

Recent Studies on Past and Present



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Recent Studies on Past and Present:
New Sources, New Methods or a New Public?

Conference organized by



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Recent Studies on Past and Present: New Sources, New Methods or a New Public?

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Edited by

Radu Băjenaru, Ovidiu Cristea, Andi Mihalache
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About the Project and the Conference

Over the last years few real major investments in the field of academic and public education have been made. Even fewer were based on a partnership between representative public institutions and NGOs or foundations. With the support of European structural funds designed as a means of support and development for advanced education, the Romanian Academy has engaged a series of projects to bridge these gaps. Built around the SOPHRD project, ID 61104, *The Social Sciences and Humanities in the Context of the Globalized Evolution: the Development and the Implementation of the Post-doctoral Studies and Research Program*, financed by the EU and the Romanian Government, this initiative, conceived around the key words *Civilization – Society – Cultural Heritage – Globality*, aims at creating an advanced social and academic platform for the educational process focused on the preservation of traditions and on modern creativity. The project supports the institutional development of advanced studies in the fields of Humanities, Social Sciences and Cultural Heritage, under the patronage of the Romanian Academy and the active supervision of some of the most distinguished Romanian and European figures in these fields such as: Ionel Haiduc, Peter Schreiner, Paolo Odorico, Gilles Veinstein, Christoph Machat, Konrad Gündisch, Nicolas Vatin, Peter Soustal, Christian Gastgeber, Alexandru Vulpe, Ţerban Papacostea, Nicolae Edroiu, Marius Porumb, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Octavian Popescu, Victor Spinei, Mihai Bărbulescu, Andrei Pleşu, Vasile Puşcaş, Vintilă Mihăilescu, Rudolf Gräf, Alexandru Florin Platon, Vasile Chirica, Anca Oroveanu, Ioana Both, Ileana Căzan, Valentina Dediu-Sandu, Alexander Baumgarten, Ioan Bolovan, Radu Harhoiu, István Horváth, Eugen Nicolae or Coriolan Opreanu. The present conference is the first in the series to be organized within the project. In order to expand the scientific reach of this endeavor and to strengthen the interdisciplinary ties, it involves fellows from our partner project SOPHRD, ID 60189, *Post-doctoral Programs for Enduring Development in a Knowledge Society* (Beneficiary: Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca) as well, therefore completing a preliminary scientific circle.

A.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Recent Studies on Past and Present

Locations: Romanian Academy and the Library of the Romanian Academy (Calea Victoriei, 125, Sector 1), *Nicolae Iorga* Institute of History Aviatorilor 1, Sector 1), *Vasile Pârvan* Institute of Archaeology (Henri Coandă, 11, Sector 1).

Note: Each participant was allotted a maximum of 15 minutes for her/ his presentation, followed by 5 to 10 minutes for discussion (depending on the duration of the presentation).

Recent Studies on Past and Present

General Program

Lecture Series (Romanian Academy, Council Room)

23rd of September 2011

- 11.00 Ekaterini Mitsiou, *Saints and Monks in Byzantium: Lives and Deeds, Models and Symbols*

24th of September 2011

- 11.00 Paolo Odorico, *Des boîtes à idées. Renaissance et encyclopédisme à Byzance*
- 17.00 Dan Ioan Mureşan, *La translatio imperii de l'Empire byzantin aux Ottomans. I. Le témoignage des actes grecs de la chancellerie ottomane*

Day I Official Opening (25th of September 2011)

Borders and Boundaries of Knowledge (Aula of the Romanian Academy)

16.00-18.30 Opening Addresses and Invited Lectures

- 19.00 Reception (Garden of the Romanian Academy)

Day II Section Proceedings (26th of September 2011)

1st section: **Communicating Heritage**

(Lecture Hall, Vasile Pârvan Institute of Archaeology)

2nd section: **Structuring Power**

(Aula of the Romanian Academy)

3rd section: **Representing Society**

(Lecture Hall, Nicolae Iorga Institute of History)

4th section: **Defining Continents**

(Mircea Eliade Hall, Library of the Romanian Academy)

Recent Studies on Past and Present

09.30-13.20 Section Openings and Proceedings (coffee breaks at 11.20/11.40/12.00 depending on section)

13.30-15.30 Lunch (Catering on site)

16.00-19.20 Proceedings (coffee breaks at 17.20/17.40 depending on section)

19.30 Dinner (Catering on site)

Day III Section Proceedings (27th of September 2011)

1st section: **Communicating Heritage**

(Lecture Hall, Vasile Pârvan Institute of Archaeology)

2nd section: **Structuring Power**

(Aula of the Romanian Academy)

3rd section: **Representing Society**

(Lecture Hall, Nicolae Iorga Institute of History)

4th section: **Defining Continents**

(Mircea Eliade Hall, Library of the Romanian Academy)

10.00-13.20 Proceedings (coffee breaks at 11.20/11.40 depending on section)

13.30-16.00 Lunch (Catering on site)

16.00-19.20 Proceedings (coffee breaks at 17.20/17.40 depending on section)

19.30 Dinner (Catering on site)

Day IV Roundtables (28th of September 2011)

1st section: **Archaeology in Europe and Romania: A Comparison**

(Lecture Hall, Vasile Pârvan Institute of Archaeology)

2nd section: **Old and New Ways for Studies on Power Relations and Representations** (Library of the Vasile Pârvan Institute of Archaeology)

3rd section: **Social Identity as Pattern of Representation and as Mean of Identification** (Lecture Hall, Nicolae Iorga Institute of History)

4th section: **Cultural Studies as Forms of Regional Networks** (Mircea Eliade Hall, Library of the Romanian Academy)

Recent Studies on Past and Present

10.00-13.00 Roundtables and Section Closing Sessions (coffee breaks at 11.40)

13.30-15.30 Lunch (Catering on site)

Closing Session

Financing and Evaluating Socio-Humanities
(Aula of the Romanian Academy)

16.00-18.30 Presentations, Discussions and Conclusions (coffee break at 17.20)

19.00 Dinner (Catering on site)

Recent Studies on Past and Present

Session Program

Official Opening

Borders and Boundaries of Knowledge

(Aula of the Romanian Academy)

25th of September 2011

16.00 Opening Addresses

16.30-18.30 Invited Lectures

(chair: Nicolae Edroiu)

Alain **Tuffreau**, *La Roumanie au carrefour des premiers peuplements de l'Europe*

Ioan-Aurel **Pop**, *Different Europes: From Rome to Washington*

Alexander **Baumgarten**, *La particularité de la réception de la philosophie médiévale en milieu roumain*

Angela **Tarantino**, *Una periferia dimenticata della letteratura: i romanzi popolari del XVIII sec.*

Kazimierz **Jurczak**, *Forms of Anti-Modernism in Central Europe: Romanian and Polish 19th Century Writers*

19.00 Reception

1st Section

Communicating Heritage

(Lecture Hall, Vasile Pârvan Institute of Archaeology)

26th of September 2011

09.30-09.40 Official Opening

09.40-11.20 1. Interdisciplinary Approaches of Cultural Heritage

(chair: Octavian Popescu)

09.40 Lucian **Barbu-Tudoran**, *Structural (SEM/TEM) and Elemental (EDX) Studies as Support for the Restoration of Artifacts*

10.00 Iulia **Lupan**, *Metagenomic Approach for Bacterial Community Characterization inhabiting Different Historical Artifacts*

10.20 Mircea Teodor **Chiriac**, *The Use of Immunomolecular Methods for the Study and the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*

Recent Studies on Past and Present

10.40 Beatrix **Kelemen**, Oana **Ponta**, Simion **Simon**, Octavian **Popescu**, *New Scientific Methods in the Analysis of Bone Diagenesis and Characterization of Human Remains from Archaeological Context*

11.00 Horia-Leonard **Banciu**, *The Biodegradation of Stone Monuments: The Characterization of the Lithobionta Microbiota*

11.20 Mihai **Vasilescu**, *The Use of RAMAN Spectroscopy for the Study and the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*

11.40-12.00 Coffee Break

12.00-13.40 2. The Human Landscape in Comparative Contexts

(chair: Octavian Popescu)

12.00 George **Bodi**, Radu **Pârnău**, Viorica **Vasilache**, Nicolae **Buzgar**, *Interdisciplinary Approach on the Study of Cucuteni Type Pottery: The Case of Hoisești – La Pod Settlement*

12.20 Viorica **Vasilache**, Dan **Aparaschivei**, *Scientific Investigation of Quotidian Artifacts discovered at Ibida*

12.40 Roxana **Dobrescu**, Alain **Tuffreau**, *The Ancient Upper Paleolithic Deposits from La Vii 1 at Ciuperceni (Valley of the Danube): Technical Characteristics of the CR Level*

13.00 Codrin Valentin **Chirica**, *Les représentations de cervidés dans l'art mobilier du paléolithique supérieur européen*

13.20 Mădălin Cornel **Văleanu**, *The Evolution of Human Habitat in the Carpathian-Dniestr Space during the Upper Paleolithic and the Neolithic*

13.40-15.30 Lunch

16.00-17.20 3. Mapping Differences

(chair: Alain Tuffreau)

16.00 Mircea **Anghelinu**, *Social Inequality in Mesolithic Times: The Schela Cladovei-Lepenski Vir Case*

16.20 Mihai **Gligor**, *Usual and Unusual in Funerary Practices of the Transylvanian Neolithic*

16.40 Senica **Turcanu**, *Neck Ornaments present on Cucuteni-Tripolie Anthropomorphic Statuettes*

17.00 Vasile **Chirica**, George **Bodi**, *Thèmes religieux représentés dans la création artistique préhistorique*

17.20-17.40 Coffee Break

Recent Studies on Past and Present

17.40-19.20 4. Artifact, Message and Impact

(chair: Vasile Chirica)

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|-------|---|
| 17.40 | Raluca Dumitru Kogălniceanu, <i>On the Identification of Potential Patterns in the Spatial Relationship between the Living and the Dead at the Lower Danube in Prehistory</i> |
| 18.00 | Anca Diana Popescu, <i>Crescent-shaped Silver Artifacts from Bulgaria: A Survey of their Function and Chronology</i> |
| 18.20 | Nona Palincăș, <i>Certifying Ware Origin in Long Distance Trade: The 'Bread-like Idols' from Ostrovu Mare (Iron Gates, Romania)</i> |
| 18.40 | Bogdan Petru Niculică, Vasile Budui, <i>The Evaluation and Spatial Distribution of Bronze Deposits in the Bucovina</i> |
| 19.00 | Florin Gogăltan, <i>War and Warriors of the Lower Mureş Valley in the Late Bronze Age Period</i> |
| 19.30 | Dinner |

27th of September 2011

10.00-11.40 5. Creating and Preserving Power

(chair: Eugen Nicolae)

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|-------|--|
| 10.00 | Aurel Vîlcu, <i>Sur la diffusion des monnaies grecques en or dans la zone du Bas Danube aux IV^e–III^e siècles av. J.C</i> |
| 10.20 | Roxana Gabriela Curcă, <i>Greek and Latin Authors on the Carpathian-Dnistrian Territory: An Anthropology of Perceptions</i> |
| 10.40 | Vitalie Bârcă, <i>Limes and Barbaricum: Nomads of the Steppes at the Danube Frontier of the Roman Empire (1st Century-Beginning of the 2nd Century CE). Historical Outline and Chronological Remarks</i> |
| 11.00 | Paul Pupeză, <i>The Dacian Fortress in the Orăştie Mountains: Between Functionality and Symbolism</i> |
| 11.20 | Răzvan Mateescu, <i>The Archaeology of Anonymous Gods: The Dacian Temples in the Orăştie Mountains</i> |

11.40-12.00 Coffee Break

12.00-13.20 6. Real and Imagined Communities

(chair: Eugen Nicolae)

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|-------|---|
| 12.00 | Dan Aparaschivei, <i>Roman and Late Roman Family in the North-East of the Province of Moesia Inferior (Scythia Minor)</i> |
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Recent Studies on Past and Present

- 12.20 Florian **Matei Popescu**, *The Veterans in the Roman and Greek Cities of Moesia Inferior*
12.40 Irina Adriana **Achim**, *Villes grecques, villes romaines au Bas Danube. Le patrimoine monumental urbain entre les témoignages épigraphiques et archéologie*
13.00 Cristian **Găzdac**, *Did Charon read his Obol? The Message of Coin Offering in Roman Graves from Pannonia*

13.30-15.30 Lunch

16.00-17.20 7. Forms and Means of Communication
(chair: Coriolan Opreanu)

- 16.00 Mariana **Pîslaru**, *Provincia Dacia nel messaggio propagandistico imperiale nell'età del Principato*
16.20 Florin **Fodorean**, *Dynamics of a Society: Geography, Space, Infrastructure, Travel and Mobility in Roman Dacia*
16.40 Sorin **Nemeti**, *Secundum interpretationem somniorum. Dreams and Oracles in Roman Dacia*
17.00 Carmen **Ciongradi**, *Die römischen Steindenkmäler aus Na-poca*
17.20 Laurent **Chrzanovski**, *Artificial Lighting in Late Antiquity at the Border of the Roman Empire*

17.40-18.00 Coffee Break

18.00-19.20 8. The Written and the Unwritten
(chair: Radu Harhoiu)

- 18.00 Adrian **Ioniță**, *L'horizon des tombes à déposition de chevaux ou de parties de chevaux dans la région comprise entre le Bas-Danube, les Carpates Méridionales et Orientales et le Dniestr (X^e-XIII^e siècles)*
18.20 Valentin **Dumitrașcu**, *Domestic Animal Management in the Byzantine Site Nufărău*
18.40 Ervin **Gall**, *Centres of Power in the Eastern Part of the Carpathian Basin in Light of 10th Century Necropolises (Transylvanian Basin, Partium, Banat)*
19.00 Daniela **Marcu-Istrate**, *The Evangelical Church from Saschiz (Mureș County): Archaeological and Historical Researches*

19.30 Dinner

28th of September 2011

10.00-11.40 Round Table: Archaeology in Europe and Romania: A Comparison

Recent Studies on Past and Present

11.40-12.00 Coffee Break

12.00-13.00 Closing Session: Results and Perspectives

13.30 Lunch

**2nd Section
Structuring Power**
(Aula of the Romanian Academy)

26th of September 2011

09.30-10.00 Official Opening

10.00-11.40 1. The Changing Context of International Relations
(chair: Vasile Pușcaș)

- 10.00 Oana Cristina Popa, *The EU and the Western Balkans: The Road Ahead*
- 10.20 Cosmin Gorită, *An European Perspective on the Public-Private Partnership: Implementing the Concept in Romania*
- 10.40 Bogdan Radu, *Political Culture, Democracy and Foreign Policy in East Central Europe: The Quest for Models. An Exploratory Study on the Formation and Evolution of Societal Attitudes towards Domestic and International Political Objects*
- 11.00 Codruța Mare, *Romania's Monetary Integration in Relation to the Euro Plus Pact*
- 11.20 Cosmin Popa, *In Quest of a New Empire: Russia's Energy Policy in the Wider Black Sea Region. 1992-2010*

11.40-12.00 Coffee Break

12.00-13.20 2. Identity Construction and Political Power Play
(chair: Ioan-Aurel Pop)

- 12.00 Andrei Timotin, *Identités ethniques et religieuses dans le Sud et le Sud-Ouest de la mer Noire aux VII^e-XI^e siècles*
- 12.20 Șerban Marin, *The Venetian Republic and Islam – between Crusading Fervour and Realpolitik*
- 12.40 Tudor Sălăgean, *Politics and Trade along the Lower Danube at the Beginning of the 14th Century*

Recent Studies on Past and Present

- 13.00 Julian-Mihai **Damian**, *Hungary's Orthodox Vassals at 15th Century Councils: Participation, Legal Position and Implications*

13.30-15.30 Lunch

16.00-17.20 3. The State and its Special Subjects
(chair: Ovidiu Cristea)

- 16.00 Adrian **Magina**, *From Custom to Written Law: ius valachicum in the Banate*
- 16.20 Rafael Dorian **Chelaru**, *Between Coexistence and Assimilation: The Catholics of the Sultan. 1600s-1700s*
- 16.40 Mária **Pakucs-Willcocks**, *Christian Merchants of the Ottoman Empire: Greeks in 17th Century Transylvania*
- 17.00 Cristian **Luca**, *On the Activity of the Greek Merchants in Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia (17th-18th Centuries): The Trade in Paper, Printings and «Small» Wares imported from Venice*

17.20-17.40 Coffee Break

17.40-19.20 4. Sounds of Control, Concept and Law
(chair: Gheorghe Lazăr)

- 17.40 Cătălina **Chelcu**, *Justice and Taxation in Moldavia (Late 16th Century-First Half of the 18th Century): The Case of the Dedicated monasteries*
- 18.00 Oana **Rizescu**, *Serment et malédiction dans le monde traditionnel de l'Europe de Sud-Est (XVIIth-XVIIIth siècles)*
- 18.20 Andreea **Iancu**, *Les conflits judiciaires opposant les étrangers aux sujets des princes phanariotes de Moldavie et de Valachie. 1774-1831*
- 18.40 Liviu-Marius **Harosa**, *L'usufruit successif. Le développement d'une institution juridique dans la droit roumain et dans l'espace de Transylvanie (XIXth-XXIth siècles)*
- 19.00 Florinela **Popa**, *Music and Politics. Case study: Sergei Prokofiev*

19.30 Dinner

27th of September 2011

10.00-11.20 5. Medieval and Modern Forms of Conflict Management
(chair: Şerban Papacostea)

- 10.00 Ioan-Marian **Tiplic**, *13th Century Fortifications in Transylva-*

Recent Studies on Past and Present

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| | <i>nia: An Archaeological and Historical Perspective</i> |
| 10.20 | Emanuel Constantin Antoche , <i>L'image du seigneur Samuel Korecki dans les écrits de certains auteurs du baroque littéraire français (1607-1620)</i> |
| 10.40 | Nicolae Mihai , <i>L'ENNEMI en province: construction culturelle et gestion d'une identité sensible en Valachie quarante-huitarde</i> |
| 11.00 | Luisa Preda , <i>A New Way of Perceiving and Approaching an Almost Forgotten Idea</i> |
| 11.20-11.40 | Coffee Break |
| 11.40-13.00 | 6. Making a Career between State and Church
(chair: Alexandru Simon) |
| 11.40 | Ion Cârja , <i>Dalla retroscena di un progetto ecclesiastico: la nomina del metropolita Ioan Vancea alla dignità cardinalizia</i> |
| 12.00 | Ana Sima , <i>Fattori e meccanismi di decisione nella nomina dell'élite ecclesiastica romena. Il caso del metropolita di Blaj negli anni della Grande Unione</i> |
| 12.20 | Leonida Rados , <i>A Researcher of the Phanariote Regime (Constantin Erbiceanu) and his Studies at the University of Athens (1865-1868): General Considerations</i> |
| 12.40 | Ciprian Păun , <i>The Romanian Juridical Elites in the 20th Century and the Democratic-Constitutional System</i> |
| 13.30-15.30 | Lunch |
| 16.00-17.20 | 7. The Doubts in Convincing Power Channels
(chair: Andi Mihalache) |
| 16.00 | Liviu Brătescu , <i>The Monument in the Public Forum: From the Funeral Substrate to the Political Dimension. The Case of I.C. Brătianu's Statue</i> |
| 16.20 | Ionuț Nistor , <i>Between Propaganda and Historical Speech: The Romanians South of the Danube in the Broadcasts of Radio România (1940-1944)</i> |
| 16.40 | Sorin Mocanu , <i>Images of Wealth in the Communist Propaganda of Collectivization</i> |
| 17.00 | Arthur Tulus , <i>Sionism and Communism in Jewish Communities along the Lower Danube</i> |
| 17.20-17.40 | Coffee Break |
| 17.40-19.20 | 8. Borders of Conflict and Cooperation
(chair: Illeana Căzan) |

Recent Studies on Past and Present

- 17.40 Constantin **Ardeleanu**, *The Rivalry between the Danubian Harbours and Odessa: Controlling the Grain Market in the North-Western Black Sea Area*
18.00 Emanoil **Plooreanu**, *The Relations between Romania and Turkey after 1923*
18.20 Mioara **Anton**, *Strategic Interests and Geopolitical Developments in the Black Sea Region. 1939-1947*
18.40 László **Wellmann**, *The Last Meeting between Nicolae Ceaușescu and János Kádár (Debrecen-Oradea, June 1977)*
19.20 Cristian **Șipetean**, *Contemporary Maritime Interests in North-Western Africa*
- 19.30 Dinner

28th of September 2011

- 10.00-11.40 Round Table: Old and New Ways for Studies on Power Relations and Representations**

11.40-12.00 Coffee Break

- 12.00-13.00 Closing Session: Results and Perspectives**

13.30 Lunch

3rd Section

Representing Society

(Lecture Hall, Nicolae Iorga Institute of History)

26th of September 2011

- 09.30-10.00 Official Opening**

- 10.00-11.40 1. Representations and Mechanisms of Social Restructure**
(chair: István Horváth)

- 10.00 Remus **Anghel**, *Civilized or Tricksters? How Ethnicity influences Status Change in Emigration Contexts*
10.20 Gabriel **Troc**, *Patterns of Migration in the Dunărea de Jos Region*
11.40 Claudia **Cîmpeanu**, *Migration, Ethnicity and Kin Networks in a Rural Community in Transylvania*
11.00 Irina **Culic**, *Issues of Doing Fieldwork among Migrants as*

Recent Studies on Past and Present

- Migrant*
- 11.20 Giovanni **Picker**, *Towards an Ethnography of Anti-Gypsm*
- 11.40-12.00 Coffee Break
- 12.00-13.20 2. Communitarian Identities at Europe's Borders**
(chair: Laurențiu Răduan)
- 12.00 Arcadie **Bodale**, *Les significations des graffitis de fresque des églises de Bucovine (XVIth-XVIIIth siècles)*
- 12.20 Attila **Verok**, *Ideen, Menschen, Bücher. Beobachtungen über die kulturellen Verhältnisse bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen im 16.-18. Jahrhundert anhand bibliotheksgeschichtlicher Quellen*
- 12.40 Cristian **Ploscaru**, *Identitarian Representations in Moldova in the Context of the Restoration of Indigenous Rule*
- 13.00 Bogdan-Petru **Maleon**, *Competing Social Identities and Cultural-Artistic Mutations in the Moldavian Cemetery in the 19th Century*
- 13.30-15.30 Lunch
- 16.00-17.20 3. The Public Art to Display, Celebrate and Contest**
(chair: Remus Anghel)
- 16.00 Dan Dumitru **Iacob**, *Social Practices and Symbols in the Public Garden in the Mid 1800s: The Cases of Bucharest and Iași*
- 16.20 Mihai **Chiper**, *The Month of Iași: The Holidays of a Decadent City in the Interwar Period (1935-1938)*
- 16.40 Ovidiu **Buruiană**, *Royal Ceremonies under King Carol II (1930-1940)*
- 17.00 Paul **Nistor**, *The Art World and the Establishment of the Communist Regime in Romania*
- 17.20-17.40 Coffee Break
- 17.40-19.20 4. Shaping Identity Spaces and their Background**
(chair: Tudor Sălăgean)
- 17.40 Ana **Dumitran**, *Family Picture: The Mutations occurred in the Transylvanian Romanian Art in the 18th Century*
- 18.00 Klára **Pakó**, *The Citadel of Brașov: A Barely Known Example of the Transylvanian Military Architecture*
- 18.20 Mihaela **Vlașceanu**, *The Iconography of Saints in the Baroque Sculpture from the Banate*

Recent Studies on Past and Present

- 18.40 Claudia M. **Bonța**, *The Graphic Collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania from Cluj-Napoca*
19.00 Florin-Alexandru **Mureșan**, *Cultural Reformation and Urban Renewal: Cultural Motivation in Urban Transformation*
19.30 Dinner

27th of September 2011

10.00-11.40 5. Modern Perspectives on Medieval Society and Art
(chair: Bogdan-Petru Maleon)

- 10.00 Mihaela Sanda **Salontai**, *The Hall-choir in the Transylvanian Gothic Church Architecture*
10.20 Laurențiu **Rădvan**, *The Emergence of the Medieval Towns in the Romanian Principalities and Romanian Historiography of the Twentieth Century: Case Studies*
10.40 Ciprian **Firea**, *Dispersed Parts of a Medieval Liturgical Ensemble: The Altarpieces of the Urban Parish Church in Sibiu/Hermannstadt (Transylvania) and their Post-Reformation Fate*
11.00 Adinel **Dincă**, *Notary Public in Medieval Transylvania: Introductory Considerations*
11.20 András W. **Kovács**, *The Vice-voivodes of Transylvania in the Second Part of the 15th and at the Beginning of the 16th Century (1458–1526)*

11.40-12.00 Coffee Break

12.00-13.20 6. West and East in Transylvania
(chair: Konrad Gündisch)

- 12.00 Marco **Bogade**, *Repräsentative und repräsentierende Kunststiftungen des städtischen Patriziats in Siebenbürgen: die Familie Haller von Hallerstein im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*
12.20 Zsolt **Simon**, *The Financial Aspects of the Town-Church Relation in the Transylvanian Saxon Towns in the Middle Ages*
12.40 Liviu **Cîmpeanu**, *Die ältesten Chroniken der siebenbürgischen Sachsen: sächsische Chronisten aus Kronstadt und ihre Schriften im 16. Jahrhundert*
13.00 Florin **Ardelean**, *Warfare and Economy in the Transylvanian Principality (1541-1591)*

13.30-15.30 Lunch

Recent Studies on Past and Present

16.00-17.40 7. Central Authorities and Local Benefits

(chair: Konrad Gündisch)

- 16.00 Loránd Lajos **Mádly**, *Siebenbürgen zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie. Der Status eines Kronlandes zwischen den verschiedenen politischen Regimes (1849-1867)*
- 16.20 Nicolae **Teșculă**, *Formen sozialer und nationaler Verbundenheit bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen zwischen 1850 und 1867*
- 16.40 Horatiu Mihai **Bodale**, *The Idea of Nation and the Loyalty towards the House of Habsburg in the Case of the Romanians from Transylvania and the Italians from the Lombard – Venetian Kingdom between 1850 and 1866*
- 17.00 Iosif Marin **Balog**, *Economic Policies of Vienna in Transylvania. 1850-1867*
- 17.20 Constantin **Bărbulescu**, *Romanian Physicians and the International Medical Movement in the Last Two Decades of the 19th Century and at the Beginning of the 20th Century*
- 17.40-18.00 Coffee Break

18.00-19.20 8. Societies under Political Pressure

(chair: Konrad Gündisch)

- 18.00 Bogdan-Alexandru **Schipor**, *The Repatriation of the Germans from Latvia and Romania in 1939-1940: The Imperatives of Searching for a New Identity*
- 18.20 Ottmar **Trăscă**, *Der 23. August 1944 und die Deutsche Volksgruppe in Rumänien*
- 18.40 Mihail **Neamțu**, *Ideological Violence and the Ethics of Resistance in the Works of Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Nicolae Steinhardt*
- 19.00 Camil **Pârvu**, *The Transformations of Contemporary Radical Political Theory*
- 19.30 Dinner

28th of September 2011

10.00-11.40 Round Table: Social Identity as Pattern of Representation and as Mean of Identification

- 11.40-12.00 Coffee Break

12.00-13.00 Closing Session: Results and Perspectives

Recent Studies on Past and Present

13.30 Lunch

4th Section

Defining Continents

(Mircea Eliade Hall, Library of the Romanian Academy)

26th of September 2011

09.30-10.00 Official Opening

10.00-11.40 1. Between Asia and Europe

(chair: Paolo Odorico)

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| 10.00 | Ekaterina Nechaeva, <i>L'image impériale dans les relations internationales de l'Empire byzantin</i> |
| 10.20 | Silviu Dan Lupaşcu, <i>Le sceau de la prophétie: connexions entre le christianisme et l'islam sous la dynastie des Abbassides</i> |
| 10.40 | Mihai Maga, <i>Marsilius of Padua and the Question of Civil Liberty</i> |
| 11.00 | Marie-Hélène Blanchet, <i>L'anti-latinisme à Byzance aux XIV^e-XV^e siècles</i> |
| 11.20 | Eugen Ciurtin, <i>Flat Universes: Christian & Buddhist</i> |

11.40-12.00 Coffee Break

12.00-13.40 2. Challenging and Preserving Authority

(chair: Bernard Doumerc)

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| 12.00 | Matteo Magnani, <i>La réaction de Venise face à la Révolte de Saint Tite (1363-1366)</i> |
| 12.20 | Benjamin Weber, <i>Guerres et croisade dans le Sud-Est européen (fin XIV^e-XV^e siècle)</i> |
| 12.40 | Guillaume Durand, <i>Etat des lieux du phénomène de dédicace des couvents de Valachie et de Moldavie aux Lieux Saints de l'Orthodoxie</i> |
| 13.00 | Emmanuelle Pujeau, <i>Les sources imprimées témoignant des changements d'équilibres du Sud-Est européen (XV^e-XVII^e siècles)</i> |
| 13.20 | Bogdan Ivascu, <i>From Meaning of History to Meaning in History: Eric Voegelin's Non-ideological Philosophy of History</i> |

13.40-15.30 Lunch

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16.00-17.20 3. The Mind and the State

(chair: Ioana Both)

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|---------------------------------|--|
| 16.00 | Eugenia Bîrlea , <i>D. Caracostea: The Contribution of a Philosopher to the Development of Ethno-psychology and Social Psychology</i> |
| 16.20 | Ana-Maria Stan , <i>The Modernization of Romania and the Avant-garde: A Debate from the First Half of the 20th Century</i> |
| 16.40 | Angelo Mitchievici , <i>Art and Nation: Romanian Arts and Crafts</i> |
| 17.00 | Magda Răduță , <i>Est-elle libre, la beauté? Usages du terme d'autonomie dans la presse littéraire roumaine de la fin des années 1980</i> |
| 17.20-17.40 Coffee Break | |

17.40-19.20 4. Text, Tradition and Translation

(chair: Angela Tarantino)

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|---------------------|--|
| 17.40 | Levente T. Szabó , <i>The Peripherocentric Beginnings of Global Comparative Literary Studies: The Acta Comparationis Literarum Universarum Revisited</i> |
| 18.00 | Oana Fotache-Dubălu , <i>How to Write a Comparative History of Romanian Literature: On the Effects of the Foreign Gaze upon the Image of a 'Very' National Literature</i> |
| 18.20 | Imre-József Balázs , <i>Possibilities of the Avant-garde as a Cultural Model in Recent Readings</i> |
| 18.40 | Corina Iosif Sârbu , <i>A Study of the Origins and Usage of Folklore as a Field of Media Culture in Post-communist Romania.</i> |
| 19.00 | András F. Balogh , <i>Die offene und die verhüllte Angst in den Werken von Herta Müller und Oskar Pastior</i> |
| 19.30 Dinner | |

27th of September 2011

10.00-11.20 5. Establishing Differences

(chair: Eugen Ciurtin)

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| 10.00 | Daniel Benga , <i>Abgrenzungsprozesse gegen die pagane Gesellschaft in einer Christengemeinde des dritten Jahrhunderts nach der Syrischen Didaskalie</i> |
| 10.20 | Francesca Maltomini , <i>Transmission du savoir et société: les recueils byzantins d'épigrammes grecques anciennes dans</i> |

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- leur contexte*
- 10.40 Stéphanie **Vlavianos**, *Les manuscrits magiques byzantins et post-byzantins: Réflexions méthodologiques*
- 11.00 Konstantin **Vetochnikov**, *La peine d'excommunication dans les actes patriarchaux concernant la Russie médiévale*
- 11.20-11.40 Coffee Break
- 11.40-13.20 6. Rendering Belief and Authority**
(chair: Christian Gastgeber)
- 11.40 Andrei **Bereschi**, *Conceptual Models in Understanding Ancient Greek Philosophy*
- 12.00 Walther **Prager**, *The Nature of Man and the Nature of the World in Nemesius of Emesa's Work*
- 12.20 Wilhelm **Tauwinkl**, *The Subjects' Initiative in the Variability of the Linguistic Sign and its Consequences in Rendering Medieval Theological Texts into Romanian*
- 12.40 Ștefan **Vianu**, *La signification de la gnose traditionnelle dans la modernité tardive*
- 13.00 Bogdan **Neagotă**, *Ceremonial Expressions of Popular Religion in Rural Europe in the 18th-20th Centuries*
- 13.30-16.00 Lunch
- 16.00-17.20 7. Thought, Faith and Control**
(chair: Anca Oroveanu)
- 16.00 Gabriel Horațiu **Decubile**, *The One and Fragmentary: Some Pre-Nicene Dilemmas Considering the Immanent Plurality of the Gospel*
- 16.20 Maria Emilia **Țiplic**, *Die Gräfenfamilie von Talmesch (Tălmăciu) und ihre Besitzungen*
- 16.40 Vlad **Mureșan**, *Kant on Berkeley*
- 16.00 Ana-Stanca **Tabarasi-Hoffmann**, *Die Stärkung im inwendigen Menschen in Kierkegaards Erbaulichen Reden (1843-1844): eine homiletische Provokation*
- 17.20-17.40 Coffee Break
- 17.40-19.20 8. Ideologies and Systems of Civilization**
(chair: Kazimierz Jurczak)
- 17.40 Ionuț **Tudorie**, *Old and New in the Byzantine Imperial Coronation in the 13th Century*

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| 18.00 | Luigi Silvano , <i>Notes on the manuscript tradition of Maximos Planoudes' Syllogismi de processione Spiritus Sancti contra Latinos</i> |
| 18.20 | Daniel Fărcaș , <i>Deus est intelligere et in intellectu. De la noétique eckhartienne à la cohérence du système de Maître Eckhart</i> |
| 18.40 | Victor Rizescu , <i>Ideological Varieties and Interferences in the Romanian Context: Liberalism, Socialism, Agrarianism, Corporatism and Social Organicism</i> |
| 19.00 | Raluca-loana Alexandrescu , <i>La modernité contrariée: la pensée politique roumaine de la Belle Epoque jusqu'à la Grande Guerre (1895-1914) entre la gauche impossible et le piège du traditionalisme</i> |
| 19.30 | Dinner |

28th of September 2011

10.00-11.40 Round Table: Cultural Studies as Forms of Regional Networks

11.40-12.00 Coffee Break

12.00-13.00 Closing Session: Results and Perspectives

13.30 Lunch

**Closing Session
Financing and Evaluating Socio-Humanities**
(Aula of the Romanian Academy)

28th of September 2011

16.00-18.30 Presentations and Discussions

Presentations by: Gabriel **Bădescu** (Romanian National Research Council), Alexander **Baumgarten** (Romanian National Research Council) and Flavius **Solomon** (Romanian National Research Council)

17.20-17.40 Coffee Break

17.40-18.30 Discussions and Conclusions

19.00 Dinner (Catering on site)

B.

ABSTRACTS

Recent Studies on Past and Present

Invited Lectures

Borders and Boundaries of Knowledge

La Roumanie au carrefour des premiers peuplements de l'Europe

Alain Tuffreau
Université de Lille I

L'Europe, située à l'extrême sud du continent eurasien a connu plusieurs importantes vagues de migrations de différents représentants de la lignée humaine dont le plus récent est l'Homme moderne ainsi que le développement d'une espèce particulière (*Homo neanderthalensis*). La Roumanie par sa position géographique, sur l'un des axes majeurs de passage entre le Proche-Orient, l'est et l'ouest de l'Europe, et par la présence de cavités karstiques et d'importants dépôts loessiques constitue un champ de recherche privilégié pour l'étude des premiers peuplements de l'Europe.

Different Europes: From Rome to Washington

Ioan-Aurel Pop
Romanian Academy,

The belated creation of the modern Romanian state and the adoption of its official name of Romania in the second half of the 19th century are the main reasons behind the confusion present in the work of many foreign authors when it comes to the dual designations Wallachia/ Romania and Wallachian/Romanian. Beginning with the Middle Ages, Romanians—just like other peoples (Hungarians, Greeks, Poles, Germans, etc.)—had two names: one used only by foreigners (Wallachian) and another used by themselves (Romanian). The name Romanian derives from the Latin Romanus and preserves the memory of ancient Rome. The name Wallachian probably comes from the name of a Romanized Celtic tribe, the Volcae, and was used to designate those communities that spoke a Neo-Latin language. In both cases, the common denominator was Rome, as the two peoples'

names, Romanian and Wallachian, meant one and the same thing: descendants of the Latins, of the Romans. In 1918, the territory called Romania since ancient times, but only in the ethnic sense, also became Romania from a political and official point of view, and today Romania is a full member of the European community of nations.

***La particularité de la réception de la philosophie
médiévale en milieu roumain***

Alexander Baumgarten

Université Babeş-Bolyai,
Centre de Philosophie Antique et Médiévale
Cluj-Napoca

Les formes sans fond de Maiorescu se retrouvent aussi dans l'approche philosophique et notamment dans la réception de la philosophie médiévale. En effet, la philosophie roumaine dépend d'elle.

***Una periferia dimenticata della letteratura:
i romanzi popolari del XVIII sec.***

Angela Tarantino

Università degli Studi di Firenze

Muovendo dalla storie letterarie e dai contributi specialistici consacrati ai "libri popolari", saranno trattate, seppur brevemente, le principali questioni che pone lo studio di questa categoria assai eterogenea di testi. In particolare: a) sarà affrontata la questione terminologica, ovvero se siano ancora produttive le polarizzazioni "colto/popolare", "traduzione/originalità", allorché ci si riferisce alla letteratura rumena precedente al XIX secolo; b) si esporrà l'ipotesi di ricollocare la narrativa rumena medievale entro confini di genere meno labili di quelli in uso nelle storie della letteratura antica o nelle monografie dedicate all'argomento. In particolare, applicando l'approccio critico di R. Beaton in *The Medieval Greek Romance* (1989), ci si

soffermerà sulle produzioni in prosa del XVIII secolo per proporne una ri-catalogazione che dia conto delle appartenenze di genere, privilegiando le narrazioni che anticipano la forma *romanzo*. Si esplorneranno le eventuali interazioni fra le modalità di scrittura e ricezione dei romanzi “popolari”, la cui diffusione si prolunga fino alle soglie dell’epoca moderna (fine XVIII-inizio XIX sec.), e dei romanzi pubblicati nella seconda metà del XIX secolo, a tutt’oggi considerati le prime affermazioni moderne del genere; c) si accennerà al dibattito “traduzione-tradizione” in epoca „pașoptistă” e alla conseguente espunzione delle testimonianze “non originali” nella costruzione del primo canone della letteratura rumena (Manolescu 2008).

Forms of Antimodernism in Central Europe: Romanian and Polish 19th Century Writers

Kazimierz Jurczak
Jagiellonian University,
Krakow

The antimodern tendency born, like modernism itself, in Western Europe, is enrolled in the somehow natural tendency of a sceptical reaction bordering hostility manifested towards the evolution of European culture and society after the Enlightenment. In the Central European space the same tendency gains an anti-Occidental dimension. The phenomenon is paradoxical at first sight since the national cultures belonging to this space (namely the Romanian and Polish ones) open themselves radically towards the Occident in the 19th century, for the West is where they get their inspiration from, for social/ material and spiritual/aesthetic renewal. The negative image of the Occident appears both as an instinctive reaction of the traditional society in contact with a foreign culture and also as a didactic stereotype which serves to the consolidation of a feeling of self esteem (utterly run down in the Polish case) or of a similar one, but related to the supposed or real lack of prestige (where Romanians are concerned). Our reflection will be directed towards identifying the sources of inspiration and the forms of manifesting such an attitude in the works of Polish Romantic writers (Norwid, Mochnicki etc.) and of Romanian ones (mainly Eminescu).

Section I

Communicating Heritage

1. Interdisciplinary Approaches of Cultural Heritage

Structural (SEM/TEM) and Elemental (EDX) Studies as Support for the Restoration of Artifacts

Lucian Barbu-Tudoran

Babeș-Bolyai University,
Institute for Interdisciplinary Research in
Bio-Nano-Science,
Molecular Biology Center,
Cluj-Napoca

The analysis of archaeological objects requires simultaneously non-destructive (the objects are unique and precious), fast (large number of pieces to be analyzed), versatile (samples with different geometry), and sensitive (trace elements are often important) methods. Many testing methods for materials characterization of a variety of products, physical and chemical methods, are time-consuming, large quantities of samples are needed, and are usually destructive. In this context, scanning electron microscopy (SEM) linked to X-ray diffraction (XRD) to obtain information about the morphology, structure and compositions applied to the scientific investigation of archaeological materials provide complementary information for characterizing the state of preservation and the provenance of the objects.

These studies may be applied to almost all type of historical artifacts: the comparison between the samples allow to emphasize compositional differences within mortars of the same historical period; analysis of ancient ceramics, in attempts to elucidate patterns of regional trade and interaction; the behavior of glazed building ceramics exposed to different environment (weathering, chemicals, etc.) is deter-

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mined by micro-structural features - in many cases structural and surface defects at the micro- or nanometer scale are crucial for the functional properties of products; nature of formers, fluxes, chromophores and opacifying compounds and the type of raw materials employed for their introduction.

Microbial attack is one of the key processes altering archaeological bone during the early stage of diagenesis. Some burial conditions seem more prone to prevent microbial attack in archaeological bone. It is generally admitted that the presence of certain metals in the burial environment such as copper may have an inhibiting effect on microbial destruction of archaeological bone. The analytical approach combines morphological observations (SEM), structural investigations (TEM) and chemical analyses (SEM/EDX) of archaeological bones at different scales down to the nanoscale. It helps for the classification of the bones as a function of their contamination with heavy metals, their conservation state and the presence of signs of microbial attack.

The complex, multi-level super molecular architecture of cellulose has been the subject of interest for several decades. The mechanical, physical, and environmental properties of cellulose depend on the molecular, supra-molecular and morphological structure of the cellulose. A brief overview to micro structural analysis of cellulose, as studied using transmission electron microscopy and scanning electron microscopy can be obtained by the application of these techniques to study the diverse morphology of cellulose and its composites.

Metagenomic Approach for Bacterial Community Characterization inhabiting Different Historical Artifacts

Iulia Lupaș
Babeș-Bolyai University,
Institute for Interdisciplinary Research in
Bio-Nano-Science,
Molecular Biology Center,
Cluj-Napoca

Main classes of microorganisms that are associated with works of art are bacteria, mold fungi and algae. These microorganisms utilize the

organic and inorganic compounds of the substrate destroying it. Growth of such microorganism may cause structural and aesthetic damage. The main goal of our study is a metagenomic approach for bacterial community characterization inhabiting different historical artifacts (wood, paintings). Methods used will be: DNA purification from samples, amplification of a fragment of the 16S RNA gene by PCR, cloning of PCR fragments, sequencing of recombinant DNA and sequence annotation to a specific taxon (genus or species). The study will recommend suitable procedures employed in the preservation of the researched objects and similar artifacts.

Preliminary result helped us choose the most relevant primers to be used in the amplification of our target sequence (partial 16S DNA) and allowed us to optimize protocols for our samples (DNA extraction, PCR amplification). One of the most recurrent problems when working in a metagenomic frame is traced to environmental contaminations (or lab related contaminations) and contaminations occurring due to the DNA polymerases used. Troubleshooting this problem was done by extensive testing of the available polymerases and the selection of the most suitable ones for our study.

***The Use of Immunomolecular Methods
for the Study and the Conservation of Cultural Heritage***

Mircea Teodor **Chiriac**
Babeş-Bolyai University,
Institute for Interdisciplinary Research in
Bio-Nano-Science,
Molecular Biology Center,
Cluj-Napoca

The present research focuses on a key interdisciplinary aspect in the study and the conservation of cultural heritage, namely the use of immunomolecular methods. In this respect, particular attention will be paid to the categories of cultural heritage under analysis, through the use of such particular methods.

**New Scientific Methods in the Analysis Bone
Diagenesis and Characterization of Human Remains
from Archaeological Context**

Beatrix **Kelemen**,

Babeș-Bolyai University,

Faculty of Biology & Institute for Interdisciplinary Research in
Bio-Nano-Science,
Molecular Biology Center,
Cluj-Napoca
Oana **Ponta**,

Babeș-Bolyai University,

Faculty of Physics & Institute for Interdisciplinary Research in
Bio-Nano-Science,
Cluj-Napoca

Simion **Simon**,

Babeș-Bolyai University,

Faculty of Physics & Institute for Interdisciplinary Research in
Bio-Nano-Science,
Cluj-Napoca

Octavian **Popescu**

Babeș-Bolyai University,

Faculty of Biology & Institute for Interdisciplinary Research in
Bio-Nano-Science,
Molecular Biology Center,
Cluj-Napoca

Electron spin resonance (ESR), Fourier transform infrared (FT-IR) spectroscopies, X-ray diffraction (XRD) and scanning electron microscopy (SEM) signatures and their correlation to bone diagenesis in different geographic regions, sediment types and burial customs is reviewed. ESR is a very sensitive method for detection of free radicals and it was paid a considerable attention to the numerous radiation-induced and native ESR signals and the radicals responsible for them. FT-IR spectroscopy is used in order to evidence the presence of the functional groups and by X-ray diffraction to identify the mineral phases in bone and earth associated with it. Some examples from analyses on medieval human bone and literature are presented.

***The Biodegradation of Stone Monuments:
The Characterization of the Lithobionta Microbiota***

Horia-Leonard **Banciu**

*Babeș-Bolyai University,
Institute for Interdisciplinary Research in
Bio-Nano-Science,
Molecular Biology Center,
Cluj-Napoca*

The present research focuses on a key interdisciplinary aspect in the conservation of cultural heritage, that is the biodegradation of various stone monuments. Our presentation focuses on the characterization of the Lithobionta Microbiota. From very beginning of the research, special attention is paid to the categories of stone monuments under analysis, in order to determine variations of biodegradation.

***The Use of RAMAN Spectroscopy for the Study and the
Conservation of Cultural Heritage***

Mihai **Vasilescu**

*Babeș-Bolyai University,
Institute for Interdisciplinary Research in
Bio-Nano-Science,
Cluj-Napoca*

Our visual presentation, based on practical and experimental results, emphasizes a key interdisciplinary feature of modern techniques of preservation of cultural heritage. RAMAN spectroscopy has known various uses and enjoyed significant results in this field of research. It is nonetheless worth while to take a closer look at some of the major differences, as well as characteristics, resulting from the use of RAMAN spectroscopy.

2. The Human Landscape in Comparative Contexts

Interdisciplinary Approach on the Study of Cucuteni Type Pottery: The Case of Hoisești – La Pod Settlement

George **Bodi**,
Romanian Academy,
Institute of Archaeology,
Iași

Radu **Pârnău**
National Research Institute for
Soil Science and Agrochemistry,
County Office for Soil Science and
Agrochemistry,
Iași

Viorica **Vasilache**
Romanian Academy,
Institute of Archaeology,
Iași

Nicolae **Buzgar**
Alexandru Ioan-Cuza University,
Faculty of Geography and Geology,
Iași

Our approach aims at establishing a sequence of characteristics which would help to create an integrated method of analysis of

Neolithic pottery. Our approach is based on the use of a series of analytical interdisciplinary parameters:

- Macroscopic and microscopic inspection of pottery shards
- SEM-EDX analysis and Micro-FTIR analysis of pottery fabric
- RAMAN investigations of painting pigments
- Soil analysis from the surrounding areas of the site

Corroborating all the data we conclude that the pottery manufacture reveals a complex set of technical knowledge, accessible in its totality only to a specialist

Scientific Investigation of Objects used in Quotidian Activities discovered at the Ibida Site (Romania)

Viorica Vasilache

Romanian Academy,
Institute of Archaeology,
Iași

Dan Aparaschivei

Romanian Academy,
Institute of Archaeology,
Iași

Scientific investigation of objects discovered in archaeological excavations involve a high interdisciplinarity intake of methods and techniques from related disciplines (e.g. chemistry, physics, archeology, art history, geology or biology). The paper presents the results of the analysis carried out, by corroborating SEM-EDX and micro-FTIR techniques, on objects used in daily activities discovered during the archaeological excavations at Ibida, in the village Slava Rusa, the city Tulcea, Romania. These studies help establish the characteristics of the materials of objects under analysis, identifying the type of alloy in order to determine area of origin of raw materials and processing technology. On this basis, we can evaluate the economic and social changes occurred over time and integrate them into the cultural space.

***The Ancient Upper Paleolithic Deposit from La Vii 1 at
Ciuperceni (Valley of the Danube):
Technical Characteristics of the CR Level***

Roxana Dobrescu

Romanian Academy,

Vasile Pârvan Institute of Archaeology,

Bucharest

Alain Tuffreau

University of Lille I

The “La Vii 1” (Ciuperceni) settlement, situated in the Danube Plain, has been excavated during the last years. A loessic sequence attributed to the MIS 3 give an IRSL age includes several upper paleolithic assemblages with very similar characteristics. The raw material of the most numerous assemblages (level CR) is a local flint for the majority of the artifacts. This assemblage is typical of a workshop site using a hard percussion for the production of blades, bladelets and flakes with different reducing sequences. Because of the scarcity of the tools, it is difficult to precise the cultural attribution of the assemblage which could belong to an Aurignacian, or probably to an original facies. The presence of particular rabots is an outstanding characteristic.

***Les représentations de cervidés dans l'art mobilier du
paléolithique supérieur européen***

Codrin Chirica

Académie Roumaine,

Institut d'Archéologie,

Iași

Notre communication porte surtout sur les cervidés au sens restreint du terme (cerf-biche), bien qu'on prenne en bout du compte aussi

le renne et l'élan quand on parle de cervidés en général. Bien que moins représenté que les chevaux ou les bisons, le cerf domine l'art mobilier du Magdalénien supérieur de la zone cantabrique, des Pyrénées jusqu'aux Asturies, le Pays basque et le Levant. On y trouve toutes les tendances stylistiques et les modes de représentation. Le cerf est porteur d'une symbolique masculine, uranienne, associée à la fertilité, à la virilité et au cycle de la vie.

The Evolution of Human Habitat in the Carpathian-Dniestr Space during the Upper Paleolithic and the Neolithic

Mădălin Cornel Văleanu
Romanian Academy,
Institute of Archaeology,
Iași

Based on the information at hand in specialized literature and on the new data on the evolutions of the natural environment in the Upper Pleistocene-Early Holocene, the presentation analyzes the manner in which human occupied the researched natural space. Emphasis is placed on the changes occurred in the geographic landscape of the region, under the impact of the level fluctuations of the Black Sea, which thus affected the human habitat. Several results of statistic of analysis of the human habitat in the region, especially on Neolithic level, will be consequently presented.

3. Mapping Differences

Social Inequality in Mesolithic Times: The Schela Cladovei-Lepenski Vir Case

Mircea Anghelinu

Romanian Academy,
Institute of Archaeology,
Iași

The issue of social inequality in societies of hunter-gatherers has enjoyed considerable attention in the last decades. As several ethnographical case-studies suggest, social stratification is not restricted to sedentary, agrarian or industrial societies: many ‘complex’ hunter-gatherers display it too. Moreover, there are solid theoretical and empirical grounds to defend an early, albeit transitory emergence of social stratification, going back to mid Upper Paleolithic times. Several Mesolithic societies, including the Schela Cladovei-Lepenski Vir case, were also identified as complex hunter-gatherers, raising the possibility of their social stratification.

Tracing inequality in prehistoric contexts is, however, considerably difficult, due to both theoretical and practical grounds. The relationship between technological complexity (often measurable archaeological-ly) and the social complexity and stratification (to be inferred archaeologically) proves intricate, as several archaeological examples show. While the complexity of the adaptation reached by these Danubian hunter-gatherers remains indisputable, the case for a notable social stratification appears rather flimsy supported.

***Usual and Unusual in Funerary Practices of the
Transylvanian Neolithic***

Mihai Gligor
Romanian Academy,
Institute of Archaeology,
Iași

The funerary ritual is one of the most powerful and complex. As a part of the funerary practices, once the human was aware of death, the funerary rite and ritual elements have known various forms, starting with the paleolithic age. In Europe, studying and interpreting funerary discoveries has progressed significantly over the last decade. The potential of funerary archaeology is also known to Romanian archaeology, yet it was insufficiently put into value through interdisciplinary researches and thorough publications. Hence, the scientific literature on prehistorical funerary practices within modern Romanian fails to provide a solid research base, on both temporal and spatial levels. This research aims to study the main characteristics of the funerary rite and ritual of the human communities in the Transylvanian area.

***Neck Ornaments present on Cucuteni-Tripolie
Anthropomorphic Statuettes***

Senica Turcanu
Romanian Academy,
Institute of Archaeology,
Iași

Even though, deities from the Cucutenian pantheon are usually depicted in sacred ritual nudity, sometimes, Cucutenian craftsman did not resist the temptation to embellish the divinity with clothing items,

hair styles or jewelry well known to them, with various degrees of stylization. It was considered that Cucutenian statuettes were embellished by Cucutenian artists with the most precious jewelry known or created by them. The paper aims to provide an analysis of the neck ornaments in Cucutenian anthropomorphic art. This important source of documentation, corroborated with the information provided by the analysis of the items themselves, allows us to visualize the types of neck ornaments known by the Cucutenian communities.

Thèmes religieux représentés dans la création artistique préhistorique

George Bodi

Académie Roumaine,

Institut d'Archéologie,

Iași

Vasile Chirica

Académie Roumaine,

Institut d'Archéologie,

Iași

La création artistique des communautés humaines préhistoriques est très riche et variée en ce qui concerne la représentation de tout l'environnement, comme facteur d'opposition de l'anthropomorphe, de ses essais permanents de maîtriser l'environnement et de le transformer en moyens élémentaires de subsistance, pour pouvoir survivre. Le sentiment religieux a constitué un trait de la permanence de l'homme. *L'homme* est devenu conscient de soi, et lorsqu'il a découvert dans le milieu naturel, des éléments identiques ou semblables à son visage, il leur a accordé l'attention due. Par le sentiment religieux, que nous ne prétendons pas comprendre dans toutes ses manifestations, les communautés humaines sont arrivées à des créations artistiques, qui peuvent être encadrées dans des *thèmes religieux*, car nous les retrouvons sous diverses formes, mais quasi-identiques en ce qui concerne la réalisation artistique et la connotation religieuses.

4. Artifact, Message and Impact

On the Identification of Potential Patterns in the Spatial Relationship between the Living and the Dead at the Lower Danube in Prehistory

Raluca Dumitru Kogălniceanu

Romanian Academy,
Institute of Archaeology,
lași

In order to speak of behavioral patterns in Prehistory, we must, first of all, take two aspects into account. **1.** Even if the analysis is focused on a determined geographical area, the neighboring areas should also be checked to see whether they provide situations unencountered in the studied area that could create a different image/pattern. **2.** A standardized set of attributes should be checked for each case (where the criteria of appreciation is not standardized, we cannot draw conclusions or make assumptions regarding any type of potential pattern).

First, we will present a pattern regarding the disposal of the dead, considering, at a general level, four types of discoveries:

- 1.** disarticulated, fragmented and dispersed human remains in the settlement area;
- 2.** articulated bodies inside the settlement area;
- 3.** isolated graves;
- 4.** cemeteries.

Then, the analysis of the spatial relationship between the living and the dead during the Neolithic and Chalcolithic at the Lower Danube

will consider a number of the known pairs of settlements and cemeteries, from the Southern Romania area and Northern Bulgaria. Each pair will be treated in five steps:

1. the positioning of the settlement and of the cemetery on topographic plans (minimum scale 1:25.000);
2. the digitization of the plan of the area where the pair is located;
3. the realization of a profile through settlement and cemetery;
4. the synthesis of the following data regarding each pair (**a.** the distance between the settlement and the cemetery; **b.** the orientation of the cemetery from the settlement; **c.** the altitude of the settlement and of the cemetery compared).
5. the synthesis of the data mentioned in step 4 in a general scheme (both with the settlement as central point and with the cemetery as central point).

The main purpose of this part of the presentation is to highlight, in an expressive, visual manner, possible patterns in the spatial relationship between the settlements and the cemeteries. The use of a standard set of criteria on a given number of paired sites will offer a general, standardized image of this relationship.

Crescent-shaped Silver Artifacts from Bulgaria: A Survey of their Function and Chronology

Anca-Diana Popescu
Romanian Academy,
Vasile Pârvan Institute of History,
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Between the Danube and the Balkans, in central-northern and eastern Bulgaria, 14 crescent-shaped lamellae made of silver, with a maximum opening varying between 11 and 18.5 cm, were found. Even though these artifacts do not have a certain archaeological context, they were assigned to the Middle or Late Bronze Age. In terms of functionality, the crescent-shaped silver lamellae were deemed parts

of chest adornments. In the absence of secure archaeological contexts for precise dating, any attempt to chronologically attribute the silver items is doubtful. Still, based on several arguments, the period between 4500-3500 BC is the most probable one. The items from Emenska Cave, Panayot Hitovo and Rositsa lake can be assigned to it. In our opinion, it is more reasonable to see them as products of the Chalcolithic period than of the Middle or Late Bronze Age.

***Certifying Ware Origin in Long Distance Trade:
The 'Bread-like Idols' from Ostrovu Mare (Iron Gates,
Romania)***

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Archaeological studies consider the acquiring of valuables from long distance trade as the second most important means - after military power - in maintaining social differentiation and power in prehistoric societies. These studies focused on and also limited themselves to the identification of these valuables and their places of origin. Anthropological studies have shown, however, that the valuables can be efficiently used to this end only if the origin of the pieces could be reasonably certified and the group of people who has access to those valuables could be limited and controlled. This is why some authors call these valuables *enclaved commodities*. But the task of controlling the access to valuables is particularly difficult in societies without writing. How could somebody from the Bronze Age be sure that the person who participates in the long distance trade is a person entitled to get access to the traded goods? How was one to be sure that the traded goods, for which origin in very distant places was claimed, were indeed from those places?

The aim of this talk is to show that a category of pieces, known in the specialist literature under the name of *bread-like idols* (*Brotleib-idole*), were used to certify the origin of the valuables as well as the

fact that they circulated among the right group of persons. But there is still a question left to be answered: how did Bronze Age people deal with these problems in those regions where bread-like idols were not in use?

The Evaluation and Spatial Distribution of Bronze Deposits in the Bucovina

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The bronzes discoveries on the territory of Romania and the adjacent areas are well known. They were the subject of numerous papers and specialized monographic studies authored by various researchers. Still, the north-eastern part of Romania, more precisely the territory of the former historical province of Bucovina, is insufficiently researched and valorized in terms of Bronze Age studies. We therefore propose to discuss a customized model of analysis of the bronze deposits from the Gáva-Holihrady culture (Early Hallstatt), present in the region through the Grăniceşti cultural group. Our model is original for Bucovina and the repertory of the bronze deposits, being also the first one achieved so far for this historical-geographic space, where the first bronze deposits were already discovered in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. Nonetheless, most discoveries have been made during the last 50 years.

This paper focuses in its evaluation and analysis of the spatial distribution of bronze deposits in the Bucovina on those dated to the Early Hallstatt, represented in the area by the Gáva-Holihrady culture. In order to support our study, we have applied an original algorithm able to identify the elements that can indicate behavioral patterns regarding the geographic space where the bronze deposits were laid. The geographic analysis elements applied for Bucovina

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indicate the preference of the communities of the Gáva-Holihrady culture for the deposits in the riverbeds, at confluences, on low and average terraces, as well as on very high hill, with maximal visibility.

The resulting observations are pertinent for the spatial distribution of the bronze deposits in the Bucovina. Generally, on the background of a plateau relief, the chosen locations were the meadow terraces or the dominant places. The preferred locations were, first of all, the places located near waters or even in the riverbeds, in many cases near confluence points or hills with considerable absolute and relative altitude. The swords, representing single item-deposits, were laid in riverbeds, whereas collective deposits were spread on high zones (terraces, hill tops). Geomorphologically, the low laying locations are the meadow terraces or the lower terraces of certain rivers, while the high locations correspond to structural plateaus.

The preliminary analysis of the bronze deposits in Bucovina brings into discussion certain questions. Which is the internal periodicity of the Grăniceşti cultural group and what was its spatial width? Which is the connection between the bronze deposits and the existence of Hallstatt fortified settlements? In view of the completion of our algorithm, in the future we shall have to take into consideration other elements: the open settlements, necropolises and salt pools discovered near bronze finds. The study and understanding of all these aspects may lead to the reconstruction of aspects pertaining to the compliance with certain rules of laying of bronze items by the population inhabiting the area north-east of the Carpathians during Hallstatt.

War and Warriors of the Lower Mureş Valley in the Late Bronze Age Period

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According to our findings so far, the first earthworks appeared in the Lower Mureş area at the end of early Neolithic period, a fact valida-

ted by the geophysical measurements of the multi-layered settlement (tell) from Dudeștii Vechi *Movila lui Deciov*, Timiș county (6000-5500 BC). During the late Neolithic period (5000-4500 BC) the dwelling style advanced and the tells spread throughout the entire Carpathian basin. One of the characteristic features of those settlements was the very presence of the fortifications (ditches, and wooden palisades), for example: the tell from Hódmezővásárhely Gorzsa, Hungary. The tells belonging to the early and middle Bronze Age are much better known (2500-1500 BC). The fortification grew more complex, with large scale ditches, earthen vallums with palisades or, in the areas where stone was available, even stone walls. Several fortified tells can be recorded along the Lower Mureş: Alioş, Munar, Pecica, Periam, Semlac etc.

Starting with the end of the Bronze Age (1500-1000 BC) some settlements reached an impressive size, never met before in the pre-history of the region. Multiple archaeological discoveries proved that the period was characterized by a significant development of the bronze and gold metallurgy. The diversification of the economic activities (mining, metallurgy, long distance trade, etc.) had a positive effect on traditional activities (agriculture and animal breeding). Those were the premises for improving living standards, which ultimately led to a demographic explosion and the redistribution of the population towards the new power centres.

The new social hierarchy was dictated by *surplus product*, as Marxist historians used to call it. The development of the settlement from Sântana Cetatea Veche perfectly reflected the control of the rich copper and golden resources, of the communication roads and the rich Mureş Plain. The people were bound to raise a fortification strong enough to protect their possessions and keep the potential enemies away. Over time, the fortress became the community symbol of power and welfare. Such an endeavour could be completed solely by a charismatic leader, respected by his followers. Cherishing his memory was the duty of his people. Consequently, the grave of such a personality might lay under the great tumulus located on the south-east border of the third enclosure.

5. Creating and Preserving Power

Sur la diffusion des monnaies grecques en or dans la zone du Bas Danube aux IV^e –III^e siècles av. J.-C.

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Se basant sur la répartition des découvertes de monnaies grecques en or au Bas Danube, l'auteur discute d'abord la pénétration des statères de type Philippe II, Alexandre III et Philippe III dans la région à la fin du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. On discute sur le trésor découvert à Lărguța (Rép. de Moldavie), formé de 21 statères de type Philippe II (16 ex.), Philippe III (1) et Alexandre III (4), auxquels s'ajoute un vase d'or de 258 g. On remarque les plus récentes monnaies, deux statères posthumes de type Philippe II frappés vers 318 av. J.-C. Très probablement le trésor a été caché dans le contexte de la révolte des villes ouest-pontiques contre le diadoque Lysimaque.

Le trésor de Lărguța représente un paiement politique effectué par les villes ouest-pontiques alliées, selon les sources antiques, avec les populations locales. On discute sur la chronologie et la composition du trésor découvert à Gâldău, enfoui aussi au temps de la guerre entre les villes ouest-pontiques et Lysimaque. Selon le contexte de la découverte, la répartition par ateliers et la chronologie des pièces, le trésor de Gâldău représente le paiement d'un mercenaire local.

Pour le III^e siècle, l'analyse est centrée sur les trésors de Dăeni, dép. de Tulcea, Mărășești, dép. de Vrancea, et Anadol (Rép. d'Ukraine), incluant des statères de type Alexandre et Lysimaque, qui reflètent les relations des cités grecques ouest-pontiques avec les entités politiques de la zone du Bas Danube et les États hellénistiques impliqués dans la deuxième guerre syrienne. On remarque les émissions de statères de type Alexandre le Grand du III^e siècle attribués à la cité grecque Callatis. L'examen du matériel numismatique, l'analyse du métal et les découvertes montrent que la plupart des statères de Callatis de type Alexandre ont été frappés pour soutenir la guerre contre Byzance et ses alliés au milieu du III^e siècle.

***Greek and Latin Authors on the Carpathian-Dnistrian Territory:
An Anthropology of Perceptions***

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The paper aims to explore the different types of perception of the Carpatho-Dnistrian territory as reflected in ancient literary sources. Our approach, based on the difference between professional (historians and geographer) and non-professional (especially poets) authors, presents important implications for the attempts to reconstruct of the protohistory of the area. For the first time in the Romanian literature on the subject, we provide a classification of ancient authors, following criteria which are found in the concepts of *autopsia*, *akoé* and *autopátheia*.

The proposed taxonomy is relevant for the credibility of the historical information provided by literary sources. It also examines the subjective cultural perceptions of the authors concerning ancient ethnic and geographical alterity.

**Limes and Barbaricum:
Nomads of the Steppes at the Danube Frontier of the
Roman Empire
(1st Century-Beginning of the 2nd Century CE).
Historical Outline and Chronological Remarks**

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For several centuries, the Sarmatians were one of the main political and military forces in the north Pontic steppes and those east of Don. They also played an important role in the history of the Lower Danube in the first centuries CE. At the border of the Roman empire, their power was equally important, as neighbors and as enemies.

Contemporary sources (Seneca, Lucan, especially Pliny the Elder) and archaeological evidences (mainly graves in the north Pontic region; those dated between the middle of 1st century and the start of the 2nd century CE are chiefly of Alan origin) illustrate the Sarmatian Roxolani, Aorsians, the Alans and the Siraces movement westwards in particular since the middle of the 1st century CE (evidence for the westward global movement - *mutatis mutandis* – of the Sarmatians is the penetration and settlement of the Sarmatian Iazyges in the plain between the Danube and Tisza, around 50 CE. if not precisely in 50 CE on the occasion of *regnum Vannianum* events). A major source for the history of the Sarmatians in those decades is the inscription from Tibur, which “reviews” Tiberius Plautius Silvanus’ actions as legate of Moesia (57/60-67 CE), targeted most likely at the recently settled and very aggressive Alans. All these events occurred close to the borders of the province, in the Lower Danube area, as inferred by the statement *per quem pacem provinciae et confirmavit et protulit*. In fact, this phrase mirrors the Roman policy of expanding the invisible borders of the empire, being as a matter of fact, both the conclusion of and explanation for the abovementioned actions.

Nonetheless, the successes of Tiberius Plautius Silvanus, enabled also by his diplomatic skills (illustrated by his alliance with Olbia or the diplomatic mission to Umabios and the great Aorsian kings), did

not eliminate the Sarmatian menace at the Lower Danube. From the winter on 67-68 CE onwards, profiting also from Nero's death and the subsequent civil war, the Sarmatian Roxolani crossed the Danube and massacred Roman troops (in winter 69-70 CE, the governor of Moesia, Fonteius Agrippa, too was killed). The end of the civil war led to a reorganization of Rome's Lower Danubian defensive system, completed by a diplomatic settlement of the relations between the empire and its Barbarian neighbors in the area (including the Sarmatians). Until the Dacian raid on Moesia in 85, no major conflicts are recorded along the Lower Danube. Most likely due to the subsidies they received from Rome, the Sarmatians in the northern and north-western Pontic areas did not get involved. Likewise unrecorded are conflicts between them and the empire in the following years. Only the Sarmatian Iazyges (which inhabited the lands between the Danube and the Tisza) collided with the Romans (in 89 and 92 CE).

A decade after the violent raid of the Iazyges on Pannonia, the Sarmatian Roxolani from the north-north-western Pontic steppes, supported the Dacians against the Romans, like the Iazyges had aided the Suebi in 89 (the Dacian-Roxolan anti-Roman alliance was recorded as such both on Trajan's column in Rome and on the monument at Tropaeum Traiani, erected in memory of Rome's victory over the allies). The Dacian-Roxolan invasion of Moesia Inferior (winter 101-102 CE) ended however in disaster (meanwhile, the Iazyges remained neutral and thus favored the Romans, according to Cassius Dio). Afterwards, the Roxolani concluded a treaty with Rome, who, in exchange for subsidies, assured peace in their direction, until the death of Trajan. Then conflicts reappeared, possibly because the Roxolani feared that their Roman deal would not be renewed by the new emperor. Hadrian however deployed both his military and diplomatic forces and personally negotiated, in Moesia Inferior, the terms of the new Roman-Roxolan arrangement. It is difficult nonetheless to establish the exact details of this course of events, given the fact that the passage in the *Historia Augusta* is not very clear, especially in reference to the genesis of the events.

In return, it is clear that eventually Hadrian turned the Roxolani king into *rex amicus populi Romani*. This king was most likely the P. Aelius Rasparaganus, recorded in the inscriptions at Pola. *P. Aelius Rasparaganus rex Roxolanorum* and his son *P. Aelius Peregrinus* erected (while still living) tombstones for him, *Attiae Procilliae*, daughter of *Quintus*, the freedwomen and their successors. The Roman citizenship granted by the emperor granted to the Roxolani king and

son was one of the greatest awards a *rex amicus* could receive for services to the empire. Yet, at some time, probably following events occurred already in spring 118 CE, a rival (anti-Roman) group managed to chase the king and his son from their “country”, thus leading to a territorial reorganization of both Dacia and Moesia Inferior. The Sarmatians therefore remained a threat for the empire throughout the century. They were also among the Barbarian people who allied themselves and attacked the empire under Marcus Aurelius.

***The Dacian Fortress in the Orăştie Mountains:
Between Functionality and Symbolism***

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Subject to numerous interpretations, the Dacian fortress in the Orăştie Mountains represent a peculiar topic, both in terms of actual functionality and in terms of symbolism. More recent as well, as older discoveries call for a interdisciplinary re-evaluation of the question.

***The Archaeology of Anonymous Gods:
The Dacian Temples in the Orăştie Mountains***

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The Dacian Temples in the Orăştie Mountains constitute a traditional subject for various speculations from the stricty historical and archaeological level to the ideological niveau. The question of the “Dacian pantheon” is intimately connected to the interpretation of the temples.

6. Real and Imagined Communities

Roman and Late Roman Family in the North-East of the Province of Moesia Inferior (Scythia Minor)

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In the Roman society the concept of *familia* was based on a complex structure, entailing a large number of individuals, both through lineage and marriage, as well as the house-slaves and freedmen. However, the affective relations, the primary responsibilities and the inter-relational commitments are manifest almost exclusively within the familial core, consisting of father, mother and their children.

We are interested in some aspects concerning the marriageable age between the 1st and 6th centuries AD in the area corresponding to the province Scythia Minor. In the Roman classical time, as well as during the Christian period, the very young age of marriageable girls indicates that their passage from childhood to adulthood was somewhat forceful. In spite of two cases of 13 years old brides, the resulting average of marital age for girls recorded in the area of our interest is 17-18 years. Analyzing the symbolic meaning of funeral inventory of the graves of marriageable boys and girls is another objective of this study. The clothing, the jewels and the rest of the funeral inventory, together with the specific rituals might reveal the deceased's unmarried statute but also her nulliparal statute and consequently her symbolic "childhood". The one-earring graves could be such a case, but this is difficult to argue for this kind of ritual could have

differed according to the beliefs of the family of the deceased or the social condition and other factors. The importance of marriage and childbearing in the Roman world is revealed, also, by the sources that refer to the premature death of young people, before their marriage.

In addition, we attempt to understand the character of the relationship between spouses. Was it based on respect and understanding or love in the real meaning? Studies over the last decades proved that, the material arguments aside (anyway dominant only for the elites), the choice of one's spouse on the basis of sentiments was fact of reality. The modern notion of love is quite different of the ancients' rendering of the concept, but the feelings themselves cannot be so dissimilar. The poetic vocabulary present on certain monuments hints at the affection of the couple, or at least of one of the spouses during marriage. Also, the perception of such relations can be determined by archaeological discoveries, especially by grave types. In this respect, the double or even triple funerals, where we deal with core family members, are highly interesting. For the province of our interest the difficulty, and hence the relativity of this reference, lies with the few funeral complex that underwent a complete anthropological analysis

The Veterans in the Roman and Greek Cities of Moesia Inferior

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In the specific case of the province of Moesia Inferior, the manner in which the army related to three civilian provincial environments (Greek, Roman and indigenous) is rather remarkable. Army veterans pursued civil careers, either in Roman or Greek cities, making Moesia Inferior practically the only area within the empire, where the army directly interacted, within the same province, with Roman and Greek type cities (the other exceptions were the veteran colonies in the East, but they were true Latin oasis in a predominantly Greek en-

vironment). In comparison to other provinces, in Moesia Inferior numerous rural settlements, inhabited by many veterans, together with Roman citizens and indigenous people (or which were even exclusively formed, at a certain point, of veterans), have been indentified.

The paper focuses on the careers of the former members of the army settled in the Roman and Greek cities. It is therefore, interesting to note the involvement of the veterans of the V Macedonica legion in the structures of the new *municipium Troesmense*. Among the veterans mentioned in relation to the civil settlements from Troesmis, we count two *quinquennales canabensium*, of whom one later became *decurio Troesmensium* (i.e. the case of the inscription seemingly proving the duality *canabae-civil settlement at Troesmis*). Another veteran was recorded as *decurio municipii Troesmensium*. In addition, probably after the legion was transferred to Dacia, the son of a former legion veteran twice became *duumvir* of the local *municipium* and *augur*.

***Villes grecques, villes romaines au Bas Danube.
Le patrimoine monumental urbain entre l'épigraphie et
l'archéologie***

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Cette contribution s'intéresse à l'état des villes grecques et romaines au Bas Danube durant les premiers siècles du premier millénaire. En s'appuyant sur certains exemples révélateurs, l'objectif majeur est de reconstituer le *decor ciuitatis* tel qu'il peut être aperçu à travers les témoignages épigraphiques. Le recours aux données fournies par l'épigraphie sur le patrimoine monumental des villes et la confrontation de cette catégorie de sources aux résultats des fouilles archéologiques a pour but de déterminer la nature de l'héritage du passé, de définir – autant que faire se peut – une «topographie séculaire» de ces centres urbains, ainsi que de réévaluer le devenir de l'expression matérielle de la ville sous le pois du christianisme.

***Did Charon read his Obol?
The Message of Coin Offering in Roman Graves from
Pannonia***

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When the time to pass in the afterlife came, those who mourned at the grave, were they careful to fulfil from the bottom of heart the requirements asked by gods or just simply regarded the moment as an automatic duty? An element that can help in this approach is the coin placed in grave. As soon as the coin earned its place in the human communities, the custom of paying the ferryman – Charon – in order to cross the dead over the river Styx became a well-known tradition in the ancient world which was prolonged also in the Christian times. Apart from its value as a currency and part of the crossing ritual in the afterlife, the coin could also be the bearer of a certain message that one could send if he would like to express his sentiments/ believes towards the gods or wishes to the person who just passed away.

For this paper three graveyards of sites from the former Roman province of Pannonia – Carnuntum (Pannonia Superior, today Petronell-Carnuntum, Austria), Aquincum (Pannonia Inferior, today Budapest, Hungary) and Matrica (Pannonia Inferior, today, Százhalombatta-Dunafüred, Hungary) – were taken into account, as the numismatic evidence was published in detail. The coins were catalogued based on eschatological and non-eschatological message. For a better understanding of coin finds by sites and graves, the material was also organised by site, graveyard, grave, issuer, reference, year/ period of issue, category of reverse type and bibliography.

A first aspect, easily noticeable at the coin finds in graves, is the massive presence of coins of low value. This is a consequence of the convergent action of the two main parts involved in the ritual of coin offering in graves: those who believed in the meaning of tradition – thus, they knew that Charon needs only one obol –, and those who may have lost the knowledge on this ritual and just wanted to follow an inherited tradition – ‘happy’ to give only a low value coin.

7. Forms and Means of Communication

Provincia Dacia nel messaggio propagandistico imperiale nell'eta` del Principato

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La conquista della Dacia avvenuta sotto Traiano nel 101-106 d.Hr. con grandi costi e difficolta` traspare dal messaggio propagandistico imperiale, trasmesso attraverso tutti i canali "mass media" del Antichità` . La Colonna Traiana, inaugurata nel 13 Maggio 112 è il monumento più rappresentativo della propaganda di Traiano. I fregi spiraliformi, invenzione d'eccellenza di questo imperatore, illustrano in maniera cronologica e relativamente realista diverse scene delle due guerre daco-romane, con la rappresentazione allegorica della Vittoria. Rappresentati in maniera realistica i prigionieri daci, che decoravano il Foro di Traiano, mostravano la dignità` di popolo sconfitto.

Anche la monetazione traianea dedicata alla nuova provincia romana è molto suggestiva nel questo senso. Tantissimi e diversi tipi monetali glorificavano le vicende di Traiano. L'eco di tale propaganda si può ritrovare in piccole opere d'arte (glittica, toreutica, coroplastica) ma, a volte, anche in oggetti di uso comune. Sebbene molto meno presente, la Dacia non scompare dalla propaganda ufficiale degli imperatori che succedono Traiano: era inclusa nelle serie "provinciali" dell'epoca di Adriano, Antonino Pio o di Filippo L'Arabo. I monumenti artistici e le raffigurazioni sulle monete includevano concetti di natura mitologica o storico-politica. In tal modo, il simbolismo veicolato dai rilievi storici era comprensibile solo nel caso in cui gli spettatori conoscevano la realtà politica e militare alla quale si faceva riferimento.

**Dynamics of a Society:
Geography, Space, Infrastructure, Travel and Mobility in
Roman Dacia**

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Communication is essential for the development of civilizations. In the absence of elements that provide the opportunity to exchange information of any kind, a society becomes self-isolated. The Roman Empire, through its general policy, understood this perfectly. Communication is done 'physically' by infrastructure, which provides opportunities for goods and people to travel and organize a territory, but also the access to information, the means of total control. Information means power. This assumption is valid for all periods.

To administrate a huge territory, the emperors of Rome understood the need to invest human and financial resources into an idea and to support it strongly: namely, the creation of communication infrastructure. *Road building was a political act*, insisted Ray Laurence. He further wrote: *The unity of Roman Italy depended on a system of roads*. We can extend this remark and say that unity of the entire empire relied on the communication system. To construct and maintain such a network of roads, was primarily the work of the state, dependent on the efforts of legions and soldiers. All territories conquered and administrated by Romans were in fact covered with exceptional roads.

In order to understand how these mechanisms functioned in such perfect unity, we have to see how the Romans viewed their space, how they understood their geography. Roads are technical 'means' that assured the communication within the empire. This communication involved human resources (travel of officials, of individuals, merchants, soldiers, reasons for travel: personal, business, leisure etc.). Travel further implied time, planning, routes, stop points, distances, documents (*itineraria*), inscriptions (milestones). Travel also meant information or presupposes getting to information, which, as today, was essential in Roman times. A unified Roman space emerged.

Traditional scholarship sometimes provided insufficiently argumented perspectives, mainly on space perception in the empire,

the role of itineraries, the level of the geographical knowledge, the higher costs related to land transport, and the existence of Roman scale maps. Certain historians have imagined the Roman Empire as a space of static communities (K. Broderson list a series of false or negative images of land transporation to be found especially in the works of M. Finley or G. Raepsaet). However, since the 1970s scholars gradually began to disregard these interpretations in favor of a modern interdisciplinary approach (eloquently represented by the recent works of C. Adams). In particular, in recent years the traditionalist approach was challenged through the use of simple questions.

What did travel mean in the Roman era? How could one plan it? How was it realized? What were the benefits, the risks and hazards? How did Romans perceive their own geographical space? How did they understand time and distance? How was information spread? How did officials travel? How did ordinary citizens travel?

One of the most complicated aspects is the perception of geographical spaces. The need for mapping conquered regions led to the production of cartographic documents. The pragmatic Romans thus created the “linear maps”, the reflection of their perception of space (the most famous among the surviving maps is Peutniger map). Our research begins with a look at some literary sources on the cartographic production in the Roman world. This also leads us to a hypothesis regarding the conquest of Dacia and the creation of the first *itineraria* of the new province. It is possible that quite soon after the conquest of Dacia military itineraries were already in administrative use. These itineraries were used afterwards for the compilation of Tabula in the 5th century A.D., together with *itineraria* of other Roman provinces.

The term ‘map’ has hundreds of modern definitions. Maps are, basically, the result of geographical knowledge. What was the level of the geographical knowledge during Roman times? Did they use the term ‘map’? The Romans considered geography a minor subject. This does not mean that they did not know geography. Caesar or Pliny, Strabo or Varro, consulted and read classical Greek works on the subject. But this science was intimately connected with military campaigning. Strabo hoped that his work would help generals to avoid problems like those in Parthia or Germania. Four centuries later, Vegetius stated that a good commander should always have with him both *itineraria picta* and *adnotata*. Chorography is probably the term best suited to define what Romans understood about the description of particular people, regions, settlements, customs etc. In fact, it aided them to present information on newly conquered lands.

Secundum interpretationem somniorum.
Dreams and Oracles in Roman Dacia

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The divine responses are the focal point of our survey of the means of communication between humans and gods. As absolute rulers, gods often gave orders and commands. The means at hand for them were mainly dreams (and, exceptionally, other direct divine manifestations, e.g. *omina*, *prodigia*, *miracula*). Inscriptions often mentioned the divine command (*ex iussu*, *iussu dei*, *ex imperio*, *ex designatione*, *ex praecipto*, *kata keleusin*, *kata prostagma*, *kat' epi-tagen* or *kata suntagen*). All commands are transmitted through dreams (*visum*, *somnium*, *oneiron*), marked epigraphically by expressions like *somno monitus*, *ex vissu*, *kat'onar*. Authoritative persons viewed while sleeping were assimilated by ancient people with gods giving oracles (*ex oraculo*, *kata hresmon*).

Our study analyzes the inscriptions from Dacia mentioning dreams and oracles according to the systems of dreams classification known in Antiquity. Some are related to healing practices (*incubatio*), with simple personal problems. Some are dreams oracles. The others are complicated and obscure dreams understandable only by interpretation. All are parts of a complex communicative system between humans and gods.

Die römischen Steindenkmäler aus Napoca

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Napoca bekam früh, unter Hadrian, munizipalen Statut. Unter Marc Aurel erlangte sie den Statut einer *colonia* (unter Trajan hatte die Sied-

lung wohl den Status eines *vicus*), die zweite *colonia* in Dakien. Am Ende der antoninischen Zeit kannte die Stadt Wohlstand und Ansehen. Sie lag entlang der kaiserlichen Straße (über Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, Potaissa, natürlich Napoca, und Porolissum), die die Provinz Dakien durchquert und am Rand des Imperiums verlief. Eine andere Straße folgte den Fluss Someş und verband Napoca, nach Westen, mit dem Auxiliarkastell von Gilău, und, nach Osten, mit dem Kastell von Gherla her. Napoca war eine zivile Stadt, ohne Garnison. Sie wurde beschützt von den Truppen in den benachbarten Kastellen.

Die Steinmonumente aus Napoca wiederspiegeln gleichzeitig den Statut und den Charakter der Siedlung (z.B. die engen Beziehungen zwischen der Munizipalaristokratie und der Armee). Am Anfang funktionierte mindestens eine Werkstatt, die einfache Grabmonumente herstellte. Die architektonischen Teile und die Reliefs, die ab Mitte des 2. Jhs. erscheinen, bezeugen eine Bevölkerungsschicht mit dem wirtschaftliche Potenzial grössere anspruchsvollere Monumente zu bestellen. In Folge, entwickelte sich in der spätantoninischen Zeit eine Werkstatt die Denkmäler guter Qualität aus lokalem Stein verfertigte.

Artificial Lighting in Late Antiquity at the Border of the Roman Empire

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The presentation revolves around five key research topics/coordinates:

- 1. Staticity vs. evolution**
- 2. Light and religion**
- 3. State and light**
- 4. Public illumination**
- 5. Impact of lighting techniques on daily life**

In relation to them, we attempt to provide an analysis of the main features, uses and consequences of artificial lighting in the Roman age.

8. The Written and the Unwritten

L'horizon des tombes à déposition de chevaux ou de parties de chevaux dans la région comprise entre le Bas-Danube, les Carpates Méridionales et Orientales et le Dniestr (X^e-XIII^e siècles)

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Dans cette région il y a essentiellement deux horizons funéraires: l'horizon des tombes à déposition des chevaux ou des parties des chevaux (nomades touraniens), et l'horizon des nécropoles d'inhumation sans déposition d'offrande animale (population sédentaire). Jusque à présent on connaît 531 de découvertes funéraires attribuables aux nomades touraniens, réparties dans 144 sites de la région comprise entre le Bas Danube, les Carpates orientales et le Dniestr. La plupart de ces tombes sont tumulaires. 102 tombes, reparties sur 73 endroits, sont des tombes à déposition de chevaux ou de parties de chevaux (environ 19%). Selon les offres il y a quatre groupes:

- I. Tombes avec le squelette complet du cheval.
- II. Tombes avec crâne du cheval et les extrémités des pieds du cheval.
- III. Tombes avec le crâne du cheval.
- IV. Tombes avec les extrémités des pieds du cheval.

***Domestic Animal Management in the Byzantine Site
Nufărău***

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The site is placed on the right shore of Sfântu Gheorghe branch of the Danube, 12 km downstream from Tulcea. We present preliminary zooarchaeological data from features dated between the 11th and the 13th centuries. The faunal assemblage is dominated by domestic animals, essentially cattle, pig, sheep, goat and seldom horse. Domestic birds are also present. Except for pigs, the other animals were raised primarily for their secondary products (milk, wool, draught or bird, eggs), not for their meat. All the skeletal elements are on site, indicating that animals were butchered and consumed on site.

***The Churchyard Cemetery of Dăbâca (Doboka),
Castle Area 4***

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The village of Dăbâca is located 30 kms northwest of Cluj-Napoca, by the stream called Lónya, which flows into the river Someş at a distance of 10 kms from Dăbâca. The necropolis, belonging to the village in the 11th-13th centuries, was found in the southeastern part of the castle district. The necropolis belongs to the cemetery type 'churchyard cemetery'. Its existence in the Transylvanian Basin is the

archeological ‘sign’ for the local spread of Christianity, institutionalised by the Hungarian Kingdom. The varied concentration of different burial customs might indicate a heterogeneous community with diverse mentalities, customs and identifications. Based on the superpositions, the finds and the location, the orientation and the depths of the graves, the chronological horizons of the grave groups can be divided into Horizon I, Horizon II and the graves of Horizon III.

The Evangelical Church from Saschiz (Mureş County): Archaeological and Historical Researches

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Located in South-Eastern Transylvania in the Saxon settlement area, Saschiz (Keisd, Sászkézd vára) was first recorded in 1309 (its origins however predate this first mention by at least two centuries). In the 14th and 15th century, its regional importance was a match, in several respects, for Sighișoara (Schäßburg, Segesvár). The later Evangelical church, was built in late Gothic style between 1493 and 1525. Its originality resided in the fact that the local architectural project had from the beginning a twofold function: church and fortification. The church consequently served as model for an entire series of churches in south-eastern Transylvania, the so-called *reduit churches*.

Between 1999 and 2010, in the context of the restoration works, the church underwent a thorough interdisciplinary investigation. The archaeological excavations did not find traces of a church predating the late Gothic edifice. The earlier church probably functioned in another location, together with the local cemetery. The reasons for abandoning this church cannot be established. Yet they were hardly trivial, for such a change implied actual transfer of the entire nucleus of the community (the new church is located in fact in the center of the settlement near the parish house, the old school or the mayor’s office).

Section II

Structuring Power

1. The Changing Context of International Relations

The EU and the Western Balkans: The Road Ahead

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The Western Balkans concluded the year 2010 in the spotlight. A number of good news showed that the ex-Yugoslav states managed to break away with the past and move on. Thus, lifting the visas for the Schengen space opened free movement for the citizens of BiH and Albania.

Now all citizens of the Western Balkans can travel freely to Europe in spite of the fears of some governments that this move will increase illegal immigration. Economically speaking, regional co-operation and foreign investment grew and the region maintained a high economic potential despite the global financial crisis. But the Western Balkans have been in the eye of the storm due to other news such as spectacular scandals related to corruption and organized crime. This however may ease to some of them the road towards the European Union.

The question we must ask, however, is what does all this mean for the European Union? A new beginning or the unveiling of a past that may further complicate matters for the European Union enlargement in the region?

An European Perspective on the Public-Private Partnership: Implementing the Concept in Romania

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Several starting points could be used in an analysis on the possible routes for developing Public-Private Partnership (PPP) projects in Romania, as alternative financing mechanisms for public infrastructure. This paper follows a “classic” approach, with focus on the pros and cons of the PPP concept, legal forms met in the European legislation, the PPP market in Romania and lessons to be learned for practitioners in Romania.

***Political Culture, Democracy and Foreign Policy in East Central Europe:
The Quest for Models.
An Exploratory Study on the Formation and Evolution of
Societal Attitudes towards Domestic and International
Political Objects***

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Successful democratic transition and consolidation require, *inter alia*, the internalization of certain social and political (and perhaps economic) values by the citizenry, usually subsumed under the umbrella of political culture. *Democratic* political culture (or civic culture as coined

by Almond and Verba) is a subtype of the above concept, and refers to those values, beliefs and practices that are specific to citizens living in pluralist (liberal) democratic societies, and that reflect their perceptions and evaluations of the political system. I adopt a rather unconventional view of political culture, one that transcends the boundaries of the nation state, and includes “objects of support” specific to the international arena – such as international aid and cooperation for development, European Union integration policies and elements of foreign policy. Through a critical review of the literature and an exploration of comparative European survey data (mostly from the Eurobarometer series) I aim to unravel the ways in which European Union citizens form attitudes and perceptions of “politics” at both national and international levels. Though a work in progress, this research speaks of the benefits of inter-disciplinary approaches, and tests the applicability of the discourse on democratization beyond its borders delineated by the nation state. My approach is interdisciplinary and brings closer two sub-fields of political science - comparative politics and international relations respectively - through the medium of public opinion.

Romania's Monetary Integration in Relation to the Euro Plus Pact

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The Euro Plus Pact is intended to strengthen the monetary union. The present research connects Romania's process of monetary integration to the Pact signed at the end of March 2011. As will be seen throughout the study, Romania's competitiveness has decreased lately, making it even harder to fulfill the Pact's requirements. Based on labour-intensive activities, Romania is significantly more sensitive to shocks on the labour market, which can decrease competitiveness and increase the costs of adopting the Euro. Moreover, an extremely

low percentage of the adult population is involved in education, hence rendering the professional reconversion almost nonexistent. The international subprime crisis from 2008 has practically led to the cut of the funds in research and development, increasing Romania's bad competitiveness position. A deep restructuring process is necessary. It has to start from education and from the political class. Unfortunately, the present analysis has brought into light the fact that Romania is still far from the desired status of development and it will be very hard for the Government to find the proper ways to assess monetary integration through the provisions of the Euro Plus Pact.

***In Quest of a New Empire:
Russia's Energy Policy in the Wider Black Sea Region.
1992-2010***

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The Black Sea region lends itself to some steps to define different things. Invariably, those that prevailed were the perspectives of the Great Powers, interested to control the commercial routes, to control the Straits, to control the riverain countries, and in modern days to control the energetic routes. In a larger sense, as defined today by the EU and the US, the Black Sea is a part of the Extended Middle East, political space due to structure in a political system not just the countries in the Black Sea Hollow, but also the riverain countries to the Caspian Sea and those in the Central Asia. Russia, the power that lost control in the region after the fall of Soviet Union (and also after immense petroleum and natural gas deposits were found in Central Asia and Caspian Sea), prefers to define the Black Sea area in a stricter sense, connecting it to the notion of "close neighbourhood", regarding CSI states and Balkan states, both being areas in which Russian influence manifested itself in a constant historical manner.

Recent Studies on Past and Present

The proposed project is built on a few premises pleading for the idea of a "Renaissance Age" for the Black Sea region. For the first time in the last four centuries, the Black Sea region would go back to the nodal point status of the world economic processes, being a part of the solution, in a medium perspective, for the energetic sources problem.

The diplomacy of the Russian Federation for a wider area Black Sea is a first rate political offer, as well as a generator of regional turmoil. The collapse of Soviet Union drew after it a dramatic change, and the Black Sea stopped being a *soviet lake*. The current establishment in Moscow considers the fall of USSR as *the greatest geopolitical catastrophe* of the 20th century. For the Black Sea region instead the same event would be considered *the great liberation*.

Our research depicts the attempt of the Russian Federation to retain under her control the Black Sea, as well the reactions of the Russian diplomacy to US, NATO or UE strategies aimed at establishing a balance of power in the region. The analysis focuses less on the energetic aspects of the matter and more on the ideological components of this policy (i.e. Russian political ideology), as the involvement (national and multi-national) of the Great Power's in the area exceeds the scope of a specific energetic project and tends to create an social and economical establishment, with its own values, for the coastal states with petroleum and natural gas deposits. These states are being modernized under the condition that none of the main actors has complete control over them. We consequently plead for the extension of the meanings of energetic politics. The supranational entities (organizations and companies), which initiate and finance such projects, aim to secure a major level of influence (through ideological harmonization and the choice of a similar economic model) in the national governmental act of the states holding major energetic resources and of those states whose territories are crossed by the vital sections of the larger energetic complex around the Black Sea.

Our research takes on an integrated vision on the strategies of the Russian Federation in the Black Sea Hollow. The approach sets in the core of the project the energetic politics, as bearers of the development models, the paradigm in which Russia acts in a close connection with her domestic situation. Does Russia look for a balanced arrangement, which offers the possibility to express herself politically and economically or does Russia have the intention to create a new imperial space, feeding herself from the initial failure of the CSI states as independent states?

2. Identity Construction and Political Power-Play

Identités ethniques et religieuses dans le Sud et le Sud-Ouest de la mer Noire aux VII^e-XI^e siècles

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Le présent projet approche le problème des identités ethniques et religieuses dans le Sud et le Sud-Ouest de la mer Noire (Thrace, Anatolie), dans la période qui va de l'invasion arabe à la pénétration turque dans l'Empire byzantin (VII^e-XI^e siècles), dans une perspective novatrice, qui met en lumière la fonction de vecteur identitaire de l'hagiographie, son rôle dans la préservation et la promotion du sentiment d'appartenance ethnique et religieuse dans une communauté donnée. L'aire géographique circonscrite par ce projet correspond aux régions du Sud et du Sud-Ouest de la mer Noire (Asie Mineure, Thrace). Ces régions représentent, dans le contexte du bassin de la mer Noire, des zones avec un degré élevé de stabilité, vers lesquelles se dirige constamment un flux de populations venues d'autres zones, de l'intérieur ou de l'extérieur de l'Empire byzantin. Dans ces régions, se réunissent et se recomposent des communautés ethniques provenant de tout le bassin de la mer Noire (Arméniens, Géorgiens, Russes etc.). Nous nous proposons d'explorer les stratégies identitaires de ces communautés, en nous attachant notamment à leur expression littéraire et à leur dimension religieuse. Le cadre chronologique de la recherche

se situe entre l'invasion arabe dans l'Empire byzantin (la conquête de la Syrie en 634-638) et la bataille de Mantzikert (1071), à la suite de laquelle les Byzantins ont perdu leur autorité sur l'Arménie et sur une bonne partie de l'Anatolie au détriment des Turcs Seldjoukides, deux événements qui ont marqué de manière décisive la carte politique et démographique du basin du Sud et du Sud-Ouest de la mer Noire.

En prenant l'hagiographie comme instrument d'étude des identités religieuses, nous nous proposons de mettre en lumière la manière dont ce genre contribue à l'organisation et à la consolidation d'une communauté, à une période où il n'y a pas encore des canonisations officielles – celles-ci n'apparaissent pas à Byzance avant le XIV^e siècle –, à la définition et à la promotion des identités ethniques et religieuses locales. Dans cette perspective, qui prend en compte le contexte et les raisons justifiant la rédaction d'une *vita*, le public auquel elle s'adresse et les objectifs de son auteur, l'hagiographie n'est plus comprise comme un réflexe littéraire d'une communauté religieuse déjà constituée, mais comme le catalyseur d'une identité locale, comme un moyen de préservation et de promotion de cette identité.

***The Venetian Republic and Islam –
between Crusading Fervour and Realpolitik***

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Our research focuses upon a constituent part of the Christian world in relation with Islam, that is Venice, an active participant in what is known under the established and official denomination of 'classical crusades'. The starting point of the research is represented by the Venetian chronicles, without neglecting other sources of the first crusades that mention Venetian participation more or less sporadically. Our aim is to emphasize the manner of representation provided by the Venetian chronicles with regard to the main crusading events in which Venice was involved more or less actively. We also intend to

survey some of the events precursory to the crusading phenomenon in its established sense, that is the episodes marked by confrontations with the Saracens in previous centuries (beginning with the 9th century). The focus then shifts to the Venetian viewpoint, to how the *Infidels* were reflected during the First Crusade, the 'Venetian crusade' in 1122-1126, and the first moments of the Fourth Crusade, when, contrary to the prejudices of some modern historical writing, the Venetian participants had no idea that a casual 'deviation' would take place either to Zara or to Constantinople and were certainly convinced that the *pagans* in Egypt were to be the opponents.

At a general level, five main aspects will be investigated:

1. Venetian participation in the crusading phenomenon.
2. Methodological features in Venice.
3. The representation of the 'allies/quasi-allies'.
4. The representation of the 'enemy'.
5. Considerations on the relation between crusading fervor and *Realpolitik* in Venice, in connection with the Muslim 'enemy'.

Based on the premsis of our earlier studies, as a starting point, we consider that the position of the Venetian Republic regarding the crusading phenomenon is to be described in the manner of the representation of Islam advanced by the entire Christian world, but it reveals typical and well determined shades.

Politics and Trade along the Lower Danube at the Beginning of the 14th Century

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Descriptio Europae Orientalis written by an unknown Dominican friar for Charles Robert of Anjou in the early 1300s contains a num-

ber of references to politics on both banks of the Lower Danube, presented in close connection, both on a practical and on an ideal level, with the imperial capital on the Bosphorus. The analysis of this *Latin* work reveals a particular approach of the Greek (and Slavic) features of regional trade and diplomacy in the Danubian borderlands of the menaced *Byzantine Commonwealth*. Major political changes were taking place at that time on both banks of the Middle and Lower Danube that were took have a considerable impact upon the entire 14th century in South-East Europe: the rise of Angevin Hungary following Charles-Robert's victory in the civil war (and in particular his Transylvanian success against the local rebels) and the shaping of a distinct political unit between the major regional *Latin*, Greek and Tartar powers and their colliding Danubian interests.

Hungary's Orthodox Vassals at 15th Century Councils: Participation, Legal Position and Implications

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From an ecclesiastic prospective the first half of the 15th century was dominated by an obsessive search for unity that involved, from the very beginning of the process, not only the *Latin* obediences, but also the Greek Church. From the council of Pisa (1409), through Constance (1414-1418), Siena (1423-1424) and Basel (1431-1445) to Ferrara-Florence (1438-45), the Greeks were more than once summoned to those major events. Due to their relationship with the Hungarian crown, the Orthodox rulers of Serbia, Walachia and Moldavia were somehow preferred between the others members of the "Byzantine commonwealth" to deal with the conciliar fathers and the pope. The paper focuses on their participation and legal position from a canon law prospective and on its political implications

3. The State and its Special Subjects

***From Custom to Written Law:
ius valachicum in the Banate
(Late Middle Ages-Early Modern Age)***

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The modern Banate (the area located between the Mureş, the Danube, the Tisa and the Carpathians, nowadays divided between Romania and Serbia) was a part of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Middle Ages, when it was divided between several administrative units: the Counties of Timiş, Torontal, Arad, Cenad and Caraş and the military unit named the Banate of Severin. Within these units, the Walachian population retained its legal autonomy under the form of the so-called Walachian districts (i.e. administrative units where the Walachian population could use their own law, known as the *ius valachicum*). The use of the *ius valachicum* was first recorded in the 1300s and remained in use for four centuries until it lost ground to the common law of the Transylvanian Principality. The use of the *ius valachicum* (basically, an orally transmitted code of laws) reached an all time peak under John Hunyadi's regency and king Matthias' reign. Eight districts in particular enjoyed a privileged position. They were extracted from under the authority of the local count and subjected directly to the king (i.e. only royal justice superseded the *ius valachicum*).

The lecture focuses on the mechanisms of power connecting the 'peculiar' Walachian units to both central power and to local inter-

nal ambitions. In this respect, attention will be paid to the late medieval facts and sources, as well as to the contextual and structural changes occurred in the Early Modern Age. Emphasis will be placed on the distinctive local features and actions in times of crisis that eventually helped define and preserve the Walachian particularities (e.g. the attitudes of the Walachian elites from the Banate during the rebellion against Sigismund of Luxemburg or the Hungarian civil war prior to king Matthias' enthronement). The confessional aspect will also be taken into account in an area of Christian *imbroglio*.

***Between Coexistence and Assimilation:
The Catholics of the Sultan.
1600s-1700s***

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For Catholic missionaries, 17th-18th century Eastern Europe was both a challenge and a privileged territory for various reunification projects of Christendom under Roman authority. The missionaries active in the Balkans (Bosnia, Croatia, Albania and Bulgaria) did not encounter a confessionally divided world, but a more fluid universe. Religious identities were less defined, allowing the existence of areas of interferences where, for example, the Catholics and the Muslims practiced similar rituals and beliefs. The main objective of my research is therefore to investigate and describe the “fluid” identities of the Catholics in the West Balkan Peninsula (Albania, Bosnia and Dalmatia) in relation to Islam. Consequently, three major issues have to be addressed:

1. The deconstruction of the adaptation mechanisms through which the Christian faithful, living in the same physical and community space with Muslims, built and administered their sphere of co-habitation in relation with the *infidels*.
2. The analysis of the parish as territorial expression of the Catholic community (due to its organization and demographical dyna-

mic, it determined the relations with other communities, operated delimitations within mixed communities, created inter-community networks such as those linking communities from Bulgaria to others from Croatia or from Albania to those of Croatia, especially through the Ragusan merchants, or determined some types of mobilities).
3. The missionary discourse practiced in relation with the dynamic of the Catholic confessional identity.

Within this frame, I intend to answer the following questions:

- I.** How did the missionaries of the *Propaganda Fide* interact with this dynamic?
- II.** To which extent were they active participants or not?
- III.** How their area of confluence were reflected in their correspondence with the “center” (not exclusively)?

To answer them, we will use an interdisciplinary approach that combines methods from various fields (such as history, sociology of religion or anthropology).

Christian Merchants of the Ottoman Empire: Greeks in 17th Century Transylvania

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The lecture examines the economic presence of the Christian merchants of the Ottoman Empire involved in the oriental trade of Transylvania in the 17th century. It continues to some extent the investigation I undertook for my doctoral dissertation, but it draws upon a larger variety of sources and will allow for a large perspective of the merchant networks of non-Muslim Ottoman traders in the Balkans and Central Europe. The research relies primarily on the archival fund in Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben) containing the customs accounts from the 17th century (1614-1622, 1672-1692).

***On the Activity of the Greek Merchants in Transylvania,
Wallachia and Moldavia
(17th–18th Centuries):
The Trade in Paper, Printings and «Small» Wares
imported from Venice***

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The paper produced in the Venetian territories, renowned for its quality and resistance (texture), was greatly valued on the European markets. Several types of writing paper and paper usable in the printing press were exported to the Ottoman Levant and to Eastern and Central Europe. Until to the end of the 18th century, the import of Venetian paper in these areas was privileged, due to its high quality and high degree of humidity-resistance; it was preferred even in Vienna, though that made in France or the United Provinces dominated the Western markets, in terms of sales volume and typological and qualitative variety. The printings were another Venetian product exported to the northern Danubian territories, either on the maritime routes, via Constantinople and the Lower Danube ports, or the Balkan terrestrial route-ways. This category contains religious books printed in Greek – addressed to the Orthodox believers from Eastern and Central Europe – and historical or philosophical works, the writings of the Greek-Latin classics, all having a reduced number of clients. The «small» ware, mentioned as such in the custom records and taxed by quantity, per «load», were the mercery goods, intended for a specialised clientele (Morocco leather craftsmen, harness makers, tailors and skinners), and the cosmetics, also addressed to a small number of clients. The Greek merchants were greatly involved in trading these goods, though they played only a marginal part in their business, the textiles and glassware being the main Venetian goods sold in the Romanian Principalities and in Transylvania. Based on unpublished Venetian sources, the paper provides quantitative and qualitative data on the imports of Venetian paper, printings and «small» ware in Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia.

4. Control, Concept and Law

***Justice and Taxation in Moldavia
(Late 16th Century-First Half of the 18th Century):
The Case of the
Dedicated monasteries***

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Both the subject of our research and the period under analysis are closely related to Moldavia's legal-political relations with the Ottoman Empire which had a direct impact on the domestic political structure, financial organization and criminal code practices. Throughout the 17th century, Moldavia became increasingly subordinated to the Porte. After 1714, Wallachia and Moldavia came both under Phanariote rule and were administered virtually like imperial provinces by lords of Greek origin, directly appointed by the sultan without the consultation of the indigenous political class. These political changes determined major modifications of the traditional Romanian structures.

Our sources underline these transformations. Most often criminal offences were redeemed not by executed punishments, but by payments of various sums of money. In this respect, we must add that most sources from that period are documents issued in the aftermath of civil trials, which made no distinction between civil and criminal matters in terms of procedure. These situations can be explained by the absence of the written motivation for the court order

in jurisdictional procedure. Such procedure, the citation in the court order of the juridical norm applied by the judges in their decision, became compulsory under Constantin Mavrocordat (this change serves as another reason end our research in the first half of the 1700s).

The fiscal immunities acquired by some Moldavian monasteries represent a particular problem. Among their privileges, we count the levying by these monasteries of the fines (*gloabe*) for serious offences (*big deeds*) like murder. By right, the investigation of the offences was the responsibility of the ruler, who also levied the fine, established according to the gravity of the crime. Consequently, we insist upon this aspect pertaining to the relation between two institutions, ruler and Church, from the perspective of some juridical and fiscal privileges that the monasteries were entitled to. In this respect, we analyze the way in which the criminal fine levied by the ruler or his tax farmers became both a mean to punish and a source of income. We then investigate the reasons for which some monasteries levied the fine murder (*dușegubina*), usually collected by the ruler.

***Serment et malédiction dans le monde traditionnel de
l'Europe de Sud-Est
(XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles)***

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Notre recherche vise un réexamen du rôle du religieux dans le droit roumain ancien et le besoin de concepts pour comprendre un système juridique qui se distingue à la fois des droits rationnels que des ceux révélés. On s'intéresse du religieux, autant qu'attitude de l'Eglise à l'égard du droit, c'est-à-dire de l'attitude historique de l'Eglise qui se présente comme source de droit, qu'aux valeurs qu'elle transmet à la société. Ainsi, au but de restaurer une indispensable histoire des valeurs qui se traduisent dans les expressions juridiques d'équité, jus-

tice, paix, ordre, il faut interroger la conception populaire qui relève de la croyance. L'enjeu du projet est donc au moins triple, car il vise une reconstitution symbolique, procédurale et d'anthropologie politique.

L'objectif de la recherche est d'associer l'anthropologie et le religieux et de relancer l'étude des institutions juridiques en leur donnant une identité historique concrète. Tout d'abord, on se propose de décrire historiquement l'évolution des formes de serment et de malédiction dans la culture roumaine. Notre investigation portera sur les gestes sacramentels et les paroles. On analysera la description des gestes, mais aussi celle des substances symbolisant la puissance à laquelle les gens se lient, terre, icône, nourriture, Evangiles. Ensuite, on se penche sur les fonctions du serment et de la malédiction et on cherchera comment celles-ci s'incarnent dans les rapports sociaux, juridiques et politiques qu'entretiennent les gens entre eux, les princes avec ses sujets, mais aussi avec le pouvoir suzerain non chrétien, l'Empire Ottoman. Les données nécessaires à l'étude sont les documents des archives roumaines (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles), les chroniques médiévales, les livres populaires, les livres de sagesse, les codes de loi, la casuistique des tribunaux, les témoignages des voyageurs étrangers.

Les conflits judiciaires opposant les étrangers aux sujets des princes phanariotes de Moldavie et de Valachie.

1774-1831

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Notre projet porte, d'une part, sur les conflits judiciaires opposant les étrangers aux sujets des princes phanariotes de Moldavie et de Valachie entre les années 1774 à 1831, et d'autre part, sur le fonctionnement de la justice pendant l'occupation étrangère, notamment celle de l'armée russe. Notre objectif principal est d'observer la pratique judiciaire et l'interprétation des normes dans le contexte du pluralisme

juridique, c'est-à-dire la manière dont les parties à conflit interagissaient avec les autorités judiciaires lorsque des textes de lois devaient être appliqués. Le cadre chronologique de cette recherche a été choisi en raison des changements successifs de régime politique, mais aussi les efforts du pouvoir central de réaliser une synthèse du système pluriel de droit. Ayant comme source principale les documents judiciaires et les textes normatifs, nous nous proposons d'analyser la question de l'autorité de la chose jugé face à l'instabilité politique, le poids du politique dans l'acte de justice, le statut des coutumes juridiques pendant l'occupation de la puissance étrangère ainsi que l'autonomie accordée par les tribunaux locaux, départementaux et centraux (*Divan*), aux usages juridiques des étrangers devenus sujets du prince phanariote.

***L'usufruit successif.
Le développement d'une institution juridique
dans la droit roumain et dans l'espace de Transylvanie
(XIX^e-XXI^e siècles)***

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L'usufruit successif, institution créée jadis par le droit roman, reste tout à fait actuelle, même si les critiques l'ont considérée comme un simple outil de gestion du risque vieillesse. Avec ses racines dans le droit médiéval et l'Ancien Droit et aussi dans le Code Civil Napoléon, l'usufruit a été connu en Transylvanie à travers le ABGB -1811 et par le biais du Code Civil Roumain. Maintenant, aux aubes du Nouveau Code Civil Roumain, l'usufruit successif n'est pas considéré comme un droit perpétuel, mais une multitude des démembrements de la propriété. La présentation va porter sur le fondement juridique du dit droit, sa constitution, et sur la libre disposition de l'usufruit par le nu-propriétaire. Pourtant, est-il de discuter si le usufruit successif consenti par le nu-propriétaire est-il pleinement efficace ou seulement par les conséquences de la condition suspensive ou résolutoire?

Music and Politics.

***Case study:
Sergei Prokofiev***

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In the music of the first half of the 20th century, it is the tortuous course of Sergei Prokofiev's creation which draws itself to our attention. The transformation that his music underwent is a source of dilemma, starting in the 1920's from a modern art form, to a political instrument – the Socialist Realism (in the 1930's) –, even passing through Zhdanovism. The composer's biography (1891-1953) is by no means less tortuous, spanning the Bolshevik Revolution and two World Wars, while Russia is ruled first by Tzar Nikolai the IIInd, then by Lenin and Stalin. This project proposes a thorough analysis of Sergei Prokofiev's evolution in music, which was influenced by several factors: politics, religion and his collaboration with different contemporary personalities.

Prokofiev's political involvement is relevant starting from 1917 until 1953, that is, from the beginning of the sovietization in Russia to the year when both Stalin and the composer himself died (their lives ended the same day, March 5, 1953). Prokofiev's creation paradoxically bears the mark of his perception of political events that took place in the USSR, of the position he adopted towards them and of the choices he made in different contexts, inspite of affirming his political neutrality and the indifference towards the subject: *For my part, I don't bother with politics; art has nothing to do with it* – said he, for instance, in 1918.

Two sources written by Sergei Prokofiev himself are essential in understanding the part played by politics in his creation, especially since the information which refers to the same events does not always agree when it comes to his musical works and his intentions concerning them. These sources are the *Journal* that Prokofiev kept between the years 1907 and 1933 (which he gave up after his return to the USSR), and the *Autobiography* written in the totalitarian climate of the 1940's (in which the musician can often be suspected of insincerity).

5. Medieval and Modern Forms of Conflict Management

13th Century Fortifications in Transylvania: An Archaeological and Historical Perspective

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The study of fortifications was a constant preoccupation at European level, although the results varied, mainly due to the economic and politic discrepancies on the general level. In Transylvania, this study had its roots in the 19th century romantic context and therefore often failed to offer clear conclusions. Furthermore, the question of fortifications was treated in sequential manner. The German historiography was preoccupied especially by the fortifications in southern Transylvania, whereas Romanian historical writing focused mainly on obtaining results that would sustain the information in the *Gesta Hungarorum* (i.e. the local fortifications besieged by the first Hungarians in the area). At any rate, the most notable contributions regarding the fortifications in Transylvania belong to the Hungarian historiography, particularly interested in the study of fortifications datings from the Arpad Age. Nonetheless, it failed to solve the problem of the origins of Arpadian military architecture, in spite of some structural analogies with other fortifications in Central and Eastern Europe (11th-13th centuries). In this respect, it should be noted that a wide spread opinion, was that such fortifications are linked to a Khazar model, even though archaeological researches did not fully substantiate this hypothesis.

***L'image du seigneur Samuel Korecki dans les écrits de certains auteurs du baroque littéraire français
(1607-1620)***

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Notre intervention est une esquisse sur les multiples contacts établis au début du XVII^e siècle par le seigneur Samuel Korecki (1586-1622), époux de la princesse Catherine Movilă, avec certains milieux intellectuels et politiques de la France. Nous évoquons aussi quelques écrivains du baroque littéraire français qui avaient rencontré ce personnage, qui avaient écrit sur lui ou avaient eu connaissance de ses exploits dans la guerre antiturque.

***L'Ennemi en province:
construction culturelle et gestion d'une identité sensible
en Valachie quarante-huitarde***

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Loin d'être bien fixé dans la province, au moins pour les mois de juin et juillet, le pouvoir révolutionnaire se vit vite confronté à la gestion d'une situation plus difficile qu'elle avait estimé auparavant. Ses propres erreurs telles l'incapacité de mettre plus vite en acte le change-

ment des fonctionnaires encore loyaux envers l'Ancien Régime réglementaire s'ajoutaient aux problèmes spécifiques tels le manque du contrôle de la circulation des informations ou les difficultés de communication avec les paysans qui comprennent à leur manière «les avantages» de l'avènement du nouveau gouvernement. Dans ce paysage social, on assiste à la naissance d'un cadre émotionnel autour de la figure de l'Ennemi qui embrasse plusieurs hypostases, du Turc ou Russe dont la proche arrivée est parfois exagérée jusqu'au Grec complotant contre le bonheur des Roumains, du boyard partisan de l'Ancien Régime au marchand affecté dans sa prospérité. L'échange des correspondances administratives permet de saisir les efforts de contrôler la province, d'identifier les sources d'attaques contre-révolutionnaires et leur auteurs, de détourner parfois un climat émotionnel qui peut être aisément dirigé envers les représentants du pouvoir révolutionnaire. Ce processus est loin d'être seulement réduit à une dimension administrative car il suppose aussi une dimension culturelle, visible dans les explications des membres de l'administration révolutionnaire qui nous mettent devant une forme de savoir spécifique où les émotions collectives et individuelles détiennent un rôle important.

A New Way of Perceiving and Approaching an Almost Forgotten Idea

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Tourism was born by the need for profit (especially the case of various merchants), information (travellers were or could turn into spies/ sources of information), healing/ salvation (from oracles and magic healers to saintly pilgrimages) or survival (for instance, the journeys of different contenders to local thrones). By the mid 1800s when it began to truly develop on the territory of modern Romania, tourism retained its 'primary' features, but they were increasingly overshadowed by the leisure associated to this kind of travel. Our aim is to look at the way tourism was used in Romanian situations of crisis, by drawing a comparison mainly between interwar Romania and communist Romania.

6. Making a Career between State and Church

Dalla retroscena di un progetto ecclesiastico: la nomina del metropolita Ioan Vancea alla dignità cardinalizia

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La nomina dell'arcivescovo e metropolita romeno Ioan Vancea (1869-1892) alla dignità cardinalizia si può elencare tra i meno conosciuti progetti ecclesiastici della seconda metà del XIX secolo. L'iniziativa fu promossa due volte, nel 1869 e nel 1877, dalle autorità politiche austro-ungariche e lo svolgimento e i significati di questa idea risultano più chiare se si collocano nell'ambito dei rapporti Stato-Chiesa della doppia monarchia come anche dei rapporti la stessa Austro-Ungheria e la Santa Sede nella seconda metà del XIX secolo.

La presente relazione si propone di esporre il percorso della detta iniziativa e di passare in rassegna gli argomenti su cui venne promossa dallo stato austro-ungherese e dall'altra parte, i dubbi della Santa Sede in merito per mettere in risalto i motivi per cui l'idea stessa fu bloccata "a meta strada" non arrivando ad essere attuata. Il progetto di nomina di Ioan Vancea alla dignità di cardinale può rilevare, se lo collochiamo corettamente nel contesto politico-ecclesiastico dell'epoca, numerosi aspetti dalla retroscena delle decisioni ecclesiastiche nell'Austr-Ungheria e nell'ambito pontificio durante il periodo del dualismo come ad esempio: la *raison d'état* per cui si faceva la promozio-

ne di alcuni membri dell'episcopato austro-ungherese alla dignità cardinalizia, il profile intellettuale ed ecclesiastico di un vescovo in attesa di essere nominato cardinale, gli argomenti dello stato e del papato nel sostennere oppure rifiutare la nomina di una certa persona alla dignità cardinalizia ecc.

La relazione include vari contributi della letteratura ecclesiastica più recente e anche fonti d'archivio rintracciati attraverso le ricerche fatte a Roma e a Vienna

Fattori e meccanismi di decisione nella nomina dell'elite ecclesiastica romena.

Il caso del metropolita di Blaj negli anni della Grande Unione

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La presente relazione si propone di ricostituire i meccanismi di selezione e promozione dell'elite ecclesiastica romena greco-cattolica durante gli anni 1918-1919. Si tratta di un periodo particolare della nazione romena transilvana e della sua Chiesa greco-cattolica, dato dai cambiamenti politici avvenuti col crollo della Monarchia austro-ungherese, e dall'trasferimento del potere dalle autorità ungheresi alla autorità romene. Per l'elite ecclesiastica romena greco-cattolica, e soprattutto per la gerarchia superiore del clero, l'Unione della Transilvania colla Romania ha interrotto definitivamente gl'intervento continuo e estremamente pressante della politica ungherese nel processo del compimento della sede metropolitana di Blaj, rimasta vacante con la morte del metropolita Victor Mihaaly de Apșa. Il presente saggio intende rifarre i canali di decisione ed influenza usati dal governo magiaro in vista di promuovere per la sede metropolitana di Blaj e nelle sue strutture suffraganee un'elite obbediente ed attaccata agli interessi della politica dello stato ungherese.

***A Researcher of the Phanariote Regime
(Constantin Erbiceanu)
and his Studies at the University of Athens
(1865-1868):
General Considerations***

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A pioneer in the research on the Phanariot Regime, C. Erbiceanu began to publish his work in the last quarter of the 19th century, in a complicated cultural climate, hostile to all the products of that difficult period. We believe that his studies at the University of Athens, with a scholarship granted by the Romanian authorities, sketched a certain direction, more objective, and obviously and significantly aided Erbiceanu to develop the specific historiographical writings which established him in the Romanian cultural and scientific arena.

Erbiceanu attended secondary education in the country and went on to graduate from the Faculty of Theology of the University of Iași (1864). He was then selected for a scholarship to Athens, with the purpose of specializing him in Neo-Greek language and theology. In fact, the policy of state scholarships (a common practice for all young countries in the region) aimed to refresh state bureaucracy and teaching staffs by using gifted young people educated abroad.

During his Athenian stage, Erbiceanu proved to be a model student (as revealed by the certificates sent home), as well as patient with his new, complicated, not very efficient, environment. He attended the history and literature lectures of professors K. Paparrigopoulos and K. Asopios among others, which brought him closer to the issues of modern Hellenism, but equally important, improved his Greek, essential for his later publications, through which he removed much of the ideological ballast of his Romanian contemporaries on the Phanariot regime that had come to an end in both Walachia and Moldavia less than half a century before Constantin Erbiceanu started his studies in Athens.

The Romanian Juridical Elites in the 20th Century and the Democratic-Constitutional System

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The presentation focuses on the genesis of an elite in relation to the reception of a particular concept. Unjust enrichment is known in the European law systems under names that not only suggest the non – unitary “juridical translation”, but also a different interpretation, which calls for a comparative method in our research. Whether it is *Unge recht fertigte Bereicherung*, *Unjustified Enrichment*, *Corrective justice*, *Restitution*, *Enrichissement Romanian and European sans cause*, *Indebito arricchimento*, *Arricchimento senza causa*, *Enriquecimiento ilícito*, or *unjustified enrichment*, *enrichment based on unjust basis* or *unjust enrichment*, the historical evolution of the concept and particularly the lack of certain specific regulations in the European Civil Codes turned into challenges for doctrine and jurisprudence in the Romanian space.

The paper stresses the fact that in the British law system, *common law*, the regulation emphasizes the jurisprudential tradition and the juridical precedent, with different construal from the continental one, based on “German systematization”, “the Italian norm”, the French creativity, innovation and controversy. The latter has generated a series of great theories and debates in the European legal space. The paper broadly presents the influence of the French pattern on Romanian jurisprudence and doctrine. Still, from the very beginning we have to specify, that if we talk – and we do – about the beginning of a practical and theoretical construction specific to the Romanian space, during the interwar period, our specialists equally became familiar and incorporated sources and regulations pertaining to German law and concerning the employment of the concept unjust enrichment. Both systems (especially the French) strongly influenced Romanian doctrine and jurisprudence. These influences were also possible due to the fact that they are completely distinct, as they claim the philosophical – theoretical bases of sanctioning unjust enrichment from the work of the Greek philosopher Aristotle *The Nicomachean Ethics*.

7. The Doubts in Convincing Power Channels

***The Monument in the Public Forum:
From the Funeral Substrate to the Political Dimension.
The Case of I.C. Brătianu's Statue***

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Through Parisian channels, the *solemn art of marble and bronze* entered Romanian society in the mid 1800s, especially in the context of the modernization process started after 1859. The public monuments were not only matters of artistic taste, but social facts as well, gradually, first in Bucharest, turned by local administrations into instruments of national ideology. Our research focuses on the manner in which political parties attempted to win legitimacy by using their former leaders too and public occasions, such as the inauguration of monuments, turned into reminders of political disputes. A key example in this respect is the erection of I.C. Brătianu's statue.

A primary objective of our research is the cultural and political discourse serving as mediator of the public receptivity of a figure in the national pantheon. Further one, our analysis attempts to catalogue the reactions to the manner in which the authorities handled the process of erection of the statue and its inauguration (such a process implied a few standard phases: public commands , project contest, assembly of a committee, public subscription and serious political involvement from the main beneficiaries of the statue). Then,

in the framework of a evolution meant to establish a founding myth, the lecture discusses the ways in which the descendants of the politician attempted to impose him as landmark for generations to come.

***Between Propaganda and Historical Speech:
The Romanians South of the Danube in the Broadcasts
of Radio România
(1940-1944)***

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Neighbors and then prisoners of a war that abundantly used the word and the image of *weapon*, the Romanian authorities realized rather rapidly the importance of such propaganda (this was less the acceptance and more an attempt to respond, with the same means, to discursive constructions from outside perceived as challenges). Strongly involved in Romanian organized official propaganda, Mihai Antonescu believed that the gathering and the export of information on the problems and claims of Romania was essential for the preparation of the public opinion and the European decision-makers in view of the peace conference to come. Propaganda became a vital part of the political calculus. Its efficiency was crucial in a time of war.

Radio was one of the options available to the government for the transmission of information. Radio had successfully been employed by other beligerant states for the rapid reception of the official point of view. Under these circumstances, the analysis of the propaganda spread through the Romanian Radio Broadcasting Corporation as a "unconventional weapon" allows us to recapture the political and diplomatic strategies of the Romanian state during World War II. It also enables us to take a closer look at the place occupied by the Balkan area on the wartime agenda of the Romanian government.

Images of Wealth in the Communist Propaganda of Collectivization

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The present study analyzes symbols and structures of the propagandistic discourse of the first stage in the Romanian agricultural collectivisation, a discourse that imposed on all media channels of the 50s the model of happy life as a result of free adhesion to the collective farms. Detailed accounts of the Romanian peasants' visits to the USSR kolkhoznics, officially called *the happiest peasants alive*, abounded in the Romanian party press (*Scânteia*, *Scânteia satelor*, *Albina*). They used images of wealth and excessive opulence destined to convince the poor and mid peasants of the advantages of communal property of land and production means. The images of kolkhoznic wealth and happiness already existed in the traditional model of the holiday, regarded as access to the mythic times and the Golden Age. The strategy of the communist party in the propagandistic action was based on traditional assuring images and symbols in order to provide adhesion and counteract the inherent disarray caused by the change of fundamental rural property rules.

Articles on visits to the kolkhoz and into the kolkhoznics' homes indulge in hyperboles, built on the same scenario of comfort, wealth and happiness, with emphasis on *showing*, *proving* and *witnessing*. More precisely, the descriptions of kolkhoznic experience focus on excessive and dramatized hospitality, on witnesses that have been there and saw with their own eyes and came back to testify the truth on communal property and alleviate the fear and doubt of the Romanian peasants. The testimonies of the visitors were not innocent. Interaction between kolkhoznic and guest was manipulated through the use of equality, abundance and happiness imagery in order to create hierarchical, clear, convincing oppositions between two ways of life, poverty and oppression vs happiness and wealth.

The Romanian visitor peasants and those who read the press "testimonies" of the "converted" were permanently bewildered by

what was shown to them and convinced of the inferiority of their production system, able to see with their own eyes - according to the plan Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej presented at the RWPCC Plenary on March 3-5, 1949 – the only way for development and happy life. The visitors underwent a passing rite. The Soviet experience was the liminal stage. They were initiated into the mysteries of kolkhoznic happiness. They could thus reveal to others (i.e. the peasants back home) *the enlightened way*.

The texts that meticulously portray kolkhoznic life persuade for they conform to the traditional holiday abundance paradigm, but also because they embody an advertising discourse, in which the imagery inflation annihilates criticism (denotation realism implies connotetion evidence), and a coherent mythological discourse on an extraordinary world, meant to render familiar and reduce anguish of change. The communist propaganda imposed its values and translated novelty by means of old holiday symbols, generating trust in the rural environment and a sense of continuity; wealth and prosperity imagery leads to consensus and integration.

***Sionism and Communism
in Jewish Communities along the Lower Danube***

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In the Interwar period, the Jews constituted the third largest minority in Romania (even though the creation of Greater Romania had determined a small decrease of their percentage among the entire population). In spite of older or more recent attitudes, they did not form an unitary whole. The present research focuses on these difference in a predominantly business orientated area, with all its side-effects, upon both contemporary relations (within and outside the community) and upon modern perspectives and interpretation of the question.

8. Borders of Conflict and Cooperation

The Rivalry between the Danubian Harbours and Odessa: Controlling the Grain Market in the North-Western Black Sea Area

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The integration of the Romanian trade in the international circuit, a major consequence of the Black Sea's opening to European shipping, was a lengthy historical process, covering the last quarter of the 18th century and most of the 19th century. The treaty of Adrianople marked the decisive turning point for the inclusion of the Romanian market into the European trade routes. Nevertheless, the positive consequences of the Russo-Turkish treaty, securing the access of the Western economic circles to regions little exploited commercially, were shaded by Russia's acquisition of the only navigable branch of the Danube, Sulina. This allowed the St. Petersburg cabinet to control the navigation of the maritime course of the European river. The Russian impositions in the way of the free trade and navigation at the Lower Danube became, during this quarter of a century, a true common place of the diplomatic notes sent to Russian authorities by the London, Paris or Vienna cabinets. The severe quarantine established at Sulina, the toleration of grave abuses and illegalities or the disinterest for securing optimal navigation conditions on the maritime Danube, the forms of the Russian "aggression" against the European trade,

could easily be explained. The development of the ports of Brăila and Galați affected the trade of Odessa, the great outlet of the grains from southern Russia. The continuous decrease of the depth at the Sulina bar (15 feet before 1829, c. 7 feet in 1853) was the consequence of a deliberate act of sabotaging an ever stronger economic rival.

After 1848, the question of Danube navigation, considered the modality by which Russia favoured its own outlets, exceeded the sphere of strictly economic divergences and moved onto a political-diplomatic field. Despite the hindrances at Sulina and the military occupation of the Principalities, Brăila and Galați exported to the West large quantities of grains. Hence, representatives of the Western political-economic circles began to regard them as potential means either to compel Russia, through the provisions of international law, to make the necessary hydrotechnical works at the Danube mouths, or to open an alternative route connecting Romanian territory to the Black Sea (by improving the navigability of the St. George mouth of the Danube or by building a canal/ road/ railway over the Dobrudja isthmus). Thus, the issue of the competition between the Danubian ports and Odessa, the largest outlets for grain exports in the Black Sea basin, was a decisive factor in the genesis of the anti-Russian “cooperation between Austria and Great Britain. That the controversial question of the Sulina channel deserves a special place in the genesis of the Crimean War that radically changed the modern history of the Black Sea, also results from the progress of diplomatic negotiations after 1853, when the freedom of navigation at the Danube mouths was unanimously requested by the representatives of the anti-Russian coalition.

The Relations between Romania and Turkey after 1923

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Our research focuses on the common Pontic vicinity, with all its implications, between Romanian and Turkey. Three main issues there-

fore take center stage: **1.** the extent to which Turkey and Romania had divergences or a common position regarding the Straits (if there were attempts to reach a common ground); **2.** the development and the nature of the economic relations between the two states (e.g. the 1943 project of the Romanian Consulate in Istanbul regarding the constitution of a free economic zone). **3.** the wartime relations between Bucharest and Istanbul, with emphasis on the Black Sea area and with further reference to the two years after the end of World War II when Turkey and the Straits became once more an object of dispute.

***Strategic Interests and Geopolitical Developments in the
Black Sea Region.***

1939-1947

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Known as ‘the pocket of the Mediterranean’, the Black Sea region is a space for both historical collaboration and confrontation between Europe and Asia. These permanent features of the region are revealed also by the years of World War II. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact considerably altered the fragile East-Central European equilibrium. The competition for the control of the Black Sea was re-opened. The Great Power aimed at drawing spheres of influences not only in the Balkans, but also in the Near-East. In this respect, our research focuses on the way in which the individuality of the Black Sea was perceived by the Great Powers and on the manner in which they understood to articulate and to secure their geopolitical and geostrategical goals in the Black Sea area. Our research further and complementary focuses on the reactions of the coastal states to this intercontinental power play (security strategies, association with one of the Great Powers to protect security space, forms of regional cooperation). In the long run, these changes significantly affected entire East Europe.

Recent Studies on Past and Present

***Hungarian-Romanian Relations
1968-1989***

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The meeting under analysis was not an official state meeting. It was a short meeting with working character that lasted a few hours in the two cities on two different days. Why are these particular aspects important? These two politicians had their previous bilateral meeting in 1972, when a Hungarian official party and state delegation, led by János Kádár was in Bucharest for a few days. After that event, five years elapsed until the next meeting, which had just working character. Although, at that time, Romanian-Hungarian relations were not at the low of mid 1980s, the relations between Budapest and Bucharest could hardly be deemed as close behind the Iron Curtain.

Contemporary Maritime Interests in North-Western Africa

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Northern Africa is more than present in the media of our days. The changes occurred over the last months have turned the region into a key humanitarian and political subject. Our aim is to discuss these matters in the wider framework of changes throughout the entire continent.

Section III

Representing Society

1. Representations and Mechanisms of Social Restructure

Civilized or Tricksters? How Ethnicity influences Status Change in Emigration Contexts

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The lecture investigates how ethnicity intersects to processes of social change that migrants' households experience in the context of out-migration. The article draws on the fieldwork that has been carried out in two local communities in Transylvania: the city of Borșa in the northern region of Maramureș, and the village of Zăbala, in the Hungarians' inhabited region of Covasna. In the first case people migrated to Milan in Italy as irregular labor migrants. They were also involved in investing remittances home and erecting new and big houses. In the second case Hungarian Roma were involved in petty trade in Hungary in the 1900s and have started to buy and erect new houses, similar to what Romanians did in Borșa. However, if migration in Borșa was seen as "emancipating" the people, in Zăbala it was perceived as Gypsy trickery. Though similar in outcomes, migration was perceived rather differently when it was about the Roma.

Patterns of Migration in Dunărea de Jos Region

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Theoretically located within the debate upon the positive or negative implications of the migrant's remittances for local development, the paper is the result of a field research on the rural area of Dunărea de Jos Region, in Teleorman County. Starting with the assessment of the extent and the general causes of the migration in the region, the paper goes further in revealing the formation of different patterns of migration along the generational, confessional and ethnic lines. The statements of the paper are illustrated ethnographically with instances from the village of Seaca, which is the community with the highest rate of migration from the region. Among the important findings to be mentioned are that the emergence of an entrepreneurial behavior, as result of migration, tends to be more often linked with the confessional minority group (Adventists), and that the mass migration of the minority ethnic group (the Ursari Roma) has resulted in a geographical repositioning of their communities within the villages.

Migration, Ethnicity and Kin Networks in a Rural Community in Transylvania

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In this paper, I look at the relationship between massive, but incomplete outmigration and changes in ethnic relationships, over the past

twenty years, in a rural community in southern Transylvania. In the early 1990s, a sizeable portion of the Saxon (German) population moved to Germany leaving behind an ethnically mixed, but rigidly structured community that included, besides Saxons, different kinds of Roma and Romanians. By examining changes in residence, labor organization, and marriage patterns brought on by both migration and post-socialist transformations, I outline the process through which this ethnic order was partially transformed. I show how these transformations are sustained and mediated by a continued process of labor migration that follows and creates social and kin networks that now cross ethnic lines. This paper contributes to the discussion of the relationship between migration and socio-cultural change, by proposing an approach to the study of migration that centers analysis in the so-called communities of origin and treats migration as a process that involves, depends on, and contributes to a social reality beyond the actual movement of people.

Issues of Doing Fieldwork among Migrants as Migrant

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My research project is a social historical investigation of Romanian immigration to Canada, starting from its beginnings at the turn of the 20th century, to the present date. Its main objective is threefold: to produce a micro-sociology of migration from a historical perspective, based on an ethnographic account of how the specific constellation of social and political factors in both origin and destination countries, at various momentous points, have produced particular patterns of immigration; taking the case of the Romanian immigration to Canada, historically initiated at the meeting point of two nation-building and state-building processes, of resituate immigration studies within larger conceptual mappings, by questioning or re-

thinking established notions like immigrant integration or assimilation, transnationalism, and mobility itself; to contribute to the understanding of the epistemologically contested yet pivotal notions of state, ethnicity, and subjectivity.

Towards an Ethnography of Anti-Gypsism

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A strong wave of nationalism and anti-Gypsism has recently appeared throughout the European space. EU institutions and national governments are highly concerned about how to deal with relationships between Roma and majority societies. As a result, the EU has often been addressed by governments and NGOs asking to solve the so-called “Gypsy problem” which typically manifests itself on the local level. However, notwithstanding several European measures such as the Platform for Roma inclusion and the DOSTA campaign, supranational responses have so far neglected integrated actions calibrated on local cultural dynamics of social exclusion. Therefore, there is a need for expanding social science re-search on citizenship, cultural diversity and social inclusion in order to answer a crucial question: under what conditions does the social exclusion of Roma perpetuate itself?

This research deeply questions the ways in which the exclusion of Roma has so far been understood. Its aim, in fact, is to bring local Romani voices from the periphery to the centre. This means suggesting a break-through answer to many questions concerning an allegedly specific character of the social exclusion of Roma, by turning the needs and objectives of local Romani leaders into the main source of an integrated multilevel governance of social exclusion of Roma in Europe. The topic of the proposed research is the complex interactions between the local politics of stigmatization towards Romani Europeans and local attempts by them to struggle for recognition and inclusion.

2. Communitarian Identities at Europe's Borders

Les significations des graffitis de fresque des églises de Bucovine (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)

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La plupart des *graffitis* de Bucovine ont été faits sur la peinture murale des églises. Pour cette raison, ils ont été et sont considérés rien que des destructions de la peinture, de sorte que les historiens ont refusé de leur recherche, les considérant comme de simples actes de vandalisme. En réalité, les symboles et les textes écrits sur les murs des églises ont tellement charge spirituelle, parce qu'ils ont pris un part de la sacralité pré-chrétienne des dessins anciens, mais aussi une signification historique importante. Ainsi, les plus communs *graffiti* sont des symboles religieuses, des invocations et des prières brûlantes. Généralement, ils ont été faites par les pèlerins ou les gens qui visitent les églises comme une forme de adoration divine ou pour leur commémoration par les générations futures qui liront leurs textes. Ensuite, d'importantes connotations spirituelles ont et paragraffitis. Ils sont en forme des stries, des traces, des extractions et des cupelettes et sont liées par la sainteté de murs de l'église. Enfin, certains *graffitis* de la Bucovine ont des auteurs avec une forte conscience historique. Ainsi, à travers les *graffitis*, ils fournissent des informations inconnues sur les monastères et leur vie religieuse.

**Ideen, Menschen, Bücher.
Beobachtungen über die kulturellen Verhältnisse bei den
Siebenbürger Sachsen im 16.-18. Jahrhundert anhand
buchgeschichtlicher Quellen**

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Im Vortrag wird kurz skizziert was, unter dem Sammelbegriff „buchgeschichtliche Quellen“ verstanden wird. Parallel zur Typologie werden auch Beispiele aus einem seit langem laufenden Erschließungsprojekt zur Verfügung gestellt. Anhand der siebenbürgischen Nachlassinventare, Bücherverzeichnisse und rekonstruierten Büchersammlungen erhält man eine grundlegende Übersicht über die kulturellen Verhältnisse bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen. Die Bücher zeigen nämlich sehr wohl das geistige Niveau einer Gesellschaft und einer Epoche und erzählen uns von den rezipierten Geistesströmungen, und auch vom Alltagsleben.

***Identitarian Representations in Moldova in the
Context of the Restoration of Indigenous Rule***

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The origins of the modern concepts *homeland* and *nation* are linked to the cultural context of the modern political discourse and the sha-

ping of national perceptions about country (representations and stereotypes, images with an important ideological function to stimulate national political solidarity. In Moldova, during Ioniță Sandu Sturdza's rule, we can notice the influence of the phraseology on homeland and nation, without any reference to *nation or state rights* to confer a real political substance. In an obvious continuity with the past, an indigenous administration under the protection of a Christian power was the political ideal with which the boyars identified the interests of the nation.

Competing Social Identities and Cultural-Artistic Mutations in the Moldavian Cemetery in the 19th Century

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In terms of methodology, the present approach aims to follow two main issues concerning the changes in Moldavian cemeteries during the 19th century, by using various sources (original documents, memoirs, travel journals, literature and artistic creations). The first objective is the development of the necropolis from its administrative genesis to its expansion to a size comparable to the inhabited area. The second line of the approach refers to the manner in which different social identities competed, on cultural-artistic soil, within the funeral space. This competition expressed, in fact, desire of the elites to exhibit their social position by building grandiose funeral monuments.

The lecture also deals with the gradual abandonment of the cemetery's exclusively sacral purpose and its transformation into a social space. Our proposed approach however does not start from the premise that the two categories of abovementioned issues evolved independently. On the contrary, we believe that they are two categories of aspects of the same reality, related by mutual determination. In this respect, their separate analysis targets to develop a condensate comprehensive approach. By this, we aim to emphasize the changes occurred in the Moldavian cemetery in the 1800s, changes through which it became a privileged area of modern collective memory.

3. The Public Art to Display, Celebrate and Contest

***Social Practices and Symbols in the Public Garden
in the Mid 1800s:
The Cases of Bucharest and Iași***

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The first public gardens appeared in the Romanian cities only in the first half of 19th century. The most important among them were Herăstrău and Cișmigiu, in Bucharest, and Copou and Socola, in Iași. They represented the expression of new concerns regarding urban planning and social use of public space. In this lecture we focus less on the actual history of these gardens and more on the way in which the urban population (especially the elite) related to them. Several contemporary records confirm that these public places 'concentrated' part of the social lives of the elites of Iași and Bucharest.

We therefore highlight some of the social practices and symbols of attending public garden (i.e. especially public festivities and parties, the perception of social hierarchy, the management of social prestige, the sociability and public sensibilities, the practices and behaviors in the city). Our aim is to contribute to the development of the study of the genesis of public spirit and behavior in the modern Romanian society.

**The Month of Iași:
The Holidays of a Decadent City in the Interwar Period
(1935-1938)**

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The lecture survey the public debates and the tensions between capital and regional areas, occasioned by the manifestations included in the *Month of Iași* between 1935 and 1938 (i.e. exhibitions, commemorations and congresses. The last decade of the interwar period represented for Iași an interesting moment of balance, of evaluation, marked with efforts of revival.

The former capital of the Moldavian Principality has passed since the union of Moldavia and Walachia (1859) through successive phases of political, economical and then cultural decay. The representations of decline, the self-pity and nostalgic discourse began to represent obsessive themes for local political and intellectual milieus. They were further intensely used in the local public sphere.

Analyzing this fall, the local elites discussed “salvation” themes, the “rebirth” of Iași, in parallel with the development of a virulent discourse against the centralizing politics of Bucharest. This context generated the idea of organizing the *Month of Iași*, a direct answer to the *Month of Bucharest*. The *Month of Iași* was to constitute an occasion on which dissatisfactions and frustrations could be expressed and tensions between center and periphery were to be fueled.

Focused on the actions of *Bucharest's people from Iași circle* and of the *Association of Friends of the University*, the lecture examines the representations and the construction of the negative stereotype of the Capital, the register in which the contrasts between capital and periphery (with themes such as: life vs. death, Occident vs. Orient, luxury vs. misery, westernizing process vs. national authenticity) were elaborated. The dispute between Bucharest and Iași culminated with the press appeal to boycott the *Month of Bucharest* (1936): *Don't go to Bucharest!*

During the *Month of Iași* symbolic actions took place: the visit of hundreds of people, presented as a *return from the wandering* or the unofficial commemoration, *subversive* (coming from the perspective of the organizers), unapproved by Bucharest, of the centenary of the Mihaileană Academy in 1936 (this action was constructed as a form of protest and repellent against the wiping out of Iași's academic tradition). Furthermore, the *Congress of the people from Iași* (1936) was characterized as *real provincial Diet* (in its background, the local necessities, ignored by Bucharest, were examined).

**Royal Ceremonies under King Carol II
(1930-1940)**

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Based on an analysis of official literature of the regime of Carol II, the memoirs of the main actors of the time and archival sources, the lecture investigates the personality cult of Carol II. Our approach does not revolve around the political leader, viewed in terms of traditional political history. Neither is regarded as an independent or autonomous figure, but as a character usable and used by others.

The Carol II cult is a projection of a certain type of political culture, of mainly pre-modern nature, and, at the same time. It represents a voluntary construction, endowed with legitimizing value for a public structure or within a structure, further serving for the construction of group identities. Consequently, our analysis focuses less on power celebration (May 10, the Restauration festivities or the king's personal birthday) and more on the institutional mechanism behind these rituals. These (celebration) rituals were intended to exercise an effective social control, as well as to establish an integrative consensus around the king's person, the one who concentrated all human and national virtues. The analysis does not follow a traditional socio-anthropology pattern, involving ceremonial rites, rituals or spe-

echoes, but the perspective of political sociology with focus on the tools, actors and themes of the cult.

The Art World and the Establishment of the Communist Regime in Romania

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In the first years following the instauration of the Communist Republic, culture was brutally suppressed by the Single Party and used to enhance its totalitarian power. Art, in return, abandoned its traditional autonomy and, loaded with ideology, actively participated in the shaping of new realities. Socialist Realism, though without roots in Romania, imposed itself in a short period of time through force and cunning manipulation. Either through coercion or promises of tempting benefits, the ruthless policy of the Romanian Communist Party determined the art world and the artists to cooperate.

We consequently observe some grandiose state exhibitions, with narrow and partisan themes, and discover various cases of ideological education transplants in the artistic world, as well as the marginalization of those who did not embrace Socialist Realism. On the other hand, the Party solved many issues of those who understood to cooperate by providing housing, some prestigious awards, various amounts of money, scholarships in the USSR or employment in the educational system. By studying the applications submitted by artists for admission into the Romanian Union of Plastic Artists, we can analyze the individual destinies and the different motivations that persuaded them to join the organizations invented by the communists. Sometimes financial difficulties, other times the desire for glory, the need of a working place or the dream of a successful career were those details important in real life that connected the artists to the new authorities. Within a few years the Romanian art world was completely controlled by the doctrinarians of the Single Party.

4. Shaping Identity Spaces and their Background

***Family Picture:
The Metamorphosis of the Romanian Art from
Transylvania in the 18th Century***

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Based on the documentary material generated in connection to an 18th century group of artists, strongly interconnected also by personal ties (the brothers Jacob and Stan from Răsinari, Jacob's two sons of Jacob, George and Nicolas, and John Covaci, Stan's son-in-law), the lecture analyzes the apprenticeships and the individual features of the members of this group, as well as the general traits of these artists (absorption of western influences, mental changes specific to private and public life under Austrian administrative pressure, a decay in quality of the art works, due largely to the loss of dexterity caused by aging and by a poorly economically endowed social environment, who was also the main recipient of the artist's works). The case of Jacob is probably the most relevant in this context. Guided at first by some remarkable experts and admirably gifted, he produced, up to the mid 1700s, some very accurate, harmoniously colored, carefully prepared and detail orientated works, which led

to his employment for the painting of the Greek-Catholic cathedral of Blaj. Nevertheless, the Western influence was clearer in the case of his son George than in his own. The latter, though he newer turned into a real Baroque painter, created the probably most valuable artistic mixture, on local soil, between the post-Byzantine art and the Western art. His brother never reached the same heights, though his creations, still influenced by the Western novelties, never degenerated into popular painting, and, at any rate, they were clearly superior to other productions from the painting center of Feisa, where the family settled at the middle of the 18th century. In comparison, the works of their uncle, Stan, who had benefited from an education and a talent comparable to that of his brother Jacob, were seldom a match for the works of the other family branch. But, what they lacked in quality, the compensated by popularity. Stan's models were few in number, yet they possessed strong individual features, and were reproduced as such by his son-in-law and other apprentices. Stan's pattern figures, turned rigid and without expression, indicate their southern origins, determined by the Brâncoveanu art, and practiced, especially, in the early 1800s, by mainly painters from Săliștea Sibiului and Laz in the south-western parts of Transylvania.

***The Citadel of Brașov:
A Barely Known Example of the Transylvanian Military
Architecture***

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The present contribution aims to enrich the knowledge regarding the construction history of the Citadel of Brașov through new sources. The most important sources on which these paper relies are the 16–17th century town accounts of Brașov, as well as some records and ground plans preserved in the Austrian State Archives. These sour-

ces reveal, for instance, that during Giovanni Battista Castaldo's lieutenantcy in Transylvania (1551–1553) significant construction proceeded on the Citadel of Brassó, where the earlier, horseshoe-shaped tower erected in 1524 was surrounded by an earthen defensive work (1552), and subsequently – from 1553 on – three new, small-sized towers were built and joined to the central one. In the 17th century the fortress was encircled by an almost regular quadrangular enceinte, defended on its corners by bastions lacking orillons. In their turn, the town accounts reveal that its building went on between 1630 and 1631.

The Iconography of Saints in the Baroque Sculpture from the Banate

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As means of expression, Baroque art used the monumental sculpture to decorate public places, true ideological statements, and to impress and subdue through visual forms involving a direct intuition. Visual metaphors largely replaced words, as part of the Habsburg political expansion, thus promoting visual common-places such as depictions of Christendom's victory over Islam or the complex iconography of the Virgin or with her at the center, like in the cases of the numerous Pest Columns, still erected in the 19th century. In the Banate, where several major themes of Central European art found entrance, the Virgin's iconography offers some of her most abstract contemporary portrayals, namely the *Immaculate Conception* stepping on the serpent of the Fall, the Heresy (embodiment of the Islam), with lilies in her hand as sign of her Virginity, and a crown of stars on her head with a beautiful face with a large forehead and big eyes. She also stands on a crescent moon, also an ancient symbol of virginity, clothed in the sun with the crown of twelve stars on her

head. Mary is always accompanied by saints, with legend lives from the remote past, such as *Sebastian* (martirized under Diocletian for his faith), *Nepomuk* (most of his numerous representations are based on Rauchmiller's Pragese statue; he is depicted with the Cross, as a recurrent symbol of his faith, sometimes a *putto* accompanies him and carries the cross or the ex-voto book, he also points with the finger the sign of secret keeper, this being the case of statues all over the Banate in the 18th and 19th centuries, such as his earliest depictions at Timișoara, dating from 1722, 1736, 1756, or the statues from Neudorf, Frumușani, Pecica Oravița, Dognecea, Bocșa Montana, Kiszombor, Magyarcsernye, Fehertemplom, in the Serbian Banate), *Rocchus* (conjured against plague and other disasters), but also *Carol Borromeus* (the personification of Love, the greatest among theological virtues). These saints can be seen in representations of monumental size (Trinity Statues or Pest Columns), the signs of true faith and devotion in a period when the plagues, wars and famine influenced the life of the inhabitants of the province. In this area influences from both worlds collided and formed a new style, rooted at the same time in ancient central European tradition. European prototypes were always used as models, dependent on the quality of material and the work of anonymous artists and artisans.

***The Graphic Collection of the National History Museum
of Transylvania from
Cluj-Napoca***

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The Graphic Collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca) contains several 17th-19th centuries stamps, the works of famous European artists (e.g. Egidius Sadeler, Angelica

Kauffmann, William Hogarth, Alfred Henry Payne, Carol Popp de Szathmary or Miklos Barabas). The heterogeneity of the collection reflects its main origins: private donation. Therefore the collection has no distinctive favourite theme or time span, combining series of prints, ranging from 17th century aristocratic portraits, to 18th century genre scenes of bourgeois interiors, and to 19th century revolutionary events, in accordance with the spirit of the time, the cult of personalities, the family values or nationalist fervour. Picturesque veduta or exotic landscapes outlining distant worlds (with sometimes presentations of costumes) and brilliantly engraved portraits of notable personalities can be found alongside acidic caricatures. Wonderfully drawn vignettes or plain book illustrations coexist with duplications of the work of the masters. Visual documents, adding historical significance to stamps or allegorical scenes, empty capricci and conventional subjects are also part of the museum graphic collection. In effect, the Collection covers a wide thematic range, showing a complete panorama of the graphic arts, captured by local artisans or masters of universal art.

***Cultural Reformation and Urban Renewal:
Cultural Motivation in Urban Transformation***

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The present research focuses on the Romanian urban space, with particular emphasis on the Transylvanian area. Our choice is motivated by the particular developments occurred in this area (an area marked by both a significant cultural heritage and by a comparatively rapid rate of modernization) over the last decades. The eclectic results of the recent transformations often fail to meet what can be called global culture or even the less high-profile phenomenon of cultural innovation. Most frequently, the functional symbiosis between old and new was replaced by a painful physical mixture lacking concept and planning.

5. Modern Perspectives on Medieval Society and Art

The Hall-choir in the Transylvanian Gothic Church Architecture

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The paper discusses the main architectural characteristics featured by the Transylvanian hall-choir structures and their relationship to Central-European constructions of this type. The area of adoption is restraint to urban parish churches of the German colonization regions in South and South-East Transylvania (Sebeş, Sibiu and Braşov).

The type emerged around the mid 1300s at Sebeş, followed shortly afterwards by the parish church of Brasov, and came to an end in the first half of the 15th century with the uncompleted hall-choir of St. Mary church at Sibiu. Regardless of the poor material evidence inherited from the Gothic structure at Braşov or just at underground level at Sibiu, the architectural concept may be figured out in both cases.

In terms of typology the examples vary from the simple solution with three side polygon termination and lesser ambulatory (Sebeş) to the hall-choir with ambulatory and uneven outer and inner polygons (Braşov). The patterns point to Upper Austrian and to South German hall structures as source of inspiration, such as the Wallsee family chapel at Enns (Upper Austria) for Sebeş, and the St. Sebaldus church at Nu-

remberg (Franconia) for Brașov. Noteworthy is that the choir of Sebeș counts among the earliest achievements employing the scheme with the central vessel ending up in a straight wall and the inner piers in line, which remained the only one of its kind in Transylvania, even though it enjoyed a certain spread in the 1400s in Austria, as well as South- and East Germany.

***The Emergence of the Medieval Towns in the Romanian Principalities and Romanian Historiography of the Twentieth Century:
Case Studies***

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A clarification of the process that led to the emergence of medieval towns is important in historical research, since it allows us to understand a significant segment in the medieval world, with an evolution that had a deep political, economic, cultural, and religious impact on the society of those times. Unlike the ones in Poland or Hungary, the medieval towns in the Romanian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia have only received cursory treatment from historians in the past century. From A.D. Xenopol to C.C. Giurescu, various researchers have shown interest in the way towns south and east of the Carpathians emerged. However, few have been those who had a broader outlook on this historical process, and few have tried a comparative approach to see whether the emergence of towns in these areas was part of a larger model, which included a vast area of the continent. Romanian historians preferred to emphasize local specifics, taking the urbanization process out of the historical context of the time. The Communist regime, whose echoes are still discernible to this day, favoured other interpretations which detracted from, or even refuted the importance of settlers in the emer-

gence of towns. Instead, it supported an “autochtonist” perspective, which assigned a fully local character to the entire medieval society in the Romanian Principalities and to towns as well, which apparently had evolved on their own path, safe from outside influences.

This paper seeks to research the main trends in historiography which shed light on the origins and the evolution of towns in the Romanian Principalities of the late Middle Ages, research that has never before been carried out. We will attempt to explain the differences among the various approaches in Romanian historiography, and identify at the same time the reasons they existed. The 20th century ideological bias which subsumed history and which sometimes reached extreme heights is, to a large extent, responsible for this. The limited space allows us, for the first part of the study, to look into the major components of the discourse that historians promoted before 1947, and to focus on Communist historiography in the second part, by a closer look on two relevant cases: C.C. Giurescu and P.P. Panaitescu.

***Dispersed Parts of a Medieval Liturgical Ensemble:
The Altarpieces of the Urban Parish Church in
Sibiu/ Hermannstadt (Transylvania)
and their Post-Reformation Fate***

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The Lutheran Reformation, adopted by the German citizens of Transylvania in the mid 1500s, considerably changed the use and purpose of medieval imagery. The churches, previously burdened with art-works, were consequently cleansed and adapted to the “Religion of the Word”. A part of the medieval heritage survived the intentional or casual destruction, but it definitively left the original setting. It is

now preserved in different collections in the country or abroad or even changed ecclesiastic location. The presentation intends to retrace the provenance of some Transylvanian altarpieces and to argue their original location in the parish church of the city of Sibiu (Hermannstadt), one of the chief towns of the province. A single work is still preserved in the above mentioned church and it is generally considered, erroneously, as the main altarpiece. In the author's opinion, ten other altarpieces or fragments could be related with the same ecclesiastic building.

The analysis is based on the premise that much of the medieval imagery, at least that intended to be placed on or near altars, was conceived as part of "integrated statements" of art and liturgy. In other words, the iconographic (visual) programs corresponded to the liturgical (invisible) content. A German example, namely the altarpiece of Jodocus Krell in St Laurence church in Nuremberg, is particularly suggestive in that matter.

In the mentioned methodological frame, the presentation intends to analyze the liturgical matrix of St Mary church in Sibiu and to substitute missing parts of its visual program

Notary Public in Medieval Transylvania: Introductory Considerations

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The issue of continuity vs. break between Antiquity and Middle Ages is one of the most popular subject of medieval studies. The medieval notary public holds one of the few offices that not only is based on Roman republican traditions, but poseses an almost completely reconstructable history during the early Middle Ages.

Notary derives from Latin *nota*, a system of shorthand developed by Tiro, one of Cicero's secretaries, in order to effectively record his master's speeches. People employed to receive instructions for the drafting of agreements, conveyance, and other types of instruments adopted this method of tachigraphy. Hence *notarius* used to describe individuals hired to record various aspects of economic or private life according to a commonly recognized system. The *notarii* (also known as *scriba*, *cursor*, *tabularius*, *tabellio*, *exceptor* or *acuarius*) became officials during the days of the Roman Empire. Their increase in number, influence and authority determined them to form guilds or companies, with own supervision and regulations (e.g. the fees they may charge).

After the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West, the notary public survived on a local scale in the Italian Peninsula (e.g. Lucca). The rediscovery of civil law and legal studies in the 12th century led to an European proliferation and expansion of the public notarial activity, which was recognized and sanctioned by both the ecclesiastical and secular power (*ex auctoritate sedis apostolice et imperiali*).

Unlike in most parts of Europe, in Hungary (including the Transylvanian territories), the office did not attain a position of comparable importance, explainable by the social, economic and legal conditions of the realm. A wide network of convents and chapters (*loca credibilia*) throughout the kingdom were entitled to issue acts invested with public authority (*fides publica*). The introduction in the 14th century and the further development of public notaries in Transylvania (exclusively in urban communities of German origin) can therefore be regarded as a peculiarity of the medieval legal system in Hungary. Commercial transactions or legal disputes of economic nature, specific for the urban life, required different kinds of written instruments.

The establishing of a group of professional law experts in Transylvania with regard to the European notarial system was only superficially studied before. The aims of the presentation could consequently be summarized as follows: to open a field of discussion regarding the subject, firstly by means of the evidences provided by the notarial activity developed in Sibiu during the late 14th and 15th centuries – where did the office come from, when and why; who were the notaries and what was their place within the local society; to provide an analysis of the end product of the notarial activity: the notarial instruments.

***The Vice-voivodes of Transylvania
in the Second Part of the 15th and at the Beginning of
the 16th Century
(1458–1526)***

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The voivode of Transylvania, appointed by the Hungarian king, was one of the most important officials in the kingdom. In this quality he was also member of the royal council, and rarely left the court, where the political battles between rival political factions took place. The voivode usually visited his province on the occasion of general meetings (*congregatio generalis*) with the purpose of juridical procedures held for the Transylvanian nobility and certain privileged groups (Szeklers and Saxons), or on military campaigns originating from Transylvania (the voivode was also the military commander of the Transylvanian nobility). The rest of the provincial government problems were left to a deputy, the vice-voivode, who had mainly juridical tasks.

Along the vice-voivodes, the voivode appointed the castellans of the royal castles, as well as the *comites* of the seven Transylvanian counties. The person of the voivode and the duration of his appointment were always dependent on the power relations between the king and the aristocracy. The Transylvanian nobility, however, never had the possibility to influence the sovereign's decision.

The presentation surveys of the main traits of the careers of Transylvanian vice-voivodes in the mid and late 1400s and early 1500s (from Matthias Corvinus' enthronement to Louis II Jagiello's death). Unlike the voivodes (chosen from among the wealthiest and most influential aristocratic families), the vice-voivodes were usually noblemen of limited means and modest career. The majority of them came from noble families from outside of Transylvania. After 1462, vice-voivodes were also appointed as vice-comites of the Szeklers.

6. West and East in Transylvania

***Repräsentative und repräsentierende Kunststiftungen
des städtischen Patriziats in Siebenbürgen:
die Familie Haller von Hallerstein
im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit***

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Repräsentation im Sinne von Verbildlichung eines (gesellschaftlichen) Führungsanspruchs bzw. Vergegenwärtigung von Eliten in der Öffentlichkeit findet sich als zentrales Movens in der Kunstproduktion des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Selbstdarstellung und Selbstdramatisierung bzw. Fremddarstellung und Fremdinszenierung fungieren auch in Siebenbürgen als zentrale Impulsgeber für das Kunstschaften. Bedingt u.a. durch zahlreiche königliche Handelsprivilegien etablierten sich in den Siebenbürgischen Städten Cluj-Napoca (Klausenburg), Bistrița (Bistritz), Brașov (Kronstadt), Sibiu (Hermannstadt), Mediaș (Mediasch), Sighișoara (Schäßburg) und Sebeș (Mühlbach) vor allem im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit Patrizierfamilien, deren Repräsentationsbedürfnis miteinander konkurrierte und auch in Konkurrenz zum Landadel und zum Landesherren trat. Das Projekt untersucht Kunstaufträge, die vom Patriziat initiiert wurden und die ver-

schiedenen Gattungen (Malerei, Plastik), das Kunsthandwerk, die Numismatik und Sphragistik sowie die Architektur umfassten, in Abhängigkeit von medialen, stilistischen und ikonographischen Traditionen der Repräsentation. Im Sinne einer komparatistischen Untersuchung sollen die Paradigmen, die sich in Siebenbürgen etablierten und durchsetzen, herausgearbeitet werden und anderen Städten mit einem starken Patriziat (z.B. Nürnberg, Augsburg, Krakau) gegenübergestellt werden. Als Bezugspunkte dienen parallele Phänomene auf anderen sozialen Ebenen (Herrsscher, geistliche Würdenträger, Adel). Herausgestellt werden die Funktionalität und Wirkungsweisen von Repräsentation im kulturellen Netzwerk Mittel- und Ostmitteleuropas und ihre Impulsgebende Bedeutung für die Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Siebenbürgens. Zentral sind auch die Themen des Kunst- und Kulturtransfers sowie des Beziehungsgeflechts zwischen Auftraggeber von Kunst, Tradition und Innovation bei der Umsetzung und die Rolle von mobiler Kunst und mobilen Künstlern als Transmitter. Inhalt und Ziele des Projekts werden hier exemplarisch an den Stiftungen der Familie Haller von Hallerstein vorgestellt.

The Financial Aspects of the Town-Church Relation in the Transylvanian Saxon Towns in the Middle Ages

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Based on partially unpublished archival sources (especially on urban accounts, but also on the charters and letters preserved in town archives), our project focuses on the financial aspects of the relation between the medieval municipalities of the Transylvanian Saxon towns and the Church (prior to 1526). It emphasizes the cases of Sibiu (Hermannstadt), Brașov (Kronstadt), Sighișoara (Schäßburg), Mediaș (Me-

diasch), and Cluj (Klausenburg), due to the documentary and historical situation at hand. They are the most important medieval Transylvanian urban settlements, as well as the only Transylvanian towns (with the exception of Bistrița/ Bistriz) with preserved medieval accounts.

***Die ältesten Chroniken der siebenbürger Sachsen:
Kronstädter Chronisten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert***

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Die ersten chronistischen Aufzeichnungen wurden einzeln, auf den Blätter von verschiedenen Drucke (Bücher, Kalender u.a.), Stadtbücher und Stadtrechnungen der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Städte, schon im 15. Jh. verfasst. Chroniken, im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes, wurden erst gegen die Mitte des 16. Jh. verfasst, zweifellos als Folge der Verbreitung des Lesens und Schreibens im Kontext der Reformation. Kronstadt diente als Hintergrund für die最早的 Geschichtsschreibung und für ihre späteren spektakulärsten Entwicklungen.

Die älteste bekannte Chronik aus Kronstadt wurde schon Ende der 1530er vom Stadtschreiber Lucas Grüngass verfasst und im Turmknopf des Rathauses eingesetzt. Eine weitere Chronik wurde etwa 1560 vom Stadtorganist Hieronymus Ostermayer verfasst und von einem Unbekannten bis 1571 weitergeführt. Eine sehr wichtige Schrift (gleichzeitig auch ein Merkmal Kronstadts), ist die Wandchronik aus der großen Stadtpfarrkirche („Schwarze Kirche“), dessen Verfasser scheinbar (laut G. Nussbächer und A. Armbruster) der aus Hermannstadt stammende Martin Oltard, Rektor des kronstädter evangelischen Gymnasiums (es ist bekannt, daß die hermanstädtler Familie Scheerer/ Oltard selbst eine Chronik ihrer Heimatstadt führte; sie aber wurde erst in die zweite Hälfte des Jahrhunderts). Aus derselben Zeitspanne stammen noch zwei Chroniken, von Christian Thobiae

und Laurentius Kertzius, die aber heute (im besten Fall) nur als späte Teilabschriften erhalten sind. Jedoch erhalten diese zwei Chroniken wichtige Daten (und verdienen auch eine neue Ausgabe). Unsere Studie endet mit den 1590er Jahren, weil umgefähr ab damals die Chronistik durch weitlaufende Tagebücher als Gattung substituiert wurde. Chroniken wurden auch weiterhin verfasst, aber sie waren eher Zusammenstellungen als originelle geschichtliche Kompositionen.

Warfare and Economy in the Transylvanian Principality (1541-1691)

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In the Early Modern Age, as in the other periods of human history, war was considered a destructive phenomenon. Nevertheless the relation between military conflicts and economic development was not always negative. In the general debate on the relation between warfare and economy we can distinguish two main perspectives:

- 1.** The economic costs of defensive military organization and offensive campaigns.
- 2.** The impact of war and military presence on economic activities (commerce, agriculture, crafts etc.).

The analysis of these two aspects of warfare and economy, in the case of the autonomous principality of Transylvania, is an essential step towards understanding the relations between state, society and military organization in the context of early modern innovations. The so-called *military revolution* of the early modern age was not only changing tactics, strategy and technology but also the economic aspect of military conflicts.

7. Central Authorities and Local Benefits

***Siebenbürgen zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie.
Der Status eines Kronlandes zwischen den verschiedenen
politischen Regimes
(1849-1867)***

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Für die ganze Donaumonarchie läutete der Umbruch des Jahres 1849 eine neue Zeit der Suche nach einer neuen, stabilen Gestaltung der inneren und äußereren Verhältnisse ein. Auf der Ebene des politischen Regimes fanden mehrere Experimente statt, die letztendlich in den österreichisch-ungarischen Ausgleich des Jahres 1867 mündeten; die häufigen Änderungen der politischen Einrichtungen übten einen starken Einfluss auf die gesamte Entwicklung der Gesellschaft aus, welche sich nur ab dem Jahr 1867 allmählich stabilisiert hat. Nach den Urmwälzungen, die die Revolution des Jahres 1849 gebracht hat, welche fast das Auseinandergehen der Donaumonarchie bewirkt haben, ebbten deren Folgen unter dem starren, aber reformfreudigen Regime des Neoabsolutismus ab. Gegen Ende des ersten Jahrzehnts nach der Revolution hätte man kaum glauben können, welche Aktualität die Problematik der 1848-er Revolution in den Sechzigern erreichen wird. Eigentlich könnte man sogar behaupten, dass eine der mannigfaltigen Triebfedern des Ausgleiches in diesem Prozess der Repression während dem Neoabsolutismus

und der Expansion in der liberalen Ära besteht, vor allem wenn man diesen Aspekt im Bereich der österreichisch-ungarischen Beziehungen verfolgt, welche eine maßgebliche Auswirkung auf die Lage in Siebenbürgen gehabt haben. Diese zwei Prozesse könnte man auch als die Vorboten des Ausgleiches deuten – in dem Maße in welchem die Auslotung einer besseren Lösung seitens der Zentralbehörden für alle Völker der Monarchie zu keinem günstigen Ergebnis geführt hat (wenn wir an das neoabsolutistische und das liberale Experiment denken), und in welchem der Ausgleich nur eine stabilitätsstiftende, keineswegs aber eine befriedigende Kompromisslösung darstellte.

Im Kronland Siebenbürgen herrschten mehrere spezifische Faktoren, welche die faktische Integration dieser Provinz in den Gesamtstaat gesteuert haben. Zum ersten hinterließ die Revolution des Jahres 1848 – genauso wie in allen östlichen Kronländern der Monarchie – tiefe Spuren in Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft und Politik, dessen Beseitigung als erste Berufung der neuen Behörden verstanden wurde. Zweitens musste die alteingesessene politische Organisierung tiefgreifend verändert werden; bis zur Revolution wurde die politische Vertretung aufgrund der rezipierten Nationen und Religionen gestaltet, die nicht die wirkliche religiöse, ethnische, wirtschaftliche oder soziale Zusammensetzung der Gesellschaft als Grundlage hatte. Deshalb, um eine dauerhafte Lösung dieser Frage erzielen zu können, mussten zuerst die traditionellen Privilegien beseitigt werden. Wenn der (meist ungarischsprachige) Adel nach der Revolution als besiegt betrachtet wurde, schritten die Behörden zur Beseitigung der Privilegien der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Einwohner, inklusive zur Auflösung der spezifischen Organisationsformen. Das neoabsolutistische Jahrzehnt brachte ansatzweise nicht weniger als vier Reformen des Verwaltungssystems (Aufteilung des Kronlandes, Jurisdiktion der Gerichts- oder Fiskalbehörden, Bestellung und Besoldung der Beamten usw.): zuerst eine provisorische im Herbst 1849, dann im Mai 1851, eine andere Reform im Jahr 1853 und das „Definitivum“ im Jahr 1854 – mit der Beifügung dass die zweite Regelung nur teilweise in die Tat umgesetzt wurde, und die dritte nur in der letzten Planungsphase geblieben ist.

Der interessanteste Umschwung dieser Zeitspanne war die Einführung des „liberalen“ Regimes nach dem Zusammenbruch des Neoabsolutismus in den Jahren 1859-1860. Auf siebenbürgischer Ebene besteht die markanteste Änderung in der Involviering des Adels in den politischen Angelegenheiten, nach den zehn Jahren des „passiven Widerstandes“ während der Ära Bach. Die Problematik der politischen Implikation der siebenbürgischen Nationalitäten wird jetzt – nach

zehn Jahren Nivellierung und Gleichberechtigung – zum Hauptthema der politischen Auseinandersetzungen im Kronland. Somit wird Siebenbürgen, nach der starren Stille der letzten zehn Jahre zu einer Problemprovinz der Donaumonarchie, aus welcher die offiziellen oder geheimen Berichte mehrmals Auskunft über die heikle und gespannte Natur der inneren Beziehungen geben. Trotz der konkreteren Regelungen auf der Ebene des Verwaltungsrechts betreffend die Lage des Kronlandes Siebenbürgen im Gefüge der Habsburgermonarchie zeichnen sich schon von Anfang an die ersten Merkmale des Annäherungsprozesses zwischen Ungarn und Siebenbürgen ab, parallel zur Neugestaltung der Beziehungen zwischen den künftigen zwei „Hälften“ der Monarchie. Vielleicht war es gar kein Zufall, dass in den offiziellen Urkunden (auch auf Karten, in den Verwaltungs- und Staatshandbüchern der Monarchie usw.), vor allem nach der Einführung des Definitivums Siebenbürgen ständig als ein „ungarisches Kronland“ eingetragen ist. Ein anderer Faktor, der bisher kaum erwähnt wurde, ist die Tatsache, dass im Jahr 1855, als die Repräsentativversammlungen der Kronländer im Rahmen der gescheiterten Aufstellung von Landesvertretungen zusammenberufen worden sind, ganz klar das politische Potential des ungarischen und siebenbürgischen Adels ersichtlich worden ist – und vielleicht fruestens in dieser Erkenntnis die ersten Ansätze, oder einfach die Akzeptierung seitens Wiens des neuen politischen Gleichgewichtes auf dem Weg zum Dualismus zu erkennen sind.

In der Zeitspanne 1849-1867 hat das Kronland Siebenbürgen mehrere Organisationsformen und mehrere Stellungen im Rahmen der Gesamtmonarchie erlebt. Im Rahmen dieser schwankenden Bedingungen haben sich auch die mannigfaltigen Aspekte und Abläufe des politischen, wirtschaftlichen oder gesellschaftlichen Lebens entwickelt. Nach dem Jahr des Ausgleiches wurde Siebenbürgen allmählich in der transleithanischen Hälfte der Monarchie absorbiert und 1876 auf Organisations- und Verwaltungsebene völlig eingegliedert. Der Hauptzweck der zu diesem Thema beabsichtigten Forschungen ist die Darstellung der Entwicklung des politischen Status des Kronlandes Siebenbürgen im Rahmen der Donaumonarchie und die Effekte dieser Entwicklung auf das innere Leben der Provinz. Bisher gibt es nur wenige, vor allem ansatzweise durchgeföhrten Forschungen zu diesem Thema, die aber als eine gute Ausgangsbasis benutzt werden können. Die flächendeckende Erforschung der genannten Aspekte wird auch mit der eingehenden Erforschung der wichtigsten Momente der Zeitspanne 1849-1867 erfolgen, um ein möglichst komplettes Bild über den umschwungreichen Weg zum Dualismus liefern zu können.

Formen sozialer und nationaler Verbundenheit bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen zwischen 1850 und 1867

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Der Beitrag untersucht den Wechsel des Status der Siebenbürger Sachsen in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Anfang des Jahrhunderts, waren die Sachsen eine privilegierte Nation innerhalb des verfassungsrechtlichen Systems Siebenbürgens. Nach dem Ausgleich wurden sie zur Minderheit innerhalb des ungarischen Einheitsstaates. Zwecks Beibehaltung der nationalen Identität werden sie sich an die Evangelische Kirche wenden, die ihre wichtigste nationale Institution wird, sowie zum Vereinsleben, das sich folglich exponentiell entwickelt.

The Idea of Nation and the Loyalty towards the House of Habsburg in the Case of the Romanians from Transylvania and the Italians from the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom between 1850 and 1866

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In the case of the Transylvanian Romanians in the 19th century, the idea of nation became stronger due to the Latinist trend and to the

principle of the building of a nation through education, promoted by the Transylvanian School, combining the values of the German model of a spiritual nation, of the French model of a social nation or of the Italian European model. In the context of the need for coagulation of a peripheric nation, under the authority of the House of Habsburg, the promoters of the idea of nation among the Romanians from Transylvania highlighted the obvious issue of majority. Forming the majority of the population in Transylvania, the Romanian speakers felt entitled to have a good education, cultural manifestations and political rights at least equal to those of the other Transylvanian nations. Meanwhile, to the West, the Italians from the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom, another nation at the periphery of the empire, were looking for a self-definition both in relation to the other Italians in the peninsula and in relation to the entire monarchy (at the level of collective mentality).

***Economic Policies of Vienna in Transylvania.
1850-1867***

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The project deals with the study and analysis of the direct investments of Austrian state in the economy of Transylvania (mining, steel, metals operation). This is a second component of capital investment, technology and know-how, in addition to those made by private capital promoted by great entrepreneurs, banks and joint stock companies. Another research direction proposed by this project is the policies of Austrian state in Transylvania on the level of infrastructure, specifically the introduction of the telegraph. In terms of vision and planning for the authorities in Vienna, the issue was considered at the time as extremely important. It clearly reflected the views of the authorities in

Vienna on the economic, commercial and strategic role of Transylvania within the Habsburg Monarchy in the mid-19th century.

On economical and social level, it is rather clear that the developments in the second half of the 19th century in Transylvania are the result of the changes brought by the agrarian legislation of 1853-1854, by industrial laws (Customs Law, the industry and trade, fiscal policy measures). The liberal regime inaugurated by Vienna in the 1850s was superimposed on a very conservative regime, centralist and uniformist; yet it generated a string of profound and irreversible changes.

Starting from these premises, and noting the lack of relevant research on the subject, the project aims at an in-depth analysis of the economic policies of the Austrian state in Transylvania (1850-1867), focusing on two components: direct investments of the Austrian state in the economy of Transylvania and the actions and strategies to connect the province to the telegraph network of the monarchy and of Europe, an issue of exceptional importance in that context.

Romanian Physicians and the International Medical Movement in the Last Two Decades of the 19th Century and at the Beginning of the 20th Century

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The paper focuses on the participation of the Romanian physicians to the international medical movement during the abovementioned period and especially on their attendance of the international medical congresses and conference constantly organized in Western Europe after 1854, attendance that, alongside with university studies at European universities, was a way to internationally integrate the Romanian medical movement. This integration helped establish an elite, a medical elite in Romania prior to the outbreak of World War I.

8. Societies under Political Pressure

***The Repatriation of the Germans from Latvia and
Romania
in 1939-1940:
The Imperatives of Searching for a New Identity***

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Beyond its aspects strictly related to political or territorial issues, the Soviet-German non-aggression pact (August 23, 1939) generated important demographic mutations in Eastern Europe, hard to foresee prior to the outbreak of World War II. After the delineation of the spheres of influence and the new possessions of Germany and Soviet Union, Berlin tried to determine the German ethnics in Eastern Europe, including from territories obtained by the Soviet Union, to choose to return to Germany, their true homeland. This aim was to shape an ample program for the repatriation of German ethnics from the Baltic States or from Romania. In Romania's case, though the program was developed in 1940, it had a few distinct elements.

In 1940, Romania had to renounce territories in favour of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Hungary, territories inhabited also by significant communities, like in Bukovina or Bessarabia (hence our title choice for Germans in Romanian territories, not in Romania). The German authorities, who had agreed the previous year to the Soviet

annexation of Bessarabia, asked Moscow on the occasion to solve the problem of the almost 100.000 German ethnics living between Prut and Dniestr. Berlin was intrigued by the fact that the Soviet ultimatum addressed to Romania referred equally to Bukovina and the Herta area, also inhabited by many people of German origin. There issue could have been solved directly with the Soviets, but Berlin also took into account the repatriation of the Germans from Romania.

The repatriation of the Germans from Bukovina, Bessarabia or Dobrudja was only a part of a much larger process which can only be fully understood if we compare it, for example, to similar phenomena in the Baltic states. The repatriation of the German ethnics from Latvia, Estonia or Lithuania underlines both similarities and distinctions. Together, they may provide a more accurate image on an uprooted ethnic group seeking a new identity in the old homeland, animated by promises, hopes and dreams of a better life. In retrospect, the political decision to repatriate the ethnic Germans either from Latvia or from Romania, irrespective of the administrative or legal measures that accompanied and facilitated it, created on both sides, deep human and social distortions (their consequences can still be felt). The repatriations from the Baltic States and Romania equally serve as an accurate indicator for the fate and the particular situation of these countries, a barometer of Soviet-German relations and aggression.

*Der 23. August 1944
und die Deutsche Volksgruppe in Rumänien*

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Die Katastrophe von Stalingrad, die rumänische Frontverluste und deutsche Rückzüge, deren Widerstandslinien und Riegelstellungen

sich langsam und unaufhaltsam den rumänischen Staatsgrenzen näherten, schafften dem Beobachter in Rumänien bereits Ende 1943 die Gewißheit: Bündnistreue und Durchhaltevermögen des rumänische politischen-militärischen Führung waren einer Zerreißprobe ausgesetzt. Während die Vertreter der Wehrmacht und des Auswärtigen Amtes versuchten in ihren Berichten die Lage in Rumänien durch die Stärkung der Autorität Marschall Antonescu und seiner Loyalität gegenüber Deutschland bzw. durch bewusste Unterschätzung der Bedeutung der Opposition in einem günstigen Licht darzustellen, waren die Bewertungen der Führung der deutschen Volksgruppe, mit Andreas Schmidt, an der Spitze sehr viel ungünstiger. Die deutsche Volksgruppe verfügte über ein effizientes Informationsnetz, das sich über das gesamte Territorium des Landes erstreckte.

Die Führung der Gruppe sandte zwischen 1940 und 1944 kritische Berichte über die Politik der rumänischen Regierung nach Berlin. Diese unterschieden sich wesentlich von den Einschätzungen der offiziellen deutschen Dienste. Auch die Informationen und Aufzeichnungen die im Frühling und im Sommer des Jahres 1944 vom Führer der deutschen Volksgruppe weitergeleitet wurden machten darin keine Ausnahme. Sieht man von einigen Klischees ab (z.B. die Übertreibung des angeblichen Einflusses der Juden auf der Entwicklung des politischen Lebens in Rumänien), sind diese Berichte ein Beweis für die guten Kenntnisse über die Vorgänge im Lande. Das ging über allgemeine Einschätzungen der allgemeinen Stimmungslage hinaus, bis hin zu konkreten politischen und militärischen Fakten innerhalb der Regierung und der heimlich von der Opposition unternommenen Schritte, besonders die Waffenstillstandsverhandlungen mit den Alliierten und mit der UdSSR.

Bereits zu Beginn erkannte Andreas Schmidt zwei Tendenzen, die seiner Meinung nach, kennzeichnend für die von der rumänischen Regierung betriebene Politik waren. Die Vertreter dieser Strömungen waren auf der einen Seite Marschall Ion Antonescu, auf der anderen. der Vizepräsident des Ministerrates Mihai Antonescu. Während der Staatschef als Anhänger der Zusammenarbeit mit Deutschland und der Fortführung des Krieges bekannt war, hielt man Mihai Antonescu für den, der die Politik des Marschalls zu sabotieren versuchte. Er wurde als Hauptvertreter der Kreise, die das Bündnis auflösen und den Krieg beenden wollten, angesehen.

In dem er sich auf die Stellung Marschalls Antonescus im politischen Leben und auf die Mittel, über die Deutschland verfüge, um Rumänien weiter in der deutschen Einflusssphäre zu halten, bezog, sprach sich

Andreas Schmidt gegen die Besetzung Rumäniens aus. Er begründete: Einerseits habe ein solcher Schritt die Schwächung der rumänischen Armee zur Folge und andererseits ergebe sich so die Gefahr möglicher Partisanenbewegungen hinter der deutschen Front. Unter Abwägung dieser Möglichkeiten schlug er einen politisch-diplomatischen Ausweg vor. Dieser bestand in der Umbildung der von Marshall Antonescu geführten Regierung. Hierbei sollten die Minister mit antideutschen Ansichten durch Persönlichkeiten national-konservativer Orientierung und germanophile Militärs ersetzt werden. Eventuell könnten auch einige deutsche Experten beteiligt werden. Die Beseitigung der oppositionellen Elemente aus der Regierung und die Versicherung der dauerhaften Integration Rumäniens in den deutschen Einflussbereich hatte, nach Meinung Schmidts, den Vorteil einer besseren Mobilisierung und Ausnutzung des wirtschaftlichen und militärischen Potentials zugunsten der deutschen Kriegsmaschine.

Der Volksgruppenchef betonte die Bedeutung der Situation an der Ostfront für die zukünftige Haltung Rumäniens gegenüber dem Bündnis mit Deutschland und der Fortführung des Krieges. Aber im Unterschied zu den anderen deutschen Diensten, die mit der bedingungslosen Loyalität des Marschalls Antonescu dem Reich gegenüber und mit dessen inneren Führungsstärke rechneten, sprach sich er sich für eine aktive Beteiligung der deutschen Führung innerhalb des politischen Lebens in Rumänien aus. Seiner Ansicht nach wurde die eigentliche Führung des Landes von Mihai Antonescu ausgeübt, nicht vom Staatschef. Dieser war im wesentlichen mit Frontinspektionen und militärischen Problemen beschäftigt.

Trotz der Warnungen Andreas Schmidts, die Ereignissen von 23. August 1944 haben auch die deutsche Volksgruppenführung in Rumänien überrascht. In der Kronstädter Volksgruppenführung gab es zu jener Zeit nur ein entschlußunfähiges „Rumpfkabinett“, weil Volksgruppenführer Andreas Schmidt, die Amtsleiter Walter May und Wilhelm Schiel hatten um 20. August 1944 eine Dienstreise nach Berlin unternommen, deren Ziel gerade eine warnende Berichterstattung hinsichtlich der Kriegslage an der Südfront war. Deshalb das „Rumpfkabinett“ in Kronstadt war nicht in der Lage entsprechende Massnahmen zu treffen und als Folge ging militärisch das Burzenland und damit auch Siebenbürgen verloren, ein Verlust der auch das Schicksal der deutsche Minderheit in Rumänien besiegelte.

Ideological Violence and the Ethics of Resistance in the Works of Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Nicolae Steinhardt

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During the 20th century, collective totalitarian ideologies have impacted millions of lives. Communism has produced countless stories on suffering, torture, humiliation and de-humanization. Nonetheless, 20 years after the democratic revolutions of 1989, the ethical significance of the Communist past is still unsettled. My research looks at two major literary figures of the 20th century. The project has a twofold dimension. It discusses terror and degradation in Communist prisons and it analyzes the ethical principles of anti-totalitarian resistance.

The Transformations of Contemporary Radical Political Theory

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The aim of this analysis is to assess some of the main transformations of contemporary radical political theory, by examining the key mutations in its conceptual structure and ideological content and the key differences with the more traditional 20th century approaches. Recent years have witnessed a marked shift in the main battlefronts of political radicalism, determined by the gradual fading of earlier prominent avenues for radical theorizing. This research attempts to identify and assess a series of new and more fragmented radical answers.

Section IV

Defining Continents

1. Between Asia and Europe

L’Image impériale dans les relations internationales de l’Empire byzantin

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Le but principal du projet peut être formulé comme une étude comparative de la représentation impériale à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de l'Empire, sa signification d'«objet-insigne» pour les sujets et les alliés de l'Empire et son influence sur le système de représentation adopté par des différents groupes étrangers situés dans l'orbite du monde byzantin. Dans cette étude les informations provenant des sources écrites, où sont décrits des portraits impériaux de types différents (e.g. statues, sculptures, broderies, sceaux, anneaux ou bagues) sont comparées avec des données matérielles iconographiques et archéologiques concernant des images impériales (e.g. statues, sculptures, broderies, sceaux, anneaux, bagues, gravures sur des fibules, portraits impériaux dans des manuscrits ou médaillons).

A part les représentations «matérielles» de l'Empereur sur des objets divers utilisés dans la politique étrangère impériale, il y avait un aspect plus abstrait mais pas du tout moins important: l'image de l'Empereur de Constantinople comme étalon de représentation suprême. Le monde des différents peuples et nations entourant l'Empire, qu'il s'agisse de ceux qui avaient été des voisins de l'Empire des siècles durant ou des nouveaux venus, était uni par leur intégration rapide dans

l'orbite de l'influence impériale: la propagation du système des valeurs (aussi bien politiques que religieuses), du prestige et de l'hiérarchie des statuts établis et dictés par l'Empire fut un succès évident de la diplomatie romaine de l'Orient. Il est intéressant de voir comment ce paradigme se modifie dans les époques d'une puissance byzantine diminuée. La culture politique, rituelle et cérémoniale (qui se traduisait matériellement en conséquence) de ces différents peuples était caractérisée par la tendance manifeste *d'imitatio imperii*. Les chefs barbares et les princes étrangers considéraient comme prestigieux de ressembler, en des domaines différents, à l'Empereur romain/byzantin. Les insignes, ces signes spéciaux de pouvoir que les empereurs romains avaient l'habitude de donner aux chefs et rois barbares pour ainsi sanctionner leur autorité, reflétaient et même recopiaient (avec certaines variations) des différents sortes d'insignes de l'Empereur lui-même, faisant ainsi du récipient de ces objets une figure comparable au souverain suprême. Ce caractère d'insignes reflète leur ambiguïté intrinsèque, car en même temps ils servaient à déclarer la dépendance des chefs locaux en les mettant en position de client (de «vassal») vis-à-vis de l'Empire et en transformant ainsi leur statut en celui de subordonné voire même de «doulos» de l'Empereur.

***Le sceau de la prophétie:
connexions entre le christianisme et l'islam sous la
dynastie des Abbassides***

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Dans le contexte historique de la fondation et de l'expansion de l'islam (les VII^e-XIII^e siècles), les communautés des chrétiens coptes, syriens et arabes ont conçu deux stratégies littéraires dont le but était de préserver l'identité théologique et liturgique des églises, de révéler le plan divin en mesure à structurer les événements historiques

chaotiques et violents, et d'investir l'instabilité politique et sociale de signification et cohérence d'ordre religieux: la littérature apocalyptique et la littérature polémique¹. Souvent, ces écritures ou réécritures apocalyptiques-polémiques ont comme but la construction d'une «contre-histoire» anti-musulmane: la distorsion de l'identité religieuse musulmane par la déconstruction de l'histoire sacrée de l'islam primaire, du texte sacré révélé et de la mémoire de la communauté musulmane concernant les événements fondateurs de l'espace religieux islamique². De cette manière, l'*Apocalypse de Bahīrā* exploite le témoignage gardé par Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām, Al-Tabarī sur le dialogue entre Bahīrā et Muhammad contre la raison d'être des textes apologétiques musulmans sur la biographie du Prophète: son but était de démontrer que Muhammad a été un faux prophète, que le *Qur'ān* n'est pas un texte révélé, un message divin, et que l'islam n'est pas une religion investie de la légitimité abrahamique.

En tant que réécriture contre-historique anti-musulmane qui remonte à la période du califat d'Al-Māmūn (786-833), l'*Apocalypse de Bahīrā* illustre «l'interaction de la pensée et de l'imaginaire apocalyptique juif, chrétien et musulman, pendant la période de l'islam primordial»³. Dans les quatre versions (version syriaque orientale/ nestorienne; version syriaque occidentale/ jacobite; version arabe abrégée; version arabe longue) traduites et commentées par Roggema, le dialogue catéchistique entre le moine Bahīrā et l'adolescent Muhammad est encadré par des prophéties apocalyptiques sur des personnages définitoires du messianisme musulman de la période des Umayyades (661-750) et des Abbassides (750-1258).

Dans ce contexte, la présence non-historique du moine Sergius Bahīrā a une valeur de symbole littéraire, capable de révéler les forces d'ordre historique et religieux qui agissent, pendant la période des Abbassides, dans la société musulmane qui circonscrit la coexistence historique des communautés juives, chrétiennes, musulmanes. Crée pour des raisons apologétiques par les biographes musulmans du Prophète Muhammad (Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām, Al-Tabarī), le moine Bahīrā exprime initialement l'universalisme de l'espace religieux islamique par la voix d'un exponent monastique de l'espace religieux chrétien. Dans la perspective politique et religieuse, cette légende devait servir à rendre légitime la prophétologie muhammadienne, l'histoire sacrée contenue dans le *Qur'ān* et la vérité religieuse de l'espace musulman envers les communautés chrétiennes du Proche-Orient, conquises par les armées arabes se trouvant sous le commandement des califes. En plus de cela, la version musulmane de la légende de

Bahīrā était investie du pouvoir rhétorique de prouver la convergence théologique de la révélation sinaïtique, de la révélation évangélique, de la révélation qur’ānique et d'encourager la conversion des chrétiens à l'islam.

Notes

- I. Barbara Roggema, *The Legend of Sergius Bahīrā. Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam*, Leiden-Boston, 2009, pp. 61-62.
- II. Amos Funkenstein, «History, Counterhistory, and Narrative», in *Probing the Limits of Representation*, éd. Saul Friedländer Cambridge, Mass., 1992, pp. 66-81.
- III. Roggema, *The Legend*, pp. 64, 87.

Marsilius of Padua and the Question of Civil Liberty

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In the context of justifying the armed wrestle, Marsilius of Padua maintained as its highest reason the civil liberty. We will examine this concept and how it is superimposed on the concept of peace in his book, *Defensor pacis*, where he struggled to find a new foundation for the secular civil community. Furthermore we will discuss the necessity of this freedom in relation with the Aristotelian idea of the political human nature and the idea of medieval monarchy. Eventually it should be noted that rarely someone can find a truly original political idea in the history of political thinking. Most often, these ideas travel through time, being up-held or rejected, forgotten or rediscovered, adopted or reinterpreted. This was also the case of Aristotle's political ideas at the end of the Middle Ages.

L'antilatinisme à Byzance aux XIV^e-XV^e siècles

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Le conflit théologique entre l'Église byzantine et l'Église latine, bien connu et étudié, est une donnée permanente des relations entre Orient et Occident durant tout le Moyen-Âge. A côté de la controverse théologique, certaines critiques récurrentes s'expriment aussi contre les Latins dans des *listes d'erreurs latines*. Je souhaite analyser cette littérature religieuse antilatine selon une démarche relevant de l'anthropologie historique, afin d'aboutir à une synthèse sur la filiation des arguments utilisés depuis les premières listes d'erreurs jusqu'aux traités du XV^e siècle, en observant l'enrichissement continu de cette thématique.

La fin du Moyen-Âge est une période de contacts intenses entre l'Occident latin et l'Europe orientale. Dans le monde orthodoxe, l'hostilité générale envers les Latins a longtemps été considérée par les historiens comme évidente, surtout à la suite de la IV^e croisade et du sac de Constantinople par les Occidentaux en 1204. Le rejet massif des Latins par la société byzantine a servi de principal facteur d'explication à de nombreux événements ultérieurs de l'histoire byzantine, en particulier l'échec des deux tentatives de réunion des Églises romaine et orthodoxe en 1274 (concile de Lyon II) et en 1439 (concile de Ferrare-Florence). Les historiographies catholique et orthodoxe ont toutes deux présenté le courant antilatin comme très majoritaire, sans jamais l'étudier pour lui-même. Dans la période récente encore, l'antilatinisme a été conçu et souvent invoqué, de manière simpliste et univoque, comme une donnée «naturelle» de la mentalité byzantine tardive. Il faut en revanche prendre en compte la tendance inverse qui se manifeste durant les derniers siècles de l'Empire byzantin, le philolatinisme. Des relations beaucoup plus étroites avec les Latins permettent en effet aux Byzantins d'apprécier certains aspects de la civilisation latine, tandis que la cohabitation des deux communautés dans les régions d'occu-

pation franque ou vénitienne favorise une acculturation réciproque. Cette tension entre attirance et répulsion pour les Latins doit donc être au centre d'une analyse approfondie du phénomène antilatin à Byzance.

***Flat Universes:
Christian & Buddhist***

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EV'RY VALLEY SHALL BE EXALTED, and Every Mountain and Hill made Low, Crooked Straight and the Rough Places Plain! (Handel, *Messiah* <HWV 56; London, summer of 1741>, Part I, Scene 1.3 <air for tenor>). In his libretto, Handel's Brit benefactor and freelancer Charles Jennens rephrased from King James Bible. The *loci classici* are: European — Isaiah 40:4, echoed in Luke 3:5, in apocryphal gospels of Nativity, in the old French carol on the birth of Christ (*baissez-vous, montagnes; plaines, haussez-vous*), etc. Asian: the Lalitavistara (57 Vaidya), description of the birth of the Buddha: *And the regions of the earth which led uphill and which led downhill grew level*. One Gandhari early Buddhist text recently discovered in Bajaur (Pakistan) reads: *As long as the foot is down the earth, it will sink down four fingers (cad[h]uragulu), if the foot is taken up, it will come up four fingers*. The English poet and politician Andrew Marvell (1621-1678) described mountains as *ill-excrescences* since he had been conditioned by his intellectual tradition to view them in opposition to the smooth fertile plains of creation in its original state. Similarly, Thomas Burnet in his influential *The Sacred Theory of Earth* (1684) claimed that the earth was originally as smooth as an egg. Its mountains and wilderness areas were post-diluvian junk resulting from human sin and deposited on the surface of the world following mankind's expulsion from paradise. This complex of themes relating the flatness of earth, as *terra virgo* (and sometimes *flammea*) will be analysed as a new comparative proof of a religious history of Europe and Asia.

2. Challenging and Preserving Authority

La réaction de Venise face à la Révolte de Saint Tite (1363-1366)

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Le 12 d'aout 1204, le marquis de Montferrat cédait, avec une *refutatio*, ses droits sur la Crète qui avait obtenu avec la *Partitio partis Romanie* qui avait suivi la prise de Constantinople après la quatrième croisade. Le marquis avait vendu à Venise l'île de Crète pour mille marches d'argent. Avec l'achat de la Crète, Venise consolida sa position au cœur de la Méditerranée. Au début il s'agissait d'une conquête formelle, parce que le chemin pour le contrôle devait être plus long et difficile. La question de la colonisation de divers espaces de l'Empire Byzantin par les Latins, laisse ouvert aux historiens le problème d'interpréter les effets de la «long durée» de ces *partitio*. Aujourd'hui on désapprouve à juste titre ce moment de colonisation, mais il faudrait en même temps prendre distance de la «Mémoire» pour entrer dans le domaine de l'Histoire; pour comprendre – loin de l'impressionisme et de revendications nationalistes - le fonctionnement d'une société d'ancien régime, différente de la notre, qui a été de toute

manière, construite sur la diversité. La colonisation de la Crète a été une «Nécessité» pour la Sérénissime qui a réorganisé les villes de l'île (Candie a été organisée sur le modèle d'une commune italienne) pour fournir la structure de base pour l'exercice du pouvoir. Venise a construit sa légitimité politique avec des heurts et des conflits avec les archontes grecs et avec ses colons également.

Dans cette intervention, je vais m'interroger justement, sur le reflexes de la politique vénitienne en Crète pendant un cas particulier: la Révolte de Saint Tite des années 1363-1366. Dans ce cas, on voit déployés ensemble les représentants des plus prestigieuses et anciennes familles des colons vénitiens et les archontes grecs. Contre la politique d'exploitation de Venise on trouve donc rassemblés les Gradenigo, les Venier, les Avonal, les Sagredo et les Molin. Le *casus belli* ont été les charges très lourdes qui Venise avait imposé pour la construction du port de Candie, mais face aux premières événements, Venise avait proposé une règlement de la situation, qui a été refusé par les rebelles. Dans les *Quaterni Bannorum* de 1363 on peut lire les lois que le gouvernement rebelle a promulguées. En imitant Venise, Marco Gradenigo – proclamé *governator et rectoris insule Crete* – souligne le nouveau statut de l'île: libre de Venise, dont on refu-se tout, ils sont libre de nommer les officielles et de prendre décisions pour l'île. Par exemple, les premiers actes du gouvernement rebelle manifestèrent la collaboration vénéto-grecque: les condamnés étaient amnistiés, les Crétois recevaient des avantages religieux, politiques et fiscaux.

Les événements de cette révolte matée par Luchino Dal Verme sont bien connus. La révolte sera définitivement écrasée en 1368 par Niccolò Trevisan (auteur d'une chronique des événements) et tous les *proveditores* furent envoyés en Crète par le gouvernement vénitien. Ce qui est moins connu, voire pas du tout, c'est la réponse donnée par Venise à la révolte au niveau juridique et judiciaire.

Le règlement du conflit a été long et difficile pour Venise. Face à une chronique officielle triomphaliste, on a pu voir que Venise à expérimenté des solutions particulières de négociation avec les rebelles. À partir des sources documentaires, comme les *Secreta Collegii* ou les *Libri Commemoriali*, on observe que Venise a mis en place un système pluriel de gestion du conflit, dans lequel la recrudescence armée contre les rebelles a été alternée avec l'utilisation de la grâce, de l'amnistie et de l'exception «extra-ordinaire» à la loi. C'est-à-dire que la répression de la révolte de saint Tite n'était pas seulement aveugle et brutale et les autorités savaient que condamner tous les adhérents au soulèvement auraient produit une instabilité majeure. Pour annuler la révolte,

Venise a créé un espace de tractations centré sur la rémission des crimes - et quelque fois sur la promotion politique - réservé à ceux qui avaient décidé d'abandonner les rebelles. Finalement, seulement les récidivistes et surtout les chefs de la révolte ont été exécutés avec détermination, de façon exemplaire. En croisant les sources on a vu que l'élément grec a été fondamental. Même si la rhétorique officielle du pouvoir vénitien condamne les Grecs et les définit comme des animaux, le provéditeur et chroniqueur Niccolò Trevisan parle d'une aide indispensable et nécessaire des Grecs pour capturer les rebelles en fuite après la prise de l'île par les Vénitiens. Il nous informe aussi d'un traité avec les Calergi, la famille la plus importante parmi les archontes grecs. Il n'est donc pas exact de parler d'une série de «représailles féroces», mais d'un système où les représailles et les punitions ont été une partie de la répression, réglée aussi par des moyennes judiciaires et infra-judiciaires comme la paix, la rémission et la dérogation.

De toute manière après le début de la sédition, tant que Venise n'avait pas compris la gravité de l'insurrection, il y avait eu un moment d'élaboration juridique de l'affaire, où il fallait bien condamner les rebelles et les nommer selon les expressions de la culpabilité. Comme a été bien montré par l'historiographie sur les pratiques judiciaires, la définition du crime amène la possibilité de déroger à la règle.

Au niveau de la définition juridique des coupables, ce qui est intéressant est le langage même employé par les juristes vénitiens. On a déjà montré que les rebelles ont essayé de devenir totalement indépendants par rapport à Venise et c'est pour cela qu'ils ont été jugés coupables de crime de lèse-majesté par la Sérénissime. Les mots utilisés par les actes officiels font référence aux catégories de l'hérésie et qui sont typiques du lexique de la culture juridique ecclésiastique et de la Papauté.

A propos de la négociation avec les sujets, en lisant les grâces concédées par Venise après la révolte de Saint Tite, on voit bien qu'à travers le système de la dérogation et de l'inféodation (nouvelle expérience pour Venise) la Sérénissime a justement légitimé une fois de plus son pouvoir. Les autorités vénitiennes ont évité le processus de privatisation des prérogatives publiques qui avait atteint à l'unité de l'Empire en Occident pendant la période post-carolingienne. Par contre, en syntonie avec les Etats naissants en Italie (on pense surtout à Milan, à Florence et à la Savoie), les techniques de pouvoir ont utilisé le privilège et le décret d'exception comme manifestation d'un pouvoir supérieur. Venise a utilisé en Crète des instruments normatifs, politiques et institutionnels complexes. Elle a habilement joué avec ces technologies de construction d'Etat, qui sont devenu des savoirs organisés

pour gouverner les hommes que l'on a su bien adapter à des réalités sociales différentes. Ces comportements empiriques ont notamment été propres à l'Etat vénitien, toujours prêt à la médiation juridique, politique et judiciaire, face à une réalité quotidienne construite selon des exigences concrètes et complexes. Selon le jugement de Giacomo Badoaro, formulé au début du XVI^e siècle : *Venezia ha soggiogato i popoli con le sue leggi fatte di un misto di rigore e di dolcezza.*

Guerres et croisade dans le Sud-Est européen (fin XIV^e-XV^e siècle)

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À la fin du Moyen Âge, le Sud-Est européen, déjà divisé en de nombreuses unités politiques concurrentes suite à l'affaiblissement de l'empire byzantin, voit apparaître un nouvel ennemi: les Turcs ottomans. Cette dynastie est la dernière d'une longue lignée de principautés turques qui se sont affirmées en Asie mineure au XIV^e siècle. Ils sont musulmans et l'idéologie de la guerre sainte contre les infidèles, la gaza, semble être un des moteurs importants de leurs conquêtes¹. Pourtant, leur progression dans les Balkans ne prend pas l'aspect d'une confrontation systématique entre chrétiens et musulmans. Lors de leur première apparition en Europe, en 1345, ils sont de simples mercenaires au service de Jean Cantacuzène, prétendant au trône impérial de Constantinople. La conquête des terres chrétiennes n'a rien d'une progression concertée et continue. Elle est menée par des groupes semi-nomades, composés en partie de chrétiens ralliés ou convertis; elle bénéficie souvent de l'appui des aristocraties locales, qui y voient une occasion de se libérer de l'emprise de leurs souverains; elle semble plutôt bien accueillie par la popu-

lation, celle des campagnes en particulier, séduite par un régime fiscal plus léger et un système d'Etat très peu centralisé; elle s'appuie enfin largement sur des éléments chrétiens, par l'intégration des noblesses balkaniques dans le système de gouvernement des terres –les *timar*- ou par l'emploi massif de non-turcs parmi les esclaves de l'administration^{II}. La question religieuse apparaît donc comme un élément relativement secondaire du conflit et les sources révèlent l'ampleur des échanges interconfessionnels^{III}.

Pourtant, ce qui n'aurait pu être qu'une guerre parmi les autres, dans cette région particulièrement instable et riche en conflits depuis le XIII^e siècle, prend l'aspect d'une opposition plus binaire, d'un côté les musulmans qui mènent la *gaza*, de l'autre les chrétiens, qui lancent des croisades. Dans un camp comme dans l'autre, on se réfère de plus en plus à l'ennemi en termes d'infidèle. Les explications de ce phénomène sont nombreuses. Il faut souligner la construction progressive d'un État (puis d'un empire) ottoman centralisé, à la recherche d'une idéologie unificatrice et légitimatrice. On peut discerner des phénomènes semblables du côté chrétien, notamment dans le cas de la Hongrie, où plusieurs souverains vont tenter d'asseoir leur pouvoir en fédérant leurs sujets dans un combat contre l'ennemi commun musulman.

Mon travail s'intéresse à cette perception chrétienne du conflit et à ses conséquences concrètes: son internationalisation et le changement d'échelle qui l'accompagne. Dès lors que la conquête ottomane n'est plus perçue comme une guerre de frontière, opposant deux peuples de part et d'autres d'une ligne de front, mais comme un combat religieux, c'est l'ensemble de la Chrétienté qui s'y trouve impliquée. La perception du combat a une incidence directe sur signification et ses dimensions. Vu ma formation^{IV}, je m'intéresse particulièrement au rôle de la papauté dans ce mouvement. L'intervention des papes modifie en effet la guerre contre les Ottomans, dans les formes comme sur le fond. Les Souverains Pontifes recrutent des soldats venus de zones éloignées –parfois très éloignées: l'Aragon, le Portugal, la Bourgogne- du front et mobilisent des armées internationales de croisés. Ils favorisent la constitution d'alliances pour tenter de former un bloc uni des chrétiens contre les musulmans. Ils tentent –avec un succès certain- de récolter à travers toute l'Europe les fonds nécessaires à la poursuite du combat. Surtout, ils diffusent à travers la Chrétienté un message de croisade. Par la proclamation de bulles, par les cérémonies religieuses ou par la prédication des indulgences, ils représentent –au sens propre: «rendre présent»-

la guerre du Sud-Est européen à travers toute l'Europe et en font définitivement une croisade, en la plaçant dans la continuité des guerres pour la libération du St-Sépulcre.

En cela, la papauté accompagne le mouvement des princes laïcs, désireux de profiter des avantages matériels, spirituels et symboliques de la croisade, mais elle l'initie également. La présence de ses légats, parfois jusqu'au cœur des batailles, contribue à transformer la guerre de frontière en croisade. Le conflit contre les Ottomans prend dès lors une nouvelle dimension. Il acquiert une profondeur historique en tant qu'héritier des expéditions vers Jérusalem des XII^e et XIII^e siècles. Il obtient également une ampleur géographique nouvelle, devient un des éléments du combat général des chrétiens contre les infidèles, guerre qui s'étend de l'Atlantique –Grenade, les Canaries et bientôt l'Amérique- à l'Éthiopie en passant par le nord de la mer Baltique. Il change enfin d'objet: il ne s'agit plus d'un combat entre peuples pour la domination sur un territoire, mais de l'opposition entre des religions pour le triomphe de la vraie foi. Les souverains de la frontière profitent militairement, économiquement et symboliquement de cette nouvelle mais en subissent aussi les désagréments: la sujexion –symbolique au moins- à la papauté et la relative marginalisation de leur combat dans une lutte bien plus vaste.

Mon travail cherche donc à expliquer la construction et la diffusion d'enjeux nouveaux autour du conflit contre les Ottomans. Il permet de mieux comprendre l'articulation entre la pratique et la théorie de la guerre, il explique la force de l'idéologie légitimatrice de la croisade et donne un autre regard sur les alliances entre les puissances chrétiennes. Il montre en quoi l'insertion de la guerre contre les Ottomans dans un contexte large, chronologique et géographique, est une construction des contemporains, liée à des enjeux avant tout politiques.

Notes

- I. Le rôle exact de l'idéologie de guerre sainte dans les conquêtes ottomanes reste très discuté, dans des débats souvent plus politique et nationaliste qu'historique. Voir un bon résumé des différentes thèses dans Cemal Ka-fadar, *Between two worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berke-ley-Los-Angeles-Londres, 1996, pp. 29-59.
- II. L'étude de Halil İnalcık, «Ottomans Methods of Conquest», *Studia Islamica* (Paris), II (1954), pp. 103-129, peut être précisée et complétée par Ka-

fadar, *Between two worlds*, pp. 138-150, ou *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, éd. Robert Mantran, Paris, 1989, pp. 15-35.

- III. Une bonne synthèse dans Michel Balivet, «Aux origines de l'islamisation des Balkans ottomans», *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* (Paris), LXVI (1992), pp. 10-20.
- IV. B. Weber, *Lutter contre les Turcs. Les formes nouvelles de la croisade pontificale au XV^e siècle*, Thèse de doctorat, sous la direction de Bernard Doumerc, Toulouse, 2009.

Etat des lieux du phénomène de dédicace des couvents de Valachie et de Moldavie aux Lieux Saints de l'Orthodoxie

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Cette communication a pour objet de mettre en relief quelques aspects du phénomène de dédicace, à savoir la donation d'églises et de couvents avec l'ensemble de leurs biens au profit des grands centres monastiques et patriarchaux orthodoxes. La dédicace s'insère pleinement comme la manifestation de l'impérialisme byzantin des voïvodes des principautés de Valachie et de Moldavie en ce sens qu'il représente un aspect du phénomène de donation, qu'elle soit pécuniaire, mobilière, fiscale ou humaine. Aujourd'hui, suite aux travaux de Nicolae Iorga ou de Petre Ș. Năsturel, ce fait est globalement connu. Notre contribution entend néanmoins s'en démarquer et se concentrer sur la dédicace, aspect bien moins maîtrisé et qui ne constitue en rien un épiphénomène à la donation. Son apparition tardive comme son ampleur témoignent au contraire d'une nouvelle mentalité des voïvodes et boyards dans les jeux de pouvoir pour l'obtention et la conservation du trône, comme des autorités orthodoxes désireuses de contourner les réformes fiscales des Sultans.

***Les sources imprimées témoignant des changements
d'équilibres du Sud-Est européen
(XV^e-XVII^e siècles)***

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[Le doge vénitien Antonio] Grimani réclamait en parlant librement, à la façon des véritables devins, comme je l'ai appris encore de lui-même et de son successeur Gritti, redoutant donc la jalouse et des dangers très graves, et engageait les chefs du Sénat à la modération, afin qu'ils préfèrent <avoir> pour voisin un faible roitelet plutôt qu'un très puissant roi d'une nation étrangère (Paolo Giovio, *Eloges des hommes de guerre illustres*).

A l'image de cette réflexion, les principautés roumaines furent dans la situation peu enviable d'être voisines d'un roi puissant et même plus exactement d'être enserrées entre deux puissants empires. Une telle situation ne pouvait que générer de nombreux changements d'équilibres pour cette région extrêmement sensible. Travaillant sur les changements d'équilibres dans le Sud-Est européen, je viens de conduire la première phase de mes travaux consacrés à cette question. Cette première tranche de travaux a permis de vérifier l'intérêt du public de l'époque, un lectorat appartenant aux puissances européennes, pour les questions touchant le Sud-Est européen et plus particulièrement les principautés valaque, moldave et transylvaine.

La production littéraire et éditoriale d'alors a semble-t-il répondu aux attentes du public si j'en juge par les nombreuses publications relevées jusqu'à présent. Une attraction particulière paraît même s'être formée puis affirmée pour la question des «changements d'équilibres» touchant alors les principautés si l'on considère la multiplication de publications relayant les nouvelles de campagnes militaires impliquant

les principautés roumaines ou certains de leurs représentants ou encore des ouvrages de diverses sortes attestant de changements au sein de ces mêmes principautés à l'exemple de reproductions d'actes officiels ou de publications de certains courriers. En outre, cette étude a clairement fait ressortir les facteurs principaux ayant influé sur l'équilibre de ces principautés. Au regard de la documentation déjà consultée, trois éléments se sont surtout distingués. Les deux premiers se répondent d'une certaine manière reprenant cette idée des voisins puissants des principautés roumaines pesant sur ses «affaires». Il s'agit de l'influence ottomane et du poids des puissances chrétiennes. Il n'est aucun doute que ces deux éléments pesèrent lourdement sur l'histoire de la Valachie, de la Moldavie et de la Transylvanie, ce dont les sources témoignent d'ailleurs.

***From Meaning of History to Meaning in History:
Eric Voegelin's Non-ideological Philosophy of History***

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The present study intends to discuss the possibility of a philosophy of history in the 20th century still related to the concept of “meaning”. We have tried to argue why a philosophy primarily concerned with the “meaning of history” can be considered an “ideological” philosophy of history. Choosing as a case study the thought of Eric Voegelin, the main thesis of our research is that he successfully does the transition from a philosophy of the meaning of history to one of meaning in history. Belonging to the great Western tradition of reflecting on history, he quits the outward perspective of the thinker who studies the “thing-history” in favor of one of participation and of experiencing the limits. There are various aspects which can be included in a definition of ideology: its totalizing claims, its transformist ambitions, the preference for radical and violent solutions. But perhaps the most important feature of an ideology is its reductionist dimension, its tendency to construct an oversimplified version of reality.

3. The Mind and the State

D. Caracostea:
The Contribution of a Philologist
to the Development of Ethnopsychology and Social Psychology

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In 1922, D. Caracostea published *Aspectul psihologic al războiului* [Psychological Aspect of War], the collected lectures he had given in the three years following World War I at the Military School (College) in Bucharest. Fate was cruel to the book both in the interwar period and in the communist era, when the development of psychology was particularly obstructed. Caracostea's work thus sank into oblivion as well, though, by integrating the perspective and the methods of a linguist educated at the school of the great Viennese Romanist Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke and of a folklorist well acquainted with popular thought, the book bore the seal of interdisciplinarity (which marked all his researches). As the perspectives proffered by European schools of psychology were deemed insufficient to depict a complex phenomenon like war and its effects on human mind (individual and collective), Caracostea applied the methods of folklore research. The result was a book of great originality. Its republication could incite interdisciplinary approaches and rewarding investigations for disciplines like history, anthropology, psychology or sociology.

***The Modernization of Romania and the Avant-garde:
A Debate from the First Half of the 20th Century***

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The creation of Great Romania in the aftermath of World War I triggered a heated public debate on the ideal directions for the realm's development. From politics to art, from economics to philosophy and literature, various personalities inquired the public and themselves on how, where to and how fast the newly enlarged national state should go. The Avant-garde significantly modernized the artistic and literary forms of expression, following an European trend. Nonetheless, many of its members also chose to respond to and comment on everyday events through articles, conferences or even political acts. Our main aim is to historically contextualize the movement, emphasizing the interactions between the public sphere and its cultural creations, as well as the involvement (or absence) of the Avant-gardists (e.g. the notable likes of Ion Vinea, Tzara, Voronca, Saşa Pană, Stefan Roll, Geo Bogza) in the political and socio-economic debates on modernization.

***Art and Nation:
Romanian Arts and Crafts***

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At the end of the 19th century, Art Nouveau (also known as Secession, Modern Style or Stile Floreale) interfered as a stylistic common denominator in the European cultures. Seen as a cultural import in *fin de siècle* Romania, in the context of the development of a National

Art, the emergence of Art Nouveau stirred interesting debates among art critics and prominent intellectuals of the moment. In fact, the issue brought into discussion what “National Art” meant, how this Art could preserve Romanian Identity and at the same time recommend it for a Western audience in a modern way, not just as popular culture or ethnographical material. In the quest for a modern significance of National Art, some critics as Leon Bachelin found a way to exploit the Byzantine tradition of ornamental painting adorning the monasteries all over country in the context of the Applied Arts. Fairy tales, legends, ballads offered the source of inspiration for an artist who transposed tradition in a new style. The interest found among the members of Romanian royal court for both Art Nouveau and Romanian folklore and traditions led to an interesting pheno-menon of cross-cultural communication, illustrated by the works of queens Elisabeth and Mary as well as by their cultural initiatives. The tensions between inwardness of traditional culture and the apparent frivolousness and cosmopolitan appearance of the new style created a new concept of beauty, linked with what was supposed to be Romanian identity and National Art.

***Est-elle libre, la beauté?
Usages du terme d'autonomie dans la presse littéraire
roumaine de la fin des années 1980***

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Un regard plus attentif sur le contenu des polémiques littéraires de la presse culturelle roumaine de la dernière décennie communiste dévoile un usage biaisé du terme d'autonomie littéraire: les deux discours opposés reconnaissent sa valeur spécifique pour la littérature et l'invoquent comme preuve essentielle de sa survie. Le sujet de réflexion dérive de la nature de la polémique: dans cette confrontation des deux définitions concurrentes de la littérature peut se lire toute une rhétorique du conflit politique de ces années-là.

4. Text, Tradition and Translation

***The Peripherocentric Beginnings of Global Comparative
Literary Studies:
The Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum Revisited***

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In an essay published in 1875 and uttered earlier at the beginning of the 1873-1874 academic year as the program for German studies, Hugo von Meltzl/ Meltzl Hugó (a freshly appointed bilingual professor at the new University of Cluj/ Kolozsvár) was the first to call his discipline comparative literary studies. In the polyglot review *Összehasonlító Irodalomtörténeti Lapok* (later and better known as *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum*), started in 1877 and published in over twenty languages Meltzl and his colleague Sámuel Brassai defined the new discipline comparative literature and conceptualized the review and the new discipline along translation. This surprising and historically unique literary phenomenon of Central and Eastern Europe – with contributors from all over the world, including the US, Asia and Africa – raised the issue of transnational literary perspective against the more and more monolingual national cultures and stressed its subversive character. Hence translation became a core and challenging vision underlining a new politics of the literary work and literary studies: the reclaiming of the alleged peripheral literary cultures (including the oral ones, with a pioneering focus on Rroma folklore), a reinterpretation of the notions of national literature, and a novel understanding of the literary work, as a complex multilingual and multimodal frame-work.

The core issues to be raised by are: translation as (a new, comparative) perspective in the ACLU: widening the narrow European-centric attitude attributed to the (national) literary histories of the time; ACLU and the transformation of translation into a modern, independent scholarly endeavour, a true professional discipline in itself; translation and intermediality of literature and art: the problem of the phonogramme; translation as a modernist a vision upon the nature of the language in ACLU; translation as cultural (not technical) ambition and endeavour; translation as a toolkit for early comparative disciplinary politics promoting the cultural equality of the different literary cultures; the ACLU as an answer to the fearful vision of rigid professionalization: the idea of crossing the well-drawn boundaries of modern disciplines ('translating' disciplines into and for one another). The presentation foregrounds the way spatially, temporally, ethnically and conceptually peripheral concepts were translated and reconfigured to constitute a new type of centrality and core of literary and cultural studies.

***How to write a Comparative History of Romanian Literature:
On the Effects of the Foreign Gaze upon the Image of a 'very' National Literature***

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The paper discusses the possibility of a comparative history of Romanian literature, in a regional or European context. Starting from an analysis of the recent theoretical debates over the hybridization of comparative literature and historiography, it further investigates the presence of Romanian literature in several contemporary European literary histories or literature dictionaries. The tradition of Romanian literary historiography has seldom included a broader, transnational perspective. The purpose of this essay is also to investigate the extent to which the foreign gaze has influenced the image of Romanian literature in its own literary field in recent years.

Possibilities of the Avant-garde as a Cultural Model in Recent Readings

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After the social and political changes of 1989, a re-reading process of avant-garde literature emerged in Central and Eastern Europe, involving scholars of comparative literature and other social sciences, from different generations. The perception of the political aspects of the avant-garde in these recent works is of particular importance. What is the perception of left-wing thoughts in recent years after a long period (1948–1989) when Communist ideology was dominant in the official discourse in Romania, Hungary and other Central European countries (an ideology that encouraged a sort of ‘political’ reading of literature)? Our research project comprises case studies (based on books by Ion Pop, Dan Gulea, Paul Cernat, Stelian Tănase or Pál Deréky). In some cases, the political aspects of the avant-garde are dealt with. In others they are mainly neglected. Nevertheless, an interesting methodological shift can be observed over the past decade with the re-emergence of a political and contextual approach.

A Study of the Origins and Usage of Folklore as a Field of Media Culture in Post-communist Romania

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Just as historiography after the emergence of the Romanian state, ethnology was required to prove the existence of an ethno-national

culture, with its “cultural” differences. Ethnographical practice and ethnological knowledge were oriented already before Communism, more towards a Herderian *Volkskunde* than towards its modernized Western counterpart: social/ cultural anthropology. Accordingly, with the costs of certain historical and sociological misrepresentations (sociology was in fact forbidden under Ceaușescu) ethnology met the communist need for a science to legitimate the claim for a cultural particularity that would permit the building of a *national communism*.

***Die offene und die verhüllte Angst in den Werken von
Herta Müller und Oskar Pastior***

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Der Vortrag setzt sich mit zwei bekannten Autoren auseinander, die literarische „Experten“ der Angst geworden sind. Über Pastior wissen wir erst seit einem Jahr, wo seine Angst herrührte: Als erpresster IM (Innterer Mitarbeiter) der Securitate floh er vor der Scham, vor der Vergangenheit und vor dem Hungertod, den er in der Deportation in Leibesnähe erlebte, und vor dem Folterwahn in eine entpolitiserte, spielerische Sprache. Müller floh in Visionen, um über die Angst in einer Diktatur schreiben zu können. Der Lebensweg der beiden kreuzte sich in einer makabren Weise: Um die Welt der Angst aufzudecken, unternahmen sie eine literarische Reise, die mit einem Nobelpreis-Roman und mit der Enthüllung von Pastior als IM endete. Die sprachpoetischen Raffinessen und die Schuldfrage, die eine bedeutende Hauptachse in den Oeuvres der beiden Autoren bilden, bieten gleichzeitig ein komplexes Textgeflecht, das mehrere semantische Räume öffnet. Der Vortrag sucht nach poetischen Gestaltungsprinzipien, nach Tropen und Bildern der Angst und nach Ideen, die eine Lösung und Erlösung bieten.

5. Establishing Differences

Abgrenzungsprozesse gegen die pagane Gesellschaft in einer Christengemeinde des dritten Jahrhunderts nach der Syrischen Didaskalie

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Das Gesamtbild der Beziehungen zwischen Heiden und Christen in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten ist grundsätzlich dargestellt worden. Die Syrische Didaskalie versucht als „Kirchenordnung“ Missbräuche in einer Gemeinde des dritten Jahrhunderts zu regeln. Das Besondere bei der Didaskalie ist aber die Tatsache, dass sie auf konkrete Situationen reagiert und damit ein lebendiges Bild von den Alltagsproblemen einer christlichen Gemeinde des 3. Jahrhunderts in einer feindlichen heidnischen Umwelt gibt. Der theoretische Monotheismus des Christentums hatte unvorstellbare praktische Konsequenzen, denn jede Berührung mit der paganen Welt und ihren Idolen war eine Sünde und also unerlaubt. Die Grenze zwischen den beiden Religionen wird in dieser Untersuchung nicht wie eine theoretisch-theologische Grösse verstanden, sondern wird nach der durch die konkrete Lebensführung vollzogenen Abgrenzung zwischen Heiden und Christen gefragt. Die Verfolgung ist im Vergleich zu Alltag Leben im paganen Gesellschat rein quantitativ eine Ausnahmesituation. Die Selbstverortung der christlichen Gemeinden musste sich also hauptsächlich in der Normalität des Alltags ausbilden und bewähren. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt werden die folgenden Bereiche der Berührung untersucht: die Verwerfung der heidnischen Literatur; das Katechumen-

nat und die Taufe als Abgrenzung gegen Heidentum; die Mischehen mit den Heiden; die Dämonologie als Abgrenzungskriterium. Der Vorsteher der christlichen Gemeinde (der Bischof), der über eine unumschränkte Verfügungsgewalt über die Kirchenorganisation verfügte, spielte eine wichtige Rolle bei der Durchsetzung dieser Abgrenzungsprozesse und damit wird zur Schlüsselfigur der ganzen Schrift.

***Transmission du savoir et société:
les recueils byzantins d'épigrammes grecques
anciennes dans leur contexte***

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Ma recherche est consacrée à l'étude des anthologies épigrammatiques d'époque byzantine dans leur contexte historique et culturel. Le point de départ est représenté par la conscience que les anthologies ne sont ni de simples réservoirs, ni de simples selections: elles sont conçues pour augmenter la puissance de certains messages littéraires et culturels. À coté d'une sélection il y a toujours une interprétation. Il est donc important de souligner que les anthologies constituent un moyen de transmission de la culture (d'une partie sélectionnée de la culture) et en même temps un instrument de manipulation de la culture elle-même. Sélectionner signifie décider ce qui mérite d'être transmis et ce qui peut (ou doit) être oublié; de plus, organiser selon certains critères les matériaux sélectionnés, revient à donner une clé de lecture, orienter les lecteurs (présents et, potentiellement, futurs).

Il y a donc un lien très étroit entre la création d'une anthologie et le contexte dans lequel elle est créée: chaque recueil répond aux goûts, aux besoins et aux objectifs d'un individu (l'anthologiste) qui est in-

séré dans une société et se confronte avec elle. Chaque anthologie n'est pas un simple véhicule de transmission de textes anciens, mais représente le produit d'une société: il est le résultat du *système* formé par littérature et société. Il s'agit de comprendre comment la pratique anthologique s'est développée à travers les siècles, à quels types de sollicitations elle a obéi, et quelle a été l'attitude des Byzantins vis-à-vis de la sélection des œuvres littéraires héritées du passé; cela nous donne, entre autres choses, une excellente chance de vérifier, au moins pour le 'morceau' relatif à la littérature épigrammatique, la tendance des Byzantins à filtrer, «réduire à l'essentiel» et ré-organiser la littérature du passé. De plus, on peut essayer de comprendre quelle a été la place occupée par la littérature épigrammatique ancienne pendant l'époque byzantine: c'est-à-dire, de quelles façons les épigrammes anciennes ont été assimilées et utilisées, quelle a été leur place dans le panorama culturel qui nous intéresse.

J'ai choisi de commencer cette enquête en observant les contenus et la structure des différentes anthologies d'épigrammes anciennes, pour suivre, autant que possible, les modifications de ces deux facteurs à travers les témoins qui ont survécu. Chaque étape (c'est à dire, chaque moment significatif) de cette «histoire» des anthologies épigrammatiques doit être analysée par rapport à son contexte. Il faut découvrir le rapport entre milieu historique et culturel et choix anthologique : individuer, à chaque étape, le facteur culturel qui a produit une modification significative dans la façon de créer les anthologies. Un élément qui peut être révélateur est le rapport entre tradition (l'héritage du passé pour ce qui concerne la façon d'organiser les anthologies) et innovation : chaque variation significative de cet équilibre est l'indice d'un changement qui mérite d'être étudié et expliqué.

Je propose quelques exemples de ces variations significatives et des problèmes qu'elles posent. Le point de départ (qui coïncide avec le point de départ de presque toutes nos connaissances sur les anthologies d'épigrammes anciennes) est l'*Anthologie Palatine*. Il s'agit d'une copie de la fondamentale anthologie de Céphalas, qui est très proche de son modèle et qui nous permet, donc, de le reconstruire.

L'anthologie de Céphalas, créée à Byzance entre les dernières années du IX^e et les premières du X^e siècle a été l'origine de presque toute la tradition anthologique suivante: c'est à dire que la majeure partie des anthologies créées entre X^e et XV^e siècle dérive, parfois à travers plusieurs passages, de Céphalas. Or, les anthologies épigrammatiques anciennes (dont Céphalas s'est servi et dont il a recueilli l'héritage) étaient organisées sur un principe thématique, qui pouvait

être macrothématique ou/et microthématique. Le passage qui s'est vérifié très tôt dans la transmission des épigrammes est celui qui, en partant de livres contenant la production d'un seul auteur (éditions individuelles), conduit à des livres contenant (et mêlant) la production de plusieurs auteurs (anthologies organisées par thèmes). L'attention, donc, n'est plus donnée aux poètes mais aux contenus. À l'époque byzantine, les grands poètes de l'âge d'or de l'épigramme ne sont plus que des noms transmis (parfois estropiés) à côté de leurs poèmes. L'anthologie de Céphalas était donc organisée en grands livres thématiques (épigrammes érotiques, ép. votives, ép. descriptives, ép. satiriques etc.) et à l'intérieur de ces grands 'blocs' on trouve parfois (mais pas de façon uniforme) des microsections, des sous-catégories.

Que s'est-il passé après, chez les descendants de Céphalas? Voici deux exemples de changements significatifs qu'on peut essayer de comprendre mieux; ils sont tous les deux liés à des personnalités importantes du panorama culturel byzantin.

Le premier est représenté par l'autre grande anthologie byzantine: l'anthologie rédigée par Maxime Planude entre la fin du XIII^e et le début du XIV^e siècle en se fondant sur le recueil de Céphalas. Quatre-cents ans après son modèle, Planude a créé une structure très rigide et très capillaire pour réorganiser les épigrammes. Cette nouvelle organisation est déclarée et décrite dans l'autographe de Planude: il dit avoir mis en ordre ce qui dans son modèle était désordonné et mêlé. La macrostructure reste la même que celle de Céphalas et elle est toujours constituée de grands livres thématiques (même si c'est dans un ordre un peu différent), mais ces livres sont divisés en chapitres, qui sont, ils aussi, thématiques et rangés selon l'ordre alphabétique (au début de chaque livre, Planude indique le thème général et la liste alphabétique des chapitres). Nous avons là un processus de systématisation stricte, la création d'un véritable répertoire thématique de la poésie épigrammatique ancienne. Il faut mettre ce produit littéraire en rapport avec des initiatives analogues menées par Planude lui-même et par ses contemporains; cela nous permettra d'identifier une tendance répandue liée à un certain milieu.

Le deuxième exemple est fourni par un des nombreux descendants de l'anthologie de Planude. Il s'agit d'un recueil rédigé par Constantinos Lascaris dans la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle. Un recueil qui se détache de son modèle et des autres anthologies épigrammatiques d'époque byzantine par une caractéristique que je trouve très intéressante: une partie des épigrammes est organisée non par thèmes mais par auteurs. Lascaris a retracé tout au long de l'anthologie

de Planude, les épigrammes des certains poètes et il les a copiés en blocs séparés. Nous avons donc un bloc d'épigrammes de Callimaque, un bloc d'Alcée, un bloc d'Anacréon, de Simonide, de Platon etc. Fait à souligner: les poètes choisis par Lascaris sont tous très importants dans l'histoire littéraire de la Grèce classique et hellénistique. Dans le travail mené par Lascaris, la rupture avec le modèle est importante et dénonce un changement de perspective, le début d'un intérêt pour les poètes et pour leurs production littéraire individuelle. Cela aussi, doit être inséré et compris dans son contexte culturel.

***Les manuscrits magiques byzantins et post-byzantins:
Réflexions méthodologiques***

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Dans l'imaginaire commun actuel, qui dit «**grimoire**», «livre de magie» imagine sans doute un gros livre, massif, rempli de formules et de signes incompréhensibles. Il y a du vrai et du faux dans cette vision en ce qui concerne les manuscrits magiques byzantins et post-byzantins. En consultant diverses bases de données comme celle de l'IRHT ou bien encore les travaux de A. Delatte (*Anecdota Atheniensia*), il apparaît que les manuscrits magiques grecs qui s'échelonnent, approximativement, du XV^e au XVIII^e siècle, pouvaient être de nature très diverse: de la taille d'un cahier d'écolier (le n°115 de la Société Historique d'Athènes, daté du XVIII^e siècle, était enfermé dans la couverture d'un cahier d'écolier...) et assez fins en épaisseur (indépendamment des mutilations subies au fil du temps), certains manuscrits ne semblent comporter que des recettes magiques et rien d'autre. Ce qui n'est pas le cas de manuscrits comme le Bologne 3632 daté du XV^e siècle: de la taille d'un format A4, il est très épais puisqu'il compte

476 *folii* en tout. Cette différence de taille et d'épaisseur avec d'autres manuscrits s'explique sans doute par le contenu même du manuscrit de Bologne, «véritable pot-pourri», pour reprendre l'expression de B. Mondrain : en effet, en plus de formules magiques variées, il comporte toutes sortes de textes médicaux et d'écrits attribués à Pythagore.

Ceux qui ont rédigé les manuscrits magiques ont parfois eu recours à des signes et des symboles particuliers, incompréhensibles au premier abord, ce qui viendrait renforcer l'image que l'on peut se faire de ces sources. Cela n'est pas systématique mais l'exemple du manuscrit de Bologne est significatif puisqu'il comporte des informations **cryptées** qui verrouillent véritablement les textes magiques. La clé de ces informations (parfois fondamentales; il s'agit de données relatives aux conditions des rituels magiques), se trouve dans d'autres manuscrits. Ainsi, la clé des cryptogrammes de Bologne se trouve dans le mss de Vienne, *Vindoboniensis phil. gr. 108*, également du XV^e siècle. La lecture des textes magiques demande donc parfois de mettre en relation des manuscrits que leur destin a mené dans des contrées bien différentes.

Précisément, les **origines** des manuscrits posent également problème car les données à ce sujet restent inégales. Pour certains, elles sont lacunaires (*I Atheniensis 1265*, du XVII^e siècle), voire inconnues (n° 115 de la Société Historique d'Athènes, du XVIII^e siècle) alors que pour d'autres, les informations se font parfois plus précises, comme pour le manuscrit de Bologne 3632: commandé par Jean Aron, médecin de Constantinople, il est ensuite passé entre les mains d'un copiste et médecin célèbre, Démétrios Angelos (XV^e siècle). On suppose que le manuscrit a circulé dans l'environnement du *xenon* de Kral, rattaché au monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrome de Pétra. Rien de bien étonnant à cela puisque le manuscrit comporte de nombreux textes médicaux. En revanche, pour ce qui est du contenu magique du manuscrit, rien ne paraît filtrer sur leur origine et l'on peut aisément en deviner la raison.

De même que les origines, les **auteurs** des manuscrits à contenu magique restent difficiles à connaître. L'attribution de textes magiques n'est pas systématique et quand il y a un semblant d'attribution, cette paternité semble problématique. Car les noms des praticiens auxquels ils sont attribués sonnent comme des noms génériques, issus de la tradition des figures de mages de temps plus anciens. Les textes magiques laissent une large place, semble-t-il à ce qu'on pourrait qualifier de *topoi onomastiques*. De même, de possibles influences latines dans la rédaction des textes apparaissent parfois (dans le Bologne et Harley notamment) mais il reste difficile d'en évaluer la portée.

Dernière limite des manuscrits: la **mutilation**. Le démembrément des manuscrits magiques semble être leur lot inévitable. Qu'est-ce qui motive ce geste? S'agit-il d'anéantir la puissance de certains rituels magiques? Mais dans ce cas pourquoi ne pas tout détruire? La mutilation pourrait être motivée par des raisons commerciales; revendre des morceaux des manuscrits comme talismans ou objets protecteurs serait une explication probable. Si elle témoigne de l'intérêt toujours vivace pour ces textes, la mutilation ne leur en est pas moins funeste et le chercheur doit malheureusement s'y résoudre.

En raison de toutes les limites qui viennent d'être évoquées, les manuscrits magiques sont des sources extrêmement délicates à manipuler et c'est en ayant ces contraintes à l'esprit que l'on pourra s'attacher à une étude avertie de ces sources.

***La peine d'excommunication dans les actes patriarcaux
concernant la Russie médiévale***

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En tant que chef suprême (avec le Synode) du Patriarcat de Constantinople, dont la métropole russe faisait partie, le Patriarche s'occupait de différentes charges administratives, notamment celle du juge suprême. Cette fonction obligeait le Patriarche à juger en appel différentes affaires de la métropole russe qui avaient déjà été examinées par le métropolite. On connaît ainsi quelques cas où le Patriarche prononça, ou maintint la peine d'excommunication prononcée par le métropolite, contre différents ressortissants des pays russes. Parfois il leva cette peine, ou bien il s'exprima sur les conditions de sa levée. On a trouvé 16 documents patriarcaux concernant la Russie qui traitent du sujet de l'excommunication et qui seront soumis à une analyse détaillée, tant diplomatique que de contenu.

6. Rendering Belief and Authority

Conceptual Models in Understanding Ancient Greek Philosophy

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The paper aims to provide a new meaning to the concept of *model* and to use it as a methodological frame for mapping out a more fruitful strategy of understanding the development of some specific linguistic structures in Greek philosophy. The concept has been mainly applied in the theory of science and cognitive sciences. Our approach attempts instead to understand it in the light of hermeneutics and to 'model' alternative views for the history of Greek philosophy.

The Nature of Man and the Nature of the World in Nemesius of Emesa's Work

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The contribution focuses on the manner by which the fourth century Christian philosopher Nemesius of Emesa conceived the relation be-

tween man and world as both created by God. It will be pointed out, in particular, Nemesius' way to conjoin the scientific results of ancient medicine with the more speculative insights on creation and providence, which he collected from late antique philosophical and theological culture.

The main source of Nemesius' *On the Nature of Man* on scientific matters, Galen, refused to approach speculative themes, such as those of God's act of creation or the origin of soul. Though much indebted to Galen and to Aristotle's precise distinctions between scientific domains, Nemesius attempted to offer a unitary image of human nature, which kept together both the spiritual and material aspects, by paying attention to their kinship. We attempt to demonstrate Nemesius' solution through the sections of his work dedicated to the inquiry in the life of the body.

***The Subjects' Initiative in the Variability of the Linguistic Sign
and its Consequences in Rendering Medieval Theological Texts into Romanian***

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The well-known linguistic phenomenon of the arbitrary variability of the linguistic sign can be lately noticed in Romania as being initiated by the people speaking the language themselves. The lack of an authority or of a tradition able to establish the meaning of specialised terminology raises a whole range of problems when translating medieval theological texts into Romanian. To this, one has to add as well the ambiguity of the Romanian religious terminology. The present study wishes to point out these questions and indicate possible solutions for them.

La signification de la gnose traditionnelle dans la modernité tardive

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Les philosophes et les sociologues de la religion se sont penchés sur les rapports complexes entre le christianisme et la modernité en montrant que celui-là sert de fondement à celle-ci, bien que la modernité se constitue également contre la religion chrétienne. Une première solution consiste à dire que la religion, pour ne disparaître, n'a cependant plus aucun rôle à jouer dans l'espace public: elle devient une option pour les individus, elle ne concerne que leur vie privée. Une autre interprétation accentue au contraire le rôle de la religion dans la société contemporaine, notamment en Amérique. Se pose dès lors la question de savoir quelle est la caractéristique principale de la modernité, sur la base de laquelle une autre figure du christianisme est en train de se constituer. Il s'agit de la subjectivité. Ce principe n'est pas simplement un principe de rupture, mais, comme une étude approfondie de la gnose antique nous l'apprend, également un principe de continuité avec certaines tendances du christianisme traditionnel.

Ceremonial Expressions of Popular Religion in Rural Europe in the 18th-20th Centuries.

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The project, borne forth through a multifarious epistemological perspective expresses a hypothesis: the most profound structures of continuity across Europe's religious history are to be best found at the level of popular cultures, with their whole body of subsequent religiosity.

7. Thought, Faith and Control

***The One and Fragmentary:
Some Pre-Nicene Dilemmas Considering the Immanent
Plurality of the Gospel***

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The word *gospel* seems to make sense only as *plurale tantum*, since Irenaeus in *Adversus haereses* 3.11.8 compares the *four-formed Gospels* (τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) with the four-faced cherubim upon which the Logos sits enthroned, and claims that *it is not possible that the gospels can be either more or fewer in number than they are*. Why is that so? Why not three or even five gospels? If symbolic thought is involved in such doctrinal aspects – and there are some solid proves in this respect, which this presentation enumerates, describes and analyzes –, the symbolism of the number *four* alone will not elucidate the reasons why plurality overthrows singularity even in this sensitive matter, where unity of faith comes into play, thus becoming questionable. In fact, the main question is how and if symbolic thought can actually be outpaced by a reasonable one. The presentation explains Tatian's magnificent failure with his *<Diatessaron>* as follows: being an attempt to harmonize and melt the four gospels into a single one, the *<Diatessaron>* disregards not so much the symbolism behind the number, but rather the very important historical and structural aspects of the formation of gospels, their immanent fragmentarism and plurality.

Die Gräfenfamilie von Talmesch (Tălmaciu) und ihre Besitzungen

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In der Geschichte Siebenbürgens (zweite Hälfte des 13. Jhs. –erste Hälfte des 14. Jhs.) bezieht die Gräfenfamilie aus Talmesch eine Sonderstelle. Bis 1322, gehörten zu ihren ausgedehnten Besitztümern die Domäne der Burg Salgo mit ihren 9 Dörfern (Cunța, Amnaș, Säcel, Orlat und weitere fünf rumänische Dörfer, *vallis Olaceis*). Die Unruhen während des ungarischen *Interregnum*s und Karl Roberts Kämpfe für Siebenbürgen führten aber zur Entstehung einer neuen Auffassung bezüglich der königlichen Besitztümer. Die Talmescher Gräfenfamilie wurde von diesen Entwicklungen nicht verschont. Nach Karl Roberts Thronbesteigung, schrumpfte ihr Grundbesitz beträchtlich und auch ein Wechsel der Grundbesitzer fand scheinbar statt.

Kant on Berkeley

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The most accurate analysis that Berkeley ever met with was Immanuel Kant's mention in his *Critique of Pure Reason*. In answering objections that confounded his transcendental idealism with Berkeley's subjective idealism, Kant provided grounds for a thorough dissociation between the two. He positions himself in radical distinction with Descartes "problematic idealism" and Berkeley's "dogmatic idealism". In both cases, the pure intuition of space and time, saturated with the

raw material of sensation (emanated from the *Numenon*) were used as decisive arguments against the solipsistic drift of both antecessors.

**Die Stärkung im inwendigen Menschen in Kierkegaards
Erbaulichen Reden (1843-1844):
eine homiletische Provokation**

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Der Vortrag analysiert S. Kierkegaards Darstellung der *Stärkung im inwendigen Menschen* in den *Erbaulichen Reden* von 1843-1844 im Hinblick auf die darin verarbeiteten homiletischen Kategorien und Grundsätze. Die *Stärkung des inwendigen Menschen* ist eine Metapher mit platonisch-philonischem Hintergrund, die Kierkegaard von Paulus (2 Kor. 4, 16, 10; Röm. 7, 22; Eph. 3, 16) übernommen hat und die mehr oder weniger ausführlich ein Thema der meisten erbaulichen Reden von 1843-1844 bildet, sowie in einer Rede von 1843 explizit typologisch strukturiert dargestellt wird. Die Grundsituation dieser Darstellungen ist, eine alles verändernde Umkehrung der Perspektive bei den Hörern zu bewirken, sie in ihrem unreflektierten und unproblematischen Selbstverständnis als Christen zu erschüttern. Insofern wendet Kierkegaard die damals üblichen Voraussetzungen einer Predigt provozierend um.

Zentrale Kategorien sind daher die Besorgnis und das Verhältnis Zeit / Ewigkeit, aber auch das Verhältnis Redner / Zuhörer (Pfarrer / Gemeinde) als Problem der Autorität. Auch die Unterschiede / Parallelen zwischen einem Apostel und einem gewöhnlichen Menschen werden dabei diskutiert, wobei Kierkegaard Paulus selbst als Beispiel seiner Ausführungen nimmt und ihn im Widerspruch zur Weltstadt Rom darstellt. Anhand dieser Kategorien wird die erbauliche Rede implizit als *beunruhigende Rede* geschildert, die die Innerlichkeit als Wesen des Christentums betrifft. Die Darstellung dieser Kategorien soll in meinem Vortrag im Kontext anderer Äußerungen Kierkegaards aus den pseudonymen Schriften sowie im theologischen Kontext der Epoche gedeutet werden.

8. Ideologies and Systems of Civilization

Old and New in the Byzantine Imperial Coronation in the 13th Century

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The emperor's raising on the shield and his anointing by the patriarch, both parts of the coronation ritual, are the most interesting *innovations* proposed by Byzantine aulic ceremony of the 12th-13th centuries. *Prima facie*, the interpretation of these new rituals seems extremely simple, with no need for further historical investigation. Firstly, we must emphasize that both practices were recorded for the first time during the period of Nicene exile. Secondly, they obviously have a Western origin, which logically leads us to the conclusion that the Latins in Constantinople directly influenced the Byzantine ceremonial. However, thorough research into all the sources mentioning the two rites, as well as the contextualization of the messages conveyed by the emperor's, respectively patriarch's attitudes within the complex framework of State-Church relationships in 13th century Byzantine Empire, suggests a hypothesis in agreement with the general logic of the events in the respective period.

***Notes on the manuscript tradition of Maximos
Planoudes' Syllogismi de processione Spiritus Sancti
contra Latinos***

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The *Syllogisms concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit against the Latins* attributed to Maximos Planoudes have survived in several manuscripts, either as an independent work or as a part of the refutations written by George Metochites and Cardinal Bessarion. The two writings are published in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (CXLI and CLXI) which are the only available source for the modern reader of the *Syllogisms*. I will discuss the results of my own collation of all the manuscripts for a new edition of the *Syllogisms*, and I will highlight the main textual discrepancies among Migne's editions and the manuscripts.

**Deus est intelligere et in intellectu.
*De la noétique eckhartienne à la cohérence du système
de Maître Eckhart***

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L'opposition créé (*creatus*)-incréable (*incréabile*) est un des couple conceptuels eckhartiens qui marquent la différence ontologique qui maîtrise le système du mystique allemand. L'*increabile* définit l'intel-

lect, dans la mesure où celui-ci est parenté avec Dieu. Le système eckhartien paraît déchiré par la double définition de Dieu: ontologique (*esse est deus*) et méontologique ou noétique (*deus est intelligere*). Le scandale suscité par la thèse de l'incréabilité de l'intellect et par l'apparente fracture dans le système eckhartien pousse Eckhart à des réflexions sur l'intellect de ses détracteurs et sur, malgré tout, sur la cohérence de son propre système.

***Ideological Varieties and Interferences in the Romanian Context:
Liberalism, Socialism, Agrarianism, Corporatism and
Social Organicism***

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The present research project is intended to round up a typology of ideological families in the modern history of Romania, approached as both oppositional discourses and significant influences on public and governmental policies. This research is part of larger work in progress (*Cultures of Opposition. Social and Political Thought in Romania, 1826-1947*), whose first sketch was my PhD dissertation. The latter focused on the period 1868-1947 and on the discourses targeting the modernizing social and political elite for the shortcomings of local society under the pressures of modernization, and also on those discourses meant to offer ideological reinforcements of the modernizing policies underway. Our present aim is broader in terms of both chronological coverage and thematic scope. It encompasses the whole ideological dynamics in pre-communist Romania, set against a brief summarizing view of the cultural and ideological developments over the medieval, pre-modern and (“old regime”) early modern periods (until the early 1820s). The “sociological” focus of the dissertation is preserved as a central thread and organizing device, while more attention is paid to matters of political argument and nationalist advocacy.

La modernité contrariée: la pensée politique roumaine de la Belle Epoque jusqu'à la Grande Guerre (1895-1914) entre la gauche impossible et le piège du traditionalisme

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Nous nous proposons d'entreprendre une enquête concernant le sens de la modernisation politique au début du XX^e siècle roumain et de chercher des explications concernant les dérapages doctrinaires de la démocratie roumaine, tels qu'ils se sont articulés vers la fin du XIX^e siècle, autour d'un trinôme -- Démocratie-Nation-Révolution. Celui-ci a divisé l'articulation d'un discours intellectuel cohérent et a entravé l'absorption du discours démocratique occidental de la même époque. Ce qui m'intéresse c'est de voir comment le débat doctrinaire et historique forgé autour des thèmes très liés au climat occidental qui leur étaient contemporains a été réinterprété et a tracé les sources des limitations ultérieures de la démocratie roumaine, qui ont favorisé en fin de compte l'instauration d'un régime autoritaire même avant la deuxième guerre mondiale. Ces limitations étaient déjà visibles, par exemples, dans le refus d'octroyer la nationalité roumaine aux Juifs des Principautés, à la fin du XIX^e siècle, ou bien dans la nature des prises de position dans la question du suffrage universel. Tous ces épisodes marquent les interprétations limitatives de la doctrine libérale (déviée souvent sur la voie hybride d'un socialisme à visage humain avant la lettre) et la tension naissante entre démocratie et nationalisme, qui mène finalement à la construction d'une identité politique qui privilégie le facteur ethnique aux dépens de la démocratie libérale. La pensée politique roumaine de cette époque est paradoxalement liée et en même temps en contradiction avec le sens de la modernisation occidentale générale. Ce discours englobe tout aussi bien les principes d'une virtualité démocratique que les germes de sa dissolution. Les auteurs qui amorcent cette problématique s'installent, d'autre part, dans un double rapport avec les survivances de la philosophie des Lumières, héritées de la génération de 1848. Elle consiste dans une cohabitation paradoxale et problématique entre deux cultures politiques contraires.

C.
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