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University and History. The Lesson of the Middle Ages. (An Introduction)¹

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Abstract: The following text has two main objectives: on the one hand, it intends to introduce the reader in a very cursory manner to some of the most important contributions made by the medieval university not only to the general development of higher education, distinguishable up until today, but also to the history of pre-modern European society. On the other hand, acknowledging the importance of university for the transformation (and “Europeanization”) of Transylvania from the second half of the 14th century until the 1550s, the author reflects briefly upon significant investigations concerning university, academic life and intellectuals in the Middle Ages conducted by scholars and research groups (especially during the last two decades) of the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca.

Keywords: Middle Ages, University, Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca, Babeş-Bolyai University

Rezumat: *Universitate și istorie. Lecția Evului Mediu (O introducere)*
Textul care urmează are două obiective majore: pe de o parte își propune să-i reamintească cititorului, într-o manieră succintă, cele mai de seamă contribuții ale universității medievale, vizibile până astăzi, nu doar la evoluția generală a învățământului superior, ci și la istoria societății europene de dinainte modernității. Pe de altă parte, atrăgând atenția asupra importanței universității pentru transformările în sens european din Transilvania de la mijlocul veacului al XIV-lea până în jurul anului 1550, autorul trece în revistă cele mai semnificative investigații referitoare la universitate, viața academică și intelectuali în evul mediu întreprinse de cadre didactice și grupuri de cercetare (îndeosebi în ultimele două decenii) ale Universității Babeş-Bolyai din Cluj-Napoca.

¹ The purpose of this text – part of a research project of UEFISCDI PN-III-P4-ID-PCCF-2016-0064, see below note 22 – is to offer an introduction in form of an editorial for the research articles and book reviews grouped in this thematic issue and dedicated to the medieval and early modern university. For this reason, the literature cited now will be kept to a basic level.

Cuvinte-cheie: Evul Mediu, Universitate, Transilvania, Cluj-Napoca, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai

*The university is a European institution;
indeed, it is the European institution par excellence [...]*
it is a creation of medieval Europe, which was the Europe of papal Christianity
(Walter Rüegg)²

The year 2019 has an anniversary significance for the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca. A hundred years ago, the higher education institution experienced a moment of “re-establishment” in the conditions of the newly-enlarged dimensions of the Romanian state and, implicitly, the settlement of Transylvania in a distinct cultural matrix. As happens on such occasions, this moment of jubilee celebration provides the appropriate opportunity for remembrance, for scrutinizing the past and analysing the construction stages of Cluj-Napoca’s higher education over time. Naturally, one’s attention is drawn to the difficult episodes from recent times, to the Hungarian university education of the 19th century or to the Jesuit college constituted in the last decades of the *cinquecento*, this last historical frame being properly seen as the earliest precursor to present-day Cluj-Napoca’s academic life.³ Such a historical reconstitution would remain deeply incomplete without a fair assessment of those facts and data that link Transylvanian society as a whole to the European university tradition.

The European university has its origins in a time of profound transformations, designated by historians as the “Renaissance of the 12th Century”. This phenomenon of reorganization and consolidation of literacy, which actually begins in the middle of the 11th century but is anchored in time to the last phases of antiquity, differs from the Carolingian cultural reforms imposed by the imperial court through the social context and economic power that generates and feeds it.⁴ In an atmosphere of optimism influenced by the abandonment of millennial fears,⁵ material conditions in Western Europe open up an era of prosperity, with demographic and political effects, best expressed by urban development. The city becomes

² Foreword, p. xix, in: *A History of the University in Europe. Volume 1: Universities in the Middle Ages*, edited by Hilde De Ridder-Symoens, Cambridge, 1992.

³ Ovidiu Ghitta (ed.), *Istoria Universităţii “Babeş-Bolyai”*, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, passim, with further bibliography.

⁴ Robert E. Learner, *Literacy and Learning*, in: *One Thousand Years. Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, edited by Richard L. DeMolen, Boston, 1975, pp. 194-195.

⁵ Georges Duby, *L’An Mil*, Paris, 1974 (first edition published in 1967).

now the initiator, and at the same time the main beneficiary of new training models. Medieval urban environment lays the foundation of university education, the city being the only institutional structure that, on the one hand, through its own legal position, could ensure the proper legal framework for the existence of a new institution in need of autonomy; on the other hand, towns gathered together a large number of people in a given location. At the same time, education became apparent as a vector of social mobility in the context of Western Europe's demographic and territorial expansion.⁶ This was due to the increasingly specialised bureaucratic organisation of governments, not only in secular terms but also ecclesiastically, in search of a better governed Church and in need of a straightforward transmission of the religious message. Such a complex phenomenon was synthesized by Peter Moraw in an inspired way, with direct reference to the impact of legal disciplines on the medieval administrative act, as the "Verwissenschaftlichung des Regierens", the scientific transformation of the government, as a result of the wider participation of individuals with academic background in steering the course of society.⁷ The medieval university can be thus defined as a European innovation, as Walter Rüegg noticed, both the product of accumulations of organised communities, but also generating numerous social, economic, and cultural changes.⁸

In the course of the 12th century, that of the university's genesis, some regions emerged where a greater concentration of resources and prestige in the sphere of education converged. On the one hand, the perfection of the formation of personalities such as Thomas Becket (c. 1119-1170), John of Salisbury (c. 1115-1180), or Otto von Freising (c. 1114-1158) illustrate the attraction of French schools for students from England and Germany. Among them, the Paris collegiate churches of St. Geneviève and St. Victor promoted an alternative to the old training centres, adjacent to cathedral and collegiate churches⁹ which could no longer offer the best and modern

⁶ Robert J. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change (950-1350)*, (London, 1993), *passim*.

⁷ See for instance, Peter Moraw, *Gesammelte Beiträge zur deutschen und europäischen Universitätsgeschichte: Strukturen, Personen, Entwicklungen*, (Leiden, 2008), especially two articles: *Über gelehrte Juristen im deutschen Spätmittelalter*, pp. 435-464 and *Gelehrte Juristen im Dienst der deutschen Könige des späten Mittelalters (1273-1493)*, pp. 465-540.

⁸ Walter Rüegg, *Themen, Probleme, Erkenntnisse*, in: *Geschichte der Universität in Europa. Mittelalter*, vol. 1, edited by Walter Rüegg, (München, 1993), pp. 24-48.

⁹ Besides the fundamental work of Carla Frova, *Istruzione e educazione nel medioevo*, (Torino, 1973), see also *La scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*, I-II, (Spoleto, 1972), and especially the article by Ernesto Sestan, *La scuola nell'Occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*, pp. 17-37; Pierre Riché, *Écoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Age*, (Paris, 1999) (first edition 1979). See also two very recent overviews on medieval education in the West, Paolo Rosso, *La scuola nel*

solutions. On the other hand, a series of direct testimonies, such as those of Guibert de Nogent (c. 1055-1124) or Pierre Abelard's autobiography (1079-1142), represent detailed pictures of the level achieved by higher education in 12th century France, certifying the birth of a new professional category: that of the intellectual, who – motivated by desire for knowledge, to the same degree as by material gain and fame – embraces a place in society, determined by acquisition and dissemination of knowledge.¹⁰

Synchronically, Italy achieves the status of leading centre of legal scholarship, especially through the work of Irnerius of Bologna (c. 1050 - after 1125), a layman surnamed *lucerna iuris*, who substantiated the study of Roman law based on the Code of Justinian (482-556). Another turning point in legal history was the endeavour of Gratian (c. 1100 - ante 1160), a monk who founded the systematic study of canon law through his own compilation of ecclesiastical court sentences, in an effort to synthesize and mediate various legal traditions (*Concordia discordantium canonum*) concluded around 1140 and associated forever with his name: *Decretum Gratiani*.¹¹ Bologna, the town linked with the two above-mentioned masters, became the undisputed European centre of legal education and scholarship throughout the Middle Ages.

Around these epitomes of higher-level study and education, coagulate around 1200 the earliest corporations of students and magistrates: the universities, supported by the communal structures in Bologna, and the episcopal ones in Paris. The difference between the two paradigms continues throughout the Middle Ages, due to the fact that Bologna develops as a *universitas scholarium*, a student community that would inspire the entire university phenomenon in Italy, while the Parisian model was structured around the academic body, *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*. In spite of initial hesitations, both papacy and royal power decide to support university initiatives, and thus the impetus given by monarchic authority sets up the migration of students and magistrates from Bologna and Paris towards the university nuclei at Oxford (1214), Montpellier (1220), Padua (1222), Naples (1224), Toulouse (1229), to recall only some of the earliest forms of higher

Medioevo. Secoli VI-XV, (Roma, 2018), pp. 23-102 and Robert Gramsch-Stehfest, *Bildung, Schule und Universität im Mittelalter*, (Berlin-Boston, 2019), pp. 23-72.

¹⁰ On intellectuals and their wide range of activity in the Middle Ages, see Jacques Le Goff, *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge*, (Paris, 1957) and Jacques Verger, *Les gens de savoir dans l'Europe de la fin du Moyen Âge*, (Paris, 1997); see also, Olga Weijers, *Le maniment du savoir. Pratiques intellectuelles à l'époque des premières universités (XIII^e-XIV^e s)*, (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 9-23.

¹¹ On the legal revival of the 12th century, see James A. Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession. Canonists, Civilians, and Courts*, (Chicago, 2008), pp. 75-125.

education in Latin Europe.¹² This wave reached Central Europe in the mid-14th century, after the founding of the University of Prague in 1347, followed by a generation of other higher schools, the majority established after the beginning of the Great Western Schism (1378-1417). The year 1378 traditionally marks the start of the second major stage of propagation of the university phenomenon, towards Krakow (1364/1397), Vienna (1365), Pécs (1367, closed after 1376), Erfurt (1379), Heidelberg (1385), Cologne (1388), Buda (1389, shut down shortly after this date, only to be reopened briefly in 1410), Leipzig (1409), etc. All these “national” universities¹³ come to the reception of a great desire for knowledge, motivated by the hope of social ascension and prosperity. The only truly “international” academic institutions of the Middle Ages remain the prestigious schools of Bologna, Paris and Padua.

Medieval universities are, essentially, organized communities of individuals, focused on the specialized study of certain disciplines. As institutions of learning at the highest level, they possess a legal personality which assures a particular degree of autonomy, exemplified, among others, by the apparent management of their finances, as well as an individual seal and an established statute. Depending on the organization, one may distinguish between an Italian model, a French type and a hybrid design, the latter being specific to both Central and Mediterranean Europe, where the university offices were controlled by both students and teachers. Two other main elements must be mentioned in connection with the structuring of universities throughout the Middle Ages: the division of students into *nationes*, according to their native country (twenty *nationes* in Bologna, ten in Orléans, but usually four in most universities, according to the Parisian model), but also the division of universities into faculties (liberal arts, theology, law and medicine). The complexity and particular emphasis placed by one university or another on one of the organizational elements mentioned above can vary greatly, usually a product of local traditions and the prestige accumulated by a particular school in a specific sphere of knowledge. Thus, some higher education institutions will build their reputation on the tradition and excellence of legal studies, others on theology or medicine.

¹² For the chronological progression of the university foundations until 1250 (approximately twenty new higher schools), consult Jacques Verger, *Patterns*, in *A History of the University in Europe. Volume 1: Universities in the Middle Ages*, edited by Hilde De Ridder-Symoens, (Cambridge, 1992), p. 62 sq.

¹³ Peter Moraw, *Die Universitäten in Europa und in Deutschland: Anfänge und erste Schritte auf einem langen Weg (12.-16. Jahrhundert)*, in: Idem, *Gesammelte Beiträge zur deutschen und europäischen Universitätsgeschichte: Strukturen, Personen, Entwicklungen*, (Leiden, 2008), pp. 229-249.

The contribution of the medieval university (*universitas*, sometimes *studium generale*) to the birth of modernity can by no means be synthesized in a few lines, as it is deeply expressed at the overall level of society. Cities that hosted universities – despite the occasional conflicts – have taken full advantage of the influx of people, goods and ideas associated with complex education. The concentration of economic means and the constantly increasing need for their administration, linked either to urban centres or to other “nodes” of authority, brought about other contexts of direct, practical expression of the theoretical knowledge accumulated in the years dedicated to university study. However, more subtle transformations have taken place, and universities became laboratories for experiments that would open the way for cultural transformations (such as introducing the written vernacular) and religious-social reforms (as is the case with Hussitism), the two being often associated. Without these structures, the transition from oral forms of communication to more and more inclusive forms of literacy would be impossible to imagine. High education has also put its mark on some aspects that may seem minor compared to the phenomena already mentioned. Writing and book physiognomies have undergone mutations to adapt to the increased demand for diverse texts that had to follow certain standards of clarity and integrity.¹⁴ In the same manner as the book production, all scholastic education has undergone a rationalization process whose effects can still be recognized even today in almost all teaching structures or student bodies.

In the history of medieval Transylvania, the university plays a remarkable role, not yet highlighted by specialists. University education is the one factor that produced an accelerated incorporation of a peripheral province, Transylvania – later under the rule of the Hungarian crown – within the area of Latin Christianity with its complex political, religious, artistic phenomena emerging from the advanced centres of the continent.

Specific to any cultural picture from the perspective of comparing a centre and its periphery, the medieval university phenomenon expressed itself in Transylvania through reactivity, not by initiative: no universities were established locally, nor elsewhere throughout Hungary in the Middle Ages, thus Transylvanians completed their education initially in Paris or Bologna, then (from the 15th century onwards at a rapid pace) in Vienna, Krakow or Prague. Yet, the interest in higher education – according to the social vocation of the medieval university – was generated by the same factors that ensured the germ of the collegiate phenomenon from the beginning:

¹⁴ Olga Weijers, *A scholar's paradise: teaching and debating in medieval Paris*, (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 175-193.

university education is at the same time the consequence, but also the motor of rationalization and urbanization of a society increasingly open to communication and cultural transfer.

It is only natural, under these conditions, that the beginnings of modern research on the impact of university studies on Transylvania should come precisely from the environment of the Germans or Transylvanian Saxons, the creators of urban civilization within the Carpathian arch. Georg-Daniel Teutsch (1817-1893) and Friedrich Teutsch (1852-1933) have the greatest merits in conducting intensive work of identifying Transylvanian students before the Reformation or in the second half of the 16th century.¹⁵ Yet, the most important achievement of any Transylvanian scholars regarding the medieval university phenomenon belongs to a Cluj professor, Tonk Sándor (1947-2003). His remarkable repertoire of the Transylvanian medieval academic *peregrinations*¹⁶ is now, five decades after its publication, in spite of important additions, an indispensable tool, doubled by a great depth of interpretations of facts and events.

The impact of Tonk's studies on medieval university and Transylvania was so great that the theme was regarded as fully exploited for a long time. Nevertheless, the late 1970s research of a pronounced prosopographic character has begun in the last decade to show its limitations.

First of all, the traditional source called upon to chronicle the history of any university, the matriculation book, cannot provide answers to the questions formulated insistently by present-day medieval studies, dominated by interdisciplinarity. The cultural transfer, the mobility of ideas, the doctrinal transformations within the academic space, the regional and local intellectual consequences of political mutations (the Hundred Years' War, for example) or religious (such as the Great Western Schism) can only be analysed by interrogating other types of historical sources. In this respect, it is the merit of research centres at Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca to have assumed such a paradigm shift. The *Centre for Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* successfully interrogates through a set of specially dedicated research methods the doctrinal metamorphoses reflected by theological and philosophical

¹⁵ The research literature concerning this topic can be easily reviewed with the help of the bibliographical work *Register der Periodika des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde (1840-1944)*, prepared by Mathilde Wagner and published in *Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde e.V. Heidelberg*, 2005, especially section dedicated to *Schule und Hochschule: Sächsische Studenten an deutschen Universitäten*, pp. 112-113. An even more comprehensive bibliography on this topic can be consulted in the present volume in the article authored by Konrad Gündisch and Adinel Dincă (see below).

¹⁶ *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban*, (Bucureşti, 1979).

texts.¹⁷ In a consonant manner, *CODEX. Centre for the History of the Book and Texts* pays constant attention to the manuscript tomes that have circulated in the university ambient and which, through their Transylvanian owners, have become real agents of a more intense cultural transfer than might have been anticipated.¹⁸ The experience gained in universities from France, Italy, Austria or Poland is in other cases the premise for institutional, educational or artistic imports, detailed research being underway at another research centre of Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, the recently-constituted *TRANS.SCRIPT – The Centre for Diplomatic and Medieval Documentary Palaeography*.¹⁹

From the perspective of these briefly summarised data, it is clearly evident that investigating Transylvania's medieval university roots is presently experiencing a moment of effervescence which will surely penetrate much deeper into the meanings of higher studies and their role in defining the historical path of Transylvania.

The deepening of the research regarding the links of medieval society (from Transylvania or abroad) to the university phenomenon must take full advantage of newly- published sources²⁰ and the recent instruments such as *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum*,²¹ an example being the current project that intends to take a broader look at the complicated phenomenon of the medieval intellectual elite's aggregation in central Europe.²²

¹⁷ Regarding various research projects and initiatives, with their results (publications, conferences etc.) of this group, starting with the year 2003, see <http://hiphi.ubbcluj.ro/fam/programe>.

¹⁸ http://lett.ubbcluj.ro/dell/?page_id=720.

¹⁹ <http://ts.centre.ubbcluj.ro/2019/01/13/university-manuscripts-of-french-origin/>.

²⁰ A recent overview concerning the latest Hungarian contributions on the history of the University, László Szögi, *Die Ergebnisse und Aufgaben des Schreibens über die ungarische Universitätsgeschichte*, in: *University of Pécs 650th Jubilee in Education "University and Universality the Place and Role of the University of Pécs in Europe from the Middle Ages to Present Day"*. *International University History Conference 12–13 October 2017*, edited by Ágnes Fischer Dárdai, István Lengvári, Éva Schmelczér Pohánka, (Pécs, 2017), pp. 33–46.

²¹ <https://rag-online.org/>.

²² <https://rise-ubb.com/>. *The Rise of an Intellectual Elite in Central Europe: University of Vienna, 1389-1450 (RISE)*, a research project supported by the Executive Unit for Financing Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation (UEFISCDI) of the Romanian Government, project ID: PN-III-P4-ID-PCCF-2016-0064. The articles and the book reviews regarding the medieval and early medieval university published now by Dr Monica Brînzei, Dr Adinel Dincă and Paula Cotoi, Ph. D. student, are all results of investigation conducted within the aforementioned *RISE* project.

The materials published on this occasion in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Series Historica* represent an optimistic sign in this respect and express in the clearest possible way the interest and support granted to medieval research at the Faculty of History and Philosophy by well-known personalities from France, Italy, Germany or the United States of America in the field of intellectual history in the Middle Ages, with firm interests in the history of the medieval university. The presented texts combine, I dare say in an inspired way, the classical approaches centred around historical sources, the importance of *digital humanities* in the context of new research paradigms, but also the methodological reflections offered by interviews.

Interviews

Pourquoi étudier l'histoire de l'université médiévale aujourd'hui?

Monica Brînzei en dialogue avec Olga Weijers et Jacques Verger ¹

Présentation des deux répondants:

Olga Weijers: L'histoire des universités médiévales, et notamment celle de la Faculté des arts, ne peut pas être conçue aujourd'hui sans le nom d'Olga Weijers, membre de l'Académie Royale des Sciences des Pays-Bas dès 1997 et dès 2002 membre correspondant étranger de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de Paris. Ses travaux ont enrichi nos connaissances tant sur les pratiques courantes concernant l'éducation médiévale académique, autant à travers des concepts clef: la *disputatio*, la *questio*, le commentaire, que sur l'aspect institutionnel où prosopographique. Le répertoire de maîtres de la Faculté des arts connu sur le titre *Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris: textes et maîtres (ca. 1200-1500)* (8 volumes publiés chez Brepols entre 1994-2010) représente un des instruments capitaux pour comprendre la dynamique et l'histoire de la Faculté des arts de Paris. Des contributions marquantes sur le vocabulaire des universités, comme la monographie *Terminologie des Universités au XIII^e siècle*, publiée en 1987 où sur les pratiques pédagogiques initiées par l'université comme le volume *Le maniement du savoir. Pratiques intellectuelles à l'époque des premières universités* (Brepols 1996), sont internationalement reconnus et présents aujourd'hui dans toutes les bibliothèques académiques. En parallèle avec l'histoire intellectuelle des universités Olga Weijers a dédié son temps de recherche à la lexicographie et entre 1968-2005 elle a participé au projet du dictionnaire du latin médiéval néerlandais (*Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, 8 vol., ca. 5505 pp.). Son nom est également lié à la collection *Studia Artistarum* chez Brepols qui compte aujourd'hui une belle collection de 45 volumes publiés, ainsi qu'à la collection *Studies on the Faculty of Arts History and Influence* où elle a déjà publié deux volumes: *In Search of the Truth: A History of Disputation Techniques from Antiquity to Early Modern Times* (Brepols, 2014) et *A Scholar's Paradise: Teaching and Debating in Medieval Paris* (Brepols, 2015). En 2012 lors de son retrait de l'IRHT où elle était Directeur de recherche, un volume de mélanges (*Portrait de maîtres offerts à Olga Weijers*, ed. C. Angotti, M. Brinzei, M. Teeuwen,

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Brepols 2012, 521 pp.) a recueilli 40 articles signés par des collègues, collaborateurs et amis afin de lui montrer leur reconnaissance et leur amitié. Le volume contient également une liste de publications qui aujourd'hui est mis à jour sur son site personnel: <https://olgaweijers.com/>.

Jacques Verger, professeur émérite d'histoire médiévale à l'Université de Paris IV- Sorbonne et directeur d'études à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études à la IVe Section, aujourd'hui membre de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de Paris dès 2012, est l'historien français des universités médiévales, internationalement connu et reconnu pour ses contributions à la découverte du système médiéval académique. En tant qu'enseignant il est devenu le *magister* de plusieurs de ceux qui aujourd'hui continuent les investigations dans le domaine de l'histoire intellectuelle médiévale. Ses travaux couvrent des aspects divers de l'éducation médiévale du XIIe au XVe siècles, et visent principalement l'aspect social de la vie universitaire médiévale, l'impact des études sur la carrière des étudiants et le parcours social des ceux qui ont obtenu un diplôme, les processus de recrutement dans les universités dans le territoire français (notamment celui du Midi), le rapport et les échanges entre l'université et les autres institutions comme la cour royale ou l'église. En 2011 ses disciples lui ont dédié un volume de mélanges (*Universitas scolarium. Mélanges offerts à Jacques Verger*, édités par Cédric Giraud et Martin Morard, Droz 2011, 665 pp.) qui recueille des études qui reflètent l'impact de ses recherches sur l'histoire des universités. Le volume publie aussi une liste de publications de Verger qui en 2011 comptait 300 titres et qui maintenant approche les 400 publications. Son best-seller, qui en est arrivé déjà à la 3ème édition: *Les universités au Moyen Âge* (PUF, 1973, 1999, 2007), sera traduit et publié cette année en roumain chez Polirom. D'autres titres marquants de sa bibliographie sont: *Naissance et premier essor de l'Occident chrétien* (PUF, 1975), *L'amour castré: L'histoire d'Héloïse et Abélard* (Hermann, 1996); *Les gens de savoir dans l'Europe de la fin du Moyen Âge* (PUF, 1997); *Culture, enseignement et société en Occident aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (PUF, 1999). Sa dernière publication en tant qu'éditeur *Pierre d'Ailly: un esprit universel à l'aube du XVe siècle*, ed. J.-P. Boudet, M. Brinzei, F. Delivre, H. Millet, J. Verger, M. Zink, Académie de Belle Lettres 2019.

Questionnaire:

1. Quel est le moteur de l'historien de l'université médiévale? Étudie-t-on les universités médiévales pour mieux les comprendre, pour comprendre notre propre passé culturel où pour mieux percer notre présent?

O. W.: Quand on étudie l'histoire des universités médiévales, c'est d'abord par intérêt pour une institution nouvelle en son temps, pour essayer de comprendre comment cette institution a pu naître, quelles en étaient les

causes et les conditions. Ensuite, par fascination pour un système dynamique, varié et porteur de progrès, qui est l'un des éléments les plus importants de notre héritage culturel.

J. V.: L'histoire des universités médiévales a souvent commencé par être commémorative et légitimatrice: il s'agissait de soutenir les ambitions et de fonder l'autorité intellectuelle d'universités toujours actives (Paris, Bologne, Oxford, Prague, etc.) en rappelant leur passé glorieux et en dressant la liste des professeurs illustres et des étudiants devenus célèbres; c'est ainsi par exemple que l'histoire de l'université de Bologne a largement commencé avec la célébration en 1888 d'un prétendu « huitième centenaire », en fait parfaitement mythique, de l'institution. D'un point de vue plus scientifique, l'histoire des universités médiévales s'est aussi développée à partir d'une prise de conscience de la diversité des modèles institutionnels (modèle parisien, modèle bolognais), des orientations disciplinaires, de la sociologie du recrutement, etc., ce qui interdisait d'appliquer un schéma unique et simplificateur à l'ensemble des universités médiévales: chacune requérait une approche monographique mettant en valeur sa spécificité. D'un autre point de vue, l'histoire des universités est apparue comme une porte d'entrée pour l'histoire de la culture, au moins de la culture savante, médiévale, tant il est vrai que les universités ont eu, au moins aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, le quasi-monopole des disciplines majeures (philosophie, théologie, droit, médecine): la plupart des écrits qui en traitent sont des productions universitaires, la plupart des hommes de savoir qui les pratiquaient avaient étudié et souvent enseigné à l'université; a contrario, les disciplines qui n'avaient pas trouvé place à l'université (les sciences exactes, la littérature, l'histoire, etc.) végétaient à un niveau très médiocre et ne bénéficiaient que de peu de reconnaissance sociale; il n'est guère d'époque dans l'histoire qui présente une telle coïncidence entre enseignement supérieur et culture savante. Enfin, l'histoire des universités médiévales nous permet de mieux comprendre la nature et l'esprit même d'une institution toujours vivante et d'essayer de saisir ce que peut être, dans une société donnée, la place de l'enseignement supérieur et les formes qu'il peut prendre s'il veut se développer de manière autonome. La naissance de l'université contemporaine au XIX^e siècle, à partir du modèle humboldtien allemand, a été accompagnée d'un renouveau d'intérêt pour l'histoire de l'université médiévale dans l'espoir de saisir l'essence même de l'institution, fondée sur l'autonomie et l'esprit communautaire. Cette idée de retour aux sources ne doit cependant pas cacher les discontinuités et le fait que l'université est plongée aujourd'hui dans un contexte social et politique mondialisé très différent de celui de ses origines. Enfin, la possibilité d'esquisser pour la période médiévale une

première « sociologie des intellectuels » répond à notre désir de mieux cerner l'identité historique d'un groupe auquel appartiennent les historiens eux-mêmes et qui est l'objet d'une interrogation permanente relative tant à leur insertion dans la société globale que leur engagement critique possible dans la vie de la cité.

2. En quoi l'université est-elle un vecteur pour une réussite professionnelle et personnelle au Moyen Âge? Pourquoi s'inscrit-on à l'université au Moyen Âge?

O. W.: Pour cette question, comme pour la plupart des questions suivantes, il faut d'abord distinguer selon l'époque et le lieu. L'expression « université au moyen âge » comprend des cas aussi différents que l'université de Bologne vers 1200 et l'université de Cracovie fondée en 1314. Ensuite, on ne s'inscrit pas toujours dans une université quand on commence ses études universitaires; par exemple à la Faculté des arts de Paris au XIII^e siècle, on cherche un maître qui prend la responsabilité pour ses étudiants. Cela dit, les études universitaires, même limitées seulement à la faculté des arts, procuraient naturellement une éducation qui donnait davantage de chance pour trouver un poste de clerc ou pour suivre à son tour une carrière de maître.

J. V.: Certains ont insisté sur l'appétit de savoir, aiguïté par l'élargissement des perspectives intellectuelles à partir du XIII^e siècle (traductions de textes oubliés ou inconnus, ouverture géographique, mobilité accrue des hommes), comme motivation première de la création des universités qui donnaient un cadre institutionnel à cette aspiration désintéressée. D'autres, sans nier ce facteur, ont plutôt mis en avant les finalités sociales et politiques de l'enseignement universitaire qui permettait de former les agents compétents dont l'Eglise, les Etats et plus largement une société de plus en plus complexe avaient besoin et de légitimer le cadre idéologique qu'ils imposaient à l'ensemble de la société. L'appui des autorités aurait donc convergé avec les ambitions des jeunes gens (et de leurs familles) en quête d'ascension sociale. Au total, sans nier la valeur intellectuelle de l'enseignement donné dans les universités médiévales, il est difficile d'ignorer la part d'ambition sociale et d'espoir de promotion qui animaient maître et étudiants, ce qu'illustre et confirme la mise sur pied précoce d'un système institutionnel complexe (cursus, programmes, examens, diplômes) visant à garantir la compétence et l'orthodoxie des gradués et donc leur intégration dans les élites sociales, à côté de ceux qui tiraient d'abord profit de leur richesse et de leur naissance.

Ceci dit, la réussite n'était pas toujours au rendez-vous et les études dans les universités médiévales ont toujours été très sélectives.

3. *Qu'est-ce qui est le plus fascinant pour un historien lorsqu'il étudie les universités médiévales?*

O. W.: Personnellement, j'ai été fascinée par les méthodes d'enseignement et de recherche en usage, comment celles-ci se formaient et s'adaptaient; et surtout par l'incroyable travail d'assimilation de sources nouvelles dans les commentaires, la plupart du temps issus de l'enseignement des maîtres, qui lisaient et commentaient les traités difficiles d'Aristote (traduits du grec ou de l'arabe) sur de nombreux sujets peu ou pas connus auparavant. Ce travail acharné de générations de maîtres a changé l'histoire des sciences en Occident.

J. V.: Dans un premier temps, c'est évidemment la permanence du vocabulaire et des rituels qui donne le sentiment d'être face à une institution à la fois très ancienne et toujours vivante, d'être à la fois à l'extérieur et à l'intérieur de l'objet étudié, d'autant que les historiens des universités médiévales sont presque toujours eux-mêmes des universitaires d'aujourd'hui. L'autre aspect fascinant est le sentiment d'approcher au plus près, à des siècles de distance, à travers des œuvres (commentaires, questions) et des statuts directement liés aux pratiques effectives d'enseignement, les conditions réelles de formation et d'expression de la pensée, les processus mentaux et verbaux d'expression de celle-ci. Dans les deux cas cependant, il faut se garder de ce qui peut être une illusion anachronique et garder la distance indispensable pour saisir des pratiques institutionnelles et des formes de pensée en fait très différentes des nôtres.

4. *L'enseignement médiéval s'appuie, se développe et perdure dans une langue unique, le latin. Pourquoi?*

O. W.: Le latin était la langue comprise par tous les intellectuels, grâce au fait de l'éducation séculaire dans les écoles, où on étudiait les auteurs classiques (Virgile, Cicéron, etc.) et aussi grâce aux grands auteurs de l'Eglise; tous lisaient Augustin ou Boèce, sans oublier les encyclopédistes et lexicographes, comme Isidore de Séville et Papias.

J. V.: Dès avant l'apparition des universités, le latin est:

- la langue sacrée, celle de la Bible et de la liturgie
- la langue du savoir, c'est-à-dire celle des autorités, qui sont la base de toute connaissance et dont elle tire sa richesse terminologique et sa rigueur grammaticale

- la langue du pouvoir, celle dans laquelle s'expriment, au moins par écrit, les autorités ecclésiastiques et laïques et celle qui garantit la primauté sociale de ceux qui la maîtrisent face aux *illitterati*

- la langue universelle de toute la Chrétienté « latine » qui permet d'échapper à la malédiction de Babel et rend possible la circulation sans restriction des idées, des livres et des hommes de savoir

Ces raisons continuent à jouer pleinement à l'époque des universités, même si les vernaculaires progressent lentement dans tous les domaines indiqués plus haut (religion, savoir, pouvoir) et affleurent de manière très discrète jusqu'aux marges de l'université (des universitaires écrivent en vernaculaire, au moins des textes non directement universitaires, et le vernaculaire se glissait sans doute dans les enseignements oraux). Plus que de leurs réticences devant le vernaculaire, on peut s'étonner de l'assez grande indifférence des universitaires médiévaux, jusqu'au XV^e siècle, vis-à-vis des autres langues savantes (et sacrées); l'hébreu, l'arabe et le grec, dont l'importance culturelle était reconnue, mais pas enseignées, absentes des bibliothèques, pratiquées seulement sur les marges du monde latin et réservées à quelques spécialistes de la traduction.

5. Est-ce qu'on peut dire que l'invention des universités sort, en quelque sorte, le Moyen Âge de l'obscurité et de l'âge des ténèbres'?

O. W.: On ne peut pas parler d'invention; les premières universités sont nées spontanément par la volonté des étudiants s'associant en une corporation (Bologne) ou par la corporation des maîtres et étudiants (Paris). On ne peut pas non plus parler d'obscurité et d'âge de ténèbres ! La Renaissance carolingienne, puis la Renaissance du XII^e siècle étaient aussi des périodes éblouissantes.

J. V.: Non. A supposer qu'un âge médiéval des ténèbres ait existé, les « renaissances » successives (carolingienne, ottonienne, du XII^e siècle) y avaient déjà jeté de vives lumières par la remise en honneur de textes et de normes esthétiques reprises de l'Antiquité. L'époque des universités a certes continué à élargir les champs du savoir, mais il a surtout amélioré la

méthodologie du travail intellectuel et donné des bases institutionnelles et une reconnaissance sociale aux activités de production et de diffusion du savoir, fixé des normes et des règles (par exemple par la séparation et la hiérarchisation des facultés) pour éviter que l'activité intellectuelle des écoles ne sorte du cadre de l'orthodoxie chrétienne ou ne menace l'ordre social et politique établi (ce qui n'empêchait évidemment pas la possibilité de transgressions individuelles ou collectives plus ou sévèrement réprimées: cf. la question de l'« averroïsme » latin).

6. *Quelle est la mission des universités médiévales: production du savoir, défendre la vérité ou accomplir une mission sociale de formation?*

O. W.: On ne peut pas parler de mission pour les universités médiévales en général; quand une université était fondée, par exemple celle de Naples par Frédéric II, sa mission était surtout de former des jeunes et de contribuer à la transmission du savoir. A Paris, les maîtres cherchaient à la fois la conquête de nouvelles connaissances et la transmission du savoir; leur travail comprenait la recherche et l'enseignement.

J. V.: Comme il a déjà été dit (question 2), l'université médiévale a rempli ces trois fonctions, celle de « production du savoir » étant sans doute la moins évidente car, de toute façon, il s'agissait plus de la mise en lumière, par des méthodes heuristiques appropriées, d'une vérité déjà présente, au moins potentiellement, dans les autorités qui constituaient la base (presque) incontestée du savoir. Le rôle de formation était de toute façon essentiel, surtout du point de vue des autorités; on peut y ajouter un rôle de conseil et d'expertise vis-à-vis de ces mêmes autorités (la faculté de théologie éclaire le magistère ecclésiastique, les juristes assistent le prince dans son rôle de législateur et de juge, les médecins garantissent la santé publique, etc.). De plus, il faut distinguer entre les « grandes universités » (Paris, Oxford, Bologne) où le rôle de production, de conservation et de transmission du savoir est perçu comme essentiel (*parens scientiarum*) et les universités plus récentes ou secondaires, dont les professeurs ne produisent pratiquement pas d'œuvres personnelles et qui n'ont aucune originalité intellectuelle ou doctrinale mais seulement un rôle efficace de validation des études faites et des compétences acquises pour répondre à une demande sociale et politique de formation de cadres aptes à répondre aux besoins des autorités et de la société environnante, y compris au niveau local.

7. Quel est l'apport des ordres religieux à l'essor du système académique médiéval?

O. W.: Les ordres des Dominicains et des Franciscains contribuaient à la formation de jeunes clercs dans leurs propres écoles; leurs élèves prenaient souvent part à la vie universitaire. Certains de leurs maîtres enseignaient aussi à l'université, par exemple à Paris. Et surtout, leurs écrits étaient lus et utilisés par les universitaires. Même si un maître n'avait jamais enseigné à l'université, ses écrits pouvaient être célèbres et souvent utilisés par des maîtres universitaires, comme c'était le cas pour Albert le Grand.

J. V.: Il faut plutôt parler de ralliement des ordres religieux au système universitaire, très rapide pour les Mendians (Dominicains et Franciscains surtout, plus tardifs et plus hésitants pour les ordres monastiques et canoniaux traditionnels. De plus, ce ralliement n'a jamais été que partiel et conditionnel: les ordres religieux acceptaient les méthodes de l'enseignement scolastique et adoptaient volontiers le système des grades, mais tenaient à préserver leur autonomie, c'est-à-dire leur organisation institutionnelle et leur discipline régulière interne sans être contraints par les dispositions des statuts universitaires; ils gardaient aussi leurs propres écoles tout en les intégrant dans les facultés universitaires. Ceci dit, par leur dynamisme intellectuel novateur, spécialement dans le domaine de la théologie (thomisme), leur popularité auprès de nombreux maîtres et étudiants séculiers (même si d'autres se montraient au contraire hostiles), leur rôle partout reconnu dans l'encadrement religieux de la vie universitaire (prédication), les religieux, surtout les Mendians, ont eu une influence positive sur le succès de l'institution universitaire et les « querelles entre religieux et séculiers » n'ont jamais durablement entravé le bon fonctionnement des universités.

8. Le 'networking' entre les étudiants et entre les professeurs, est-il une invention moderne où s'enracine-t-il dans l'Academia médiévale? Est-ce qu'on peut parler de networking étudiants ou professeurs au Moyen Âge?

O. W.: On pourrait peut-être comparer le 'networking' à la correspondance entre les maîtres au moyen âge, mais c'est surtout la circulation des maîtres et étudiants entre les universités qui marque cette époque. N'oublions pas que tout enseignement était oral et réel, rapporté par écrit ou non, mais jamais 'virtuel'. Un maître comme Matthieu de Gubbio, à Bologne, peut avoir eu une interaction à distance (par rapport d'étudiant interposé)

avec son collègue Walter Burley qui se trouvait ailleurs, mais ce n'était pas courant. Cela dit, la correspondance entre savants était déjà un phénomène courant bien avant les universités.

J. V.: Par certains côtés, l'université médiévale est un monde assez individualiste où les étudiants et les maîtres, échappant aux solidarités sociales traditionnelles (familles, ordres, etc.), affrontent seuls et sans grande aide matérielle ou psychologique les difficultés de l'étude, de l'enseignement et des examens (qui sont oraux et individuels). Il a cependant existé des formes de solidarité internes à l'université, d'entraide mutuelle, de travail en commun par petits groupes (de parents, d'amis, de compatriotes) qui ont certainement existé mais ont laissé peu de traces dans la documentation écrite. Les lieux où se saisit le mieux l'existence de ces réseaux interpersonnels favorables au travail collectif et aux réussites ultérieures de carrières sont d'une part les collèges (comme la Sorbonne ou le collège de Navarre à Paris), d'autre part les couvents d'études des religieux (comme le couvent Saint-Jacques pour les Dominicains parisiens); ce sont les ancêtres des « collèges de plein exercice » de l'époque moderne et des lycées d'après la Révolution française.

9. Quels sont les principaux défenseurs de l'université au Moyen Âge? Qui supporte financièrement les universités et pourquoi?

O. W.: Ici aussi, il faut distinguer selon le temps et le lieu. Au XIII^e siècle un maître à Bologne était payé par ses étudiants. Dans une université comme Paris les maîtres étaient des clercs et recevaient des prébendes de l'Eglise qui leur permettaient de vivre. Supporter financièrement des universités est une situation qui n'existe que dans des universités fondées par des institutions, comme celle de Prague fondée en 1348 à la demande de l'empereur Charles IV.

J. V.: Globalement, les universités n'ont guère été mises en cause comme telles au Moyen Âge: les ordres religieux traditionnels ont assez vite renoncé à leurs réserves. Tout au plus voit-on quelques mouvements populaires (le « mouvement des travailleurs » en Angleterre en 1381) ou certains hérétiques de la fin du Moyen Âge (hussites en Bohême, Lollards en Angleterre) émettre des critiques contre la richesse des collèges ou l'orgueil et l'aveuglement des docteurs. Mais globalement, les universités médiévales ont plutôt bénéficié d'un certain consensus social et les autorités ecclésiastiques et politiques ont

été à l'origine de la plupart des fondations d'universités (même s'il fallait qu'il y eut au préalable à la fois un vivier suffisant de professeurs et une attente forte de la part des étudiants potentiels). Ceci dit, les universités médiévales n'ont jamais mobilisé que des ressources financières limitées; elles avaient d'ailleurs très peu de bâtiments propres (les cours se faisaient dans des maisons privées ou louées, les réunions dans des églises) ou de bibliothèques collectives et pratiquement pas de revenus spécifiques. Pendant longtemps, l'Eglise a été la plus active à faciliter leur fonctionnement en accordant des bénéfices ecclésiastiques sans obligation de résidence aux maîtres et étudiants séculiers; les religieux étaient entretenus par leurs ordres. Les étudiants eux-mêmes (et leurs familles) contribuaient au financement de leurs études et au paiement des droits d'examen. Au moins dans les pays méridionaux (Italie surtout), les villes ont assez vite pris en charge tout ou partie des salaires des professeurs de droit et de médecine. Mais ce n'est guère avant la fin du Moyen Âge que certains princes les ont imitées. Auparavant, les rois et les princes – comme d'ailleurs les papes – se contentaient de faciliter la vie des universités par des octrois de privilèges judiciaires et d'exemptions fiscales. En fait, les seuls éléments assez bien dotés (de rentes et de terres) étaient les couvents d'études des religieux et, là où il en existait comme à Paris et en Angleterre, les collèges séculiers fondées par de pieux bienfaiteurs pour des étudiants « pauvres » (en fait surtout des parents et des compatriotes): ces collèges offraient des bourses, le vivre et le couvert, souvent une bibliothèque et parfois même quelques répétitions et exercices scolaires; leurs boursiers avaient donc une situation privilégiée par rapport à celle des autres étudiants.

Qual è il motore che alimenta l'interesse dello storico dell'università?

Intervista a Carla Frova
A cura di Andrea Fara

Carla Frova – Si è laureata con Raoul Manselli in Storia medioevale nella facoltà di Lettere dell'Università di Torino nel 1965. Dopo aver insegnato materie letterarie nelle scuole secondarie per oltre 10 anni, ha potuto dedicarsi alla ricerca come allieva della Scuola storica nazionale di Studi medievali dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Dal 1979 ha insegnato storia medioevale e storia delle università in varie università: Roma "La Sapienza", Sassari, Perugia e di nuovo Roma "La Sapienza" dove ha concluso l'attività di docente universitaria nel novembre 2011. La storia della scuola e delle università dall'alto Medioevo al primo Rinascimento, con particolare attenzione alle funzioni culturali e sociali svolte dai ceti intellettuali nelle diverse fasi storiche, è stata e continua ad essere il tema principale delle sue ricerche. Le numerose sedi in cui ha svolto l'attività di studio e di insegnamento le hanno offerto l'occasione di declinare questo interesse in dialogo con studiosi delle più varie specializzazioni e in relazione a diversi contesti storici. Ad un primo lavoro d'insieme su *Istruzione e educazione nel medioevo* (1974, con varie edizioni successive) sono seguiti contributi più specifici sulla cultura scolastica altomedioevale, in particolare su due grandi maestri del X secolo, Gerberto di Aurillac e Attone di Vercelli; e numerosissimi studi sulla scuola nell'ambito delle città comunali, con attenzione sia ai livelli di base, sia all'università. Per quanto riguarda quest'ultimo aspetto ha dedicato e dedica una parte rilevante della sua ricerca alla storia dell'università di Perugia: 12 suoi lavori pubblicati sull'argomento tra il 1998 e il 2010 sono stati raccolti nel volume *Scritti sullo "Studium Perusinum"* (2011), offertole dalla Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria per la conclusione della sua attività universitaria. È tra i membri fondatori del network *Héloïse – European Network on Digital Academic History*.

1. Qual è il motore che alimenta l'interesse dello storico dell'università? Si studiano le università medievali per comprenderle meglio, per capire il nostro passato culturale o per comprendere meglio il nostro presente?

Una premessa: qui adotto prevalentemente il punto di vista italiano – sia storicamente che storiograficamente. La precisazione è necessaria

perché la storia delle Università nel Medioevo, pur presentandosi come un fenomeno largamente europeo, ha poi delle declinazioni particolari a seconda degli ambiti. Quello italiano è abbastanza differenziato, per esempio, da quello transalpino o da quello dell'Europa orientale. E quindi, anche storiograficamente, gli interessi che hanno mosso gli storici sono, o possono essere, notevolmente diversi, a seconda delle varie aree culturali. E poi variano molto in ragione delle stagioni storiografiche. Vi è un motivo che direi essere abbastanza persistente in tutta la storiografia, dalle origini ai giorni nostri: il compito di ripercorrere la storia dell'istituzione è prevalentemente assunto da coloro che operano all'interno dell'istituzione stessa. I professori che sono attivi in una determinata università, talora anche i funzionari che vi lavorano (in particolare gli archivisti) ne ripercorrono la storia soprattutto con funzioni di rafforzamento dell'identità dell'istituzione, dei corpi che la costituiscono, e dei singoli membri. Un altro interesse molto forte è quello di ricostruire la storia delle discipline insegnate nell'università, e quindi in qualche modo di ricercare nel Medioevo quelli che possono essere gli incunaboli delle scienze moderne, di cogliere il primo definirsi di metodi in cui ancora ci si riconosce ai giorni nostri, dei metodi scolastici. Questo interesse spesse volte provoca un approccio un po' finalistico; adottando questa prospettiva gli storici hanno a volte la tentazione di privilegiare quei filoni di pensiero che anche al giorno d'oggi si riconoscono validi e di considerare regressivi o meno importanti quei filoni di ricerca o di studio nei quali non ci si riconosce più; insomma di andare alla ricerca del progresso delle discipline. Una terza importante linea di ricerca, oggi molto seguita dagli studiosi di storia delle università, secondo me, è quella che ha per oggetto la storia delle élites intellettuali, e dei processi attraverso i quali esse tendono a imporsi anche come élites sociali. Se prima della nascita dell'Università gli elementi che definivano le élites sociali erano l'appartenenza al clero, l'appartenenza ai corpi militari o il possesso di ingenti patrimoni fondiari, adesso la competenza in qualche settore del pensiero, dello studio, delle discipline, diviene un elemento caratterizzante la configurazione delle élites sociali, e quindi la storia dell'Università diviene in qualche modo parte costitutiva della storia dei ceti dominanti. Nei vari momenti l'una o l'altra di queste motivazioni ha giocato una maggiore importanza per gli storici. Per esempio, sicuramente in età moderna è stata molto valorizzata la storia dei corpi universitari, in particolare dei collegi dottorali, che hanno costituito dei veri e propri poteri nella società.

2. Per quale ragione l'università è un vettore per la riuscita professionale e personale nel Medioevo?

(e come domanda aggiuntiva)

2.a. Questa Università può essere considerata "strumento" di mobilità sociale? In che modo? Fino a quando?

Questo è un problema molto discusso. Ultimamente un notevole impulso alla riflessione su questo tema, nell'ambito della storiografia italiana, è stato dato dal grande progetto di ricerca sulla mobilità sociale, coordinato da Sandro Carocci, che ha preso in considerazione anche questo aspetto. Resta secondo me un problema di non facile soluzione, perché è molto difficile stabilire in quale misura l'acquisizione di un titolo di studio – a seguito di un percorso universitario, o magari anche per vie traverse, senza aver fatto, o avendo fatto solo in parte, studi regolari (questa possibilità di accedere al titolo di studio attraverso delle scorciatoie aumenta notevolmente nel tardo medioevo) – sia realmente un fattore di mobilità sociale o piuttosto venga a ratificare un'eminenza sociale già posseduta, rafforzando una fortuna familiare o personale che è stabilita in base ad altri elementi, come la ricchezza o le relazioni con il potere. È importante tenere presente la variabile temporale, e qui vengo alla sua domanda. Probabilmente nella prima fase dello sviluppo universitario questa capacità degli studi superiori di promuovere la conquista di una posizione sociale più eminente ha funzionato; e anche storiograficamente è stato possibile accertare e seguire carriere di persone che magari, nate da famiglie piuttosto oscure, tramite gli studi universitari, sono riuscite ad acquisire delle buone posizioni sociali, soprattutto qualora abbiano intrapreso una carriera di tipo ecclesiastico. In seguito il sistema tende a irrigidirsi moltissimo; segno di questo irrigidimento è la tendenza, che caratterizza i ceti universitari negli ultimi secoli del medioevo per poi accentuarsi in età moderna, a presentarsi come un gruppo chiuso, tale da conferire ai propri membri i caratteri di una élite nobiliare. In questa fase la possibilità per persone nate in famiglie oscure di accedere ai corsi universitari diviene sempre più difficile; è vero che si riscontra il fatto che nelle posizioni apicali della società ci sono tutte persone che dispongono di un titolo universitario; ma probabilmente questo è soltanto un elemento in qualche misura accessorio. Le famiglie sanno che per ricoprire determinati incarichi il titolo è necessario, però non è quello che ti rende possibile di riscattarti da un'origine modesta od oscura. E nell'età moderna il quadro è molto statico: è difficile che arrivino ad acquisire un titolo universitario persone di modesta origine e soprattutto, se vi arrivano, questo non gli serve effettivamente a intraprendere delle carriere brillanti. Né si può dire che giovino da questo

punto di vista quei meccanismi di soccorso agli indigenti che si cominciano a sviluppare, come l'istituzione dei Collegi per studenti poveri. Il loro sviluppo è certamente il segno di una sensibilità nuova: la società, consapevole dell'importanza che i percorsi di studio hanno in questo periodo come fattore di promozione sociale, intravede la possibilità di compiere opere di carità specializzata, non genericamente verso i poveri, ma verso lo studente povero. Però i Collegi sono numericamente insignificanti, non abbastanza diffusi da poter capovolgere il destino di una classe sociale; e poi anche queste istituzioni vengono interessate da fenomeni di chiusura, nel senso che – soprattutto dal Quattrocento – non è poi vero che quelli che vanno a ricoprire i posti nei collegi siano veramente poveri: molte volte sono persone molto legate con i centri di potere, con gli organismi direttivi dei Collegi stessi, con le famiglie dei fondatori; non accade che uno studente qualunque riesca a ottenere facilmente a un posto in Collegio.

3. Qual è l'aspetto più affascinante per lo storico quando affronta lo studio delle università medievali?

È difficile dare una risposta che valga per tutti; io posso solo rispondere a titolo personale. Secondo me quello che può attirare sono alcune caratteristiche che gli universitari come gruppo sociale presentano ai nostri occhi. Per esempio, soprattutto nella fase delle origini, l'intraprendenza personale – e qui ritorniamo al discorso della relativa mobilità sociale delle origini –: gli studenti che a partire dal XIII secolo popolano i primi centri di studi superiori sono sicuramente dei personaggi che hanno una notevole capacità di sfidare i pericoli, di fare lunghi viaggi alla ricerca di impegnativi percorsi di formazione; e anche l'audacia intellettuale, perché sicuramente la cultura di queste nuove scuole è caratterizzata da notevoli tratti di originalità e di vivacità: sono ambienti in cui gruppi sociali molto dinamici avviano percorsi di conoscenza che prima non erano stati tentati. È naturale che tali fenomeni attirino gli studiosi, che in questo caso possono accostarsi al tema anche con una certa misura di identificazione. Si tratta chiaramente di un oggetto di studio che è vicino a noi, alle nostre esperienze e sensibilità; e per un intellettuale di professione, tanto più se è un professore universitario, è un po' come risalire nel passato per scrivere la propria autobiografia ideale e quella del proprio gruppo. Negli universitari delle origini ci sono degli aspetti di rottura con l'*establishment* circostante, che li rendono particolarmente attraenti: a parte i *clerici vagantes*, i goliardi (testimonianze di un nuovo clima, anche se si tratta di creazioni letterarie, più che di figure storiche), pensiamo

ad esempio ad alcuni audaci filosofi parigini, come Abelardo o Sigieri di Brabante. Questo aspetto è più evidente nel periodo delle origini; ma anche in seguito c'è sempre qualche intellettuale universitario – diciamo così – un po' scomodo. Questo presenta, d'altra parte, un rischio per chi si avvicina a queste personalità: il fascino che esse esercitano può portare a un giudizio non corretto dal punto di vista storico, ovvero a considerare più interessanti i personaggi che appaiono di rottura, innovatori, non perfettamente allineati con il modo di pensare corrente o con il potere, e a considerare oggetti di studio di minore interesse o a valutare in modo negativo quei personaggi che appaiono più integrati con il sistema del potere, più organici all'assetto sociale. Questo sarebbe scorretto, perché certamente è anche molto interessante studiare come le élites intellettuali si mettano al servizio per esempio dei poteri pubblici o della Chiesa; quindi vederli proprio nel momento in cui si integrano profondamente nei sistemi politici e sociali. Da questo punto di vista si nota una certa differenza tra la storiografia italiana e la storiografia francese e più in generale transalpina: perché tutto sommato agli studiosi italiani piace molto la figura dell'intellettuale universitario di rottura e controcorrente; mentre invece in particolare i francesi – penso per esempio a Jacques Verger – hanno studiato con grande passione e finezza proprio il processo di funzionalizzazione, ovvero i percorsi attraverso i quali gli intellettuali universitari si sono integrati nei sistemi statuali delle nascenti monarchie nazionali, contribuendo a formare gli apparati essenziali dello Stato. In questo caso sui diversi indirizzi storiografici influisce ovviamente molto anche la diversa storia dei singoli paesi. Da noi questi aspetti sono stati un po' trascurati, almeno fino a epoca più recente; e soprattutto dai medievisti, meno dai modernisti, perché la storia dell'università moderna è proprio lo studio dell'integrazione nei sistemi di potere; mentre i medievisti hanno sempre subito il fascino delle origini, della fase eroica dell'università.

4. Perché l'insegnamento medievale si appoggia, si sviluppa e perdura in un'unica lingua: il latino?

È una domanda molto complessa. Sicuramente c'è un'esigenza di comunicazione attraverso aree culturali che ormai utilizzano come strumento corrente di comunicazione le lingue volgari. Quindi, dato il carattere internazionale – uso un termine un po' anacronistico – del fenomeno universitario, data la mobilità delle persone da una sede all'altra, sicuramente il latino forniva una possibilità di dialogo tra persone che ormai per gli scambi quotidiani usavano lingue diverse. Questo anche sulla base di un'esperienza

già consolidata che è quella della Chiesa universale: il latino era il linguaggio di un potere universale. Tuttavia questa scelta persiste a lungo, fino all'inoltrata età moderna, perché ancora nel Settecento la lingua ufficiale della lezione universitaria è il latino; persiste perché il latino si perfeziona come lingua scientifica e si identifica proprio come la lingua scolastica, per le sue caratteristiche intrinseche e formali, per il suo lessico che è sempre più specialistico, anche per la sua sintassi, per le sue modalità di comunicazione. Si afferma chiaramente che il latino è la lingua scolastica, scientifica. E sviluppandosi in questo modo si allontana sempre più dal latino dei classici; diventa una lingua totalmente artificiosa; e questo sarà poi il motivo principale della critica che gli Umanisti rivolgeranno al latino scolastico, ovvero di essere una lingua che non ha nulla da spartire con quella dei classici, perché completamente artificiale e costruita esclusivamente in vista di un uso tecnico e formalizzato. Anche dopo la rivoluzione scientifica del Seicento, si continuerà a usare il latino, almeno nella lezione cattedratica e nella comunicazione ufficiale, pubblica dell'università. Però la necessità di diffondere il sapere anche al di fuori dell'ambito della scuola, ovvero nel vasto e variegato mondo di coloro che adoperano la scienza per usi "pratici", fa sì che si cominci a comporre delle opere non di uso tipicamente scolastico, non destinate ad essere utilizzate a lezione, ma trattati di uso pratico o destinati a persone diverse dagli universitari. Cominciano quindi a crearsi due binari, entrambi comunque controllati dagli scienziati universitari. I quali da un lato, quando fanno lezione e scrivono dei prodotti letterari destinati tipicamente alla lezione, cioè le *lecturae*, scrivono in latino; dall'altro, quando scrivono delle opere destinate alla divulgazione e a un pubblico più vasto, non necessariamente quello degli studenti, cominciano a scrivere anche in volgare. Per esempio, già nel Quattrocento troviamo un trattato di diritto scritto in volgare, che non è tipicamente destinato alla lezione universitaria, ma magari al notaio oppure all'avvocato, a quelle persone che usano il diritto nella pratica quotidiana. È inevitabile che a un certo punto le lingue volgari penetrino anche nell'ambito universitario, ma ciò avviene con modalità differenti da luogo a luogo, da disciplina a disciplina.

5. È vero che l'invenzione delle università fa in un certo senso uscire il Medioevo dalle tenebre dei suoi "secoli bui"?

Questo è uno schema interpretativo che dipende in gran parte da pregiudizi di natura ideologica, che non si possono condividere. Sicuramente le università costituiscono una straordinaria novità, a partire dal XII secolo; ma la novità è più istituzionale che culturale. Certamente dal punto di vista

istituzionale si tratta di una forma di scuola che è molto diversa dalle scuole cattedrali, da quelle monastiche, in generale da quelle ecclesiastiche precedenti, perché non dipende più dall'autorità ecclesiastica, non è destinata unicamente alla formazione dei chierici, ha un impianto che crea una forte discontinuità dalle scuole precedenti. Ma dal punto di vista dei contenuti culturali, delle materie d'insegnamento l'Università è in larga misura debitrice della scuola precedente. L'insegnamento superiore impartito nelle scuole ecclesiastiche che dipendevano da vescovi e abati (scuole che noi chiamiamo "preuniversitarie" – forse in modo non troppo corretto, dal momento che continuano la loro opera e funzione anche quando si attivano le Università –) aveva già messo a fuoco moltissimi elementi di metodo e contenuto che poi vengono ereditati dalle scuole universitarie. Questo è un forte elemento di continuità. Quindi, dal punto di vista culturale, se dovessi parlare di un momento di uscita dalle "tenebre" ed emersione alla "luce", lo sposterei almeno subito dopo il Mille, la cui svolta rappresenta un momento di grande interesse: è un secolo di grande rinascita culturale, che mette a fuoco tantissimi elementi che poi le Università ereditano. Parimenti è il secolo della crescita economica, e i due fenomeni vanno di pari passo: c'è bisogno di un sapere che sia utile. Questi elementi si evidenziano non solo nelle città che saranno sede universitaria, ma anche in quei centri che non sono sede di scuole. Per esempio, tutto il movimento delle traduzioni, dal greco in latino, dall'arabo in latino, che ha messo a disposizione dell'Università testi fondamentali su cui si sono costruiti tutti gli edifici delle discipline universitarie, dalla filosofia al diritto e alla medicina e così via, nasce al di fuori e prima dell'Università stessa. Dunque non è con le Università che si esce dalle "tenebre", ma già prima con le scuole ecclesiastiche e con altri centri culturali, anche laici. Scuole e centri culturali che non erano "oscurantisti", ma animati da vivo fermento culturale.

In contesti storiografici diversi si tendeva a far vedere l'Università come qualcosa che rompeva con una situazione precedente, caratterizzata in senso prevalentemente negativo. Basti pensare all'anticlericalismo illuminista in Francia o all'anticlericalismo ottocentesco in Italia: in entrambi i casi si evidenziava come la cultura laica si venisse a liberare da quella ecclesiastica proprio in corrispondenza del momento della nascita delle Università. In Italia, per esempio, lo schema che applicano molti studiosi della fine dell'Ottocento è quello elaborato da Giosuè Carducci nel suo famoso discorso per l'inaugurazione dell'ottavo centenario (1888) della – presunta – nascita dell'Università di Bologna, secondo cui la "luce" esplose quando gli intellettuali si liberarono dal giogo oppressivo della cultura ecclesiastica, mortificante ed oscurantista, e furono capaci di autodeterminarsi come corporazione, come gruppo autonomo, e intraprendere questa nuova strada di liberazione.

6. *Come si può definire la missione delle università medievali: produzione del sapere, difesa della verità o missione sociale di formazione?*

Il termine “missione” va considerato con attenzione, nel senso che sembrerebbe implicare una prospettiva finalistica che in realtà non è corretta. La nascita dell’Università va vista come uno dei segnali, ma anche una delle cause, di una fase storica di grandissimo dinamismo politico, economico e sociale: la sperimentazione di nuove forme politiche come i Comuni in Italia; la rinascita dei commerci; la mobilità sociale. Tutto ciò richiede sicuramente una cultura nuova, che non può più appoggiarsi sulla cultura precedente, perché la cultura si trova a dare forma a delle realtà che prima non c’erano. Quindi ci devono essere degli intellettuali specializzati, al servizio di nuovi bisogni politici, economici e sociali, molto più complessi e soprattutto inediti. In Italia, per esempio, la cultura intellettuale si trova di fronte il compito di dare forma alle nuove istituzioni politiche del Comune. D’altra parte, questa considerazione ha portato a delle interpretazioni da cui secondo me ci si deve guardare, perché istituiscono dei rapporti diretti di causa-effetto che andrebbero per lo meno attenuati. Ritorniamo sulla straordinaria novità istituzionale che si delinea nelle città dell’Italia settentrionale e centrale dalla fine dell’XI secolo: gli abitanti delle città, le classi dirigenti cittadine, danno vita a una nuova e inedita forma politica che è il Comune; e quindi ecco che c’è bisogno di persone colte che diano forma a queste nuove istituzioni, che le sostengano; la nascita delle Università è certamente un fenomeno che si ambienta in questo contesto. Ma il collegamento non è automatico, perché le prime Università elaborano una cultura che è abissalmente diversa da quella di cui hanno bisogno le classi dirigenti comunali, le quali semmai, laddove debbano rivolgersi a intellettuali, fanno riferimento a intellettuali non universitari, o comunque marginali rispetto all’università, come per esempio i notai, che non sono tipicamente dei giuristi di scuola, ma dei pratici (che poi col tempo anche i notai si avvicinano all’università e fanno dei percorsi particolari, paralleli o in parte coincidenti con quelli degli universitari, è un altro discorso). Mentre all’interno dell’Università si coltivano dei saperi giuridici, per esempio, che non hanno nessun rapporto con gli immediati bisogni della vita e dell’istituzione comunale: per intenderci, da un lato lo studio del diritto classico, dall’altro l’applicazione del diritto consuetudinario. Dunque, secondo il mio parere, nell’Università c’è un elemento di rinascita culturale che effettivamente resta in qualche misura inspiegabile, di cui le motivazioni sono difficilmente individuabili, anzi sfuggono, non potendosi riportare a bisogni immediati della società contemporanea. Per questo alcuni

studiosi hanno valorizzato una motivazione in qualche modo inafferrabile, quella dell'amore della scienza, dell'amore del sapere. Più di cinquant'anni fa Herbert Grundmann si chiedeva che cosa abbia spinto queste persone a riunirsi, andare a riscoprire i testi del diritto romano classico, che parlavano di cose lontanissime rispetto ai bisogni della società di quel momento; e la sua risposta individuava come causa un motivo difficile da mettere a fuoco con precisione: proprio la curiosità, l'amore della scienza. Poi, anche molto rapidamente, i due mondi si sono incontrati e sono venuti a coincidere e sovrapporsi: i giuristi di scuola si sono posti il problema di intervenire sulla realtà a loro contemporanea, allargando il panorama dei casi da sottoporre alla loro indagine. Mentre prima si rappresentavano una società che era quella rappresentata nei loro libri, la società imperiale romana (anche i personaggi che mettevano in scena nel discutere i loro casi erano della Roma antica), ora cominciano a tentare il passo di interpretare con la loro scienza – pur antichizzante – il mondo nel quale vivono (ed entrano in scena i personaggi della società contemporanea); in altre parole, sono interessati a mettere alla prova la loro scienza sui casi della vita che si trovano a vivere. E d'altra parte, in modo speculare, le classi dirigenti del Comune sono interessate ad acquisire degli elementi di questa scienza “venerabile” che più facilmente possano anche servire a regolare la vita quotidiana. Quindi c'è un dinamismo politico, economico e sociale che agisce sullo sviluppo della storia intellettuale, ma non in maniera diretta, in un rapporto immediato di causa / effetto, quanto piuttosto attraverso complessi elementi di raccordo; in cui alla fine, effettivamente, la rispondenza di questi nuovi intellettuali alle richieste e ai bisogni della loro società è molto forte. Naturalmente anche ragionare in questo modo è una scelta storiografica ben precisa, perché vuol dire riconoscere un'autonomia alla storia intellettuale. In altre parole, la storia intellettuale non è vista come una pura funzione delle altre storie, della storia economica, della storia politica, ha una sua autonomia; interagisce con le altre, ma non è puramente dipendente da esse.

(in questo senso, una domanda aggiuntiva)

6.a. Quali differenze - metodologiche, di obiettivi e di formazione - tra (alcuni) grandi Atenei (per esempio Bologna, Napoli, Parigi, Oxford)?

In effetti ci sono molte differenze. Innanzitutto distinguerei tra l'Italia dei Comuni e l'Italia del Regno. Nella prima ci sono sedi prestigiose e molto antiche dove l'aspetto della separatezza della scuola dalla vita è abbastanza

evidente, seppure con differenziazioni. A Bologna vi è uno stacco netto tra la dottrina e la pratica; il Duecento bolognese è molto orientato sul diritto classico, sul *Corpus Iuris* di Giustiniano; e solo nel Trecento le due realtà (diritto di scuola e diritti pratici) si coordineranno meglio. D'altra parte, nelle sedi cosiddette minori, per esempio Modena o Reggio (sedi di studio per così dire satelliti di Bologna), questa osmosi tra la pratica e la dottrina è più precoce e veloce: la scuola è comunque prestigiosa, ma il professore è più immerso nella vita cittadina. Del tutto diverso è il caso dell'Università di Napoli, perché non nasce "spontaneamente", ma per volontà del sovrano, di Federico II, e quindi è da subito una Università che deve servire allo Stato, secondo il progetto che è alla base della sua stessa fondazione. In tal senso la prospettiva del fondatore di mettere a disposizione del Regno meridionale un corpo di funzionari ben preparati è oltremodo evidente; e questo poi caratterizzerà moltissimo anche il successivo sviluppo, per esempio, della scienza giuridica meridionale che in misura molto minore è una scienza della scuola e molto più una scienza dei tribunali. Le due aree della Penisola si differenziano da questo punto di vista in modo evidente: nell'Italia centro-settentrionale, l'Università è luogo di elaborazione della dottrina, separato dai tribunali e dagli altri luoghi istituzionali in cui tale dottrina è messa in pratica; nell'Italia meridionale, i tribunali sono sia luoghi di elaborazione della dottrina che luoghi di applicazione pratica del diritto.

(in questo senso, una domanda aggiuntiva)

6.b. Lei ha studiato a lungo le istituzioni universitarie romane. Roma ha avuto una Università che ha a lungo "stentato" ad affermarsi, nonostante l'Urbe fosse un centro politico, economico e culturale di altissimo livello. Come mai?

Questo non è tanto facile da spiegare. Sicuramente lo *Studium Urbis* come università della città si sviluppa in epoca abbastanza tarda, agli inizi del Trecento, mentre in altre realtà lo sviluppo di istituzioni universitarie è già pienamente maturo. In tal senso possiamo certamente considerare la concorrenza molto forte. E poi bisogna considerare che per lungo tempo, nel Trecento, l'assenza del papato da Roma genera una difficoltà e un vuoto, di cui l'Università indubbiamente soffre, anche se la vitalità dell'ambiente culturale romano pur in assenza del papa non deve essere sottovalutata. Se quello di Roma nasce come uno Studio comunale, in seguito il Comune romano, col ritorno del papa, non ha la forza necessaria per mantenere la struttura ad alti livelli. Non possiamo infine dimenticare la sovrastante

dimensione della quattrocentesca corte papale. Dal momento in cui il papa risiede stabilmente in città, il polo culturale dell'Urbe non è l'Università ma appunto la corte papale.

7. Qual è l'apporto degli ordini religiosi nella cristallizzazione del sistema accademico medievale?

Riprendendo anche le risposte precedenti, possiamo dire che il dinamismo politico, economico e sociale in cui si inserisce la nascita delle Università caratterizza pure la Chiesa, la sua organizzazione, la sua spiritualità, la sua dottrina. Anche per la Chiesa questo è un periodo di grandi rivolgimenti, di grande rielaborazione. E questo vale in particolare per gli ordini religiosi, sia gli antichi ordini monastici, che conoscono tutti una fase di profondo rinnovamento, ripensando almeno in parte le proprie funzioni nella nuova realtà dopo il Mille; sia i nuovi ordini, che hanno proprio lo studio come vocazione, tipicamente i Domenicani, ma poi anche i Francescani, all'inizio sospettosi nei confronti del sapere scolastico, perché il possesso di un'elevata cultura sembrava contravvenire alla regola della povertà francescana (una persona che possiede il tesoro della cultura non è povera). Tutti, chi prima chi dopo, individuano nella cultura uno strumento indispensabile alla formazione dei propri membri, sia in vista della pastorale, cioè della diffusione del messaggio religioso che diventa sempre più specializzato, nella predicazione come nelle altre discipline; sia in relazione alla propria autolegittimazione, cioè a trovare il loro posto, la loro funzione nella Chiesa. Tutti gli ordini religiosi si adoperano al fine di organizzare un sistema di scuole all'interno dei monasteri e dei conventi, destinate ai propri membri. Le scuole degli ordini, ai livelli superiori, hanno molto in comune con le Università. Inizialmente sono esclusi gli insegnamenti della medicina e del diritto, perché visti come scienze secolari; mentre quelli di filosofia e di teologia hanno metodologie e contenuti simili a quelli delle Università. Comunque le scuole degli ordini religiosi hanno caratteristiche molto diverse dalle università dal punto di vista organizzativo, perché hanno una struttura verticistica, e una diffusione sul territorio capillare e sistematica, mentre le Università hanno comunque un elemento di spontaneità nel loro nascere, anche quelle organizzate da sovrani o da Comuni. Manca inoltre nelle scuole dei religiosi l'elemento dell'autogestione, che invece è tipico dell'Università medievale. D'altra parte le scuole degli ordini hanno moltissimi rapporti con le scuole universitarie: rapporti di collaborazione, circolazione di maestri, di concorrenza (basti pensare alle problematiche generate dalla presenza degli ordini mendicanti nell'Università di Parigi nel

corso del Duecento), e di supplenza: soprattutto in Italia la teologia è una disciplina che non viene insegnata nelle scuole universitarie fino all'avanzato Trecento, e dunque le scuole degli ordini religiosi rispondono a questa necessità; anche quando saranno attivate le scuole di teologia nelle Università, nella seconda metà del Trecento, i maestri saranno per grandissima parte, almeno fino al Concilio di Trento, di provenienza regolare, ovvero provenienti dagli ordini.

(in questo senso, una domanda aggiuntiva)

7.a. Università spontanee, per migrazione, per fondazione: quali le funzioni - positive? - della "fuga dei cervelli"; del richiamo dei potenti; delle migliori opportunità di lavoro.

Sicuramente la mobilità dei professori da una sede universitaria all'altra è un fenomeno positivo: migliora la qualità dell'insegnamento e a mio avviso è uno dei fattori che contribuiscono a fare del gruppo dei docenti universitari un ceto; come afferma Ennio Cortese, la costituzione degli universitari in ceto nasce senza dubbio dall'autocoscienza che essi hanno di sé e delle proprie funzioni, ma anche dal riconoscimento che viene dato loro dalla società circostante. Quando un centro di potere (per esempio un Comune) o un potente come soggetto singolo (per esempio un signore territoriale o un principe) investono molte risorse per far venire un professore famoso da una Università al di fuori del proprio ambito di dominio, per assicurarlo alla propria Università, questo diviene un riconoscimento fortissimo della funzione, dell'autorità, del prestigio del personaggio, e anche della sua scienza. Più in generale, questo contribuisce ad accentuare il prestigio e l'autocoscienza del gruppo degli universitari. Ovviamente questo può accadere a livelli estremamente vari, perché possiamo parlare del grandissimo medico o del grandissimo professore di diritto che riescono a spuntare dei contratti molto vantaggiosi per andare a insegnare in un dato luogo; ma poi c'è anche un livello molto più basso, per esempio dei maestri di grammatica: anche questi sono caratterizzati da una forte mobilità, ma magari a livello più circoscritto e regionale, comunque chiamati e adeguatamente remunerati se sono di una certa fama, dando prestigio a una scuola. Insomma questi fenomeni si riscontrano sia a livelli sociali medio bassi, sia a livelli sociali alti e altissimi; comunque questi intellettuali che vengono chiamati a insegnare fuori dal loro paese hanno un riconoscimento sociale. Questo contribuisce anche a far circolare le idee, i metodi, i libri e così via. Anche questi elementi di mobilità, ad ogni modo, tendono ad attenuarsi e restringersi in epoca moderna, perché tutto il sistema si regionalizza moltissimo, con la creazione degli Stati

territoriali di varia dimensione, da quelli signorili e principeschi a quelli nazionali; oppure anche in relazione a fenomeni complessi quale la frattura religiosa e confessionale (e allora i cattolici frequentano le università cattoliche, i protestanti di diversa confessione i propri atenei). In effetti ciò crea un altro circuito di mobilità, ma di tipo differente, comunque con caratteristiche proprie dell'età moderna.

8. Pensa che il 'networking' tra studenti e professori sia un'invenzione moderna o che abbia le sue radici nell'accademia medievale?

Nei secoli del Medioevo una rete esiste di fatto; non penso abbia una forte componente ideologica – come potrà essere per esempio la solidarietà tra Umanisti o la *République des Lettres* in età moderna. Come dicevo, nel Medioevo questa rete esiste di fatto e opera con grande efficacia, in senso fortemente pratico e solidaristico. Per esempio, durante il periodo degli studi, è proprio la rete che gli studenti stabiliscono tra di loro, anzitutto in base alle solidarietà nazionali o di origine, riunendosi in organizzazioni corporative (*universitates, nationes*, ecc.), a garantire loro protezione e solidarietà. In modo analogo, dopo la fine degli studi, continuano a esistere i rapporti tra i vecchi compagni di studio, tra docenti e allievi.

Tutto ciò diviene determinante ai fini delle carriere accademiche (anche con la formazione di scuole di pensiero di un determinato professore in una determinata università, riconoscendo e costruendo il prestigio e il pensiero tanto del docente quanto dell'ateneo) e più in generale delle carriere professionali (sia nel pubblico che nel privato, perché naturalmente i vecchi compagni di scuola si richiamano, si cercano, offrendosi così opportunità di lavoro, successo economico, affermazione sociale. Si pensi per esempio alla creazione di legami matrimoniali tra le famiglie di ex compagni di studio, ma anche tra le famiglie di professori e di allievi). Questa rete e la sua creazione sono ultimamente oggetto di molti interessanti studi, in particolare con metodi della SNA (*Social Network Analysis*) applicati alla ricerca storica, che si applica a ricostruire le reti di solidarietà, di patronato, ecc. di personaggi in vario modo legati agli ambienti accademici. Questa rete implica senza dubbio una serie di scambi di natura scientifica tra i personaggi; ritengo tuttavia che, almeno per i secoli medievali, non si possa parlare di una vera e propria "comunità scientifica", che implica la costituzione di un confronto sistematico tra contenuti dottrinali e metodi, che si riconosce nella definizione di "intellettuale" e condivide (o quanto meno ritiene di dover discutere, anche in questo caso sistematicamente) una serie di attributi che alla funzione di

“intellettuale” sono legati. Questi aspetti sono a mio avviso riscontrabili solo con gli Umanisti, e soprattutto successivamente con i componenti della *République des lettres*; l’intellettuale in senso proprio nasce solo alla fine dell’Ottocento – è d’uso indicare un momento preciso, il 1898, data dell’intervento di Émile Zola in merito all’affaire Dreyfus. Dunque in epoca medievale le reti accademiche hanno innanzitutto una finalità pratica; è possibile che vi sia anche uno scambio di natura scientifica, ma questo è più evidente nell’ambito specifico del rapporto tra maestro e allievo, con la sottolineatura di una filiazione di pensiero dall’uno all’altro.

9. Quali sono i principali difensori dell’università medievale e chi supporta economicamente le università? E perché?

Anche questo varia molto a seconda dei periodi e delle aree geografiche; e proprio per l’estrema diversità delle situazioni, sono questioni che non sono state molto analizzate. La storiografia classica sulle università cerca di mettere in evidenza soprattutto gli elementi di uniformità del fenomeno, considerato europeo, e quindi con caratteristiche comuni da rintracciare dappertutto. Eppure sarebbe questo uno degli aspetti di maggiore interesse, perché le diversità locali sono estremamente forti e non si possono costringere in una interpretazione storiografica unitaria. Bisogna precisare che, data la dimensione europea del fenomeno, nella costruzione del sistema universitario come istituzione dotata di determinate funzioni e prerogative giuridiche, deve entrare per forza in campo un potere di tipo universale, come il papato o l’impero. Per fare un esempio, nella concessione dei gradi e dei titoli, chi può garantire che questi abbiano un valore universale? Evidentemente solo un potere che non abbia una delimitazione territoriale, il quale può accreditare il titolo appunto solo nel proprio ambito di dominio. E infatti, per definirsi tali, le Università devono avere l’approvazione giuridica da parte del papa o dell’imperatore o di entrambi, gli unici poteri che possono assicurare che i titoli ottenuti in una sede siano validi ovunque (*licentia ubique docendi*). Il papa e/o l’imperatore sono chiamati pure alla tutela degli universitari nella loro integrità fisica e patrimoniale, perché solo un potere superiore può garantire la sicurezza alle persone che si spostano al fuori del territorio di origine, al di là dei singoli confini. Naturalmente entrano in campo anche i poteri locali, facendo sempre riferimento al riconoscimento dei poteri universali e superiori. Per esempio, vi sono molti Comuni che fondano Università, ma sempre devono avere un riconoscimento da parte del papa o dell’imperatore, perché altrimenti le istituzioni da loro

promosse mancherebbero delle prerogative giuridiche essenziali a farne una sede di studio attraente per gli studenti. Per questo le autorità comunali investono ingenti somme per ottenere bolle papali o diplomi imperiali alla loro sede di studi. Che cosa si aspettano i poteri universali e locali quando intervengono a sostegno dell'Università, ognuno secondo le proprie prerogative? Possiamo distinguere due aspetti. Papato e impero richiedono ai nuovi intellettuali anzitutto una forma di sostegno dal punto di vista ideologico. Per esempio, nella nuova cultura universitaria, la Chiesa vede da un lato un pericolo, se non messa sotto controllo; dall'altro un aiuto, se opportunamente indirizzata, perché rafforza il potere dell'istituzione e collabora alla diffusione delle verità della fede. In modo analogo l'impero: Federico Barbarossa assicura ai maestri e agli studenti determinate tutele giuridiche, affermando che essi sono per lui di grande aiuto perché orientano i sudditi a sottoporsi all'autorità dell'imperatore. Il secondo aspetto del rapporto tra università e pubblici poteri riguarda in particolare i poteri locali, a partire dal momento in cui, tra la fine del Duecento e gli inizi del Trecento, essi iniziano a organizzarsi come poteri territoriali: una svolta che ha dato luogo a molte discussioni tra gli storici dell'università (Jacques Verger le riassume nell'interrogativo: *Il Trecento, declino o trasformazione?*). In questa fase gli universitari interessano come prestatori di un sapere di contenuto più tecnico: per esempio, i giuristi sono necessari per la stesura degli Statuti cittadini; o i medici per assicurare la salute pubblica. In tal senso gli universitari sono potenzialmente utili per la costruzione di una burocrazia tecnica e moderna, in cui l'aspetto ideologico diminuisce o comunque viene sussunto nell'altro – tenendo presente che, svolgendo la funzione di tecnico del sapere, penetra comunque un messaggio ideologico. Questo secondo aspetto interessa anche la Chiesa, la quale sempre più chiede agli universitari un sapere di carattere tecnico, chiamandoli a entrare negli apparati burocratici della Curia romana e delle chiese locali, sempre più complessi e perfezionati; mentre il compito di assicurare un'appoggio ideologico è più demandato agli ordini religiosi. Questo fenomeno è evidente laddove si consideri che per tutto il Duecento la Chiesa domanda alle Università soprattutto teologi, mentre a partire dal Trecento la richiesta maggiore è verso i giuristi, canonisti o civilisti. Per quanto riguarda i sistemi di finanziamento, anche questi sono molto diversi tra un'area e l'altra. Per esempio, in Italia troviamo moltissime Università che sono finanziate totalmente dal Comune cittadino, che si interessa di mettere a contratto i professori e di pagarli in modo regolare. Negli Stati signorili e principeschi i principali finanziatori sono i signori o i principi; nelle monarchie nazionali i singoli sovrani. Però ci sono anche realtà in cui il finanziamento è assicurato dalle comunità ecclesiastiche, per esempio dai capitoli delle cattedrali o dai monasteri, come in Spagna. Se il sistema di finanziamento varia molto, resta

fermo che anche gli interessati devono contribuire, con versamenti che vanno a coprire non tanto l'insegnamento – dal momento che, come detto, i professori sono stipendiati pubblicamente –, quanto le spese relative alla frequenza, soprattutto se fuori sede, e poi quelle, rilevanti, necessarie a ottenere il diploma. Un investimento che ovviamente, nelle attese dello studente e della sua famiglia, sarà ripagato dalla conquista di una buona posizione economica e sociale.

9.a. Università e politica hanno quindi avuto sempre un legame molto stretto: quando la fine dell'autonomia?

In effetti l'autonomia dell'Università finisce molto presto, nel momento in cui i poteri pubblici prendono in carico finanziariamente l'istituzione. Non a caso, le Università di più lunga e radicata tradizione di autogestione sono quelle che più tardi arrivano ad essere finanziate dai poteri pubblici. Ad esempio, solo nel Duecento avanzato l'Università di Bologna vede entrare il Comune quale finanziatore; prima gli studenti si finanziano personalmente e pagano loro il professore attraverso il sistema della colletta. Il corpo studentesco continua a mantenere il potere di approvare la scelta dei professori, ma solo formalmente. Nelle Università che sorgono ad opera del Comune, di un sovrano, di un signore territoriale, il professore è praticamente un funzionario pubblico, e dunque l'autonomia è fin dall'inizio relativa. Si potrebbe ragionare in termini di coinvolgimento della classe docente negli apparati pubblici. A differenza di quanto accada per esempio in Francia, dove il destino dei professori come funzionari è molto evidente, in Italia la situazione è più sfumata. Nella Penisola i professori continuano ad essere abbastanza mobili da una sede all'altra; oppure sono utilizzati per compiti tecnici per così dire effimeri, per esempio come ambasciatori. Tutto ciò fa sì che il radicamento sia limitato, tenendo comunque conto che vi sono enormi differenze tra una realtà e l'altra, tra una famiglia e l'altra, tra una persona e l'altra, persino tra una disciplina e l'altra, con differenti gradi di osmosi tra professori e funzionari. Per esempio, i giuristi tendono a radicarsi di più negli apparati di potere della città e tendono a essere prevalentemente cittadini; mentre i medici per lungo tempo sono meno inseriti e molto spesso sono forestieri.

10. Se vivessimo nel Medioevo: sareste nell'università?

Non saprei proprio dirlo. Devo anzitutto ricordare, a rischio di essere banale, che avrei avuto una probabilità piccolissima di essere un membro dell'università: dal punto di vista quantitativo gli universitari sono una presenza insignificante nella società medievale, un gruppo influente ma numericamente ridottissimo. Se avessi avuto questa incredibile fortuna, forse mi sarebbe piaciuto essere uno di quegli scolari che hanno vissuto il momento più creativo ed eroico delle origini. Per esempio, quelli che, nella prima metà del Duecento, nella stanza di una modesta casa parigina, dovevano accontentarsi di un po' di paglia per mettersi a sedere, ma avevano lo straordinario privilegio di ascoltare le lezioni del più audace filosofo del tempo, Sigieri di Brabante, il maestro che tentava strade fino allora non percorse e che, come dice Dante, *insegnando nel vico degli Strami, sillogizzò invidiosi veri* (Paradiso, X, 137). Poveri, forse anche marginali dal punto di vista sociale, ma con una straordinaria creatività intellettuale e con nobili e grandissime ambizioni.

Studies

University and urban society. A prosopographical database of the Paduan “Studium” in the Middle Ages (1222-1405)

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Abstract: This article presents and discusses the work and the methodological issues of the project PADU-A (Prosopographical-Access-Database of University-Agenda. Towards a database of students and professors of the first two centuries of the university). The project consists in the realization and exploitation of a prosopographical database, with the aim of producing an advancement in the knowledge of academic population that animated the university of Padua in the years 1222-1405. After having recalled briefly the history of this important *Studium*, the article firstly presents critically the available sources and the challenges they pose to the researcher and to the realization of a database. Secondly, it illustrates the structure and functioning of the database in connection with the sources' features. Finally, it presents some research possibilities based upon the data collected and their analysis, with the appropriate methodological approach and precautions.

Keywords: university, prosopography, database, social history, urban history, Middle Ages, Padua

Rezumat: *Universitate și societate urbană. O bază de date prosopografică referitoare la “studium”-ul din Padova în evul mediu (1222-1405). Acest material prezintă și discută realizarea și aspectele metodologice asociate proiectului PADU-A (Prosopographical-Access-Database of University-Agenda. Towards a database of students and professors of the first two centuries of the university). Proiectul vizează constituirea și valorificarea unei baze de date de tip prosopografic, care are drept scop o mai bună cunoaștere a “populației academice” care a frecventat și animat Universitatea din Padova între anii 1222-1405. După o prealabilă parcurgere succintă a istoriei acestui important “studium”, articolul de*

față prezintă în premieră și în manieră critică sursele disponibile și problemele ridicate de acestea atât în raport cu mediul de cercetare, cât și față de construirea bazei de date. În al doilea rând, este ilustrată structura și funcționarea bazei de date în relație cu particularitățile izvoarelor. În cele din urmă, studiul expune câteva perspective de investigație bazate pe datele colectate și pe analiza acestora, având în vedere nu doar abordări metodologice adecvate, ci și o serie de măsuri de precauție.

Cuvinte-cheie: Universitate, Padova, studenți, evul mediu, prosopografie, bază de date.

1. *Introduction: for a history of Paduan academic people*

The institutional history of the university of Padua is quite known. “Established” in 1222 by a group of students coming from Bologna, where the control imposed by the commune was considered excessive, it lasted until the present time, differently from other universities created “by migration” in the same period in Italy. Among the reasons of this success, there is the existence of a suitable environment in Padua, made by schools of jurists and a considerable cultural life, and the connections between local intellectuals and scholars with the *Studia* placed elsewhere.¹ So, while the development of the university was suspended during the *signoria* of Ezzelino da Romano (1237-1256), the intellectual life was not.² In this way, in the 1260s a sort of “resurrection” took place, with the support of powers interested in the development of a high-level instruction institute. The commune of Padua, in the first place, included in the urban legislation some norms concerning the safeguard of students and the activity of professors. Secondly, in 1264 the papacy recognized the procedure for obtaining the *licentia docendi* and the related granting power to the Paduan bishop.

¹ See Girolamo Arnaldi, *Le origini dello studio di Padova. Dalla migrazione universitaria del 1222 alla fine del periodo ezzeliano*, in “La Cultura. Rivista di Filosofia, Letteratura e Storia”, 15 (1977): 388-431, and Antonio Marangon, *Ad cognitionem scientiae festinare. Gli studi nell’Università e nei conventi di Padova nei secoli XIII e XIV*, ed. by Tiziana Pesenti (Trieste, 1997). For a broader point of view, Ronald G. Witt, *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge-New York, 2012).

² For Ezzelino and Padua, see Sante Bortolami, “*Honor civitatis*”. *Società comunale ed esperienze di governo signorile nella Padova ezzeliniana*, in G. Cracco (ed.), *Nuovi studi ezzeliniani* (Roma, 1992), pp. 161-239.

It is then in this decade that we can consider fully established and working the *Studium*, the main discipline of which was undoubtedly law, followed by the family of arts and science, including grammar, philosophy and medicine.³ Only in 1365 the already existing school of theology was associated to the *Studium* by papal privilege, also thanks to the support given to the petition by the *signore* of Padua, Francesco I da Carrara.⁴ This new family *signoria*, established in 1318, did not entail another interruption of the *Studium* development; on the contrary, the lords contributed to it, especially by promoting the enrolment of famous professors of law, arts and medicine. Neither did the annexation of Padua to the Venetian territory in 1405 – with the end of the da Carrara lordship – had negative consequences. By forbidding the subjects to attend other universities, also Venice contributed to the fortunes of the *Studium*.⁵

But what about people who animated it? Historians have devoted some investigations to students and professors of Padua. Furthermore, in many cases this *Studium* results as one of the most important places of the activity of famous professors, investigated from various points of view, so that Padua is seen “in context”, as a brick of a specific research. More difficult and less attempted appears to be a comprehensive study of the Paduan academic population and of its evolution during the 13th and 14th centuries.⁶ The main reason for that is the nature and availability of sources, which make hardly feasible an exhaustive prosopography of Paduan scholars – as we will see. However, the new approaches and techniques in the field, especially the digital ones, allow now to go beyond these limits.

The prosopographical research developed by historians in Italy and Europe – including a significant number of projects of academic history of the Middle Ages and Early Modern times – is growing, and the technical progresses in organizing and managing such activities, as well as the greater availability of people skilled in digital humanities in and around academia,

³ On the latter group, see Nancy G. Siraisi, *Arts and Science at Padua. The Studium Before 1350* (Toronto, 1973).

⁴ Donato Gallo, *Università e signoria a Padova dal XIV al XV secolo* (Trieste, 1998).

⁵ For its history between the 13th and 15th centuries, see Donato Gallo, *L'età medioevale*, in P. Del Negro (ed.), *L'Università di Padova. Otto secoli di storia* (Padova, 2002), pp. 15-33, and its bibliographical references. For some recently edited sources, Donato Gallo, *Dalle origini dello Studio alla caduta della signoria carrarese (1222-1405)*, in P. Del Negro, F. Piovan (eds.), *L'università di Padova nei secoli (1222-1600). Documenti di storia dell'Ateneo* (Treviso, 2017), pp. 13-114.

⁶ This doesn't mean that no research has been conducted on the topic: see for example Pietro Posenato, *Dottori e studenti del primo Trecento a Padova*, in “Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova”, 3 (1970): 31-89, and Sante Bortolami, *Studenti e città nel primo secolo dello Studio padovano*, in F. Piovan, L. Sitran Rea (eds.), *Studenti, Università, città nella storia padovana. Atti del convegno, Padova 6-8 febbraio 1998* (Trieste, 2001), pp. 3-27.

are impressive. For that reasons, the present time is particularly suitable for resuming a prosopographical approach to the history of the Paduan *Studium*. With these premises, in 2016 Donato Gallo launched the research project PADU-A, hosted at the Department of Historical and Geographic Sciences and the Ancient World of the University of Padua.⁷ At the beginning of 2017 the project took the first steps, with the realization of a prosopographical database for the years 1222-1405.

The main purpose of this article is to present and describe the work in progress, and to discuss the related problems and challenges concerning the nature of the available sources and their relation with the systematic way of recording data that characterizes the use of databases. After having presented and exemplified the sources, the contribution will firstly focus on the methodology used to organize the database and to input data according to some specific standards as well as to the nature of the information provided by the sources. Secondly, some research approaches and possibilities will be illustrated, also to show in practice the chances offered, and the limits imposed, by the documentary corpus available.

2. *The sources for the prosopographic analysis of the Studium*

One of the features of Paduan academic history is the nature of the written sources. From the institutional point of view, the city statutes of Padua (since 1262) and those of the jurists' *universitas* (reviewed in 1331) let us to know the normative aspects of academic life in certain moments.⁸ Instead, the most important serial writings for the prosopography of the medieval *Studium* - the registers of *matriculae* - are missing, and this seriously compromises the knowing of academic population.⁹ Actually, some registers are available, like the *matricule* of the city's *collegium* of judges, containing information about *doctores* or *licentiati* in law who were admitted in the association, and the small series of acts of the *collegium artistarum*, the association of doctors in arts and medicine. But these registers only provide

⁷ The title of the project is: "Prosopographical-Access-Database of University-Agenda. Verso una banca dati di studenti e docenti nei primi due secoli dell'Università" (Towards a database of students and professors of the first two centuries of the university).

⁸ Andrea Gloria (ed.), *Statuti del comune di Padova dal sec. XII all'anno 1285* (Padova: Sacchetto, 1873); Heinrich Denifle, *Die Statuten der Juristen-Universität Padua vom Jahre 1331*, in "Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters", 6 (1892): 309-562.

⁹ Siraisi, *Arts and Science*, *op. cit.*, p. 18, estimates the number of Paduan students at 2.000 at least. The hypothesis is based upon the agreement with the city of Vercelli, in 1228, for the migration of students from Padua to establish a new university there.

some additional data. As for writings produced outside the *Studium* and the *universitates* of students, we lack other kinds of precious documents, for instance communal acts concerning the employment and payment of professors and their salary.¹⁰

How can we look inside the Paduan academic history and its people, then? Fortunately, we have a considerable number of notarial acts that contain useful information and show professors, students and someone of the university's "personnel" in action in the society. These acts have been selected and summarized in the 19th century by Andrea Gloria, who published them in three volumes entitled *Monumenti della Università di Padova* (Figure 1).¹¹ These precious publications contain summaries and some complete transcriptions of notarial acts kept in various Paduan archives, and of some other kinds of documents (also published elsewhere) containing information about people who surely or probably attended the Paduan university and graduated or taught there. Furthermore, the author published the biographical profiles of the people concerned. In most cases, Gloria just provided the few information available about those who are only mentioned in the edited documents; in some other cases – usually, the famous people – he added data from other sources. The *Monumenti* represent then the most important source of data for a prosopographical census, despite some transcriptions should be taken carefully and compared with more recent editions, and although other documents must be taken into account to expand the number of people and the data recorded by Gloria.¹²

¹⁰ This type of documents is largely used, for example, for the history of the university of Perugia: see Carla Frova, Stefania Zucchini, *Onomasticon: una banca dati per la storia dell'Università di Perugia*, in "Annali di storia delle università italiane", 21/1 (2017): 117-134, in particular pp. 122-123. For an overview of Paduan communal sources between the 13th and 14th centuries, see John Kenneth Hyde, *Padua in the Age of Dante* (Manchester; New York, 1966).

¹¹ Andrea Gloria (ed.), *Monumenti della Università di Padova (1222-1318)* (Venice, 1884); Andrea Gloria (ed.), *Monumenti della Università di Padova (1318-1405)* (Padua, 1888), 2 volumes. On Andrea Gloria, see at least Laura Cerasi, *Gloria, Andrea*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 57 (Roma, 2001), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-gloria_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/andrea-gloria_(Dizionario-Biografico)) (30.04.2019), and Antonio Rigon, *L' "imperio delle fonti". Edizioni documentarie e ricerca storico-medievistica nell'Università di Padova da Andrea Gloria a Paolo Sambin*, in "Padova e il suo territorio", 17, 100 (2002): 57-59.

¹² In particular, documents that are kept in non-Paduan archives can provide relevant information about foreign people who graduated there and then came back home: see for instance Federico Martino, *Un dottore di decreti arcivescovo di Messina. La laurea padovana (1281) di Guidotto d'Abbate*, in "Rivista internazionale di diritto comune", 4 (1993), 97-120. The journal "Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova" – published by the Centro per la Storia dell'Università di Padova (CSUP) – often publishes articles containing the edition of single documents or group of acts concerning academic people.

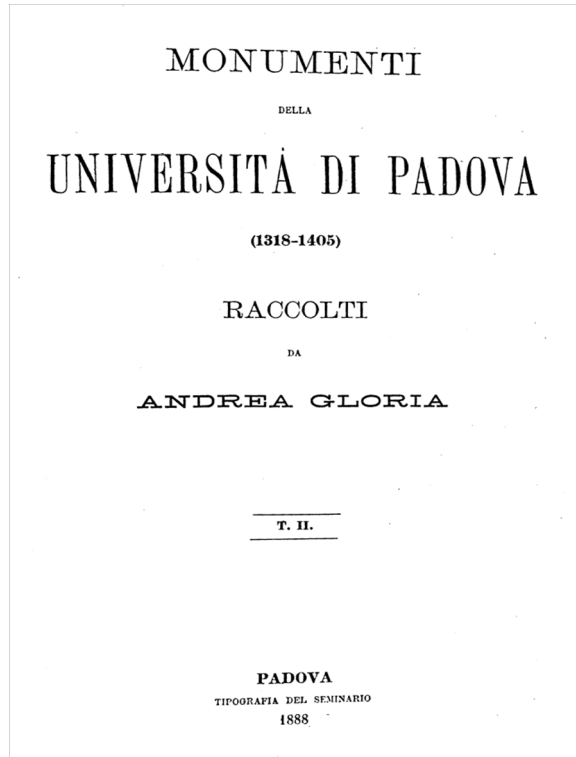


Figure 1. Frontispiece of Gloria (ed.), *Monumenti (1318-1405)*, vol. II.

Most part of the *Monumenti*'s documents are minimal summaries of notarial acts, often including only the place, the date and the actors. Here an example:

*1373. 17 Novembre – Pad. in contr. S. Canciani in domo habit. sap. viri d. Bartolamei de Capite vace legum doctoris fil. q. nob. viri d. Francisci Paradixii – pres. sap. viro d. Michaele de Marostica legum doctore fil. q. d. Martini – (Marost. Ott. T. IV p. 423).*¹³

¹³ Gloria (ed.), *Monumenti (1318-1405)*, vol. II, p. 100 (Figure 2): “1373, November 17th – At Padua, in San Canziano quarter, at the home of the wise man *dominus* Bartolomeo Capodivacca, law doctor, son of the late noble man *dominus* Francesco Paradisi – at the presence of the wise man *dominus* Michele from Marostica, law doctor, son of the late Martino – (from the acts of notary Otto from Marostica, vol. IV, p. 423)”. Marostica is a town placed north of Padua, nowadays in the province of Vicenza.

In this case, we only have a chronological and geographical reference of the action, and the names of two law doctors and of their fathers. The symbols “-” interposed indicate the portions of text omitted by Gloria: those revealing the juridical action. Why did the scholar restrict so much the set of information provided in this summary? Probably because he considered most part of the juridical actions not relevant to the academic or cultural life of the actors involved. Anyway, his main interest was to certify the existence at Padua of doctors, students and professors in a certain moment. More in general, it was impossible to provide all the documents’ elements (if not complete transcriptions) for all the acts, because of their high number, unless he would have devoted his entire life to this work. The selection of elements was necessary, in order to publish a great number of documents (and biographical profiles) in a reasonable time span. Summaries like the one presented above, in fact, appear 10-15 times in each page of the hundreds that constitute the documentary parts of the *Monumenti* (Figure 2).¹⁴

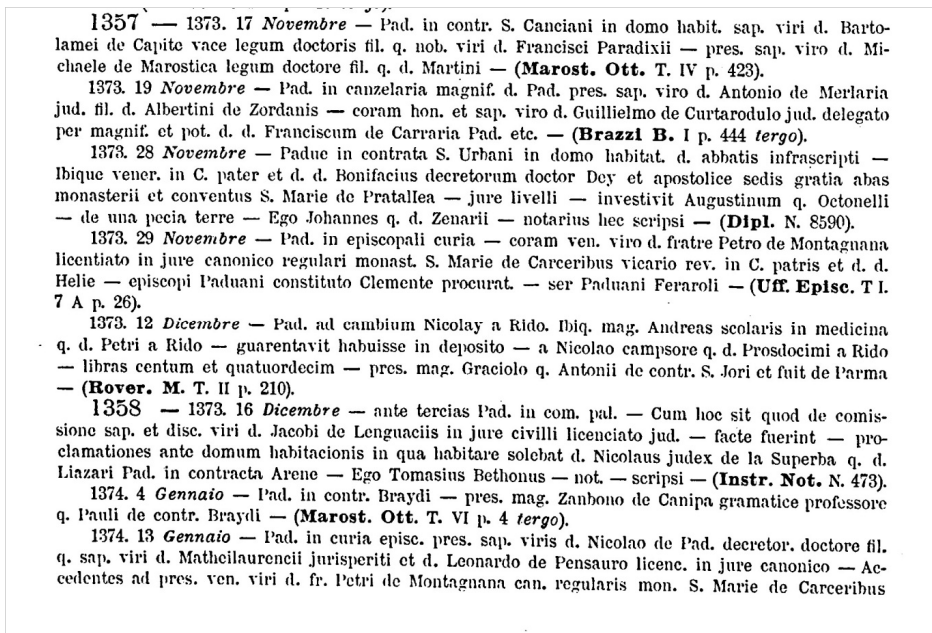


Figure 2. One third ca. of page 100 of Gloria (ed.), *Monumenti* (1318-1405), vol. II.

The huge amount of basic data provided can be used for quantitative analysis mainly, since the documentary corpus offers an overview of individuals somehow connected to the *Studium*, often mentioned more than

¹⁴ The summaries are grouped under sequential numbers (e.g. 1357 and 1358 in Figure 2), according to a logic that is not clear.

once over time. But a qualitative approach must not be set aside, if one considers that the elements selected by Gloria show some important aspects of the individuals' life, such as the family to which they belonged and their kinship. The example above, for instance, reveals that Bartolomeo belonged to the important Paduan family of the Capodivacca dei Paradisi, and that he was son of a *dominus*: he was then an upper-class man. We can do the same with many other people: in other words, we can investigate the connections between the social configuration of Padua and the *Studium*.¹⁵

In other cases, Gloria includes the juridical action in the summary, even when it wasn't connected to the *Studium* activity:

*1373. 12 Dicembre – Pad. ad cambium Nicolay a Rido. Ibiq. mag. Andreas scholaris in medecina q. d. Petri a Rido – guarentavit habuisse in deposito – a Nicolao campore q. d. Prodocimi a Rido – libras centum et quatuordecim – pres. mag. Graciolo q. Antonii de contr. S. Jori et fuit de Parma (Rover. M. T. II p. 210).*¹⁶

In this case, we get to know the existence in 1373 of a student in medicine, master Andrew, who received a sum from a money-changer.¹⁷

This way of summarizing has the advantage of presenting a huge number of basic data in about 500 pages, for a period of almost two centuries. But the “minimalism” of the information provided represents an indisputable limit, since in many cases it prevents from examining in depth the actions described in the original acts. Fortunately, most of the latter are available in the archives, so that one could verify their juridical contents (and Gloria's transcriptions). Nevertheless, such an activity would require a labour-intensive archival campaign, the benefits of which appear to be uncertain. In any case, the examination of the documents provided by the

¹⁵ Anyway, Bartolomeo is quite renowned, since he was a quite important jurist: see Onofrio Ruffino, *Capodivacca, Bartolomeo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 18 (Roma, 1975), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-capodivacca_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-capodivacca_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (30.04.2019).

¹⁶ Gloria (ed.), *Monumenti (1318-1405)*, vol. II, p. 100 (Figure 2): “1373, December 12th - At Padua, at Nicholas from Rio's money-changing bank. In which place, master Andrew student in medicine of the late Peter from Rio - declared to have received in deposit - from Nicholas money-changer of the late *Prodocimus* from Rio - one hundred and fourteen pounds - at the presence of master *Gratiolus* of the late Antony from Saint George quarter, who was from Parma (from the acts of notary Marsilio Roverini, vol. II, p. 210)”.

¹⁷ The latter, Nicholas from Rio (nowadays Rio di Ponte San Nicolò), is the namesake of a professor in medicine, in activity in the same period: see Claudio Caldarazzo, *Rio, Nicolò da*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 87 (Roma, 2016), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/nicolo-da-rio_res-fd449997-3c9e-11e7-a2fd-00271042e8d9_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/nicolo-da-rio_res-fd449997-3c9e-11e7-a2fd-00271042e8d9_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (30.04.2019).

Monumenti and the recording of their contents would represent a preliminary step, which constitutes a research activity itself.

When approaching to the *Monumenti*, in fact, one must be also aware of the methodology adopted by Gloria, in order to discern the information usable for a prosopography of the Paduan *Studium*: indeed, not all the documents selected by the scholar are useful. Gloria also published acts that demonstrated that certain people *did not* belong to the university – as a reply to other scholars who thought the opposite – or acts that don't bear enough elements to consider the people concerned as surely belonging to the group. For instance, Gloria considered as probable students those foreigners that where not socially qualified in the sources (e.g. as merchants), just because they lived in Padua without being Paduan. Therefore, when approaching this essential collection of documents, one should evaluate the information quality, act by act and person by person. Data input in a prosopographical database is not a mere process of data transfer from paper to a digital support, then.

3. *The database PADU-A*

The richness and quality of data provided by the *Monumenti* are particularly suitable for the realization of a database of people belonging or somehow connected to the *Studium*, which is the main purpose of the above-mentioned project PADU-A. The database is a classic relational one, realized in MySQL on localhost, managed via PHPMyAdmin on a Linux Ubuntu machine.¹⁸ Data input forms have been realized in LibreOffice Base, in which information is added or modified and immediately and automatically updated in the MySQL database on localhost.¹⁹

The database structure has been realized considering the quality of sources and organization of data contained in the *Monumenti* and in other published and unpublished documents, already known at the beginning of

¹⁸ For the basics of relational databases – that cannot be explained here – please refer to the many guides online, among which the one realized by the team of Nodegoat: <https://nodegoat.net/blog.p/82.m/20/what-is-a-relational-database> (30.04.2019). As for MySQL, refer to the official site; the latest documentation is available here: <https://dev.mysql.com/doc/refman/8.0/en/> (30.04.2019).

¹⁹ LibreOffice has been developed by The Document Foundation as a fork suite of Apache Open Office. Information about the connection of LibreOffice Base to external databases can be found in The Document Foundation, *Base Handbook. Managing Your Data* (2013), pp. 22-32, accessible at <https://documentation.libreoffice.org/en/english-documentation/base/> (30.04.2019), and of course in many other guides online.

the project.²⁰ The purpose was to have a system ready to record any kind of documentary or literary source (published or not) and the related data. For instance, a document of the State Archive of Vienna, containing the “publication” of an excommunication, provides information about 31 Paduan scholars: professors and their students.²¹ Obviously, for having the possibility of recording this kind of sources and its information, the database offers some fields to input the archival references, in addition to the bibliographical ones. As for the latter, the database presents all the fields necessary to cover various kinds of publications: monographs like the *Monumenti*, but also journal articles, book chapters and so on.

The first step was indeed the organization of the database in order to manage the relationship between sources and individuals, the two pillars of its structure, that is connecting each information to each person concerned. To this end, two aspects regarding sources should be stressed. In the first place, the single source for data has been conceived as a complex object, composed by one “trunk” and many “branches”. The trunk is the basic bibliographical or archival information: the reference to the book (author/editor, title, year, etc.), or to the article (author, journal, issue, etc.), or to the archival unit (archive, series, unit, etc.), and so on. The branches are the document numbers and pages in which the single information appears: in case of an edition in book, like the *Monumenti*, one can record the serial document number, its pages and the page in which the single information appears. These two elements – trunk and branches – are recorded into two separate and related tables, since the trunk is univocal (parent table) while the branches are multiple (child table). In this way, the book or article or archival series is recorded only once (in one row of the first table), while the pages and folios are recorded as many times as necessary (in n rows of the other table).

But how are the two tables connected? A connection is obviously required to join each branch to its trunk, so as to create what we could call “data-source”, that is the complete bibliographical or archival reference from where every single information is taken. The connection is realized through their unique identifier (ID, expressed in numbers), as it happens in any relational database. In the child table, a specific field receives the ID of the trunk, so that each row is populated by the content fields (document no.,

²⁰ The following explanation concerns the basic aspects of the structure and operation of the database, with the aim of illustrating how the sources’ contents can be recorded. It does not include some technical issues necessary for the database to work.

²¹ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Allgemeine Urkundenreihe, no. 1861.

pages, etc.) and by two ID fields, that of the branch and that of the trunk: this is what is called a one-to-many relationship.²²

The data-source ID (that of the branch) is then used to reference each data input in the database. The second step was exactly to build the complex structure of tables concerning individuals, in order to allow the recording of various kinds of information referenced by the data-source ID. Information about people can be unique, like the standard name assigned to each individual, or repeatable, like all the mentions concerning one person's degree in the sources. That's why data concerning people is recorded in various tables. The parent one, called "academic people", only contains the rows (fields) ID and "Standard name", which is to be filled with a unique name – in Italian, based on the Latin variants and/or the historiographical tradition – that can be changed in every moment without affecting other data sets.²³ The child tables host information on geographical origins, Latin names, social status, academic position and degrees of the people recorded. These tables are included in the main data input form (Figure 3).²⁴

²² A relationship between tables can be established, in our case, using PhPMyAdmin or LibreOffice: in both cases the MySQL database will record it.

²³ It is the case of people variously named in the sources: at some point of the census, one may decide to change the previous standard name into a more appropriate one, without any change in other tables, since the ID of the person in the parent table remains the same.

²⁴ Referring to Figure 3: the first large table of the form, under "ID Source", includes information on the geographical origins of the person; above it, on the right corner, the family name; "nomi" includes the name variants in Latin; "qualifiche" the social status and roles (e.g. *dominus, sapiens vir, iudex, abbas*, etc.); "titoli universitari" the academic degrees (e.g. *doctor* and the discipline, if available); "ruoli accademici nello Studio di Padova" the academic positions in the *Studium* (e.g. professor, student, *rector*, etc. and the discipline, if available); "Associazione / Collegio" the association(s) and or *collegia* to which the person belongs (typically: students associations like "citramontani" and "ultramontani" or the Paduan judges *collegium*); "Corso" the sporadic data about the single courses held by professors or attended by students. The tables at the bottom concern the "events" data set, which will be explained forwards in the text; those at the top of the form, under the first line, show the data-source selected.

The form displays the following data tables:

ID	ID_SOURCE	07/06/1351	Arsendi
10	29		
15	29		
18	29		
21	29		

ID	Nome di battesimo	Particella	Elemento Onomastico 1	Particella	Elemento Onomastico 2	Toponom	Note	id_source	id_indiv
60	Raymerius					de Forlivio		10	29

Qualifica (fonte)	Qualifica ITA	Chierico	Ente	Note	id_nome	id_source	id_indiv
spectabilis vir					60	10	29

Titolo (fonte)	Titolo standard	Data atesta...	DataMin	DataMax	Luogo cons	Data cons	Evento (ID)	Area disc	Disciplina	Sub-disciplina	Disc dedotta	Note	id_ind...	id_no...	id_sos...
eximius legum doctore	dotto	07/06/1351	07/06/1351	07/06/1351					Diritto	Diritto civile			29	60	10

Ruolo (fonte)	Ruolo standard	Dedotto	Data attestazione	Data min	Data max	Area disc	Disciplina	Sub-disciplina	Disc ded...	Note	id_indiv...	id_nome	id_sourc
professore		✓	07/06/1351	07/06/1351	07/06/1351	Diritto	Diritto civile		✓	professore in quanto cc 29	60	10	

AssITA	AssDed...	NoteAss	DataAss	DataAssMin	DataAssMax	id_attn...	id_in...	id_sou...	
							60	29	10

Legens	Corso (fonte)	Corso	Tipo corso	Note

ID evento	ID individuo	ID evento	Funzione	Dedotto	ID individuo
5	29	5	promotore		29
6	29	5	commissario d'esame		29
8	29				

Conferimento licenza a Jacopo di Martino della Porta

Figure 3. The data input form “academic person”.

Before starting to fill this form’s fields a previous step is required, that is the creation of the data-source by joining the trunk to the branch.²⁵ Once created, the data-source ID is typed in the first empty row of the table at the left upper corner in Figure 3, which is an intermediate table between the source and the person.²⁶ The system automatically fills the proper rows (fields) of all the child tables concerning the person with the data-source ID, so that each data subsequently typed will be connected to the source (e.g. book+page) in which the information appears. The same *modus operandi* is used for other forms, devoted to recording the domicile of academic people (usually, the quarter in which their home was), their intellectual production (treatises, *summae*, *glossae*, etc.), the codices they owned, and so on. Data like these are quite rare, nevertheless they deserve to be recorded in order to allow some in-depth analysis of some individuals or groups (e.g. some jurists in a certain period).

²⁵ This step is made in another form, that will not be described here.

²⁶ Since more people could be mentioned in one data-source and vice versa, a one-to-many relationship between the table “academic person” and the child sources table could not manage this complexity. A many-to-many relationship is required, to be established through an intermediate table that hosts only the data-source IDs and the person IDs. As can be noticed in Figure 3, the left column contains different values (data-source IDs), the right one always the same value (the person ID), since the form shows all information concerning only one person.

Apart from that, PADU-A deserves a particular attention to the social relationships between academic individuals. The database records both the familiar ties – only those between academic people – and the social and political relations of academic individuals with other scholars, as well as with other people. Let's see a couple of examples. As for the kinship, in 1348 we find in the sources Bonincontro di Giovanni di Andrea from Bologna, qualified as law doctor. In the onomastic system of the period, the name was usually composed of the given name and the father's name (patronymic), thus we know that Bonincontro was the son of Giovanni, son of Andrea. Since Giovanni himself was a doctor, mentioned in the sources since 1308, he is already among the academic people recorded in the database. Their kinship must be then recorded, since they are both academic individuals. In a form different from that of Figure 3, the information is recorded for both: for Bonincontro, the field "type of relationship" is filled with the standard value "son of" and the field "person ID" with the unique identifier of Giovanni; vice versa, the latter is qualified as "father of" Bonincontro.²⁷

The same system is used for the social and political relationships, which emerge more and more frequently since the middle of the 14th century, when certain doctors are qualified as vicars or legal representatives (*procuratores*) of people at the top of society, namely the bishop and the *signore* of Padua. For instance, Bartolomeo dei Piacentini from Parma was vicar of the *signore* Jacopo da Carrara in the 1350s. The choice of considering also relationships external to the academic world implies the necessity of recording also non-academic persons, that is those who had direct or indirect ties with the *Studium* or with the scholars. It is the case of the bishops and *signori*, since they chose the doctors as representatives and because the prelate was the *Studium's* chancellor without being an academic individual. But also, other important non-academic people are mentioned in the source, like the notaries associated to the *universitates*: despite they were not scholars, they deserve to be recorded, to kept open some possible research axes.

Furthermore, academic and non-academic individuals could take part to some events of the academic life, the most important of which are recorded in the database, through the form "events" (Figure 4). For each event, a description is provided, and the list of participants is displayed, once their participation is recorded in the form "academic person". The most important event type is undoubtedly the graduation (*licentia* or *doctoratus*), that is maybe the act that contains the greatest number of useful data about

²⁷ Standard values have been previously created in a specific table, from which the form obtains the values themselves.

a group: the students who graduated, the board of professors, the witnesses (usually students), the vice of the bishop-chancellor.

The screenshot shows a web-based data entry interface for a database. The main title is "Conferimento licenza a Jacopo di Martino della Porta". The interface includes several sections:

- Navigation:** Buttons for "PRIMO", "PRECEDENTE", "SUCCESSIVO", "ULTIMO", and "NUOVO".
- Event Details:** Fields for "ID FONTE (source)", "id_evento", "Abbreviazione", "App. n.", "Doc", "pp. doc", "p. notizia", and "Nota".
- Location and Date:** "Luogo" (Padova, nel palazzo episcopale (atto notarile)), "Data" (13/08/1351), "Regesto", "Data min", and "Data max".
- UNIVERSITARI:** A table listing individuals with columns for "id_individuo", "NomeStandard", "Funzione", "Dedotto", "id_individuo", and "id_evento".
- ALTRE PERSONE:** A table listing other individuals with columns for "id_altrapers", "NomeStandard", "Funzione", "Dedotto", "id_altrapers", and "id_evento".

Figure 4. The data input form "events".

4. Research possibilities

The above-described wide approach to the information provided by the sources represents a way of bypassing the absence of recurrent administrative writings and one of the best ways of taking advantage of the available sources. In other words, the focus is brought to the university as a part of urban society, and to its protagonists as social actors, not only as academic individuals. Anyway, the typical prosopographical approach, which tends to stress quantitative aspects, is not denied. On the contrary, it is the first pillar of research, through the analysis of students, professors, doctors and their geographical origins, social status, etc. However, the result cannot be a representation of *all* students and professors of the *Studium* in a certain period, but only of *a part* of them, since we miss the students' *matriculae*, and regular writings mentioning the enrollment of professors.²⁸

²⁸ The database also records the rare information about the *Studium's* assistant staff, like the janitors (*bidelli*) or the copyists.

Despite that, some general observation can be proposed using partial data, keeping in mind that what can be represented, on a large chronological scale with irregular sources, are trends. That's why the discussion will also include some methodological aspects concerning the examination of the recorded data. What follows is a couple of research possibilities with some connected precautions, concerning the geographical origins of scholars and their social and political relationships.

The analysis of academic individuals' places of origin provides some elements about the attraction exerted by the Paduan *Studium*, to be potentially compared with other universities.

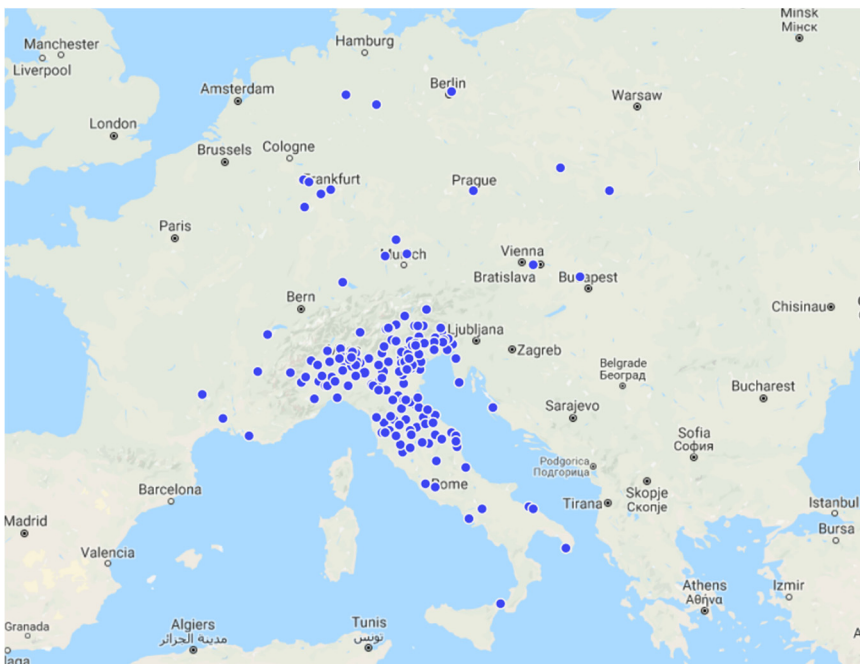


Figure 5. The origins of Paduan academics (1222-1380).

The map representing the origins of Paduan scholars between 1222 and 1380 ca., despite its incompleteness, shows two important phenomena (Figure 5).²⁹ In the first place, the university of Padua mainly had a macro-regional characterization, at least until the end of 14th century. Most part of academic people came from central and northern Italy, more or less

²⁹ The map only includes specific locations, that is cities or villages (points in the map) that has been possible to identify. Generic origins provided by the sources, like "Spanish" or "German", are not represented in this map; however, such cases are infrequent.

corresponding to what is usually called ‘communal Italy’. This correspondence is part of a greater phenomenon, the sharing of urban communal culture, and of a different approach to high-level instruction in southern Italy. It must be stressed, in fact, the Frederick II established the university of Naples just two years after the birth of the Paduan one, in 1224, with the purpose of offering to southern people (and obliging them to attend) a *Studium* in the kingdom of Sicily, in particular for the juridical knowledge.³⁰ Anyway, some southern people chose Padua to attend the university or to teach, like Bartolomeo di Lio from Benevento (not far from Naples), professor of law in the 1280s.³¹

The geographical concentration on communal Italy also indicates that Padua was, within certain limits, a rival of Bologna. Excluding most of the people, who came from Padua itself and the nearest locations, scholars came above all from Milan, Cremona, Mantova and Florence. If one considers that Bologna was closest or at the same distance of Padua, it is clear that some academics chose intentionally the second one. It is also to be stressed that some students and professors came from Bologna itself. Anyway, despite we cannot calculate the number of scholars of the Paduan *Studium*, it is undisputed that Bologna hosted a greater academic population. Nevertheless, Padua could be more attractive: in 1307 the bolognaise students asked the city councils to act for having Jacopo Belviso back in their *Studium*, where he taught previously, since he was a very good professor of law.³²

The second phenomenon to be stressed is that the number of scholars coming from outside Italy appears to be very limited in the map. They were all students, for the most part coming from Germanic and central Europe and playing an ecclesiastical role – canon, priest, etc. – or owning a noble title, especially that of count. It is evident that moving to Italy – and above all living there – required consistent economic means and a personal position compatible with the long-lasting academic life as student. Prague appears to be the city that had the strongest ties with Padua in that period.

³⁰ See Fulvio Delle Donne, *Per scientiarum haustum et seminarium doctrinarum. Storia dello Studium di Napoli in età sveva* (Bari, 2010).

³¹ Note that in that period Benevento was an *enclave* of the papal state in the kingdom of Sicily, under the protection of the Angevin kings.

³² Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Comune e Governo, Riformagioni e provvigioni del consiglio del Popolo e della Massa, 166, folio 140 (I wish to thank my friend and colleague Daniele Bortoluzzi for having found the original writing, mentioned in some publications that provide outdated archival references). Jacopo was finally asked to come back in 1308, when he was teaching in Perugia: see Severino Caprioli, *Belvisi, Giacomo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 8 (Roma:, 1966), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giacomo-belvisi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giacomo-belvisi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (30.04.2019).

Anyway, the map should be used carefully for analysing such phenomena. In the first place, the sources contain data about the origins of 70% ca. of academic individuals (including the *Studium*'s staff). Secondly, the availability of information increases progressively when moving along the timeline: the most part of known origins concerns the 14th century, and it is impossible to analyse the evolution of origins because of the scarcity of data on the previous century. This reflects the growing attention for this aspect in writing the notarial acts, as well as the mere increase of available documents for more recent periods.

When considering the first serial sources for the history of the university of Padua, things change considerably. The *Acta graduum academicorum Gymnasii Patavini* (since 1406 onward) testify of a greater number of non-Italian students, comparatively. This surely reflects the growth of foreign students in Padua, but it is also a matter of sources: the serial documents offer a more realistic representation, that can be carefully extended to the previous period, at least to the second half of the 14th century. In that period, in other words, the number of foreign students was probably much higher than the one represented in the sources.

The difficulties concerning the origins of scholars are counterbalanced by some other possibilities offered by the same documents. As said, notarial acts offer some additional information about social statuses and relationships, that are recorded in the database. Through their analysis we can know the Paduan academic world from different points of view, for instance that of family ties between scholars and their incidence over the academic population. In 30% ca. of the kinship recorded, the individuals concerned were all professors in Padua, which means that the *Studium* was also carried out by some "teaching dynasties". Most of them came from outside Padua: the jurists Arsendi from Forlì (the famous Raniero and Argentino), Malombra from Cremona (Niccolò and the renowned Riccardo) and Mattarelli from Modena (Niccolò, Francesco, Antonio, Giambono). Instead only two Paduan families created a "dynasty", the jurists Buzzaccarini (Buzzaccarino and Folco) and the famous professors of medicine Santasofia (Niccolò and his sons).³³ The greater number of foreign families is mainly due to the prohibition for Paduan citizens to be enrolled and paid as professors, at least since 1276. A prohibition that could be infringed, clearly.³⁴

³³ The whole literature on the most important individuals mentioned here is too abundant to be remembered. As a starting point, one may refer to the online edition of the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, <http://www.treccani.it/biografie/> (30.04.2019).

³⁴ The phenomenon was already known in historiography. See for instance Siraisi, *Arts and Science, op. cit.*, p. 28.

If we open the analysis to other academic positions, we find some other interesting phenomena concerning family ties in the *Studium*. In the first place, it must be stressed the academic advancement realized from one generation to another, like it happened to the Paduan Mezzabati in the last decades of the 13th century: the professor of law Aldobrandino was son of the judge and *legum doctor* Ugo Denario, who never taught. In the second place, some ties between scholars reveals that the migration of the elder entailed that of the family, or at least of one son. Indeed, in the 1350s we find the doctor Alessandro di Giovanni from Antella (Florence), and his son Filippo, who was student – both in civil law –; or the professor Rolando dei Bracchi from Modena and his son Engiramo, student. What is particularly interesting is the case of Bertolino and Jacopino from Cornazzano (Parma): in 1283 the first is mentioned as professor, the second as student “in the school” of the first. Such family trajectories testify of a *modus operandi* in the academic migration that entailed the expectation of taking root in the host city and society, where a professor or doctor could stabilize with his family, also working outside the *Studium*.

That chance was undoubtedly increased when a scholar succeeded in establishing important political ties. In the cities, local jurists were traditionally used as legal advisors by politicians, but in some Paduan cases the ones that obtained their doctoral degree there, even when foreigners, established durable ties with the most important urban powers in the 14th century: the bishop and the *signore* Francesco da Carrara. Some doctors appear in the sources as vicars of the prelate, like Angelo from Castiglione Aretino (Tuscany), or of the lord, like Giovanni Salgardi from Feltre (Veneto) or the Paduan Jacopo Turchetto. They accomplished “ordinary” actions, namely representing the bishop or the lord in some juridical act, but could also be charged of important political tasks. For instance, in 1370 the already mentioned Argentino Arsendi, as representative of Francesco da Carrara, secured an alliance between the Paduan lord, the pope and other subjects. The fact that these doctors achieved such positions demonstrates the chances of career offered by the *Studium*, but also the upward social mobility that could be obtained through taking root in a hosting city.

Such approach to the sources and their contents shows some interesting features of the academic population that can be fruitful for the study of society and politics in general. It is then possible to create a bridge between cultural and intellectual history, on the one side, and the socio-political one, especially for what concerns the urban world.

5. To conclude: towards 2022

Those exposed in the previous paragraph are only some of the possible research approaches and possibilities to analyze the mass of data that is being collected. Despite the peculiar nature of sources and the related contents that can be recorded, at the end of the census new answers can be provided to old and new questions, so has to spread a different light to the history of the university of Padua and the urban society. Moreover, the Paduan academic history and historical population can be compared to other cases, especially considering the growing number of digital and online databases of academic history.³⁵ The *Studium* of Padua will soon join other prestigious universities that also developed such tools. Since the beginning, the project PADU-A was expected to evolve into an online database, and the celebrations for the 800 hundred years of the university are making it possible. The synergy between the Department of Historical and Geographic Sciences and the Ancient World, the Center for the History of the University of Padua and the Center for the University Museums has produced an ambitious project, as a contribution to the celebrations: an online database of students and professors from the birth of the *Studium* in 1222 to the 20th century.

The project is currently ongoing, animated by a team of professors, post-docs and students. The tool chosen to realize it is Nodegoat, a web-based data management, network analysis and visualisation environment.³⁶ Developed by Pim van Bree and Geert Kessels since 2011, this platform has been chosen by many research projects, among which the ones of academic history that are connected each other through *Heloise – European Network on Digital Academic History*, in the purpose of realizing an integrated database.³⁷ The Paduan project aims at becoming part of it, once its database will be published and data will be become accessible for scholars interested in realizing in-depth analyses of the academic population from the Middle Ages to the end of the 20th century. Of course, this wide chronological span poses significant challenges for managing different information on different periods, as well as a different availability of sources between the medieval-

³⁵ Please refer to the thematic section of “Annali di storia delle università italiane”, 21/1 (2017).

³⁶ See <https://nodegoat.net/> (30.04.2019). The map of Figure 5 has been realized in the Nodegoat environment.

³⁷ Francesco Beretta, Thomas Riechert, *Collaborative Research on Academic History using Linked Open Data: A Proposal for the Heloise Common Research Model*, in “CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades”, 19, 1 (2016): 133-151; see also <http://heloisenetwork.eu/> (30.04.2019). Nodegoat is already used by the project *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum. Die graduierten Gelehrten des Alten Reiches zwischen 1250 und 1550*: <https://rag-online.org/> (30.04.2019).

early modern times and the 19th-20th centuries. The solutions and *modus operandi* adopted, that implies important methodological issues, will be discussed in a future publication.

Studiendarlehen für siebenbürgische Studierende im Reformationszeitalter. Eine kaum bekannte Bistritzer Quelle aus den Jahren 1565-1626

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Abstract: The present paper deals with a very important written source regarding the history of higher education in northern Transylvania from 1565 to 1626, a register with loan contracts concerning money necessary for university education abroad. The agreements were made between the Lutheran Bistrița-Chapter, on the one side, and young men and their guarantors, on the other. Only selectively and superficially discussed by previous scholars in the 19th century, exclusively from the perspective of the development of local education in and around Bistrița, the source material bears a greater significance in terms of the efforts made by the local church and community to establish and perpetuate its own intelligentsia, regardless of the social and economic background of the gifted young men who intended to complete their education. The authors of the study address the following questions: who established the educational fund, who administered the money, who were the beneficiaries and their guarantors, and under which circumstances was money awarded. The information provided by the Bistrița-register is integrated into a larger prosopographical picture of the individuals mentioned, the majority related to the Church of the Bistrița region, and it is evaluated also from a cultural point of view, the notarial structuring of the contracts, the autograph writing and the use of the personal seals recording a highly developed literate and legal mentality with strong roots in the late medieval, pre-Reformation, tradition. The present investigation intends to contribute to a deeper understanding of the support given to students by Transylvanian communities in order to build an intellectual elite educated in Central and Western Europe.

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Keywords: Transylvania, Bistrița, Lutheran Church, University, study loan, register.

Rezumat: *Împrumuturi de studiu pentru studenți transilvăneni în epoca Reformei. Un izvor bistrițean puțin cunoscut, din anii 1565-1626.* Textul de față se ocupă de o sursă scrisă deosebit de importantă pentru istoria educație superioare în Transilvania de Nord în intervalul delimitat de anii 1565 și 1626, fiind vorba mai precis de un registru care reunește contracte de împrumut pentru finanțarea studiilor universitare în străinătate. Contractele erau încheiate între Biserica Lutherană, Capitulul Bistrița și tineri, alături de garanții lor. Această sursă, studiată parțial și superficial în veacul al XIX-lea, discutată strict din perspectiva evoluției învățământului local bistrițean, are o semnificație mai mare referitoare la eforturile făcute de comunitate pentru a-și constitui și perpetua propria elită intelectuală, indiferent de condiția social-economică a tinerilor capabili și dornici de a-și definitiva formarea. Autorii studiului tratează următoarele probleme: cine a constituit fondul destinat educației, cine a administrat banii, cine au fost beneficiarii și garanții, în ce condiții s-au acordat împrumuturile. Informația furnizată de registrul bistrițean este integrată într-un tablou prosopografic mai amplu referitor la indivizii pomeniți, majoritatea oameni ai bisericii din regiune, și este, de asemenea, evaluată dintr-o perspectivă culturală. Concepția notarială a contractelor de împrumut, scrierea autografă și recursul la sigilii personale documentează o dezvoltată mentalitate literată și juridică, cu adânci rădăcini în tradițiile medievale, de dinainte de Reforma protestantă. Analiza de față dorește să contribuie la înțelegerea mai profundă a sprijinului acordat de către comunitățile ardelenne unor studenți în vederea constituirii unei elite intelectuale educate în Europa Centrală și Occidentală.

Cuvinte cheie: Transilvania, Bistrița, Biserica Lutherană, universitate, credit de studiu, registru

Die Siebenbürger¹ allgemein und die Siebenbürger Sachsen² ganz besonders pflegten im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit stets einen engen wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Kontakt zu Mittel- und Westeuropa.³

¹ Dazu Harald Roth, *Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, (Köln, Weimar, Wien, 1996).

² Über diese vgl. Konrad Gündisch (unter Mitarbeit von Matthias Beer), *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen*, (München, 2005) (2. Auflage).

³ Verschiedene Perspektiven in Paul Philippi (Hg.), *Siebenbürgen als Beispiel europäischen Kulturaustausches*, (Köln, Wien, 1975) (Siebenbürgisches Archiv 12).

Ein wichtiges Element dieser Kontaktpflege war das Studium von Siebenbürgern an ausländischen Universitäten, zumal es derartige Hochschulen im näheren Umfeld nicht gab.

Die Untersuchungen des Hochschulbesuchs von Siebenbürgern konzentrierten sich bislang auf prosopographische Bestandsaufnahmen unterschiedlicher Qualität mit Namen und gegebenenfalls biographischen Angaben von Studierenden aufgrund der Auswertung von Universitätsmatrikeln und weiteren Quellen.⁴ Die wertvollsten

⁴ Als Beispiel seien einige Arbeiten aus den Jahren 1857 bis 1941 über die siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Studierenden genannt: Karl Fabritius, *Die siebenbürgischen Studierenden auf der Universität zu Wittenberg im Reformationszeitalter*, in "Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde" (fortan: "Archiv") N. F. 2 (1857): 134-141; Karl Schwarz, *Verzeichniß der von 1492-1539 in Krakau studirenden Siebenbürger*, in "Archiv" 5 (1861): 115-118; [Joseph Trausch], *Verzeichniß derjenigen Siebenbürger Sachsen, welche an den Universitäten zu Krakau, Straßburg und Göttingen studirt haben, mitgetheilt vom Vereins-Vorsteher*, in "Archiv" 6 (1864): 291-297; *Auszug aus dem Album der k. württemb. Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen (1617-1861)*, in: "Archiv" 7 (1867): 460-463; Theodor Fabini, Friedrich Teutsch, *Die Studierenden aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen auf der Universität Leipzig von der Gründung derselben 1409 bis 1872*, in "Archiv" 10 (1872): 386-416; Friedrich Teutsch, *Die Studierenden aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen auf der Hochschule in Heidelberg von der Gründung derselben bis 1810*, in "Archiv" 10 (1872): 182-192; G. Schiel, F. Herfurth, *Verzeichniß der auf der Universität zu Jena immatriculirten Ungarn und Siebenbürger*, in "Archiv" 12 (1875): 312-353; Friedrich Teutsch, *Siebenbürger in Halle [1695-1737]*, in "Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde" (fortan: "Kbl.") 2 (1879): 66-67; W. Fraknói, G. D. Teutsch, *Siebenbürger in Padua [1553-1590]*, in "Kbl." 2 (1879): 74-75; Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Die Studirenden aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Universität Leyden 1575-1875*, in "Archiv" 16 (1880): 204-226; C. Schnizlein, *Siebenbürger auf der Universität Erlangen im 18. Jahrhundert*, in "Kbl." 3 (1880): 71-72; Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Siebenbürger Studierende auf der Hochschule in Wien im 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Siebenbürgens*, in "Archiv" 16 (1881): 321-354; J. Teigte, *Studenten aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Prager Universität im XIV.-XV. Jahrhundert*, in "Kbl." 6 (1883): 19-20, 29-30; Franz Schullerus, *Siebenbürger Studierende an der Universität in Frankfurt an der Oder (1546-1796)*, in "Archiv" 22 (1889): 405-415; *Verzeichnis der Studenten aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Universität Utrecht in den Jahren 1643-1885*, in "Archiv" 22 (1889): 79-92; [G. D.] T[deutsch], *Ungarländer und Siebenbürger auf der Universität in Bologna [1381-1596]*, in "Kbl." 13 (1890): 25-29; M. Wehrmann, *Ungarn und Siebenbürger auf dem Pädagogium in Stettin [1604-1663]*, in "Kbl." 13 (1890): 49; [A. Schullerus], *Siebenbürgische Studierende an der Universität Harderwijk [1651-1774]*, in "Kbl." 15 (1892): 45-46; K. Reissenberger, *Siebenbürger Studierende in Graz [1598]*, in "Kbl." 40 (1917): 42; G. A. Schuller, *Siebenbürgisch-sächsische Studenten in Greifswald [1644-1697]*, in "Kbl." 51 (1928): 84-85; Egmont Zechlin, *Das Wartburgfest 1817 und die siebenbürgischen und ungarischen Studenten Jenas*, in "Siebenbürgische Vierteljahrsschrift" (fortan "Sbg. Vjschr.") 54 (1931): 43-48; Friedrich Reimesch, *Siebenbürger Deutsche an der Universität Köln [1499-1524]*, in "Sbg. Vjschr." 63 (1940): 244-245; ders., *Ergänzungen zu den Verzeichnissen derjenigen Siebenbürger Sachsen, welche an den Universitäten zu Strassburg und Göttingen studiert haben*, in "Sbg. Vjschr." 63 (1940): 59-63; ders., *Siebenbürger Deutsche als Hörer an der Universität zu Rostock [1562-1729]*, in "Sbg. Vjschr." 64 (1941): 73-74; ders., *Siebenbürgisch-deutsche Studierende an der Universität Altdorf [1582-1787]*, in "Sbg. Vjschr." 64 (1941): 74-75; *Siebenbürgische Studenten in Tübingen bis 1600*, in "Sbg. Vjschr." 64 (1941): 37.

Verzeichnisse haben zweifellos Sándor Tonk und Miklós Szabó vorgelegt.⁵

Auf den sehr wichtigen Aspekt der Finanzierung der keineswegs geringen Studien- und Unterhaltskosten im Ausland – sie betragen um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts jährlich rund 25 ungarische Goldgulden⁶ – wurde in den meisten Fällen kein besonderes Augenmerk gelegt. Diese Förderung erfolgte im Falle von Kindern wohlhabender Eltern durch die Familie, für weniger bemittelte Jugendliche sprang die Stadt- und/oder die Kirchengemeinde durch Gewährung von Studienbeihilfen ein, um sich systematisch der Ausbildung einer intellektuellen Elite zu versichern. Auf diese Studienbeihilfen wird in verschiedenen Überblicksdarstellungen der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Geschichte kurz verwiesen, jedoch nicht näher eingegangen. In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts hatten diese Verweise oft einen national-stolzen bis nationalistischen Unterton, beispielsweise 1862 bei Friedrich Storch: *Und wie es durch diese Anstalten der Träger der Bildung und Kultur im Lande geworden und geblieben ist, so hat es aus ihnen steten Zuwachs an geistigen Kräften erhalten, welche ihm seine politische Existenz sicherten und seine geistige und historische Entwicklung beförderten.*⁷ Friedrich Kramer lobte seinerseits in diesem Zusammenhang den wackeren Bürgersinn, der auch in schwerer Zeit nicht vergiftet, wo die Wurzeln seiner Kraft sind, wenn Stadt und Communität Jünglinge, die es hinauszieht, Treue und Wissen aus den reinen Quellen deutscher Bildung sich zu holen, in diesem Streben unterstützen.⁸ Er erwähnte auch drei Empfänger von Studienbeihilfen und eine Studienstiftung.⁹ Deutlich objektiver stellte Ernst Wagner 1998 im Vorwort zu seinem ausgezeichneten und für die vorliegende Studie sehr wichtigen Verzeichnis der Pfarrer und Lehrer der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen fest: *Die sächsischen Städte und Stühle*

⁵ Sándor Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban* [Hochschulbesuch von Siebenbürgern im Mittelalter], (Bukarest, 1979); Sándor Tonk, Miklós Szabó, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban 1521-1700* [Hochschulbesuch von Siebenbürgern in der Frühen Neuzeit], (Szeged, 1992) (Fontes rerum scholasticarum 4).

⁶ In einem Brief von S. Gelou an Melancthon wird vermerkt, dass Daniel Coberger aus Hermannstadt 73 ungarische Goldgulden erhalten habe, was für drei Studienjahre ausreiche: *Habet 73 aureos florenos Hungaricos, quibus ad triennum se isthic in studiis honestarum artium sustentare poterit.* (Zitiert aus Fr[iedrich] Teutsch, *Geschichte des ev. Gymnasiums A.B. in Hermannstadt*, in "Archiv" 17 (1882): 31, Anm. 5).

⁷ Friedrich Storch, *Ueber den Einfluss der reformatorischen Bestrebungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts auf die Entwicklung und Bildung der Schulen*, in "Programm des evangelischen Gymnasiums zu Bistritz in Siebenbürgen. (Bistritz, 1862), S. 8. (Online unter: https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/metaopac/singleHit.do?methodToCall=showHit&curPos=212&identifier=100_SOLR_SERVER_7807929&showFulltextFirstHit=true, letzter Zugriff: 06.08.2019)

⁸ Friedrich Kramer, *Bistritz um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Auf Grund eines Rechnungsbuches für die Jahre 1547 bis 1553*, in "Archiv" 21 (1887): 40.

⁹ Kramer, *Bistritz*, S. 40-41.

förderten durch Studienbeihilfen und Studiendarlehen den Besuch westlicher Universitäten [...]. Auch Privatpersonen errichteten entsprechende Stiftungen.¹⁰

Eine eingehendere Analyse dieses wichtigen Aspektes der Bildungs- und Kulturgeschichte Siebenbürgens liegt allerdings bislang nicht vor. Als Baustein für eine derartige Untersuchung versteht sich der vorliegende Beitrag, der sich – auf einen weitgehend unbekanntem und zum Teil unveröffentlichten Quellenbestand zurückgreifend – der Förderung des universitären Auslandsstudiums durch die Stadt und das Kirchenkapitel von Bistritz in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts widmet.

Universitätsbesuch im Mittelalter

Der Hochschulbesuch von Siebenbürgern war bereits im Mittelalter sehr intensiv. In seinem grundlegenden Werk zu diesem Thema hat der Klausenburger Historiker Sándor Tonk 1979 nicht weniger als 2496 Studierende namentlich aufgelistet, die zwischen 1177 und 1520 ausländische Universitäten besucht haben.¹¹ Aus der Stadt Bistritz stammten 25 Studierende.¹² Tonk führt auch einige Beispiele von Studienbeihilfen an, die seitens Einzelpersonen oder kirchlicher Einrichtungen an Jugendliche vergeben worden sind, die der Unterstützung bedürftig waren.¹³ Friedrich Teutsch seinerseits weist darauf hin, dass der Erzbischof von Gran/Esztergom dem Stadtpfarrer von Kronstadt/Braşov Johann Reudel im Jahre 1454 einen Studienurlaub bei Belassung seiner Einkünfte gewährt hat, obwohl er bereits Magister der freien Künste war.¹⁴ Bedingung für das Amt eines Kronstädter Plebans war nämlich schon damals ein abgeschlossenes Hochschulstudium.¹⁵

¹⁰ *Die Pfarrer und Lehrer der evangelischen Kirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen*, Bd. 1: *Von der Reformation bis zum Jahre 1700*, bearb. von Ernst Wagner. (Köln, Weimar, Wien, 1998) (Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens 22/1), S. 9.

¹¹ Vgl. die tabellarische Übersicht der Inskribierten an 19 französischen, italienischen, deutschen, ungarischen und polnischen Universitäten bei Tonk, *Egyetemjárás a középkorban*, S. 44-51.

¹² Tonk, *Egyetemjárás a középkorban*, S. 69.

¹³ Tonk, *Egyetemjárás a középkorban*, S. 56-57, 118-119.

¹⁴ Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der ev. Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, Bd. 1 (1150-1699), (Hermannstadt, 1921), S. 83.

¹⁵ Teutsch, *Geschichte Kirche*, S. 83.

Bildungsförderung im Reformationszeitalter

Die siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Humanisten und Reformatoren sind dann diesen Weg zu einer intensiven Förderung der Schul- und Hochschulbildung bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen konsequent weiter gegangen. Nachhaltig gewirkt hat dabei die am 20. April 1550 von der Sächsischen Nationsuniversität zur Richtschnur für das kirchliche Leben der Siebenbürger Sachsen erhobene *Reformatio ecclesiae Saxoniarum in Transylvania*, die *Kirchenordnung alles Teutschen in Sybembürgen*, die 1547 in Kronstadt in lateinischer und in deutscher Sprache gedruckt wurde.¹⁶ In dessen 10. Kapitel *Von Auffrichten der Schulen* wird vorgesehen, dass *die Lu- gent zu gmeinen Nutz erzogen und überall Schulen aus gmeinen Kosten aufgericht [werden], welche in langen ungnedigen Zeiten durch Nachlässigkeit etlicher Amptleut byssher schier ganz gefallen sind. Kein Knab solle seiner Armut halber von der Schul ausgeschlossen, sondern unentgeltlich dasselbe möge lernen.*¹⁷ Die aufgrund dieser und weiterer Bestimmungen in den folgenden Jahren, Jahrzehnten und Jahrhunderten betriebene Bildungspolitik trug wesentlich zur nahezu flächendeckenden Ausstattung der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Gemeinden mit Schulen sowie der wichtigsten Vororte mit Gymnasien bei und war auch Grundlage der Förderung des Studiums der künftigen Lehrer und Pfarrer, aber auch der Notare und wichtiger wirtschaftlich-politischer Entscheidungsträger an ausländischen Universitäten.

Reformation in Bistritz

In Bistritz¹⁸ gibt es erste Hinweise auf eine reformatorische Stimmung unter der Bevölkerung und im Stadtrat bereits aus den 1530-er Jahren.¹⁹ 1542 kam es zum so genannten "Bistritzer Bildersturm", der zwar nicht ein

¹⁶ Ediert im *Urkundenbuch der Eoangelischen Landeskirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen*. Hg. Georg Daniel Teutsch, Bd. 1, (Hermannstadt, 1862), S. 36-71.

¹⁷ *Urkundenbuch Landeskirche*, S. 56.

¹⁸ Dazu allgemein Konrad Gündisch, *Bistrița*, in *Handbuch der historischen Stätten. Siebenbürgen*, Hg. Harald Roth, (Stuttgart, 2003), S. 24-27.

¹⁹ Zur Reformation in Bistritz vgl. Heinrich Wittstock, *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte des Nösnergaues*, Wien, 1859; Otto Dahinten, *Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, aus dem Nachlass hg. von Ernst Wagner, (Köln, Wien, 1988) (*Studia Transylvanica* 14), S. 85, Karl Reinerth, *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchen in Siebenbürgen*, (Köln, Wien, 1979) (*Studia Transylvanica* 5), S. 139-141, und - einschließlich der folgenden Zitate und Darstellung - Konrad G. Gündisch, *Christian Pomarius und die Reformation im Nösnerland*, in: "Luther und Siebenbürgen. Ausstrahlungen von Reformation und Humanismus nach Südosteuropa". Hg. Georg und Renate Weber, (Köln, Wien, 1985) (*Siebenbürgisches Archiv* 19), S. 114-134, hier S. 119.

solcher gewesen ist, aber immerhin dazu geführt hat, dass die während der Belagerung der Stadt durch den Moldaufürsten Petru Rareș im November 1542 abgebauten oder zerstörten *Götzenbilder* aufgrund eines Ratschlags von Christian Pomarius, dem ehemaligen Stadtschreiber, nicht *unter Aufwendung größter Kosten wieder aufgerichtet werden*.²⁰ Auch eine Enteignung städtischer Klöster fand statt, denen mehrere vergoldete Silberkelche und ein wertvolles Kruzifix abgenommen wurden, um an Rareș eine "Entschädigung" zu zahlen, damit er die Belagerung aufgibt. Am 6. Mai 1542 teilte der Heidendorfer Pfarrer Adam Pomarius, Christians Bruder, dem Bistritzer Stadtrat mit, dass er heiraten wolle – ein erster offener Vorstoß aus der reformationsfreundlichen Geistlichkeit des Bistritzer Kirchenkapitels in Richtung Reformation. 1546 schließlich behauptete der Bistritzer Stadtpfarrer Albert Cerasinus: *Reformatae sunt hic in Transsylvania ecclesiae urbium Saxonicarum*,²¹ demnach auch in seiner Stadt.

Christian Pomarius, der 1554 Pfarrer von Lechnitz, der größten nordsiebenbürgischen Gemeinde wurde, hat auch den organisatorischen Zusammenschluss der nordsiebenbürgischen Kirchenkapitel Bistritz (mit Gemeinden, die zum Bistritzer Distrikt gehörten) und Kiraly (weitgehend mit Gemeinden, die zum Dobokaer Komitat gehörten, also in der Regel unfrei waren) betrieben und wurde erster Dekan (*decanus*) der 1560 vereinigten Kirchenbezirke.²² Dieser Prozess hatte zwar bereits im Mittelalter eingesetzt, kennzeichnet aber eine Entwicklung hin zu einer nach Glaubensbekenntnis und nicht nach Standeszugehörigkeit der freien beziehungsweise unfreien Siebenbürger Sachsen sich formierenden Gemeinschaft, der so genannten "geistlichen Universität".²³ Auf dieser glaubensbasierten Gemeinschaft beruht die Rolle der evangelischen Kirche als "Volkskirche" der Siebenbürger Sachsen, die seither ein einigendes Band um die Deutschen in dieser Region geschlungen hat.

²⁰ Zitat aus der deutschen Übersetzung des Briefes von Christian Pomarius an den Bistritzer Stadtrat bei Gündisch, *Pomarius*, S. 120.

²¹ Zitat aus einem Brief an den Breslauer Pfarrer Thomas Hessius in Wittstock, *Beiträge*, S. 59.

²² Zur kirchlichen Verfassungsgeschichte des Nösnerlandes vgl. insbesondere die hervorragende Darstellung von Georg Müller, *Die deutschen Landkapitel in Siebenbürgen und ihre Dechanten 1192-1848. Ein rechtsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Landkirche in Siebenbürgen*, (Hermannstadt, 1936), vor allem S. 18-21, 39-42, 73-76. Siehe auch Robert Csallner, *Zur Entwicklung des Parochialbesitzes in den Gemeinden des Bistritz-Kiralyer Kapitels*, in "Kbl." 34 (1911): 113-117, 127-129; Teutsch: *Geschichte Kirche*, Bd. 1, S. 342.

²³ Vgl. Konrad Gündisch, "Universitatea spirituală" a comunităților bisericești săsești în secolele XV și XVI [Die "geistliche Universität" der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchengemeinden im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert], in: "Biserică, societate, identitate. În onoare Nicolae Bocușan", (Cluj-Napoca, 2007), S. 719-725.

Das Patronatsrecht über die Kirchengemeinden des Distrikts hatten spätestens seit 1543 der Stadtrat und der Oberrichter von Bistritz inne.²⁴ Eine wichtige Rolle spielten als Schrift- und Rechtskundige auch die vom Rat angestellten Stadtschreiber (Notare).²⁵ Bistritz entwickelte sich am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts zum *caput* der nordsiebenbürgisch-sächsischen Siedlergemeinschaft, des in diesem Zusammenhang 1287 erstmals erwähnten Bistritzer Distrikts.²⁶ Die Befreiung der *cives* von Bistritz und den *hospites* der *zugehörigen* Gemeinden von fremder Gerichtsbarkeit durch Königin Elisabeth im Jahre 1330 kann als Bestätigung der Stadtgründung gewertet werden.²⁷ Der 1366 von König Ludwig dem Großen (1342-1382) ausgestellte Freibrief²⁸ gewährte schließlich der Stadt und dem Distrikt Bistritz dieselben Rechte wie jene, die 1224 durch den Andreanischen Freibrief der südsiebenbürgischen Siedlergemeinschaft der so genannten Hermannstädter Provinz gewährt worden waren. Deutlich wird bereits aus diesem Dokument die Dominanz des Bistritzer Stadtrates und seines Oberrichters über die Distriktsgemeinden, denn der *populus villarum ad eandem civitatem pertinentibus* hatte seine örtliche Führung *nach Anordnung und Gutdünken* des Richters und der Geschworenen von Bistritz zu wählen. Die Stadt übte somit seit 1366 ein Aufsichtsrecht über die Distriktsgemeinden aus, hatte verwaltungs- und steuerrechtliche Befugnisse und bildete den gerichtlichen Oberhof des Umlandes.²⁹ 1472 übertrug König Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) das Patronatsrecht in Dürrbach/Dipșa, Lechnitz/Lechința und Mettersdorf/Dumitra der Stadt Bistritz, somit das Recht, einen Pfarrer auch gegen den Willen der Gemeinde zu ernennen und an der Verwaltung ihres Kirchengutes teilzuhaben.³⁰ Dieses Patronatsrecht wurde in der Folgezeit auf alle Gemeinden des Bistritzer und auch des Kiralyer Kapitels ausgeweitet und spielte während und nach der Reformation in Nordsiebenbürgen eine wichtige Rolle, die auch bei der

²⁴ Teutsch, *Geschichte Kirche*, Bd. 1, S. 104-105, 109.

²⁵ Konrad G. Gündisch, *Das Patriziat siebenbürgischer Städte im Mittelalter*. (Köln, Weimar, Wien, 1993) (Studia Transylvanica 18), S. 93; siehe auch Adinel Dincă, *Urban Literacy in Late Medieval Transylvania*, in "Between Public and Private. Writing Praxis in Transylvania During the XIII-XVII Centuries", (Cluj-Napoca, Gatineau, 2019), S. 71-188 (im Druck).

²⁶ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Bd. 1. Hg. Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner. (Hermannstadt, 1892), Nr. 222, S. 157.

²⁷ *Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 1, Nr. 478, S. 437-438; Dahinten, *Geschichte Bistritz*, S. 56.

²⁸ *Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 2. Hg. Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, Georg Müller. (Hermannstadt, 1897), Nr. 858, S. 249-250. Zur Vorortschaft von Bistritz in der nordsiebenbürgisch-sächsischen Siedlergemeinschaft vgl. Gündisch, *Patriziat*, S. 213-219.

²⁹ Gündisch, *Patriziat*, S. 216.

³⁰ Gündisch, *Patriziat*, S. 230-231.

Gewährung von Studienstipendien ausgeübt werden sollte, auf die im Folgenden eingegangen wird.

Derartige Beihilfen erhielten Absolventen der Gymnasien, wobei interessanterweise zahlreiche Stipendiaten aus Nordsevenbürgen nicht das Bistritzer, sondern das Kronstädter Gymnasium besucht haben.³¹ Diese, 1544 vom Humanisten und Reformator Johannes Honterus gegründete Schulanstalt war in Siebenbürgen besonders hoch angesehen und war auch beispielgebend für die weiteren Gymnasialgründungen im Reformationszeitalter.³² Ein genaues Gründungsdatum des Bistritzer Gymnasiums ließ sich nicht ermitteln. Georg Fischer meint, *um 1550* sei die Gründung abgeschlossen und weist auf die bereits in Wittenberg studierenden Rektoren der späten 1540-er Jahre Matthias Totschner und Petrus Ludovicus hin, wobei er als ersten Gymnasialrektor, der ein Jahrzehnt lang (1531-1541) amtierte, den städtischen Notar Georg Seraphini bezeichnet, unter Hinweis auf folgenden Quellenvermerk: *Et ego Georgius Seraphini, eo tempore vicem gerens notarii Bistriciensis, necnon et rector schole eiusdem civitatis ibidem personaliter constitutus.*³³ Außerdem habe der Stadtrat 1548 das jährliche Einkommen des Rektors von 60 auf 90 Gulden angehoben – ein Zeichen für die höhere Wertschätzung der Bistritzer Schule und ihrer Lehrer – und 1551 habe man Franz Davidis aus Klausenburg zum *modernus ludi praefectus scholae* berufen. 1565 schließlich sei für das Gymnasium ein neues Gebäude errichtet worden. Als Lehrkräfte wirkten in dieser Zeit der Schulrektor, ein Lektor und ein Collaborator (später mehrere), außerdem der Kantor.³⁴ Den Unterhalt zahlte der Stadtrat, die Aufsicht über den gewährten Unterricht hatten der Stadtpfarrer, das Kirchenkapitel und der Dekan. Von Christian Pomarius, dem ersten Dekan des vereinigten Bistritz-Kiralyer Kapitels ist bekannt, dass

³¹ Vgl. die Liste der Stipendienempfänger, weiter unten, sowie Friedrich Schiel, *Matrikel des Kronstädter Gymnasiums vom Jahre 1544-1810*, in: "Programm des evangelischen Gymnasiums in Kronstadt", 1862/1863, S. 1-46; 1863/1864, S. 47-87; 1864/1865, S. 88-154, 1865/1866, S. 155-210.

³² Julius Groß, *Geschichte des evangelischen Gymnasiums A.B. in Kronstadt. Festschrift zur Honterusfeier*. (Kronstadt, 1898); Teutsch, *Geschichte Kirche*, Bd. 1, S. 343-350.

³³ Dokument vom 17. August 1531 im Arhivele Naționale ale României, Serviciul Județean Cluj, Primăria Orașului Bistrița [Nationalarchive Rumäniens. Kreisdienst (fortan: Arhivele Naționale, Serviciul ...)] Klausenburg, Bürgermeisteramt der Stadt Bistritz], Serie I, Nr. 1146; vgl. auch Vincze Bunyitay, *Monumenta ecclesiastica tempora innovatae in Hungaria religionis illustrantia / Egyháztörténelmi emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából köt. 1530-1534 és három függelék*, Bd. 2. (Budapest, 1904), S. 154-157.

³⁴ Fischer, *Geschichte Schule*, S. 13-16

er sich der Schulaufsicht in besonderem Maße angenommen hat und die Ausarbeitung genauer Lehr- und Stundenpläne forderte.³⁵

Das Bistritzer Register

Die wichtigste Quelle für die folgenden Ausführungen wird im Hermannstädter Staatsarchiv, im Bestand "Evangelisches Kapitel A.B. Bistritz" aufbewahrt.³⁶ Es handelt sich um ein in zwei ältere, beschriebene Pergamentblätter³⁷ gehülltes Heftchen mit dem Maßen 35x12 cm, 32 Blätter, also 64 Seiten umfassend, von denen 16 Seiten nicht beschriftet worden sind. Die Texte dieses Verzeichnisses wurden in lateinischer (40) und deutscher (15) Sprache innerhalb von sechs Jahrzehnten verfasst, und zwar zwischen dem 23. März 1565 und dem 24. August 1626. Der Unterschied zwischen den lateinischen und den deutschen Texten wird auch durch die jeweils abweichende Graphie deutlich. Die lateinischsprachigen Passagen wurden offensichtlich von mehreren Händen in Laufe der Zeit in Kursivschriften humanistischer Prägung³⁸ geschrieben, die deutschsprachigen in verschiedene Entwicklungsformen der *Kurrentschrift*.³⁹ Diese Unterscheidung in der

³⁵ Richard Schuller, *Christian Pomarius. Ein Humanist und Reformator im Siebenbürger Sachsenlande*, in "Archiv" 39 (1913): 185-246; Teutsch, *Geschichte Kirche*, S. 342-343; Gündisch, *Pomarius*, S. 124.

³⁶ Arhivele Naționale ale României, Serviciul Județean Sibiu, fond Capitlul evanghelic C. A. [Nationalarchiv, Kreisdienst Hermannstadt, Bestand Evangelisches Kapitel A.B. Bistritz], Nr. 373. Digitalisiert auf www.arhivamedievala.ro.

³⁷ Der Text auf dem Pergamentumschlag, der nur noch teilweise noch rekonstruierbar ist, gibt biblische Abschnitte wieder, die höchstwahrscheinlich innerhalb einer liturgischen Handschrift (eines Missale) verwendet worden sind. Auf dem vorderen *Folio* (1) *recto* kann noch gelesen werden: (linke Spalte, rubriziert) *Domenica XVa*, (rechte Spalte) *Ad Galatas* (rubriziert). [...] *si spiritu vivimus, spiritu et ambulemus (Epistula ad Galatas 5:25)*. Auf das hintere *Folio* (2) *recto* (linke Spalte) *Secundum Marcum* (rubriziert). [...] *venit ad Ihesum quidam leprosus deprecans eum, genuflexo dixit (Evangelium secundum Marcum, 1:40)*. Dieses kodikologische Fragment entstammt einer in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in einer anspruchsvollen *Textura* abgeschriebenen Handschrift, die möglicherweise in der vorreformatorischen Kirche der Bistritzer Region in liturgischem Gebrauch war und ist damit eine der wenigen Überreste der vorreformatorischer (kirchlichen) Bistritzer Buchkultur.

³⁸ Siehe z.B. Fol. 1 r-v, 2 r-v, 5 r-v etc. Eine ausgereifte humanistische Kursive der *cancellaresca*-Form entsprechend auf Fol. 7r. Der jüngste Beitrag zum Thema "humanistische Schrift nördlich der Alpen", für eine frühere Entwicklungsphase stammt von Daniel Luger, *Humanismus und humanistische Schrift in der Kanzlei Kaiser Friedrichs III. (1440-1493)*, (Wien, 2016), pp. 17-21.

³⁹ Mehrere Beispiele auf Fol. 6r, 8r-9r, 10r, 11r, 12r usw. Einführend zur Problematik der deutschen Schrift in Siebenbürgen, Ileana-Maria Ratcu, *Deutschsprachige Urkunden aus*

Schriftart, die in Siebenbürgen um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts eingesetzt hat, wurde bis zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts beibehalten.

Die Quelle selbst wurde bislang keiner systematischen Untersuchung unterzogen und auch nicht vollständig transkribiert bzw. ediert. Trotzdem ist sie nicht völlig unbekannt: 1896 hat der am längsten, nämlich 32 Jahre (1882-1914), amtierende Direktor des Evangelischen Gymnasiums A.B. in Bistritz, Georg Fischer (1843-1923)⁴⁰ eine kurze Zusammenfassung des Dokuments und eine selektive Transkription von drei Seiten des Registers in eine Überblicksdarstellung der Schulgeschichte in ihren ersten zwei Jahrhunderten vorgelegt, überdies in einem seltenen, nur in wenigen Bibliotheken aufbewahrten Periodikum.⁴¹ Fischer nennt einige der aus der Stadtkasse mit Studiendarlehen ausgestatteten Studenten an der Universität Wittenberg in den Jahren 1531-1565, die auch Schulrektoren geworden sind (Petrus Ludovici, Paul Seraphin, u.a.). Diese Informationen nutzten auch die Historiker Sándor Tonk und Miklós Szabó in ihrem bereits erwähnten Verzeichnis der siebenbürgischen Studierenden an auswärtigen Universitäten in der Frühen Neuzeit,⁴² allerdings ohne die handschriftliche Quelle zu nennen, die er wohl auch nicht gekannt hat.

Das vorliegende Heftchen enthält ein buchhalterisch geführtes Register und kurze Verträge notarieller Art. Zum einen werden die in diesen Studienfonds eingegangenen Summen eingetragen, vorrangig zweckgebundene Spenden zur Förderung des auswärtigen Hochschulbesuchs. Die Spenden *in usum studiosorum* schwanken zwischen 25 Gulden (gewöhnlicher Währung) und 172 Goldgulden (Goldflorin) und stammen vornehmlich aus testamentarischen Verfügungen der Pfarrer des Bistritzer Kapitels, von ehemaligen Gymnasialrektoren und von Frauen wie Katharina, die Witwe nach Petrus Ludovici, Gymnasialrektor in Bistritz und Pfarrer von Mettersdorf,⁴³ oder Anna, die Tochter des ehemaligen Pfarrers

Siebenbürgen (15.-19. Jh.). Urkundensprache – Paläographie – Handschriftenkunde, (Saarbrücken, 2013).

⁴⁰ Günter Klein, *Directorii gimnaziului evanghelic C.A. din Bistrița în noua clădire gimnazială (1910-1944)* [Die Direktoren des Evangelischen Gymnasiums A.B. in Bistritz im neuen Gymnasialgebäude (1910-1944)], in "Revista Bistriței" 25 (2011): 233-244.

⁴¹ Georg Fischer, *Geschichte des Bistritzer evangelischen Gymnasiums A.B. bis zum Jahre 1762*, in "Programm des Evangelischen Obergymnasiums A. B. und der damit verbundenen Lehranstalten, dann der Evangelischen Mädchenschule A.B. zu Bistritz", 1895/1896, Bistritz 1896, S. 16-19, 75-78.

⁴² Vgl. Tonk, Szabó, *Egyetemjárás a korai újkorban*.

⁴³ Petrus Ludovici (Ludwig, Layos), geb. in Dürrbach/Dipșa, gest. 1582 in Mettersdorf/Dumitra, Schulrektor in Bistritz (1542-1543), studierte in Wittenberg (1544), wurde Pfarrer in Mettersdorf und war ab 1558 mehrmals Dekan des Bistritzer Kapitels (*Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr.

von Wermesch/Vermeş. Der Studienfonds wurde wohl am 23 März 1565 eingerichtet, als der Heidendorfer Pfarrer Adam Pomarius⁴⁴ als Testamentsvollstrecker des ehemaligen Bistritzer Stadtpfarrers Michael Fleischer den Empfang von 172 Goldgulden bestätigte, die für die Finanzierung *in usum perpetuum studiosorum alendorum* bestimmt waren.⁴⁵ Pomarius legte damals auch die meisten Bedingungen fest, die eine Vergabe des Studiendarlehens voraussetzten (dazu weiter unten). Der erste Verwalter dieses Studienfonds sollte der Amtsnachfolger des Stifters, Stadtpfarrer Albert Kirschner (Cerasinus), sein, auf den dann Adam Pomarius folgen sollte; danach sollten andere Personen bestimmt werden, unter Einbeziehung des Bistritzer Stadtpfarrers und des Bistritzer Oberrichters.

Stifter und Zustifter für den Bistritzer Studienfonds (1565-1626)⁴⁶:

- 1565: Michael Fleischer, geb. in Botsch/Batoş, gest. 1548 in Bistritz, Pfarrer in Wallendorf/Unirea (1529-1534) und Jaad/Iad (1534-1541), erster evangelischer Stadtpfarrer von Bistritz (1541-1548)⁴⁷ – 172 Goldgulden;
- 1574: Michael Linzig, Geschworener in Bistritz (1564-1569),⁴⁸ vormals selbst Empfänger einer Studienbeihilfe – 10 Goldgulden;

530; vgl. auch Urkunden-Regesten aus dem Archiv der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen 1203-1570, 2 Bde. Hg. Albert Berger, aus dem Nachlaß hg. von Ernst Wagner. (Köln, Wien, 1986); *Urkunden-Regesten aus dem Archiv der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen. 1571-1585*. Mit Ioan Dordea, Ioan Drăgan und Konrad G. Gündisch hg. von Ernst Wagner. 1995. XVIII, 601 S. (Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens, Bd. 11/I-III; fortan werden, unabhängig vom Band, die laufenden Nummern der Regesten angeführt), Nr. 2895, 3851, 4636.

⁴⁴ Adam Pomarius (Paumgartner), geb. Großeidau/Viile Tecii, gest. 1576 in Heidendorf/Viişoara, Bruder von Christian Pomarius. Inskribierte an der Universität Wittenberg (1525), war Pfarrer in Großendorf/Mărişelu (1540-1551) und Heidendorf (1551-1576), ab 1550 wiederholt Dekan des Bistritz-Kiralyer Kapitels (vgl. *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 619). Als einer der ersten Pfarrer des Distrikts teilte er 1544 dem Stadtrat von Bistritz mit, dass er heiraten werde (vgl. *Urkunden-Regesten*, Nr. 1714).

⁴⁵ Urkunde abgedruckt bei Fischer, *Gymnasium*, S. 75-76.

⁴⁶ Vgl. auch die Tabelle bei Fischer, *Gymnasium*, S. 73-74.

⁴⁷ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 256.

⁴⁸ *Urkunden-Regesten*, Nr. 2928, 2969, 3248, 3453.

- 1574: Anna Zipser (*Scopusiensis*), Tochter des Calixtus, Pfarrer in Wermesch (gest. 1554), stiftet den *armen Schülern, die der Studierung nachziehen*⁴⁹ – 20 Gulden;
- 1578: Katharina Ludovici, Tochter des Bistritzer Oberrichters Valentin Kugler, Witwe nach dem Mettersdorfer Pfarrer Petrus Ludovici⁵⁰ – 50 Joachimstaler;
- 1582: die Erben der Witwe nach Magister Paulus – 100 Florin;
- 1587: Johannes Roth, *rector scholae* in Deutsch-Budak/Budacu de Jos – 25 Gulden;
- 1587: Andreas Irenäus (Friedsmann), geb. 1529 in Leschkirch/Nocrih, gest. 1589 in Deutsch-Budak, Gymnasiast in Kronstadt (1547), wurde Prediger in Bistritz (1557) und Pfarrer in Deutsch-Budak (1557-1589); Verfasser der Arbeit *Excerpta Transilvaniae et in specie Bistricii Historiam concernentia* (Manuskript); bürgte für das Studiendarlehen seines Sohnes Benedikt und spendete an den Studienfonds *in Erfüllung des letzten Willens seiner Tochter Dorothea*, Gattin des Valentin Adler (Adler)⁵¹ – 10 Gulden;
- 1593: Witwe nach Johannes Grau Senior, musste 1592 einen Erbschaftsprozess führen,⁵² stiftete danach – 20 Goldgulden;
- 1595: Barbara, Tochter von Katharina Ludovici aus deren erster Ehe mit dem Bistritzer Stadtrichter Valentin Kugler, Witwe nach Stephan Helner, Ratsgeschworener in Bistritz (1577-1585), ein reicher Patrizier, der mit seinem Sohn einen Vertrag über 350 Gulden abgeschlossen und der Stadt seinen Anteil an der Kretschmermühle für 100 Gulden verkauft hatte; Helner galt als Mäzen siebenbürgischer Humanisten und hat unter anderem den Druck von Werken des Johannes Sommer in Wittenberg finanziert (1580); Bernhard Jacobinus, der Sohn des Humanisten Johannes Jacobinus, bezeichnete ihn als guten Freund⁵³ – 95 Joachimstaler;

⁴⁹ Fischer, *Gymnasium*, S. 73; *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 910.

⁵⁰ *Urkunden-Regesten*, Nr. 2166. Über Petrus Ludovici vgl. die Angaben in Anm. 36.

⁵¹ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 414; Fischer, *Gymnasium*, S. 74; Joseph Trausch, *Schriftsteller-Lexikon oder biographisch-literarische Denk-Blätter der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, Bd. 1. (Kronstadt, 1868), S. 347-348.

⁵² *Urkunden-Regesten*, Nr. 5783, 5844.

⁵³ *Urkunden-Regesten*, Nr. 3880, 3881, 4488, 4351, 4555, 4728, 4752, 4814, 4878, 4922, 5217, 5251, 5392; Hermann Schuller, *Christian Pomarius. Ein Humanist und Reformator im Siebenbürger Sachsenlande*, in "Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresschrift" 64 (1941): 126, 133; Kalendernotiz von Berhanrd Jacobinus für das Jahr 1591: "Stephanus Helnerus, senator Bistriciensis, amicus meus veteranus a iuventute, hoc die (3 Martie) mortuus 1591 arthori morbo confertus." in Costin Feneșan, Konrad Gündisch, *Informații privind istoria Transilvaniei (sec. XVI-XVII) în calendarele lui Paul Eber* [Notizen zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens im 16.-17. Jh. in den Eberschen Kalendern], in "Anuarul Institutului de istorie și arheologie Cluj-Napoca" 17 (1974): 84, 90, Anm. 72.

- 1603: Albert Artopoeus - 75 Gulden;
- 1619: Georg Frank (Szabó), seit 1594 Ratsgeschworener, danach wiederholt Oberrichter von Bistritz (1604-1605, 1608-1610, 1613-1615, 1618-1619)⁵⁴ - 25 Gulden.

Verwalter des Bistritzer Studienfonds

Der Studienfonds wurde nach dem Tod von Adam Pomarius von einem Gremium verwaltet, dem der Dekan des Bistritz-Kiralyer Kapitels, weitere Pfarrer des Kapitels sowie der Oberrichter von Bistritz angehört haben.

Folgende Verwalter des Stiftungsfonds werden im Register aufgeführt:

- Albert Kirschner (Cerasinus, Draconides), geb. in Wurmloch/Valea Viilor, gest. 1564 in Bistritz, Grabstein in der Bistritzer Stadtpfarrkirche, inskribierte an den Universitäten Krakau (1534) und Wittenberg (1543), wurde in Wittenberg ordiniert (1544) und war Stadtpfarrer von Bistritz (1548-1564) sowie substituierender Dekan des Bistritzer Kapitels; wird von einigen Autoren als Reformator von Bistritz angesehen.⁵⁵
- Joachim Teutsch, geb. in Bistritz, gest. 1581 in Bistritz, inskribierte an der Universität Wittenberg (1558), wurde Gymnasialrektor und danach Stadtpfarrer von Bistritz (1564-1581).⁵⁶
- Andreas Schuller (Schulerus), gest. 1601 in Bistritz, Gymnasiast in Kronstadt (1566), inskribierte an der Universität Frankfurt/Oder (1572), wurde Gymnasialrektor (1575), Prediger (1577) und schließlich Stadtpfarrer (1581-1601) in Bistritz.⁵⁷
- Balthasar Decani (*Decanus*), geb. in Sächsisch Regen/Reghin, gest. 1586 an der Pest in Sankt Georgen/Sângeorzu Nou, inskribierte an der Universität Wittenberg und wurde dort ordiniert (1553), danach Prediger in Bistritz (1560), Pfarrer in Wallendorf (1560-1577) und Sankt Georgen (1577-1586), war wiederholte Male Dekan des Bistritzer Kapitels. 1569 ist er Zeuge in einem Rechtsstreit mit dem Wittenberger Buchhändler Matthias.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Albert Berger, *Verzeichnis der Bistritzer Oberrichter auf Grund urkundlicher Quellen*, in "Festgabe der Stadt Bistritz. Den Mitgliedern des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde gewidmet anlässlich der am 13. und 14. August 18797 in Bistritz abgehaltenen 49. Generalversammlung dieses Vereines" (Bistritz, 1897), S. 89-90.

⁵⁵ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 452; *Urkunden-Regesten*, Nr. 2895; Julius Bielz, *Porträtkatalog der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, in "Archiv" 49 (1936-1938), Nr. 163.

⁵⁶ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 811.

⁵⁷ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 747.

⁵⁸ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 199; *Urkunden-Regesten*, Nr. 3451.

- Gregorius Daum (Dawm, Daumen, Thimar), gest. 1575 in Bistritz, Ratsgeschworener von Bistritz seit 1548, Oberrichter in den Jahren 1555-1558, 1561-1562, 1564-1569, 1572-1574. Ein Autograph aus dem Jahr 1565 befindet sich in unserer Quelle auf Folio 2r. 1563 bittet er den in Wittenberg studierenden Andreas Marci, auf seinen Sohn Franz zu achten, ihn zum Studieren anzuhalten und von schlechter Gesellschaft fern zu halten. Franz solle *bedenken, das man sie studirens halber vnd nicht schwelgerey halber, mit grosser czerunck ausz gesandt hatt*.⁵⁹ Franciscus Daum, geb. in Bistritz, gest. 1581 in Lechnitz, hatte das Kronstädter Gymnasium besucht (1561) und in Wittenberg inskribiert (1562), wurde danach Gymnasialrektor in Bistritz (1565), Prediger an der dortigen Stadtpfarrkirche (1568) und schließlich Pfarrer in Lechnitz (1570-1581). 1562 stellte der Bistritzer Magistrat einen Pass für die Jugendlichen Andreas Marci, Franz Daum, Gregor Lang und Johann Eggert aus, die nach Wittenberg reisen, um Theologie zu studieren.⁶⁰
- Johannes Eckhart (Eckerth, Eckert, Eggert), geb. in Bistritz, gest. 1580 in Wermesch, Gymnasiast in Kronstadt (1559), inskribierte an der Universität Wittenberg (1562-1565), erhielt 1565 ein Studiendarlehen von 18 Gulden, um seine Schulden in Wittenberg zu begleichen, unter der Bedingung, danach heimzukehren, wurde im gleichen Jahr Collaborator am Bistritzer Gymnasium (1565) und später Pfarrer in Wermesch (1574-1580).⁶¹
- Leonhard Mundelius (Mandel), geb. in Windau/Ghinda, gest. 1589 in Lechnitz, Gymnasiast in Kronstadt (1558), war Pfarrer in Heidendorf (1576-1582) und Lechnitz (1582-1589).⁶²
- Johannes Grau (Graw, Graun) Senior, gest. 1592 in Mettersdorf, Gymnasiast in Bistritz, studierte in Wittenberg (1574-1575), wurde Gymnasialrektor (1579) und Prediger (1580) in Bistritz, dann Pfarrer in Mettersdorf (1582-1592). War als *geswornen Ratsherr der Stadt Nösen* 1575 Bürge für ein Studiendarlehen seines Sohnes Johannes. Seine Witwe stiftete 20 Goldgulden für den Studienfonds.⁶³ Wurde 1590 zusammen mit Emerich Lieb und Mathias Roth zum Verwalter des Studienfonds bestimmt.

⁵⁹ Zitiert aus dem Brief Daums an Marci von 1563, abgedruckt bei Storch, *Einfluss*, S. 35; zu Gregor Daums Laufbahn siehe Berger, *Oberrichter*, S. 87-88. Andreas Marci studierte in Wittenberg Medizin, mit finanzieller Unterstützung durch seinen Bruder Balthasar, vgl. *Urkunden-Regesten*, Nr. 2837.

⁶⁰ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 197; *Urkunden-Regesten*, Nr. 2766.

⁶¹ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, nr. 217; Tonk, Szabó, *Egyetemjárás a korai újkorban*, Nr. 1037.

⁶² *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 579.

⁶³ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 310.

- Emerich Lieb (*Amicinus*), geb. 1522 in Bistritz, gest. 1602 in Bistritz; Kantor am Bistritzer Gymnasium, Diakon in Mettersdorf, Pfarrer in Minarken (1562-1602), Notar der geistlichen Universität, ab 1589 wiederholt Dekan und dann Senior des Bistritzer Kapitels. Stirbt an der "ungarischen Seuche" (Hagymas), die nach den Verwüstungen der Stadt und des Distrikes Bistritz durch den habsburgischen General Giorgio Basta (1602) ausgebrochen ist. Stellt die *Monumenta vetera et recentia Jurium ac Privilegiorum Capituli Bistriciensis* (1599) zusammen, eine handschriftliche Quellensammlung, die als "grünes Buch" bekannt ist und sich im Bistritzer Kapitulararchiv aufbewahrt wurde. Dieses Kopialbuch galt lange Zeit als verschollen.⁶⁴ Wurde 1590 zusammen mit Johannes Grau und Mathias Roth zum Verwalter des Studienfonds bestimmt.
- Mathias Roth (Rhott, *Ruffinus*), geb. in Tekendorf/Teaca, gest. 1598 in Heidendorf, Gymnasiast in Kronstadt (1563), Prediger in Lechnitz (1577), Pfarrer in Heidendorf (1582-1598), Dekan des Bistritzer Kapitels (1585, 1596).⁶⁵ Wurde 1590 zusammen mit Johannes Grau und Emerich Lieb zum Verwalter des Studienfonds bestimmt.
- Johann Totschner, geb. ca. 1554 in Dürrbach, gest. 1602 in Dürrbach, Gymnasiast in Kronstadt (1571), Prediger (1571) und Pfarrer (1582-1602) in Dürrbach, ab 1592 wiederholt Dekan des Bistritzer Kapitels.⁶⁶
- Thomas Areld (Arelt, Orelt), geb. in Dürrbach, gest. 1602 in Oberneudorf/Satu-Nou, Gymnasiast in Kronstadt (1546), inskribierte an der Universität Wittenberg (1562), Pfarrer in Oberneudorf (1575-1602).⁶⁷

Vergabebestimmungen und Verträge für Bistritzer Studiendarlehen

Adam Pomarius hatte bereits 1572 erste Bedingungen für die Vergabe eines Studiendarlehens formuliert.⁶⁸ Die Empfänger mussten sich verpflichten:

⁶⁴ Joseph Trausch, *Schriftsteller-Lexikon*, Bd. 2. (Kronstadt 1870), S. 355-366; Fr[anz] Zimmermann, *Aus alten Einbänden von Rechnungen aus den Jahren 1506 bis 1691*, in "Archiv" 19 (1884): 267-268 (Beschreibung der Quellensammlung); *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 520. Mehrere Abschriften dieser Quelle sind heute noch vorhanden und wiederaufgefunden, eine davon könnte als die älteste und teilweise als Autograph Liebs identifiziert werden. Es handelt sich um ein Heftchen, aufbewahrt in Arhivele Naționale, Serviciul Județean Sibiu, fond Capitlul evanghelic C. A. Bistrița [Nationalarchive, Kreisdienst Hermannstadt, Fonds Evangelisches Kapitel A.B. Bistritz], Nr. 712.

⁶⁵ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 679.

⁶⁶ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 825.

⁶⁷ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 75.

⁶⁸ Vgl. die Gründungsurkunde der Stiftung, abgedruckt bei Fischer, *Gymnasium*, S. 75-76.

1. das Darlehen nach der Rückkehr und Antritt einer Stelle mit entsprechenden Einkünften zurückzuzahlen, 2. ihre künftige Tätigkeit nicht im Ausland, sondern in der Heimat auszuüben (*ut non peregrinis, sed patriae suam operam dedicent*); 3. dass im Falle eines vorzeitigen Todes die Eltern oder andere Bürgen das Darlehen zurückzahlen; 4. dass – im Falle eines Übertritts zu einer Ketzerei oder zur katholischen Kirche (*aut si haeresi aliqua vel dogmate pugnante cum catholica doctrina harum ecclesiarum infecti fuerint*) – die Eltern oder Bürgen die Summe zurückzahlen oder dass diese aus der ihnen zustehenden Erbschaft einbehalten werden kann. Im Laufe der Zeit wurden diese Voraussetzungen detailliert: Die Empfänger sollten *honesti et pii* und der Schule sowie der Kirche verbunden sein (*studia scolae et ecclesiae Bistriciensi addicturi essent*).

Alles wurde in einem Vertrag festgehalten, der standardmäßig Folgendes enthielt: Name des Empfängers; die Verpflichtung, nach Studienabschluss der Bistritzer und dem Vaterland zu dienen (*patriae in primis et Ecclesiae ditionis eiusdem*); die Verpflichtung, das Darlehen nach der Rückkehr binnen sechs Jahren zurückzuzahlen, auch wenn er nicht in der Lage sein sollte, sein Studium zu beenden oder wenn er sich einer anderen Konfession (*aliud doctrinae religionis genus*) als der evangelisch-lutherischen zuwenden sollte, zu der sich die Mehrheit der Bistritzer bekennt (*in urbe Bistriciensis publico sonat, amplexum esse*). Ein Bürge – meist der Vater, ein Bruder, ein weiterer Verwandter oder eine bekannte Persönlichkeit – musste in der Regel den Vertrag gegenzeichnen. Die Verpflichtung zur Rückzahlung bestand nämlich auch im Falle des frühzeitigen Todes des Studierenden, um einem Schrumpfen des finanziellen Grundbestandes dieses Fonds vorzubeugen. Die Verträge über das Studiendarlehen wurden vom Empfänger, dem Bürgen, Zeugen der Unterzeichnung und dem Verwalter des Fonds unterschrieben. Wurde ein eigenes Siegel des Unterzeichners verwendet, wurde das im Vertrag festgehalten: *meum chirographum manu propria scriptum ac sigillo meo usuali communitum*. Alle Darlehensverträge wurden in Form eines Notariatsinstruments entworfen, ein zusätzlicher Beweis für das Ansehen des öffentlichen Notariats unter der Siebenbürger Sachsen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Adinel Dincă, *Notaries Public in Late Medieval Transylvania. Prerequisites for the Reception of a Legal Institution*, in "Literacy Experiences concerning Medieval and Early Modern Transylvania". Hgg. Susana Andea, Adinel Ciprian Dincă (Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "G. Barițiu". Supliment, LIV(2015): 33-47, mit weiterführender Literatur.

Die Verträge wurden in lateinischer oder in deutscher Sprache abgefasst. Im Folgenden wird ein derartiger deutschsprachiger Mustervertrag⁷⁰ wiedergegeben.

Im Namen des Herrn. Amen.

Ich Floryan Goltschick thue kundt mit diesser Meiner Handschriftt daß mein son Clemens, da er der lehr nach Ziben wolt, empffangen hat vierzig Ungarischen golt guldenn, von den wirdigen Herren, Herr Adamo Pomario Pfarrer zum Heidendorff, Herr Balthasaro Decan, Pfarrer vom Wallendorff, Herr Joachimo Teutsch, Pfarrer zu Nösen, vnd vom fürsichtigen weisen Herren Gregorio Daum Richter zu Nösen. Für diese Schuldt verheisse ich bürge zu sein, vnd vorschreibe mich daß, wo mein son mit tod abgeen wird, oder auff die auffgenommene tagt zeit (Nemlich in sechs Jahren) diese schuldt nicht erlegen vnd bezahlem wirdt, ich solche vierzig gulden in gold in allen vertzug vnd widerred gantz und gar bezalen vnd erbringen will. Wo ich aber in mitler Zeit auch mit Tod abging, so sol man gleich wohl diese schuld auß meinen Gütern bezahlet nehmen, sonderlich wo der Clemens mit seinem erbteil nicht zu kann kommen. Auff daß also des wirdigen Herren deß Herr Michaels seliger Gedechtnis Pfarrers zu Nösen Testament bey Krefften erhalten werde, der dies Geld also beschieden und gelassen hat, daß mit dem selbigen immer für vnd für dürfftige Schüler bey der Lehr des Wortes Gottes, vnd der freyen Künste, mögen erhalten werden.

Zu gewisserem getzeugnis solcher meiner Zusagung und Verbundnis, gebe ich diese meine Handschriftt den obgemeldeten wirdigen vnd weisen herren, mit meinem gewöhnlichen Sigil bekrefftiget.

Geschehen zu Nösen, am tag Catharinae⁷¹, nach Christi geburt im 1568. Jar

Die Höhe des Darlehens, das in der Regel für die Finanzierung eines Studienaufenthalts in Deutschland, gelegentlich auch für den Besuch höherer Schulen, etwa in Hermannstadt vergeben wurde, schwankte zwischen 25 und 60 Gulden; in einem Fall wurden 100 Taler vorgestreckt. Die Rückzahlung des Darlehens wurde durch den Vermerk *Solvit* bestätigt, meist wurde der Vertrag auch durchgestrichen. Hervorzuheben ist, dass alle hier namentlich genannten Empfänger eines Studiendarlehens ihren Verpflichtungen nachgekommen sind und die erhaltene Summe zurückgezahlt haben.

⁷⁰ Register 373 (wie oben, Anm. 36), Fol. 6r.

⁷¹ 25. November.

Empfänger von Bistritzer Studiendarlehen

Im vorliegenden Heftchen sind die Namen von zwanzig Empfängern derartiger Studiendarlehen verzeichnet, die auch den damit verbundenen Bedingungen vertraglich zugestimmt haben. Die meisten haben in Wittenberg studiert und sind in die Matrikeln der dortigen Universität⁷² eingetragen, einige haben die Universitäten Frankfurt an der Oder, Straßburg, Heidelberg, Leipzig und Breslau besucht. Mehrere haben den akademischen Grad eines Magisters erworben, doch sind alle in die Heimat zurückgekehrt, einer sogar nach Aufgabe einer vielversprechenden Hochschulkarriere.⁷³ Sie fingen oft als Lehrer oder Rektoren des Bistritzer Gymnasiums an und wechselten später auf eine besser dotierte Stelle als Gemeinde- oder Stadtpfarrer.

Folgende Empfänger von Studiendarlehen sind im Register verzeichnet:

1. Johannes Eggert, gest. 1580, wurde Verwalter des Stiftungsfonds. Seine biographischen Daten wurden weiter oben in der Liste dieser Amtsträger angeführt.

2. Johannes Teutsch, geb. in Bistritz, gest. 1595 in Treppen/ Tärpiu (Grabstein in der dortigen Kirche), inskribierte in Wittenberg (1563), erhielt 1565 ein Studiendarlehen von 20 Goldgulden, um seine ausstehenden Studiengebühren zu bezahlen, kehrte heim und wurde Pfarrer in Treppen (1574-1595).⁷⁴

3. Clemens Gottschick (Goltshick, Gottschich) aus Minarken erhielt 1568 ein Studiendarlehen von 40 Goldgulden (Bürge: sein Vater Florian Gottschick) und inskribierte an der Universität Wittenberg (1569). Er wurde Rektor des Gymnasiums in Bistritz (1572-1574).⁷⁵

4. Georg Hirscher (Riemer/Rymer), geb. in Bistritz, erhielt 1568 und 1569 ein Studiendarlehen von insgesamt 70 ungarischen Goldgulden und inskribierte an der Universitäten Wittenberg (1569) und dann Frankfurt an der Oder (1570), wo er den Magistertitel erwarb. 1571 ersuchten der Bürgermeister und der Rat von Frankfurt/Oder, in einem weiteren Brief der

⁷² *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, 2 Bde. Hg. Karl Eduard Förstemann u.a.: 1. *Ab a. Ch. MDII usque ad MDLX.* (Leipzig, 1841); 2. *Ab a. Ch. MDII usque ad a. MDCII.* (Halis, 1894).

⁷³ Ihre Karriere in Siebenbürgen kann insbesondere aufgrund der von Ernst Wagner herausgegebenen Publikation *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, verfolgt werden, wo auch auf weitere Quellenbelege hingewiesen wird. Briefe einiger Wittenberger Studenten an ihre Familien in Siebenbürgen sind in Storch, *Einfluss*, S. 33-47, veröffentlicht.

⁷⁴ Fischer, *Gallus Rohrmann, Johann Teutsch*, in "Kbl." (1881): 96-97; *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 811.

⁷⁵ Fischer, *Gymnasium*, S. 58.

Rektor und die Doktoren der dortigen Universität den Rat von Bistritz, das gesamte Vermögen des Magisters Georg Hirscher zu veräußern und ihm den Erlös zuzusenden, damit er sein Studium nicht unterbrechen muss.⁷⁶ Vermutlich wurde der Bitte entsprochen und der Gegenwert des Darlehens einbehalten, da auf dem durchgestrichenen Vertrag das Wort *solvit* steht. Er bewarb sich 1586 von Tyrnau/Trnava aus um eine Stelle in Bistritz, da seine Frau erkrankt war, und 1589 um die Stelle eines "Seniors der reformierten Kirche" in Fels am Wagram (Österreich).⁷⁷

5. Johannes Gerser (Gersor, Girescher), gest. 1590 in Wermesch, erhält 1573 ein Studiendarlehen von 50 Gulden, um seine Studiengebühren in Bartfeld/Bardejov bezahlen zu können (Bürge: vermutlich sein Vater Albert), wird Rektor des Bistritzer Gymnasiums (1577-1578, dann Pfarrer in Wermesch (1580-1590)).⁷⁸

6. Johann Grau (Graw) junior, gest. vor 1593), nahm 1575 ein Studiendarlehen auf (Bürge: sein Vater Johannes Grau senior) und inskribierte sich in Wittenberg; er wurde Rektor des Bistritzer Gymnasiums (1579) und Prediger in dieser Stadt (1580).⁷⁹

7. Georgius Wrischer/Urisher: geb. in Deutsch-Budak, gest. 1602 in Jelna/Sennendorf, Gymnasiast in Kronstadt (1571), erhielt 1575 ein Studiendarlehen von 25 Goldgulden (Bürge: sein Vater Petrus aus Deutsch-Budak) und inskribierte an der Universität Wittenberg (1575); 1602 war er Pfarrer in Sennendorf.⁸⁰

8. Athanasius Lani (Lany, Heydendorfer), geb. in Baierdorf/Crainimät, gest. 1598 in Großendorf, erhielt 1577 ein Studiendarlehen in Höhe von 20 Gulden und 14 ungarischen Goldgulden (Bürge: sein Vater Valentin Schneyder aus Baierdorf), inskribierte sich an den Universitäten Wittenberg (1578) und Leipzig (1580, wurde Prediger in Bistritz (1590), dann Pfarrer in Großendorf (1591-1598), stellte ein Pfarramtsinventar zusammen.⁸¹

9. Andreas Kröcher (Krecherus), gest. 1602, erhielt 1578 ein Studiendarlehen von 25 Goldgulden (Bürge: Caspar Kröcher, *Einwoner der Stadt Nösen*) und inskribierte an der Universität Wittenberg (1578), wurde Pfarrer in Pintak/Pinticu (1595-1602).

10. Jacob Pyrus (Birbaum), geb. in Bistritz, gest. 1602 in Sankt Georgen), Gymnasiast in Kronstadt (1576), erhält 1578 ein Studiendarlehen von 25 Goldgulden (Bürge: sein Vater Bennek Birbawm, *Eynwoner der Stadt Nösen*)

⁷⁶ *Urkunden-Regesten*, Nr. 3674, 3681.

⁷⁷ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 919.

⁷⁸ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 281.

⁷⁹ Fischer, *Gymnasium*, S. 58.

⁸⁰ Tonk, Szabó, *Egyetemjárás a korai újkorban*, Nr. 667.

⁸¹ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 342.

und 1579 eines über 7 Goldgulden (Bürge: sein Bruder Stefan Pyrus, Gymnasialrektor in Bistritz), inskribiert sich an der Universität Wittenberg (1578), wird Gymnasialrektor (1580) und Prediger in Bistritz (1583-1589), dann Pfarrer in Großendorf (1589-1590) und Sanktgeorgen (1591-1602).⁸² Entschuldigt sich 1579 aus Wittenberg bei Lucas Scheseus wegen Fehlverhaltens.⁸³ Leiht 1601 der Stadt Bistritz 200 Gulden für deren Kriegsabgabe.⁸⁴

11. Daniel Kröcher (Crecher, Krecher), geb. in Bistritz, gest. 1602 in Heidendorf, Gymnasiast in Kornstadt, erhält 1579 ein Studiendarlehen von 25 Goldgulden (Bürge: sein *cognatus* Emerich Lieb), inskribiert an der Universität Wittenberg (1581 – allerdings ist sein Name nicht in die Matrikeln eingetragen), Bistritzer Ratsnotar (1587-1602), zugleich Gymnasialrektor (1589), und Prediger (1592) in Bistritz, Pfarrer in Jaad (1598) und Heidendorf (1599-1602).⁸⁵

12. Lucas Scheseus (Scheser), aus Nieder-Wallendorf, erhält 1579 ein Studiendarlehen in Höhe von 50 Joachimstalern (Bürge: sein Vater Jakob Schesaesus, Pfarrer in Nieder-Wallendorf), inskribiert aber schon 1571 an der Universität Frankfurt/Oder.⁸⁶

13. Leonhard Kröcher (Crecher, Crecharus), gest. 1602, erhält 1582 ein Studiendarlehen über 50 Goldgulden (Bürge: Emerich Lieb, *cognatus meus*), wird Gymnasialrektor in Bistritz (1587), dann Pfarrer in Jaad (1588-1598) und Heidendorf (1599-1602).

14. Benedict Irenaeus, geb. 1559, Gymnasiast in Kronstadt (1581) erhielt 1583 ein Studiendarlehen von 25 Joachimstalern (Bürge: sein Vater Andreas Irenaeus, Pfarrer in Deutsch-Budak), inskribiert an der Universität Frankfurt/Oder (1583).⁸⁷

15. Andreas Reichmund (Reichmundus), gest. 1602 in Deutsch-Budak, erhält 1589 ein Studiendarlehen von 25 Goldgulden (Bürge: sein Vater Stefan Seuffner, *kirgen vatter* der Bistritzer Stadtpfarrkirche), inskribiert sich an der Universität Straßburg (1591), wo er den Titel eines Magisters erwirbt, wird Lektor am Bistritzer Gymnasium (1595), dann Pfarrer in Windau (1596-1602) und in Deutsch Budak (1602).⁸⁸

⁸² *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 608.

⁸³ Storch, *Einfluss*, S. 42-44.

⁸⁴ Emil Csallner, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Nösnergau*, (Bistritz, 1943), S. 49.

⁸⁵ Paul Philippi, *Der Bistritzer Notär Daniel Krecher und die siebenbürgische Religionsfreiheit*, in: "Korrespondenzblatt des Arbeitskreises für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde" 6 (1976), 3-4, 162-166; *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 489.

⁸⁶ Tonk, Szabó, *Egyetemjárás a korai újkorban*, Nr. 1577.

⁸⁷ Tonk, Szabó, *Egyetemjárás a korai újkorban*, Nr. 299.

⁸⁸ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 634.

16. Gallus Rohrmann (Rhorman), geb. in Tekendorf, gest. 1602 in Bistritz an der Pest, erhält 1591 ein Studiendarlehen von 25 Goldgulden (Bürge: sein Vater Ladsilaus, Hann (*villicus*) von Tekendorf), inskribiert sich an der Universität Straßburg (1590), wo er unter dem Namen *Teccensis* an einer Disputation teilnimmt, wird *magister artium* in Basel (1591), dann Lektor (1592) und Rektor (1593) des Bistritzer Gymnasiums, Prediger (1598) und Stadtpfarrer von Bistritz.⁸⁹

17. Johannes Budaker (Budacker), gest. 1613 in Birthälm/Biertan, erhält 1596 ein Studiendarlehen über 100 Taler (Bürge: sein Vater Hannes Budacker, "Rathsgeschworener" in Bistritz), inskribiert an der Universität Heidelberg (1595), disputiert 1596 mit Albert Szenci Molnár in Genf, studiert außerdem in Altdorf und Straßburg. Er wird Pfarrer in Treppen (1602) Bistritz (1602-1611) und Birthälm (1611-1613) und stirbt als designierter Superintendent (Bischof) der Evangelischen Kirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen.⁹⁰

18. Stefan Pyrus (Pirus, Birbaum), geb. in Bistritz, gest. 1603 in Lechnitz, ermordet, erhielt 1597 ein Studiendarlehen über 32 ungarische Goldgulden, inskribiert an der Universität Leipzig, wird Gymnasialrektor in Bistritz (1598), dann Pfarrer in Wermesch (1602-1603) und Lechnitz (1603).⁹¹

19. Georgius Seuffner, erhält 1597 ein Studiendarlehen von 1 Goldgulden, 15 Talern und 33 gewöhnlichen Gulden (Bürge: sein Vater Stefan Seuffner, Ratsgeschworener in Bistritz, der auch das Geld entgegennimmt und seinem Sohn an den Studienort nachsendet), er inskribiert an der Universität Wittenberg (1597), dann Breslau und wird Pfarrer in Großendorf (1602-1603), Dürrbach (1603-1611) und Klein Schogen/ Şieuş.⁹²

20. Johannes Heilmann (Herilmannus), erhält 1619 ein Studiendarlehen von 25 Gulden und inskribiert an der Universität Frankfurt/Oder⁹³. Das Darlehen wurde 1626 von seinem Bruder Andreas Heilmann zurückgezahlt.

Fazit

Die bislang weitgehend unbekannte Überlieferung über den Bistritzer Studienfonds ist eine äußerst wichtige prosopographische Quelle, in der Namen von geistlichen und weltlichen Würdenträgern der Stadt Bistritz und ihres Umlandes verzeichnet sind. Sie belegt ein über Jahrzehnte funktionierendes System der Bildungsförderung durch eine Gemeinschaft,

⁸⁹ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 664.

⁹⁰ Tonk, Szabó, *Egyetemjárás a korai újkorban*, Nr. 1116; *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 166.

⁹¹ *Pfarrer und Lehrer*, Nr. 738.

⁹² Tonk, Szabó, *Egyetemjárás a korai újkorban*, Nr. 692.

⁹³ Tonk, Szabó, *Egyetemjárás a korai újkorban*, Nr. 1164.

das für kulturellen Austausch mit Mittel- und Westeuropa ebenso sorgte wie für die stetige Regeneration ihrer intellektuellen Elite.

Die Quelle ist gleichzeitig ein außergewöhnlicher Nachweis für das intellektuelle Leben der Siebenbürger Sachsen im nördlichen Teil des Landes, äußerst wertvoll nicht nur wegen der darin überlieferten Namen und biographischen Einzelheiten, aber auch wegen mehrerer Informationen mit Bezug auf die Tätigkeit dieser intellektuellen Elite von Bistritz und des Umlandes: die stark vom Rechtsdenken geprägte Mentalität (Einfluss des öffentlichen Notariats) oder die vollentwickelte Rezeption des Humanismus, wie der ausgereifte Einsatz der humanistischen Kursivschriften zeigt.

Die in diesem Register dokumentierten Studiendarlehen wurden alle zurückgezahlt, die Bedingungen, an die ihre Verleihung geknüpft war, wurden eingehalten. Selbst wenn eine universitäre Karriere der Empfänger aussichtsreich war, verzichteten sie darauf und kehrten in die Heimat zurück, wo ihnen zunächst das wenig einträgliche Amt eines Gymnasiallehrers in Aussicht gestellt werden konnte, bis sie in eine der gut dotierten Pfarreien des Kapitels berufen wurden.

Die Standardformulare für die Vergabe von Darlehen oder Bürgschaften nach dem Muster der notariellen Urkunden belegen die rechtliche Bedeutung der Authentifizierungselemente und somit – wie schon erwähnt – die enorme Bedeutung der Rechtsnormen und -strukturen für das öffentliche Leben dieser nordsiebenbürgischen Gemeinschaft Autographe⁹⁴ um persönliches Siegel.

Nicht zuletzt unterstreicht diese Bistritzer Quelle die Bedeutung, die die damalige Gesellschaft der Hochschulbildung beigemessen hat, und markiert dadurch eine Etappe des Aufbaus einer lokalen geistigen Elite, die von den Mitgliedern der kirchlichen Körperschaften (ausschließlich Pfarrer) des Bistritzer Kapitels finanziell unterstützt wird.

Natürlich stellt sich die Frage nach der Verbreitung eines solchen Systems im lutherischen Siebenbürgen. In Hermannstadt/Sibiu zum Beispiel gibt es diesbezüglich eindeutige Hinweise, auch wenn diese nicht ausreichend untersucht wurden.⁹⁵ Die Informationen stammen aus einer

⁹⁴ Für die historische Entwicklung der Autographie in spätmittelalterlichem und im frühneuzeitlichen Siebenbürgen, siehe Adinel Dincă, *Scrisori autografe în Transilvania medievală: de la cele mai timpurii mărturii, până în secolul al XVI-lea* [Autographe im mittelalterlichen Siebenbürgen. Von den ältesten Zeugnissen bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts], in *“Autographa et signaturae Transilvaniae (sec. XIV-XVII)”*, Hgg. Susana Andea, Avram Andea, Adinel Dincă, (Cluj-Napoca, Gatineau, 2015), S. 11-85.

⁹⁵ Einige Bemerkungen zum Thema bei Ágnes Flóra, *“From Decent Stock”: Generations in Urban Politics in Sixteenth-Century Transylvania*, in *“Generations in Towns: Succession and Success in Pre-Industrial Urban Societies”*, Hgg. Finn-Einar Eliassen, Katalin Szende, (Newcastle, 2009),

Quelle, die jener von Bistritz sehr ähnlich ist: eine Aufzeichnung⁹⁶ der Darlehen an Studierende aus Hermannstadt, die aus einem städtischen Fonds vergeben wurden, der ebenfalls durch öffentliche Spenden unterstützt wurde.

1555 wurde eine Unterstützungskasse für begabte Jünglinge gegründet, denen ein Darlehen für die Fortsetzung ihrer Ausbildung angeboten wurde (*stipendium ex publica pecunia que in Ladulam ad id solum deputatam ... numberabuntur quinquaginta floreni*); dieser standen zwei Ratsgeschworene (*seniores cives senatus Cibiniensi*), der Hermannstädter Stadtpfarrer und der Kapitelsdekan vor. Private Vermächtnisse – beispielsweise 200 Fl. zur Erziehung der Schüler seitens der Witwe des langjährigen Bürgermeisters und Sachsengrafen Peter Haller⁹⁷ – und Überschüsse aus den Kirchen- und Zwanzigsteinkünften flossen der Stiftung zu, wie aus einer *Ratio perceptorum* (Verzeichnis der Einnahmen und Ausgaben) hervorgeht.⁹⁸ Die Unterstützung aus diesem Fonds betrug in der Regel 50 fl., eine Summe, die für zwei Studienjahre ausgereicht haben soll.⁹⁹ Die Angaben im Register, die in lateinischer und deutscher Sprache verfasst worden sind, reichen bis 1617, enthalten jedoch nicht die notariellen Beglaubigungsformen durch Autographe und Abdruck des persönlichen Siegels wie jene im Bistritzer Register. Eine eingehendere Untersuchung derartiger Studiendarlehen durch die Städte und Kirchenkapitel der Siebenbürger Sachsen steht noch aus. Vorliegender Beitrag bietet dazu einen Baustein.

Es kann auch die Frage aufgeworfen werden, inwieweit solche Gemeinschaftsprojekte zur Finanzierung von Universitätsausbildung und zur Unterstützung des Aufbaus einer eigenen geistig-kirchlichen Elite eine

S. 210-231; Flóra Ágnes, *Hivatal vagy hivatás? Városi jegyzők a kora újkori Erdélyben [Würde oder Bürde? Städtische Notare im frühneuzeitlichen Siebenbürgen]*, in: "... éltünk mi sokáig 'két hazában' ...". *Tanulmányok a 90 éves Kiss András tiszteletére*, Hgg. Veronka Dáné, Teréz Oborni, Gábor Sipos, (Debrecen, 2012), S. 123-134.

⁹⁶ Arhivele Naționale, Serviciul Județean Sibiu, fond Magistratul orașului și scaunului Sibiu, Seria actelor financiar-contabile și de impunere, Subseria 1: Socoteli economice [Nationalarchive, Kreisdienst Hermannstadt, Fonds Magistrat der Stadt und des Stuhlers Hermannstadt, Serie Finanz-, Buchhaltungs - und Steuerakten, Unterserie Wirtschaftssrechnungen], Nr. 689.

⁹⁷ Über diesen vgl. Gustav Gündisch, *Peter Haller. Bürgermeister und Sachsengraf (1500-1569)*, in "Südostdeutsches Archiv" 32/33 (1989/90): 5-89.

⁹⁸ Teutsch, *Gymnasium Hermannstadt*, S. 22-23. Der Gründungsakt ebenda, Anhang A, S. 100-101; eine Rechnungslegung über die Einkünfte und Ausgaben dieser Kasse unter dem Titel *Ratio perceptorum*, ebenda, Anhang B, S. 101-103, führt die Namen der Spender und die gestifteten Summen, u.a. jene der Katharina Haller, ebenso an wie die Namen der geförderten Studierenden und das ihnen gewährte Studiendarlehen. Siehe auch Anm. 96.

⁹⁹ Teutsch, *Gymnasium Hermannstadt*, S. 31, vgl. auch weiter oben, Anm. 6.

“Erfindung” der Vision der lutherischen Reformation hinsichtlich der zentralen Rolle der Bildung, nach Melanchtons Vorstellung, darstellen. Oder im Gegenteil, ob sie – wie so viele andere Phänomene – ihre Wurzeln doch im Mittelalter haben. Eine zukünftige Erörterung über die Bildung in Siebenbürgen vor der Mitte des 16. Jahrhundert sollte versuchen, auch diesen sehr interessanten Aspekt der “Europäisierung” und Modernisierung Siebenbürgens zu verdeutlichen.

Abbildungen

Armenians from Moldavia in Transylvania, Hungary and the Larger World. A Case Study

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Abstract: The same family name - **Gorovei** - was common in the principality of Moldavia (Neamț county, then Dorohoi and others), from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and in the principality of Transylvania (at Gherla / Armenopolis / Szamosújvár, then also in other locales in Banat and in Hungary), from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Those who carried the name in Moldavia (then Romania) were Orthodox Romanians. Those from Transylvania (then Hungary) - whose name took the form **Gorove** - were Catholic Armenian (united with the Church in Rome). From among these, the best known are Gorove László (1780-1839) and his son Gorove István (1819-1881, minister in 1867-1871), members of the Hungarian Academy, as well as Gorove Antal (1822-1881), a military man and lawyer. Artur Gorovei (1864-1951) - writer and folklorist, member of the Romanian Academy, and passionate genealogist - initiated research on his family history, trying to find an answer to the question of whether the bearers of the same patronym could, somehow, share a common distant ancestor. Due to the lack of documentary evidence, but also due to how the issue was understood as a whole, he did not reach a firm conclusion, oscillating instead between a hypothetical assertion and an uncertain denial. Continuing this research into family history, the author of the present study also reached the same "enigma" relative to which he initially maintained a reluctant position. He then proposed to address the issue within a wider context with an emphasis on the name (patronym) itself. On the one hand, this led to the formation of a program of researches focused on the *bearers of the name Gorovei*. On the other hand, a recent discovery has guided the research in a more reliable direction. A document found in the Vienna archives mentions a group of Armenians from Gherla in 1759, including **senator Abagarus Gorovei** and **senator Christophorus Gorovei** (the ancestors of the two family branches knighted by Empress Maria Theresia in 1760-1761).

These Armenians declare that they belong to those **who came to Transylvania from Moldavia** (*nos aequae e numero illorum Armenorum esse, qui [...] e Moldavia in Transylvaniam venerunt*). The author believes that this testimony is decisive in establishing an answer to the “enigma”: he advances the hypothesis that the bearers of the name Gorovei from Moldavia and Transylvania (Hungary) are **two branches that descend from a common ancestor of Armenian origin**. Given the genealogical and chronological correlations between the two branches, this hypothetical common ancestor had to live in Moldavia in the middle of the sixteenth century. This period coincides with the great persecution of the Armenians ordered by the prince Ștefan VI Rareș (1551–1552). In the author’s hypothesis, an Armenian Gorovei accepted to convert, under those circumstances, to Orthodoxy. He would have been the ancestor of the Gorovei whose history unfolded in the principality of Moldavia. At the same time, one of those who resisted the pressures and preserved the faith would be the ancestor of those who crossed the Carpathians and established in Gherla, either toward the end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth century. The second part of the study (*Addenda*) is devoted to the clarification of several controversial genealogical connections – the family branch of Gorove Antal and that of Gorove Viktor, both closely interwoven in the history of Transylvania during the nineteenth century.

Keywords: family history, genealogy, Armenians, Moldavia, Transylvania, Gorovei/Gorove, common ancestor

Rezumat: *Armeni din Moldova în Transilvania, Ungaria și-n lumea largă. Un studiu de caz.* Un același nume de familie – **Gorovei** – a fost purtat, în principatul Moldovei (ținutul Neamț, apoi Dorohoi și altele), de la începutul secolului XVII, iar de la începutul secolului XVIII în principatul Transilvaniei (la Gherla / Armenopolis / Szamosújvár, apoi și în alte localități, în Banat și în Ungaria). Purtătorii numelui din Moldova (apoi România) erau români ortodocși. Cei din Transilvania (apoi Ungaria) – al căror nume a devenit cunoscut sub forma **Gorove** – erau armeni catolici (uniți cu Biserica Romei); dintre aceștia, cei mai cunoscuți sunt Gorove László (1780–1839) și fiul său Gorove István (1819–1881, ministru în 1867–1871), membri ai Academiei Maghiare, precum și Gorove Antal (1822–1881), militar și jurist. Artur Gorovei (1864–1951), scriitor și folclorist, membru al Academiei Române, genealogist pasionat, a inițiat cercetări privind istoria familiei sale, în cadrul căroră a încercat să găsească un răspuns și la întrebarea dacă, în aceste condiții, purtătorii aceluiași patronim aveau, cumva, și un îndepărtat strămoș comun. Din cauza insuficienței materialului documentar, dar și prin felul cum a fost văzută problema în ansamblu, el nu a ajuns la o concluzie fermă, oscilând

între afirmarea ipotetică și negarea nesigură. Continuând aceste cercetări de istorie familială, autorul prezentului studiu s-a lovit și el de aceeași “enigmă”, față de care a păstrat, inițial, o poziție reticentă, propunând însă abordarea problemei într-un cadru mai larg, în care accentul să fie pus pe numele (patronimul) însuși. Aceasta a dus la configurarea unui program de cercetări privind *purtătorii numelui Gorovei*. Pe de altă parte, o descoperire recentă a îndrumat cercetările respective pe o cale mai sigură. Un document identificat în arhivele din Viena menționează, la 1759, un grup de armeni din Gherla, între care **Abagarus Gorovei senator** și **Christophorus Gorovei senator** (strămoșii celor două ramuri înnobilate de împărăteasa Maria Theresia în 1760-1761); acești armeni declară că ei fac parte dintre aceia care **au venit în Transilvania din Moldova** (*nos aequae e numero illorum Armenorum esse, qui [...] e Moldavia in Transylvaniam venerunt*). Autorul crede că această mărturie este decisivă în aflarea unui răspuns la respectiva “enigmă”: el avansează ipoteza că purtătorii numelui Gorovei din Moldova și Transilvania (Ungaria) reprezintă **două ramuri care descind dintr-un strămoș comun de origine armeană**. Date fiind coordonatele genealogice și cronologice ale celor două ramuri, acest ipotetic strămoș comun a trebuit să trăiască în Moldova pe la mijlocul secolului XVI; or, această perioadă coincide cu marea persecuție a armenilor ordonată de principele Ștefan VI Rareș (1551-1552). În ipoteza autorului, un Gorovei armean a acceptat să se convertească, în acele împrejurări, la Ortodoxie; el ar fi strămoșul Goroveilor a căror istorie s-a desfășurat în principatul Moldovei, în timp ce unul dintre cei care au rezistat presiunilor și și-au păstrat confesiunea ar fi strămoșul celor care, la sfârșitul secolului XVII sau la începutul celui următor, au trecut Carpații stabilindu-se la Gherla. Partea a doua a studiului (*Addenda*) este consacrată clarificării unor conexiuni genealogice controversate – ramura lui Gorove Antal și cea a lui Gorove Viktor, ambele interesând îndeaproape istoria Transilvaniei în secolul XIX.

Cuvinte-cheie: istorie familială, genealogie, armeni, Moldova, Transilvania, Gorovei/Gorove, strămoș comun.

*La généalogie est simplement le reflet
de la plus mouvante, de la plus fluctuante des aventures: la vie¹.*

Genealogical studies and those of family history reveal the existence of two families bearing the same name in Romania and Hungary. Both contributed outstanding personalities to cultural life (literature and politics),

¹ Yves du Passage, *La généalogie pour tous*, Hachette (Guides société), (Paris, 1989), p. 11.

honored by their selection as members in the Academies of the two countries: Gorove László (1780–1839) and his son, Gorove István (1819–1881) (**Fig. 1**), members of the Hungarian Academy (to which they also made significant donations), and Artur Gorovei (1864–1951), honorary member of the Romanian Academy (**Fig. 2**). The present case study brings together the histories of these two families under the **question** of whether they are both branches of a common family line, yet with different destinies.

The two families became acquainted with the existence of the other about 150 years ago when a brother of my great-great grandfather, Nicu I. Gorovei (1834–1886) (**Fig. 3**), while on a holiday in Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary), visited Gorove István, then serving as a minister² in the government of Count Andrassy. From that point onward, the news about the Gorovei of Romania passed on to another illustrious family member, Gorove Antal (1822–1881), army man and lawyer and the first president of the Notary Chamber in Budapest (**Fig. 4**), as well as to the other relatives still in Transylvania, in Dumbrăveni (Erzsébetváros, Epersdorf, Ebesfalva, Ibașfalău). Therefore, when my grandfather addressed the Gorovei of Budapest (in 1888) and those of Dumbrăveni (in 1919) in the context of his research into family history, he received identical answers: the existence of the Gorovei from across the Carpathian Mountains was known to them and they did not have any doubt about their common origin³ (**Fig. 5, 6**). But could this be proven?!

Artur Gorovei was concerned with the history of his family for most of his life and almost to the very end (d. 19 March 1951), and for the past half a century I have continued this research. Thus, we gather in total about **120 years of work** toward the rebuilding of the family history in its entirety. With the research experience of the past few decades in the field of Romanian medieval genealogy, I initiated in 2013 *the project of global genealogical research* with the title *Those with the Name Gorovei*. This project is undertaken

² At Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce from 1867 until 1870, then at Public Works and Transportation in 1871.

³ The letter of János Gorove de Gättaja, from 9 August 1888 (“notre famille, en origine prochaine de la votre”); the letter of János Gorove from Ibașfalău/Dumbrăveni from 31 December 1919 (“Originea noastră comună familială și strămoșii mei au știut-o. Eu de la tatăl meu [...] am înțeles că noi avem rude în Moldova, dintre cari pe unii tatăl meu i-a chiar și cunoscut” / “My ancestors knew our common family origin. I knew it from my father [...] I understood that we have relatives in Moldavia, some of whom my father even knew.” (I cannot specify who exactly János’s father knew; it is possible that it could be a false memory or a courtesy). In the first letter, János Gorove de Gättaja mentioned that he knew about the Gorovei from Romania not from his adoptive father, the former minister, but from “une des célébrités de ma famille [...] un soldat, qui m’était un autre parent”. This military “celebrity” could not be any other than Gorove Antal, hero of the Revolution of 1848. For the family relations with this figure, v. **ADDENDA** from the end of this study.

within the context of the National Commission of Heraldry, Genealogy, and Sigillography of the Romanian Academy in Iași [CNHGS-I], and under the aegis of the “Sever Zotta” Genealogy and Heraldry Institute of Romania. The first results of my research on various aspects of the history of the Gorovei in Romania have already been published or are currently in the works⁴.

The evolution of this research brought me to the same point that interested my grandfather: namely, the possibility that both families have a common and unique lineage, dating back many centuries. This relationship has sometimes been affirmed by Armenologists, but never demonstrated. Rather, always presented as an axiom, as an undeniably acceptable truth. Thus, Vlad Bănățeanu (1900–1963)⁵, observing the existence of the toponym Gorovei(ul) – village and monastery⁶ in the former Dorohoi county, today in

⁴ *Mobilitatea populației reflectată în istoria unei familii: purtătorii numelui Gorovei (sec. XVI–XXI)*, in “Carpica”, XLII(2013): 373–385; *Mobilitatea populației reflectată în istoria unei familii. II. Purtătorii numelui Gorovei în ținutul (județul) Bacău*, in “Carpica”, XLIV(2015): 287–306; *Un romașcan la Bacău: locotenentul Iacovache Gorovei și întâmplările vieții sale*, in “Carpica”, XLV(2016): 239–258; *Doi boieri dorohoieni și ctitoriile lor*, in **Monumentul XVII. Lucrările celei de-a XVII-a ediții a Simpozionului Internațional “Monumentul – Tradiție și viitor”**, Partea 1, volume edited by Aurica Ichim and Lucian-Valeriu Lefter, Editura “Doxologia”, (Iași, 2016), pp. 173–199; *O carte, o ghicitoare și o judecată*, in “**Prutul**. Revistă de cultură”, s.n., VI (XV), 2016, 2 (58): 31–37; *(De)misticări genealogice. Familia Buzne*, in “Analele Științifice ale Universității «Alexandru Ioan Cuza» Iași, s.n., Istorie, LXII(2016): 53–84; *Radomirești. Contribuții genealogice pentru istoria unui sat băcăuan*, in “Carpica”, XLVI(2017); *Tradiție familială și memorie genealogică*, in “**Ioan Neculce**. Buletinul Muzeului de Istorie a Moldovei”, s.n., XXIII(2017): 31–51; *Din istoria unui sat nemțean. Răzeșii Gorovei de la Bârgăuani*, in “Analele Științifice ale Universității «Alexandru Ioan Cuza» Iași, s.n., Istorie, LXIII(2017): 223–259; *Ctitori mici – ctitorii uitate*, in **Monumentul XIX. Simpozionul Internațional Monumentul – Tradiție și viitor, Ediția a XIX-a, 28 septembrie – 1 octombrie 2017**, volume edited by Lucian-Valeriu Lefter and Aurica Ichim, Editura “Doxologia”, (Iași, 2018), pp. 267–306; *“Intimitatea” cotidiană: accidentul biografic și reacția socială (familială)*, in “**Acta Bacoviensia**. Anuarul Arhivelor Naționale Bacău”, XIII(2018): 47–66; *Mobilitatea populației reflectată în istoria unei familii. III. Răzeșii Gorovei de la Ghigoiești (Neamț)*, in “Carpica”, XLVII(2018): 279–314; *Istorie culturală – istorie familială. Un “cerc literar” de la cumpăna veacurilor XVIII și XIX*, in “Analele Științifice ale Universității «Alexandru Ioan Cuza» Iași, s.n., Istorie, LXV(2019) (in press); *Artur Gorovei – cercetător al istoriei sale familiale*, in “Carpica”, XLVIII(2019) (in press).

Three studies remain unpublished: *Un proiect de cercetare genealogică globală: purtătorii numelui Gorovei* (CNHGS-I, 15 January 2013); *Numele unei istorii. O nouă ipoteză* (CNHGS-I, 13 October 2015); *Un neam din Moldova: Gorovei* (CNHGS, Bucharest, 9 December 2015). Only a part of the material gathered and presented in these studies has been published.

⁵ For the personality of this researcher (his true name: Włodzimierz Paszkiewicz) and his work: Bogdan Căuș, *Figuri de armeni din România*, second edition (revised and enlarged), (București: Editura “Ararat”, 1998), pp. 74–75.

⁶ The monastery dated to the middle of the eighteenth century: Artur Gorovei, *Despre Mănăstirea Gorovei*, in “Mitropolia Moldovei”, XII (1936), 11: 421–426; Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Doi boieri dorohoieni și ctitoriile lor*, cit. (*supra*, note 4). A recent work (Father Vasile Irimia, *Mănăstirea*

Botoșani county – included it without any argument in the category of those of Armenian origin since “it is known that the *Gorovei* family from Moldavia is of Armenian origin. The name is explained from an adjective that became a nickname and then a patronym, namely *korovi*, with the meaning “strong, brave”, alongside which is the noun *korov*, *-i*, *-iv* “force, bravery,” etc. [...] The Armenian word likely formed a nickname, and then, with the help of the suffix *-ei*, the patronym *Gorovei*”⁷. In this context, the genealogical work of Kristóf Szongott⁸, and the parallels with the name *Gorove* (with the form *Gorovian*) could not be avoided. In the 1962 version of this study published in Armenia, the author also added the name of his grandfather, affirming that “the *Gorovei* family from Moldavia, and also the most famous Romanian folklorist [Artur] *Gorovei*, were of Armenian origin”⁹. The only argument of Vlad Bănățeanu was the existence of the Armenian family from Transylvania and Hungary, to which were added the suggestions communicated orally by H. Dj. Siruni (1890–1973). When I met him in August 1972, this father of Romanian Armenology shared the same views with me.

But to say something is not the same as to demonstrate it! And the more delicate and complicated the problem is, the greater the reluctance. We ought to seek the most solid and convincing arguments for a demonstration that must avoid as much as possible its transformation into a controversy. This is precisely why I propose this study, in the hopes that the participation of my Hungarian colleagues will facilitate my efforts to approach the correct solution.

The matter seems to be like an unsolvable puzzle. On a superficial level, everything seems to separate the two groups of bearers of the same

Gorovei. Contribuții monografice, (Pătrăuți: Editura “Heruvim”, 2015) is of no use from a historic point of view. The village of the same name developed much later, around the monastery.

⁷ Vlad Bănățeanu, *Armenii în toponimia românească și toponimice românești de origine armeană*, in “Studii și Cercetări Lingvistice”, XI, 1960, 2: 208.

⁸ Kristóf Szongott, *A magyarhoni örmény családok genealógiája, tekintettel ezeknek egymás között levő rokonságára, s a vezeték és keresztnévek etymológiai értelmére, eredeti, kiadatlan kútforrások felhasználásával*, Todorán Endre “Aurora” könyvnyomdája, (Szamosújvár, 1898); recently edited and translated into Romanian (used in the subsequent notes): Kristóf Szongott, *Genealogia familiilor armene din Transilvania luând în considerare înrudirea dintre ele și etimologia numelor de familie și a celor de botez, utilizând izvoare originale și inedite*, translated from Hungarian and with notes by Andrea Ghiță, forward by Lucian Nastasă-Kovács, (București: Editura “Ararat”, 2016).

⁹ Vlad Bănățeanu, *Армянские колонии на территории Румынии по данным румынской топонимии*, in “Patma-Banasirakan Handes” [Historical-Philological Journal], (Erevan, 1962), 1, pp. 171–191; v. p. 181: “Известно, что фамилия *Gorovei* из Молдовы, а также самый известный румынский фольклорист *Gorovei*, были армянского происхождения.”

family name (patronym), pointing toward divergent lines of research. The Gorovei from Moldavia appear in documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; those from Transylvania in sources of the eighteenth century. From their documented beginnings, the family from Moldavia is Orthodox, and that from Transylvania, Armenian (then Armenian-Catholic). As far as the name is concerned, in Moldavia it was believed to have derived from a Slavic root, and in Transylvania from an Armenian one.

Investigating this type of problem excludes the appeal to traditional sources used in genealogical research – documents, censuses, church records, cadastral inventories, etc. – since they are completely missing for Moldavia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, regardless of whether one is concerned with the Romanian or Armenian population of the principality. On the other hand, regarding those from Transylvania, the documents of the Armenians from Gherla (Szamosújvár) are remarkable. Moreover, apart from the linguistic barrier, an anthroponymy one appears as well: the genealogies of the Armenian Gorovei, as much as they exist, offer all the first names, even for the early generations, in an already Magyarized way (for example, János instead of Hovhannes, etc...).

Therefore, we have to imagine, even invent, a **special methodology** specific for this case study.

From a chronological standpoint, the beginning should be noted with the Gorovei from Moldavia, attested in documents in 1591/1592¹⁰. However, the rules of the demonstration require us to begin with the known facts, so I will begin with the Gorovei from Transylvania and Hungary who are of uncontested Armenian origin. They flourished in Gherla (Szamosújvár), from where they spread in the nineteenth century but maintained a conscious familial unity. The official genealogies¹¹ begin with a János (1715,

¹⁰ *Documente privind istoria României*, XVI/4, (București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1952), p. 38, nr. 43 (and photo on p. 325) document dated to 7100 (1 sept 1591 – 31 august 1592), kept in Biblioteca Academiei Române, *Documente istorice*, LVII/1. With the same dating, the Slavic text and its translation were re-edited in *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, VIII (1585–1592), volume edited by Ioan Caproșu, (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2014), pp. 637–638, nr. 519 (and photo on p. 1037). A careful analysis of the content and the circumstances to which it refers makes me think that the 7100 dating is *incomplete*, and that the document should be placed in the first decades of the seventeenth century. But this finding, which would make a difference of a few years, does not affect the details of the problem.

¹¹ Nagy Iván, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, IV, (Pesta, 1858), pp. 422–425; Temesváry János, *A magyar-örmény nemes családok czimerlevelei*, (Gherla, 1896), pp. 57–61 (for the **Gorove** branch) and 61–64 (for the **Gorovei** branch); Lendvai Miklós, *Temes vármegye nemes családjai*, II, (Budapest, 1899), pp. 143–145 (genealogical line on p. 144); Kempelen Belá, *Magyar nemes családok*, IV, (Budapest, 1912), pp. 336–338 (genealogies on p.

1716¹²), the father of brothers László, Kristóf, and Antal; only the first two were knighted, receiving the same coat of arms by Queen Maria Theresia (1760, 1761) (**Fig. 7**). Those genealogies only concern their posterity, omitting both the third brother (Antal) and the brothers of János himself, Gergely and Márton, documented at Gherla in 1721 and 1728¹³: on these dates all three were wealthy merchants, masters of houses in Gherla.

As already noted, the genealogical literature mentions these initial Gorove(i) with the first names already in *the Hungarian form*. It is thus up to the modern genealogist to reclaim their names in *the Armenian form* in order for the interpretations to correspond with the sources: *Ohanes* (or *Hovhannes*), *Krikor*, and *Mardiros*¹⁴, as the possible sons of a certain Andreas¹⁵. From the other Gorovei, who were not knighted, descend the numerous bearers of the name attested during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The rebuilding of their genealogy is a difficult task, unattainable

337); Gudenus János József, *Örmény eredetű magyar nemesi családok genealógiája* (Javított, bővített kiadás) / (*Genealogia familiilor nobile maghiare de origine armeană*, ediție corectată și augmentată), edited by Asociația Culturală Rădăcini a Armenilor Transilvăneni (*Erdélyi Örmény Gyökerek Kulturális Egyesület*), (Budapest, 12000, 22010), pp. 260–273. The first four works contain fragmented and incomplete information, and omit not only numerous individuals but also entire family lines. The fifth work substantially enriched the existing information by mentioning some of the previously omitted family lines; however, for some sections, I can say that I have already accumulated more additional details. The book of Baron Gudenus is for me, at the current juncture in my work, the starting point, **the safe basis**, for further investigations.

¹² Kristóf Szongott, *Szamosújvár szab. kir. város Monográfiája (1700–1900)*, Todorán Endre “Aurora” könyvnyomdája, (Szamosújvár, 1901); Romanian version: *Orașul liber regal Gherla*, I. *Generalități*, volume edited by Lucian Nastașă, translated by Andrea Ghiță, (București: Editura “Ararat”, 2014), pp. 165, 369–370. He still lived in 1738 when he was regarded among “the important citizens of the city” / “cetățenii importanți ai orașului” (*főbb városi polgárok*): Kádár József, *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája*, VI, (Deésen [Dés=Dej], 1904), p. 198. Also, here, for the years 1758–1761 are mentioned **Gorovei** Kristóf and **Gorovei Abag[ar]** among the counselors (tanácsosok) from Gherla (*ibidem*). The son of Abagar, named also Kristóf, was a counselor in 1787, with a salary of 200 florins (Kristóf Szongott, *op. cit.*, p. 322), becoming *judex primarius* on 3 January 1797 (*ibidem*, p. 288). In the verbal process of the selection, he is named *Chácsig Ábkári Goroveján*, Cristofor, son of Abkar [= Abagar] Gorovei (*ibidem*).

¹³ Kristóf Szongott, *Orașul liber regal Gherla*, I. *Generalități*, cit., pp. 168–170 (for the census of 1721) and 177–178 (for the census of 1728).

¹⁴ For the parallels between Martin (Márton) = Mardiros (Márdirosz), v. Kristóf Szongott, *Genealogia familiilor armene din Transilvania*, cit. (*supra*, note 8), p. 185, 187, 288 and *idem*, *Orașul liber regal Gherla*, I. *Generalități*, cit., p. 284 și 301, note 1. The equivalence between the names Márton and Vartan appears to be an error, as Szongott noted.

¹⁵ Mentioned only by the great genealogist Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, cit. (*supra*, note 11), p. 423.

without appeal to archival sources and living representatives, today spread in Hungary, Slovakia, and perhaps even in Ukraine and the United States.

From the two knighted branches, that of **László** (I still name him as such although his Armenian name was different) garnered the greatest wealth (following trade with large cattle); it offered the primary judge of Gherla, **Kristóf** (1752–1801), after the Armenian name *Chacsig*, whose son was the writer *Gorove László* (1780–1839). He acquired, together with his brothers **Lajos** (1784–1830) and **Károly** (1785–1872), the territory of **Gáttaja** (Gătaia), in Banat, which brought them (1824) the name *de Gáttaja (gáttajai Gorove)*, granted by Emperor King Francis I. The domain and the title were inherited by his son, **István**, minister from 1867 to 1871. Without children, he adopted the husband of a sister-in-law (**Stefánia Noszlopy**), **János**, a *Gorove(i)* from the other noble family line. He granted him his lands in Banat (Gătaia), **Bihor** (Pişcolt), and **Ungaria** (Varsány, Rákóczifalva with the mansion called also a castle), as well as his title. Along *the masculine line*, this family branch disappeared with their son, **Gorove László** (1868–1938); *along the feminine line*, this family branch continued through the families of baron **Uray** and **Szinyei-Merse**.

The other noble family left Gherla around the end of the eighteenth century and settled in **Dumbrăveni** (Erzebetváros, Ebesfálva, Ibaşfalău)¹⁶. The tomb of **Jakab** was located there, whose family name is **Gorovei**. He was born in 1762 and passed away in 1829 (**Fig. 8**). Married twice (**1°** **Szenkovits Mária**, † 1799¹⁷; **2°** **Gyertyánffi Anna**, 1781–1859¹⁸), he had no less than 14

¹⁶ In the letter of 31 December 1919 (cf. *supra*, note 3), **János Gorove** showed **Artur Gorovei** that his *great-grandmother*, **Hankovics Mária**, came to Ibaşfalău. She was the wife of **János** and daughter-in-law of **Kristóf**, who was knighted in 1761. This **János** had two brothers, **Antal** and **Tivadar**, who are not mentioned by genealogists. Did they have a future? Did they die *en bas âge*?! The same unexplained silence is the case with two of his sons, **Antal** and **Kristóf**.

In August 1923, my grandfather visited the **Gorove** family in **Dumbrăveni/Ibaşfalău**. He copied the diploma of **Maria Theresia**, and received from **János** – his congener: both were born in 1864! – a genealogical tree and a drawing after their coat of arms (both are still preserved in the **Gorovei** family archive). For this visit: **Artur Gorovei**, *În târgul Sibiului*, in “*Lumea*”, Iaşi, an. VI, 31 August 1923, p. 2 (I thank Dr. **Liviu Papuc** for sharing with me this text). The epistolary relations continued until the beginning of the war, maintained through the intercession of two of **János**’s sons-in-law, namely, **Aurel Vlad** and **Mircea Demetrescu**. I am now in contact with some of their decedents.

¹⁷ She died on 1 January 1799 and was buried in the Armenian church in **Dumbrăveni** – **Ávedik Lukács**, *Erzsébetváros monográfiája*, **Todorán Endre** “*Aurora*” könyvnyomdája, (Szamosújvár, 1896); I cite after the Romanian edition: *Oraşul liber regal Elisabethopolis*, translated by **Mihail Szabo**, (Bucureşti: Editura “*Ararat*”, 2014), p. 118.

¹⁸ She died on 8 June 1859 and was buried in the Armenian cemetery in **Dumbrăveni** (photograph courtesy of Dr. **Liviu Cimpeanu**).

children (9 boys and 5 girls), from which emerged family branches with different destinies. One of the sons, Gergely (1807–1881; ∞ Kabdebo Mária), was the father of that János who became through adoption the heir of István Gorove de Gáttaja. The legacy of another son, Lajos (1816–1884), who remained in Ibașfalău/Dumbrăveni, evolved in Transylvania, finally arriving in Hungary in the circumstances of the Second World War. From there, before and after the Revolution of 1956, several emigrated to the United States; among them, the most famous is known by the name of *Space Gorove*: Stephen (Steve) Gorove (1917–2001), the first space law specialist. His children also have legal careers and are active in this field. His brother, Dr. Gorove László (1927–2000) (**Fig. 9**), is the father of the doctor of the same name, very active and well-known today in Budapest. Through him and his brother, István, this family branch is well represented in Hungary with grandchildren who today resume the typical Armenian names: most recently, Abel Arakel Gorove was born on 30 June 2016¹⁹. In Dumbrăveni, the last member of his family line was Gorove Katalin, not married (* 25 July 1882 – † 10 December 1951). From this branch from Dumbrăveni, some descendants through women resumed the patronym Gorove in the nineteenth century. Descendants are in Romania to this day²⁰.

By the nature of their professions (military men, lawyers, merchants, officers, etc.), the members of this family have known greater mobility, until some of them have attached themselves to a particular place as landowners. This has favored their spread in vaster spaces, and, at the same time, renders more difficult pursuing their movements and restoring their kinship

¹⁹ Dr. Anna Gorove-Mohácsi (Strasbourg), daughter of Dr. Gorove László *junior*, shared this information, along with other details related to her family line. I am grateful for the courtesy with which she accepted to help me in my research on the Hungarian family lines.

²⁰ A group of Gorove from Târgu Mureș. In 1930, **Gorove István** from Iernut (Radnóth) attended a ceremony at the Armenian church in Gherla, along with the brothers Gorove János and László from Dumbrăveni. He is, I believe, that **Gorove István** (1878–1942) married to Kazatsay Emilia (1881–1965), the parents of Emilia Gorove (1902–1977), wife of Szálassy Ferenc; Gorove Emilia was buried in the cemetery in Odorheiu Secuiesc. V. and János József Gudenus, *Örmény eredetű magyar nemesi családok genealógiája*, cit. (*supra*, note 11), p. 267. This Gorove István is said to have had three sisters (*ibidem*, pp. 266–268): **Mária** (1858–1942, ∞ Nyárády Gerő), **Jolán** (∞ Izmael Domokos) and **Kornélia** (1860–1941, ∞ Pap Elek). The author shows (p. 266) that Mária (only her or all those mentioned?) could have had as parents Gorove Gergely and his wife, Becássy Josefa. V. **ADDENDA** from the end of this study.

I believe the posterity of the brother who was not knighted in 1760–1761 (Gorove Antal) belongs to a family branch that existed in Baia Mare, from where a Gorove Miklós left (around 1950s, it appears) for Hungary. His descendants settled in Gödöllő, but with an extension in Slovakia (some of the information about this group I gathered with the help of Dr. Anna Gorove-Mohácsi). A family line still exists in Gheorgheni. I will make known on another occasion the genealogical material gathered with reference to those who carry this name.

relations. They are found moving toward the eastern counties of Hungary, where the successors of some of them have remained until today.

The brothers Jenő (1892–1936) and István Gorove from Sarkad (Békés county) belong to one of these branches. They took over their mother's patrimony, a Rzihovszky adopted by a Gorove. Under circumstances that are unknown to me, István's followers arrived in... the Soviet Union²¹! *Sabina Ištoanovna Gorove* (born in Sarkad on 25 December 1923) was honored for participating in the defense of Leningrad (**Fig. 10a-b**). After the war, she studied at the Pedagogical Institute and became a Professor of History and Collaboration at the Marxism-Leninism Institute. Through marriage, she changed her name to *Balmaşnova*²². Her sister, Katalin (Katerina) Gorove, graduated the Russian Academy of Ballet in 1945 and was a renowned ballerina in the company of Ludmila Melnikova. To this day, in Russia, there are men whose family name is in this form: **ГОРОВЕ**.

Before concluding this section, I must mention here that among the Gorovei briefly discussed in this study, some have attributed (or were attributed) the title *de Gáttaja* (*gáttajai*); it is evident that we are dealing with impostures (intentional or accidental, but accepted)²³.

*

The Gorovei from Moldavia have their beginnings in the central area of the old principality, in Neamţ county. From there, even before the end of the seventeenth century, they spread through marriages in the lands of Bacău, Tecuci, and Iaşi. Their destinies were different: some ascended and some descended in society. The five Gorovei groups that exist today in five counties have remained unknown to the family history until my research in recent years. In all instances, bearers of the name still exist in the villages of origin, but many others have migrated to cities all over Romania, from Dobrogea to Banat (others are found in other countries, from Spain to Russia, and from the Nordic countries to Italy and the Orient). Internet searches identifies them without difficulty, and the genealogical survey I conducted

²¹ I learned about the possible existence of this family line in a letter dated 10 December 1989 from Dr. Gorove László *senior* from Budapest; v. **ADDENDA** from the end of this study.

²² Information gathered from the site www.polkmoskva.ru/people/775365 (indicates her birth in Leningrad) and www.polkmoskva.ru/people/775365 (indicates her birth in Sarkad). I thank Dr. Ioan-Augustin Guriţă for directing me to these sources, in addition to many others that I found very useful to my studies.

²³ V. şi János József Gudenus, *op. cit.*, p. 264: "Egyesek még a "gáttajai" előnevet is használták, pedig arra csak Gorove László, Lajos és Károly testvérek illetve leszármazottaik voltak jogosultak".

led to the conclusion that **all of these name carriers are from Moldavia**, originating in one of the five centers from which their parents left, or even they themselves departed.

We thus have, *under the same patronym*, a family of Armenians in Transylvania (then in Hungary and the wider world) and a family of Romanians in the center of Moldavia, today spread to the wider world. *Did they begin from the same lineage?!*

This is the question my grandfather also sought to answer, oscillating between hypothetical affirmation and uncertain denial. In reality, as I have noted, nothing seems to lead to an affirmative answer. The only common element – and perhaps the one capable of opening the path for plausible explanations – remains **the name itself**.

I first sought to explain the **uniqueness** and **persistence** of this name in the Romanian space: it appears in central Moldavia toward the end of the sixteenth century and remains attested in the following centuries **only in the territory of the former principality of Moldavia**. This finding led me to investigate **its significance**. Philologists explain it through Slavic connections (Ukrainian), deriving it either from the word *gora*, “mountain”²⁴, or from the word *gorobei*, “sparrow”²⁵. But to these explanations I posed a question that my logic as a historian and genealogist considers to be unavoidable and irrefutable: if the name *Gorovei* derives from a Slavic word, how come it does not appear in other areas in which the Ruthenian influence is recognized as having been much stronger than in central Moldavia, as for example in northern Moldavia (Bukovina) or in Maramureș? **The philologists could not offer me a satisfactory answer to this question. Darkness descended when I brought together the name of the Romanians in Moldavia with that of the Armenians in Transylvania.** That is how I started.

Unfortunately, the Gorovei from Transylvania and Hungary do not retain a history of their family, not even comparable to what survives for those in Romania after 120 years of research. This explains why it became necessary for part of my project to be devoted to the reconstruction of the Armenian Gorove(i) genealogy and history. This was accomplished despite

²⁴ The explanation offered to my grandfather by the great linguist H. Tiktin (1850– 1936) (postcard from 13 April 1899 in the family archive): “Your name seems to mean ‘muntean’ from the slav. *gora*, ‘mountain’. Indeed, in Ruthenian I find the word *goroviï* with this meaning” (significance). Recently, I was able to check in Ukrainian dictionaries the validity of Tiktin’s explanation in which the emphasis on the penultimate vocal is as important as in the patronym Gorovei.

²⁵ The explanation of another great linguist, Iorgu Iordan (1888–1986), in his *Dicționar al numelor de familie românești*, (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983), p. 229.

the fact that I do not know either the Hungarian or Armenian languages and had no access to the archives. Nevertheless, I studied publications, information from the virtual space of the Internet, and the details offered with much graciousness by some members of this family.

One fact is known. In the two knighting documents, the name is written differently: in the source from 28 July 1760, for the wife and children of László, the name **Gorove** appears; in the source from 25 October 1761, for Kristóf (with his wife and boys), the name **Gorovei** is written. In order to explain the difference marked by the final *i*, Szongott proposed that the name “Gorovej was made up of Gorove to which the Armenian possessive form **was added**”²⁶. But this explanation, on the one hand, was based on the assumption that *the original form of the patronym* was known, and, on the other hand, it was formulated under the impression of the form that at the time was current and became unique in Hungary: *Gorove*. Or, as it is known, this form was not a unique one from the beginning. Rather, on the contrary, the two forms coexisted for more than a century, carried by members of the two knighted family lines.

In fact, Szongott offered a more elaborate explanation of this patronym in general. He noted that he found in the Gherla baptismal registry three contemporaries (in 1715) with the name *Hohannes*, surnamed *Ázbej*. “All three carried the name János [Ioan] *Ázbej* and were distinguished by their nicknames: the first was called *Gorove*, the second *Dşokăbin*, and the third *Făşfăş*. These nicknames were used as family names”²⁷. From this premise came the conclusion: “*Gorov*, *gorovi* is an Armenian word [...] that means: skilled, brave, competent, courageous, smart, powerful. It is the family name of the *Ákoncz* family. [...] *Gorove* = *Ázbej*. *Ákoncz*, *Ázbej*, *Gorove* are from the same family. *Gorovej* was formed from *Gorove*, to which the Armenian possessive form was added”²⁸.

I am of the opinion that the explanation offered by Szongott suffers from a logical point of view, as it misses an essential detail: the circumstances under which an Armenian could have received a Romanian nickname *in an Armenian context*, as is *Dşokăbin* or *Djokăbin*. Szongott notes that “it derives from the Romanian words for ‘plays well’, that is, dances well, good dancer”²⁹. On the other hand, as I have already noted, it begins from the premise that the original name took the form of **Gorove**.

²⁶ Kristóf Szongott, *Genealogia familiilor armene din Transilvania...*, cit. (*supra*, note 8), p. 119; my emphasis.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 40–41.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 119.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 89 (family *Dşokăbin*, *Djokăbin*).

Perhaps if he had knowledge of the Gorovei from Romania, Szongott would have been more cautious in formulating these explanations. Nevertheless, I find fascinating that the explanations of the specialists for the same patronym used by the Romanians in Moldavia and by the Armenians in Transylvania were offered, in each case, without noticing the parallels between the two contexts!

I also have to mention a newer opinion about the name Gorovei among the Armenians, unfortunately unsubstantiated and undocumented: "With this name the family came to Moldavia, where the Armenian form "Gorovi" = "Son of Gorov", was transformed into the Romanian "Gorove". Sometimes, it is written as "Gorovei". In Transylvania, the name took the form of "Gorovei", which in the Hungarian language means "from Gorov". Later, the name was written in its modernized form of Goroveji, retaining its meaning"³⁰.

In Kristóf's family line (the one with the diploma from 1761), the name continued in the form of *Gorovei* or *Gorovej*. The fact is unanimously accepted and indisputable, since in 1886 *Gorovej* János from Ibașfalău, the adoptive son of the former minister, received (by imperial decision) the right to change his name to *Gorove* and to adopt also the phrase *de Gătaia* (găttajai) (**Fig. 11**). From that moment onward, the entire family line from Ibașfalău adopted the shorter form of the name, assumed previously, quietly, by the Gorovei of other family lines. For the intermediary generations, there is enough evidence to prove the use of the patronym in the form of *Gorovei* or *Gorovej*. On the funerary monument of Jakab (Kristóf's nephew) from the Armenian cemetery in Dumbrăveni (Ibașfalău) is written the name **Gorovei** (**Fig. 8**). The same form is found for his children as well: Gergely-Kristóf (1808–1881) is named in 1832 *Gregorius Gorovej*³¹, and Lajos (1816–1884) is shown as "nobilis *Ludovicus Gorovei*"³². Their sister, Katalin (Katica) (1807/1808–1877, Békés), married with Kiss Antal³³, is named *Catharina*

³⁰ Nicolae Gazdovits, *Istoria armenilor din Transilvania (de la începuturi până la 1900)*, (București: Editura "Ararat", 1996), p. 390. The author maintains (also without evidence) that "a family branch modified its name to 'Akonz', which derives from the similarity of the name 'gorov' in Armenian".

³¹ *Calendarium novum et vetus ad annum bissextilem MDCCCXXXII [...] in usum M. Principatus Transsilvaniae et Partium Adnexarum...*, (Typis Lycei Regis, Claudiopoli), p. 147: among the officials from "Elisabethopolis L. R. Civitatis", was one of the six "Collectores Regiae Contributionis".

³² I thank Mr. Ovidiu Demetrescu (București), descendant of János Gorove from Dumbrăveni, for this information. János was the son on Gergely-Kristóf (*Gregorius Gorovei* from 1832).

³³ Héjja Juliana Erika, *Békés vármegye archontológiája és prozopográfiája 1715–1848*, (Gyula, 2009), p. 336, despre Kiss Antal (1801–1877): "Az erzsébetvárosi születésű Gorove Katalinnal (1807 k. – 1877) kötött házasságot; fiuk, József (* 1835)".

Gorovei³⁴ at the baptismal registration of their son József (20.XII.1835, Békés). Even the adoptive son of the minister was recorded at birth (1864), as *Ioannes Nepomuc Martinus Gorovei*³⁵, which made necessary the name change by that decision in 1886.

But not only this. Even Kristóf, the son of Gorove László (who died before receiving the diploma of 1760) and the grandfather of the future minister, was still named *Gorovei*. As such, on 26 March 1788, when he was a counselor at Gherla, he was mentioned as *Gorovej Kristóf*³⁶. In 1791, when the Armenians from Gherla and Dumbrăveni addressed the Transylvanian Diet about their rights, the first city was represented by *Gorovei Kristóf* and Novák Theodor³⁷. His name was similarly written, but in Armenian (*Gorovejan*), when he was elected *judex primarius* (1797)³⁸.

With these findings in mind, I believe it is the right moment to ask the question: **was the name *Gorovei* (*Gorovej*) formed by adding a letter or was the name *Gorove* created by removing that letter?!**

In search for an answer, we need to look at the older sources dealing with the beneficiaries of the 1760 and 1761 diplomas in the years prior to the issue of these documents. As such, we find that the document issued by

³⁴ "Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636-1895," Database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XKB5-CFQ>: accessed 19 June 2015), Catharina Gorovei in entry for Carolus Joannes Josephus Kiss, 20 Dec 1835, Baptism; citing Gyula, Békés, Hungary, Tolna Megyei Levéltár, Budapest (National Archives, Budapest); FHL microfilm 639,535. This Katalin is also shown as being born in 1808 and dead on 7.IV.1877 in Békés. On the site *search.ancestry*, she is found on the genealogical tree of Kemeny, and on *trees.ancestry.com.au*, she appears as Lisa Gorove (*Lisa Family Tree*), together with Anna Gorove.

Also on the site *familysearch*, I found a *Jakab* (Jacobus) *Gorovei*, married with Josepha Czinker, and with parents *János Jakab* (Johannes Jacobus) *Gorovei* baptized on 3 January 1865 in Debreczen: "Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636-1895," Database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XZG8-N9S> : accessed 19 June 2015), Johannes Jacobus Gorovei, 03 Jan 1865, Baptism; citing Debreczen, Hajdu, Hungary, Tolna Megyei Levéltár, Budapest (National Archives, Budapest); FHL microfilm 639,499.

³⁵ Information shared by Mr. Ovidiu Demetrescu (București).

³⁶ Dr. Kapronczay Károly, *Adatok a magyarórmény orvosok és gyógyszerészek történetéhez*, (Budaörs, 2002), p. 62.

³⁷ Cf. Kovács Bálint, *Armenii în Transilvania (de la stabilirea lor în secolul XVII până în secolul XX)*, the page of Internet *Gyulafehérvári Főegyházmegyei Levéltár / Archivum Archidioecesanum Albae Julienne*.

³⁸ Cf. *supra*, note 12. I found the name **Gorovian** carried by Dr. **Nina Gorovian-Zenios** from Cyprus College, who participated in 2004 at a *Workshop* in the context of *Cyprus Entrepreneurship Competition*. Cf. <http://www.cs.ucy.ac.cy/cyec/WorkshopProgramme.pdf> Her husband, Prof. Stavros A. Zenios, was president of the University of Cyprus between 2002 and 2010. There may be a mistake in the Armenian writing of the patronym because in all other citations on the Internet the name appears as *Gorovaia*.

Maria Theresia on 17 April 1758 for the Armenians in Gherla (Armenopolis) mentions two *senatores* (advisors) from this family: *Christophorus Gorovej* and *Abagarus Gorovej*³⁹. Both occupied this dignified position in that city between 1758 and 1761⁴⁰. Both names are similarly offered in two documents recently discovered by a former student of mine, Dr. Arcadie M. Bodale. He found in the Vienna archives two petitions addressed to the Empress in 1759 by a group of ten Armenians from Gherla who requested the urgent release of the knighting documents promised based on the consistent donations they had made⁴¹ (we are here during the Seven Years War). Among the signatures are the names **Abagarus Gorovei senator** and **Christophorus Gorovei senator (Fig. 12a)**. The petitioners of 1759 must be the beneficiaries of the 1760 and 1761 diplomas. As such, *Abagarus Gorovei* is one and the same person as the one posthumously named **Ladislaus** (recte, László) **Gorove**⁴².

These documents reveal the answer to another question: *Did the Gorovei from Transylvania and Hungary originate in Moldavia?* In principle, it is known that the Armenians from Gherla came from Moldavia⁴³. But for a study such as this one it is necessary to carry out a particular test, not a

³⁹ *Liber Regius*, LIII, p. 431. In the privilege of Iosif II from 9 October 1786 (in which it is reproduced also the privilege from 1758), among the Armenian representatives in Gherla are cited *Christophorus Gorove, ordinarius orator (ibidem, p. 430)*. Document identified at <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/libriregii/hu> (Kyrályi Könyvek - 53.279/a).

⁴⁰ Cf. *supra*, note 12. There is justification for completing the name *Abag* in *Abag[ar]*.

⁴¹ Arcadie M. Bodale, Claudia Tărnăuceanu, *Două documente din veacul al XVIII-lea de la Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv din Viena, referitoare la înnobilarea armenilor plecați din Moldova la Gherla*, in "Cercetări Istorice", s.n., XXXIV(2015): pp. 161-168. Dr. Arcadie M. Bodale had the graciousness to entrust me with images and transcriptions of these documents early as the spring of 2015.

⁴² I do not know how to explain the equivalence drawn between the names *Abagar* and *Ladislaus* (László). According to the opinion of Szongott *Genealogia familiilor armenie din Transilvania...*, cit. (*supra*, note 8), p. 24: "Ábkár. This is the short version of the Armenian word *Abagar* [...], which means a brave man: magnus, magnates, in Turkish *agha*". However, I think we have here instead a reference to the name of the King of Edessa, *Abgar al V-lea* († c. 50), famous for his attitude toward Christianity, in whose care the mandylian was kept." The name was also used by the Armenians from Romania - the artist *Apcar Baltazar* (1880-1909) and the Junimist *Abgar Buiucliu*: *Bogdan Căuș, Figuri de armeni din România*, cit. (*supra*, note 5), p. 68 and 87.

⁴³ Regarding the emigration the Armenians from Moldavia, v. Nicolae Gazdovits, *Istoria armenilor din Transilvania (de la începuturi până la 1900)*, cit. (*supra*, note 30), pp. 77-80; Marius Chelcu, *Cauze ale părăsirii Moldovei de către armeni la sfârșitul secolului XVII, în Istorie și societate în spațiul est-carpatic (secolele XIII-XX)*, volum editat de Dumitru Ivănescu și Marius Chelcu, *Omagiul profesorului Alexandru Zub*, (Iași: Editura "Junimea", 2005), pp. 73-81. A rich bibliography on the subject (with all connections and conclusions) developed in Hungarian historiography. On the union of the Armenians with the Church of Rome: Nagy Kornél, *Az erdélyi örmények katolizációja (1685-1715)*, MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Történettudományi Intézet, (Budapest, 2012).

general one! Or, as the ten Armenians – including the two Gorovei – declared frankly:

nos aequae e numero illorum Armenorum esse, qui Augustissima Domo Austriaca rem Transylvanicam sub imperium accipiente vicina Svavis Dominationis oportunitate vocati, misso Turcico jugo e Moldavia in Transylvaniam venerunt. (Fig. 12b)

This is explicit and definitive proof that **the Gorovei from Transylvania and Hungary have their origins in Moldavia.**

*

With this, we arrived at the most delicate juncture of my research, that is, at the question: were there in Moldavia, **at the same time**, two families bearing **the same name** but absolutely different (both in ethnicity and religion), without belonging to the same family line?!

The experience that I have gained during several decades of genealogical research has revealed that a negative answer is most apt in this regard: at a certain social level, **the family name is part of the spiritual heritage** that is difficult to give up and only under certain circumstances. Among the noblemen of Moldavia, the bearers of the same patronym are most likely descendants of a common ancestor. In the case of the Armenians, the same reality is valid: there are Armenian families in Transylvania that have identical names with Armenian families in Moldavia. For me, the closest example is that offered by my mother's side of the family: Pelealb exists as much in Suceava (then Botoșani and Roman) as in Gherla⁴⁴. I also identified several Armenian families bearing names that are also found among the Romanians of Moldavia: among these, the most unexpected is the name Galimász⁴⁵, registered as such by Father Ávedik Lukács. It is the same as that of the family to which the historian Aurel H. Golimas (1908–1995) belonged.

The specialist in historical anthroponymy, Prof. Mircea Ciubotaru, offered an essential explanation for these genealogical-historical findings: if the family name Gorovei appears in Moldavia in 1591/1592, it is very likely that it was established there around the middle of the century. This is precisely the moment of the great repression that the Armenians of Moldavia suffered during the rule of Ștefan VI Rareș (1551–1552).

⁴⁴ Kristóf Szongott, *Genealogia familiilor armene din Transilvania*, cit., (*supra*, note 8), pp. 218–219.

⁴⁵ Ávedik Lukács, *Orașul liber regal Elisabethopolis*, cit. (*supra*, note 17), p. 285.

The reasoning with which I end is this one.

Premises:

- 1) The antecedence of the Gorovei from Moldavia (end of sixteenth century);
- 2) The Gorovei from Transylvania arrived from Moldavia (end of seventeenth century);
- 3) Someone who is Orthodox cannot become an Armenian, but an Armenian can become Orthodox.

Conclusions:

- 1) The Gorovei from Moldavia and Transylvania are very likely branches from the same genealogical line.
- 2) In the middle of the sixteenth century, in Moldavia, an Armenian Gorovei converted to Orthodoxy, and his descendants constituted the family with this name to the east of the Carpathian Mountains.
- 3) The Gorovei who retained their ancestral faith left for Transylvania at the end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the next.

Regarding the name (patronym), the conclusion that the family (*das Geschlecht*) with its two major branches is of Armenian origin can be an explanation for its uniqueness (both in the Romanian and Hungarian lands), but also for its power of perseverance in foreign environments. The pathway from either the alleged Slavic or Armenian roots, or whether an Armenian word was transformed or not with a Slavic one, is up to the specialists to deliberate and decide. As far as I am concerned, I do not have any reluctance at this stage of the research to assert that the hypothesis of the Armenian root of the patronym seems to be most likely for both large family lines that evolved to either side of the Carpathian Mountains.

“Accepter ses ancêtres s’est se donner une chance de mieux être soi-même”⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ Yves du Passage, *La généalogie pour tous*, cit. (*supra*, note 1), p. 32.

ADDENDA

For the memory of Dr. Gorove László (1927–2000)

On 10 December 1989, Dr. Gorove László – a follower of the Gorovei from Dumbrăveni (Ibaşfalău) – generously responded to the letter through which I asked for genealogical details about his family line (marriage dates for the last generations). In addition to that information, he sent an article about Gorove Antal, cut from a newspaper:

der im Freiheitskrieg von 1848 der erste gewesen sein soll, der die Mauer der Budaer Burg eroberte und die ungarische Fahne darauf hißte.

The same letter carried additional information, communicated to me only as a curiosity, but obviously also in the hopes of learning from me further details:

Zufälligerweise erfuhr ich, daß ein Gorove István, der 1849 als Leutnant gefallen ist und auf dem Friedhof in Köröshát /Komitat Békés/ ruht, 8 Enkelkinder, 2 Urenkel und 4 Ururenkel in der Sowjetunion haben soll. Wissen Sie darüber Bescheid?

I happened to find out that Gorove István, who fell as lieutenant in 1849 and now rests in the cemetery in Köröshát (Békés county), supposedly has 8 grandchildren, 2 great-grandchildren, and 4 great-great-grandchildren in the *Soviet Union*. Are you informed about this?

It took almost a quarter of a century for me to discover the information Dr. Gorove László expected from me then. After gathering the sources with a lot of toil during my years of research on the history of the Gorovei/Gorove(i) family, and adding other details about a descending branch of the same family line as his, I present them to the audience of specialists as a tribute to his memory. Both of the following excursions illustrate the difficulties of such genealogical research.

1. Gorove Antal

On 28 January 2013, János Kocs, a genealogist from Sfântu Gheorghe, sent me with kindness, for which I thank him to this day, a fragment from the genealogy of certain Gorove, descendants of an unknown individual born in 1797, who would have had the following children:

- **Antal**, * 1822 – † 27.XI.1881 Budapest, married (1861) with Ullmann Terez, * 1826 – † 12.II.1917 Budapest⁴⁷;
- **István**, † post 1881;
- **Sárolta**, † post 1881, married with Csotka Károly;
- **Anna**, † post 1881⁴⁸, married with Kiss Peter.

From this list, the only one with followers is Antal, whose children include:

- **Rozalia**
- **Gizella**
- **Arpad**, * 1864 – † 17.IV.1935 Pásztó, married with Olah Margit (sons: Antal and István)
- **Ilona**

This is how I learned about the family of Gorove Antal (I will call it the Pásztó branch), the revolutionary from 1848, the first president of the Notary Chamber in Budapest, an officer and famous lawyer. My efforts to gather more details from the Chamber of Notaries⁴⁹ led to a result that seems to me unclear: Antal would have been the son of a certain Gorove László, a landowner in Bihar⁵⁰.

One of the sources consulted revealed that he was the son of Gorove László and his wife, Rácz Mária Magdolna⁵¹, which is **absolutely impossible** because in such a case he would be the brother of Gorove István, the famous politician and minister, a position that no genealogist had claimed! In many instances, including in the book of Dr. Rokolya, Antal is accompanied by the

⁴⁷ Tereza Ullmann's Jewish heritage explains the registration of two of her daughters at Kempelen Béla, *Magyar zsidó családok* [reprint of *Magyarországi zsidó és zsidó eredetű családok*, Budapest, 1937–1939], I, (Budapest: Makkabi kiadó, 1999), p. 100 (here, the husband is named *Gorove Adolf*, a mistake corrected in *ibidem*, II, p. 31).

⁴⁸ Setting the dates of death "post 1881" surely signifies the presence of the respective names in a *faire-part* for the announcement of Antal's death.

⁴⁹ For information, I sent (without much hope) an electronic message to the Chamber of Notaries in Budapest in January 2015. I joyfully received a response from Ms. Vera Várkonyi who forwarded information from Dr. Gábor Rokolya together with the page from his work (v. next note) dedicated to Gorove Antal. I ask both of them to find here the expression of my gratitude.

⁵⁰ Rokolya Gábor, *A polgári közjegyzőség emlékezete 1875–1949*, Magyar Országos Közjegyzői Kamara, (Budapest, 2009), p. 169. In a message from 28 January 2015, Ms. Vera Várkonyi wrote that the author of the book found in Oradea the birth certificate of Antal, proving this filiation: "M^{re} Rokolya a trouvé l'extrait de naissance de Gorove Antal à Nagyvárad (Oradea, en Roumanie). Le père de Gorove Antal était M. Gorove László, propriétaire des terrains".

⁵¹ Habermann Gusztáv, *Személyi adattár a szegedi polgár-családok történetéhez*, Kiadja a Csongrád Megyei Levéltár és a Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged Város Önkormányzata és a Szegedért Alapítvány támogatásával, (Szeged, 1992), p. 94: "Szülei valószínűleg László földbirtokos és neje Rácz Mária Magdolna voltak".

term *gáttajai* (of Gáttaja/Gătaia), which also seemed strange to me since the title **was not given in 1824 to all those carrying the name Gorove**. Only the three brothers received the name, of whom only one had a son (the future minister). If Antal really carried this title, it would have meant that he could only be the son of one of the uncles of the minister (Lajos † 1830 or Károly † 1872), and thus his primary cousin.

On the other hand, I found that an earlier work, from a time closer to that of Gorove István and Gorove Antal, links the latter not to the branch with the title *gáttajai*, and neither to the other noble line, without a title, but to that Antal who in 1760-1761 was not knighted⁵².

With this, the suspicion that *Gorove Antal did not have the noble title and was not the son of a László* (even less of the one married to Rácz Mária Magdolna) began to turn into a fact, even though it lacked (yet!) the necessary evidence.

The funerary monument from the cemetery in Budapest, photographed by Dr. Teodora Artimon, also brought forth a confirmation: one finds there only the names and dates of birth (29.X.1822) and death (27.XI.1881), without any noble title. Even the death certificate, also consulted by Dr. Artimon, lacks this title, and, unfortunately, also the names of his parents, including that of his father⁵³.

In the important volume of genealogies of the Armenians in Hungary, organized by Baron Gudenus, I found⁵⁴ supplementary information regarding this family branch, including Antal and his brother and sisters, the children of an unknown individual. The supplementary information consists of several dates for marriages of Antal's followers, and it is quite important for the details it offers about the husbands of his daughters: **Roza** ∞ Zakariás; **Gizella** ∞ Karátson Lajos; **Ilona** (1860–1918⁵⁵) ∞ Varjassy Dezső. These

⁵² Lendvai Miklós, *Temes vármegye nemes családjai*, cit. (*supra*, note 11), p. 143 (“Antal nem kapott nemességet”) and note 7 afferent: “Ennek leszármazója volt Gorove Antal budapesti kir. közjegyző, sz. állom. Honvéd-ezredes (megh. 1881. nov. 27. Budapest), a ki 1848/49-ben a 3. sz. (vörös sipkás) honvéd-zászlóalj őrnagya és parancsnoka volt”.

⁵³ Message from 7 March 2016. The death Certificate [Römisch-Katolisches Pfarramt, Szentistvánváros, 19. Band, 1-482 Folio (1873-1883), microfilm A109] records in place of the names of the parents, that of the wife, Ullmann Terez. The death occurred as a result of cardiac problems. The city of Salonta (Nagyszalonta) is indicated as the birthplace, which differs from other sources that note the village of Kisgyán in Bihar county (today Coșdeni). I warmly thank Dr. Teodora Artimon for the goodwill with which she responded to my inquiries, offering invaluable research help.

⁵⁴ János József Gudenus, *Örmény eredetű magyar nemesi családok genealógiája*, cit. (*supra*, note 11), pp. 264–265.

⁵⁵ Kempelen Béla, *Magyar zsidó családok*, II, cit. (*supra*, note 47), p. 31.

details have allowed me to reorient my studies in the multitude of information found also with the help of the Internet.

Therefore, in a work devoted to the prosopography of Békés county, I found several decisive details. There is mentioned a Kiss Péter (1807–1871) married with **Anna**, daughter of Gorove Vince: “Kiss Péter 1840 március 14-én Gyulán vette feleségül a sarkadkeresztúri Gorove Vince lányát, Annát”⁵⁶. There is no doubt that this **Gorove Anna** is the same as Antal’s sister⁵⁷. Among the children of this Anna, a daughter was named *Sarolta* (* 1846), and another Maria *Rozalia* (* 1841).

In the same book⁵⁸, I found Antal’s another sister, **Sárolta**, married to Csátka: “Csátka Lajos († 1863 előtt). Gorove Saroltával (1810 k. – 1888) kötött házasságot”. One of her four sons was named *Vince*. After the records in *FamilySearch*, he had a daughter, *Rozalia*, baptized on 22 April 1845 in Sarkad⁵⁹.

It seems to me that this information quite clearly indicates that Anna and Sárolta Gorove are not only sisters (as indicated also in the genealogies that I know⁶⁰), but also the daughters of a certain *Gorove Vincent*. Internet searches have testified to the existence of this figure whose wife was named *Rozalia*. One of their sons, János (Joannes) was baptized on 12 December 1810 in Püspökladány (Hajdu county). In the baptismal record, the family name of the mother is Czisra⁶¹. This patronym does not exist and so it should probably be read as *Cziffra*.

It is evident that both Antal and his sisters gave the name **Rozalia** to one of their daughters, and one of the Csátka boys was named **Vince**. The repeating of a name always constitutes a decisive argument for establishing or controlling a familial connection: in the present case, these names offer strong evidence for accepting that **Vince and Rozalia**, the parents of Anna and Sárolta Gorove, are also the parents of **Antal**.

⁵⁶ Héjja Juliana Erika, *Békés vármegye archontológiája és prozopográfiája 1715–1848*, cit. (*supra*, note 33), p. 339.

⁵⁷ János József Gudenus, *op. cit.*, p. 265; genealogy of János Kocs.

⁵⁸ Héjja Juliana Erika, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

⁵⁹ “Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636-1895,” Database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XCYPQ-HJB>; accessed 27 June 2015), Sára Gorove in entry for Rozalia Csotka, 22 Apr 1845, Baptism; citing Sarkad, Bihar, Hungary, Tolna Megyei Levéltár, Budapest (National Archives, Budapest); FHL microfilm 642,641.

⁶⁰ János József Gudenus, *op. cit.*, p. 265; genealogy of János Kocs.

⁶¹ “Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636-1895,” Database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XCPG-NCN>; accessed 27 June 2015), Joannes Gorove, 12 Dec 1810, Baptism; citing Püspökladány, Hajdu, Hungary, Tolna Megyei Levéltár, Budapest (National Archives, Budapest); FHL microfilm 623,283.

So, what is Gorove Antal's place in the known genealogy? As Lendvai Miklós proposed, or as the current information reveals?

In this stage of research, I propose a hypothesis that is based on his first name and two collateral pieces of information. I present the latter first:

1^o. In a letter addressed to my grandfather in 1888, János Gorove de Gáttaja notes, as I mentioned from the beginning of this genealogical study⁶², that he knew about the Gorovei from Romania from one of the family celebrities, not the minister, but an army man *who is also a relative of his*. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Gorovei from Hungary had only two celebrities: the minister **István** and the law officer **Antal**. It seems to me that János Gorove could only refer to the latter, who seems to have been a close relative of his (from his circle of relatives).

2^o. It was stated that "the initial name of the predecessors" of Antal was *Gorovej*⁶³. The author did not offer a bibliographic reference to this statement, and I cannot confirm it. Therefore, I must accept it as it was formulated. As mentioned above, this form of the patronym was kept in the family branch of Kristóf, *Christophorus Gorovei*, knighted in 1761 with his sons *Ioannes, Antonius, and Theodorus* (János, Antal, Tivadar). The first sits at the root of the family branch from Ibaşfalău (to which also belongs the adoptive son of the minister). Nothing is known of the other two brothers in the genealogical works I have consulted to date. It would be possible that Gorove Antal belongs to this family line, named initially *Gorovei*. Therefore, I make the hypothesis that **Gorove Vince was the son of Antal** from 1761, and in his father's, memory gave one of his sons this first name (another son was named, as shown above, *Ioannes, János*).

In the case of this hypothesis, the law officer was a third-degree cousin of the minister and a second-degree cousin of János's father, the adoptive son of the minister: a familial relation quite close.

Another argument comes from the research into the Gorovei from Sarkad. The name of this village has appeared already in the information presented up to this point⁶⁴. One of the genealogical fragments published by Baron Gudenus deals precisely with this family line⁶⁵ to which Sabina Iştvánovna Gorove (Balmaşnova) belongs. A certain Gorove István, married to Lukáts Katalin, had as heir his wife's niece: Szabina (daughter of

⁶² Cf. *supra*, note 3.

⁶³ Habermann Gusztáv, *Személyi adattár a szegedi polgár-családok történetéhez*, cit. (*supra*, note 51), p. 94: "Elődeinek családneve eredetileg «Gorovej» volt".

⁶⁴ Cf. *supra*, note 59.

⁶⁵ János József Gudenus, *Örmény eredetű magyar nemesi családok genealógiája*, cit. (*supra*, note 11), p. 266.

Rzihovsky Vilibald, married to Lukáts Anna). From her marriage with Kolb Kálmán (1859–1923, buried in Sarkad-Köröshát), Szabina had two sons who took up the names of their adoptive grandparents: Gorove Jenő⁶⁶ (1892–1936, buried in Sarkad, in the cemetery Köröshát) and Gorove István. The latter, married with Elena Egerov, was the father to two daughters: Szabina and Katalin (mentioned already above). From the information offered on the site *Myheritage*, I found out that a certain M. Sudarev from Russia is looking for information about a *Gorove István born in 1828*. He was also interested in information about the following individuals: Řihovská, Kalman Kolb, Istvan Gorove, Rozalia Cziffra, Sabina Gorove married to Rzihovski (1862–1954), Iren Milian, Sara Gorove and Vincent (Vincentius, Vinse, Venze) Gorove. These names constitute indices for identifying the family branch to which they belong: that from Sarkad (Millián Irén is the second wife of Gorove Jenő, buried also in 1985 in the cemetery at Sarkad-Köröshát). It is evident that Mr. Sudarev was (is) searching for information about the family line to which Sabina Iștvanovna Gorove belonged, as he demonstrates great interest in the mention of the names **Gorove Vincze** and **Cziffra Rozalia** alongside the others known from the genealogy of the same branch. Vincent (Vincze) was probably the most distant known relative and noted as such by the descendants from Russia. On the other hand, the search launched by Mr. Sudarev also proves the existence of the descendants of Gorove István and Elena Egerova in Russia.

I think that if we really have a *Gorove István born in 1828*, he could be the brother with the same name of Gorove Antal, of whom the genealogists do not say a word. If these details and circumstances prove true, then it means that two groups of scattered Gorove(i)⁶⁷ – that from Pásztó (Antal) and that from Sarkad (István) – can now be attached to the genealogical tree, and, through this, become integrated within the family history losing the *stray* “status”.

⁶⁶ During the school year 1907–1908, he was in the fifth year of high school in Cluj – cf. *Az Erdélyi román. kath. státus hegyes rendiek vezetése alatt álló kolozsvári főgymnázium – ának Értesítője az 1907-1908 tanevről*, (Kolozsvár, 1908), p. 101 (he was moved to the Evangelical Gymnasium); I found this book on the site <http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/kolozsvar>. After the information from the Military Archive in Budapest (I warmly thank the Director, Dr. Bonhardt Attila) communicated through Dr. Teodora Artimon, Gorove Jenő participated in the First World War as a lieutenant in a battalion of Mountain Hunters and was subsequently honored. In some data on the Internet, he also appears with the title *gáttajai!*

⁶⁷ In this case, I also applied a “method” I used in my research of the Gorovei from Moldavia, grouping in the category of “stray” all those for whom I could not yet identify the link with the established genealogy. The list of these “strays” decreases during each stage of the research.

2. Gorove Viktor

The kind courtesy of Mr. János Kocs also provided me with a *faire-part* through which the Royal Court in Alba Iulia, the Court of Appeal, and the members of the Royal Prosecutor's Office announced that **gáttajai Gorove Viktor**, judge of the Royal Court, passed away "after long suffering" on 31 October 1917 in Budapest⁶⁸. The announcement is printed in Alba Iulia (Schäser Ferencz printing house) in November 1917. I trust the printed word⁶⁹ and I began to look for other information about this supposed forgotten member of the family from Gătaia. I found him, but always without the title *gáttajai*, as a district judge (*járásbíró*) at Hațeg in 1904 and in Deva in 1909. Sometime, at the beginning of the century, he also worked at Petroșani (Petrozsény).

On the other hand, from the information provided by Mr. Gabriel Gorovei (Lugoj) – for whose goodwill I express my thanks also here – I found out about the existence of a certain **Victor-Ștefan Gorovei** at Hațeg at the beginning of the twentieth century. He and his wife Blanca were the parents of **Ioan-Ladislau Gorovei** (* 22.III.1907, Hațeg, † 15.V.1967, Arad) and **Maria-Blanca** (* 22.V.1908, Hațeg, † 25.II.1977, Hațeg). Ioan-Ladislau, or simply Ladislau (Ladislav), a doctor⁷⁰, married Yolanda Porkolab (* 1908, Reșița) in 1932 in Bucharest. Their son, **Ioan-Armand**, born in Bucharest on 17 September 1932, followed a military career. In all the documents shared by Mr. Gabriel Gorovei, the family name is **Gorovei**. Only in the death certificated of Maria-Blanca appears the name **Gorove**. This detail raised the question of whether Victor-Ștefan belonged to a family line from Transylvania, without excluding, in this case, the possibility of an error in the writing of the patronym.

My hypothesis was confirmed when Dr. Teodora Artimon saw at the Hungarian State Archives the death certificate of our protagonist, identified after the date of death (31 October 1917). The 42-year-old judge in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár)⁷¹ was inscribed with the Hungarian name – **Gorove Győző**

⁶⁸ I thank Dr. Liviu Cîmpeanu for the proper interpretations of the formulations from this old *faire-part*.

⁶⁹ János József Gudenus also figures as *gáttajai Gorove Viktor*, *Örmény eredetű magyar nemesi családok genealógiája*, cit., (*supra*, note 11), p. 266.

⁷⁰ Certainly, the same as **Gorove Vasile dr.**, mentioned in Ghețea during the interwar period and (without the title Dr.) at Curtuiușeni. The Romanianization of the first name was common during the period. Even Mr. Gabriel Gorovei, during our first phone call, told me that his grandfather was named Vasile.

⁷¹ In reality, Gorove Viktor was born in 1875 in Târgu Mureș: cf. *A Marosvásárhelyi Evang. Reform. Collegium Értesítője az 1883–84-ik iskolai*, Kiadia: az igazgatóság, Tg. Mureș (Marosvásárhely), 1884, p. 58. I found this volume on the site <http://library.hungaricana.h>

- and accompanied by all genealogical references that we would have wanted: his wife's name was Thodossy Blanka, and her parents were Gorove Ignacs and Veszély Lujza⁷². His identification with the judge from Hațeg and Deva, and with the father of Ioan-Ladislau and Maria-Blanca (both born in Hațeg) is entirely confirmed. The genealogy is complete not only with the family name of his wife (Thodossy), but also with the necessary link to connect him to the rest of the family.

The mention of the parents as Gorove Ignác and Veszély Lujza could be misleading if we did not know that the latter was actually married with **Fark** Ignác, whose mother, Maria (1805-1857), was the daughter of the spouses Gorovei Jakab and Gyertyánffy Anna from Dumbrăveni⁷³. Therefore, we have here, as in the case of the Gorovei from Sarkad, a transfer of the patronym through women⁷⁴. It is definite proof that in the circles in which the respective marriages were made, *this* patronym carried more weight and was more important, being "better rated". A similar phenomenon is found in the family branch from Moldavia, undoubtedly with the same motivation. In a research project that focuses on *the bearers of the name*, the transmission of the name through women is of no importance⁷⁵.

A Post Scriptum

The first part of this study elaborates on the paper, of the same title, presented on 22 September 2016 at the XXIII meeting of the Joint Committee of Romanian-Hungarian History held in Alba Iulia (reported in "Turul," 89, 2016, 4, p. 153). The second part (**Addenda**) was added for the publication. The study was published in Romanian in the volume *Istorie, genealogie. Transferuri culturale / Történelem, genealógia. Kulturális transzfer. Lucrările celei de a XXIII-a Reuniuni a Comisiei Mixte de Istorie Româno-Ungară (Alba Iulia, 21-22 septembrie 1916)*, edited by Nicolae Edroiu, Remus Câmpeanu & Laura Stanciu, Editura "Mega", Cluj-Napoca, 2017, p. 53-85.

u/hu/marosvasarhely. Gorove Jenő is recorded in the same place. He was born in Târgu Mureș in 1873 (both were students in the same class in third grade). It is, without a doubt, an older namesake of that from Sarkad (cf. *supra*, note 66).

⁷² Information communicated in the message of 13 May 2015. I was unable to acquire a digital image or a copy of this important document.

⁷³ The genealogical tree of the descendants of this pair, posted by Mr. János Kocs on the site <https://www.radixforum.com>, and the genealogical tree recorded by János Gorove from Dumbrăveni for Artur Gorovei (Gorovei archive).

⁷⁴ Possibly the same as Gorove Ignác, registrar of the National Assembly in the revolution of 1848-1849 - http://hu.metapedia.org/wiki/ttires_ormenyek.

⁷⁵ It is also of interest the adoption of the patronym by representatives of other ethnicities (the Jews in Hungary, or the Gypsies in Romania): each case could have its own explanation.

Professor Nagy Levente from the University of Budapest kindly translated this study into Hungarian – *Moldvai örmények, Erdélyben, Magyarországon és a nagyvilágban (Esettanulmány)*. This was published (not without editorial interventions) in the well-known journal of genealogy and heraldry “Turul” (XCI, 2018, 2, p. 52–63).

At the time, when the Hungarian translation of this study was nearing completion, our colleague Mr. János Kocs – the famous genealogist of Sfântu Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy) – gave me, at the occasion of the 18th National Genealogical and Heraldic Congress (Iași, 10-12 May 2018), a great family tree comprising many of the descendants of Gorove János (1715, 1716) from Gherla (Szamosujvár), both on the male line and, above all, the female one. In this genealogy, of particular value is the information about the members of the first generations of the family, whose names appear in Armenian. I could not use them here, but I will certainly make use of them in future studies. I warmly thank Mr. János Kocs for his very friendly gesture.

In addition, my research in recent years (added in note 4), offers, in some respects, corrections and nuances to statements made in the text published here. These are, however, collateral issues and details that do not modify nor affect the overall lines of argument. That is why I chose to keep the text as it was conceived in 2016. I would also like to express here my cordial thanks to Dr. Alice Isabella Sullivan (University of Michigan) who willingly accepted to translate the text into English, despite the difficulties she already recognized from a similar previous experience. (**Şt. S. G.**, Vienna, 30 June 2019).

Illustrations



Fig.1 István Gorove (1819-1881)



Fig.2 Artur Gorovei (1864-1951)



Fig.3 Nicu I. Gorovei (1834–1886)



Fig.4 Antal Gorove (1822–1881)



Gorove János (Budapest)

Pékholt 888 VIII g.

Monsieur,

J'ai accepté votre lettre datée juillet le 30 et par vos lignes j'étais tantôt plus agréablement frappé, car je désirais depuis informe de vous par un des célébrités de ma famille (pas l'ex-ministre, qui était mon oncle, mais un soldat, qui m'était un autre parent) de faire une connaissance avec vous cordiale.

Cependant, malgré moi, il m'est impossible pour cette fois de vous offrir des explications complètes, tant sur l'histoire ancienne de la famille, à révolution en 1848) avait rédigé le plus grand part de mes documents. à autre partie, et dans l'archive d'un de mes autres biens. Avant quelques années j'ai fait la quelques études, mais les documents avant 1785 sont arméniens et ils m'étaient incompréhensibles, mais une autre fois avec le temps je les ferai lire par quelqu'un qui comprend l'ancienne langue de notre famille, en origine (prochaine) de la votre.

Vous pouvez être assuré que je serais aussi heureux de pouvoir faire avec vous, Monsieur et avec la branche de la famille Gorove en Roumanie une connaissance bien souhaitée de mon part, que je tâcherais, espérant, qu'il me serait possible (et il ne passerait pas beaucoup de temps jusque là), de vous visiter.

Et par attendant permettez-moi d'espérer d'être honoré par votre visite; pendant l'été je suis ici, l'hiver à Budapest avec ma famille.

Agreez l'assurance de ma considération cordiale

Gorove János

Fig.5a-d János Gorove de Gáttaja (1838–1912) and his letter from 9 August 1888

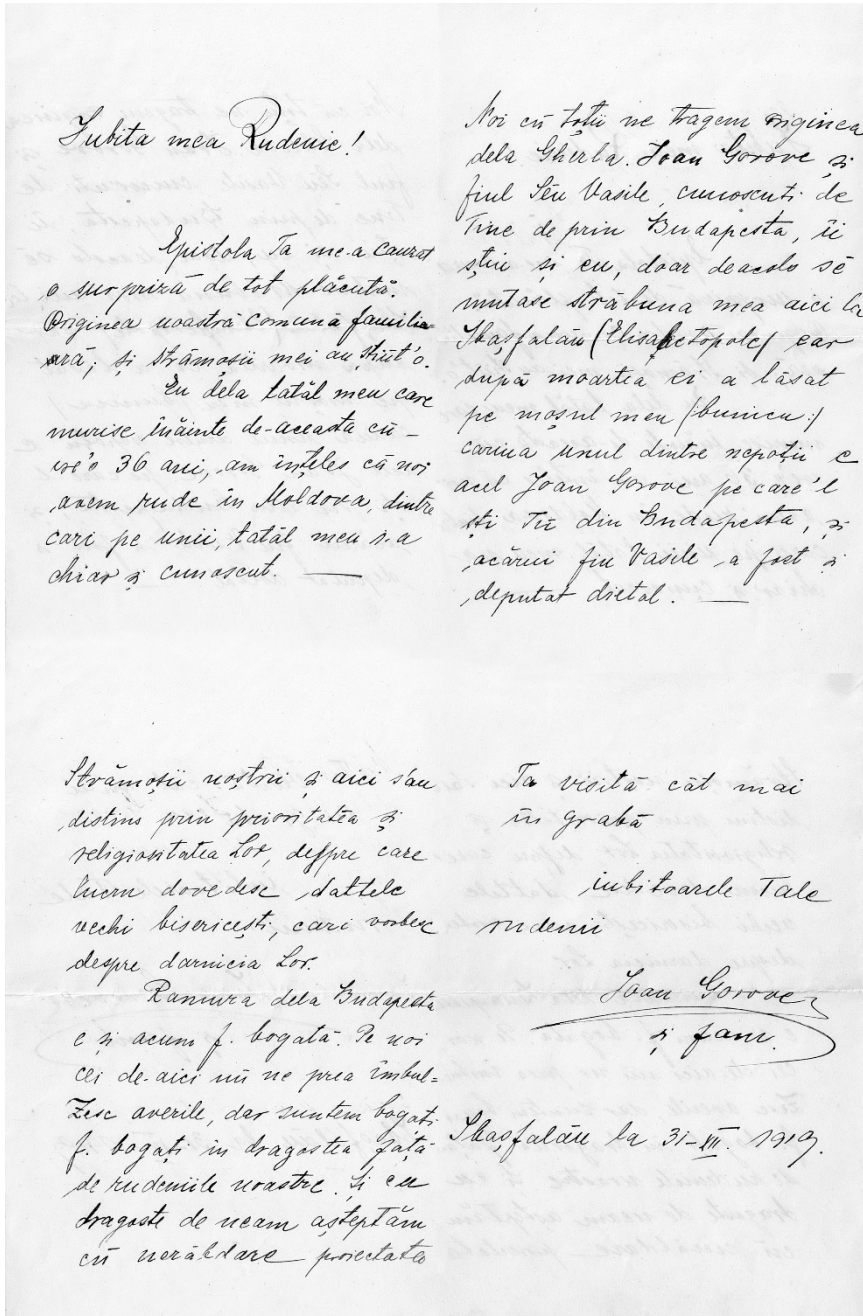


Fig.6a-d Letter of János Gorove from Dumbrăveni, 31 December 1919

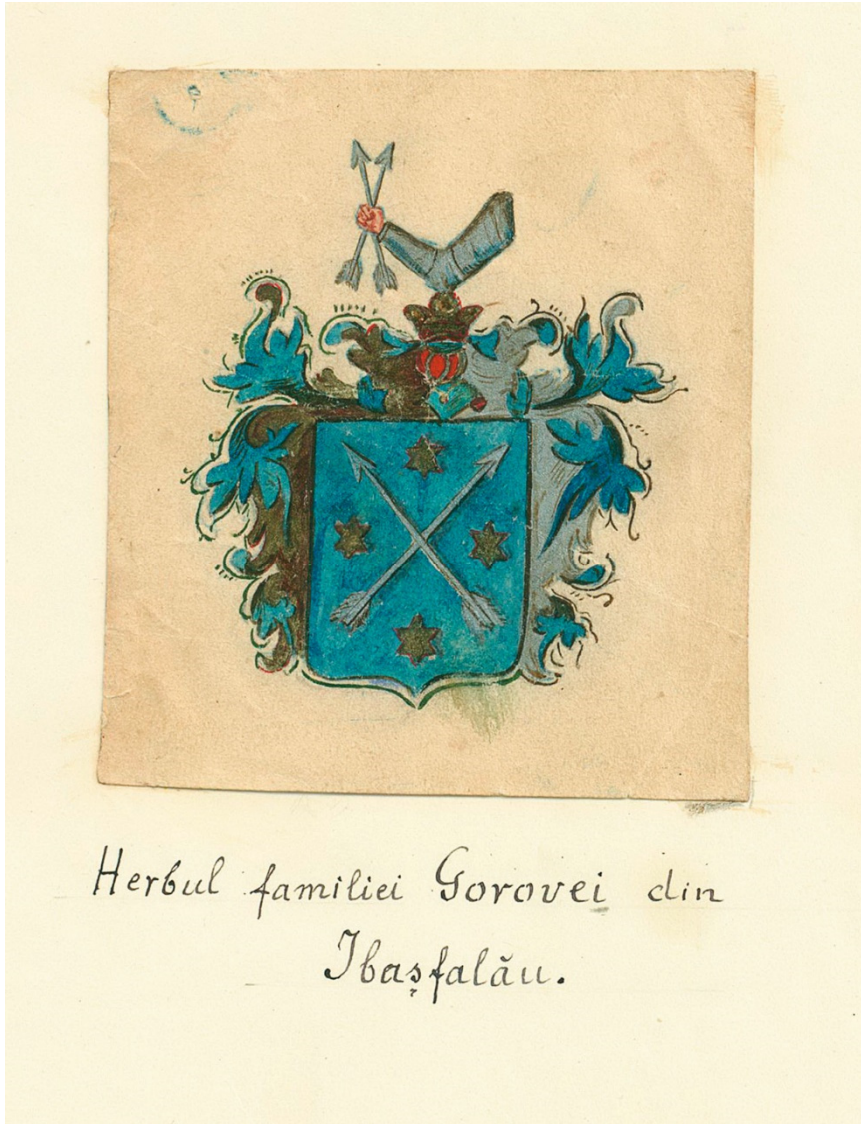


Fig.7 The Coat of Arms of both branches of the Gorove(i) Family



Fig.8 Funerary monument of Jakob Gorovei from Dumbrăveni

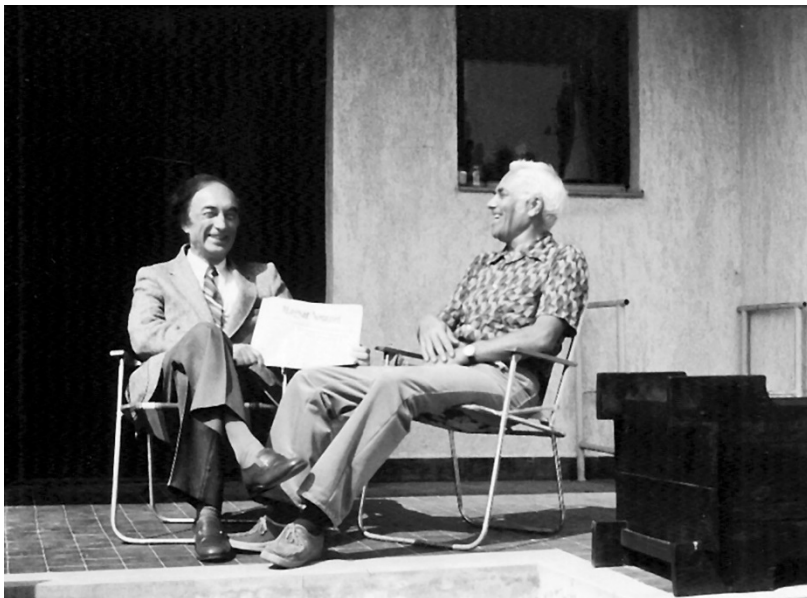


Fig.9 The brothers Stephen and László Gorove

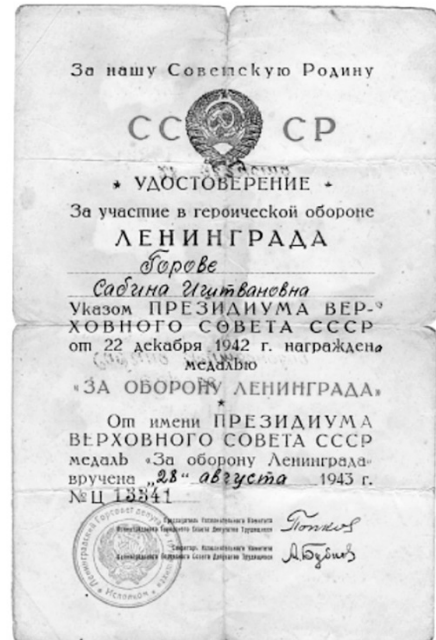


Fig.10a-b Sabina Gorove and the patent for the medal received

816 ex 1886
chr

Imperial rescript of 1886 for the change of patronym

Imperial rescript of 1886 for the change of patronym. The text is written in Hungarian and mentions the name Gorovj Sinos and the change to Gorove. The date is 1886, July 3rd.

Imperial rescript of 1886 for the change of patronym. The text is written in Hungarian and mentions the name Gorovj Sinos and the change to Gorove. The date is 1886, July 3rd.

Fig. 11 The Imperial rescript of 1886 for the change of patronym

Summissimi perpetuoque fidelis, hōis
 Martinus Weresax Judex, Simon
 Christoff Supremus Curator Ecclesiarū,
 Nicolaus Christoff Senator, Lucas
 Simai Senator, Christophorus Porocui
 Senator, Abagarus Porocui equi Senator,
 Martinus, et Petrus Balta Vidua
 Anna Georgii Weresax, Vidua Marti-
 ni Kovrig.

Fig. 12a Document of 1759: the petitioners

et devotissime desegere videamus; nos ope e' nu-
 mero Moxum Armenorum esse, qui Augustissima
 Domo Austriaca rem Transylvanicam habuerunt
 accipiente vna hanc Dominationis oportunitate
 vocati, mittō Turcico jugō e' Moldavia in Fran-
 sylvaniam venerunt, in qua hancorujaximi sedem
 figentibus Divina Bonitas sudori, et indefessis in-
 dustriae nostrae in tantum benedixit, ut subinde
 in comodum Patriae, ac quā Inestores, et Contribuer

Fig. 12b Document of 1759: the Moldavian origin of the petitioners

Image sources: Internet, diverse websites (1, 10 11); Dr. Rokolya Gábor (4); Gorovei Archive (2, 3, 5, 6, 7); Dr. Liviu Cîmpeanu (8); Dr. Anna Gorove-Mohácsi (9); Dr. Arcadie Bodale (12a, 12b). I am indebted to Dr. Alexandru Pinzar who prepared these illustrations prior to their publication.

(English translation: Dr. Alice Isabella Sullivan)

“The Instrument of the Devil”. The Image of the Witch in 18th Century Cluj

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Abstract: The main purpose of our article is to underline some contemporary conceptions regarding witchcraft, and to explain why witch trials based on the same charges could have different outcomes. In order to answer our historical question we will briefly discuss the archetype of the women accused with various forms of magic (11 cases) by the Court of the free royal town of Cluj, and we will try to identify based on the information delivered by the interrogations the kind of occult activities these women were involved in. We came to conclude that our Transylvanian cases are less spectacular than the Western ones, since our witches did not participate in large nocturnal assemblies, they could only occasionally fly and were restrained devil-worshippers. What we learned is that they belonged, with few exceptions, to lower levels of society, had divisive personalities and tended to cause conflicts within the community. Although the trials took place within a male-controlled judicial system, the proportion of female witnesses is higher than in any other felonies, which indicates the presence of a social tension between women. Finally, we also discuss the legal foundation of the witch trials, outlining the fundamental changes occurred in criminal law during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Keywords: witchcraft, 18th century, Court Protocols, female crime

Rezumat: “Instrumentul diavolului”. Imaginea vrăjitoarei în Clujul secolului al XVIII-lea Scopul principal al articolului este să prezinte câteva concepții contemporane referitoare la vrăjitorie prin analiza narativă a documentelor păstrate în protocoalele de judecată ale orașului Cluj, și să explice de ce procesele de vrăjitorie, pornind deseori de la aceleași acuzații, aveau rezultate diferite. Într-o primă etapă vom discuta pe scurt arhetipul femeilor acuzate de practicarea diferitelor forme de magie (11 cazuri), mai apoi vom încerca să identificăm, pe baza informațiilor furnizate de interogări, în ce fel de activități oculte au fost implicate acestea. Dorim să subliniem că în procesele de vrăjitorie proporția mărturiilor feminine este mult mai semnificativă

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decât în cazul altor infracțiuni, ceea ce indică de fapt prezența unor tensiuni sociale între femei, cu atât mai mult, cu cât protagonistele acestor procese erau, cu câteva excepții, femei marginale, controversate, care cauzau deseori conflicte în cadrul comunității. Articolul prezintă, de asemenea, și câteva aspecte legate de legislația cu privire la vrăjitorie, evidențiind schimbările fundamentale care au avut loc în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea în dreptul penal.

Cuvinte-cheie: vrăjitorie, secolul al XVIII-lea, protocoale de judecată, crimă feminină

Introductory Considerations

Although the study of witchcraft emerged a long time ago from a subject considered “beneath the dignity of the historian”, in Transylvanian literature attention had been still focused for many years on the “more serious” aspects of witchcraft: upon the legal authorities, the juridical system, and on the laws issued against witches. The development of women history or the impact of anthropology did not impress historians, since ethnographers continued to be the ones who would try to solve the Transylvanian or Hungarian witch-issue. In the following we would like to make a small contribution to this topic from a historical perspective, but not necessarily in a traditional way¹. The characters we are interested in are on the other side of the “inquisitorial documents”. We are not as much curious regarding those who wrote the questionnaires but regarding those who answered them. We would like to analyze the voices of the marginal, demonized females and what ordinary people thought or said about them. Our cases, only 11 in number, are not as spectacular as the German or English ones, since the witches from Cluj could only occasionally fly, and did not meet for Sabbath, just as they did not dance and feast with the devil like their western counterparts. Our witch-craze is rather a local fad, since witchcraft was first of all used to explain bodily injuries, diseases and misfortune, and many times the basis of accusation for trials were neighbourly disputes, especially between women. Therefore, our article discusses the archetype of the witch and then the profile of the witnesses, focusing on the language they used to describe their fears. We will briefly discuss the local social relations,

¹ We would like to bring to attention a similar research on the trials from Cluj: Cătălina Covaciu, “Adversarii ordinii divine? Portretul acuzaților în procesele de vrăjitorie clujene” (“Enemies of the Divine Order? Portraits of the Accused in Witch Trials from Cluj”), in Marius Eppel (ed.), *Magie și familie în Europa în epocile modernă și contemporană* (Magic and Family in Modern and Contemporary Era), (Cluj-Napoca, 2016), pp. 28–40.

since the majority of the accusations came from fellow citizens, namely, from *below*. Even if our glance is focused on the non-elite attitudes to witchcraft we will address also "classical issues" like the legal background of Transylvanian witchcraft.

The current survey is based on the legal cases brought before the main judicial forum of Cluj, recorded in the Court Protocols², a collection of legal documents, written partly in Hungarian, partly in Latin, and which mainly comprise criminal cases and their resolutions, namely the decisions and deliberations of the judges³. Unfortunately, the surviving records are incomplete, many years from the first few decades are missing, not to mention that, unlike in previous centuries, the trial documents contain only the deliberations, and not the testimony of the witnesses or the accused⁴. The percentage of witchcraft (5%) among female crime from this century is not that significant. From over 260 cases of deviant behaviour⁵, most women were accused of fornication (45%), adultery (34%), infanticide (5%), theft and drunkenness (4%), poisoning (2%), and slander (verbal offences - 5%).

Transylvanian Witchcraft in European Context

We would like in the followings to outline some witchcraft-related perceptions in order to better highlight the similarities, but mostly the differences between the Transylvanian understanding of magic-related crimes and the great European witch craze.

Throughout the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, four distinct perceptions of witchcraft existed in Western Europe. At first there was the concept of harmful magic. In this stage the malefic power concentrated around a single person who was either endowed by nature with certain qualities, or acquired her powers through initiation (as an apprentice). These persons knew how to prepare medicine, mostly balms, and possessed (somewhere after the twelfth century) the ability to fly. The second type of witchcraft was more complex. The witches had been already related to the

² Romanian National Archives Cluj County Branch, Cluj-Napoca; The Town Archive of Cluj, *Court Protocols* (hereafter cited as: *C.P.*).

³ The town had two judges and 12 elected senators; their juridical activity was recorded by the town's scribe (notarius). The cases were argued by lawyers, and the actual investigations could start from private initiatives (citizens) as well as from authorities.

⁴ Andrea Fehér, "Crossing Gender Boundaries. The Trial of Andrew Ungvári", in *Studia Universitatis "Babeş-Bolyai", Historia*, vol. 57(2012): 4-5.

⁵ Eadem, "Women, Crime and the Secular Court in Eighteenth Century Cluj" in *Journal of Education, Culture and Society*, 2015/2: 33-42.

devil, and acquired their knowledge directly from it. But so far, witchcraft had focused on one person and the damage caused. Gradually, groups of witches appeared, bound by a secret pledge, spending time together discussing mostly ways to harm their community. And finally, there was the most extreme version of collective witchcraft, the witch-Sabbath, which appeared by the end of the sixteenth century. These gatherings, where women committed “unspeakable and indescribable” sodomite acts with the devil, usually culminated in ritual crime, especially infanticide⁶.

As far as Transylvania is concerned, starting with the Middle Ages, the Hungarian legal literature makes a clear distinction between evil magic (*maleficium*), divination (*sortilegium*) and poisoning (*veneficium*). Sometimes we can read about fearful night creatures too (*strigae*), who generated definitely more panic than the other *malefici*⁷. Thus, Transylvanian witchcraft had a pronounced harmful character, and it could be integrated into the first two categories mentioned above, since it remained at an individualistic level. The situation seemed to change in the second half of the seventeenth century, with the appearance of the *Praxis Criminalis*, which brought into discussion concepts such as the pact with the devil or the Sabbath (i.e. elements taken from *Malleus Maleficarum*). In spite of the fact that massive inquisitions on Hungarian territories began only at the end of the seventeenth century, and only from that time did Transylvanian witchcraft acquire a diabolical component, which was absent until then, the spectacular elements we know from Western literature regarding Sabbath or orgies would still be missing. The only element that seems to be found in Transylvanian cases, though rare, is that of infanticide.

We want to draw attention to the fact that both the witchcraft trials in Cluj⁸, as well as the Transylvanian or Hungarian persecutions, were relatively moderate, and had a pronounced practical character⁹. Namely, the

⁶ Richard von Dülmen, “Die Dienerin des Bösen. Zum Hexenbild in der Frühen Neuzeit” in *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, vol. 18(1991): 394–395.

⁷ Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, “Boszorkányüldözés a kora újkori Magyarországon” (Witch hunt in Early Modern Hungary), in Gábor Klaniczay, Éva Pócs, *Boszorkányok, varázslók és démonok Közép-Kelet-Európában* (Witches, Sorcerers and Demons in East-Central-Europe), (Budapest, 2014), p. 23.

⁸ Andás Kiss, László Pakó, Péter Tóth G. (eds.), *Kolozsvári boszorkánypercek, 1564–1743* (Witch Trials in Cluj. 1564–1743), (Budapest, 2014).

⁹ According to a database for medieval Hungary, between 1213–1848 there were 4624 people (3962 women) accused of witchcraft, of which only 848 were sentenced to death. The worst period of Hungarian witchcraft was between 1701–1750, half of Hungarian cases (2,197 accusations) being carried out during that time, which coincided also with two major epidemics of plague. Kristóf, “Boszorkányüldözés a kora újkori Magyarországon”, pp. 23–28, 38–39.

trials involved mostly healing women (who were preparing herbal ointments), occasionally midwives, and quite often people who disrupted the public order¹⁰. Often the original reason behind the accusations was a pragmatic one, the magic elements being just “spices that ensured the success” of the process¹¹. As is shown by recent studies, the demonizing of women was not an invention of demonic treaties such as *Malleus Maleficarum*. It was always in the collective consciousness of society, since womanhood was always associated with sinfulness¹². Many believe that in their original form witchcraft trials were meant to resolve conflicts between women generated by gossip, envy or jealousy¹³, thus an overwhelming majority of witchcraft accusations were deeply rooted in the social conflicts between females¹⁴.

We cannot neglect the confessional component either. During the studied period, the inhabitants of Cluj were predominantly Protestants, and, according to the most recent studies, Protestants were more active in witchcraft than Catholics¹⁵. While Catholics and Lutherans accepted the presence and influence of evil powers in everyday life, and their liturgical books contained protective prayers, Calvinists were deeply skeptical about this subject. Somewhat contradictorily, existing laws did not denote faith in paranormal powers, quite the opposite: Protestant preachers were skeptical about occultism, and they had an anti-diabolic and anti-demonological perception. They totally denied the possibility of a pact or act of sodomy consumed with the devil, which they considered to be the illusions of a mind possessed by melancholy. They particularly criticized healing practices

¹⁰ Dóra Andrea Czégényi, “Boszorkányképzetek a 18. századi szilágysági periratokban” (The Image of the Witch in the 18th Century Court Protocols from Sălaj), in *Boszorkányok, varázslók és démonok*, pp. 192–193.

¹¹ Men denounced their female adversaries as thieves, drunkards, liars and occasionally also as witches. Bernard Capp, *When Gossip Meet: Women, Family, and Neighborhood in Early Modern England*, (Oxford, 2003), p. 230; Roper, *Witch Craze*, p. 41.

¹² Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England. A regional and Comparative Study*, (London, 2008), pp. 147–207. A very interesting, however quite challenging approach to this subject is to be found in Karen Jones’s studies. She considered witchcraft “a natural development of an already existing misogynistic attitude”, and the Early Modern witch hunt as an obvious deterioration in women’s position. Karen Jones, *Gender and Petty Crime in Late Medieval England. The Local Courts in Kent, 1460–1560*, (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 199.

¹³ Jim Sharpe, “Women, witchcraft and the legal process” in Jenny Kermode, Garthine Walker, *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England*, (London, 2005), pp. 119–120.

¹⁴ Dülmen, “Die Dienerin des Bösen”, pp. 397–398.

¹⁵ About the demanding work Reformation pretended from local authorities regarding the maintenance of public order see Jones, *Gender and Petty Crime*, p. 197.

based on magical knowledge, especially during epidemics, and condemned all midwives and all healers who used sorcery¹⁶.

The witch

We must mention that witchcraft is traditionally defined as female crime¹⁷, but the most recent works on the topic seem to be more careful with the gender label¹⁸. Historians talk now about gender-related and not gender-specific crimes, since there are more and more studies that discuss male witchcraft.¹⁹

Our sources support the traditional understanding of female crime, since the judicial records we analysed over the years talk exclusively about female witches. From the studied cases, in the 11 witchcraft trials from eighteenth-century Cluj (1711–1765), mostly old women, usually widows are accused of witchcraft²⁰. Except for a few cases, these women already had a bad reputation, had been cited by other courts from Transylvania, so they already had a criminal record²¹. At the same time, it is important to note that out of the 11 cases, 3 refer to foreign women who had been in town for some time, two of which were extremely poor. We have a case linking infanticide and witchcraft²², and three other cases that refer to deceased children, usually as a result of curses. Witchcraft and infanticide seem to be closely linked, on the one hand because they were committed almost exclusively by women, then because they generated identical fears at the collective level²³, having often a common actor, namely the midwife. The midwife appears to

¹⁶ Kristóf, “Boszorkányüldözés a kora újkori Magyarországon”, p. 31.

¹⁷ The typical female crimes include infanticide, witchcraft and slander. On the importance of the latter see: Castan Nicole, “Criminals”, in Natalie Zemon Davis, Arlette Farge (eds.), *A History of Women in the West*. vol. 3, (London, 1995), pp. 475–488.

¹⁸ Wolfgang Behringer, *Hexen. Glaube, Verfolgung, Vermarktung*. (München, 2000), pp. 28–29.

¹⁹ Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze. Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany*, (London, 2004), p. 26; Lara Apps, Andrew Gow, *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe*, (Manchester, 2003).

²⁰ Behringer, *Hexen*, p. 28.

²¹ The image of the drunken, deviant witch with previous criminal record is universal: *Hexenprozesse mit Todesurteil. Justizmorde der Zunftstadt Zürich*, Bearbeitet von Otto Sigg, (Zürich, 2012), p. 9.

²² There is a very interesting case of witchcraft in seventeenth-century Cluj, in which the defendant is specifically accused of killing a child. It was assumed that the woman used the internal organs of children to prepare medicine. *Kolozsvári boszorkánypercek, 1564–1743*. pp. 288–290. For similar Transylvanian cases see Czégényi, “Boszorkányképzetek a 18. századi szilágysági periratokban”, pp. 176, 199.

²³ Peter C. Hoffer, N. E. H. Hull, *Murdering Mothers: Infanticide in England and New England 1558–1803*, (New York, 1981), p. 56.

be the main and most controversial character of European trials²⁴, and this is explained by her presumed power over fertility, namely her knowledge of charms that were increasing or, on the contrary, inhibiting the ability to procreate²⁵. But we cannot speak in the case of Cluj of a massive presence of midwives, because only two of the convicts pursued this profession.

The first case of this century refers to a midwife who was accused by a citizen that she did not perform her medical duties properly. The trial of the widow Anna Sós lasted two years (1711-1713)²⁶, and it appears that she managed to escape any kind of punishment. Similar cases when defendants avoided severe sanctions are those of the widow Katalin Pál (1741. 06-07), and Suska Bíró (1741. 09)²⁷; the latter would be expelled from the city for curing a child's fracture. So even a gesture of goodwill, such as choosing the right healing methods, could awaken the suspicion of the population. 1741 seemed to be a busy year since we have another case, that of the widow Zsófia Katona (1741. 06-10)²⁸, who was summoned before the Court, like Katalin Pál, for deception. Katona would have to pay the damages she caused. There were, of course, cases that were solved with corporal punishment, such as that of Mária Illyés, who was convicted along with three other women accused of fornication. The last case of witchcraft, that of the widow Erzsébet Pap dates back to 1765²⁹. The woman was accused of poisoning, but the sentence given to her is unknown.

A special situation is that of Borka Vargha (1729-1730)³⁰, an impoverished widow who begged barefoot on the streets of Cluj. Vargha's trial would be prolonged for half a year, because in her case there was evidence of a criminal record outside the town. It seems that the woman was already in the attention of the Courts from Bistrița and Debrecen, and moreover, the investigation revealed the existence of two children, but at the time of Vargha's arrest they were no longer with their mother. This caused mistrust among the magistrates who suspected the woman of infanticide or child murder. The latter accusation was not maintained, but the woman was

²⁴ Some believe that the midwife-witch association is overstated. David Harley, "Historians as Demonologists: The Myth of the Midwife-Witch", in *The Journal for the Social History of Medicine*, vol. 3(1990),1: 1-26.

²⁵ In Italy a great majority of witchcraft accusations appeared in fertility-related cases. Roper, *Witch Craze*, pp. 26-27, 115-116.

²⁶ C.P. II/26:60, 62, 66, 84, 87, 89, 104-107.

²⁷ C.P. II/41: 41, 50; C.P. II/41: 60-61.

²⁸ C.P. II/41: 45, 67.

²⁹ C.P. II/40:72; C.P. II/49:27.

³⁰ C.P. II/33: 46. Fehér, "Investigating Infanticide in 18th-Century Cluj", in *Studia Universitatis "Babeș-Bolyai"*, *Historia*, vol. 59(2014),2: 57-58.

marked on the forehead with hot iron, a distinctive sign “offered” to thieves³¹.

The previously mentioned seven cases were solved with relatively light sentences; the accusations were quite varied, from deception, or malpractice to fornication. It is also important to note that out of these cases, three occurred in 1741. Thus, there were years of general panic, which usually coincided with periods of epidemics³². As we shall see, an accused from this year had failed to avoid capital punishment.

In the following we will present those witchcraft cases which contain severe accusations and are referring to occult practices, sometimes even making the association with the devil. We will start by presenting Erzsébet Székely (1724–1726)³³, a descendant of a witch family, who had already been sentenced to death in Mureş Seat with her mother and sister. Székely escaped from the arrest, then a few years later married and settled in Cluj, where she managed to live without raising suspicions among the citizens. But after a while her identity was revealed. Curiously, the initial accusations were that of slander, the trial being initiated by Székely herself against a man who accused her of witchcraft. To her misfortune, after extensive inquiries, justice turned against her. Although during her trial the investigation revealed some magic-related activity, the woman with her baby on her arms managed to avoid the death penalty³⁴. She received a year of imprisonment, after which she was expelled from town with her husband and minor child.

Erzsébet Ötves (1728–1729), Kata Kádár (1733–1734) and Judit Péntek (1741–1743) were less fortunate³⁵. The difference between Erzsébet Székely and the other three suspects, the reason why the former remained alive despite knowing and practicing magic, must be sought at the level of social action. Sometimes serious allegations could be neutralized by the positive

³¹ Although in England this stigma was generally used to punish sexual immorality (Kermode, Walker, *Women, Crime*, p. 31), in Transylvania it was associated with theft and sometimes debauchery.

³² Janka Kovács, “Nyomor, bűn és kiszolgáltatottság. Női szerepek a londoni “alvilágban” a 16–17. századi irodalmi források tükrében” (*Misery, Crime and Defenselessness. The Representations of the Female Criminal in 16–17th Century Popular Literature*), in Eadem, Zsófia Kökényesi, Viola Lászlófi (eds.), *A normán innen és túl* (*Beyond the Norm*), Budapest, 2017, p. 134.

³³ *C.P. II/31*: 53–56 (1725–1726).

³⁴ Fehér, “Women and the Death Penalty in 18th Century Cluj”, in Iulian Boldea (coord.), *Globalisation, Intercultural Dialogue and National Identity. Studies and Articles. Section History and Cultural Mentalities*. Vol. II, (Târgu-Mureş, 2015), p. 730; for female defense strategies see also Eadem, “Women, Crime and the Secular Court”, pp. 36–37.

³⁵ *C.P. II/33*: 6–8; *C.P. II/36*:3–4; *Kolozsvári boszorkányperek, 1564–1743*, pp. 326–353; *C.P. II/41*: 119–120.

statements of friends and neighbours, who "swore to the good character of the accused"³⁶. This young married woman, with a child, did not stir the antipathy of the citizens, whereas the other three, being of a considerable age, had a "dirty mouth", were "lascivious whores", and moreover, "displayed their intimate parts in public". They had caused their own problems, they deliberately fed the rumours about their presumed powers, arousing in this way deep fear among their neighbours³⁷. Given that these four trials also required a broader argumentation from the judges, and because Kádár's process was preserved entirely in the Széchényi National Library's manuscript collection, we are able to discuss issues regarding collective fears and mentalities. It is relatively easy to reconstitute from these descriptions the long journey of these women from the tower to the pile. In addition to this individual case, we will try to capitalize on all the information found in the Court Protocols in the already mentioned witchcraft accusations. We will first consider the inquiry of inquisition, the interrogation, and briefly discuss the contemporary perceptions on witchcraft, in the meantime trying to outline the defense strategies of the accused women.

The inquisition

The questionnaires used during the inquisition allow a two-dimensional analysis. On the one hand, we know the questions asked by the investigators, gathered in points, to which the witnesses had to respond one at a time; on the other hand testimonies of the interrogated persons are also available, who in their turn, through the information they provide when given an opportunity to express themselves freely, contribute to the understanding of the collective conceptions regarding the supernatural³⁸. The questions reflect the official perception of magic and witchcraft, but the answers still contain unique elements that help to access the common beliefs on this topic³⁹.

³⁶ Capp, *When Gossip Meet*, p. 58.

³⁷ About the dangers of this practice see Gábor Klaniczay, "Gyógyítók a magyarországi boszorkányperekben", in *Boszorkányok, varázslók és démonok*, pp. 278–279.

³⁸ In most cases these dialogues were overwritten by the scribes, and we have only small, however essential fragments of the actual statements. Winfried Schulze, "Zur Ergiebigkeit von Zeugenbefragungen und Verhören", in Idem (ed.), *Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte*, (Berlin, 1996), p. 320.

³⁹ According to Carlo Ginzburg the inquisition recorded exactly what the accused stated only in exceptional cases, when the legal authorities simply did not understand the confession of the interrogated people. Carlo Ginzburg, "Inquisitor or Anthropologist", in Idem, *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method*, trans. by Anne C. Tedeschi and John Tedeschi, (Baltimore, 1989), pp. 156–165.

From the questionnaires that were kept, it appears that the magistrates were primarily interested in finding out the kind of powers the accused possessed, and the circumstances under which these powers were used. It was equally important for the judges to determine if the interrogated persons had direct knowledge of the alleged powers (i.e. saw the witch in action), or had only heard others talking about these. It was also paramount to know whether someone heard the accused threaten others with her unnatural skills, and if so, whether she mentioned the diabolic nature of her wisdom. The judges also wanted to know if the accused possessed among others some unusual tools, and if they used them in their activity. Some of the questions were meant to exclude possible ill-intentions of witnesses, to show if they had personal reasons, grievances or other annoyances about the defendant. The Legislation (Tripartitum, P. II, T. 28) protected the accused, since those who were directly affected in the outcome of the trial theoretically had no right to assert anything, because their testimonies might have been deformed by hatred or fear⁴⁰. In terms of healing methods, the interrogation discussed also the type of herbs and balms used, and again the nature of the knowledge the witch possessed. Namely, if the woman earned her talent from the devil, or she invoked divine grace and support in her actions. We note that in Cluj there were only few questions asked, in Germany their number being somewhere between 30 and 100⁴¹.

The witnesses: accusations, conflicts and the social anger

It is difficult to reproduce the portrait of the witnesses because we do not have access to all trial documents, but we will try, however, based on Kádár's process (therefore without making general statements) to compile the profile of those who have testified. There are 47 statements, among which 29 had direct knowledge of Kádár's supernatural activity. Four names appear more frequently, 4 women who seemed to have had a major role in the spreading of stories⁴². Most of the persons harmed were between 31 and 40 years old (17 people), followed by the next generation, those between 41

⁴⁰ The law seems to be well-known, since we found references to it in Kata Kádár's trial. *Kolozsvári boszorkánypercek, 1564–1743*, p. 350.

⁴¹ Richard van Dülmen, *A rettenet színháza. Ítélezési gyakorlat és büntetőrituálék a kora újkorban* (Theater des Schreckens. Gerichtspraxis und Strafrituale in der frühen Neuzeit), (Budapest, 1990), pp. 27–28; Schulze, "Zur Ergiebigkeit von Zeugenbefragungen und Verhören", p. 320.

⁴² It seems that it was quite usual for witnesses to repeat the stories they heard, therefore many male testimonies are in fact a reinforcement of the female ones, since "many men giving evidence in witchcraft accusations simply repeated what their wives said or told them". James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England 1550–1750*, (London, 1996), p. 181.

and 50 years (12). Therefore, and also according to historians studying this phenomenon on a larger scale, the still fertile category was the most active⁴³. In terms of gender, of the 47 interrogated 62% were female, and the number of directly affected women was almost double (10 men, 17 women, 9 children). This high female percentage is also valid for other cases too, especially in those referring to midwives. Anna Sós and Erzsébet Ötves have both fallen prey to the anger of the relatives. While the first one avoided capital punishment because she was a talented midwife, the second would be an easy victim. Although 16 women confessed that they had a relatively mild birth with Ötves, 28 stood up against her⁴⁴. The explanation is again to be found at the level of human interactions. Ötves was temperamental, always seeking conflict, and was often dissatisfied with the payment she received, therefore she used to threaten her clients.

Kádár's trial reveals another type of conflict, the one between the beggar and the citizens. Vagrants, as shown by other studies, especially if they had an irritating personality, quickly became victims, because their presence always created anxiety and aroused suspicions among citizens⁴⁵. Kádár begged mostly for bread, cake, wine, fruit and meat, but she did not accept low-quality food. Most conflicts started from her insistence on receiving fresh and delicious meals. She spent most of her time begging around the gate Mănăștur, in the taverns, at the market, and the bakery. The woman changed her begging place very often, therefore she managed to make enemies in the entire town⁴⁶. We must underline that among the interrogated persons not all were hostile towards her. Of her 9 hosts 4 confessed in favour of Kádár, and we have a very favourable testimony pointing to the woman's piety, since it seems that she liked to quote from the Bible. Kádár often went to church, but again, caused some trouble, as with the incident when she quarrelled with another woman for a better place to hear the Sunday prayer. The answer she gave to Zsófia Kőmíves during their disagreement was used against her. Many recalled that the 61-year-old widow threatened her opponent saying: "My place is here, and yours in hell!⁴⁷" Sadly for Kádár, Kőmíves became paralyzed shortly after this conflict.

⁴³ Roper, *Witch Craze*, pp. 115–120.

⁴⁴ C.P. II/33. 7.

⁴⁵ Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England*, pp. 151, 158; Beier, "Vagrants and the Social Order in Elizabethan England", in *Past and Present*, vol. 64, nr. 7: 3–29.

⁴⁶ On the urban conflict zones between females see Castan Nicole, "Criminals", pp. 481–482.

⁴⁷ *Kolozsvári boszorkányperek, 1564–1743*, p. 344

Among the most frequently evoked physical affections presumably caused by the above-mentioned women were the swelling of the joints, hands, feet, and paralysis. Among nursing mothers there were problems with breastfeeding, infections of the breasts, and in the case of infants eating disturbances, and stiffness of the jaws. In some cases, evidence of the curse was more obvious and sometimes even tangible. We have four testimonies from Kádár's trial that refer to teeth or bites. All of this is limited to a single case of a woman from Bistrița who had a swollen leg, and who only recovered after a human tooth (presumably Kádár's) had been removed from her wound. All those who had testified evoke this story, perhaps fascinated by what they had heard, because in similar cases in Cluj, it was "only" eggshells, pieces of coal or bones that were extracted from the wound. According to the literature, teeth marks are all distinctive signs left or worn by those who are connected with the devil⁴⁸. In Erzsébet Székely's case the witnesses talked about a special power, namely she could curse and heal people by spitting. The majority of her victims experienced swellings of hands and feet, heart disease, and even blindness. Not to mention that among her victims was a doctor, too; thus, we cannot help thinking, in this particular case, of a conflict of interest⁴⁹.

But it was not these aforementioned complaints, these more or less severe physical pains and injuries that created problems, but the situations involving death. In Kádár's trial, 13 cases of death are mentioned, of which 9 were children. The children died from smallpox or diarrhea, the adults from long illnesses. Two people lost their lives during epidemics, and yet Kádár was the one blamed.

Signs of a curse could occur immediately, or a few days after the conflict with the witches. Children usually died 3–7 days after they quarrelled with the witch. Some of them, being only 2 or 3 years old, accused directly Kádár as the cause of their pain. How much could the judges rely on the words of those children, we do not know, but it is certain that their parents later spread the story. The same happened with the evangelical priest who died after being bitten by dogs 11 years before Kádár's trial. Based on what logic was his death also Kádár's fault, it is hard to explain, but it is observed that sometimes the community felt the need to solve mysterious stories on such occasions.

It seems that in the outcome of the witch trials the damage caused among cattle is less significant⁵⁰. In Kádár's case this issue was mentioned only 4 times, and more curiously, we have a case that refers to, and describes

⁴⁸ Sharpe, "Women, witchcraft and the legal process", p. 115; Roper, *Witch Craze*, p. 36.

⁴⁹ C.P. II/31. 54.

⁵⁰ Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 154.

the chant used by Kádár to give back one cow's milk⁵¹. But the use of harmful magic on farm animals is strongly emphasized in the case of Judit Péntek or Erzsébet Székely. Both aroused panic among the citizens because they had special power over animals, causing them temporary amnesia (they didn't find the way back home), and of course the two women were said to have the ability to steal the cow's milk.

In all proven witchcraft cases, there are some suspicious items, such as the empty bowl in which sorcerers collected morning-dew, or with which they walked through the herd, taking away the milk. This seems to be a rhetorical element that occurs in most of all solid witchcraft cases. Péntek was carrying jars made of bones for her balms, she still had a sheepskin and other suspicious instruments⁵². Much more distrustful seem to be the objects found on the midwife Erzsébet Ötvös, who possessed a human embryo fossil⁵³.

Another often evoked supernatural quality refers to the ability of the witches to duplicate or to transform themselves. Two people claim they were injured during sleep by Kádár turned into a wasp, and two others claimed that she had come out of a locked house or that she flew through the window, asking a woman for salt and coal, for it was cold. Several witnesses from Székely's case stated that the woman sometimes suddenly disappeared and reunited with her mother on the outskirts of the town or a few miles further. When asked about her disappearance she replied, "do not ask me where I was", suggesting that something bad had happened during her absence⁵⁴. As a result of the ability of self-duplication or animal metamorphoses the possibility of a double life emerges. Naturally, several witnesses have argued for example that Kata Kádár had already been burned in other towns. The defendant, of course, was trying to clarify the situation, but sometimes did exactly the opposite. Her answers varied from "I was not burned, but the wood", "It's not I who was burned on the pile, but the mare" to "Why are you crying, what if you were like the one who was burned once and still struggles in this world? The torment of this world will eventually

⁵¹ One of the women who testified against Kádár turned to the service of another young woman, Erzsók Pap, who knew some charms, and resolved the milk-issue. Pap was in fact the last woman brought before the judges in Cluj being accused of witchcraft. Luckily for her, the three decades between hers and Kádár's trial were enough to forget her contribution to the cattle-issue, since at the time she was summoned before the court, she was accused of poisoning her husband. It is very likely that if anyone had recalled that incident, she would not have escaped as easily.

⁵² C.P. II/41. 119.

⁵³ C.P. II/33. 7.

⁵⁴ C.P. II/31. 55.

end, but the torment of hell lasts forever”⁵⁵. Thus, these women, instead of denying their connection with the burned witches, often fuelled the suspicions.

But how did a witch manage to duplicate herself, to cause damage and illness, then to withdraw the charms? The answer seems to be in the very nature of the power she possessed, namely in the relationship between her and the devil. The midwife Ötves allied herself with the devil. Eight people accused her and called her a witch. Kádár, in turn, was described as “the devil’s instrument”, who allied with the devil against the “honest citizens of Cluj”. Péntek did not escape this accusation either, in the eyes of her accusers she was the “devil’s disciple”. Much more interesting seems to be the case of the freed witch, since this is the only situation when we read about collective witchcraft. In the Székely family all females possessed some common abilities, such as self-duplication, the ability to fly, and of course the power to cause and cure diseases, therefore the connection with the devil seemed to be proven in their case. Moreover, they wanted to recruit other women in their *army*, but the way the Székelys made these proposals is unfortunately not revealed to us. Despite the further mentioned accusations, and the six unfavourable testimonies, Székely managed to avoid the death sentence here in Cluj, most probably because of the numerous positive confessions of citizens, and due to her “exemplary” behaviour.

We would also like to present some of the attempts of these women to justify and distance themselves from the accusations. From the few data we have, we distinguished two kinds of attitudes: a pessimistic-defensive and an aggressive one. The aggressive one can be reconstituted from the testimonies of the damaged parties. The accused women tried to induce fear, they were turbulent and disordered persons, and this role, that of a dreaded woman, seemed to suit them. They oftentimes fell victims to their own rhetoric and deviant behaviour. For example, Erzsébet Ötves threatened pregnant females and their relatives that if she was not called to birth, then the child would suffer various accidents. If the child got ill, the parents interpreted the words spoken in the heat of the quarrel as curses. Similarly, Kata Kádár, in an attempt to get what she wanted, did not resort to threats, saying “just wait and see, because you would give me food if you could.” Of course, sometimes desperate people begged for the mercy of these women, who usually reacted in the wrong way, and instead of helping them, they nattered and rubbed in matters from the past. Some refused to help, claiming that the diseases or injuries were not caused by them, “it was not their work”.

⁵⁵ *Kolozsvári boszorkánypercek, 1564–1743*, pp. 341, 331, 334, 338.

Kádár seems to put her finger on the wound by saying "as soon as your child's ass hurts, you jump to conclusions and suspect the witch"⁵⁶. Sometimes, out of fear, rather than goodwill, they would try to say chants in order to remove spells. The chance of success, however bizarre it sounds, was a significant one. Several people said that after the intervention of the witch, they recovered in minimal time, usually within a few hours.

The defensive-pessimistic attitude appeared usually during arrest. All the women subsequently sentenced to death anticipated their end. Erzsébet Székely, after her relationship with the women executed in Mureş was revealed, complained: "I will escape, for I will not be burned like my mother". Erzsébet Ötves also predicted her death, but in her case the fear of death would be repulsed in aggression, and she threatened her accusers that if she must die, then "another 10 or 12 should follow". Kata Kádár dressed in clean clothes waiting for the moment of arrest. Although she seemed resigned, she rebelled. One of her supposed victims came to visit her in the tower to ask for her healing, but the old woman refused to help: "I do not heal, that I know I must die, why won't you suffer too" or "I have not been a healer until now, but I see that I will have to die because of your words"⁵⁷.

The execution

The longest processes are those which involve witchcraft, because this type of offense was extremely difficult to prove, the trials were prolonged for many years and became extremely expensive⁵⁸. Curiously, these long trials favoured precisely the case of the defendants, namely a statistical analysis of trials held in Cluj points out that out of the 89 witchcraft trials between 1564-1765, only 20 resulted in capital punishment, 18 by burning and 2 by drowning⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 337.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 336.

⁵⁸ Reinhard Heydenreuter, *Kriminalgeschichte Bayerns*, (Regensburg, 2008), pp. 113-114, 125.

⁵⁹ *Kolozsvári boszorkánypercek, 1564-1743*. In spite of the large number of female convictions in Cluj during the 18th century, we know only about eight cases that resulted in the most severe penalty, namely capital punishment. It is also extremely important to note that death sentences were given mostly in the first half of the century, since after that sentences of exile, or life-imprisonment became more common. Fehér, "Women and the Death Penalty", pp. 704-715.

If the death penalty could not be avoided the executioner entered the stage⁶⁰. Executioners in Cluj were usually part of the Rom ethnic group⁶¹; they did not work alone, always had some disciples, who helped not only with the executions but in preparing the location of executions or assisting at torture⁶². Interrogations and corporal punishments were normally executed in the tower, since this was the place where the inculpated were incarcerated. The conditions in the tower, and not just in Cluj, were really bad, since the seriously ill, as well as pregnant women, or minors were exempt from imprisonment. Erzsébet Székely, pregnant by the time of her first arrest, was not held in prison in Mureş, but investigated in freedom – an imprudent gesture, as it turned out later. Thus, the tower is where these women were waiting for their end, subjected to interrogations and sometimes to torture⁶³. In opposition to public executions, torture was not a public event, and the number of participants was minimized: usually one of the judges, two members of the magistrate, the town's scribe and sometimes the town's physician. Since the executioner was familiar with the needs of a tortured body, therefore the presence of a medical authority was not necessary⁶⁴. The executioner was the one who pronounced on the state of the defendant, about the graduations of pain that his or her body could bear. Torture was not used in this century, as one believes, to collect testimonies –

⁶⁰ The executioner was a marginalized and stigmatized person, avoided by the community, despite the fact that he received considerable incomes. (Attila Pandula, *Kivégzés, tortúra és megszégyenítés a régi Magyarországon* (Executions, Torture and Humiliation in Old Hungary), Eger, 1989, pp. 29–30.) In the last decades many historians searched for archives to prove that the image of the marginal, ignorant executioner was not the same in all times and places. Roper, *Witch Craze*, p. 56.

⁶¹ We have information on their activity in Cluj dating back to the fifteenth century, since they were the ones who dealt with the sanitation of the town.

⁶² András Kiss, "Kádár Kata megégetése. "Böjtelői colosvári spektakulum" 1734-ben" (Burning Kata Kádár. A Carnival Spectacle from Cluj, 1734), in *Rubicon*, 2012/1: 40.

⁶³ Dülmen, *A rettenet színháza*, pp. 20–21.

⁶⁴ In the eighteenth century, society started to follow with great interest the activity of executioners, recognizing their knowledge on the human body. (Albrecht Keller, *Der Scharfrichter in der deutschen Kulturgeschichte*, (Bonn-Leipzig, 1921), p. 224; Helmut Schuhmann, *Der Scharfrichter. Seine Gestalt – seine Funktion*, (Kempten, 1964), p. 215.) Therefore, some of them have been able to study and then practice medicine, such as the one mentioned in Count László Székely's diary from his journey to Vienna. He recorded the case of the local executioner, who after fulfilling 100 executions was made a physician (medical rank) by Maria Theresa, and he was allowed to practice his new profession, just as his son, who was no more obliged to work as a hangman. *Gróf Székely László Önéletírása* (The Autobiography of Count László Székely), ed. Andrea Fehér, (Budapest–Kolozsvár, 2019), p. 193.

it was usually applied after the person had already confessed⁶⁵. In the case of Cluj, the use of torture is mentioned every time together with the death sentence (not before), and with a different function for each situation. In Ötves's case accomplices were sought, and in Kádár's, it was presumed that after being tortured, the woman would heal those she cursed. We believe that in her case torture was meant to calm down the spirits of the citizens, who needed this gesture in order to be released from their pains, since just the thought that the witch's spells were revoked was enough for them to recover surprisingly fast.

The specific execution for witchcraft was burning, but the sentence usually altered, since in the eighteenth century the condemned were first decapitated and then burned⁶⁶. Burning has been essential in this type of process, especially at a symbolic level. Fire stands for the victory of light over the darkness, of the divine over the evil. Fire, of course, symbolizes the heat of hell too, thus in contemporary perception these people were already beginning their atonement⁶⁷.

As it emerges from the town accounts, in Kádár's case a considerable amount of money was spent during the interrogations⁶⁸. After the death sentence was given, other expenses appeared; we learn that among the services of the executioner the preparation of the location required the skills of a carpenter too. The pile was built outside of town, since in Cluj death sentences were executed always near the Nádas brook⁶⁹. The preparations for a witch burning were significantly fewer than those in a German city, for example⁷⁰. While Germans used wood tar and pitch, hay and straw in order to accelerate the burning, the stake from Cluj was a minimalist one, composed only of planks and wood. This could be explained by the fact that in the eighteenth century, the jury from Cluj used to ease death sentences, burning the convicted only after beheading them⁷¹.

Among the expenses the most curious one seems to remain the "money given for courage". Thus, despite the fact that citizens of this century and especially executioners were accustomed to public executions, to the

⁶⁵ This is rooted in the Constitution Criminalis Carolina, one of the best-known legal collections, which invalidated testimonies made under torture. Dülmen, *A rettenet színháza*, p. 29.

⁶⁶ *Hexenprozesse mit Todesurteil*, pp. 7-8; Roper, *Witch Craze*, p. 65.

⁶⁷ Dülmen, "Die Dienerin des Bösen", p. 397.

⁶⁸ *Kolozsvári boszorkányperek, 1564-1743*, p. 352.

⁶⁹ Kiss, "Kádár Kata megégetése", p. 40.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

⁷¹ Fehér, "Women and the Death Penalty", pp. 732-733, 735.

image and smell of tortured, beheaded or burned bodies, the executioner needed alcohol to have courage to fulfill his obligations. It was equally important for the hangman and for the convicted to act calm in order not to generate panic. The executioners needed the forgiveness of the convicted, since many studies suggest that they actually feared that the witch would come back and haunt them. Otherwise it was not unusual for the jury and executioners (and the condemned) to attend festive meals before or after executions⁷², as happened also in Cluj. We know from the expenses that not only the executioner, but also the town's scribe and the judges present at the execution went and drank four cups of wine.

The Legal Background

Regarding the legal argumentation of the verdicts, the Court Protocols did not mention any specific law on witchcraft, and it is very difficult to identify the legal basis on which the sentences were made. We only know that the above-mentioned three cases were resolved "according to the custom" by burning, as in most cases of female crime. We came to conclude that in Cluj the law was only occasionally quoted in the eighteenth century, the judges usually preferred to argument their decisions making references to the customary law⁷³.

The first decrees against Transylvanian witchcraft date back to the sixteenth century. The Diet of Turda (1568) asked for the investigation of all those "who were good with charms"⁷⁴. In the next decade, the synod of the Transylvanian Lutherans (1577) predicted death for all those who "walked with magic" (both white and black)⁷⁵. In the Transylvanian conception, charms, witchcraft were criminal acts, and therefore they were punished with death. In these cases, death sentences were justified by articles from the *Tripartitum* or the *Approbatae Constitutiones*. In the second half of the seventeenth century, *Praxis Criminalis* (art. LX.) identified three types of magical activities, and required various methods of execution on each. The most severe death penalty, that of burning, was imposed for witchcraft cases

⁷² Roper, *Witch Craze*, p. 65; Dülmen, *A rettenet színháza*, pp. 79–80.

⁷³ About the importance of customary law see Barna Mezey, "Szokásjog és szokás határán: jogszokások" (At the Border between Customary Law and Customs), in Teodóra Janka Nagy, Barna Mezey (ed.), *Jogi néprajz – jogi kultúrtörténet. Tanulmányok a jogtudományok, néprajztudományok és történettudományok köréből* (Legal Ethnography and the Cultural history of Law. Studies in Law, Ethnography, and History), (Budapest, 2010), pp. 13–25.

⁷⁴ *Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek* (Transylvanian Law Collection), ed. by Sándor Szilágyi, (Buda, 1876), vol. II, pp. 341–343.

⁷⁵ Sz. Kristóf, "Boszorkányüldözés a kora újkori Magyarországon", p. 29.

when the physical relationship between the witch and the devil was proved, i.e. when the woman possessed evil powers that caused the deaths of human beings or animals. Decapitation had been used especially in cases of *miraculous* healings that did not cause extreme damage. Finally, there was also the expulsion verdict for those who only “walked with magic”. Due to the Enlightenment the situation within the Habsburg Monarchy would change radically. Maria Teresa, influenced by the physician Gerard van Swieten, began to issue decrees (since 1750) against torture and witchcraft⁷⁶. Moreover, she would demand all cases of witchcraft to be presented to the Court in Vienna, in order to redress the “excess of zeal of the popular trials”⁷⁷; which sparked widespread waves of dissatisfaction among the population. After 1768 special laws emerged, based on which four categories of magic-related activities were distinguished. A clear distinction would be made between simple deceptions, which had previously been associated with supernatural talent. In cases of deception, the damage caused had to be paid, just as it happened in Cluj in the case of Katona in 1741. The second category regarded mental disturbances. It was accepted that some sensitive people with a rich imagination could imagine different things, such as conversations with evil spirits, thus their place was not in prison, but in the hospital. However, it was still thought that some people could engage in occult practices, and these cases were still considered dangerous, and, as a rule, were sanctioned with severe physical punishment, expulsion or, in critical cases, burning. But all these cases, however, had to be presented to the Court in Vienna⁷⁸. Joseph II continued the rationalization of the legal system, particularly influenced by Cesare Beccaria’s essay on crime and punishment (*Dei delitti e delle pene*), as well as the ideas of another great Austrian physician, Joseph von Sonnenfels. Thus, the changes in the legal system legal at the end of the century is due to the collaboration between the monarchs and the medical elite, who have shifted the perception of witchcraft from a criminal level to a medical one⁷⁹. Torture and death sentences were erased by Josephian laws, just as the right of free royal towns to apply capital punishments⁸⁰.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 40–41.

⁷⁷ Péter Tóth G., “A mágia dekriminalizációja és a babonaellenes küzdelem Magyarországon és Erdélyben, 1740–1848” (*Decriminalization of Magic and the Struggle against Superstition, 1740–1848*), in *Boszorkányok, varázslók és démonok*, pp. 69–70.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 72; Heydenreuter, *Kriminalgeschichte Bayerns*, pp. 128–129.

⁷⁹ Fehér, “Investigating Infanticide in 18th-Century Cluj”, pp. 64–65.

⁸⁰ Tóth, “A mágia dekriminalizációja”, p. 79.

Closing remarks

Our Court Protocols, even if only partially preserved, turn out to be an excellent source for narrative interpretations. The inquisitions contain a great amount of female narratives, but we have to pay attention to the fact that the length of their discourse, or their argumentation is preserved (sometimes overwritten or rephrased) by male scribes⁸¹.

Part of the aim of this research was to discuss on the one hand the official discourse on witchcraft (the questionnaires), on the other, the fears and hopes of those who believed in the existence of the supernatural (answers of the witnesses), but mostly the way these were described. Trial documents talk about the norms and values of a certain community, codes of behaviour, but they reveal mostly how thin the line between accepted and divergent conduct was. Some would be executed for using spells, others on the contrary, could be celebrated for breaking the curse. Both actions required the same type of knowledge, therefore the question is how, but mostly why could the same deed be interpreted in opposite ways. We think that the answer lies on the level of human interactions, since “deviant [in our case *witch*] is one to whom the label has been successfully applied”⁸². We came to conclude that witchcraft in this century was first of all a gender issue⁸³, not only because all our witches were female, but because the majority of the cases talk about female conflicts and interests⁸⁴.

⁸¹ In some cases, not only did they overwrite but also forcibly transformed the narratives into what they wanted to hear, as it happened with the good witches of Ginzburg (*benandanti*). István Szijártó, “Italian microhistory”, in Sigurdur Gylfi Magnússon, István Szijártó, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice*. London, 2013, p. 21. Not to mention that habits of record-keeping varied over the period, and from scribe to scribe. Fehér, “Crossing Gender Boundaries”, pp. 17–19.

⁸² Jörg Rogge, “Introduction”, in idem (ed.), *Recounting Deviance. Forms and practices of presenting divergent behaviour in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, (Bielefeld, 2016), p. 13.

⁸³ We wish to underline that our conclusions for the eighteenth century are not valid for previous centuries, as shown by the studies of László Pakó, who investigates these phenomena from another perspective. The detailed analysis of the biography of the best-known lawyer in Cluj proves that witch-trials were not always a consequence of female conflicts, but a good way to gain social and material satisfaction. László Pakó, “A korrupt boszorkányüldöző. Igyártó György prókatori tevékenységéről” (The Corrupt Witch-hunter. On the Advocatorial Career of György Igyártó) in *Erdélyi Múzeum* vol. 73(2011), 3–4: 93–103.

⁸⁴ Capp, *When Gossip Meet*, p. 283.

I primi borsisti a Roma della nuova Università di Cluj: George Mateescu e Emil Panaitescu

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Abstract: One of the priorities of Cluj University after its inauguration in the autumn of 1919 was the endowment with teachers and their specialization. If some of the teachers were from Transylvania, another part came from the kingdom of Romania in order to help create university specialities in Cluj. Vasile Pârvan was the most important teacher who came to Cluj, but he also brought with him his collaborators from the University of Bucharest. For the study of ancient history, he brought George Mateescu and Emil Panaitescu. Immediately after the inauguration of the courses at the University of Cluj, Pârvan founded in Rome a highly specialized school, the Romanian School in Rome, whose director became. Among the first members of the School he also brought to Rome his two disciples from Cluj, which he specialized in techniques and research methodologies in the history of Antiquity. The two scholars, Mateescu and Panaitescu, will become directors of the Romanian School in Rome after the death of Pârvan and will coordinate new and new specialists from Cluj, Bucharest, Iași and Cernăuți, the institution in Rome becoming the main provider of humanist intellectuals for the Romania of the following decades.

Keywords: University, Transylvania, Cluj, Rome, Romanian School, Vasile Pârvan

Rezumat: *Primii bursieri la Roma ai noii Universități din Cluj: George Mateescu și Emil Panaitescu.* Una dintre prioritățile Universității din Cluj după inaugurarea sa, în toamna anului 1919, a fost dotarea cu profesori de rang universitar și specializarea acestora în străinătate. Dacă unii dintre profesori erau din Transilvania, o altă parte venea din regatul României pentru a ajuta la crearea de specialități universitare inexistente la Cluj până atunci. Vasile Pârvan a fost cel mai important profesor care a venit la Cluj, dar și-a adus cu el și colaboratorii săi de la Universitatea din București. Pentru studiul istoriei antice i-a adus pe George Mateescu și Emil Panaitescu. Imediat după inaugurarea cursurilor la Universitatea

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din Cluj, Pârvan a fondat la Roma o școală înalt specializată, Școala Română din Roma, al cărei director a devenit. Printre primii membri ai Școlii i-a adus și la Roma pe cei doi discipoli ai săi din Cluj, pe care i-a pus să se instruiască în tehnici și metodologii de cercetare specifice istoriei antice. Cei doi savanți, Mateescu și Panaitescu, vor deveni directorii Școlii Române din Roma după moartea lui Pârvan și vor coordona în specialitate noi și noi specialiști din Cluj, București, Iași și Cernăuți. Instituția din Roma va deveni principalul furnizor de intelectuali umaniști pentru România în următoarele decenii.

Cuvinte cheie: Universitate, Transilvania, Cluj, Școala Română din Roma, Vasile Pârvan

La Scuola romana di Roma oppure l'Accademia di Romania in Roma fu una delle istituzioni di specializzazione post-universitaria più importanti del regno romeno nel periodo che va dal 1922 (anno della fondazione) sino alla chiusura decisa dalle autorità comuniste di Bucarest nel 1948. Un veritabile laboratorio intellettuale, la Scuola romana di Roma, insieme colla Scuola romana di Parigi costituivano, in terra straniera, le punte di diamante pensate dall'*intelighentsia* romana per poter facilitare agli studenti di una Romania unita di usufruire delle ricchezze scientifiche e metodologiche delle università ed accademie occidentali.

Il destino della Scuola Romana di Roma¹ è intrinsecamente legato a quello dell'Università di Cluj, fondata nel 1919. Il protagonista dell'apertura istituzionale dell'università romana a Cluj² fu lo stesso fondatore della Scuola Romana di Roma: Vasile Pârvan (1882-1927)³. Basta ricordare poi che, nel secondo dopoguerra, i più importanti rettori dell'Università di Cluj, città diventata poi Cluj-Napoca, furono allievi in diverse generazioni della Scuola romana di Roma: Constantin Daicoviciu e Ștefan Pascu.

L'Università romana di Cluj, che apriva i suoi corsi nell'autunno del 1919 in condizioni abbastanza difficili⁴ dal punto di vista del personale

¹ Veronica Turcuș, *Școala Română din Roma (1922-1947)*, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2016), passim.

² Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Vasile Pârvan, fondatore spirituale dell'Università romana di Cluj*, "Ephemeris Dacoromana", Roma, XV(2013): 15-18.

³ Veronica Turcuș, *Vasile Pârvan și Școala Română din Roma*, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2016), pp. 11-88.

⁴ "erano veicolate apertamente, dopo il raggiungimento della Grande Unità Nazionale, idee poco lusinghiere relative alla capacità della nazione romana di organizzare la vita accademica e di costituire a Cluj una struttura universitaria valorosa. La domanda che spesso ricorreva in quel periodo era: "Com'è possibile che i romeni, così fatalisti come sono, privi di istruzione, incolti e nati per rimanere

didattico, aveva un corpo docente che proveniva in proporzione consistente dal Vecchio Regno (Vechiul regat), cioè dalla Romania che risultò dopo l'unificazione del 1859 ed i successivi momenti che scandirono l'aggregazione della Dobrugia e del Cadrilatero. Certamente aveva sin dall'inizio molti docenti transilvani che fino al 1918 erano dispersi sia nell'Austro-Ungheria (Vienna, Budapesta etc.) sia insegnavano in Romania, ma le ambizioni della nuova università romena non potevano essere soddisfatte solo con un numero confinato di docenti con esperienza. Vista l'esigenza di poter aprire tante direzioni scientifiche e di ricerca, e fare lezioni che siano utili e pari ai programmi didattici delle università di Bucarest o Iași, fu incoraggiata un' affluenza di giovani docenti che provenivano dalle università sopramenzionate o avevano fatto tirocini nelle rispettive istituzioni dopo che avevano ottenute delle lauree in università occidentali.

Tali esempi furono, nel caso della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cluj, Emil Panaitescu (1885-1958) e George G. Mateescu (1892-1929), emuli di Vasile Pârvan. Entrambi venivano a Cluj pieni di entusiasmo, quel entusiasmo fecondo che caratterizza i giovani docenti in procinto di salire i gradini di una futuro accademico. Essendo specializzati in storia antica i giovani docenti Panaitescu e Mateescu avevano maturato l'idea del loro trasferimento a Cluj anche col pensiero alle ricche possibilità che offriva la Transilvania romena dal punto di vista delle scoperte archeologiche. Ma per raggiungere un certo livello di esperienza in un campo in cui la Romania aveva un leader come Pârvan, ma non una squadra numerosa, bisognava investire nei giovani docenti e ricercatori con degli stages di specializzazione in contesti culturali e accademici in cui l'archeologia era a casa sua: Roma. Infatti questa propensione verso le novità scientifiche e la specializzazione delle nuove leve fu il connubio che assicurò all'Università di Cluj la sua solidità accademica nel periodo fra le due guerre.

La fondazione di istituzioni di cultura romena nei centri "latini" dell'Europa (Roma e Parigi in primis) corrispondeva alla politica culturale sviluppata dallo stato romeno dopo la realizzazione della Grande Romania: imperniata sul filone della latinità e dell'origine romana, essa rivendicava anche su questo piano un suo posto tra le nazioni del Vecchio Continente.

*per sempre degli sudditi, organizzino e amministrino l'educazione e la ricerca universitaria?". Vasile Pârvan è venuto a Cluj, passando dalla natia Moldavia per Bucarest, con un messaggio generalmente umano, per dirci fortemente che questo è possibile proprio a Cluj, grazie al grande organismo nazionale che era l'Università della Dacia Superiore. In due decenni - e in alcuni campi di attività anche più presto - con sforzi congiunti la fondazione accademica del 1919 è diventata un modello di università centrale europea, anticipatrice nella ricerca e nella creazione, molte volte a livello mondiale *. Ioan-Aurel Pop, op.cit., p. 18.*

Fondate istituzionalmente nel 1920, le Scuole romene di Roma e Parigi erano rivolte allo studio della storia e della filologia dei popoli romanzi, alla ricerca negli archivi e nelle biblioteche e alla promozione dell'arte, con una particolare attenzione a quelle discipline che non erano ancora insegnate nelle università romene. Per ragioni amministrative e burocratiche non fu possibile inaugurare i due istituti entro il 1921 come si era voluto. I direttori delle due scuole, Vasile Pârvan di Roma e Nicolae Iorga di Parigi, furono nominati il 24 di ottobre 1921 su indicazione dell'Accademia romana⁵.

La Scuola romana di Roma fu inaugurata il 1 di novembre 1922 in una struttura provvisoria (un appartamento tipico per l'alta borghesia romana con una metratura consistente) anche se lo stato romeno aveva già ottenuto nel gennaio dello stesso anno la concessione (teoricamente perpetua) di un terreno a Valle Giulia per costruirvi a spese proprie un palazzo idoneo per le attività di ricerca e studio. La Scuola romana di Roma, nel suo primo regolamento di funzionamento inseriva la clausola che essa "*si occupa in particolar modo di ricerche e di scavi archeologici in Italia e nei paesi mediterranei*" ciò che determinò Vasile Pârvan di istituire un programma coerente di ricerca per l'archeologia, gli archivi, l'architettura e le belle arti, seguendo il modello francese funzionante presso le scuole francesi di Roma e Atene⁶.

Vasile Pârvan era all'apice della sua carriera accademica e dopo aver contribuito alla apertura istituzionale dell'Università di Cluj si accingeva ad un progetto che poteva portare la Romania unificata nella galleria degli stati europei con alta qualificazione scientifica ed universitaria, paritari con qualunque altro stato occidentale nel campo accademico. Per poter portare in avanti questo suo ambizioso progetto bisognava trovare i caratteri forti e dediti, capaci di lasciarsi guidati nel labirinto della ricerca, soprattutto archeologica. È inutile negare che, nella fase più felice della sua creazione, Pârvan era interamente assorbito dalla ricerca nel campo dell'antichistica⁷ ed e quindi spiegabile che la scelta sui borsisti che dovevano fare il loro soggiorno di studio presso la Scuola romana di Roma cadeva prevalentemente sugli archeologi.

La Scuola di Roma inaugurò la sua attività con una sola sezione, quella archeologico-storica. I primi borsisti furono quattro: Alexandru Marcu, George G. Mateescu, Paul Nicorescu ed Emil Panaitescu. I futuri alunni furono proposti dai consigli delle quattro università romene di Bucarest, Cernăuți, Cluj e Iași. In seguito, alla selezione finale, Vasile Pârvan proponeva

⁵ Veronica Turcuș, Mihai Bărbulescu, Iulian Mihai Damian, *Accademia di Romania in Roma, 1922-2012*, (Roma, 2012), p. 8.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

⁷ Anche se aveva già dato in precedenza prove scientifiche da bravo medievista.

per la prima serie un numero di sei alluni (Paul Nicorescu, George Mateescu, Claudiu Percec, Cezar Papacostea, Al. Dem. Marcu ed Emil Panaitescu)⁸. Ma in una prima tappa furono vagliate le proposte presentate da Bucarest (Marcu e Nicorescu) e Cluj (Mateescu e Panaitescu). Nel 1923 a questo gruppo di borsisti si aggiunsero altri tre (Alexandru Busuiuceanu, Ștefan Bezdechi e Claudiu Isopescu).

Uno sguardo indietro sulla prima generazione di borsisti mette subito in risalto che le preferenze di Pârvan andavano nella direzione dei giovani specializzandi in archeologia, Mateescu, Nicorescu e Panaitescu essendo già archeologi alle prime armi, mentre Marcu era l'unico che andava nella direzione degli studi umanistici specie del campo letterario e storico.

Gli storici dell'antichità e gli archeologi formatisi alla scuola di Pârvan dovevano anzitutto perfezionarsi occupandosi non solo della classicità greco-romana, ma anche dallo studio del mondo traco-dacico e delle popolazioni sud-danubiane. Concepito negli anni precedenti la Prima Guerra Mondiale, questo suo ampio progetto veniva ora ripreso in un nuovo contesto: la carta archeologica dello spazio romeno e la sua parte nella *Forma Imperii Romani*. Durante la direzione di Pârvan (dal 1921 al 1927) 25 borsisti ebbero il privilegio di averlo come relatore scientifico: 13 di essi si specializzarono in protostoria, storia dell'antichità, archeologia, epigrafia, topografia e filologia classica, 9 in scienze ausiliarie della storia e 3 in storia dell'arte. Come direttore, Pârvan stabiliva i temi di studio per ogni anno accademico assegnando inizialmente una ricerca generica da presentare alla fine del primo anno di studio e poi una ricerca più originale a coronamento del soggiorno presso la Scuola; inoltre Pârvan orientava le tinere leve della scienza storica romena nelle istituzioni romane e "vaticane" sia universitarie od accademiche, sia culturali. Pârvan aveva ottimi rapporti d'amicizia con i migliori specialisti italiani o "vaticani" che metteva, con generosità, in modo corrente alla disposizione dei suoi alluni.

Si intravede subito, da quello sopradetto, che Pârvan aveva scelto col cuore la prima generazione di borsisti dividendosi fra le due università dove insegnava: Bucarest e Cluj. Probabilmente la giustificazione era piuttosto burocratica che di altro tipo. Ma la scelta di Cluj era chiara: venivano dalla nuova università due archeologi, e qui l'intenzione è ovvia: Pârvan desiderava crescere rapidamente degli specialisti capaci di far valere il grande potenziale archeologico della Transilvania in un contesto politico-culturale nuovo, in

⁸ Vedi la lettera di Vasile Pârvan del 3 settembre 1922 indirizzata al Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, *Vasile Pârvan. Corespondență și acte*, ediție îngrijită de Alexandru Zub, (București: Editura Minerva, 1973), pp. 235-236.

cui la romanità dei romeni e soprattutto la continuità non potevano più essere messe a bando.

La scelta del Pârvan cade a Cluj su George Mateescu e Emil Panaitescu. Una scelta giustificata dal fatto che entrambi erano laureati all'università di Bucarest, ma docenti di fresca nomina all'università di Cluj.

George G. Mateescu era un discepolo di Pârvan, uno degli specialisti in storia antica formatosi all'università bucarestina, che furono dopo la guerra "esportati" sia a Cluj che a Iași⁹. Nato nel 1892 a Giurgiu, Mateescu compie brillantemente gli studi ginnasiali al liceo "Santi Pietro e Paolo" di Ploiești, dov'è stato costantemente il primo alunno come meriti scolastici. Segue poi i corsi della Facoltà di Lettere di Bucarest dove il fascino di Pârvan lo determina di frequentare i corsi di storia antica. Colpito dalla sagacità di questo suo studente, nel secondo anno universitario il giovane Mateescu fu scelto di seguire il suo maestro al cantiere archeologico di Ulmetum per acquisire le tecniche primarie in campo archeologico e capire come si organizza un cantiere *in situ*. Nell'estate del 1914, G. G. Mateescu partecipò sotto la guida di Pârvan alla prima campagna di scavi al cantiere di Histria. Già da quel momento, anche se in modo molto schematico, si precisa nel giovane studioso un interesse per il mondo dei traci, che scelse anche come specializzazione. universitaria Nell'autunno del 1914, G. G. Mateescu si laureo *magna cum laude*, davanti ad una commissione composta di nomi sonori della storiografia romena come V. Pârvan, N. Iorga e G. Murnu. Subito dopo Pârvan lo prende come assistente onorario al Museo Nazionale delle Antichità¹⁰, e lo coinvolgerà nella campagna di scavi a Tomi, alla ricerca del muro della città antica, nei primi mesi del 1915. Nell'estate dello stesso anno il giovane archeologo, già dottorando in lettere, si trova nel cantiere archeologico di Callatis e poi, insieme con D. M. Teodorescu, come suo assistente partecipa a delle campagne di scavi nel distretto di Durostor, dove scavarono le mura di una fortificazione bizantina (vicino Chiose-Aidin), e furono identificate le stazioni della via romana Silistra-Turtucaia (Durostorum-Transmarisca)¹¹. In seguito Mateescu pubblica i risultati di questa campagna insieme con V. Pârvan, D. M. Teodorescu e Ion Andrieșescu, nel "Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice pe anul 1915" (p. 179-217)¹². Segue poi

⁹ Per uno sguardo di insieme sulla vita ed attività di G. G. Mateescu, vedi V. Turcuș, *George G. Mateescu (1892-1929) director al Școlii Române din Roma. Viața și opera, passim*.

¹⁰ Vasile Pârvan. *Correspondență și acte*, p. 168.

¹¹ *Raport asupra activității Muzeului Național de Antichități în cursul anului 1915, înaintat domnului Ministru al Instrucțiunii și Cultelor de directorul Muzeului*, (București: Tip. C. Göbl, 1916), pp. 5-10.

¹² *Cercetări arheologice între Silistra și Turtucaia în iulie-octomvrie 1915. Raport special nr. 8*, scritto insieme con D. M. Teodorescu. Vedi *Raport asupra activității Muzeului Național de Antichități*, pp. 46-51.

un'articolo di epigrafia *Tomi-Oescus* (su una iscrizione inedita riguardo la *Legio V Macedonica*), stampato nel "Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice" dello stesso anno e poi un altro nel 1916, *Cercetări cu privire la traci: A. Emendațiuni la CIL (Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum)*, dove offriva una nuova lettura a 14 epigrafe in relazione ai traci¹³.

A partire dal ottobre 1916 Mateescu viene nominato assistente con pieno titolo presso Museo Nazionale delle Antichità dove funziona fino al 1919 quando si trasferisce a Cluj, colto dall'entusiasmo che animava i giovani studiosi dopo la formazione della Grande Romania. A Cluj inizialmente vince una cattedra di docente al Liceo "George Barițiu" (1919-1926), attivando però anche presso il Seminario Pedagogico Universitario, dove funzionerà tutta la vita¹⁴. Dal 1920, G. G. Mateescu sarà poi assunto come assistente presso l'Istituto Archeologico dell'Università di nuova fondazione, il futuro Istituto di Studi Classici di Cluj. Da questa posizione universitaria, il Consiglio della Facoltà di Lettere dell'Università di Cluj raccomanderà Mateescu nel 1921 come borsista della Scuola di Roma, certamente dopo aver avuto il *placet* del suo mentor, Vasile Pârvan¹⁵.

Durante gli anni romani G. G. Mateescu, si perfezionò come specialista in archeologia con un indirizzo molto chiaro: la storia dei traci¹⁶. Il giovane archeologo segue a Roma i corsi ed i seminari dei professori Giuseppe Cardinali e Federico Halbherr, docenti di epigrafia e antichità romane e greche presso l'Università di Roma, e dei professori I. Beloch e Ettore Pais¹⁷, grandi specialisti nel campo della storia greca e romana. Giuseppe Cardinali apprezzò in modo particolare il giovane Mateescu, coinvolgendolo nella stesura del grande *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane De Ruggiero*, dove fu pubblicato il suo contributo sulla divinità tracia *Jambadules*¹⁸. Conseguenza immediata degli sforzi di Mateescu nel campo della storia dei traci furono gli studi

¹³ "Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice", 1916, 9, pp. 29-40.

¹⁴ D. M. Teodorescu, *Omagiul Institutului de Studii Clasice [la moartea lui G. G. Mateescu]*, "Societatea de Măine", Cluj, 6(1929),111: 187.

¹⁵ La richiesta di G. G. Mateescu per una borsa alla Scuola Romana di Roma nell'autunno del 1921 in *Serviciul Județea al Arhivelor Naționale Cluj, Fond Univ. din Cluj, Fac. de Lit., doc. nr. 221-1921/22*. Raccomandato dal Consiglio professorale il 30 novembre 1921, approvato dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione il 4 gennaio 1922. Idem, doc. nr. 229-1921/22.

¹⁶ Vasile Pârvan indicava chiaramente la specializzazione di G. G. Mateescu a Roma: lo studio "răspândirii elementului tracic în întregul Imperiu roman". Vedi il rapporto di Vasile Pârvan sull'attività della Scuola nell'anno 1922-23, "Academia Română. Anale. Ședințele din 1922-23", tom. XLIII: 111-113.

¹⁷ Ettore Pais (1856-1939), professore di epigrafia all'Università di Roma (1906-1931) e direttore del Museo di Archeologia di Roma.

¹⁸ *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane*. Vol. IV, (Roma, 1924), pp. 2-3.

pubblicati nell'annuario della Scuola di Roma, *I Traci nelle epigrafi di Roma*¹⁹ e *Nomi traci nel territorio scito-sarmatico*²⁰, e poi la sintesi *Granița de apus a tracilor (Contribuțiuni toponomastice și epigrafice)*, stampata nel "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională" nel 1924²¹. Un altro progetto importante che Mateescu iniziò durante gli anni di specializzazione romana, su consiglio di Vasile Pârvan, fu *Onomasticon Thracicum*, un grande repertorio di nomi traci, personali e geografici. Il lavoro doveva essere pubblicato come primo numero della Biblioteca della Scuola romana di Roma, ma non fu finalizzato per colpa della scomparsa di Pârvan nel 1927 e di Mateescu nel 1929.²² Al suo ritorno in Romania, nel 1925, Mateescu comincia una campagna di scavi nella zona di Caransebeș, nel castro romano di Jupa e poi nell'anno seguente si sposta in un altro cantiere a Slava-Rusă vicino Babadag, dove scopre una fortificazione romana importante che sopravvisse nel periodo dei secoli III-IV.

Nel 1926 G. G. Mateescu diventa professore associato supplente di epigrafia e storia antica alla Facoltà di Lettere di Cluj inaugurando il suo corso il 20 aprile 1926, con una lezione intitolata *Epigrafie sau studiul inscripțiilor*²³. Nel giugno 1927 supera l'esame di docenza sempre alla Facoltà di Lettere di Cluj con due lezioni su *Monumentum Ancyranum* e *Contribuție epigrafică la istoria regelui Byrebistas*, pubblicate nel "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională"²⁴. G. G. Mateescu partecipò in questo periodo anche alle conferenze dell'Università popolare di Vălenii-de-Munte organizzata da Nicolae Iorga

¹⁹ "Ephemeris Dacoromana", (Roma, 1923), 1, pp. 57-290.

²⁰ "Ephemeris Dacoromana", (Roma, 1924), 2, pp. 223-238.

²¹ "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională", 3(1924-1925): 377-491.

²² V. Pârvan, *Raport asupra activității Școlii Române din Roma în anul 1923-24*, "Academia Română. Anale. Ședințele din 1923-24", tom. XLIV: 131-136. *Ibidem*, 168-170. Nella prefazione del terzo volume dell'Annuario "Ephemeris Dacoromana", Pârvan annunciava con soddisfazione il debutto della collezione *Biblioteca* della Scuola di Roma con la sintesi sulla storia dei traci: "Un'altra parola ancora, intorno alla *Biblioteca*, cioè alla collezione di grandi monografie indipendenti, della Scuola, sul tipo della ben nota *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, biblioteca prevista come obbligatoria dal regolamento stesso della Scuola Romana di Roma: sono in preparazione alcuni volumi; ma la data di quando questi saranno pronti oltrepassa i nostri immediati provvedimenti, date le difficoltà della vita, con cui debbono lottare, come tutti oggi anche i Soci della nostra Scuola, ricchissimi di entusiasmo per la scienza, ma altrettanto poveri di mezzi materiali. Un primo volume di questa biblioteca può essere però annunciato fin d'adesso; è l'*Onomasticon Thracicum*, intorno al quale lavora da più anni con indefessa alacrità il sig. G. G. Mateescu". V. Pârvan, *Prefazione*, "Ephemeris Dacoromana", Roma, 1925, 3, p. V-VI. Inoltre nell'ultimo anno della sua vita, 1929, G. G. Mateescu, che era direttore della Scuola, si concentrò sulla finalizzazione del lavoro, rimasto purtroppo in manoscritto.

²³ Pubblicata in "Societatea de Măine" nello stesso anno, estratto Cluj, Tip. Societatea de Măine, 1926, 16 p.

²⁴ "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională", 4(1926-27): 311-336.

ed alla cosiddetta *Estensione universitaria* sostenendo conferenze sui *Traci* in diversi centri urbani transilvani.

Il nome di Mateescu come discepolo preferito di Pârvan (anche se Pârvan era abbastanza riservato sulle sue simpatie) circolava nei circoli storici dopo il suo ritorno da Roma così che non ci si meraviglia che dopo la morte di Vasile Pârvan, nell'estate del 1927, l'Accademia Romana raccomandava G. G. Mateescu, su proposta di Nicolae Iorga, come direttore della Scuola Romana di Roma. Nel periodo in cui fu direttore della Scuola, Mateescu continuò il progetto di Pârvan, di collaborazione intensa ed attiva con le istituzioni scientifiche e le personalità di rilievo nel campo storico, archeologico ed epigrafico. Si nota il suo contributo all' *Enciclopedia Italiana*, in seguito all'invito rivoltagli da G. de Sanctis, con una serie di voci (*Apollonia di Tracia*, *Apulum*), stampate nel terzo volume di quest'opera (Roma, 1929)²⁵. Nel mese di aprile 1928 partecipa come relatore al Congresso di Studi Romani con un contributo sulla storia dei traci *I primi rapporti fra Roma e le popolazioni trace*²⁶, ed in seguito, al Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche di Oslo, nello stesso anno presenta una relazione in italiano sulla *Perpetuazione della popolazione trace in Macedonia imperiale romana*.

La salute cagionevole di Mateescu sopravvinse alla fine e purtroppo George G. Mateescu morì giovane, per colpa di una malattia il 7 giugno 1929, lasciando numerosi progetti incompiuti sia scientifici, che didattici. Gli succedette, come direttore, dopo un breve periodo di *interimato* il suo comilitone della Scuola Romana di Roma, Emil Panaitescu.

Nella prima generazione dei borsisti della Scuola romana di Roma si distingue la figura di Emil Panaitescu, colui che sarà il direttore più longevo dell'insediamento romeno a Roma. Discepolo di Pârvan a sua volta, ha seguito le orme del suo maestro nel suo curriculum essendo presente uno stage postuniversitario in Germania.

Nato il 11 febbraio 1885 a Cudalbi, nel distretto di Galați, segue gli studi secondari a Galați e poi l'Università di Bucarest tra 1905-1908. Debuttò con un ciclo di recensioni nel periodico "Viața Românească" nel 1906, segnalando e commentando saggi storici di Dimitre Onciul, Nicolae Dobrescu, Paul Lindenberg, Louis Eisenmann e J. De Witte. Diventa collaboratore della rivista "Convorbiri Literare", dove negli anni 1906-1908 pubblica recensioni, cronache e brevi articoli culturali. Si cimenta in questa ultima collaborazione

²⁵ Vedi *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*. Pubblicata sotto l'alto patronato di S. M. il Re d'Italia, vol. III, AMMO-ARBI, (Milano-Roma, Istituto Giovanni Treccani, Bestetti & Tumminelli, 1929), pp. 683-684, 787-788.

²⁶ La relazione fu sostenuta il 25 aprile 1928 e viene pubblicata in "Historia", Milano-Roma, 7(1929), 1: 3-28.

così che anche nel 1916 pubblica qui una recensione ed un'articolo su Georg Loeschke²⁷. Nel periodo della specializzazione in Germania ed Austro-Ungheria tenne al corrente il pubblico delle "Convorbiri Literare"²⁸ con gli ultimi avvenimenti editoriali tedeschi soprattutto di Leipzig, presentando "Byzantinische Zeitschrift", e scrive articoli informativi sul sistema universitario tedesco.

Durante la Prima Guerra Mondiale, Emil Panaitescu segue il governo romeno in rifugio a Iași. Alla fine dell'anno 1917 e inizio del 1918, sempre a Iași, Panaitescu si annovera tra gli uomini di cultura che appoggia senza riserve le iniziative della Corona Romana per sopportare l'esercito romeno sul fronte della guerra. Si trattava di un progetto della regina Maria di fondare una collana di libri per l'esercito ed un calendario per l'anno 1918, con la speranza che il nuovo anno sarà uno migliore che quello che stava per esaurirsi. Nelle sue memorie *Povestea vieții mele*²⁹, regina Maria racconta come l'iniziativa della pubblicazione del calendario era già presa dal ottobre 1917, da un comitato composto dal professore Panaitescu, il pittore Stoica, il generale Găvănescu ed il bibliotecario del re, Kirileanu. Malgrado le difficoltà della guerra il calendario fu stampato prima del Natale 1917 grazie al coinvolgimento di Emil Panaitescu³⁰. Dopo il ritorno a Bucarest, nel 1918, la regina Maria accordò al professor Panaitescu la concessione di riunire gli articoli scritti durante la guerra per i soldati romeni in un volume intitolato *Gânduri și icoane din vremea războiului*, stampato a cura sempre di Emil Panaitescu a Sibiu nello stesso anno. Il libro fu il primo volume pubblicato da un romeno del Vecchio Regno in una tipografia della Transilvania³¹. În questo contesto nazionale con sfumature culturali si può leggere l'arrivo di Emil Panaitescu a Cluj, nel 1919 per contribuire all'apertura della Facoltà di Lettere della nuova Università di questa città. Accanto a Vasile Pârvan che teneva come supplente a Cluj il corso di storia antica, essendo titolare a Bucarest, Emil Panaitescu fu nominato professore associato titolare di corsi di storia greca, teorie politiche e sociali nel mondo antico, e facendo seminari di epigrafia antica con speciale riguardo alla antica Dacia³². Da questa posizione professionale fu raccomandato come borsista presso la Scuola Romana di Roma.

²⁷ E. Panaitescu, *Georg Loeschke*, "Convorbiri Literare", 50(1916), 1: 67-69.

²⁸ Vedi rivista "Convorbiri Literare" degli anni 1910-1911.

²⁹ Maria, Regina României, *Povestea vieții mele*. În românește de Margărita Miller-Verghy. Vol. III, Ed. Adevărul, pp. 327-418.

³⁰ D. Braharu, M. S. *Regele Carol II și cercetașii din Războiul pentru întregirea neamului. Note pe marginea calendarului "Regina Maria" 1918*, "Gazeta Ilustrată", Cluj, 7(1938), 11-12: 114.

³¹ Em. Panaitescu, *Marie, reine de Roumanie*, "Revue de Transylvanie", 4(1938), 3-4: 176.

³² "Anuarul Universității din Cluj", 1(1919-20): 31.

Il periodo trascorso a Roma sarà pure per Panaitescu decisivo per lo sviluppo della sua carriera. L'intera sua attività d'ora in poi sarà segnata dallo studio della storia romana della Dacia e della Colonna Traiana. Su indicazione di Pârvan, Panaitescu seguirà una specializzazione in topografia antica³³, acquisendo esperienza durante lo stage romano con le ricerche fatte nella città di Fidenae vicino Roma³⁴. In seguito agli accordi di collaborazione con la *British School of Rome* ha usufruito, insieme a Paul Nicorescu, dalla benevolenza e dalla erudizione del direttore, Thomas Ashby, specialista în topografia antica, che ha indirizzato in due giovani studiosi romeni verso le ricerche topografiche sulla Via Appia Antica³⁵. La partecipazione di Panaitescu alle gite della Scuola ed ai diversi scavi vicino Roma o a Pompei ed in Sicilia hanno contribuito alla diversificazione della metodologia di ricerca archeologica che Panaitescu impegnò poi, al ritorno in Romania nello studio dei siti archeologici della Dacia romana³⁶. Nell'estate del 1925 comincia gli scavi nel castro romano di Brețcu³⁷, poi a Căței³⁸, inquadrando le ricerche degli scavi nel tema più largo del *limes* dacico. Infatti questo è stato il soggetto della sua relazione presentata nel agosto 1928 al VI Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche di Oslo³⁹. Il problema dei castris romani in Dacia sarà toccato poi in una serie di articoli pubblicati all'estero, che informavano sui progressi dei scavi archeologici eseguiti in Transilvania⁴⁰.

³³ V. Pârvan, *Raport asupra activității Școlii Române din Roma în anul 1922-23*, "Academia Română. Anale. Ședințele din 1922-1923", tom. XLIII: 111-113.

³⁴ Il risultato della ricerca fu pubblicato nel secondo volume dell'annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma. E. Panaitescu, *Fidenae. Studio storico-topografico*, "Ephemeris Dacoromana", Roma, 2(1924): 416-159 (24 fig., 2 hărți); estratto, Roma, Libreria di Scienze e Lettere, 1924, 44 p.

³⁵ V. Pârvan, *Raport asupra activității Școlii Române din Roma în anul 1923-24*, "Academia Română. Anale. Ședințele din 1923-1924", tom. XLIV: 131-136.

³⁶ E. Panaitescu, *Probleme și metode arheologice în Dacia Superior*, "Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania", Cluj, 1(1926-1928): III-XII.

³⁷ Vedi V. Pârvan, *Raport asupra lucrărilor arheologice din România, făcute în ultimul an de săpături (1925)* în Vasile Pârvan. *Corespondență și acte*, pp. 277-278.

³⁸ E. Panaitescu, *Castrul roman de la Căței. Din cercetările nouă (1929)*, "Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania", 2(1929): 321-342.

³⁹ Idem, *Le limes dacique. Nouvelles fouilles et nouveaux résultats*, "Bulletin de la Section Historique. Académie Roumaine", (Bucarest, 1929), 15, pp. 73-82; "Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand din Cluj pe anul școlar 1927/29", 1929, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Idem, *Săpături arheologice în Transilvania, în Transilvania, Banatul, Crișana, Maramureșul. 1918-1928*. Vol. I, (București: Tip. Cultura Națională, 1929), pp. 11-19; Idem, *Neuere Ausgrabungen in Dacia superior (Siebenbürgen)*, în *Bericht über die Hundert-jahrfeier des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 21-25 April 1929*, (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1930), pp. 300-302; Idem, *Castra Daciae*, în *Atti del 2 Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani*. Vol. I, (Roma, Paolo Cremonese editore, 1931), pp. 171-174; Idem, *Monumente inedite din Lărgiana*, "Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania", 3(1930-1931): 81-116.

Come socio del Comitato della società "Associazione Internazionale degli Studi Mediterranei"⁴¹, Emil Panaitecu informava il pubblico italiano sulla situazione della archeologia romana in România⁴².

Dopo il ritorno in Romania verso la fine del 1924, Emil Panaitecu ha difeso la sua tesi di dottorato nel febbraio 1925 con un soggetto che riguardava la città antica di Fidene⁴³, e nel febbraio 1925 diventa ordinario presso la Cattedra di Storia antica dell'Università transilvana fondata di Vasile Pârvan⁴⁴. In tale veste ha formato nel suo Seminario di storia antica i futuri specialisti Octavian Floca, Mihail Macrea, Nicolae Lascu etc., appoggiati negli anni trenta quando dirigeva la Scuola romana di Roma per diventare borsisti nella *Urbs* per antonomasia⁴⁵.

Un'altra direzione di ricerca indicata da Vasile Pârvan a Emil Panaitecu mentre soggiornava a Roma era lo studio delle rappresentazioni dei barbari traci e daci nell'arte greca e romana.⁴⁶ Come risultato di tale indirizzo di ricerca Panaitecu elaborò l'articolo *Il ritratto di Decebal*, pubblicato nel primo numero dell'Annuario della Scuola di Roma, con riferimento alle rappresentazioni del re daco nell'arte imperiale romana soprattutto nelle metope della Colonna Traiana⁴⁷. L'interesse di Panaitecu per un soggetto di tale portata era precedente alla partenza per Roma, un primo risultato avendo come titolo *Coloana lui Traian în lumina noilor cercetări*, articolo pubblicato nel 1920 nella "Revista istorică" di Iorga⁴⁸.

Negli anni del soggiorno romano Panaitecu si impegnò anche nella pubblicazione di articoli che esaltavano le origini latine del popolo romeno e della sua evoluzione storica sotto l'insegna della discendenza romana. Questo fu il soggetto dell'articolo pubblicato nel 1923 in "L'Europa Orientale", volume dedicato alla Romania, intitolato *Latinità e Cristianesimo nell'evoluzione*

⁴¹ Pierre Sergesco, *L'Université de Cluj et ses relations avec l'étranger*, "Revue de Transylvanie", 10(1944), 3-4: 41.

⁴² E. Panaitecu, *Archeologia romana in Romania*, "Bollettino dell'Associazione Internazionale degli Studi Mediterranei", Roma, 1(1930): 12-13.

⁴³ "Anuarul Universității din Cluj pe anul școlar 1924-25", p. 103; S.J.A.N. Cluj, Fond Univ. din Cluj, Fac. de Lit., dosar prof. E. Panaitecu, nr. 155, f. 2-5; doc. nr. 258-1924/25.

⁴⁴ Idem, doc. nr. 104-1925/26, f. 7; nr. 171-1925/26, f. 1-3; nr. 214/i-1925/26; dosar prof. E. Panaitecu, nr. 155, f. 16v, 17.

⁴⁵ "Anuarul Universității din Cluj pe anii școlari 1925/26 și 1926/27", p. 172; 1930-31, pp. 28, 34-35.

⁴⁶ V. Pârvan, *Raport asupra activității Școlii Române din Roma în anii 1922-23*, pp. 111-113.

⁴⁷ E. Panaitecu, *Il ritratto di Decebal*, "Ephemeris Dacoromana", 1(1923): 387-413 (13 fig., 1 pl.).

⁴⁸ "Revista istorică", 6(1920), 10-12: 235-243.

storica del popolo romeno, e dell'articolo pubblicato in "La Nuova Antologia", *La frontiera orientale della Latinità: la Romania e la Bessarabia*⁴⁹.

Dopo la morte di George G. Mateescu, tenendo in considerazione il fatto che la carica di direttore della Scuola Romana di Roma era vacante, Panaitescu cominciò a fare pressioni sia accademiche che soprattutto politiche per la sua nomina a direttore. Ci riuscì e per 11 anni fu direttore della Scuola. Del suo nome si lega il periodo di massimo splendore della Scuola (sia scientifico, che amministrativo) lui riuscendo a finalizzare anche il trasferimento nella sede odierna.

Dopo il periodo in cui fu direttore della Scuola Romana di Roma, che si chiuse nel 1940, durante la Seconda Guerra Mondiale Emil Panaitescu restò a Roma, in missione diplomatica come consigliere della Legazione romana presso la Santa Sede. In seguito ai cambiamenti politici del 1945 scelse l'esilio. Muore a Roma il 20 febbraio 1958.

Bisogna qui ricordare che sia Mateescu che Panaitescu hanno usufruito, durante il periodo formativo romano, di alcune agevolazioni scientifiche e metodologiche che Pârvan mise a loro disposizione con grande generosità con l'unico scopo di poter fargli rapidamente crescere come specialisti. Per esempio, nel primo anno del soggiorno romano, 1922-1923, la prima generazione di borsisti, malgrado le scarse risorse finanziarie, ha fatto una visita molto minuziosa agli scavi di Ostia, sotto la guida di Giuseppe Lugli, segretario permanente della Scuola e poi delle gite scolastiche a Napoli e Pompei guidate da Pârvan. Malgrado gli scavi di Pompei erano chiusi al pubblico, attraverso la benevolenza di Matteo della Corte, l'ispettore degli scavi archeologici, Pârvan ottiene l'ingresso e spiegazioni sui nuovi metodi di lavoro in situ nell'area archeologica di Pompei⁵⁰. Nell'anno accademico 1923-1924, i borsisti della Scuola approfittando dalla gentilezza di Guido Calza, direttore degli scavi di Ostia, hanno fatto una nuova visita nel cantiere archeologico. Infatti, Calza ha scelto la sede della Scuola per presentare, in una conferenza del 17 maggio 1924, le nuove scoperte di Ostia valorizzando così la Scuola romana ed i suoi alunni. La gita a Pompei fu rinnovata anche nel 1924, mentre Panaitescu e Mateescu hanno beneficiato di una gita in Sicilia sotto la guida del prof. G. Q. Giglioli, direttore del Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia. Nel periodo in cui Mateescu e Panaitescu usufruirono delle loro borse a Roma, a loro vantaggio, Vasile Pârvan inizia e realizza contatti

⁴⁹ E. Panaitescu, *La frontiera orientale della Latinità: la Romania e la Bessarabia*, "La Nuova Antologia", Roma, 1924, vol. 315, 16 sept., pp. 150-165; estratto, Roma, Direzione della Nuova Antologia, 1924, 18 p., 7 pl.

⁵⁰ Il rapporto di Vasile Pârvan sul primo anno di attività della Scuola Romana di Roma, "Academia Română. Anale. Şedinţele din 1922-1923", ser. II, tom. XLIII: 111-113.

di collaborazione con le altre scuole straniere di Roma sia per lo sviluppo della metodologia di ricerca che per la formazione di squadre scientifiche miste. Nella fattispecie Emil Panaitescu fu incluso in un programma della *British School of Rome* per le misurazioni topografiche su Via Appia Antica nella zona dei Monti Albani. Fece squadra con il segretario Lugli e con il direttore della *British School*, Thomas Ashby. Ashby tenne una conferenza alla Scuola Romana, il 1 marzo 1924, dedicata al *Sistema stradale nelle periferie di Roma*. In questo contesto Panaitescu ha avuto la possibilità di poter utilizzare del materiale inedito dello scienziato inglese che gli permise di inserirlo nei suoi articoli⁵¹.

Vasile Pârvan che ha dato, con la sua presenza all'Università di Cluj, a partire dal 1919, un contributo fondamentale al prestigio della nuova istituzione romana di insegnamento universitario in uno contesto territoriale in cui i romeni non hanno avuto fin'allora nessuna possibilità di crescere nella loro lingua, non solo ha inescato la fiamma della romenità accademica ma l'ha esportata, e dove? li dove ha cominciato la genesi del popolo romeno, a Roma. Ha fatto in modo tale che dalla seconda università dove insegnava, portasse a Roma dei giovani docenti per poter forgiare caratteri universitari forti di conoscenze e metodologie, capaci di dialogare con il mondo scientifico europeo. Entrambe le sue scelte, sia Mateescu che Panaitescu sono stati capaci di seguire la scia del loro maestro con delle sfumature diverse. Se Mateescu avesse vissuto a lungo forse avrebbe raggiunto e superato la fama del suo maestro, Pârvan. Nel caso di Panaitescu, invece le sue doti amministrative e relazionali hanno trasformato la Scuola Romana di Roma/Accademia di Romania in uno dei centri di eccellenza del mondo scientifico romeno e principale fornitore di vocazioni universitarie nel campo umanistico romeno. Gli ideali, le idee e le loro conferme durante le ricerche coordinate a Roma sia da Pârvan, che da Mateescu e Panaitescu sono diventati, da quasi 100 anni, l'architrave dello spirito accademico romeno nella sua dimensione latinofila.

⁵¹ V. Pârvan, *Raport asupra activității Școalei Române din Roma în anul 1923-1924*, "Academia Română. Anale. Ședințele din 1923-1924", tom. XLIV: 131-136.

Valeriu Lucian Bologa and the Birth of the History of Medicine and Medical Folklore Chair at Cluj University

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Abstract: This article is making a summary of Valeriu Lucian Bologa's work in the field of medical folklore, as a subfield of research set right at the foundation of the University in Cluj-Napoca in 1919 in the frame of the Faculty of Medicine, one of the first four faculties that were initially forming the Superior Dacia University. During the interwar years he brought his contribution to the field through numerous articles of popularization where his main idea was that of verifying through pharmaceutical means the empirical folk healing methods.

Keywords: medical folklore, university, magic, healing practices, education

Rezumat: *Valeriu Lucian Bologa și crearea Catedrei de Istoria medicinei și folclor medical la Universitatea din Cluj* Articolul prezent face un rezumat al muncii profesorului Valeriu Lucian Bologa în domeniul folclorului medical ca subdomeniu de cercetare apărut chiar la fondarea Universității din Cluj în 1919 în cadrul Facultății de Medicină, una din cele patru facultăți care formau inițial Universitatea "Daciei Superioare". În perioada interbelică el și-a adus contribuția în acest domeniu prin numeroase articole de popularizare în care ideea principală era aceea de a verifica metodele populare de vindecare prin mijloace farmaceutice.

Cuvinte-cheie: folclor medical, universitate, magie, practici vindecătoare, educație

The situation of Valeriu Lucian Bologa is a classic case of a 'man of his time'. As he remembers in the volume *Rememorări sentimentale*¹, (the preface is signed in 1970): "Historical events get sometimes a special meaning when they are remembered even from the small perspective of the ordinary man who passed them through. The flickers of a flame kept

¹ Valeriu Lucian Bologa, *Rememorări sentimentale*, (București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1995), p. 9. (t.n.)

incandescent in the aged soul can give revealing blaze to the young who find out of the big events only from scholar historical books. They evoke the ardent living of a generation... And the certitude of the Great Union was molded into our souls." And he continues in the same key few pages later:" Our *offered* generation was made by fate to be the one that when the big mystery of passing from boy to man, when the mind starts to understand what is happening around it, to enter the epoch of inner preparation to fulfill the secret wishes of the forefathers. And this was exactly the big favour to us: we lived those times fully *aware*".²

In a short biographical note, we should mention that Valeriu Lucian Bologa was born at November 26th, 1892 in Braşov having origins in a "family of free peasants from Marpod, Sibiu County"³ from his father side and he was also nephew (from sister) to the great linguist Sextil Puşcariu. He made his primary education in Paris and Leipzig and the high school in Wien and Braşov as his mother travelled a lot and took him everywhere, she went, doing this also as a strategy to make the child learn the main languages spoken in Transylvania and the languages needed for a scholarly career. He graduated the faculty of Natural Sciences in Leipzig and then attended courses at the Faculty of Medicine in Jena. As the war burst out, he was sent to the front in Italy. After the war he continued his medical studies at the Romanian Faculty of Medicine in Cluj. He was hired as budgetary *preparator* at the Chair of Histology on the basis of his studies in natural sciences done before the war. As he was witness in a conflict that appeared between a senior and a junior member of that chair, he made a choice in resigning from his job. Consequently, he continued his career by transferring to the Chair of history of medicine and medical folklore. This chair (that has many times lost from its title the phrase *medical folklore*) has been organized right from the beginning when the University of Superior Dacia was founded in the autumn of 1919. The members in the Commission of Organization were: Victor Babeş, Gheorghe Marinescu, Mihail Manicatide, Iuliu Moldovan and Iuliu Haţieganu. The first professors of this new-founded faculty were especially well-known personalities, invited from the universities in Iasi, Bucharest, Paris or Lyon. The holder of the new chair of history of medicine and medical folklore was Jules Guiart, considered to be the founder of the education in history of medicine in Romania if we make abstraction from the works in the same field of doctor Victor Gomoiu from Bucharest who did not enjoy the same recognition at that time. Further on, the phrase *medical*

² *Ibidem*, p.13.

³ Szamuel Iszak, Sandu Bologa, *Evocare monografică*, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Miracolul Cuvântului, 1995), passim.

folklore in the title of the chair and also Valeriu Lucian Bologa's preoccupations in this direction are owed to professor Jules Guiart. Advised and also pushed forward by Sextil Pușcariu and Emil Racoviță precisely for his encyclopedic spirit doubled by the knowledge of many foreign languages, Valeriu Lucian Bologa became the assistant of Jules Guiart at the mentioned chair. Here he worked especially on topics of history of medicine in a classical style – such as works about who were the first physicians in Transylvania, the Macedo-Romanian physicians and the great personality of Ioan Molnar Piuariu -, and he let himself 'corrupted' by the interest Jules Guiart had for the French medical folklore (he was an assiduously researcher of medical folklore in Bretagne area in France) and tried to do the same with the Romanian medical folklore. We see it in the conferences he lectured at the universities in the country and some cultural societies: The Romanian Women's Group, The Society of Assistants and Medical Preparators, 'Astra' Society or The Ethnographic Society led by Romulus Vuia as also in few articles published in prestigious journals of the moment.

In 1932 he was named professor of History of Medicine and also director at the Institute of History of Medicine, Pharmacy and Medical Folklore. The topics of his courses in connection with the medical folklore included: *the physician and medicine in legends and linguistic monuments; primitive therapy; Romanian folk medicine; the real therapeutic element in Romanian folk medicine; the passage from folk medicine to scientific medicine; the evolution of primitive medicine towards scientific medicine, history of civilization and history of medicine.*

During 1949-1971, Valeriu Lucian Bologa was the president of the International Society for History of Medicine, and in 1971 he was a laureate of the National Medicine Academy in Paris. He coordinated initially with professor Jules Guiart, the Medical-Historical Library (works of the members of the Institute of History of Medicine, Pharmacy and Medical Folklore) and supervised PH.D. dissertations in the same directions of research. He even made a bibliography of the Ph.D. thesis defended at the university with topics of history of medicine and medical folklore. He was endowed with Romanian Academy Adamachi prize for the work *The Beginnings of Romanian Scientific Medicine* in 1931 and the State prize of Popular Republic of Romania for the work *Contributions to the History of Medicine in Popular Republic of Romania* in 1957. He died in 1971 in Cluj-Napoca.

His articles that make a special reference to the field of medical folklore have few pages and seem to have more of a popularization role as we can notice it from their titles: *The therapeutic value of some practices in the*

old women's medicine in "Mișcarea medicală română. Revistă lunară de medicină generală, 1933; 'The spoiled flowers' of the folk medicine in the light of science in "Revista de obstetrică, ginecologie și puericultură", 1926; *Eugenesie, Charms, old women, midwives, today and in old times, and Browsing yellowed files. The beginnings of the fight against venereal diseases* in "Revista sănătății" 1921; *Fear of Hospital* in Revista sănătății 1922; *The history of variolization and vaccination in the Countries inhabited by Romanians* in Revista științelor Medicale, București, 1929; *Organes et humeurs dans la médecine populaire roumaine* in "Comuniques Knoll pour Medecins" 1931; and *The purpose of the medical folklore and ethnobotanics researches* as the Preface to George Bujoreanu's book: *Illnesses, remedies and curing plants known by Romanian peasantry*, 1936.

All these articles made of Valeriu Lucian Bologna a historian of medicine who evolved from a fervent critic and less understanding person with the old women's medicine towards a historian of medicine who tried to dissect like a naturalist what he considered to be efficient in empirical medical practices. According to this perspective he focused mainly on remedies belonging to the vegetal, animal or mineral kingdoms.

The same feature of the 'simple man' - *conservatorism* - is treated by Valeriu Lucian Bologna differently in 1922 and 1936: 'Conservatorism is a typical feature for man, especially for the simple man. Hardly an idea reaches to the masses; and if it got roots, it is almost impossible to stop it even if it is obsolete and became irrational' in *Fear of Hospital*, 1922, and... 'people's medicine is extremely conservative. It maintains elements of old times scientific medicine that the modern science has long forgotten. Studying these elements is precious to the medical-historian because with their help he can reconstitute sometimes chapters forgotten from old medical science. More interesting it though that the physician' check with scientific methods the fair parts that have real value in folk medicine and to reintroduce them into scholarly medicine.' in the preface to the book *Illnesses, remedies and curing plants...*, 1936. He also brought here an idea that has been conflictual even nowadays regarding the relation between the patient and the doctor: 'A soul connection between physician and peasant will be better made only when the physician in the village will know to enter better in the medical thinking of the peasant, will know how to speak from the medical point in his language. A synthesis between scientific medicine and what is good in folk medicine can be a precious factor in the great work of popularization of hygiene and state medicine'. We notice here one of the stakes: going along the hygiene trend, the first 'battle front' in medicalizing Romanian society.

In his article regarding the 'spoiled flowers' as we see, keeping the folk denomination for menstruation, he is making a demonstration in a 'toxicological' key of the phenomenon: during menstruation women' skin is secreting substances called menotoxins that have effect upon fermentation.⁴

The antivariola vaccination practiced empirically in Ardeal and Banat is stirring his interest, and he is not the only one if we think at his collaboration with Iosif Ursan in writing the article or to the manuscript of another famous doctor, Gheorghe Crăiniceanu, who also described both the practice and origin of this type of vaccination.⁵

In *Charms, old women, midwives, today and in old times*, we have a short gender demonstration where the physician, certainly a man, has to fight with the irrational women, especially in the case of birth: 'one of the young physicians illuminated by the sun of the western medical science seems to have been at 1800s Ignatie Farkas in Elisabetopole *master surgeon and obstetrician*. And it seems that he was a man with a warm heart, enthusiastic and wishful of good things. In 1803 he writes in German a booklet of 16 pages where he makes a harsh indictment to the midwives of those times. Farkas complains that in the villages there are no learnt midwives and consequently women give birth alone, cared for only by the neighbouring old women. The help offered are mostly irrational and corruptible (...) The nursing mother exhausted, has no moment of tranquillity. All her neighbours stay around her, do a lot of stupid things to the mother and child, that they think necessary and force her to eat and drink continuously (...). For that they founded the medical-surgical school in Cluj in 1775. Short time after the beginnings of this institution we see that it works a midwife school attached to it. (...) Between 1832 and 1872 36 midwives graduated. (...) The deplorable things described by Farkas stopped in the towns but not in the villages. There you can find them even today.'⁶ I should add here that this type of birth, unattended or attended by old women from the neighbourhood was still in use in the 1970s, in some villages from Transylvania, as most women in their 60s told us in the field researches done so far. What is interesting is the fact that all these women praise the homebirth and are scared or have a negative image of giving birth in a hospital.

⁴ Valeriu Lucian Bologa, "*Florile spurcate*" ale medicinei populare în lumina științei, în "Revista de obstetrică, ginecologie și pericultură", București, VI(1926), 4: 290-293.(t.n)

⁵ Valeriu Lucian Bologa, Iosif Ursan, *Istoria variolizării și vaccinării în țările locuite de români*, în "Revista științelor medicale", 18(1929), 2: 137-151. Gh. Crainiceanu, MSS 363, AFAR (Institute Archive of Folklore of Romanian Academy), Cluj-Napoca.

⁶ Valeriu Lucian Bologa, *Vrăji, babe și moașe azi și odinioară*, în "Revista sănătății", anul I(1921): 114-118.(t.n.)

The women's irrational referred mostly to the magic practiced generally by women: 'Precisely illnesses and death so inexplicable to a primitive mind gave the most favourable field for developing the most bizarre beliefs. And slowly, the old remedies and irrational and corruptible witchcraft were added or superposed to the useful and good empiricism.'⁷

In *Eugenezie*, Valeriu Bologa, so much alike the medical trend that was just appearing beyond the ocean and whose main contributor was the Rockefeller foundation, puts the matter of hygiene in terms of war and we have terms like *fortification, weapons, barbed wire networks, guns*. In other words, microbes are the enemies against which the organism must 'fight'. This has been an idea with a long career in biomedicine. See for this all the advertisements for the new drugs where microbes are personified and transformed into *enemies*: 'It is just natural that a question was born if the hygienist could find for humankind the possibility that -just like the commander who re placed with his company above a ravine that the enemy could not even come close - it could resist the attacks of all the health enemies by developing a minimum amount of effort. This thing would be possible by systematically bettering through selection the force, solidity and capacity of human race. This is the target of *eugenezie*.'⁸ Consequently, after explaining the causes of getting sick through a biological perspective: weak, disharmonic people in their bodily building, *minus-variants*, he offers in short a definition of what eugenics should do in theory: 'to study the law of evolution and heredity, to find the causes of the human species decadence; and in practice (...) it will stop - by seconding the social hygiene - all the evils that weaken and poison the human seed like alcohol, syphilis, tuberculosis etc. etc. It will support the healthy families with many children, it will contribute to maintaining a vigorous peasantry and it will tend to guide the proletariat of the towns towards a better and natural way of living.'⁹

A special perspective Valeriu Bologa offers in the article published in 1933 regarding the therapeutic value of the practices in old women's medicine where the argumentation is dominated by a positive key: 'For years the practices of the old women and healers in the villages were treated by physicians with discontent. They say it is about charms and void beliefs, obstacles in spreading the notions of rational hygiene! I beg your pardon but it is not like that! Just as in all the disciplines we come today more and more to the study of primitivism that we start to look at it differently than our parents, the same with the primitive medicine we realize more and more that

⁷ *Ibidem* (t.n).

⁸ Valeriu Lucian Bologa, *Eugenezia*, în "Revista sănătății", anul I(1921): 79-84.(t.n.)

⁹ *Ibidem*.

a millennial experience, inherited with continuous amplifications from father to son, cannot be just a piece of cake. Even what seems to be less medical in the folk practices, the chanting, charms, healing iconlets, seem to us today, in the era of psychotherapy under a different light. Let us take another example: all the old medical writers stressed in describing the old epidemics that those men who were not afraid of disease or who *remained hard in their belief*, did not get sick. It seems absurd, but today when we know the intimate correlation between psychic and physical, especially through the middling of the sympathetic, para-sympathetic nervous systems and hormones, we begin to understand these secrets. From this point of view, the icons of Saint Haralambie, protector against plague, of the saint doctor without money Pantelimon, Cosma and Damian, the *molifts* against cholera, start to have some interest for us not only from folkloric point of view but also from psychology of the patient and of psychotherapy point of views.¹⁰ We should add that these secrets have remained forgotten by biomedicine for the second half of the 20th century as well. In the same eulogistic interpretive key, he includes *materia medica* (charcoal, garlic, different concoctions, plant infusions) and exclaims: 'how many therapeutic treasures of the medical folklore await to be verified! In the West this fact was fully understood and to some institutes of history of medicine there are today experimental sections where this work of control of folk pharmacy is done.'¹¹ Doubting that the primitives have reached randomly to this knowledge he is exclaiming again: 'the primitive observer (...) has a very precise intuitive empiricism!'¹² And considered necessary to bring here the results of one of his collaborators from the Institute of History of Medicine, dr. Victor Dragoș, that were scientifically verifying 141 procedures in the matter of 'the question of organ and organ humors therapy, that is the principle *similia-similibus*.'¹³ Thus, Valeriu Bologa accepted the presupposition of a 'magic correlation between the organ given as a remedy and the organ to be cured' after a result of only 36,5% positive, that is less than a half.

Instead of conclusions, I should mention that Valeriu Lucian Bologa was indeed a man of his time, perfectly framed in the scientific mainstream, the huge wave of western origin that succeeded in creating successfully a scientific vision upon the world and consequently to put the layers at the foundation of scientific disciplines. In this direction he is a central pawn in

¹⁰ Valeriu Lucian Bologa, *Valoarea terapeutică a unor practice din medicina băbească*, în "Mișcarea Medicală Română", Craiova, VI(1933),1-2:29-34.(t.n.)

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

Cluj-Napoca in a new university but very well connected to the international mainstream. To believe you need to do the research! A reverse dictum to the biblical one, taken to the extreme in the concern to verify the folk remedies through pharmaceutical means. His interest in medical folklore is marginal not in a classical sense of a minor interest but in the direction that he is working strenuously to translate it and not adapting it to the scientific medicine, or 'state medicine' as he would call it at some point. By doing so he is fragmenting the medical folklore, its practices, their meaning, and by doing so taking it out of the context.

In the end it is about applying a procustian grid to the medical folklore, that presents interest as long as it can be subordinated to the medical science. He takes parts of it, useful parts but that lead to an apart image.

Looking at it retrospectively there are two levels of analysis: one is that of setting this chair of history of medicine and medical folklore and Valeriu Bologa's work in its service, marked by obvious positive accents: there were set the bases for some educational institutions on criteria relevant for the historical moment, that are still thriving nowadays. The second is more general and sends to few other coordinates: the necessity of creating educational institutions in the political context of that time; the French influence in doing this approach, that being also a result of the political context, influence manifested in the scientific pole through the transfer of French *know-how*: see for that the interest for ethno-medicine and medical folklore of professor Jules Guiart, a fervent researcher of this topic in regions of its own country.

We should also remark that during all this inter-war period of building and consolidating the university system in Cluj-Napoca, the Transylvanian ethnography under the direction of Romulus Vuia, founder of the first chair of ethnography at a university from our country and of the Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania, and who was also asserting the inseparability of the material and spiritual fields, that is of ethnography and folklore, his own concerns were not going at all in the medical direction but towards other topics. Undoubtedly, the bases set then in this discipline have influenced the field till contemporaneity: 'Romulus Vuia's inaugural lesson was not only an academic act but also a plead for the discipline he was founding and developing. It was an important moment in his strive for the autonomy of ethnography as a scientific discipline. The reference to the rich theoretical literature Romanian and foreign, the terminological specifications and delimitations of fields, the stipulation of the aims of each type of research and the unitary vision of researching the folk culture, large field of one single discipline that he called ethnography and that we today call it ethnology,

give to the inaugural lesson the character of an orientative act, guiding for all those who would deal with the study of the ungrammatized half of the Romanian culture.’¹⁴

The two personalities of Cluj-Napoca university knew each other very well, Valeriu Lucian Bologa held more than once conferences in the frame of the Society of Ethnography patroned by Romulus Vuia. Looking back, the researches of medical folklore (empirical healing practices) seems to have been well settled inside the medical education while the ethnographic researches have tried to tackle other topics like: social life, type of dwelling, villages, of living, occupations (spinning, weaving, shepherding). Moreover, Romulus Vuia, dominated by a special interest for field research, had each week a seminar of ‘Guidances regarding the making of village monographs and regional monographs.’¹⁵

¹⁴ Romulus Vuia, *Studii de etnografie și folclor*, (București: Minerva, 1975), p. XI. (preface written by Mihai Pop) (t.n)

¹⁵ Anuarul Univeristății Regele Ferdinand I, Cluj, pe anii 1928-1929; 1929-1930; 1930-1931; 1931-1932; 1932-1934; 1934-1935; 1935-1936.

Book Reviews

Monica Brînzei, Christopher Schabel (eds.), *The Cistercian James of Eltville († 1393). Author in Paris and Authority in Vienna*, (Studia Sententiarum, 3), Turnhout, Brepols, 2018, 501 p., ISBN 978-2-503-58188-0.

The recently published volume dedicated to the Cistercian monk James of Eltville is one of the results of a broader research regarding the development of theology at European universities, especially in Paris, during the Late Middle Ages, which generated several projects all having in common not just the topic, but also more or less the same team involving mostly early- and mid-career scholars concerned with medieval philosophy, under the guidance of one or both editors of the current volume. Especially two grants (the *THESIS* ERC starting-grant and the project *Philosophy and Theology in Cistercian Commentaries on the Sentences* financed by the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research) supported the labour of this book, which gathers contributors from the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, IRHT Paris, the University of Cyprus, the University of Wisconsin-Madison and the Catholic University of America. Their endeavour is aimed at retracing the “intellectual journey of the Cistercian James of Eltville”, relaying) mostly on his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Although his sole academic work, it held the attention of the authors of this volume as it survived in about twenty-five manuscripts, making it one of the most popular texts of the genre in the second half of the fourteenth century and, therefore, a relevant case study.

Throughout the twelve papers and a comprehensive introduction two main objectives can be distinguished: to set the context and historical features of this work’s emergence and influence, and to analyze its doctrinal content. The introduction signed by Christopher Schabel together with the contributions of William Courtney and Monica Brînzei put emphasis on the production and diffusion of James of Eltville’s work, the academic milieu in which he lectured on the *Sentences* and the subsequent transmission of the text, all correlated with previous historiographical achievements. By investigating all the witnesses preserved and several related sources, as well as by looking at them from a fresh perspective, using the tools of codicology,

palaeography, textual and historical criticism, quite a good amount of novelties are added to the profile of the Cistercian. The mentioned papers provide a reconstruction of Eltville's biography, of his company and his role in Paris, clarifications regarding the manuscript traditions. A worth mentioning contribution is the thorough investigation of the manuscripts assigned as *Lectura Eberbachensis*, based on which the commentary of the Cistercian was also ascribed to Henry of Langenstein. It is now demonstrated that such an attribution was erroneous, two plausible explanations being formulated in this respect, one of which is convincingly presented here by Courtney, the other one (questioned by Courtney, but not rejected) being previously published by Brînzei. Equally significant is the recovery of a lost part of Eltville's work, the *Principia*, a far less explored type of texts, mainly due to the scarce surviving materials, which makes Brînzei's detective work even more valuable. In the same group of papers with a more historical approach can be included the joint study of Monica Brînzei and Ioana Curuț, dealing with the impact of James of Eltville towards later theologians, expressively described as his transformation "from author to authority". This concluding chapter provides evidence regarding the use of Eltville's text as a source of inspiration through two case studies – Thomas Ebendorfer of Hasselbach and Pieter Reicher of Pirchenwart –, thus supplementing the proofs delivered by Courtney and Schabel on his influence on Nicolas of Dinkelsbühl, Marsilius of Inghen and a Dominican active in Basel in the late fourteenth century. Perhaps in the future it would also be worth taking a look at the contexts in which the preserved manuscripts were copied and used, an analysis that might prove fruitful in tracing further clues regarding the reception and importance of Eltville's work.

The second aim is achieved through the rest of the papers that offer a thorough analysis of the content of James of Eltville's *Sentences* commentary. The investigation focuses mainly on the Prologue and Book I, with some observations regarding Books II and IV. However, the papers are not arranged so as the analysis follows the order of the questions on the *Sentences*, but rather thematically, in a way in which almost each author's conclusions or remarks are somewhat further developed or questioned in the subsequent chapter. By doing so, Eltville's theological standpoint is uncovered step by step. As each paper deals with a different topic (the intension and remission of accidental form, the epistemological status of theology/theology as a scientific disposition, God's existence, God's will, Divine knowledge and foreknowledge, free will, predestination), each has its own identity and brings its own contributions, so that each could be subject to a separate discussion. Although different in this respect and at times unequal (but not imbalanced) in terms of lengthiness and intentions,

they share some common concerns, which will be emphasized here as red threads and main acquisitions of the volume.

One frequently mentioned issue towards which the contributors are turning their attention to is the way in which medieval authors constructed their texts. Such a discussion adds to the extensively debated topic of originality of medieval texts, as Eltville is a great example for the so-called *bricolage textuel*, supporting the argument that this intellectual practice cannot be simply labelled as plagiarism. Tracing the sources used by James of Eltville was one of the main tasks of the research project and an endeavour roughly common to all studies comprised in this volume. A direct contribution of this type of investigation is an expansion of the list of scholastic authorities on which Eltville based his arguments, revealing that beside John Hiltalingen of Basel – whose influence was previously emphasized by Damasus Trapp – and more than him, the Cistercian author used the works of Alphonsus Vargas of Toledo, Thomas of Strasbourg, Gregory of Rimini, Adam Wodeham, John of Mirecourt, Pierre Cheffons. Secondly, it becomes clear that the *Sentences* commentary of the Cistercian is not just an assemblage of passages copied from various authorities. The construction of an argument involved a selection of what was considered to be valuable, appropriate or convincing, the material was sometimes modified, integrated in new contexts and a simple juxtaposition of two phrases could alter their original meaning, generating originality or, at least, offering the author's personal point of view. Moreover, various contributions comprised in the volume invite to reflect on the way in which authors related to their sources – explicitly citing them, making references to a text one only knew through another author, not mentioning a main source of inspiration at all etc. – and the different manners of using these sources (copying verbatim, paraphrasing, resuming an argument etc.), both as deliberate choices and as mirrors of different stages of reception of a certain authority. Daniel Coman outstandingly illustrates this aspect, through the case study of Anselm of Canterbury's reception in the second half of the fourteenth century, his merit being especially that of supplementing the analysis with a theoretical frame and a historical approach.

More than an analysis of Eltville's ideas and contributions, the volume succeeds to retrace scholarly networks, connecting different parts of Europe – an aspect waiting to be further explored, relevant both for medieval history and for the history of ideas. All the contributions are aiming at offering a better understanding of the development of theology in Paris, during the second half of the fourteenth century. On a first level, every author is interested in elucidating Eltville's approach of various ardent

issues of debate and establishing his position within the main theories and traditions. But sometimes the figure of the Cistercian remains in the background, as he offers a pretext for an ampler discussion on the evolution of and interactions between these traditions, through an investigation of the influence authors exerted on each other. Various levels and types of intellectual connections and exchanges are taken into consideration, for instance: the reception of English theology in Paris, the influence of Augustinians towards Cistercians, concerns and positions of authors of the same order, the importance of the German group in Paris and its further impact towards the Viennese theology etc. Therefore, the volume manages to clarify or at least to offer insights into this rather nebulous phase of the medieval existence of the Parisian Faculty of Theology, left aside by many researches concentrating on the more spectacular twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as well as on its relevance for the establishment and development of Central European theology studies. In fact, the contributions in this book are also valuable from the perspective of the history of medieval universities, all human and intellectual connections emphasized here being essential components of the academic life. Eltville's work itself appears as a bridge between the University of Paris and the Viennese theology school, both as a key figure of the German group of scholars in Paris – probably the mentor to many of them, as William Courtney argues – and as a source of inspiration for those teaching in Vienna.

Therefore, the “controversial question” put forward by Christopher Schabel in the introduction – “why should we edit or even write about a text that is largely derivative of other works?” – finds an answer. The case study of James of Eltville's work illustrates, once again, that what was chosen to be copied and recycled in a new text tells a lot about its author's options and another's legacy, helps determine trends, points towards who was influential enough to generate them and who shared the same views.

If this are accomplishments of the volume in terms of content, its structure deserves some words as well. Although a collective volume, it has the coherence of a monograph, becoming clear that it is an organic result of common concerns, a collaborative research, and collective debates. While each paper preserves its own individuality, being sufficiently explanatory regarding the general context and features of Eltville's work, all the contributions fit together very well, are arranged probably in the best possible order, complementing each other and offering a gradual immersion into the academic path and work of the Cistercian. Quite striking is the absence of a separate part dedicated to conclusions, which would have rounded the volume by reviewing the topical issues, summarizing the core features of Eltville's work and highlighting the next steps to be done, even

though the introduction itself sums up the main idea of each study and the last paper comprises some concluding considerations. Absent as well in the book is a bibliographical list, but it does exist and a link is provided for accessing it – an innovative solution. If one might argue that in this manner the book becomes to some extent dependent of an electronic device and an internet connection, its “physical” absence is counterbalanced by including an *Index Nominorum (Post 1800)*, helping the reader to retrace the cited authors and places in the book where they were mentioned, while the primary sources can be detected via two other sets of indices: *Index manuscriptorum* and *Index Nominorum (Ante 1800)*.

To conclude, the volume proves itself consistent with the targeted objectives of the projects conducted by this international team. Moreover, it demonstrates that the projects were successful in bringing together experienced researchers and PhD students. While the first ones prove their expertise, making use of acquisition from previous or on-going researches, establishing interesting connections and comparisons, therefore, managing to provide an integrative view, the papers of young researchers are also of a very good quality, showing their acquaintance with the vast secondary literature and with the required methodology. The result is a book which can be of great use for those working on medieval texts, on medieval theology and philosophy, on the history of medieval universities and on intellectual history in general.

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Agnes Fischer – Dardai, Istvan Lengvari, Eva Schmelczer – Pohanka (eds.), *University and Universality. The Place and Role of the University of Pécs in Europe from the Middle Ages to Present Day*, (A Pecs Egyetemi Konyvtar Kiadvanyai, 16), Pécs, 2017, 394 p., ISBN: 978-963-429-191-6, DOI: 10.15170/pte650.lib.2017.

The 650th anniversary of the foundation of the first Hungarian university occasioned various events and publications in 2017, among which the book reviewed now. The collective volume presents the proceedings of an international conference with the same title, organized during the 12th and 13th October 2017 by the University Library of Pécs and the Centre for Learning of the same university, together with the Department of Medieval and Early Modern History of the Faculty of Humanities and the University

of Pécs Archives. The colloquium managed to create a dialogue between Hungarian researchers and academics from Switzerland, Austria, Romania, Poland and Slovakia.

The volume is structured into five sections, with a total of nineteen papers in English and German, preceded by a preface and the opening lectures of the conference held by József Bódis, the rector of the University of Pécs, György Udvardy, bishop of Pécs, and the general director of the University Library of Pécs, Agnes Fischer-Dardai. As one of the editors, Fischer-Dardai also signed the very brief preface, which offers some details regarding the conference and acknowledges the contribution of all the institutions and people involved in organizing the event and publishing the volume. Beside some language deficiencies, this introductory part neglects exposing the intentions, objectives, the structure and the merits of the volume. Thus, the reader can only deduce the concept that guided this scientific event and its subsequent written outcome. A conclusive text is also missing.

The first section, comprising the plenary lectures offered by Christian Hesse (Switzerland) and Laszlo Szögi (Hungary), substitutes to some extent an introduction, setting a theoretical and methodological frame and discussing the past and perspectives of research in the field of university history. Hesse refers especially to the German research, systematically assessing the different trends influenced by the various "turns" in historiography, as well as the challenges implied by the use of new technologies, with emphasis on the research project *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum*. Correspondingly, Laszlo Szögi offers a synthesis of Hungarian achievements in the field, highlighting the topics which aroused a special interest (*peregrinatio academica*, the foundation of Hungarian universities, the history of other institutions of higher education, especially confessional colleges) and important source editions, monographs and studies. As most of them were published in Hungarian, this thorough presentation in German provides a wider access to their main contributions.

A second section is dedicated to the medieval beginnings of the University of Pécs through four papers that are questioning the context, conditions and premises of this (unsuccessful) foundation in 1367. While Marta Font (Hungary), after a quite long and general introduction (her starting question being "what is a university?"), summarizes the available data regarding the foundation and the short-term activity of all medieval Hungarian universities (Pécs, Obuda and Bratislava), attempting to explain why they ceased to function, Tamás Fedeles (Hungary) provides a more specific and analytical study, focusing only on the University of Pécs. His paper comprises what the title claims, a short history of this university,

thoroughly discussing the topical and sometimes controversial aspects (motivations, intellectual and financial background of the foundation, profile of the founder, staff and curriculum, location, and the moment of its closure) based on various sources, from Papal charters, to archaeological material. Each of the two subsequent papers attempts to bring further in-depth details regarding one aspect in particular of the medieval history of this institution. Miklos Boda (Hungary) briefly examines concerns for education of a previous bishop of Pécs, Nicholas of Neszmély (bishop between 1346-1364), as possible clues of an older interest for establishing a university or at least as good premises for the later *studium generale*. Peter Haraszti Szabo (Hungary) intends to make an addition to the short list of the professors known to have been active there. His bold study systematically collects various pieces of evidence - a demanding task, as the parsimony of sources is a *topos* of researches on this topic - that might support the hypothesis that John of Prague, a famous professor at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Prague, also taught in Pécs.

The Hungarian borders are surpassed within the third section of the volume, comprising four papers as well. Their common ground seems to be the university studies in medieval Central and Eastern Europe, a special concern being that of *peregrinatio academica*. The articles signed by István Draskóczy (Hungary) and Borbála Kelény (Hungary) investigate the presence of Hungarian students in Vienna and Krakow, two popular destinations in the Late Middle Ages, both making use extensively of statistical analysis. A different approach is undertaken by Adinel C. Dincă (Romania), whose paper demonstrates how research of medieval books is able to provide new data for retracing the university studies and, a far more neglected issue, the subsequent careers of former students, the particular case of those originating in Transylvania being examined here. Although the first in this section, the paper of Kurt Mühlberger (Austria) shall be discussed towards the end of this paragraph, as it is somehow incongruent with those presented above. While it also deals with the history of a Central European institution, i.e. the University of Vienna, it is mostly a synthesis of the historiography concerning the subject and an evaluation of sources and methods involved by the Austrian research in the field. In this respect, this paper has more in common with the studies of Krzysztof Ozóg (Poland) and Mária Grófová (Slovakia), comprised in the fourth part of the volume, questioning the same issues in what concerns the history of the University of Krakow and the Slovakian historiography (in essence a bibliography for each institution of higher education in Slovakia).

Not just the medieval period was of interest for scholars attending the conference. A fourth section gathers precisely the contributions regarding "higher education from the early modern period to present days", while from a thematic point of view they cover a wide range of topics. Beside the already mentioned historiographical studies, five others are dealing with specific aspects of the history of education in Hungary. István Monok's (Hungary) declared intention is to investigate the "specialized libraries" (*Fachbibliotheken*), but the result is an essay-like paper regarding the history of libraries with an accent on their specific in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The Hungarian contributions to pedagogy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are examined by András Németh (Hungary), highlighting the main characteristics of various phases in the development of education sciences in Hungary. The University of Pécs comes again into discussion due to István Lengvári (Hungary) and Petra Polyák (Hungary). The first one is concerned with the professors activating here between 1923 and 1950, emphasizing the potential of a database recently created by the University Archives, while Polyák explores the role of jubilees celebrated in the twentieth century in fashioning the institution's identity and the different narratives about its (discontinuous) history. The last paper within this section offers a reflexive view upon current trends in higher education, Csilla Stéger (Hungary) discussing key evolutions of the last decades, such as the Bologna Process or the increase of proportion of young adults with a tertiary degree, presenting as well the results of an enquire about the future of universities.

The last section sends us back in time with two papers dealing with libraries which functioned in conjunction with institutions of higher education. A separate section dedicated to this topic is justified, as books were essential instruments of instruction, while now they can be valuable historical sources. Still, this might not have been the criterion in this case, since two earlier papers explored issues related to book and library history and are not included in this group. It seems that this solution was rather motivated by the institutional affiliation of the two authors, Éva Schmelczer-Pohánka (Hungary) and Ágnes Fischer-Dárdai (Hungary), both working at the University Library of Pécs. However, their papers created together a coherent narrative about the history, content and function of book collections and libraries which served the needs of different institutions involved in education in Pécs, from the Middle Ages up to the twentieth century.

To sum up, a global evaluation reveals that the volume does not appear to be very well articulated. Judging by the titles of the sections, the whole book seems coherent, but paying attention to each part as it stands,

some papers are rather incongruent. This is of course an editorial matter, which remains a minor fault, especially given that collective volumes are rarely read cover to cover. Regardless of their arrangement in sections, the papers resolve some important issues. Even though the Hungarian contribution is a substantial one, the volume succeeds to surpass, from various points of view, a strictly regional or local approach, which often places such works in the area of an unconstructive provincialism with limited vision and impact. Thematically, the subject of the history of European universities between the fourteenth and the twentieth centuries was explored, allowing the discussion of broader contexts in which the Hungarian situation or the different specific cases from Central and Eastern Europe can be integrated. Such an intention can be retraced both within the studies regarding the University of Pécs and those referring to other Hungarian institutions. Equally beneficial is the publication of the papers in English and German, enabling a larger access inclusively to previous researches written in less approachable languages and which are sometimes summarized or debated here. Of course, as in many collective volumes, papers are unequal, but overall, they manage to systematize the existing research directions of the history of universities in Central and Eastern Europe. Moreover, the various contributions of the University History Research Group, established within the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, as well as the historiographical studies prove that university history is not just an occasional concern, revived by jubilees, but an active field, constantly developing its methods and working-tools, at present highly benefiting of the opportunities provided by new technologies.

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Markus Friedrich, *Die Jesuiten Aufstieg Niedergang Neubeginn*, Verlag Piper, Munchen Berlin Zurich 2016, ISBN: 9783492055390, p. 736

Markus Friedrich is a good knower of the Jesuit history during the Early Modern Era. Nonetheless, this book represents a huge challenge for the academia and readers, as it has a generous and informative approach, over 400 hundred years of history. The author describes the history of this order from the very beginnings, when Ignace of Loyola funded it until the

election of the first Jesuit pope, Pope Francis. The book encompasses a variety of topics and provides the reader with basic but comprehensive information on the organisation and internal order of the Societas, piety within the after Trent Era and its contribution to the Counter-Reformation, involvement in the European politics, society and culture, development and actions in the colonial world, and not at last, conversion missions, internal controversies, critics and animosities against the Jesuits, the abolishment of the order (1773) and the reorganisation after 1814. Not surprisingly, the nineteenth and twentieth century are rather presented in a resume, as the Hamburg scholar is indeed a specialist of Early Modern History. Moreover, we must take into account that the role of the Jesuits was totally different from the previous two centuries.

There is hardly a topic not addressed or mentioned by the author and for a good knower of the Jesuit history, a large part of the information is not new. Thus, any reader would be curious to find out whether the author of this book can bring some fresh information or new approach on this topic. Undoubtedly, he does! As an expert of the archives, communication, circulation and compiling of *litterae annuae*, Markus Friedrich understands how to interpret and decipher the Jesuit sources. To a large extent, the rich and relevant information collected by Markus Friedrich originates in German, English Italian, Spanish and French written articles and books, which may trigger into question, are the Dutch or Czech written contributions meaningless for the Jesuit history in Early Modern Europe? Nonetheless, the approach of Markus Friedrich is original and analytical, with plenty of empirical examples, which denote that this book is indeed the outcome of a personal research and reflexion. Thus, after presenting the biography of Ignace in a very contextual manner, the author describes how the order was funded, the importance of the social networks which contributed to the development of the Jesuits, the core of their organisation and the building of a Jesuit identity, the so called group self-conscience: constitutions, Ignatius model coupled with hagiographic treats and relations describing the activity of the Jesuit settlements. Markus Friedrich correctly notices that internal conflicts were not rare, deviation and alienation occurred, meanwhile the examples provided by the author are manifold. A fresh reminder brought into discussion by the author is the position of the Jesuits within the Roman Church, thus stressing out or better written, cancelling some incorrect perceptions about the Jesuits: we may see that their relationship to the pontifical organisations, involvement within the

inquisition or their support provided to the propaganda fide in Rome was far away from total subordination. As expected, a generous attention is given to the spiritual care and relationship to the Protestants, where we may recognise traditional perceptions about the Jesuit practices and spiritual activities, but in parallel we may also observe the other face of the Jesuits, their implication into the spiritual care of the sinners, such as prostitutes or convicted prisoners. As concerns their role in the Counter-Reformation, less discussed by the author are the limits of the successes, as their strategies against the confessional adversaries highly differed from Catholic Bavaria or Flanders to Bohemia, the Hanseatic region or Transylvania. Thus, although the author notices that the two main strategies, i.e. force and persuasion co-existed and in certain places, the Jesuits had to be cautious and moderate, Markus Friedrich is less focussed on the fact that the accommodation to the local context was crucial for the conversion and furthermore, by missing strong political and military support, the success was limited, as the author himself showed us in his brilliant study about the Catholics and Lutherans of Hamburg during the Early Modern Era¹.

Until nowadays, the conspiracy role of the Jesuits affects their image and inspires many authors and unfortunately even theologians. On the other side, this negative image is sometimes more neglected by the Jesuit authors². By contrast to this, Markus Friedrich as a secular historian with strong analytic skills and by means of manifold examples, depicts a more realistic image. Thus, he shows us that the Jesuits had generous patrons and supporters and despite the poverty ideal, they accumulated properties, dealt with money and were involved in economic activities. At the same time, they could have also fiscal obligations and they criticised the accumulation of fortunes. The involvement of the Jesuits in politics is scrutinised by the author by considering the epoch climax, the personality of the fathers and the social circumstances. Thus, we may follow the differences between practice and theory, the real political achievements and failures of the Jesuits, all contextually described by the author in a cursive way and with plenty of examples. The same analysis style is applied when Markus Friedrich

¹ Markus Friedrich. "Jesuiten und Lutheraner im frühneuzeitlichen Hamburg. Katholische Seelsorge im Norden des Alten Reichs zwischen Konversionen, Konfessionskonflikten und interkonfessionellen Kontakten". *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* (2018): 1-78.

² For instance William V. Bangert S.J.

approaches the Jesuit involvement in the education, science, culture and art: from vanguard to decadence, the Jesuits underwent through different stages. They contributed to the development of a modern educational and research system, which targeted the formation of intellectual elites. Nevertheless, by selecting only some academic centres, the author omits the fact that the splendour of the Jesuit educational network highly depended on the recruiting possibility and local support, which in some cases was quite deficient, due to the political, social and confessional conjuncture. Another important chapter of the book is dedicated to the global expansion of the Jesuits, a topic which benefited of interest during the last decades. Thus, Markus Friedrich presents the Jesuit expansion in the different parts of the world with many details which explain the general evolution. We may see what their major challenges in Asia and in the New World were, how they approached slavery, and by which means they converted a part of the heathens. Furthermore, the author presents the impact as well of their *litterae* in Europe, the importance of the Jesuit description model.

The last part of the book is dedicated to the abolition and re-establishment of the order. It is a concise presentation, meant to show the reader what was the context, how the Jesuits were perceived by the contemporaries and why were they abolished: their perception as despotic monarchy acting in the interest of foreign powers, their morality or backwardness (according to the enlightened philosophy). The re-establishment of the order is analysed concisely, Markus Friedrich presents the major trends and discusses the latest evolution until the election of Pope Francisc. All in all, this is a book rich in information and well documented, accessible for both common readers, theologians and historians. It gives us a very clear view on the evolution of this order, who intensively contributed to the evolution of the Early Modern society. Furthermore, it may change the common view of the readers about the Jesuits, in order to better understand the Jesuit history.

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Katrin Keller, Petr Mat'a, Martin Scheutz (Ed.): *Adel und Religion in der frühneuzeitlichen Habsburgermonarchie*, Böhlau Verlag Wien, 2019, ISBN 978-3-205-20390-2, p. 388.

This volume is dedicated to Professor Thomas Winkelbauer, an exegete of the Habsburg Monarchy during the Early Modern Era. Nobles and Confession was one of the mostly addressed topics by this author during the last decades and therefore almost every researcher who approaches these topics will come across the studies carried out by the reputed Viennese scholar. It is also the case for the authors of this volume, who continue to a high extent the work of Thomas Winkelbauer.

The volume covers the entire Early Modern Era by also crossing the borders of the eighteenth century and all the three parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, i.e. the Austrian lands, Bohemia and Hungary. The authors approached many topics addressed by Thomas Winkelbauer, nobles and confessionalization, piety, conversion but also other themes related to the nobles and religion. Unlike other volumes, we are missing here an introduction where to be discussed the core terms of the Early Modern Era, as this is sometimes carried out in the articles of the authors. Moreover, the usage of the term *gesamtosterreichisch* nobles would have required further explanations, can we really refer to an Austrian nobility, while dealing with Hungary or even Transylvania or Croatia? What is the meaning of this term?

The article of Josef Hrdlička approaches the Protestant confessionalization in Bohemia and Moravia (1520-1620) by analysing the influence of the nobles in promoting the Lutheran regulations. Istvan Fazekas brings into discussion a less known part of Hungarian Catholicism, the persistence of Catholicism in Eastern Hungary. He focusses on a few noble families and highlights the importance of marriage, policy, education and patronage in preserving the old faith in a Calvinist milieu by also sketching out certain limits. Alessandro Catalano addresses the Bohemian diet of 1615 with its implications, meanwhile Geza Palfy brings into discussion the importance of Sopron as a crowning town. Marie-Elisabeth Ducreux describes the catholicization role of the Putz family (Bohemia), by analysing a forgotten diary and stressing out the promotion of the cult of saints. Arno Strohmeier presents the I construction in the correspondence of Alexander von Greiffenklau, an Austrian diplomat in Istanbul. Herewith the author shows how the diplomat understood his role, by mainly stressing out

the Christian dimension of his identity. Elisabeth Garms-Cornides addresses the issue of noble's pilgrimage in Rome, meanwhile Martin Scheutz discusses the confessionalization again, by stressing out also the confessional function of the hospitals. Friedrich Polleroß refers to noble's involvement in developing the sacral art during the Baroque Era, a less researched topic in the Habsburg Monarchy. Andras Forgo addresses the late confessionalization in Hungary, a study good to remind us that the timeframe of the Reinhardt paradigm may be pushed to a certain extent until late in the eighteenth century, as Martin Scheutz or Andreas Holzem already pointed out in the past. Olga Khavanova addresses the conversions to Catholicism in the Teresian Era, a topic less discussed in the literature and stresses out that conversions were still important at the Court, although the conversion literature disappeared. William D. Godsey describes the anti-jewish initiatives of the Ritterstand (1808), a topic which highlights the limits of the tolerance by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Undoubtedly, this volume continues and develops the work of Thomas Winkelbauer and it has a big value for the current research evolution in Central Europe. We may trace the major research trends, but also the historiography gaps, as for instance Transylvania. On the one hand, we may see that some authors used more secondary literature, which raises the question of new interpretations, but it can also stimulate historians to go back to archives and library manuscripts. On the other hand, we may notice how important the sources are, nobles can be studied through different perspectives and by means of manifold sources (diaries, correspondence, regulations or art representation). Nevertheless, as the articles are written in German, French or Italian, a summary in English would have been more than welcome, in order to facilitate the information access to a broader publicum.

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Marina Soroka, *The Summer Capitals of Europe, 1814-1919*. Routledge, London and New York, 2017, viii, 342 p. ISBN: 978-0-415-79245-5

Marina Soroka has solid knowledge of European nineteenth-century diplomacy and aristocracy, focusing on the Russian aristocracy and its ties with Europe. Over the last years she has published several books on the topic: *Britain, Russia, and the road to the First World War. The fateful embassy of Count*

Aleksandr Benckendorff (1903-16) (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT, Ashgate, 2011); *Письма (1918-1940) к княгине А.А. Оболенской / Императрица Мария Федоровна, Великая княгиня Ольга Александровна, Великая княгиня Ксения Александровна*. Edition by Marina Soroka (Moskva, Izdatel'stvo im. Sabashnikovykh, Universitet Dmitriia Pozharskogo, 2013); in collaboration with Charles A. Ruud, *Becoming a Romanov: Grand Duchess Elena of Russia and her world (1807-1873)* (Farnham, Surrey, Ashgate, 2015). Her interest in the history of aristocracy, international relations, and last but not least her familiarity with important archival funds of Russian aristocratic families and with epistolary and memorialist sources, are some of the prerequisites of the present book.

The Summer Capitals of Europe, 1814-1919 is a history of European aristocracy, but also a history of European diplomacy envisaged from a less usual perspective: that of the spas where, suffering from real or imaginary diseases, the aristocracy, the princely, royal and imperial families, and all high-class people in general used to spend their summers. Spas were a true "institution"! One can thus state that the book contains in fact three monographs: one of aristocracy – one of diplomacy – and one of spas, approached from the perspective of social history.

The spas envisaged by Marina Soroka are spas, mountain or seaside resorts, some with a tradition of centuries, others recently created during the nineteenth century. They were attractive through their mineral waters with curative properties, the fresh air, the natural landscape, the atmosphere, and the social life. For a long while they were the privilege of aristocracy and of other prosperous social categories but during the nineteenth century one notes the enlargement of the social origin of those who frequented the spas, in parallel with the consolidation of the middle class and the development of railway transportation. This was a process of "democratization" through which the aristocracy lost its exclusivity in attending the spas. Not by chance, the author's research envisages the period 1815-1919, between the fall of Napoleon and the reorganization of Europe through the Congress of Vienna and until the end of the Great War. This was the golden age of modern aristocracy and the golden age of spas and seaside resorts.

The topic of spas, mountain and seaside resorts was most often approached from the perspective of the history of travel, tourism, medicine, and even economy, but less from the perspective of social history and this is in fact one of the main novelties of the book. The *Introduction* (p. 1-10) very clearly explains this social approach.

The work is logically structured, from the general issue of spas, organically flowing towards aspects related to the history of European diplomacy in 1815-1919 that are the book's center of weight.

The main actors of the book are European aristocrats and the European princely, royal, and imperial families, from Spain and France to Russia and Bulgaria. During the era when the manner of making politics went through significant changes (political decision making passed from monarchs and their councilors to the governments), the aristocracy continued to control at least one branch of government: diplomacy. During this period Europe did not experience continental wars, only local conflicts (the Austrian-Prussian Wars, the Franco-German War, the Russian-Turkish War, the War of Crimea, the 1848-1849 Revolutions), so the life of the aristocracy was predictable and followed a predictable annual calendar (p. 1-2). Also, European aristocracy was cosmopolitan *par excellence*, tied through numerous friendship, family and social relations, and the aristocrats also practiced these strong ties during the summers, at the spas, including through activities that were diplomatic in nature: (...) because the European diplomatic network functioned within the transnational aristocratic network (...) (p. 2-5, the paragraph quoted from p. 2). The author often makes reference to Russian aristocracy and clearly shows its extremely close family ties basically with the entire aristocratic and royal Europe. The diplomats of the long nineteenth century, almost exclusively raised from among the ranks of the aristocracy, lived in the same social and intellectual universe, had similar visions, and fulfilled their diplomatic assignments using the same instruments. These are the starting assumptions of the book *Summer capitals*.

Going to the spa, part of the lifestyle of aristocracy, of their routine, of their annual calendar, was one of the (...) *socially unifying rituals of aristocratic society* (p. 1) and is the key in which one must read the history of European aristocracy and, implicitly, the history of European diplomacy, as long as diplomacy was preponderantly practiced by aristocrats. Hence the very inspired title of the book: *The Summer Capitals of Europe*. Diplomatic activities (from spying activities, harmless discussions on the resort's promenade, to the negotiation of secret military treatises) moved during the summers from the state capitals to the spas and the presence of some royal or imperial celebrity ensured the success of a season and the prestige of a resort.

The first part of the book is entitled *Spa life* (p. 11-114) and follows, on a theoretical level and through numerous examples, life at the spas, mountain or seaside resorts, from a social perspective.

Chapter 1 *Shrines-Springs-Spas* (p. 13-38) focuses on the history of using thermal waters as a cure, between Antiquity and the beginning of the twentieth century. The authors stress the social aspects and the way people

spent their time at the spas, namely with medical treatments, means of socializing, food, walks, trips, music, and landscape. Chapter 2 *Therapy vs Pleasure* (p. 39-64) follows the gradual transformation of the spas from places destined exclusively to medical treatments to places of leisure and entertainment. Employing a rich documentary material, mainly from the aristocratic world, the authors discuss several of the era's representative spas: Abbazia, Aix-les-Bains, Bad Kissingen, Bad Kreuzenach, Baden-Baden, Karlsbad, Marienbad, Ostende, Vichy, Wiesbaden, besides the numerous seaside resorts on the Italian and French Riviera. One of the factors that contributed to these evolutions is the development of the railway system, as people traveled quicker and more comfortably from the great capitals to the summer capitals. If, for example, in 1840 the trip from Paris to Marseille took 8 days, in 1876 it took 16 hours; during the same era, five trains left daily from the train stations of Paris to Vichy, one of France's most prestigious spas (p. 43-44). Another aspect specific to spas during the era of the great transformations of the social origin of visitors is the development of the grand hotels (p. 45-48).

Royal patronage was the first step to success for a spa. It is the well-known case of King Edward VII of Great Britain who frequented for years the spa in Marienbad, of emperor Napoleon III of France and empress Eugenie, strenuous visitors of the French spas of Plombières and Eaux-Bonnes, respectively, of Franz Joseph whose summer capital was Bad Ischl (p. 59-61, the starting phrase is quoted from p. 59). The summer season could start early, with the arrival of some illustrious figure, or could be prolonged into the autumn if the celebrities extended their stay at the resort.

Chapter 3 *Spa Society* (p. 65-89) deals with the articulation of the means of socialization at the spas and seaside resorts. There were, on the one hand, the aristocrats, the traditional visitors, and on the other hand the visitors part of social categories attracted precisely by the presence of the aristocracy and of members of the princely, royal and imperial families. This is the so-called invasion of the "tourists" that the aristocracy frowned upon and even despised. Even if during the nineteenth century the political and economic power of the aristocracy faded, it continued to be a model and to attract others like a magnet. The phenomenon is mostly visible at the spas and seaside resorts, where the hotels made their lists of visitors public and big names attracted visitors among the nouveaux rich and the middle classes, thus ensuring the prosperity of the hotels and, indirectly, of the spas (p. 67-69). The same resorts were the perfect place to hide romantic affairs, to set up marriages or even to hide (oneself) from politically or socially unpleasant situations (p. 78-83).

The fact that the spas moved away from their primary mission, that of providing treatments and curing the sick, is a result of the proliferation of gambling, a specific attribute of leisure, but also a cure against the boredom and routine of life at the spas (p. 97-99). This is the main focus of chapter 4 *Making Money out of Pleasure* (p. 90-114), that analyzes spas and seaside resorts through the perspective of the economic activities that brought development and progress to numerous settlements that had been anonymous villages or market towns until they became top destinations (p. 91). They attracted armies of servants, maids, cooks, physicians, businessmen, musicians, artists, writers, but also fortune and dowry hunters, gamblers, luxury prostitutes, and gigolos. A special category consists of journalists in search of both political information and juicy news. *Foreign ministers and ambassadors had their "pet" journalists to whom they fed information they wanted to become known* (p. 110).

The second part of the book is entitled *Business of Europe* (p. 115-316) and is dedicated to the history of diplomacy carried out in the pleasant context of the spas, mountain and seaside resorts. This part is the core of the book and it is here that the author fully displays her qualities of historian of both diplomacy and aristocracy. Chapter 5 *Royalty at Spas* (p. 117-142) follows the presence of crowned heads at spas. *Royalty's spa visits, like all their public appearances, fulfilled the ritual functions of monarchy: projecting a favourable image of the dynasty (...)* (p. 117), because not only the spas but also the monarchs themselves, together with their families (dynasties) benefited from these visits by gaining prestige. The author presents several well-known examples: queen Victoria of Great Britain at Nice and Aix-les-Bains, empress Eugenie of France at Eaux-Bonnes, emperor Franz Joseph at Bad Ischl, empress Alexandra of Russia on the Riviera (p. 118-123). The best-known example is that of king Edward VII of Great Britain's stays in Marienbad that have been the topic of an older monograph: Sigmund Muenz, *King Edward VII at Marienbad. Political and social life at the Bohemian spas* (London, Hutchinson & Co. 1934, 303 p., see also the German edition: Wien, 1934, 269 p.). Marina Soroka mentions sources according to which Edward VII's presence at Marienbad brought more than 20000 visitors at the spa, as the king set an entire fashion of visiting Marienbad that his English subjects followed ... (p. 127-133). The case of Edward VII, much discussed in the era's printed press and in the autobiographic works that the author employed, is a classic example of a monarch's diplomatic activity in his summer capital: the king strolled along the promenade, took part in fashionable events, received visits from other monarchs or political personalities, and returned their visits. For example, he received the visits of Franz Joseph and visited the latter in Bad Ischl, he received the French prime-

minister Georges Clemenceau and the Russian minister of the exterior, count Alexander Izvolsky, both traditional visitors of Karlsbad, and visited them both at the neighboring spa (p. 129-132). The repeated and informal visits of Great Britain's king with French and Russian politicians have perfected the English-French-Russian alliance, the future Entente during the First World War (p. 131-132).

A classic example of diplomacy practiced in the summer capitals is presented in Chapter 6 *Era of Congresses* (p. 143-170). After the fall of Napoleon and the completion of the Congress in Vienna (1815) that has set the bases of a new order in Europe, the great powers have also organized two ample conferences in Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) (1818) and Karlsbad (1819), consolidating the European power system developed by chancellor Klemens von Metternich. The next two chapters (*Looking after Europe* and *Secret Diplomacy*, p. 171-194, 195-223) deal with the gathering of information and secret diplomacy, respectively, in the summer capitals. Starting from the assumption that until the development of the modern post and telegraph services, the spas, mountain and seaside resorts were intersections where the Europeans met, socialized, and exchanged information, Marina Soroka shows how important information gathering was. The spas were ideal places from this perspective, as people were relaxed, willing to socialize and exchange information, among which significant data could slip (involuntarily or even on purpose!). The author stresses the fact that the information learned in front of the mineral water spring, on the promenade, or during trips were not of colossal significance, but helped one better understanding the interlocutor's political stands (p. 171-172). It was not by chance that those willing to obtain information paid attention to every word spoken at a reception or at a concert and to every gesture made during a theater show or while clinking glasses of Champaign.

The following chapters approach hard topics of diplomatic history, as they happened in the context of spas, mountain and seaside resorts: the French-German relations around the 1870-1871 War (p. 224-246), the involvement of chancellor Otto von Bismarck in the affairs of European diplomacy at the spas he frequented (Biarritz, Bad Gastein, Bad Kissingen) (p. 247-268), the French-Russian closeness and, respectively, the cooling of the Russian-German relations in the beginning of the twentieth century (p. 269-275). An interesting case is how Bulgarian diplomacy functioned at the spas (at Franzensbad, at Karlsbad, on the French Riviera, at Abbazia) during the reigns of princes Alexander von Battenberg (1879-1886) and Ferdinand of Saxa-Coburg (1908-1918) (p. 279-289), with a special view of the Bulgarian-Russian diplomatic relations.

The final chapter - *The Flight from Spas and the End of an Era: 1914-1919* (p. 295-316) is dedicated to the years of war that were a kind of epilogue to the great history of European diplomacy practice in the summer capitals. The author has an excellent approach of the start of the Great War, from the assassination in Sarajevo of Franz Ferdinand, the crown prince of Austro-Hungary, and his wife until the actual start of the military operations. She takes note of the manner in which the spas and their visitors became aware of the start of the war that was about to change not only the spa culture but the world itself. The final pages of the chapter focus on the year 1919 and the visitors returning to the spas, mountain and seaside resorts (p. 313-314). But, as Marina Soroka rightly noted, this was a different world: *The spa culture became obsolete. (...) Spas declined as a social venue because "society" in the old sense ceased to exist* (p. 313).

The book does not lack conclusions and a bibliography. The bibliography is ample (p. 321-334), impressive especially through the contemporary archival sources it includes. As I pointed out in the beginning of this book review, the author is familiar with the specific sources for the history of European aristocracy and the history of European diplomacy during the Modern Era, as this shows throughout the book and renders the analysis consistency.

I admit that Marina Soroka's book first appealed to me due to the history of spas, a topic that I am familiar with and interested in because in the recent years I have been researching the Romanian visitors of Karlsbad. The book offered me a general European-wide perspective on the phenomenon of spa going, of which Karlsbad is an important chapter. On the other hand, the attention she pays to the diplomacy practiced in the summer capitals and to its main actors - aristocrats, monarchs, and princely, royal and imperial families, offered me an interesting social and cultural perspective of the issue. Unfortunately, Romanians are barely mentioned in the book, but one can feel them, anonymous, in the background of the strolls along the promenade, of the receptions, of the balls, of the casual or less unintentional discussions, of the romantic adventures and of the searching for information that the author speaks about. Reading the book one can understand how strong and how complex were the mechanisms behind some of the political decisions of European significance, such as the connections of king Carol I of Romania with Germany and Austro-Hungary and the adoption of the decisions that Romania remain neutral (1914) and then join the war on the side of the Entente (1916).

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Translated by Ana-Maria Gruia

Iacob Mârza, *Zenovie Pâclişanu, contribuții la o monografie* [Zenovie Pâclişanu, contributi ad una monografia], Ediție de Radu Mârza, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2017, 327 p.

Il compianto professor Iacob Mârza, spentosi prematuramente, ci ha lasciato quest'opera monografica su padre Zenovie Pâclişanu (1886-1957). Credo sia stata la sua ultima opera, curata da Radu Mârza, il figlio del docente universitario scomparso.

Un bel dono dato a noi, agli storici ed alla Chiesa Greco-cattolica che Padre Zenovie aveva servito e per cui si immolò nel 1957, offrendo la sua vita per Gesù e per la Chiesa greco-cattolica. Morì nel 1957, dopo essere stato torturato ed imprigionato. La sua *via crucis* ebbe come "stazioni" anche il terribile carcere di Sighet Marmăției e di Jilava.

Grazie al suo percorso scolastico, tratteggiato bene dal prof. Iacob Mârza, egli ebbe una buona preparazione culturale, religiosa e linguistica. Oltre alla lingua nativa, conosceva bene anche la lingua ungherese ed il tedesco. Ovviamente, non era alieno dal latino ciò che gli permise di accedere anche a documenti in questa lingua classica, grazie alla quale poté ben comprendere fonti storiche di cui si servì anche per le sue pubblicazioni.

Dopo essere stato imprigionato nel primo dopoguerra, fu liberato per breve tempo nel 1955, ma con l'incubo di essere ucciso, come aveva confidato alla sua amata moglie Hortensia³.

A quest'ultima dobbiamo essere grati, sempre secondo la testimonianza di Ioan Țimbuș, per avere serbato il manoscritto della sua opera, forse la più conosciuta, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite*, pubblicata parzialmente nella rivista "Bună Vestire" [La Buona Novella] a Roma e, in un secondo tempo, nella rivista "Perspective", diretta dal compianto mons. Octavian Bârlea⁴.

L'ultima edizione fu pubblicata dalla Casa Editrice Galaxia Gutenmërg, di Târgu Lăpuș, diretta da padre Silviu Hodiș.

Senza dubbio, padre Zenovie Pâclişanu fece onore non solo alla sua Chiesa, la Greco-cattolica romena, ma anche alla sua Patria, nel periodo universitario a Budapest ed a Vienna e poi nei congressi internazionali ove si distinse. Vorrei citare, solo per fare un esempio, la Conferenza Internazionale di Parigi.

³ Cfr. Ioan Țimbuș, *Prefața la Ediția a treia*, in Zenovie Pâcleșanu, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite*, Galaxia Gutenberg, Târgu Lăpuș, 2006, pp. 6-7.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

Il suo destino fu segnato dai comunisti che ricambiarono con la reclusione e la tortura non solo i figli più semplici, ma anche i migliori, quelli che avevano illustrato la Patria e la cultura.

Sono grato alla signora Andreea Mârza che mi ha inviato il libro a cui anche lei ha collaborato; le sono grato perché mi è stato permesso di conoscere meglio la figura di questo ecclesiastico in un certo senso un po' atipico.

Sappiamo infatti che egli, pur essendo sacerdote della Chiesa greco-cattolica, si era occupato più di cultura, di pubblicistica che del suo mandato spirituale.

Al momento però in cui la Chiesa greco-cattolica iniziò ad essere perseguitata e poi ufficialmente soppressa con l'iniqua legge comunista che imitava quella della distruzione della Chiesa greco-cattolica ucraina, egli iniziò a occuparsi con solerzia della Sua Chiesa, divenendo, dopo la morte di Mons. Vasile Aftenie, avvenuta il 10 Maggio del 1950, suo successore nella clandestinità in qualità di vicario generale per il Vecchio Regno, ossia per i territori non-transilvani di cui aveva avuto cura il futuro beato Mons. Vasile Aftenie, sino a versare il proprio sangue per i suoi fedeli ed anche per tutti quelli che aspiravano alla libertà di coscienza ed al rispetto della propria dignità.

Quindi, dopo la distruzione della Chiesa greco-cattolica il pubblicista, bibliotecario, uomo di cultura, si mise a disposizione della Nunziatura apostolica di Bucarest.

Come il suo predecessore, anch'egli non si spense nella propria sede episcopale, ma nella sede del Ministero degli Interni, durante una cosiddetta inchiesta.

Come Vasile Aftenie, dimostrò la testimonianza cristiana, dimostrò ai suoi fedeli ed a coloro che sarebbero nati dopo di lui, come uno dei peccati più gravi sia quello di tradire la proprio coscienza, quel lume di verità che arde in noi e che nessun tiranno e senza Dio può toglierci.

L'opera del compianto professore Iacob Mârza è importante in quanto egli ha voluto presentare in un'unica opera, la vita e le opere del nobile sacerdote transilvano che era stato volutamente ignorato soprattutto prima del 1989, privando la storiografia romena di un apporto fondamentale.

Il compianto professor Iacob Mârza ha perciò fatto un'opera di ricostruzione preziosa cui hanno collaborato anche altri tra cui il figlio Radu e la figlia Andreea che hanno voluto offrire alla storiografia romena un'opera che sarà fondamentale e che chiarirà una volta per tutte l'importanza di questo sacerdote-scrittore, bibliotecario, che fu ricompensato dai comunisti per le sue attività con il carcere e le torture e poi con il tentativo di imporre il silenzio, al fine di indurci all'oblio.

Ma l'opera del professor Iacob Mârza è venuta per chiarire e per dimostrare la malvagità di quanti tradirono personaggi onesti e colti, cercando di imporre il silenzio e l'oblio.

Il volume si compone di cinque capitoli: *Restituiri Biografice* (Restituzioni biografiche), *Şantierele Istoricalui* (I Cantieri dello storico), *Analiaza Istoriografica*.

Discurs istoric: (Analisi storiografica. Discorso storico), *Publicarea de texte ale lui Zenovie Pâclişanu* (Pubblicazione di testi di Zenovie Pâclişanu) e *Articole cu profil cultural* (Articoli dal profilo culturale); ogni capitolo contiene più sub capitoli e alla fine un *Indice analitico*.

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Cosmin Popa, *Intelectualii lui Ceausescu si Academia de Stiinte Sociale si Politice (1970-1989) - Ceausescu's Intellectuals and the Academy of Social and Political Sciences (1970-1989)*, Editura Litera, Bucureşti, 2019, 352 p.

The volume "Ceausescu's Intellectuals and the Academy of Social and Political Sciences (1970-1989)" written by the researcher Cosmin Popa, edited by the Litera Publishing House in 2018, is a work that provides an overview of how the policies of the past have affected universities' life, respectively the elite of the time. What we can notice in the volume proposed for reviewing is the author's objective perspective on the motivation behind the creation of Nicolae Ceausescu's Academy of Social Sciences and Politics, a tool that would act in the interests of the communist system and propaganda.

The evolution of the sciences, but especially of the humanities in Romania, during the communist era was a period of stagnation that was due in the first stage to the promotion of *the ideal model of communist leader*, superior in all points of view but especially in comparison with the technocrats, fact which resulted in the first stage in minimizing the role of intelligentsia, which, as the author mentions, was meant to meet the needs of the people rather than the *bourgeoisie*. The controlled opening promoted by the party after 1965 obviously has an important impact on the research domain, making the international scientific presence of our elite a notable one - this period being characterized by an increase in the staff of the

research institutes. However, this period would come to an end shortly due to the system that had begun to suffer considerable financial losses in the 1970s and with the Communist leader eliminating spending in *areas he considered irrelevant*, one of which was research - budget cuts and reducing the number researchers and the number of institutes. What Cosmin Popa points out is how the regime, which, although already cut everything that it could in the field of research, is starting to effectively instrumentalize the technocrats. If we ask ourselves how Nicolae Ceausescu has succeeded to do this, Cosmin Popa gives us some objective answers: the researchers not only had to obey the absurd directives received from the *center* but were forced to motivate and sustain them; the institutes had to develop sociological analyzes to help the party reorganize communist propaganda; for those who collaborated and knew the apparatus of the party, it was easier to maintain or obtain higher positions, so more and more technocrats entered the party apparatus. Although the Academy of Social and Political Science was instrumental in promoting external propaganda, Cosmin Popa states that external propaganda is inconsistent in comparison with other communist states, offering the example of Hungary which was more efficient. This tells us that the Communist leader did not understand the true potential of research centers in the propagation of ideology externally.

Another aspect that the author brings to the attention of the readers in the work proposed for reviewing is how *history* was instrumentalized in different periods of communism, claiming that in the first phase national history had the role of *filling the ideological space vitiated by the a priori rejection of formulas elaborated in Moscow* - until 1968 history was used as an instrument of foreign policy propaganda, and for Ceausescu, history became an instrument of party propaganda, of nationalism that offered the regime a new justification. *The role of historians was taken by propagandists disguised as historians.*

Although there may be various negative reactions of intellectuals to Ceausescu's policies, the number of scholars obedient to the regime and propaganda made the voices of those who were opposed to the regime seldom heard, ignored or even eliminated under the careful attention of the Securitate.

We note the critical analysis of the researcher Cosmin Popa regarding Ceausescu's regime, which he divides into three distinct ideological main periods, from which he first characterized by *limited and conjunctural liberalization* (1965-1969) having the role of legitimizing Nicolae Ceausescu as the sole leader and modernizer of the country by opening up new channels of communication with the world that propagandistically represented a certain renunciation of socialist dogmatism. The second period, according to

the author, is between 1969 and 1974, a stage he calls the *transition*, the liberal elements present in the first stage are dissipating considerably, and the ideological center's intentions become more and more obvious, intermingling with the institutionalized by creating instruments such as the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, created *after the face and resemblance* of the Academy of Social Sciences of the USSR, with the obvious aim of undermining and minimizing the role of RSR Academy but especially of controlling through the politruks present in the new creation of Ceausescu. The third period of *Romanian neo-socialism*, in the opinion of researcher Cosmin Popa, began in 1974 and ended in the collapse of communism in Romania in 1989. This period was marked by the onset of personal dictatorship by which Nicolae Ceausescu held control over the entire apparatus of power.

Starting from the effort of the researcher Cosmin Popa, we can highlight some important aspects regarding the way in which the communist regime treated the research centers as instruments of promoting communist ideology but also to support the illusion of the superior *model bourgeoisie leader - intellectuals* because, as the author claims, Ceausescu had an inferiority complex in rapport with this *social class*. Apparently, *the symbiote between the party activist and the scientist had succeeded*.

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