed. by Ștefan Ștefănescu), Bucharest, 1978, p. 448.

<sup>22</sup> Thus, 1 (1941) included an extensive “*Partea administrativă*”, p. 502 ff., which described the staff of the *Școala de Arhivistică* and the courses taught, listed those who had studied there since its founding in 1924, and reprinted the relevant governmental decrees concerning the school.

The first volume of “*Hrisovul*” was certainly successful in carrying out these desiderata. It opened with a thirty page history of the *Școala de Arhivistică* by its nowretired founding director, Constantin Moisil<sup>23</sup>. This was followed by two erudite pedagogic studies: N. Drăgan on the transcription of Cyrillic texts<sup>24</sup>, and Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu’s introduction to the study of medieval documents<sup>25</sup>. Emil Condurachi<sup>26</sup>, I.-R. Mircea<sup>27</sup>, Dragoș Petroșanu<sup>28</sup>, Sacerdoțeanu<sup>29</sup>, and Ioan Hudiță<sup>30</sup> contributed studies of the detailed, focused type alluded to previously. A third category of publication included works designed for students: H. Stahl on archival preservation and technology<sup>31</sup>, Sacerdoțeanu’s lists of East European rulers<sup>32</sup>, Elena Bogdanovici’s study of inks<sup>33</sup>, and Maria Dumitrescu’s work on the physical health of books<sup>34</sup>.

These studies were followed by fifty pages of learned “*Note și comunicări*”<sup>35</sup>, authored by Sacerdoțeanu, M. Regleanu, Emil Vîrtosu, Alfonso Gallo, Dan Simonescu, Damian P. Bogdan, and Alexandru Elian; twenty pages of “*Note bibliografice*”<sup>36</sup>; an extensive “*Partea administrativă*,” dealing with the life and history of the *Școala*<sup>37</sup>, and a brief news section entitled “*Informații*.”<sup>38</sup> The volume concluded with two comprehensive indices<sup>39</sup>.

All in all, “*Hrisovul*” made a very successful and promising debut, which spoke well for both its editor and the *Școala de Arhivistică*. A typical response was that of Ioachim Crăciun, one of Romania’s leading bibliographical specialists, who enthusiastically greeted the appearance of “*Hrisovul*”, writing “Rarely have I had a greater joy reading a journal or periodical than that I have had reading this *Hrisov*,

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<sup>23</sup> Const. Moisil, *Din istoria Școalei de Arhivistică*, p. 11-45.

<sup>24</sup> N. Drăgan, *Transcrierea textele chirilice*, p. 46-59.

<sup>25</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Introducere în Diplomatică*, p. 60-76.

<sup>26</sup> Emil Condurachi, *Tezaurul de monete argintate dela Măcin*, p. 77-99, a study of some 300 Roman coins.

<sup>27</sup> Ion-Radu Mircea, *Marii logofeți din Țara Românească (sec. XIV și XV)*, p. 117-140.

<sup>28</sup> Dragoș P. Petroșanu, *Hurezi sau Romani. O chestiune de toponimie românească*, p. 192-209.

<sup>29</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Marul ne e fiica lui Mihai Viteazul*, p. 218-240.

<sup>30</sup> Ioan Hudiță, *Franța și Cuza Vodă. Lovitura de Stat proiectată în 1863. După documente inedite*, p. 269-429, with a 52 page documentary annex.

<sup>31</sup> H. Stahl, *Moartea documentelor*, p. 100-116.

<sup>32</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Liste de suverani. Introducere. Împărații din Orient (Bizanț). Împărați din Trapezunt. Turcii și Imperiul Otoman. Grecia modernă. Români. Bulgarii. Sârbii. Ungurii. Polonii. Rușii*, p. 141-191.

<sup>33</sup> Elena Bogdanovici, *Cerneluri și istoricul lor*, p. 210-217.

<sup>34</sup> Maria Dumitrescu, *Sănătatea cărților*, p. 241-268.

<sup>35</sup> “*Note și comunicări*”, p. 430-481.

<sup>36</sup> “*Note bibliografice*”, p. 482-501.

<sup>37</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Partea administrativă*, p. 502-541. This was continued in “*Hrisovul*”, 2 (1942), p. 238-274.

<sup>38</sup> “*Informații*,” p. 542.

<sup>39</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Indice de document*, p. 543-547; and *Indice general*, p. 547-563.

dedicated to the auxiliary sciences of national history.”<sup>40</sup> The contributors included many of the heavyweights and pioneers of Romanian scholarship, especially medievalists<sup>41</sup>. Though its profile was a little hard to distinguish from that of the “*Revista Arhivelor*”<sup>42</sup>, it was obvious that there was more than enough high quality material being produced by Romanian academics – especially those associated with the *Școala de Arhivistică* and the *Arhiva Statului* – to make it well worthwhile.

Thus, it was doubtless with a great deal of dismay that Sacerdoțeanu and his colleagues received the astonishing news at the end of May 1941 that the government was planning to disband “*Hrisovul*”’s parent organization, the *Școala de Arhivistică*. Though Sacerdoțeanu immediately submitted a detailed seven point memoir to the then Minister of National Education, Culture, and Religion, Gen. Radu Rosetti, he was not even invited to discuss the proposal before an 11 October 1941 decree appeared abolishing the *Școala de Arhivistică* under the somewhat mysterious pretext that this was necessitated by the re-acquisition of university institutions in Cernăuți and Chișinău<sup>43</sup>.

“*Hrisovul*” laconically took note of the event as follows: “The *Școala de Arhivistică* has been disbanded; *Hrisovul* will, however, continue to appear with the same program. We wish to be of use to all in continuation in the study of the auxiliary sciences ... The forthcoming volume will go to press in January 1942.”<sup>44</sup>

The council of the *Școala* was somewhat less restrained. Meeting on 31 October 1941, the Council noted that it considered the dissolution of the *Școala* “a great error, lacking in any explanation at all, especially after 17 years of fruitful activity.”<sup>45</sup> On 17 November 1941, following Rosetti’s resignation, Sacerdoțeanu sent a memoir to the ministry asking that the *Școala de Arhivistică* decision be rescinded: “No state, however uncivilized, can leave the preparation of personnel to chance.” The former minister’s failure to provide any kind of explanation was just one more reason for the closing to be overturned. “Our primary and final scope is precisely the investigation, study, and critical diffusion of national historical sources, preparing at the same time for the most dedicated conservation of these resources.”<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ioachim Crăciun, review of *Hrisovul*, “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională din Cluj-Sibiu”, 8 (1939-1942), p. 523.

<sup>41</sup> Nearly two-thirds of the contributors to Vol. 1 garnered entries in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești* (ed. by Ștefănescu), 1978.

<sup>42</sup> See Constantin Moisil, *Un program de muncă*, “*Revista Arhivelor*”, 1 (1924-1926), p. 1-2.

<sup>43</sup> For the decree, related documents, and comments by Sacerdoțeanu, see *Hrisovul*, 1 (1941), p. 533-541. Rosetti was minister from 27 January 1941 to 11 November 1941.

<sup>44</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Informații*, “*Hrisovul*”, 1 (1941), p. 542.

<sup>45</sup> Idem, *Cronica Școalei (1 Sept. 1941-31 Aug. 1942)*, “*Hrisovul*”, 2 (1942), p. 276, Proces Verbal Nr. 2, 31 October 1941.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 277-278, Nr. 346, Memoir of 17 November 1941. He also played the national card, quoting the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, Mihai Antonescu, to the effect that “a Romanian school is needed, based on our national genius, for Romanian achievements, founding national sciences of Romanian thought and life.”, p. 278.

This was followed on 10 December 1941 with an appeal to the new Minister of Education, Ion Petrovici<sup>47</sup>. At the same time, a letter writing campaign was launched to solicit support from Romanian scholars for the refounding of the *Școala*<sup>48</sup>.

Whatever the reason for Gen. Rosetti's hostility toward the *Școala de Arhivistică*<sup>49</sup>, its demise proved to be of short duration. By early 1942, the Minister of Education, Ion Petrovici, had been persuaded to resurrect the *Școala*<sup>50</sup>. A new law reorganizing the 1941 Rosetti reorganization was published on 23 May 1942 which brought the *Școala* back into existence<sup>51</sup>. "*Revista Arhivelor*" noted with some satisfaction: "the *Școala de Arhivistică* has been returned to its rightful place among the special schools of higher education<sup>52</sup>," and Sacerdoțeanu wrote in his annual report "1942 was much better for the lot of our archives."<sup>53</sup>

Let us turn now to Vol. 2 (1942) of "*Hrisovul*"<sup>54</sup>. Sacerdoțeanu began the second volume with additional preliminary comments<sup>55</sup>. "We are not speaking of a change in program. We remain with what we had established in the opening pages of the first volume of our publication; the study and practice of the techniques of the auxiliary disciplines of history." Sacerdoțeanu felt it necessary to explain the seven month hiatus in the functioning of the *Școala de Arhivistică*, a closure without any apparent motive. "No country in the world has a greater need for the preparation of

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 278, Nr. 455, 10 December 1941. Petrovici was minister from 5 December 1941 to 23 August 1944.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 278. Some 49 letters were sent. For more details, see idem, *Alt cuvânt preliminar*, "Hrisovul", 2 (1942), p. 6.

<sup>49</sup> Sacerdoțeanu says he does not know the motive. See his *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1941 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, "*Revista Arhivelor*", 5 (1942-1943), p. 172. There is some reason to believe that the University of București wanted control over higher education in the capital. The 1932 legislation relating to the *Școala* had emphasized the need for the *Școala* to work together with the University ("Hrisovul", 1 (1941), p. 531) while Rosetti's dissolution decree turned over to the Faculty of Letters at the University control of the *Școala*'s program ("Hrisovul", 1 (1941), p. 540). Possibly Rosetti, who had been Director of the *Biblioteca Academiei*, had turf interests of his own.

<sup>50</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Dare de seamă 1941*, "*Revista Arhivelor*", 5 (1942-1943), p. 174, mentions that Petrovici had "promised" to include the *Școala* in a higher education bill under development.

<sup>51</sup> Idem, *Partea Administrativă. II. Material documentar*, "Hrisovul", 2 (1942), p. 236-238, Law Nr. 386, published 23 May 1942. In addition, there was to be annexed to the *Școala* a new Institute of Archivist Studies (p. 237). Letters were sent (Nrs. 66, 67, 68) thanking Ion Antonescu, Mihai Antonescu, and Ion Petrovici for the refounding, pp. 281.

<sup>52</sup> Idem, *Cronica Arhivelor, 1 Sept. 1941-31 Aug. 1942*, "*Revista Arhivelor*", 5 (1942-1943), p. 296.

<sup>53</sup> Idem, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1942 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, "*Revista Arhivelor*", 5 (1942-1943), p. 395.

<sup>54</sup> "Hrisovul", 2 (1942), 306 p. + II plates. 500 copies. The editor's preface is dated 23 May 1942, but the volume did not go to print until June 1943 (information in the back of volume following p. 306).

<sup>55</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Alt cuvânt preliminar*, "Hrisovul", 2 (1942), p. 5-12, dated 23 May 1942.

specialists than ours,” he wrote. Romanian archives were in chaos, the dissipation of her documentary treasures was continuing, and the number of trained personnel was completely inadequate. These needs were beginning to be remedied by the *Școala de Arhivistică* when it was capriciously shut down. Through a letter sent out with “*Hrisovul*”, Vol. 1, Sacerdoțeanu observed, he was able to confirm from numerous responses by Romanian and international scholars the value, necessity, and contribution of the *Școala* to Romanian cultural life. Perhaps this enthusiastic support and these obvious needs contributed to Ion Petrovici’s agreement to the refounding of the *Școala*; now the field of work lay before them<sup>56</sup>.

The second volume was considerably shorter than the first, by more than 250 pages. Most of these pages came from Section I: “*Studii*”. In contrast to Vol. 1, all of these “*studii*” were much more tightly focused on the auxiliary historical sciences. Representative pieces were Al. Iordan’s on book format<sup>57</sup> and H. Dj. Siruni’s on Ottoman nomenclature for Romanian rulers<sup>58</sup>. Other contributors included Constantin I. Andreescu, Damian P. Bogdan, Emil Condurachi, Radu Greceanu, Dumitru H. Muster, Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, and Emil Vîrtosu. Sections II: “*Note și comunicări*”<sup>59</sup>, and III: “*Note bibliografice*”<sup>60</sup>, were also not as rich as those in the first volume. Contributors here included Sacerdoțeanu, Dan Simonescu, and Constant Grecescu. This perhaps reflected a slow down in publication due to the war. Nevertheless, given the circumstances, Vol. 2 (1942) was a worthy product that promised more for the future.

By 1943, things had seemingly normalized for the *Școala de Arhivistică* and “*Hrisovul*”. Earthquakes, both natural and political, had been weathered, two numbers of the journal had been completed, the *Școala* had been scuttled then reopened, and lost territories and archives had been recouped in Bucovina and Bessarabia. Of course this would not last. By 1943, the war was clearly running against the Axis and the Romanians were beginning to explore ways of exiting the war. Sacerdoțeanu’s lecture to open the 1943-1944 academic year was optimistic in tone, as perhaps befitted the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the *Școala de Arhivistică*<sup>61</sup>. Clearly, in retrospect, his faith that the future of the “much tried Romanian nation” was bright seems misplaced. On the other hand, the *Școala* had lasted two decades and survived an attempt to abolish it. It had successfully published a substantial scholarly journal,

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<sup>56</sup> Interestingly, the *Școala* would henceforth be under the didactic and administrative aegis of the Rector of the University of București. *Hrisovul*, Vol. 2 (1942), p. 11. Possibly we have here a compromise which allowed the University the desired degree of control while allowing the Arhiva Statului to have its specialist school.

<sup>57</sup> Al. Iordan, *Ce este formatul de carte*, p. 85-106.

<sup>58</sup> H. Dj. Siruni, *Hașmetlu. Pe marginea titulaturii Domnilor români în cancelaria otomană*, p. 139-202.

<sup>59</sup> *Note și comunicări*, p. 217-226.

<sup>60</sup> *Note bibliografice*, p. 227-230.

<sup>61</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Cuvânt de deschidere ținut în ziua de 11 Nov. 1943*, “*Hrisovul*”, 3 (1943), p. 121-126.

and its financial situation, despite the war, was stronger than it had been in 1938. It had had 843 registered students, of whom 88 completed the courses and 33 had written theses.

Sacerdoțeanu also reviewed the purposes of the *Școala* and its journal. These were the now familiar themes of preparing professional archivists and librarians, of providing training in erudite studies, and of serving the needs of the nation. He made particular mention of the romantic historical views of Florian Aaron and Mihail Kogălniceanu that the study of the past provided the nation with “spiritual arms.” In the end, “we believe that, just as in the past we have stood here unmovable and unshakable for millennia, within ourselves lies the power to make other millennia pass without our people vanishing.”

Work was completed on Vol. 3 (1943) of “*Hrisovul*”, but before it could see the light of day, new disaster struck. During the 7 May 1944 Allied bombing of Bucharest, the volume was destroyed while in press. Only in June 1946 would most of the lost number be reassembled and published<sup>62</sup>. Its contents<sup>63</sup> continued to illustrate the profile laid out in 1941: pieces by Sacerdoțeanu on numismatics<sup>64</sup>, Iosif E. Naghiu cataloging manuscripts at the Blaj library<sup>65</sup>, Elena Bogdanovici on handwriting analysis as a tool in the authentication of documents<sup>66</sup>, as well as articles by Marcel Romanescu and Ion-Radu Mircea<sup>67</sup>. Contributions to the sections on “*Note și comunicări*”<sup>68</sup> and “*Note bibliografice*”<sup>69</sup> included for the first time Sacerdoțeanu’s year-opening address to the *Școala*<sup>70</sup>, but showed a marked decline in participation as all of these notes were provided by Sacerdoțeanu himself.

By 1944, the war front had moved to Romanian territory. The *Școala de Arhivistică* suspended classes in April 1944 because of Allied bombing, not to resume until 27 November 1944<sup>71</sup>. An effort to transport some of the most valuable Romanian archival holdings to safety in Vădeni, Gorj, backfired when one of the three train cars carrying this precious cargo was destroyed in the 4 April 1944

<sup>62</sup> Idem, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1944 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, “*Revista Arhivelor*”, 6 (1944-1945), p. 288; and Idem, *Informații*, “*Hrisovul*”, 4 (1944), p. 159-160 which gives the original contents and noted that part of the delay owed to a lack of Cyrillic type at the printers.

<sup>63</sup> “*Hrisovul*”, 3 (1943), 164 p. + IV plates. 500 copies. Published June 1946 (p. 164).

<sup>64</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Despre circulația monetară la Români în evul-mediu – după documente* –, p. 5-34.

<sup>65</sup> Iosif E. Naghiu, *Catalogul manuscriselor latinești și în limbi moderne dela Biblioteca Centrală din Blaj*, p. 35-74.

<sup>66</sup> Elena Bogdanovici, *Grafometria*, p. 109-120.

<sup>67</sup> The destroyed version of Vol. 3 (1943) contained articles by Damian P. Bogdan on Slavo-Romanian texts and Constantin Moisiu on the seals of Mircea cel Bătrân which did not appear in the restored print version. See *Informații*, “*Hrisovul*”, 4 (1944), p. 159-160.

<sup>68</sup> *Note și comunicări*, p. 121-136.

<sup>69</sup> *Note bibliografice*, p. 136-146.

<sup>70</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Cuvânt de deschidere ținut în ziua de 11 Nov. 1943*, p. 121-129.

<sup>71</sup> Idem, *Dare de seamă 1944*, “*Revista Arhivelor*”, 1944-1945, p. 292.

bombing of the *Gara de Nord* in Bucharest. Additionally, the archive building in Iași was completely destroyed by bombing (fortunately most of the actual archives were elsewhere), and the Bucharest building, though avoiding direct hits, had its roof, doors, and windows damaged<sup>72</sup>. And on 23 August, King Michael had ousted the Antonescu regime, leading to a Soviet occupation of Romania and an armistice on 12 September 1944. Clearly a new page in Romanian history had been turned, one which would lead to the installation of a Communist regime on 6 March 1945, culminating in the abdication of the King and the proclamation of the *Republica Populară Română* on 30 December 1947.

It was in these trying times that the *Școala de Arhivistică* reopened in November 1944 and that a new volume of “*Hrisovul*” appeared. Sacerdoțeanu’s 1944 inaugural – in addition to once more stressing the technical, professional nature of the work of the *Școala de Arhivistică* and its journal through service to others via “work, honesty, and abnegation” – had a more universal tone, concluding: “This is our purpose here: to prepare the study of the foundations upon which the civilization of humankind is built.”<sup>73</sup>

Volume 4 (1944) of “*Hrisovul*”<sup>74</sup> led off with an extensive article by Constantin I. Andreescu that amounted to a defense of the erudite studies approach and the auxiliary sciences of history, and a plea for the continued professionalization of Romanian archival studies<sup>75</sup>. This was followed by an introduction to archival studies by Sacerdoțeanu<sup>76</sup>, a survey of the auxiliary science of genealogy by Mihai Berza, a recent addition to the staff of the *Școala de Arhivistică* and another future luminary of Romanian historiography and Southeast European studies<sup>77</sup>, and a discussion of the terms “*regesit*” and “*rezumat*” by Sacerdoțeanu (including a mild reproach of the Romanian Academy for not taking leadership in this area)<sup>78</sup>. The “*Note și comunicări*”<sup>79</sup> included Sacerdoțeanu’s opening lecture at the Școala for 1944, as well as contributions by Constant Grecescu, N. Ceredarec, and Iosif E. Naghiu. The “*Note bibliografice*”<sup>80</sup> were again solely provided by Sacerdoțeanu. In sum, the articles were genuinely useful; the other sections showed a not surprising degree of haste.

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<sup>72</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 294-297. The fate of archives in Cernăuți and Chișinău by this time was clearly problematic.

<sup>73</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Cuvânt de deschidere ținut în ziua de 21 Noemvrie 1944*, “*Hrisovul*”, 4 (1944), p. 112-116.

<sup>74</sup> “*Hrisovul*”, 4 (1944), 168 pp. 500 copies. The volume does not indicate the printing date, but judging from the contents, it was likely early in 1945.

<sup>75</sup> Constantin I. Andreescu, *Știință și tehnică în istorie*, p. 5-59.

<sup>76</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Introducere în arhivistică*, p. 60-80.

<sup>77</sup> Mihai Berza, *Genealogia – disciplină auxiliară a istoriei*, p. 81-99.

<sup>78</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, ‘*Regesit*’ și ‘*rezumat*’, p. 100-111.

<sup>79</sup> *Note și comunicări*, p. 112-149.

<sup>80</sup> *Note bibliografice*, p. 150-156.

1945, of course, saw the end at long last of World War II. However, as Dennis Deletant has recently pointed out, the Soviet occupation and the subsequent Stalinization of Romania constituted a continuation of the war. “That process ceased on 22 December 1989. On that same day the Second World War also finally came to an end for Romania.”<sup>81</sup> This was reflected in Sacerdoțeanu’s 1945 inaugural at the *Școala de Arhivistică*<sup>82</sup>. In the context of a discussion of the utility of history, he referred approvingly to the work of Marx, the idea of progress, studiously avoided nationalist references, and suggested that history might help us see that “the unity of the planet imposes on us the unitary knowledge of human life.” In the end, history will help us “to contribute to the elimination of barbarism, the return of mankind to humanity, and make us more human.”<sup>83</sup> New days had come, and it was becoming clearer and clearer to many that Soviet influence over Romania would not be short-lived.

The work of the *Școala* led to the publication of the fifth volume of “*Hrisovul*” as well as a public lecture series under the auspices of the Institute of Archivistic Studies<sup>84</sup>. Volume 5 (1945) of “*Hrisovul*”<sup>85</sup> continued the by now familiar pattern of studies, notes and communications, bibliographical notes, and material relative to the *Școala*. Sacerdoțeanu led off with a study on the preparation of archivists<sup>86</sup>. This was followed by topics of a professional type (such as Sacerdoțeanu’s article on the organization of military archives<sup>87</sup>) or related to the auxiliary sciences (such those by Petre Ș. Năsturel<sup>88</sup> and Emil Condurachi<sup>89</sup>). Other contributors included Maria Marinescu, Constant Grecescu, Ion-Radu Mircea, Emil Vîrtosu, Constantin I. Andreescu, and Nicolae Predescu. Sacerdoțeanu, Iosif E.

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<sup>81</sup> D. Deletant, *Hitler’s Forgotten Ally*, 2006, p. 277.

<sup>82</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Cuvânt de deschidere a anului școlar 19 Noemvrie 1945*, “*Hrisovul*”, 5 (1945), p. 152-160.

<sup>83</sup> Compare this with idem, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1945 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, “*Revista Arhivelor*”, 7 (1946-1947), p. 112 ff. which is very pessimistic about “the uncertainty, the state of alarm...[and] the shortages of all kinds”, and doubts whether publications will be possible in the future because of soaring costs. He also noted that the *Școala* opened a month after the end of Christmas vacation because there was no wood to heat the building.

<sup>84</sup> The lecture series, obviously an effort to give the *Școala* more visibility and public recognition, ran from 9 December 1944 to 11 June 1945 and included Constant Grecescu, Damian P. Bogdan, Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, Constantin Andreescu, Mihai Berza, Ion-Radu Mircea, Petre Năsturel, and Maria Holban. They ranged from popularization (Andreescu’s *Comemorarea mișcării revoluționare din 1848*) to the arcane (Berza’s *Causidicus în textele latine medievale*). Cf. *Informații*, “*Hrisovul*”, 5 (1945), p. 202.

<sup>85</sup> “*Hrisovul*”, 5 (1945), 216 p + III plates. 500 copies. Published late 1945 or early 1946.

<sup>86</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Pregătirea arhiviștilor*, p. 5-41.

<sup>87</sup> Idem, *Organizarea arhivelor armatei*, p. 75-89.

<sup>88</sup> Petre Ș. Năsturel, *Un hrisov nou de la Constantin Duca (1702)*, p. 97-105.

<sup>89</sup> Emil Condurachi, *Blazonul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, p. 146-151.

Naghiu, and N. Ceredarec contributed the “*Note și comunicări*”<sup>90</sup> (which contained an unusual number of obituaries), while Grecescu, Maria Dumitrescu, and Sacerdoțeanu did the “*Note bibliografice*”<sup>91</sup>. The somewhat broader participation was welcome; the quality remained high and the focus was clear.

“Hrisovul” and the *Școala de Arhivistică* were now entering into their final years, 1946-1947, as the pace of the Soviet takeover of Romania accelerated<sup>92</sup>. Volume 6 (1946) of “*Hrisovul*” appeared in November 1947<sup>93</sup>. Unfortunately, Sacerdoțeanu’s hope that the journal would be taken over by an editorial committee was not realized and much of the content was the product of his extremely fertile pen<sup>94</sup>. This included an introduction to medieval archaeology<sup>95</sup> and material from Cozia Monastery<sup>96</sup>. His colleagues Mihai Berza and Mircea Tomescu contributed, respectively, pieces on comparative history<sup>97</sup> and a bibliography of chronicler-inspired drama<sup>98</sup>. Other articles were from Constantin Turcu and Sigismund Jakó. The “*Note și comunicări*” and “*Note bibliografice*” were provided by Sacerdoțeanu, Petre Năsturel, and Mircea Tomescu. Volume 6 continued to fill a critical role in Romanian scholarship.

On 5 November 1947, Sacerdoțeanu once more gave the inaugural address at the *Școala de Arhivistică*<sup>99</sup>. He began by saying that “Day before yesterday, I was at a lecture dealing with Soviet historiography in the last thirty years. From this succinct but interesting presentation I was able to note many things which particularly concern us. We need to underline a significant fact: Soviet historiography not only does not restrict the realm of historical studies, but to the contrary, extends it greatly ... It is the merit of historical Marxism to search *to know* everything that has happened *as exactly as possible*.”<sup>100</sup>

This *pro forma* acknowledgment of Romania’s new course and its Soviet occupiers was followed by a lengthy review of Sacerdoțeanu’s stewardship of the *Arhiva Statului* and the *Școala de Arhivistică*, a kind of *pro domo*. He repeated and affirmed the need for the *Școala de Arhivistică* and for its journal. He noted that “All

<sup>90</sup> *Note și comunicări*, p. 152-176.

<sup>91</sup> *Note bibliografice*, p. 177-196.

<sup>92</sup> See my *The East European Revolution Revisited (La révolution de l’Europe de l’Est revisitée)*, “*Revue Roumaine d’Études Internationales*”, 27 (1993), 1-2, p. 49-64. For a brief review of 1946, see A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Dare de seamă despre Arhivele Statului pe 1946 făcută către Consiliul de Perfecționare*, “*Revista Arhivelor*”, 7 (1946-1947), p. 343 ff.

<sup>93</sup> *Hrisovul*, 6 (1946), 200 p. + III plates. 500 copies. Published November 1947 (p. 200).

<sup>94</sup> *Informațiuni*, “*Hrisovul*”, 6 (1946), p. 184.

<sup>95</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Introducere în arheologia medievală*, p. 5-20.

<sup>96</sup> *Idem*, *Din arhiva mănăstirii Cozia*, p. 65-104.

<sup>97</sup> Mihai Berza, *Istorie comparată-istorie internațională-istorie universală*, p. 21-36.

<sup>98</sup> Mircea Tomescu, *Drama de inspirație cronicărească. Repertoriu bibliografic*, p. 37-64.

<sup>99</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Cuvânt de deschidere a anului școlar, 5 Noemvrie 1947*, “*Hrisovul*”, 7 (1947), p. 183-193. No inaugural was published for 1946.

<sup>100</sup> Emphasis in the original.

these works, carried out in difficult circumstances, for the most part during a state of war, have not been easy to do.” Working long days, in freezing or other intolerable conditions, at the sacrifice of free time and ones health, Romanian archivists had gone through a lot in the past nine years, including false rumors, power struggles, and other ‘sordid’ attacks. Yet Sacerdoțeanu declared himself optimistic about the future, a future which could be build on the “solid framework” built over the last decade.

Volume 7 (1947) followed a short time afterward<sup>101</sup>. The first four articles were the standard fare: Sacerdoțeanu on the history of archivistics<sup>102</sup>, M. Guboglu’s catalogue of Ottoman rulers<sup>103</sup>, Sacerdoțeanu on Romanian diplomatics<sup>104</sup>, and Petre Năsturel’s list of Orthodox patriarchs<sup>105</sup>. (The final piece, by Dan Al. Berindei, dealt with 19<sup>th</sup> century Romanian history, perhaps a bit out of place for this journal<sup>106</sup>.) The “*Note și comunicări*”<sup>107</sup> and the “*Note bibliografice*”<sup>108</sup> sections were expanded and included contributions by Sacerdoțeanu, H. Chircă, Constant Grecescu, Teodor Balan, Mircea Tomescu, Petre Năsturel, Iosif E. Naghiu, Irina Bodor, and Ion Constantin Chițimia<sup>109</sup>.

The “*Informații*” section contained further signs of the times: laudatory notices of the founding of the *Institutul de Studii și Cercetări Științifice Româno-Sovietic* [Institute of Romanian-Soviet Scientific Studies and Researches] and of the “amazing progress” of medieval archaeology in Hungary and the USSR<sup>110</sup>. These gestures (and more) of accommodation to the realities of the Soviet occupation proved futile. “*Hrisovul*” ceased publication with Vol. 7 (1947). And in 1948, the *Școala de Arhivistică* was transformed into an *Institut de Arhivistică, Bibliologie și Muzeografie*, which lasted until 1950, when it was absorbed by the University of București<sup>111</sup>.

The accomplishments of Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, the *Școala de Arhivistică*, and “*Hrisovul*” were significant. They kept the fires of scholarship going in wartime. They set the agenda and provided a model for Romanian archivists in the 1940s and thereafter. They trained many of the ‘lost’ or ‘hidden’ generation of Romanian

<sup>101</sup> “*Hrisovul*”, 7 (1947), 260 p. 500 copies. No publication date; probably early 1948.

<sup>102</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Arhivistica*, p. 5-47.

<sup>103</sup> M. Guboglu, *Sultani și mari dregători otomani*, p. 49-136.

<sup>104</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Note de diplomatică românească*, p. 137-146.

<sup>105</sup> Petre Năsturel, *Lista patriarhilor ortodocși: Constantinopol, Alexandria, Antiohia și Jerusalem*, p. 147-168.

<sup>106</sup> Dan Al. Berindei, *Dionisie Pop Marțian și Congresul de statistică din Berlin, Septemvrie 1863*, p. 169-181.

<sup>107</sup> *Note și comunicări*, p. 149-159.

<sup>108</sup> *Note bibliografice*, p. 160-179.

<sup>109</sup> Worthy of note was Sacerdoțeanu’s excitement over the publication of the first “complete” edition in Romanian of Marx and Engels’ *Communist Manifesto*, p. 237.

<sup>110</sup> *Informații*, p. 256.

<sup>111</sup> “Învățământ arhivistic”, in *Dicționar* (ed. by Gal), 1982, p. 148-149.

scholarship of the 1950s-1960s. Sacerdoțeanu's contributions were heroic, often producing major portions of the journal single-handed while busy with his duties as director of both the *Arhiva Statului* and the *Școala*, coping with the difficulties of a world war and a Communist takeover<sup>112</sup>.

Sacerdoțeanu himself described "*Hrisovul*" in 1947 as follows: "It is a beginning attempt in our country to give a professional, technical character to the auxiliary sciences of history, the publication being reserved only for these and for erudite works involved in the criticism of sources ... the review succeeded in establishing its own niche. Questions related to archivalia, bibliography, diplomatica, chronology, numismatics, and paleography thus won their own specific place in Romanian scholarly literature."<sup>113</sup> It was certainly that and more; it is unfortunate that it did not have the opportunity to develop in more propitious and healthier circumstances.

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<sup>112</sup> For more, see "Sacerdoțeanu, Aurelian," in *ibidem*, p. 203-205.

<sup>113</sup> A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Arhivistica*, "Hrisovul", 7 (1947), p. 14.

## The Anti-Communist Armed Resistance on the Southern Slope of the Făgăraș Mountains and the Iezer Mountains. The Groups Led by Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu and Lieutenant Toma Arnăuțoiu (1948–1960) (I)

Dorin Dobrințu

The southern slope of the Făgăraș Mountains together with the Iezer Mountains were largely part of Muscel County by the end of 1940s. These mountain ridges, particularly the first one, comprise the highest mountain peaks of the Romanian Carpathians, and at the installation of the Communist regime they were covered with forests and pastures, while the communication means hardly existed. The inhabitants of the villages settled in the valleys of these mountains – almost exclusively Romanian ethnics – earned their living by exploiting wood and rearing cattle.

Politically speaking, the County of Muscel had been an elective reservoir for the National Peasant Party (NPP) in the inter-war period, but also in the aftermath of World War II, Ion Mihalache being a prominent figure in the region. The instauration of the Communist regime after 1945 led to the escalation of tensions between NPP members and the Communist Party members who had been recruited from the insulated people of that district, especially from the former prisoners held in USSR and returned in the country by Tudor Vladimirescu Division. The hostilities between the members of these two parties ended with human losses<sup>1</sup>. The Liberal Party was also well represented in the area, mainly in the town of Câmpulung. The repression measures taken by the Communist authorities had similar consequences in different parts of the country: the political persecuted became clandestine creating resistance groups.

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<sup>1</sup> For example, on August 9, 1946, the local NPP leaders went to the Court House of Pitești to present their candidate lists for parliamentary elections. The school teacher Popescu, from a village near Pitești, was shot dead right in the premises of the Court House. A similar fate had the solicitor Gheorghe Mihai, from the village of Vâlsănești, the County of Argeș, who was shot dead at daytime in an area between the Court House building and the Tax Administration building of Pitești (*Povestea Elisabetei Rizea din Nucșoara. Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi* (ed. by Irina Nicolau and Theodor Nițu; foreword by Gabriel Liiceanu), Bucharest, 1993, p. 107. I will further quote from the two separate testimonies: *Povestea Elisabetei Rizea*, and *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi* respectively). Gheorghe Șuța from Domenști, a small entrepreneur and local NPP leader was lifted by the Communist Security in 1946 (it seems this happened right in the middle of the November parliamentary elections) or in 1947 and assassinated (*Mărturia Elisabetei Rizea [rudă cu Gheorghe Șuța]*, in Roland Cătălin Pena, «*Cuminșenia pământului*». *La Nucșoara, martiriul adevărașilor luptători anticomuniști continuă*, “Dreptatea”, no 660, 15 august 1992, p. 3; *Povestea Elisabetei Rizea*, p. 17-18, 25; *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi...*, p. 107; Alexandru Marinescu, *Pagini din rezistența armată anticomunistă. Zona Nucșoara-Făgăraș*, “Memoria”, no 7, 1992, p. 47).

The armed anti-Communist resistance on the southern slope of the Făgăraș Mountains and in the Iezer Mountains has been widely debated by the media and relatively studied after the demise of the Communist regime. There were printed several volumes of documents, studies and articles, as well as documentaries. In this study I am approaching the micro-history of the groups led by Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu and Lieutenant Toma Arnăuțoiu. My research is based on records unpublished (from the Archives of the Romanian Intelligence Service) or published in memoirs and testimonies.

## 1. The Gheorghe Arsenescu Group from Dragoslavele (1948)

### 1.1. An innate military: Gheorghe Arsenescu

Gheorghe Arsenescu was born on the 31<sup>st</sup> of May 1907, in the town of Câmpulung-Muscel<sup>2</sup>, in the family of a career officer who had taken part in World War I, had been wounded in the battles of Mărășești in August 1917, and apparently died in a campaign hospital. His three sons embraced the military career, and his three daughters married militaries<sup>3</sup>. The young Gheorghe Arsenescu attended Dinicu Golescu High-school of Câmpulung, No 2 Military School of Infantry Officers of Sibiu, graduating with highest honours (he distinguished as a sharpshooter among others). After training in a frontier guard regiment, he was assigned on his request to the 30<sup>th</sup> Dorobanți Muscel Regiment. From there he left to the War Superior School. After graduation he was sent to Târgoviște in order to perform his military duties as

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<sup>2</sup> Maria Arsenescu-Buduluca, *Sunt soția «teroristului» Gheorghe Arsenescu*, “Memoria”, no 8, [c. 1993], p. 50; Corina Caramete, *Acesta a fost tatăl meu*, interview with Melania Boriceanu, daughter of Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu, “România liberă”, no 1086, 23 octombrie 1993, p. 6; Ion Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *Un erou de legendă: colonel (rezervă) Gh. Arsenescu*, “Memoria”, no 49, 2/2004, p. 82. The text has been previously published in a slightly modified form under the title *Un erou de legendă. Colonelul Gheorghe Arsenescu*, “Analele Sighet”, 8, 2000, p. 565-571. I will further use the version published in “Memoria”; *Luptătorii din munți. Toma Arnăuțoiu. Grupul de la Nușoara. Documente ale anchetei, procesului, detenției* (ed. by Ioana-Raluca Voicu-Arnăuțoiu), Bucharest, 1997, p. 18 (records from the Archives of the Romanian Intelligence Service (further, ASRI), fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 50).

<sup>3</sup> M. Arsenescu-Buduluca, *op. cit.*, p. 50; C. Caramete, *op. cit.*, interview with Melania Boriceanu, p. 6; *O mărturie: cum s-au falsificat alegerile în armată*, interview with captain (in reserve) Petre Cojocaru, brother-in-law of Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu, “Dosarele istoriei”, no 11(51)/2000, p. 43; I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 82. One of Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu’s brothers, Nicolae Arsenescu, a professor at the War Military School, was promoted general in reserve (C. Caramete, *op. cit.*, interview with Melania Boriceanu, p. 6; *O mărturie: cum s-au falsificat alegerile în armată*, p. 44).

officer in the general staff (the 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Division)<sup>4</sup>. Gheorghe Arsenescu married Maria Buduluca from Câmpulung, a graduate from high-school. They had a son<sup>5</sup>.

As an officer Gheorghe Arsenescu proved to be honest, self-determined and energetic. During the uprisings of January 1941 he had a prompt intervention as chief of a tank division banishing the iron-guardists who had seized the Prefecture of Târgoviște and other buildings<sup>6</sup>. According to an account, when Romania entered WWII, the general staff officer Gheorghe Arsenescu voiced his views before some Romanian military commanders, among whom general Ion Antonescu, declaring that Romania would lose the war, being crashed between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia<sup>7</sup>. His conviction was that “*Nici alături de nemți, nici alături de ruși, nu avem nici o șansă. Vom fi sacrificați* / Neither with the Germans nor with the Russians we would stand a chance. We shall be sacrificed”<sup>8</sup>. Arsenescu, however, was a professional military and Romanian patriot, which explains why, according to certain information, he left to the front on his own request<sup>9</sup>. He took part in the battles on the East front as general staff commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Mountain Corps Division. During the battles of Crimea he was severely wounded, being taken back to the country for recovery. He returned to his troops and reached to the Caucasus. In August 1944 he was promoted major<sup>10</sup>, and further on he became lieutenant colonel<sup>11</sup>. After being decorated in 1940 with the “*Steaua României clasa a III-a / 3<sup>rd</sup> class Romanian Star*”, in 1941 he was given the “*Vulturul german / German Vulture*”, and in 1942 he was recommended for the “*Mihai Viteazu*” order<sup>12</sup>.

After August 23, 1944, Gheorghe Arsenescu was designated representative of the Romanian party in the local Commission for the Implementation of the Armistice Convention. In this position Arsenescu strived to defend the Romanian

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<sup>4</sup> M. Arsenescu-Buduluca, *op. cit.*, p. 50; I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 82-83. See also Dan Cătănuș, *Gheorghe Arsenescu (1907-1962)*, “Arhivele Totalitarismului”, no 2/1995, p. 186; *Luptătorii din munți* cit., p. 18 (records from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 50).

<sup>5</sup> M. Arsenescu-Buduluca, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Excerpt from the Sentence no 11/February 12, 1962, given by the Military Court of the Military Region of Bucharest; The request addressed by Maria Arsenescu-Buduluca to the Commission Asserting the Combatant Capacity in the Anti-Communist Resistance. We thank for these documents to the Memorial of Communism Victims and of Resistance, Academia Civică Foundation, in particularly to Miss Ioana Boca.

<sup>6</sup> *O mărturie: cum s-au falsificat alegerile în armată*, p. 43; I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> M. Arsenescu-Buduluca, *op. cit.*, p. 50-51. This account should be given reserved consideration since it is not confirmed by other sources.

<sup>8</sup> C. Caramete, *op. cit.*, interview with Melania Boriceanu, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> D. Cătănuș, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>10</sup> *O mărturie: cum s-au falsificat alegerile*, p. 44; M. Arsenescu-Buduluca, *op. cit.*, p. 51; C. Caramete, *op. cit.*, interview with Melania Boriceanu, p. 6; I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 83; D. Cătănuș, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>11</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 37.

<sup>12</sup> *Luptătorii din munți*, p. 18 (records from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 50); I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

interests, which he partly succeeded<sup>13</sup>. Another function he performed was that of commander deputy of the Muscel Territorial Recruiting Centre<sup>14</sup>. All of these explain why Gheorghe Arsenescu held an influent position in Câmpulung and the County of Muscel<sup>15</sup>.

## 1.2. The settling and activity of the Gheorghe Arsenescu Group from Dragoslavele

In the critical post-war context, Gheorghe Arsenescu considered the option of settling a resistance movement. He established ammunition stores in Dragoslavele and Rucăr<sup>16</sup>. The subordination of government organisations by the Communists, including the army, led to the discharge of Arsenescu on November 2, 1946, with the rank of lieutenant colonel<sup>17</sup>. On August 18, 1947, he was to be put in reserve as colonel<sup>18</sup>.

Gheorghe Arsenescu owned a farm in the village of Mioarele, County of Pitești<sup>19</sup>. Due to his friendship with Nicolae Enescu (former NLP deputy), Ion Constantinescu and others leading Câmpulung Branch of Tătărăscu National Liberal Party, Gheorghe Arsenescu became a member of this political group after the war. He proved to be an active member particularly during the parliamentary elections of November 1946, when he was accredited to a polling station in Câmpulung<sup>20</sup>.

Being pursued for “sabotage” by the Economic Service of the Security of Muscel County, and receiving a penalty of 6 months imprisonment, Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu disappeared from his residence in the summer of 1947. He hid for a while in a small convent named Cetățuia/Cetățue, in the village of Cetățeni, where he had also taken his ammunition<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> *O mărturie: cum s-au falsificat alegerile*, p. 43.

<sup>14</sup> *Luptătorii din munți*, p. 18 (records from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 50).

<sup>15</sup> *O mărturie: cum s-au falsificat alegerile*, p. 43.

<sup>16</sup> C. Caramete, *op.cit.*, interview with Melania Boriceanu, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10762, p. 1 bis; I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 83; C. Caramete, *op. cit.*, interview with Melania Boriceanu, p. 6; D. Cătănuș, *op. cit.*, p. 186-187. A witness argued that Arsenescu had left the army of his own accord (*O mărturie: cum s-au falsificat alegerile*, p. 43).

<sup>18</sup> D. Cătănuș, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

<sup>19</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10762, p. 1 bis; I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>20</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10762, p. 1 bis; Excerpt from the Sentence no 11/February 12, 1962, given by the Military Court of the Military Region of Bucharest. In an interrogatory record, of February 4, 1960, Gheorghe Arsenescu stated that in 1946 he had become a member of Tătărăscu National Liberal Party, assisting in a polling section of Câmpulung-Muscel (*Luptătorii din munți*, p. 18 (record from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 50)).

<sup>21</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p.437; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 1 bis; Excerpt from the Sentence no 11/February 12th, 1962, given by the Military Court of the Military Region of Bucharest. The request addressed by Maria Arsenescu-Buduluca to the Commission Asserting the Combatant Capacity in the Anti-Communist Resistance. We thank for this document to the Memorial of the Victims of Communism and of Resistance, The Civic Academy Foundation, and to Ioana Boca; M.

In spite of him being pursued by authorities, Gheorghe Arsenescu kept relations with Nicolae Enescu, Ion Constantiescu, Ion Purchinescu, etc., land-owners and industrialists, who had been NLP members. In the context of the totalitarian transformation of Romania, they decided to fight for the ousting of the Communist regime. They were hoping for the outbreak of a war between the democratic states and USSR<sup>22</sup>. In the spring of 1948, Gheorghe Arsenescu, Longin Prediou (a close relative of Arsenescu), Constantin Greculescu, Gheorghe Greculescu, Pimen Bărbieru (a former member of the Iron-Guard Movement and the abbot of a small convent in the village of Cetățeni), Petre Cojocaru (from the county of Iași, former officer, and brother-in-law of Gheorghe Arsenescu) had a meeting at the residence of the Purchinescu brothers, in the village of Cetățeni. As far as one can notice, they were people coming from different social environments and sharing different political inclinations. Those taking part in the meeting decided to continue their political activity clandestinely, to set up an anti-Communist organisation, to arm themselves, and to prepare a combat in order to defend liberty and property. Moreover, they decided to create an armed group in the mountain region of the county of Muscel, meant to take open offensive against the Communist authorities. Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu was appointed leader of this armed group. On the same occasion, the participants drafted and made an oath of allegiance to the monarchy, engaging to fight for its restoration and the banishment of the Communist regime<sup>23</sup>. A former member remembered how the partisans had taken an oath that “as long as the Russians lingered in the country, the Romanian tricolour would fly all above the Carpathians”<sup>24</sup>.

Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu recruited in his armed group different people pursued by the Communist authorities for political reasons: Gheorghe Hachentelner (or Hachentzelter or Hachensenler, former mayor), Vasile Săndescu, Petre Diaconescu, Constantin Banu, Traian Marinescu (all registered as iron-guardists by the Securitate), Ion Purchinescu, Gheorghe Purchinescu (members in NLP), Grigore Miron (discharged militaries), Ion Vasilescu, Sever Vasilescu (former industrialists),

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Arsenescu-Buduluca, *op. cit.*, p. 52. See also *Luptătorii din munți*, p. 18 (record from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 50).

<sup>22</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10762, p. 1 bis-2.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, file 2168, p 437-438; see also p. 317; *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 4, 79; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 2; Excerpt from the Sentence no 11/February 12th, 1962, given by the Military Court of the Military Region of Bucharest. See also the testimony of Longin Predoiu, in Vera Maria Neagu, *Eroii anticomuniști n-au dreptul la o cruce sfințită?*, “România liberă”, no 681, June 26, 1992, p. 4; I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 83. Members of the same group were Elena Cojocaru, the sister of Colonel Arsenescu, married to Petre Cojocaru (C. Caramete, *op. cit.*, interview with Melania Boriceanu, p.6), Gheorghe Chiriță, Florian Potcoavă, the teacher Dumitru Burtea, etc. (I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 83), Gheorghe Zechil (M. Arsenescu-Buduluca, *op. cit.*, p. 52).

<sup>24</sup> The testimony of Longin Predoiu, in V. M. Neagu, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

etc.<sup>25</sup>. From the perspective of the Securitate, the political inclinations and social strata featuring the above mentioned men placed them directly in the “enemy of the people” category.

The location for the settling of the camp was found by Arsenescu on Mount Roșu, 5 km eastwards from the Câmpulung-Rucăr road, near the village of Dragoslavele, county of Muscel. A cabin was built storing great amounts of ammunition and food. A part of the ammunition was provided by lieutenant colonel Gheorghe Duteanu. Colonel Arsenescu gave military ranks to the men under his command, instructed them on how to fight and so on<sup>26</sup>. In order to support the group in the mountains, Arsenescu and his men recruited other people. At the same time they carried out an intense propaganda against the Communist regime, with emphasis on the idea of war outbreak inevitability. Through the Purnichescu brothers, Colonel Arsenescu maintained his connections with the former local leaders of NLP Dumitru Alimănișteanu, Nicolae Enescu, Ion Constantinescu, and others<sup>27</sup>.

In the vicinity of Câmpulung, Gheorghe Arsenescu met major Ion Dumitrache, from the Romanian army, giving him instructions on how to create a subversive group within the militaries of the Câmpulung garrison. Dumitrache set up an organisation, which was discovered and annihilated by the Securitate in 1952<sup>28</sup>. Major Dumitrache was to be sentenced to death and executed on May 11, 1952, in Jilava prison<sup>29</sup>.

Arsenescu also received support from his father-in-law, Gheorghe Buduluca, a veteran in the two world wars. Buduluca provided money, food, clothes, medication, and a ZB rifle, and thus became some sort of a courier for the organisation<sup>30</sup>.

In the summer of 1948, the Arsenescu Group planned to take punitive actions against the zealot Communist activists in the region. Petre Diaconescu was an agent of the repressive services, which enabled him to inform the higher authorities of the location where the partisans were hiding. The latter ones learnt about

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<sup>25</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 437-438; also see p. 317; *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 4, 79; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, file 2168, p. 437-438; also see p. 317; *Ibidem*, dos. 9585, p. 4, 79; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 2-3; I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 83. According to certain information, other members in the group on Mount Roșu were: Constantin Stănescu, former officer, from the village of Țigănești, county of Muscel (ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 59); Victor Suicescu, accountant, from the town of Câmpulung, graduate from the Superior School of Commerce, former manufacturer, sympathizer with NPP (*Ibidem*); Ioan Roșca known as Aurică, from the village of Cetățeni, county of Muscel, worker, owning 4 hectares of land, former chief of cell in the Iron-Guardist Movement, then sympathizer with Maniu NPP (*Ibidem*, p. 58).

<sup>27</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10762, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 4. See also I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>29</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 7805, vol. 1, p. 46; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> The request addressed by Maria Arsenescu-Buduluca to the Commission Asserting the Combatant Capacity in the Anti-Communist Resistance; M. Arsenescu-Buduluca, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

Diaconescu's denunciation from Petre Alexiu, chief of Security of Muscel County, they seized him on Mount Roșu and killed him<sup>31</sup>.

Dumitru Apostol, the leader of the iron-guardist group from the Șuici region, County of Argeș, arrived in September 1948 near the village of Suslănești, Muscel County, where the group of Gheorghe Arsenescu was settled at that moment. Although the discussions lasted six days, the two leaders did not come to terms on the unification of the groups they were leading, each of them choosing to take action remotely<sup>32</sup>.

The partisans of the Arsenescu group did not stay in the shanty permanently, but they would go to the town (Câmpulung). They left the mountain shelter in September 1948, and were to come back in the following spring when they thought/hope the war would break. In that case they could have started to take action, which was to block the road linking Bucharest to Brașov. It was later on inferred that Arsenescu had built a different shelter else where, but it was not identified by the Securitate<sup>33</sup>.

Arsenescu's organisation and other armed groups from the country shared many similarities: they were made of discharged militaries, former members of NPP, iron-guardists, priests, wealthy peasants (kulaks); all these groups intended to take action in case of armed conflict. The discrepancies between them were however interesting: apart from Colonel Arsenescu, the other members of his group were not people pursued for their political activities in NPP or the Iron-Guard, for "war crimes" or penal offences. For the first time the partisans counted people coming from the landed gentry (the engineer Radu Rosetti, son of General Rosetti) or having landed gentry roots (the engineer/technician Gheorghe Bosie), as well as the nationalised industrialists (the Purchinescu brothers and Andrei Gheorghe). Again, for the first time an armed group counted members of Bejan National Liberal Party (former Tătăreșcu), people of a particular importance in this political group: Nicolae Enescu, solicitor and former Bejan NLP deputy, Ion Constantinescu, solicitor and former Office Director of Alexandru Alexandrini, Gheorghe Chirita (or Chiriță), pharmacist and member of Bejan Câmpulung NLP Committee, who had strong connections with the leader of the party (Petru Bejan). Meanwhile, no relationship was noticed between the Arsenescu Group and the peasants in the region. For this reason, the Securitate considered it as a mere "izolare de țărâtime / isolation from the peasantry"<sup>34</sup>, a rather strange statement given that the politic police registered

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<sup>31</sup> ASRI, fonds "D", file 10762, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 3-4; *Ibidem*, file 10762, f. 3-4; *Idem*, fonds "P", file 1238, vol. 14, p. 217. We thank to Mrs. Ioana-Raluca Voicu-Arnăuțoiu for this last document (but also for others from the same file, which are to be quoted further on). See also Răzvan Ciolcă, Claudia Căpățână, *Rezistența anticomunistă de pe Valea Topologului. Interviu cu Dumitru Apostol*, "Arhivele Totalitarismului", no 22-23, 1-2/1999, p. 221-222.

<sup>33</sup> ASRI, fonds "D", file 2168, p. 437-438; see also p. 317; *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 4, 79.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, file 2168, p. 438; *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 4. See also I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 83; *Povestea Elisabetei Rizea*, p. 108-109.

itself the existence of a certain number of “kulaks” (4) and poor peasants (8) among these partisans<sup>35</sup>.

According to some 1949 data of the Securitate, the Arsenescu Group had registered 41 members, with the observation that unlike other armed groups, there was not a specific distinction between the real partisans and “sympathizers”<sup>36</sup>. In 1951, in a document issued by the same repressive organisation it was specified that the group counted 100 members in the mountains and the villages down the mountains<sup>37</sup>.

The Arsenescu Group was eventually discovered by the Securitate. 26 arrests were operated (many of them on March 30, 1949), including the discharged captain Petre Cojocaru, lieutenant colonel Gheorghe Duteanu, the abbot Pimen Bărbierul, the solicitors Nicolae Enescu and Ion Constantinescu, the pharmacist Gheorghe Chiriță<sup>38</sup>. The age of the arrested men could have been distributed into the following categories: three of them were aged from 17 to 25, six were aged from 25 to 35, 14 were aged from 35 to 50, and three were over 50. The social structure looked as follows: four were wealthy peasants (“kulaks”), eight were poor peasants, five priests, three tradesmen, two workers, two were “retired clerks”, one discharged military, and one freelancer. From a political point of view, one was a member of Brătianu National Liberal Party, two of Bejan National Liberal Party, two were members of the Romanian Labour Party, while their majority (21) had no affiliation<sup>39</sup>. The Securitate succeeded in capturing from the Arsenescu Group the following ammunition materials: four weapons, 10 machine guns, three pistols and revolvers, 220 cartridges and 50 grenades<sup>40</sup>.

### 1.3. The trial of the Arsenescu Group (Dragoslavele)

The interrogation of those arrested for being members of the Arsenescu Group took place in Pitești, and it was led by Ion Cârnu (former cabman). The accused refused to acknowledge before the Military Court the statements made during the inquiries, and for this reason they were crossed-examined again on December 22, 1949. Together with Dumitrescu, the prison governor, Captain Cârnu

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<sup>35</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 423.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 441.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 317.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 437-438, 442; I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *Refulări din închisoare*, “Memoria”, no 30, 1/2000, p. 120; Cicerone Ionițoiu, *Victimele terorii comuniste. Arestați, torturați, întemnițați, uciși. Dicționar C*, Paper revised by Mihaela Andreiovici and Florin Ștefănescu, Bucharest, 2002, p. 179; C. Caramete, *op. cit.*, interview with Melania Boriceanu, p. 6. In a report by the Securitate of 1949 it was mentioned that in the mountain region of Muscel County there was an armed group led by Ioan Purchinescu, a former member of the Arsenescu Group, which counted 9 people: “kulak” peasants, students and former tradesmen (ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p.408). In further reports of the political police this group is no longer mentioned.

<sup>39</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 423.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 444.

revenge on the arrested (54 in total) locking them in a damp narrow room at the basement of the prison, when there were -15 degrees Celsius outside. The prisoners were subjected to a “*regim de teroare și subnutriție / terror and malnutrition*” regime: they were cudgelled and cursed by the wardens; the meals consisted of “*soi de lături calde cu iz dezgustător / some sort of warm disgusting slops*”, “*apă fiartă, cu câteva bucățele de cartofi în coaja lor murdară, parte chiar stricați, sau fire de varză și gogonele murate / boiled water with few pieces of unpeeled muddy potatoes, some even rotten, or cabbage stalks and pickled autumn tomatoes*”<sup>41</sup>.

Ion Constantinescu was one of those brutally beaten by Captain Cârnu and his assistants, Zanfirescu and Onea. Slapping was nothing compared to sole lashing:

*“Cei doi torționari [Zanfirescu and Onea, D. D.] m-au fixat cu fața în jos pe canapea. Mi-au scos pantofii, m-au legat fedeleș cu mâinile la spate. Mi-au pus în gură un prosop ca să nu urlu. Căpitanul își fuma nervos țigara ținându-mă strâns de picioarele legate ca să nu mă zvârcolesc./ Călare pe mine, Onea îmi strângea mâinile la spate în timp ce Zamfir, frizerul, mă lovea la comanda căpitanului cu vâna de bou. Operația a fost de scurtă durată. N-am putut scoate nici un scâncet. Cu prosopul în gură, abia respiram. O șuviță de spumă albă mi se scurgea din gură. După 10-12 lovituri, n-am mai simțit nici durere, nici fierbințeală. Părțile lovite îmi amorțiseră. Sângele îmi zvâcnea în tâmpale / The two torturers had me face the couch. They took off my shoes, bound my hands tight at the back. They stuffed a towel in my mouth so that I don't wail. The Captain was nervously smoking his cigarette holding my feet tight so that I don't struggle./ Onea had mounted me squeezing my hands at the back while Zamfir, the barber, was cudgelling me under the Captain's order. It didn't last long. I couldn't even wail. With that towel stuffed in my mouth I could barely breathe. A small stripe of foam was streaming out of my mouth. After 10-12 cudgels, I couldn't feel any pain and any fever. The beaten parts had become numb. The blood was pumping up in my temples.”*<sup>42</sup>

Scenes similar to the one described took place for days (especially for evenings and nights)<sup>43</sup>. Captain Cârnu, Lieutenant-Colonel Târziu, and Lieutenant Iordache even framed an execution to Constantinescu, who had been taken out of the town one night. “The ride” was meant to destroy the prisoner's spirits, but not to kill him<sup>44</sup>.

Other apprehensions took place by the end of 1949 or in 1950. For example, Elena Cojocaru, the sister of Gheorghe Arsenescu was apprehended in November 1949<sup>45</sup>. Longin Predoiu, from the village of Dragoslavele, was arrested in 1950. He

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<sup>41</sup> I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 119-120.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 121.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 122.

<sup>45</sup> C. Ionițoiu, *op. cit.*, p. 177; C. Caramete, *op. cit.*, interview with Melania Boriceanu, p. 6.

was severely beaten for two weeks. Forced by the Securitate, the abbot Pimen Bărbieru, of Cetățeni, tried to make him talk (“*Longine, taică, spune tot, că au trădat ceilalți!* / Longin, my dear boy, tell them everything, tell them that the others betrayed!”)<sup>46</sup>.

The first lot of 42 convicts from the Arsenescu Group, trialled twice, was cross-examined for the third time before court, after the action for cancellation lodged at the Supreme Court by Alexa Augustin, the Public Prosecutor of the People’s Republic of Romania. After 17 extenuating sessions, the court increased the penalties of the accused<sup>47</sup>.

Captain Petre Cojocaru was sentenced to 20 years of hard labour and was released in 1964. Elena Cojocaru was imprisoned for 7 years. They had a daughter who was raised by their relatives<sup>48</sup>. The solicitor Ion Constantinescu was sentenced to 16 years of imprisonment, changing 12 detention camps: the Ministry of Interior, Pitești (the Securitate and prison), Uranus, Jilava, Aiud, lead mines of Baia Sprie and Valea Nistrului, Văcărești (the prison-hospital), Gherla, Galați and Botoșani. He was released by a grace-decree on June 24, 1964<sup>49</sup>. Other convicts of the Arsenescu Group included: Nicolae Enescu, Ioan and Gheorghe Purchinescu, Gheorghe Chiriță, Florian Potcoavă, Ionel Dumitrescu-Lazea, Gheorghe Cotenescu, the priest Iosif Mușatescu (brother of the writer Tudor Mușatescu), Radu Rosetti; we do not know the total of their penalties<sup>50</sup>. Sentenced by the Communist justice, Longin Predoiu spent 15 years in the Communist prisons<sup>51</sup>.

## 2. The Gheorghe Arsenescu-Toma Arnăuțoiu Group in the region of Nucșoara (1949)

From the group of Dragoslavele 15 people were not arrested, including two of the subversive group founders, Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu and Quarter Master Grigore Miron<sup>52</sup>. From mid-December 1948 to March 1949 Gheorghe Arsenescu hid in Bucharest where his wife had rented an apartment. During this period, the Colonel met Nicolae Enescu, Ion Constantiescu, Gheorghe Purnichescu, General Gheorghe Mosiu, pursued for his activity in the organisation named “*Haiducii lui Avram Iancu-Divizia Sumanelor Negre* / The Outlaws of Avram Iancu-The Black Coats Division”, Nicu Nicolae, former industrialist and member of NPP, Ion Dumitrescu called Lazea, former landowner and member of NLP, Gheorghe Andrei, former iron-guardist and industrialist, Iosif Vișoianu, iron-guardist, Toma Arnăuțoiu, “son of kulaks” and

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<sup>46</sup> V. M. Neagu, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>47</sup> I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *Un erou de legendă*, p. 85.

<sup>48</sup> C. Ionițoiu, *op. cit.*, p. 177, 179; C. Caramete, *op. cit.*, interview with Melania Boriceanu, p. 6.

<sup>49</sup> I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *Refulări din închisoare*, p. 120-121.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 120; *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 109.

<sup>51</sup> V. M. Neagu, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 437-438, 442.

former officer<sup>53</sup>. Together with these men, Arsenescu decided to form a new anti-Communist armed group. During several meetings they came to terms on the structure and action plan of the group: it had to be military; the members had to be instructed and armed according to military rules; the recruits had to be known for their anti-Communist stance (probably to avoid the Securitate penetrations); the group had to start guerrilla warfare<sup>54</sup>. Concomitantly, by the end of 1948 – beginning of 1949, Gheorghe Arsenescu and Toma Arnăuțoiu contacted (or attempted to contact, the records show contradictory information) – with the help with Gheorghe Bosie – the US and French legations in Bucharest, revealing their plan to form a resistance organisation. The two diplomatic agencies ensured them that a war between the democratic and Communist states was to break at any time, and the first ones were to provide material support (ammunition and money) to the Romanian resistance<sup>55</sup>.

The region of the village of Dragoslavele could no longer be considered for the settling of the organisation action location. Colonel Arsenescu's group used to operate in that region, but it was now controlled by the Securitate<sup>56</sup>. The camp and action location were therefore settled in the mountain region of the village of Nucșoara, Muscel County, which gave the possibility of deploying vast actions<sup>57</sup>.

### 2.1. The geographic, social and political radiography of Nucșoara (the spring and summer of 1949)

Nucșoara is a village on Doamnei River, on the southern slope of the Făgăraș Mountains, with the houses scattered in orchards and forests. In the late 40s it used to be part of Muscel County. The region was afforested and extremely broken, being a good place to shelter and operate for the partisans<sup>58</sup>.

The most important families in the village of Nucșoara had been ever since the inter-war period those of the teacher Ion Arnăuțoiu and of the priest Ion Drăgoi<sup>59</sup>. Through the very common system of god-father standing, the social liaisons of the foremost people in the rural world were widely spread in Romania during the inter-war and post-war period. A similar situation was in Nucșoara<sup>60</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 9585, f. 4, 79; *Ibidem*, dos. 10762, f. 4; Excerpt from the Sentence no 11/February 12th, 1962, given by the Military Court of the Military Region of Bucharest; The request addressed by Maria Arsenescu-Buduluca to the Commission Asserting the Combatant Capacity in the Anti-Communist Resistance; M. Arsenescu-Buduluca, *op. cit.*, p. 52; *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 109.

<sup>54</sup> ASRI, fond "D", file 9585, p. 4, 79; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 4, 79; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 4-5.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 5.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 4, 79; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 4.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, file 11251, vol. 1, p. 568; Al. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>59</sup> *Povestea Elisabetei Rizea*, p. 21.

<sup>60</sup> For example, Gheorghe and Elisabeta Rizea had Ion Drăgoia as a god-father at their wedding ceremony; he was the priest of the village of Nucșoara (*Ibidem*, p. 21, 28).

Ion Arnăuțoiu also known as Iancu was born on October 11, 1887, in the village of Nucșoara. He was a priest and became a member of NPP before 1944, but he distinguished for his activity in this party particularly during the elections of 1946, when his party accredited him to a polling station<sup>61</sup>. Iancu and Lucreția Arnăuțoiu had five children: Nelu, Elena, Toma, Petre and Anton. The eldest son, Nelu Arnăuțoiu, was a cavalry officer and died on the battle-front in 1944, in Baccisarai, Crimea. He was promoted captain post-mortem<sup>62</sup>.

Toma Arnăuțoiu was born on February 14, 1921, in the village of Nucșoara, Muscel County. Like his elder brother, Nelu, Toma pursued a military career. In 1944 he graduated from the Officers Military School with the rank of sub-lieutenant, and on September 3, 1944, he left for the battle-front with the 3<sup>rd</sup> Roșiori Regiment. He distinguished on the battle-field and was awarded the “*Coroana României*” order (5<sup>th</sup> rank with swords, and “*Virtutea Militară*” ribbon with oak leaves) on November 1, 1944. He was wounded during the battles of December 26, 1944, near Budapest. After a three months hospitalisation he was sent to “*Regina Elena*” 9<sup>th</sup> Guard Regiment.

He was discharged in 1946 and was appointed secretary of NPP-Youth organisation in the village of Nucșoara, distinguishing himself particularly during the elections of 1946. In 1947 he was put in reserve as lieutenant<sup>63</sup>.

Anton Arnăuțoiu was an officer in reserve and his lungs were severely wounded during the battles against the Germans in Băneasa, near Bucharest, on August 24/25, 1944. He was declared disabled (1<sup>st</sup> degree) and he would spend a great part of his life in Romanian sanatoria. In the first post-war years he attended the Law School of Bucharest, being concomitantly the president of NPP-Youth in the village of Nucșoara. Since he was suffering from tuberculosis, he settled in the town of Sighișoara, where the climate was appropriate for him. Due to this reason he was

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<sup>61</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 9585, p.90, 111; *Luptătorii din munși*, p. 757 (records from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 72). In other records, Ion Arnăuțoiu was remembered as a former member of Averscu People’s Party, but also of the National Liberal Party, as well as an “outstanding member of MNPP [Maniu National Peasant Party]” (*Ibidem*, p. 243, record from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 14).

<sup>62</sup> The testimony of Elena Ion (born Arnăuțoiu), in C. Caramete, *Ne vrem pământul înapoi!*, “România liberă”, no 1022, 11 august 1993, p. 7; Răzvan Ciolcă, Claudia Căpățână, *Haiducii Muscelului*, “Arhiva”, supliment de istorie al ziarului *Cotidianul*, no 4 (64), 18 aprilie 1997, p. 7 (interview with Elena Florea, born Arnăuțoiu). We thank Mr. Cristian Vasile for this material; *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 109-110.

<sup>63</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 37; *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 11, 70; *Ibidem*, file 10764, p. 2; *Banalitatea răului. O istorie a Securității în documente. 1949-1989* (ed. by Marius Oprea; introductory study by Dennis Deletant), Iași, 2002, p. 285 (records from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 43) and footnotes 2-4. See also D. Cătănuș, *Toma Arnăuțoiu (1921-1959)*, “Arhivele Totalitarismului”, no 3/1995, p. 210.

not much involved in the “*hora / dance*” (this expression belongs to Cornel Drăgoi) his family and village had to dance<sup>64</sup>.

Petre, the youngest of the Arnăuțoius’ sons, was born on January 16, 1926, in the village of Nușoara, Muscel County<sup>65</sup>. The Securitate would report about him during his trial of 1959 that when he had been a student attending the Commercial High-school of Câmpulung “*a făcut parte din organizația legionară FDC / he had been a member of the FDC iron-guardist movement*”<sup>66</sup>. We do not know whether this information is somewhat true. At any rate, during the elections of 1946 he made propaganda for NPP, being further on considered a member of this party<sup>67</sup>. He was married to Victoria Năstase, a native of the village of Corbi<sup>68</sup>.

The priest Ion Drăgoi was born on October 20<sup>1</sup>, 1900, in the village of Vălsănești. He attended both the Seminary and the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of Bucharest. He settled in Nușoara in 1926 and became a member of NPP in 1932. He was devoted to his community and was deeply involved in its social problems<sup>69</sup>. One of his sons, Cornel Drăgoi, was 22 in 1949 and a student in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year at the Faculty of Letters – University of Bucharest. His dream was to become a philologist<sup>70</sup>.

Another important family in Nușoara was that of the teacher Virgil Marinescu, married to Ecaterina Marinescu. They had two children, Ion and Alexandru Marinescu<sup>71</sup>. Titu and Maria Jubleanu were registered in the Securitate records as a family of poor peasants<sup>72</sup>. This family was to play an important role in further events. One of their children, Constantin Jubleanu, would distinguish along his parents.

Maria Plop was born on September 14, 1927, in the village of Prisecani, Iași County. By the end of the war, when a part of Moldavia was supposed to be cleared out, the young woman of Prisecani arrived in the village of Nușoara, in the spring of 1944, and became a servant for the Arnăuțoius<sup>73</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> The testimony of Elena Florea (born Arnăuțoiu), in C. Caramete, *op. cit.*, p. 7; R. Ciolcă, C. Căpățână, *op. cit.*, interview with Elena Florea (born Arnăuțoiu), p. 7; R. Ciolcă, *Anton Arnăuțoiu (1924-2000)*, “Arhivele Totalitarismului”, no 28-29, 3-4/2000, p. 220-221; *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 109-110.

<sup>65</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 9585, p. 70; *Ibidem*, file 10764, p. 2.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 25, 70.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 25; *Ibidem*, file 10764, p. 2.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*, file 10764, p. 2.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 61, 71; *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 147-148.

<sup>70</sup> The testimony of Cornel Drăgoi, in R. C. Pena, *op. cit.*, p. 3; and in *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 110; also in Irina Nicolau, *A doua mărturie a lui Cornel Drăgoi*, “Revista de Istorie Socială”, II-III, 1997-1998, p. 245.

<sup>71</sup> Al. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>72</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10764, p. 2. See also I. Nicolau, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

<sup>73</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 246, 249; *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 70; *Ibidem*, file 10764, p. 2; *Ibidem*, file 11251, vol. 2, p. 614; *Luptătorii din munți*, p. 727 (records from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 81). The people of Nușoara knew that Maria Plop had come to that region in 1944

The region of Nucșoara was seized by the same fears after 1944: fear of Communists, of Russians, of land confiscation and collectivisation, of being all forced to eat “*la cazan / from a pail*”<sup>74</sup>. The people of Nucșoara earned their living cleaving wood, raising poultry and cattle, tilling the small piece of land they had. The nationalisation implemented by the Communist regime in 1948 was also a blow to the wood-owners or to those entrepreneurs exploiting the wood. Gheorghe and Elisabeta Rizea were among them. The feeling of injustice and of pillage sponsored by the government deeply affected these people who considered property as a sign of social success, of self-respect<sup>75</sup>.

## 2.2. The creation of the “*Haiducii Muscelului / Muscel Outlaws*” organisation

In March 1949, Gheorghe Arsenescu and Toma Arnăuțoiu went to Nucșoara, and contacted teacher Ion Arnăuțoiu, priest Ion Drăgoi, Nicolae Milea, teacher Virgil Marinescu, teacher Lemnaru, teacher Alexandru Moldoveanu (awarded the “*Mihai Viteazu*” order during the battles in the Caucasus Mountains), Gheorghe Rizea, Gheorghe Popescu, Cornel Drăgoi (former NPP member), Constantin Popescu (former NLP member), Petre Arnăuțoiu, Titu Jubleanu, Ion Preda, Constantin Samoilă, Nicolae Samoilă (all of them considered iron-guardists by the Securitate), Aurel Chirca, Ion Chirca, Benone Milea, Maria Plop, Maria Jubleanu, Marina Chirca, Ana Simion, Elisabeta Rizea etc. They were all given details of the plans for creating an anti-Communist organisation and its objectives, and then recruited within the resistance<sup>76</sup>.

The member of this group made an oath of allegiance before the priest Ion Drăgoi in the house of Petre Arnăuțoiu and Gheorghe Rizea. Those who vowed were: Ion Drăgoi, Gheorghe Arsenescu, Toma Arnăuțoiu, Petre and Victoria Arnăuțoiu, priest Virgil Marinescu, Gheorghe and Elisabeta Rizea, Ion Chirca and his two sons, Titu and Maria Jubleanu and their son Constantin, the college graduate Benone Milea, the peasant Constantin Popescu (born in Oltenia), and the driver Nicolae Ciolan (also a new comer in the village)<sup>77</sup>. The oath was made according to the directions given by Gheorghe Arsenescu:

“*În numele lui Dumnezeu Atotputernicul și pe sfânta cruce eu... [and the name was uttered, note by D.D.]/ Jur să mă fac haiduc, de bună voie și nesilit de*

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during the clearing of the eastern part of the country, but they did not know precisely where she came from, some thought she was Bessarabian (see *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 164).

<sup>74</sup> *Povestea Elisabetei Rizea*, p. 48-49.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 25.

<sup>76</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 9585, p. 5, 80; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 5. See also Al. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 48; *Povestea Elisabetei Rizea*, p. 26; *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 109, 148. Although Cornel Drăgoi was in Bucharest to study, when he learned the organisation was created by the partisans, he returned home joining the resistance (The testimony of Cornel Drăgoi, in R. C. Pena, «*Cumînțenia pământului*», p. 3; and in *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 110; and in I. Nicolau, *op. cit.*, p. 245).

<sup>77</sup> *Povestea Elisabetei Rizea*, p. 28; Al. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

*nimeni, pentru a lupta la salvarea și eliberarea Patriei și neamului, din ghearele fiarelor comuniste-bolșevice și de sub jugul greu al rușilor./ Jur credință Majestății Sale Regele Mihai I, Regele tuturor românilor;/ Jur credință Guvernului liber al Patriei;/ Jur supunere și ascultare, fără murmur și fără șovăire șefilor haiducilor;/ Jur săucid fără milă și fără cruțare pe toți streinii și ticăloșii, care ne-au trădat țara și vândut Patria și neamul și au adus dezastrul țării;/ Jur să nu mă despart de frații mei de luptă, decât după victoria finală;/ În caz de trădare sau de călcare a jurământului, să fiu ucis atât eu, cât și întreaga mea familie./ Așa să-mi ajute Dumnezeu / In the name of God the Almighty and the Holly Cross, I ... swear to become an outlaw on my own accord, to fight, rescue and save our Country and nation from the claws of the Communist-Bolshevik beasts and from the Russian oppressive yoke./ I swear to be loyal to His Majesty the King Mihai I, the King of all Romanians;/ I swear to be loyal to the free Government of our Country;/ I swear to be loyal and submissive to the outlaw captains without a murmur and a waver;/ I swear to kill mercilessly and ruthlessly all the villains that betrayed and sold our Country and nation bringing it to ruin;/ I swear not to separate from my brothers in arms, after our final victory only;/ In case of betrayal or perjury of this oath, I should be killed together with my family./ So help me God.”<sup>78</sup>*

The priorities were to arm, recruit as many members, prepare military and politically in order to take armed actions provided a war would break, and the Communist regime would be overthrown<sup>79</sup>. Once recruited, the previous political affiliation was not considered. A former member declared:

*“Această mișcare nu a fost nici țărănistă, nici liberală, nici legionară, ci anticomunistă și antirusească / This movement was neither Peasant nor Liberal nor iron-guardist, but anti-Communist and anti-Russian.”<sup>80</sup>*

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<sup>78</sup> *Luptătorii din munți*, p. 83 (records from ASRI, fonds “P”, fle 1238, vol. 2). The oath was to be known under different forms (ASRI, fonds “D”, file 8600, vol. 1, p. 22; *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 5-6, 15, 80). The partisans were responsible for the mission accomplishment (the anti-Communist fight) “*în fața comandanților, a țării și neamului / before their commanders of the country and nation*”. (*Ibidem*, file 8600, vol. 1, p. 22). In case of oath breaking, both the accused and his family were liable of death penalty “to the 9<sup>th</sup> generation” (*Ibidem*, p. 23), under the reserve that this was however a common rhetoric in the popular milieus. One of the partisans – who used the conspirative name of Radu Craiu” – wrote the “*Jurământul Haiducului / Outlaw’s Oath*”, a ballad made of six four-line stanzas. The divine intervention was invoked in the battle against the enemy: “*Întărește brațul meu/ În momentul cel mai greu/ Să răpun fiara păgână/ Peste Țara mea stăpână/ Pe dușmanul blestemat/ Ca haiduc ce am jurat/ Să-lucid fără cruțare/ Să-l dau afară din hotare / Strengthen my arm/ When it’s most rough/ To kill the pagan beast/ That rules over my country// The damned enemy/ As an outlaw/ To kill ruthlessly/ To chase them over the borders*”. In the last part of the ballad the promise to bind by vow took the form of self-damnation in case of betrayal (*Ibidem*, f. 25).

<sup>79</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 9585, p. 5, 80.

<sup>80</sup> *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 111.

### 2.3. The partisans' road of no return

Further to the arrests operated within the members of the Dragoslavele Group (March 30<sup>1</sup>, 1949)<sup>81</sup>, the Securitate discovered on April 1, 1949 the apartment where Gheorghe Arsenescu was hiding in Bucharest. In order to avoid the arrest, he left for Nucșoara together with Toma Arnăuțoiu<sup>82</sup>. Because Gheorghe Arsenescu, Toma Arnăuțoiu, Ion Chirca, Titu Jubleanu etc. were pursued by the Securitate, they decided to withdraw in the mountains, where to build shelters and prepare for attacks against the Communist regime. Those who were not followed were supposed to stay at home and recruit new members, procure ammunition, collect food and clothes, gather information on the internal and foreign political situation, but also on the steps taken by the repressive services against the organisation<sup>83</sup>.

The partisan leaders managed to have on their side someone who had been an outlaw for 14 years: Ion Chirca called the Deserter (since he had run away from the army). He knew the best the mountains in the northern part of Nucșoara, he knew all the hiding places in the woods, "*chiar scorburile / even the hollows*" as the locals would say. Moreover, he was a good shooter, probably mixing a native talent with the long practice of the years he had spent in the mountains, when he must have lived from hunting for the most part<sup>84</sup>.

Gheorghe Arsenescu, Toma Arnăuțoiu, Ion Chirca, Titu, Maria și Constantin Jubleanu, Petre Arnăuțoiu, Maria Plop, Constantin Jubleanu, Gheorghe Chirca, Benone Milea, Elena Chirca, Constantin Popescu, Nicolae Ciolan, and Aurelia Costea armed themselves, brought food (from their supporters too) and settled in the mountains around Nucșoara, where they built shelters to hide<sup>85</sup>.

After the discussions carried by Gheorghe Arsenescu, Toma Arnăuțoiu and Ion Chirca, it was agreed that they should be organized according to a military pattern, in battle groups, platoons, head-quarters, ammunition supply service, and recruiting service. A general order was given in this respect, being read together with all members of the organization. On the same occasion, they all made an oath<sup>86</sup> (most

<sup>81</sup> I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *Un erou de legendă*, p. 83.

<sup>82</sup> Excerpt from the Sentence no 11/February 12th, 1962, given by the Military Court of the Military Region of Bucharest; *Banalitatea râului*, p. 285 (records from ASRI, fonds "D", file 10104, p. 13-44); "*Bande, bandiți și eroi*". *Grupurile de rezistență și Securitatea (1948-1968)*. *Documente* (co-ordinator Florica Dobre, ed. by Florian Banu, Camelia Duică, Silviu B. Moldovan, Elis Neagoe, Liviu Țăranu; introductory study by Florian Banu and Silviu B. Moldovan), Bucharest, 2003, p. 80 (records from Arhivele Ministerului Justiției, Direcția Instanțelor Militare, "penal" fonds, file no 27463, vol. 4, p. 89-93, what follows: AMJDIM); M. Arsenescu-Buduluca, *op. cit.*, p. 53; I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 83-84.

<sup>83</sup> ASRI, fonds "D", file 9585, p. 5, 80.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*, file 11251, vol. 1, p. 536 (f.), 568, 575; *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 114-118; I. Nicolau, *op. cit.*, p. 247. See also *Povestea Elisabetei Rizea*, p. 52.

<sup>85</sup> ASRI, fonds "D", file 9585, p. 5, 80.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 15; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 5.

probably a reconfirmation of the previous one) – pledging loyalty in the anti-Communist fight<sup>87</sup>.

Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu bestowed military ranks to the organization members and also conspiring names that reminded of famous outlaws, as it had been done in the Dragoslavele Group in 1948<sup>88</sup>. Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu considered himself and was recognized as “*comandantul tuturor haiducilor Muscel-Argeș / commander of all the outlaws of Muscel-Argeș*”, known by the name of “Colonel Craiul Făgărașului”<sup>89</sup>. Toma Arnăuțoiu became a captain, known as “Mereanu”, and leader of the “Muscel Outlaws”; Titu Jubleanu was promoted lieutenant, known as “Iancu Jianu”; Petre Arnăuțoiu was promoted senior-sergeant and secretary of the group, known as “Bujor”; Constantin Popescu became also a senior-sergeant, known as “Moangă”<sup>90</sup>. For the training of the group members there were organised both firing sessions with the ammunition supplied and instruction sessions<sup>91</sup>.

As we have already seen, the organisation was named the “*Haiducii Muscelului*”<sup>92</sup>, while the combatants considered themselves “*haiduci / outlaws*”<sup>93</sup>. Over the following years other names were used: “*Gruparea de partizani (haiduci) de pe râul Doamnei / Doamnei River Partisan (outlaws) Group*”<sup>94</sup>, “*Rezistența Națională / National Resistance*”<sup>95</sup>, and “*Partizanii Libertății / Liberty Partisans*”<sup>96</sup>. As for the Securitate, it registered in its records the name of “*banda Arsenescu-Arnăuțoiu / Arsenescu-Arnăuțoiu gang*”<sup>97</sup>.

The Securitate was to learn from its informers that the Arsenescu group had settled on Mount Oticul, at Colțul Cremenii. The new partisan group was formed of kulak peasants, a priest, two teachers, and a few iron-guardists. There were identified 14 (or 16) members, of whom three were women<sup>98</sup>. Based on the information held, the General Directorate of the Securitate sent a battalion of MIA (Ministry of Internal

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 5-6, 15, 80.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 5-6; *Ibidem*, file 10762, f. 5; *Luptătorii din munți*, p. 82-83.

<sup>89</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 8600, vol. 1, p. 22.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibidem*; *Luptătorii din munți*, p. 82-83. See also *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 129.

<sup>91</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 9585, p. 15; *Ibidem*, dos. 10762, p. 5.

<sup>92</sup> *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 108; I. Nicolau, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

<sup>93</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 8600, vol. 1, p. 22-23.

<sup>94</sup> *Luptătorii din munți*, p. 134 (records from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 53).

<sup>95</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 8600, vol. 1, p. 31. See also general-maior Luigi Martiș, general-maior Constantin Mleşniță, colonel Ion Șerbănescu, colonel Ilie Coman, *În slujba patriei socialiste. File din istoria trupelor de securitate*, Ministerul de Interne, Comandamentul Trupelor de Securitate, Serviciul Editorial și Cinematografic, 1980, p. 48. We thank Mr. Romulus Rusan for this paper.

<sup>96</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 8600, vol. 1, p. 33; *Ibidem*, file 11251, vol. 1, p. 347. Vezi și *În slujba patriei socialiste*, p. 48.

<sup>97</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, dos. 2168, *passim*; *Ibidem*, file 9585, *passim*; *Ibidem*, file 10762, *passim*.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibidem*, file 2168, p. 407; “*Bande, bandiți și eroi*”, p. 80 (records from AMJDIM, the “penal” fonds, file no 27463, vol. 4, p. 89-93).

Affairs) in the region so as to round up the rebel group<sup>99</sup>. Witnesses argue that in the area had been brought: mountain corps from Făgăraș to Câmpulung, a Securitate battalion from Găești, but also members of the Securitate offices in the regions of Câmpulung, Pitești, Curtea de Argeș, Onești, Râmnicu-Vâlcea, and from over the mountains. There were thousands of people who quickly installed telephone stations and wires to the mountains. The aim was to “comb” the mountains and control step by step. In Nucșoara there were squads of four or five soldiers led by officers or sub-officers to control the “villains” houses<sup>100</sup>.

Few of the mountain group members (Gheorghe Arsenescu, Toma Arnăuțoiu, Petre Arnăuțoiu, Benone Milea, and Ion Chirca called the Deserter) descended in the night of June 18 to 19, 1949 in Nucșoara, to get supplies from the house of Ion Arnăuțoiu. Here they were caught by a Securitate squad. In the conflict that took place, the Securitate warrant officer Constantin Apăvăloaie and major Florea Lungu were killed. The partisans withdrew in order to the mountain area without having the troops firing back<sup>101</sup>.

On June 20, 1949, Colonel Arsenescu issued general orders (registered in a note-book), promoting all the participants in the event of June 19, 1949: Toma Arnăuțoiu, was promoted from major to captain, since he had been wounded during the conflict of Nucșoara; Ion Chirca was promoted from captain to lieutenant; Benone Milea from warrant officer to sub-lieutenant; Petre Arnăuțoiu, from senior sergeant to warrant officer, the three latter ones “*pentru curajul dovedit în acțiune / for the courage they proved in action*”<sup>102</sup>.

The Securitate operated several arrests within the organization in the morning of June 19, 1949. The priest Drăgoi managed to escape<sup>103</sup>. His son, Cornel Drăgoi, made his escape from a pursuing squad and hid in the lake from the village of Nucșoara. However, one of the villagers evinced him to the Securitate agents and he was seized<sup>104</sup>.

The members of the mountain group carried out an intense anti-Communist propaganda in the region through manifestoes (“*fițiuci cu conținut contrarevoluționar / leaflets containing counter-revolutionary slogans*”), urging the population to disobey the rules enforced and to overturn the totalitarian regime,

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<sup>99</sup> “*Bande, bandiți și eroi*”, p. 80 (records from AMJDIM, the “penal” fonds, file no 27463, vol. 4, p. 89-93). See also Al. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>100</sup> *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 118-119; Al. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>101</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 9585, p. 6-7, 81; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 5; *Ibidem*, file 10764, p. 1; *Banalitatea răului*, p. 285 (records from ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10104, p. 13-44); *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 118-119-120, 126-129; Al. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 48-50.

<sup>102</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 8600, vol. 1, p. 22; *Ibidem*, 10762, p. 5-6; *Luptătorii din munți*, p. 133-134 (records from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 53). See also *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 118, 129.

<sup>103</sup> *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 149-150.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 119-122; I. Nicolau, *op. cit.*, p. 246; *Mărturia Elisabetei Rizea*, in R. C. Pena, *op. cit.*, p. 3

cultivating the hope of war-breaking and so on<sup>105</sup>. For example, on June 26, 1949, they placed slogans on trees and wood paths, stating that they were many and supplied by the Anglo-Americans, etc.<sup>106</sup>.

Two cells of the group attacked in the summer of 1949 the caravans transporting food for the workers in the mountain forestry operations, then the sheepfold on Mount Drăghia, where they collected the food. The day of August 11<sup>th</sup> was marked by the attack performed by the entire Arsenescu Group on the food centre of IPEIL Domnești, where they collected maize flour and all the clothing in stock<sup>107</sup>.

After the repression actions of the Securitate in the summer of 1949, 23 people of this group got away from apprehension including the leaders Gheorghe Arsenescu and Toma Arnăuțoiu<sup>108</sup>. On the initiative of Toma Arnăuțoiu, the members of the organisation decided in June-July 1949 to split into two groups, which would take action separately so as to be efficient. One of the groups – made of 15 people (according to certain data) – was to be led by Gheorghe Arsenescu, while the other – made of eight members – by Toma Arnăuțoiu. The two groups agreed to keep contact and draft joint plans of attack<sup>109</sup>. The Arsenescu (sub)group operated on Doamnei River and the Arnăuțoiu (sub)group on Vâlsan River<sup>110</sup>. From other documents of the Securitate proceeds that the group split in the autumn of 1949 due to some misunderstandings, a part of the members remaining under the command of Gheorghe Arsenescu, while others recognised Toma Arnăuțoiu as leader<sup>111</sup>.

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<sup>105</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 9585, p.6, 81. Such a “fișuică / leaflet” was addressed to militias: “Către purtătorii stelei cu 5 colțuri/ Când porțile temnițelor se vor deschide larg, când cătușe sfințite în sânge de eroi se vor sfărâma, când gloanțele dreptății românești vor șuera liberatoare, din capăt în capăt de țară, voi care azi purtați la caschetă steaua blestemată a satanei moscovite nu veți scăpa/ Nici în mormânt / To the bearers of the 5-edged star/When the gates of the prison are wide opened, when the shackles blessed by the heroes’ blood are broken, when the bullets of Romanian justice whiz the sound of freedom from one country boundary to the other, you with your caps bearing the star of the damned Muscovite Satan will not get away/Not even in your graves”. After being threatened, the militias were urged not to comply with the “tyrants” orders. And: “Voi care v-ați vândut Moscovei, luați aminte: Prigoaniții de azi vor fi judecătorii voștri de mâine / You who sold yourselves to Moscow pay attention: The oppressed of today will be your judges tomorrow.” Signed by the “Rezistența Națională” (*Ibidem*, file 8600, vol. 1, p. 31). Similar manifestoes were addressed to the MIA/ Securitate troops (*Ibidem*, p. 32).

<sup>106</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 408.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 407-408.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 317; *Banalitatea răului*, p. 285 (records from ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10104, p. 13-44).

<sup>109</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 301-302, 317-318; *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 6. See also *Luptătorii din munți*, p. 661 (records from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 49); Al. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>110</sup> Al. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>111</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10764, p. 1; *Banalitatea răului*, p. 285 (records from ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10104, p. 13-44); *Luptătorii din munți*, p. 661-662 (records from ASRI, fonds “P”, file 1238, vol. 49).

### 3. The Gheorghe Arsenescu Group at Nucșoara (summer – autumn 1949)

Although the Arsenescu (sub)group was credited with 15 members in the summer of 1949, it was not any longer signalled in action or with all its members<sup>112</sup>. The known members of the group were: Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu, Ion Chirca together with his sons Gheorghe and Nicolae, Benone Milea, Constantin Popescu, and Nae Ciolan<sup>113</sup>. After the split, only one recruiting took place. Gheorghe Mămăligă called Titi, sub-officer, born in Edineț, Hotin County, was brought into the group by Gheorghe Arsenescu, making an oath on October 16, 1949<sup>114</sup>.

The Securitate managed to recruit Aurel Chirca as agent in the autumn of 1949, he was the connection of the Arsenescu group. Aurel Chirca recruited in his turn Ion Chirca, his brother and member of the group. The latter settled the date when Gheorghe Arsenescu and the other partisans would go to Bughia, Muscel County, to meet the supporters of Câmpulung. The host of the reunion was also recruited and the Securitate installed a station there. Arsenescu became aware from the host's behaviour that something was wrong and so managed to shun the Securitate firing. Only Mămăligă was slightly wounded, but he managed to escape as well<sup>115</sup>. Further to this action, but also to some misunderstandings between Gheorghe Arsenescu and the rest of the group members, he fled the region, hiding with other partisans near Câmpulung<sup>116</sup>.

Ion Chirca was directed by the Securitate to organize a trip for the Arsenescu Group in a pre-established direction so as to go to the forestry operation of Isvorul Surlei, Aurel Chirca being in charge of it. The partisans would walk at night and they would be usually armed, but this time agent Ion Chirca convinced them to leave at day time unarmed. The Securitate organised a trap point where Benone Milea, Constantin Popescu, Nicolae Ciolan and Eugen Chirca were caught on November 1 (or 4), 1949. Ion Chirca was staged an attempt to escape from the trap<sup>117</sup>.

The only ones who had not been caught from the group were Gheorghe Arsenescu and Gheorghe Mămăligă<sup>118</sup>. The Securitate charged Ion Chirca with the pursuit of Mămăligă, so as to eventually reach to Gheorghe Arsenescu, but also to re-establish connection with the Arnăuțoiu group. Certainly, the aim was the annihilation of all partisans<sup>119</sup>. In order to ensure the connection with Ion Chirca, the Securitate made use of agents, their network being disclosed by Marinica Chirca, loyal to the partisans. She warned Gheorghe Mămăligă, urging him to kill Ion Chirca,

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<sup>112</sup> ASRI, fonds "D", file 2169, p. 301; see also p. 318.

<sup>113</sup> Al. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>114</sup> ASRI, fonds "D", dos. 8600, vol. 1, p. 23; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 7; Al. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 49; *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 131.

<sup>115</sup> ASRI, fonds "D", file 10762, p. 6. See also *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 131-132.

<sup>116</sup> ASRI, fonds "D", file 10762, p. 6. See also *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 132.

<sup>117</sup> ASRI, fonds "D", file 9585, p. 35, 41; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 7.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 6; *Ibidem*, dos. 10762, p. 7.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 7.

her brother-in-law, which the Bessarabian did (he shot him) in November 1949<sup>120</sup>. Through Marina Chirca, Gheorghe Mămăligă established connection with the Arnăuțoiu group, where he integrated<sup>121</sup>.

The political police proved to be incapable for a long time to find out what had happened to Ion Chirca. Although he was dead, the Securitate agents believed he was hiding somewhere. For this reason they maltreated the locals, including the children of the disappeared. One of them, Gheorghe Chirca, remembered:

*“Ăla de m-a anchetat pe mine m-a bătut rău de tot, m-a pus pe brânci pe o bancă și m-a luat de la picioare până la cap, să spun unde-i tata. Și eu știam că tata e mort, dar ei nu m-au crezut, au zis că nu vreau să spun. Căpitanul Cârnău m-a bătut mai rău, cu o bâtă / That who interrogated me beat the hell out of me, he had me kneeled on a bench and beat me from bottom to top to tell him where my dad was. And I knew that dad was dead, but they didn't believe me, they said I didn't want to tell them. Captain Cârnău was even worse, he cudgelled me”*<sup>122</sup>.

With the help of Pavel Necula, Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu hid during October-November 1949 in the house of Ion Marinescu from the village of Mioarele (today Mățău), Muscel County. After investigation made, the Securitate reached to Pavel Necula, who being probably subjected to tortures revealed where Arsenescu was hiding. The Colonel's leg was wounded during the Securitate intervention, but he managed to get away<sup>123</sup>. Realising that he had no other possibility to form a new armed group, given that previous one had been completely destroyed, Arsenescu abandoned his activity in the mountains, protecting himself from conspiracy. Indeed, until 1959 the Securitate would not learn anything about where the Colonel was hiding<sup>124</sup>.

In the following period, the Securitate continued to carefully monitor the Arsenescu group, a fact revealed by the consideration it was given in the reports made on the mountain “gangs”. Search was made with impressive forces; new information networks were established to permit the partisan identification, all that with no result<sup>125</sup>.

In February 1951 (but also in July the same year) the Arsenescu group was on top of the Securitate reports of all resistance armed groups in the country, being followed by the Arnăuțoiu and Gavrilă groups. Therefore it is not surprising that

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<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*, file 2168, p. 272, 287; *Ibidem*, file 9585, p. 10; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 7. See also *Mărturia lui Cornel Drăgoi*, p. 164.

<sup>121</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 9585, p. 6, 18; *Ibidem*, file 10762, p. 7; Al. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>122</sup> C. Căpățână, R. Ciolcă, *Grupul «Haiducii Muscelului»*, “Magazin istoric”, no 6, June 1998, p. 43 (interview with Gheorghe Chirca, village of Nușoara, Argeș County, July 1997).

<sup>123</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10762, p. 8-9. See also I. Constantinescu-Mărăcineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>124</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10762, p. 9.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibidem*, file 2168, p. 342, 351-353.

among the duties performed by the “gangs” bureau, the annihilation of this group was a priority. In order to achieve the objective, it had been settled that on March 5, 1951, one Securitate officer would be sent to each of the regional offices of Argeş and Vâlcea, Sibiu and Stalin, where together with the directors they would verify the existing material with reference to these groups and make a joint action plan for their annihilations. The central Militia command was contacted so as to assign tasks to its regional offices to cooperate with the Securitate<sup>126</sup>.

The political police made a series of lists of “bandits” hiding in the mountains with their relatives, of people only suspected of supporting them, etc.<sup>127</sup>. In the autumn of 1950 there had been drafted “nominal lists and profiles” for the first lot of family members, close relatives and acquaintances of the Arsenescu-Arnăuțoiu group members. At the end of November 1950, the Securitate was working on the lists of the “rest” of supporting “elements”<sup>128</sup>. The repressive services would appraise in the following years that the Arsenescu-Arnăuțoiu group had been supported by approximately 200 people: families, relatives, “găzduitori și alimentatori / hosts and suppliers”, most of them kulaks, former members of historic parties from the mountain region of the Muscel County (or Curtea de Argeş district). Of these people, 12 were arrested between 1949 – 1950, the others being followed for holding information<sup>129</sup>.

The Securitate continued to pursue the members of the Arsenescu groups, of both Dragoslavele and Nucșoara, operating many apprehensions<sup>130</sup>. Due to the

<sup>126</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 324; see also p. 283-284.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 21-23; *Ibidem*, file 11251, vol. 1, p. 1-4, 38, 503-504, 507; *Ibidem*, vol. 2, p. 1-3, 485-488, 607-612.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 353.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 21-23; *Ibidem*, file 11251, vol. 1, p. 1-4, 38, 503-504, 507; *Ibidem*, vol. 2, p. 1-3, 485-488, 607-612.

<sup>130</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 244, 272, 285-286, 301, 318. Dumitru Burtea was arrested in early 1951. Due to an occasional piece of information given by an inhabitant from the village of Cetățeni, the district of Câmpulung, Gheorghe (or Ioan) Purnichi was caught. During his interrogation indications were revealed on the place the brothers Ioan and Gheorghe Purchinescu were hiding, the first seized in Buzău, the latter in Bucharest (*Ibidem*, p. 244; see also p. 301, 318). In some of the memoirs it was argued that Gheorghe (or Ioan) Purnichi was a Securitate agent in the Arsenescu group, uncovered and killed by Ion Purchinescu (M. Arsenescu-Buduluca, *op. cit.*, p. 56, 58). In the records of the political police we did not find the confirmation of this statement. Still, from Gheorghe Purnichi it was found that Romu Luca and the brothers Ioan and Sever Vasilescu were hiding in Bucharest or its proximities (ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 245-246). Romu Luca and Ioan Vasilescu were seized in the summer of 1951. From their interrogatory resulted that Ioan Mușatescu from the village of Stoenestî-Muscel was the liaison person of some of those pursued by the Securitate within the Arsenescu group. Inquiries were made in Bucharest at the locations he had lived and it was determined that he had returned to his home village. He was found at this residence of Stoenestî. The “prey” was even richer for the Securitate as in the same location they found Iosif Cotenescu, a former member of the Arsenescu group. At the same time, Constantin Pieleanu was also seized; he was the main liaison agent of the abovementioned (*Ibidem*,

interrogation of the arrested and to the missing evidence of the Arsenescu group in that region (the one from Nucșoara), the Securitate concluded that it no longer hid in the Muscel Mountains, which determined both the pursuit of the “gangs” and of the fugitives secluded in other places in the country. Some of them were arrested or killed during the conflicts with the Securitate in 1951-1952, whereas others were seized only in 1958<sup>131</sup>.

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p. 286, 245-246; see also p. 301, 318). However, in 1951 Ioan Predescu and Grigore Miron were arrested (*Ibidem*, p. 245-246; see also p. 286, 301, 318).

<sup>131</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 272, 245-246; “*Bande, bandiți și eroi*”, p. 546 (records from AMI, fonds “DMRU”, inv. No 7389, file no 34, p. 23-26).

In September 1951, six other persons in the Arsenescu group were pursued based on a plan conceived by the General Directorate of the Securitate and the regional agencies of Argeș, Putna and Timișoara. 29 informers were used in this operation (ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 287, 246). Different materials were used and many direct verification actions were undertaken for the identification of the fugitives and especially of Gheorghe Arsenescu, the most important item missing from the Securitate collection, all without any result. Concomitantly, they proceeded to obtain information from the family members, relatives and close acquaintances (*Ibidem*, f. 245-246).

The six members of the Arsenescu group who were not arrested in August 1952 were: Gheorghe Arsenescu, Victor Suicescu, Ion Andreescu, Sever Vasilescu, Aurel Roșca and Constantin Stănescu. According to certain information, in August 1952, Constantin Stănescu was accompanied by the fugitive Mihai Șerban, a former student sentenced to seven years of prison for iron-guardist activities. Since it was known that the group took no longer action compactly, and his former members had become isolated fugitives scattered all over the country, their pursuit continued individually. The information activity focused on their families, without any results (*Ibidem*, p. 224). Constantin Stănescu and Mihai Apostol Șerban were identified in the spring of 1952 in the village of Topoloveni, where they had managed to escape during a Securitate raid when a militia officer and a Securitate soldier were killed (*Ibidem*, p. 224, 137). In other records, the killing of the two was registered in September 1952 (Marius Oprea (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 287-288, records from ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10104, p. 13-44). For two years no information was known on the other two members (ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 224-225). Gheorghe Arsenescu, Victor Suicescu, both from Câmpulung, and Ion Andreescu, from the village of Schitu Golești, were recruited in an “active information operation” which was to be performed by the agents in their area. It was believed that most of the partisans of the Arsenescu group had left their home villages, and with the help of relatives and acquaintances they were hiding in different places throughout Romania using old connections. Hence, all their relatives and acquaintances were being identified, particularly those of the abovementioned. After identifying these relatives and acquaintances, they would be subject to direct verifications aiming at finding the fugitives. This method proved to be successful in 1951, when six members of the Arsenescu group had been captured. Direct verifications implied in most of the cases the recruitment of the targeted people, who should signal the appearing of the fugitives. In fact, there was a vast “preventive” information network in the pursuit of the fugitives (*Ibidem*, p. 226, 137). The research carried out by the Securitate on the other members of the group led to the identification of some of their relatives and acquaintances in that region or elsewhere in the country. Many of these people were recruited and had the obligation to inform the Securitate in case fugitives would appear (*Ibidem*, p. 137). On October 21, 1952, the Securitate was informed that Gheorghe Stănescu and Mihai Apostol Șerban were hiding in the house of Ioan V. Dinu, in the village of Rădești, Muscel District. During the operation a conflict took place between the Securitate agents and the two partisans. They were deadly wounded; two Daimler Puch pistols and six pocket pistols were found on them. One lieutenant from the Pitești

The members of the Arnăuțoiu group attempted, unsuccessfully, several times along the 50s to re-establish connection with Gheorghe Arsenescu<sup>132</sup>.

(to be continued)

Translated from Romanian by Adina Rățoi

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Securitate Region was shot in action (*Ibidem*, p. 59, 137; *Banalitatea răului*, p. 265, 287, records from ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10104, p. 13-61); “*Bande, bandiți și eroi*”, p. 468, 493, records from AMI, fonds “DMRU”, inv. no 7389, file no 34, p. 342-347, 448-472). It was further established that Stănescu and Șerban had created a support organisation of 30 people, all being arrested (*Banalitatea răului*, p. 288, records from ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10104, p. 13-44). The usage of family members as informers enabled on November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1952 the arrest of Ioan Roșca called Aurica (or Aurică) by the Militia at his home-residence in the village of Cetățeni-Muscel, where he had dug an underground shelter (ASRI, fonds “D”, file 2168, p. 59; *Banalitatea răului*, p. 287, records from ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10104, p. 13-44).

<sup>132</sup> ASRI, fonds “D”, file 10762, p. 8.

# Romania at the Olympics: Women Gymnasts as Ambassadors in Sportswear, 1950s-1970s

Mihaela Wood

Researchers in history, sociology, and anthropology describe the sports stadium as “the spiritual sanctuary of modern worshipper.”<sup>1</sup> Sporting events are more than games and entertainment. Sporting arenas are secular cathedrals; they celebrate liturgies of unity by sharing powerful emotions collectively. Mass sporting events are collective rituals and these events have provided powerful sites where nationalisms unfold and take shape. Sporting events are thus transcendent moments for citizens and nations<sup>2</sup>. Sport is a distinctly modern form of cultural practice, influenced by mass media such as television, radio, newspaper, and magazine coverage. Contemporary media, as an international industry of culture, heightens the public element of sport and fosters enormous popular appeal.

In twentieth-century stadiums and arenas, perhaps more so than other sites, athletes and citizens participated in, and contested, the meanings of national identity and national status. Often these events occurred within international contexts, such as the Olympics or the World Cup. Cheers (and boos), as scholars have demonstrated, show participants’ support (or opposition) to nations. While sports and nationalism historians have nicely shown how events on the athletic field reflect national and international conflicts, we know less about what happens behind the scenes, about the training of the athletes, and about how athletes are expressly used by regimes to further their own goals<sup>3</sup>. Also we know less about how the athletes resist and/or comply with the meanings their respective countries hope to assign to their athletic performances.

I argue that the Romanian government had a specific nationalist agenda for women gymnasts participating at the Olympics, in the second half of the twentieth century, a trend that specifically began during the mid-1950s. First, as representatives of Romanian elite sport, women gymnasts were expected to perform at a high level and thus bring home prestigious medals, which, in turn, would ensure international

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Novak, quoted in *European Heroes. Myth, Identity, Sport* (ed. by Richard Holt, J. A. Mangan and Pierre Lanfranchi), London, 1996, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tribal Identities. Nationalism, Europe, Sport* (ed. by J. A. Mangan), London, 1996; *Sport and International Politics* (ed. by Pierre Arnaud and James Riordan), New York, 1998; Jim Riordan and Arnd Kruger, *The International Politics of Sport in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, New York, 1999; Alain Baimier, *Sport, Nationalism, and Globalization: European and North American Perspectives*, Albany, 2001; *Sporting Nationalisms: Identity, Ethnicity, Immigration and Assimilation* (ed. by Mike Cronin and David Mayall), London, 1998.

prestige for the obscure socialist nation of Romania. Second, Romanian sport officials paid careful attention to the national image these athletes projected abroad. Romanian gymnasts had to be model citizens, with a “correct” moral and ideological profile. Third, members of the Romanian Federation of Gymnastics (RGF), coaches, and Romanian referees used their networking skills to shape a positive attitude towards the Romanian team and Romania itself. They cultivated friendly relationships with international referees who judged gymnastic routines at international competitions. The RGF also used international media to convey positive information about Romanian athletes. Thus, a look behind the scenes of the Olympics shows how Romania relied on international sporting events to construct and promote a specific national image.

It is widely acknowledged that Romania became a powerhouse in women’s gymnastics in the mid-1970s with the astonishing performances of Nadia Comăneci at the Montreal Olympics<sup>4</sup>. Since 1976, as international sports fans can attest, Romanian women gymnasts have consistently ranked in the top tier of the global gymnastics hierarchy, dominating competitions such as the Olympics and the World and European Championships. Less well-known, however, is the fact that Romanian gymnasts frequently placed among the top six nations at the Olympics *before* 1976. This essay focuses on this earlier period that precedes Nadia Comăneci’s celebrated rise to stardom.

At the 1952 Olympics in Helsinki, Finland, the Romanian team placed 9<sup>th</sup> out of 18 nations participating in the women’s competition. This was the lowest position Romanians would ever occupy in gymnastics competitions during the post-World War II history of the Olympic Games. Four years later, at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics in Australia, Romanian women placed third – out of 9 competing nations – and earned 2 bronze medals (1 for the team and another in the individual competition). Elena Leuștean was the first Romanian gymnast to receive an individual medal at the Olympics – not Nadia Comăneci.

Romania’s success continued throughout the 1960s. At the 1960 Rome Olympics, Romania finished 3<sup>rd</sup> out of 27 countries. The women gymnasts earned another team bronze medal, while the top Romanian gymnast, Sonia Iovan, placed fifth in the individual competition. In Tokyo four years later, the team’s production fell off, and Romania finished a disappointing, though still strong, 6<sup>th</sup> place out of a field of 23 participating countries. Due to the retirement of valuable gymnasts and the lack of highly-qualified replacements, Romanian sports officials assumed that women’s gymnastics team would not win any medals in 1968, nor would it qualify among the top teams. Thus, they withdrew the women’s team from the Mexico City games. Hoping to build better success during the 1970s, the RGF instead turned its attention toward building contacts with coaches from the Soviet Union and Japan, who were, at that time, the leading powers in women’s and men’s world gymnastics.

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<sup>4</sup> On Nadia Comăneci’s career see, among others, Ioan Chirilă, *Nadia*, Bucharest, 2002 and Nadia Comăneci, *Letters to a Young Gymnast*, New York, 2004.

During 1969, the Romanian Ministry of Education and Instruction designated the city of Onești to be the host for the first Romanian gymnastics school. (This is where Bela Karolyi discovered Nadia Comăneci.) The Romanian team reappeared at the Olympics in Munich during 1972, and the women finished as the 6<sup>th</sup> team out of 23. While the Romanian team did not reach the podium between 1964 and 1972, the women's gymnastics team and coaches laid the foundation for the profound successes of 1976. In Montreal, Romanian women gymnasts received the team silver medal; and Nadia Comăneci literally "stole the show," earning the first "perfect 10" in the history of the Olympic Games. Since 1976, until 2004, Romanians were a constant presence on the Olympic podium, sharing it with the powerful Soviet Union (later Russia) and the United States. At the 1980, 1988, and 1992 Olympics, Romanian women's team won silver medals, in 1996 it placed 3<sup>rd</sup> overall, and at the 2000 and 2004 Olympics Romanian gymnasts won Olympic golds for the team. All these team triumphs were accompanied by tens of gold, silver and bronze Olympic individual medals in the individual all-around competitions, as well as in the vault, beam, uneven bars, and floor exercise finals.

Although the Romanian gymnastics team never won the Olympic gold or silver before 1976, the results were nonetheless important. Ranking high at the Olympics meant making Romania more visible, that is more noticeable abroad. As the leader of the Romanian delegation to the 1956 Melbourne Olympics noted, "Our country is no longer a part of the anonymous 70 countries that participate at the Olympics. Romania became a top-ranking country in the global sports... We have to make all the efforts to maintain and strengthen the prestige we attained."<sup>5</sup> Romania was not unique in its sporting policies, however. It followed the pattern introduced by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Eastern European communist bloc, which used sport as a battleground with Western nations during the Cold War<sup>6</sup>.

Good results were important for the Romanian government officials, but medals alone were not enough. Decision makers within the Committee for Physical Culture and Sport (CPCS) wanted to promote the "new type of athlete" abroad – who was, specifically, a model *socialist* citizen who understood Romanian politics, history, and literature<sup>7</sup>. Officials made a considerable effort to train the athletes in the area of well-rounded socialist citizenship. According to a report on the training of the

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<sup>5</sup> "Raportul deplasării lotului olimpic al RPR la Olimpiada de la Melbourne 1956", file 345, p. 35, National Council for Physical Education and Sport Collection, National Archives, Bucharest, Romania (hereafter NCPESC-NA-BRO).

<sup>6</sup> For a recent collection of articles on the topic, see *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War* (ed. by Stephen Wagg and David Andrews), London, 2006.

<sup>7</sup> The Committee for Physical Culture and Sport (CPCS), founded in 1949, was reorganized in 1957 under a new name, the Union for Physical Culture and Sport (UPCS). In 1967 UPCS was replaced by the National Council for Physical Education and Sport (NCPES), which existed until 1989. The phrase "new athlete" can be found in several archival documents and newspapers in the 1950s. It is related directly to the postwar regime's goal to create the "new man/woman" in charge of building communism.

athletes for the 1956 Melbourne Olympics, the athletes were required to spend 1.5 hours of every week studying history, geography, Marxist-Leninist philosophy, current international events, music, literature, and English language<sup>8</sup>. The aim was, as the report noted, “to complete and refresh athletes’ general and political knowledge, and to ensure the minimum level of knowledge necessary to an athlete abroad.”<sup>9</sup> The Committee for Physical Culture and Sport, the Ministry of Culture, Agerpres – the Romanian press agency, and the Institute of Physical Culture provided teachers for these lessons. Officials distributed notebooks to athletes and set up a library with study materials in the training camp.

Athletes’ free time was carefully supervised in order to ensure a “pleasant and favorable atmosphere” necessary for their Olympic preparations. They were encouraged – not coerced – to visit museums and art exhibits, to attend theater performances and lectures offered by the Romanian-Russian Friendship Institute, and to participate in book review/discussion sessions. These activities reflect officials’ desire to educate athletes as model socialist citizens – athletes that would make a good impression during their travels abroad.

Despite these opportunities, gymnasts – and other athletes as well – rarely took advantage of the educational and cultural activities offered. In July 1956, those in charge of organizing athletes’ free time complained that athletes tended to choose “more amusing” types of entertainment: they went to movies (most of them produced in the capitalist countries of the West), and they did not use the library set up for them in the training camp. Moreover, only newspapers with crosswords proved popular among the athletes<sup>10</sup>. Leaders of the Olympic delegation complained about athletes’ “cosmopolitan” views, “political disorientation,” and ignorance of the scientific, technological, and cultural achievements of Romania and the other socialist countries. In one official’s words, “athletes know little about our recent history, about these past twelve years” since the communist takeover in 1944<sup>11</sup>. At the same time, the official noted that, while abroad, gymnasts and other athletes frequently visited historical landmarks, exhibits, museums, but at home visits of this sort did not exist. To improve athletes’ knowledge about Romanian socialism, officials from CPCS proposed visits to heavy industry sites or scientific institutes in Bucharest. The intention was “to improve their political education that in turn would contribute to their patriotic education.”<sup>12</sup>

Archival documents provide a clear record of sport leaders’ efforts to present abroad not only very well-trained athletes, but also cultured citizens who possessed high morals and a solid knowledge of the socialist regime’s noteworthy

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<sup>8</sup> *Darea de seamă asupra stadiului de pregătire a loturilor olimpice, 1 Ianuarie-20 Septembrie 1956* (25 September, 1956), file 355, p. 14, NCPESC-NA-BRO.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 38.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 39. Recent studies see the year 1946 as the date for the communist takeover, with 1944-1946 as a transitory period to the communist regime.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 40.

achievements<sup>13</sup>. Athletes' reluctance to take part in these cultural and educational activities suggest they were focused on the athletic side of their Olympic training, and they were less interested in the ideological aspects that the regime invested in Romania's participation at the Olympiads.

Closely supervising athletes on their trips abroad – especially at the Olympics – was a key part of sports officials' task to present Romania in a favorable light, controlling Romanians' contacts with other athletes and sports officials from other countries. The various sport Romanian federations each appointed an official to organize and supervise trips abroad. Upon their return, they had to submit a written report that explained, in detail, athletes' performances and individual behavior. In addition, the representatives discussed all the details about transportation, accommodations, and contacts the team made abroad. A literary genre in itself, worthy of a further study, these reports gathered valuable information about the organizational capacities of the host-countries, about the personnel in the Romanian embassies who proved very helpful (or not) in facilitating athletes' visits, and provided detailed discussions of athletes' performances during competitions (both good and bad).

Personal characterizations of each Romanian gymnast constituted a very important theme in these reports. Aside from the technical details of the athletes' performances during competitions, the team leader wrote about their overall behavior, unbeknownst to their knowledge. For instance, after participating at the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games, Marius Marcu, head of the Romanian delegation, noted in his report, "Our gymnasts performed well during competitions and had a more constant routine at all apparatuses, as compared to gymnasts from countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia or Japan." Elena Leuștean as Marcu noted did well, but he thought there was room for improvement: "Leuștean's potential is way higher, but she doesn't work as seriously as she could during practice." Further on, the official complained about the unfriendly atmosphere and animosity that plagued the ranks of the women's gymnastics team, despite coaches' efforts to maintain a more collegial atmosphere among the team members. He called attention to "the elitist attitudes of some gymnasts," which negatively influenced the other Romanian gymnasts, now unable to train in an optimal environment<sup>14</sup>. It is clear from these reports that athletes' every move was under careful surveillance and it was recorded in order to correct and prevent any lapses in their behavior.

Leaders of the RGF strategically prepared for gymnasts' participation at the Olympics by making contacts with host-countries in order to build a welcoming environment. Ideally, the RGF hoped a hospitable environment would benefit the Romanian women gymnasts' performances. For example, in 1956, the Federation

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<sup>13</sup> Also worth mentioning is the fact that in their job contracts, gymnastic coaches had to pledge to educate the athletes "in the spirit of loving their country." See, for instance, Nagy Zoltan, *Plan de muncă pe anul 1954*", file 453, p. 112, NCPESC-NA-BRO.

<sup>14</sup> *Raportul deplasării lotului*, p. 23.

sent ready-made articles about Romanian sport, that were to be published, at their request, by Australian newspapers, as well as prestigious European sport periodicals such as *L'Équipe* in France, or *Gazzeta dello Sport* in Italy<sup>15</sup>. These articles, sent via Agerpres, the Romanian press agency, described the overall development of athletic facilities in Romania, offered details about Romanian athletes' training for the Olympic Games, and presented short portraits of the gymnasts who would participate at the Games. Through these publicity campaigns, RGF officials emphasized Romania's gymnastics prowess by informing Olympic host nations and other European countries about the potential for Romanian athletes to win Olympic medals. In addition, press releases provided a very good opportunity to remind the world that Romanian athletes' performances were very much a product of the superior socialist system.

RGF officials also organized special tournaments to gain special attention from the hosts of the Olympic Games. Such was the case with the 1960 Olympics in Rome. Strategically, Romanian planners, together with their Italian counterparts, organized a gymnastics competition in Italy two years before the Games. According to the report submitted after this competition, the Romanians achieved all they had planned for. Emil Ghibu, the chief of the Romanian delegation, wrote that the women gymnasts were successful in building friendly relations with the country that was scheduled to host the Olympic Games in 1960. In his words, "extremely important was the fact that our gymnasts left a very good impression that is conducive of a very sympathetic welcome for Romanians at the Olympic Games in Rome."<sup>16</sup> In this 1958 tournament, Romanians also trained with the Italian women's gymnastics team, which actually provided the Italians with the "necessary and serious support" required to learn difficult gymnastics routines.

Not only did the Romanians help the Italians and cement relationships, but they also managed to cut costs. It proved to be a very economical trip, since all room, board, and transportation expenses were paid for by their Italian hosts. Moreover, the entire Romanian delegation received 120,000 Italian *lire* that covered the Romanians' per diem allowances. In this way, the Romanian Gymnastics Federation was able to accomplish a variety of goals without spending any money from their own (limited) budget.

The Committee for Physical Education and Sport tried to create a favorable environment for Romanian gymnasts by sending gifts to the organizers of the Olympic Games and the other persons of interest in the International Olympic Committee and the International Gymnastics Federation (IGF)<sup>17</sup>. Romanian officials

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<sup>15</sup> *Raportul pentru Jocurile Olimpice din 1956. Divizia economică*, file 327, p. 20, NCPESC-NA-BRO.

<sup>16</sup> *Raport asupra deplasării lotului RPR de gimnastică în Italia, 14-25 iunie 1958*, file 548, p. 44, NCPESC-NA-BRO.

<sup>17</sup> Romanian participation at these meetings, as well as Romanian membership in these organizations meant that Romanian officials dealt with the West on Western terms. On the process of cultural adaptation that Soviet officials experienced as members of the International Olympic

wanted to give gifts that represented the best of Romanian culture. In 1956, as the Melbourne games approached, Romanian sports officials faced the challenging (and costly) task of sending a large delegation with a vast collection of luggage and gifts. Officials wanted to maximize the amount of luggage space that would be devoted to the transportation of gifts to recipients at the games, placing limits on the amount of luggage that the athletes could carry. The documents that recorded the centralized planning of the trip to Melbourne provided a gold mine of information about the gifts to be taken. The Romanian officials counted on 300 kg of gifts that would be brought with the team to Australia. The treasure trove of presents included folk rugs and embroidered tablecloths, wooden gourds and painted wooden cigarette boxes, small dolls dressed in traditional national costumes, stamp albums, fabrics decorated with national motifs, and silk headscarves imprinted with images from the Romanian capital, Bucharest. Two thirds of the goods were alcoholic: 150 liters of Romanian wine and 50 liters of *țuică*, Romanian plum brandy<sup>18</sup>. (Based on archival documents, it is not clear how were these goods distributed.)

Romanians offered gifts whenever delegations of various athletes traveled to competitions abroad. (Foreign guests at Romanian tournaments received gifts as well.) Officials who documented the competitions abroad often wrote about the gifts and their reception among the recipients. “These gifts,” wrote one sport official, “brought an extreme satisfaction to the hosts, who were completely impressed by our offerings.”<sup>19</sup> There were many instances, however, when the Romanian officials complained about the quality and the wrapping of the gifts they had to work with. They blamed the CPCS in particular who handed over the gifts without adequate packaging. These gifts – which included record albums of Romanian music, tablecloths, embroidered blouses and doilies, cigarettes, and bags – were typically crammed into luggage, and, as one official pointed out, “they got so wrinkled, so we could not offer them during the official reception. As much as we would have tried to wrap them in good or bad paper, their aspect was still like a packet from an unskilled butcher.”<sup>20</sup>

The shoddy packaging was in stark contrast with how other non-Romanian delegations, both Western and Soviet bloc, presented their gifts. Although not as valuable as the gifts offered by the Romanian delegation, the other delegations’ presents were wrapped in “original, beautiful” paper, and had the national emblem of their respective countries. Although offering presents was not uniquely Romanian, the fact that Romanian officials were eager to uphold quality standards for these

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Committee see Barbara Keys, *The Soviet Union, Global culture, and the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games*, paper presented to the Conference on Globalization and Sport in Historical Context, University of California, San Diego, March 2005 (in possession of the author).

<sup>18</sup> *Propunere de cadouri pentru Melbourne*, file 355, p. 25, NCPESC-NA-BRO.

<sup>19</sup> *Raport asupra delegațiilor șahiști români participanți la Olimpiada de șah din URSS, 1956*, file 279, p. 293, NCPESC-NA-BRO.

<sup>20</sup> *Raport asupra deplasării echipei de tir a RPR la Copenhaga, Helsinki și Budapesta în perioada 21 iunie -11 iulie 1956*, file 345, p. 92, NCPESC-NA-BRO.

gifts, and sometimes even hoping to upstage other countries, shows how these officials tried to build a favorable reputation for Romania and its athletes.

Romanian officials hoped that networking with international referees would provide a way to bring home good results. The Romanian Gymnastics Federation had a comprehensive plan to gather data about persons of interest in the International Gymnastics Federation (IGF). First, Romanian bureaucrats in the federation identified from among the IGF leaders those who came from the Eastern European communist bloc. They would be approached first. Lists – that survived in the archives – had to include the name of the international official, their country of origin, their position in the international organization, the duration of their mandate in the international organization, and what foreign languages they knew<sup>21</sup>. The next step was to identify within the Romanian federation those coaches and referees who had “personal relationships with officials in the international federation that could potentially influence favorably the Romanians.” The lists compiled in 1958 showed a list of five Romanian officials who had “very good, friendly, principled, or comradely” relationships with referees and officials from Hungary, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia. In the West, Romanian officials had contacts with referees in France, Finland, and Italy<sup>22</sup>. All these officials, perceived as having a friendly attitude towards the Romanians, were invited to attend various competitions in Romania that preceded the Olympic Games<sup>23</sup>.

Another piece of information in the lists compiled by the bureaucrats of the Romanian Gymnastics Federation is especially illuminating: the RGF studied which referees had a so-called “weakness” that could be exploited to Romania’s advantage. For instance, in 1960, judges from Finland, Italy, and France were identified to like “Romanian art,” a Hungarian judge was noted to prefer “stamps and insignias,” and another was observed to be fond of photographs. In the case of Valeria Verpich, a Hungarian judge, it was noted that she liked “to be flattered,” but the document does not reveal how the Romanians might have tried to gain her support, so we can only speculate<sup>24</sup>. What these documents reveal, however, is that Romanian sports administrators took active steps to build relationships with international officials and judges who would favor Romanians in international competitions. This was crucial, as a result of the subjective nature of evaluation in gymnastics. The RGF demanded success in the area of networking.

Women gymnasts, as well as sports officials, were vital ambassadors in sportswear. In addition to direct competition, networking was a key activity that

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<sup>21</sup> *Documente necesare in probleme internaționale in vederea Jocurilor Olimpice – 1960-Roma*, file 384, p. 108, NCPESC-NA-BRO.

<sup>22</sup> *Legături personale în cadrul federației internaționale cu influență pozitivă în favoarea noastră*, file 384, p. 98, NCPESC-NA-BRO.

<sup>23</sup> *Propuneri de invitare în RPR ca arbitri la concursuri internaționale*, file 384, p. 101, NCPESC-NA-BRO.

<sup>24</sup> *Arbitrii streini utilizați în competiții mondiale și jocurile olimpice*, file 384, p. 100, NCPESC-NA-BRO.

accompanied Romanian participation in the Olympic Games. The behind-the-scenes archival record reveals Olympic competition to be a collective, broadly based endeavor, involving athletes, coaches, federation officials, staffers, Romanian referees, and newspaper writers. Their work was visible only once every four years, yet networking and training were continuous. As a result, Romanian gymnastics ranked high at the Olympics throughout the entire postwar period.

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# **“Pour qu’ils payent le tribut aux Turcs”.**

## **Deux documents inédits de Petru Șchiopul pour les monastères du Mont Athos**

**Petronel Zahariuc**

Le destin historiographique de Petru Șchiopul n’a pas été spectaculaire, comme sa personne et son règne. Loué par tous ceux qui l’ont connu, perçu comme un bon prince par les chroniqueurs, il ne s’était pas fait remarqué par des glorieux actes militaires ou par des alliances externes surprenantes, par une grande trahison ou par des sanglantes exécutions. Son portrait a été esquissé pour toujours, en quelques mots, par Grigore Ureche: “il était un prince bienveillant, comme une reine sans épingle”<sup>1</sup>. La raison est expliquée par le même chroniqueur: “il était comme un père aux boyards, il les appréciait et suivait toujours leur conseil. Il était défenseur du pays, généreux envers les pauvres et il confirmait les droits des moines et des monastères et leur offraient des dons”. Ce portrait favorable est renforcé par un hiérarque orthodoxe, Ierotei, métropolite de Monemvasia: “il était un homme doux aux paroles, sévère en ce qui concerne le comportement, adroit pour agir. Il connaissait le turc, le grec et le roumain, il était pour tous un homme rafraîchissant, surtout qu’il était très généreux envers les esclaves, les pauvres, les monastères, les prêtres et les étrangers, de telle manière que tous sont surpris comment on peut trouver dans ces endroits un homme avec un tel esprit, généraux, très sage et très droit dans ses jugements”<sup>2</sup>.

La puissante et sage liaison avec l’Église est évoquée par les auteurs mentionnés ci-dessus, ainsi que par son chroniqueur de cour, le moine Azarie: “les monastères et les moines ont pleinement goûté de la fraîcheur de ses bienfaits et les chants pour la gloire de Dieu ont de nouveau fleuri dans les églises ornées de fleurs”<sup>3</sup>. Le prince s’est bien préoccupé des monastères du pays, surtout de sa fondation de Galata, “devant Iași”, mais il a été très généreux dans “les relations avec les établissements religieux de l’Empire ottoman”<sup>4</sup>. Une place particulière dans les

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<sup>1</sup> *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei* (éd. P. P. Panaitescu), Bucarest, 1955, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Hurmuzaki-Iorga, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, XIV/1, Bucarest, 1915, p. 83-84, no CXLVIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI publicate de Ion Bogdan* (éd. P. P. Panaitescu), Bucarest, 1959, p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> Andrei Pippidi, *Tradiția politică bizantină în Țările române în secolele XVI-XVIII* (nouvelle édition), Bucarest, 2001, p. 256.

cadre de ces relations a été occupée par le Saint Mont Athos; Petru Șchiopul a été “un des princes roumaines qui comptent parmi les grandes protecteurs du Mont Athos”<sup>5</sup>.

Lorsque Petru Șchiopul est mentionné dans un ouvrage historique, on dit surtout qu’il est le premier prince de la famille de Basarabi, qui a été prince en Moldavie. Ce prince, provenant de la branche dynastique de Mihnești, a amené en Moldavie plusieurs coutumes de Valachie et de nombreuses traditions de sa maison princière, qu’il a mélangé avec les coutumes du nouveau pays et avec les traditions des anciennes dynasties moldaves, d’où il descendait, d’ailleurs, par les femmes. En ce qui concerne les liaisons avec le mont Athos, le premier prince de la dynastie de Valachie sur le trône de Moldavie a continué ou a initié des relations avec plusieurs monastères qui se trouvaient sous le patronnage des princes ou des boyards de Valachie, mais il s’est préoccupé de continuer également le support accordé, d’une manière traditionnelle, par les princes et les boyards de Moldavie aux autres monastères athonites.

Ainsi, Petru Șchiopul a été le seul prince moldave qui a accordé un support matériel consistant au monastère athonite Simonopetra, qui avait reçu, au milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, des dons importants de la part des Mircești et des Mihnești. On peut expliquer le don envers le monastère Kastamonitu, qui avait reçu des dons des princes de Valachie, toujours à l’appartenance à la maison princière de Valachie<sup>6</sup>.

Au début de son règne en Moldavie, Petru Șchiopul n’a pas hésité de prendre en charge le bon travail commencé par la princesse Ruxandra et par son fils, Bogdan Lăpușneanu, “le paiement de sommes d’argent demandées par les Turcas chaque année de chaque monastère d’Athos”<sup>7</sup>. Le document a été signalé dans un ouvrage plus ancien par un groupe des moines du Mont Athos et utilisé après par<sup>8</sup>. Récemment, l’acte a été publié par Florin Marinescu<sup>9</sup>. Le 9 février, le prince Petru fait don “aux tous les monastères qui sont sur le Saint Mont Athos, avec 50000 *aspri* chaque an, pour qu’ils payent le tribut aux Turcs”. La somme était élevée pour ce temps, d’autant plus que le prince avait de grandes dettes à l’arrivée dans le pays, qui augmenteraient au cours de son règne<sup>10</sup>.

S’il a continué le travail commencé par Ruxandra, fille de Petru Rareș et femme d’Alexandru Lăpușneanu, Petru Șchiopul a dû se rappeler de celui qui avait offert tant de gloire à La Moldavie et à sa dynastie, Étienne le Grand. Ainsi, le 1 juin

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<sup>5</sup> Petre Ș. Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains. Recherches sur leur relations du milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle à 1654*, Rome, 1986, p. 300.

<sup>6</sup> Petre Ș. Năsturel a remarqué que le formulaire diplomatique de cet acte est analogue à celui utilisé dans la chancellerie de la Valachie (*ibidem*, p. 284-285).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 299-300.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 299.

<sup>9</sup> *Ρομανικά έγγραφα του Αγίου Όρους Αρχείο Προτατον*, Athènes, 2001, p. 41, no 5.

<sup>10</sup> Voir I. Caproșu, *O istorie a Moldovei prin relațiile de credit până la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea*, Iași, 1989, p. 52-62.

1575, le prince confirme au monastère Zograf 100 pièces en or<sup>11</sup>, qui étaient données par les anciens princes: Étienne “le vieux” et sa femme, Maria, Bogdan III, Ștefăniță, Petru Rareș et Alexandru Lăpușneanu<sup>12</sup>. Le monastère Zograf a reçu confirmation pour cette somme également de Ieremia Movilă, le 14 mars 1598, ce qui montre, comme l’a remarqué P. Ș. Năsturel: “que les princes du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle respectaient scrupuleusement la volonté de leur glorieux prédécesseur (l’ancêtre de plusieurs d’entre eux), fondateur de Zografu”<sup>13</sup>.

Un autre monastère du Mont Athos, Dionisiu, a reçu de Petru Șchiopul, le 28 avril 1577, le premier acte de don de la part d’un prince roumain, une aide de 6.000 *aspri* par année<sup>14</sup>. Le 20 février 1579, la même somme a été offerte au Grand Monastère (*Marea Lavră*)<sup>15</sup>. Cette fois-ci, Petru Șchiopul a été le premier prince moldave qui a fait don au premier monastère du Saint Mont Athos<sup>16</sup>. À ce monastère a été au début soumis le monastère Hlincea, à côté de, fondation de Maria, fille de Petru Șchiopul, et de son mari, Zotu Țigara<sup>17</sup>.

Pendant son troisième règne, le 31 décembre 1583, Petru Șchiopul fait don “au grand et saint établissement, le grand monastère (marea lavră) serbe, nommé Hilandar”, 3.000 *aspri*; il sera dans l’avenir le fondateur de ce monastère: “qu’il s’appelle d’aujourd’hui le monastère de notre Seigneurie”. A part ce don, le prince promet que, si le Seigneur et les pouvoirs célestes “auront pitié de nous, afin qu’elles nous enlèvent de la main des étrangers, nous offrirons non seulement ce qui est ci-dessus mentionné, mais aussi davantage”<sup>18</sup>. L’attitude assez nette anti-ottomane est plus soigneusement cachée dans l’acte de don envers le monastère Simonopetra: “pour une autre demande, selon la volonté de Dieu le connaisseur des esprits, je donnerai même la lumière de mes yeux”. Ces actes de don envers l’endroit le plus important dans toute l’Orthodoxie, mais aussi ces expressions avec un sens anti-

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<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 194. Voir aussi Hurmuzaki-Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 49, no CXIX; T. Bodogae, *Ajutoarele românești la mănăstirile din Sfântul Munte Athos*, Sibiu, 1940, p. 219.

<sup>12</sup> Damian P. Bogdan, *Despre daniile românești la Athos*, Bucarest, 1941, p. 12-13.

<sup>13</sup> P. Ș. Năsturel. *op. cit.*, p. 195.

<sup>14</sup> Hurmuzaki-Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 51, no CXXV; D. P. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>15</sup> N. Iorga, *Muntele Athos în legătură cu țările noastre*, “Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii istorice”, s. II, t. XXXVI, 1914, p. 485.

<sup>16</sup> Comme d’habitude, sauf cette somme, le prince a décidé d’accorder la somme de 300 *aspri*, pour les moines qui viendront chaque année dans le pays (P. Ș. Năsturel, *op. cit.*, p. 85); Hurmuzaki-Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 59, no CXXXIII. Avant Petru Șchiopul, un grand boyard, le *hatman* Ion Sturdza, a fait des dons au grand monastère (*Marea Lavra*) (Maria Magdalena Székely, *Sfetnicii lui Petru Rareș. Studiu prosopografic*, Iași, 2002, p. 215).

<sup>17</sup> Nicolae Stoicescu, *Repertoriul bibliografic al localităților și monumentelor medievale din Moldova*, Bucarest, 1974, p. 453-454.

<sup>18</sup> *Documente privind istoria României, A. Moldova, sec. XVI/3*, Bucarest, 1951, p. 234-235, no 290 [DIR]. Petre Ș. Năsturel affirme qu’il pense que “le peuple” de qui le prince moldave voulait s’échapper était celui des Kosaques (P. Ș. Năsturel, *op. cit.*, p. 139).

ottoman masqué, renforcent l'idée que Petru *vodă Șchiopul* avait pensé à la possibilité de commencer la lutte contre les Turcs<sup>19</sup>.

Jusqu'à la mise en pratique de cette attitude, Petru *Șchiopul* a fait don aux moines de Simonopetra, le 9 février 1587, une aide annuelle de 5.400 *aspri*. La date de 9 février peut être mise en liaison avec la datation (toujours le 9 février) de l'acte par lequel le prince avait offert aux monastères du Mont Athos le support de 50.000 *aspri* pour le paiement du tribut envers les Ottomans<sup>20</sup>.

Le dernier document par lequel Petru *Șchiopul* fait don à un monastère d'Athos, est celui où il offre au monastère Kastamonitu un support de 5.000 *aspri* (daté du 24 avril à 24 août 1589)<sup>21</sup>.

Sauf ces dons pour le Mont Athos, Petru *Șchiopul* a offert des aides importantes aux autres monastères du sud du Danube: St. Jean de Patmos<sup>22</sup>, St. Sava de Jérusalem<sup>23</sup>, St. Ecaterina du Mont Sinaï<sup>24</sup>. Le monastère Galata de Jos de Iași a été soumis à ce dernier établissement par le *hatman* Melentie Balica et par sa femme, Ana. À ce monastère voulait se retirer Petru *Șchiopul*, après qu'il a quitté le trône, parce qu'il "avait de l'argent aux moines, mais le chemin vers ce rocher biblique d'ermite menait par Constantinople"<sup>25</sup>, où régnaient les Ottomans. Pourtant, à Constantinople, Petru *Șchiopul* a eu de bonnes relations, puisqu'il avait fait de nombreux dons à la Patriarchie<sup>26</sup> et il était en bonnes relations avec certains patriarches et avec des hauts prélats<sup>27</sup>. Les patriarches de Jérusalem et d'Antichie ont bénéficié, eux-aussi, un support de la part du prince moldave, parce que nous les trouvons en Moldavie au sacré d'Étienne, fils Petru *Șchiopul*, occasion pour le prince de dépenser "jusqu'aux 300 *poveri* de *aspri*"<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Ștefan Andreescu, *Miscellanea. Inițiative secrete ale lui Petru Șchiopul*, "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie «A. D. Xenopol»", XX, 1983, p. 425-427.

<sup>20</sup> P. Ș. Năsturel, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 284-285.

<sup>22</sup> *DIR, A. Moldova, XVI/3*, p. 260-262, no 315 (30 août 1584); pour les éditions de ce document, voir A. Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 256, note 170.

<sup>23</sup> Le 18 avril 1576, le prince fait don au monastère du village de Stroești, district Hârlău (*DIR, A. Moldova, XVI/3*, p. 66-67, no 86), le 4 août 1583, il fait don aux moines de Saint Sava un emplacement à Iași, afin qu'ils érigent une église (Ioan Caproșu-Petronel Zahariuc, *Documente privitoare la istoria orașului Iași*, I, Iași, 1999, p. 35-38, no 23). Le 5 mai 1575, le moine Gavril, ancien grand *vistiernic* de Moldavie, a fait don au monastère une vignoble dans le Copou (*ibidem*, p. 25-27, no 16).

<sup>24</sup> Ioan Caproșu-Petronel Zahariuc, *op. cit.*, p. 44-45, no 28.

<sup>25</sup> N. Iorga, *Prefață*, in *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor. Acte din secolul al XVI-lea (1517-1612) relative mai ales la domnia și viața lui Petru vodă Șchiopul*, Bucarest, 1900, p. LXXIV.

<sup>26</sup> Ainsi, le prince a fait don à la Patriarchie ses maisons de Constantinople, achetées de Ralli (Hurmuzaki-Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 47-49, no CXVII), puis il a fait don au Patriarche Ieremia plusieurs choses "très utiles pour la cuisine" ayant toutes le nom et la stème de son règne, ayant imprimée une tête de bœuf selon la tradition" (*ibidem*, p. 49-50, no CXXI).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 59, no CXXXIV (lettre du vicaire patriarcal Meletie Pigas).

<sup>28</sup> Narration de Ierotei, métropolite de Monemvasia (*ibidem*, p. 85, no CXLVIII).

Les deux actes de don que nous publions, très peu connues jusqu'à présent, le premier pour tous les monastères du Mont Athos, le deuxième pour le monastère Simonopetra, montrent que, malgré les graves malentendus politiques provoqués par les Kosaques et par les nombreuses interruptions de son règne, Petru Șchiopul a essayé toujours d'accorder une aide à la Chrétienté orientale, en tant qu'un de ses grand protecteurs. Pendant son règne, certains monastères d'Athos reçurent ce support pour la première fois, tandis que les autres, qui se trouvaient sous le patronnage de la Valachie, ont reçu une aide substantielle de la part de ce prince valaque sur le trône de la Moldavie. C'est également un aspect de l'intensité des liaisons politiques et ecclésiastiques de Moldavie et de Valachie dans la deuxième moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>29</sup>. De même, pendant le règne de Petru Șchiopul en Moldavie commence l'habitude de la soumission des monastères du pays envers les autres monastères de l'espace de la Chrétienté orientale, mais nous reviendrons à une autre occasion sur cette habitude.

### I. 1575 (7083) février 9, Iași

† Бѣ имѣ СѢ(ѣ)ца и С(ы)на и С(ва)т(а)го Д(ѣ)ха, Троица С(ва)таа единосѣннаа и нераздѣлимаа. Се аз, раб вл(а)д(и)кы моего Г(оспод)ѣ Б(ог)ѣ и Сп(а)сѣ І(ис)ус(ѣ) Х(рист)ѣ, Троицескій поклонникъ, Іѡ Петръ воевода, м(и)л(о)стїю Б(о)жїю, г(о)сп(о)д(а)ръ Земли Молдавскои. Сѡж(е) вл(а)гопроизволивъ г(о)сп(о)дство ми срѣдечною любовїю шт въсеа нашую д(ѣ)шею и Б(о)жїемъ промышленїемъ поревновахъ добрымъ дѣломъ прѣжнимъ г(о)сп(о)д(а)ремъ бывшимъ нашимъ Земли Молдавскихъ потвердихъ и оукрѣпитъ вл(а)гоч(и)стїѣмъ, радїи нашїа вѣри православыа, за наше сп(а)сенїе и вл(а)гословенїе и г(о)с(по)жди нашимъ в(о)годанныхъ чадомъ нашимъ и въсеи нашей земли, и дадохъ и пом(и)ловашъ с(ва)тыхъ нашихъ м(о)лви, оуци монастыри иже сѣтъ въ С(ва)тѣи Гори Іѡнстѣи, по пет десат тисащи аспри на вѣсѣкїхъ годъ, а вы платили тѣрскїи харач. И пак посланикомъ приходѣщимъ шт тамъ до насъ, ради сеи слѣжби, мы имаемъ ихъ пом(и)ловати съ келшѡгъ елико вѣдемъ имати примѡхъ яко да м(о)л(и)твами ш(т)ѣмъ, їѡчменамъ и призвїтеромъ и въсамъ съборомъ, шт по въсахъ с(ва)тыхъ монастырѣхъ Гори Іѡнстѣи, яко да оум(и)л(о)стивитъ са Х(ристо)с(ѣ) Б(ог)ѣ нашъ оукрѣдитъ г(о)с(по)дство наше здравїемъ и сп(а)сенїемъ и съставленїемъ прѣдъ грѣшенїемъ нашимъ.

И на то естъ вѣра нашего г(о)с(по)дства выш(е) писаннаго мы, Петръ воевода, и вѣра бояръ нашихъ: вѣра пана Козма Мѡргѡ дворника Долнѣи Земли, вѣра пана Зейларѣ, вѣра пана Билѣи дворника Горнѣи Земли, вѣра пана Кр(ѣ)стѣ и пана Іандроники прѣкълавове Хотинскихъ, вѣра пана Тоадера и пана Драгѡла прѣкълавове Немецскихъ, вѣра пана Битолта и пана Бѡрчѡла прѣкълавове Новоградскихъ, вѣра пана Слъвїлѡ протара Сѡчавскаго, вѣра пана Негрилѡ прѣкълавѡ Сѡрхенскаго, вѣра пана Дѡмитрѡ постелника, вѣра пана Гаврила спѣтарѣ, вѣра пана Іїне вїстѣрника, вѣра пана Бартика чашика, вѣра пана

<sup>29</sup> Voir Ștefan Andreescu, *Legăturile politice dintre Țara Românească și Moldova în răstimpul 1545-1593*, in idem, *Restitutio Daciae (Relațiile politice dintre Țara Românească, Moldova și Transilvania în răstimpul 1526-1523)*, Bucarest, 1980, p. 123-186.

Никола столника, вѣра пана Стонка комис и вѣра въсаѣ бояр наших молдавскихъ, великихъ и малихъ.

И по нашим животѣ кого Б(ог)ъ изберет ѡт дѣтіе наших или ѡт нашего рода или пакъ вѣд кто оубо Б(ого)мъ избранъ вѣдетъ г(о)с(по)д(а)ремъ быти нашеи Земли Молдавской, тотъ а би непорѣшилъ наши тѣкмеж(е) и дааніе и м(и)л(о)ваніе, нѣ да оутвердитъ и оукрѣпитъ и да дастъ и да пом(и)лѣетъ выше писанными пинѣс(и)ми, и пакъ келчюгъ ихъ посланникомъ. Ище кто оубо покѣситъ сѧ ѡтъ выш(е) реченныхъ г(о)с(по)д(а)рехъ разорити наши тѣкмеж(е) и дааніе и м(и)л(о)ваніе с(ва)тыхъ монастырѣхъ Горнъ Иѡнстѣи, а тотъ самъ отвѣтъ да дастъ Г(осподо)ви въ страшныи д(ѣ)нѣ пришествіа его и крома въсаѣ насъ да естъ и оучастій съ Іоудю да иматъ(и) и трѣкклѣтомъ Пріемъ и тахъ иже възъпиша на Г(оспода) Х(ристов)а, крѣв его на нихъ и на чадаѣхъ ихъ и естъ и вѣдемъ въ вѣкы, аминъ.

И на болшее крѣпостъ и потврѣженіе тое въсе выш(е) писанное велѣли есми нашемъ вѣрномъ и почтенномъ болѣринъ, панъ Іѡнъ Голъи великомъ логофетоу, писати и нашъ печатъ привѣзати къ семъ истинномъ листѣ нашроу.

Писалъ Кр(ъ)стѣ Мъстервич, Ѹ Іасуѣ, въ(ъ) л(ѣ)то 7387 м(ѣ)с(а)ца февр(Ѹ)аріе 6 д(ѣ)н(и).

† În numele Tatălui și al Fiului și al Sfântului Duh, Treime Sfântă de o ființă și nedespărțită. Iată eu, robul stăpânului meu Domnului Dumnezeu și Mântuitorului Iisus Hristos, închinător al Treimii, Io Petru voievod, din mila lui Dumnezeu, domn al Țării Moldovei. Iată am binevoit domnia mea cu inimă iubitoare și din tot sufletul nostru, cugetând la Dumnezeu și râvnind la faptele bune ale domnilor care au fost înainte în țara noastră, Moldova, care au întărit și au împuternicit dreapta credință, pentru credința noastră ortodoxă, și pentru mântuirea și binecuvântarea noastră și a doamnei noastre și a copiilor noștri dăruți de Dumnezeu și pentru toată țara noastră, am dat și am miluit sfintele noastre rugă, toate mănăstirile care sunt în Sfântul Munte Athos, cu cinci zeci mii de aspri în fiecare an, ca să plătească haraciul turcilor. Și iarăși trimișilor care vor veni de acolo la noi, pentru aceasta slujbă noi îi vom milui cu câștig pe cei vor fi trimiși de rugătorii părinți, egumeni și preoți și de tot soborul, de pe la toate sfintele mănăstiri din Muntele Athos, ca să se milostivească Hristos Domnul nostru să întărească domniei noastre și sănătatea și mântuirea și să stea înaintea greșelilor noastre.

Iar la aceasta este credința domniei noastre mai sus scrise, noi, Petru voievod, și credința boierilor noștri: credința panului Cozma Murgu vornic de Țara de Jos, credința panului Zbiarea, credința panului Bilăi mare vornic de Țara de Sus, credința panului Crâstea și a panului Andronic păcălabi de Neamț, credința panului Toader și a panului Dragul păcălabi de Neamț, credința panului Vitolt și a panului Burciul păcălabi de Cetatea Nouă, credința panului Slăvilă portar de Suceava, credința panului Negrilă păcălab de Orhei, credința panului Dumitru postelnic, credința panului Gavril spătar, credința panului Iane vistiernic, credința panului Vartic ceașnic, credința panului Nicola stolnic, credința panului Stoica comis și credința tuturor boierilor noștri moldoveni mari și mici.

Iar după viața noastră pe cine va alege Dumnezeu din copiii noștri sau din neamul nostru sau iarăși pe cine va alege așadar Dumnezeu să fie domn în țara noastră

Moldova, acela să nu clintească a noastră tocmeală și danie și miluire, ci să întărească și să împuternicească și să dea și să miluiască cu acești mai sus scriși bani, și iarăși cu câștigul lor pe trimiși. Însă cine va îndrăzni din mai sus spușii domni să strice a noastră tocmeală și danie și miuire pentru sfintele mănăstiri de la Muntele Athos, iar acela însuși să dea seamă Domnului la înspăimântătoarea zi ce va veni și în afară de toate ale noastre să fie și să aibă parte cu Iuda și cu de trei ori blestematul Arie și cu aceia care au strigat asupra Domnului Hristos, sângele lui asupra lor și asupra copiilor lor, care este și va fi în veci, amin.

Iar pentru mai mare putere și întărire a tuturor celor mai sus scrise am poruncit boierului nostru credincios și cinstit, pan Ioan Golăi mare logofăt, să scrie și pecetea noastră să o atârne către această adevărată carte a noastră.

A scris Cârstea al lui Mustea, la Iași, în anul 7183 <1575>, luna februarie, 9 zile.

† Au nom du Père et du Fils et du Saint Esprit, Sainte Trinité unique et indivisible. Je, serviteur de mon Seigneur Dieu et de Jesus Christ le Sauveur, adorateur de la Trinité, Petru voievode, par grâce de Dieu, prince de la Moldavie. Ma Seigneurie bienveillante et mon coeur miséricordieux, de tout notre oeur, pensant à Dieu et aux bons gestes des princes qui nous ont précédé dans notre pays, la Moldavie, qui ont renforcé notre juste foi, pour notre foi orthodoxe, pour la sauvegarde et pour le bénissement de notre âme, de celui de notre dame et de ceux de nos enfants que Dieu nous a donné et pour tout notre pays, nous avons donné et offert dans nos sacrés serments, tout les monastères qui se trouvent sur le Saint Mont Athos, cinquante mille *aspri* chaque année, pour qu'ils payes le tribut aux Turcs. Et aux envoyés qui viendront de là-bas chez nous, pour ce travail nous récompenserons ceux qui serons envoyés par les pères qui pries, par les prêtres et par toute la communauté, de tous les saints monastères du Mont Athos, pour que Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ aie pitié de nous, afin qu'Il renforce à Notre Seigneurie la santé, le salut et la sauvegarde et pour qu'il s'oppose à nos erreurs.

Et à tout cela se posent la foi de Notre Seigneurie, ci-dessus mentionné, nous, Petru voievode, et la foi de nos boyards: la foi du *pan* Cozma Murgu, *vornic* du Bas-Pays, la foi du *pan* Zbiarea, la foi du *pan* Bilăi, grand *vornic* du Haut-Pays, la foi du *pan* Crâstea et du *pan* Andronic, les *pârcălabi* de Neamț, la foi du *pan* Toader et du *pan* Dragul, les *pârcălabi* de Neamț, la foi du *pan* Vitolt et du *pan* Burciul, les *pârcălabi* de Cetatea Nouă, la foi du *pan* Slăvilă, *portar* de Suceava, la foi du *pan* Negrilă, *pârcălab* d'Orhei, la foi du *pan* Dumitru, *postelnic*, la foi du *pan* Gavril, *spătar*, la foi du *pan* Iane, *vistiernic*, la foi du *pan* Vartic, *ceașnic*, la foi du *pan* Nicola, *stolnic*, la foi du *pan* Stoica, *comis* et la foi de tous nos grans et petits boyards moldaves.

Et après que notre vie prendra fin, celui de nos enfants que Dieu choisira, ou bien de notre famille, ou bien celui que Dieu choisira d'être prince dans notre pays Moldavie, celui ne changera pas notre don et munificence, mais qu'il enforce et qu'il donne et qu'il confirme l'argent ci-dessus mentionnées aux envoyés. Mais celui (des princes mentionnés ci-dessus) qui osera de rompre notre don et munificence pour les saints monastères du Mont Athos, celui-même répondra devant Dieu le terrible jour qui viendra et qu'il soit en dehors de toute notre foi et qu'il soit partenaire de Juda et d'Arie le trois fois maudit et de ceux qui ont pris sur eux et sur leurs enfants le sang de notre Seigneur Jesus Christ, maintenant et toujours, amen.

Pour que cet acte soit plus puissant et plus fort, nous avons ordonné à notre fidèle et honnête boyard, *pan Ioan Golăi*, grand *logofăt*, d'écrire et de sigiler notre vraie lettre.

Cârstea, fils de Mustea, a écrit, à Iași, en 1783 <1575>, le mois du février, le 9e jour.

L'Archive du Monastère Potaton, Mont Athos (Grèce), no. 1102. Originel slavon, parchemin (28,2 x 63,3), invocation symbolique, la première lettre, la ponctuation et les initiales du textes en encre rouge, boule sigillaire en argent doré, pendu en fil de soie, ayant sur une partie l'icône de la Vierge (patronne du Mont Athos) avec Jesus Christ enfant, sur l'autre partie, probablement, la stème de Moldavie; sur le verso, un résumé en grec de l'époque contemporaine.

ÉDITIONS: Florin Marinescu, *Ρομανικά έγγραφα του Αγίου Όρους Αρχείο Προτατου*, Athènes, 2001, p. 41, no 5 (résumé d'après l'originel).

## II. 7095 (1587) février 9, Iași

† Бѣ имѣ Сѡт(ь)ца и С(ы)на и С(ва)т(а)го Д(ъ)ха, Троицѣ С(ва)таа единостѣаа И неразделимаа, се аз, раб вл(а)д(ы)ка моего Ї(сѣ)сѣ Х(рист)а Троицескїи поклонник, Їѡ Петръ воевода, съ хотѣнію Б(о)жію, г(о)сп(о)д(а)рѣ Земли Молдавѣйскои. Знаменїето чинним с(ъ) сим нашем книгѡм в(ъ)сѣкомѣ чѣтѣши и хотѣшѡм развѣсти, яко г(о)сп(о)д(с)тва ми съ произволенїем Б(о)га в(ъ)сѣдрѣжителѣ промыслихом добрим промыслим г(о)сп(о)д(с)тва ми и Б(о)жіем помощїем, яко да ѡтвердим и оукрѣпим м(о)лѣбѣ и помѣнь и творим за сп(а)сенїе и вставленїе грѣхом с(ва)топочившим дѣдом и рѡдителим нашем и заще тѣлесное здравїе и братїям нашим и г(о)сп(о)жди наших и за д(ъ)шевное наше <с><sup>1</sup>п(а)сенїе и вставленїе прѣгрѣшенем нашим и за здравїе и сп(а)сенїе нашим дѣти, вѣщахѡмъ сѧ дрѣжити и наплѣнити шрок с(ва)томѣ монастыроу Симѡн Петръ, еж(е) вѣ <сѡ><sup>1</sup>тѣи Горѣ, идеж(е) ест храм С(ва)тное Рода(е)ство Х(ристо)во, где ест м(о)л(е)бникѣ наш ѱѡмен Нифон, на всѣко лѣто „ѣѡ<sup>2</sup> аспри. Тоє да ест шрок ѡт нас всѣки год монастыроу Симѡн Петръ, идеже е><sup>1</sup>ст храм Ч(и)стное Рода(е)ство Х(ристо)во Ї(сѣ)сѣ, а за дрѣгое м(о)л(и)сть хошет Б(о)гѣ срѣ(д)цѡвѣдец давати и в(ъ)се видашїе око.

И с(ва)таа монастыри цр(ъ)ков и ѱѡмени и с(ва)щ(е)ници и стар(ы)ци и в(ъ)си тѣ прѣбываещи аж(е) о Хр(и)стѣ братѣа, а ѡни да имаєт дрѣжит(и) и наплѣнити ѡставѣ с(ва)тыа цр(ъ)к(о)ве. И пак по нашемѣ желанїе, якож(е) хошем на прѣд извѣстити прѣжде вѣсегда наплѣнѣат на сваки год. И пак да ѡпишѣт г(о)сп(о)д(с)тва ми и г(о)сп(о)жда г(о)сп(о)д(с)тва ми, Марїа, и ѡт Б(о)га дарованных чадїе наших в(ъ) с(ва)тоє проскомидїе по прѣданїе С(ва)тых Сѡ(т)ьцѣ и по съставѣ с(ва)тыа цр(ъ)к(о)ве, и оу с(ва)томѣ помѣникѣ да стоит, якож(е) ест писенно. И пак до где бѣдет на нас м(и)л(о)сть в(ъ)се дрѣжителя Б(о)га и бѣдем живы, на с(ва)то в(ъ)селенаа а с(ва)таа цр(ъ)ков да поєт ни параклыс и летѣргїи и да помнѣает ны на вѣчерных и на павечерных и на ѡтргїи и на летѣргїи и с(ва)тоє проскомидїю, яко ест ѡбичаи с(ва)та и цр(ъ)к(о)ви

в(о)ж(е)ствѣнїи по прадаїю С(ва)тѣх Ѡт(ъ)ць. ꙗ в(ъ) помѣник да поминает ны по Ѡставѣ нашемѣ, ꙗкож(е) и пишет в(ъ) с(ва)тѣм его хрисовоуѣ, и до где бѣдем живы да имают м(о)л(и)ти Б(о)га за здравїе и за сп(а)сенїе г(о)сп(о)дст<ва м><sup>1</sup> и за здравїе и за сп(а)сенїе г(о)сп(о)жди г(о)сп(о)дства ми, Марїа<sup>3</sup>, и в(о)годарованным чадом нашим и за здравїе и за сп(а)сенїе братїам нашим и г(о)сп(о)ждам их и за здравїе и за сп(а)сенїе юнацим г(о)сп<одства м> и в(ъ)сеи земли и за в(ъ)сѣ православаа вѣра хр(и)стїанскаа.

ꙗ мы ...<sup>1</sup> дрѣжати и дати и наплѣнити вѣрок с(ва)томуѣ монастыр, на сваки год \*ѣ<sup>2</sup> аспри, како в(ы)ш(е) пишем вѣщанїе наше, тое давам до нашего живота и да бѣдем ктиторї тое в(ъ)се в(ы)ш(е) писанное да ест нашемѣ с(ва)тумѣ монастыр, именѣ емѣ <Си>мѣпетръ, идеж(е) ест храм Ч(и)стное Рожд(е)ство ꙗ(ис)ѣ(х)р(и)сто(в)о, ѡт нас ѡрик неподвиженно, на вѣкы.

ꙗ на то ест вѣра нашего г(о)сподств(о) ми в(ы)ш(е) писанного, мы, ꙗ Петръ воевода, и вѣра прѣвѣслобленныи и с(ъ)ра(е)цныи с(ъ)ны г(о)с(по)дства ми, ꙗ Влад и Шефан воеводї, и вѣра боар наших: вара пана Двартика дворника Лѡаних Земли, вѣра пана Еремїа дворника Горнаи Земли, вѣра Гевргїе и Кѡкора прѣкѣлабове Хотинскихѣ, вѣра пана Драготѣ и Чѡлпан прѣкѣлабове Немецкихѣ, вѣра пана Мирѡн и Лѣка прѣк<ъ>лабове Новѣградскихѣ, вѣра пана ꙗндреа портара Сѣчавскаго, вѣра пана Дѣрак и Симїѡн прѣкѣлабове Ѡрхѡвскихѣ, вѣра <пана><sup>1</sup> Брут постѣаника, вѣра пана Бр(ъ)л(ъ)д(ѣ)нь спѣтара, вѣ<ра па>на ꙗни вистїар(ник), вара пана Гевргїе чашника, вѣра пана Карагюзал столника, вѣра пана Стань комиса и вѣра оуцих наших молдавскихѣ волѣри великихѣ и малыхѣ.

ꙗ по нашим животѣм ктѡ бѣдет г(о)с(по)д(а)рь ѡт дѣтїе наших или ѡт нашего рода или боуд кѡго Б(о)гъ изберит г(о)сп(о)д(а)рем выти нашеи земли Молдавствѣи, тот би непорѣшил нашего даанїѣ и потвѣрженїе и тога выш(е) писаннаа и токмааа, али би им оутвѣрдил и оукрѣпыл и дал и наполнил тоти выш(е) писанныи пинѣси \*ѣ<sup>2</sup> аспри, вѣрок с(ва)тумѣ монастырю, еж(е) С(ва)тѣи Горѣта, ꙗкоже есми потокмили дѣ бѣдет в(ъ) в(ѣ)кы. ꙗ кто са покосит разорити или сѣкроушити сѣи нас в(ы)ш(е) писанїе оустав, такоѡи да ꙗмает да ѡтѡат прѣд страшнѣм сѣд(и)щем Хр(и)сто(в)ѣм.

ꙗ на болшеи крѣпост и потвѣржде(нїе) томѣ вѣсемѣ выше писанном велѣли есми нашемѣ вѣрном и поч(и)тенном волѣрин, панѣ Строч лѡг(о)фет, писати и наш(ѣ) печат завѣза къ семѣ истинномуѣ листѡу нашемѡу.

Писал Гаврїла Черноутов, оу ꙗсох, в(ъ) л(ѣ)тѡ \*ѣ<sup>2</sup>чѣ, м(ѣ)с(ѣ)ца фев(р)арїе), Ѡ д(ъ)н(и).

† În numele Tatălui și al Fiului și al Sfântului Duh, Treime Sfântă de o ființă și nedespărțită. Iată eu, robul stăpânului meu Domnului Dumnezeu și Mântuitorului Iisus Hristos, închinător al Treimii, Io Petru voievod, cu vrerea lui Dumnezeu, domn al Țării Moldovei. Facem cunoscut cu această carte a noastră tuturor celor care o vor citi și vor voi să înțeleagă, cum domnia mea cu bunăvoința lui Dumnezeu Atotțiitorul, am cugetat și am gândit domnia mea la cele bune, cu ajutorul lui Dumnezeu, ca să întărim și să împuternicim și să facem rugăciuni și pomeni pentru mântuirea și curățirea de păcate a sfântăroșoșilor moși și părinți ai noștri și pentru apărarea sănătății trupești a fraților noștri și a doamnei noastre și pentru mântuirea sufletului nostru și curățirea marilor

păcate ale noastre și pentru sănătatea și mântuirea copiilor noștri, am făgăduit să întărim și să împlinim obrocul sfintei mănăstiri Simon Petru, care este la Sfântul Munte, unde este hramul Sfinta Naștere a lui Hristos, unde este egumen rugătorul nostru Nifon, în fiecare an câte 5.400 de aspri. Acesta să fie obrocul nostru în fiecare an mănăstirii Simon Petru, unde este hramul Cinstita Naștere a lui Iisus Hristos, iar pentru altă rugăminte, cum va fi vreaea lui Dumnezeu cunoscător al inimii, voi da și toată lumina ochilor.

Iar sfânta mănăstire și biserică și egumenii și preoții și stareții și toți frații, care trăiesc acolo întru Hristos, iar ei să aibă a stăpâni și a împlini după așezământul sfintei biserici. Și iarăși după dorința noastră, precum am voit până acum să ia și de acum înainte, întotdeauna, și să îplinească în fiecare an. Și iarăși să scrie pe domnia mea și pe doamna domniei mele, Maria, și pe copiii noștri dăruii de Dumnezeu la sfânta proscomidie, după învățătura Sfinților Părinți și după așezământul sfintei biserici, și în sfântul pomelnic să se așeze, precum este scris. Și iarăși până când se va milostivi cu noi Dumnezeu Atotțiitorul și vom fi în viață, în sfânta casă și sfânta biserică să dea de băut la paraclis și liturghie și să ne pomenească la vecernie și la paverceniță și la utrenie și la liturghie și la sfânta proscomidie, precum este obiceiul sfintelor și dumnezeieștilor biserici, după învățătura Sfinților Părinți. Iar în pomelnic să ne pomenească pe noi după dorința noastră, cum și scrie în acest strălucit hrisov și până când vom fi în viață să aibă a se ruga la Dumnezeu pentru sănătatea și pentru mântuirea domniei mele și pentru sănătatea și pentru mântuirea doamnei domniei mele, Maria, și pentru de Dumnezeu dăruirii copii ai noștri și pentru sănătatea și mântuirea fraților noștri și a doamnelor lor și pentru sănătatea și mântuirea oștenilor domniei mele și a toată țară și pentru toată credința creștină ortodoxă.

Iar noi ...<sup>1</sup> am întărit și am dat și am împlinit obrocul sfintei mănăstiri, în fiecare an 5.400 de aspri, după mai sus scrisa noastră făgăduială, aceasta dăm toată viața noastră și să fim ctitori aceștia toți mai sus scriși și să fie sfintei noastre mănăstiri, numită a lui Simopetru, unde este hramul Cinstita Naștere a lui Iisus Hristos, de la noi uric neclintit, în veci.

Iar la aceasta este credința domniei noastre mai sus scrise, noi, Io Petru voievod, și credința preaiubiților și din inimă fii ai domniei mele, Io Vlad și Ștefan voievozi, și credința boierilor noștri: credința panului Vartic vornic al Țării de Jos, credința panului Eremia vornic al Țării de Sus, credința lui Gheorghie și a lui Cucora pârăcâbi de Hotin, credința panului Dragotă și a lui Ciolpan pârăcâbi de Neamț, credința panului Miron și a lui Luca pârăcâbi de Cetatea Nouă, credința panului Andrei portar de Suceava, credința panului Durac și Simion pârăcâbi de Orhei, credința panului Brut postelnic, credința panului Bârlădean spătar, credința panului Iane vistiernic, credința panului Gheroghie ceașnic, credința panului Caraghiuzél stolnic, credința panului Stan comis și credința tuturor boierilor noștri moldoveni, mari și mici.

Iar după viața noastră pe cine va fi domn dintre copiii noștri sau din neamul nostru sau pe cine va alege Dumnezeu să fie domn în țara noastră Moldova, acela să nu clinească dania noastră și întăritura și această mai sus scrisă tocmeală, ci să întărească și să împuternicească și să îplinească acei mai sus scriși bani 5.500 aspri, obrocul sfintei mănăstiri, care este la Sfântul Munte, precum am așezat să fie în veci. Iar cine va îndrăzni să strice și să sfărâme acest al nostru așezământ mai sus scris, acela să aibă a da seamă înaintea judecății lui Hristos.

Iar pentru mai mare putere și întărire a tuturor acelor mai sus scrise am poruncit boierului nostru credincios și cinstit, pan Stroici mare logofăt, să scrie și pecetea noastră să o lege către această adevărată carte a noastră.

A scris Gavril Cernutov, în Iași, în anul 7195 <1587>, luna februarie, 9 zile.

† Au nom du Père et du Fils et du Saint Esprit, Sainte Trinité unique et indivisible. Je, serviteur de mon Seigneur Dieu et de Jesus Christ le Sauveur, adorateur de la Trinité, Petru voievode, par grâce de Dieu, prince de la Moldavie. Nous communiquons, par l'intermédiaire de notre lettre, à tous qui le liront et à tous qui le comprendront, que Ma Seigneurie, par la bienveillance de Dieu le Créateur, a pensé à tout ce qui est bon, avec l'aide du Dieu, pour que nous renforçons et confirmons et faisons des priers et donnions pour la sauvegarde et la purification spirituelle de nos sacrés défunts ancêtres et pour la defense de la santé physique de nos frères, de notre dame et pour la sauvegarde de notre âme et pour notre purification spirituelle et pour le salut et la sauvegarde de nos enfants, nous avons promis de renforcer et de confirmer le don envers le saint monastère Simon Petru, qui se trouve sur le Saint Mont, avec la fête La Sainte Naissance du Christ, où est *egumen* notre prier Nifon, chaque année 5.400 *aspri*. Que ce soit notre don chaque an envers le Acesta să fie obrocul nostru în fiecare an au monastère Simon Petru, et pour une autre demande et prière, que ce soit la volonté du Dieu, le connoisseur du Coeur, je donnerai meme toute la lumière de mes yeux.

Le saint monastère et la sainte église et les *egumens* et les prêtres et les supérieurs et les frères qui vivent là-bas pour le nom du Christ, qu'ils possèdent et utilisent (cette somme) selon les coutumes de la sainte église. Et selon notre volonté, qu'ils prennent pour toujours et qu'ils utilisent (l'argent) chaque an. Et qu'ils mentionnent Ma Seigneurie, ma dame, Maria, et nos enfants que Dieu nous a donné, à la Sainte Messe, selon les mots des Saints Pères et selon les coutumes de la Sainte Église, et que ces noms soient inscrits dans le saint *pomelnic*. Et durant notre vie acordé par Dieu le Créateur, qu'on offre à boire dans la sainte maison et dans la sainte église, au *paracelis* et à la liturgie, et que nous soyons mentionnés chez toutes les messes (*vecernie, paverceșiță, utrenie, liturgie, proscomidie*), d'après les coutumes des saintes églises et selon les mots des Saints Pères. Et qu'ils nous mentionnent dans le *pomelnic*, selon notre volonté, comme c'est écrit dans cette excellente letter, et qu'ils prient pour nous durant notre vie pour la sauvegarde de Ma Seigneurie et pour le salut et la sauvegarde de ma femme, Maria<sup>3</sup>, pour nos enfants que Dieu nous a donné et pour le salut et la sauvegarde de nos frères et de leurs dames et pour le salut et la sauvegarde des soldats de Ma Seigneurie et pour tout le pays et pour notre foi orthodoxe.

Et nous ...<sup>1</sup> avons confirmé et donné et accompli le don envers le saint monastère, chaque an 5.400 *aspri*, selon notre promesse ci-dessus mentionnée, nous donnons cela durant toute notre vie et nous sommes, tout ceux qui sont mentionnés ci-dessus, des fondateurs de notre saint monastère, nommé de Simonpetru, où est la fête de La Sainte Naissance du Christ. C'est notre *uric*, valable pour toujours.

À ceci se trouvent la foi de Notre Seigneurie ci-dessus mentionnée, Io Petru voievode, et la foi de bien-aimés de tout notre cœur fils de Ma Seigneurie, Io Vlad et Ștefan voievodes, et la foi des nos boyards: la foi du *pan Vartic, vornic* du Bas-Pays, la foi du *pan Eremia, vornic* du Haut-Pays, la foi de Gheorghie et de Cucora, *pârcălabi* de

Hotin, la foi du *pan* Dragotă et de Ciolpan, *pârcălabi* de Neamț, la foi du *pan* Miron et de Luca, *pârcălabi* de Cetatea Nouă, la foi du *pan* Andrei, *portar* de Suceava, la foi du *pan* Durac et de Simion, *pârcălabi* d’Orhei, la foi du *pan* Brut, *postelnic*, la foi du *pan* Bârlădean, *spătar*, la foi du *pan* Iane, *vistiernic*, la foi du *pan* Gheroghie, *ceașnic*, la foi du *pan* Caraghiuzel, *stolnic*, la foi du *pan* Stan, *comis* t la foi de tous nos grans et petits boyards moldaves.

Et après que notre vie prendra fin, celui de nos enfants que Dieu choisira, ou bien de notre famille, ou bien celui que Dieu choisira d’être prince dans notre pays Moldavie, celui ne changera pas notre don et munificence, mais qu’il enforce et qu’il donne et qu’il confirme la somme de 5.500 *aspri* ci-dessus mentionnées, le don du saint monastère, qui se trouve sur le Saint Mont, comme nous l’avons pour toujours établi. Et celui qui osera de rompre notre don et munificence p celui-même répondra devant le jugement du Dieu.

Pour que cet acte soit plus puissaant et plus fort, nous avons ordonné à notre fidèle et honnête boyard, *pan* Stroici, grand *logofăt*, d’écrire et de sigiler notre vraie lettre.

Gavril Cernutov a écrit, à Iași, en 7195 <1587>, le mois du févrie, le 9e jour.

L’Archive du Monastère Simonopetra, Mont Athos (Grèce), no. 79. Originel slavon, parchemin (44 x 56 cm), encre noir, un peu brisé aux coins, sceau princier pendu, perdu; cerneală neagră, rupt puțin la îndoituri, sigiliu domnesc atârnat, pierdut; au verso, résumé en grec.

**ÉDITIONS:** D. Nastase, F. Marinescu, *Les actes roumains de Simopetra (Mont Athos). Catalogue sommaire*, Manoutios, Athenes, 1987, p. 29, no 79 (bref résumé); P. Ș. Năsturel, *op. cit.*, p. 240 (mention selon une information reçue de D. Nastase).

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<sup>1</sup> Brisé.

<sup>2</sup> Avant le chiffre des milliers, plus tard a été rédigé le chiffre 10, ainsi que la somme a été “élevée” à 15.400 *aspri*, ce qui est évidemment erronné, d’autant plus que presque tous les monastères reçoivent de Petru Șchiopul sommes de 5.000 à 6.000 de *aspri*.

<sup>3</sup> Monogramme.

## REVIEWS, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

***Stephen the Great, Prince of Moldavia (1457-1504). Historical Bibliography*** (edited by Ștefan Andreescu, Tatiana Cojocaru, Ovidiu Cristea, Mariana Mihăilescu, Anca Popescu, Adrian Tertecel; translated from Romanian by Ioana Voia), Bucharest, The Romanian Cultural Institute Publishing House, 2004, 220 p.

With a most pardonable delay, I subject to your attention the publication three years ago of this working tool, essential for the reign and the context where the voivode lived and ruled Moldavia. Elaborated by a group made of the most prominent researchers of Nicolae Iorga Institute of History, the paper is structured on three specific chapters: "Sources" (p. 9-60), "Monographs" (p. 61-76), and "Special Studies" (p. 77-201), which, in their turn, are based on several sub-chapters, enabling an easier study. Therefore, due to the numerous issues taken into consideration, the chapter relating to "special studies" is based on the following sub-chapters: "Economic and Social History" (p. 77-89), "State Organization" (p. 90-94), "Political History" (p. 94-129), "Military Organization. Battles and Wars" (p. 129-144), "The Church" (p. 144-163), "Culture" (p. 163-188), "The Personality of Stephen the Great. The Family" (p. 188-195), and "Tradition and Folklore" (p. 195-201). The lack of balance in the page number covering these themes should not be considered as a negative aspect, it is basically due to the great number of studies published, for example, on the political or military matters as compared to those edited on the state organization or internal policy. Nevertheless, as shown in a recent study, "*în concluzie, confruntarea militară cu Imperiul Otoman a ocupat doar un segment din domnia lui Ștefan cel Mare. Cronologic, perioadele în care Ștefan a plătit tribut Imperiului Otoman [...] au depășit cu mult perioadele de confruntare directă* / as a conclusion, the military confrontation with the Ottoman Empire covered only one segment of the reign of Stephen the Great. Chronologically speaking, the periods when Stephen paid tribute to the Ottoman Empire [...] surpassed the times of direct combat"<sup>1</sup>. As a consequence, the ratio between the studies on armed conflicts and those on peace times should be reversed too. However, in the case of studying Stephen the Great, the conclusion is that history tends to register the war periods rather than peace periods. Hence, historiography itself seems to focus more on the history of military combats; peace is chiefly tedious for both the historians living in that epoch and us, the present historians.

At any rate, the publication of this volume gives us the hope that the reign of Stephen the Great is not a mere starting point for commemorative actions and what has been called as "*istorie de parastas / requiem history*"<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Bogdan Murgescu, *Dimensiunea europeană a domniei lui Ștefan cel Mare*, "Studii și articole de istorie", 69, 2004, p. 5-20 (10).

<sup>2</sup> See Florea Ioncioaia, *De la spiritul partinic la istoria de parastas*, "Xenopoliana", 1 (1993), 1-4.

The fact that this paper was edited in an international language, doubled by the English translation of the Romanian titles of studies published along the years, conveys a complementary advantage, by facilitating access to foreign researchers interested in what we may call the main bibliography on the reign of Stephen the Great.

Șerban V. Marin

**Ovidiu Cristea, *Acest domn de la miazănoapte. Ștefan cel Mare în documente inedite venețiene* [This prince from the North. Stephen the Great in unpublished Venetian documents], Bucharest, Corint, 2004, 183 p.**

In a year – 2004 – when the Romanian medieval history was almost monopolized by the figure of Ștefan cel Mare (Stephen the Great), commemorative events filled in agendas of alleged “cultural-scientific” activities all throughout a country that seemed to be lost in a “requiem” state where, after weeping on the Great Voivode’s shoulder, everything ended in a Dâmbovița binge style. With all due respect, we cannot expel the National Archives from this weepy-hilarious trend. What was it needed for? Perhaps simply to tick another successful activity on the annual work report.

Fortunately, in this festive-heroic-like ambiance managed to “sneak in” some papers on the ruler of Moldavia written from a scientific perspective, and resulted from diligent and responsible research studies. The paper by Ovidiu Cristea with a preface by Acad. Șerban Papacostea is included in this category. The book does not cover the entire reign of Ștefan cel Mare, as the author underlines from the beginning of the introduction (p. 7). It is focused on some reports dispatched from January 1484 to February 1485 by two Venetian emissaries in the Ottoman Empire, namely the *bail* Pietro Bembo and Giovanni Dario, secretary of the Venetian Senate. It relates to 42 such reports, left unedited and unknown. What makes this paper by Ovidiu Cristea unique is above all the revealing of these documents.

As for Giovanni Dario, we take the liberty of suggesting to the author to consult some studies and articles on the personality of the Venetian character, which are not included in the rich bibliography offered by Mr. Ovidiu Cristea<sup>1</sup>.

This priority granted to the Venetian reports does not preclude the presentation of the entire context of this matter, which is depicted by the author minutely and in a well-documented manner, with a highlight on the Venetian-Ottoman relations and the efforts made by the diplomacy of St. Mark city to establish an anti-Ottoman alliance on a

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<sup>1</sup> Franz Babinger, *Johannes Darius (1414-1494), Sachwalter Venedigs in Morgenland, und sein Griechischer Umkreis*, Munich, 1961; Maria Francesca Tiepolo, *Appunti su Giovanni Dario*, in *Proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Cretan Studies*, 1971, Athens, 1981, p. 501-508; Vittorio Sgarbi, *Ca' Dario: mito e storia di Giovanni Dario e del suo palazzo tra Oriente e Venezia*, Milan, 1984; Maria Francesca Tiepolo, *I Greci nella Cancelleria veneziana: Giovanni Dario*, in *I Greci à Venezia: Atti del convegno internazionale di studio, Venezia, 5-7 novembre 1998*, Venice, 2002, p. 257-314.

large scale (see chapter I, p. 15-45), as well as the position of Moldavia in this same circumstance (see chapter II, p. 46-54). The other chapters, without omitting to explain what a mission to Constantinople involved (p. 55-66), approach the kernel of this subject, which is the reconstruction of the political events based on the reports of the two Venetian characters. The context is completed by what the author calls the "Epilogue" (p. 131-142).

The book is also accompanied by a useful chronology of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and its rivals during the reign of Stephen the Great (p. 170-174).

The volume by Ovidiu Cristea is not reduced to the simple presentation of the two sources. The general overview of the author is enhanced by the great number of references to other sources related to this theme from the *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, both edited and in a manuscript stage. This fact enables us to conclude that we are dealing with a well-written paper, which should be given thorough consideration by all those interested in the foreign policy of Moldavia, but also in the general atmosphere of that epoch.

Serban V. Marin

**Christiane Neerfeld, «*Historia per forma di diaria*». *La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, Venice, Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, 2006, xv+268 p., 40,00 €**

Sous le patronage de l' Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, il est paru le livre de la chercheuse allemande Christiane Neerfeld, en fait la version italienne de sa thèse de doctorat soutenue à Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität de Bonn en 2001, sous le titre "Historia per forma di Diaria. *Venezianische Gegenwartchronistik um 1500*"<sup>1</sup>.

Par l'amabilité de Mme Neerfeld, nous sommes en possession d'un exemplaire de son livre dont l'importance pour l'historiographie vénitienne est certaine, étant données les précisions qu'il apporte de la perspective du genre diariste. Il est déjà une réalité reconnue, dans l'historiographie vénitienne de la Renaissance et de l'après-Renaissance, qu'en général "la chronique se transforme en journal"<sup>2</sup>. Plus concrètement, plus il est proche de sa contemporanéité, plus l'auteur modifie le style de son écriture, en passant du chroniqueur au "journaliste" pour rapporter les événements qu'il connaît directement ou à l'intermède de sa correspondance avec les protagonistes de l'époque<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Voir [http://hss.ulb.uni-bonn.de/diss\\_online/phil\\_fak/2001/neerfeld\\_christiane/0235.pdf](http://hss.ulb.uni-bonn.de/diss_online/phil_fak/2001/neerfeld_christiane/0235.pdf).

<sup>2</sup> Cf., par exemple, Antonio Carile, *Note di cronachistica veneziana: Piero Giustinian e Nicolò Trevisan*, "Studi veneziani", 9, 1967, p. 103-125 (108).

<sup>3</sup> Pour le rapport chroniqueur-diariste dans le milieu historiographique vénitien, voir Dorit Raines, *Alle origini dell'archivio politico del patriziato: la cronaca «di consultazione» veneziana nei secoli XIV-XV*, "Archivio Veneto", série V<sup>ème</sup>, 150 (1998), p. 5-57 (33 ss.), ainsi que les remarques dattant déjà de l'époque de Marco Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad*

L'ouvrage de Christiane Neerfeld représente le résultat d'une recherche assidue sur les manuscrits de différents journaux vénitiennes se trouvant dans cinq locations, dont trois à Venise: Museo Civico Correr (66 codices), Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (72), Archivio di Stato (27), à côté de ceux consultés à Österreichische Nationalbibliothek de Vienne (12), Biblioteca Queriniana de Brescia (1), Bibliothèque Nationale de France à Paris (2) et British Library de Londres (1).

Il s'agit surtout des témoignages de différents diaristes vénitiens, partiellement ou intégralement conservés et s'étendant sur des périodes différentes, prépondérant le XV<sup>e</sup> et le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles. L'ouvrage insiste surtout sur certains diaristes, tels que Marino Sanudo (traitant la période 1494-1533), Girolamo Priuli (1494-1512), Marcantonio Michiel (1512-1521) et Pietro Delfino (1457-1505), analysés *in extenso* dans le deuxième chapitre (p. 27-109). Leur mise en exergue est certainement due au caractère plus complet de leurs journaux par comparaison aux autres diaristes et concerne les données biographiques, ainsi que le contexte dans lequel les journaux ont été rédigés. Une innovation de l'auteur est représentée le jugement du journal appartenant, conformément aux appréciations antérieures, à Domenico Malipiero comme étant en fait l'œuvre de Pietro Delfino, plus précisément la partie qu'on estimait perdue des écrits de ce dernier (pour la démonstration, voir p. 83-95).

Un autre chapitre ("*La motivazione dello scrivere e la forma di diario*", p. 111-135) analyse non seulement les motivations de l'écriture de ces journaux (p. 111-116) mais aussi les personnages dont ils s'adressent (p. 117-135). Dans le quatrième chapitre du livre ("*Venezia, centro di informazione: tra piazza e Rialto*", p. 137-173), la chercheuse se penche sur les sources utilisées par les auteurs des journaux, en distinguant les sources orales (p. 140-150), les sources écrites (p. 150-165) mais aussi "la fabrique de rumeurs" assez prolifique à l'époque (p. 166-173).

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*essa* (introduction d'Ugo Stefanutti), [Bologne], [1976] [réédité d'après Venise, 1854] [première édition, 1752], p. 192 concernant la typologie de ces *Diarii*. Pour des considérations tangentielles sur le rapport chronistique-diaristique, cf. aussi Franz-Joseph Schmale, *Funktion und Formen mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreibung*, Darmstadt, 1985, p. 24-26, 94-95 (avec la différence entre *Zeithistoriker* et *Vergangenheitshistoriker*); Șerban Marin, in *Addenda et Corrigenda*, "Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie", 23 (2005), pp. 320-326 (surtout p. 320-322), en fait, un compte-rendu critique de l'article d'Eugen Denize, *Ștefan cel Mare în I Diarii lui Marino Sanudo*, "Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie", 22 (2004), p. 137-151; bien entendu, le cas de Denize n'est pas singulier, Hellmut Wohl, *The Aesthetics of Italian Renaissance Art. A Reconsideration of Style*, [Cambridge], 1999, p. 51, retenant lui-aussi un sens plus large du terme "chronique", se référant à *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae* du même Sanudo; voir aussi Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power*, s. l., 2002, p. 276, se référant à la "chronique vénitienne de Malipiero", en fait les mémoires de celui-là; voir également Freddy Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne*, extrait de *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, publiés par l'École Française de Rome, 1954, p. 241-292 (242) qui introduit le journal de Domenico Malipiero dans l'énumération des chroniques publiées; ainsi que Angela Caracciolo, *Lineamenti di cultura e civiltà dell'umanesimo e del rinascimento. Parte seconda: Umanesimo veneziano*, sans année de publication [= [http://lettere2.unive.it/caracciolo/Cultura\\_Venezia.htm](http://lettere2.unive.it/caracciolo/Cultura_Venezia.htm)], citant à côté de chroniqueurs tels que "Enrico Dandolo", "Zorzi Dolfin", Pietro Dolfin, Antonio Morosini, des diaristes comme Girolamo Priuli et Marcantonio Michiel.

L'auteur traite également la place occupée par la République vénitienne dans ces journaux (le cinquième chapitre, "*La politica di Venezia nel giudizio degli autori*", p. 175-198) pour passer ensuite au rapport entre les journaux et l'historiographie officielle de Venise (sixième chapitre, "*I diari e la storiografia ufficiale di Venezia*", p. 199-221), en accentuant la conception historique de Marino Sanudo (p. 208-221). Avec un regard plus critique, nous avouons l'impression que les deux derniers chapitres, comprenant la divagation au sujet de Sanudo, ont été ajoutés d'une manière en quelque sorte artificielle à l'ensemble d'un ouvrage qui, jusqu'à ce moment, avait suivi une logique bien enfilée. Mais l'importance du sujet constitue sans doute une circonstance atténuante des deux derniers chapitres.

Les conclusions de l'ouvrage sont comprimées dans un chapitre à part (le septième, "*Conclusione: «Per la memoria loro vivemmo»*", p. 223-227).

La bibliographie impressionnante incluse, à côté des manuscrits cités en début de notre compte-rendu (p. 231-234), des sources éditées et des études (p. 235-254), très riches en informations et actualisés conformément aux dernières apparitions.

Il y sont attachés six fragments des manuscrits analysés (p. 255-259), un indice de noms et topographique (p. 261-259) avec la précision faite par l'auteur qu'il ne comprend pas les historiens et les personnalités d'après 1800.

En conclusion, nous nous trouvons devant un ouvrage originel, étant donné que la démarche concernant exclusivement les productions des diaristes vénitiens est tout à fait nouvelle. La réduction de l'analyse aux journaux de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> et le début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle ne diminue en rien la valeur de l'ouvrage, d'autant plus que la période ainsi explorée est une des plus prolifiques de ce point de vue. Nous signalons donc volontiers l'apparition de l'ouvrage. Malheureusement, nous gardons un certain scepticisme en ce qui concerne la possibilité d'une traduction roumaine du livre puisque les maisons roumaines d'édition fonctionnent encore sous le signe de l'«autochtonie» ce qui fait que les questions concernant le Moyen Age européen soient en général – à trop peu d'exceptions – marginalisées.

Șerban V. Marin

**Dan Bădărău, Ioan Caproșu, *Iașii vechilor zidiri până la 1821* [*The ancient constructions in Jassy by 1821*] (2<sup>nd</sup> edition revised), Iași, Casa Editorială Demiurg, 2007, 403 p.**

The republication of the work set up by Dan Bădărău and Ioan Caproșu and entitled *Iașii vechilor zidiri* has been expected with interest by the academic milieu for many decades. The much expected editorial event took place in April 2007, at the initiative of *Demiurg* publishing house. It is well known that the publication of this book is to a significant extent due to the devotion for Jassy of the regretted cultivated man Dan Bădărău, one of the most profound versed in the ancient local constructions, but also to one of the most prominent editors of Romanian documents, Ioan Caproșu. The latter

enriched the work by consulting the up-to-date bibliography through the agency of laborious researches in archives and by numerous investigations on the spot.

As for the book's sketch, it was extremely judiciously set up, the authors having the ability to treat chronologically the evolution of the architecture in Jassy. At the same time, this evolution is integrated in the context of the general historical development of Jassy, for which reason the work is divided in three great sections: I. "*Oraşul Iaşi, de la începuturi până la stabilirea aici a reşedinţei domneşti principale* / The city of Jassy, from the beginnings to the settling here of the main princely residence"; II. "*Oraşul Iaşi, de la stabilirea aici a reşedinţei domneşti principale până la începutul regimului fanariot (1564-1711)* / The city of Jassy from the settling here of the main princely residence to the beginning of the Phanariot regime (1564-1711)" and III. "*Oraşul Iaşi în epoca fanariotă (1711-1821)* / The city of Jassy in the Phanariot age". The three parts of the book, inside of which the scientific information was structured in 11 chapters, are preceded by "*Cuvântul înainte la ediţia a doua* / The foreword to the second edition" and "*În loc de introducere* / Instead of Introduction" put in order by Ioan Caproşu, and followed by the presentation of several "*Date topografice şi geografice* / Topographic and geographic data" and also by several "*Mărturii străvechi* / Ancient testimonies" referring to the settlement later known under the name of Jassy.

As one could note, the work was drafted so that to illustrate the stages of the architectural development of Jassy. These stages was caused exactly by the transformations occurred in this city's political importance and economic evolution. Hence, the first stage, when Jassy was a princely residence of secondary order, does not offer more than a few number of edifices, which were compulsory for a residence of this style, namely the princely court and its church. To the end of this first stage, several religious edifices were built, such as Dancu Church (1541), "the *logofăt* Ion Golâi's stone church" (existing in 1564), Ioan Zlatauş Church (1563-1564) or the church "*dela Greci* / from the Greeks" built by Alexandru Lăpuşneanu. This fact was due exactly to the central power's trends to settle here the main princely residence. At the same time, the existence of an Armenian church in Jassy since the 14<sup>th</sup> century attests the city's economic part in the commercial relationship between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea.

The second stage (1564-1711) is marked by the most numerous and valuable religious edifices, raised by the princes and boyards that wished to embellish the city by their own founding establishments. It is about the monasteries of Galata, St Sava, Aroneanu, Barnovschi, Hlincea, Nicoriţă, Trei Ierarhi, Golia, Cetăţuia, St Ilie (known under the name of "*biserica Gheanghei* / the Church of Gheanga"), St Ioan Gură de Aur, the Metropolitan Church built by Lady Nastasia (that is, Stratenia Church) and the churches St John the Baptist, St Gheorghe Lozonschi, Sts Voievozi-Rufeni, Albă, Vovidenia, St Dumitru-Balş, Sts Anastasie and Chiril, St Nicolae cel Sărac, Vulpe or Sts Voievozi-Roşca. It should also be underlined the builders' efforts to let the data be known about the princely court in Jassy, a particular attention being paid to the depiction of the edifices where this court was successively settled.

In the third stage (1711-1821), beside the religious edifices (the monasteries of Frumoasa, Mitropolia Veche [St Gheorghe] or the churches of Sts Teodori, Curelari, Talpalari, Haralambie, St Spiridon, Banu), one should notice the flourishing of the laic

buildings, their builders being valuable for their first exhaustive research on the civilian architecture in Jassy.

At the same time, the above mentioned work is not only a history of the medieval architecture of Jassy, but also represents a significant contribution to the history of the social, economic, and cultural life of the ancient capital of Moldavia. Thus, during the the work's three sections, one could detect extremely precious data regarding the city's beginnings and name or the town's surface, surroundings, aspect, and exits; news regarding the professions and trade, the administrative and police structures or the fiscality and the demographic structure of Jassy, but also information regarding the uprising in 1819, the water supply, roads' pavement, public health, public baths, physicians and hospital establishments, public lighting or the culture in the ancient Moldavian capital (*Academia elinească* [the Greek Academy], chroniclers, Dimitrie Cantemir, scholars and the Greek influence, the beginnings of the European culture in Moldavia). The volume ends with a *List of the photocopies* used and the work's *Summary*.

In comparison to the first edition, the book underwent through a series of improvements, connected to the returning to the names of the street network system of the ancient Moldavian capital before the Second World War, so that the topographic references to the medieval streets in this new edition are circumscribed to the present-day classified list of the Jassy's streets. At the same time, the text of the present edition was cleansed of the non-scientific syntagms of the time when the first edition issued and also of the typos in the text published in 1974. Meanwhile, the works' scientific content was corrected and enriched by using the numerous narrative and diplomatic sources published after 1974, a matter that was materialized in an extention of the critical notes.

At the same time, the progress in the printing art allowed the improvement of the graphic conditions in comparison to the precedent edition, and it was materialized in the increase of the number of photocopies.

All these respects offer to the informed reader a serious analysis, rich in information and new interpretations with regard to the economic, social, cultural and political development of the city of Jassy by 1821, relying on a quasi-exhaustive documentation regarding the church and laic monuments in the ancient Moldavian city. The complexity of studying the religious and vicilian architecture of Jassy by the end of the Phanariot age supposes a prodigious work for which Dan Bădărău and Ioan Caproșu researched an impressive number of sources of various style. As a matter of fact, the scientific dimension of the work is proved by the several hundreds titles in the critical notes. Consequently, the result was a substantial, well written, and original scientific work. Because of the exceptional richness of information, we consider that it represents an editorial event in the Romanian historiography.

*Arcadie M. Bodale*

***Documenta Romaniae Historica. A. Moldova*** (ed. by Ioan Caproșu and Valentin Constantinov), XVIII, Iași, Editura Academiei Române, 2006, 679 p.

Despite the difficulties raised by the precariousness of the appropriate archival finding aids (catalogues, guides, published inventories, etc.), we signal the publication of the 18<sup>th</sup> volume of *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, seria *A. Moldova*, which was drawn up by Ioan Caproșu and Valentin Constantinov. The publication of this volume is of major interest not only for the historians dealing with the mediaeval history of Moldavia in general, but also for the linguists interested in the history of the Romanian language or its phonetic and lexical particularities, emerged from the origins and education of the people preparing the documents. Certainly, the standards for the text editing and index drafting are established by the publication of the entire *A* series, *Moldova*, of the *Documenta Romaniae Historica* collection, respecting the orthographic rules imposed by the Romanian Academy, and the phonetic features of the old Romanian language.

This 18<sup>th</sup> volume contains 679 pages and 413 different internal sources from 1632 through 1625; 410 documents are original, and other 3 are forged. It is based on the Romanian texts published in the 5<sup>th</sup> volume (*1621-1625*) of the *Documente privitoare la Istoria României. A. Moldova, veacul al XVII-lea* collection, Editura Academiei, 1957, which enclosed almost two thirds of the documents gathered in the present volume (documents No 244-506 and the forged documents 2-4), and where the texts in foreign languages were published only under the form of a Romanian translation.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> volume of *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, seria *A. Moldova*, all the documents are edited in their best archival preservation condition known so far (copies, abstracts or mentions), regardless of a previous publication, and followed by a critical reference of all the other preservation forms of the document, the annotations required by the text differences, and finally the registration of its potential issues. Thus, the majority of the documents gathered in this volume are edited according to their originals; 145 are Slavonic and 130 are Romanian. In addition, there are 17 old translations (16 Romanian and one German), 54 copies (12 Slavonic copies, 38 Romanian, 3 copies of old translations and one Greek copy), 47 old abstracts (38 Romanian and 9 German), and 13 mentions. In the case of previously published documents, the phonetic features of the reproduced issue were kept, the various differences being signalled by footnotes. If the document had been published several times according to its original or by several editors, its best form was chosen for this issue.

These documents come from the Collection of Documents at the Head Office of the National Archives in Bucharest and from the County Branches of Iași, Suceava, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Botoșani, Bacău, Galați, Vaslui, and Focșani Archives, from the National Archives of Kishinev, the National Museum of Bukovina – Suceava, the National Museum of History – Bucharest, the History Museum of Moldavia – Iași, the History Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Russian Federation – Sankt Petersburg, the State Archives of the Region of Czernowitz, the Central Library of Babeș-Bolyai University – Cluj-Napoca, the archives of the monasteries of Protaton and Xiropotam at Mount Athos – Greece, the Library the of Academy of Sciences of the Russian Federation – Sankt Petersburg and the Library of Paris, while other 25 documents were published after the previous issues.

The volume begins with a Preface, followed by the Bibliography of the enclosed documents and the list of abbreviations. Further on, it contains the summaries of the documents in Romanian and French.

In the chapter “*Documente [Documents]*”, we find the chronological sequence of all the internal documents known, coming from Romanian or foreign fonds, and all the publications edited to the present day on Moldavia covering the period from 1623 to 1625. The archaeographic description of each original document contains all the elements related to its external character, and which are of importance for those dealing with the sciences linked to history. They are followed by abbreviations, symbols, and short notes on the writing and use of indexes.

Name and fields indexes comprise both the direct documentary information and the complementary one (from the archaeographic description, notes or comments) were made by Mr. Valentin Constantinov, who was also in charge of the electronic copy of the entire volume. The field index was correlated with the name index, so that the researcher is enabled to identify faster the information he is interested in from the documentary sources. In order to remove all confusion, there was drawn up a conformity list of the documents gathered in the volume and of those previously published.

By the end of the tome, under the editor grouped under the title *Cuvinte și expresii slavone din documentele în limba română* the Slavonic words recurrent throughout the documents as well as the Slavonic expressions recurrent in the documents issued by the Princely Chancellery.

The last section of this volume offers to the interested researchers a number of 75 facsimiles of original documents, which are followed by the Contents of the book.

At the same time, the editors highlight the fact that it is basically impossible to gather within one volume all the internal documents from the mentioned period because some fonds of certain monasteries on Mount Athos, of several Eastern organisations and the State Archives of Vienna could not be studied, and the internal archival finding aids are extremely precarious. In spite of these setbacks, the effort made by the editors to complete the documentary mediaeval corpus of Moldavia remains impressive.

Arcadie M. Bodale

*Ο ελληνικός κόσμος ανάμεσα στην εποχή του Διαφωτισμού και στον εικοστό αιώνα), Πρακτικά του Γ' Ευρωπαϊκού Συνεδρίου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών της Ευρωπαϊκής Εταιρείας Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών (ΕΕΝΣ), Βουκουρέστι, 2-4 Ιουνίου 2006 [The Greek World from the Age of Enlightenment to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Proceedings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> European Congress of Modern Greek Studies, Bucharest, June 2-4, 2006], Athens, Ellinika Grammata, 2007*

The present paper contains the proceedings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Pan European Congress of Modern Greek Studies, which was organized by the European Society of Modern Greek Studies in co-operation with the Institute of South-Eastern European Studies of the Romanian Academy and the Faculty of History of the University of Bucharest, during

June 2-4, 2006 in Bucharest, and enjoyed a wide participation from the academic and research world. Since the theme of the Congress was generous, there were presented a great number of studies covering the entire spectrum of life and activity of the Greek communities and diasporas (from the history of the 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries to anthropology, literature – with a special section dedicated to the Greek poet Constantinos Cavafis and the influence of his creation upon the contemporary Romanian poetry –, Greek linguistic controversy, Romanian-Greek relations and relations of the Greek culture with other cultures, translations, theatre, books and manuscripts).

The proceedings were gathered in three volumes, according to each section of the Congress. Thus, the first volume contains the studies concerning the history of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (the research themes regard the Enlightenment in the Greek, Romanian and Armenian world, the conception of the Enlightenment ideas in the Bulgarian space and in the Greek diasporas, the war of 1684-1699, the life, activity and library of Nicolae Mavrocordat, the Byzantine sources of the Oracle of Paisios Ligaridis, the historiography of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, revolutionary texts and forms of the Greek Enlightenment, the level of the medical knowledge during the Greek Renaissance, the Greek travelers in the Enlightenment Europe and the influence of Spinoza and the representatives of the French Enlightenment on the work of Christodoulos Pamplekis, the editorial work of Neophitos Doukas); the Greek diasporas (the studies mainly concern the role of the diasporas in the spreading of ideas, the conception of the national values, the Greek diasporas in Southern Italy, the Greek diasporas in the Serbian and Bulgarian world, linguistic contacts in the region of Odessa or the archaic Greek names in the Albanian Orthodox communities); anthropology (the cultural aspect of the Macedo-Romanian issue in Greece or the religious feasts and the novelty of some traditional social institutions, receiving gifts and magical means in the Greek popular fairy-tales); ecclesiastical history (the approach of the Orthodox and Catholic churches in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the relations of Vasile Lupu with the Ecumenical Patriarchate or the attitude of Evgenios Voulgareos towards the Catholic Church); books and manuscripts (books and the Greek language in Russia from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, theory, technology and publication of the Modern Greek texts); literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (the influences of the European literature).

The second volume contains studies concerning the theory of literature (a view upon the Greek literature from the 17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century); the history of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (the place of Ioannis Capodistrias and Nicholas Spiliadis in the Enlightenment Greek movement, the economical thinking of Dimitrios Manou, the attitude of Kyprianos, archbishop of Cyprus during the revolution from 1821, the Greek war of independence, the campaign of Harilaous Trikoupis in Egypt, the mobilization of the Refugee Children from Eastern Europe by the Democratic Army, the exchange of Greek and Bulgarian population in 1925 and the role of the Society of Nations, the end of the Venetian domination in the Ionian islands, Greek society and the Jews at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, institutional frame and reforms in the Turkish Empire, observations about Greek advertising); the linguistic issue (the linguistic matter in Cyprus and a retrospective of the arguments of two opposite movements in the historical linguistic dispute, the attitude of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Alexandros Papadiamantis and Gyorgyos Vizinos towards this problem); literature (the archives of the Modern Greek writers, the program for the safe-guarding of the archive of the Greeks

in Constantinople, the innovating electronic dictionary of Modern Greek, Greek poetry, the work of Michail Moutsakis, comments upon the work of Gyorgos Seferis, Odiseas Elitis, Haralambos Pamboukis, Kariotakis, Palamas, Calvos, Thanasis Valtinos, Manolis Anagnostakis, Maro Douka, Gyorgos Sarantari and N. Engonopoulos, Frantz Kafka, Alkis Zei, Mimika Kranaki, K. Th. Dimaras etc).

The third and last volume gathers the studies from seven sections of the Congress, starting with the Romanian-Greek relations (modern Greek and Romanian proverbs, research of law ideas during the reign of the Phanariot princes, the Greek bourgeois and trade class in Walachia, Moldavia, the Greek communities and schools in Romania during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and international trade, observations upon the work of Daniel Philipidis, diplomatic relations between Greece and Romania, the appearance of feminism in the modern Greek theatre); translations (from the Greek literature in different languages and translations of the Serbian and other literatures in Greek); theatre; the relations of the Greek culture with other cultures (the collection of Népomucène Lemerrière, popular Greek songs, the image of Italy in the Greek tales and that of Greece in the Italian tales, Oscar Wilde, James Joyce and Greece, rituals in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Greek and Georgian literature, the echo of the struggle for independence of Greece in the Spanish literature); Greek and feminine literature; Cavafien studies.

Thus, the Proceedings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Pan European Congress of Modern Greek Studies offer a rich picture of the Greek world and culture and of the Greek diasporas throughout the last three centuries under almost any aspect. Also, it suggests new perspectives for future studies in many fields of research (history, literature, linguistics, theatre etc).

Oana-Maria Ostafe

**Carol I al României, Jurnal [Das Tagebuch], Band I: 1881-1887 (stabilirea textului, traducere din limba germană, studiu introductiv și note de Vasile Docea), Iași, Editura Polirom, 2007, 614 Seiten**

Im Bukarester Nationalarchiv, Bestand "Casa Regală. Personale. Carol I" [*Das Königliche Haus. Personalien. Karl I.*] werden 19 Hefte, mit den vom Fürsten Karl I. von Rumänien in Frakturschrift eigenhändig in der Zeit von 1856 bis 1914 geschriebenen täglichen Aufzeichnungen aufbewahrt. Der Text war aber sehr klein und mit vielen Abkürzungen geschrieben, und darum ist dieser ziemlich schwer zu lesen.

Das Buch, *Jurnal. Carol I al României*, vol.I [*Das Tagebuch. Karl I. von Rumänien*, Band I.] umfasst die Aufzeichnungen von König Karl I., die von einer einleitenden Studie des Herausgebers, wie auch von Anmerkungen über Herausgabe, weitläufige Erklärungen zu denen im Text vorkommenden Personen und Ereignisse begleitet werden. Ein Ortsindex ermöglicht dem Leser eine weitere Orientierung im sehr reichhaltigen Material.

Der von Vasile Docea leider nur in rumänischer Übersetzung herausgegebene Text umfasst die täglichen Aufzeichnungen von König Karl I. aus der Zeit von 1881 bis

1887. Jede Eintragung begann mit dem Datum (z.B. Montag, den 2. August/21. Juli 1886) und brachte danach eine kurze Beschreibung des Wetters oder die Anweisung der Temperatur (Réaumurgrade) und der Luftfeuchtigkeit.

Im allgemeinen waren die Eintragungen sehr kurz gefasst. Man hat den Eindruck, der König wäre ein Chronist aus dem Mittelalter. Über Ereignisse und Personen war Karl I. sehr oft sparsam. Nur selten drückte er seine Bewunderung für die umgebende Natur aus, oder äusserte sich über den einen oder den anderen (z.B. "lieb" oder "grob"). Weit reicher und ausführlicher waren verschiedene Aspekte der Innen- und Aussenpolitik Rumäniens, so über die Beziehungen zu den Nachbarstaaten (Bulgarien, Russland, Serbien), über die Vorbereitung und den Beitritt des Landes zum Dreibund, über die Donaufrage, usw. Recht oft machte der König Eintragungen zu Fragen, die ihm ganz nahe standen: die Gesundheitszustand seiner Gemahlin, Königin Elisabeth (geborene Fürstin von Wied) oder der Bau des neuen Königsschlusses Pelesch zu Sinaia.

Ein Lobwort verdienen die Anmerkungen des Herausgebers, wo viele Einzelheiten über Personen und Ereignisse, die vom König nur kurz angedeutet worden, dem Leser vollkommen verständlich werden.

Man kann nur hoffen, dass in Anbetracht der dokumentarischen Bedeutung des Tagebuchs Karls I. die folgende Bände in je kürzerer Zeit herausgegeben werden.

Ligia Fodor

### The Lost Memoir of Queen Marie of Romania

**Regina Maria a României, *Capitole târzii din viața mea. Memorii redescoperite*, Vol. IV = continuarea seriei Regina Maria, *Povestea Vieții Mele* (ed. by Diana Mandache; foreword by Dominic Lieven; transl. by Valentin Mandache), Bucharest, Allfa, 2007, xxxiv + 188 p.**

Published in 2007 by Allfa publishing house, *Capitole târzii din viața mea. Memorii redescoperite* (originally published under the title *Later Chapters of My Life. The Lost Memoir of Queen Marie of Romania*, Sutton, Great Britain, 2004) written by Diana Mandache completes the Romanian editorial landscape of memoirs and books on the Romanian monarchy.

The first issue was initially printed in Great Britain and enjoyed favourable reviews by "The Sunday Times", "The Spectator", while "Majesty" magazine qualified it as *the book of the month* in its issue of August 2004. In the USA, "Royalty" magazine edited a vast review in the same month qualifying it again as *the book of the month*. "Royal Book News" presented it in enthusiastic terms to the American public interested in the history of European royals. It was also given credit by the Hungarian media, being reviewed by "Hetí Valasz" in its issue of November 4, 2004.

As a PhD in history, Diana Mandache became an expert of European royals, being recognised both in Romania and Great Britain or USA. Other books written by Dr Mandache are: *România, Mittleuropa și Balcanii (Romania, Central Europe and the*

Balkans), *Americans and Queen Marie of Romania*. Her latest book is *Marie of Romania. Images of a Queen*, the first pictorial biography of Queen Marie published in 2007 in Sweden.

The author holds a vast expertise in records research, both in the Romanian and British and American Archives, such as Kent State University Ohio in USA, Reading University in UK, etc.

Queen Marie's manuscript represents a follow-up to her memoirs, *Povestea vieții mele (The Story of My Life)*. The Queen was asked to write this fourth volume due to the success of her previous three books. However, she did not keep the same title as she admits it herself: "*Am considerat însă, că acest al patrulea volum cu greu poate avea același titlu, așa încât am ales pe cel de sus ca fiind cel mai potrivit. Ar mai fi multe, încă, de spus, viața mea e plină de întâmplări și personaje – dar – cu trecerea anilor ea a devenit din ce în ce mai puțin viața mea, și mai mult o implicare a vieților altora, vieți mai tinere dar atât de legate e a mea încât au devenit aproape inseparabile* / However, I consider that I can hardly give the same title to this fourth volume, so I have chosen the above as most suitable. There is still much to tell, my life is still brimful of events and faces – but – as I advance in years, it becomes less and less my own life and ever more involved in other lives, younger lives, but which are so closely bound up with mine as to be inseparable." (p. 3)

This document was discovered after extensive researches conducted in the National Archives of Romania, and as Diana Mandache tells this is "*o relatare a vieții reginei Maria, din 1918 până în 1922 și noile configurații politice văzute de regină ca martor al evenimentelor după sfârșitul războiului. Paginile respective vorbeau despre vizitele neoficiale la Paris și Londra și rolul pe care regina l-a jucat în cadrul Conferinței de Pace, despre conexiunile ei cu familiile regale europene și cea britanică în Europa de după război și ultima întâlnire a Mariei cu mama sa, Ducesa de Saxa-Coburg.* / an account of Queen Marie's life, from 1918 through 1922 and of the new political configurations observed by her as a witness to the events in the aftermath of WW I. Those pages revealed unofficial visits to Paris and London and the role the Queen played at the Peace Conference, her liaisons with the European Royal houses and the British Royal house after the war and the last encounter of Marie with her mother, the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg." (p. xii)

These memoirs were known to exist, a fact mentioned ever since 1934 in the correspondence exchanged by the Queen with Ray Harris Baker, a librarian at the Library of Congress and founder of the collection "Queen Marie" at Kent State University, Ohio. It was not known whether they resisted in time, due to the conflict between the Queen and her son King Carol II, which lasted until her death in 1938, but also due to the political climate in Romania after 1947.

From the introduction we learn that in 1939, the British "Cornhill Magazine" published in several issues fragments of these memoirs, in a slightly different form than nowadays. In 1942, Ray Harris Baker mentioned this manuscript in a booklet entitled *A Collection concerning Marie Queen of Romania and the Romania of 1866 to 1941*. After the war nothing was known about this manuscript, and the merit of Diana Mandache is to have endeavoured to find it not in America, nor in Great Britain, but in Romania, at the

National Archives, among many other documents, and manage to publish it, completing the series of memoirs of Queen Marie.

It is an account of Queen Marie's life from 1918 through 1922 gathering all the events that had occurred and had been described minutely by the author – the Queen –, self-censoring here and there as she acknowledged it herself: “*Dar tocmai acum, când jocul meu este complet, când cu o luciditate aproape crudă îi înțeleg semnificația, când se desfășoară logic și clar în fața ochilor mei, tocmai acum, din cauza altora trebuie să păstrez tăcerea bizuindu-mă pe simțul umorului care m-a însoțit prin atâtea vicisitudini, voi spune numai anumite capitole, lăsând pe seama istoriei să completeze o poveste pe care eu aș fi putut s-o spun cu adevărat* / But just when my puzzle is completed, when with almost cruel lucidity, I see the real meaning, the real explanation of my life, when it lies before me most logically, most tragically clear, I must, because of others, keep silent and, holding fast to my sense of humour which has carried me through so many vicissitudes, I shall only relate certain chapters, leaving it to history to complete a story I alone could really have told!” (p. 4)

The book comprises six chapters, the memoirs of Queen Marie respectively, accompanied by her notes taken during the crowning ceremony of 1922. This is followed by a postscript by Diana Mandache, a selective list of Queen Marie's writings, the genealogical trees of the royal family, notes, a selective bibliography and index, but also photographs, some of them unique from the collection of Diana Mandache, the National Archives, and the National History Museum of Romania.

Later chapters begin with the moment when the Kings of Great Romania returned to Bucharest after a two years refuge in Jassy. The Queen catches and describes hereafter events and characters that re-configured the world in the aftermath of WW I: the Peace Conference of Paris, the Queen's travels to Paris and London, the encounters and discussions with General Berthelot, Marshall Foch, President Poincaré, the Count of Saint-Aulaire, President W. Wilson, Venizelos, Lloyd George, Clémenceau, King George V. At all of the meetings she attended in Paris and London, the Queen pleaded the Romanian cause insisting on the geo-strategic position of the country and on its destiny of barrier against Bolshevik expansion.

Within the new European political configuration, Romania promotes monarchy, King Ferdinand and Queen Marie ensuring a relative political stability, unlike other Balkan States. Nevertheless, Romania underwent an extremely difficult period, and the Queen captured in her memoirs, sometimes most minutely, these problems and the situation of the country after the war: “*În doi ani de ocupație România fusese prădată fără milă; inamicul își înfipsea ghearele peste tot. Mâncarea era tot mai rară; ne confruntam din nou cu foametea. Magazinele erau goale, lipseau până și cele mai elementare produse, neputând fi obținute pentru nimic în lume... Între țara noastră și cele aliate se aflau teritoriile învinșilor, cu frontiere nesigure și intoxicate de bolșevism... Noi eram la mijlocul acestui haos total, încercând să rezistăm pe cât puteam de bine și să depășim dificultățile* / After two years' occupation, Romania had been mercilessly plundered; the enemy had laid hands upon absolutely everything. Food was becoming scarcer and scarcer; we were once more facing famine. The shops were empty, even the most elementary necessities could not be had for love nor money. No materials for clothes, no shoes, no soap, no medicine! Our oppressors had ruffled everything and

owing to disastrous communications, nothing came our way: we were as destitute as in time of war. Between our country and those of our allies lay the lands of the defeated, with uncertain frontiers and Bolshevism raging all around us. The old order of things had been overthrown and the new map of Europe had not yet taken definite shape. And we lay between these countries in complete chaos, standing up as well as we could against overwhelming difficulties.” (p. 9) The Queen did not contend herself to be a mere observer, from her memoirs we learn of the actions she undertook with the help of the British and Canadian Red Cross, but also how she urged different people to take part in charity activities. An entire chapter is dedicated to these activities: *Reconstrucție socială și activități de binefacere (Social Reconstruction and Welfare Activities)*.

In the chapter suggestively entitled *Fire rupte (Torn Threads)*, Queen Marie describes her last encounter with her mother, Maria Alexandrovna, the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, daughter of Tsar Alexander II. This encounter illustrates the best the end of a world shattered by war and the newly installed powers: Maria Alexandrovna, who had broken ties with her family in Russia through her British marriage, saw how after the war her family was barbarically destroyed and her country ruined. Queen Marie would write in her memoirs: “*Săraca omenire zdruncinată, nu-și va găsi niciodată alinarea în liniște? Fața plină de lacrimi a mamei, cu obrajii supti și cu ochii aceia a căror sclipire a murit, apare în fața mea, bânduindu-mă în sicare clipă a vieții. Era de nesuportat să știu că nu pot face nimic pentru ea, și că Destinul a despărțit iremediabil drumurile noastre / Poor tormented humanity, would it never find relief in peace? Mama’s tear-stained face, with its sunken cheeks and with those eyes out of which all fire had died, kept rising up before me, haunting every hour of my days. It was unbearable to know that I could do nothing for her, and that Fate had so irrevocably parted our ways.*” (p. 118)

There is a chapter dedicated to Transylvania, in fact to the visit of the two sovereigns during May 23-June 1, 1919. This visit was very important in the context of the Bolshevik coup by Bela Kun in Budapest anticipating the Romanian intervention. The Queen describes in details the places she had passed, the people’s enthusiasm seeing them, the people’s houses, the landscapes, traditions, costumes worn by peasants, and also the meetings with Transylvanian politicians: Iuliu Maniu, Ciceo Pop, Vasile Goldiș.

The crowning in Alba-Iulia of October 15, 1922, is depicted minutely by the Queen, as she was the artisan of the moment; particularly that Romania had not yet known such an event. It was destined to mark the union of all Romanian provinces in the same place where Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave) had created the first union in 1600. This was followed by their return to Bucharest and the festivities for the welcoming of the two sovereigns.

Here the Queen ends her memoirs noting: “*Și așa, trecând și încoronarea, am întors o altă pagină, un alt drum se ivește mai departe, supraaglomerat, cu probleme de viață, noi căi, noi pretenții pentru cei ce-l străbat / And so, the coronation over, another road stretched about, teeming with life and human problems, new ways, new demands on all who travel it.*”

Mirela-Daniela Tîrnă

**Úřad dokumentace a vyšetřování zločinů komunismu [L'Institution de Documentation et Recherche des Crimes Communistes], *Tresty smrti vykonané v Československu v letech 1918-1989 [Peines de mort prononcées en Tchécoslovaquie dans les années 1918-1989]*, Cahier no. 2, II<sup>e</sup> Edition (édité par Otakar Liška & alii), Prague, 2006, 294p.**

Ce tome, dédié à Otakar Liška, l'initiateur du projet, s'ouvre avec une Introduction signée par Dušan Chval, ex-détenu politique no. 8908. Sur la nécessité de révéler les crimes des régimes communistes, il n'y a plus besoin d'insister. Il suffisait un soupçon d'avoir mener "une activité hostile à l'Etat" pour qu'on ait été enlevé de chez soi, soumis à un procès rapide et exécuté sans délai. Il est donc un devoir – comme le souligne l'auteur de l'Introduction – de faire connaître à la jeunesse de nos jours non seulement les listes des noms de ceux qui ont été exécutés mais aussi l'injustice des sentences qui ont violé leurs droits les plus élémentaires. L'effort de ne pas oublier leurs noms représente la moindre des réparations morales pour ces victimes innocentes.

Le volume est la deuxième édition, plus complète, d'un livre paru en 2000 et déjà épuisé. De nouveaux noms ont été ajoutés à la liste des exécutés et de nouveaux documents viennent prouver les abus dont ils ont été victimes.

Le premier chapitre, signé par Jaroslav Vorel et intitulé *La peine de mort, passé et présent*, fait un historique du problème jusqu'au 1 juillet 1990, quand la Tchécoslovaquie a aboli la peine de mort, se joindrant ainsi aux autres 80 pays dont la Roumanie fait elle-aussi partie. Il existe pourtant encore 78 pays – des pays africains pour la plupart mais aussi les Etats-Unis - où la peine de mort est toujours en vigueur.

Le premier qui a mis en question l'utilité de la peine de mort a été le professeur de philosophie de l'Université de Milano, Caesar Beccari (1738-1794), qui montrait que cette peine n'est ni nécessaire, ni efficace et proposait son remplacement avec la peine de prison à vie.

En Tchécoslovaquie, dans l'entre-deux-guerres, le premier Président de la République, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, était un ennemi de la peine de mort mais la conjoncture politique ne lui a pas permis de donner cours à ses convictions personnelles.

Après le Diktat de Munich, le 15 mars 1938, le nombre d'exécutions a sensiblement augmenté, la prison de Pankrac – Prague se gagnant ainsi une triste célébrité. On a tué pendant cette période un grand nombre de patriotes qui se sont opposés à l'occupation nazie du temps du Protectorat. A la fin de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale, le décret présidentiel no. 16 du 19 juin 1945 condamnait à la peine de mort "les éléments fascistes, les traîtres et les collaborationnistes". Ce décret a été en vigueur jusqu'au 31 décembre 1948, 730 personnes étant exécutées dans cet intervalle.

Après 1949, avec l'instauration du régime communiste de Klement Gotwald, on a organisé une multitude de procès politiques contre les personnes soupçonnées d'anticommunisme, antisoviétisme, sympathie pour l'Occident ou pour la politique de Joseph Broz Tito. Entre 1949 et 1953, plus de 250 personnes ont été exécutées. L'auteur du chapitre précise que la dernière exécution de la République Socialiste Tchécoslovaque a eu lieu le 2 février 1989, sa victime étant Vladimir Lulek, accusé de crime.

Le deuxième chapitre, signé par Tomáš Bursík, comprend un commentaire juridique et psychologique en marge de la peine de mort. Le régime totalitaire n'a rien appris des drames des deux guerres mondiales, et encore moins des temps troubles du Moyen Age, quand le bûcher de Jan Hus et les exécutions publiques punissaient la désobéissance de l'absolutisme impérial. Mais ce qui est encore plus tragique, c'est que ni même après la mort, les victimes n'ont pas été laissées tranquilles: leurs cendres n'étaient pas retournées aux familles mais déposés dans des fosses communes.

Le troisième chapitre, appartenant au feu Otakar Liška, concerne les documents d'archives dont on a extrait les procès, le nombre d'exécutions, des matériaux se trouvant dans les archives des deux grandes prisons de Prague: Pankrac et Ruzyň. On présente également des informations statistiques concernant le nombre de ceux qui ont été emprisonnés. Si, par exemple, en 1918 et 1938 il y avait un nombre de 7393 de prisonniers, en 1953 on atteint le chiffre record de 42 021, tous étant des prisonniers politiques. Le dernier détenu politique, Vladivoj Tomek, accusé de haute trahison, a été exécuté le 17 novembre 1960, 11h 40, dans la prison Pankrac de Prague. 28 ans plus tard, toujours un 17 novembre, il commença à Prague "la révolution de velours" qui mit fin au régime totalitaire communiste.

La partie la plus consistante de ce chapitre est représentée par la liste de tous les condamnés à la peine de mort, en nombre de 1217, ordonnée alphabétiquement: nom et prénom, date et lieu de naissance, date, lieu et motivations de l'exécution, ainsi qu'elles sont définies par le texte de la loi pénale. De cette longue liste, on retient le cas de Rudolf Slansky. Activiste du parti communiste, son idéologue et secrétaire général dès 1945, main droite du président Klement Gotwald, fêté en triomphe en 1951, à l'occasion de son cinquantième anniversaire, il est accusé peu après d'antisoviétisme, trahison, culte de la personnalité, condamné à mort et exécuté le 3 décembre 1952, dans la prison Pankrac de Prague.

Le tome contient aussi une annexe présentant *in extenso* les lois et les paragraphes des lois qui ont justifié la peine capitale, des photocopies des décisions des tribunaux régionaux, départementaux et de Prague qui ont prononcé des peine de mort. Un résumé en allemand et en anglais, destiné aux lecteurs étrangers, se constitue en avertissement pour les contemporaines pour que ce genre d'atrocités ne se répète jamais mais aussi pour qu'elles ne soient jamais oubliées.

*Dragoş Şesan*

**Ion Zainea, *Politică și administrație în România (6 martie 1945-1 martie 1946): Epurarea [Politics and Administration in Romania (March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1945-March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1946): Cleansing], Oradea, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2004***

Many times the historian selects and interprets by himself sources. According to the distinction made by Prof. Bogdan Murgescu<sup>4</sup>, these two types of activities tend to separate and gain individuality: one counting the so called *sourcelogues* and the other counting those interpreting the documentary data given by the first. We can hereby attend to the proliferation of records compilations based on chronological and thematic criteria.

We wish to signal the existence of a hybrid genre at the boundary of the two aforementioned typologies, residing in a grouping of documents preceded either by a preface, an introductory study, a platform, or all these together. Their resemblance with the prefaces of archival inventories (a brief presentation of the intended organization, the main categories of records, and their extreme years) leads us to consider them as very reliable documentary sources when they are fairly prepared. Paul Veyne argues in a book published over 30 years ago in France that “*By its very essence, history is knowledge through documents...it is not a documentary photo-editing and it does not present the past “live, as if you had been there”*”<sup>5</sup>.

The paper-work by Prof. Ion Zainea is not a history interpretation paper, which would require us to examine the content of the complex relations the historian attempts to identify in determining explanatory aspects (the nature of cleansing, causes, immediate consequences transposed factually or politically remote consequences or consequences on the elite, etc.) by the method of reconstructed-experimentation, probing, and auto-correction of the correlations made on the material in possession<sup>6</sup>. It should fairly carry the mention – *editor* – under the name of the author.

In change, one can notice the monochromy of the sources that build up the greatest part of the book (419 pages of 506) coming from the Official Gazette, or the glaring contradiction on page 488 where we learn that “*Epurarea în România n-a fost nici concepută și nici începută de comuniști / The cleansing in Romania was neither conceived nor begun by the Communists*” (p. 488) and that “*Paradigmele epurăției au fost inventate de comuniști / The cleansing paradigms were invented by the Communists*” (p. 488).

Constantin-Răducu Stancu

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<sup>4</sup> Bogdan Murgescu, *A fi istoric în anul 2000*, Bucharest, 2000.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Veyne, *Cum se scrie istoria*, Bucharest, 1999, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> François Furet, *Atelierul istoriei*, Bucharest, 2002.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

### Qu'est-ce qu'il y a les "*Arhive Feudale* [Archives Féodales]"? Une question de terminologie

Il est peu probable que l'histoire des dénominations des différents services, bureaux ou départements de l'Appareil central des Archives Nationales fasse, dans le proche avenir, l'objet de quelque dissertation de maîtrise ou master. Nous prenons néanmoins la liberté d'élever ce sujet au rang de débat. Nous ne pouvons pas nous empêcher de remarquer qu'après les événements de 1989, on assiste à une invasion de termes plus ou moins précieux mais dont l'adéquation au contexte est plutôt douteuse, tels que "*management*", "*integrare europeană* / intégration européenne", "*valorificare* / valorisation" (au sens d'utilisation des documents d'archives pour des fins scientifiques), "*metodologie* / méthodologie", "*îndrumare* / guidance", etc. Tous ces nouveaux mots nous ont été proposés pour introduire un nouveau contenu du problème. Nous laissons aux autres, plus avisés, de juger si on a vraiment réussi un changement de substance. Après tout, ce type de langage n'est pas nécessairement blâmable puisqu'il a imprégné toutes les institutions de l'Etat roumain postcommuniste. Nous nous contentons de demander, sans exiger une réponse immédiate, si les braves employés desdits services comprennent vraiment le sens caché derrière les dénominations de leurs places de travail.

Au milieu de ce tourbillon d'innovations plus ou moins naïves, il existe un service dont la dénomination semble gelée dans d'autres temps, même si elle date seulement de 1992, représentant donc une création postcommuniste. Le contenu des documents abrités par les magasins du Service Archives Féodales donnent, il est vrai, l'envie d'exprimer l'idée d'ancienneté; mais c'est justement le terme "féodal" qui imposerait un minimum de reconsidération, dans un contexte marqué par le rejet quasi-général de l'idéologie marxiste, au moins au niveau des déclarations publiques.

Il est évident que l'idéologie communiste a marqué d'une empreinte unique l'institution des Archives Nationales non seulement du point de vue des pratiques professionnelles (restrictions drastiques de l'accès aux documents, sélection des employés en fonction de "l'origine saine", etc.) mais aussi d'une manière moins douloureuse quoique significative dans des questions relevant de la forme (dans notre cas de figure, de la terminologie). Ainsi, le "féodalisme" a été étendu de façon artificielle par les épigones autochtones de Marx et Engels à l'espace de l'Orthodoxie, ce qui dépassait même les prévisions des fondateurs du marxisme; leurs investigations et pronostics visaient le monde du "capitalisme" authentique, c'est-à-dire l'Europe occidentale. C'est vrai que la "victoire du socialisme" dans un tout autre coin du monde, en Russie, a annulé l'une des "prévisions savantes" de Marx<sup>1</sup>. Mais l'interprétation de l'histoire, une fois

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<sup>1</sup> Pour une analyse objective de la contribution historiographique de Marx, voir, entre autres, Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Karl Marx's Contribution To Historiography*, "Diogenes", 16, 1968, p. 37-56 ou, plus récemment, Wolf Heydebrand, *The Time Dimension in Marxian Social Theory*, "Time & Society", 12, 2/3, 2003, p. 147-188; pour une vision pro-marxiste sur l'histoire, voir Gerald Allen Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence*, Oxford, 1978. Pour les interprétations ultérieures de la

prisonnière des apparatchiks, a transformé l'histoire en matière de modelage, malgré le fait que les personnages respectifs affichent avec fierté leur monopole de la "vérité historique". Nous n'avons pas l'intention d'aller plus loin sur ce sujet<sup>2</sup>; notre intérêt vise la pénétration des concepts marxistes dans des domaines où il n'aurait pas dû s'introduire.

Entre temps, l'historiographie occidentale a cherché de nouvelles voies pour l'interprétation du "féodalisme"<sup>3</sup> arrivant même à des opinions qui rejettent nettement

vision marxiste sur le Moyen Age, voir S. N. Mukherjee, *The Idea of Feudalism: from the Philosophes to Karl Marx*, in *Feudalism: Comparative Studies* (éds. Edmund Leach, S. N. Mukherjee et John Ward), Sydney, 1985, p. 25-39; Robert Holton, *Marxist Theories of Social Change and the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*, "Theory and Society", 10, 1981, p. 833-867; Robert Brenner, *Feudalism*, in *The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics. Marxian Economics* (éds. J. Eatwell, M. Milgate et P. Newman), Londres, 1987, p. 170-185; Claudio J. Katz, *From Feudalism to Capitalism: Marxian Theories of Class Struggle and Social Change*, New York, 1989. A retenir également l'étude de Benno Teschke, *Geopolitical Relations in the European Middle Ages: History and Theory*, "International Organization", 52, 2, 1998, p. 325-358.

<sup>2</sup> Pour les aspects de "la vérité historique" et de "l'objectivité historique" voir, par exemple, George H. Mead, *The Philosophy of the Present*, Chicago, 1932; Raymond Aron, *Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire: essai sur les limites de l'objectivité historique*, Paris, 1938; Arthur O. Lovejoy, *Present Standpoints and Past History*, "The Journal of Philosophy", 36, 18, 1939, p. 477-489; Sidney Ratner, *Presupposition and Objectivity in History*, "Philosophy of Science", 7, 4, 1940, p. 499-505; Kurt Riezler, *The Historian and Truth*, "The Journal of Philosophy", 45, 14, 1948, p. 378-388; Helen M. Lynd, *The Nature of Historical Objectivity*, "The Journal of Philosophy", 47, 2, 1950, p. 29-43; Christopher Blake, *Can History Be Objective?*, "Mind", New Series, 64, 253, 1955, p. 61-78; Virgil Hinshaw Jr., *The Objectivity of History*, "Philosophy of Science", 25, 1, 1958, p. 51-58; Carl L. Becker, *What Are Historical Facts?*, in *The Philosophy of History in Our Time* (éd. Hans Meyerhoff), Garden City, New York, 1959; Leon J. Goldstein, *Evidence and Events in History*, "Philosophy of Science", 29, 2, 1962, p. 175-194; Rudolf Unger, *The Problem of Historical Objectivity. A Sketch of its Development to the Time of Hegel [1923]*, "History and Theory", 11, 1971, p. 60-86; Murray G. Murphey, *Our Knowledge of Historical Past*, Indianapolis-New York, 1973; Joel J. Kupperman, *Precision in History*, "Mind", New Series, 84, 335, 1975, p. 374-389; Paul Ricoeur, *History and Hermeneutics*, "The Journal of Philosophy", 73, 19, 1976, p. 683-695; Harriet Gilliam, *The Dialectics of Realism and Idealism in Modern Historiography Theory*, "History and Theory", 15, 3, 1976, p. 231-256; C. Behan McCullagh, *Historical Realism*, "Philosophy and Phenomenological Research", 40, 3, 1980, p. 420-425; Leon J. Goldstein, *Against Historical Realism*, "Philosophy and Phenomenological Research", 40, 3, 1980, p. 426-429; Jerzy Topolski, *Condition of Truth of Historical Narratives*, "History and Theory", 20, 1, 1981, p. 47-60; William H. McNeill, *Mythistory, or Truth, Myth, History, and Historians*, "The American Historical Review", 91, 1, 1986, p. 1-10; Pierre Gibert, *Vérité historique et esprit historien*, Paris, 1990; Mark Bevir, *Objectivity in History*, "History and Theory", 33, 3, 1994, p. 328-344; Bonnie G. Smith, *Whose Truth, Whose History?*, "Journal of the History of Ideas", 56, 4, 1995, p. 661-668.

<sup>3</sup> De la vaste littérature de spécialité, voir Paul Roth, *Feudalität und Unterhanverband*, Weimar, 1863; le volume *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France: Les origines du système feudal* (éd. Camille Jullian), Paris, 1890; Paul Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France*, Paris, 1902; Ferdinand Lot, *Fidèles ou vassaux? Essai sur la nature juridique du lien qui unissait les grands vassaux à la royauté depuis le milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> jusqu'à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1904; Otto Hintze, *Wesen und Verbreitung des Feudalismus*, "Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen

Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse”, 20, 1929, p. 321-347; Marc Bloch, *Feudalism: European*, in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, 6, Londres, 1932, p. 203-210; Alfons Dopsch, *Beneficialwesen und Feudalität*, “Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung”, 46, 1932, p. 1-36; Frank M. Stenton, *The Changing Feudalism of the Middle Ages*, “History”, 19, 1935, p. 289-301; Jean Calmette, *La société féodale*, Paris, 1938; M. Bloch, *La société féodale*, I: *La formation des liens de dépendance*; II: *Les classes et le gouvernement des hommes*, Paris, 1939-1940; H. A. Cronne, *The Origins of Feudalism*, “History”, XXIV (1939-1940), p. 251-259; Carl Stephenson, *The Origin and Significance of Feudalism*, “American Historical Review”, 46, 1941, p. 788-812; idem, *Medieval Feudalism*, Ithaca, 1942; Kenneth B. McFarlane, *Bastard Feudalism*, “Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research”, 20, 1943, p. 161-180; F. L. Ganshof, *Qu'est ce que la féodalité*, Bruxelles, 1944; D. D. Zakythinos, *Processus de féodalisation*, “L'Hellenisme contemporaine”, 2, 1948, p. 499-534; Arnold P. Toynbee, A. L. Kroeber et al., *Conference on Feudalism*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1950; François Louis Ganshof, *Feudalism*, Londres, 1952; Gideon Sjoberg, *Folk and 'Feudal' Societies*, “The American Journal of Sociology”, 58, 3, 1952, p. 231-239; volumul *Feudalism in History* (éd. Rushton Coulborn), Princeton, New Jersey, 1956; Owen Lattimore, *Feudalism in History* (review of R. Coulborn, *Feudalism in History*), “Past and Present”, 12, 1957, p. 47-57; Bryce D. Lyon, *From Fief to Indenture: The Transition from Feudal to Non-Feudal Contract in Western Europe*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1957; Georges Duby, *La féodalité? Une mentalité médiévale*, “Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations”, 13, 1958, p. 765-771; Robert Boutruche, *Seigneurie et féodalité: Le premier âge des liens d'homme à homme*, Paris, 1959; Bryce Lyon, *The Feudalism of Marc Bloch*, “Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis”, 76, 1963, p. 275-283; Joseph R. Strayer and Rushton Coulborn, *The Idea of Feudalism*, in *Feudalism in History* (éd. Rushton Coulborn), Hamden, Connecticut, 1965, p. 3-11; Joseph R. Strayer, *Feudalism*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1965; Joseph Strayer, *Two Levels of Feudalism, in Life and Thought in the Early Middle Ages* (ed. by Robert S. Hoyt), Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1967; Joshua Praver et Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, *Feudalism*, in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 6, New York, 1968, p. 393-403; Fredric L. Cheyette, *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe: Selected Readings*, New York, 1968; Guy Fourquin, *Seigneurie et féodalité au moyen Age*, Paris, 1970; Aron Iakovlevich Gurevich, *Problemy genezisa feodalizma v Zapadnoi Evrope*, Moscova, 1970; le volume *The History of Feudalism* (éd. David Herlihy), Atlantic Highlands, 1970; J. K. C. Mackrell, *The Attack on 'Feudalism' in the Eighteenth Century*, Londres, 1973; le volume *Feudalism, Capitalism and Beyond* (éds. Eugene Kamenka et R. S. Neal), Londres, 1975; Guy Bois, *Crise de féodalisme. Economie rurale et démographie en Normandie orientale du début du XIV<sup>e</sup> au milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1976; Witold Kula, *An Economic Theory of the Feudal System: towards a model of the Polish economy, 1500-1800* (trad. L. Garner), Londres, 1976; S. F. C. Milsom, *The Legal Framework of English Feudalism*, Cambridge, 1976; Ludolf Kuchenbuch et Bernd Michael, *Feudalismus – Materialien zur Theorie und Geschichte*, Francfort, 1977; Jacques Le Goff, *Le rituel symbolique de la vassalité*, in idem, *Pour un autre Moyen Age*, Paris, 1977, p. 349-421; John Critchley, *Feudalism*, London, 1978; le volume *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (éds. Maurice Dobb et alii), Londres, 1978; Georges Duby, *Les Trois Ordres ou l'Imaginaire du féodalisme*, Paris, 1978; Thomas N. Bisson, *The Problem of Feudal Monarchy: Aragon, Catalonia, and France*, “Speculum”, 53, 3, 1978, p. 460-478; Jean-Pierre Poly et Eric Bournazel, *La mutation féodale, X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1980; Jacques Le Goff, *The Symbolic Ritual of Vassalage*, in idem, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages* (trad. Arthur Goldhammer), Chicago, 1980, p. 237-287; Alain Guerreau, *Le féodalisme. Un horizon théorique*, Paris, 1980; Maurice Aymard, *From Feudalism to Capitalism in Italy: The Case that Doesn't Fit*, “Review”, 6, 1982, p. 131-208; Bernhard Töpfer, *Ursachen für Fortschritte und Stagnationsercheinungen in der Feudalgesellschaft*, “Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft”, 31, 1983, p. 132-146; le volume *Feudalismus. Entstehung und Wesen*

l'opportunité du terme et questionnant son adéquation même pour l'espace de l'Occident<sup>4</sup>. De plus, le terme s'est relativisé avec le temps et s'est enrichi de nouvelles significations<sup>5</sup>. Rien de ces changements n'a influencé l'historiographie roumaine où le terme "féodal" a continué et, dans une mesure significative, continue encore de monopoliser sémantiquement l'intelligence du Moyen Age, sans interrogations supplémentaires. Ainsi, le cliché "féodalisme" = "Moyen Age" s'est généralisé et est perçu comme ayant des significations plus ou moins similaires tant pour l'Occident latin que pour l'Extrême Orient, l'espace africain, etc.<sup>6</sup> Les seules différences admises interviennent pour les périodes où ces sociétés ont traversé le "féodalisme". Ce type d'interprétations relève peut-être de la tendance générale d'établir des classifications et

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(éd. Eckhard Müller-Mertens), Berlin, 1984; Rodney Hilton, *Feudalism in Europe: Problems for Historical Materialists*, "New Left Review", 147, 1984, p. 84-93; le volume *Feudalism: Comparative Studies* (éds. Edmund Leach, S. N. Mukherjee et John Ward), Sydney, 1985; Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy, "Near Eastern Economics" versus "Feudal Society", "Minos", 20-22, 1987, p. 137-150; Gianfranco Poggi, *Max Weber's Conceptual Portrait of Feudalism*, "British Journal of Sociology", 39, 1988, p. 211-227; B. O'Leary, *The Asiatic Mode of Production*, Oxford, 1989; Alain Guerreau, *Fief, féodalité, féodalisme. Enjeux sociaux et réflexion historique*, "Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations", 45, 1990, p. 137-166; Rodney H. Hilton, *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism: Essays in Medieval Social History*, New York, 1990; Jean Pierre Poly et Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation, 900-1200*, New York, 1990; Dominique Barthélemy, *La mutation féodale a-t-elle eu lieu ? (Note critique)*, "Annales. E. S. C.", XLVII (1992), p. 767-777; le volume *Los orígenes del feudalismo en el mundo mediterráneo* (éd. A. Malpica et T. Quesada), Granada, 1994; Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted*, New York-Oxford, 1994; Thomas N. Bisson, *Medieval Lordship*, "Speculum", 70, 4, 1995, p. 743-759, à côté des ouvrages présentés, voir *infra*, note 5, ainsi que les débats terminologique concernant la « révolution féodale », dans la revue "Past and Present", nos. 142 (1994), 152 (1996), 155 (1997) (T. N. Bisson, Dominique Barthélemy, Stephen D. White, Timothy Reuter, Chris Wickham). Pour une plus riche bibliographie du sujet, voir <http://www.the-orb.net/bibliographies/feudal.html>.

<sup>4</sup> A ce propos, l'une des prises de position les plus critiques appartient à Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe*, "The American Historical Review", 79, 4, October 1974, p. 1063-1088; voir aussi J. M. W. Bean, *From Land to Patron: Lordship in Late Medieval England*, Philadelphia, 1989.

<sup>5</sup> Voir, pour nous limiter à quelques exemples, Robert Koehl, *Feudal Aspects of National Socialism*, "The American Political Science Review", 54, 4, 1960, p. 921-933; James R. Bartholomew, *The "Feudalistic" Legacy of Japanese Science*, "Science Communication", 6, 1985, p. 350-376; Bob Deacon et Paul Stubbs, *International Actors and Social Policy Development in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Globalism and the 'New Feudalism'*, "Journal of European Social Policy", 8, 5, 1998, p. 99-115.

<sup>6</sup> Pour le "féodalisme" dans ces espaces exotiques, la bibliographie est trop vaste pour être incluse dans notre intervention; nous nous limitons donc à indiquer seulement le volume *Feudalism and Non-European Societies* (éds T. J. Byres et Harbans Mukhia), Londres, 1985 et nous précisons que le problème du "(non)féodalisme" a donné lieu à des importantes débats pour des régions telles que l'Extrême Orient (la Chine, le Japon), l'Inde, l'espace musulman, "le féodalisme nomade" des Mongols, l'Abyssinie, l'Afrique noire, l'Amérique précolombienne, l'Amérique Latine, ainsi que des comparaisons avec le "féodalisme traditionnel" (c'est-à-dire celui de l'Europe occidentale). Egalement, l'idée de "(non)féodalisme" s'est étendue vers d'autres époques historiques telles que l'Égypte, la Mésopotamie ou la Perse antiques.

des catégories définitives, sans laisser de place pour d'autres interprétations et la périodisation marxiste de l'histoire a représenté de ce point de vue un terrain fertile<sup>7</sup>. Un essai, en quelque sorte singulier dans l'historiographie roumaine<sup>8</sup>, d'expliquer le "féodalisme byzantin" et de se délimiter implicitement d'un féodalisme global par simple articulation d'un questionnement, finie malheureusement par retomber dans le grand tourbillon des préjugés. Le fait que les principales références sont des byzantinistes de l'espace soviétique<sup>9</sup> est édifiant, même si l'auteur cherche de nuancer le cas particulier de la société byzantine par l'introduction de la syntagme "feudalism nedesăvârșit / féodalisme inachevé"<sup>10</sup>, reprise elle-aussi de l'historiographie soviétique<sup>11</sup>.

Si l'idée de l'existence ou de la non-existence d'une "féodalisme" dans l'espace ex-byzantin est toujours débattue<sup>12</sup>, nous constatons une toute autre situation pour nos

<sup>7</sup> Pour quelques théories concernant la périodisation de l'histoire, voir: Hans Spangenberg, *Die Perioden der Weltgeschichte*, "Historische Zeitschrift", 127, 1923, p. 1-49; Oscar Halecki, *The Limits and Divisions of European History*, New York, 1950; Rudolf Schlesinger, *Recent Discussions on the Periodization of History*, "Soviet Studies", 4, 2, 1952, p. 152-169; Herbert Heaton, *Criteria of Periodization in Economic History*, "The Journal of Economic History", 15, 3, 1955, p. 267-272; Dietrich Gerhard, *Periodization in European History*, "The American Historical Review", 61, 4, Jul. 1956, p. 900-913; Ernst Werner, *De l'esclavage à la féodalité. La périodisation de l'histoire mondiale*, "Annales. ESC", 17, 1962, p. 930-939; Timoteus Pokora, *A Theory of Periodization of World History*, "Archiv Orientalni", 34, 1966, p. 602-605; Dietrich Gerhard, *Old Europe: A Study of Continuity, 1000-1800*, New York, 1981; Ross E. Dunn, *Periodization and Chronological Coverage in a World History Survey, in What Americans Should Know: Western Civilization or World History? Proceedings of a Conference at Michigan State University, April 21-23, 1985* (éd. Josef W. Konvitz), East Lansing, Michigan, 1985, p. 129-140; Peter N. Stearns, *World History: Patterns of Change and Continuity*, New York, 1987; Peter N. Stearns, *Periodization in World History Teaching: Identifying the Big Changes*, "History Teacher", 20, 4, 1987, p. 561-580; William A. Green, *Periodization in European and World History*, "Journal of World History", 3, 1992, p. 13-53; William A. Green, *Periodizing World History*, "History and Theory", 34, 2, May 1995, p. 99-111; Jerry H. Bentley, *Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History*, "The American Historical Review", 101, 3, Jun. 1996, p. 749-770. Nous n'avons pas inclus dans cette énumération les ouvrages classiques sur la succession des civilisations appartenant à Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, Nikolai Danilevski, Oswald Spengler, Arnold J. Toynbee, Joseph Tainter, Jared Diamond, Thomas Homer-Dixon, Samuel P. Huntington ou Clive Pointing; à la différence de ces dernières, la théorie de Marx a eu le privilège d'être "institutionnalisée", même si au prix de sa déformation.

<sup>8</sup> Voir Gheorghe Cronț, *Feudalismul bizantin*, "Studii. Revistă de istorie", XXIV, 1, 1971, p. 139-152.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, surtout p. 141-142.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 151.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. K. V. Hvosťova, in *История Византии*, III, Moscou, 1967, p. 97-108 apud Gh. Cronț, *op. cit.*, p. 151, note 74.

<sup>12</sup> Pour les débats autour du "féodalisme" dans le monde byzantin, voir, à côté de Gh. Cronț, *op. cit.*, les études de Alexander A. Vasiliev, *On the Question of Byzantine Feudalism*, "Byzantion", 8, 1933, p. 584-604; George Ostrogorsky, *La pronoia: Contribution à l'étude de la féodalité à Byzance et chez les slaves du sud*, "Byzantion", 22, 1952, p. 437-518; George Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité Byzantine*, Brussels, 1954; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Feudalism in the Byzantine Empire*, in *Feudalism in History* (éd. Rushton Coulborn), Princeton, New Jersey, 1956,

“Archives Féodales”. Cette dénomination est devenue une approche originel dans le sens que le cliché marxiste sur le partage de l’histoire en *orânduiri* [“ordres”] sociales – donc, le cliché qui a représenté le point de départ pour la dénomination du Service – a fini par être lui-même corrompu, le plus probablement par excès de zèle. De cette manière, l’“adjectivation” de ce qu’on comprend par “féodalisme” a conduit à des questions hallucinantes devant lesquelles on ne peut que se demander comment peut-elles, les archives, être “féodales”. Et la réponse nous vient à l’esprit sous la forme d’une deuxième question, complémentaire: “Qui est le seigneur [sic!] de ces archives?”

Pour prévenir l’accusation presque inévitable que notre démarche ne fait que démolir sans rien proposer en échange, nous proposons donc une solution: cette dénomination inappropriée d’“Archives Féodales” pourrait bien être remplacée avec celle d’“Archives Médiévales”, même si le Moyen Age roumain s’étende – conformément à la même interprétation malheureuse de Marx dans notre historiographie – jusqu’au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les tentations sont grandes quand on développe ce sujet et certaines questions s’imposent: comment se fait-il que, dans l’espace moldo-valaque, nous avons un Moyen Age qui finie brusquement et sans façon juste en 1821? (il s’agirait, bien sûr, du rejet des “traîtres phanariotes” en dehors de la modernité, dans les ténèbres du “noir” Moyen Age); et pourquoi, suivant ce partage forcé de l’histoire, la modernité roumaine n’a duré que moins de 100 ans (1821-1918) après quoi elle a été “écrasée” par l’histoire soi-disant contemporaine qui, à son tour, touche actuellement l’âge vénérable de 90 ans? Et on pourrait continuer.

Toutes ces questions sont depuis des années au cœur de débats scientifiques; la bibliographie que nous invoquons ne contient que quelques exemples<sup>13</sup>, déjà banalisés et peut-être que leur mise en discussion pourrait paraître déplacée. Et pourtant, comment expliquer que la dénomination d’“Archives Féodales”, non seulement qu’elle est apparue dans les années de démocratisation de la société roumaine (1992) mais continue même aujourd’hui de persister dans une institution comme les Archives Nationales? C’est une discussion qui dépasse les cadres de notre intérêt, celui de proposer le remplacement des “Archives féodales” par des “Archives Médiévales”. Bien sûr, nous n’avons pas la prétention que, par ce changement, le problème soit solutionné de manière définitive, surtout que des termes comme “Moyen Age” ou “médiévalisme” sont à leur tour des créations *post factum*, proposées et imposées pour des considérations plutôt subjectives<sup>14</sup>.

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p. 151-166; E. E. Lipșiț, *Despre principalele probleme controversate privind istoria feudalismului timpuriu în Bizanț*, “Probleme de istorie”, 1, 1962, p. 168-196; John Haldon, *The Feudalism Debate Once More: The Case of Byzantium*, “Journal of Peasant Studies”, 17, 1989, p. 5-40; Alexander Kazhdan, *State, Feudal, and Private Economy in Byzantium*, “Dumbarton Oaks Papers”, 47, 1993, p. 83-100. Pour le cas de la Russie “féodale”, voir, entre autres, George Vernadsky, *Feudalism in Russia*, “Speculum”, 14, 3, 1939, p. 300-323; George Vernadsky, *On Feudalism in Kievan Russia*, “American Slavic and East European Review”, 7, 1, 1948, p. 3-14; Samuel H. Baron, *The Town in ‘feudal’ Russia*, “Slavic Review”, 18, 1969, p. 116-122; Samuel H. Baron, *Feudalism or the Asiatic Mode of Production: Alternative Interpretations of Russian History*, in *Windows on the Russian Past* (éds. Samuel H. Baron et Nancy W. Heer), Columbus, Ohio, 1977.

<sup>13</sup> Voir *supra*, note 3.

<sup>14</sup> Pour ceci, comme une paraphrase à l’article antérieurement cité de Elisabeth Brown (cf. *supra*, note 4), voir surtout Timothy Reuter, *Medieval: Another Tyrannous Construct?*, “The Medieval

Mais tandis que la notion de “médiéval” (soit-elle même dépréciative) est à l’origine la création de personnages – ceux de la Renaissance – considérés encore de nos jours comme illuminés<sup>15</sup>, l’importation sans justification de l’idée de “féodalisme” dans l’espace roumain est due à quelques tristes figures des camarades communistes auxquels

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History Journal”, 1, 1, 1998, p. 25-45, mais aussi W. P. Ker, *The Dark Ages*, Edimbourg, 1904; George L. Burr, *Anent the Middle Ages*, “The American Historical Review”, 18, 4, 1913, p. 710-726; idem, *How the Middle Ages got Their Name*, “The American Historical Review”, 20, 4, 1915, p. 813-814; J. Huizinga, *Een schakel in de ontwikkeling van de term Middeleeuwen?*, in *Medeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam, 1921, p. 135-145; George S. Gordon, *Medium Aevum and the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1925; Lucie Varga, *Das Schlagwort vom “Finsteren Mittelalter”*, Baden, 1932; Giorgio Falco, *La polemica sul medio evo*, Turin, 1933; Nathan Edelman, *The Early Uses of Medium Aevum, Moyen Age, Middle Ages*, “Romanic Review”, 29, 1938, p. 3-25; Paul Lehmann, *Vom Mittelalter und von der lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, in idem, *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 1, Stuttgart, 1941, p. 46-62; Luigi Sorrento, *Medio Evo: il termine e il concetto*, in idem, *Medievalia: problemi e studi*, Brescia, 1943; Geoffrey Barraclough, *Medium Aevum: Some Reflections on Medieval History and on the Term “The Middle Ages”*, in idem, *History in a Changing World*, Oxford, 1954, p. 54-63; George B. Fowler, *Comparative Studies and the Concept of the Middle Ages*, “History of Education Quarterly”, 2, 2, 1962, p. 113-121; Jürgen Voss, *Das Mittelalter im historischen Denken Frankreichs*, Munich, 1972; Norman Cantor, *The Meaning of the Middle Ages*, Boston, 1974; Peter Schaeffer, *The Emergence of the Concept «Medieval» in Central European Humanism*, “Sixteenth Century Journal”, 7, 2, 1976, p. 21-30; Piero Zerbi, *Il medioevo nella storiografia degli ultimi vent’anni*, Milan, 1976; Ludovico Gatto, *Viaggi intorno al concetto di medioevo*, Rome, 1977; Norman Cantor, *What Has Happened in Medieval Studies?*, “Humanities”, 5, 5, 1984, p. 16-19; Fred C. Robinson, *Medieval, the Middle Ages*, “Speculum”, 59, 4, 1984, p. 745-756; Ernst Pitz, *Der Untergang des Mittelalters: Die Erfassung der geschichtlichen Grundlagen Europas in der politisch-historischen Literatur des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1987; C. Warren Hollister, *The Phases of European History and the Nonexistence of the Middle Ages*, “Pacific Historical Review”, 61, 1992, p. 1-22; Barbara G. Keller, *The Middle Ages Reconsidered: Attitudes in France from the Eighteenth Century through the Romantic Movement*, New York, 1994.

<sup>15</sup> A côté des études devenues classique de Jakob Burckhardt ou Paul Oskar Kristeller, voir aussi les ouvrages concernant la relation Moyen Age-Renaissance, comme Johan Nordström, *Moyen âge et Renaissance*, Paris, 1933; Theodore E. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Conception of the «Dark Ages»*, “Speculum”, 17, 2 1942, p. 226-242; Herbert Weisinger, *The Renaissance Theory of the Reaction against the Middle Ages as a Cause of the Renaissance*, “Speculum”, 20, 4, October 1945, p. 461-467; Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, Boston, 1948; W. von Leyden, *Antiquity and Authority: A Paradox in the Renaissance Theory of History*, “Journal of the History of Ideas”, 19, 4, 1958, p. 473-492; volumul *The Renaissance. Medieval or Modern?* (éd. Karl H. Dannenfeldt), Boston, 1966 [1959]; Hans Baron, *The Querelle of the Ancients and the Moderns as a Problem for Renaissance Scholarship*, “Journal of the History of Ideas”, 20, 1, 1959, p. 3-22; Richard Donovan, *Salutati’s Opinion of Non-Italian Latin Writers of the Middle Ages*, “Studies in the Renaissance”, 14, 1967, p. 185-201; Norman F. Cantor, *Medieval Historiography as Modern Political and Social Thought*, “Journal of Contemporary History”, 3, 2, 1968, p. 55-73; Paula Findlen, *Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance*, “The American Historical Review”, 103, 1, 1998, p. 83-114; Kenneth Gouwens, *Perceiving the Past: Humanism after the «Cognitive Turn»*, “The American Historical Review”, 103, 1, 1998, p. 55-82. Au sujet de la “Renaissance”, qui est à son tour un terme relatif, voir aussi Robert Nisbet, *The Myth of the Renaissance*, “Comparative Studies in Society and History”, 15, 4, 1973, p. 473-492.

une expression comme “capitalisme médiévale”<sup>16</sup> leur aurait produit de gros problèmes axiologiques, relèvent de leur forte dépendance du système marxiste des “ordres” et auxquels on a relégué la “(ré)écriture” du passé.

*Șerban V. Marin*

### **Beyond Logos<sup>1</sup>**

I am looking at the door of an old iron “locker” dating from a pitiful regime and at a glued sheet of paper bearing for a while a quote from Vasile Alecsandri. I open a book published this year – *Arhivele românești între tradiție și reformă* [*The Romanian Archives between Tradition and Reform*] by Diana Joița and Ioan Lăcătușu – and I see on its first page the same quote from Vasile Alecsandri: “The Archive of a State is a public heritage worth to be granted the greatest care by the government. Its represents the assemblage of all public records, administrative, legal, and political serving for grounds to the legislative and to the history of the country.” Hence, we may opine that the quote from Vasile Alecsandri lingers perpetually between tradition and reform (have we not heard these words elsewhere, or were they “revolution and reform”?).

Published shortly after the 175<sup>th</sup> celebration of the National Archives, the style of this book does not transcend the aforementioned Romantic style of Alecsandri. It is a mixture of observations on how the archives used to be, should have been, and even would be, as well as a “report” of the activity carried out by the two authors – Ioan Lăcătușu, “the old wave” and Diana Joița, “the new wave”, as outlined by themselves from the very first lines.

From the beginning of the first chapter entitled *Provocări și priorități actuale pentru Arhivele Naționale* (*Current Challenges and Priorities for the National Archives*), the two authors engage in a rather pathetic pleading on the subordination of the National Archives to the Ministry of Interior and Administrative Reform as opposed to the discussions on the conveyance of the Archives to the Ministry of Culture, one of the reasons cited being the protection and safeguard of the records, which could have become vulnerable in a different context. The two authors come to contradict themselves since in another sub-chapter they express their discontent towards the lack of storage spaces at the central and local level, fact that could jeopardize the safety and protection of records. At the same time they complain about the reduced capability of documents restoration and preservation, the low capacity of serviceable equipment supply, the lack of financial resources, the vacancies blockage, etc., but they never show discontent towards the inefficient management of the National Archives post-1989. Moreover, they appeal to

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<sup>16</sup> Cf., par exemple, Henri Pirenne, *Les phases sociales dans le développement de capitalisme médiéval*, “Revue Belge d’Histoire et de Philologie”, 2 (1914); M. Postan, *Studies in Bibliography. I. Mediaeval Capitalism*, “The Economic History Review”, 4, 2, 1933, p. 212-227.

<sup>1</sup> Review of Diana Joița, Ioan Lăcătușu, *Arhivele românești între tradiție și reformă* [*The Romanian Archives between Tradition and Reform*], Sfântu Gheorghe, Editura Eurcarpatica, 2007, 276 pages.

tradition, although the Archives have been continually subordinated to the Ministry of Interior since 1951, which is to say since the Communist regime. Annex 3 presents *Situația privind apartenența instituției Arhivelor în diverse țări ale lumii* [*The Status of Archives services appartenance in different countries world-wide*]; from 21 examples given (we are not aware why only that many) in just 4 cases the Archives services are subordinated to the Ministry of Interior: Argentina, the Czech Republic, Switzerland, and Slovakia.

We also notice that those who share different opinions – legislative, managerial, or service quality related – with regard to the National Archives are criticized. In chapter 1, II.2. – *Substratul unor proiecte legislative alternative* [*The Substratum of Certain Alternative Bills*] – the authors refer to the propositions addressed by DUHR (Democrat Union of the Hungarians of Romania) concerning the set up of a public records service, decentralization, free access to archives with the exception of the damaged, etc. Furthermore, the authors argue that the idea of hiring staff in relation and proportion with the languages the records were written in implies the introduction of the ethnic criterion. We signal that a person who possesses a good command of an old or little-known language does not suggest the appartenance to an ethnic group or other, given that the Archives lack the staff speaking rare languages. Thus, we consider it dull to bring into this discussion the ethnic criterion, and although nowadays the otherness feeling is maintained and sharpened under the form of nationalistic frustrations, these should have not been expressed in a paper on the National Archives.

It is to appreciate that the two authors share their experiences and impressions after participating in international events – see the sub-chapter *Lucrările Congresului Internațional al Arhivelor desfășurat la Viena, 23-28 august 2004* [*The International Congress on Archives Held in Vienna, August 23<sup>rd</sup>-28<sup>th</sup>, 2004*] by Diana Joița. We question what specifically was implemented in Romania from the experiences of other archives services, or whether major discrepancies were registered between the Romanian and the foreign archives, particularly in the field of IT and digitization, cooperation with IT companies, access facilities, etc., without fearing constantly that the archives would be less safeguarded if access to records were made through other means than traditional, or whether the number of IT experts grew annually instead of decreasing, not to mention that in fact they are missing.

The sub-chapter referring to *Activitatea de arhivă de la creatorii și deținătorii de documente...* [*Archival Activities Performed by the Records Creators and Keepers...*] accounts of the “vast expertise of the National Archives in the guidance, control and professional assistance given to archives creators and keepers” (p. 127), reviewing the rather serious problems occurred at archives creators and keepers. Hence our questions: What did the National Archives do in this matter if they had such a wide expertise? How specialized is the staff in this field? And the questions could continue. We appreciate the use of questionnaires by Covasna County Branch of the National Archives addressed to archivists and to archives creators and keepers; however those questionnaires lack essential questions such as: How satisfied are the mid-educated staffs by the quality of the training courses, and equally by the quality of controls performed at organisations creating and keeping records? Beyond all difficulties related to the rules and regulations in force, lack of financial resources and staffs, little importance was given to the guidance

and control of organisations creating or keeping archives and concrete examples should have demonstrated this.

We leave aside the sub-chapter presenting *Federația Arhiviștilor din România* [*The Federation of Romanian Archivists*] and move on to chapter II written by Diana Joița and dealing with *Arhivele Naționale și imaginea lor publică* [*The National Archives and Its Public Image*]. We stress that the author displayed a subjective view all along, being directly involved in the public relations activity of this organisation. In addition, from the very beginning this chapter is deprived of any public opinions, namely the opinions of the users of archives – either citizens claiming rights based on records or researchers, or any other people coming into contact with the archives. Could we speak of an organisation's image as long as we have no public view on this matter, be it positive or negative? A management strategy cannot be accomplished this way. If we excessively theorise or present the embellished side of things ignoring criticisms, we only come to minimise the PR activity within an organisation.

After a sub-chapter dedicated to definitions and general considerations on the public relations, Diana Joița refers to the PR activity of the National Archives warning that we might become surprised of the variety of laws, directives, instructions and circular letters which underpin this activity, and she counts them in the end. Nevertheless, our organisation chart holds only two vacancies for the PR department – one for high-level education staff and one for mid-level education staff.

The author further presents the *Strategia de Informare și Relații Publice în Arhivele Naționale* [*Information and PR Strategy of the National Archives*], which is not inwardly-oriented, based on the public's views and requests, but outwardly-oriented, although the intentions and objectives seemed to be praiseworthy, as shown in *Planul integrat de promovare a imaginii Arhivelor Naționale ale României* [*The Integrated Plan for the Image Promotion of the National Archives*] for 2005-2006, annexed by the author.

As for the mass-media relation, beyond any statistic data – number of information notes, press releases, positive articles, etc. – the authors refers to the press campaign carried out by *Jurnalul Național* and called *Operațiunea ceață și fum. Ce s-a întâmplat cu Arhivele Partidului Comunist Român și ale Securității* [*The Fog and Smoke Operation. What happened to the Archives of the Romanian Communist Party and the Securitate?*], which tackled the issue related to the access to RCP archives, without mentioning any concrete steps taken for the opening of these archives, but specifying that many deliberate confusions have been made. At the same time, Diana Joița mentions how she had sent many press releases “informing of the archivists' concerns for the improvement of our activities, which are in fact thoroughly citizen-oriented”. This is, however, a means to divert the public attention from core problems.

Other sub-chapter deals with *Săptămâna Arhivelor 2005* [*The Archives' Week – 2005*], presenting in the same exaggerated festive manner the events organized during that week. The festive feature implies an overtly positive façade image, although the Archives may be celebrated differently: opening a new building, opening new fonds requested by researchers, increasing the number of public relations staff, preparing repositories for the transfer of archives, etc. Had all these been revealed to the press and public, then the Archives would have gained a positive image, and the degree of involvement at a societal level would have become visible, serving the community.

Reviewing in a few pages the Reading Room of the National Archives under the pathetic title *Poartă deschisă spre istorie* [*A Gate Opened to History*], Diana Joița presents it in the same Romantic note, inviting us to a museum visit: “Once you enter the Reading Room, you do have the feeling of crossing a temporal threshold...” Indeed, once you entered that room with old and dusty furnishings, lacking any equipment and many times cold beaten, you had the feeling of living in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, away from the civilised world. Despite all that, the Reading Room custodians, interviewed by the author, complain here and there of the work conditions, but recount that our organisation is member of the International Council on Archives and that the staff members are sent annually to training courses or professional gatherings abroad. In addition, great contemporary historians are cited to have studied in this Room: Dan Berindei, Gh. Buzatu, Florin Constantiniu. Why only these people? Again, we have no opinions from other researchers, and this makes the author’s approach futile and inconsistent.

The ending of this paper is rather triumphant: *Arhivele Naționale – identitate în diversitate* [*The National Archives – Identity in Diversity*]. It relates to the international relations policy of this organisation, participating in various international events in the name of the European integration perpetual propaganda, but neglecting the pitiable state of the Romanian Archives.

We are not aware whether the authors of this book received an order to write it or whether it was of their own accord. Regardless of the situation, the untold truths and the embellishment of the Archives’ image as perceived by the Romanian society at that moment, the lack of any harsh and realistic criticisms transform the approach of the two authors into a writing-style exercise for the 175<sup>th</sup> celebration of the National Archives.

*Mirela-Daniela Tîrnă*

### **Review or Polemics? A Doubtful Beginning for Each...**

The review by Mirela Tîrnă wished to open a polemics column in *Revista Arhivelor* (*Archives Review*). We have been long waiting for such a column which needed to unfetter judgements. The real debate initiated a year ago by a few “brave people” through the Romanian Archivists Federation forum had to find eventually an official setting within the publication edited by our organisation.

Since the column is only incipient, this should perhaps excuse the publishing of such notes springing from the mind of a frustrated archivist. **Not that the authors of this book would not be pleased by an initiative that seems to have been revived from “clinic death” since the popularisation of their ideas in the reviewed volume.** For those who have not thumbed the book yet, it must be first specified that the materials utilised were papers presented within reunions, scientific sessions, or meetings. Enjoying appreciation, they were also edited in publications issued by the National Archives, the Ministry of Interior and Administrative Reform, the Faculty of Archival Sciences, and further on gathered within a single volume. We question why these materials were not

given a similar “attention” by the reviewer at the time they were issued, when they were endorsed by the editorial office where they were initially published...

Well... we are going to enlighten ourselves if we follow the “locker exercise” proposed by Mirela Târnă in the beginning of her review... and return to a veritably “Romantic” age – we agree with Ms Târnă in this matter!... – where some “abnormals” assumed by their own will “the fight against the wind-mills”, refusing the omnipresent indifference and contempt state, marked by an unimaginable professional cowardice for an intellectually pretentious environment. Even the conventional language taken from the “organisational culture” of Archives and sometimes compromisingly used, as well as a peculiar self-censorship – all of these were necessary to smooth the harshness of this phenomenon known in sociology as *change resistance* of employees accustomed to the routine of a distinctive working style and professional language.

In other words, **the comments made by Mirela Târnă do not consider the context in which the reviewed materials were published** and, incomprehensibly, they not even value positively the ideas presented, which at that moment were thought to be opportune and, moreover, are still implemented to this day. In change, reproaches flow on matters for which we, the authors, had no decisional prerogatives so as to change. In fact, our colleague, who back then happened to be a quality management adviser, is to be known as not contributing in any way to the improvement/development/evolution of the professional and institutional environment of the National Archives. Not to mention that no counter-arguments or solutions were made two or three years ago when the two authors were maintaining their views.

A quick superficial reading of the volume could be the explanation to Ms Târnă’s lack of notice that many of the issues raised by her had been answered in the chapters she overlooked in her review. We do not believe that ignorance or unawareness of current archival practice determines the reviewer to forget for example that the questionnaire applied experimentally to archives creators in the County of Covasna and ridiculed in the review had been used for a long time by colleagues at the Head Office in their relation with other archives services.

The pleading related to the subordination of the National Archives to the Ministry of Interior and Administrative Reform is not only the opinion of the authors of this volume, but also of the majority of employees working within the archival system (any statistics exercise for those interested could prove this fact). The table annexed by the authors to the reviewed material was not a study undertaken by themselves, but an official research conducted by the organisation. We question though, in the context of this review as well, if abjuring a certain stability offered by MIAR to our organisation and its staff (in terms of positions and wages) in favour of conveying the National Archives to the Ministry of Culture and Cults could be the **decisive factor** in ensuring a convenient change for the Archives’ organisational culture...

The stance of the two authors as related to the alternative legislative recommendations is presented in a totally distorted and fierce manner; in particular the one concerning the staff recruitment in relation and proportion with the languages the documents were written in. An honest connection with the proposed draft clearly shows that those provisions did not stipulate that staff recruitment in the Archives should be

made according to the language command criterion, but only according to the ethnic criterion.

Paradoxically, Mirela Târnă overlooks with a rather academic carelessness the material where the authors present the efforts made for the foundation of the Romanian Archivists Federation, an NGO where archivists gradually found an alternative way to express themselves, evolve professionally, and which also sponsored the publication of the reviewed volume.

The PR presentations are commented by Ms Târnă with an amazing amateurism, which does not feature her. Any individual with an elementary knowledge of this field knows that “relationism” is responsible of “polishing” the communication between an organisation and the different components of society/community. This is not “subjectivism”. **A PR adviser will never go out “advocate” the dysfunctions of the organisation before the public.** A “relationist” can *signal* such “gaps” to the organisation management, but the decisions for their solution are not the responsibility of the PR department!... In particular cases, the messages addressed to the public, which reveal the “weaknesses” of an organisation, are carefully structured within a press campaign, carried out on the deliberate accord of the managerial team with the view to gain something in favour of the organisation (solidarity, public assistance, raising a public polls wave). This working style afore mentioned is recurrent in the materials that reflect the activity of the two authors at that time – some abstracts are destined to the National Archives management (and they underline **the vulnerabilities of the organisation at that specific moment!**), while others were meant to reveal to the outer public the activities performed by the archivists and the organisation. Moreover, in terms of promotion, “the expertise of other archives”, which we came into contact with at the International Congress on Archives in Vienna, represented one of the theoretical and practical grounds, but also an ideal for the entire PR activity carried out so far by the National Archives. What is the meaning of obsessive analogies with other foreign archives services, if no *concrete* effort is made in order to evolve to the level of these archives?...

There are also failures, which the two authors assumed punctually throughout the book, where they considered them necessary. Let us take for example the fact that a survey should have been conducted for the users of the National Archives before drafting the image promotion Plan of the organisation. Apart from the fact that Diana Joița admitted this failure herself, it should be stressed that this aspect represented from the very beginning a big concern (being included in the image promotion plan of the organisation), immaterialised due to the lack of financial and human resources (see also the initiative to cooperate with David Ogilvy Faculty of Communication and Public Relations of the National School of Political and Administrative Studies). Considering the above, **the PR strategy of the National Archives was based on three premises:** 1. the professional expertise of the two authors in several departments of the National Archives, which implied a direct contact with the multiple beneficiaries from the activities performed by the organisation; 2. the constant cooperation with colleagues from different departments of the National Archives and the County Branches so as to gather updated information on the expectations of the various types of publics; 3. answers to questionnaires sent by the management to the County Branches of the National Archives

through the Department of Methodology, Guidance and Control. As for the public polls practice, and questionnaire practice respectively, we invite Ms Mirela Tărnă to read the article "*Considerații privind sociologia arhivistică*" [Considerations on the Archival Sociology], in *Revista Arhivelor* no 4/1994, as well as several other articles signed by Mr. Ioan Lăcătușu, which present conclusions drawn in some practical sociological research studies undertaken by him along the years.

It is interesting that during 2005 the PR activity of the National Archives was closely monitored by an expert in this field, Ms Alexandra Zbucea, senior lecturer at the National School of Political and Administrative Studies – David Ogilvy Faculty of Communication and Public Relations, who was drafting at that time her doctoral thesis on "*Politici de marketing utilizate în valorificarea patrimoniului cultural național*" [Marketing Policies Utilised to Valorise the National Cultural Heritage] dedicating an entire chapter to our organisation. Using the same materials that Ms Tărnă is reviewing, this expert considered that "*de la începutul anului 2005 se constată o dinamizare a activității comunicaționale a organizației [...], creîndu-se astfel premisele unei activități eficiente. Publicul este în permanență informat cu privire la noile acțiuni și servicii, se construiesc relații stabile cu mass-media, se urmărește atragerea și altor categorii de public* / beginning with 2005 one can notice a galvanisation of the communication activity of the organisation [...], thereby creating the premises of an efficient activity. The public is permanently informed of the new actions and services, stable relations with mass-media are built, other types of public are envisaged to be enticed". Assessing the situation of the organisation, **the objectives on the National Archives image promotion plan** for 2005 were appreciated as being "*într-adevăr, coordonatele majore care trebuie să ghideze activitatea promoțională a Arhivelor Naționale [...], exemplul Arhivelor Naționale putând fi preluat și de alte organizații de tip arhivă* / the truly major coordinates which were meant to guide the promotion activity of the National Archives [...], an example that could have been followed by other organisations in the field". At the same time, "*o premisă foarte constructivă de la care pornește acest program este posibilitatea transformării activităților tradiționale și în mijloace de îmbunătățire a relațiilor cu diverse categorii de public, respectiv de îmbunătățire a imaginii organizației, [...] de sporire a accesului pentru categorii de public din cele mai variate și de eficientizare a activității. [...] Ținându-se cont de contextul nefavorabil arhivelor românești, s-a ales strategia pașilor mărunți, iar treptat s-a trecut de la o strategie defensivă la una ofensivă. Astfel se încearcă distrugerea imaginii negative și contruirea cu consecvență a uneia pozitive* [emphasis mine] / a very constructive premise of this programme is the possibility to transform traditional activities in means of improving the relations with different types of public and the organisation image, [...] of increasing the access for varied types of public and of making this activity efficient [...]. Given the unfavourable context of the Romanian archives, it was chosen the *small steps strategy*, and the *defensive* strategy was gradually replaced by an *offensive* one. Hence the attempt to destroy the negative image and consistently construct a positive one". Ms Zbucea equally showed that "*este practic imposibil ca o singură persoană să facă față numeroaselor solicitări, atât din interior cât mai ales din exteriorul organizației și să deruleze campanii complexe în domeniul promovării* / it was basically impossible for one single person to be in charge of a great number of requests, coming from within and

mostly from outside the organisation, and also to conduct complex promotion campaigns”.

Here are some considerations on “*The Archives’ Week*”: “[...] *care a avut o amploare neobișnuită în anul 2005. [...] Deschiderea spre exterior, noua politică urmată cu consecvență în prezent de către Arhivele Naționale a fost încă o dată subliniată prin includerea în program a manifestării Porți deschise, care a permis reprezentanților mass-media să se familiarizeze cu activitatea Arhivelor Naționale și cu valoarea și importanța deosebită a patrimoniului deținut și gestionat / [...] which enjoyed an unusual wide spread in 2005 [...]. The outward opening, the new policy followed consistently at present by the National Archives, was once more reinforced by enclosing *The Open Gates* manifestation in the programme, which enabled mass-media representatives to become acquainted with the National Archives activities and with the value and importance of heritage preserved and managed”.*

Ironically, after Diana Joița’s maternity leave in January 2006, Mirela Târnă became in charge with most of PR activity. This is how the author of the caustic accusations had herself the opportunity to transpose into practice ideas that... apparently “came to her mind” only now. Or is this a mere confirmation of the proverb “after the war [read: the change of managerial team] many brave souls show...”?

As a conclusion, the first to become aware of the limits of this reviewed paper are the authors themselves. The volume did not attempt to give an exhaustive account of the current issues of the National Archives, or to give final solutions to problems that emerged over the years. The aim and objective of the materials are explicitly presented in the *Argument* to the volume. They attempted from the beginning to “*stimula [...] conceperea, dezbaterea și gășirea ideilor celor mai potrivite prin care generația noastră să-și materializeze contribuția la bunul mers al unei importante instituții a societății românești / stimulate [...] the creation, debate, and search of the most appropriate ideas so that our generation materialise its contribution to the good governance of an important organisation of Romanian society*”. *It is in this respect that the two authors “practiced their writing style*”. And whether there was at any time an imperative to put on paper the ideas presented in this volume, it was represented by the “command” of their own conscious.

A professional review has the obligation to be balanced, which is far from featuring the attitude displayed by Mirela Târnă. If we called it “polemics”... it should be reduced in this case to the following statement “affirm yourself ridiculing your colleagues”..., which unfortunately diminishes the hope that “new people for new times”.

*Diana Joița, Ioan Lăcătușu*

#### **Editorial note:**

The editorial staff of the *Archives Review* has opened a new column “*Addenda et Corrigenda*” aiming at the promotion of debates on various subjects from the field of history and archives sciences. The editorial staff considers that the lack of a democratic exercise within the National Archives, so much conspicuous over the past years, requires

the creation of such a forum. This objective – of free debates – makes the publication of the right to retort be a justified and assumed right. Certainly, aiming at openness and transparency, the editorial staff relies on the academic exercises of the participants in polemics to avoid the sin of plunging into abuses and offences, a very common feature of many indigenous scientific publications.

In hope to transform open dialogue into a natural communication means for all our contributors, we appeal to them to participate without hesitation in ensuring a long life to the new column.

## ARCHIVAL STUDIES AND RESEARCH

### Les archives du communisme roumain – Réflexions sur un débat

Vue de loin, la Roumanie des années 1990 semblait avoir – en paraphrasant Emil Cioran – “l’anticommunisme facile”. Encore en 1999, le politologue Daniel Barbu remarquait que la vie intellectuelle du pays “semble dominée par un nouveau conformisme moral et politique, s’exprimant sous la forme d’un pathos stéréotype et conventionnel qui dénonce le passé totalitaire. A l’exception d’une populace solitaire et ostracisée, nostalgique du nationalisme ceausescuiste, les intellectuels roumains des années 1990 se considéreraient déshonorés s’ils n’assument pas le rôle de porte-parole d’une éthique radicalement opposée au marxisme-léninisme, au socialisme réel, aux doctrines de gauches et, par-dessus tout, à l’expérience politique, économique et sociale du totalitarisme.”<sup>1</sup> Pour celui qui s’est laissé trompé par l’apparente unanimité du discours anticommuniste roumain, le brusque changement du paysage public à la fin de l’année 2006 a dû sembler paradoxale. En décembre 2006, le Président de la République lisait, devant un Parlement envahi par des nostalgiques furibonds et pas de tout ostracisés, l’acte officiel qui condamnait les crimes du Parti-Etat et de la *Securitate*. Symboliquement, ce 18 décembre 2006 a représenté le passage de la société roumaine de “l’anticommunisme facile” à la compétition des mémoires du communisme.

En vertu de leur fonction publique, les Archives Nationales se sont retrouvées dès le début au cœur de la controverse sur les manières d’assumer le passé récent. Critiquée par les uns pour son rôle de “gardien” des archives du Parti Communiste, exhortée par les autres à veiller sans répit, au nom de la “sécurité nationale”, les lourds secrets de la nomenklatura, l’institution a récemment décidé de sortir devant son public pour entamer un dialogue nécessaire. Le 31 octobre 2007 à Bucarest, dans le Grand Hall du siège central, scientifiques, étudiants, ex-détenus politiques, représentants de l’émigration roumaine et des minorités nationales, archivistes et journalistes ont été tous invités à un débat sur “Les archives du communisme roumain et leurs voix vers le public”, modéré par le Directeur Général Dorin Dobrinu.

Les prises de position des participants ont été largement représentatives pour la variété d’opinions et des manières d’assumer le passé communiste dans la société roumaine: tandis que les jeunes chercheurs présents dans la salle n’ont pas choisi leurs mots pour dénoncer la mise sous couvercle des archives du Parti Communiste Roumain, un ex-directeur des Archives Nationales a préféré se taire pieusement sur sa contribution personnelle à ladite opération. A son tour, un ex-représentant de l’historiographie communiste et l’un des bénéficiaires, après 1989, des privilèges d’accès dans les archives du Parti – accordés par l’ancienne direction des Archives Nationale en exploitant les

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Barbu, *Republica absentă*, Bucarest, 1999, p. 93.

ambiguïtés de la Loi roumaine des Archives – a finalement décidé de plaider pour un accès démocratique aux archives du communisme sans pour autant s'attarder sur ses propres déboires éthiques.

Les flèches des questions – et des critiques – se sont d'abord dirigées vers le Directeur des Archives du Service Roumain d'Information, Florin Pintilie, qui a eu à expliquer les syncopes de la collaboration entre son institution et le Conseil National pour l'Etude des Archives de la *Securitate*. Les journalistes aussi que les ex-détenus politiques participants aux discussions n'ont pas hésité d'accuser le Service roumain d'Informations de pratiquer un double jeu au sujet des archives de la police politique communiste. A son tour, le Directeur des Archives Nationales, Dorin Dobrinco, a été vivement questionné sur les intentions de la nouvelle équipe dirigeante en matière d'accès aux archives du communisme roumain. M. Dobrinco a insisté sur les déficiences de la Loi des Archives no. 16/1996, qui n'ont fait qu'encourager les abus concernant l'accès. Il a mis en discussion le projet d'une nouvelle loi des Archives, qui devrait servir d'une manière beaucoup plus engagée les intérêts légitimes de la société roumaine. Les chercheurs et les universitaires présents ont ainsi appris que le projet de loi, rédigé par un groupe d'archivistes, contient des prévisions expresses concernant l'ouverture pour le public des archives du Parti Communiste Roumain. Le Directeur des Archives Nationales a également affirmé la volonté de son équipe d'arrêter les pratiques d'accès préférentiel et de restaurer la confiance du public en l'institution des Archives Nationales.

Une intervention particulièrement pertinente a eu Vasile Ionaș, Directeur des Archives Départementale de Hunedoara. Il a considéré nécessaire de tirer un signal d'alarme justifié par le constat que l'attention du public est tournée presque exclusivement vers les archives de la *Securitate* et du Comité Centrale du Parti Communiste Roumain. Mais pour l'archiviste, les archives du communisme roumain comprennent également les archives des organisations des masses, des unités économiques socialistes, des communautés locales qui ont traversé, chacune à sa manière, la période communiste. Or, comme l'a affirmé M. Ionaș, ces archives sont le plus souvent négligées, voir détruites par le manque d'intérêts des autorités locales, sous les yeux des archivistes réduits à l'impuissance. La situation matérielle désastreuse des Archives départementales est pleinement prouvée par le manque de moyens et de personnel pour conserver et administrer les archives locales du communisme roumain. Elle représente sans doute l'une des problèmes dont la gravité n'est surclassée que par l'ignorance des représentants des administrations locales qui n'ont pas l'habitude de voir en les archivistes de vrais partenaires de dialogue.

Les conclusions du débat nous mènent vers un optimisme modéré: la bonne volonté de l'archiviste est sans doute indispensable à la démocratisation de l'accès aux archives du communisme roumain mais elle est malheureusement insuffisante. La volonté politique de passer au-delà le discours et d'investir en concret, tant dans la modernisation des Archives que dans l'élaboration de stratégies efficaces pour une meilleure administration des documents au niveau national, représente un passage obligé sur la voie des archives du communisme vers les citoyens. Pour la communauté des archivistes roumains, qui a encore à expier la peine d'une image publique gravement détériorée par les erreurs d'un passé plus que récent, la morale de la fable est plutôt ardue: la crédibilité n'est pas à regagner avec des beaux mots, mais avec des faits et des

attitudes décidés. On ne saura pas cueillir la rose du respect publique sans affronter les épines d'une réforme radicale des mentalités professionnelles.

*Alina Pavelescu*

## **IIAS Archival Sciences Autumn School – A Training Opportunity**

Further to the invitation addressed to the Romanian Archivists Federation and the application selection, I had the chance to attend this October (from 15<sup>th</sup> through 25<sup>th</sup>) to the Archives Autumn School organised by Trieste-Maribor International Institute for Archival Sciences (as initiator), Trieste State Archives, CIMRS/University of Maribor (Slovenia) and Central European Initiative. The school venue was in Trieste, a town close to the Slovenian border, on the picturesque hills nearby the Adriatic coast and it was hosted by the modern “Abdus Salam” International Centre of Theoretic Physics.

The initiating organisation (International Institute for Archival Sciences, IIAS) is one of the prominent training organisations in the archival field, being also a member of the International Council on Archives. It was created in 1986, at the initiative of Dr. Peter Pavel Klasinc, and after 1992 it widened its activity scope transcending the borders of former Yugoslavia. At present, as an international institute, it gathers 20 member states: Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, China, Croatia, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Poland, Slovakia, the Russian Federation, Serbia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Spain, and Ukraine. I should mention that the Director of the Autumn School, Mrs Grazia Tatò (also the Director of Trieste State Archives) is interested in a close cooperation with the Romanian Archives. The Institute has been editing since 1992 its own publication, named “*Atlanti*”, which debates in its pages the current issues that preoccupy the Archives of its member states.

The courses were attended by 24 participants from 10 countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Italy, FYROM, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia). The lecturers were experts, university professors, and archivists of different countries (Croatia, France, Italy, Serbia, and Slovenia).

The lectures focused on four major subjects, each of them comprising several presentations, which are to be posted on the Institute website <http://xoomer.alice.it/iias/>, so as to assist and be accessed by archivists.

The first subject was dedicated to *the role and profession of archivist*. Starting with the simple observation that the massive and diverse production of documents represents a new challenge for the archivists, the presentations highlighted the need of a more profound awareness of the core principles underpinning this profession, but also of their adjustment to the current needs of documentary material processing. The lecturers giving speeches on this topic were: Peter Strčić (Croatia), Giorgetta Dosio (Padua, Italy), Maria Rosa Formentin (Trieste, Italy), Charles Kecskemeti (France), emphasising, among others, the situation of the archival education in their respective countries, as well as the philosophy of the International Council on Archives. A very interesting presentation was delivered by Zivana Hedbeli (Croatia) on the professional ethic code of the archivist,

forced to choose between access and data protection – especially in the former dictatorial regimes –, between abiding by the law and respecting moral imperatives. Mrs Hedbeli underlined that no ethic code can prevent the lack of ethics, and that work creativity, proactive attitude, and enthusiasm cannot be learnt or bought, but they depend on our love for what we do.

The second subject debated referred to the *archival legislation on new technologies*. The speeches revealed various aspects of European and national legislations (Italian, south-eastern European, and European, in general). As for the private archives, the former Communist countries rely on the total and strict control of the State Archives, unlike Italy, where such documents are private property; this right may be limited under the provision in force by declaring some of them as being of public interest and transferring them to the State Archives. Also, the Italian archivists, noticing that the “civic laws” on the personal data protection cannot be applied to the personal data currently preserved by the historical Archives, initiated and convinced the authorities to pass a bill on the historical research, which details the aspects related to the personal data for all those documents of historical value kept by the State Archives. The presentation by Mr Charles Kecskemeti on *The Social Memory Function of Archives Organisation and the Access to Documents* pointed out the specific limits of the “civic laws” governing the Archives, and the role of Archives within the new modern concept of society. The former Secretary General of the International Council on Archives addressed a recommendation to archivists: to dare think, take action, and persevere so as to achieve their mission.

*Archival standardisation* was the third topic of the course. Several presentations referred to the description, opportunity of implementation and role of international standards in the field of archives. Despite a few insignificant comprehension and implementation differences, the general trend is to adopt ICA standards in the archival practice so as to obtain a common minimum needed for the exchange of information contained in documents. An important observation was that ICA standards are not mandatory rules; nevertheless they may be adopted when professional interests guide things in this direction. Apart from the known standards – ISAD(G) and ISAAR(CPF), there was also presented the draft of the international standard on the description of the organisations keeping archives: *ISIAH*, “*International Standard for Institutions with Archival Holdings*”.

An extremely important aspect of the current archival operations, *electronic records management*, was also brought into discussion from the perspective of risks and advantages offered by the digital documents entailing the need of the archivist to adjust to new technologies. Actually, Trieste State Archives grant a great deal of attention to the most requested documents of the main archival fonds, regardless of their media or type (cadastral surveys, maps, video cassettes), and in order to prevent their damage, they digitize them so as to obtain safety copies, but also copies that can be used in the Reading Room or on-line along with other finding aids meant to assist the interested researchers. Both the presentations by the Italian lecturers and the workshop by Dr. Miroslav Novak (Slovenia) highlighted a series of new problems and special solutions, very useful as information exchange. The same path is followed by the commercial presentations

delivered by some companies dealing with archiving or specialised in the scanning of documents (Metis System).

For the second part of the training course, the curricula covered the translation of *IIAS Archival Terminology Dictionary* into the mother tongues of the attendants, as a follow-up to an older initiative of the Institute: *the Glossary of regional historic terminology* published in 1995. The participants also undertook some study visits to the State Archives of Trieste, the Town Archives of Trieste, and the private Archives of RAS Insurance Company of Trieste.

The last day was dedicated to the international Day of Archives, subjecting for debate topics such as the situation of private and electronic archives at global level. The IIAS Autumn School was also attended by a representative of the National Archives of Romania, Mr Bogdan Florin Popovici, who presented the conclusions of the participants in the training course of Trieste.

As a conclusion, participating in IIAS Autumn School was a great opportunity from at least two aspects. First, the direct contact with prominent figures in the field enabled us to see live a series of theoretical issues we had been acquainted with. Secondly, we could also establish contacts with other colleagues from neighbouring countries, thus sharing common problems and concerns. I believe that broadening contacts with Trieste-Maribor International Institute for Archival Sciences could be very useful for the future training of Romanian archivists.

*Alina-Theodora Negoïță*

### **Congrès International des Associations Professionnelles des Archives: “Archivistes associés: défis et opportunités”, 18-20 octobre 2007, Madrid**

Le Congrès a eu lieu à Madrid pendant trois jours, du 18 au 20 octobre 2007. Il a été précédé par l'organisation d'une rencontre des Associations des Archivistes d'Espagne.

La Sous-direction Générale des Archives de l'État du Ministère de la Culture espagnol a collaboré avec la Section des Associations Professionnelles (SPA) du Conseil International des Archives (ICA) et le Comité de Coordination des Associations d'Archivistes d'Espagne pour l'organisation du Congrès International des Associations Professionnelles des Archives sous le titre “Archivistes Associés: défis et opportunités”. Animé par le besoin d'une nouvelle réflexion publique sur l'identité sociale et professionnelle des archivistes, ce congrès a eu pour objectif d'analyser le rôle des associations face aux nouveaux défis de la profession. Ses travaux se sont penchés tant sur les aspects formatifs de la profession d'archiviste, que sur sa projection sociale. Axé sur cette problématique, le congrès a traité les quatre thèmes suivants: 1. Le rôle des associations d'archivistes; 2. Foire des associations; 3. Valorisation et associations d'archivistes; 4. L'avenir des associations d'archivistes.

Ouverts le 18 octobre par le discours inaugural de José Ramón Cruz Mundet, Sous-Directeur Générale des Archives de l'État d'Espagne, les travaux du congrès ont

continué pendant les deux jours suivants. Après le discours d'ouverture, Henri Zuber (président de l'Association des Archivistes Français) a présidé dans la première journée du congrès le débat sur "le rôle des associations d'archivistes dans les sociétés contemporaines". Ce fut la conférence du président de SPA, Didier Grange, qui a permis d'entamer les débats. Intitulée: "De l'ère des pionniers aux défis contemporains: une introduction au monde associatif" et axée sur divers aspects concernant la relation entre ICA, SPA et les associations professionnelles d'archivistes, l'intervention de Didier Grange a mis en exergue les défis et les problèmes que les associations d'archivistes rencontrent dans le paysage associatif et professionnel contemporain. Concentré sur la SPA, le discours de Didier Grange a montré comment cette structure associative offre d'occasions uniques qui permettent aux membres des associations de comparer les contextes et les pratiques, échanger d'opinions sur les problèmes et solutions ainsi que d'étendre leurs réseaux en établissant de nouveaux liens. Cette intervention a également évoqué les efforts pour établir des contacts avec des associations qui ne sont pas encore membres de la Section. Il y aurait des associations dans 56 pays dans le monde et au sein de la SPA, les membres proviennent de 46 pays différents. Le Comité de SPA a pris l'initiative d'éditer un Bulletin d'information destiné à ses membres dont l'objectif est de fournir des renseignements sur les travaux et projets en cours. SPA a créé aussi un site web en trois langues (espagnol, français et anglais) où l'on peut trouver des informations de base sur les projets de la section. Le discours de M. Grange a proposé également une analyse des résultats d'une étude achevée par le Comité directeur sur les sources liées aux programmes relatifs aux compétences, à la certification et à l'accréditation dans différents pays.

Après l'intervention de Didier Grange, Mark Greene, Président de la *Society of American Archivists*, a présenté la conférence "Les associations d'archivistes et leur place dans la société". Selon ce conférencier, les archivistes doivent parvenir à inscrire leurs actions dans les exigences de mémoire et histoire des sociétés contemporaines. Les actions des associations professionnelles ont donc la mission de faire reconnaître la place des archives dans la société. Même discrète, cette place reste pourtant essentielle dans une démocratie. Dans ce contexte, le principal enjeu des associations d'archivistes est celui de mieux se faire connaître et de mieux faire connaître leurs missions. À cet égard, ces associations doivent se pencher essentiellement sur deux aspects de la mission d'archiviste: le rôle administratif, ainsi que le rôle culturel.

La conférence intitulée "Le rôle et le fonctionnement de l'IFLA" (Fédération internationale des associations de bibliothécaires et d'institutions) a été présentée par Peter J. Lor, le secrétaire général de cette organisation. L'IFLA est l'organisme principal qui représente les intérêts des bibliothèques, des services d'information services et de leurs utilisateurs. Aujourd'hui, les buts de l'IFLA sont d'encourager la collaboration internationale, la discussion, la recherche et le développement dans tous les domaines de la bibliothéconomie. En accord avec les objectifs de cette organisation, la présentation de Peter J. Lor a souligné le fait que même si les archivistes, les bibliothécaires et les documentalistes sont actuellement des métiers distincts, la réflexion sur leur avenir ne peut être que commune. Comme la distinction entre ces professions est récente, elles pourraient bien être appelées à se rejoindre, voire à se confondre à nouveau. Selon cette perspective, la situation actuelle est épisodique et le statut de ces métiers dynamique. Par

conséquent, les associations professionnelles concernées doivent envisager des programmes concrets d'actions communes de formation, de réflexion, de recherche mais aussi des actions de défense et de reconnaissance. Parler d'une seule voix, même s'il faut hausser le ton, sera la meilleure possibilité pour faire avancer les causes de ces professions.

Dans l'après-midi a eu lieu la foire des associations avec la participation d'Archivistes sans frontières et de Solidarité archivistiques.

Les travaux du congrès ont continué le 19 octobre avec la table ronde concernant "La promotion des associations professionnelles d'archivistes". Présidée par Trudy Peterson de l'*Academy of Certified Archivists*, cette table ronde a compté sur les interventions de Diane Baillargeon (Québec, Canada), Jean-Paul Ndayisaba (Burundi), Ana Herrero (Espagne), Teresa Dorantes (México), Kim Eberhard (Australie). Chacun des intervenants a présenté le cas de sa propre association professionnelle. Dans ce contexte, les échanges se sont axés essentiellement autour des questions suivantes : 1. "Qui peut adhérer à votre association (quelle définition donnez-vous du métier d'archivistes dans votre pays?)", 2. "Quelles sont les instances de décision mises en place dans votre association?", 3. "Quelle est l'attendue de vos relations avec la direction nationale des Archives?", 4. "Sur quelles manifestations récentes dans la vie de votre association souhaitez-vous mettre l'accent?". Les conclusions d'un tel débat ont permis de constater que dans la plupart des pays, il y a plusieurs associations qui essaient de se rejoindre à l'occasion des conférences, forums, tables rondes et rencontres professionnelles. Nombreux sont également les pays ayant une association nationale qui regroupe l'ensemble des archivistes sous une bannière commune. Les cas de l'Association des archivistes suisses ou celui de la Fédération des Archivistes Roumains sont éloquentes à cet égard. Les associations présentes ont souligné qu'elles ont des bonnes relations avec les institutions des archives nationales, fait souhaité aussi par ces dernières. Dans ce cadre de discussion, Diane Baillargeon a présenté la "Déclaration québécoise sur les archives" en tant que manifestation récente de la vie d'association québécoise. Les neuf regroupements d'archivistes et de gestionnaires de documents du Québec ont convenu, à l'unanimité, d'un texte affirmant l'importance des archives, l'obligation de les préserver et de les rendre plus accessibles. Selon Diane Baillargeon, ce document constitue un engagement moral des archivistes, ainsi qu'un appel à tous les citoyens à les appuyer. De manière symbolique, tous les participants au congrès ont été invités d'apposer leur signature au bas de la Déclaration.

La même journée a eu lieu la table ronde intitulée "Associations et compétences: formation et diplômes" présidée par Joan Boadas i Raset, de SPA. Le débat occasionné par cette table ronde a mobilisé les interventions de Christine Martinez (Association des Archivistes Françaises) – "La définition des compétences professionnelles: quel rôle pour les associations?", Scott Goodine (Association des Archivistes Canadiens) – "The Archival Professional Development in English Canada" et Cindy Smolovik (Présidente de l'*Academy of Certified Archivists*) – "Continuing Education, the Role of Certification and the Reliance on Professional Associations". Les conclusions de ce débat ont permis de mieux orienter la réflexion sur l'encadrement conceptuel, bureaucratique et scientifique de la profession d'archiviste. Force est de constater que dans le contexte institutionnel actuel, plusieurs modèles de spécialiste de la gestion des archives se

dégagent. En effet, les traditions nationales, les divisions technologiques (spécialiste des archives anciennes ou, au contraire, expert en archivage électronique) et les responsabilités fonctionnelles (archiviste public ou gestionnaire d'archives d'entreprises ou d'archives médicales) proposent une pluralité des perspectives pour définir ce métier. Pour arriver à une définition commune, les associations doivent partir d'une logique de "compétences", en identifiant les besoins générés par l'exercice de chaque fonction archivistique, en réintroduisant une perspective de gestion à long terme qui vise à identifier les éléments clés d'une formation archivistique et leurs contenus fondamentaux.

Dans le contexte des discussions concernant le nouveau rôle des associations dans la définition de l'identité professionnelle, la plupart des intervenants ont mis en exergue le fait que la profession d'archiviste manque encore de standards pour parfaire sa définition d'un savoir archivistique et assurer la transmission de ce dernier. Les insuffisances provoquées par une relation confuse entre le marché du travail et le monde universitaire sont doublées dans certains contextes institutionnels par l'absence de mécanismes de contrôle professionnel tels l'agrément des programmes ou la certification individuelle. C'est pour ces raisons que les associations professionnelles doivent revendiquer le rôle principal dans la formation archivistique et l'accréditation technobureaucratique et scientifique de la profession d'archiviste. Compte tenu de l'évolution rapide des connaissances, des administrations et des moyens technologiques, il est essentiel de poursuivre sa formation de façon continue par le biais des programmes mis sur pied par les associations professionnelles et par les formations ponctuelles proposées par les institutions de formation.

La troisième journée du colloque a débouté avec la table ronde consacrée à "L'avenir des associations professionnelles d'archivistes", présidée par Berndt Fredriksson de SPA. Dans ce contexte, les divers conférenciers ont présenté des "points de vue des continents": Eugenio Bustos (Président *Asociación de Archiveros*, Chile), Chiyoko Ogawa (*Society of Archives Institutions Documenting Japan International*, Japon), Anne-Marie Tche Tche (Association des professionnels des sciences de l'information documentaire, Côte d'Ivoire), Carmen Dobrotă (Présidente de la Fédération des Archivistes Roumains, Roumanie), Robert Kretzschmar (Président Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Allemagne).

Structuré en trois volets complémentaires mon exposé a proposé un bref regard sur le rôle de la Fédération des Archivistes de Roumanie (FAR) dans le contexte institutionnel de la transition postcommuniste. Si le premier volet s'est penché sur la présentation de cette organisation professionnelle, le second a précisé le rôle particulier de FAR dans les rapports entre l'État roumain et la société civile. Finalement, le troisième volet de l'exposé a été consacré à l'évaluation des stratégies que cette organisation propose pour mieux définir la place des archivistes en tant que médiateurs entre les Archives nationales et les citoyens. J'ai souligné que la cohérence de l'engagement civique de la Fédération est également prouvée par l'intention de participer à la future consultation publique liée à la discussion de la loi des Archives. Cette contribution de la FAR à la préparation des lois concernant l'accès à l'information et la délimitation du rôle des Archives nationales est susceptible de mieux orienter le travail des juristes et des parlementaires. En même temps, l'élaboration d'une nouvelle loi des archives pourrait constituer une bonne occasion pour les membres de la Fédération de

discuter l'opportunité de redéfinir le statut de leur profession en fonction de la nouvelle définition juridique des Archives nationales.

Orientée par le souci de mettre en exergue sur le rôle de la SPA dans la redéfinition contemporaine de l'identité professionnelle des archivistes, la **conclusion** du colloque a été présentée par Fred van Kan (SPA). Depuis quelques décennies déjà, les actions de SPA se traduisent par de nombreux échanges et collaborations. Outre les simples contacts personnels qui se sont noués au fil du temps, les archivistes se sont mobilisés par le biais des associations. Ces dernières sont actives sur différents plans. Au niveau international, l'action menée par le Conseil International des Archives est exemplaire à plus d'un titre. Présentée à travers le monde, elle constitue une plateforme qui offre à la communauté archivistique la possibilité de partager des expériences, de compléter la formation de ses membres, de développer des programmes ponctuels, de promouvoir les normes et les standards et d'engager la réflexion sur des thèmes propres à la profession. Des associations transfrontalières ont également vu le jour ces dernières années, favorisant le dialogue régional. Mentionnons encore les associations locales ou thématiques, unités plus petites, qui complètent ce panorama.

L'allocation de clôture a été présentée par le président de la coordination des associations espagnoles, Carlos Flores Vela.

La participation de la FAR à cette rencontre internationale des archivistes constitue non seulement une preuve de reconnaissance internationale des efforts déployés par cette organisation pour la redéfinition de la profession d'archiviste dans la Roumanie postcommuniste, mais aussi des contributions que cette fédération a apportées à la consolidation des liens entre les diverses associations d'archivistes de l'Europe de l'Est. Outre les contacts et les échanges avec les représentants des autres associations similaires, ce congrès a permis à la FAR de mieux formuler ses projets et d'orienter ses actions en fonction du repositionnement global de la profession d'archiviste.

*Carmen-Elena Dobrotă*

### **The Potential and Limitations of a List – A Workshop in Prague**

On November the 6-8<sup>th</sup> 2007, the Center of Theoretic Studies<sup>1</sup> (under the joint authority of Charles University and the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic), situated in the very heart of the Old City of Prague, organized an international trans-disciplinary workshop aimed at exploring an intriguing theme: *The Potential and Limitations of a List*. The adjective "trans-disciplinary" seems slightly ambitious when one looks at the "list" of participants: from the total number of 14 speakers, 8 are historians, one philologist, one graphic designer, one sociologist, one psychologist and

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<sup>1</sup> For more information, see the official website of the Center: <http://www.cts.cuni.cz/index2.html>.

two philosophers<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, the discussions on the papers were carried in a relaxed atmosphere, covering a wide range of aspects involving the lists issue, and relating to objectivity, succession, inclusion/exclusion of the items, titles of lists, even the existence or non-existence of an art of making lists (at least for the Middle Ages).

Perhaps, it will be more useful to draw up a list of “potential lists” arranged within the workshop. Starting with the historians, I cannot omit the presentation delivered by the prominent János M. Bak, *professor emeritus* at CEU (Budapest), on the usage of list patterns in the official documents issued by the Royal Hungarian Chancellery meant to support the power legitimization. Bak exemplified with two types of lists: the enumeration of territories claimed to be under the royal authority (at least nominally or, maybe, desirably) and the lists of court officials (including those which were vacant at the date of the document issuance)<sup>3</sup>. The third category of lists presented by Bak pertains to the ancestors of the Hungarian monarchs as they appear in the chronicles (such as the famous *Gesta Hungarorum* compiled by the anonymous notary of King Bela III). All these lists of ancestors “try” to connect the Hungarian royal dynasties to one of the sons of Noah, namely Japheth, rejecting at the same time other genealogies which assert that the Hungarians are the successors of Nimrod, the cursed son of Noah. However, beyond any biblical motif, Bak considers that these genealogies served best to connect the Hungarians with the Huns (through the person of Attila)<sup>4</sup>.

In his presentation, Professor Gerhard Jaritz<sup>5</sup> confined himself to making general remarks on the lists of assets (objects, properties etc.) issued for testamentary purposes. He attempted to reconsider not only the lists as documents but the very items on these lists. For example, he insisted on the fact that people usually preferred to include in their possession inventories only the most precious valuables (according to their own standards) leaving aside the common objects.

Professor Farkas Kiss<sup>6</sup> dealt with the lists of “deadly” (major) sins as they appear in the medieval theological works and sermons. He emphasized the importance of the question: which was the deadliest sin (most dangerous for the human soul)? From this point, Mr. Kiss argued that within the medieval theology there was a long “struggle” between *superbia* and *avaritia*, each of these sins “fighting” to become number one. Most of the sermons used the enumeration of sins starting with *superbia* and the acronym formed from the first letters of all enlisted sins (seven), that is *saligia*, turned into a verb, *saligare*, meaning “to commit a deadly sin”. Furthermore, Kiss discussed the problem

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<sup>2</sup> See the list of participants and the titles of their papers at the web address: <http://www.cts.cuni.cz/new/upload/soubory/474.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> Bak considered that in the Middle Ages, only the Hungarian kings (except the Spanish monarchy) used to include in their royal titles also the territories which were not under their rule, though at a certain time in the past, they had been for shorter or longer period.

<sup>4</sup> Bak considered that this connection between Huns and Hungarians can be put in modern terms within the paradigm of “historical rights” of the Hungarians on the Pannonian lands.

<sup>5</sup> Gerhard Jaritz is currently a researcher at the *Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (see website: <http://www.imareal.oecaw.ac.at>) and professor at CEU, Medieval Studies Department.

<sup>6</sup> Currently at University Eötvös Loránd (ELTE), Institute of Hungarian Literature and Culture, Budapest.

raised by the fact that at least *superbia* was not acknowledged by the common laity as a sin, but rather sins such as luxury or lust, thus making confessions merely useless. This problem was addressed in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> sermons (and Farkas Kiss referred here only to examples from Central Europe), the preachers beginning to change the order of the sins so as to make them easier to grasp by the common understanding.

Researcher Rafał Wójcik from Poznań (Poland)<sup>7</sup> addressed the issue of the mnemonic lists practiced by the Observant Franciscans in Poland in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and argued that this kind of lists (such as the rhymed lists of popes, Roman emperors and Polish kings) proved an intensive and coherent exercise within the Polish Franciscan circles, leading to a true art of memorizing.

Lucie Doležalová, part-time researcher at CTS and an active member of the organizing committee, delivered a presentation on the marginal notes of a famous librarian of St. Martial abbey of Limoges, Bernard Itier (1163-1225). Among the selected pieces, there were various lists of interesting biblical statistics such as the female characters that “harmed” or deceived their husbands (i.e. Eve to Adam or Delilah to Samson). Such lists were considered not only as curiosities, but also as useful information for documenting issues such as the universe of a peculiar intellectual individuality.

The American historian Kathleen Fawver<sup>8</sup> focused on the issues relating to the pre-modern families in North-America and tried to establish a methodology for the analysis of a particular type of historical sources: the tax lists elaborated in 1775 in two counties from the rebelling colonies. The main purpose was to draw out from these lists useful data for a history of North American households at the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Monique Goulet, researcher at LAMOP-Paris<sup>9</sup>, gave a speech on the lists of virtues in the hagiographic texts. The objective of her paper was to explain the circulation and function of such lists within the groups of intellectuals in France in the High Middle Ages.

Apart from the historical approaches, two representatives of the University of Alberta (Canada), Stan Ruecker, on the one hand, and Piotr Michura, on the other hand, tried to point out possible benefits from using IT in humanities. In the first case, dr. Ruecker presented a paper focused on the usage of a particular program able to work with XML-encoded literary material<sup>10</sup>. The case study was re-conceptualizing the table of contents in order to provide the reader with a supplementary tool capable of offering a

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<sup>7</sup> Currently at the University Library of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

<sup>8</sup> Currently Professor Assistant of history at California State University, U.S.A. – Dominguez Hills, Department of History and Philosophy.

<sup>9</sup> LAMOP is the acronym for *Laboratoire de Médiévistique Occidentale de Paris* – for further information see website <http://lamop.univ-paris1.fr/lamop/LAMOP/lamop.html>.

<sup>10</sup> The program has been developed by the Humanities Computing Program, Department of English and Film Studies from the above mentioned university. The collaborators of Stan Ruecker were Milena Radzikowska, Thomas M. Nelson, Patricia Clements, Isobel Grundy, Susan Brown, Sharon Balasz, Jeff Antoniuk, and Stéfan Sinclair.

more visualized and intuitive output i.e. graphical lists of various key words, 3D charts to analyze various occurrences in a certain text<sup>11</sup>.

Piotr Michura, a graphic designer, followed a similar path: he presented a possible way of reading a novel as a list (or several lists) of words. Thus, literary texts can be visualized according to one or more key words, which rearrange the format of the whole text. Or, as in the case above, a novel can be visualized in the form of a spiral whose spine is formed from the sequence of a given key word. Both speakers emphasized the idea according to which using IT in humanities can really improve the possibilities of analyzing a text.

The sociologist Zdeněk Konopásek (CTS) presented the case of political manipulation of a program such as NATURA 2000, which proposed to enlist and classify all the natural ecosystems in Europe. He particularized on the cases of Czech Republic and France. He described situations when the business of expert knowledge production and evaluation was intertwined with everyday administrative work of responsible regional bodies or with the political agenda of environmentalist NGOs; or when experts mobilize their preliminary knowledge to bypass the strict methodological principles of the mapping. His point, however, was that such departures from the original plan/rules (these elements of “the political” in the overall expert-driven project) should not be understood as a failure or weakness of the processes by which NATURA 2000 is built, but rather as qualities of social action that endow this scientifically grounded project with robustness and chances to succeed.

The philologist Gyula Laczházi (ELTE, Budapest) focused on the study of passions in literary texts, especially in texts from the early modern period. Since in that period the lists of passions were at least one of the dominant forms of storing the knowledge of emotions, a historical approach of the problem must also raise the question of how we can give meaning to these lists. He addressed especially the problem of the special historical codes of emotions and the efforts in the field of literature to develop new languages of emotions.

Támás Visi, researcher at the Department of Judaic Studies at the University of Olomouc, discussed an interesting topic: whether one can talk about an *art of making lists* in the Middle Ages or not. He chose to consider the case of the famous Jewish philosopher, Moses Maimonides, and especially his work of compiling lists of biblical references. He argued that Maimonides tried to establish an ultimate set of references concerning, for example, all 613 commandments of God<sup>12</sup>. Moreover, Maimonides saw other uses of lists for the biblical studies: 1) lists proving that a certain author is well-informed in biblical issues; 2) lists outlining the “backbone” of the stories related in the biblical books; 3) lists containing shortened stories that were widely known in biblical times (although they have been forgotten by now).

Last but not least, I myself tried to bring into discussion the case of the lists of Catholic parishes from 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Moldavia, elaborated by the Catholic

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<sup>11</sup> For example, the program was able to provide a 3D chart on the occurrence of the word love in Shakespeare's play, *Romeo and Juliet*. As a curiosity, the character Romeo was found to use most rarely the word.

<sup>12</sup> For a quick reference see: [http://www.dunamai.com/articles/general/613\\_commandments.htm](http://www.dunamai.com/articles/general/613_commandments.htm).

missionaries sent by Propaganda Fide. I tried to analyse the particular succession of the parish names combined with the geographical details (provided by some missionaries) in order to identify and, if possible, to describe the geographical perspective(s) of the missionaries over the territory of their mission. As a result of my analysis I concluded that two situations can be identified and described: 1) the existence of an overall perspective over the mission field and 2) the predominance of a fragmented vision typical for the pre-modern period.

As a general conclusion, the workshop raised several interesting issues relating to a category of sources very rarely addressed with a specific methodology. Although the papers tended at times to transcend the theme by proposing various usages of certain given lists and not discussing methodologies, the debates that followed managed to re-establish the necessary balance. On the other hand, I think that a more efficient approach for discussing methodology issues should be based on a common ground of principles and knowledge as the trans-disciplinary symposia though challenging by their content often fail to open a real dialogue between the participants. Nevertheless, the path is now open and I hope to see other initiatives taking shape more consistently.

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Beginning with 2008 *Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review* will have two issues a year. The first issue will include materials in Romanian (with a summary in an international language), whereas the second issue will be completely edited in international languages (English, French, German). The editorial conditions for publishing in the *Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review* are as follows:

a) Similar conditions for articles and reviews:

- the main text must be written in Word format;
- the texts must enclose footnotes, not endnotes.

b) Specific conditions for articles and studies and for “*Restitutio*” heading:

- potential complementary materials (photos) in JPG format;
- the article should not exceed 7,000 words, if possible, i.e. 40,000 signs (without spaces) [= 20 pages in A4 format]
- the letter size: 11 for main text, 9 for footnotes

c) Specific conditions for reviews, *Addenda et Corrigenda* and “Archival Studies in the World” headings:

- the texts should not exceed 2,000 words, i.e. 11,000 signs (without spaces) [= 6 pages in A4 format]
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Also, we kindly ask the authors to send a short presentation containing:

- full name;
- affiliation;
- research scope;
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