NATIONALIZING THE CITY: MONUMENTS OF ROMANIANNESS AND PUBLIC SPACE IN INTERWAR CLUJ (1919-1933)

by

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I study the process of the nationalization of an interwar provincial city coming from a post-imperial (i.e. Habsburg) context and integrated into the framework of a new nation-state (i.e. Greater Romania). More precisely, I look at public space policies in order to observe how local elite groups aimed to create a dominant discourse and impose control over the urban space. Analyzing the example of Cluj, the unofficial Transylvanian capital, I focus on two case studies, namely the Orthodox Cathedral and the monument for Avram Iancu. Both projects were initiated by local elites at the beginning of the 1920s as part of an ambitious agenda of imposing a Romanian identification on the city center and thus counterbalance the "foreign" (i.e. Hungarian) appearance of the city. Using theories on nationalism, public space and public monuments, I identify the main actors capable of shaping the urban public space and observe how the two monuments are advertised as parts of different and sometimes divergent agendas. Although acknowledging the importance of Bucharest in shaping cultural policies as part of the centralization process, I argue that the symbolical meaning of these monuments embodying Romanian identity was shaped mainly at local level by actors such as Cluj Orthodox Bishopric, Municipality, members of the local elite and different associations. Finally, I look at ceremonies and processions staged throughout the city center in order to better emphasize Romanians' attempts of imposing a meaningful presence in the city's public space.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1923, university professor Ion Bianu, member of the Romanian Academy, initiated the publication of a book series called "Our Cities", aiming to provide illustrated monographs of the most important urban centers of Greater Romania.[1] After having incorporated Bessarabia, Bucovina and Transylvania at the end of the First World War, Romania doubled its surface and tripled its population. In the context of a state which proclaimed itself as "national, unitary and indivisible"[2], cities remained a problematic issue. Evidence proved not only that rural masses were dominating the demographical structure of the country; the problem was that they were composed mostly of Romanians, while cities, according to Bianu, were "controlled" by ethnic minorities. Moreover, and mostly in the "new" regions of Bessarabia, Bucovina and Transylvania, he emphasized, cities and towns were of foreign i.e. non-Romanian origin, being inhabited by citizens of various languages and religions, while the surrounding area was covered by predominantly Romanian-speaking villages. Bianu's argument on the necessity of acquiring and distributing information about cities implied further questions in which ethnical identity and "historical rights" over the territory were inter-connected: To what extent were these cities really "ours" [Romanian]? What was the relationship between urbanization and nation building in Greater Romania, a country inhabited by an overwhelming majority of peasants? How could the Romanian presence in cities be reinforced? Although published with an informative purpose, the book series suggested that the nationalization of the cities was a normal step following the Unification in 1918.

[1] Ion Bianu, "Biblioteca "Oraşele noastre" ("Our Cities" Library), in Victor Lazăr, *Clujul* (Cluj) (Bucureşti: Cultura Națională, 1923), 2.
[2] Constituția Romaniei din 1923 Titlul 1, Art. 1, accessed on http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htp_act_text?idt=1517

Nationalization of the cities, and especially of the Transylvanian ones, became a hot topic debated by municipalities and central authorities, politicians and intellectuals, Romanians and others in diverse parts of Greater Romania alike. The fragility of the Romanian element within the cities was manifested in their marginal position in the city economics, their lower demographic proportion, their cultural backwardness and their relatively modest presence in the public sphere. The local authorities had to develop strategies of reconciling the cities' multi-ethnic character with the requirements of centralized policies coordinated from Bucharest that aimed at reversing the position of urban Romanians to a dominant one. State protection in all fields and implementation of special economic measures in order to support the creation of a stronger Romanian middle-class were repeatedly requested by Romanian municipal representatives.[3]

Although more modern and better urbanized than their counterparts in the Old Kingdom, in the new context, Transylvanian cities seem to suffer of a capital sin: not only they had been "foreign" in origin, but also they had a "foreign" appearance. Theoretically, the efforts of conquering the territory had to be reflected visibly in the new configuration of the urban landscape. Practically, however, not much could be done in order to produce significant architectural changes in the city centers as they were already densely built. Therefore, monuments, statues and a relatively reduced number of new buildings could be efficiently inserted into the urban landscape in order to function as symbolical landmarks of the new political situation.

In this thesis I will discuss the case of two such monuments. The first one, the Orthodox Cathedral in Cluj, was planned and constructed as a monumental building that would dominated the cityscape, despite the fact that the Greek-Orthodox actually represented the smallest religious community in the city. The second one was a statue of Avram Iancu, the

[3] "Congresul Uniunii Oraşelor" (Cities' Union Congress), *Revista Administrativă* (The Administrative Journal), 21 (1924): 324.

Transylvanian Romanian leader of the 1848 Revolution, envisioned in the same square. Unlike the Cathedral, whose construction was largely achieved by 1933, however, the Iancu statue failed at that time, and it was revisited only recently, in the 1990s, in an entirely different political situation of post-1989 Romania. Both monuments were designed as the main landmarks of the Cuza Voda Square, the new Romanian city center, designed specifically to counterbalance the Main Square[4] comprising the 15th century Gothic Church and the statue of Renaissance King Matthias Corvinus and therefore rich in Hungarian symbolism.

In this thesis, my aim is to analyze these monuments as embodiments of Romanianness, as they were intended by their creators and perceived by a larger public. My basic premise is that the presence or absence of a certain group in the public space can be seen as a representation of power politics. I argue that through their construction, the new Romanian elite of Cluj attempted to conquer the urban space, perceived as foreign, from the previous Hungarian rulers of the city, and it did so in a very visible manner. Moreover, precisely because the contemporary discussion about these monuments reveals so much about their political significance and how it elucidated on a larger ethnic conflict in the city and the contest between its diverse ethnic, religious, administrative and cultural elite, I intend to see these monuments as works in progress rather than final products.

Perceived as a "national mission", the construction of a Romanian city center proved to be a challenge for the various groups of actors engaged in this process. Although my primary focus is the new Romanian elite of Cluj, I am fully aware of the fact that the Romanian block was by no means united or homogeneous, and that others attempted to conquer urban space of Cluj too. I will therefore differentiate between various actors, emphasizing the interactions and interconnections between them. Before 1918, it can be stated

[4] Former Main Square (Fö tér), renamed the Union Square in 1919.

that diverse Transylvanian Romanians gathered under the umbrella of two organizations- a political one, the National Romanian Party, and a cultural one, ASTRA. However, in the context of post-1918 Greater Romania, some individuals reevaluated their options, given the possibilities offered by the new political configuration. Therefore, interwar Romanian actors influential in Cluj public space can be divided according to political lines (members of the National (-Peasant) Party[5], the National Liberal Party[6] and the People's Party), religious affiliation (Orthodox and Greek-Catholics), according to their membership in various local associations (e.g. ASTRA[7], the Society of Orthodox Women). Moreover, one should be aware of the centre - periphery divisions i.e. diverging interests of the local Municipality and the government in Bucharest. In connection with this last aspect, an interesting feature of the dynamics is the presence of the third center, Sibiu, from which a significant number of Romanian intellectuals moved to Cluj in 1919. Although they were all aiming to establish a more consistent Romanian presence in a predominantly Hungarian city of Cluj, these actors were animated by different interests and adopted different strategies in order to pursue their aims.

The topic of this thesis can be integrated into the larger framework of the implementation of the national unification project on local level, with a special emphasis on cultural policies in interwar Romania. In this regard, I will use Irina Livezeanu's seminal book, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania*, as a starting point and a basis of my discussion. Most importantly for my purposes in this thesis, Livezeanu's analysis pointed towards the problematic impact of the unification process as directed from Bucharest in the new

[5] The National Romanian Party was originally the political group representing Transylvanian Romanians during the Austro-Hungarian period. Leaded by Iuliu Maniu during the 1920s, the party united with the Peasant Party in 1926, in order to gain representation at national level.

[6] The National Liberal Party was one of two traditional political groups from the Old Kingdom. Supported by a financial and industrial oligarchy, the party leaded by Ion I.C.Brătianu goverened between 1922 and 1926, when a series of laws promoting centralization were adopted (e.g. the Constitution in 1923, the Law for Administrative Unification, 1926).

[7] ASTRA, or the Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People, was the most important cultural association of Transylvanian Romanians during the Austro-Hungarian period. The society continued its activity also during the interwar period.

provinces. Focusing on education strategies in both rural and urban areas, she revealed the special importance of cities in the new political context. In the introduction of her book, Livezeanu identified three inter-connected pillars that should have constituted the basis of the Romanian government's cultural policies: the "nationalization of towns, urban elites and cultural institutions"[8].

To a greater extent than any other Transylvanian city in the Austro-Hungarian and interwar period, Cluj was perceived as an unofficial cultural and administrative center of the region. According to Gheorghe Vais, who focused on the study of the building programs sponsored by Budapest government at the turn of the century, and the city profile as a cultural capital of Transylvania was actually created during the Austro-Hungarian period. In support of his argument he uses the following examples: the University, the University Library, the University Clinics, and the Theatre.[9]

Vais's book constitutes a valuable contribution to the Habsburg history of Cluj, showing how architecture can be a meaningful tool in observing the dynamics of urban policies and analyzing the ways in which the identity of a city is being shaped. A complementary reading to this volume on the architectural transformations during the Austro-Hungarian period is offered by Mihaela Agachi's work on urbanization in Cluj during the 19th century. Agachi's richly illustrated analysis on the transformations of the urban structure as part of the modernization process traces the context in which the changes occurring in the interwar period can be integrated.

The most famous and consistent monograph of the city was edited in 1974 by Ştefan Pascu.[10] Although the book is very informative, the pages dedicated to the interwar years are heavily affected by the infusion of ideological commitment. To put it simple, this period is

[8] Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 8, 10.
[9] Gheorghe Vais, *Clujul eclectic* (Eclectic Cluj)(Cluj-Napoca: UT Press, 2009).
[10] Ştefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujui* (The History of Cluj) (Cluj, 1974).

reduced to the presentation of a series of workers' strikes. The complementary volume referring to the architectural heritage of the city, also edited by Pascu[11], is an overview of the city's main buildings, styles and architects. Yet, the book is too descriptive and falls short of a consistent analysis. In the absence of a more recent well-documented scholarly work on the history of the city, there is a clear lack of knowledge regarding the interwar period in Cluj. The image one can obtain by consulting information from various secondary sources is rather fragmented and inconsistent. Moreover, and more importantly, these narratives avoid addressing in pertinent manner relevant topics such as the attempts of Romanianizing the city.

In what concerns the Western scholarship on Cluj, the contribution of Rogers Brubaker is certainly the most significant.[12] Brubaker chose the case of post-1989 Cluj in order to research on the micro-level the impact of nationalist policies on the urban space, exploring the reception of these policies among various ethnic groups. The historical background investigated in the first part of the book offers relevant insights into the context of interwar Cluj and the competing Romanian and Hungarian discourses on the identity of the city through specific claims on public space.[13]

Both the Orthodox Cathedral and the project for the Avram Iancu statue enjoyed a certain attention in the Romanian historiography. As an architectural landmark of the city and a religious building still in use today, the Cathedral was more privileged in this regard. A number of articles and books about the building itself and its founder, Nicolae Ivan, the first Orthodox bishop in Cluj dates, were published on various occasions, especially connected with anniversary moments. Representing the official discourse of the Orthodox Church, these approaches follow a similar pattern which praises the personality of the bishop and describes his numerous achievements. Two books have to be mentioned here. The first one is a

[11] Ştefan Pascu(ed.), *Clujul istorico-artistic* (Historical and Artistic Aspects of Cluj) (Cluj-Napoca, 1974).
[12] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalist Policies and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006).
[13] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalist Policies and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, 97-101.

collection of studies and documents edited by Nicolae Vasiu and Ion Bunea.[14] The studies offer a comprehensive image of the Bishop's life, while the documents comprised in the second half of the book (correspondence, articles, speeches, archival material) represent a valuable source of information for researchers. The second book, authored by Alexandru Moraru[15], offers a rather modest presentation of the history of the Cathedral. Based almost exclusively on published sources, this is the only monograph published in the last decades.

The literature on Avram Iancu, the leading figure of Transylvanian Romanians during the revolution in 1848 exploded on the occasion of the Centenary of his death in 1972. An army officer, Paul Abrudan showed particular interest in the memory of the hero and investigated the initiatives of commemorating the revolutionary leader from his death until the Second World War.[16] Inspired by a strong nationalist enthusiasm, Abrudan aimed to reconstruct the story of a monument for Avram Iancu from the modest funeral wreath some students intended to place on the hero's grave at the end of the 19th century to the agitated story of the interwar statue designed for Cluj, unveiled in Târgu-Mureş and finally moved to Campeni[17] in 1940. The story flows uninterruptedly from the beginning until the end, like a relay race in which the stick is taken over by new generations of nationalist enthusiasts and carried on until the final victory. Even if one disregards its heavy ideological charge, the approach seems to lack contextualization. The connection with urban policies or the role of the state is often missed by the author. Starting from Abrudan's work and using the photographs of the statue's gypsum models preserved by Coriolan Petranu, the member of the jury during several stages of the competition, art historian Nicolae Săbău provided a critical

[14] Nicolae Vasiu, Ion Bunea (eds.), *Episcopul Nicolae Ivan (1855-1936)*(Bishop Nicolae Ivan) (Cluj-Napoca: Episcopia Ortodoxa a Vadului, Feleacului si Clujului, 1985).
[15] Alexandru Moraru, *Catedrala Arhiepiscopiei Ortodoxe a Vadului, Feleacului si Clujului* (The Cathedral of the Archbishopric of Vad, Feleac and Cluj)(Cluj-Napoca: Editura Arhidiecezana, 1998).
[16] Abrudan published the results of his investigation in one article Paul Abradudan, "Lupta pentru apararea memoriei lui Avram Iancu" (The Fight for the Defense of Avram Iancu's Memory), in *Studii,* 25, nr. 4 (1972), 701-710 and one book : Paul Abrudan, *Pentru un monument lui Avram Iancu* (For a Monument of Avram Iancu)(Sibiu, 1972).
[17] Small town in the Apuseni Mountains, one of Avram Iancu's headquarters during the 1848 Revolution.

stylistic analysis of the projects presented by various sculptors between 1924 and 1926.[18] Sabau was the first scholar who analyzed the story of Iancu's statue in Cluj as a separate case study. Moreover, rather than using the nationalistic discourse of the period, he discussed from a more objective perspective the aesthetic qualities of the projects.

Several recently published works on interwar Romanian architecture and monuments frame my analysis. The Orthodox Cathedral is a clear exemplification of the Romanian national style during the interwar years. Recent contributions by architectural historians such as Carmen Popescu and Augustin Ioan aim to present the Romanian national style as part of a European-wide phenomenon. In her well-documented book *Le style national roumain*[19], Carmen Popescu perceives the Orthodox cathedrals in Transylvania as statements of power placed into a "foreign" environment, and thus competing for visibility with the Catholic and Protestant churches which dominated the cityscapes. The author also argues that Transylvanian Orthodox cathedrals had the symbolical function of mausoleums, being simultaneously religious places and monuments of Romanianness, built for the glory of the Romanian nation.[20]

A relevant comparison on the nationalizing practices of the Romanian state was provided by Augustin Ioan, who discussed the building of Orthodox churches in Dobrogea and Transylvania, following their incorporation into Romania. Two major aspects can be emphasized related to Dobrogea: predominance of Orthodoxy among various ethnic groups and absence of a well-defined and unitary architectural vocabulary that could express the values of Romanianness. However, in the case of Transylvania, Augustin Ioan speaks of "Romanianizing" cathedrals, "that would signify the appropriation of the newly-Romanian

[18] Nicolae Sabău,"Câteva proiecte pentru statuia ecvestră a lui Avram Iancu la Cluj (1924-1926)" (Some projects for the equastrian statue of Avram Iancu in Cluj (1924-1926)). *Acta Musei Napocensis* 18 (1981) 661-679.
[19] Carmen Popescu, *Le style national Roumain. Construire une nation a travers l'architecture*. *1881-1945*(Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes; [Bucharest]: Simetria, 2004).
[20] Carmen Popescu, *Le style national Roumain* , 211.

territory, where Orthodox Christianity appeared as an essential ingredient of national identity".[21]

The arguments presented by the two architectural historians constitute the starting point of my research, emphasizing the politicized nationalistic rhetoric associated with religious edifices such as the Orthodox Cathedral in Cluj. Although these approaches opened a new perspective in Romanian art historiography, they both perceive the national style only as imposed from the center, without analyzing the possible responses these changes actually engendered on local level. The whole process is oversimplified and regarded as evolving under the control of Bucharest, through the use of architecture and monuments as means of creating a sense of common identity among Romanians indiscriminately throughout the country. In this equation of power, the state seems to be the active and almighty force, while other actors are rarely taken into consideration. Conversely, I plan to narrow the problem of "Romanianizing" monuments in interwar Transylvania from the perspective of a conscious urban planning policy and to analyze them as objects of negotiation between various actors representing the center and periphery, in the attempt of establishing a more valid approach aimed to explore the beginning of the nationalization process in Transylvanian cities. Rather than focusing on Bucharest, I plan to show the interactions at local level between diverse and sometimes conflicting programs and actors.

The issue on interwar public monuments in Romania was not discussed in a comprehensive manner until the recent contribution of Maria Bucur.[22] Focusing on the commemoration practices after the two world wars, Maria Bucur argued that in the 1920s, the Romanian state lacked a clear strategy regarding the construction of monuments in the memory of the war dead. Therefore, the initiative was assumed by local communities in both urban and rural areas. Although the statue of Avram Iancu was not directly connected with the

[21] Augustin Ioan, *Power, Play and National Identity* (Bucharest: The Romanian Cultural Foundation Publishing House, 1999), 24.
[22] Maria Bucur, *War and Victims* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009).

memory of the war, I will argue that this project could be included in a complementary category of monuments, whose symbolism was to an extent connected with the post World War One commemorative practices.

The argument of my thesis develops following two complementary lines, since I am interested in studying these monuments both as projects and as processes, as symbolical representations and as practical developments. I aim to analyze the symbolical meaning of these projects and, from this point of view, I argue that the Orthodox Cathedral and the Avram Iancu statue were both perceived as embodiments of Romanianness. In other words, they were imagined as visual expressions of the official discourse on Transylvanian Romanians, which reunited a past of sacrifice, suffering and injustice in the context of an oppressive state and a present that brought salvation in the framework of a national state that united all the territories inhabited by ethnic Romanians. Even though Romanians represented a mere one third of Cluj population, the official practices narrowed this number down even further, by counting only those Romanians whose religion was Orthodox. Therefore, Greek-Catholic Romanians, who were twice more numerous than the Orthodox in Cluj, were basically excluded from identifying themselves with the new public space of the new Romanian square. Therefore, both the Cathedral and the cult of Avram Iancu were integrated into the official discourse under the umbrella of Orthodoxy.

The second perspective I will focus on will approach the two monuments from a practical point of view, analyzing them as work in progress. Although developed by the state and applied on local level through governmental and municipal authorities, these projects emerged as a result of the efforts of a broader spectrum of actors. Although the central government provided some financial support, even if that support varied from monument to monument, this intervention was not the result of a consistent, well-coordinated and concrete state policy. Rather, the responsibility for the success or the failure of these projects was

ultimately taken over by individuals or non-governmental associations which put pressure on authorities in order to receive the necessary support. Their requests were addressed to both authorities and the civil society, with the only purpose of having these projects achieved. Therefore, their power of persuasion and determination counted the most in the success or failure of the two projects.

Both the state and the local promoters of these projects had their interests in a successful collaboration. On the one hand, the new state needed to reinforce its claims of legitimacy and map the territory of Transylvania with monuments that would represent its power. In addition, the presence of the Romanian Royal Family and of the members of the government to different ceremonies associated with these monuments elucidated on the need of the new Monarchy of obtaining popular consensus. Addressing themselves mainly to Romanians, but also to the minorities, Romanian Royal Family attempted to replace the Habsburg imperial myth with their own. On the other hand, local committees for the statue and the Cathedral needed financial and legal support that only the state could provide. Since the new square was the property of the Municipality, the members of the two committees needed the approval of the local government for obtaining the right to construct on this space, and hence cooperation was also necessary on local level. Finally, what concerns the public realm, the official support of the national and local branches of the state reinforced Romanians' presence in the public sphere in a city in which they represented a minority.

At the same time, both the state and the Municipality had more practical and pressing issued to solve. Romania had to recover after the war and to develop integrative policies in order to create a working framework for the new state. Political instability affected both local and national structures. Cluj Municipality was also confronted with pressing issues of local administration, such as urbanization and the housing crisis. All these local circumstances were corroborated with the economic crisis at the end of the 1920s and the political problems at

national level following the death of King Ferdinand in 1927. In this context, only the commitment of the initiators could guarantee the success of a project.

This thesis is based on a series of archival materials, periodicals, visual sources and published works. The activity of the Municipality is documented by the registers existing in the National Archives in Cluj. Since many interwar documents are lost [footnote why], the activity of the local government can be partially reconstructed on the basis of the information provided by local newspapers. The Metropolitan Church Archives in Cluj offer a rich material concerning the building process of the Cathedral. Here also, a part of the documents, such as the plans of the Cathedral, are missing or lost. However, the plans for two of the competition entries, kept in the Museum of the Cathedral, are available. Additional information on this monument can be found in the official journal of the Bishopric, *Renasterea* (the Renaissance), and also in the monographs of the monument published in the interwar period. The story for the planned statue for Avram Iancu was the most difficult to reconstruct. The information that can be found in Cluj Archives is scarce, while the ASTRA Fund at the Archives in Sibiu documents only the implication of this Association in the story of the statue. Local newspapers such as *Patria* (The Homeland), *Infrățirea* (The Fraternity), *Clujul*, and *Voința* (The Will) offer additional information, but do not explain for example how the fund raising campaign developed. The visual material documenting the different stages of the competition was provided by art historian Nicolae Sabău, who "inherited" them from the member of the interwar jury, Coriolan Petranu. Numerous books published during the interwar period (e.g. monographs of the city, of the Cathedral and of Avram Iancu, conferences, volumes debating the process of nationalization of Transylvanian cities) complete my primary sources. Among them, I have to mention the booklet on the life of Avram Iancu that Alexandru Ciura published in 1921 as part of the fund raising campaign for the statue[23]. This little book which

[23] Al. Ciura, *Povestire pe scurt a vietii lui Avram Iancu* (Short Story of Avram Iancu's Life) (Cluj: Ardealul).

was bought out of sheer curiosity by a friend from a poor antiquarian, actually constituted the starting point of this thesis.

This thesis is divided in four chapters. In the theoretical chapter, I am interested to create a theoretical framework in which my argument could be integrated. Therefore, I discuss several concepts relevant for my research and analysis, such as nationalizing nationalism, public space, public monuments and urban actors. The purpose of this chapter is to define these notions and create a methodology for studying the nationalization of the urban public space through the construction of monuments.

In the second chapter, I frame my two case studies, the Cathedral and the Avram Iancu statue in the context of interwar Cluj. Given the complexity of this topic, I focus on the following aspects: the Austro-Hungarian legacy, the installation of the Romanian administration in Cluj and the main urban policies it developed during this period, and the Romanian discourse about the character of the city. Finally, I will look at the topography of the city, identifying the main spatial markers that implied the nationalization of the urban landscape. This chapter aims to show that during the 1920s, the local government manifested a rather moderate attitude in what concerns the nationalization process, which was also encouraged from the center.

The third chapter is dedicated to the Orthodox Cathedral. This part is inevitably structured around the activity of Bishop Nicolae Ivan, given his extraordinary involvement in the successful achievement of the project. Moreover, I discuss the motivation of founding an Orthodox Bishopric in a city where the members of this confession represented a minority. Then, I will analyze the debates concerning the placement of the Cathedral and the initial conflict with local Municipality. After discussing the main projects that participated in the competition for the construction of the Cathedral, I emphasize the motivations of various actors in supporting this project. Finally, I argue that the processions and ceremonies

orchestrated by Bishop Ivan throughout the city were aimed create a strong impact on the city's public space and impose the presence of the Orthodox as a dominant one. I also suggest that though this specific design of the public space under the umbrella of Orthodoxy, the Greek-Catholic were actually excluded from identifying themselves with the new Romanian city center.

The last chapter analyzes the story of the Avram Iancu Statue, a project that failed to become reality during the interwar years. My approach is framed by the transformations in the hero's cult during the 1920s, on the occasion of the Centenary of Iancu's birth. Also, I argue that because of the impressive statuary group representing the Cluj-born King Matthias Corvinus on the Main Square, this project was particularly challenging for both its initiators and its sculptors. While discussing the three stages of the sculpture competition and the ceremony of laying of the founding stone in 1924, I identify the motivations of various actors in supporting the project. Finally, I argue that a combination of factors coming from both local and national levels prevented this project to become reality. In my opinion, in the absence of a more determined president of the statue committee, the lack of interest from local government was the main reason for the failure of the project. However, I argue that even in these circumstances and despite eventual failures, such projects managed to emphasize the Romanian presence in interwar Cluj.

CHAPTER 1 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter I will attempt to create a theoretical framework for discussing the nationalization of public space trough the construction of monuments. First, I am interested to indentify, define and establish connections between several concepts that are fundamental for my thesis: nationalizing nationalism, public space, urban actors, and public monuments. Second, my aim is to construct a methodological approach that would allow me to analyze the two case studies I am interested in- the Orthodox Cathedral and the Avram Iancu statue in Cluj- in the context of nationalizing cultural policies. Moreover, I will focus on the decision-making process on municipal level and the types of relationships established between various urban actors capable of influencing the shaping of urban policies. I will consider the nationalizing nationalism in the interwar Romania as the main factor that determined the creation of a specific cultural discourse on the Romanian character in newly acquired provinces. Then, I will show how the nationalizing discourse was adopted by the new Romanian elite groups ruling Transylvanian cities and expressed in the design of public space through the construction of monuments that would embody the Romanian identity in a city culturally dominated by Hungarians, like Cluj. Therefore, this chapter will attempt to trace the theoretical coordinates linking a specific type of nationalism embraced by the cultural elite, the shaping of urban public space by various local and national actors and the importance of monuments integrated in the public space as visual expressions of national identity.

1.1. Nationalizing Nationalism

Nationalism has been one of the most frequent historiographical topics of the last few decades. The vast body of literature dedicated to this area of research results from the contributions by historians, sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists. The academic debates concentrated firstly on defining the concept of nation. Is the nation a reality deeply

rooted in the past, an artifact manipulated by the elites, or rather a form that gradually gained substance? Although the constructivist interpretations seemed to prevail in historians' preferences, more recent interdisciplinary approaches proved the topic is far from being fully explored. Moreover, new theories were produced on the basis of empirical research, identifying new manifestations of nationalism, more carefully grounded on a specific historical period.[24]

Although nationalism is one of the basic concepts of this research, I do not intend to proceed into a discussion of the interpretations of the term. Moreover, I am interested in a specific type of nationalism, namely what Rogers Brubaker introduces as "nationalizing nationalism", referring precisely to the interwar period and the context of the successor states created after the dissolution of the Russian, Habsburg and Ottoman Empires. In his book *Nationalism Reframed,* Brubaker focuses on the role of nationalism in the context of the new geo-political configuration of East Central Europe at the end of the First World War. His approach aims to explore the interactions between competing national projects developed by various ethnic groups living in these largely heterogeneous states emerging in a post-imperial context. Brubaker argues that the types of nationalizing projects developed during the interwar period are different as compared with the 19th century nation-building processes. Therefore, he offers a basic conceptual distinction, contrasting the nation-state with the newly introduced term of nationalizing state[25]. While the "nation-state" implies a completed project, in which one ethno-cultural homogeneous nation successfully appropriates the state apparatus and ensures its dominance over all its structures -an ideal type that practically does not exist in reality in East Central Europe or elsewhere- the nationalizing state appears as a rather

[24] Among the most relevant, already classical studies on nationalism, see the modernist/ constructivist approach represented by Ernst Gellner, *Nations and nationalism* **(**Oxford : Blackwell, 1983), Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities : reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* **(**London : Verso, 1983) Eric Hobsbawm , *Nations and nationalism since 1780 : programme, myth, reality* **(**Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1992), and the ethno- symbolist approach in the work of Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988).

[25]Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism reframed* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1996), 63

painful process with uncertain results. The nationalizing state is defined by Brubaker as "an *'unrealized'* nation-state", in which the elites aim to "remedy this perceived defect, to make the state what it is properly and legitimately destined to be, by promoting the language, culture, demographic position, economic flourishing, or political hegemony of the nominally state-bearing nation".[26]

Although the term "nationalization" conventionally refers to the transfer or to the appropriation by the state of properties that were hitherto in private ownership,[27] in this thesis I will use the concept in a sense that is directly related to the nation- and state-building processes. In his book, *The Nationalization of the Masses,* George Mosses uses the concept in order to define the transformation of the "chaotic crowd of the 'people'" in a mass movement animated by national consciousness.[28] A similar emphasis on the idea of acquiring a national consciousness is provided by the definition of Jeremy King, who suggests that nationalization in the context of the turn of the century East Central Europe means to assume a certain national/ ethnic consciousness or identification.[29] In framing his approach, King relies on Brubaker's critique of the concept of "identity"[30], replacing it with "identification" as a more accurate category of analysis. Analyzing the case of the Habsburg Monarchy in the 19th century, King argues that, sometime between the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century; the inhabitants of this multi-cultural region found themselves obliged to choose a single ethnic identification, although their loyalty might not have been necessarily tied to one particular nationality.[31] Therefore, according to this interpretation, nationalization means imposing a certain national meaning over a group, and, by extension,

[26] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism reframed,* 63.
[27] *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 946.
[28] George Mosses, *The Nationalization of the Masses* (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1991), 2
[29] Jeremy King, "The Nationalization of East Central Europe", *Staging the Past : the Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present* Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield (eds.) (West Lafayette, IN : Purdue University Press, 2001), 112-113.
[30] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond Identity" , *Theory and Society* 29, No. 1 (Feb., 2000), 1-47.
[31] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond Identity", 123.

over the space controlled by one group. In King's interpretation, nationalization is connected to the state only to a certain degree. If Brubaker's definition of this term is somehow related to the conventional meaning that presumes the state's central role in the process of nationalization, for King its significance does not necessarily imply the involvement of the state. In other words, the state remains an important player, but not the only one.[32] This observation is of particular importance for the purpose of this thesis, which will discuss nationalization at the level local urban policies, thus identifying the state as one of the actors involved in the process of nationalization of the public space.

Nevertheless, several aspects in Brubaker's conceptualization of the nationalizing state are of major interest for this thesis. In one of the theoretical essays of *Nationalism Reframed*, Brubaker identifies seven characteristics of the concept that, as he suggests, could be also applied to other contexts.[33] Among these, two aspects are of particular importance. First, the author emphasizes the weakness of the core nation that presents itself as the rightful owner of the state through the creation of a legitimating discourse. Second, nationalizing policies are then developed as a compensatory project aiming to "repair" the injustices of the past, timing a period when this specific nationality that was to become the core nation lacked the support of the state in order to fulfill its interests.[34]

The concept of the "nationalizing state" is just one component of Brubaker's theory on the development of nationalism in the interwar successor states, which involves of a triad of concepts including national minorities, newly nationalizing states, and external national "homelands".[35] However, starting from a broad perspective and focusing on the interaction between these three factors, he often neglects and oversimplifies some aspects concerning the

[32] Actually, it seems that Brubaker anticipates this shift through the extended number of actors he places under the umbrella of the state.

[33] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism reframed*, 83-84

[34] The issue of state agencies and non-state organizations, also mentioned by Brubaker, will be discussed in the framework of the following subchapter.

[35] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism reframed*, 4

nationalizing policies. For example, he assumes the existence of one coherent nationalizing project; when, in fact, the representatives of the core nation can be divided according to political or religious views and may therefore indulge in more than one single such project. Accordingly, they would promote different visions of the meanings and strategies that should be adopted. In addition, the weakness of the state could be not only a matter of perception, but a reality. Moreover, the state might remain a weak one, lacking the economic means, the infrastructure or the professionals that would ensure the success of the nationalizing project. In these circumstances, the state can choose a middle-way solution and collaborate with the representatives of the national minorities. Although officially the nationalizing state and the national minorities should be in open conflict, in practice they would have to negotiate. The "privileges" given to the core nation are again a matter of debate. Can it be clearly demonstrated that under all circumstances, the nationalizing state promotes only the interests of the dominant nation? As my thesis aims to show, this was not always the case. Although the state presents itself as a nationalizing one in the official discourse, the implementation of these policies on the local level leaves numerous possibilities for the negotiation of roles.[36]

1.2 Public Space and Public Actors

On local level, nationalizing policies are negotiated and implemented by various actors, depending on their influence and power. The shaping of the urban landscape constitutes an issue of major importance for the local community and therefore a series of national and local actors are involved in the decision-making processes aiming to produce structural modifications in the city. In this subchapter I will attempt to discuss the concepts of

[36] Although theoretically relevant for the topic I am researching, the discussion on the relationship between the nationalizing state and national minorities remains beyond the purpose of this chapter. Moreover, what I am interested in is the self-representation of the core nation [in this case, Romanians] and their perception on the situation of the other minorities in the context of the official nationalizing policies.

public space and public actors in the context of urban policies, aiming to emphasize the ways in which the two are interconnected.

The first concept relevant for this discussion, public space, can be thematically placed in the area of interests of urban planners, architects, anthropologists, sociologists and geographers. Sociologists and anthropologists are particularly interested in the way the public nature of the space interacts with various social, cultural, political and economic processes.[37] In the introduction of his book, Stephen Carr argued that the public space represents "the stage upon which the drama of the communal life unfolds."[38] Moreover, its characteristics are usually defined in contrast to those of the private space, in terms of access, control, rules of use and types of individual and collective behavior.[39]

In the most simple and conventional definition, public space includes "all areas that are open and accessible to all members of the public in a society, in principle through not necessarily in practice."[40] Outdoor areas such as streets, squares and sidewalks are traditionally defined as public spaces. The human dimension in defining the concept of "public" is also significant, since the use of the urban space can be culturally and politically restricted to members of the "public". In this regard, "public space" becomes a concept subject to continuous redefinitions in relation to legal limits, political decisions, social conceptions and individual perceptions.[41] Stephen Carr identifies three cultural factors capable of framing the structure and usage of public space within a given community: the social element (social life of the community), the functional aspects (practical usage) and the performance of rituals, defined through "shared meanings for the community".[42] Referring to the multiple uses of public space, Zachary P. Neal mentions that it can function as a site for

[37] Neil Smith and Setha Low, "The Imperative of Public Space", in *The Politics of Public Space,* Neil Smith and Setha Low (eds.) (New York : Routledge, 2006), 5.
[38] Stephen Carr, *Public Space.* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 3.
[39] Neil Smith and Setha Low, "The Imperative of Public Space", 3-4.
[40] Zachary P. Neal, "Locating Public Space", in *Common Ground: Readings and Reflections on Public Space***,** Anthony M. Orum, Zachary P. Neal **(**eds.) (New York, : Routledge, 2008), 1.
[41] Zachary P. Neal, "Locating Public Space", 2-4.
[42]Stephen Carr, *Public Space*, 26-27.

power and resistance, but also as a stage for art, theatre and performance, as a place where one can see and be seen, or where one could express his own identity.[43]

In democratic societies, the use of public space is in principle conceived as a basic right belonging to every member of the community. However, the freedom of access can be restricted by physical, visual and symbolic barriers, while the freedom of action requires negotiations among the claims made by various groups and individuals wanting to appropriate the space for their personal use.[44] Most of all, public space is the product of society, reflecting its private and public values.[45] Therefore, the changes in its settings and usage can function as indicators of ownership and disposition, reflecting the mechanisms of freedom and control.[46]

A problematic issue in the discussion of the concept of public space results from the fact that it is simultaneously shaped and controlled by the state, and also by the members of the local community. The Latin etymology of the concept of "public" reveals this ambiguous conceptualization of the relationship between state, the collective body of citizens and the opposite realms of private and public. Accordingly, as an adjective, *publicus* would refer to public spaces such as streets and squares, but also to the community of citizens. In contrast, the noun *publicum* made reference to the political domain, being used in order to define any type of state property.[47]

Richard Sennett follows chronologically the changes produced in the understanding of "public", showing how its meaning was identified in the 15th century with the common good in society, while in the 17th century its understanding was associated with openness to the scrutiny of everyone. In the 18th century, "public" encompassed new spatial and social understanding- "to go out in publick" meant to participate at the new institutions of

[43] Zachary P. Neal, "Locating Public Space", 5.
[44] Stephen Carr, *Public Space*, 185-186.
[45] Stephen Carr, *Public Space* , 22.
[46] Stephen Carr, *Public Space*, 186.
[47] James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge University Press: 2001), 1

sociability, in an environment that might include friends and acquaintances, but also complete strangers. [48]

One of the most important theoretical contributions to the study of the public domain is provided by Jürgen Habermas. The German philosopher discusses the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere in the context of the 17th and 18th centuries, showing how the development of trade capitalism and the spread of the press were decisive factors in providing the motivation and the means for the emancipation of the public from the state realm.[49] Consequently, the public sphere emerged as a communication network aimed to generate attitudes and produce improvement, while education and the spread of information subjected to critical reflection were the conditions for the formation of a true public opinion.[50] Habermas's conceptualization of the public sphere dissociates between the two major meanings closely related with the Latin etymology of the notion of "public". In its primary meaning, the realm of the public constitutes the state's traditional and undisputed property. The notion acquires a second meaning when the community of sociable individuals, labeled as civil society, challenges state's authority in this field, aiming to establish its own autonomous public areas,[51] such as salons, various associations and societies, and the realm of the press. In this context, the notion of "public space" was redefined. The new public contested the traditional control of the state over official public spaces, while it also created alternative public spaces by the development of new institutions of sociability. In this thesis, I will use Habermas's theory in order to observe the relationships established between state and non-state actors representing the civil society in the shaping of a public space that was theoretically controlled by the state.

[48] Richard Sennett, "The Fall of the Public Man", *The Blackwell City Reader* (Malden, MA : Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 345
[49] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, (Cambridge (Mass.) : MIT Press, 1993), 20.
[50] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 66.
[51] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 30.

As mentioned above, the configuration of the urban public space is determined by a series of actors, such as the local municipality, the state, various organizations and societies, and private investors. In the introductory study of the volume *Who Ran the Cities?* Ralf Roth and Robert Beachy discuss the relationship between urban elites and the distribution of power in the shaping of urban policies. Rejecting the assumption that a monolithic group controls the entire decision-making process on municipal level, the two authors argue that the main changes in a city are the result of an "interplay between various economic, social, political and cultural elite groups."[52] The political elites represented in the municipal government are not always identical with the social, cultural and economic urban elites that differentiate themselves through wealth and education. Sometimes, the role of "traditional elites" is challenged by newcomers that acquired wealth and position in a short period of time.[53] The decision-making process is often facilitated by the constitution of coalitions between groups that follow similar interests and manage to place their representatives in positions of influence. As the two authors argue, the main methodological steps in the study of ruling urban elites are to establish their character, to identify the members of each group and to observe the power relationships established between various actors. However, for the historian it is difficult to appreciate the importance of every position and to weight the influence one could have had, since a large variety of subjective factors have to be taken into consideration.[54] Still, urban regulations adopted at both national and local level constitute the legal framework in which the decision-making process takes place. These legal dispositions create centers of power and hierarchies, enabling certain actors to have a decisive role in the final decision.

As Ralf Roth shows in the German case, fragmentation was the main characteristic of 19th century urban elites. Distinctions could be traced along social, political and confessional

[52] *Who Ran the Cities?,* Ralf Roth and Robert Beachy (eds.) (Ashgate, 2007), xxiv.
[53] *Who Ran the Cities?,* Ralf Roth and Robert Beachy (eds.), xvii.
[54] *Who Ran the Cities?,* Ralf Roth and Robert Beachy (eds.), xviii-xx.

lines, between traditional elite groups and reformed political bodies. Also, the role of independent associations and foundations cannot be neglected.[55] A similar division between actors can be observed in the interwar period. Rogers Brubaker argues that public spaces ("the streets") represent one of the specific settings where the nationalizing project is implemented through the activity of a variety of players, such as state agencies and officials, but also through non-state organizations.[56] Therefore, despite Habermas's assertion that the realm of the civil society is constituted separately from the state[57], this does not necessarily imply that the purposes of these two major actors are divergent. Moreover, the nationalizing project can be embraced by different actors to various degrees.

The existence of a nationalizing project does not exclude the appearance of conflicts among the representatives of the same nation. Cynthia Paces shows in her work on the central square of Prague at the beginning of the 20th century that this public space became an object of dispute not between Czechs and Germans, as one might expect, but among Czechs themselves. Sharing different political, religious and aesthetic views, the Czechs were divided among a number of groups that each claimed to represent the interests of the nation. In the case of Prague, "the battle for public space" was fought over the significance of two monuments aimed to define the identity of the city and the nation, the Marian Column and the planned Jan Hus memorial.[58] In this regard, the presence of one group in the public space represents ultimately a statement of its political power. Moreover, the capacity of these actors in influencing the shaping of the public space depends on the degree of influence they acquire and the connections established between them.

[55] *Who Ran the Cities?,* Ralf Roth and Robert Beachy (eds.), xxvii.
[56] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism reframed,* 84.
[57] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* 19.
[58] Cynthia Paces, "The Battle for Public Space on Prague's Old Town Square", in *Composing Urban History and the Constitution of Civic Identities,* John J. Czaplicka, Blair A. Ruble, Lauren Crabtree (eds.) (Woodrow Wilson Center Press 2003), 165-91.

1.3 Frameworks of Interpretation in the Study of Monuments as National Symbols

Monuments constitute important urban landmarks, being usually located in major public spaces, such as the squares of city centers. While embodying a certain symbolical meaning, monuments function also as elements of urban design, representing rulers and military commanders, national or religious symbols. Some monuments can have a practical function (e.g. objects of public utility such as fountains), while others are rather objects of art embodying a symbolic message. The case of architectural monuments is slightly different, since public edifices are primarily constructed in order to fulfill a practical function. However, their architectural style is often designed to incorporate a specific message.

The concept of representation is essential for an understanding of the meaning of public buildings and monuments. As Allan Ellenius mentions, "the Latin word *representatio* means visualizing or illustrating, for instance by using examples."[59] In English usage, the word "representation" refers specifically to the metaphorical or symbolical meaning of a visual or conceptual image. Its significance can be closely associated with the principle of *persuatio,* leading to the interpretation of images as forms of propaganda and legitimation.[60] In many cases, the rhetorical images are specifically applied to the study of metaphors embodied in the visual display of political power, staged in a symbolic environment that Allan Ellenius calls "*the ceremonial space.*"[61] The notion of representation, which presupposes a semiotic interpretation of the work of art, challenges the classical perception of art as mimesis. Rather than an aesthetic expression, the work of art is interpreted as a system of signs that embodies a number of cultural values specific to a given historical context.[62]

[59] Allan Ellenius (ed.) *Iconography, propaganda, and legitimation* **(**Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1998), 2.
[60]Allan Ellenius (ed.) *Iconography, propaganda, and legitimation* , 3.
[61] Allan Ellenius (ed.) *Iconography, propaganda, and legitimation, 3.*
[62] Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holy, Keith Moxey, *Visual Culture. Images and Interpretation* (Hanover, NH : University Press of New England, 1994), xvi

According to Nelson Goodman, representative public buildings can be distinguished from other works of art through a series of characteristics: large scale, location on a fixed place, relative physical permanence in a stable environment and practical function. Moreover, the author states that "a building is a work of art only insofar as it signifies, means, refers, symbolizes in some way."[63] Therefore, Goodman identifies four headings through which architecture can be read and interpreted: "denotation", "exemplification," "expression" and "mediated reference."[64] A building can contain pictorial representations and symbols; it can make reference to practical functions through its structural elements, or express metaphorical meanings through its iconography, thus allowing a variety of interpretations, even if its creator(s) intended to convey through it a simple and straightforward singular meaning. The author's main argument is that the meaning of architectural works results from a negotiation between the vision of the architect and the perception of ordinary people that in everyday life interact with the building.[65] According to all these considerations, a building is an element that visibly alters the environment, producing a major change in the urban landscape. Therefore, the message it incorporates can hardly be ignored.

As Murray Edelman argues, the space does not simply convey meanings, but objectifies them.[66] Representative architectural works, such as governmental or religious buildings, are significant symbols of a shared past and a common future, being designed at the initiative of elites.[67] In many cases, there is a difference between the initial meanings attributed to the monument and its public perception. Therefore, an equally important aspect connected to urban design concerns the issue of unity or division.[68] Monuments and representative buildings can be interpreted differently according to one's class, ethnicity, or

63 Nelson Goodman, "How Buildings Mean", *Critical Inquiry* 11 No. 4 (Jun. 1985): 642-643.
64 Nelson Goodman, "How Buildings Mean ", 644.
65 Nelson Goodman, "How Buildings Mean, 650.
66 Murray Edelman, "Space and the Social Order," *JAE* 32 No. 2 (Nov. 1978): 2
67 Nelson Goodman, "How Buildings Mean", 3.
68 Nelson Goodman, "How Buildings Mean", 5.

cultural background. Although theoretically the public space is open to everyone, its specific design can generate cohesion or disunity among the members of the urban community, alienating certain groups, while reinforcing the others' experience of power.[69]

Furthermore, the question of the meaning attributed to a monument by certain groups is highly complex, being negotiated at various levels. On one hand, the meaning constitutes a matter of debate between the actors that are part of the decision-making process and that are entitled to choose one particular design among several options; on the other hand, the members of the urban community, according to their ethnicity, political views, religion, social status etc. perceive the monument in different ways. Anyway, in this thesis, my interest relies more on the way in which monuments were conceived as embodiments of the national idea and on the negotiations taking place between the actors able to influence their design and shape their meaning, and less on their reception by the local community.

In the modern period, the display of political power through the construction of monuments and the performance of ceremonies made frequent reference to the values of the past not only in order to simply legitimize or to glorify the current rule or ruler, but as part of larger nation-building projects. According to George Mosse, during the 19th and 20th centuries, "national monuments in stone and mortar" were constructed as permanent landmarks aimed to "anchor the national myths and symbols in the consciousness of the people."[70]

The English historian Eric Hobsbawm demystified these symbolic, yet artificial associations across temporal barriers by introducing the concept of the "invention of tradition". According to Hobsbawm, invented traditions can be defined as "a set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a *ritual or symbolic nature*, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which

[69] Nelson Goodman, "How Buildings Mean" 6.
[70] George Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses*, 8.

automatically implies continuity with the past."[71] Moreover, the new tradition is established as a direct reference to a specific period of the past, which can offer those elements needed for legitimating present's actions. In these circumstances, the relationship between past and present becomes problematic, not only because the continuity between the two periods is "largely factitious"[72], but also due to the fact that the historical past is reshaped according to the requirements of the present. In his analysis, Hobsbawm identifies three main types of "invented traditions", mentioning that these categories are quite flexible and sometimes overlapping: those attempting to symbolize the social cohesion of a real/ imagined community, those legitimizing authority or a certain status, and those aiming to promote a specific value system or impose conventions of behavior.[73] Of major importance in the creation of tradition are those elements that have an emotional and symbolical charge, because they can create a stronger feeling of common belonging. However, for this study, Hobsbawm's terminology is only partially relevant. Rather than properly traditions, monuments can be interpreted as visual expressions of prevailing visions of a forged collective identity, while being associated with ceremonies and rituals conceived as invented traditions. For example, the architectural style of a building can reinterpret traditional morphological or decorative elements, thus connecting the present and the past in symbolic visual discourse. In this regard, national styles were especially efficient in integrating elements of medieval or vernacular architecture, creating buildings that would embody the historical identity of the nation. Although preserving the attribute of "invented", these products of national architectural styles should be perceived as visions of collective identities rather than traditions.

[71] Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] : Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1.
[72] Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, 2.
[73] Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (eds.), 9.

In this thesis, I am interested in the way in which invented visions of collective identities are associated with monuments constructed in a particular time and public space. More specifically, I am looking at discourses about national identity as expressed though the visual language of monuments and public ceremonies associated with them as part of the cultural policies of nationalization of public space. Also, I suggest that through this type of visual and discursive rhetoric, various groups of state and non-state, national and local actors aimed to impose a sense of national identification over a square that would function as a representative space of an "imagined political community."[74] Furthermore, I perceive these works of art not as ends in themselves, but as processes during which both their form and content were negotiated by various actors.

My subject matter focuses on two specific urban constructions: a cathedral and a statue, which were designed to be located in a newly created central square in the interwar Cluj. In my search of theoretical and methodological approaches, I have looked for the exiting literature on cathedral architecture in Europe. Although not very visible in the architectural landscape of the Romanian art before the 20th century, cathedrals represent important elements shaping the identity of European cities. In a study included in one of the volumes of *Realms of Memory*, André Vauchez describes the medieval cathedrals of France as "repositories of the past, gathering up centuries of memories of the cities and dioceses they represent."[75] The cathedral was always a strategic place associated with power, being built through the alliance of monarchy and religion. In my opinion, of major importance for the manner in which cathedrals were perceived also in the Romanian context is the definition provided by the famous French architect and the pioneer of restoration movement Eugene Violet-le-Duc, who argued that "cathedrals [in northern France] were religious monuments,

[74] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities : reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* **(**London : Verso, 1991), 6.
[75] Andre Vauchez, "The Cathedral", in *Realms of memory*, Pierre Nora (ed.) vol. II, (New-York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 40.

but they were also national edifices, the symbol of French nationality, and the first and most powerful attempt to achieve unity."[76]

Ironically, in the Romanian and more specifically Transylvanian context, before becoming such "national edifices" and "symbols of national unity", Orthodox cathedrals needed to be first constructed, as whatever medieval sacral architecture might have existed on this territory in the Middle Ages, is was neither preserved to the interwar period, nor Orthodox. Therefore, Orthodox cathedrals had to be "invented" and constructed in a style that made clear references to medieval times. Not accidentally, the official discourse presented these edifices as sites of memory, embodying the continuity with a historical past.

The specific association between Orthodoxy and Romanianness transformed interwar Transylvanian cathedrals into nationalizing symbols. The very definition of the national character became the topic of intense polemics among Romanian intellectuals in the interwar period, being defined by Keith Hitchins as "the grand debate".[77] Eugen Lovinescu's theory of synchronism summarized the main argument of the first group: although a predominantly agrarian country, Romania was part of Europe and therefore it should follow the Western pattern of development, meaning industrialization and urbanization. By consciously adopting Western institutions and values, Romanian culture and civilization could hope to reach a similar level of development as the West. Therefore, Lovinescu believed that Romanian bourgeoisie and intellectuals should constitute the basis in the creation of modern Romania. By contrast, traditionalists defined Romanianness as a "fusion of the Romanian rural world and Orthodoxy"[78]. Inspired by German romanticism, they believed in the superiority of culture over the material civilization. Although not sharing a homogeneous view on what constituted the Romanian tradition, they generally considered that the essence of

[76] Quoted in Andre Vauchez, "The Cathedral" , 58.
[77] For a more elaborate discussion of the topic, see Keith Hitchins, *Rumania 1866-1947*(Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1994), 292-334
[78] Keith Hitchins, *Rumania 1866-1947*, 299.

Romanianness was intimately connected with the Eastern Orthodox Church. Therefore, Romania was destined to follow a different path of development and, first of all, it had to regenerate itself though the rediscovery of its authentic spirituality and cultural matrix.

As Carmen Popescu states, in the context of Transylvanian cities, Orthodox cathedrals constructed in the interwar period were in the same time religious places and monuments of Romanianness.[79] In order to visibly mark the conquering of Transylvania, cathedrals were preferred over other buildings precisely because they embodied the essence of Romanianness, symbolizing also the survival of the nation in an environment that was often hostile. Therefore, Orthodox cathedrals in Transylvania were meant to embody a discourse about memory and the national past.

The second notion I am concerned with is the public monument. As Sergiusz Michalski states, the traditional type of public monument representing historical personalities was developed in 19th century Western art as one of the characteristic forms of urban culture.[80] Since the appearance of the first figural monument designed especially for a public space, that is the statue of Don Juan of Austria erected in 1572 in Messina in honor of the victory of Lepanto, this sculptural genre tended to escape confinement to monarchical and aristocratic private spaces such as castles and courts, being gradually appropriated by the bourgeois political culture.[81] During the 19th century, urban communities increasingly constructed public monuments to commemorate important personages and events, suggesting in the same time local patriotism and the existence of a certain common identity around symbolic figures in the city's past. Moreover, monuments played an important role in the

[79] Carmen Popescu, *Le style national roumain* (Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes ; [Bucarest] : Simetria, [2004]), 211.
[80] Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments,: Art in Political Bondage, 1870-1997* (London : Reaktion Books, 1998), 7-8.
[81] Sergiusz Michalski, *Public monuments*, 8.

nation- and state-building processes. According to George Mosse, "national monuments formed one of the most essential aspects of the self-representation of the nation."[82]

One of the most relevant analyses of the meaning of statues as public monuments is provided by the American anthropologist Katherine Verdery. In her book, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, Verdery argues that statues are connected to a specific environment and a political order. Therefore, they are aimed to ensure the stability of the landscape by visibly marking the space, while incorporating a set of cultural values.[83] The space becomes a key concept in Verdery's interpretation of "the bronze human beings", since the claims advanced by a certain group through the iconography of a statue are clearly related to the specific place where the monument would be located. More significantly, the political transformations are seen through their cultural dimension, and therefore **"**a dead body is meaningful not in itself, but through culturally established relations to death and through the way a specific dead person's importance is (variously) constructed."[84]

Taking into account the concepts discussed above and the connections between them, my methodological approach will combine discourse and visual analysis from an interdisciplinary perspective. I will perceive the efforts of creating a new square in the center of interwar Cluj not as an end in itself, but as a process that presupposed a series of negotiations between actors representing various groups of interests that supported their own version on the definition of Romanianness and its visual expression through the construction of monuments. By analyzing the discourse of every group as reflected in speeches, newspapers, books and other types of publications, I will aim to trace the coordinates of the Romanian elites' perception on Cluj and to appreciate the efficiency of the nationalizing project as implemented on local level.

[82] George Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses* (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1991), 46.
[83] Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1999), 6.
[84] Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, 27-28.

CHAPTER 2 – THE CITY OF CLUJ DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Following the dismemberment of Austro-Hungary at the end of the war, the Hungarian population of Cluj organized several protests. Responding to one such manifestation that registered a large popular participation, Romanian troops entered the city on December 24, 1918[85], in a symbolical gesture of taking into possession the conquered territory. Several weeks passed before Romanians assumed the leadership in the local administration infrastructure.[86] As a regional executive body representing the government in Bucharest, the Directing Council in Sibiu was entitled to name the new heads of the Romanian administration.[87] However, the city government refused to resign, arguing that the armistice treaty stipulated the maintenance of the current administration until the final peace treaty was signed.[88] On January 19, 1919 Mayor Gustav Haller and one hundred thirty-eight civil servants signed a document in which they declared loyalty to the Hungarian government, refusing to recognize the authority of the Directing Council.[89] Consequently, the City Hall was occupied by a body of Romanian soldiers, whose captain asked the heads of the

[85] Gheorghe Iancu, *The Ruling Council.* (Cluj-Napoca: The Romanian Cultural Foundation, 1995), 102-103.
[86] *Administrația românească în județul. Cluj* (Romanian administration in Cluj District).(Cluj, 1937), 32.
[87] *Administrația românească în județul. Cluj* 33.
[88] *Administrația românească în județul. Cluj* , 33.
[89] Octavian Buzea, *Clujul* (Cluj) (Cluj: Ardealul, 1939), 63.

Hungarian administration to quit their offices. Later on, the prefect named a new city council, which elected Iulian Pop as the new mayor.[90]

The history of interwar Cluj began with local protests, Romanian military intervention and the forced occupation of local administrative institutions. What followed was a period of adaptation, during which the city and its inhabitants had to come in terms with the new political order. The purpose of this chapter is to sketch the profile of Cluj during the interwar period, in order to create a framework for the discussion of the two case studies I will analyze during the following chapters. I discuss both the Austro-Hungarian and interwar period in the attempt of establishing lines of continuity and discontinuity in the history of the city. More specifically, I focus on local administration, urbanization and architectural development, but also on the relationship between modernization, nationalism and creation of representative public spaces responding to a political agenda. A subchapter is dedicated to the Romanian presence in the city, emphasizing the creation of a specific narrative on the city's past, present and future by nationalist Romanian intellectuals. Finally, I argue that although Romanian administration imposed a series of spatial markers representing the new political context, with few exceptions, the nationalization of the public space did not represent an aggressive intervention in the existing cityscape.

2.1. The Austro-Hungarian Legacy: Local Administration and Urban Development in Kolozsvár/ Cluj between 1867 and 1918

The city of Cluj/ Kolozsvár/ Klausenburg/ Claudiopolis[91] was founded at the end of the 12th century on the place of the ancient Roman municipium Napoca, on the right bank of

[90] Dan Brudaşcu (ed.), *80 de ani de administraţie românească la Cluj-Napoca*, Vol. 1.(80 years of Romanian Administration in Cluj-Napoca). (Cluj-Napoca: Redacţia publicaţiilor Primăriei Cluj-Napoca, 1999), 19-20.
[91] As a multi-ethnic city, Cluj was known in different periods according to one or more of these names. However, as a simple convention, in this paper I will refer to it as Cluj, without associating this name with any ethnic or national connotation.

Someş River. Its urban character was shaped by the German artisans and merchants who settled here during the 13th century,[92] but gradually the Hungarian community also gained importance in the city. A rather typical Central European medieval city, with Gothic churches, stone houses, guilds and fortifications, the city transformed its appearance during the 18th century, when many members of the Transylvanian Hungarian nobility transferred to the city.[93]

The first signs of modernization of the urban landscape became visible in 1791, when the local government initiated the demolition of medieval city walls.[94] The 19th century street pattern of the city developed around an elongated center oriented north-south, connecting three squares: the one of the old town[95] near the Dominican Monastery, the main square[96] comprising the 15th century Gothic church Saint Michael and a smaller square in front of the 18th century Jesuit Church.[97] The city center was basically constituted from the intersection of this alignment of squares with two parallel streets crossing the perimeter of the inner city on the east- west axis.

During the second half of the 19th century, the task of coordinating the modernization of the city was divided between the local administration and the government in Budapest. In 1876, a local Administrative Committee was founded with the purpose of supervising public works such as the construction of roads, bridges and railways, but also of supporting

[92]Mihaela Agachi, *Clujul modern. Aspecte urbanistice.* (Moderm Cluj. Urbanism Aspects) (Cluj-Napoca: UT Press, 2004), 37.
[93] Mircea Toca, *Clujul baroc* (Baroque Cluj) (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1983), 78-83 Two of the most impressive palaces were constructed by the Bánffy and Jósika families in the city's main square.
[94] M. Agachi, *Clujul modern*, 48. Although the works advanced gradually, lasting more than a century, the demolition of the medieval city walls was never completely achieved. Those parts of the fortifications that did not create major inconveniences for the expansion of the city were preserved, together with the Tailors' Tower. The material resulted from the demolitions was either used by municipality or sold to various corporations, entrepreneurs or private persons. One of the major buildings constructed from this material was the Military Headquarters .
[95] Better-known as "ovár "during the 19th century.
[96] Originally called "Nagy Piac" (The Great Market Place), due to its usage as a space for commerce. In the last quarter of the 19th century, its name became Fö tér (The Main Square) after this area was systematized as a representative public space.
[97] M. Agachi, *Clujul modern*, 99.

industrial development and education.[98] Several urbanization plans were elaborated by the local municipality in 1879, 1882, 1899, 1911 and 1916, all of them dividing the city in three zones: the inner city corresponding to the area enclosed by the former fortification walls, the semi-periphery and the periphery, whose limits were always undefined and shifting.[99]

Unlike Timisoara, Arad and Brasov, Cluj was not to become a major industrial city during this period. Some voices explained this was due to the influence of the nobility, who was traditionally attached to agriculture.[100] Other opinions emphasized that Cluj was meant to become a city with multiple functions; its administrative role would be completed by the scientific and artistic life developed around the University.[101]

One of the most important measures aiming to encourage the modernization of the city was the construction of the rail line between 1868 and 1870, connecting Cluj, Oradea (Nagyvárad) and Budapest.[102] Furthermore, several laws encouraging industrial development issued by the government in Budapest in 1881 and 1890 facilitated the foundation of thirteen new factories in Cluj during the last decade of the 19th century and their endowment with modern steam engines.[103] The intensive building activity in the city encouraged the development of construction materials industries. At the turn of the century, local factories were producing bricks, beer, shoes, gas, paper, alcoholic beverages, soap, candles, engines and matches.[104] In 1910, the proletariat counted over 7,000 workers.[105] Most of them were employed by the Tobacco Factory (over 1,000), the Railway Workshops and the Matches Factory.[106]

[98] M. Agachi, *Clujul modern*, 55.
[99] M. Agachi, *Clujul modern*, 58-59.
[100] Ioan Vatasescu, *Calauza studentului la Cluj.*(Students' Guide in Cluj) (Cluj: Ardealul, 1928),16.
[101] M. Agachi, *Clujul modern*, 127.
[102] Stefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului,* 287.
[103] Stefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului,* 288.
[104] Gh. Vais, *Clujul eclectic*, 24-29.
[105], Stefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului* ,292-296.
[106] Stefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului,* 309.

The economic development in the last two decades of the 19th century is well reflected by demographic dynamics. If in 1857 Cluj had a population of almost 23,000[107], the number almost tripled until the beginning of the 20th century. In 1910, the official census registered approximately 60,000 inhabitants.[108] Population growth was due especially to migration from surrounding rural areas. The reports of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry confirmed that migration to the city of large masses of peasants insured the necessary working force for the factories, a social group that in 1890 constituted 37% of the overall population. However, immigration also influenced the demographical dynamics of the city. Around 1900, 16% of the city's population (about 7,800 inhabitants) immigrated to other countries, such as Romania, the United States or Germany. The majority of them were daily workers and servants.[109]

During the dualist period, Cluj radically changed its appearance, transforming from a predominantly medieval town into an essentially modern city. As it was recently demonstrated by Gheorghe Vais, these architectural changes were largely due to a state sponsored building campaign aiming to modernize the city.[110] In other words, the radical transformation of the city's landscape at the turn of the century was the result of Budapest's intervention. Initiative, founding, and professionals, all were generously provided by the Hungarian government. The new public buildings were designed to embody the authority and the prestige of the state. Therefore, the list of requirements included monumentality, architectural forms dominated by historicism and an eclectic decorative language. Allergic to any attempt to impose Secessionism, even under its Hungarian version, authorities prescribed a conservative artistic vocabulary that left few place for innovation. Numerous administrative, educational, commercial and cultural institutions were built between 1880 and 1915: the

[107] *Recensamantul din 1857, Transilvania* (The Census in 1857. Transylvania). (Bucuresti: Staff, 1997), 148-149.
[108] *Recensamantul din 1880, Transilvania. (*The Census in 1857. Transylvania) (Bucuresti: Staff, 1999), 248.
[109] Stefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului*, 307.
[110] Gh. Vais, *Clujul eclectic*, 5.

Palace of Cluj County, the Franz Joseph University, the University Clinics and Library, the Palace of Justice, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry etc. Local architect Pákei Lajos was also entrusted with a series of projects, such as the Unitarian College and the New-York Hotel.[111] Of major importance for the cultural profile of the city was the construction of the Hungarian National Theatre. The project caused a series of debates in Cluj and Budapest, due to the fact that it was commissioned by the prestigious, yet non-Hungarian Viennese company Fellner & Helmer.[112] However, its construction was achieved between 1902 and 1906 and the Theatre became one of the most important urban landmarks in Cluj. The representatives of the Hungarian national style had a reduced impact on the architectural structure of the city. In 1900, Odon Lechner designed a villa for his uncle, Doctor Károly Lechner[113], while Károly Kós projected a Calvinist Church in 1912.[114]

The resulting building structure appeared as a mix of medieval and modern. However, in the absence of a systematization plan for the periphery, the areas surrounding the center developed unequally: the high-standards of the western part contrasted with the industrial and semi-rural eastern areas.[115] Also, two poor districts developed chaotically in the proximity of the city center: one was situated just behind the Theatre, while the other extended on the Citadel hill.[116] During the second half of the 19th century, the city expanded on the east-west axis, incorporating in 1895 the Romanian village Mănăştur, situated in the western part of the city.[117] In addition, the concentration of industries in the northern part of the city, along the rail line, determined the urbanization of this area.[118]

[111] Gh. Vais, *Clujul eclectic*, 87-118.
[112] A pertinent and detailed analysis of the Hungarian Theatre is made by Gh. Vais, *Clujul eclectic*, 287-340. The Theatre in Cluj is presented in comparative perspective with other major projects of the Viennese company.
[113] Gyorgy Szekely Sebestyen, "Limbajul architectural al lui Odon Lechner. Exemplificare: villa Lechner din Cluj", in *Logia* (3), 2000: 48-52
[114] Gh. Vais, *Clujul eclectic*, 81.
[115] M. Agachi, *Clujul modern*, 167-170.
[116] M. Agachi, *Clujul modern* 136.
[117] M. Agachi, *Clujul modern* 55.
[118] Ştefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului*, 290.

The modernization of the city meant also providing modern facilities, such as a sewage system, running water, electricity and public transportation. The street lightening was introduced in 1827,[119] electricity in 1906[120], while the sewage system was built in 1887 and was followed by the aqueduct and the Water Plant the following year.[121] In this period, cabs represented the main means of public transportation. In 1893, municipality introduced a tram connecting the Railway Station to the city center; however, it functioned only until 1902 because of the numerous accidents it produced.[122]

Another important urban landmark was the city park constructed on a swamp field near the banks of Someş River. Initiated by Women's Association, the project was taken over by municipality in 1838. It comprised not only spaces for promenades, but also a sport arena, a swimming pool for soldiers, and a pavilion especially designed for music performances.[123]

The markets situated in the proximity of the inner city constituted a major preoccupation of the local administration, who periodically issued sanitation regulations for these places. Moreover, the areas occupied by the cattle, wood and hay markets tended to be transformed into representative public spaces, deprived of economic functions.[124] The new Hunyadi, Bocskai and London Squares were radically transformed during the intensive building campaign at the turn of the century, while the Széchenyi Square only was preserved as the main market place of the city.

The main target of the public space nationalizing policies was the main city square, known at the middle of the 19th century simply as "Nagy Piac".[125] However, transforming the central square from a commercial space into a representative area embodying political

[119] M. Agachi, *Clujul modern*, 48.
[120] Ştefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului*, 313.
[121] Ştefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului* 311.
[122] Ştefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului* 313.
[123] M. Agachi, *Clujul modern*, 122-126.
[124] These markets developed in the vicinity of the medieval gates, in spaces where the building activity was forbidden. After the walls were demolished, they were structurally integrated into the city center. Therefore, their systematization was indispensable.
[125] M. Agachi, *Clujul modern*, 101.

connotations was problematic. Both the municipality and the Catholic Church as the legal owner of the space tried to resist governmental interference, claiming that the square should preserve its traditional commercial function.[126] In the opinion the government in Budapest, the main square in most important Transylvanian city had to be redesigned in the context of the Millennium celebrations. The small shops and houses that surrounded the 15th century Saint Michael's Church were demolished. Central authorities announced a sculpture competition for a monument representing the Cluj-born Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus. In 1902, the statuary group designed by János Fadrusz was placed in front of the church. The festivities of unveiling took the proportions of a national celebration. [127]

Rogers Brubaker discussed this period in the history of the city from the perspective of the nationalizing policies implemented by the Hungarian state. He emphasized the emergence of a strong Hungarian public sphere, while mentioning that the comparatively much smaller Romanian-speaking community benefited only the support of the two Romanian Churches, Orthodox and Greek-Catholic.[128] In addition, assimilation policies promoted by Budapest government encouraged the integration of Romanians moving to or residing in the city into the Hungarian-speaking environment. Significantly, Brubaker stated that unlike other Central European cities in the Habsburg Monarchy, such as Prague, Pressburg or Lemberg, 19th century Cluj did not face any interethnic struggles for the control of public space or local institutions.[129] In other words, the Hungarian hegemony over the city was undisputed. However, nationalist conflicts arouse towards the end of the century, especially in connection with the Memorandum trial. Originally a petition demanding equal recognition for the Romanian nation, signed by the leaders of the Romanian National Party and addressed to Emperor Franz Joseph, the Memorandum movement gathered both Hungarian and Romanian

[126] M. Agachi, *Clujul modern,* 114-116
[127] Rogers Brubaker (ed.), *National Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town,* 96.
[128] Rogers Brubaker (ed.), *National Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, 91.
[129] Rogers Brubaker (ed.), *National Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, 95.

nationalist enthusiasts. The trial staged against the petitioners took place in Cluj in 1894, culminating with the imprisonment of several participants. This atmosphere of mutual distrust intensified as a consequence of the reinforced Hungarian nationalism in relation with the Millennium celebrations. This engendered further tensions between the Romanian and Hungarian elites, amplified during the First World War, after Romania attacked Austro-Hungary on the Transylvanian border.

2.2. Romanian Administration and Urban Transformations during the Interwar Period

Tensions as the ones presented at the beginning of this chapter were inherent to the beginnings of the Romanian administration in Cluj. Since Municipality was confronted with the lack of personnel, while the Hungarian-speaking civil servants refused to pledge an oath of allegiance to the King of Romania, the new prefect accepted a compromise solution, asking those interested to preserve their positions in local administrative infrastructure to sign a written declaration recognizing the authority of the Directing Council. But when the general military mobilization was ordered for the intervention in Hungary[130], Hungarian employees declared that they cannot betray their country and resigned again. Numerous protests were organized in the city, while petitions were send to the representatives of the Allies' commissions. Among other claims, protesters argued that Romanian public servants lacked education, did not speak the language of the majority, and were unfamiliar with the local context.[131]

Despite this tensioned atmosphere, the Romanian administration remained in place. Interwar years were generally characterized by political instability, following the changes of

[130] *Administratia romanească în județul. Cluj*, 36.
[131] *Administratia romanească în județul. Cluj*, 38.

power in Bucharest. Moreover, until the implementation of the new Administrative Law in 1926, Transylvanian districts were leaded according to a hybrid principle, combing the requirements of Bucharest with remnants of the Hungarian pre-war system.[132] The new administrative law stipulated measures that would prevent non-Romanians from gaining absolute majority within the local governments. Accordingly, 40% of the local councilors would be appointed by the representatives of the central government[133], and only 60% of the councilors would be elected by the local population.[134] The law also specified that women would also be represented in the city councils[135]. In the case of Cluj, a city of approximately 100,000 inhabitants, the composition of the municipal council was as follows: from a total number of fifty-five members, thirty were elected, while twenty men and five women councilors were appointed.[136] Councilors were entitled to elect the mayor, although it was specifically stated that in major cities such as Cluj this position would be occupied by a Romanian.[137] On the top of the administrative hierarchy stood the prefect, who was simultaneously the representative of the central power and the head of local administration.[138]

During the 1920s, the leadership of the two local administrative bodies, the Prefecture and the City Council, was generally held by Transylvanian Romanians, who were politically divided: some were members of the Old Kingdom-based National Liberal Party, other belonged to the Transylvanian based National (Romanian/ (from 1926) Peasant) Party. Liberals Petru Meteş (1920-1923) and Septimiu B. Mureşanu (1923-1926) and Adam Popa

[132] *Administratia romanească în județul. Cluj*, 41.
[133] Appointed members were designed to represents the interests of the local community (teachers, churchmen), but also the central power, through the nomination of ministries' delegates: Public Health and Social Protection, Agriculture and Public Works, and representative from the Chamber of Agriculture, Industry and Work. Civil servants, entrepreneurs and tenants could not be elected in the municipal councils.
[134] V. Pană, *Minoritari şi majoritari în Transilvania interbelică* (Minority and Majority in Interwar Transylvania). (Târgu-Mureş, 2005), 102. The women's number oscillated, according to the city's size.
[135] V. Pană, *Minoritari şi majoritari în Transilvania interbelică,* 102.
[136] "Noua lege administrativă" (The New Administrative Law) *Revista adminsitrativă* 21(1925): 322.
[137] *Revista adminsitrativă* 21(1925): 322-323.
[138] Virgil Pană, *Minoritari şi majoritari,* 100.

(1928-1931) from the National-Peasant Party[139] were the heads of the Prefecture during the 1920s, while Iulian Pop (Romanian National Party, 1919-1923), Octavian Utalea (National Liberal Party, 1923-1926), Teodor Mihali (National Peasant Party, 1926, 1927- 1931)[140] can be listed as most important mayors.

If during the Austro-Hungarian period the Romanian political elite were relatively united under the umbrella of the National Romanian Party, the Unification broke the "solidarity" of Transylvanian Romanians. The fact that some of them joined Old Kingdom-based parties engendered further tensions, these politicians being accused by their former colleagues of promoting other interests (i.e. forced centralization), different from the local and regional values traditionally defended by the Romanians' party in Transylvania.[141] The changes of political loyalty often multiplied the number and the motivations of actors shaping local urban policies.

The new Romanian administration installed in the city in 1919 inherited the achievements, but also the problems related to urban development discrepancies in Cluj. The city surface increased four times as compared with the last decades of the 19th century[142] while the urban population grew from 83,000 inhabitants in 1920, to 100, 000 in 1930 and 110, 000 in 1941.[143]

Among the new neighborhoods surrounding the city center, two working class districts developed along Pata street and the rail line, in the northern part of the city.[144] Poor, marginal spaces such as the Citadel Hill coexisted [145] with new districts of villas such as Andrei

[139] Virgil Pană, *Minoritari şi majoritari,* 40.
[140] Octavian Buzea, *Clujul,* 108.
[141] Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania,* 134.
[142] From 554 ha in 1880, it reached 1813 ha in 1940. According to Octavian Buzea, *Clujul,* 110.
[143] S. Bolovan, I. Bolovan, "Populația orașului Cluj în secolul al XX-lea", in S. Bolovan, I. Bolovan (eds.), *Trasilvania în secolele XIX-XX. Studii de demografie urbană.* (Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitara Clujeană, 2005), 239.
[144] Victor Lazăr, *Clujul,* 20-21 and Octavian Buzea, *Clujul,* 74-76.
[145] Victor Lazăr, *Clujul,* 21.

Mureşeanu and Grigorescu.[146] Although no systematization plan was conceived during the interwar period, the Technical Commission working in the service of the Municipality strived to control the building activity through the elaboration of several successive volumes of construction regulations. [147]

Providing adequate housing for the city's increasing population remained a critical issue for Municipality during the interwar period. Migration from the countryside area, but also from other cities in Transylvania and the Old Kingdom caused major concerns for the local government. Although some factories constructed collective houses for their employees, or facilitated loans for building individual houses,[148] these measures affected a reduced number of workers. The provision of adequate housing for civil servants raised numerous debates. Reciprocal accusations of corruption regarding the solution of this problem were addressed from both political camps. Apparently, the situation of the average state employees remained unclear, since although some of them received a plot of land, they lacked the financial resources for actually constructing a house.[149]

Economically, the patterns of industrial development established during the Austro-Hungarian period were followed during the interwar years. Although approximately one hundred industrial units were registered in Cluj, the general tendency was that smaller factories disappeared or were incorporated into larger units. The largest factory was the Renner Company, specialized in leather products, which employed more than one thousand workers. New factories producing industrial engines, soap, beer, bricks and furniture were created or modernized. Iris, the first ceramics factory in Romania, was founded at the beginning of the 1920s.[150] The Tobacco Factory, the Railway Workshops and the Matches

[146] Octavian Buzea, *Clujul*, 75-76.
[147] See for example *Regulament de constructii si alinieri pentru municipiul Cluj*. (Construction and Alignment Regulations for the City of Cluj)(Cluj: Minerva, 1933), 3-4.
[148] Octavian Buzea, *Clujul*, 234-235.
[149] *Administratia* (The Administration) 15 (1926): 1
[150] Ştefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului*, 385-386.

Factory continued their activity as state monopolies. In 1938, the city's 9,000 workers represented less than 10% of the population.[151]

2.3. Romanians and the City

At the turn of the century, the official census showed that the overwhelming majority of Cluj population was Hungarian (82, 9%), while only 12,3% of the city's inhabitants declared themselves as Romanians. However, the numbers showing the religious affiliation proved not only that the Jewish population was included in the first category, but also that 25% of the Romanians were recorded as ethnic Hungarians.[152]

In addition to their demographic inferiority, Romanians had little impact in the city's public life. According to the memories of Stefan Roşianu, Professor at the Greek-Catholic Academy in Blaj, around 1900, the majority of Romanians (i.e. around 2,500) living in Cluj were employed as servants and daily workers. Coming from the neighboring villages in search for a job, most of them were young and illiterate.[153] The Romanian community in the city had only one primary school, which was financially supported by the Greek-Catholic church. Only 10% among the approximately three thousands elementary and middle school students in Cluj were Romanians. The number of Romanians employed in public service was also reduced: one judge, five civil servants working for the local administration, fifteen lawyers. Only 40 Romanians living in Cluj were engaged in commerce. Cluj Romanians were also poorly represented in the public sphere: there was no Romanian library or museum, just

[151] Ştefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului,* 391.
[152] See www.kia.hu/konyvtar/erdely/erdstat/cjetn.pdf, nationality as compared with religion. According to the religion affiliation census, from a total population of 49,295 inhabitants, in the city there were 968 Orthodox and 7,208 Greek-Catholics. Therefore, although the census registered approximately 8,000 members belonging to the "Romanian "churches, only 6,039 individuals among them were recorded as Romanians in the in the census by ethnic identification. The Jewish population numbered 4,730 individuals. As Rogers Brubaker also observers, although linguistically assimilated, these persons preserved their ancestors' religion. According to Rogers Brubaker (ed.), *National Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, 95.
[153] *Patria*, June 13, 1928.

one cultural society, "Casina romana", while the first newspaper written in Romanian was published as far as 1903.[154] Even in these circumstances, numerous rivalries existed between the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox communities. For example, one reason of dispute was the fund for building a school for girls. Although Romanians of both confessions provided financial contributions, ASTRA decided to entrust the money to the Greek-Catholic community, which was eight times more numerous as compared to the Orthodox. The decision naturally attracted the protests of the Orthodox.[155]

Scholarly work on Cluj, Rogers Brubaker included, emphasized the contrast between a predominantly Hungarian-speaking city and a surrounding countryside inhabited by a Romanian-speaking majority.[156] According to Victor Lazăr, the author of the first interwar Romanian monograph of the city, this argument can be only partially supported by evidence. The Cluj region was indeed inhabited by a Romanian majority of approximately 26,000. Yet, the rural Hungarian population was also numerous, counting around 15,000 individuals. However, far from being constituted along ethnically separate communities, many villages had a mixed population, a situation which was also reflected in peasants' costumes and customs.[157]

Interwar Cluj Romanian monographers were meant to create a narrative on the city's past in order to justify Romanians' right of "conquering" the city. Emphasizing the Dacian and Latin origins of the city, they argued for Romanians ancestors' continuity in the area of the former Napoca[158], supposedly demonstrated by the existence of two major Romanian-speaking villages Feleac and Mănăştur, situated in the vicinity of Cluj.[159] Furthermore, these

[154] *Patria*, June 13, 1928.
[155] Arhivele Naționale Cluj, Fond ASTRA, Pachetul 2, Corespondența adresată Asociațiunii ASTRA, Despartmantul Cluj, fila 3.
[156] Rogers Brubaker, *National Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, 92.
[157] V. Lazăr, *Clujul:* 69-73. Lazăr complained about this situation, requesting the intervention of ASTRA. According to Lazar, the Association should take measures in order to persuade Romanian peasants to "purify" their costumes of Hungarian elements and wear some "national" ones instead.
[158] Napoca was the Latin name of the city in the Roman period
[159] Victor Lazăr, *Clujul,* 12, 26.

authors emphasized Hungarians' tendency of assimilating other ethnic groups, using the example of the Saxons. The descendants of the founders of the medieval town had lost their dominant role in the city and had been gradually assimilated by the Hungarian community.[160] Another claim set forth by these authors was that Romanians' right to the city had been basically denied until the 18th century, when the city council first allowed the construction of the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox churches within the perimeter of the city.[161]

The same authors explained that the negative image the city had acquired in Romanians' memory was due to the numerous political trials staged in Cluj against Romanian nationalists. The situation worsened after Romania entered the First World War, when many priests, teachers and intellectuals were imprisoned in Cluj after being accused of betraying state interests.[162]

In 1919, the Romanian elite that transferred to Cluj following the installation of the new administration were enthusiast about the city's transformation into a center of Romanian life. In an article entitled "A Word Addressed to Our Hungarian Fellow Citizens", university professor Gheorghe Bogdan-Duică advised Hungarian inhabitants in Cluj not feel threaten by the new political context; but rather collaborate with state authorities and "make some place" for the Romanian state representatives, students and professors.[163]

As one might expect, the seizure of the most important Hungarian institutions was accompanied by serious tensions. One of the most disputed buildings was the National Theatre. The Directing Council in Sibiu decided in September 1919[164] that Romanian authorities had the duty to nationalize the Hungarian Theatre and transform it into an institution that would contribute to the national education of the Romanian population. The

[160] Victor Lazăr, *Clujul* 26.
[161] Octavian Buzea, *Clujul*, 47.
[162] Victor Lazăr: 19; "Un an de la intrarea armatei romane în Cluj" [A year since the entrance of the Romanian army in Cluj], *Patria,* 245(1919); Octavian Buzea, *Clujul*, 51.
[163] G. Bogdan-Duică, "Cuvânt către concetațenii maghiari din Cluj"(To our Hungarian Fellow Citizens from Cluj), *Patria* 161 (1919)
[164] Justin Ceuca, *Zaharia Bârsan.* (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1978), 103

theatre, stated the same authorities, must inspire "the love for the people and the country" and teach the audience a Romanian language purified of any foreign words.[165] An equally dramatic situation was created by the takeover of the University. The attitude of Onisifor Ghibu, the Directing Council representative on education issues, went beyond any compromises: the University in Cluj officially became Romanian on October 1, 1919.[166] If the Hungarian theatre company chose to remain in the city, staging its shows in the building of the Summer Theatre situated near the Park, a significant part of the body of Hungarian Professors and students crossed the border and opened a new University in Szeged. The nationalized Cluj University was re-opened on February 2, 1920, during a ceremony with obvious political connotations attended by the Romanian royal dynasty and government. In these circumstances, the new faculty was constituted from Romanian Professors such as Sextil Puşcariu, Gheorghe Bogdan-Duică, Silviu Dragomir and Ion Lupaş, who were expected to constitute the new urban elite and be actively involved in the Romanianization process through cultural policies.[167]

Although Romanians dominated public institutions, their impact on the economic life of the city remained modest along the interwar years.[168] Nationalist Romanian local press often accused state officials of favoring non-Romanians by "alienating industry"[169]. Situations as the one in 1923, when among the 172 industrial certificates released by Municipality, 39 were given to Romanians, were interpreted as a betrayal of Romanian interests.[170] Similar accusations were directed against the government's economic policy, that naturally supported

[165] Arhiva Teatrului Național din Cluj-Napoca, Dosar 3, 1921/1922, Adresa din partea Directoratului general din Cluj al Ministerului Justiției [Archives of the National Theatre Cluj-Napoca, File 3, 1921/1922] in ibid, 71. Despite these ambitious purposes and the self-proclaimed tradition, Romanian actors acknowledged the superiority of the Hungarian theatre company, declaring that their aim was to reach the artistic level of the plays staged by their Hungarian counterparts. Regarding this aspect, see "Teatrul Național. Cu prilejul deschiderii nouei stagiuni" [The Theater in Cluj at the opening of the new theatre season], *Patria* 120 (1926).
[166] Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania,* 218-227.
[167] For the role of Romanian intellectuals in the nationalization process in Transylvanian urban areas, see Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania,* 183-187.
[168] Octavian Buzea, *Clujul,* 219.
[169] *Clujul,* .31(1923)
[170] V. Delacara, "Propaganda minoritatilor" (Minorities' Propaganda), *Clujul,* 4 (1924).

"the powerful" urban elements, namely the non-Romanians. The stereotype image that was further constructed contrasted the rich non-Romanian merchant to the poor Romanian intellectual living in misery.[171]

The public sphere was equally dominated by a Hungarian language press: among the 55 daily newspapers published in Transylvania, thirty-one were Hungarian and only two Romanian.[172] In addition, evidence showed that average Transylvanian Romanians preferred Hungarian newspapers to those from the Old Kingdom.[173] Radical Romanian nationalists complained that economic power and cultural propaganda were interrelated in the detriment of the national idea. It was not only that banks and factories owned by non-Romanians were prospering, but they were also "supporting a foreign culture, a press against the interests of the state and of the nation".[174]

The necessity of "Romanianizing Romanians" as a first step in the nationalization of the city was expressed in an article from 1926 authored by Corneliu Codarcea. The journalist was highly critical towards the attitude of Hungarian-assimilated Romanians who "[…] close themselves in the caves of dark coffee houses, play pool or cards, speaking a slang that is half Romanian, half Hungarian. […]" Despite their ethnical background, stated Codarcea, they refused to integrate into the Romanian public sphere: they do not read Romanian press, avoid people from the Old Kingdom and do not attend Romanian language spectacles at the Theatre.[175]

The paradoxes engendered by the city's adaptation to the Romanian nationalizing project are reflected in the notes of Dudley Heathcote, an Englishmen that visited Cluj in 1925. His meetings with municipal authorities revealed the ambiguities embodied in this

[171] "Românii din oraşele din Ardeal", (Romanians from Transylvanian Cities), *Clujul* 32(1924).
[172] "Minorităţi" (Minorities) *Renasterea* 7 (1924).
[173] "Ardelenii şi ziarele" (Transylvanians and Newspapers), *Clujul,* 1 (1924).
[174]"Minorităţi" (Minorities), *Renaşterea* 7 (1924).
[175] Corneliu Codarcea, "Kolozsvár-Cluj: Problema românizării oraşelor din Ardeal" (Kolozsvár-Cluj. The Problem of Romanianization of Transylvanian Cities), *Ţara Noastră* 26(1926): 736-738.

transition period, when the population of the city, despite ethnicity, had to develop strategies of adaptation to the new context. For Heathcote, one important indicator for the changes in the city was language. In informal situations, his conversations with the Romanian mayor, prefect and other officials took place in German, a language that "they all spoke perfectly"[176]. However, on formal occasions, like the official dinner at the city's best restaurant crowded with Hungarian clients, Romanian officials switched to French, showing they were the representatives of Greater Romania.[177] Although the city's elite seemed to be mostly Hungarian, "with a sprinkling of Romanians and Germans"[178], a strange mixture of Romanian and Hungarian was characteristic to the city, from the dishes in the menu to the opera spectacle by an ethnically mixed audience.[179] Especially concerned with the situation of minorities, Heathcote was informed that some members of the Hungarian elite had negotiated with the Romanian Liberals in order to preserve their privileged position. Their leader, Mr. Kiss, was actually one of the richest men in Cluj due to his position at the Court for the Application of the Agrarian Law. Considered by his co-nationals "a traitor of his race"[180], Kiss believed that opportunism was a useful strategy; Hungarians should adapt to the new realities and cooperate with Romanian government in other to preserve and improve their social status.[181]

[176] Dudley Heathcote, *My Wanderings in the Balkans*. (London: Hutchinson & co, 1925), 87.
[177] Transylvanian Romanian elites were traditionally educated in Hungarian and German schools. However, the foreign language used by the Old Kingdom elites was French. By switching from German to French, the Romanian protagonists of the story aimed to emphasize the new political order, in which Cluj was no longer connected to the German-speaking Austro-Hungarian Empire, but to Greater Romania and its "Latin sister", France. The fact that they switched to French only in a public place dominated by a Hungarian-speaking audience, while in private conversations they used German shows that this attitude was self-imposed in order to differentiate themselves from the Hungarian elite of the city.
[178] Dudley Heathcote, *My Wanderings in the Balkans* 88.
[179] Dudley Heathcote, *My Wanderings in the Balkans*, 92. Heathcote's account shows that the tensions related to the situation of the nationalized Theatre had been (at least partially) overcame since its seizure by the Romanian administration in 1919. According to Heathcote, the Romanian Opera House was periodically organizing "Hungarian nights". The mixture of Romanian and Hungarian was somehow striking for the Englishmen: a Hungarian play was performed by a Romanian company, "while the house was crowded with Magyars with a considerable sprinkling of Romanians".
[180] Dudley Heathcote, *My Wanderings in the Balkans* 91.
[181] Dudley Heathcote, *My Wanderings in the Balkans* 89.

The radical attitude of Romanians in Cluj: between radical nationalism and "Magyarized" Romanians who did not feel touched by the attempts of the new Romanian elite to imposed the nationalization of the city, remaining distant from Romanian cultural propaganda/ "historical right' based on the Latin foundations of the city and Hungarian assimilation, in which Romanians' right to the city has been denied, to a present in which Hungarians were kindly/ or not asked to "make some place" for the Romanian newcomers. Despite these efforts, the Hungarian-speaking population remained dominant in the public sphere/ economic life.

2.4. Nationalizing the Space- Markers of Romanianness

Following the installation of the Romanian administration, a number of spatial markers aimed to emphasize the Romanian claims on the control of the public space were staged throughout the city. To different extents, architecture, new street names, commemorative plaques and monuments functioned as visual representations of power.

Since the city's architectural profile had been already defined at the turn of the century, Cluj city center did not offer many possibilities for the insertion of new representative buildings in the urban landscape. Similarly with the Austro-Hungarian period, the design of state commissioned public buildings was usually entrusted to specialists from the capital city.[182] During the 1920s, the only significant presence of the Romanian national style in the city center was the building designed for the headquarters of the Romanian Insurance Society "Generala". In 1924, the local newspaper *Patria* proudly reported that the building constructed "for the beatification of Cluj" imposed "a modern and Romanian aspect

[182] Significantly, the list enumerating the members of the Society of Romanian Architects shows the strong domination of professionals living in Bucharest. Among the 166 members mentioned in a list from 1925, only 17 were living somewhere else except the capital city. None was from Transylvania. According to the list published in *Architectura*, (4), 1925: 55-56

on the Cluj city center".[183] Widely decorated columns, friezes and balustrades of Byzantine inspiration dominated the grey façade of this three-storey building. Other important public buildings were commissioned to Bucharest architects mostly in the 1930s, being constructed in the modernist style deprived of national connotations. For example, the architect of the Orthodox Cathedral, George Cristinel, designed the Academic Colegium near the University and the Social Insurance House[184] Another representative architectural landmark of the city center was the modernist building of the Stock Exchange, constructed in 1930 after the designs of Bucharest architect Ion Anton Popescu.[185]

During the 1920s, a significant number or villas in the neo-Romanian style were constructed in the new districts Grigorescu and Andrei Mureşeanu,[186] being owned by members of the Romanian elite who wanted to emphasize their patriotism. Although theoretically "reserved" exclusively for the city's new Romanian elite, plots in the two villa districts were sold to the members of the urban elite despite ethnic background. As the example of Andrei Mureşeanu Street itself proves, the majority of the fifty-seven new houses built here between 1923 and 1929[187] were owned by Hungarians and Jews (e.g. Iosif Keresztes, Gheorghe Kiss, Gustav Fleisher, Ludovic Scheuker etc.). Surprisingly or not, the few Romanian house owners were precisely the members of the Technical Commission of the Municipality, namely Victor Ciortea, the chief of the service, Teodor Suceava, his subordinate, and Ioan Negrutiu[188], architect.[189] Local Hungarian architects such as Károly Kos, Elemer Moll and Kornel Viola continued to work in Cluj after 1918, but their activity

[183] *Patria*, September 6, 1924.
[184] *Patria*, September 6, 1924.
[185] Gh. Vais, "Cluj. Cronologie selectiva", *Logia* 7(2004): 52.
[186] Ştefan Pascu, *Clujul istorico-artistic*, 210-212.
[187] Arhivele Statului Cluj, Fond Primaria Municipiului Cluj-Napoca, Serviciul Tehnic 1/5, file III/9. Evidenta strazilor, p. 86-87 and III/10. Evidenta constructiilor, p. 7
[188] Ioan F. Negrutiu is known for designing the building of the Princess Ileana High-School in Cluj at the end of the 1930s, according to Gh. Vais, "Cluj. Cronologie selectiva", *Logia* 7(2004): 52.
[189] Arhivele Statului Cluj, Fond Primaria Municipiului Cluj-Napoca, 1/5, file III/9, p. 86, confronted with the list of the members of the Technical Service- Dan Brudascu (coord.), *80 de ani de administratie romaneasca la Cluj*. (Cluj-Napoca, 1999), 40.

was mostly connected with private commands. Still, in the municipal administration, Hungarian and Jewish architects remained particularly influential as members of the Technical Commission.[190] For example, in 1931, the new urban regulation plan was conceived by specialists such as Samoil Bubelini, Elémer Moll and Alfred Mikes.[191]

One of the first indicators of the new political context was the change of street names. The main target of the re-naming process was, naturally, the city center. The three main squares of Cluj received all names connected with different stages in the Romanian Unification process. Despite its strong Hungarian symbolism, the former Matyás kiraly [King Mathias] Square became Piața Unirii [The Union Square]. Then, Bocskai Square was renamed after Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the protagonist of the unification of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859, while the Szechenyi Square became Mihai Viteazul Square, receiving the name of the Romanian voievode that "united" for the first time the three Romanian countries in 1600. Not a symbol of Romanian unity, yet the founder the first Orthodox Bishopric in the Cluj region, the name of the Moldavian voievode Stephen the Great was chosen to replace the one of Hunyadi in the square accommodating the Theatre. The streets in the city center were named after important historical personalities- national heroes, politicians, intellectuals and members of the Romanian Dynasty. Significantly, the new names of the most important streets were paralleling the Romanian and Hungarian pantheon of great men (and women). For example, Petőfi utca was renamed Avram Iancu, while Franz Joseph ut. became Regele Ferdinand [King Ferdinand].[192] Recognizing the importance of the role played by Queen Mary during the war, the city's main avenue, former Ferenc Deák utca, was renamed Regina Maria [Queen Mary]. The leaders of the most important interwar Romanian parties, Iuliu Maniu and Ion I.C. Brătianu, "received" the streets that paralleled on the left and right the

[190] *Monitorul municipiului Cluj* (The Journal of the Cluj City) 19 (1927).
[191] Gh. Vais, "Cluj. Cronologie selectiva", *Logia* 7 (2004), 52.
[192] Paul Mihnea, *Tabloul locuitorilor orașului Cluj* (Table of the inhabitants of Cluj) (Cluj: Tipografia Bernat, 1923), 6-8.

main boulevard. More marginal streets received the names of Transylvanian Romanian political leaders in the Austro-Hungarian period, such as Vasile Lucaciu or Ştefan Ciceo-Pop. In many cases, when the street name did not carry any symbolical significance, it was simply translated from Hungarian (i.e. Boldog utca became Calea Fericirii (Happiness Street)). Sometimes, the translation of the name of a historical personality could be associated with both Romanian and Hungarian figures (i.e. Erzsébet utca became Calea Elisabeta [Elisabeth Street]).[193]Although authorities published informative bilingual booklets listing these changes[194], it is likely that the Hungarian speaking population continued to use the old names and eventually to include both the Romanian and Hungarian denominations in official correspondence.[195]

Although the Dacian and Roman past of the city was often featured by Romanian nationalists, no archeological excavations were initiated in Cluj in order to visually emphasize Romanians' right to the city on the basis of "the Latin legacy". However, the idea that the Romanians' ancestors had founded the city a thousand years before the arrival of Hungarians and Germans became an important part in the Romanian legitimizing discourse. [196] The privileged relation with ancient Rome was too important to be neglected. On August 30, 1921, the Romanian ambassador in Rome sent a letter to Mayor Iulian Pop, announcing him that at the end of September, a group of Italian students would come to Cluj to bring a copy of the She-Wolf statue on Campidoglio. [197] For the Romanian authorities, the arrival of the Italian delegation constituted an opportunity for staging an impressive ceremony in the city's main square, where the statue was actually placed. Since no representatives of the central government were invited, the ceremony looked more like an event of local importance,

[193] Paul Mihnea, *Tabloul locuitorilor oraşului Cluj* , 6.
[194] See for example *Calauza Clujului-Denumirile vechi si noua ale strazilor din Cluj* (Cluj Guide- Old and New Names of the Streets in Cluj) (Cluj:Tipografia Corvin, 1923).
[195] See for example the letter of the sculptors Bauer and Nagy that worked for the Orthodox Cathedral in 1933 in Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-8-923, doc. 6741-933.
[196] Victor Lazăr, *Clujul,* 11-12, Buzea, *Clujul,* 36-38.
[197] Vasile Lechinţan,, *Primaria clujeană în perioada interbelică*, 31.

orchestrated by the Mayor Iulian Pop. As compared with other similar Romanian events further organized in Cluj, the representatives of the Orthodox Church were not invited as official guests. The "Church" addressed to the audience through the voice of the Greek-Catholic Elie Dăianu.[198] The statue was placed in the Hungarian center of the city, in front of the monument of King Mathias, symbolically emphasizing the Roman origins of the city and thus aiming to diminish the strong Hungarian connotations associated to the city's main public space. Above the inscription on the socle- "Alla città di Cluj Roma Madre" (To the City of Cluj, Mother Rome), authorities insisted to place the effigy of Trajan, the Roman emperor that had conquered Dacia, including it into the civilized world. Destined to "proclaim the return of Transylvania to its origins and symbolize the *return of our rule* in this territory"[199], the statue was unveiled during a ceremony in which the Army constituted a significant part of the audience. Moreover, gun fires and the military aviation flying above the city emphasized the new power relations.

The Hungarian appearance of the city's main square constituted, however, a matter of concern for local Romanian nationalists.[200] Since during the 1920s Municipality did not manifest any intentions of removing the statue of King Matthias, in 1932 a group of Romanian students took the decision of installing a plaque, which would emphasize the King's Romanian paternal ancestry.[201] The inscription was a quotation from Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga, which although apparently praising the glorious battles of the King, added that he was defeated only "by its own nation" in 1467 Moldavia.[202] Although a private initiative of a group of enthusiast students, the inscription was not removed by Municipality.

[198] *Infratirea*, September 30, 1921.
[199] *Infratirea*, September 30, 1921.
[200] I discuss the claims advanced by Romanian nationalists regarding the statue of Matthias Corvinus in the fourth chapter of this thesis.
[201] Sandor Biro, *The Nationalities Problem in Transylvania 1867-1940. A Social History of the Romanian Minority under Hungarian rule 1867-1918 and of the Hungarian Minority under Romanian rule.* (New-York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 651.
[202] Rogers Brubaker (ed.), *National Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, 99.

Despite great hopes and high ambitions of achieving significant changes, the process of Romanianization of Transylvanian cities like Cluj proved to be quite a complicated one. Romanian national interests were confronted with the resistance of the more numerous and better educated local elites. Migration from the countryside, but also from the Old Kingdom altered the demographic structure strongly dominated by Hungarians. Romanian efforts concentrated on the cultural sphere, while economic life remained under the Hungarian and Jewish control. Beyond the official policy promoting national interests, local Municipality was frequently criticized for the lack of support provided to Romanians. The 1920s proved to be a period in which groups and individuals had to redefine their identities, and restructure their interests and priorities according to the new context. They attempted to develop strategies of adaptation and negotiation in a multi-ethnic city where the attitudes towards the other groups varied from large tolerance to anti-Semitism. However, national interest did not always prevail, resulting "unusual" situations in which Hungarians supported the Romanian government, while Romanians themselves were criticizing it. Central government's policies of centralization, unification, and homogenization reflected sometimes a distorted image of the original intentions when applied on local level. Most of all, the city remained an opened space of interaction between various groups and interests whose identities tended to escape traditional delimitations.

CHAPTER 3 –CONSTRUCTING THE ROMANIAN CITY CENTER: THE ORTHODOX CATHEDRAL

3.1. National Identity and Church Architecture in Greater Romania

The Romanian state firstly made use of church architecture as means of nationalizing the space in Dobrogea, where Orthodox worship places were constructed in order to express the change of power in this multi-ethnic province acquired after the Congress of Berlin in 1878.[203] While their symbolic function was politicized, the architecture language of these churches could hardly be perceived as being part of a well-defined and unitary vocabulary that could express the values of Romanianness: neo-Byzantine elements were mixed with neo-Classic forms and strong influences from vernacular architecture.

In the turn of the century Transylvania, Romanian communities constructed some important religious edifices, like the Romanian Orthodox church in Brasov (1893) and the Metropolitan Cathedral in Sibiu (1902-1906). Although using the same mixed architectural language of Byzantine extraction as in Dobrogea, the architects of these churches did not aim at expressing any specific ethnical or political statement.[204]

In the context of Greater Romania, the identity between nationality and religion characterizing Romanians in the Old Kingdom was complicated by the Transylvanian Greek-Catholic enclave. While in Dobrogea Orthodoxy was the dominant religion, being embraced not only by Romanians, but also by the inhabitants of Greek, Bulgarian and Russian origin[205], in Transylvania the Romanian population was religiously divided. In the case of Cluj, as far as

[203] Augustin Ioan. *Power, play and national identity. Politics of Modernization in Central and East-European Architecture. The Romanian File*. (Bucharest: The Romanian Cultural Foundation Publishing House, 1999), 16.
[204] *Power, play and national identity*, 17.
[205] Augustin Ioan, *Power, play and national identity*, 18

1930, only 11% of the population was Orthodox, while Greek-Catholics represented 22%.[206] However, as the Constitution stated, Orthodoxy was the dominant religion of the Romania and, since the second half of the 19th century, nationalists strongly argued that it was also one of the elements that defined the best the Romanian character.[207]

In the case of Transylvania, the role of Orthodoxy was even more significant. In the absence of Romanian political elite until the 19th century, the members of church hierarchy became also the natural leaders of Romanian local communities. As a group of Transylvanian politicians stated, "the Church was the shield that preserved along the centuries our language, traditions and land"[208] Therefore, after the First World War, the construction of Orthodox churches in the new provinces was seen by the Romanian state as a means of visually "conquering" the territory through the symbolic significance of the Romanian national style.[209]

As Romanian Orthodoxy originated in Byzantium, the models for the new cathedrals, chosen to become the symbols of the Romanian power in the Transylvanian city centers, were searched through a "pilgrimage to the medieval sources".[210] The Byzantine Empire has been always perceived as a source of political and religious power in the Balkans, and Romania, just like Serbia or Bulgaria, proudly considered itself as one of its legitimate heirs. Moreover, the Byzantine prototype had also a very practical advantage for the architects: it offered

[206] *Recensământul general al populației României 1930* [The General Census of the population of Romania1930], vol.II, Neam, limbă maternă, religie [Nationality, mother tongue, religion], (Bucuresti: 1930), XCIV.

[207] Keith Hitchins, "Orthodoxism: Polemics Over Ethnicity and Religion in Interwar Romania", in Ivo Banac and Katherine Verdery (ed.) *National character and national ideology in the interwar Eastern Europe*. (New Heaven: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 1995).

[208] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, Telegram addressed by the State Minister Petru Groza, Minister of Cults Octavian Goga and the president of the Unification Commission in Cluj, Theodor Mihaly to congratulate Nicolae Ivan on the occasion of his birthday.

[209] The author discusses in a consistent chapter the evolution of the Romanian national style during the interwar period. See Carmen Popescu, *Le style national roumain* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes; [Bucuresti]: Simetria, 2004), 205-282.

[210] Ioan Augustin, *Power, play and national identity*, 20.

monumental scale models, which although missing in the medieval Romanian architecture, were necessary for the urban areas in which these Cathedrals were to be placed.[211]

Discussing the impressive church building activity in interwar Transylvania, Carmen Popescu stated that Orthodox "cathedrals"[212] shared the hybrid function of mausoleums, **being simultaneously religious places and commemorative monuments.** Moreover, she considers that through the visual language of architecture, the Romanian state aimed to emphasize the "re-conquest" of a symbolical territory for the Romanians, but also to counterbalance the "foreign"(i.e. Hungarian) appearance of Transylvanian cities.[213] Since Orthodoxy was considered to have played a major role in the history of Transylvanian Romanians when as one of the most visible symbols of their national identity, the construction of imposing cathedrals was the equivalent of the nationalization of the territory.[214] Furthermore, the architects that designed these cathedrals exploited the resources offered the Byzantine legacy, which translated Romanians' attachment to the Eastern Christianity.[215] According to Augustin Ioan, the churches built during the interwar period in the new provinces carried strong political connotations. The style of these religious buildings aimed not only to define Romanianness, but also to promote a specific discourse on national identity in cities where the Romanian presence was weak. The issue of monumentality became of major importance for the architects, since these "Romanianizing" cathedrals were designed to map in a very visible manner the national territory.[216]

Although I agree with the observations listed above, I argue that these authors failed to address one important aspect: the construction of these churches was not initiated by the state,

[211] Ioan Augustin, *Power, play and national identity*, 20.
[212] These churches were often perceived as cathedrals due to their monumental dimensions.
[213] In this case, Carmen Popescu makes reference to the national Hungarian style of the new generation of architects leaded by Károly Kos. However, this statement is not applicable to the case of Cluj. As Gheorghe Vais demonstrated, the dominant architectural style chosen by the Hungarian state for the majority of the buildings constructed at the turn of the century was historicism. The group of architects led by Kos had a rather limited influence on the city's landscape.
[214] Carmen Popescu, *Le style national roumain,* 211.
[215] Carmen Popescu, *Le style national roumain,* 255.
[216] Augustin Ioan, *Power, Play and National Identity* , 23-24.

but by local individuals or lobby groups. Even when these projects were state sponsored, the history of their construction is much more complex than a conscious building campaign coordinated from one center as Popescu and Ioan suggest. If the state provided the financial support for many of these projects, this was largely due to the pressures made by the local initiators on the central government.

Both the royal dynasty and the central government in Bucharest aspired to show their attachment to the "Romanian values" by associating their public image with the construction of specific religious edifices. The ceremonies organized at the consecration of the churches gathered large popular masses, offering useful opportunities for the official display of power. On the other hand, local Romanian elites also aimed to establish a consistent presence in the city's public life and to control the local institutional infrastructure. For them, the construction of a new church was a means for achieving these goals. However, the obvious ideological problem was the confessional divide between Orthodoxy and Greek-Catholicism. Could both these confessions be identified as Romanian? Or were the Romanian people Orthodox by definition? Before 1918, representatives of both confessions had been involved in Romanians' efforts for emancipation. However, in the framework of Greater Romania, Transylvanian Orthodox leaders began to emphasize that all Romanians had "originally" belonged to one Church, i.e. Orthodoxy and suggested that Greek-Catholicism was a temporary schism that should be remedied in the new nation state. Besides language, Orthodox religion now became a point of historic unity among all Romanians living in Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia. The new historical narrative suggested that religious unity had anticipated political unity and that this religious unity was always revolving around Orthodoxy.[217]

[217] For a general overview on the discourse about Romanians' unity, see Lucian Boia, *Istorie şi mit în conştiinţa românească* (History and Myth in the Romanian Consciousness)(Bucuresti: Humanitas, 2006), 214-250.

3.2. Two "Romanian" Cathedrals in Cluj? Searching for Alternative Solutions

In February 1920, Bishop Nicolae Ivan, at that time the president of the Orthodox Consistory in Cluj submitted one of his numerous written requests to the Municipality in Cluj.[218] Recently arrived in the city as a delegate of the Metropolitan Church in Sibiu, Ivan was charged by the Archdiocesan Synod with the task of founding an Orthodox Bishopric that would administrate the region of Northern Transylvania. Even though at that time the Bishopric had not been officially founded, nor legally recognized, nor had Ivan been appointed its head yet, he appealed to the local government to yield an empty plot in the city center in order to construct an Orthodox Cathedral there.

Two years after this request, on February 1922, the representatives of the Greek-Catholic Church formulated a very similar demand addressed to all local administrative bodies: the Municipality, the City Council and the Prefecture. They also aspired to have a cathedral in the city center, and specifically indicated the Mihai Viteazul Square for building it, since this space was free of constructions, being used at that time as a market place.[219]

Given the small size of the available places of worship that belonged to the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholics at the beginning of the 1920s, the two "Romanian" Churches in Cluj found themselves in a similar situation.[220] Those local Romanian nationalists who believed that both the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholics were equally representing their nation argued that Cluj necessarily needed *two cathedrals*. It is likely that this demand was motivated not so much by the practical necessity of offering larger places of worship for Cluj's Orthodox and Greek-Catholic believers – the Orthodox constituted a mere 11% of the city population at that time – a but rather, and much more importantly, for accommodating official ceremonies that

[218] Arhivele Nationale Cluj, Fond Primaria Municipiului Cluj-Napoca, Resgistre intrare-ieşire, I/253, fila 31
[219] Arhivele Nationale Cluj, Fond Primaria Municipiului Cluj-Napoca, Resgistre intrare-ieşire, I/ 262, filele 115-124.
[220] The two churches were built at end of the turn of the 19th century in a similar, simplified Baroque style.

would be organized on numerous occasions in Transylvania's unofficial capital. Constructing the Cathedrals was therefore clearly a part of a larger political agenda.[221] On April 1923, special funds for the construction of the Orthodox Cathedral were already included in the state budget. Following a similar political agenda, it was hoped that "the construction of the Greek-Catholic Cathedral would also begin soon, since both would become not only places where our ancestors' faith would be worshipped, but also testimonies of our ruling presence in this provincial capital still dominated by Hungarians and Jews".[222]

Building the Cathedral was not an easy task given the financial difficulties of the country recovering after the war. The construction of a large architectural monument would require time and consistent funding, let alone the efforts of initiating and coordinating the works. Therefore, the representatives of both Churches thought about temporary solutions as well, for example, they attempted to claim one of the religious buildings already existing in the city for their own use. The Greek-Catholics were more successful in this strategy, given their connection with Vatican.[223] Therefore, in 1924, after successful negotiations with the Holy See, the Pope donated to the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Church in Transylvania the building of the former Franciscan Monastery built at the beginning of the 19th century.[224] On November 8, 1926, the church was officially occupied by Greek-Catholics, who declared that this religious edifice would contribute to the reinforcement of the Romanian life and Christian faith in the city.[225]

[221] *Patria* 2 nr. 10 (1920).
[222] *Clujul*, April 23, 1923.
[223] The Franciscan Monastery was just one of the Catholic churches in Cluj. At the beginning of the 1920s, the order was represented by one monk only, father Leonard Szikra. Since the Franciscan Order in Cluj lacked continuity, Szikra agreed on donating the building of the monastery to Vatican. In these circumstances, the Greek-Catholic Metropilitan Bishop Vasile Suciu made several requests to the Pope, presenting situation of the Greek-Catholic Church in Cluj. Local newspapers reported on the negotiation process and the success of Greek-Catholics in obtaining the religious edifice, together with other properties that had belonged to the Franciscan Order. The entire procedure was in fact an internal affair of the Catholic Church, in which nor the Romanian state, nor the local authorities in Cluj was entitled to interfere. See for example the articles in *Clujul*, June 15, 1924; *Patria*, November 12, 1926 and November 24, 1928.
[224] *Patria*, June 26, 1926.
[225] *Patria*, November 8, 1926.

Similar attempts were made by the Orthodox Bishopric of Cluj. Starting in 1920, the Orthodox Diocesan Council entrusted Onisifor Ghibu[226] to investigate the legal history of the University Church, originally built in the 18th century by the Jesuit order. Although used by the Catholics, Ghibu aimed to demonstrate that the building was the legal property of the Hungarian state. Therefore, the Romanian administration could theoretically claim property rights and yield it to the Orthodox Church had it wished to do so.[227] However, despite the numerous petitions by the Orthodox community to the central government, the final decision was not favorable to the Orthodox Bishopric in Cluj. The Romanian government decided to adopt a prudent attitude in this regard and considered the building as a property of the Catholic Church.

Although petitioning for obtaining the University church, Nicolae Ivan did not renounce the idea of constructing the Cathedral. This chapter discusses the story of the founding and construction of the Orthodox Cathedral in Cluj, arguing that the two main actors involved in the building process, the state on one side, and the Bishop supported by a group of local intellectuals on the other, had different visions concerning the meaning of this monument. Taking as a starting point the current debates on the manifestations of the Romanian national style in church architecture, I analyze the case of the Orthodox Cathedral in Cluj from the perspective of the local actors, showing that this monument was more than a marker in the Romanian state's attempt of mapping the territory. More specifically, the local

[226][226] Born near Sibiu, Ghibu was in 1920 working for the Department of Public Education and Religion of the Directing Council. A fervent nationalist, Ghibu was entrusted with the nationalization of schools in Transylvania. In Cluj, he was the main protagonist during the takeover of the University on the behalf of the Romanian state, advocating a radical solution. For his activity at the beginning of the 1920s, see Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania,* 133, 155-161, 219-227.

[227] Sebastian Stanca, *Episcopia ortodoxa romana a Vadului, Feleacului si Clujului (1919-1929)* (The Romanian Orthodox Bishopric of Vad, Feleac and Cluj) (Cluj: Tiparul Tipografiei Eparhiei Ortodoxe Romane, 1930), 100-103. See also the documents referring to this issue that can be found in Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-21-920, doc. 1509-923 (the conclusions of the investigation made by Alexandru Dragomir and Valer Moldovan concerning the legal history of the former Jesuit Monastery), doc. 1711-924 (letter addressed by Nicolae Ivan to the Ministry of Cults and Arts), doc. 3856-924 (discussions in the Church Synod on the same problem), doc. 7948-924 (letter from the Ministry of Cults and Arts). The debate culminated with an elaborated letter addressed by Nicolae Ivan to the King in 1930 (doc. 7355-930).

Orthodox Romanian elite involved in this project perceived it as a "Transylvanian affair" aimed to "repair" the injustices of the past. The main narrative describing the significance of the monument was connected with Transylvania's history, and more specifically with the past of the city. Finally, I will show that the successful completion of the project and the consistent financial support by the central state authorities was partly due to the activity of Transylvanian-born ministers in both Liberal or Averescu government[228] in Bucharest, such as Alexandru Lapedatu, Octavian Goga, and Alexandru-Vaida Voevod. Another group particularly important for the successful achievement of the Cathedral was constituted from the members of the Diocesan Assembly. The majority of these laymen transferred to Cluj in order to teach at the new University (i.e. Ioan Lupas, Vasile Bogrea, Marin Stefanescu, Silviu Dragomir, Sextil Puscariu or work for the local administration (i.e. Petru Metes).[229] Therefore, although focusing on local actors, my perspective is still framed from above i.e. from the point of view of the local Orthodox elite.

Irrespective of such frictions with the religious and political authorities in Bucharest, or perhaps precisely because of these frictions, the local Orthodox leaders of Cluj involved in an aggressive spatial politics aiming to conquer the city center from other religions and do "historic justice" to their congregation. Via the means of such strong offensive, however, the Orthodox thereby deprived the Greek-Catholics (and other non-Orthodox Romanians) from the right to belong to the very same nation they were aspiring to support and represent. While the Orthodox Cathedral built in the current national style became an undisputed landmark of Romanian identity, the Greek-Catholic church located in an adapted late-Baroque convent building carried no such symbolical connotations. By concentrating on practical issues that concerned their congregation only, Greek-Catholics failed to create an impact on the city's

[228] Referring to the name of General Alexandru Averescu, the leader of the People's Party and prime-minister during the 1920s.
[229] Sebastian Stanca, *Episcopia ortodoxă română* , 36.

public space though a well-orchestrated display of national identity symbolism similar to that initiated by the Orthodox.

3.3. A Place for the Orthodox Cathedral in Cluj

After the end of the First World War, the Synod of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church had discussed the necessity of a bishopric in Cluj from purely administrative reasons. The discussions were based on the testament of Metropolitan Bishop Andrei Saguna, who had left a sum of money for the founding of two new bishoprics.[230] After 1918, these practical administrative reasons were enhanced by a heavy symbolical significance by an initiative group headed by Nicolae Ivan. In the request formulated during the Synod from April 1919, Valer Moldovan, church councilor and supporter of Nicolae Ivan's initiative, expressed the necessity of the new bishopric based on the historical tradition i.e. the roots of Orthodoxy in Transylvania going back as far as the Middle Ages. In the 15th century, he stressed, Moldavian voievode Steven the Great had received two domains from Matthias Corvinus and sponsored the construction of parish churches in two villages situated near Cluj, namely Vad and Feleac. Medieval documents referred to the activity of two Orthodox bishops in these villages during the 15th and early 16th century. Moldovan argued that the importance of such a remarkable past needed to be emphasized especially because this tradition connected Transylvania and Moldavia through the initiative of one of the most important Romanian national heroes of the past Stephen the Great. Furthermore, Moldovan's argument touched upon the new political context and pointed towards the necessity of promoting nationalizing policies in the newly acquired provinces. Referring directly to Cluj, he emphasized "the

[230] Sebastian Stanca, *Episcopia ortodoxă română*, 22-29.

national mission of our church of contributing to the conquest and transformation […] of a strong city of our Transylvania, which is today still estranged"[231].

When Nicolae Ivan arrived in Cluj in October 1919 from Sibiu, he was already 64. Born in a small village near Sibiu in 1855, Ivan chose priesthood at the age twenty-five and began his carrier as a school teacher. In 1890, he was already employed by the Orthodox Metropolitan Church in Sibiu first as an editor at the local religious journal *Telegraful Roman*, then as a councilor. He was involved in the management of the construction works of the Orthodox Cathedral in Sibiu, became a member of the City Council in Sibiu and from 1898 member of the Central Committee of ASTRA. Convinced that the economic emancipation was equally important as the spiritual one, he also founded small banks in the larger cities in the province: Iulia in Alba-Iulia, Vatra in Cluj (1907) and Lumina in Sibiu (1910).[232]

Upon his arrival, he met a situation when a small Orthodox Church was situated at the city's periphery and had no significant architectural and symbolic properties. As if to emphasize the new place of the Orthodox community in the city space, he rented a room at the second floor of a building situated in the city's main square and started his work on the organization of the new Orthodox Bishopric from there.[233]

The construction of a Cathedral in Cluj was also decided in Sibiu, on July 20, 1919. Although Ivan left for Cluj in the autumn of 1919, the actual foundation of the bishopric was postponed until July 1921, when a royal decree promulgated the "re-establishment of the Bishopric of Vad, Feleac and Cluj". The names of the two villages were kept in the official denomination, while the figure of Steven the Great was represented on the Bishopric's seal.[234] Although the elections for the leadership of the new religious institution were marked by inevitable quarrels between rival groups within the church, Ivan won the majority of votes.

[231] Sebastian Stanca, *Episcopia ortodoxă română,* 27-28.
[232] Sebastian Stanca, *Episcopia ortodoxă română,* 51-53.
[233] Sebastian Stanca, *Episcopia ortodoxă română,* 33.
[234] Sebastian Stanca, *Episcopia ortodoxă română,* 42-43.

His installation as a Bishop in December 1921 was the first opportunity of staging an Orthodox ceremony in the city's public space. Since the religious service took place in the church situated at the periphery of the city, Ivan insisted to organize a procession in which all participants would cross the city center, including the main square, and accompany the bishop to his residence. The whole city, not only the Orthodox community, should witness this important event. The ceremony was attended by the Prefect, Petru Metes, and the representatives of all other religious communities, notably with the exception for the Catholics. Lutheran, Calvinist and Unitarian churches were all represented, as was the Jewish community. Importantly, the members of the Greek-Catholic clergy did not attend, although they send official congratulations to the new Orthodox Bishop. The Mayor Iulian Pop, who was Greek-Catholic, seems to have missed as well, [235] while the official dinner was organized by the Prefecture.[236] The symbolical gestures connected with the installation of Ivan as Bishop in Cluj were concluded with a ritual pilgrimage to Putna Monastery in Bucovina, where the grave of Steven the Great was located.[237] All in all, the inauguration ceremony showed discord and lack of public support for a new Orthodox bishopric rather than grand ceremony with broad public participation as intended by the organizers.

Meanwhile, comparing his mission to that of the Prophet Nehemiah who built the walls of Jerusalem after the Babylonian captivity[238] Ivan focused his efforts on finding a place for the cathedral building. On January 26, 1920 he wrote two letters: one addressed to the Ruling Council[239], and the other to the local Municipality.[240] Although the requests were

[235] His presence is not mentioned in the accounts of the event.
[236] *Infrăţirea,* nr. 493, December 1921.
[237] Nicolae Vasiu, Ion Bunea, *Episcopul Nicolae Ivan* 1855-1936. *Ctitorul reînviatei Episcopii a Vadului, Feleacului şi Clujului. Studii şi documente* (Bishop Nicolae Ivan 1855- 1936. Founder of the revived Bishopric of Vad, Feleac and Cluj. Studies and Documents) (Cluj: Editura Arhiepiscopiei Ortodoxe a Vadului, Feleacului şi Clujului, 1985), 83.
[238] This reference was included in Nicolae Ivan's speech on the occasion of his installation. According to Nicolae Vasiu, *Episcopul Nicolae Ivan,* 82.
[239] Regional administrative body that functioned as a government, aiming to insure the gradual integration of Transylvania into Romania.
[240] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond V-11-919, doc. 47-920.

different, the argumentation was the same and could be summarized by the following symbolical verse which Ivan chose as a motto to his letter that referred to the words of the Gospel of Luke and related them to the contemporary political order: "I shall push the leaders from their thrones and raise the meek in their places."[241] In Ivan's opinion, the urban topography was illustrative of the existing power relations between the ethnic groups and religious confessions in the city. The fact that the small Orthodox church "stood hidden" at the periphery of the city signified humiliation. By contrast, even if Hungarians now lost influence in the city administration, "their churches" (i.e. Catholics) preserved most of their belongings and fortunes. Ivan therefore requested financial support from the Directing Council, and the disposal of a plot in the city center from the Municipality. This handwritten draft of this letter also reflects Ivan's concerns regarding the placement of the cathedral. The Bishop had thought about two different locations: one was the park in front of the National Theatre, and the other one the Union Square, in the vicinity of the Catholic church.[242] After some deliberation, however, his final suggestion was the first option. Even though Ivan clearly wanted his cathedral to be placed in a visual dialogue with the Catholic church,[243] the Union Square already carried strong Hungarian connotations and it was doubtful that local authorities would have agreed on placing two monumental churches in a relatively limited public space that was also used for all kinds of public ceremonies.

The new Cuza Vodă (former Bocskay) Square in front of the National Theatre was arranged on a place situated in the immediate vicinity of the former medieval city walls. Because of military reasons connected with the defense of the city, nothing was previously built on this space. At the beginning of the 19th century, when fortifications lost their function and purpose and were demolished, a cattle market was organized here. At the turn of the

[241] The quotation is from the Gospel of Luke, chapter 1, verse 52.
[242] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond V-11-919, doc. 47-920, fila 5.
[243] A similar undertaking occurred in Alba-Iulia, where the Coronation Church was constructed just across the street from the Catholic Cathedral Carmen Popescu, *Le style national roumain,* 212-213.

century, authorities chose this space as a potential new city center and constructed important administrative and cultural buildings there such as the Palace of Justice, the Chamber of Commerce and the National Theatre.[244] In the middle of the two "twin squares", two rectangular plots separated by the street were arranged as small parks. The building of the National Theatre was constructed on one of these areas, while the other one remained empty. This second location was what Ivan had in mind for the Cathedral.

In his letters addressed to various central institutions[245], Ivan employed nationalist rhetoric meant to convince the state of the necessity to sponsor the building of the Cathedral. The Bishop referred to the symbolical importance of Cluj within Transylvania and insisted that the city should become a center of Romanian life. More than a religious institution, Ivan argued, the Church was representing the state in the new provinces and therefore its building had to be an equally representative architectural space, which could successfully compete with the large churches of other religious confessions. For the non-Romanians in the city, the image of the Romanian royal family and of the central government would become associated with this Cathedral as the King and government representatives would be bound to visit it during their travels to Cluj. In addition, this monument was also supposed to be commemorating the Unification in 1918, since its construction would be possible due to this event. For all these reasons, Ivan believed that the state should support the construction of the Orthodox Cathedral.

These arguments, which became part of a well-articulated discourse on the national meaning of the Cathedral later, were used by Ivan on many occasions and particularly when the authorities failed to respond to his requests for the provision of additional funding. This discourse constructed at local level was soon adopted by the center, where the advantages of this type of rhetoric were eagerly understood. However, things became complicated on the

[244] Gheorghe Vais, *Clujul eclectic* , 85.
[245] See for example this letter addressed to the Minister of Agriculture on September 20, 1920; in Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond V-11-919, doc. Ministerului Agriculturii si Domeniilor, nr. 40348-1920.

local level as the Municipality repeatedly postponed the decision of yielding the park to the Orthodox Consistory. Finally, in May 1920, the local government named a commission that negotiated with the representatives of the Consistory. A witness of this negotiation, the future councilor of the Orthodox Bishopric Sebastian Stanca wrote in his monograph dedicated to the Cathedral: "the Municipality appointed a commission, which on May 3rd came with us to see the place. After long persistence from our side, the commission agreed on yielding the plot."[246] On May 8, the Local Council finally approved the free concession of the plot for this specific purpose. The Mayor signed the document according to which a part of the park in the Cuza Voda Square is yield to the Orthodox Bishopric for the construction of the Greek-Orthodox *church*"[247] in the hope that it would bring "moral benefit to Cluj inhabitants" and it would contribute to "the beautification of the public space through the construction of a monumental building"[248]. The Greek-Catholic mayor of the city avoided to connect the planned Cathedral with any national claims. Moreover, the words "Cathedral" or "Romanian" were not even mentioned. Instead, in line with a general logic of making decisions worthy of a responsible city mayor, he emphasized the issues such as the aesthetic improvement of the square and referred to the moral role of the church in modern society or where. The decision was further confirmed by the Prefect. However, two other local administrative bodies associated to the Municipality, namely the Secretary of Public Sanitation and the commissions of engineers, objected.[249] The local liberal newspaper *Infrățirea* expressed serious doubts about the true reasons behind this decision, as according to the journalist, "this park represents no interest for public sanitation [being] visited only in the evening by persons without

[246] Sebastian Stanca, *Episcopia ortodoxă română,* 74.
[247] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond V-11-919, doc. Primăriei 1487-1920.
[248] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, copy of the document- nedadat
[249] The documents of the Orthodox Bishopric do not mention the reason behind this decision. One might suspect simply that the members of these commissions believed that because of its reduced number, the Orthodox community in the city did not need such a monumental religious edifice. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why the construction of a Cathedral would constitute a threat to public health.

occupation and housemaids".[250] The journalist believed that no reasons could in fact justify the interdiction of constructing a monument of Romanianness in the city.[251]

Only the intervention of Bucharest authorities finally forced the local administration to approve the yielding of the park to the benefit of the Cathedral[252]. Apparently, the letter from the Ministry of the Interior left no place for further contestation as no decision of the local administrative bodies could be raised against the "best interests of the nation" that the central authorities claimed their exclusive privilege to represent: "The opinions expressed by the members of the Secretary for Public Sanitation and the commissions of engineers will not be taken into account, because they are based on reasons of secondary importance. The construction of a Greek-Orthodox *Romanian cathedral* in Cluj represents a cultural, religious and *national* [253] necessity. Therefore, we believe that it should be constructed in the very heart of the city." On October 10, 1920 Municipality complied with the central orders and donated the space in front of the National Theatre to the Orthodox Bishopric in order to build a cathedral there. [254]

However, this decision did not put an end to the debates concerning the right place for the Orthodox Cathedral, which continued during the next two years. Sextil Puscariu, university professor and member of the Diocesan Assembly, suggested when that the Citadel would constitute a more appropriate place for constructing this "monument of national pride". The proposal was discussed during one of the Synods of the Bishopric, in April 1922. [255] Puscariu argued that placing the Cathedral in Cuza Voda Square meant to disregard the Orthodox tradition, because if constructed in this location the altar of the building would face the north and not the east as was the age-old religious custom of the Orthodox. In addition, he

[250] *Infrățirea*, September 26, 1920.
[251] *Infrățirea*, September 26, 1920.
[252] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, Copie dupa ordinul Ministerului de Interne nr. 5340-10070/ 1920.
[253] My emphasis.
[254] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 2650
[255] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 2039-1922.

stresses that the square was already too crowded with important buildings. The advantage of the Citadel was that it provided greater visibility for the new building. Ivan objected, citing the efforts he had made in order to obtain the place in the city center. Furthermore, he argued that the Citadel location would require a Cathedral of too great dimensions for the community to be able to afford financially, while the transportation of the construction materials to the top of a hill could become problematic and would increase the cost even further.

The members of the Bishopric finally appealed for the opinion of Bucharest experts, engineer Dumitru Marcu and architect Nicolae Ghika-Budesti, who were incidentally also the members of the jury that selected the plans for the Cathedral when and where.[256] After analyzing both options, the experts decided that visibility would be sacrificed to accessibility and centrality. Moreover, since the building had to be inscribed into a prestigious architectural context, monumentality and a height of at least 50 meters were strongly recommended for any project that aimed to win the competition.

Finally, the Municipality appointed a new commission to negotiate with the representatives of the Bishopric what they deemed as the "appropriate [read limited] territory for the construction of the Greek-Orthodox *church*"[257]. The local government asked the Bishop to provide a precise ground plan of the Cathedral in which its outer dimensions would be clearly demarcated. Furthermore, the municipal authorities insisted that no other building except for the Cathedral would be constructed on that place. On July 1, 1922, the government approved the construction of the Cathedral on the basis of the report sent by the Ministry of

[256] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 2230-1922.
[257] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 4242-1922, doc. Primariei Orasului Cluj nr. 6064-1922. Again my emphasis on the word 'church". Although the Orthodox always described the religious building they aimed to construct as "cathedral" or "church-cathedral", in the documents of the Municipality at the beginning of the 1920s it appears simply as "the church". This might be an indicator of the tensions between the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox groups within the city.

Cults and Arts, providing the first financial contribution to the construction of the Cathedral, namely 1.6 million lei.[258]

3.4. The Project Competition

The project competition for the building of the Cathedral was opened in 1921. The first deadline was established to July 1, being postponed to November 1, 1921. The Consistory published the official announcement in three newspapers: *Argus* from Bucharest, *Telegraful Roman*[259] from Sibiu and *Înfrățirea*[260] from Cluj.[261]

The competition attracted the interest of many architects from Transylvania and Bucharest as well as Hungarian, Romanian, Jewish and German architects. Among the specialists that wrote to Ivan requesting further information were Károly Fényes from Arad[262], Dumitru Simu from Timisoara)[263], Marcel Maller (Bucharest)[264], Karl Ballereich (Sibiu)[265], and I. G. Ciortan and Marcel Maller (Bucharest)[266]. However, none of them submitted a project, at the end. The following eight projects fulfilled the requirements of the jury: Victor Vlad (En tuto nika, Timisoara[267]), Nicolae Simtion (Nihil Sine Deo, Sibiu), Buermes and Strenzel (Noiemvrie 1921, Sibiu), Károly Kos (Byzantion, Cluj), Constantin Pomponiu and

[258] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, Copie dupa Jurnalul Consiliului de Minstri inregistrat la Ministerul Cultelor si Artelor sub nr. 34670-922.
[259] The official journal of the Orthodox Metropolitan Church in Sibiu.
[260] The daily newspaper of the National Liberal Party in Cluj.
[261] Vasiu, *Episcopul Nicolae Ivan*, 102.
[262] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 1742-921.
[263] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 1854-921.
[264] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 2118-921.
[265] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 2274-921.
[266] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 2118-921.
[267] Motto of the competition entry and city of residence of the architects.

George Cristinel (INRI, Bucharest), Ioan Pamfilie (Acustica, Sibiu), Ioan Alexy and Zoltan Lothariu (Nihil Sine Deo II, Cluj) and Sterie Becu (Bucharest, IRIS)[268].

Few of the designs participating in the competition were preserved. Some architects made a special request to the Bishopric asking the return of their competition entries. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss four of the projects, which I believe were also representative for the way architects coming from different architectural traditions perceived the Orthodox Cathedral in Cluj.

The project entitled Acustica and authored by Ioan Pamfilie from Sibiu looked like a cross of several late medieval churches from Wallachia and Moldavia. The façade reminded of the Romanian pavilions at international exhibitions during the second half of the 19th century constructed in romantic historicist tradition.[269] This architectural hybrid combined the twisted towers from the church in Curtea de Argeş with the orientalizing entrance on ogee arches in Stravopoleos, while employing an architectural structure usually used by the promoters of the Romanian national style. According to the author, the plan was a combination of the Greek cross and the Roman basilica with a longitudinal development. The mix of oriental and occidental elements, the use of Curtea de Argeş as a source of inspiration and the special acoustics of the space were considered to be the greatest advantages of the project. Given all these elements, the architect declared that the style and the character of his project was completely Romanian, with no foreign elements.[270]

One of the perhaps surprising presences in the competition was Károly Kós, a local Transylvanian architect of Hungarian origin and a promoter of the Hungarian folkloricist style

[268] The envelops are not registered in the file, being simply preserved in a bigger envelope with the mention "Autorii planurilor inaintate pentru zidirea Catedralei" (The authors of the plans submitted for the construction of the Cathedral).
[269] For the Romanian participation in Parisian international exhibitions, see Laurentiu Vlad, *Imagini ale identitatii nationale* (Images of National Identity)(Iaşi: Editura Institutului European, 2007). The pavilion at the exhibition from 1867 is maybe the most characteristic representation of the tendency of constructing the image of Romanianness by mixing architectural elements from the most famous Romanian monasteries and churches.
[270] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 3529-921. Proiect pentru biserica Cathedrala ortodoxa romana din Cluj, doc. 3529/921.

in architecture. For his project, presented under the title Byzantion[271], Kos chose the plan of a Late-Antiquity Byzantine church, a developed Greek cross-shaped plan. According to his own words, the source of inspiration was "the greatest Cathedral in the world, Hagia Sophia".[272] The compact architectural structure of the building covered by a dome and a succession of semi-domes also reminded of Byzantine examples. Unlike other architects, Kós aimed to use traditional materials, such as stone and bricks for the exterior and marble and mosaics for the interior, "just like one can observe in the Greek churches from ancient Byzantium."[273] The Hungarian architect considered that the Cathedral should be placed in "dialogue" with the National Theatre and therefore chose a position closer to the street, just opposite from the Theatre. However, as I have previously showed, the context in which the Bishop was interested to place the Cathedral was not so much the Cuza Vodă Square itself. The challenge was to suggest a visual "dialogue" with the Catholic church situated in a parallel square. Therefore, the symbolical "target" was intentionally or not missed by Kós.

Other architects had more ambitious plans. For example, Victor Vlad from Timişoara chose the model of a monastery, which would be preceded by "colonnades like in the Saint Peter Square in Rome"[274]. However, the Byzantine style of the building would be preserved, although the material used would be still the reinforced concrete[275]. Like most architects, Vlad associated Orthodoxy with the Greek-cross plan and the dome. Although he suggested that the dome of the Cathedral would be placed in the axis of Iuliu Maniu Street[276], thus opening the

[271] The plans authored by Károly Kos are preserved in the Museum of the Cathedral.
[272] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 3002-921- "Descriere tehnică a planurilor de concurs pentru edificarea unei catedrale ortodoxe în Cluj. Motto: Byzantion, fila 1.
[273] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, "Descriere tehnică a planurilor de concurs pentru edificarea unei catedrale ortodoxe în Cluj. Motto: Byzantion, fila 2.
[274] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 3010-921. Memoriu tehnic curpinzand descrierea proiectelor de concurență pentru zidirea catedralei Greco-ortodoxe romane din Cluj si înaintate sub mottoul "En tuto nika", filele 1-6.
[275] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 3010-921. Memoriu tehnic curpinzand descrierea proiectelor de concurență pentru zidirea catedralei Greco-ortodoxe române din Cluj si înaintate sub mottoul "En tuto nika", filele 1-6.
[276] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 3589-921.

perspective towards the parallel square, no clear symbolical relationship with the Catholic church was mentioned.

The authors of the plans entitled INRI,[277] architects George Cristinel and Constantin Pomponiu from Bucharest emphasized the nationalist rhetoric since the beginning of their letter in which they motivated the solutions chosen. Unlike the other projects presented in the competitions, the architects identified some "moral considerations" as a basis for the project, declaring they that got involved in this competition "animated by a patriotic feeling". Probably anticipating the competition of non-Romanian architects, a xenophobic touch was also added to this motivation letter: a national monument such as the Cathedral should be entrusted to Romanian specialists only. The authors believed that the dome above the nave would be the main characteristic of the building. In a very explicit manner, the architects explained that this cupola would be placed in the axis of Iuliu Maniu Street, which connected Cuza Vodă Square with the Union Square. Therefore, anyone walking on Iuliu Maniu Street could see and compare the two churches. The familiar cross-shaped plan with an emphasis on the longitudinal axis was used, while the lateral apses, although diminished, alluded to the traditional triconch explain specific to medieval Romanian churches. The element that was strangely "foreign" from the Byzantine context was precisely the dome, since, as Carmen Popescu[278] and Augustin Ioan[279] pointed out, with its open gallery on columns, the dome resembled more occidental models such as the Parisian Pantheon and Saint Paul's Cathedral in London than to a traditional Byzantine church.

The jury was constituted by Bucharest architects Petre Antonescu and Nicolae Ghika-Budesti, the two of the most famous representatives of the Romanian national style of the

[277] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 3588-921.
[278] Carmen Popescu, *Le style national roumain,* 255.
[279] Augustin Ioan, *Power, Play and National Identity,*30. Although both architectural historians discuss in their book Orthodox church architecture constructed during the interwar period, they dedicate a few pages only to this topic. However, they do not miss addressing the importance of the Cathedral in Cluj.

time, and engineer Dumitru Marcu, a close collaborator of Ivan.[280] Although supposed to arrive in Cluj on January 19, 1922,[281] the two architects blamed the unfavorable weather and argued that it was impossible for them to travel in the province. Therefore, they asked the Bishopric to send to plans to Bucharest for the final evaluation.[282]

According to their opinion, none of the projects completely fulfilled the requirements and no first prize would be awarded. Two main reasons motivated the rejection of the majority of the plans: the lack of a Romanian character and the absence of monumentality and unity. [283] The project submitted by Kós was appreciated as a valuable work, but its design was too different from "authentic" Romanian Orthodox churches. However, the jury recommended the project designed by Pomponiu and Cristinel because of its fitting monumentality and style. A series of changes were suggested, especially connected with the simplification of the decorative motives. This project was awarded with the second prize, while "Byzantion" and "In tuto nika" received mentions.[284]

The results of the competition aroused tensions among participating architects. Duliu Marcu accused the winning project of plagiarism[285], while Vlad[286] wrote a long letter to the Bishop, emphasizing all the inconveniences that could result from the designs by Cristinel and Pomponiu. The competition could not end without another intervention by the Municipality, which appointed a new committee to analyze the winning project and establish the exact plot that would be given to the Orthodox Church. According to the representatives of the

[280] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 3613-921.
[281] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 9-922.
[282] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 127-922.
[283] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 868-922
[284] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 868-922
[285] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 227-922. Duliu Marcu accussed Critinel and Pomponiu of having copied the façade of one of the churches he designed, namely Madona Dudu from Craiova. The two architects replied that far from any plagiarism, they themselves have designed the façade for Madona Dudu when they were collaborators of Duliu Marcu (Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 1608-922).
[286] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 1392-922.

Municipality, the local government would like to use the rest of the space as a public utility.[287]

As I showed in this chapter, the competition for the construction of the Orthodox Cathedral in Cluj attracted the interest of numerous architects coming from various Transylvanian cities and from Bucharest. Although all specialists associated Orthodoxy with Byzantine architecture, the winning project had to suggest something more than a simple return to the sources. In my opinion, besides the artistic qualities of the designs that fulfilled almost completely the requirements of the jury, the project signed by Cristinel and Pomponiu was invested with a symbolic meaning, clearly connected to the context where the Cathedral was to be constructed. Cristinel and Pomponiu understood not only that the building had to be a visual expression of Romanianness, but also that it should be placed in a dialogue with the Catholic church from Unirii Square. This element of "competition" for the domination of the cityscape that the Bishop also had in mind was speculated by the two architects.

3.5. The Construction of the Orthodox Cathedral (1923-1933)

In March 1923, a delegation composed of Ivan, Ion Lupaş, Vasile Duma and Petală traveled to Bucharest in order to convince central authorities to provide the necessary financial resources for the construction of the Cathedral. The delegation visited King Ferdinand, and discussed the issue with the prime-minister, members of the government and the Governor of the National Bank.[288]

Although the Bishopric in Cluj claimed that the cost of the project would not exceed 12 million lei, the winning project envisioned a budget of 36 million.[289] The fund raising

[287] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 1148-922.
[288] Sebastian Stanca, *Episcopia ortodoxă română*,77.
[289] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 868-922.

campaign began with the initial donation of the Directing Council in 1920, consisting in 2 million crowns.[290] The government usually responded positively to the requirements of the Bishop, yet it could provide only limited amounts of funding.[291] Local Municipality also contributed to the Cathedral fund raising campaign even if to a smaller extent.[292] According to these documents, a certain amount of money was allocated every year from the local budget for the works of construction. The documents of the Bishopric provide an approximate image on the contribution of central and local authorities. For example, in 1929, the Cathedral fund reached 9 million lei, among which 8 million was the contribution of the government, 500,000 lei came from the local budget, and the rest was raised through different initiatives of the Bishopric.[293] The numbers are significant because in 1929 both the local and the central governments were controlled by the National-Peasant Party. Although in that period the Orthodox accused the government of favoring the non-Orthodox cults, including Greek-Catholics[294], these numbers show that such claims might have been exaggerated in the very least.

Other initiatives organized by the Bishopric, various other associations and private individuals contributed to fund for the Cathedral. For example, in December 1920, the Ministry of Finance approved Ivan's proposal to issue a special stamp that would be added to the price of all entry tickets in cultural institutions such as theatres, opera houses, museums, cinemas on the whole territory of Transylvania. Although the cost of the stamp was of only 50 bani,[295] the measure was never applied because of the protests raised by the groups perceived

[290] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 1458-1921.
[291] Numerous letters from the part of the Ministry of Arts and Cults document the financial support offered by various governments. See for example Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-8-923, doc. 14481- March 24, 1924, doc. 41672-1924, doc. 2580-925.
[292] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-8-923, doc. 8037-927.
[293] *Actele Adunării Eparhiale pe anul 1929 (*The Documents of the Eparchy's Assembly on 1929) (Cluj, 1929), 63.
[294] *Renasterea* (The Renaissance), February 24, 1929.
[295] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, Regulament reativ la timbrul cultural penru cladirea Catedralei Ortodoxe din Cluj, fila 1; published in *Gazeta Oficiala a Comisiunii Regionale de Unificare din Cluj* (The Official Gazette of the Regional Commission of Unification), June 23, 1921.

as "enemies of our [Orthodox] Church." [296] As a consequence, the Ministry decided to renounce this initiative and recommended the usage of the stamp to be limited to the cultural manifestations organized by the Cluj Bishopric.[297] Later on, the Ministry of Culture in Bucharest promised to provide a compensation of 2 million lei.[298]

The Society of Orthodox Women[299] strongly supported the construction of the Cathedral by organizing fund raising campaigns and patronizing all kinds of cultural events, such as concerts, theatre plays, and conferences.[300] At the request of the Bishop, the Society agreed to pay for one of the bells of the Cathedral.[301] In 1929, with the support of the local Municipality and the Prefecture, it even organized a lottery aimed to collect funds for the construction of the Cathedral, with an automobile as its top prize.[302]

Other types of events were organized as private initiatives. For example, in 1922, a number of unemployed Romanian journalists decided to patronize some popular celebrations in the City Park in order to support themselves, but also to collect money for the Cathedral.[303] Although Ivan received the approval of the Prefect and the Mayor[304], some of these festivities were cancelled because of bad weather.[305] Average people from the parishes all over the

[296] Sebastian Stanca, *Episcopia ortodoxă română,* 75. Most probably, Transylvanians of other confessions refused to pay for a stamp destined exclusively for the benefit of the Orthodox Church. This example shows to what extend the state was actually able to interfere in local policies and impose a decision that created discontent and tensions.
[297] Sebastian Stanca, *Episcopia ortodoxa romana,* 75.
[298] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, neinregistrat.
[299] The Society of Orthodox Women in Cluj was founded in 1921 by the wife of General Nicolae Petala, Miss Rosete Petala. Gathering the wives of the male members of Romanian Orthodox elite in Cluj, the association got involved in charity and supported by all means the construction works of the Cathedral. According to Sebastian Stanca, *Episcopia ortodoxă română*, 72.
[300] *Renasterea*, January 6, 1924.
[301] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-8-923, doc. 6628-925.
[302] *Renasterea*, May 26, 1929.
[303] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 2901-1922.
[304] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 2901-1922.
[305] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 3083-1922.

Bishopric also brought their modest contributions[306], while banks made significant donations. [307]

As late as 1929, however, Ivan complained the lack of public interest and directly accused the central and local authorities, which according to him demonstrated their lack of understanding and support and "forced us (i.e. the Orthodox Romanians) to stay in this small parish church for ten years that can hardly accommodate 300 humble believers."[308] In order to encourage donations, the nationalist rhetoric associated with the monument was often employed, and in most of the cases it had effect, especially when addressed to the central government. Newspapers tried to influence both the public opinion and the government, by invoking sensitive issues such as the memory of the war. "This monumental work […] constructed in the memory of those who died on the battlefields of the world war […] does not belong to a parish or an eparchy, but to the liberated Transylvania"[309], wrote the Cluj newspaper *Patria* in 1929.

As the construction works prolonged unexpectedly over and over again, even the Bishop's close collaborators, such as the Romanian Patriarch Miron Cristea became wary of new funding requests coming from Ivan. In 1933, when the construction works came close to an end, Cristea wrote to Ivan the following:"Despite all my good will toward the Cluj Bishopric, to which belongs also my native village, Toplița, I have the feeling that the Patriarchy becomes some sort of branch, since it always has to provide support for Cluj. […] Although I have tried to emancipate myself from my native serfdom, I will still do my best to

[306] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-8-923, doc. 13-920, 231-921, 74-921, 470-921.
[307] For example, the Marmorosch-Blank bank from Bucharest donated 50,000 lei – see Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond V-11-919, doc. 2398-1920, while the Romanian National Bank offered 1 million lei- see *Renaşterea*, August 31, 1924.
[308] *Patria*, May 1, 1929. Although a church that can accommodate 300 persons cannot be described as particularly small, it is probable that the Bishop advanced his claims having in mind the number of the entire Orthodox population of city. According to the census in 1930, in Cluj there were almost 12,000 Orthodox. See *Recensamantul General al Populației României, 1930.* Vol. II- Neam, limbă materna, religie, *Recensământul General al Populației României pe anul 1930. vol. II- Neam, limbă maternă, religie* [General Census of the Population of Romania in 1930, 2nd volume- Nationality, mother tongue, religion], Bucureşti, 1930, xciv.
[309] *Patria*, June 8, 1928.

help your Bishopric." The letter was signed in the same register: "Miron, Patriarch, the executor of Cluj commands."[310]

Beside financial issues, the construction of the Cathedral was accompanied by a number of problems. Among them the most important one was a split between Pomponiu and Cristinel[311] the two architects who had won the competition and with whom the initial contract was signed. By 1924, only Cristinel remained committed to the full realization of the project.[312] Second, the choice of the construction company also proved problematic. Seven companies from different regions of Greater Romania presented their offers.[313] The decision of the Bishopric to choose the company in Cernăuți caused negative reactions in the press. Several voices claimed that the construction of the Romanian Cathedral could not be entrusted to "non-Romanians," and this company was owned by two Germans and a Jew, Ivan was forced to provide explanations concerning this situation.[314] When the Bishopric reevaluated the options, probably also after price renegotiations, and chose the offer of the Bucharest company that had built the Coronation church in Alba-Iulia,[315] political aspects were brought into discussion. *Patria,* the newspaper of the National Romanian Party, wrote that the decision-making process concerning the company entrusted with the construction of the Orthodox Cathedral had a strong political background. The winning company was owned by the liberal engineer Ieremia and therefore this offer was supported by the Prefect of Cluj,

[310] Letter written in Bucharest, on July 8, 1933, published by Vasiu, *Episcopul Nicolae Ivan,* 247-248.
[311] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 3252-922.
[312] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 2951-924.
[313] These companies were: Edilitatea from Bucharest, the Technical Bureau of l.Bohățiel and F. Koncz in Cluj, engineer F. Negruțiu from Cluj, Intreprinderile Generale Tehnice Tiberiu Eremia from Bucharest, Societatea pentru construcții si lucrări subterane Cernăuți, engineers Bozsik and Szömörkényi from Arad, and Societatea Română de Intreprinderi from Bucharest. According to Sebastian Stanca, *Eparhia ortodoxă română*, 77-78. The detailed offers are also to be found in Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 1712, 1713, 1714, 1718 and 32-923.
[314] *Clujul*, June 17, 1923.
[315] *Clujul*, 8 iulie 1923

Petru Meteş, also a member of the Liberal Party, who aimed to favor it motivated by a "strong Christian commitment".[316]

Ethnic tensions seemed to have ceased their existence once the new companies entered the arena after the construction works began. Despite the nationalistic discourse featured by both the Bishop and the local Romanian press, the actual composition of the professionals involved in the building activity was in fact a complete mix. Besides the society owned by engineer Tiberiu Ieremia, a series of other works was entrusted to different smaller companies and workshops. Ivan personally chose to order the Cathedral's four bells in Sopron, to the Seltenhofer Workshop.[317] Other local specialists were entrusted with different commands: Theodor Orban and Vasile Roşca collaborated for the electrical installation[318], Bauer and Nagy sculpted the stone decorations following the Byzantine tradition[319], while the list of workers includes an equal number of Hungarian and Romanian names.[320]

The Bishop made efforts to reduce the costs by asking for discounts for raw materials or transportation from various ministries.[321] The national rhetoric associated with the Cathedral was sometimes useful, but in many cases practical motivations prevailed and the support requested by Ivan was often rejected. In 1933, Patriarch Miron convinced King Carol II to donate the main chandelier, in a shape of the royal crown to the Cathedral by arguing that this gesture would symbolize that "the light comes from Bucharest."[322] On another instance, however, when Ivan asked the Coronation Commission to donate the wooden skeleton already

[316] *Patria*, June 20, 1923.
[317] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-8-923, doc. 5454-1925. The correspondence with this company, but also with all the others that had worked for the Cathedral was carried in the language used by the sender. On the back of each letter, the Bishop wrote the draft of the answer using the same language. Although most of the Hungarian and Jewish companies wrote in Romanian, some used also Hungarian or German.
[318] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-8-923, doc. 4496-1933.
[319] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-8-923, doc. 6741-1933.
[320] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-8-923, doc. 7598-1928. The names of the workers appear at the end of a petition in which they complain about a deduction of the salaries, explaining they are only seasonal workers that have to support their families from this money.
[321] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-8-923, doc. 1503-924. See for example this request to the National Railway Company, asking for a dediction of 20% from the transportation price for raw materials.
[322] Letter written in Bucharest, on July 8, 1933, published by Vasiu, *Episcopul Nicolae Ivan*, 248.

used for the construction of the church in Alba-Iulia[323], he was refused and the materials were send to Galati, a city affected by a flood.[324] Therefore, any possible symbolical connection between the church where Ferdinand and Mary were crowned as King and Queen of Greater Romania and the Cathedral in Cluj was missed.

3.6. Orthodoxy, Romanianness and Public Space: Staging Official Ceremonies

Several ceremonies connected with the consecration of different elements of the Cathedral took place between 1923 and 1933. These moments were used by Nicolae Ivan as means to attract public attention to the Cathedral. On one hand, he was interested to show that the construction works were progressing; on the other hand he used these as opportunities in order to require additional financial support. All the elements of these ceremonies carried a strong symbolical significance, from the chosen audience, to the processions crossing the city center, and the speeches delivered by various personalities. I argue that these ceremonies constituted important moments for observing the way in which various actors aimed to appropriate the symbolical meaning of the Cathedral and integrate it into their own agenda. Moreover, during these ceremonies, the Romanian presence in the city could be better emphasized, reinforcing Romanian elite's claims on the control of the public space.

These ceremonies followed a similar pattern: local and central political authorities were invited; large crowds of peasants from the neighboring villages filled the streets, and at least one of the two following processions was taking place: the crossing of the city center by the Orthodox clergy and community in their way from the small parish church to the place

[323] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 874-923.
[324] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-23-920, doc. 1260-923.

where the Cathedral was constructed, and the road of Bucharest officials from the Railway Station to the same Cuza Vodă Square.

The first of these ceremonies was the laying of the founding stone, which took place on October 7, 1923. The pattern described above was carefully followed. Crown prince Carol was the main guest attending the ceremony. In the Cuza Vodă Square, three pavilions were arranged for the guests: one for clergy and ministries, one for authorities and foreign guests and the third one for "ladies", namely the members of the Society of Orthodox Women. School students were posted on both sides of the square, while the peasants coming from neighboring villages stood in the back.[325] The ceremony was attended also by the Transylvanian, yet Greek-Catholic leaders of the Romanian National Party, such as Iuliu Maniu, Emil Hațieganu and Romul Boilă.[326]

As the newspapers explained, the ceremony carried a historical, political, religious and national significance, being a conscious reflection of the Romanian identify. Through the voice of the Moldavian Metropolitan Pimen, the Orthodox Church expressed the strong connection between the nation and Orthodoxy. The Church had leaded the Romanian people towards independence and it should remain the guiding idea of the society in the future, declared Pimen.[327]

In his speech, Prince Carol integrated himself in the line of Romanian medieval voievodes such as Steven the Great, which marked every military victory with the foundation of a church. Similarly, the Romanian victory in the Great War had to be remembered through the construction of an imposing religious edifice. However, as future king of all Romanian citizens, Carol insisted that churches should symbolize peace among all the inhabitants of the

[325] *Patria*, October 5, 1923.
[326] *Patria*, October 5, 1923. The presence of these politicians among the guests is mentioned by the newspaper of the Romanian National Party in Cluj. Yet, their names are omitted from the account published in *Renaşterea*, the newspaper of the Orthodox Bishopric. See *Renaşterea*, October 14, 1923.
[327] *Patria*, October 9, 1923. Please notice that this article, authored by R. Dragnea and entitled "The Call of Orthodoxy" ,equaling Romanianness with Orthodoxy, was published on the front page of the National Romanian Party's official newspaper, whose chief-editor was a Greek-Catholic.

country, promoting "understanding among brothers"[328]. Significantly enough, the Orthodox interpreted Carol's words as an invitation addressed to Greek-Catholics of joining Orthodoxy.[329]

The commemorative act put on the founding stone carried the signatures of Prince Carol, the members of the government and the high clergy of the Orthodox Church. The name of Nicolae Ivan received particular emphasis, as "the initiator and the most dedicated worker for the construction of the holy church." The document summarized the symbolical meaning of the Cathedral, connecting the legacy of Steven the Great with the sacrifice of Romanian soldiers during the war. Therefore, the Cathedral was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin, celebrated on August 15, the day when in 1916 "the armies of the Motherland began the great war for the liberation of their brothers from foreign rule."[330] Although taken from the Orthodox Liturgy, the words pronounced by the Bishop when the founding stone was laid possibly referred to the non-Romanians living in the city: "Nations, you should understand and accept that God is with us."[331]

The narrative on the Romanian unification was reduced to two elements: the divine will and the soldiers' sacrifice that brought salvation to Romanians living across the Carpathians. In his speech, Ivan emphasized the aspect by making a powerful statement: "Today Cluj ceased of being the Golgotha of our sufferings, Cluj has become a center of Romanian culture, a center of light and shining sun". The Cathedral that was to be constructed was compared with the new Sion, while, using a Bible example, Ivan portrayed himself as the wise man who built his house on the stone so that nothing could demolish it. [332]

[328] *Renaşterea,* October 21, 1923.
[329] *Renaşterea,* October 21, 1923.
[330] For a copy of the commemorative act, see Alexandru Moraru, *Catedrala Arhiepiscopiei Ortodoxe a Vadului, Feleacului şi Clujului* (The Cathedral of the Archbishopric of Vad, Feleac and Cluj)(Cluj-Napoca: Editura Arhidiecezană, 1996), 253.
[331] In Romanian: "Neamuri, înțelegeti şi vă plecați, căci cu noi este Dumnezeu."
[332] *Renaşterea,* October 14, 1923.

The voice of the local intellectual elite was Alexandru Lapedatu, who claimed that the Cathedral was the symbol of victory. By founding this church, he explained, Romanians took the cross that was put on their grave and raised it above the Cathedral. In the name of the Diocesan Synod, Lapedatu asked the royal house and the government to continue supporting the building efforts.[333] Two other speeches, by the president of ASTRA Vasile Goldiş and Mayor Octavian Utalea followed the same lines, emphasizing Transylvanian Romanians' past of suffering and asking for their solidarity in the framework of the new state.[334]

The speech of Roman Ciorogariu, Bishop of Oradea, clearly associated the Cathedral with the memory of all those Transylvanian Romanians who were persecuted during the Hungarian regime- the protagonists of the Memorandum trail and those who were imprisoned during the war. Referring to the legend of Arges Monastery[335], he argued that nothing lasting can be constructed without sacrifice. If all churches had their founding stone, the one of the Cathedral was "the cross of the sufferings of the Romanian nation".[336]

Two other similar ceremonies were attended by a more limited, local-based audience. On July 6, 1926, the Bishop consecrated the cross which was placed above the dome. Although not an official ceremony, it was attended by the most important members of the Romanian society in Cluj, including the Mayor and the Prefect. Once the cross was placed on the Cathedral, comparisons could be made with the Catholic church, since the height of both edifices was approximately the same. However, one newspaper wrote that while the Orthodox cross was a symbol of forgiveness, the one of "the black cathedral (i.e. the Catholic church) seems to threaten with hells and purgatories."[337]

[333] *Renaşterea,* October 14, 1923.
[334] *Patria*, October 9, 1923.
[335] Romanian legend about the necessity of sacrifice- Master Manole could construct the Argeş Monastery only after he agreed on building in its walls his wife Ana. The parallel with the Cathedral in Cluj is significant, since Ciorogariu argued that all the "martyrs" of the Romanian nation constituted the human sacrifice requested for a lasting edifice.
[336] *Renasterea,* October 14, 1923.
[337] *Renaşterea,* August 15, 1926.

One year later, the Bishop consecrated the bells, which, after arriving from Sopron, were immediately covered with the national flag and transported in front of the Cathedral.[338] The inscription of the bells reminded of the fourth main contributors to the initiation of the works for the Cathedral: King Ferdinand, Bishop Nicolae Ivan, the Society of the Orthodox Women and all donators. This time, the procession from the parish church to Cuza Voda Square was even more visible, since it included not only the clergy and hundreds of peasants from the neighboring villages, but also the Army, who performed military music all along the way.

Although the speeches used the same rhetoric, for the first time the president of the Society of the Orthodox Women was invited to deliver a speech, in which she described the activity of her association. Another novelty was the participation of the choir of Greek-Catholic Women Association, invited as a symbol of Romanians' solidarity.[339]

Naturally, the most elaborated ceremonies were dedicated to the Consecration of the Cathedral, which lasted for three days, between 4 and 6 November 1933. The costs for the construction of the Cathedral were estimated to 67 million lei, from which 54 million were the contribution of the government.[340] The speeches by Nicolae Ivan and the members of the local Romanian elite such as Lapedatu and Lupaş were constructed along the same arguments, emphasizing the terrible past of Transylvanian Romanians. In addition, the story of the World War One and the fate of the Romanian soldiers were integrated into the main narrative of the sacrifice. As Lupas claimed, the foundations of the Cathedral were lying "on the bones of the heroes and the martyrs sacrificed in the fights for our liberation".[341]

[338] *Renaşterea,* April 24, 1927.
[339] *Renaşterea,* May 8, 1927.
[340] *Zile memorabile (4, 5 si 6 Noiembrie). Sfintirea Catedralei Ortodoxe Române din Cluj* (Memorable Days: (November 4, 5 and 6). The Consecration of the Romanian Orthodox Cathedral from Cluj) (Cluj: Tiparul Eparhiei Ortodoxe Române, 1933), 10.
[341] *Zile memorabile (4, 5 si 6 Noiembrie),* 19.

Special arrangements were made for the day of the consecration. The Romanian impact on the urban landscape was described by a journalist from Sibiu: "The city from today is not the same as the one we had 15 years ago. The Cluj from today carries the seal of the Romanian administration. Wherever you turn, you see Romanian accomplishments: streets, buildings, public lighting, sewerage, parks etc. Among all these proves of hard work shines the last one, the Orthodox Cathedral constructed in front of the National Theatre. This wonderful place is meant to become the truthful center of Cluj, instead of the one we have today, which is not Romanianized enough."[342]

On November 5, 1933 at 10 am, representatives of national and local authorities were waiting for the royal train to arrive in Cluj railway station. Transylvanian-born prime-minister Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, the members of the government, several army generals, the Greek-Catholic Bishop Iuliu Hossu, the Orthodox high clergy and local officials were in the first lines of the audience. The ceremony in front of the Cathedral was orchestrated with the use of modern technology; the megaphones made the ceremony be heard in the entire city center. Students dressed in national costumes filled the square, while the religious service was organized in front of the Cathedral in order to be visible to the crowd. Ivan spoke again about the past of Transylvanian Romanians, while the King, who was returning after ten years in front of the Orthodox Cathedral in Cluj, presented himself as a young and enthusiast heir of Romanian voievodes, reinforcing his claims of being integrated into a historical line of continuity.

The religious ceremony was followed by a military parade and an official dinner organized by the Municipality in the same hall where the Memorandum trial took place.[343] A new speech of the King presented surprising similarities with his discourse delivered ten years before: Romanians should preserve the memory of those who had fought for their

[342] *Foaia Poporului*, November 12, 1933.
[343] For the symbolical meaning of the Memorandum trail, see Chapter 2.

emancipation; yet, the members of other religious confessions should not feel disadvantaged by the attention given to the Orthodox; their ultimate best interest is the interest of their country.[344]

The Greek-Catholics felt unmoved by this kind of rhetoric. Their official newspaper, *Unirea*, described the event as a "pompous ceremony" that received national proportions due to the participation of the King and the government. The cathedral could be seen a sign of Romanian victory; yet the government had paid more than 50 million lei from the state budget for its construction. Therefore, the article emphasized, the new Cathedral was constructed thanks to the donations of all citizens of Romania, irrespective confession or ethnicity.[345]

Among the Hungarian religious communities, the Calvinists seem to have been the only official guests. The account published in the official newspaper of the Calvinist Bishopric, the author emphasized that the in the name of Christian solidarity, The Calvinist Bishop Sándor Mákkai visited Ivan and congratulated him for his achievements and successful activity.[346]

However liberal the royal speech might have sounded, the words of the prime-minister returned to the nationalist rhetoric. A former member in the Budapest Parliament before 1914, Alexandru Vaida-Voevod spoke about the historical importance of the hall accommodating the dinner. He mentioned that the same space had witnessed the proclamation of Transylvania's union with Hungary in 1848 and the Memorandum trial in 1894.

For a part of the Transylvanian Romanian elite, this was indeed the moment of their victory. The Orthodox Cathedral in Cuza Vodă Square could be considered a proof of Romanian local pride. Although the former members of the National Romanian Party were

[344] *Zile memorabile (4, 5 si 6 Noiembrie),* 38.
[345] *Unirea* (The Union) nr. 45(1933), republished in *Zile memorabile (4, 5 si 6 Noiembrie),*95.
[346] *Reformatus Szemle*, nr. 30-31 (1933), republished in *Zile memorabile (4, 5 si 6 Noiembrie),*96. Significantly, the story narrated from Calvinist perspective shows their own point of view on the topography of the city: if in all other accounts the Orthodox Cathedral is placed in front of the National Theatre, which was the main landmark of the square, the Calvinist wrote that the edifice was constructed in front of the building "of our Faculty", which was also true, if one would stay on the northern side.

divided among different political lines and separated by the tensions existing between the two Romanian Churches, at least some of the former fighters for Romanian emancipation were content to see the long-term results of their struggles.

The Cathedral also became a personal victory for Nicolae Ivan. Coming from Sibiu with a readymade recipe, Ivan was decided to re-write history in Cluj by founding the first Orthodox Bishopric and constructing a monumental Cathedral. Romanian intellectuals that came to teach at the University in Cluj constituted an elite that supported him. Ivan's determination was certainly the main reason that guaranteed the success of this challenging project. The government allocated funds for the Cathedral only at his repeated appeals. The Municipality finally "surrendered" and agreed on yielding the plot the Bishop insisted on after three years of perpetual requests. Understanding the symbolical importance of Cluj, the Bishop did everything in his power in order to establish an Orthodox presence in the public space of a city in which the Greek-Orientals represented the absolute minority.

Finally, the Royal House was content to associate itself with this new initiative that could ensure a larger popularity. During his two official visits in Cluj, Carol II tried to obtain as much prestige as possible. Given the multi-ethnical character of the city, his tactics was twofold. On one hand, he supported the Romanian nationalist rhetoric and aimed to place himself in the line of the Romanian rulers by founding a church, as in the medieval times. The association of the Bishopric with the image of Steven the Great was definitely another advantage speculated by the King. Still, Carol did not forget the city he was visiting was inhabited by a majority of Hungarian speaking population, which was now part of Greater Romania. Therefore, he emphasized the other meaning of the church, connected with peace and mutual understanding.

CHAPTER 4 – LOCAL OR NATIONAL HERO? PROJECTS FOR THE STATUE OF AVRAM IANCU IN CLUJ

4.1. Drawing the Portrait of "the Hero of the Romanians". The idea of a Monument in the Memory of Avram Iancu until 1914

On August 29, 1872, the Romanian Orthodox priest Avram Leahu inserted a record in the Parish Register of the Greek-Orthodox Church in Vidra de Sus, a small village in the Apuseni Mountains. The short mention, referring to a man of 48 years old, went as follows: "Name, surname and the occupation of the dead: AVRAM IANCU, the Hero of the Romanians" [Numele, prenumele si ocupatia mortului: Avram Iancu, Eroul Romanilor.]"[347]

Born in this village in 1824, Avram Iancu received Catholic schooling in Zlatna and Cluj, and later trained as a lawyer.[348] During the 1848 revolution, after the Romanian and Hungarian revolutions, declared to be in open conflict, Iancu became the leader of the Romanian armed resistance in the Apuseni Mountains. Romanians used 1848 to foster their demands for equal recognition and representation by siding with Vienna at that crucial moment. Attempts of bringing them along the Hungarian revolutionary elite in the early days of the revolution were short-lived and unsuccessful because of the divergent interest of both parties. Their siding with Vienna in 1848, however, annihilated them from precluded cooperation with the ruling nation of the region, the Hungarians. When the revolution was defeated, Iancu hoped that, because the Romanians have fought on the side of the imperial armies, they would obtain the recognition of their political rights and a better fate for his nation. But Vienna's decisions already in March 1849 produced disappointment among Transylvanian Romanian leaders. Deeply involved in all the twists and turns of the revolution

[347] Actul de deces a lui Avram Iancu, nr.par. 40-924, Extras din matricula mor□ilor a comunei biserice□ti Greco-orientale Vidra de Sus, tom. II, p. 47, nr. 42, in Ioan Lupa□, *Avram Iancu., Comunicare făcută în □edin□a Academiei Române la 8 iunie 1924* (Avram Iancu. Conference held at the Romanian Academy on June 8, 1924) (Cluj: Ardealul, 1924), 58.

[348] For a typical narrative on Iancu's life, see the biography written by Silviu Dragomir on the occasion of the hero's birth centenary: Siviu Dragomir. *Avram Iancu* (Bucureşti: Casa Şcoalelor, 1924).

and concomitant ethnic-civil war in Transylvania[349], Iancu perceived the new political situation as a personal defeat. After he realized nothing would improve in the condition of Romanians, Iancu withdrew into himself and never left the Apuseni Mountains, wandering from village to village without any purpose. According to his own words, he was only a shadow of the Revolution fighter. The tragedy of his life prolonged into a myth. Even though this concise life story is clearly a construct by the nationalist narrative and thus full of inconsistencies, it is important to keep in mind that this is how Iancu was remembered by the majority of Transylvanian Romanians in the subsequent decades in of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century.

In this chapter, I will discuss the projects for a monument to Avram Iancu in interwar Cluj. The idea of this monument emerged only two years after Transylvania was officially incorporated into Greater Romania, when, at the end of 1920 a special committee was created for this purpose. What role was the statue meant to play in the city landscape? Where should it be placed? How would Iancu be represented? These were only some of the questions that the initiators of the project had to answer. Besides the members of the committee, other actors such as the local Municipality, the Orthodox Church, ASTRA and the government became, to different degrees, involved in the project. At the same time, some other major actors that had played a significant role in the history of Transylvanian Romanians until 1918, namely the Greek-Catholic Church and the Romanian National Party, found themselves excluded from the official initiatives connected with Avram Iancu's commemoration. The practical part of the project, e.g. the fundraising campaign and the sculpture competition, were the tasks of the committee, who actually encountered significant problems in selecting the most appropriate sculptural representation of their hero. However, it is significant that, despite the best efforts

[349] The Revolution and ethnic-civil war in Transylvania prolonged until the summer of 1849, when it was defeated by the Habsburg and Russian intervention. Although Romanians and Hungarians had been involved in violent conflicts during most of this period, in the summer of 1849 attempts at reconciliation were made by both camps in order to "save" the Revolution against the 'despotic' Russian and Austrian empires.

of the initiators, a statue for Avram Iancu was never erected during the interwar period in the most important Transylvanian city, Cluj.[350] Identifying some of the possible explanations for this failure is also one of the tasks of this chapter.

In the following pages, I will present how the project for the Iancu statue in Cluj came into being and functioned as a symbol of legitimacy for the actors involved. To a different degree, the Romanianization of the city was a goal for each of the actors. However, their agendas were somewhat divergent. The negotiations between the interests of every group generated not only a specific narrative on Iancu's place in the national history, but it also created a discourse on the meanings of Romanianness in the Transylvanian context. I will focus on two complementary aspects. First, I am interested on the symbolic meaning attached to the statue by various actors. Second, I observe the practical stages of the project and I will emphasize the contribution of each actor in connection with his or her own agenda. Finally, I argue that even if the project was a failure, the idea itself, and the series of debates and events connected with it during the 1920s were equally important for emphasizing the Romanian presence in the city and reinforce the Romanian claims on public space.

The story of the planned monument to Iancu in Cluj can be properly understood only in connection with the cult developed around his memory.[351] Mentally, Iancu had remained trapped in a period that reminded his contemporaries of a 1848 Romanian defeat in their struggle for social and political emancipation in Transylvania. Unlike other Transylvanians involved in the revolution, who after 1849 continued their efforts by legal means, Iancu would only be remembered as a heroic battlefield fighter and remained associated only with the

[350] After the 1989 Revolution, the nationalist mayor of the city, Gheorghe Funar, re-considered many of the failed projects of the interwar period. Among them, the most important was the statue of Avram Iancu, inaugurated in 1993 on the place where the interwar statue was meant to stand. However, the doubtful aesthetic qualities of this statue raised great controversies and debates, many voices asking for its replacement.

[351] The Iancu cult was present both in the oral tradition (e.g. stories, songs, poems composed by peasants from the Apuseni Mountains) and in the written press (numerous articles written by Transylvanian intellectuals that either knew him personally or simply used his image as a basis for constructing a discourse about Romanians' emancipation). For an account on Iancu cult published in the interwar period, see Traian Mager, *Cultul eroilor în Muntii Apuseni* (The Cult of the Heroes in the Apuseni Mountains) (Arad:Tiparul Tipografiei Diecezane).

events in 1848-1849. The situation further complicated after 1867, and especially 1875, as the Hungarian half of the Dual Monarchy turned more and more centralized and nationalist. For his contemporaries, Iancu was a living monument who carried in him the tragedy and the sufferings of the whole nation. His figure encapsulated both the conflict with Hungarians and the lack of support from Vienna. The consensus on the meaning of Iancu's personality for the history of the Transylvanian RomaniansTransylvanian Romanians' history was shared by both Orthodox and Greek-Catholic writers.[352] His image was almost a sacred one, and the one connected with the pessimistic words of his last testament: "The only wish of my life was to see the happiness of my Nation. For this purpose only I have I fought until now, have suffered without much success; and now, sadly, I realize that all my hopes and sacrifices have been in vain."[353]

The funeral announcements published at his death in 1872 show that Iancu cult was still very strong among Transylvanian Romanian intellectuals. *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, the most important Romanian daily in Transylvania, published a simple, yet touching obituary. Funeral announcements are usually written by the dear ones of the deceased. In the case of Iancu, the obituary, typical of a romantic nationalist rhetoric of the time, stated that the entire nation had become the hero's family.[354] The metaphor went straightforward: just like a grieving mother, the Romanian nation invited all her children to gather around the dead body of her most beloved son. A short article published in the same newspaper described Iancu as "the hero of the Romanian nation, the great patriot and fighter for the autonomy of Transylvania and for the independence of the Romanian nation".[355] Iancu's tragic fate differentiated him from any other important figure in the local/regional pantheon. According to another obituary,

[352] Although Iancu was an Orthodox, his first biography was published by Iosif terca-Suluțiu, a Greek-Catholic, in 1899. Some disagreements regarding Iancu's religion existed, since in his school records he was registered as Greek-Catholic. However, the fact he attended Catholic schools can explain this situation.
[353] Quoted in *Patria* , September 14, 1922.
[354] *Gazeta Transilvaniei* (Journal of Transylvania), September 21, 1872.
[355] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, September 21, 1872.

published by *Telegraful Român*, "his life was the exact mirror of our national life"[356]. In other words, Iancu embodied all the hopes, fights, sufferings and disillusionments of the Transylvanian Romanians. Therefore, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* considered him to be "the martyr of the nation", arguing that in a pan-Romanian canon, he should occupy the same place as the better known figures of medieval independence fighters like Steven the Great and Michael the Brave.[357]

However, apparently only those few enthusiasts among Transylvanian Romanian nationalists believed that a pan-Romanian pantheon should include Iancu as one of its most remarkable heroes. As Lucian Boia observes for the interwar period, Transylvania was less represented in the synthetic works on Romanian history as compared with the other territories of the Old Kingdom. Although considered Romanian, Transylvania preserved an ambiguous status since it had participated in "another history", being integrated into a different context than Wallachia and Moldavia.[358] Furthermore, Luminița Murgescu's analysis on the gallery of famous historical characters in the Old Kingdom during the second half of the 19th century proves that the list included only one Transylvanian name and that name itself is heavily contested even today by the disentangling drive of national histories: Iancu de Hunedoara, [359] who actually appears in the second half of the ranking. Ironically enough, Hunedoara, known as János Hunyadi in Hungarian history, is also a key figure of the Hungarian national pantheon of the time – a clear sign of the great symbolic significance of Transylvania in both national narratives.[360] It is telling that Iancu, number one hero of the Romanians on the other side of the Carpathians was not even mentioned.

[356] *Telegraful Român* (The Romanian Telegraph), September 19, 1872.
[357] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, September 14, 1872.
[358] Lucian Boia, *Istorie i mit în con tiin a românească* , 223-224.
[359] Mirela-Lumini a Murgescu, "Galeria Na ională de Personaje Istorice în Manualele de Istorie din coala Primară"(The national Gallery of Historical Characters in History Textbooks for Primary Schools), in *Mituri istorice române ti* (Romanian Historical Myths), Lucian Boia ed. (Bucure ti: Editura Universită ii Bucure ti, 1995), 37.
[360] The importance of Hunyadi in the Hungarian history is clearly illustrated by the exact copy of Hunedoara / Vajdahunyad castle in Budapest city park constructed for the 1896 exposition.

However, the situation was about to change during the interwar period when, towards the end of the 1930s, Iancu was already a full fledged member of the national pantheon. He was depicted, for example, on the great fresco of the Romanian Athenaeum inaugurated in 1938 in Bucharest together with other Transylvanian heroes such as Hunedoara, Horea, Cloşca si Crişan[361], Gheorghe Lazăr[362] and Iancu's friend and companion, Ioan Buteanu.[363]

The idea to commemorate Iancu through the construction of a monument was first voiced in 1894, when the young Romanian journalist Ioan Russu Şirianu, imprisoned for political reasons in Szeged decided to donate a modest sum of money for a memorial wreath that would be placed on the Iancu grave.[364] Given the tensions between Romanian intellectuals and Hungarian authorities in the context of the 1892 Memorandum trial[365], the suggestion to raise funds for a monument constructed on Iancu's grave was bound to have strong political connotations. The fund was confiscated by Hungarian authorities and several subsequent trials took place in 1895 and 1896 The authorities' perception was that the issue would create nationalist fervor among Transylvanian Romanians. The trials created a favorable context for further Iancu commemorations, especially due to the numerous newspapers articles published by the Romanian nationalists. Moreover, they generated a type of new heroic discourse on Iancu's personality that emerged mostly in newspaper articles during the last years of the 19th century for example, the politically activist newspaper *Tribuna*.[366] Other trials followed in 1899 and 1900 after several students of what university

[361] The leaders of the peasant revolt from 1784-1785 in the Apuseni Mountains.
[362] Born and educated in Transylvania, Gheorghe Lazăr (1779-1821) transferred to Bucharest, where he founded the first school with courses taught in Romanian. He is considered the founder of the Romanian language-based (read national) education.
[363] Lucian Boia, *Istorie □i mit în con□tiin□a românească*, 343.
[364] Paul Abrudan, *Pentru un monument a lui Avram Iancu* (For a Monument of Avram Iancu) (Sibiu, 1972), 17.
[365] The Memorandum was originally a petition signed in 1892 by the most important Romanian intellectuals from Transylvania and addressed to the emperor Franz Joseph, asking for equal rights for the Romanian nation. Since the Emperor considered it an internal Hungarian affair, the signatories became the protagonists of a political trial which took place in Cluj in 1894. Some of the accused were sentenced to prison, but finally released after the intervention of Carol I, king of Romania. The trial represented the climax of the Romanian-Hungarian tensions at the turn of the century.
[366] See *Tribuna* (The Tribune), the issues from 25, 29, 30 and 31 December 1899.

laid a funeral wreath on Iancu's grave in Țebea cemetery.[367] In similar fashion, the disputes between Romanian nationalists and Hungarian authorities around the issue of a monument to Iancu continued until the First World War.

4.2. Iancu or Matthias? The First Initiatives of the Committee for Avram Iancu Statue in Cluj (1921-1924)

The interwar years were a favorable period for constructing monuments in Greater Romania. Two tendencies can be distinguished in this regard. The first one, analyzed by Maria Bucur in her recently published book *Heroes and Victims*, focuses on the commemorative practices associated with the war experience.[368] According to Maria Bucur, approximately 3,500 monuments were raised in the memory of the fallen soldiers during the interwar period.[369] Although a number of these war memorials were state sponsored, the Romanian government did not articulate any official policy on commemorating war heroes during the 1920s. Therefore, the majority of these monuments emerged as private initiatives of local communities who wished to commemorate the sacrifice of their beloved ones and honor their memory in a proper manner.[370]

A second phenomenon consisted in mapping the territory of the new provinces with statues and monuments embodying its Romanian character, thus emphasizing in a visible manner their integration into Greater Romania. In Transylvanian cities, the insertion of new statues in public spaces was sometimes preceded by the dismantlement of Hungarian monuments already populating the urban landscape. Once the space had been "freed", the new local administration could successfully initiate the Romanianization process. In Târgu-Mureș,

[367] Paul Abrudan, *Pentru un monument a lui Avram Iancu*, 42-62.
[368] Maria Bucur, *War and Victims* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009).
[369] Maria Bucur, "Edifices of the Past. War Memorials and Heroes in Twentieth-Century Romania", in *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, Maria Todorova (ed.) (New York : New York University Press, 2004), 163.
[370] Maria Bucur, *War and Victims*, 3, 4. The argument developed in Chapter 2, "Mourning, Burying and Remembering the War Dead", 49-72.

a city in which the Romanian population barely reached 12%[371], for example, the statue of the Hungarian poet and revolutionary Sándor Pétöfi was destroyed and replaced with a monument to the Unknown Soldier in 1923.[372] Furthermore, such new markers of the Romanian presence had to be staged not only in cities where the non-Romanian population actually constituted a majority, but also in the borderland territories where Romanians were a majority but because of the proximity of the new national border, the foreign threat was perceived as particularly strong. In Oradea, a city situated just a few kilometers away from the Hungarian border and known as Nagyvárad in Hungarian, for example, a statue of the Romanian King Ferdinand was unveiled in November 1924 with the declared purpose of "reinforcing the borders"[373]. An undisputed symbol of Romanian unity, the Romanian dynasty represented a safe choice for the liberal government who sponsored the project.

In these circumstances, a monument to Iancu designed for the most important Transylvanian city, its unofficial capital, Cluj, clearly belonged to this second type of nationally charged symbolic marking of the new territory. However, I argue that the discourse connected with this project aimed to contextualize the monument and relate it also to the post-World War One commemorative atmosphere too. The complementary ideas of sacrifice and victory were the unifying elements of the discourse: both Iancu and Romanian soldiers were seen to have sacrificed themselves for the final victory of the Romanian nation.

The 1920s represented a favorable decade for remembering Iancu in the new political context of Greater Romania. The semi-centennial of his death, celebrated in 1922, was

[371] Virgil Pană, "Pentru un monument national Avram Iancu la Târgu-Mureş" (For a Monument of Avram Iancu in Târgu-Mureş), in *Marisia*, 26 (2000): 292.
[372] *Clujul*, December 9, 1923. This kind of violent interventions often generated strong inter-ethnic conflicts. In the case of Târgu-Mureş, the dispute reached the central authorities. Although the statue of Petőfi had been destroyed, the Hungarian community attempted to oppose the construction of a Romanian monument on the same spot and argued that the stones on the place of the former statue still belonged to them. Consequently, Hungarians addressed a complaint to the Ministry of Interior, who supported them. However, during the night, the mayor ordered that the stones would be removed and given to the representatives of the Hungarian community. The Romanian monument was finally placed on its planned spot, thus maintaining the tensions between the two communities the parties involved.
[373] *Patria*, November 21, 1924.

followed two years later by the centenary of his birth. The official commemoration was initiated on the local level, with both Transylvanian Greek-Catholics and Orthodox being equally interested in the promotion of Iancu cult for their own purposes. Since the province was recently integrated into Greater Romania, the events commemorating the most important local hero were perceived as opportunities for emphasizing the importance of the Romanian element in Transylvania.

Many books and newspapers articles on Iancu's life and his importance for the Romanian history were published on these occasions. Alexandru Ciura's booklet, *Povestire pe scurt a vieții lui Avram Iancu* (The Concise Story of Avram Iancu's Life) was among the first attempts of establishing an official narrative which would also be easily accessible to the wider reading public. A journalist, a school teacher and a member of ASTRA[374], but also importantly a Greek-Catholic, Ciura[375] wrote this booklet with a very particular purpose. As clearly stated on its first page, the brochure was meant to be sold as part of the fund raising campaign for "the hero's monument, to be constructed in Cluj".[376] The brochure was published at least in two editions: the first one in Cluj, most probably in 1921, and the second one in Blaj, a year later.[377] The Blaj edition[378] was more specific, mentioning that the fund raising list was available at the Cluj Prefecture, and also at the office of the Executive Committee, situated in the Cluj City Hall.[379] Therefore, at the beginning of the 1920s, the

[374] See the membership list of ASTRA Cluj from 1920, after its fusion with another cultural association, the Society of the Three Cri□ Rivers, in Arhivele Na□ionale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, Procese verbale, III/42, fila 42.
[375] Born in Abrud, a small town in the Apuseni Mountains, Alexandru Ciura (1876-1936) was the son of a Greek-Catholic priest. After studies in Blaj, Sibiu and Budapest, Ciura became in the interwar period the principal of one of the most important Romanian high-schools in Cluj, "George Bari□iu".
[376] Al. Ciura, *Povestire pe scurt a vie□ii lui Avram Iancu* (The Concise Story of Avram Iancu's Life) (Cluj: Ardealul), 1.
[377] The Blaj edition of the booklet was republished by Ion Felea in 2003. Al. Ciura, *Povestire pe scurt a vie□ii lui Avram Iancu* (Short Story of Avram Iancu's Life)(Cluj-Napoca: Napoca Star, 2003).
[378] The existence of an edition of the book published in Blaj, the most important Greek-Catholic center in Transylvania suggests that at beginning of the 1920s, Orthodox and Greek-Catholic intellectuals equally supported the statue project.
[379] Al. Ciura, *Povestire pe scurt a vie□ii lui Avram Iancu*, 1.

project enjoyed not only the interest of local Romanian intellectuals of both confessions, but it also gained the support of the local government.

The initiator of the monument project, Emil Dandea was also a local figure of significance. A member of the National Liberal Party and the Mayor of Târgu-Mureş from December 1922 until 1926[380], Dandea[381] was to play a key role in the story of Iancu statue during the interwar period. Like Iancu himself trained as a lawyer, Dandea was employed by the Cluj Municipality from 1919 until 1922. In 1920, he founded the Committee for the Construction of Avram Iancu Monument in Cluj.[382] General Nicolae Petală[383], a far more influential personality in the city's public life became the president of the committee, while Dandea remained the background coordinator of the fund raising campaign.

The Cluj City Council agreed on supporting Dandea's initiative in early 1921. On January 10, the council also made the first donation of 50,000 lei as an initial financial support for the construction of the monument.[384] Identifying a specific public space in which the statue would be placed immediately proved to be problematic for a number of reasons. After the Romanian administration assumed power in 1919, official ceremonies were usually staged in the central square of the city, the Main Square (Fő tér), which was now renamed Piața Unirii (Union Square). The imposing presence of the 15th century Catholic Church and of the statuary group representing the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus created an imposing

[380] A short entry in the register of the Municipality from December 20, 1922 mentions that Dandea was appointed by the Minister of the Interior as Mayor of Târgu-Mureş. Arhivele Na□ionale Cluj, Fond Primăria Municipiului Cluj-Napoca, I/262, fila 208.

[381] Born in 1893, Emil Dandea studied in Cluj and Vienna. Although initially a member of the Romanian National Party deeply involved in the events in Transylvania at the end of the First World War, during the interwar period Dandea joined the liberal camp. See D. Poptăma□, M. A. Mircea, "Emil Dandea- omul, ideile si faptele sale" (Emil Dandea- the man, his ideas and deeds), in *Emil A. Dandea. Politică şi administraţie* (Emil A. Dandea. Politics and Administration), Dimitrie Poptămaş şi Mihail A. Mircea, eds. (Târgu Mureş, Casa de editură "Mureş", 1996), 8-10.

[382] "Statuia lui Avram Iancu" (Avram Iancu Statue), *Înfră□irea* (The Fraternity) 985 (1924).

[383] Born in Vaslui (Moldova, Old Kingdom), Nicolae Petală (1869-1938) was the commander of the Western Army in the 1920 and the first commander of Corpul VI Armată in Cluj (1921-1924). In the 1930s, he was senator in the Romanian Parliament. For more details on his career, see Iustin Patcă, Vasile Tutula, *Comandan□i ai Armatei a VI-a Transilvania* (Commanders of Army VI Transylvania) (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Căr□ii de □□iintă, 2006), 32-35.

[384] Arhivele Nationale Cluj, Fond Primăria Municipiului Cluj-Napoca, Registrul Prefecturii ora□ului pe anul 1921-1922, I/ 262, fila 5.

background that went in dissonance with the new nationalist ceremonies. The numerous Romanian flags posted everywhere in the square and the curious crowd gathered on the occasion of official ceremonies could hardly be sufficient to seriously contribute to the creation of a Romanian(ized) space in a place already loaded with other "alien" symbolism.[385]

The newspaper articles announcing the initiative of erecting the Iancu monument were rather unspecific regarding its actual place in the city space. The newspaper *Foaia Poporului* from Sibiu, for example, simply wrote that "the City Council in Cluj took the praiseworthy decision of erecting a monument to Avram Iancu in the a city's square."[386] Local journalists observed that the city center did not seem to offer too many options at that time, since the only truly representative public space, the Main Square, was already filled with the statue of King Matthias. A journalist from the local liberal newspaper *Înfrățirea* expressed his concerns regarding this situation. The impressive figure of King Matthias, wrote the journalist, would continue to dominate the central square under the approval of Bucharest, where it was appreciated as a great work of art. However, in reality this actually meant that Iancu's rightful place in the heart of the city, on its main square, would be denied. The only remaining options listed by the journalist appeared unworthy for the memory of the hero: the statue could be placed in Mihai Viteazul Square, near in place of the peasant market, or it could replace the statue of Saint George in the peripheral square near the University Library. In the worst case, Avram Iancu statue would "be forced to withdraw on a side-street, just like the small Orthodox Church".[387] Therefore, the journalist urged, the local authorities should decide between their respect and admiration for "the international art" (i.e. the King Matthias Statue)

[385] One of the first examples in this sense is the inauguration of the University in February 1920. On this occasion, Romanian authorities in the city welcomed the presence of the Royal Family, the members of the government, the representatives of the Army and numerous intellectuals. The official ceremony, including a military parade, was staged in the Union Square. For the account of the festivities, see *Patria,* February 4, 1920.
[386] *Foaia Poporului*, January 16, 1921.
[387] "Iancu sau Matia?" (Iancu or Matthias?), in *Înfră□irea*, September 12, 1921.

and their national feelings.[388] The opinion shared by the supporters of this idea was that the most important monuments in the city should be placed in the main square, otherwise it would be marginal in terms of representation.

At the end of November 1921, the same newspaper published a similar, less emotional and more pro-active article on behalf of the Iancu Monument Committee. Acknowledging the initial support by the Municipality, the Committee appealed for a more radical attitude concerning its administration of the city's public space. According to the members of the Committee, the statue of King Matthias imposed "a Hungarian character on Transylvania's territory" and requested its immediate transfer into a museum. Since the Municipality was the only authority to decide on the removal of a monument situated in a public place, the Committee asked its intervention in order to stop the "defiance of Romanian feelings" that the King Matthias statue supposedly symbolized. To reverse this historic injustice, in the view of the committee members, the place in the city's main square was to be occupied by the Iancu statue.[389]

However, despite this kind of aggressive newspaper rhetoric the situation remained unchanged for a number of reasons. First, the Municipality in fact made no attempts of removing the statue of the "Hungarian king" from its original location. The local government officials simply saw no need to choose between Iancu and Matthias in this particular situation. While one of the main reasons why the statue remained on its place was because it was considered by respectable scholars such as the first Romanian monographer of the city, Victor Lazăr to be "the most beautiful monument in Cluj"[390], the second most important reason was the moderate stand adopted on this issue by the Cluj Municipality. Finally, the attempts of

[389] "Locul pentru statua luptatorului Avram Iancu" (The Place for the Statue of the Fighter Avram Iancu), in *Infratirea*, November 30, 1921.
[390] Victor Lazăr, *Clujul* (Cluj: Ardealul, 1923), 63.

nationalizing King Matthias himself by emphasizing his Romanian origins could have also played a role in the preservation of the monument.[391]

Obviously, not all Romanian voices encouraged immediate radical solutions. Other opinions, like the one offered by Ciura, suggested that the city would pass through a gradual transformation from a Hungarian to a Romanian town. In the Romanian Cluj of tomorrow, Ciura stated, in which the Romanian culture would occupy its well deserved place, "Avram Iancu statue would rise 'beautiful and proud […] in one of the city's squares'."[392] The statue would be a public monument, placed in a representative space of maximum visibility situated in the city center. In Ciura's opinion, the construction of this statue embodied an obvious meaning: proclaiming to both Romanians and "foreigners" that the fight for Romanians' emancipation had not been in vain.[393] The achievements of the present were meant to diminish the painful memories of the past. In Ciura's vision, Iancu's personality was extracted from its own context and placed into a better world, yet built upon the hero's personal sacrifice. In addition, he clearly believed that Iancu should be integrated into the national canon, and at least the basic facts of his life should be known by all Romanians.[394] However, Ciura's account seems rather a radical idealistic solution offered by a nationalist enthusiast than a practical answer to the actual problem of finding a place for Iancu statue.

A member of the local Orthodox Consistory, the historian and university professor Ioan Lupaş[395] also believed that Iancu statue would occupy its rightful place in the city's public space, while functioning as a powerful, inspiring example of devoted feelings and self

[391] King Matthias came from the Hunedoara/ Hunyadi dynasty, one of the most important families in Hungarian history which was and is claimed to be of Romanian origin by the majority of both Hungarian and Romanian scholars. However, the newspaper articles written tended to exaggerate Matthias's ancestry, presenting him as a king of purely Romanian blood. See for example "De lângă statuia lui Matia", *Patria,* September 19, 1919.
[392] Al. Ciura, *Povestire pe scurt a vietii lui Avram Iancu,* 3-4.
[393] Al. Ciura, *Povestire pe scurt a vietii lui Avram Iancu,* 3-4.
[394] Al. Ciura, *Povestire pe scurt a vietii lui Avram Iancu,* 5.
[395] Born near Sibiu in 1880, Ioan Lupa□ studied History and Latin in Budapest. Before the First World War, he taught at the Orthodox Institute in Sibiu and he was an active member of the National Romanian Party. After 1918, Lupa□ became History Professor at the University in Cluj. Close friend of Octavian Goga, he joined the People's Party in 1927. (See Ion Mamina, Ioan Scurtu, *Guverne si guvernan□i* (Governments and Governors) (Bucure□ti: Silex, 1996), 198).

sacrifice for the sake of the nation. While meditating on the significance of the projected monument, he referred to a very specific social category: the students. "Iancu's monument would be like a fire column for the thousands of students of Cluj University. They come here for acquiring a certain amount of knowledge, but they should be also prepared to accomplish, in any circumstances, the duty towards the nation and country."[396]

Conversely, Petală expressed the importance of the Iancu monument in very emotional terms. According to Petală, the martyr of the Romanian nation could finally remove "the crown of thorns" from his head. The Unification in 1918 had put an end to "the world of unachieved dreams" in which he had fought for the salvation of his nation.[397] Cut out of the historical context in which he lived, Iancu seemed to have never fought "for the [Habsburg] throne and the Nation", but "for the country and the liberty".[398] An innocent victim of the Emperor's duplicitous tactics, Iancu was totally absolved of the fault of believing the promises that the House of Habsburg supposedly made to the Romanian movement in 1848.

Besides issues of mythology and symbolic significance of Iancu for the interwar Romanians that was in need to be clarified, the Committee was also confronted with very concrete and practical issues such as the fund raising campaign and the sculpture competition. The brochures written by Ciura were sold with a double purpose: collecting money and creating a larger popular support for the project On September 7, 1921, Cluj Municipality was requested by the Prefecture to send one hundred cheap brochures of 5 lei each to be sold in the benefit of the statue fund. All brochures were sold already by December 9, 1921.[399] Such initiatives continued during the following year, when sets of booklets were distributed by the

[396] *Foaia Poporului*, January 16, 1921.
[397] *Cultura Poporului* (People's Culture), May 2, 1921.
[398] Arhivele Nationale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, doc. 169/1924.
[399] Arhivele Nationale Cluj, Fond Primaria Cluj-Napoca, Registre intrare-iesire, I/259, p. 133.

Municipality and sold on various other occasions.[400] However, because the brochures were cheap, and because the readers seemed to have "preferred sensational novels to […] the booklet that comprises such a beautiful page from the history of our national fights"[401] the collected money was obviously insufficient. This situation illustrates that although the project was strongly advertised by members of Cluj Romanian elite, it actually lacked the support of the average reader. Therefore, the Committee faced difficult decisions. First, it attempted to diminish the cost of the statue, declaring that it would not pay more than 2 million lei for the whole construction. Second, during the following years, further public events such as conferences, concerts, popular celebrations, theatre shows, and even a lottery were organized as part of the fund raising campaign.[402] Requests for donations were sent all over the country, being addressed to prefects, municipalities, high-school principals, bank directors and bishops. However, such calls for donations made across the country did not receive the expected feed-back. The only significant outcome, largely due to Petală's intervention, was that the War Ministry sent the raw material for the statue: twenty tones of bronze.[403] Cluj Municipality limited its contribution to the initial financial support of 50,000 lei, and neither did national authorities consider the monument a burning necessity. Until 1924, the Committee had managed to collect 600,000 lei, less than one third of the necessary amount of money. Its secretary, Ioan Tămaş, complained about the lack of interest from the part of the officials and bank directors but still hoped that donations would came from people of modest condition of the villages and small towns, who supposedly were the most fervent supporters of the initiative.[404]

[400] The secretary of the Municipality noted some other dates: from 1921: July 21, November 11, November 15, December 22 and from 1922: April 24, May 2nd, December 9 and 13. Arhivele Nationale Cluj, Fond Primaria Cluj-Napoca, Registre intrare-iesire, I/258, 138.
[401] "Fondul pentru statuia Avram Iancu" (The Fund for Avram Iancu Statue) in *Infratirea*, 317-1921.
[402] Statuia lui Avram Iancu" (The Fund for Avram Iancu Statue) , *Infratirea*, nr. 985/1924; Arhivele Nationale Cluj, Fond Primaria Municipiului Cluj-Napoca, Registrul Prefecturii orasului pe anul 1924-1922, I/ 280, fila 24.
[403] "Fondul pentru statuia Avram Iancu", *Infratirea*, nr. 317-1921.
[404] "Statuia lui Avram Iancu" (Avram Iancu Statue), *Infratirea*, nr. 985/1924.

4.3. Local Initiatives and National responses: the Preparations for Avram Iancu Centenary

The succession of the two events dedicated to Iancu, the semi-centennial of his death and the centenary of his birth gave Romanian elites in Cluj, Sibiu and Bucharest time to reflect on what would be the most appropriate type of commemoration for their Transylvanian hero. Two major new actors got involved in the organization of the ceremonies, the Orthodox Church and ASTRA [405]. Placed from 1919 under the royal patronage of King Ferdinand[406], ASTRA aspired at consolidating its position and expanding its influence in the new provinces. Adapting itself to the new context, ASTRA continued to promote a nationalist cultural policy aiming to facilitate the integration of Transylvania into Romania and reinforce the importance of the Romanian element on local level, in both urban and rural areas.[407]

At the beginning of the 1920s, Iancu was seen as a regional hero whose public image stood closer to a martyr than to that of a fighter. This situation was a reflection of the way the Romanian nation portrayed itself: deprived of rights, always suffering the injustices of an oppressive regime. However, the new context opened the possibility to reevaluate the historical personality of Iancu and for constructing his new, more powerful image in the process. A short dispute between Nicolae Ivan, the Orthodox bishop of Cluj, and the Central Committee of ASTRA clarified the differences in the visions how Iancu was to be remembered. In May 1922, the bishop visited the parish churches in the Apuseni Mountains. In Vidra de Sus, he stopped at the house of Iancu, where he celebrated a *parastas*[408] for the soul of "our nation's hero". After discussions with the villagers, the bishop suggested that the

[405] The Association for Romanian Literature and Culture of the Romanian People (ASTRA) was founded in 1861 in Sibiu, at the initiative of the Orthodox Bishop Andrei aguna. During the Austro-Hungarian period, ASTRA reunited both Orthodox and Greek-Catholic intellectuals in the framework of an association that became the main supporter of Romanian cultural initiatives.
[406] Arhivele Nationale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, Procese verbale, III/42, fila 13.
[407] Valer Moga, *Astra si societatea (1918-1930)* (Astra and Society) (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003), 549.
[408] Orthodox religious ceremony for commemorating the dead.

house should be transformed into a chapel, "in which the mass would be celebrated, like in a sacred place. Pilgrims will come here as to a place of worship."[409] Since the building was owned by ASTRA, Ivan asked for permission to arrange the chapel. Although he was aware of the fact that the Association planned to transform the building into a national museum, the bishop believed that his idea responded better to the needs of the nation. His request was supported by the letter of a certain Zosim Chirtop, lawyer from Câmpeni, who argued that the *moții,* i.e. inhabitants of the Apuseni Mountains, were never consulted regarding the usage of Iancu's house and that the local community would rather support the idea of a chapel than a museum.[410]

The Association claimed having property rights not only on Iancu's house, but also on his name and the practices associated with his cult. Its response to Ivan's offer was clear and straightforward: the Central Committee of ASTRA had decided to found a Museum of 1848-1849 in Iancu's house in Vidra de Sus already in 1921 and had meanwhile published a book, organized a lottery and made public announcements in the press to that effect. In addition, the Association had rejected the proposal to adapt the building for another purpose before, and would not make a precedent this time either: when the Ministry of Work and Social Protection attempted to arrange the same building as a museum of work, the idea was promptly rejected.[411]

Although of minor importance at that moment, this dispute that was soon forgotten could have a major impact on the way Iancu was to be remembered, as it is illustrated by the below ambiguities. Ivan attempted to exploit the ambiguity embodied in Iancu's image, considered both a hero and a martyr of the nation. The equation could be easily simplified in favor of one or the other. The Church seems to have been close to sanctifying him. But ASTRA objected stating that the Church already had its saints and martyrs. Iancu was a too

[409] Arhivele Nationale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, doc. 851-1922.
[410] Arhivele Nationale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, doc. 1302-1922
[411] Arhivele Nationale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, doc. 34-1921

powerful national symbol to be appropriated by the Orthodox Church. Rather than a saint, ASTRA represented him as one the pillars on which the nationalist rhetoric could be built. In addition, his personality was part of a history that was just about to be integrated in the larger framework of Greater Romania's official past.

In contrast to the heated rhetoric of the public discourse, the 1922 anniversary was celebrated by a small religious ceremony attended by a limited number of guests. Independent of any political connotations, the modest commemoration consisted mainly in a *parastas* celebrated in Iancu's house in Vidra de Sus.[412]

However, when the Centenary festivities were approaching, the Monument Committee in Cluj was put in a position to organize a sculpture competition in the shortest time available.[413] The first deadline was established for September 2, 1923, exactly one year before the centenary. Since the artists complained, arguing that the time span at their disposal was too short, the Committee postponed the submission deadline of the models further to January 10, 1924. A jury of eleven experts composed of university professors, sculptors, representatives of the Ministry of Culture and Arts, members of ASTRA and delegates of Cluj City Council was appointed to evaluate the models and award three prizes of 40, 20 and 15,000 lei. [414] On January 26, 1924, ASTRA was asked to designate one of its members as a delegate in the jury that would be constituted until February 14.[415] One week later, the vice-president of the Association named Coriolan Petranu, Art History professor at the University in Cluj, as the representative of ASTRA in the jury.[416]

The models arrived in Cluj and were exhibited in the Meeting Room of the City Hall when. But the overall impression was disappointing: no particular aesthetic qualities could be

[412] Arhivele Nationale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, Procese verbale, III/44, filele 82-83.
[413] The delay in the organization of the competition could be explained by the fact the fund raising campaign prolonged beyond the organizers' expectations. Somehow, their ambitious aims did not always take into account the practical side of the project, resulting in continuous dealine postponements.
[414] "Statuia lui Avram Iancu",*Înfrățirea,* 985 (1924).
[415] Arhivele Nationale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, doc. 169/1924.
[416] The handwritten letter draft from February 4, 1924 is preserved at Arhivele Nationale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, doc. 169/1924

identified in any of the works presented. "The exhibition in the City Hall room gave us the impression of a museum in a vocational school", wrote a journalist from the local liberal newspaper.[417] "We deeply regret the low quality of the models presented in this competition, which was supposed to give to the city of Cluj the statue of the most heroic period in the history of Romanian Transylvania.", added the journalist as a conclusion, accusing the lack of interest of Romanian sculptors towards such an important public monument.[418]

The sculptor Ion Dimitriu-Bârlad, appointed as the specialist of the jury, also complained about the insufficient quality of the models. However, he believed that the limited budget prevented famous sculptors from attending the competition. Although some of the works could be improved for the second stage of the contest, "it is painful that only few sculptures were presented for such an important competition."[419] Despite the fact that the awarded models represented Iancu as a revolutionary leader, they were considered too static. The members of the Committee had clearly decided on Iancu's correct public representation: the hero won over the martyr. Therefore, the sculptors were accused of having missed the Romantic touch of Iancu's personality, embodied in the pathos and the courage of the fighter. The representations lacked energy since "the beginning of the revolution was like an unleashed storm."[420] Far from the image of the martyr featured by the Romanian nationalists at the turn of the century, Iancu was seen now as revolutionary hero leading the masses and therefore dynamism was a compulsory requirement in his representation.

As a consequence, the Committee organized a second competition on May 21. Unfortunately for the organizers, this second exhibition left the members of the jury equally disappointed. However, three of the proposals surprised the jury. The first one, entitled "The

[417] "Statuia lui Avram Iancu. Lucrarile trimise pentru concurs" (The Statue of Avram Iancu. Models sent for the Competition), in *Infratirea,* 1010 (1924).
[418] "Statuia lui Avram Iancu. Lucrarile trimise pentru concurs'', in *Înfrățirea,* 1010 (1924).
[419] ''Concursul pentru statuia lui Avram Iancu. De vorbă cu sculptorul I. Dimitriu-Bârlad''(The Competition for Avram Iancu Statue. A Discussion with Sculptor I. Dimitriu-Bârlad), in *Înfrățirea*, 1011 (1924).
[420] ''Statuia lui Avram Iancu. Lucrarile trimise pentru concurs'', in *Înfrățirea,* 1010 (1924).

King of the Mountains", was a close resemblance of the statuary group of Matthias Corvinus that could be admired in the city's central square. The structure of the Hungarian monument was carefully imitated, while the characters were obviously new: Matthias Corvinus and his captains were replaced by Iancu surrounded by two groups of men: on the left, a number of tribunes having two priests among them advance towards Iancu, while on the right four soldiers raise their swords, acclaiming.[421] Another model represented Iancu accompanied by his predecessors in the fight for Romanian emancipation: Horea, Closca and Crisan, all the leaders of the peasant revolt in 1784. Finally, a third sculpture portrayed Iancu as a naked, Greek hero who bridles his horse.[422] None of the models impressed the jury, creating a delicate situation for the Committee, since the festivities of the Centenary were scheduled for the end of August.

In March 1924, the Central Committee of the Association ASTRA discussed the program of the Centenary festivities. Its president, Vasile Goldiş, believed that the ceremonies should be by no means limited to a small elite circle like was the case in 1922; rather, they should become "a significant national celebration".[423] Therefore, Goldiş appealed to Bucharest central authorities. After discussions with Alexandru Lapedatu[424], the Transylvanian-born Minister of Culture and Arts, he obtained the full support of both the liberal government and of the Royal House. A special organization committee was to be established under Prince Carol's presidency. The Central Committee decided that the festivities would begin at the end of August in Cluj, with the lying of the founding stone of

[421] A photo of this model is preserved at Arhivele Nationale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, Fotografii, file 253. Unfortunately, the pictures contained in these files have not been yet systematized.
[422] ''Statuia lui Avram Iancu. Noul concurs. Machetele expuse'' (The Statue of Avram Iancu. The new Competition. The Models Exhibited", in *Înfrățirea,* Maz 21, 1924.
[423] Arhivele Nationale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, doc. 431-1924, fila 1.
[424] Born in Transylvania, but educated in the Old Kingdom, Alexandru Lapedatu joined the National Liberal Party and he was named the ministry of Arts and Culture during 1923-1926 and 1927-1928. During the interwar period, he was also Professor of History at the University in Cluj. For his biography, see for example Ioan Opri□, *Alexandru Lapedatu în cultura românească* (Alexandru Lapedatu in the Romanian Culture) (Bucure□ti: Editura □tiin□ifică, 1996).

Avram Iancu statue and would further continue in the Apuseni Mountains, in Câmpeni, Vidra and Ţebea.[425]

The news raised growing concerns among the Cluj branch of ASTRA, directly involved in the project. In a letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Association on June 12, 1924, its president Marin Ştefănescu attempted to convince the leaders in Sibiu[426] to renounce the idea of including Cluj in the official manifestations connected with the Centenary festivities.[427] Ştefănescu asked for a more moderate and realistic attitude, fearing that the failure of the project would mean a public disgrace. Undoubtedly, Ştefănescu was aware of the importance of this event for the Romanians in Cluj and, given the Hungarian predominance in the city, he felt that such a failure would damage the public image of the Romanians there. He argued that the jury had not identified an appropriate model during the two stages of the competition, while financial aspects were still not resolved a problem. Therefore, he suggested that any kind of festivities should take place only when the statue would be unveiled. Ştefănescu asked the president of ASTRA to discuss this issue with the Romanian Prime- Minister Ion I.C. Brătianu, and convince him to abandon even the idea of laying the founding stone on the occasion of the Centenary. For the local intellectuals in Cluj, exposed to daily encounters with their Hungarian fellow-citizens, the situation appeared rather delicate from a long-range perspective. Rather than risking enduring the disgrace of Hungarians, they preferred to cancel the planned ceremony which would have reinforced the idea of Romanian dominance of the city, if only for one day.

All Ştefănescu's attempts of either avoiding or postponing the ceremony were in vain for a number of reasons. First, the square where the statue would be placed was found, or

[425] Arhivele Nationale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, doc. 431-1924, fila 2-3.
[426] ASTRA was founded in Sibiu (Germ. Hermannstadt, Hung. Nagyszeben) and it had its headquarters in this city situated in the proximity of the Romanian border. Although during the interwar period proposals were made to transfer the Central Committee of the Association to Cluj, which was becoming the new Transylvanian center of Romanian culture, the president of the society objected this initiative. For a detailed account on ASTRA's activity during the 1920s, see Valer Moga, *Astra si societatea (1918-1930)* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003).
[427] Arhivele Nationale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, doc. 1023/ 1924

more correctly, created in the meantime. The new Cuza Vodă Square, in which the founding stone of the Orthodox Cathedral had been laid in 1923, was designed specifically to accommodate the Iancu monument as well, in agreement with Bishop Ivan, and George Cristinel, the architect of the Cathedral. On August 22, 1924, Cristinel submitted the plans for the new square to Ivan.[428] The architect's sketches, also published in *Arhitectura*, the official review of the Society of the Romanian Architects, proposed an intelligent solution of urban design.[429] According to his letter, the main problem of the square was its reduced dimensions, being situated in-between relatively high buildings. Therefore, Cristinel attempted to open the space and create a wider perspective for the Cathedral. The monument was to be placed in front of the church, at a distance of about a hundred meters from the building, being surrounded by concentric lawns that created the illusion of a larger space. In this way, both the building and the statue would enjoy the maximum of visibility, while the monumentality of the ensemble was preserved. At least on paper, the new Romanian square in Cluj was prepared for the visit of the King as part of the Iancu Centenary festivities in 1924.

4.4. Avram Iancu Becomes Officially National: the Centenary in 1924

A detailed program of the Centenary was established during the meetings of the "Committee for the Commemoration of 100 years since the Birth of the Great National Hero Avram Iancu" organized at the Royal Palace in Bucharest on July 1st, 1924. While in 1922 the modest requiem celebrated at the house in Vidra de Sus was attended by a limited audience[430], the event in 1924 was literally meant to be a national one. Besides the Royal House, the government and members of the Parliament, the whole "nation" was asked to send its representatives to the centenary organized in the Apuseni Mountains. Delegations of peasants

[428] Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond II-8-923, doc. 5405-1924. George Cristinel's letter is accompanied by a detailed plan of the Cuza Voda Square
[429] *Arhitectura*, 9 (1930), 19.
[430] Arhivele Na□ionale Sibiu, Fond ASTRA, Procese verbale, III/44, filele 82-83.

from every district of Wallachia, Moldavia, Bessarabia, Transylvania and Bucovina were expected to attend the event. A small, yet significant change appeared in the schedule: the visit of the royal family in Cluj and the laying of the founding stone of Iancu statue was finally postponed for the last day of the celebrations, namely September 2nd.[431]

The celebrations in the Apuseni Mountains were described in the press as "a national pilgrimage" made by "the devoted crowd [motivated by] the same piety, almost mystical, the same feeling and the same logic: the injustice had been corrected".[432] According to the Committee's plans, "the hero was celebrated by the entire Romanian nation, from the hut to the palace."[433] The festivities comprised a number of symbolical ceremonies, aimed to connect the main actors – the Monarchy, ASTRA and the Orthodox Church – to Iancu's memory. In addition, this memory was also associated with war commemorative practices. For example, in the cemetery in Țebea, all the bodies buried around Iancu's grave were purposefully exhumed, and their place was taken by the remains of soldiers who had died on the battlefields of the First World War: eighteen on the left and seventy-two on the right. Read together, the two numbers composed the year of Iancu's death: 1872.[434]

The numerous speeches addressed by various celebration participants at Iancu's grave, house and at the crucifix that was placed on his memory on the top of Găina Mountain traced a comprehensive version of the hero's portrait. Although for Transylvanians he would remain "the martyr of our national freedom"[435], in the context of Greater Romania Iancu was meant to become a full right member of the national pantheon since, according to Transylvanian

[431] "Comemorarea lui Avram Iancu. Programul official al serbărilor" (The Commemoration of Avram Iancu. The Official Program of the Festivities),in *Înfrătirea*, August 19, 1924.
[432] "Sarbatorirea memoriei lui Avram Iancu- 100 de ani de la nașterea lui'' (The Commemoration of Avram Iancu. A Hundred Years since his Birth), *Transilvania,* 55, nr. 8-9 (1924):281.
[433] ''Sarbatorirea memoriei lui Avram Iancu," 283.
[434]"Sarbatorirea memoriei lui Avram Iancu , 287-288.
[435] "Sarbatorirea memoriei lui Avram Iancu, 284.

historian Ioan Lupaş, "the 1848 Revolution was the prelude of the emancipation war carried by His Majesty [Ferdinand I]".[436]

Iancu's Centenary was the second symbolical major event patronized by the Liberal government, after the Coronation Ceremony for the King held in 1922 in Alba-Iulia. In 1924, just like in 1922, the Romanian National Party refused to participate in the official celebrations.[437] The Party's newspaper in Cluj, *Patria*, published extensively on Iancu's life and his importance in the national history, while it also gave a detailed account of the festivities.[438] In a letter addressed to all party members, Iuliu Maniu declared that the RNP would celebrate the memory of Iancu in a separate meeting organized in Câmpeni. The members of the Transylvanian-based National Romanian Party perceived the initiative of the Liberal Party to orchestrate the festivities connected with the Centenary as a clear interference in 'Transylvanian affairs". In their opinion, the Liberals aimed to use the image of Iancu in order to make political propaganda and gain popularity among Transylvanians. Although the party members would participate in the ASTRA's meeting and would salute the Royal House and the representatives of the Parliament, the attendance of any reception or official ceremony organized by the government would be avoided.[439] The tone of the letter was sober and determined. Although he again felt that a Transylvanian event had been confiscated by Bucharest, Maniu decided to use the festivities as a form of protest against the government's policy.

The ceremony in Cluj, the one that the local ASTRA Committee had tried in vain to postpone, eventually took place on September 2. The local administrative institutions,

[436] "Sarbatorirea memoriei lui Avram Iancu, 341.

[437] The protest of the Transylvanian-based party was connected to the integrationist policies promoted from Bucharest . In 1920, the Directing Council (Consiliul Dirigent), a regional administrative body created especially for administrating Transylvania's gradual integration into Romania and constituted mostly from members of the Romanian National Party, was unexpectedly dissolved by the Averescu government. Generally, the members of the National Romanian Party were dissatisfied with the centralization measures imposed by the new Liberal government, which in their opinion were aimed to promote a forced integration of the new provinces.

[438] *Patria*, August 27 and 29 and September 2 and 3, 1924.

[439] "Partidul National si Serbările de Comemorare a lui Avram Iancu" (The National Party and the Festivities for the Commemoration of Avram Iancu), in *Patria*, August 26, 1924.

controlled by the governing Liberals, assumed the organization of the festivities. The Royal Family arrived in Cluj at 10:30 a.m. and met the representatives of all religious confessions, foreign guests, and various associations in the Festive Hall of the Prefecture. Then, the assembly moved to the front of the National Theatre, near the place reserved for the statue of Iancu. A religious service was celebrated by the Orthodox clergy: the Metropolitan Bishop Nicolae Bălan, the Bishop of Cluj Nicolae Ivan, the Bishop of Chişinău Gurie Grosu and the Bishop of the Army.[440]

In his speech, minister Lapedatu appreciated "the praiseworthy efforts of founding [here] a center of Romanian cultural life". The Iancu statue was for him one of the monuments designed to express this new character of the city. Moreover, a clear association between Orthodoxy and the memory of Iancu was established. Placed "in the shadow of the church of our ancestor's faith, the monument [was] designed to praise the virtues and the sacrifices through which our people could resist above all the others". Lapedatu emphasized the meaning of pairing the two monuments of the Romanian nation in the same square, arguing that they symbolized the two elements through which the Romanian people had survived in Transylvania: the Christian [read Orthodox] faith and the heroic resistance. In the presence of the King, the minister stated that the royal patronage was a guarantee of the fact the monument would be unveiled in the same time with the consecration of the Cathedral. According to Lapedatu, the Romanian square represented the victory of the Romanian nation, which had preserved his soul untainted.[441]

The second speech, which concluded the ceremony, was held by Petală who believed that through this monument the Romanian nation in Transylvania finally came to terms with its unfavorable past. A symbol of the fight for national emancipation during his lifetime, Iancu was seen to become the symbol of peace and accomplished justice. Such optimistic

[440] ''Sărbătorirea memoriei lui Avram Iancu- 100 de ani de la na□terea lui'' in *Transilvania* 55, nr. 8-9 (1924) : 343-344.
[441] "Sărbatorirea memoriei lui Avram Iancu , 343-345.

words could not avoid touching upon the religious connotations embodied in Iancu's historical personality: More than a martyr, Iancu was the prophet of a revived national religion "born in blood and tears".[442] Symbolically speaking, the "crown of thorns" that he had carried during his lifetime was finally replaced after his death by the hero's laurel wreath. The sacrifice was there, but so was the victory. As Petală suggested, The transformation of Iancu from a martyr into a hero was implicitly due to the war fought by Ferdinand and the Romanian army. Therefore, the popularity enjoyed by Iancu among Transylvanian Romanians could partially be transferred to and appropriated by the Monarchy, reinforcing the claims of legitimacy on the territory of the new province.

Hungarian press also recorded the celebration of the Centenary. The articles published in *Keleti Ujság* (Eastern Press), the main Hungarian newspaper in Cluj, gave detailed accounts on the ceremonies. Far from any criticism or nationalist remarks, Hungarian journalists presented a down-to-facts overview of the events. Although the memory of Iancu was associated with negative connotations for Hungarians, since he had fought against the Hungarian army during the 1848 revolution, they declared that they would not interfere into the Romanians' celebration. Furthermore, *Keleti Ujság*'s front page article on Iancu reminded of the attempts of reconciliation between him and Lajos Kossuth, the renowned leader of the Hungarian revolution and war of independence (including the ethnic-civil wars with pro-Habsburg Serbs, Romanians, partly Slovaks) of 1848-49.[443] In the following days, the newspaper presented detailed accounts on the festivities organized in the Apuseni Mountains[444] and dedicated two pages to the visit of the Royal Family in Cluj.[445] Hungarian journalists emphasized the presence of the representatives of all religious cults at the arrival of the King, but also the crowds of peasants from neighboring villages that filled the streets on

[442] "Sărbatorirea memoriei lui Avram Iancu, 345-347.
[443] *Keleti Ujság* (Eastern Press), September 1, 1924.
[444] *Keleti Ujság*, September 2, 1924.
[445] *Keleti Ujság*, September 3, 1924.

this occasion. In what concerns the statue, the same publication wrote a dry art critique about the models presented in the competition in May.[446] The laying of the founding stone was described in equally neutral and laconic terms, without any additional commentaries. Romanian newspapers also reported that Cluj's other ethnic groups received the news about the planned monument well.[447] Therefore, it can be assumed that no official negative reaction was registered from the part of Hungarians and Jews living in Cluj, only sober indifference.

The Centenary festivities concluded on September 2 with an army parade and the official dinner organized by the Municipality. A neutral observer might have remarked that the symbolic importance of the ceremony heavily contrasted with messy appearance of the new Romanian square, which after the departure of the officials still looked like a neglected park. However, Romanian elites attending the event could look beyond appearances and admire the first Romanianized piece of public space in the city.

4.5. The Competition in 1926. The Failure of the Project

The failure of the first two sculpture competitions for the Iancu statue in Cluj did not disarm the intentions of the Committee under the presidency of Petală and, on June 7, 1925, the newspaper *Clujul* announced the opening of the third stage of the competition.[448] It stated that the main fault of the models presented so far was their failure in representing the revolutionary idea embodied by Iancu in 1848. The journalists from *Patria*, the newspaper of the Romanian National Party, supported this view: "Avram Iancu, the revolutionary from 1848, cannot be represented calm and distant, holding a sword or a binocular, just like a king

[446] *Keleti Ujság,* May 22, 1924.
[447] *Înfră□irea,* September 3, 1924.
[448] *Clujul,* June 7, 1925.

or a great army commander. Avram Iancu can only be represented agitated, just like the idea of the revolution itself."[449]

The jury decided on January 26, 1926 as the new deadline for the competition. The participation was conditioned by a set of requirements. The sculptors were asked to present the project of an equestrian statue representing Iancu in the years 1848-1849, relying on popular tradition and existing different visual material representing the hero as source for inspiration. If the sculptor wanted to add secondary figures, they would have to be characteristic for the "era of national awakening" i.e. 1848. The cost of the monument remained unchanged, 2 million lei, except for the raw material (broze and stone), which was now provided by the Committee due to Petală's efforts. After two failed competitions, the jury was interested in one thing only: to find an appropriate model for the statue and, therefore, it decided to award a single prize of 50,000 lei. The projects would be collected by the Municipality and exhibited in the City Hall in Cluj, while the public was encouraged to visit the exhibition before the winner would be decided. This time, the jury was composed of seven members, representing the same institutions as before: University in Cluj, the Ministry of Culture and Arts, ASTRA, the Municipal Council and the Executive Committee for the statue.[450]

Perhaps surprisingly, the 1926 competition was more successful than the previous ones. Some of the sculptors that had already participated in the previous stages presented improved versions of their works, while new artists joined the competition. A submission authored by Cornel Medrea, a Transylvanian-born sculptor who was schooled in Budapest, portrayed Iancu surrounded by a series of secondary characters. Among them, the figure of a chained peasant symbolizing the servitude turned his head towards Iancu, clearly indicating the revolutionary hero as his only hope for liberation. The idea of Romanian peasants'

[449] ''Statueta lui Avram Iancu'', in *Patria*, February 3, 1924.
[450] *Clujul*, June 7, 1925.

emancipation was represented also by another participant, Mihail Cara. In his sculpture, Iancu crashed the servitude and liberated a woman, the symbol of freedom. According to art historian Nicolae Sabău, however, the best work in the competition belonged to Johann Schmidt, a sculptor born in the Czech Lands who settled in Romania in 1901. Schmidt submitted two different models, each characterized by monumentality and greater aesthetic qualities. In addition, the artist succeeded to express the tension in the personality of the hero, who embodied "the hopes and the destiny of Transylvanian Romanians."[451]

However, ironically enough, the former member of the jury, sculptor Ion Dimitriu-Bârlad was awarded the first prize. A mediocre artist, yet a favorite of the Ministry of War, Dimitriu-Bârlad portrayed Iancu in a realistic manner, avoiding idealization: on his horse, dressed like in the famous painting by Barbu Iscovescu from the years of the revolution.[452] While the sculpture did not seem to transmit the tension and the force requested by the jury, and therefore did not fit the competition's main requirement, the character of Iancu its protagonist was easily recognizable.

Meanwhile, Emil Dandea, the new Mayor of Târgu-Mureş and former secretary of the Monument Committee, decided to organize a similar competition in his city. The Committee in Târgu-Mureş had even less funding, yet it stipulated more ambitious aims: if the statue in Cluj was meant to be a little bigger than normal size, the one in Târgu-Mureş was designed to measure more than three meters high. The other requirements were similar: the statue should be a representation of the hero-martyr Iancu during the revolution and portray his figure as it was recorded by tradition. Surprisingly or not, Dimitriu-Bârlad won this competition too. Given the delays on the construction of the Orthodox Cathedral in Cluj, the winning, model

[451] Nicolae Sabău, "Câteva proiecte pentru statuia ecvestră a lui Avram Iancu din Cluj", 667-668
[452] Nicolae Sabău, "Câteva proiecte pentru statuia ecvestră a lui Avram Iancu din Cluj" (Some Projects for the Equestrian Statue of Avram Iancu), *Acta Musei Napocensis* 18 (1981) 665-666.

cast in bronze in 1927, was offered to the Municipality of Târgu-Mureş.[453] The monument was unveiled on May 10, 1930 by Bishop Nicolae Ivan, with members of the Iancu family and families of *moţi* (mountaineers from the Apuseni) in attendance.[454]

Although in Cluj the attention given to the project diminished after 1926, Ivan continued to promote the idea and attempted to use the figure of the hero to the benefit of the Cathedral fund raising campaign. The Orthodox Bishopric printed illustrations portraying Iancu, which were distributed to all the parish churches and cultural institutions in Transylvania.[455] The illustrations were sold between 1924 and 1926, enjoying a small success.

Although in 1929 Petală declared that 5 million lei had been collected for the monument to Iancu in Cluj[456], no attempts were made in order to actually demand the statue from the sculptor. The press remained silent regarding this issue, while the initiators of the project in Târgu-Mureş were animated by a more practical sprit.[457] In Cluj, the problem of the "competition" for monumentality between the two squares complicated the decision of the jury, since the Iancu statue had to be even more impressive than Fadrusz's monument.[458] In my opinion, this pressure was aggravated by the absence of an appropriate pictorial representation of Iancu. The portrait depicted by Barbu Iscovescu during the years of the revolution, in which the figure of Iancu appears rather fragile, was perhaps not the best source of inspiration for a monumental statue.[459]

A series of other reasons contributed to the failure of the project in Cluj: the economic crisis that slowed down unexpectedly the works for the Cathedral and postponed its consecration until 1933, the transfer of Petală from Cluj, the choice of the same sculptor for

[453] Paul Abrudan, "Lupta pentru apărarea memoriei lui Avram Iancu" (Fighting for the Defense of the Memory of Avram Iancu), *Studii* (Studies), tom 25, nr. 4, 1972, p. 706-707.
[454] *Cuvântul Liber* (Free Word), May 11, 1930.
[455] Several letters and lists of subscribers from various villages and cities in Transylvania are preserved in Arhivele Mitropoliei Clujului, Fond V-759-924.
[456] *Foaia Poporului*, October 27, 1929.
[457] Virgil Pană, "Pentru un monument al lui Avram Iancu", 291-297.
[458] *Voin□a Ardealului* (Transylvania's Will), November 27, 1924.
[459] For a presentation of Avram Iancu's pictorial representations, see Ioan C. Bacilă, "Portretele lui Avram Iancu" (The Portraits of Avram Iancu), *Transilvania* 4 (52) 1921, 228-241.

the statue in Târgu-Mureş and the indecision of the Cluj Municipality, who was oscillating between the already planned statue and a monument of Latinity of smaller dimensions, which would fit better the space between the Cathedral and the National Theatre. As compared with the Cathedral, and even with the statue in Târgu-Mureş, the project of the Iancu statue in Cluj clearly lacked the determined commitment of an influential person that would engage in the project until its achievement. Dandea could have become that person, but his appointment as Mayor of Târgu-Mureş meant also the transfer of his initiative from Cluj to Târgu-Mureş.

However, during the 1920s, all the debates connected with the statue and about the personality of Avram Iancu played an important role in emphasizing the Romanian presence in Cluj. From the perspective of the center, the whole process of transforming Iancu from a local martyr into a hero figure, associated with a long-term process of Romanian emancipation and officially integrated in the national pantheon, could be read as a new symbolical integration of Transylvania into Romania, which completed the Coronation Ceremony in Alba-Iulia. The monument in Cluj was planned to be the first equestrian statue raised for a Romanian on Transylvanian territory. ASTRA, the Orthodox Church, the Monarchy Royal House offered their support as long as the purpose of the monument converged with their own aims. The end of the 1920s brought not only the economic crisis, but also a political one after the death of Ferdinand in 1927. In these circumstances, the local Municipality could have become the major supporter of the initiative, but the issue of constructing an appropriate Romanian center was not a major concern for any of the interwar mayors. Practical problems of urban administration and political instability, doubled by a moderate stand when it came to nationalism, prevented them from any serious determined engagement in the Romanianization of the public space.

CONCLUSIONS

The nationalization of the predominantly non-Romanian Transylvanian cities constituted one major issues debated during the interwar period by the Romanian elite and government. Following the installation of the Romanian administration at the beginning of 1919, numerous state and non-state actors were involved into a process of "conquering" the urban areas and imposing a more substantial Romanian presence in the cities' public life.

In this context, Romanians' visibility in the cities was conceived in both symbolical and practical terms. The question of the public space became particularly sensitive, since urban representative squares was already populated by non-Romanian spatial markers such as statues, monuments, churches or public buildings. Theoretically, this space could be subjected to immediate interventions that would symbolically reflect the new political order. Practically, a number of reasons would determine a rather limited impact on the configuration of the cityscape. To various extents, insufficient funding, tensions or lack of collaboration between the various actors, political struggles at local or national levels, divergent meanings associated to the idea of Romanianness, could all contribute to the partial success of Romanian elites' attempts of controlling the dominant discourse and establishing a meaningful presence in the city centers.

Due to its symbolical role as unofficial capital of Transylvania, the city of Cluj was particularly challenging for the Romanianizing elites, transferred here mostly from Sibiu area and the Old Kingdom. The profile of the city as cultural and administrative center had been shaped during the Austro-Hungarian period. At the turn of the century, a radical intervention in the city's architectural structure initiated and sponsored by the central government in Budapest was aimed to both modernize the urban fabric and create a visual discourse on the

power of the state. Moreover, representative public spaces charged of national symbolism were created on the place of former markets.

Meanwhile, Cluj Romanians were poorly represented in the city's public sphere, being partially assimilated into the predominantly Hungarian-speaking environment. Therefore, the discourse articulated by the Romanian nationalizing elites transferred in the city as soon as 1919 pointed towards the necessity of acquiring a dominant position in the city's public life. Contrasting the nationalist rhetoric vociferated by the local Romanian press, average Cluj Romanian inhabitants showed little interest towards the national offensive advocated by the elites.

Counterbalancing the Hungarian nationalist rhetoric staged through the design of the main city square, Romanian elites also aimed to create a visual discourse reflecting the values of Romanianness in the parallel square situated a few hundred meters eastwards. Two initiatives were launched at the beginning of the 1920s: an Orthodox Cathedral and a monument dedicated to Transylvanian Romanians' most beloved hero, Avram Iancu. Several local actors, plus the central government and the Royal House got involved in these projects. Rather than promoting a unitary vision of the meaning of these monuments for the Romanian community, various actors aimed to integrate these important urban landmarks into their own agenda. The Monarchy and the central government attempted to create a popular basis of their power that would ensure them legitimacy in the new territories. Therefore, they advocated the integration of both Transylvanian national hero and local Orthodox church hierarchy into the corresponding frameworks already existing in Greater Romania. Simultaneously, the state was confronted with a set of limitations that prevented it from developing a well-coordinated policy concerning the nationalization of cities- political instability, economic crisis, the difficult situation after the war etc. Although the Monarchy did not openly promoted a radical

discourse concerning the Romanianization of the cities' public spaces, it associated itself to the ceremonies organized by the country's dominant nation.

The construction of an Cathedral by the city's most insignificant religious community represented a clear statement of power, since for the first time in their history, Transylvanian Orthodox were benefitting the direct support of the state. However, the Orthodox elite leaded by Bishop Nicolae Ivan perceived the successful construction of the Cathedral as a victory of Orthodox Transylvanians rather than an achievement of the Romanian state. Constructed in the national Romanian style, the Cathedral witnessed about a past of suffering and a present of joy in the history of the local Orthodox community. The numerous ceremonies and processions throughout the city organized by the Bishop on different occasions were meant to emphasize Romanian Orthodox's supposedly growing importance in the urban public space. However, these events seem to have been carefully orchestrated ceremonies attended mostly by students, peasants and the Army. Therefore, the degree of popular consensus enjoyed by these festivities remains a question, since none of the accounts emphasize a significant degree of participation from local urban dwellers.

The projects for monument for Avram Iancu, which actually was not built during the interwar period, similarly attracted the interest of a multiplicity of local and central actors. A figure of local importance until 1924, the year of the Centenary of his birth, Iancu was appropriated by the dominant historical narrative as a national hero fighting for Romanians' emancipation. ASTRA, the main cultural society of Transylvanian Romanians "negotiated" Iancu's integration into the national pantheon. In Cluj, his statue was meant to be placed in front of the Orthodox Cathedral, in order to illustrate a visual rhetoric on Romanianness, associating the national church to the national hero.

The memory of the war important played also an important role in shaping the meaning of the two monuments. Iancu was integrated in the war commemorative discourse as

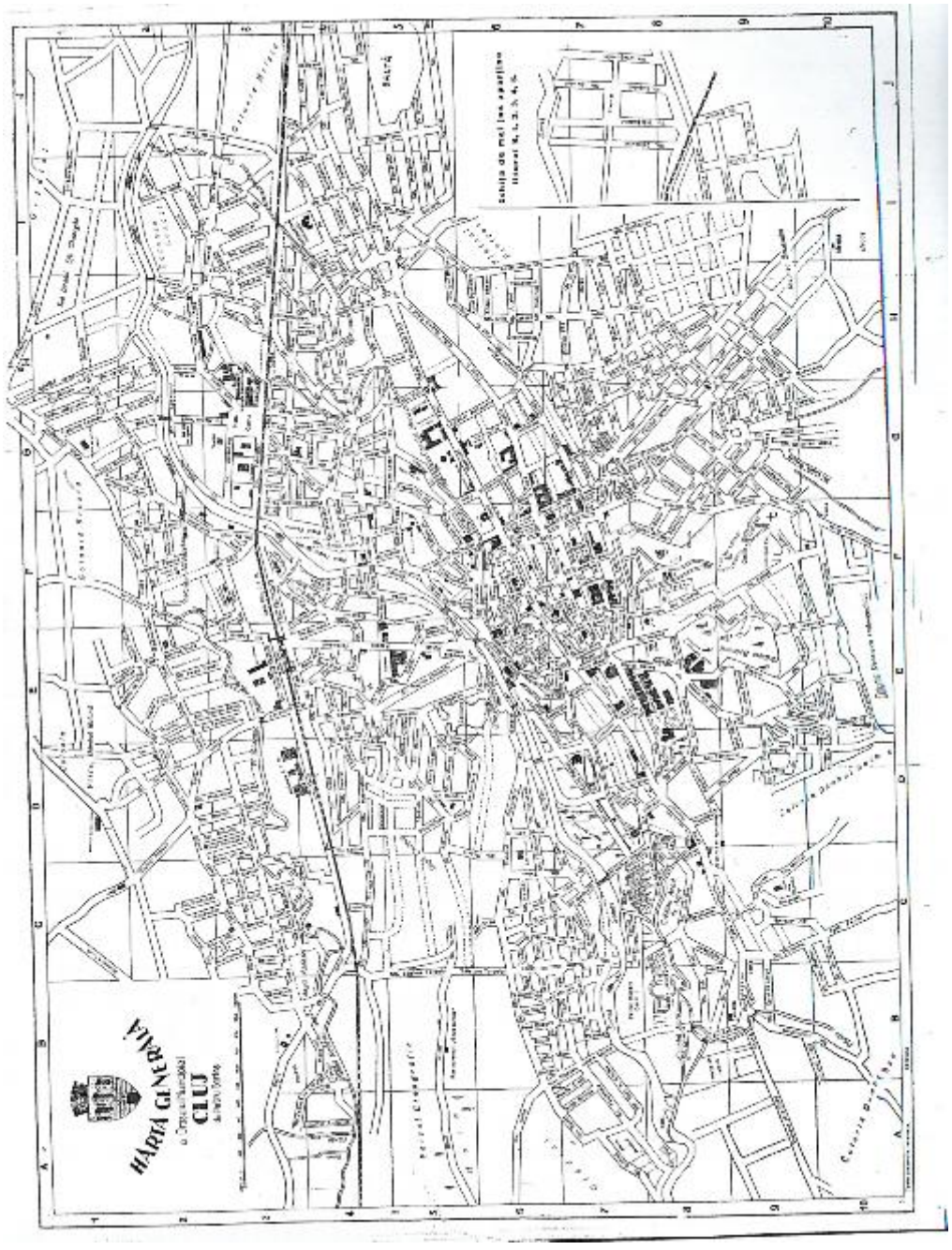
a forerunner of the war for Romanians' unity, while the Cathedral's festival was dedicated to the Romanian soldiers' sacrifice in the Great War. Besides the festival of the Virgin's Assumption, August 15 represented the day when Romanian army had attached Austro-Hungary on the Transylvanian border.

However, Cluj Municipality proved to be concerned with bureaucratic issues and rivalries between political parties rather than being interested to promote an aggressive policy of nationalization. Even in the economic sphere, local authorities did not intend to provide any privileges for Romanians, as some enthusiast nationalist might have expected.

In this circumstances, the successful achievement or the failure of such projects aiming to stage visible symbols of national identification as urban landmarks in the city's public space depended mostly on the commitment of local promoters. However, although the initiative of constructing such monuments did not belong to the center, the state often supported the local agenda, while adapting it to its own purposes. Despite the Cathedral's monumental appearance, it could not be stated that this one building was capable of imposing a Romanian identification of the new square. Moreover, though its religious connotations associated with Orthodoxy, the design of the square prevented Romanian Greek-Catholics from identifying themselves with the "new Romanian city center". Therefore, despite the radical discourse on the "conquer" of the city featured by Romanian nationalists in the early 1920s, the actual practice showed that the process of nationalization was far more complicated and much more gradual than they initially had expected.

ILLUSTRATIONS

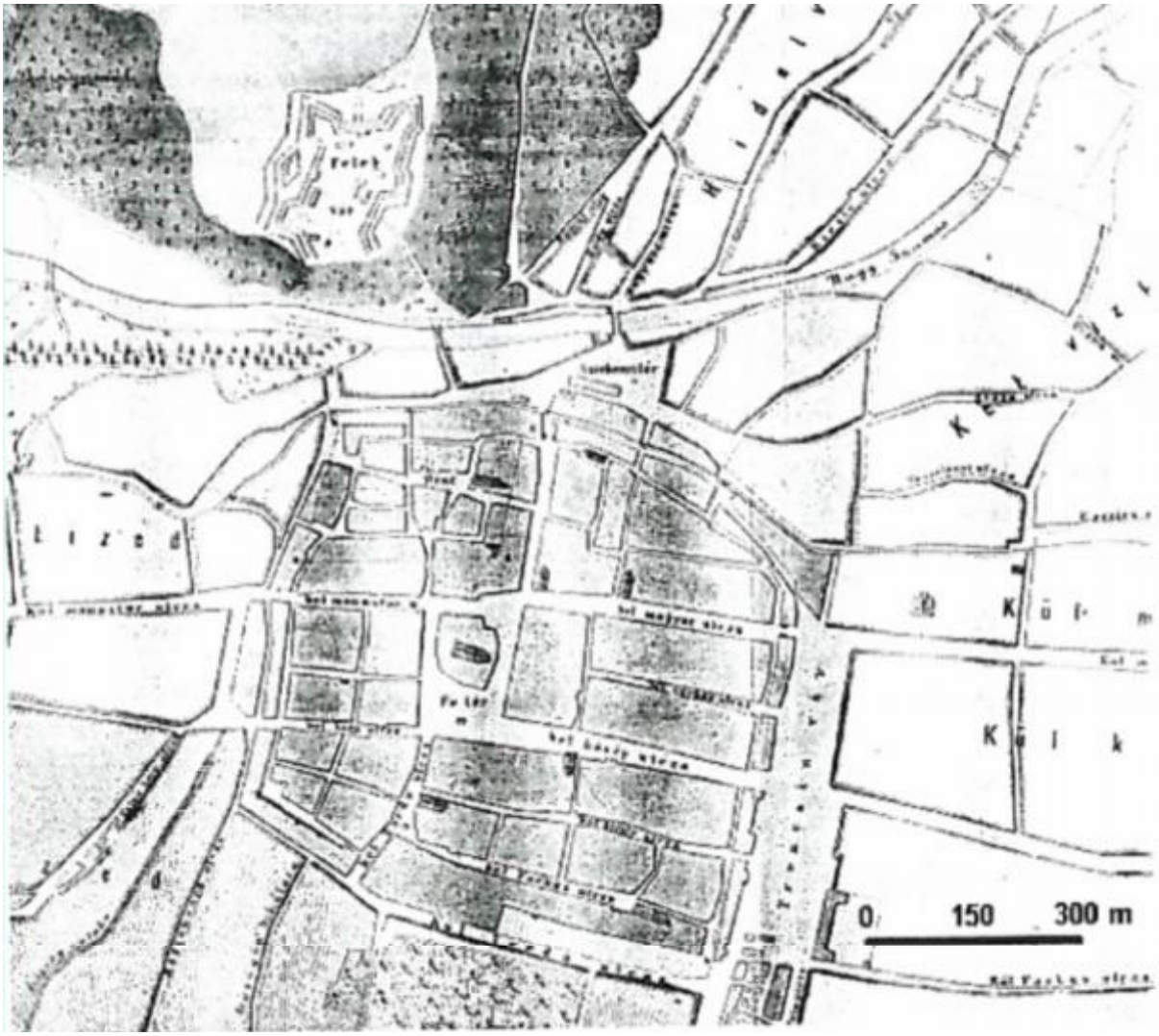
Plate 1



Plan of the city during the interwar period

Source: Buzea, Octavian. *Clujul: 1919-1939.* (Cluj: Ardealul, 1939), 274.

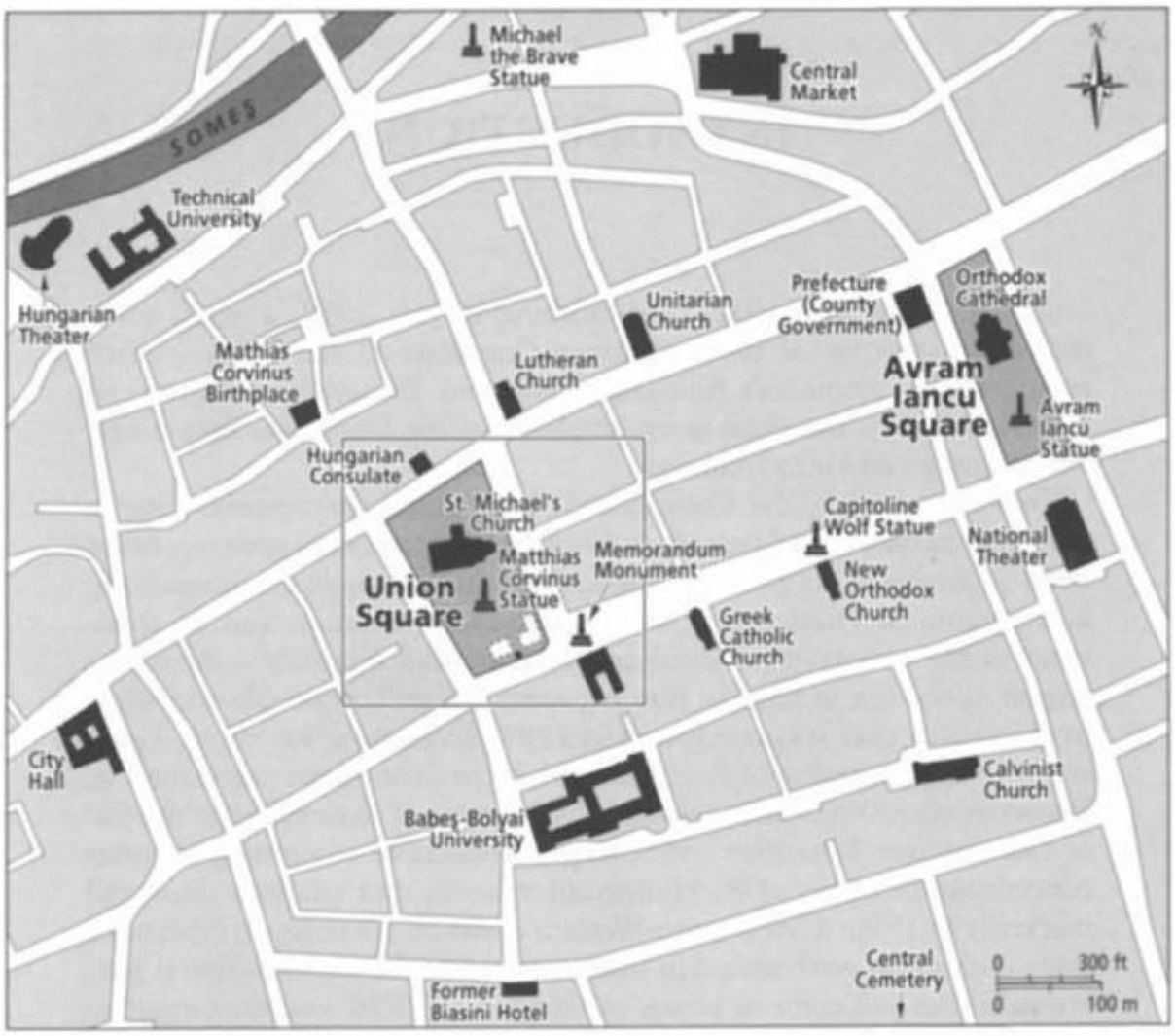
Plate 2



Cluj city center during the middle of the 19th century

Source: Agachi, Mihaela. *Clujul modern. Aspecte urbanistice.* (Cluj-Napoca: UT Press, 2004), 119.

Plate 3



The present-day city center

Source: Brubaker, Rogers ed., *National Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town,* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006

Plate 4

The Bocskai (later Cuza Vodă) square, turn-of-the-century.

Courtesy of the “Octavian Goga” Cluj District Library, Cluj

Plate 5

Hunyadi (later Ştefan cel Mare) square, around 1890.

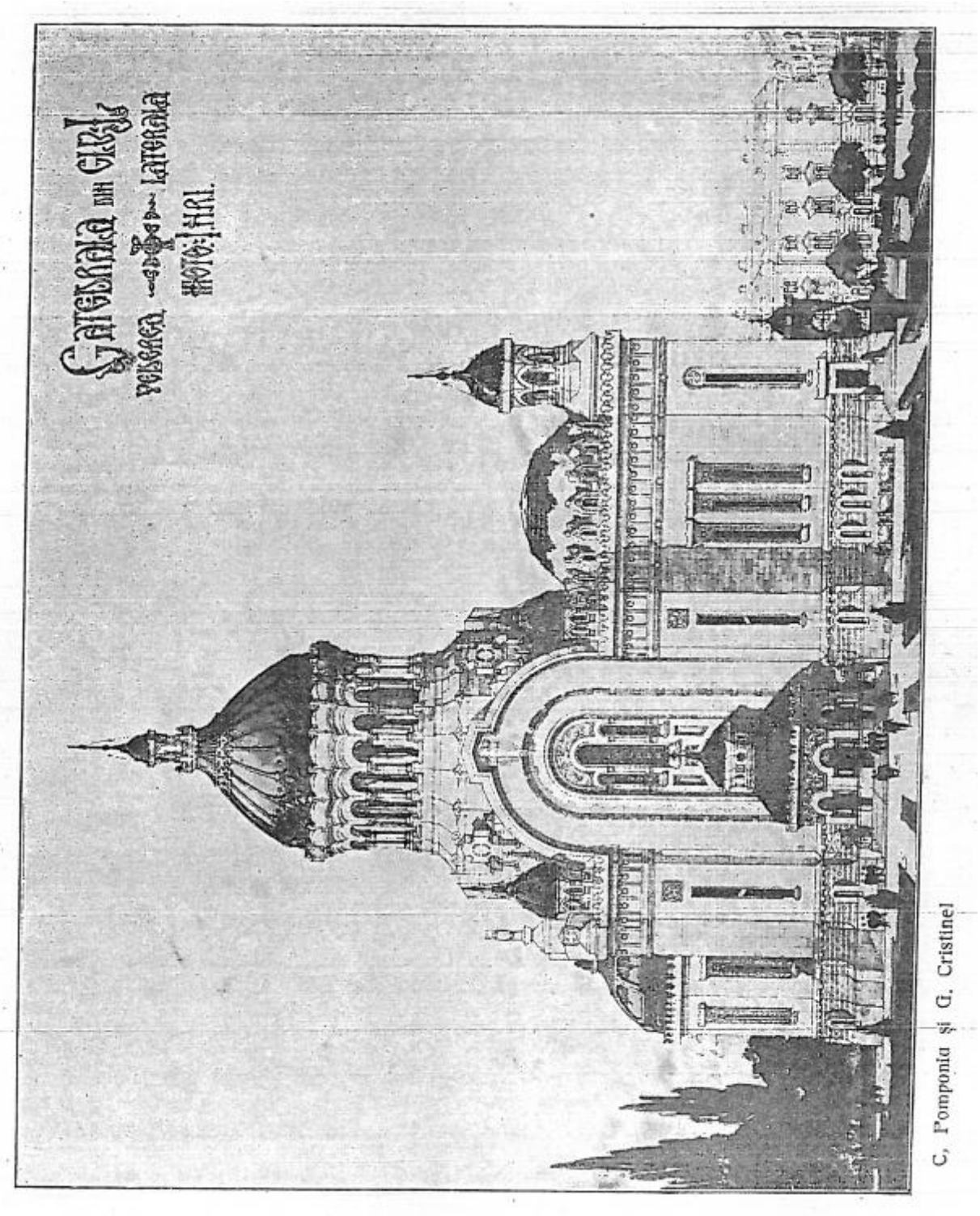
Courtesy of the "Octavian Goga" Cluj District Library, Cluj

Plate 6

Project designed by George Cristinel illustrating the new city center with the Orthodox Cathedral and the Iancu Monument.

Source: *Arhitectura,* 9 (1930): 19.

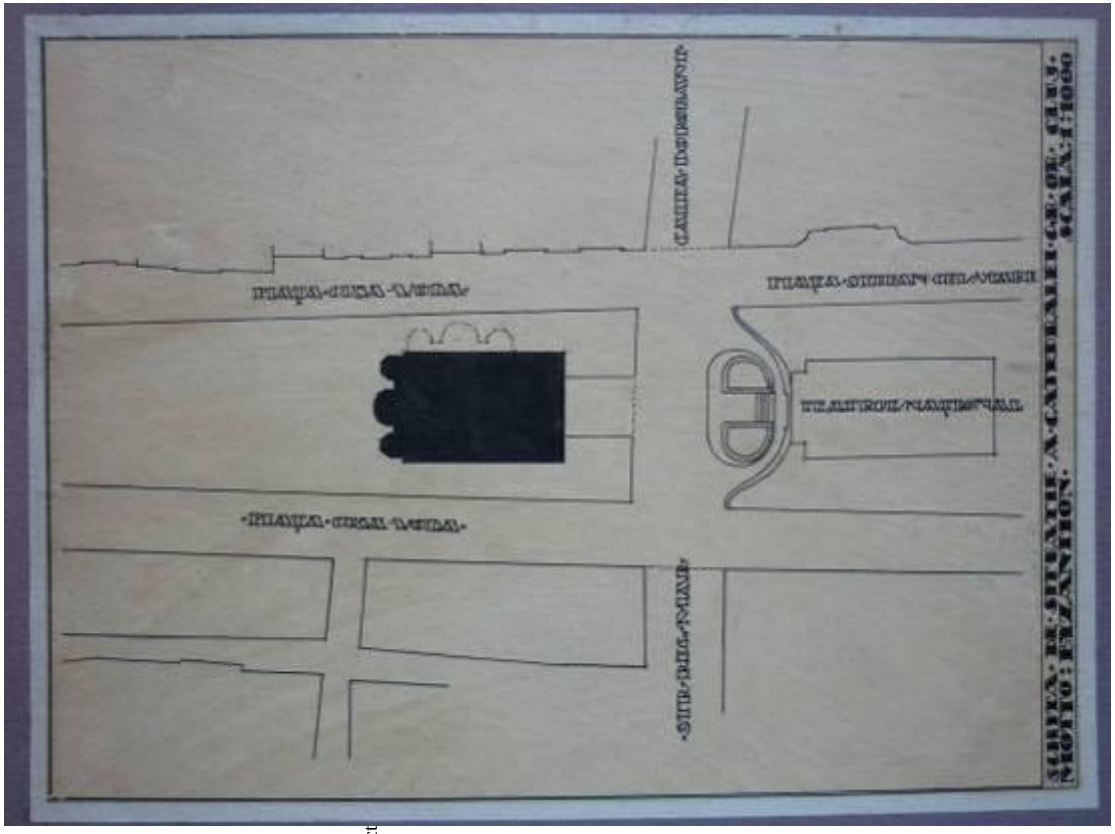
Plate 7



The Orthodox Cathedral-view from Iuliu Maniu street. Original plans by Constantin Pomponiu and George Cristinel

Source: *Arhitectura*, 3 (1924)

Plate 8-A



Károly Kós's project for the Orthodox Cathedral. Placement of the Cathedral in a visual dialogue with the National Theatre.

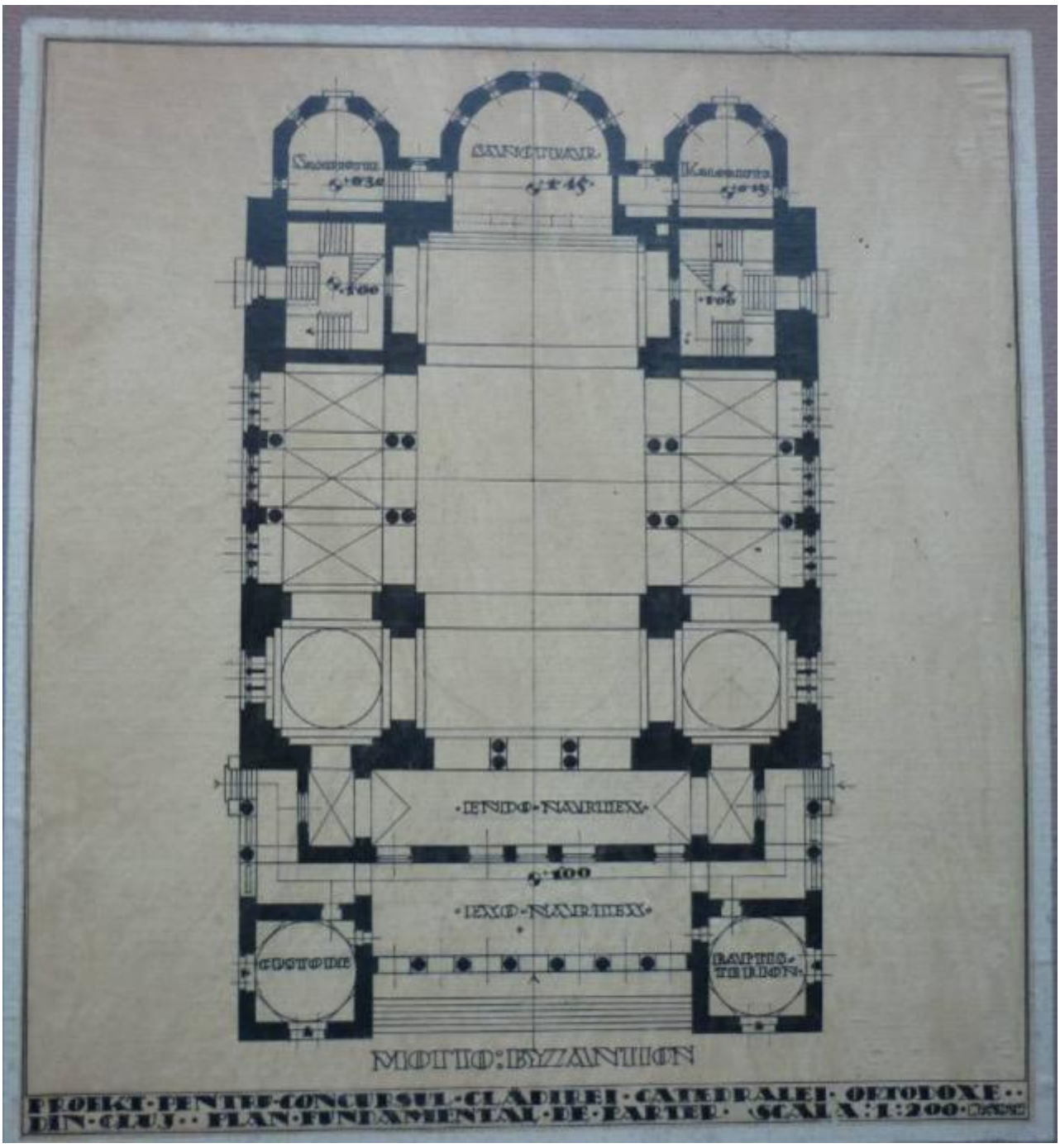
Courtesy of the Archives of the Metropolitan Bishopric of Cluj

Plate 8- B

Károly Kós's project for the Orthodox Cathedral.

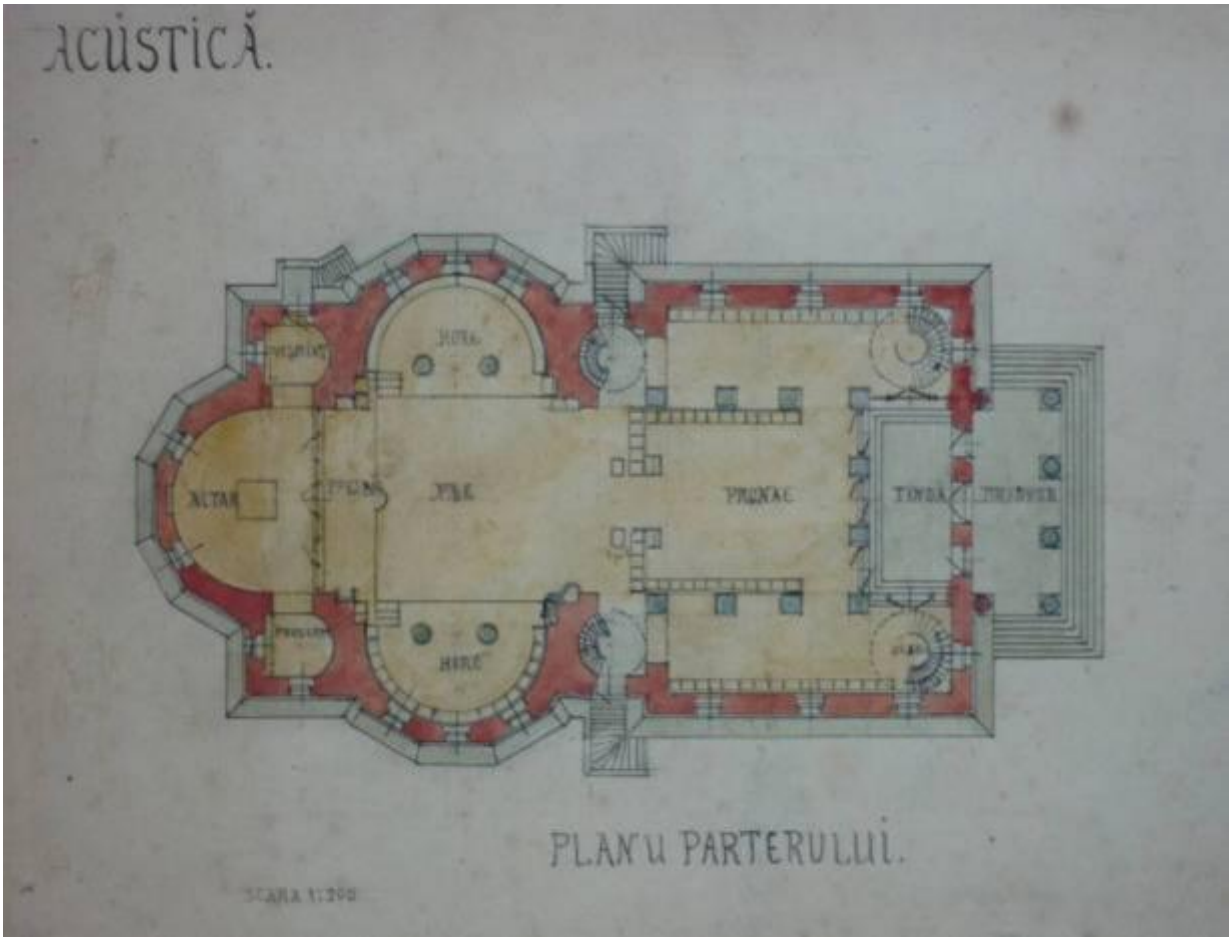
Courtesy of the Archives of the Metropolitan Bishopric of Cluj

Plate 8- C



The Orthodox cathedral as prokected by Kós, ground plan.

Plate 9- A



The project for the cathedral by architect Ioan Pamfilie from Sibiu.

Courtesy of the Archives of the Metropolitan Bishopric of Cluj

Plate 9- B

The façade in the project by Ioan Pamfilie.

Plate 10

The cathedral under construction, around 1928.

Courtesy of the “Octavian Goga” Cluj District Library, Cluj

Plate 11

The cathedral after the consecration, after 1933.

Courtesy of the “Octavian Goga” Cluj District Library, Cluj

Plate 12

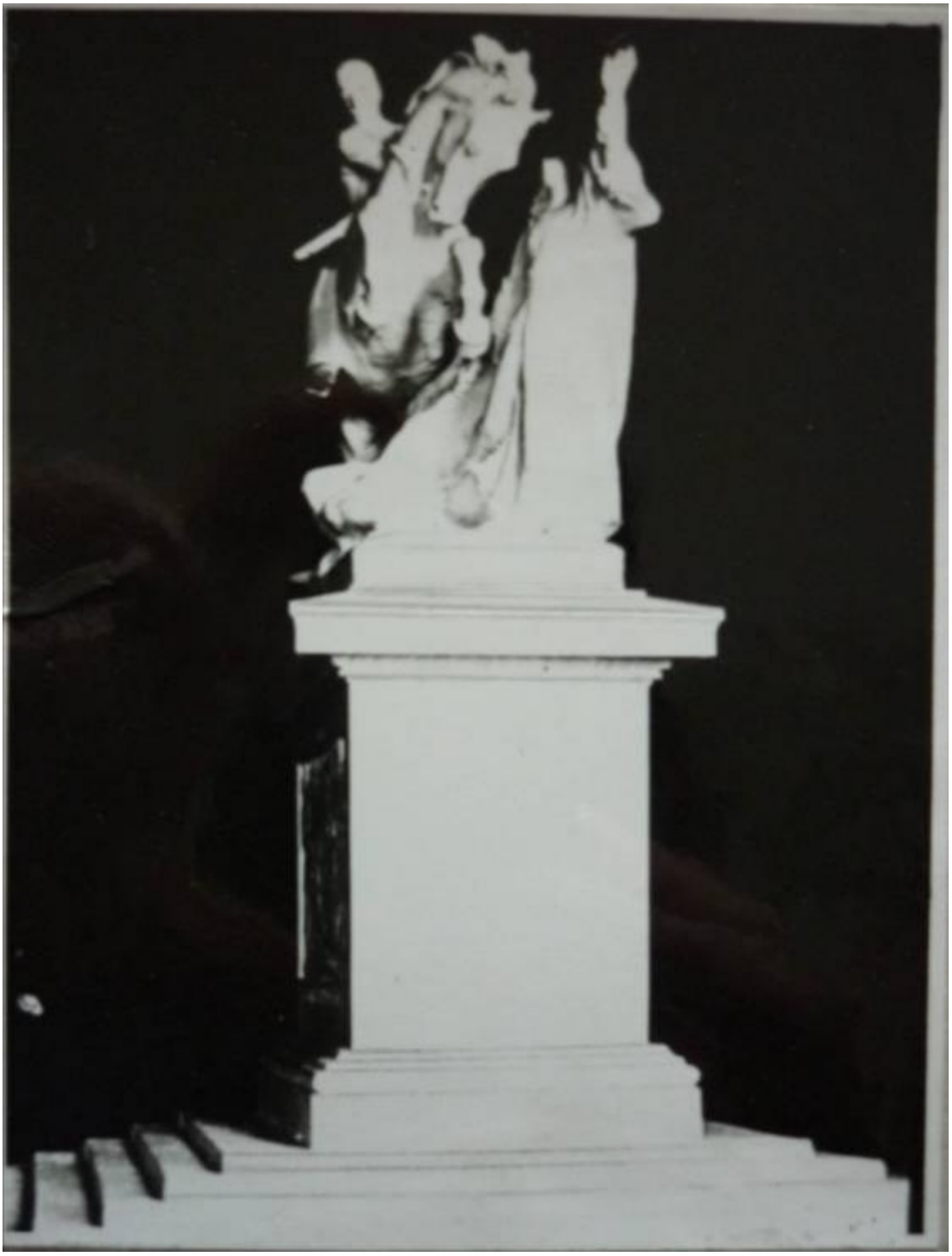
Barbu Iscovescu: Portrait of Avram Iancu, 1849

Plate 13

Model for the Iancu monument, by I. Iordănescu (1926).

Courtesy of Prof. Nicolae Sabău, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj

Plate 14



Gypsum model of Avram Iancu statue by Cornel Mendrea.

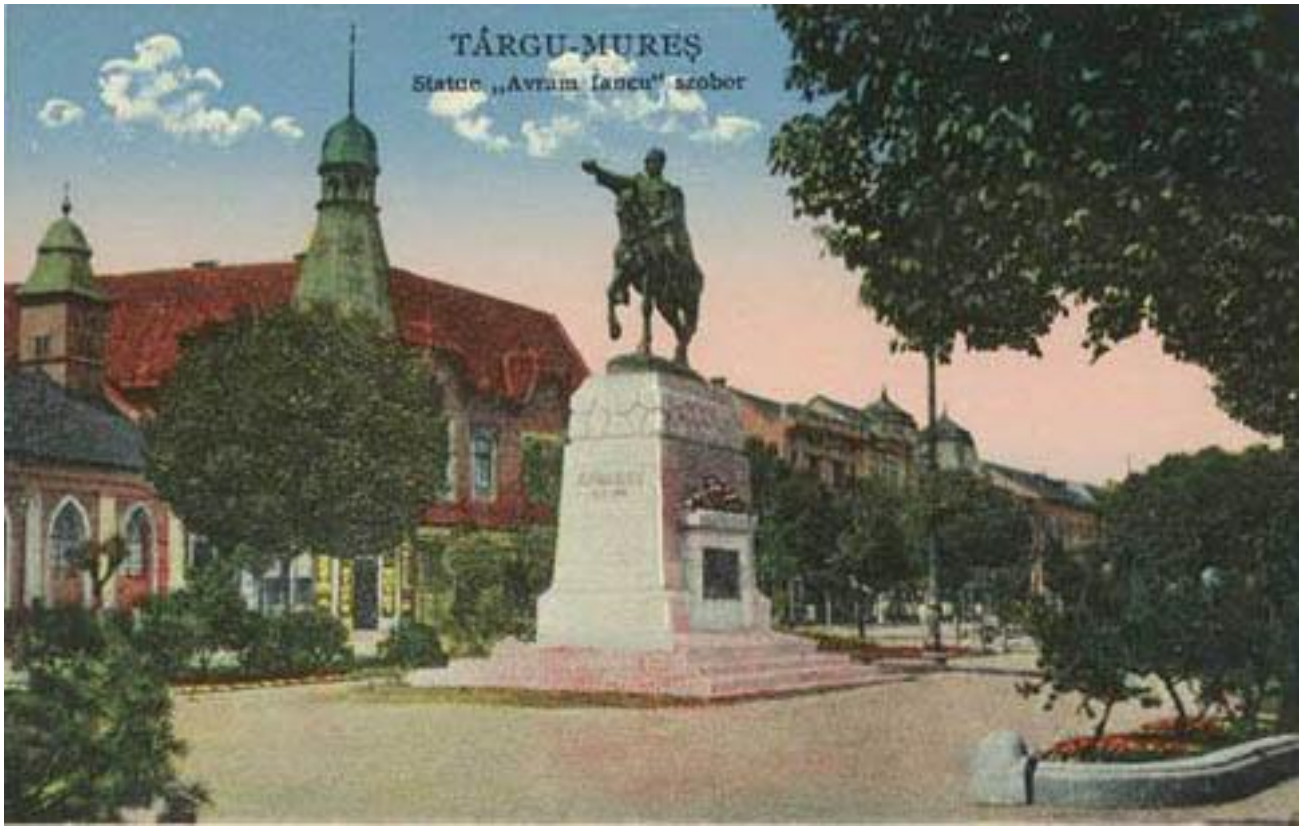
Courtesy of Prof. Nicolae Sabău, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj

Plate 15

Model of Avram Iancu statue by I. Schmidt.

Courtesy of Prof. Nicolae Sabău, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj

Plate 16



The monument of Avram Iancu, by I. Dimitriu-Bârlad, in interwar Târgu-Mureş (contemporary postcard).

Plate 17

The same monument, today în Câmpeni (it was moved from Târgu-Mureş to Câmpeni, in 1940, before the cessation of Northern Transylvania to Hungary).

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