

Death as an Occasion to Celebrate Life. Commemorative Speeches at Funerals of Sibiu Personalities in the Interwar Period*

Mihaela Grancea

Faculty of Socio-Human Sciences, Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu

Email: mihaela_grancea2004@yahoo.com

Abstract: *Death as an Occasion to Celebrate Life. Commemorative Speeches at Funerals of Sibiu Personalities in the Interwar Period.* The aim of this study is to unveil the emotional topographies stirred by burials of Sibiu personalities as they appear in memorial speeches and articles published in the interwar press of Sibiu. Following the research direction opened by Lucien Febvre we highlight the employed discursive strategies and techniques to trigger public's emotion and sense of loss. The interwar press reports conferred a bigger dimension to leaders' funerals, fuelling the collective emotion. Our case studies focus on the rhetoric of death at the burial of Saxon personalities Adolf Schullerus (1864-1928), Carl Wolff (1849-1929) and Friedrich Teutsch (1852-1933). Referring to some attitudes of public opinion in Transylvania we offer some details on the eulogies of some personalities involved in the emancipation process of Transylvanian Romanians, such as I. G. Duca and Vasile Goldiș.

Keywords: commemorative speeches, funerals of personalities, Saxon and Romanian funeral discourses, interwar press of Sibiu, leader's death

Rezumat: *Moartea ca ocazie de a celebra viața. Discursuri funebre la înmormântările personalităților din Sibiu în perioada interbelică.* În acest studiu ne propunem să evidențiem topografiile emoționale configurate de înmormântările personalităților Sibiului, așa cum apar în discursurile funerare și articolele publicate în presa interbelică din Sibiu. Urmând direcția de cercetare deschisă de Lucien Febvre, subliniem strategiile și tehnicile discursive folosite pentru a avea impact asupra emoțiilor publicului. Relatările din presa vremii confereau o dimensiune semnificativă funeraliilor personalităților, alimentând emoția colectivă. Studiile noastre de caz se focalizează asupra retoricii morții la înmormântarea personalităților săsești Adolf Schullerus (1864-1928), Carl

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Wolff (1849-1929) și Friedrich Teutsch (1852-1933). În subsidiar, ne referim și la atitudini ale opiniei publice românești, așa cum apar în necroloagele și discursurile funebre ocazionate de moartea lui I. G. Duca și Vasile Goldiș, personalități implicate în procesul de emancipare a românilor transilvăneni.

Cuvinte-cheie: discursuri comemorative, funeraliile personalităților, discursuri funerare ale sașilor și românilor, presa interbelică din Sibiu, moartea liderului

Death and Emotion. The Interwar Press of Sibiu – Perceiving Leader’s Death. General Considerations

In western historiography, history of feelings and emotions is a consecrated area of research. It was reclaimed by the need of rendering the history of affective life, according to the project launched by Lucien Febvre. From the appeal of the great French historian the studies in this area multiplied the emotional topographies. The most frequent approaches have been related to the feeling of the fear of the “Other”, nostalgia and love as human phenomenon historically determined. It is evident that death as a natural phenomenon has its own history. This study tackles a thematic micro-segment, attempting to analyse the way in which death of the “Other”, the leader, is reflected in the press, generating complex emotions. Death of personalities generates also the phenomenon of reconstructing their image in a positive manner mostly in order to integrate them in the identity pantheon.

Death of the local and national elite was mentioned in the daily press of Sibiu, while their funerals were described. These articles were most of the times long editorials, with thorough descriptions of the burial and collective grief. Usually such articles were the result of editing notes from the central press or local journalists who were present at the funerals of national personalities (we refer especially to the funeral of the King Ferdinand I of Romania and of Ion I. C. Brătianu¹).

Thus, the newspaper *Telegraful Român* dedicated two issues to the moment of King Ferdinand I’s death and funeral. The issue of 22 July 1927 announced the passing of King Ferdinand. This event was described in the same manner as in national newspapers, presenting biographical notes, the last moments in the king’s life and evaluation of

¹ Alexandru Nicolaescu, *Funerariile lui Ion. I. C. Brătianu, un model de organizare a funeraliilor naționale*, in Crucița-Loredana Baciu, Anamaria Macavei, Roxana Dorina Pop (eds.), *De la lume adunate*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2011, pp. 117-128.

his political life etc.² Information about this event was introduced in the subsequent issues regarding Ferdinand I's will³, the proclamation of the new king⁴, king's letter to Ionel Brătianu⁵, the program of national funerals⁶, Parliament's sessions⁷, proclamation of Regency⁸. Moreover, the local press presented the special service that took place "in the Cathedral of Sibiu where countless people gathered on Sunday, on the day of King Ferdinand I's burial. The divine service and solemn requiem was performed by the Archimandrite Dr. Vasile Stan, assisted by the clergy from the centre. At the event were present: Officer Corps with General Găvănescu and representatives of civil authorities, magistrates, teachers and numerous people. At the end of the solemn requiem, Archimandrite Dr. Vasile Stan held the eulogy of the august Sovereign who embodied royalty in its genuine conception. A canon marked the moment when the royal train departed in Bucharest. The solemn pause of two minutes produced a profound impression. The choir ended with "Memory Eternal" thrice, while the military music and the canons announced the profound honour for the Sovereign's last journey. From 5-6 o'clock the bells of the Cathedral, together with the bells of other churches of Sibiu honoured the Great deceased of the country⁹.

These reports were clearly conferring a bigger dimension to the funerary moment, fuelling the collective emotion. Romanian citizens had to perceive the dimension of the loss and to fortify the new national solidarity. Articles of the Sibiu's press focused on describing the scenario of funerals, presenting obituaries that oscillated between the tradition *oratio funebris* and a succession of acclamatory appreciations that in some cases transformed the deceased's flaws in attitudes that reflected his humanity.

Such writings enriched the commemorative culture, which was powerful in pre-modernity in Transylvania and in the Romanian state of the 19th century. Especially starting with the second part of the 19th century, descriptions of funerals became influential and intensely used in

² *Regele Ferdinand Întâiul*, in *Telegraful Român*, LXXV, no. 53-54, 22 July 1927.

³ *Testamentul Regelui Ferdinand*, in *Telegraful Român*, LXXV, no. 55-56, 29 July 1927.

⁴ *M. S. Regele Mihai I*, in *Telegraful Român*, LXXV, no. 55-56, 29 July 1927.

⁵ *Scrisoarea M. S. Regelui Ferdinand către dl Ion I.C. Brătianu*, in *Telegraful Român*, LXXV, no. 55-56, 29 July 1927.

⁶ *Funeraliile Regelui Ferdinand I*, in *Telegraful Român*, LXXV, no. 55-56, 29 July 1927.

⁷ *Ședințele solemne ale Corpurilor legiuitoare*, in *Telegraful Român*, LXXV, no. 55-56, 29 July 1927.

⁸ *Proclamația Regenței*, in *Telegraful Român*, LXXV, no. 55-56, 29 July 1927.

⁹ *Duminica de jale*, in *Telegraful Român*, LXXV, no. 55-56, 29 July 1927.

public practice, being mostly political. In modernity, there was a shift from private rituals to public ones, as politicians needed political capital given by interaction with the crowds. This culture has been linked in the interwar period with the constitution of the Pantheon of the Great Romania, as well as with building identity mythologies of minorities, linked to elections and affirmation of national feelings. Moreover, the interwar period was the age of confirming and fortifying the local and national collective identity and political legitimacy. At the same time, presenting the funerals of personalities and eulogies evades death. It seems a paradox, but there is a complex mentality mechanism which we are attempting to decipher, with the help of consecrated studies in the area.

Thus, “a hero is buried, but at the same time, the funerals restore loyalty towards him, the value of the deceased being revealed by the number of people who feel vulnerable because of this disappearance.”¹⁰ The funeral procession stages death not to consecrate its triumph, but as a solution to make permanent the relationship with the deceased.¹¹ Romanian traditional scenography of death is characterized by the open coffin, kissing the coffin or the dead’s hand, priests, boiled wheat, while the civic ceremony is represented by wreaths, black flags, military guard, black clothes, brass band, firing the canon, discourses, portrait of the deceased, commemorative medals¹². The honoured deceased on the interment day is not a person, but not waste either: he becomes an ideal for community for several hours¹³. That is a representative body (even if it is absent¹⁴ or it is an exhumation and re-interment). It is therefore treated as an artefact. Afterwards, the tomb of the deceased (if he stays in the identity Pantheon) becomes a place of memory¹⁵.

The pathos and lamentation are inherent to the funeral context, as the passing of a personality is a loss never fully recognized, only transformed¹⁶. Commemorative articles are therefore focused on stimulating the emotion: adulation, the exaggerated feeling of loss, even

¹⁰ Andi Mihalache, *Rituri funerare și retorici patrimoniale: înmormântarea lui Alexandru Ioan Cuza*, in *Xenopoliana*, XIV, 1-4, 2006, pp. 76-108.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 90.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 94.

¹⁴ On ceremonies in the absence of human remains, see Andi Mihalache, *Mihai Viteazul și ceremoniile corpului absent*, in *Caiete de antropologie istorică*, January-July 2005, pp. 167-192.

¹⁵ See the Hungarian commemorative culture.

¹⁶ Andi Mihalache, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

the sentiment of collective catastrophe. Death of the personality generates vulnerability of the people and compassion, as well as anxiety concerning the destiny of collectivity. Although many people who were attending a funeral did not share the same religious convictions and political opinions, but they co-participated to a public act of adherence¹⁷. Besides, the living recompose the past of the dead, appealing to recent memory and finding their own past, reliving events of the common history¹⁸. Thus, the funeral rite accomplishes a renewal of collectivity, as the dead appears as a protective hero, role model and symbol of cohesion of the group¹⁹. In fact, rituals of death have one recipient – the living; the function of ceremonies is the one to comfort and revitalize²⁰ the living. Furthermore, the ritual, political and symbolic dimension ensured by the involvement in funerals of the personality of his colleagues transforms death into a public event. This event has the aim to transmit information and convictions²¹. Thus, death becomes a pretext for achieving balance of the era²².

“Rhetoric of Death” in the Eulogies of Saxon Personalities. Case Studies

In our opinion, the most significant element is the commemorative speech in Saxon funerals. This rhetoric exercise has tradition and combines homiletics with eulogy. Such a commemorative speech, traditional in European culture²³, is representative for the manner in which the Saxon community honoured its leaders. Only cultural and political involvements could ensure the Saxons the preservation of their identity in the institutional frame created by the Great Union of

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 100.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 106.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 76.

²¹ Mihai Chiper, *Rolul funeraliilor în construcția panteonului pașoptist*, in *Xenopoliana*, XIV, no. 1-4, Iași, 2006, p. 61.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 65.

²³ *Oratio Funebris: Die Katholische Leichenpredigt der Frühen Neuzeit: Zwölf Studien: Mit Einem Katalog Deutschsprachiger Katholischer Leichenpredigten in Einzeldrucken 1576-1799 aus den Beständen der Stiftsbibliothek Klosterneuburg und der Universitätsbibliothek Eichst*, Rodopi, 1999; Adrianus, *Oratio funebris de laudibus Caroli VI. Augustissimi Romanorum imperatoris, Hispaniae, Hungariae, Bohemiae regis, archiducis Austriae, &c. &c.: cum ... , 1741*; J. P. Correa de Silva, *Director funebre reformado ... Com o proprio Canto ... segundo o Ritual Romano ... Obra ... que compoz Fr. Verissimo dos Martyres ... Sexta impressão ... acrescentada por Fr. F. de J. M. Sarmiento, 1799* (accessed on 10.07.2015).

Romanians²⁴. Personalities that illustrated this identity movement have been perceived with deep gratitude by the Saxon community. Such a perception manifested especially in the case of obituaries²⁵ at public funerary ceremonies of German prominent representatives of Transylvania.

After 1918, Sibiu has become a cultural centre for Germans of Romania. Cultural events supported by German important cultural personalities have characterized the interwar Sibiu. The most important leaders of the German community were also cultural, spiritual and political leaders. Obituary was the way to evaluate the significance of personalities' activity referring to the cultural/spiritual legacy left to his community. We intend to reveal the manner in which were commemorated three personalities of German community of Transylvania: Adolf Schullerus (1864-1928)²⁶, Carl Wolff (1849-1929) and Friedrich Teutsch (1852-1933).

²⁴ Saxon representatives knew how to use regulations regarding the possibilities for affirming cultural life of Romanian citizens. This issue concerning the rights of ethnic minorities have occupied a central place in discussions of the Saxon leaders of the Governing Council in December 1918. It seems that the high cultural level of the Saxons (compared to other inhabitants of Transylvania and the entire Romania) had a significant role in adopting the adhesion decision to Unification - Vasile Ciobanu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea istoriei sașilor transilvăneni 1918-1944*, Hora, Sibiu, 2001, p. 265.

²⁵ Obituary is a funeral discourse in which moral qualities and social value of a recently deceased person are pointed out. When the praises to the dead are exaggerated, the discourse is named panegyric, a title taken from discourses held by ancient Greeks and Romans.

²⁶ Adolf Schullerus was born on the 7th of March 1864, in Făgăraș, as son of the priest Gustav Adolf Schullerus. He started his studies in Sibiu and then continued at the Berna and Leipzig universities, where he studied Germanistics, philosophy, theology and pedagogy. Adolf Schullerus followed the career of his father, becoming priest and then bishop's vicar. He became vicar of Sibiu in 1907, being involved intensely in the cultural life of the Saxon community. That is why in 1918, at the end of the First World War, he was considered the leader of the so-called "green" group that supported the defence of the Saxon community and affirmation of political rights of the German minority. He supported this direction as president of the German-Saxon National Council, involved in the integrating process of Saxons in the new political configuration realized in 1918 by Transylvania's unification with Romania. Adolf Schullerus was involved in the meetings of Saxon representatives with the Governing Council, issuing the proclamation *An unser Volk!*, signed by Adolf Schullerus and Hans Otto Roth as representatives of the German-Saxon National Council. Aside from his political activity, Schullerus contributed to the pedagogical, linguistic and historiographical development, along with Andreas Scheiner, Gustav Kisch. He edited new textbooks for his pupils and tried to elucidate Saxons' origins

These obituaries of personalities emphasize the community/national achievements of the dead. Thus, at the funeral of Adolf Schullerus, the speeches of important Saxon cultural representatives insisted on gratitude of the community. Adolf Schullerus, one of the most prominent Saxon personalities of the interwar period was devoted to his community. This attitude was visible in a series of political, scientific and spiritual-cultural actions and working power²⁷, contributing to the affirmation of the Saxon community. Even years after his death, newspapers published appreciations for his activity. Journal issues and anthologies with commemorative function were published. Speeches and prayers of Friedrich Teutsch concerning the memory of Adolf Schullerus are remarkable:

“When he felt that the end was near, he said goodbye to his family and gave recommendations for the future. He wrote to a very sick friend earlier: «These are the days when we have to part. It is difficult to separate from life, work, and especially from love. As you see, I leave peacefully.» He died at noon, on the 27th of January, after long suffering. The people and the church were gravely affected and will weep for a long time, as his passing left a void that will never be filled up again.”²⁸

Teutsch considered the deceased vicar a wise and generous man, a blessing, a guide and a role model for the “Saxon people”. With gratitude for the one who guided Transylvanian Saxons in difficult moments, Saxons thanked him and prayed for him. Such pious attitudes and emotions were expressed at the funeral of Adolf Schullerus. The most remarkable were the speeches of Friedrich Teutsch, the Saxon Bishop, and Johannes Reichart, the dean of the region. Teutsch’s discourse²⁹ was filled with expressions to manifest modern solidarities.

by studying dialects. A. Schullerus was also the main initiator of the Dictionary of Saxon Dialects. He was also interested in the ethnographic and folklore areas, publishing a compendium of Saxon Transylvanian ethnography in 1926. In 1925, Schullerus also published 85 Romanian fairy tales of Transylvania, together with Franz Obert. Another book was published posthumously, in 1930 – *Cartea poveștilor din Transilvania*, appreciated to this day as the most important book of A. Schullerus (see Carl Göllner, *Adolf Schullerus. Sein Leben und Wirken in Wort und Bild*, București, Kriterion, 1986).

²⁷ The Romanian eulogy also mentions his “working power”.

²⁸ Friedrich Teutsch, *Denkrede auf Adolf Schullerus*, Hermannstadt, Druck der Krafft & Drotleff A.G., 1931, p. 80.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 80 sq.

The appeal to Evangelical homiletics and eulogy of personality (traditional in European space since the 16th century) helped building the “multiple” personality of Schullerus. The aforementioned text uses traditional collocations, imagery of death. The image of soul’s “abduction” by the “angel of death” is powerful in Teusch’s discourse, an image especially found in cemeteries from the 19th century (the Christian version of Thanatos is represented on wooden panels above the crypts). The discourse shifts from the religious/spiritual to the secular by mentioning that the deceased was a gift from heaven, thus being perceived through the lenses of his contribution to community. At that point, Schullerus is pictured as a “child of light”; then narrative sequence follows preoccupied with deceased’s biography. The chronologic criteria structures the discourse, highlighting the main achievements of Schullerus, his role in preserving and defining the essential element of Saxon identity, as well as his political involvement in the difficult Romanian background during the first decade after the 1st December 1918. Such a civic dedication recommends Schullerus as an exemplary personality, spiritual role model for the Saxon community. The bishop accomplished the complete portrait of the deceased by emphasizing his qualities.

Carl Wolff’s dynamic and complex personality was also described in eulogistic terms. A commemorative speech stated that “this man was undoubtedly one of the most important of Transylvanian Saxons.”³⁰ His activity related to modernizing the city of Sibiu was mentioned³¹. His faith in Transylvanian cohabitation based on respecting the civil rights was combined with pan-Germanism, as it was manifested in his editorials in Sibiu’s *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt*.

Carl Wolff passed away on the 3rd of October 1929, just before his 80 years. Appreciations and gratitude uttered at his funeral prove how members of the Sibiu’s elite valued his public activity. Bishop Teusch

³⁰ *Taten und Gestalten. Bilderaus der Vergangenheit der Rumäniendeutschen*, II. Band, besorgt und eingeleitet von Dieter Drotleff, hora Verlag, Hermannstadt, 2002, p. 106.

³¹ Born in Sighișoara, Carl Wolff studied chemistry at the University of Vienna, but after several weeks he gave up and followed the Law courses in Vienna. His first contact with the press goes back to that period; then, starting of 1 January 1874 he became the chief editor of the newspaper *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt* of Sibiu, replacing the newspaper *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Wochenblatt*. He was an influential personality in political and economic area, being the founder of cooperative Raiffeisen and of the General House of Economies in Sibiu. His name is also linked to railways and Sibiu’s electrification. See A. Ungar, N. Nistor, *Carl Wolff. Sein Leben und Wirken in Wort und Bild*, București, 1981.

expressed the fact that Wolff achieved a lot during his life, stating that the dead “should be decried and not mourned.” Wolff was also considered “a gift, a blessing” for the Saxon identity, an exceptional leader and epitome of the ethos of work, a dynamic, charismatic leader preoccupied with affirmation of German rights in the thorny period in Europe during the First World War. Carl Wolff was a devoted leader, as the commemorative discourses reveal. He stated in the preface of his works: “Since childhood to old age the aim of my thoughts, hopes and my work has belonged to the people where I was born [...]”³²

We may say that Friedrich Teutsch was one the most noteworthy personalities of the Saxon history³³. Due to his fundamental contributions concerning the Saxon history, he deserves the name of “Herodotus of Saxons.”³⁴ Priest, then bishop, F. Teutsch had numerous speeches to burials of Sibiu’s personalities, where he proved his talent as orator. But inevitably, it was the case for other Saxon personalities to talk at his funeral. The new Bishop Dr. Viktor Glondys had an impressive discourse at the Evangelical Church of Sibiu, on the 14th of February 1933, at Friedrich Teutsch’s funeral:

“«Be faithful to death and I shall give you the crown of life!»
Near you, honoured believers, who came here to say goodbye to a good and faithful father, beloved brother, there is a huge saddened crowd that shares your pain [...]. In all communities of the vast land of our church, bells are singing in this hour; near the Transylvanian Saxons that say goodbye to their ruler, are the Evangelic brothers of Banat, Bucovina and Bessarabia, of Dobrudja and the Old Kingdom [...]. Everyone thanks him. He cared about everyone in his long years of work. But especially our county is surrounded by grief. The name of Friedrich Teutsch is a symbol recognized beyond our people and

³² Dr. Karl Wolff, *Aus meinem Leben*, 1. Band, Verlag der Bildungsstätte deutscher Volkheit, Lauban, 1929, p. 1.

³³ The son of Georg Daniel Teutsch, Friedrich Teutsch graduated from the Academy of Law in Sibiu, then studied in Heidelberg, Leipzig and Berlin. Coming back to Sibiu in 1875, he started his career as teacher of history, then becoming priest, and bishop of Saxons. He also proved his talent as historian, inherited from his father, publishing countless historical studies and articles, books of utmost importance and special value as *Geschichte der evangelische Kirche* (2 volumes), and especially 3 volumes of *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*. By this, he continued the tradition established by his father. He was doctor of several universities and member of honour of the Romanian Academy since 1919.

³⁴ Eduard Eisenburger, *Friedrich Teutsch*, in *Taten und Gestalten. Bilderaus der Vergangenheit der Rumäniendeutschen*, II. Band, hora Verlag, Hermannstadt, 2002, p. 116.

church. He was regarded as a prominent representative of Evangelical Germans and Saxon nation. Starting with his care for the people, he stirred respect and love in many hearts. This is not only due to the spiritual significance of this man and his scientific work, but also due to his rhetoric talent and very important role as a ruler. The motives are far more profound. Friedrich Teutsch has been a representative of the German Protestantism, his star was the brightest of all. The bishop Teutsch was devoted to his duty till his death, till the limit of his capacity [...]. Duty was the one that kept him awake over his working desk in the night. Duty was the one that called him till the latest years of his life in remote towns and villages. The call of duty characterized him and offered him the richness of the sense of biblical words according to which our life is beautiful if there is work. But to whom did he serve with this full of devotion work? A second star would lighten up if we would hear the answer he would give us: to my people! He cannot talk to us, but his life could tell us that: «Be faithful to death and I shall give you the crown of life!» Bishop Friedrich Teutsch had been faithful to his people till death. This love of his was no feeble sentiment, but a feeling that could be expressed with all his power to encourage those whom he loved. [...]. His soul is peaceful, because it belongs to God. He stays confident in the storm of life and accepts fate as a duty that has to be fulfilled toward God. This is valid for every man and for the entire people. It is valid for us, too! «I shall give you the crown of life!» [...]. We, those who gathered here today to stay beside him for the last time, shall not leave until we receive the blessing of the eternal and honourable bishop F. Teutsch, whose life was a calling to faith till death for which God promises the crown of life. Amen.”³⁵

Commemorative speeches were also held in the private space. Dr. Arnold Bruckner uttered a discourse at the Teutsch family residence, on the 11th February 1933, convincing that Friedrich Teutsch was an exceptional man who accomplished his mission:

“All of us became poorer. One page in the history of our people and history, one page full of glory and success, where your name is on the first place, contains now a black cross. One page is turned now and with you an entire era of which we’ve been proud. But you were not only a faithful pastor for hundreds of fellow countrymen, you were not only feeling, fearing and rejoicing for millions of brothers, but your special spirit and your warm heart

³⁵ Glondys, *Redebei der Beerdigung des Bischofs D. Dr. Friedrich Teutsch am 14. Februar 1933 in der evangelischen Stadtpfarrkirche in Hermannstadt*, in *Kirchliche Blätter*, XXV Jahrgang, No. 8, 23 February 1933, pp. 82-84. Translated by Ada Grenner.

overcame these borders so that we would be forever indebted to you."³⁶

Indeed, Friedrich Teutsch stood for his people. As historian, he knew very well the history of Saxons with all their privileges and ascension, as well as their imposed limits over time. His conclusion was relevant: "The fight for the civic rights was in fact the entire history of Saxons."³⁷

Speeches at a person's funeral are a customary thing and became a tradition. Saxons, known for respecting traditions, kept this one as well regardless of material or status aspects. Everyone benefited of such a "funerary service". The interwar period is no exception. Unlike an average man, for whom the priest uttered a speech before the burial, in the case of an important personality, the event was much more elaborated. In the aforementioned three personalities' funerals, the discourses were held at the Evangelical Church, a privilege only for the Saxon elite. There were several eulogies uttered. Anyone who was close to the deceased could have a speech at the burial either at home, among the members of the family, in the church or before the burial. There were also written discourses and poems, published in the newspapers. The bishop was the first to speak and, if it was the case, the vicar followed, or the priest.

These discourses had a fragment from the Bible as the starting point, something suitable for the deceased. Thus, in the case of the Bishop Friedrich Teutsch it was the verse "Be faithful to death and I shall give you the crown of life!" These religious fragments had to characterize the personality of the deceased and to be representative for his entire life so that the speaker could develop and adapt it to his life and personality. Starting from these verses, the speakers had to demonstrate the value of the deceased, his contribution to Saxon people, his sacrifice for fulfilling this ideal. And indeed, these three personalities played a crucial role for the Transylvanian Saxons. A short biography was also presented at the personalities' funeral, then followed the ideas about coming closer to God through virtues and talent.

The death of an important man from the Saxon community brought pain and grief to the entire community. Praises and thanks are

³⁶ Arnold Bruckner, *Abschiedsworte am Sarge des Bischofs D. Dr. Fr. Teutsch, am Morgen des 14. Februar 1933, imengsten Familienkreise*, in *Kirchliche Blätter*, XXV Jahrgang, No. 8, 23 February 1933, p. 84.

³⁷ Friedrich Teutsch, *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in den letztenfünfzig Jahren, 1868-1919*, Hermannstadt, Druck und Verlag von W. Krafft, 1926, p. 316.

part of funeral discourses, pointing out these men's effort and passion through their lives. The final point of such a speech was always thanking God for "sending" such a man into the Saxon community. The speaker would also ask for the blessing of God for all those present and for the entire community. These three personalities are regarded as one with nature once they are dead – autumn is compared to death, while spring is mentioned as the symbol of resurrection and life after death.

Optimism is one common trait of these discourses. Despite the sad introduction, uttered with pain, the finale is confident, which is not surprising, given that the orator was usually a priest, vicar or bishop. That is why the faith in life beyond death is always present.

Adolf Schullerus, Carl Wolff and Friedrich Teutsch were exceptional personalities that marked the history of Sibiu and of the Saxon community. Their activity and devotion was dedicated to their people. Friedrich Schiller's words fit perfectly these Saxon men who guided their people in crucial moments of history: *Ein Mann ist vielwert in so teurer Zeit*.

In Transylvania there was customary to dedicate entire issues to commemoration of important personalities. These texts were usually published after the funeral and consisted of eulogies, descriptions of the funeral, biographies. After three days the articles on the subject were scarce, while sometimes even denigration regarding the deceased was published.³⁸

Referring to some attitudes of public opinion in Transylvania we offer some details on the eulogies of personalities involved in the emancipation process of Romanians in this region. This is the case of I. G. Duca and Vasile Goldiș. These eulogies were published in a special column *Figuri și fapte pilduitoare din trecut in Transilvania. Buletin de tehnică populară*, publication of ASTRA. The eulogy supposes a starting phrase that sums up the significance of the deceased's cultural and/or political activity, then information on his public life and contribution to the Romanian identity project. The final paragraph underlines the accomplished mission of the honoured man.

Thus, we find the following about Vasile Goldiș³⁹: an article with commemorative value⁴⁰ and a panegyric⁴¹. Both texts repeat a motif – the

³⁸ See Al. Nicolaescu, *op.cit.*

³⁹ Vasile Goldiș (1862 - †10 February 1934) was a prestigious pedagogue, member of honour of the Romanian Academy (since 1919), politician (member of the National Romanian Party since 1893; follower of the activist strategy regarding the Austro-Hungarian policy for minorities since 1905). In Alba Iulia, on the 1st of December 1918, he had a speech, in front of the Great National Assembly, about the inevitable

ardent patriotism of Vasile Goldiș “in the era before the unification” and in the recovered Romania⁴². Several themes are recurrent in these texts: value of the deceased, honoured during his lifetime, his exceptional culture and work⁴³, veneration after his death. Other exceptional men, as Ștefan Cicio-Pop⁴⁴ and Teodor Mihali⁴⁵ received in their eulogies the title of “old national fighters.” But in their cases, biographical notes are detailed⁴⁶. It is noteworthy that lines about Ștefan Cicio-Pop are more emotional. He is appreciated as a providential man, “man with a mission on earth”, who, after fulfilling his destiny, leaves this world “loved and venerated”.⁴⁷ This is a consecrated formula in the eulogies of the Germans in Transylvania as well.

The article dedicated to I. G. Duca⁴⁸ is impressive probably because of his violent death. The “great pain and endless fear produced

character of the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, about the opportunity and necessity of Unification with Romania. After 1918, he is deputy, then minister in the first interwar governments (1918-1926), president of the Romanian National Party. He retires from politics, getting involved in the cultural development as president of ASTRA. National funerals were organized for him and national mourning was declared to honour his memory.

⁴⁰ Iuliu Moldovan, † Vasile Goldiș, in *Transilvania. Buletin de tehnică populară*, 65, January-February 1934, no. 1, pp. 6-7.

⁴¹ Gh. Preda, *Panegiric la înmormântarea fostului președinte Vasile Goldiș rostit de vice-președintele Astrei cult., Dr. Gh. Preda*, in *Transilvania...*, pp. 8-10; this author insisted more than Iuliu Moldovan on cultural accomplishments, on the fact that Vasile Goldiș was dedicated to the support of the institutions that generated and cherished the Romanian identity – church and school.

⁴² An emphasized theme in the case of Iuliu Moldovan, *op. cit.*

⁴³ Iuliu Moldovan, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁴⁴ Ștefan Cicio Pop (1865 - †16 February), lawyer, Romanian deputy in the Parliament of Budapest, active participant to the Great Unification of 1918, vice-president of the Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia, president of the Assembly of deputies (23 December 1928 - 30 April 1931; 10 August 1932 - 18 November 1933).

⁴⁵ Theodor Mihali (1855 - †17 January 1934), Romanian politician. He was the mayor of Cluj (21 April 1926 - 21 October 1926; 23 June 1927 - 24 July 1931).

⁴⁶ Editor, *Teodor Mihali*, in *op. cit.*, p. 11, stating that he was an “important and idealist fighter, memorandist who endured prison”, defender of minorities in the Budapest Parliament and then senator and mayor of Cluj in the unified Romania.

⁴⁷ Iulian Moldovan, † Ștefan Cicio-Pop, in *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁴⁸ Ion Gheorghe Duca, known as I. G. Duca (1879 - 29 December 1933), was an exceptional personality among the liberal politicians. He was minister of Education (1914-1918), of Agriculture (1919-1920), of External Affairs (1922-1926), of Internal Affairs (1927-1928), and Prime-minister of Romania (November-December 1933). He was assassinated at the Sinaia railway station by Nicadori, a legionary squad.

by the terrible death of I. G. Duca⁴⁹ is mentioned, highlighting the tragic episode of the Prime minister assassination. The Transylvanian people cherished him for his “affinity with Transylvania”, his empathy for peasants and his cultural support for the Romanians of the region⁵⁰.

We appreciate the Sibiu funerals of cultural or political personalities, regardless of their national community, as benefiting of symbolical rituals and coverage in the press⁵¹. The participation through the press to the events was a form of *repetitio*, non-consecrated *ars moriendi*.

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⁴⁹ Editor, † *IG Duca* in *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

⁵¹ M. Chiper, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

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