CALLING THE NATION.

ROMANIAN NATIONALISM IN A LOCAL CONTEXT:

BRAŞOV DURING THE DUAL MONARCHY

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I hereby declare that this dissertation contains no materials accepted for any other degrees in any other institutions and no materials previously written and/or published by another person unless otherwise noted.

Abstract

This dissertation analyzes the attempts of imposing ethnicity as a frame of interpretation among Romanians in Braşov/Brassó/Kronstadt, a Transylvanian town in the Habsburg Empire, subsequently in Hungary, and nowadays in Romania. The main purpose of this research is to explore how ethnicity worked in a period that scholars of nationalism have generally characterized as ripe with patriotic agitation and conducive to mass mobilization. The research focuses on three Romanian group projects based in Braşov, which thematically involved women's activism, music, gymnastics, and theater, with the purpose of substantiating a bottom-up perspective on the nationalists' politics and the responsiveness or non-responsiveness of the population. The three connected Romanian associations demonstrate that they were not simply "vehicles" for nationalism in the latter half of the long nineteenth century, and that the spin they put on societies was much more sophisticated. The multiperspectivism thus created by the three groups analyzed points to the difficulties and failures of imposing ethnicity as an interpretative frame and first act of categorization in the pre-war period. The case study opens up the internal bricolage and permeable boundaries of the Romanian nation in the making, exploring from below the rise of the Romanian women's activism, the degree of groupness of the Romanians at the height of the national mass mobilization, the nationalized forms of socialization, and various other aspects of "intermittent ethnicity."

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1 INTRODUCTION

> Thousands of Australians have started a campaign to change the way their national television station broadcasts the Olympics. They say that so far Channel 9 has shown nothing but Team Australia's successes and not much of anything else.[1]

1.1 The Topic, Structure, and Sources of the Dissertation

This dissertation analyzes the imposition of ethnicity as an interpretative frame by taking a bottom-up perspective, with a focus on three Romanian group projects based after mid-nineteenth century in Braşov/Brassó/Kronstadt, a Transylvanian town in the Habsburg Empire, after 1867 in Austria-Hungary, and nowadays in Romania. Located in the disputed historical Principality of Transylvania, Braşov represents the site of analysis for ethnicity, the local socio-economic and political context for this research. The driving questions of the dissertation start from the new approaches in the historiography of the Habsburg Empire (especially on Cisleithania), namely the emphasis on the national indifference or the ambivalence of the citizens regarding nationalist discourses at the height of mass mobilization. Shifting the focus on

[1] "Why do Australians want less biased Olympic coverage?", *BBC News*, 6 August 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-19150505
The response to the selective streaming of the Olympics had been criticized in many other countries. Take, for instance, Morrissey's statement from the beginning of August:
"And, yet! I am unable to watch the Olympics due to the blustering jingoism that drenches the event. Has England ever been quite so foul with patriotism? The 'dazzling royals' have, quite naturally, hi-jacked the Olympics for their own empirical needs, and no oppositional voice is allowed in the free press. It is lethal to witness. As London is suddenly promoted as a super-wealth brand, the England outside London shivers beneath cutbacks, tight circumstances and economic disasters. Meanwhile the British media present 24-hour coverage of the 'dazzling royals,' laughing as they lavishly spend, as if such coverage is certain to make British society feel fully whole. In 2012, the British public is evidently assumed to be undersized pigmies, scarcely able to formulate thought.
As I recently drove through Greece I noticed repeated graffiti seemingly everywhere on every available wall. In large blue letters it said WAKE UP WAKE UP. It could almost have been written with the British public in mind, because although the spirit of 1939 Germany now pervades throughout media-brand Britain, the 2013 grotesque inevitability of Lord and Lady Beckham (with Sir Jamie Horrible close at heel) is, believe me, a fate worse than life. WAKE UP WAKE UP."
Morrissey, "True to you. A Morrissey Zine" (blog), 4 August 2012, http://true-to-you.net/morrissey_news_120804_01

Transleithania, this dissertation seeks to understand the "intermittence of ethnicity"[2] among Romanians in Braşov, covering the period of the Dual Monarchy up to World War One, and engages in a perspective from below on how ethnicity worked in a period marked by intense ethnopolitical conflicts at the elite level, especially in the frame of Austria-Hungary.

The "intermittence of ethnicity" is analyzed here through three Romanian group projects based in Braşov that put forth a range of possible engagements for local citizens. This approach offers multiple comparative perspectives on the bricolage and permeable boundaries of the Romanian nation in the making, provides insights into the degree of groupness of Romanians at the height of national mass mobilization, and demonstrates the difficulties and failures of imposing ethnicity as an interpretative frame and first act of categorization in the pre-war period in an Eastern town in Transylvania, Hungary.

The three Romanian group projects based in Braşov are analyzed in separate chapters that offer three chronologies for the dissertation, following the development of these associations since the beginning until the pre-war years: the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* (*Reuniunea femeilor române din Braşov*, established in 1850), the *Romanian association for singing and gymnastics* (*Reuniunea română de gimnastică şi cântări* – the gymnastics branch established in 1863; the one for music in 1870), and the *Association for establishing a fund for building a Romanian national theater* (*Societatea pentru crearea unui fond spre a înfiinţa un teatru naţional roman*, 1870). Each of them is treated extensively, but not with the aim and mind of a monographer. The scope of the dissertation is to explore the stories that these

[2] For this phrase, see my discussion of "national indifference" (Tara Zahra) vs. "intermittence of ethnicity" (Rogers Brubaker) in the historiography part of this chapter.

associations tell, and to glean from them the "intermittence of ethnicity," without superimposing ethnicity as a frame of analysis. The focus is on the forms of socializing that Romanian nationalists created for their local community, the social functions that these nationalized forms fulfilled, the socializing spaces where participants performed these forms, the rise of the Romanian women's activism, the responsiveness or nonresponsiveness of the citizens to the calls of the nationalists, and other possible interpretations for being labeled "nationally indifferent," as this was a widely spread complaint of many nationalist leaders throughout the Empire.

The three group projects investigated here are illustrative for the association mania of the long nineteenth century. By 1910 Austria-Hungary recorded over 85,000 associations, a forty times increase as compared to the association numbers in the Habsburg Empire in mid-nineteenth century.[3] As a widely spread phenomenon of the long nineteenth century, associations have been credited with the dissemination and promotion of a modern concept of identity that placed the belonging to a nation as the primary marker of identity. But associations did much more than that. The present research understands associations as potentially transnational and international phenomena that cut across categories, reshaping their constellation around a central theme, purpose, or category (e.g., music, women, or gymnastics), thus being able to potentially form connections along different axes, all the while aligning loyalties accordingly. How ethnicity worked in more mundane circumstances is investigated through this reshaping of category constellations. In trying to move beyond

[3] Claire Nolte, "Voluntary associations and nation-building in nineteenth-century Prague," in *Different paths to the nation. Regional and national identities in Central Europe and Italy, 1830-70*, ed. Laurence Cole (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 88.

understanding associations as simply "vehicles" for nationalism, this dissertation investigates the more sophisticated spin that these group projects put on societies.

The first chapter supplies the reader with the backgrounds to the stories that follow in the other three main chapters, which correspond to the three associations analyzed in this dissertation. In the introductory chapter I investigate the wider social and economic phenomena of the nineteenth century in so far as they bore implications for the inhabitants of Braşov, the site of analysis for everyday ethnicity in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The chapter places Braşov on the map of Transylvania and Hungary, and discusses the role of the Romanian merchant elite and of the Romanian educated elite in the process of nation building so as to present a general overarching perspective from above that complements the subsequent research angles. The town also represents the local socio-economic and emerging political cultural context in which the three associations are analyzed.

The second chapter focuses on the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*, established in the aftermath of the 1848-49 revolutions. This chapter explores the establishment of the association in a merchant and intellectual family from Braşov, follows its development until the outbreak of the World War, and draws the contours of the Romanian women's activism and movement that started in Braşov with a main focus on providing access to education for girls. By identifying the fundraising patterns of this association, the chapter familiarizes the reader with the local topography of sociability where nationalist activists put at work and on display a Romanian national apparatus, which constitutes the main research focus of the following chapter.

The third chapter explores this topography and focuses on the invention of a Romanian ballroom dance, its practice and social function. Continuing the thematic thread of music, the chapter charts the trajectory of another group project that animated local inhabitants of Braşov, namely the *Romanian association for music and gymnastics*. The analytical emphasis is on the symbolical web of social practices that emerged with this association, on the view of the nationalist activists on music and gymnastics in connection to the national body, and on identifying the collective sense of identities that this project built in Braşov. The threads converge into the more general question of how this association that was about music and gymnastics shaped social experiences in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The fourth chapter follows the highly politicized and nationalized path of the association for theater from its inception, exploring how Romanian nationalist activists conceived of theater in their endeavors of mobilizing the Romanian-speaking population. The chapter deals with the responsiveness and nonresponsiveness of the targeted illiterate crowd to these grassroots endeavors of nationalizing the population, and explores the modes of institutionalization and canonization of national texts in the process of Romanian nation building.

All three thematic chapters explore overlapping channels of activism that tried to co-opt the population into different projects. In their activities it is possible to observe the "intermittence of ethnicity" and when ethnicity failed to produced results that corresponded to the claims of the ethnopolitical elite. It is here that the degree of groupness can be best assessed – from below – after analyzing the wide range of claims of the association leadership, the benchmarks set, the association performance and dynamics in conjunction with the ordinary people. The three group projects

provide other contexts and prisms apart from the nationalist one. Studying ethnicity, Brubaker reminds us, "is to impose ethnicity as an analytical frame of reference where it might not be warranted; it is to risk adopting an overethnicized view of social experience. […] To study ethnicity without inadvertently contributing to its reproduction, it is necessary to situate ethnicity in the context of 'that which is not ethnic.'"[4] So as to avoid overethnicizing the research, the three associations that I chose to study here provide multiple contexts and thematic perspectives on everyday life engagements in society, which animated almost all segments of the population: women's activism in view of providing access to young girls (orphans, poor, middle class), a local choir that requested membership from both men and women, a gymnastics branch that mobilized young boys, and an association for theater whose target population was the older illiterate crowd.

This last segment of individuals was especially significant among the Romanian-speaking population. Historically, they had been less urban and less privileged as compared to other groups or classes in the Habsburg Empire. The very low literacy levels have direct implications for any attempt of capturing a perspective from below on ethnicity in the long nineteenth century are quite obvious, and this situation has directed my attention to organized group projects that are better documented than the response of the "ordinary individual" to how ethnicity worked, or how other categories structured her perspective on a rapidly changing world.

One of the contributions that the present research makes to the study of ethnicity is achieved through the perspective taken and the selection of sources, as well as by firmly anchoring this research in another historiographic and theoretical

[4] Rogers Brubaker, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox, and Liana Grancea, *Nationalist politics and everyday ethnicity in a Transylvanian town* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 15.

context than the commonly used frame of reference. I will dwell on this latter observation shortly, in a separate historiographic section devoted to it. In connection to the perspective and the sources used, one needs to make the general observation for now according to which histories of Transylvania have long been marked by narratives on ethnic violence, predominantly between Hungarians and Romanians. These were the direct outcomes of a reification of groups and of a unilateral interpretative frame that reproduced the view of the ethnonationalist political elites. In this particular case, a perspective from below that moves away from the Romanian nationalist discourses is crucial because it underscores the "intermittence of ethnicity," and counteracts overethnicized accounts of reified ethnic groups.

The perspective from below, as a crucial angle and field of research, has long been invoked in the scholarship of nationalism, having Eric Hobsbawm as initial proponent and Rogers Brubaker as theorizer and practitioner, among others.[5] Yet defining and refining the perspective itself as well as identifying sources that document the viewpoint from below can prove to be tremendously difficult tasks, especially when illiteracy prevailed.[6] But this does not constitute an uncommon

[5] I am referring here mainly to Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without groups* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 2004) and Brubaker, *Nationalist politics.* This latter book argues in favor of taking up Hobsbawm's challenge of "analyzing nationhood and nationalism from below as from above." See Brubaker, *Nationalist politics*, 13.
For a more recent collection of articles, this time with a full focus on the nineteenth century, see Maarten Van Ginderachter and Marnix Beyen, eds., *Nationhood from below: Europe in the long nineteenth century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
Particularly insightful is Jim Sharpe's article, "History from below," in *New perspectives on historical writing*, ed. Peter Burke (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 25-42.

[6] This problem has been signaled by numerous scholars, especially by those who approached the history of the long nineteenth century or any other period that does not lend itself to participant observation. The difficulty is infinitely increased when the nineteenth century individuals were also illiterate – a problem that Eugen Weber met with in his *Peasants into Frenchmen.* See Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1976), xiii. Encountering the same problem, Pieter Judson focused his close readings on nationalist accounts, as the only sources that "document[ed] the worrying absence of that which was being claimed, […] that is, the frequent irrelevance of nationalist identities to rural society." Pieter

situation for the students of history. To the contrary, illiteracy and political discourses around literacy occasioned critiques of strongly constructivist approaches to nationalism that accounted for the phenomenon by emphasizing social communication and print capitalism.[7] The implications for the present research and the historiographic context translate into an acute problematization of newspapers as a primary source. Newspapers, as chronicles of everyday life "offer[s] us all the mediocre accidents of ordinary life: a fire, a railway crash, the price of wheat, a crime, a theatrical production, a flood",[8] argued Braudel. On the one hand, newspapers offer rich insights into everyday life and indulge the reader with all its fascinating details, but on the other, they are also the primary channels of the ethnopolitical entrepreneurs/nationalist activists/patriots. This latter point implies that their discourses may translate into overethnicized perspectives and I treat the newspaper as if it were an unreliable narrator.

Having laid down these concerns and aspects, the present research takes under close skeptical scrutiny the *Transylvanian Gazette*, a local publication in Romanian language in Braşov, with a long tradition as a political journal since before the 1848-49 revolutions. The themes that constitute the kernels of each chapter guided my diachronic and consequential reading of newspaper articles. Although I have accomplished this without the precision of the computer search function, I have tried to be as accurate as possible with my tracking the topics of analysis in over fifty years of newspaper by indexing the articles thematically and chronologically.

Judson, *Guardians of the nation: activists on the language frontiers of imperial Austria* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 2006), 10-11.

[7] For an insightful overview of a range of critiques as well as a connection to the Romanian context, see Alex Drace-Francis, *The making of modern Romanian culture: literacy and the development of national identity* (London, New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006), 1-12.

[8] Fernand Braudel, *On History* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1982), 28.

The research relies more on the close reading of another set of sources – a wealth of documents that partially illuminate the trajectory of the three group projects analyzed here. These still remain the three best documented Romanian associations in Braşov, during the Dual Monarchy, even after the haphazardous changes of storage of the archival collections in Braşov, during Communism. The collections of documents, even more fragmented because of these unfortunate circumstances, include bylaws, private correspondence, official letters, membership lists, association reports, balance sheets, diplomas, newspaper clips, invitations, programs, musical notes, genealogical trees and so forth. Their variety is still great, their fragmented character even greater. The reader will notice that even lost documents are invoked in the present text by carefully gleaning through nationalizing historiographic accounts. So as not to obstruct the narrative of the chapters, I tried to include the missing documents by using literary devices, such as the *mise-en-abîme* technique with reference to the Aromanian women's association in Pest. The main purpose was to call into the analysis a different constellation of categories and concepts with the purpose of demonstrating a shift in the meaning of concepts or a new hierarchy of concepts that structured the worldview; the reader may or may not appreciate such literary interventions into the text.

Furthermore, in a more unusual combination, I matched these sets of sources with *Begriffsgeschichte*, which I took to mean in this context a strategy of textual analysis – one of the interpretations that Kari Palonen gave to the history of concepts.[9]

[9] Kari Palonen distinguished six layers of meaning of the history of concepts in Reinhart Koselleck's understanding over more than three decades of *Begriffsgeschichte* scholarship: on the one hand, *Begriffsgeschichte* can be interpreted as a subfield of historiography, as a method of historiography, or as a strategy of textual analysis; on the other hand, and more theoretically-minded, Begriffsgeschichte can be interpreted as a microtheory of conceptual change, as a macro-theory of conceptual change, or as a revolution in the understanding of concepts. See Kari Palonen, "An Application of Conceptual

Begriffsgeschichte, so influenced in its German inception by historical semantics and hermeneutics (among other disciplines), can be a good companion to a take on Brubaker's "coming to terms analytically with the elusive phenomenon of ethnicity."[10]

What the second set of sources does for the overall research is to document the trajectories and activities of the three associations and more importantly to provide a closer perspective on the "lived experience of ethnicity."[11] The local elite that fueled the three projects attempted to persuade, co-opt, and mobilize ordinary citizens for different purposes. Given the organized frame of this sort of private activism, the attempts and claims of the local leaders as well as the responsiveness or the nonresponsiveness of the ordinary people could be more efficiently gleaned from the documents of these associations, and analyzed against the background of newspaper articles.

1.2 The State of the Art and the Theoretical Positioning

This section first deals with the new research perspectives that dominate the historiography of the Habsburg Empire, and places them in a broader paradigm of studies on nationalism. It discusses works that have shaped this dissertation project, and orients the reader by clarifying terminological borrowings, and limits of interpretation and applicability of various approaches. The second part of this section investigates the thematic historiography of the three core dissertation chapters,

History to Itself. From Method to Theory in Reinhart Koselleck's Begriffsgeschichte," *Finish Yearbook of Political Thought* 1 (1997): 41.

[10] Brubaker, *Nationalist politics*, xiii.

[11] Ibid., xvi.

identifying their limits but also the contributions that they make to connected fields of research.

The theoretical positioning in the extremely variegated and rich field of studies on nationalism necessarily claims conciseness and limitations. From the already classical classifications of this field of research, the dissertation can be positioned, broadly speaking, in a tense proximity to constructivist approaches to understanding the phenomenon of nationalism.[12] More narrowly conceived, however, I drew inspiration from, on the one hand, a corpus of scholarship mentored to different extents by István Deák; and, on the other, from Rogers Brubaker's scholarship published in the last decade on the study of ethnicity. In the following pages I trace some of the prominent authors, whose work I interpreted and connected to the context of my research. I will also make brief mentions of the terminological borrowings from different interpretative paradigms and intellectual genealogies.

George L. Mosse published in 1975 a path-breaking analysis of the nationalization of the masses in Germany from the Napoleonic wars to the Third Reich.[13] The author built on an illuminating analysis of myths, symbols, festivities and rituals, so as to explain how they all provided, in a liturgical form, a sense of community and of identity, ultimately leading to the formation of a new aesthetics and style of politics. A key observation is that Mosse viewed this transformation as a "growth of a secular religion,"[14] and he interpreted the array of symbols and myths

[12] From the countless readers, collections, and introductions to the study of nationalism, I make a background reference to an overview by Brian Porter-Szűcs, in which the author focused critically and concisely on canonic works on nationalism since mid-twentieth century. See Brian Porter-Szűcs, "Beyond the study of nationalism," in *Nationalism Today*, eds. Krzysztof Jaskulowski and Tomasz Kamusella, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009), 3-15.
[13] George L. Mosse, *The nationalization of the masses. Political symbolism and mass movements in Germany from the Napoleonic wars through the Third Reich* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1975).
[14] Ibid., 16.

that played a central role in public manifestations through this transformative perspective. Without going further into the details of this book, the reader will first remark here that I borrowed the term "nationalization" of individuals from Mosse's analysis.[15]

In a different style of analysis, yet equally refreshing, Eugen Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen* published the same decade, in 1976, discussed "the disintegration of local cultures by modernity and their absorption into the dominant civilization of Paris and the schools."[16] He called this process not "nationalization", but something that was "akin to colonization."[17] As compared to Mosse, Weber had taken a multitude of different perspectives and angles on the French nation, emphasizing structures and agents rather than myths, symbols, and festivities. His conclusion, notwithstanding, would be echoed in various forms in subsequent decades: "We have seen, in short, the nation not as a given reality but as a work-in-progress, a model of something at once to be built and to be treated for political reasons as already in existence."[18] Scholarship then seemed to agree that, through one means or the other, there was an acute, overarching, and pregnant feeling of a need to forge a nation out of diverse and fragmented populations. This observation holds for Mosse's analysis, for Weber's, and for many other scholars who followed them.

For not long after Mosse and Weber's interpretations of the French and German nation-formation, homogenization, and mobilization came the more influential volumes authored by Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm, on the one

[15] Another convergence point is the emphasis on associations. Chapter Three of this dissertation provides an ampler engagement with Mosse's work, in combination with Eric Hobsbawm and his views on inventing traditions. See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
[16] Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen.*
[17] Ibid., 486.
[18] Ibid., 493.

hand, and Ernst Gellner and Miroslav Hroch, on the other.[19] Although all of them were part of the same dynamic and fruitful scholarly decade for the research of nationalism, posing fundamental questions about social structures and social constructivism, the first two authors are more easily discernible in the lines of this dissertation (see especially chapter three). This generation of scholarship was perceived as enormously novel and generated heated debates on the degrees of imagination and inventiveness of nations. But as Porter-Szűcs pointed out in his critical survey of scholarship on nationalism, "[w]ithout in any way belittling the importance of these works, they were not quite as revolutionary (nor ultimately as controversial) as some of the ensuing polemics might suggest. In fact, we might even say that the importance of these four works did not lie so much in their novelty, but in the way they captured and summarized what had already become a consensus about nations and nationalism."[20] They were, as invoked in this section, part of a powerful, dialogical, and nuanced interpretative paradigm. It has remained, nonetheless, in the background of my research for if we were to directly ask the question "what has become of this body of scholarly literature from the 70s and 80s?", then one would necessarily turn to Rogers Brubaker's sharp criticism, concluding that, "constructivism has grown complacent, even cliché, with success. Once a bracing

[19] I am referring to Benedict Anderson's *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* published in 1983 (London: Verso), at the same time with Hobsbawm's and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition*, also published in 1983, quoted above only in a different edition. See also, Ernest Gellner, *Nations and nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983); Miroslav Hroch, *Social preconditions of national revival in Europe: A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Compare to Anthony D. Smith, *The ethnic origin of nations* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986).
[20] Porter-Szűcs, "Beyond the Study of Nationalism," 8.

challenge to the conventional wisdom, it has become the conventional wisdom; once an insurgent idiom, it has become the epitome of academic responsibility."[21]

In drawing closer together the research on nationalism with an emphasis not on "Western" Europe, but on the (post) Habsburg space and extending further south and east, one would immediately think of the substantial and rigorous comparative study of small-nation formation that Miroslav Hroch published in the mid-80s (for further details see the first chapter of this dissertation). Yet equally interesting have been the research developments in the United States, where already in the 1960s István Deák had voiced an enduring criticism at a conference in Bloomington, Indiana: "… I would argue that there were no dominant nationalities in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. There were only dominant classes, estates, institutions, interest groups, and professions."[22] This fresh insight into the history of the Habsburg Empire, as well as other volumes that Deák authored,[23] provided inspiration for a number of scholars in American academia.

To take first a collective example for illustrating this impact, one would only need to think of a volume published in 2005. It was then that Pieter Judson and Marsha Rozenblit published an edited collective volume, which was meant as a tribute to István Deák, who had previously taught all book contributors.[24] In the preface to this collective volume, Gary B. Cohen summed up the most recent developments in the historical interpretation of nationalism, and pointed to a shift of analysis on

[21] Brubaker, *Nationalist politics*, 7.
[22] Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit, eds., *Constructing nationalities in East Central Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), xii.
[23] See, for instance, István Deák, *The lawful revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-1849* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979). István Deák, *Assimilation and nationalism in East Central Europe during the last century of Habsburg rule* (Pittsburgh P.A.: The Carl Beck Papers in Russia and East European Studies, 1983). István Deák, *Beyond nationalism: a social and political history of the Habsburg officer corps, 1848-1918* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1990).
[24] Judson and Rozenblit, *Constructing nationalities*.

"national loyalties as fundamentally dynamic phenomena that individuals and groups construct under specific historical circumstances, loyalties that can be transformed or exchanged or may be held in ambiguous relationships together with other allegiances."[25] This general statement about the state of the art echoed István Deák's scholarly contribution to the field of history. The responses of the individuals and of groups to the nationalists' strategies of nationalization were marked by ambivalence, ambiguity, and indifference. This became a cornerstone approach to nationalism, and reminded one not only of István Deák's 1967 observation regarding the dominating groups in the Habsburg Empire, but also of Rogers Brubaker's plea for studying *how* ethnicity and nationhood are constructed.[26]

My research has drawn inspiration from further path-breaking research originating in the US academia, around István Deák, and concentrated especially on the Austrian part of the Habsburg monarchy.[27] Pieter Judson's scholarship re-centered the research focus on civil society and associations,[28] on "nationalist activism,"[29]

[25] Gary B. Cohen, "Preface," in *Constructing nationalities*, eds. Judson and Rozenblit, xi-xii. Cohen also authored a book on national indifference. See Gary B. Cohen, *The politics of ethnic survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

[26] See, among other articles and books, Brubaker, *Ethnicity without groups*. Brubaker's incisiveness in clarifying and re-conceptualizing the study of ethnicity has greatly influenced my research, as I will explain shortly.

[27] See Cohen, *The politics of ethnic survival*. Keely Stauter-Halstead, *The nation in the village: the genesis of rural national identity in Austrian Poland, 1848-1900* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001). Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: a local history of Bohemian politics, 1848-1948* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002).

[28] Pieter M. Judson, "L'Autriche-Hongrie était-elle un empire?", *Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales* 63, no. 3 (2008): 563-596.

[29] This is a term that I borrowed from Pieter Judson. Cognates that I use in my research, deriving from "nationalist activism" are also "activists" or "nationalist activists" or simply "nationalists." See Judson, *Guardians of the nation*. Alternatively, I also use the term "patriot" taken from Hroch's research to mean "those individuals who consciously, of their own volition, and over a long period of time, devoted their activities to the support of the national movement, endeavoring in particular to diffuse patriotic attitudes. We measure the effectiveness of this patriotic activity not just by its material results (for example an absolute increase in financial contributions) but also by the degree of subjectively intended personal sacrifice (and sometimes also political risk) which was associated with participation in the national movement. In addition to the leaders of the movement we shall therefore be interested in their assistants, agents and supporters. But we shall not include people who only appear sporadically, hovering at the margins." Hroch, *Social preconditions*, 14.

nationalist strategies of mobilizing local masses in various regions from Cisleithania, on national hybrids, and borderland regions. The same move from the non-national to the national and back has been documented by Tara Zahra in her more recent book titled *Kidnapped souls: national indifference and the battle for children.*[30] A former student of Pieter M. Judson, Tara Zahra further analyzed the strategies of nationalization of the activists by extending the research focus on children and the claims that were made on them.[31] Zahra took "national indifference" as a central category of analysis and argued that indifference to nationalism was "a driving force behind escalating nationalist radicalism."[32] This indifference translated into several ways: it constantly challenged nationalists to eliminate it, and it manifested itself in a few different kinds of behavior, ranging from "the complete absence of national loyalties as many individuals identified more strongly with religious, class, local, regional, professional, or familial communities, or even with the Austrian dynasty, than with a single nation"[33] to national ambivalence – a behavior that was much more based on circumstances and opportunism than the loyalty required by nationalist activists in the name of the nation. Furthermore, Tara Zahra argued that national

Occasionally, I also use as a synonym Brubaker's "ethnopolitical entrepreneurs." See Brubaker, *Nationalist politics.*

[30] Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped souls: national indifference and the battle for children* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). See also Tara Zahra, "Reclaiming children for the nation: Germanization, national ascription, and democracy in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1945," *Central European History* 37, no. 4 (2004): 499-541. And Tara Zahra, "Each nation only cares for its own": Empire, Nation, and Child Welfare Activism in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1918," *American Historical Review* 111 (2006): 1378-1402.

[31] Zahra took this research further in her book, *The lost children: reconstructing Europe's families after World War II* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 2011).

[32] Zahra, *Kidnapped souls*, p. 5.

[33] Ibid., 4.

indifference continued well into the twentieth century, being "produced and reinforced by modern mass politics."[34]

This corpus of inspiring scholarship thus delineated based on mentorship ties and intellectual affinities needs to be complemented by Rogers Brubaker's scholarship on the study of ethnicity, whose work has inspired the aforementioned authors as well. Thematically and conceptually, the closest to this dissertation is a book titled *Nationalist politics and everyday ethnicity in a Transylvanian town*, published in 2006, and authored by Rogers Brubaker, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox, and Liana Grancea.[35] In this long incubated study, the authors sought to "*discover* and *specify* when, where, and how they [ethnicity and nationhood] become salient or significant."[36] The conceptual kernel of this empirically-grounded book reiterated Brubaker's earlier essays on ethnicity without groups, and stressed the everyday

[34] Tara Zahra, "Imagined noncommunities: national indifference as a category of analysis," *Slavic Review* 69, no. 1 (2010): 99.

[35] Brubaker, *Nationalist politics*. The main debate around this book recalled into question the experiences of World War Two, in particular the Romanian-Hungarian relations and death tolls. Holly Case compared the atrocities committed against one another, and concluded that "the death toll, scale and type of atrocities committed by Hungarians against Romanians and Romanians against Hungarians was considerably lower and less severe than those committee between Poles and Ukrainians or Serbs and Croats during the war." She further inquired into how the findings of *Nationalist politics* may apply to the war. The debate was continued by István Deák, and the string of arguments can be accessed on H-Habsburg: *Comments on H-Net Discussion Networks*, 20 March 2008, http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=habsburg&month=0803&week=c&msg=nU6j3b8ajceydmD7b2fpKA&user=&pw=

[36] Brubaker, *Nationalist politics*, 15. It is also important to highlight the understanding of these two concepts as categories of analysis: "Ethnicity is a perspective on the world, not a thing in the world. It is also a discursive resource that can be used for specific interactional purposes. In both forms, ethnicity operates in and through countless acts of categorization. Yet not all categorization is ethnic; ethnicity is always only one among many interpretative frames and discursive resources." Brubaker, *Nationalist politics*, 51. Furthermore, the authors explained that "[w]e understand ethnicity and nationalism as comprising a single broad family of forms of cultural understanding, social organization, and political contestation. 'Ethnicity' is the more inclusive term, embracing much (but not all) of what we mean by nationhood and nationalism, and much else besides (as suggested by the terms 'ethnoracial,' 'ethnoreligious,' 'ethnoregional,' 'ethnolinguistics,' and 'ethnocultural'). The specificity of nationalism (and of 'nation' as a form of imagined community) is that, unlike many forms of politicized ethnicity, it involves claims of some sort to autonomy and independence. And unlike these forms of ethnicity that are generated by migration, 'nation' is ordinarily imagined as grounded in a particular territory." Brubaker, *Nationalist politics*, 14. And finally, the authors noted that "[o]ur usage has generally been to speak of nationhood and nationalism when discussing political claims, and of ethnicity when discussing everyday practices and self-understandings, though we do not adhere rigidly to this distinction." Brubaker, *Nationalist politics*, 15.

experience of lived ethnicity, crediting it with equal importance as the perspective from above: "it is ultimately in and through everyday experience – as much as in political contestation and cultural articulation – that ethnicity and nationhood are invested with meaning and produced and reproduced as basic categories of social and political life."[37]

Partially building on this conceptually-informed approach, the present research had started off from questions that echoed Brubaker's: How did ethnicity work in the everyday life of especially Romanian-speaking Braşov inhabitants? What can be argued about the Romanians' degree of groupness based on the three case studies in Braşov? Where and how did nationalist politics become visible in the group-making projects analyzed here? All these research questions seek to explore the dynamics of ethnicity in the mundane, while in a situation of intense ethnopolitical conflict at the elite level, in the frame of Hungary during Dualism.

From Brubaker's conceptual apparatus, I opted to use the formulation "intermittence of ethnicity" – which is of rather peripheral usage in *Nationalist politics* – for three reasons. First, this formulation highlights the modality of experiencing ethnicity and the process of becoming, "in the sense that 'Hungarian' or 'Romanian' becomes the relevant, operative description or 'identity' or self-understanding at that particular moment and in that particular context."[38] The emphasis is on the fragmentary nature of ethnicity as a phenomenon and its enactment or lived experience in different contexts.

[37] Ibid., 364.
[38] Ibid., 208.

Second, "the intermittence of ethnicity" signals clearly that this is a formulation that belongs to the category of analysis, and not to that of practice. One could certainly argue that a competing formulation could have been "national indifference," but primary sources in the case and period analyzed here do not indicate that "national indifference" had played the role of a concept in the discourses of the Romanian nationalist activists. Tara Zahra's research demonstrated the contrary when she claimed that "indifference to nationalism became as real and meaningful a category as the nation itself and had significant social, cultural, and political consequences."[39] In the case of my research, employing "national indifference" as central category of analysis would probably be an overconceptualization of a category of praxis that was not central to the nationalists' discourses. At times, parts of the population seemed to be beyond national indifference (see the last chapter of this dissertation). Finally, I argue that the "intermittence of ethnicity" is less restrictive than "national indifference" and puts fewer strains on the research perspective, without operating within a dichotomy.

Third, the phrasing "intermittence of ethnicity" (as opposed to "everyday ethnicity") may lower expectations about the degree of closeness to the everyday life that this research can actually bring forth, especially when comparing it to the perspective from below in *Nationalist politics*, where the everyday life takes least metaphorical connotations because of the participatory and interactional dimensions of the analyses.

This point brings us to the scale of analysis, which constitutes the turning point between *Nationalist politics* and my research. The authors of the book approached the

[39] Zahra, "Imagined noncommunities," 105.

study of ethnicity through microinteractionist and conversation-analytic forms of discourse analysis and paid close attention to the everyday talk of ordinary citizens. Such an ethnographic and participatory analysis, needless to say, cannot be achieved when studying a topic of the nineteenth century, which makes the research steps take the turn to the archives in search of exploring how ethnicity worked in an age where patriotic agitation and national mass mobilization seemingly characterized the efforts of the nationalist activists. This observation leads to the second part of this section, focusing in greater detail on the major themes of the group projects analyzed in this dissertation.

The focus on associations emerged from an initial attempt to stabilize a bottom-up perspective on the how ethnicity worked in a local urban context.[40] In a society vastly illiterate, where newspapers were a unidirectional channel, reverberating nationalist politics, I found that the responsiveness to the nationalists'

[40] The reader will note that my aim was not to explore associations as such, and through them the participation of nationalities in the civic life of the Habsburg Empire. I rather chose associations to explore the "intermittence of ethnicity," and not the paradigm of cultural nationalism. The historiography of this research area is as vast as the associational phenomenon in the long nineteenth century. I should mention, however, that Romanian history writing schools, in particular the one based in Cluj, interpreted associations as: 1) part of a laudatory cultural nationalism; 2) as a form of resistance to official nationalism in Hungary; 3) as a means of spreading nationalism. Vasile Curticăpeanu, *Mişcarea culturală românească pentru unirea din 1918* [*The Romanian cultural movement for the unification of 1918*] (Bucureşti: Editura Stiintifica, 1968). Corneliu Crăciun, *Societăţile academice române din Viena (1861-1918)* [*Romanian academic societies in Vienna (1861-1918)*] (Oradea: Editura Logos '94, 2001). Eugenia Glodariu, *Asociaţiile culturale ale tineretului studios din monarhia Habsburgică 1860-1918* [*Cultural association of the educated youth in the Habsburg Monarchy 1860-1918*] (Cluj-Napoca: Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei, 1998). Cătălin Turliuc, "Cultural nationalism and its evolution in modern Romania," *Transylvanian Review* 20, no. 4 (2011): 3. Liviu Maior, "Associationnisme et autonomisation en Transylvanie aux XIXe–XXe siècles" *Transylvanian Review* 20, no. 4 (2011): 18. Ioan Bolovan and Liana Lăpădatu, "L'Association nationale d'Arad pour la culture du peuple roumain (1863–1918): Entre local et regional," *Transylvanian Review* 20, no. 4 (2011): 29.
A slightly closer approach to mine, but Foucaldian, is Tanya Keller Dunlap's Ph.D. dissertation that analysed ASTRA's [*The Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of Romanian People*] efforts of co-opting the peasantry into the Romanian national project. Dunlap concluded that ASTRA created a forum in which the needs and interests of the peasantry were addressed, all the while raising their social status. See Tanya Keller Dunlap, "A union in disarray: Romanian nation building under Astra in late-nineteenth-century rural Transylvania and Hungary" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rice University, Houston, Texas, 2002). Gale Stokes was her adviser, and Keely Stauter-Halsted was member of the defense committee.

calls or the allegedly national indifference that nationalists fought was probably better supported by various documents in the framework of organized groups. Nonetheless, I did not consider the association leaders to have been automatically nationalists, and nor did I conceived of associations as propagators of nationalism, by default. The three associations I focused on opened up four channels for analyzing both the strategies of nationalization and the responses of the population to these strategies. But the range of other possible view points when analyzing the "intermittence of ethnicity" brought forth many instances when ethnicity was not salient as a marker of identity in given circumstances.

The *Romanian women's association in Braşov* was established in 1850. For this chronological reason it also constitutes the first core chapter of the dissertation. It brings in women's history, a field of research that is in Romania in a developing state. In an insightful review essay Roxana Cheşchebec constructively criticized and summarized the state of the art as having "created the premise for further theoretical reflection on how feminism should be defined".[41] The author further called for "a more rigorous identification and analysis of the potentially feminist, feminist, and non-feminist aspects and strategies in connection to nationalist ideologies and policies is needed, not only for Transylvania but also for the Old Kingdom of Romania."[42] In response to this observation and to the state of the art, I conceptualized my research on the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* by understanding it as an expression of a Romanian women's activism that led to a Romanian women's movement.[43] The

[41]Roxana Cheşchebec, "Reclaiming Romanian historical feminism. History writing and feminist politics in Romania," *Aspasia. The International Yearbook of Central, Eastern, and Southeastern European Women's and Gender History* 1 (2007): 263.
[42] Ibid., 261.
[43] Especially useful for this conceptualization was a book authored by Annemieke van Drenth and Francisca de Haan, *The rise of caring power: Elizabeth Fry and Josephine Butler in Britain and the*

locally-based and bottom-up perspective of this dissertation does not allow for an extensive research of the Romanian women's movement during the Dual Monarchy as a whole. But precisely through the detailed approach focused on the first Romanian women's association in the Habsburg Empire, this dissertation contributes on several accounts to women's history writing: it places the topic in the historical context of the Habsburg Empire, later Austria-Hungary; it disentangles the topic from previous nationalizing accounts that obscured women's activism and emphasized the Romanian national struggle; it empirically documents the Romanian women's activism and argues that this association stood at the center of a Romanian women's movement as illustrated by the branching out of the women's associations throughout Hungary in the pre-war decades.

Romanian women's history writing has focused predominantly on the Romanian women's movement in the frame of the Old Kingdom and within the Romanian nation state.[44] The Romanian women's movement in Hungary before

Netherlands (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999). I will explain this conceptual frame at the beginning of the chapter on the women's association.

[44] See primarily Ghizela Cosma, and Virgiliu Ţârău, eds., *Condiţia femeii în România în secolul XX. Studii de caz* [*The woman's condition in twentieth century Romania. Case studies*] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitara Clujeană, 2002). Alin Ciupală, ed., *Despre femei şi istoria lor în România* [*About women and their history in Romania*] (Bucureşti: Editura Universitatii Bucureşti, 2004). Alin Ciupală, *Femeia în societatea românească a secolului al XIX-lea* [*Women in nineteent- century Romanian society*] (Bucureşti: Editura Meridiane, 2003). Maria Bucur and Mihaela Miroiu, eds., *Patriarhat şi emancipare în istoria gândirii politice româneşti [Patriarchy and emancipation in the history of Romanian political thought]* (Iaşi: Polirom, 2002). Roxana Cheşchebec, "Feminist ideologies and activism in Romania (approx. 1890s-1940s). Nationalism and internationalism in Romanian projects for women's emancipation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Central European University, 2005). Roxana Cheşchebec, "Toward a Romanian Women's Movement. An Organizational History (1880s-1940)," *Women's Movements. Networks and Debates in post-communist Countries in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Edith Saurer, Margarethe Lanzinger, Elisabeth Rysak, (Köln: Böhlau, 2006), 439-455.
In a different historiographic package one has to refer to two works that needed to fulfill the ideological requirements of the 1970s in Romania: Paraschiva Câncea, *Mişcarea pentru emanciparea femeii în România, 1848-1948* [*The movement for the women's emancipation in Romania*] (Bucureşti: Editura Politică. 1976). Elena Georgescu and Titu Georgescu, *Mişcarea democratică şi revoluţionară a femeilor din România* [*Women's democratic and revolutionary movement in Romania*] (Craiova: Ed. Scrisul românesc, 1975).

World War One has been particularly under-researched.[45] The *Romanian women's association in Braşov*, which I argue was central in the formation of the Romanian women's activism and movement in Hungary, received only fragmented scholarly attention, mainly as dictionary entries and reprints as collections of documents, with few exceptions as articles.[46] Approaches generally followed the chronology of the Romanian nation-state formation, over imposed a nationalizing perspective on women's movement, denied agency to women, and used sources selectively by either uncritically appropriating the discourse of the Romanian ethno-political elite (especially from newspapers), or by extracting archival evidence in support of the

[45] Eugenia Glodariu, "Unele consideraţii privind mişcarea feministă din Transilvania (a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea – Începutul secolului al XX-lea)" [*Considerations on the feminist movement in Transylvania from the second half of the 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century*] *Acta Musei Napocensis* XX (1983): 231-240. Simona Stiger, "Mişcarea feministă românească din Transilvania (1850-1914)" [*The Romanian feminist movement in Transylvania (1850-1914)*] *Prezenţe feminine. Studii despre femei în România* [*Feminine presence. Studies about women in Romania.*], eds. Ghizela Cosma, Enikő Magyari-Vincze, and Ovidiu Pecican (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Fundaţiei Desire, 2002), 237-266.
For the interwar period the main reference is Ghizela Cosma, "Coordonate ale discursului reprezentantelor mişcării feminine în Transilvania din perioada interbelică," *[Coordinates of the discourse of representants of the interwar feminine movement in Transylvania.] Acta Musei Porolissensis* XIX (1995): 315-323. Ghizela Cosma, *Femeile şi politica în Romania. Evoluţia dreptului de vot în perioada interbelică* [*Women and politics in Romania. Voting rights in the interwar period*] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2002).

[46] Mircea Băltescu, "Contribuţii la istoricul "Reuniunii Femeilor Române" din Braşov," [*Contributions to the history of the Romanian women's association in Braşov*] *Cumidava* I (1967): 191-211. Măriuca Radu, "File din activitatea reuniunii femeilor române din Braşov (1850-1918)," [*Activities of the Romanian women's association in Braşov (1850-1918)*] *Cumidava* XV-XIX (1990-1994): 161-176. Andra Carola Pinca, "Condiţia femeii în societatea românească din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," [*Women's condition in Romania society in Transylvania during the second half of the nineteenth century*] (Ph.D. dissertation, Universitatea „Babeş-Bolyai, 2011). (See especially chapter five in this dissertation.)
There are a few collections of documents published: Ştefania Mihăilescu, *Din istoria feminismului românesc. Antologie de texte (1838-1929) [From the history of Romanian feminism. Anthology of texts (1928-1929)]* (Iaşi: Polirom, 2002). Ştefania Mihăilescu, *Emanciparea femeii române. Antologie de texte. Vol. I (1815-1928)* [*Emancipation of Romanien women. Anthology of texts, Vol I (1815-1928)*] (Bucureşti: Editura Ecumenica, 2001). Ruxandra Moaşa Nazare, *Maria Baiulescu (1860-1941). Corespondenţa* [*Maria Baiulescu (1860-1941). Correspondence.*] (Bucureşti: Editura Ars Docendi, 2001).
And biographical entries in English are included here: Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova, and Anna Loutfi, eds., *A biographical dictionary of women's movements and feminisms. Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe 19th and 20th centuries* (Budapest, New York: Central European University Press, 2006).

argument that Romanian women had a national agenda only.[47] Unfortunately, many of the empirically-grounded studies on the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* – a prime example being Mariuca Radu's impressive work – lack a more theoretical approach. These works are rich from an empirical point of view, and bring forth an extremely valuable local perspective that complements the investigations of discourses, but fall into the trap of reifying groups and over-ethnicizing women's experiences.

The chapter on the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* seeks to contribute to this state of the art with a careful analysis of the women's engagement in this group project, paying attention to fundraising patterns, the investment of these funds, the growing care and solidarity professed by women and on behalf of women, the interactions with other local group projects, the exclusionary and inclusive dimensions of this association. This chapter in the Romanian women's history in Hungary demonstrates the importance of investigating local sets of archival sources in

[47] In assessing the relationship between the women's movement and the national project of unification with the Old Kingdom, this scholarship concluded in the following ways: that the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* "brought closely together women of all social categories in view of carrying out the ideal of national unity" (Băltescu, "Contribuţii", 192). For the same standpoint, see Maria Baiulescu, "Reuniunea Femeilor Române din Ardeal," [*The Romanian women's association in Transylvania*] *Boabe de grâu* I, no. 10 (1930): 602-605.); that "the relation between the ideology of feminism and the national ideology could not be rejected, the latter obviously incorporating the former one" (Stiger, "Mişcarea feministă românească," 266); that "[t]he fight for the political emancipation of women, for democratic liberties […] in Transylvania had taken the form of fighting for the recognition of political rights of the Romanian nation" (Glodariu, "Unele consideraţii privind mişcarea feministă," 238).
Researchers affiliated to local institutions in Transylvania wrote at times overethnicized thick descriptions of Romanian groups that deserve attention: Mariana Danes, "Consideraţiuni cu privire la activitatea femeilor române din Sibiu," [*Considerations regarding the activity of the Romanian women in Sibiu*] *Cumidava*, XXV (2002): 164-175. Nicolae Tescula, "Mişcare feministă şi învăţământ confesional la Sighişoara în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea şi începutul secolului al XX-lea," [*Feminist movement and confessional education in Sighişoara in the second half of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century*] *Ţara Bârsei* 8 (2009): 99-103. Mioara Voicu, "Câteva date referitoare la înfiinţarea Reuniunii femeilor române din Bran," [*A few facts about the establishment of the Romanian women's association in Bran*] *Cumidava* XIII-2 (1983): 167-170.
Posing the problem of the relation between feminisms and nationalisms is, of course, a crucial and highly debated aspect in this field. On this topic see, for instance, Jill Vickers, "Bringing nations in: some methodological and conceptual issues in connecting feminisms with nationhood and nationalisms," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 8, no.1 (2006): 84-109.

the analysis of the Romanian women's activism and movement. It also contributes to understanding the "intermittence of ethnicity" and the plurality of engagements that citizens may have had at that time, but which has been obscured by nationalizing accounts.

Pursuing further the sociability practices and forms associated with the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*, the following chapter first explores the invention of a ballroom dance whose history was closely linked to the women's association and its fundraising strategies. The chapter analyzes the social function of the invented Romanian dance, gradually extending its focus on the *Romanian association for gymnastics and singing* in Braşov. The chapter charts the development of this association and inquires into how this association might have shaped social experiences. Of particular interest are similar Saxon and Hungarian local associations and the interactions among them shaped by music performances and musical canons. Another aspect of interest is the degree of groupness that this association presented at the turn of the century, a time marked by a change in the political tactics of the Romanian National Party in Hungary. These research questions are formulated by the same token for the fourth chapter, which focuses on an association whose goal was fundraising for building a Romanian theater in Hungary.[48]

The themes of music, gymnastics, theater, and nationalism draw on the multifarious and thriving cultural history. Renewed and revived, the new cultural

[48] N. Barbu, Ion Olteanu, I.D. Sîrbu, Gabriel Manolescu, and M. Nadin, "Din istoria dezvoltării teatrului în regiuni. Iaşi, Cluj, Oltenia, Banat, Braşov," [*From the history of the development of theater in regions. Iaşi, Cluj, Oltenia, Banat, Braşov*] *Teatrul XI*, no. 12 (1966): 71-92. Constantin Cuza, and Maria Lambuca, *Societatea pentru crearea unui Collection de teatru român* [*The association for creating a fund for the Romanian theater*] (Braşov: Casa judeţeană a creaţiei populare, 1971). Lucian Drîmba, *Istoricul societăţii pentru Collection de teatru român în Ardeal* [*The history of the association for creating a fund for the Romanian theater*] (Bucureşti: Societatea de ştiinţe filologice din Republica Socialistă România, 1969). Constantin Catrina, "Trepte ale teatrului liric românesc în Transilvania," [*Stages of Romanian lyric theater in Transylvania*] *Cumidava* VIII (1974-1975): 249-258.

history "has never been so popular, in academic circles and perhaps beyond them as well", argued Peter Burke at the beginning of the twentieth century.[49] And despite the move beyond the cultural turn,[50] the current fabulous diversity of scholarly perspectives, from Eurovision to the Olympic Games and all around,[51] makes a thriving lively historiographic trend. Out of this extremely vast field of research, I refer to those works that are closest to the core approaches of my dissertation, and especially to the two chapters mentioned above focused on music, gymnastics, and theater. By way of limitation, I should emphasize that I am not working from within a newly forming paradigm – a cultural history of nationalism.[52] I am interested in what Burke described as a strength of cultural history, namely that "[i]t privileges encounters, dialogues, viewpoints, conflicts, misunderstandings and translations (including mistranslations)."[53] By analyzing to the extent possible micro-interactions, for instance I take the train station as a site for competing displays of nationalist symbols, I seek to explore the looseness of the connection between music and nationalism, between gymnastics and nationalism (see chapter three). This bottom-up perspective stands in contrast with similar research, as I will explain shortly.

Considering music, gymnastics, and nation-building processes in Europe, one should first mention the inspiring and pioneering work of George L. Mosse, published

[49] Peter Burke, "Strengths and Weaknesses of Cultural History," *Cultural history* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1. See also Peter Burke, *What is cultural history?* (Cambridge, U.K., Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2004).
[50] Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Beyond the cultural turn: new directions in the study of society and culture* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1999).
[51] See, for instance, Kristine Toohey and Anthony James Veal, *The Olympic games: a social science perspective* (Wallingford: CABI, 2007). And Philip Vilas Bohlman, *Focus: music, nationalism, and the making of the new Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2011). Interesting is also Philip V. Bohlman, "The nation in song," in *Narrating the nation: Representations in history, media, and the arts*, eds. Stefan Berger, Linas Eriksonas and Andrew Mycock (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), 246-268.
[52] See Joep Leerssen, *National thought in Europe: a cultural history* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).
[53] Burke, "Strengths and Weaknesses," 9.

almost three decades ago.[54] Insightful and inspiring, Mosse wrote about "the aesthetics of politics," about music clubs and gymnastics associations that fulfilled a national purpose, about the function of the male choirs in creating a German national liturgy. For Mosse, these were the most important actors in the growth of the new secular religion.[55] Parallel to Friederich Ludwig Jahn's gymnastics movement that Mosse studied,[56] the Sokol movement among Czechs rose to prominence. Claire Nolte meticulously analyzed this mass phenomenon, and concluded that

> [v]oluntary associations played a key role in this process of ethnic differentiation, both articulating and disseminating modern concepts of identity. From the instrumentalization of the Museum Society into a vehicle for Czech nationalism, to the symbolic references of nationalist gymnastics, clubs in the Bohemian capital played a central role in the phenomenon of nation-building in the conflicted heart of modern Europe. As such, they illustrate both the contingent aspects of identity formation and the potential contradictions that had to be overcome in order to consolidate the boundaries of national groupings.[57]

Nolte's conclusion sums up an interpretative paradigm that was first articulated by Mosse's insights into the men's choirs and the gymnastics associations pursuing the German national goal in a new style of politics. Many other researchers have focused on these two or three themes intertwined in national histories to reconfirm the force of nationalism of symbolically subordinating almost all activities to its might. For the Norwegian case, Matti Goksøyr concluded that "sport […] stands out as a

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[54] Mosse, *The nationalization of the masses*. See also George L. Mosse, "Nationalism and respectability: normal and abnormal sexuality in the nineteenth century," *Journal of Contemporary History* 17, no. 2, (1982): 221-246.

[55] Mosse, *The nationalization of the masses*, 8. This stands as an example of a paradigm, which considered that nationalism replaced religion. In this dissertation, it will become apparent that nationalism had taken some religious qualities (e.g. setting the date of national public meetings of the association on the same day with religious celebrations).

[56] More recently see Daniel A. McMillan, „Nothing wrong with my bodily fluids: gymnastics, biology, and nationalism in the Germanies before 1871," in *Constructing identities*, eds. Judson and Rozenblit, 50-60.

[57] Nolte, "Voluntary associations," 95. For the Czech association and a gender perspective on it, see Claire E. Nolte, ""Every Czech a Sokol!": feminism and nationalism in the Czech Sokol movement," *Austrian History Yearbook* 24 (1993): 79-100.

representative symbol of nationalism. There are few, if any, cultural or social arenas where encouragement for nationalist expressions is so intense."[58] In the same volume, Henning Eichberg described the popularity of gymnastics in the Danish context, and analyzed the politicization of this movement.[59] Thoroughly researched cases often translate the power of nationalisms to suck into their whirlpools all voluntary associations. The spectrum of interpretations is, however, larger than that.

Celia Applegate, for instance, who wrote on music and German national identity,[60] had long upheld the view that musicologists, for instance, "seem poised to embrace the national idea, this time as a tool both of disciplinary self-scrutiny and of critical historical analysis,"[61] warning in her article that they key issue in such research is "to identify the presence of such national contexts and motivations, but to keep them in their proper place, as one part of an increasingly rich and complicated musical scene, in which German musicians and nonmusicians alike were gradually learning how to live in a national culture."[62] My research, much more modest in scope and having least of a musicologist's approach, can be understood, nonetheless, from a methodological angle in agreement with Applegate's critical scrutiny. Thus, it can be said that my research on the "intermittence of ethnicity" at the local level through the analysis of an association for music and gymnastics casts different perspectives than Nolte's conclusions, both on the qualitative and quantitative engagement of members

[58] Matti Goksøyr, "Phases and functions of nationalism: Norway's utilization of international sport in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century," in *Tribal identities: nationalism, Europe, sport*, ed. J.A. Mangan (London, Portland, Or.: Frank Cass, 1996), 142.
[59] See Henning Eichberg, "Body culture and democratic nationalism: 'popular gymnastics' in nineteenth-century Denmark," in *Tribal identities*, ed. J.A. Mangan, 108-124.
[60] Celia Applegate and Pamela Maxine Potter, *Music and German national identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
[61] Celia Applegate, "How German is it? Nationalism and the idea of serious music in the early nineteenth century," *19th-Century Music* 21, no. 3 (1998): 274.
[62] Ibid., 296.

in gymnastics (especially at the turn of the century), and on the ethnically exclusionary or inclusive dimensions of this type of association.[63]

The group project dedicated to fundraising with the purpose of building a theater for Romanians in Hungary loosely connects the chapter to the history of theaters and operas in east central Europe in the nineteenth century. It does so only to a very limited extent because the core of the chapter is rather about half a century of fundraising with the more and more remote goal of building this theater. It is an example of a theater that never was, about a narrowing of the vision through nationalization. The historiography of amateur theater groups, which I understand here as ombudsmen between the nationalists and the masses, provides limited insights for our context.[64] Overall, the chapter substantiates a grassroots view on the pre-institutionalization of theater among Romanians in Hungary, and offers thus an

[63] The historiography of the *Romanian association for gymnastics and singing* has been researched chiefly by musicologist Constantin Catrina, "Contribuţii la cunoaşterea bibliotecii muzicale a reuniunii de gimnastică şi cântări din Braşov," [*Contributions to researching the music library of the association for gymnastics and singing in Braşov*] *Cumidava* IV (1970): 485-501.
Constantin Catrina, "Muzica şi muzicienii Braşovului în secolul al XIX-lea," [*Music and musicians of Braşov during the nineteenth century*] *Ţara Bârsei 5* (2006): 100-111. See also, Ioan Chirilă, "Contribuţii la istoria reuniunii române de gimnastică şi cântări din Braşov," [*Contributions to the history of the Romanian association for gymnastics and singing in Braşov*] *Cumidava* VII (1973): 141-157.
There is also a book on sports in Braşov: Alecsandru Dincă and Dumitru Furnică, *Sportul braşovean pe spirala timpului. File de istorie de la începuturi, până la finele mileniului II* [*Sports in Braşov over time. Historical aspects since the beginning until the end of the second millennium*] (Braşov: Ecran Magazin, 2003).
But generally, this topic has remained vastly under-researched by historians.
Robert Nemes also wrote about music and nationalism as forms of resistance – the Hungarian nobility against Vienna: Robert Nemes, "The politics of the dance floor: culture and civil society in nineteenth-century Hungary," *Slavic Review* 60, no. 4 (2001): 802-823.
On Hungarian gymnastics, see, for instance, Lívia Kölnei, "The amateur gymnastics movement - formation of the National gymnastic association," *Lege Artis Med* 20, no. 9 (2010): 622-624. Lívia Kölnei, "Gymnastics and therapeutic gymnastics in 19th century Hungary," *Orvostort Kozl.* 55 (2009): 131-144. Lázló L. Kiss, "Swedish exercise therapy in Hungary in the middle of the 19th century - Per Henrik Ling (1776-1839)," *Orvosi Hetilap* 143, no. 14 (2002): 733-736.

[64] Useful and interesting is the edited volume by Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer, *History of the literary cultures of east-central Europe. Junctures and disjunctures in the 19th and 20th centuries. Volume III: the making and remaking of literary institutions* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007). In this volume, see especially Zoltán Imre, "Building a(s) theater: the *Pest Magyar Színház* in 1837," 149-153. And Marian Popescu, "Theater speaks many languages in Romania," 166-167. The contributions are, unfortunately, very short. Popescu, however, underscores the multilingualism of theater endeavors in Transylvania, which is a very valid point.

alternative perspective to the bigger narratives about theater and opera at their height in the long nineteenth century in central and southeastern Europe.[65]

In returning to the motto of the introductory chapter which made a reference to Australian citizens that complained about the nationalist view presented on a TV channel broadcasting the 2012 Olympic Games, one can interpret this perspective metaphorically and consider the three associations analyzed in this dissertation as three different channels on the topic of ethnicity. Their main function is to provide insights into the "intermittence of ethnicity" and to substantiate other views than those of the national elites, whose discourses were rife with inter-ethnic conflicts.

[65] Take, for instance, Krisztina Lajosi's top-down perspective on national opera in the nineteenth century: "Historical consciousness penetrated every aspect of human experience, and the sense of actively influencing the course of historical events, which previously had been the privilege of royals and high officials, became more and more the reality of the *Everyman*. Even though class differences were still strongly defining society, the idea of a common cultural heritage created a new solidarity among the people, a new cultural consciousness that became the foundation of the modern nation. In the nineteenth-century national imagination, the I disssolved into a sense of *We*, while the *We* assumed a more and more culturally defined monolitithic identity. Opera had a great advantage over prose theater in representing and creating the 'unisonality of the people' because of its use of the singing chorus." Krisztina Lajosi, "Nineteenth-century national opera and representations of the past in the public sphere," in *Free access to the past: romanticism, cultural heritage and the nation*, eds. Lotte Jensen, Joseph Th. Leerssen, and Marita Mathijsen (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 230. See also Krisztina Katalin Lajosi, "Opera and Nineteenth-Century Nation-Building: the (re)sounding voice of nationalism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2008). This dissertation focused on already institutionalized national theaters and operas, discussing predominantly canons thereof in the context of Hungary and the Romanian Kingdom in the long nineteenth century.
A reference work on opera theaters in central Europe is Philipp Ther's *In der Mitte der Gesellschaft. Operntheater in Zentraleuropa 1815-1914* (München: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2006). The author drew a meticulous comparison between Dresden, Lemberg, and Prague, focusing on the biggest cultural institution of the century. This is a fast expanding field of research, institutionally supported by EUI among others, with a line of publications: http://www.eui.eu/documents/departmentscentres/hec/onlineprojects/book-series.pdf
See also the research project at EUI, reviewed by Magdalena Waligorska, Review of "Music and imagined communities. Articulations of the self and the other in the musical realm," *H-Soz-u-Kult, H-Net Reviews*, February, 2012, http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=35409

2 BACKGROUNDS AND REFERENCES

> The proximity to Turkey, and the frequent intercourse of its inhabitants with this place, have given to Kronstadt something of Turkish habits and manners. The amber mouth-piece, the long chibouque, the odoriferous tobacco, the delicious dolchazza, and the various other sweetmeats of a Turkish confectioner's -- the coffee-house in the form of a kiosk, the bazaar, and many other peculiarities, remind the traveller of the customs of the East.[66]

This chapter places Braşov on the map of the nineteenth century in a broader perspective. It first provides the reader with details on the history of Transylvania and its ruling system in the Habsburg Empire and in Austria-Hungary. It discusses the political organization of the Romanian political elite in Transylvania during the Dual Monarchy, in order to prepare the ground for a perspective from below in Braşov.

Another goal of this chapter is to provide a backbone or frame for a macroperspective on the activities of the Romanian nationalist elites, starting from the eighteenth century and following their activity, broadly speaking, until the beginning of the twentieth century. Miroslav Hroch's ABC of nationalism, which will be discussed at length here, provides an abstract and concise frame of reference for the study of small nation formation.

Furthermore, this chapter discusses the wider social, politic, and economic contexts of the long nineteenth century insofar as they bore implications for the inhabitants of Braşov. It is not a social history of Braşov and of its elites that will emerge, but the reader will gain insights into the back story that led to the formation of the Romanian heterogeneous elite in Braşov. The chapter ultimately channels a

[66] John Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania; with remarks on their condition, social, political, and economical* (London: John Murray, 1850), 361.

view on both the commercial elite and the educated one in Braşov, thus anchoring the following chapters into the first half of the nineteenth century when trade and merchants had changed the local dynamics, by playing a huge role in the transformation of society and in the process of nation building.

2.1 General Context

Braşov was a town in Transylvania, a historical principality that had been under Ottoman suzerainty since the sixteenth century, when the Turks dismembered the Hungarian Kingdom, until the end of the seventeenth century when the Habsburg Empire extended further east, strategically reincorporating Transylvania. The Principality had an autonomous status, governed by the public laws of the *Diploma Leopoldinum* (1691) until the 1848-49 revolutions.[67] After a few decades of neoabsolutism and because of the weakness of the House of Habsburgs caused by wars and revolutions, the Hungarian liberal estates succeeded in 1867 in a long-term negotiation process with the crown to transform the Habsburg Empire into a constitutional monarchy, comprising two states, each with their own parliament, government, and civil service. The Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary preserved in common three domains: foreign affairs, defense, and finances.[68] With this compromise or *Ausgleich* of 1867 the Hungarian liberal nobility began

[67] Through this diploma the Principality apparently preserved its political autonomy based on the ruling system that had been reproduced since the fifteenth century. All the while, however, the Habsburgs tried to centralize the empire with some consequences for the legal powers of the Transylvanian chancellery that shrank. See Keith Hitchins, *A Nation affirmed: the Romanian national movement in Transylvania, 1860-1914* (Bucharest: Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 1999), 200.

[68] The Austrian Empire covered the territory of Austria, Bohemia-Moravia, Galicia, Bukovina, and Dalmatia, whereas the Hungarian Kingdom included Hungary and Croatia.

implementing a program of modernization, and Transylvania lost its separate status, which gradually led to changes in the legal system of the province.[69]

After the Compromise of 1867, the Nationalities Law of 1868 redefined the legal status of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Hungary in the following way: "[s]ince all citizens of Hungary, according to the basic principles of the constitution, comprise one political nation, it is the one and indivisible Hungarian nation of which every citizen, regardless of his nationality, is an equal member."[70] The Romanian and Serbian representatives in the Parliament opposed this legislation, and instead requested support for a project that would have recognized six nations in the Kingdom

[69] One of the main aims in this modernization program was education, and it was enacted in successive pieces of legislation that the ethnopolitical elites interpreted as the intensification of Magyarization policies. The provisions of the laws XXXVIII/1868, XVIII/1879 (the Trefort Law), XXX/1883, XV/1891 and XXVII/1907 (Lex Apponyi) referred to the imposition of Hungarian as the language of instruction, to the standardized payment of school teachers, and to the school building requirements. Consequently, from a handful of elementary schools financed by communities (and none by the state) in 1867, the situation changed significantly by the outbreak of the First World War, when the state was directly responsible for 20% of the elementary schools, 36% of the secondary schools and 41% of the upper schools. See Ignác Romsics, *Hungary in the Twentieth Century* (Budapest: Corvina Books, 1999), 34.
The scholarly literature on this topic is uneven, each author selecting passages of the original Hungarian laws. For informative surveys see the work by Ignác Romsics, quoted above, Hitchins, *A nation affirmed*, and Paul Lendvai, *The Hungarians. A Thousand Years of Victory in Defeat* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton UP, 2003).
The liberalism of the Hungarian nobility was slowly showing the face of an "official nationalism." See Miklós Szabó, "The Liberalism of the Hungarian Nobility, 1825-1910", in *Liberty and the search for identity. liberal nationalisms and the legacy of Empires*, ed. Iván Zoltán Dénes (Budapest, New York: Central European University Press, 2006), 197-238.

[70] Quoted in Ambrus Miskolczy, *Romanians in historic Hungary* (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs; Wayne, N.J.: Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications; New York: Distributed by Columbia University Press, 2008), 112. The law further stipulated that Hungarian was the language used in the parliament and in administration, followed by translations into all languages of the inhabitants (Romanians, Slovaks, Germans, Serbs, Ruthenes, Croats, Jews, Gypsies, Slovenes, Bosnians and so forth).
For comparative purposes, see the "Fundamental law concerning the general rights of citizens" (Statue 142 of 1867), in Cisleithania:
"Art. 19: All ethnic groups (*Volksstämme*) in the state have equal rights and every ethnic group has the inviolable right to preserve and cultivate its nationality and language.
The equality of all languages customary in the crownlands (*landesübliche Sprachen*) are recognized by schools, government agencies, and public life.
In the lands inhabited by several ethnic groups, the public schools shall be organized in a way that every ethnic group receives the necessary funds for training in its own language without being compelled to learn the second language of any land." Quoted in Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1974), 339.

of Hungary.[71] While they could not accept the formula "one and indivisible Hungarian nation" for governing purposes, the Hungarian liberal nobility could not agree on a polity based on collective rights. This remained the crux of politics and negotiations in Hungary until the war.

The Romanian political elite's opposition was maintained throughout the Dual Monarchy, and for half a century they refused to take an active part in the political life of the state. Romanian leaders understood it as a "matter of patriotic prudence",[72] considering themselves (by their own will) unrepresented in the Parliament of Hungary. A culminating moment in their political resistance was the Memorandum of 1892, when a part of the Romanian political elite addressed the Emperor, in a long tradition of petitions, with the request for collective rights.[73] The number of people who went to deliver the petition in person rose to 237 individuals. The scandal that followed took international proportions, it had tragic dimensions for the Romanian political leaders who were put on trial (some of them sentenced to prison), and attracted the gracious intervention of King Charles of Romania.[74] The Memorandum of 1892 constituted a landmark in the conflict between Hungarians and Romanians, in the reifying language of the nationalists.

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[71] The proposal was called the Mocioni-Miletits initiative, in which they called in vain for the recognition of six "nations possessed of equal rights." See Zoltán Szász, "Political life and the nationality question in the era of dualism (1867-1918)," in *History of Transylvania. Volume III: From 1830 to 1919*, eds. Béla Köpeczi and Zoltán Szász (Boulder, Colorado, New York: Social Science Monographs, Distributed by Columbia U.P, 2002), 643.

[72] "Memorandumul românilor din Transilvania şi Ungaria către împăratul Francisc Iosif I," [*The Memorandum of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary sent to Emperor Franz Joseph I*] in *Memorandul 1892-1894. Ideologie şi acţiune politică românească*, [*The memorandum 1892-1894. Ideology and Romanian political action.*] eds. Pompiliu Teodor, Liviu Maior, Nicolae Bocsan, Şerban Polverejan, Doru Radoslav, and Toader Nicoara (Bucureşti: Editura "Progresul Romanesc," 1994), 305. In original: "e o chestiune de prudenţă patriotică, ca românii să nu mai facă încercarea de a se folosi de dreptul lor de a alege deputaţi, ci să se considere ca nefiind reprezentaţi în dieta ţării lor."

[73] Countless memoranda were sent to the Habsburg emperors mainly in 1834, 1837, 1842, 1848-49, 1849-51, 1865-67, 1866, 1882 and 1892. See Liviu Maior, "Petiţionalismul românesc. Tradiţie şi inovaţie," in Teodor, *Memorandul 1892-1894*, 1-24.

[74] See, for instance, Zoltán Szász, "The 'Memorandum' Movement,'" in *History of Transylvania*, eds. Köpeczi and Szász, 682-693.

The seemingly explosive decade of nationalism continued with another possibly inflaming landmark in the rise of "official nationalism"[75]: the celebration of the Hungarian Millennium (1896), which referred to the approximate point (a thousand years earlier) when Árpád and the Magyar tribes he led settled in the area. According to András Gerő, the year of the Millennium celebration was "an historic opportunity for the Hungarian government to construct an integrated national and historical ideology depicting the *de facto* imperfect state as *de jure* a whole, inspiring a sense of continuity, of permanent and unshakeable stability, while at the same time presenting the status quo as inevitable."[76] The event inflamed nationalist politics even more, after the Memorandum of 1892, and mobilized national elites in their embrace of the "nationalities' question."[77] It appeared that the last decade of the nineteenth century was profoundly marked by the "policy of violence," as the protest of the non-Magyar committee from January 1898 stated:

> The situation in Hungary, created by the exploitation of the powers of the state in favour of a single race, has produced a degree of discontent and bitterness among the millions of Slavs and Roumanians, that the Executive Committee of the Congress of Nationalities of the year 1895, holds it to be its duty towards fatherland and the throne, to draw the attention of influential circles to conditions which are incompatible

[75] See two definitions of "official nationalism": Seton-Watson's - "[…] in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, there came into existence a doctrine which, in two multinational states, overshadowed, or indeed replaced, the principle of dynastic loyalty as the basis of legitimacy of government. This doctrine I will call 'official nationalism'. The leaders of the most powerful nations considered it their task, and indeed their moral duty, to impose their nationality on all their subjects – of whatever religion, language or culture. As they saw it, by drawing these people upwards into their own superior culture, they were strengthening their state by creating within it a single homogenous nation." (e.g. Russification, Magyarisation). Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and states. An inquiry into the origins of nations and the politics of nationalism* (London: Methuen, 1982), 148. And Benedict Anderson's "[…] an anticipatory strategy adopted by dominant groups which are threatened with marginalization or exclusion from an emerging nationally-imagined community." Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 101.

[76] András Gerő, *Modern Hungarian society in the making. The unfinished experience* (Budapest, London, New York: Central European University Press, 1995), 204.

[77] According to the Romanian Encyclopedia: "[a]s of late, it has become a custom, especially in Austria-Hungary, to use the word *nation* to denote the political nationality, as opposed to *nationality*, which is used to design the natural nationality". Corneliu Diaconovici, *Enciclopedia română*, vol. III, [*The Romanian Encyclopaedia*] (Sibiu: W. Krafft, 1904), 376.

> with the well-being of the State, and to enter a protest against the daily increasing policy of violence.[78]

In trying to capture the view from below on these events, one needs to bear in mind the centuries-long ruling system in Transylvania. The Principality of Transylvania had its own peculiar twist of historical legacies that played an important role in the post-1867 politics of Hungary. Although Empires fought over it, the Principality succeeded in maintaining its status and its ruling system almost unaltered since the Middle Ages until mid-nineteenth century. Diplomas regulated that the few would rule over the many, the privileged over the inert majority. Since the fifteenth century, Transylvania had been under the rule of three *nationes*: "the nobles (essentially Magyar), the Szeklers, a people akin to the Magyars who spoke Magyar and had settled in eastern Transylvania; and the Saxons, the name by which German settlers who had first arrived in Transylvania in the twelfth century were commonly known".[79] The system of *nationes* did not refer to ethnicity and it certainly did not democratically incorporate the many, especially not the serfs. The system was for the few and the privileged, and it covered certain territories, such as the Szekler lands and the Saxons' *Fundus Regius*.[80] Braşov was located in the latter territory, and bore the strong imprint of the Saxons' autonomous rule. The three *nationes* had first formed the *Unio trium nationum* (Union of the three nations) in mid-fifteenth century, to

[78] See Appendix XVIII in Scotus Viator, *Racial Problems in Hungary* (London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd, 1908), 478.

[79] Hitchins, *A nation affirmed*, 199. The Szeklers inhabited the western slopes of the Carpathians; the Saxons had come to Transylvania in the twelfth century, and in 1224 Kind András II of Hungary gave them the right to self-govern in an area around Sibiu/Hermannstadt. Later the area was expanded to include the territory between Braşov and Sibiu, and further north, around Bistriţa. See Keith Hitchins, *The Rumanian national movement in Transylvania, 1780-1849* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 7-8.

[80] *Fundus regius* comprised eleven districts, had a quasi-representative assembly called *Nationsuniversität*, which fulfilled administrative and legal functions. A count elected by the assembly and confirmed by the king exercised the executive power. He was directly responsible to the King and not to the Transylvanian Gubernium. See Hitchins, *The Rumanian national movement in Transylvania*, 8. Saxons preserved their autonomy until the post-revolutionary neoabsolutism.

protect themselves from violent uprisings. The rights of the three *nationes* were reproduced and revalidated by various documents in successive centuries.[81] When the Habsburgs took Transylvania from Ottoman suzerainty in the seventeenth century, Emperor Leopold I theoretically preserved the "three (nationes) plus four (religions)" system by issuing the *Diploma Leopoldinum*, which served as public law in Transylvania until 1848. The principality of Transylvania maintained an autonomous status, with its own diet, administration, and judicial system.[82]

From the religions point of view, the privileged and non-privileged categories were applied once again. The churches recognized in Transylvania were the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Unitarian ones, which had received equal rights with the Roman Catholic Church since the sixteenth century. The clergy of all these churches had the same rights as the nobility.[83] The masses of serfs were excluded from political life, and their religion was predominantly Orthodox. Their Church was also deprived of privileges, although it had been functioning as an organized church in Transylvania since at least the fourteenth century.[84] Serfdom was preserved in Transylvania until mid-nineteenth century.[85]

In an attempt to gain more power in Transylvania, Emperor Leopold I, who had issued the *Diploma Leopoldinum* so as to maintain the ruling system in the

[81] The *Tripartitum* (1526), the *Approbatae Constitutione* and the *Compilatae Constitutiones* in the seventeenth century. See Hitchins, *The Rumanian national movement in Transylvania*, 3.
[82] The members of the diet were selected from the three estates and four religions. Apart from estate members, the diet also numbered individuals appointed by the prince of Transylvania, who had the power to sanction laws. All estates representatives had to give their vote on the law to be passed. See Hitchins, *The Rumanian national movement in Transylvania*, 5-6.
[83] Ibid., 4.
[84] Ibid., 11.
[85] Transylvanian Statute IV of 1848 stipulated that peasants received the land they cultivated. After the revolutions, the Habsburgs found a liberated peasantry and they had to carry further provisions to clarify the peasants' condition. In both Transylvania and Partium 78% of the dependent peasantry were freed and received land from the state. See Zoltán Szász, "The Situation of the Peasantry and the New Measures to Free Serfs," in *History of Transylvania*, eds. Köpeczi and Szász, 380-381.

Principality, intervened in local affairs, pursuing his purpose by using religion as an instrument of control and power. With the help of Leopold Cardinal Kollonics, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary who was interested in resurging Catholicism in Transylvania, Emperor Leopold offered the Orthodox clergy equal rights with the Catholics, which exempted them from labor services and tithes. As Keith Hitchins argued, the move was supposed to yield double gains: it both strengthened imperial authority, and diminished the power of the Calvinist Magyar nobility.[86] At the end of the seventeenth century the Orthodox clergy in Transylvania were subject to the test and temptations of the material benefits that were to be granted upon them if they united with Rome and accepted the Four Points that altered their dogma.[87] The First Leopoldine Diploma, promulgated in the Transylvanian diet in 1700, conferred equal rights and privileges to the Greek Catholic clergy. Equality remained, however, more a matter of promise than of actuality. But even so, it constituted a written imperial promise to which Greek Catholic church leaders were to return again and again in their argumentative petitions to Habsburg Emperors.[88] While pursuing equality for the Greek Catholic clergy, the window of opportunity to study in Rome and Vienna, as well as to establish educational centers for Greek Catholics in Transylvania, had opened. (The main cultural center was in Blaj, a town that we will mention again in connection to the educated elite coming to Braşov.) This point also

[86] Hitchins, *The Rumanian national movement in Transylvania*, 16.

[87] The Greek Catholic or the Uniates, accepted the Pope of Rome as head of the Christian Church; the use of unleavened bread in the communion, the existence of Purgatory, and also the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son. Hitchins, *The Rumanian national movement in Transylvania*, 17.

[88] In 1791 the main representatives of the Transylvanian School – Samuil Micu, Ioan Piuariu-Molnar, Ion Budai-Deleanu, and Petru Maior – sent to Leopold II the famous *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, historiographically considered the first landmark of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania. The document initiated a more than a century long tradition of memoranda that Romanian nationalist activists sent to the Viennese center. The *Supplex*, expressing the Latinist ideology of the Transylvania School, whose tenet was the Roman descent of Romanians, made out of this historic right the main argument for emancipatory claims.

marked the beginning of a sustained interest of the educated clergymen into the Romanians' history, linguistics, and customs. It corresponded to the period of scholarly interest that Miroslav Hroch had identified in the typology of small nation formation.[89]

2.2 Hroch's ABC of Nationalism Applied

Hroch's model for studying the formation of small nations serves a heuristic function in this dissertation. It conceptualizes a general macro-perspective of the nationalist activism in the formation of small nations. Based on a comparative analysis of seven case studies, Hroch put forth a classical typology of the intensity of nationalism. In the following pages I first present Hroch's comparative findings and his ABC of nationalism, returning afterward to the political organization of the Romanian elite in Austria-Hungary.[90]

In full, Hroch's book title was the following: *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations.* First published in Czech in two separate books (1969 and 1971), it was translated into English in 1985, joining other major theories on nationalism that were put forth in the same decade by Anthony Smith, Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger, and Ernest Gellner. Consequently, although the author did not intend to produce an all-encompassing theory, but rather to place the Czech national movement in a comparative perspective and also to experiment with methodology, Hroch's work was understood and

[89] Hroch, *Social preconditions.*

[90] This section draws on my previous research on the possible connections between Miroslav Hroch's ABC of nationalism and *Begriffsgeschichte.* See my article titled "Miroslav Hroch's Model of Small Nation-formation and Begriffsgeschichte," *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 38, Issue 6, November 2010: 813-27.

criticized in the context of the other comprehensive theories of nationalism published around the same date.

In *Social Preconditions*, Hroch began his comparative inquiry into the formation of small modern nations by taking as a frame of analysis the changes in the social and economic sphere of European societies that found themselves at that time in transition to capitalism. The very precise aim was "to study the 'patriots', the people who were most easily accessible to national consciousness and ready earlier than others to become national activists."[91] Relying on a Marxist approach, which was later questioned by Ernest Gellner,[92] Hroch used for his typology seven main cases of small or oppressed nations, by which he meant those nations "which were in subjection to a ruling nation for such a long period that the relation of subjection took on a structural character for both parties".[93] His case studies were the Norwegians, the Czechs in Bohemia, the Finns, the Estonians, the Lithuanians, the Slovaks, and the Flemish. At a time when the comparative method was not as widely used as it has been nowadays, Hroch applied it to these seven case studies, analyzing five aspects to the extent that sources allowed: social status of patriots, their social origins, territorial distribution, and location of patriotic activities, place or district of origin, and educational

[91] Ibid., 13. For a conceptual clarification, I mention here Hroch's definition of a "patriot": "Whom shall we regard as a patriot, as a pioneer of the national movement, if we do not want to limit our choice to the narrow group of national 'leaders'? We shall use the word 'patriots' to denote those individuals who consciously, of their own volition, and over a long period of time, devoted their activities to the support of the national movement, endeavoring in particular to diffuse patriotic attitudes. We measure the effectiveness of this patriotic activity not just by its material results (for example an absolute increase in financial contributions) but also by the degree of subjectively intended personal sacrifice (and sometimes also political risk) which was associated with participation in the national movement. In addition to the leaders of the movement we shall therefore be interested in their assistants, agents and supporters. But we shall not include people who only appear sporadically, hovering at the margins." Ibid., 14.

[92] Ernest Gellner, *Encounters with nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 182–200.

[93] Hroch, *Social preconditions*, 9.

background.[94] His approach was quantitative, and led to refuting the following myths and dogmas, as Hroch named them:

> In our field, let us give as examples of this the thesis customarily accepted by many national historians that the teachers played an important role in all national movements, or the thesis that the patriots in small nations always came predominantly from the countryside, or the thesis that the bourgeoisie stood at the head of the national movement right from its inception. These and other theses could not retain their universal validity when confronted with the quantitative data.[95]

Hroch's findings confirmed his initial hypothesis, stating that "*the origin of the modern nation and the birth of the national movement cannot be explained primarily through patriotic agitation.*"[96] For Hroch the qualitative factors never stood as the prime motors of nationalism. In fact, contrary to K.W. Deutsch, Hroch relegated to a secondary place of importance the role of social communication and mobility, focusing more attention on conflicts over material interests. Hroch's findings, or as he cautiously called them – working hypotheses further to be refined –, were quite numerous and nuanced, and referred to the social composition of patriotic communities. They will be invoked in relation to various aspects of the present research. What is equally interesting is the typology/model that Hroch developed to use as a frame for drawing comparisons of the small-nation formation processes. The model withstood the test of a quarter decade of critique.[97]

Before delving into the quantitative and biographical study of the social structure of the patriotic groups belonging to the seven small nations, Hroch

[94] Ibid., 15.
[95] Ibid., 177.
[96] Ibid., 178.
[97] See, for instance, John Breuilly who characterized it as a "rigorous model, but the rigour is that of a Procrustean bed". John Breuilly, "Rev. of *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, by Miroslav Hroch," *The English Historical Review* 101 (1986): 449.

elaborated a clear-cut typology of these national movements, by first distinguishing and juxtaposing stages and phases of the formation of small modern nations. Following V.I. Lenin's distinction among the two periods of capitalism in connection with national movements, Hroch applied them for the purpose of his analysis: on the one hand, a period of struggle against absolutism, bourgeois social revolution and the rise of capitalism; on the other, a period following the victory of capitalism, overlapping with the rise of the working-class movement.[98] As a hypothetical extension of these two stages, Hroch mentioned a third one, "the period of world-wide integration and the impact of the means of mass communication dating roughly from the end of the First World War"[99]. However, the author did not make use of this third stage in his typology and comparative interpretation of the revival of small nations, his focus remained on a particular phase of the national movements, namely that of patriotic agitation.

Besides these two stages pertaining to the periodization of the revival of small nations, Hroch distinguished three more fundamental phases, which are at times referred to as the ABC of nationalism: Phase A is the period of scholarly interest; Phase B a period of patriotic agitation; and Phase C a phase which corresponds to the rise of a mass national movement. Out of these three structural phases, Hroch singled out the decisive Phase B as being the object of comparison for his main seven case studies. This delimitation in Hroch's detailed research received considerable criticism

[98] Ibid., 22.
[99] Ibid.

from scholars, since the larger model was not supported by full-range evidence and thus the transition from one phase to the other was not fully explained in the end.[100]

As with any path-breaking study, Hroch's work was criticized a great deal, but the ABC model remained often invoked, applied, and probably unmatched in its comparative scale and use of sources. In an application to the case of the modern Romanian nation-formation in Hungary, Hitchins identified a Romanian ABC, as follows:

> first a period characterized both by scholarly inquiry into the history, language, and customs of the community and by the dissemination of a new sense of community, a period lasting from about the 1770s to the 1820s; second, a period distinguished by efforts to organize a national movement and gain a mass following for the idea of nation and covering about half a century between the 1830s and the 1880s; and third, a decisive time, between the 1890s and 1914, when the national movement was reaching maturity and becoming a mass movement.[101]

Under a close scrutiny, however, the model does not necessarily hold entirely or unadjusted. To continue with an example from the same region, Alex Drace-Francis took as case study Romanians in the Banat of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and constructively criticized Hroch's model with an emphasis on the first two stages and the transition from one to the other. Drace-Francis argued that it was not useful to separate the first two phases so neatly because what was cultural was also political despite the lack of a unitary national vision at that time.[102]

Despite its shortcomings, I preserve Hroch's periodization as a model for heuristic purposes, as a macroperspective to which the analysis of the

[100] David Kirby, "Rev. of *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe, by Miroslav Hroch*," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 65, no. 2 (1987): 293.
[101] Keith Hitchins, "Romanian nation-formation in Transylvania: the stages, seventeenth century to 1914," in *Re-searching the nation: the Romanian file. Studies and selected bibliography on Romanian nationalism*, ed. Sorin Mitu (Cluj-Napoca: International Book Access, 2008), 62.
[102] See Alex Drace-Francis, "Cultural currents and political choices: Romanian intellectuals in the Banat to 1848," *Austrian History Yearbook* 26 (2005): 65-93.

microperspective in Braşov can relate. The present research thus covers, narrowly speaking, the transition from phase B to phase C, from the period of patriotic agitation to that of mass mobilization; broadly speaking, this chapter engages with the socio-economic aspects of the 1830s as well. The present research does not seek to answer the question of how the transition between patriotic agitation (B) and mass mobilization (C) took place, but to investigate the perspective from below on this BC continuum of the "intensity of national activity."[103]

2.3 Overview of the Romanian Political Organization in Austria-Hungary

In keeping with a macro-level perspective on the study of nationalism, we need to return to the way Romanian political elites organized themselves in the frame of Austria-Hungary. The Romanian political leaders, dissatisfied with the Nationalities Law from 1868 that did not grant them collective rights, organized themselves so as to obtain political rights and their recognition as a "nation." It was a centuries-old request that the leaders approached by way of voicing demands in the forms of petitions addressed to the Emperor. From around mid-nineteenth century, two tendencies became prevalent and divergent, depending on the position Romanian nationalists adopted vis-à-vis politics: a passive tendency, predominant in Transylvania, and an activist one, animating political life mainly in the Banat.[104] As mentioned before, the passive approach to politics implied that Romanian deputies abstained from taking part in the business of the Parliament, whereas activism allowed for trying to change the status quo from within the system, going through elections and so forth. George Bariţiu was one of the main practitioners of "absolute passive

[103] Hroch, *Social preconditions*, 25.
[104] See Liviu Maior, "Dualismul şi politica sa naţională," [*Dualism and its national politics*] in *Memorandul 1892-1894*, ed. Teodor, 221-264.

resistance," but attitudes and stances bore different degrees of passivism. The activist strategy of taking part in politics and elections was supported primarily by Orthodox Bishop Andrei Şaguna. Two newspapers became associated with this dichotomy: on the one hand, *Transylvania's Gazette* in support of the passive strategy; on the other, *The Romanian Telegraph* in keeping the active side. (The former newspaper, published in Braşov, serves as one of the primary sources for the present analysis.)

As a consequence, the two opposing strategies led to the formation of two different parties in 1869, along the passive and active lines. In February 1869 leading political figures from eastern Hungary, such as Alexandru Mocioni and Vincenţiu Babeş, organized a conference in Timişoara, where they established the Romanian National Party from the Banat and Transylvania. Shortly after this event, in March the same year, Transylvanian political men met at Mercurea to form the Romanian National Party from Transylvania, under the leadership of Ilie Măcelariu. It took another decade until the two parties formed one Romanian National Party of Hungary and Transylvania, with a single political program.[105]

The political program from 1881 specified as goals of the Romanian National Party Transylvania's autonomy, the usage of Romanian in court and in administration in all counties inhabited by Romanians, the revision of the Nationalities' Law and its execution, as well as a project for electoral reform, based on the principle of universal suffrage.[106] The party tried to attain these basic goals without taking part in elections. This passive attitude was maintained until the beginning of the twentieth century,

[105] Romanian delegates counted 149 individuals, out of which 52 were lawyers, 45 clergy, 17 landwoners, 8 teachers, 2 doctors, 2 bankers, and one merchant. See Hitchins, *A nation affirmed*, 108.
[106] "Programme of the Roumanian National Party of Hungary and Transylvanian (Voted at the Conference of Hermannstadt, May 11-14, 1881)," in Scotus Viator, *Racial Problems in Hungary*, 470-471.

when in 1905 the Romanian national conference in Sibiu voted for activist political tactics.[107] As a result, after the reorganization of the Romanian National Party, and after the campaign for promoting the new activist program, eight Romanian deputies were elected in the Parliament that year. Together with a Slovak and a Serb deputy, they formed a non-Hungarian Club. The following elections from 1906 brought fourteen mandates for Romanians, four for Serbs, and eight for Slovaks. Again, they formed a parliamentary Club and stood in opposition in the Parliament until 1910.

The 1905 political program did not differ much from the one in 1881 in terms of goals. It was more specific and more focused, demanding "that the Roumanian people be recognized as a constructive political individuality in the state, and that its ethnical and cultural development be secured by constitutional guarantees".[108] Besides the same goals concerning the usage of Romanian in teaching, administration, and courts, and the execution of the Nationalities' Law, the party also demanded the introduction of universal suffrage with voting by ballot, as well as "the right of the minority to representation in Parliament."[109] The autonomy of Transylvania was not demanded again, but the rifts within the Romanian political elite grew constantly until the outbreak of World War One.[110]

Before zooming into the specific case of Braşov, let us sum up some key aspects presented thus far. The macro-level perspective was formulated from the more

[107] The executive committee of the party was formed of 9 lawyers, 4 landowners, 1 doctor, and 2 clergymen. Hitchins, *A nation affirmed*, 109.
[108] "The Roumanian Programme of 1905," in Scotus Viator, *Racial Problems in Hungary*, 482.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Stelian Mândruţ enumerated five fractions: a) the so-called youth of steel ("tinerii oţeliţi") grouped around Octavian Goga; b) the traditionalist old guard in Sibiu and Budapest, the majority being deputies; c) the pro-dynasty wing, e.g. Al. Vaida; d) the renegades, e.g. V. Mangra; e) emigrees in Bucharest, such as E. Brote and I. Slavici. For a detailed overview of the activities of the Romanian National Party after 1905, see Stelian Mândruţ, *Mişcarea naţională şi activitatea parlamentară a deputaţilor partidului naţional român din Transilvania între anii 1905-1910* [*The national movement and the parliamentary activity of the deputies of the Romanian national party in Transylvania (1905-1910)*] (Oradea: Fundaţia culturală "Cele trei crişuri", 1995), 156.

abstract to the more concrete. Hroch's ABC of nationalism identified a growth and intensification of the activities of the nationalists, from the first scholarly interests (A), to the patriotic agitation (B), and the mass mobilization of citizens (C). Hroch's abstract formula was applied by historian Hitchins to the Romanians' case in the Habsburg Empire, identifying three key stages: A) the 1770s-1820s (the Transylvanian School); B) from 1830s to the 1880s for patriotic agitation; and C) the 1890s to the war, for the mass movement.

In particular the 1890s were marked by possibly inflaming and nationalistic events, such as the trials of the 1892 Romanian's Memorandum signatories, the Millennium celebrations of 1896, the collective declaration of the non-Magyar committee (Romanian, Serb, and Slovak representatives) from 1898 that denounced the "increasing policy of violence" toward nationalities, protesting especially against the more recent bills that magyarized place names.

Romanian leaders coped with the loss of Transylvania's autonomy and the non-recognition of their collective group rights by adopting passive and active strategies – they either stood outside the Parliament or inside it. The divisions between generations, the degree of closeness to Bucharest politics or to the old Viennese center, visions for the future of the empire that envisaged federalism as a solution for the nationalities problem – they all provided alternatives to the activism versus passivism deadlock. While negotiating among themselves what strategies would bring them closer to the common goal of achieving "national autonomy", the gap between the Romanian leaders style of doing politics and the Romanian-speaking common citizens on whose behalf they claimed to act was considerably large. For instance, Hitchins found that in the 1880s political mobilization at the local level was non-

existent or intermittent, and that Romanian leaders failed to mobilize their supporters during elections.[111] The present research explores the other end of politics, by zooming into the local level of Braşov town so as to investigate a lower level in a period of Romanian patriotic agitation and of mass mobilization.

2.4 Braşov on the Map

Braşov was located in the county of Braşov, Transylvania, the Habsburg Empire/Austria-Hungary. According to the 1910 census, Braşov was one of Transylvania's fifteen counties. In the east, Transylvania bordered with the Danubian Principalities, later Romanian Kingdom. Due to this vicinity, Braşov town functioned as a life buoy for the Wallachian elite who sought refuge in Braşov during revolutionary times. To the West, Transylvania neighbored Eastern Hungary.

[111] Hitchins, *A nation affirmed*, 109.

Fig. 2.1: Braşov on the map.[112]

Due to its mountainous geographical location, so close to the Carpathians, Braşov took approaching travelers by surprise. John Paget – a companion voice to the census data that flesh out the town portrait in this chapter – described his first impressions of Braşov in mid-nineteenth century in the following way:

> The first glimpse was sufficient to show us that we were approaching something different from what we had seen before. The outskirts of the town were occupied by pretty villas, surrounded by well-kept gardens, strongly indicative of commerce, and the wealth and tastes it brings with it, and very different from the straggling houses and neglected court-yards of the poor Szekler nobles. Before the gates of the town is a large open esplanade, forming a promenade, ornamented with avenues of trees and a Turkish kiosk.[113]

With this statement, the regional particularities of the town and region begin to unfold. The Principality of Transylvania, also widely known by the names of Ardeal,

[112] I indicated where Braşov is on this map taken from Anatole de Demidoff and Denis Auguste Marie Raffet, *Travels in Southern Russia and the Crimea; through Hungary, Wallachia, & Moldavia during the year 1837* (London: John Mitchell, 1853).
URL: http://depts.washington.edu/cartah/text_archive/demidoff/d_v1_web_map.jpg
It was illustrated by Raffet and dedicated to H.I.M. Nicholas I, Emperor of all the Russias.
[113] Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. II, 356.

Erdély, Siebenbürgen, was remarkable for many reasons. Among the diversity characteristics one can highlight the fact that there was no clearly dominating denomination or nation in strictly numerical terms. In 1880 the religious heterogeneity of the province was thus represented by the following religious clusters: Roman Catholics (12,7%), Calvinists (14,2%), Greek Orthodox (31,8%), Greek Catholics (27,6%), Lutherans (9,6%), Unitarians (2,6%), and Jews (1,4%).[114] The Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholics were largely Romanian speakers, Calvinists overwhelmingly Hungarian, Roman Catholics predominantly Hungarian, Lutherans mostly Saxons. The numbers of Romanian Orthodox and Romanian Greek Catholics altogether rose from 2,383,303 (in 1880) to 3,132,181 (in 1910) in Hungary.[115]

If we are to believe Paget, our travel companion, in mid-nineteenth century Braşov was the largest town of Transylvania, counting 36,000 inhabitants, which he described as making up a "motley crew":

> The sober plodding Saxon is jostled by the light and cunning Greek; the smooth-faced Armenian, the quaker of the East, in his fur cloak, and high kalpak, moots his match at a bargain in the humble-looking Jew; and the dirty Boyar from Jassy, proud of his wealth and his nobility, meets his equal in pride in the peasant noble of the Szekler-land. Hungarian magnates and Turkish merchants, Wallack shepherds and gipsy vagabonds make up the motley groups which give life and animation to the streets of Kronstadt.[116]

Census data provide further information that confirms a trajectory that Paget had seized upon half a century earlier. Size-wise, by 1910 Braşov town had come second in Transylvania. With its population of 41,000 people, it ranked after Cluj

[114] Viktor Karády and Péter Tibor Nagy, *Educational inequalities and denominations, 1910. Database for Transylvania*, vol. 3 (Budapest : John Wesley Publisher, 2009), 11.
[115] Hitchins, *A nation affirmed*, 104.
[116] Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. II, 358.

town (61,000 inhabitants), but it was followed by the town of Sibiu with 33,500 people, and then by Târgu-Mureş with 25,500 souls in 1910.[117]

For orientation purposes, we should approximate some proportions, although the exact numbers and the ways censuses classified people would constitute another study in its own right. Transylvania's number of inhabitants had risen from the one and a half million people at the end of the eighteenth century[118] to 1,900,000 individuals in 1850, to 2,658,000 in 1910.[119] In the whole of Hungary (excluding Croatia), the number of Romanians grew from 2,403,041 (in 1880) to 2,932,773 (in 1910), to 3,020,176 (in 1914).[120] Over 85% of the Romanian population lived in the countryside even as late as 1910.[121]

As part of *Fundus Regius*, Braşov had a specific historical legacy that had privileged Saxons to develop an educational network over centuries. Consequently, counting a large number of schooled Lutheran Saxon, Braşov was considered during the Dual Monarchy the second largest educational center in Hungary, ranking only after Budapest. Braşov town also prided itself with the highest number of years of education among men of all counties of Transylvania. It hosted five secondary schools for boys by 1910, registering 1314 pupils that year.[122]

By comparison, Sibiu had two secondary schools (hosting 724 pupils), Cluj had three similar institutions (with 1216 pupils), and Târgu-Mureş had two secondary

[117] Karády and Nagy, *Educational inequalities and denominations*, 24.
[118] Hitchins, *The Rumanian national movement in Transylvania*, 9. Hitchins quotes here Michael Lebrecht's *Versuch einer Erdbeschreibung des Grossfuerstenthums Siebenbuergen* (Hermannstadt, 1804). The majority of the population was in serfdom.
[119] Hitchins, *A nation affirmed*, 103.
[120] Ibid., 104.
[121] Ibid., 105.
[122] Karády and Nagy, *Educational inequalities and denominations*, 24. As the authors noted, it is very much regrettable that raw data on the town of Braşov and Sibiu did not record information on the urban population.

schools (735 pupils).[123] According to Karády and Nagy, these were the only towns in contemporary Transylvania with more than one gymnasium and/or *reáliskola*.[124]

Literacy rates in Transylvanian counties established the following top three: Braşov (see also Fig. 2.2), Târnava Mare and Sibiu.[125] The explanation that Karády and Nagy find for this development invokes the historical legacy of *Universitas Saxorum*, which stretched over the territory of the counties mentioned in the top-three educational pyramid. The population of these counties comprised German Lutherans in a proportion ranging from 26% to 42%.[126] The educational infrastructure they had developed further explains the findings above, hosting 12 out of 13 gymnasiums and *reáliskolák*, and 10 out of 31 *polgárik* in Transylvania by 1908.[127] This difference in school networks was further augmented by the fact that only 16% of Transylvania's population lived there in 1910.[128] The conclusion of these comparisons among towns in Transylvania is that Braşov was an excellent educational milieu.

[123] Ibid., 24.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., 35. Because the data sets that give the numerical consistency of this chapter do not offer a close-up of the town of Braşov, but only of the county, we will have to limit our comparison of Braşov (county) to that of other counties and not towns.
[126] Ibid., 36.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.

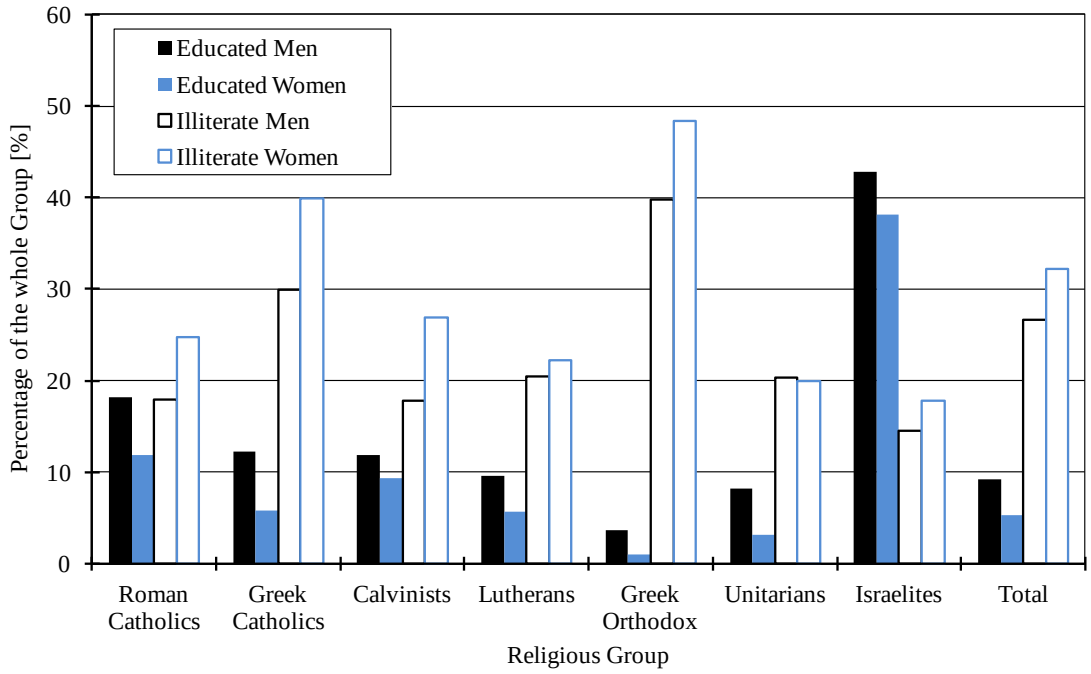

Fig. 2.2: Braşov County, 1910. Literacy and illiteracy among men and women by denomination.[129]

But education in Transylvania apart from these leading towns was much bleaker, severely marked by gender and denominational inequalities. This is an explainable fact if we consider the historical legacies of all ethnic or religious clusters populating this region. Romanians, due to the former three *nationes* ruling system in Transylvania, had ranked at the bottom of the educational pyramid. Gender inequalities, urban-rural gaps, and educational inequalities restricted everyday opportunities, placing many in an under-privileged position. Braşov County constituted an exceptional place, from the educational point of view, in the Transylvanian region where only slightly more than half of the population had reading and writing skills. Before delving into more details at the Transylvanian level, let us first consider some more general implications.

[129] Compiled from Karády and Nagy, *Educational inequalities and denominations*, 98-99.

Connecting literacy and illiteracy rates to nationalism does not constitute a novelty, but much less has been said about illiteracy, and too much assumed about literacy and nationalism. Constructivist approaches to the study of nationalism have cemented a relation between print and nationalism. In particular Benedict Anderson strongly emphasized in his constructivist thesis that print capitalism had contributed vastly to the spread of nationalism.[130] However, one needs to be reminded that print, as a medium, did not ensure that the message got across to the reader, and that it was unpacked according to the authors' intentions. Illiteracy was a self-evident hindrance in receiving these messages, and decoding was then out of the question. In an interesting mind exercise that can be recalled here, Asa Briggs and Peter Burke empathized with the illiterate population of major European cities in the age of print revolution by imagining a western visitor in Tokyo, who could "appreciate the anxiety of someone who is aware of that many messages are displayed in the streets (possible important ones), but is completely unable to decode them."[131]

Another aspect less emphasized in accounts of print and nationalism is the fact that newspapers may have actually generated skepticism for they sometimes presented contradictory accounts of the same event, a fact which was all the more striking for participants to these events.[132] One may call this the *Rashōmon* effect, for the following reasons. The example of skepticism, on the one hand, by invoking a plurality of mutually contradicting interpretations, brings into question first the relation between state and print. In Europe, unlike in China and Japan, print was less

[130] Anderson, *Imagined communities.*
[131] Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *A Social History of the Media. From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), 70.
[132] Ibid., 72. The authors are invoking Elizabeth Lewisohn Eisenstein's authoritative work on print – *The printing revolution in early modern Europe* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

closely controlled by the state.[133] Censorship and trials did not prevent Austria-Hungary from boasting with hundreds of newspapers and thousands of associations in the second half of the nineteenth century. Second, the plurality of newspaper article interpretations that were mutually contradictory may legitimize one to invoke a comparison to Akira Kurosawa's *Rashōmon*-type of story where subjectivities and truths are actually at the heart of any matter. Thus, suffice it to balance a constructivist account of nationalism and its connection to print, by adding a word of caution on the plurality and skepticism that may have well characterized that half of the audience who was literate. Thus, we have also added a *Rashōmon* effect to the accounts of the nationalists.

In the case of Transylvania during the Dualist Era, literacy rates were lower than in the rest of Hungary. Scholars observed that "[a]t the end of the period hardly more than half of the population of 6 year old and above knew how to read and write, as against more than two thirds of the general population."[134] By 1910, the population of Transylvania who had writing and reading skills rose to slightly over 50%. More exact numbers indicate that there had been a progress in attaining literacy during the Dualist Era: in 1890 literate persons aged six years old and above represented 36% of Transylvania's population; in 1900 the same group of literate people represented 44%, and in 1910 literate individuals aged six and above constituted 54% of the population.[135] Despite this slight progress, the Dualist era remained characterized by a discrepancy between supply and demand of primary school education, the latter being obviously much higher. By brief numerical comparison to Hungary (Croatia

[133] Ibid., 103.
[134] Karády and Nagy, *Educational inequalities and denominations*, 15.
[135] Ibid., 12.

excluded), in 1890 – 51% of the population of Hungary six years old and above was literate, in 1900 – 59%, and in 1910 – 67%.[136]

Gender inequalities in education were directly proportional with the number of classes: the higher one looked at the educational pyramid, the bigger the discrepancies were. Official statistics from 1910 recorded that 8% of all secondary school pupils were girls, and only 2,3% of all these pupils were girls who took the *Matura* (*érettségi*) exam in Hungary.[137] Karády and Nagy further investigated the break down along denomination lines, concluding that less than 0,1% of the women of Greek faith (referring to Greek Catholics and Greek Orthodox) attained 8 classes of education or above.[138] The year of reference for this data is still 1910. Furthermore, the institutional situation was dreary for the girls' secondary education in Transylvania. If in the whole of Hungary only 35 such institutions existed in 1910, only two of them were located in Transylvania (in Cluj and Târgu-Mureş), where 5,6% of all female secondary school pupils of the country received education in 1910.[139]

What had animated the inhabitants of Braşov since the first few decades of the nineteenth century onwards was a range of endeavors that aimed at emancipation, at upward mobility. The post-revolutionary times continued to be restless, due to the changing social relations, in which feudal and corporate structures crumbled down, with the effect of "a loosening of the ties to what was familiar and known."[140] The efforts of some of who were in a privileged position, as we shall see in the follow chapters, were channeled into the following directions: fighting illiteracy, setting up

[136] Ibid., 12.
[137] Ibid., 26. Matura was mandatory for pursuing university studies.
[138] Ibid., 27.
[139] Ibid., 28.
[140] Bernhard Giesen, *Intellectuals and the German nation: collective identity in an axial age* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 62.

reading societies, creating education opportunities for girls, printing advances, and the professionalization of journalism. They were symptomatic pursuits of the print revolution in its democratizing swing in the long nineteenth century. It was the age of steel and of increasingly faster communication. But it was also a nervous age, perceived as such even by contemporaries; consequently, it called for an impetus to control and to discipline public and private life.[141] As Mosse insightfully explained, "[t]he attempt to cope with a nervous age brought to a climax changes in manners and morals which had been evolving slowly in previous centuries."[142] It was not only the state that tried to discipline its citizens, but also nationalists who attempted to link loyalties of small-scale levels, e.g. regional and local ones, to the overarching idea of the nation.

By train, goods and people traveled at a higher speed across borders, and the seemingly far trade markets were drawn closer together by linking them through railways. Distance shrank, and people began to learn about discipline – not only by doing gymnastics, but simply by waiting for the train. As Benjamin Taylor noted in his 1874 book, *The World on Wheels*, "[t]he locomotive is an accomplished educator. It teaches everybody that virtue… we call punctuality. It waits for nobody. It demonstrates what a useful creature a minute is in the economy of things."[143] Due to such technological advances as the railway, trades changed their routes, people became mobile or displaced, merchant families crossed borders in search of new business opportunities, and towns that were once gates of communication and trade between empires almost fell into oblivion. This was especially true from an economic

[141] Mosse, "Nationalism and respectability," 222.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Quoted in Briggs and Burke, *A Social History of the Media*, 122.

point of view. A case in point was Braşov, where the impact of industry and capital had its say as well, being affected by the so-called trade war between Austria-Hungary and the Romanian Kingdom in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. The outcome for this town was a forced migration driven by economic reasons. What Braşov lost were rich merchants who had previously donated money to charitable local endeavors and who opened new business in Bucharest and closer to the Black Sea long before the end of the nineteenth century. After all, with technological advances, the economic interests of the Empires had pushed for faster and cheaper ways of carrying merchandise to market places not only up and down the Danube River and the Black Sea, but also by train.[144] If for centuries, diplomas, wars, and treaties granted and revoked trade rights at the junction between the Ottoman, Russian, and Habsburg Empires, the British Empire – who had long manifested its interest in trade in the region,[145] just like France[146] – finally took a leading role in constructing the iron road, investing together with the Austrians[147] in drawing the map

[144] Talks and negotiations about a route for the train over Transylvania had begun in the first half of the nineteenth century, but the actual construction of the iron road began only after the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867. See, for instance, Michel Tanase, "Railways, towns and villages in Transylvania (Romania): Impact of the railways on urban and rural morphology," in *The city and the railway in Europe*, eds. Ralf Roth and Marie-Noëlle Polino (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 45-60.
See also, Iosif Marin Balog, "Modernizarea economică şi construcţia căilor ferate în Transilvania: aspecte social-economice ale disputei dintre sibieni şi braşoveni la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea privind traseul primei căi ferate," [*Economic modernization and the construction of the train tracks in Transylvania: social and economic aspects regarding the dispute between Sibiu and Braşov in mid-nineteenth century regarding the first train track*] *Ţara Bârsei* 2 (2003): 47-54.
[145] The British Empire had had sustained economic interests in the south-eastern European space for many centuries. For instance, in 1581 Queen Elisabeth I established the Levant Company with the purpose of further advancing its trade interests in connection to the Ottoman Empire. This charted company was dissolved in 1825.
[146] France had a leading position in trade with the Levant, competing with the British company. For instance, France's Francis I established in the sixteenth century the Franco-Ottoman alliance that lasted until Napoleon's Oriental campaign at the end of the eighteenth century.
[147] The Habsburgs were also highly motivated by economic interests, and trade with the Ottomans had been on the rise for centuries, albeit not without armed conflicts. Under Leopold I (1657-1705), who had issued a diploma of trade privilege that the Romanian merchants will invoke at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a trading company was established in Vienna in 1667 with the purpose of strengthening trade between the two empires. Especially after the Peace Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), the Habsburg Empire came to dominate the Danube water trade. See, for instance, Hrvoje Petrić, "The

of trade in Southeastern Europe. Among the Great Powers' economic interests was also the oil in the Romanian Kingdom.[148] The iron road, as well as increasing trade navigation on the Danube constituted a heavy blow for tradesmen in Braşov.[149] The local economic situation worsened even further because of a customs trade (1886-1891) between the Romanian Kingdom and Hungary.[150] The direct consequences for trade in Braşov translated into debt, and the millions of florins that previously constituted the local turnover vanished with migration.[151]

The steel road episode in the long history of commerce at the crossroads of Empires foreshadowed the denouement of the Romanian merchant class in Braşov. The Empires' trade routes gave rise to the so-called Balkan Greek merchants, a part of which were also the Romanian Levantine commercial bourgeoisie in Braşov, which constitutes the focus of the following pages. Initially they had taken as solidarity basis for business the religion criterion, and in this context Greek signified primarily Greek Orthodox. In the first decades of the nineteenth century a regrouping of loyalties and solidarities took place and the group of Romanian merchants in Braşov began to

navigation and trade agreement of 1718 and Ottoman Orthodox merchants in Croatia and the military border," in *The peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, eds. Charles W. Ingrao, Nikola Samardžić, Jovan Pesalj (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2011), 170-190.

[148] French, Anglo-Dutch, British, and Dutch capital in Romanian oil-drilling constituted 52,5% in 1913. See Valentin Bodea, "Aspecte ale relaţiilor economice româno-austro-ungare în prelungirea războiului vamal (1893-1914)," [*Aspects of the Romanian-Austrian-Hungarian economic relations during the trade war (1893-1914).*] *Ţara Bârsei* 1 (2002): 169.

[149] The Danube River and the Great Powers had their own history placed under the sign of trade, legislation, and discord. After the Crimean War ended in 1856, the European Commission of the Danube was established, with headquarters in Galati, and it attempted to improve conditions for this trade channel.

[150] See Valentin Bodea, "Aspecte ale relaţiilor economice româno-austro-ungare," 162-176.

[151] In the 1830s and 1840s, trade between Braşov, Wallachia, Moldavia, and the Levant brought a local income of 2,560,900 florins yearly. See Elisabeta Dinu, "Contribuţii privind rolul negustorilor români din Braşov la menţinerea şi dezvoltarea legăturilor comerciale ale Transilvaniei cu Ţara Românească şi Moldova în anii 1830-1848," [*Contributions regarding the role of the Romanian merchants in Braşov to maintaining and developing Transylvania's commercial ties with Wallachia and Moldavia (1830-1848)*] *Cumidava* VIII (1974-1975): 137.
At the turn of the cenutry, migrants from Hungary to Romania added to 97,747 (in 1904), drawing an ascending curve rising to 161,506 people in 1911. See Valentin Bodea, "Aspecte ale relaţiilor economice româno-austro-ungare," 172.

transition from a confessional identity to a self-understanding as elite of an ethnic group – the Romanian one. In the 1830s they invested in building schools and churches for what they perceived as belonging to their "kind." At the same time, this local Romanian merchant elite, with broad horizons and vast social networks, encouraged printing in the vernacular, established the first newspaper in Romanian language in Transylvania, and attracted educated men to teach in the newly established local schools. It was a time when Braşov was still perhaps the leading town in trade in Transylvania. But it was also a time when the process of nation building, initiated in Braşov by the merchant elite, was being taken over by the formally educated elite, as trade had entered a decline in that region. The two types of elites intermarried. This led to the merging and reproduction of economic and cultural capitals within families. Before long, however, the flourishing commerce in Braşov was threatened almost to extinction by the new political and economic powers that sought to connect with the Black Sea trade routes the fastest way possible – by the Danube River or by developing train networks, as described above.[152] Other trade regulations continued to discourage trade through Braşov, and the town lost much of its Romanian merchant class. Moreover, at the regional level, there was no economic network capable of supporting a Romanian national economy in Transylvania.[153]

[152] The Frigators stand as an example of tradesmen who adjusted to the change of trade routes and aimed to extend their business in Galaţi. They did so by using their connections and orienting their youngest family generation towards the Black Sea trade. See Nicolae I. Angelescu, *Negustorii de odinioară. Hagi Vasile Frigator (1813-1887), Dimitrie Frigator (1838-1902)* [*Merchants from another time. Hagi Vasile Frigator (1813-1887), Dimitrie Frigator (1838-1902).*] (Bucureşti: Institutul de arte grafice "Luceafărul S.A.", 1931).

[153] Barna Ábrahám, "The Idea of Independent Romanian National Economy in Transylvania at the Turn of the 20th Century," in *Nation-building and contested identities: Romanian and Hungarian case studies*, eds. Balázs Trencsényi, Dragoş Petrescu, Cristina Petrescu, Constantin Iordachi, Zoltán Kántor (Budapest: Regio Books; Iaşi: Editura Polirom, 2001), 216.

2.5 From the Merchant Elite to the Educated One

The brief outline above constitutes the background story for the selected associations established in Braşov. In the following pages, I flesh out more the main story and introduce some family names that will familiarize the reader with the actors in the core chapters of the present research. Overall, I distinguish primarily among three types of elites: the political elite, the merchant elite, and the educated elite. The adjectives preceding the noun "elite" indicate the flexible and encompassing qualities to which "elite" may refer. The three different types established here are by no means exclusive in their functional character. To the contrary, nationalists wore many hats, and represented many kinds of elites – the chapter on the association for a theater building illustrates this point best. The pluralist assumption that elites were "certain key actors playing structures, functionally understandable roles, not only in a nation's governance processes but also in other institutional settings – religious, military, academic, industrial, communications, and so on"[154] matches the plurality of roles that nationalists had to take upon themselves. Consider only that a nation needed texts and institutions. Examples of political elites included the middle class Romanians who formed the Romanian National Party, or who took part in elections to serve as deputies in the Pest-based Parliament. The merchant elites refer to the Romanian Levantine bourgeoisie in Braşov, predominantly appearing in this contextualizing chapter and in the following one, about the *Romanian women's association*. The "educated elites" makes a reference once again to the local main actors, such as the teachers employed by the merchant elites, their sons and daughters who received

[154] Dwaine Marvick, "Élites," in *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, eds. Adam Kuper, Jessica Kuper, (London, New York: Routledge, Kegan Pal, 1996), 408-412. For an introduction to the sociology of elites, including references to key texts on the masses, see, for example, Michael Hartmann, *The sociology of elites* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

formal education in the next decades, and took leading roles in the local community of Braşov. None of them makes the constant focus of this study, as this research is not a prosopography. Alternatively, I refer to the steering committee members of the associations analyzed as "leadership" or "leaders," which I find to be a more suitable equivalent to "fruntaşi," the Romanian word in use at that time.

The Romanian merchants in Braşov had a particularly influential contribution in the Romanian nation-building process. They throve in the milieu of Braşov, at the intersection and overlap of the symbolic geographies of the East and West. With the flow of goods and ideas that permeated Braşov society via trade routes, and against the background of local competition among the empire's privileged groups and their institutional representations, the transformation of solidarities proceeded at an alert pace in the frame of the Habsburg Empire. The Greek merchants in Braşov first aligned themselves according to religious criteria, self-identifying primarily as Greek Orthodox. They were active in the Greek Company in Braşov, which had been established in 1678. This group was part of the generic "Balkan Greek merchant" so predominant at the intersection of empires, transporting goods well beyond their borders.[155] They were regarded at the time as a "philanthropic people,"[156] allegedly making up for their sins by redeeming acts of philanthropy. During the eighteenth century merchants of all kinds – Greeks, Macedo-Vlach, Serbs, Jews, Armenians – were in control of commerce not only in Wallachia and Moldavia, but also in Hungary, Vojvodina, Croatia-Slavonia, and part of Transylvania and Moravia.[157] Traian Stoianovich, who attempted to grasp this commerce web, noticed that "[t]he

[155] A classical study is Traian Stoianovich, "The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant," *The Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (1960): 234-313.
[156] Ibid., 304.
[157] Ibid., 266.

high point of interaction and interpenetration between the Balkans and the West through the vehicle of native Balkan merchants occurred between 1718 and 1815, and especially after 1740."[158] Because of its strategic geographical location as gate of interaction, Braşov became a major provincial center for trade, and facilitated the formation of this Greek merchant group.[159] In Transylvania and the Banat the semantic overlap was so large that Greek/grieche/görög/grec were synonymous terms to merchant.[160] Greek translated into the business language: trade, merchant, peddler. Greek language was utterly important as well, being the *lingua franca* not only of the church, but of trade in the Ottoman Empire. Culture spoke Greek, and speaking Greek reflected a higher social status.

Trade business had gone so well that the newspaper *Érdelyi Híradó* from March 1845 remarked that merchants from Braşov, "the first town in Transylvania in terms of trade,"[161] had a turnover of 1,024,000 silver florins a year from trade with Moldavia and Wallachia only, having established there over one hundred shops.[162] The newspaper article went on to specify that all merchants in Braşov who traded

[158] Ibid., 313.
[159] For a possible comparative case to the one in Braşov, see Andreas Lyberatos' study on Plovdiv, a town in today's Bulgaria. Andreas Lyberatos, "From stratum culture to national culture: integration processes and national resignification in 19th century Plovdiv," *Balkanologie* XIII, no. 1-2 (2011): URL: http://balkanologie.revues.org/index2274.html.
[160] Anastase N. Hâciu, *Aromânii. Comerţ, industrie, arte, expansiune, civilizaţie* [*Aromanians. Trade, industry, arts, expansion, civilization*] (Constanţa: Cartea aromână, 2003), 303-304.
And Ambrus Miskolczy, *Rolul de intermediere între est şi vest al burgheziei comerciale Levantine române din Braşov (1780-1860)* [*The intermediation role of the Romanian levantine commercial bourgeoisie between east and west*] (Bucureşti: Kriterion, 2000), 7. Traian Stoianovich also tells us that "[o]fficial documents rarely make a clear distinction between Greek and Vlach or Greek and Orthodox Albanian merchants." Stoianovich, "The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant," 290.
[161] Dimitru Z. Furnică, *Din trecutul românesc al Braşovului. Documente comerciale 1741-1860* [*From the Romanian history of Braşov. Commercial documents 1741-1860*] (Bucureşti, 1937), 42.
[162] Ibid., 42-43.

especially eastern merchandise were all of Greek Orthodox faith, but not all of them were part of the same nation, most of them being Romanians.[163]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Greek merchant group underwent a fragmentation, which meant an increasingly national self-identification. This group of Romanian merchants, as they began to call themselves and to act on behalf of the "Romanian nation," is referred to in historiography as the Romanian Levantine commercial bourgeoisie, established at the intersection of Eastern and Western cultures.[164]

Let us take the example of Ioan Iuga, a wealthy merchant from Braşov who illustrated this type of transition from the confession-based self-identification to the more national type of identity. Iuga donated over 50,000 florins for cultural and humanitarian purposes in support of the Romanian community.[165] His trade routes descended to the Romanian Principalities where his brother-in-law, Hagi Stoica, lived; he maintained business in Transylvania and the Banat as well, through his cousin, Florea Iuga. Moreover, his company, I&G Iuga, was active in Transylvania until 1850. In his will from 1851, he motivated his generous future donations by the following logic:

> I am in the position to secure not only the future of mai closest relatives, so that they be forever absolved and protected from any needs in life, but I am also in the position to do good to others too, in

[163] Ibid., 43.
[164] Miskolczy, *Rolul de intermediere*, 6. For a general context of the Greek merchants in the Habsburg empire, see also Ruxandra Moaşa Nazare, "Negustorii greci în cadrul politicii comerciale a imperiului Habsburgic (secolele XVIII-XIX)," [*Greek merchants in the frame of the trade policy of the Habsburg Empire (XVIII-XIX centuries)*] *Anuarul institutului de istorie "A.D. Xenopol"* [*History Yearbook of the "A.D. Xenopol" history institute*] XLI (2004): 225-245.
[165] Bartolomeu Baiulescu, *Monografia comunei bisericeşti gr. or. române a Sfîntei Adormiri din Cetatea Braşovului cu acte şi dovezi* [*The monograph of the Romanian Greek Orthodox Church Sfinta Adormire from Braşov Citadel based on documents and proof*] (Braşov: Tipografia Ciurcu & Comp, 1898), 20.

> particular to the sons of my much tried Romanian nation, whose lacks and needs are as many as the sand of the sea.[166]

Less than a third of his wealth Ioan Iuga donated to the advancement of the local Romanian community. In his elaborate will, Iuga stipulated and calculated on the long term donations in land and money for different institutions in town, mainly strengthening the religious and educational pillars. The Greek Orthodox Church Sf. Adormire received a significant share of the merchant's money. The civil hospital was endowed with 4,000 florins to be used primarily for "ill people who belong to my nation and religion, because they lack more than others".[167] Education was supported with 12,000 florins, an utterly impressive amount of money destined to serve as annual paycheck (600 florins) for a professor at the Romanian Greek Orthodox school in Braşov.[168] This donation is probably the most spectacular one because not even by the end of the century did a professor earn as much as Ioan Iuga offered for an annual salary in his will. Furthermore, he made a provision that the professor receive retirement money as well, resulting from another sum Iuga directed for investment. The ideal professor that Iuga looked for and whose description ran on half a page was to be above all "Romanian by birth and feeling," "to be smart and talented, not only in theory, but in practice as well so that the nation benefit too, not only the educated youth."[169] This professor was to be either a specialist in history (or the neighboring sciences: geography, statistics, chronology) or in the commercial and technical

[166] Ibid., 164. In original: "încât mă aflu în stare nu numai a îndestula şi asigura viitorul celor mai deaproape clironomi ai mei, pentru ca să fie scutiţi şi apăraţi pentru totdeauna de orice lipsă a vieţuirii, ci totodată a face bine şi altora, era mai vârtos fiilor mult cercatei mele naţiuni româneşti, ale cărei lipse şi trebuinţe sunt multe ca nisipul mării."
[167] Ibid., 165.
[168] Ibid., 164.
[169] Ibid.

sciences. In either case, publishing duties ensued within five years after the hiring date.[170] The benefactor was one and only: Ioan Iuga's nation.

Twenty years before Iuga made his will, self-identified Romanian merchants in Braşov chose to separate from the other Greeks in town, against the background of an inner strife that divided their community. Romanian merchants signed a document that expressed their intentions of starting trade together,[171] and later invoked the privileges offered to well-off Romanian and Bulgarian merchants in Braşov through a document signed by Leopold I.[172] The document was lost and the privileges almost forgotten, had it not been for Constantin Pop, a rich businessman who advised his fellow merchants from Braşov to reclaim those lost privileges.[173] In 1837 authorities recognized officially the Romanians' *Levantine Association* ["Gremiu levantin"] (1830), an institution meant to compete for trade rights with other local establishments, such as the Saxons' founded in 1811.[174]

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[170] Ibid.

[171] Furnică, *Din trecutul românesc al Braşovului*, 11. Signatories of the document that bound them to do business togetherwere: Ioan G. Iuga, Gheorghe Orghidan, Rudolf Orghidan, Gheorghe C. Iuga, Mirica Fulsturan, Gheorghe Nica, Florea G. Iuga, Hagi Ilia Hagi Ivan, Ioan Cepescu and Constantin Cepescu.

[172] Furnică, *Din trecutul românesc al Braşovului*, 30.

[173] Ibid., 26-7. Constantin Pop was a well-established tradesman, whose business took off in the eighteenth century, and expanded at the beginning of the nineteenth. Throughout this time, he had maintained trade relations with merchants in Braşov. For his descendants, Vienna rather than Sibiu became the business center. Zenovie Hagi Constantin Pop, one of his sons, received his education in Bucharest and Vienna. He further showed a propensity for military service, and fought for the imperial army. Settling down in Vienna, he found the company of like-minded young people, such as the Sinas, and not long thereafter, under their influence, he became a banker. His socializing circles were vast, and included the Rothschilds. For his success, he received the title of Baron von Böhmstetten and the position of director at the *Privilegierte österreichische Nationalbank*. See Dum. Z. Furnică, *Documente privitoare la comerţul românesc 1473-1868* [*Documents regarding Romanian trade*] (Bucureşti: Tipografia "Romania Noua", 1931), 481.

[174] The number of members in the *Gremiul levantin* in 1840 was of 101, and in 1850 the number of members had slightly risen to almost 130 individuals. See Furnică, *Din trecutul românesc al Braşovului*, 40-41 and 61-63. By 1858-59 the number of contributing members to the *Gremiul levantin* had dropped to less than 60 members. See Furnică, *Din trecutul românesc al Braşovului*, 77-79.
See also Vasile Oltean, Măriuca Radu, Elisabeta Marin, and Gernot Nussbächer, *Braşov – monografie comercială* [*Braşov – commercial monograph*] (Braşov: Camera de comerţ şi industrie Braşov, 2004), 69-71.

In 1835 the Greeks opened a new venue of socializing with the aim of providing a space of leisure for tradesmen and of informal business negotiations.[175] The first presidency stayed in the hands of Antonie Ioan, Ioan Iuga, and Gheorghe Iuga, from 1835 to 1838.[176] However, because of strife, *Casina* split in 1841, and the Romanian *Casina* was officially established in 1846, following the same socializing purposes.[177] The *Casina* members were served with coffee and comfiture, played pool and cards, and read newspapers and history books.[178] Yet their doors and knowledge were not open to outsiders. The seemingly inclusive character of the *Casina* gradually developed a more exclusivist policy, and it probably remained close to a visitor such as John Paget, our companion from the beginning of this chapter. According to a regulation from 1888, access to the *Casina* was open only to members, and guests were allowed only when accompanied by a member.[179] Such a visit was supposed to be followed by a membership application within fourteen days, specified the same document. Often idealized in accounts of Romanian nationalism, the *Casina* has been especially recalled for its vital role in the life of the entire Romanian people. But this venue of socializing and of negotiating for tradesmen was by no accounts infallible. It

[175] "Rules for the *Casina*," 1835. CM, General Collection, Folder 45, Doc. 13,606.
[176] SJBAN, Braşov, Collection Casina Română, Doc. 143, p. 1. The document further made a mention of the administrators – Rudolf Orghidan, Sava George Ermenli, Dimitrie Marin, Hristodor Papa, and Dimitrie Cepescu. Host was Ioan Paskale.
[177] Ruxandra Moaşa Nazare, "Rolul ‚grecilor' în oraşele Sibiu and Braşov la sfârşitul secolului al XVIII-lea şi începutul secolului al XIX-lea," [*The role of the 'Greeks' in Sibiu and Braşov at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century*] *Historia Urbana* XI, no. 1-2 (2003): 164.
[178] The newspapers mentioned are "the German one, Beobachter, or Allgemein/Allgemeine Zeitung/, the Greek one from Athens, and Curierul Romanesc from Bucharest." If newspapers were allowed to be taken home upon condition of return after some days, books were to be read only on the premises of the Casina. CM, General Collection, Folder 45, Doc. 13,606, p. 4 and 7.
[179] SJBAN, Braşov, Collection Casina Română, Doc. 14.

suffered because of trade decline, and it was not spared of human greed and of the monopoly of the few.[180]

The *Casina* serves also as a supporting evidence of the claim that the circulation of newspapers or of history books – of printed materials in the vernacular – did not have a wide impact. Moreover, the membership of the *Casina* illustrates the change that had occurred among nationalist activists – it was not the merchants any longer who carried the torch of the Romanian nation, but the intellectuals. By 1903 merchants in the *Casina* had been replaced by the educated elite.[181] Who were they more exactly and what role did they play in the Romanian nation-building process in Braşov? Before I clarify these aspects, one needs to avoid a distortion of proportions especially when discussing the influence of the merchant elite in the Romanian nation-building process.

Scholars of nationalism have long disputed the role of different classes in the formation of nations, and it is not the purpose of this research to directly contribute to this debate. See, for instance, Miroslav Hroch's remarkable comparative study of small nation formation, whose conclusions stated that "no class or social group had a stable place in the structure of the patriotic communities".[182] The contribution of the local merchant elite in Braşov needs to be weighed against the larger background of Transylvanian society. In his study of the Romanian middle-class formation up to the turn of the twentieth century, Barna Ábrahám concluded that "these strata [the

[180] Letter from Nicolae Bogdan to the president of the Casina Română, Cluj 1935, on the occasion of the centennial. SJBAN, Braşov, Collection Casina Română, Doc. 146, p. 2.
[181] Among the 80 members of the Casina Română of 1903 and of interest for the present study are the following names: Andrei Bârseanu, Ioan I. Ciurcu, George Dima, I. Lenger, Dr. Metian, Dr. A. Mureşianu, Lazăr Nastasi, G.I. Nica, Virgil Oniţiu. Merchants had given their seats to the local intelligentsia. See "Membership list in the *Casina*," SJBAN, Braşov, Collection Casina Română, Doc. 52, p. 1-3.
[182] Hroch, *Social preconditions*, 129.

bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, and the professionals] could not redeem the general backwardness and poverty of Transylvania that led to the stagnation of agrarian technology and to the collapse of traditional craftsmanship, connected with the upsurge of a new manufacturing industry, which was not Romanian. In this context, the creation of a strong industrial and commercial entrepreneur class was virtually impossible and these conditions did not favor the creation of a dynamic network of economic relations that could be considered as an independent Romanian "national economy" in Transylvania."[183]

The history of the Romanian educated elite in Braşov was closely knit to that of the Romanian merchants' who were particularly active in the 1830s and attempted to equip their local nation with schools[184] and churches.[185] Geographically mobile and part of vast social networks, these merchants were also "collector(s) and disseminator(s) of ideas,"[186] and were committed to education advancements. As Traian Stoianovich remarked with regard to the wider phenomenon of the "Greek Balkan merchant," after the flourishing trade period, merchants passed the torch to intellectuals in the process of nation-formation around 1815.[187] Once the Romanian merchants began consolidating education for their nation in Braşov, they also attracted

[183] Barna, "The idea of independent Romanian national economy in Transylvania," 216.
[184] After a fundraising period, in 1845 Ioan Iuga, Rudolf Orghidan, Neculae Dima, and Ioan Pantazi (Trusteeship members) were entrusted with funds for opening a national gymnasium of Greek Orthodox faith. See Delegating document, Braşov July 1845, in Furnică, *Din trecutul românesc al Braşovului*, 44-45.
[185] The plan for building a church of Greek faith was initiated by buying a house in the citadel in 1831 that hosted since 1833 the divine service. See Furnică, *Din trecutul românesc al Braşovului*, 20-22. The house the merchants initially bought was located at no. 243, on Uliţa Săcuilor. The house which was bought for 7,000 florins was then traded off for another house in Târgul Grâului that belonged to Constantin Boghici. This finally became the site for building the Church *Sf. Adormire*. For this information, see Axente Banciu, "Suflete uitate. Boghicii," [*Forgotten souls. Boghicii*] *Ţara Bârsei* II, no. 5 (1930): 392. For the merchants who bought the initial house, see the aforementioned document that listed the following names: Ioan and Constantin Cepescul, Ioan G. Iuga, Rudolf Orghidan, Nicolae Cepescul, Gheorghe G. Iuga, Gheorghe Orghidan, Gheorghe Ioan, Ioan Sacareanu, Dimitrie Marin, Gheorghe Nica.
[186] Stoianovich, "The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant," 313.
[187] Ibid.

the few educated Romanians in the region. The overall number of the higher educated in Transylvania, including the Romanian elite, was by all means small, if one considered the percentage of students from Transylvania that studied in the most famous university centers of the century. (See 7 Appendix, Table 7.9.) Moreover, according to Karády and Nagy, Lutheran Saxons seem to have contributed the most to these exchanges, representing about half of the students from Transylvania in Vienna (49%) and two-thirds of them in Germany (65%) at the turn of the century.[188]

George Bariţiu (1812-1893) was one of the educated individuals that the merchants hired to teach in their school. Like many other individuals that were part of the elite, Bariţiu's background was connected to the Greek Catholic church through his father, Ioan Pop-Bariţiu, who was a priest. Bariţiu studied in Blaj and Cluj, only to later return as a theology student in Blaj. He then moved to Braşov in 1836 to teach grammar, German, Latin, history, geography, and moral education.[189] This was the crucial point when he was hired by Rudolf Orghidan, on behalf of the committee of Sf. Nicolae Church, with a three-year contract for 400 silver florins per year, with the interdiction of interfering into church affairs.[190] This constituted the solidifying point in the formation of the educated elite in Braşov that took over from the merchants the task of caring for the local nation.

Apart from teaching, Bariţiu was also editor-in-chief of the *Transylvanian Gazette*. The newspaper was established in 1837 as *Gazeta de Transilvania*,[191] which I

[188] Karády and Nagy, *Educational inequalities and denominations*, 16.
[189] I. Bădescu, Ozana Cucu-Oancea, *Dicţionar de sociologie rurală* [*Dictionary of rural sociology*] (Bucureşti: Editura Mica Valahie, 2005), 45-46.
[190] Nicolae I. Angelescu, *Negustorii de odinioară. Rudolf Orghidan (1797-1862)* [*Merchants from another time. Rudolf Orghidan (1797-1862)*] (Bucureşti: Institutul de arte grafice "Luceafarul S.A.", 1930), 7-8.
[191] Name-wise, it suffered some variation. It first appears as *Gazeta de Transilvania* until 3 January 1849, when it changed its name to *Gazeta Transilvană.* From 1 December 1849 until it ceased its

refer to in the present research as the *Transylvanian Gazette.* It was printed by Johann Gött (1810-1888). An important contemporary of the nineteenth century Braşov, Gött had moved there from Wehrheim (a town close to Frankfurt am Main), after a long journey through many of Europe's capitals. Gött, with his printing craft acquired mainly from Frankfurt, continued the work of Friederich August Herfuth who was an already established printer in Braşov, but who died in 1830. Since 1834 Gött owned the print shop where he had begun to work and which belonged to the Schobeln family. He married and stayed in Braşov as a citizen since 1835, living at Klostergasse (Vămii) no. 10, and printed in all languages and for all religions on demand.[192] Gött can be placed within the centuries-long tradition of printing in Braşov, initiated by Johannes Honterus. After learning the craft of printing from Johannes Frobenius in Basel, Honterus in his turn established the first print shop in Transylvania, in Braşov in 1533. Over the centuries, this print shop had different owners, such as the noble family von Schobeln, and then it was bought by Johannes Gött, who printed the Romanian gazette until 1884.

The *Transylvanian Gazette* was canonically considered "the first political and cultural newspaper of Romanians in Transylvania,"[193] and it had been in the beginning the outcome of a handful of litterateurs, who were the collaborators of the

publication in 1945 it was called *Gazeta Transilvaniei.* See Ioan Silviu Nistor, "Gazetele de la Braşov – şcoala de educaţie naţională pentru toţi românii (1838-1848)" [*The gazettes from Braşov – a school for national education for all Romanians (1838-1848)*] *Cumidava* XXI (1997): 22.

[192] See Gernot Nussbächer, "Tipograful braşovean Johann Gött (1810-1888)," [*Printer Johann Gött from Braşov (1810-1888)*] *Ţara Bârsei* 4, (2005): 9-13.

[193] I. Hangiu, *Dicţionar al presei literare româneşti, 1790-1982* [*The Dictionary of the Romanian Literary Press, 1790-1982*] (Bucharest: Ed. Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1987), 152.
Generally agreed that the *Transylvanian Gazette* was the first political and cultural newspaper in the vernacular, it was however preceded by the short-lived *Biblioteca Romînească* [*The Romanian Library*], edited by Zaharia Carcalechi, in Buda, 1821. For further references on the beginnings of the Romanian press in Transylvania, see Victor Cheresteşiu, "Întemeierea presei romîneşti din Transilvania şi activitatea publicistică a lui George Bariţ pînă la izbucnirea revoluţiei din 1848," [*The founding of the Romanian press in Transylvania and George Bariţ's journalist activity up to the 1848 revolution*], *Anuarul institutului de istorie* 6, (1963): 11-39.

editor-in-chief, George Bariţiu. After 1850 it was mainly run by the Mureşeni family.[194]

The first editor from this family was Iacob Mureşianu (1812-1887), another important intellectual in our story here. His background was once again Greek-Catholic, his father was a priest, and he studied at the Theological Seminary in Blaj. Just like Bariţiu, Iacob Mureşianu moved to Braşov in 1837 to teach Latin at the Greek-Catholic Gymnasium, and he later became editor of the *Transylvanian Gazette* in 1850. He thus controlled an utmost important communication channel and came to own a cultural good. Furthermore, he accepted the position of director of the Gymnasium in 1857. In 1877 he became honorary member of the Romanian Academy of Sciences. All these credentials indicate a social position that allowed him to shape society as a whole. In his case, educational qualifications contributed the most to accumulating cultural capital in the Transylvanian society.

What is also important is that in 1840 Iacob Mureşianu had married Sevastia Nicolau (1824-1879), who was born in one of the richest merchant families in Braşov.[195] About Sevastia herself not much is known, except for the fact that she was active in the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*, right from the very beginning. Her mother, Maria Nicolau, was the first president of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* (see next chapter).

[194] Iacob Mureşianu (1850-1877), then Aureliu Mureşianu (1878-1910), Gregoriu Maior (1890-1900), Traian H. Pop (1901-1907), Elena Muresianu (1909-1911), and Victor Branişte (1907-1937). The gazette appeared twice per week between 1861 and 1879, three times per week in 1880-1884, and daily in the period 1884-1917.

[195] See also, Aurelian Armășelu, "Genealogia familiei Nicolau întocmită de Aurel A. Mureșianu la 27 noiembrie 1935," [*The family tree of the Nicolaus made by Aurel A. Mureșianu on 27 November 1935.*] *Țara Bârsei* 3, (2004): 49-59.

The marriage alliance between Iacob Mureşianu and a merchant family was symptomatic for the dynamics of the Romanian local elite of Braşov. The fusion of merchant and intellectual elites in the whirlpool of the mid-nineteenth century pushed the "nation as a family" metaphor almost into the realm of the literal. Half a century later, on the occasion of the memorial service from 1912 for Iacob Mureşianu, Maria Baiulescu (then president of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*) noted that the emotionally charged atmosphere seemed to be triggered by stronger ties, resembling the family ones:

> This is how it used to be once when we all thought we were relatives, and it seems to me that our dear parents related us with all Romanians, otherwise we could not have such incommensurable love to feel so deeply for our entire beloved kind.[196]

The Mureşeni family played a lasting role in the process of Romanian-nation building in Braşov. In the following chapters, the reader will meet with some of their roles ranging from those acting as public intellectuals to professionalizing journalism, to nationalizing the masses, to setting up associations and schools, to inventing traditions, dances, and music for the Romanian nation and so forth. They were an almost ubiquitous presence in Braşov, and represented best the educated elite, as well as the cultural reproduction of capital within a family. Current collective memory keeps in mind some of the members of this family, in particular Andrei Mureşianu, "author of the national Marseillaise: 'Awaken, Romanian!' ['Deşteaptă-te române']".[197]

[196] "Letter from Maria Baiulescu," Braşov, 4 December 1912. AM, General Collection, File 58, Doc. 13,653, p. 2-3. In original: "Aşa era pe vremuri că toţi ne socoteam rudenii, şi mie îmi pare că scumpii noştrii părinţi ne-au înrudit cu toată Românimea, altfel n-am avea atâta nemăsurată dragoste să simţim aşa de adânc pentru întreg neamul nostru iubit."
[197] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIV, no. 76, 7/19 July 1881, p. 3.

The wheel turns full circle when we return once again to the merchants. It was in Gheorghe Nica's house – one of the richest Romanian merchants in Braşov – that the idea of the *Transylvanian Gazette* came to fruition and received approval.[198] As it was the custom of the time, private houses of the well-off rather than public places served as main socializing venues for the elite. George Bariţiu, Andrei Mureşianu, Iacob Mureşianu – initiators of the newspaper – came together almost daily in Nica's house, whose nickname was "Father of Greek Catholics" (*tata uniţilor*).[199]

Fig. 2.3: Gheorghe I. Nica's portrait.[200]

[198] Baiulescu, *Monografia comunei bisericeşti*, 160.
For the acknowledgment of Gheorghe Nica's contribution to the establishment of the gazette, see also Mircea Gherman, 'Date şi fapte privind activitatea lui Iacob Mureşianu la "Gazeta Transilvaniei" (1838-1877),' [*Dates and facts regarding Iacob Mureşianu's activity at 'Transylvania's Gazette' (1838-1877)*] in *130 de ani de la apariţia Gazetei de Transilvania*, ed. Mircea Băltescu (Braşov, 1969), 2.
[199] Baiulescu, *Monografia comunei bisericeşti*, 160.
Bartolomeu Baiulescu tells us that Gheorghe Nica (1792-1870), born in 1792 in Prejmer, educated at a Saxon school, moved to Braşov in 1815 as associate at the family trade company "Nichifor Nica." He earned his fortune through trade, establishing factories for wax candles and cotton, further expending his business by going into mining at the border with Moldavia. Some of these exports went as far as Orghidan's, to Marseille. His wealth and influence were well matched by a high social position in Braşov, where the Saxons elected him to serve on the town council in 1838 – an honor unmatched until then by other Romanians. Telling for the community involvement and for the social prestige that the Nica family had is the fact that funeral ceremonies for family members were often conducted by many priests – as many as nine at a time.
"Nica Nichifor Family," AM, General Collection, File 126, Doc. 12,547, p. 3-4.
[200] AM, General Collection, Doc. 16,575.

Print in the vernacular, translations, bilingual dictionaries, a profound concern for education and religion institutions for the nation were the common goals of the Romanian merchants and of the educated elite that came together in Braşov. It was a time "rich in ideas and deeds, which found fertile ground especially here in Braşov, in this commercial center of Transylvania, where a more independent and enterprising spirit was born with the welfare of Romanian families."[201] The following chapter explores yet another project that emerged in this milieu, namely a women's growing solidarity and commitment to open access to education for girls. The Romanian women's association in Braşov formed in 1850 mobilized the network of Romanian philanthropic merchants in the Empire.

[201] "Elena A. Mureşianu's speech," in *Raport despre festivităţile jubileului semicentenar al Reuniunii femeilor române din Braşov şi istoricul Reuniunii pe baza actelor, dela înfiinţarea internatului până în ziua de astăzi de Lazăr Nastasi, secretarul Reuniunei* [*Report about the half a century celebrations of the Romanian women's association in Braşov and the history of the association based on documents, from the establishment of the boarding school until today, by Lazăr Nastasi, the secretary of the Association.*] ed. Lazăr Nastasi (Braşov: Tipografia A. Mureşianu, 1902), 20.

3 THE ROMANIAN WOMEN'S ACTIVISM IN BRAŞOV

> Carolina Gaertner, born Cepescu, wife of a high ranking engineer in Sibiu, died at midnight, on the night of March 16/4, after a short yet devastating illness. She was only 33 years old when she left her family in mourning: her beloved husband, Carol, and her sons [sic], George, Elisa, Carol, Victor, Eugen, and Demetriu, as well as her grieving parents, Demetriu and Ecaterina Cepescu, her brother-in-law and her niece, Constantin Nicolau and Ecaterina. She was buried with all the honors in the Greek Orthodox cemetery, at the gate of the tower, in Sibiu. She was truly an example of a good mother and Romanian lady and despite the fact that she was surrounded by so many sons, she left behind many translations into Romanian, as products of her literary activities. May she rest in peace and may her memory never be forgotten![202]

This chapter charts the development of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*, established in 1850, in the aftermath of the 1848-49 revolutions.[203] It tries to bring forth what everyday had to offer in that period, not only in the limited vision channeled by nationalism, but in the frame of another project that created same-sex solidarity. Certainly, the broader theoretical theme could be framed as the connection between feminisms and national movements, and this is a vast research field indeed. But the main purpose of this dissertation cannot incorporate such an overarching research question. The reason is the incongruence between the scale and scope of the present research, and the much more encompassing and multi-scale level that the question about feminisms and nationalisms implies. The scale of the present analysis cannot extend over the whole of Transylvania so as to investigate the local contexts in which a women's movement took shape. But it is, by all means, crucial to obtain these

[202] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXX, no. 20, March 24/12, 1867, p. 80. Both the Cepescus and the Nicolaus were important merchant families in Braşov. See previous chapter.

[203] The full title was "Reuniunea Femeilor romane spre ajutorul crescerei fetiţielor orfane, serace, şi mai înteiu acelor fetice romane, a căror părinţi au căzut în revoluţiunea maghiaro-Transilvană din anii 1848 şi 1849". The sources I used for this chapter are from SJBAN (Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov) and AM (General Collection).

local perspectives instead of relying on newspaper accounts about what women did and with what purpose. Moreover, another key aspect that historiography has neglected is the position of and the inner debates in the Romanian National Party in Hungary on the topic of universal suffrage in the broader context of Austria-Hungary. The areas yet to be explored in the historiography of this topic are vast. Having identified a few of them, this chapter seeks to contribute a case study to the bigger puzzle of Romanian women's movement in Hungary. The Romanian women's association in Braşov is widely considered in historiography to be the "first feminist association"[204] among Romanians in Hungary.

This chapter relies on three terminological distinctions from a book by Annemieke van Drenth and Francisca de Haan – *The rise of caring power*.[205] The two authors studied women's involvement in society by studying the work of the British Quaker Elizabeth Fry and of Josephine Butler. In brief, the former cared for the proper treatment of female prisoners, the latter about prostitutes. The book is centered on the idea of "the rise of caring power" and the authors argue that in context of caring power, "women began to feel responsible for 'those of their own sex' and developed a new sense of collective gender identity."[206] All female organizations were established afterward and a (middle-class) women's movement began to take shape.

As mentioned above, the central concept of this book is the "caring power" – a derivation from Michel Foucault's pastoral power, as practiced by male clergy to assure the individual's salvation in the next world.[207] Van Drenth and de Haan used

[204] See Stiger, "Mişcarea feministă românească din Transilvania," 237. See also the historiography part in the *Introduction*.
[205] Annemieke van Drenth, Francisca de Haan, *The rise of caring power: Elizabeth Fry and Josephine Butler in Britain and the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999).
[206] Ibid., 12.
[207] Ibid., 14-15.

"caring power" with two emphasized meanings: on the one hand, instead of the male clergy, it was lay women and men that were the agents of this type of power (the authors call this process double secularization); on the other hand, the concept highlights the mode of power, or the technique – *care*.[208]

This concept is particularly useful in the context of this research. First, we observe the secularization of the elite of the Romanian national movement: from the Greek Catholic clergy that had a window of opportunity to study in Vienna and Rome (see the Leopoldine diplomas) to the generous replacement of the clergy with the middle class continuation of the movement in the nineteenth century. Second, on the local level we observe that merchants and intellectuals carried the national torch. And to continue this secularizing move, on the local level, this chapter introduces lay women as agents of the caring power. Van Drenth and de Haan explain that in the context they analyzed it was only later in the nineteenth century that secular goals of caring power gained primacy over the religious ones.[209] More specifically, their context for the rise of caring power was "the combined discourses of humanitarian sensibility and evangelical Protestantism."[210] By contrast to their analysis, the *Romanian women's association* was placed in the philanthropic tradition of the Greek Balkan merchant.

Last but not least, the authors proposed another interesting and useful re-thinking of the women's social and political activities, which brings more clarity to our research context as well. They distinguished between *women's activism* ("women's social and social-political activities undertaken on behalf of others, such as

[208] Ibid., 15.
[209] Ibid., 16.
[210] Ibid., 24.

the poor, or slaves, or to create a better world in general"), *the women's movement* ("organized activities of women on behalf of other women, based on an identification with 'those of their own sex' sometimes expressed by the notion of sisterhood"), and *feminism/feminist movement* ("the fight for equal rights and/or activities aimed at ending male domination and privilege, a struggle for which arguments of women's and men's 'equality' as human beings, or of women's 'difference' could be used").[211] This chapter focuses on the first two dimensions of the caring power: women's activism and women's movement – from a local perspective.

3.1 Early Days for the Romanian Women's Activism

Let us begin with a *mise-en-abîme* type of story. Little is known about the precursor of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*, and the information that was passed along from newspapers to brochures and articles is wrapped in the nationalizing language of the writers. The newspaper has it that in 1815 a group of thirty-three women joined forces together to form a Romanian women's association in Pest.[212] Their goal was to contribute financially to the education of Greek Orthodox children (*copii de rit grecesc neunit*).[213] They fulfilled their mission by making donations to a schooling fund established at the beginning of the nineteenth century for "the schools of Romanians, Serbs, and Greeks."[214] There are a few important observations to make with regard to this association, bearing in mind the fact that we are left with only a few newspaper articles to document its history.

[211] Ibid., 46-7.
[212] Octavian Lugoşianu, "Societatea femeilor române din anul 1815," [*Romanian women's association in 1815*] in *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, 22 June (4 July) 1895, no. 139, p. 2.
[213] Ibid., 1.
[214] Ibid.

First, it was Orthodox religion that held this association together, and came as an overarching denominator, by-passing national self-identifications. Second, it was an association established by women. More than half a century later – in 1895 – a Romanian newspaper article claimed the association for the national movement: "May this exemplary propensity for national culture and happiness be cherished and be imitated by other women with kind thoughts from among the many communities of this denomination (*rit*)! May they become part of that association with a noble goal in big numbers proving readiness and steadiness so as to earn appreciation from the national culture."[215] Third, the same author noted that "[a]ll these members of the association were Aromanian Romanians (*Românce macedonene*), and we believe it to be our duty to reveal their beautiful contribution to the big creation of Romanianism."[216] The observation tells us that actually it was thirty-three Aromanian women who set up this association in Pest. This brings to the fore the Aromanians' contribution to the Romanian nation-building process in the Habsburg Empire. Due to their social and economic status as well-off merchants, Aromanians were in a position to contribute a great deal to shaping Romanian nationalism.[217] It is a contribution difficult to disentangle in the whirlpool of ethnic-identity formations from the long nineteenth century, and also difficult to read against nationalizing accounts. Nonetheless, it is important to underscore, where possible, the Aromanians' input.

[215] Ibid., 2.
[216] Ibid.
[217] This influence was, of course, not unidirectional. For the influence of the Transylvanian School upon the Aromanian intellectuals at the beginning of the nineteenth century – an especially fruitful and decisive period in the formation of the enlightenment-romantic projects of the Aromanians – see Steliu Lambru, "Narrating national utopia. The case Moschopolis in the Aromanian national discourse." *Xenopoliana*, X (2001):
URL: http://institutulxenopol.tripod.com/xenopoliana/arhiva/2001/pagini/7.htm

The Aromanian women's association in Pest established to further the education of Orthodox children – be them Romanian, Serbs, or Greeks – opens the doors to a milieu similar to the one in Braşov that was described in the previous chapter. The first president of the Romanian women's association in Braşov was Maria Nicolau, an Aromanian woman from the Greek merchants' milieu in Braşov. And the similarities between the two associations continue.

In keeping proportions, the Pest milieu, which had attracted a pocket of Greek merchants, was similar to the position that Braşov had at the crossroad of Empires.

> It is no less true that in those times a powerful national wave was born here [Buda], which contributed to a great extent to the reawakening of the Romanian people, through printed matters and through the journeys that the boyars and merchants from Wallachia and Moldavia used to make in Hungary's capital. For a long time, Buda was for the Danubian Principalities the connection with the cultivated countries of the West (*ţările cultivate ale apusului*).[218]

This connection was established and maintained especially by the "Macedonian colony from Pest" (*colonia macedoneană din Pesta*),[219] the middlemen involved in trade business who financially supported the establishment of the women's association and the funding of education for Orthodox children.

Out of this social milieu, one can still glean from newspapers Elena Grabovsky's name[220] - the first president of the Aromanian women's association in Pest. She came from a wealthy Aromanian family, related to the famous Andrei Şaguna (1809-1872), who later became Bishop and Metropolitan of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the Habsburg Empire. And Şaguna, as we shall see,

[218] Octavian Lugoşianu, "Societatea femeilor române din anul 1815," in *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, 23 June (5 July) 1895, no. 140, p. 2.
[219] Ibid., 3.
[220] Alternative spellings of this family name include Grabowski, Grabovszky, Grabovschi, and Grabovski.

was one of those characters who perhaps not surprisingly had a great deal to say in the trajectory of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*. Meanwhile, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Atanasie Grabovsky, Elena's husband and Andrei Şaguna's uncle, was president of the *Greek Company*, and because of his financial generosity, he was also regarded as "patron of Romanians and Serbs."[221] The intellectual milieu he fostered testified to the fact that "he enjoyed having an open house and [that] he was friends with high-ranking persons: with bishops and nobles from Pest, with boyars from Bucharest, and especially with the Golescu family."[222] The association presidents that followed in the next couple of years – Maria Rózsa and Maria Nikolcs (who was also the former wife of Atanasie Grabovsky) – were Aromanians too. This is yet another telling fact for the vast network and influence of these wealthy families that supported education, religion, and yet another emerging form of solidarity that fully developed in the long nineteenth century.[223]

This story leaves many questions unanswered fault of a lack of sources; but it also brings in a constellation of factors and relations, such as kinship, religion, gender, and ethnicity, in the reshuffling period of the beginning of the nineteenth century. Let us examine the re-emergence of a women's activism in Braşov, in a pocket with similar elements – Greek merchants, trade routes, networks, philanthropy, and the impetus to develop bigger projects.

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[221] Octavian Lugoşianu, "Societatea femeilor române din anul 1815," in *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, 23 June (5 July) 1895, no. 140, p. 3.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Among the most representative merchant families of Aromanians who contributed to this association were Grabovsky, Mutso, Economu, Pometa, Dumcea, Derra, and Gojdu – this latter influential personality generously sponsored the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* as well. See Maria Berényi, "Activitatea unor femei celebre pentru întărirea ortodoxiei româneşti din Transilvania şi Ungaria secolului al XIX-lea," [*The activity of famous women for strengthening Romanian Orthodoxy in Transylvania and Hungary during the nineteenth century*] in *Simpozion. Comunicările celui de al XVII-lea simpozion al cercetătorilor români din Ungaria (Budapesta, 24-25 noiembrie 2007)* [*Symposium. Papers from the seventeenth Symposium of the Romanian researchers in Hungary (Budapest, 24-25 November 2007*], ed. Maria Berényi (Giula, 2008), 35 and 61-2.

3.2 The Romanian Women's Association in Braşov

This is how the story might have begun:

> Hardly had the waves of the revolution calmed down when the Romanian ladies in Braşov, filled with a noble spirit according to which each individual and each association is indebted to contribute to the advancement and flourishing of their nation through the means that they have, gathered and took counsel together as to what they could do to alleviate the sad fate of the many orphans deprived of their parents by the war that had just ended. [224]

The history of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* started in the aftermath of the 1848-49 revolutions, when "the hundreds and thousands of Romanian orphans" whose parents "had offered their blood to protect the throne and the fatherland"[225] became the focus of philanthropic interest. As a response to the orphans' situation estimated to be around 7,000,[226] on 12/24 March 1850 a group of people formed in Braşov the *Romanian women's association* in the Habsburg Empire. For the beginning, the purpose of the association was that of supporting and bringing up the poor Romanian orphan girls – first and foremost those Romanian girls whose parents had died in the Hungarian-Transylvanian revolution from 1848 and 1849.[227] After fulfilling the short-term goal of providing for the immediate needs of the 1848-49 Romanian orphan girls, the long-term purpose of the association was to further contribute to the upbringing and education of Romanian orphan girls, as well as to those children whose parents had contributed to the association in the first place.[228]

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[224] AM, Doc. 9134/564, p. 2.
[225] AM, Doc. 9134/564, p. 1. In original: "îşi oferiră sângele lor ca să apere tronul şi patria".
[226] Letter by Maria Nicolau, 30 August 1851, AM, Doc. 564/9053, p. 1.
Ambrus Miskolczy put forth the number of the official inquiries to 5,400 Romanian lives lost in the revolutions, out of an estimated 18,000 Transylvanian victims. See Miskolczy, *Romanians in Historic Hungary*, 107.
[227] "Founding documents to the Austrian throne," 16/28 March 1850, AM, Doc. 9054/5/1, p. 1. The governor of Transylvania, Ludwig von Wohlgemuth, approved the document at Sibiu, on 21 October 1850.
[228] Ibid., p. 3.

> After the association will fulfill its main purpose in a few years' time, namely to help the mentioned orphan girls, the fund of the association will be transformed into a philanthropic institute for the upbringing and instruction of all that is connected to the feminine sex, referring to our orphans bereft of both parents and to those girls whose parents had contributed to the gains of the association.[229]

The association was able to hold a meeting for the first time in March 1850, when members elected their first president. She was Maria Nicolau,

> [a] well-educated woman, kind, modest, and wise – the only daughter of Bălaşa Cepescu, wife of the distinguished merchant, the first among the founders of the Romanian church in the old town of Braşov. Lady Bălaşa enjoyed great fame among Romanian women in Braşov, not only because of her virtues, but also for her higher intelligence, being the only one who was able to read Romanian books at the beginning of last century. She owned all of our oldest writings, starting with the Bible translated by historian Clain, then Alexandria, Chichindel's fables etc.[230]

On her husband's side, she was part of an old merchant family of Aromanian origin that had moved to Braşov in the early eighteenth century, coming from "Turkish territories" (*ex terris turcicis*) – either from the Banat or from Macedonia.[231] The Nicolau family then started trading wax and cotton from the Ottoman Empire, and merchandise from Venice and Trieste.[232] In 1851 Maria Nicolau's husband, Dimitrie S. Nicolau, became, together with their son Constantin, co-owner of the first petroleum refinery in Transylvania.[233] In 1840 their daughter, Sevastina, had married Iacob Mureşianu who played a big part in the process of Romanian nation-building, especially as editor-in-chief of the *Transylvanian Gazette*. Sevastina Mureşianu was

[229] Ibid.
[230] "Elena A. Mureşianu's speech," in *Raport despre festivităţile jubileului semicentenar*, ed. Lazăr Nastasi, 11.
[231] Aurel A. Mureşianu, "Contribuţii la istoria vechei familii braşovene a Nicolaeştilor," [*Contributions to the history of the old family of the Nicolaus in Braşov*] in *Ţara Bârsei* III, no. 4 (1931): 317.
[232] Hâciu, *Aromânii*, 324.
[233] Mureşianu, "Contribuţii la istoria vechei familii braşovene a Nicolaeştilor," 325-6. See also, Armăşelu, "Genealogia familiei Nicolau," 49-59.

also one of the fifty-three women present at the founding of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*.[234]

3.2.1 Network, Patrons, and Members

The Romanian women's project stemmed out of caring for orphan girls and extended to opening access to education for girls on the long term. "The rise of the caring power," to use van Drenth and de Haan's phrasing, will become obvious once we have a grasp of the association's network of support, financial growth, and goals attained.

In spring 1850, when the committee of the association met for the first time, the members also drew the association bylaws, which the authorities approved in late November 1840. How could it have been otherwise when even the wife of Transylvania's governor, Sophie von Wohlgemuth, donated fifty Gulden in support of the *Romanian women's association* in March 1850?[235] On the occasion of her donation, the governess assured president Maria Nicolau that nothing was keeping her husband from approving the establishment of the association, and that her own intervention in their favor was not even needed.[236]

This correspondence shows that the founders of the women's association had reached far and especially high in the Habsburg Empire, and later, in the Romanian Kingdom as well. In 1854 Empress Elisabeth of Austria accepted the status of highest patron of the association and brought 750 florins as her financial contribution to

[234] Document listing the names of the women who voted the president of the RFR in March 1850, SJBAN, Collection The Romanian women's association, Doc. 4143, p. 2.
[235] "Letter from Sophie von Wohlgemuth to Maria Nicolau," Hermanstadt, 5 March 1850, AM, Doc. 9137, p. 2.
[236] Ibid., 1.

progress of the association.[237] In her honor, the association chose 19/7 November as date for the general annual meetings since this was the name day of Empress Elizabeth of Austria, the most prominent patrons of the association. Toward the end of the century, against the background of a confused situation involving Hungarian authorities that required the document that attested Empress Elisabeth of Austria as patron of the association – a document that the association did not manage to find – the leadership of the association decided to extend its network of patrons in the Romanian Kingdom. Consequently, in 1893 they successfully approached Queen Elisabeth with the request of becoming patron of the association in Braşov.[238]

When the governor of Transylvania, Ludwig von Wohlgemuth (1849-1851), approved the establishment of the Romanian women's association in 1850, he also required that the association appoint three to five Romanian women as patrons.[239] Their mission, according to the association committee, was to protect the association through their high-reaching influence in Pest and Vienna, and to sacrifice themselves "on the wide field of the Romanian nation's women's culture that awaits any benefic institute."[240] The choice of patrons was not only the result of politics and of lobbying at the highest level of the Empire, but it also involved politics among Romanian elites as well, as the status of patron of the association might have functioned as an appeasement of possible conflicts. An explanatory note is necessary here for what was probably a discordant situation involving Romanian elites, which had at its roots the following discrepancy. Since the beginning of the association, there was the idea of a gradually expanding network of such institutions in other places inhabited by

[237] "Elena A. Mureşianu's speech," in *Raport despre festivităţile jubileului semicentenar*, ed. Lazăr Nastasi, 15-6.
[238] SJBAN, Collection The Romanian women's association, Doc. 1718, p. 1.
[239] "Letter from the committee of the association to Baroness Sina," 1852, AM, Doc. 564/9077, p. 2.
[240] Ibid., 4.

Romanians.[241] The initial plan, before submitting the bylaws to higher authorities for approval, was to request the establishment of other local branches throughout territories inhabited by Romanians. However, for unknown reasons, this plan was not carried through and as a result, only the Romanian women's association was established in Braşov. This caused a fair amount of discontent among other parties who were meant to be the leaders of these local branches.[242] To appease this conflicting situation, the choice of patrons was then made accordingly, following the advice of the Mocioni family, especially Petru Mocioni.[243] These women were Hurmuzachi, Juliana Mocioni de Fenu, and Baroness Ifigenia de Sina.[244] They were representative of the impressive network of support that the association had, and at the same time, they were the ones who contributed most significantly to the foundation of the association. For instance, in the first years of existence, the Romanian women's association relied heavily on the donations raised by the Hurmuzachi family, especially by Constantin Hurmuzachi who managed to raise 533 galbeni from 1852 to 1853.[245] Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi had generously contributed as well.[246] Juliana Mocioni

[241] Ibid.
[242] "Letter from Ion Maiorescu to the committee of the association," Vienna, 10 March 1851, AM, Doc. 559/9156, p. 5.
[243] Ibid., 6.
[244] "Letter from the committee of the association to Baroness Sina," 1852, AM, Doc. 564/9077, p. 5.
The Sina family was of Aromanian origin, from Moschopolis. Greek Orthodox. Most representative members were Simeon and Gheorghe Sina, father and son, and together they ran an important bank. Also known as Georg Simon Freiherr von Sina. Von/de Sina became bankers and were widely known in the Habsburg Empire. See „Sina zu Hodos und Kizdia**,** Georg Simon Frh. von (1782-1856), Unternehmer, Bankier und Großgrundbesitzer," in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, Bd. 12 (Lfg. 57, 2004), 289-291.
Stoianovich mentions the Sina family from Moschopolis who settled in 1750 in Sarajevo, and finally later in Vienna. He gives information about Simon G. Sina (1753-1822), whose banking enterprise gained European fame. He also became "the foremost importer of cotton and wool from the Ottoman Empire during the British blockade of Napoleonic France and Europe." He was ennobled. Survived by his son, Baron George S. Sina, who took over the family businesses – the family bank and the control of trade with wool, cotton, tobacco.
See Stoianovich, "The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant," 302.
[245] AM, Doc. 578/9838.
[246] See Maria Nicolau's printed letter, on behalf of the Association, 1851. AM, General Collection, Doc. 5, no. 9,064. The Hurmuzachis were a boyar family from Bukovina. At the end of the eighteenth

had made her personal financial contributions and promised to help the association constantly with a sum of money for the following ten years to come.[247] Bishop Şaguna was also involved in the fund-raising of the association. He had lobbied on its behalf, and as a result, Baroness Sina donated on one occasion the trully impressive amount of 1,000 florins.[248]

From the highest of ranks to the poorest of people, the association tried to co-opt people into its mission regardless of their nationality. But how exactly did these patrons fit in the association? And what was the formal hierarchy within it? The founding documents stipulated that the authority and responsibility of the association remain concentrated in the hands of a twelve-woman committee.[249] These members were elected for a period of three years and usually had to reside in Braşov; they also

century, Constantin Hurmuzaki was among the recognized nobles of the empire, with the title of knight. He had four children: Nastasia, Alecu, Iordachi, and Constantin. Doxachi (Eudoxiu) Hurmuzachi (1782-1857) owned lands in both Moldavia and Bukovina, and his family is more important. Married to Ilena Murgulet, they had two daughters and five sons. Constantin Hurmuzaki (1811-1869) studied law in Moldavia and had a career in politics, holding a few minister positions. Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki (1812-1874) was a historian and politician who had studied in Vienna and toward the end of his life received the title of Baron. His brother, George Hurmuzaki (1817-1882) was also recognized as a Baron (in 1881), and had studied in Vienna as well. George and Alecu (his borther) founded a Romanian newspaper called "Bukovina".
For further information about the genealogical tree of this family, see Octav-George Lecca, *Familiile Boereşti Române. Istoric şi genealogie (după izvoare autentice)* [*Romanian boyard families. History and genealogy (based on authentic sources)*] (Bucureşti: Editura Minerva, 1899), 276-278.

[247] "Letter from Iuliana Mocioni to the committee of the association," Pest, 13/25 September 1852, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov, Doc. 4390/257.

[248] "Thank you letter to Şaguna from the committee of the association," 1851, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov, Doc. 4202/69.

[249] Maria Nicolau – first president – and the first committee that included the following women: Ana R. Orghidan (treasurer), Zoe Th. Ciurcu, Agnes H. Genoviciu (secretary), Maria Steriu, Stana A. Corbu, Zoe I. Petricu, Ecaterina B. Popu, Luisa H. Ciurcu, Paraschiva N. Teclu, Zoe N. Dima and Zoe I. Iuga. AM, Doc. 9134/564, p. 2.
Ana Orghidan, who became at a later time president of the association, was married to Rudolf Orghidan. He was one of the wealthiest merchants in Braşov in mid-nineteenth century, and he also supported financially one of the first (albeit short-lived) newspapers in Braşov: "Foaia Duminicii" (1837). George Bariţiu was editor. Rudolf Orghidan was also instrumental in establishing the Romanian Orthodox Gymnasium in Braşov (1850).
Rudolf Orghidan also paid for the publishing of "Gramatica romaneasca si nemteasca pentru tinerimea nationala, intr-acest chip intocmita de un prieten al natiei" (învăţătorul Dim Leca) at the I. Gött Publishing House in 1838. See Andrei Bârseanu, *Istoria şcoalelor centrale române greco-ortodoxe din Braşov, scrisă din incidentul jubileului de 50 de ani ai gimnaziului* [*The history of the Romanian Greek-Orthodox central schools in Braşov, written on the occasion of the 50 year celebration of the gymnasium.*] (Braşov: Tipografiu Ciurcu. 1902), 21-22.

worked closely with three or four "trustworthy men" (*bărbaţi de încredere*/ *Vertrauensmänner*) who also received a three-year mandate.[250]

The same 1850 document made a mention of four other possible affiliations for women to the *Romanian women's association*: there were going to be three to five important ladies from the Monarchy appointed as "patrons" of the association (as described above); Romanian women who contributed and took part in the mission of the association were called "members" of the association; women who gave their own share to the association were named "honorary members"; and finally, those women who gave important sums of money to the association, during their lifetime or postmortem, were titled "benefactors."[251]

The 1860 modification of the association's bylaws brought in the distinction between Romanian women and women of other nationalities with regard to their relation to the association. Thus, Romanian women who contributed one florin per year were regarded as "current members" of the association. However, non-Romanian women who contributed to the association financially were titled "honorary members." Finally, women, in general, regardless of nationality, were called "benefactors" if they made a significant contribution to the association.[252] Of all these

[250] Their names are not always recorded in the documents, but these "trustworthy men" were most influential personalities, such as George Bariţiu. Fragmentary evidence shows that the appointed "trustworthy men" were the following people: from 1861 onwards for three years – G. Bariţiu, G. Munteanu, G. Datco, G. Ioanu; from 1864 onwards for three years – G. Bariţiu, Damian Datcu, Ioan G. Ioan, Iacob Mureşianu; from 1897 – Petru Nemes, Vasile Voina, Valeriu Bologa, Andrei Braseanu; from 1900 – Petru Nemes, Gheorghe Popp, Vasile Voina, Andrei Bersan. The source quoted for the 1861 and 1864 mentions is AM, General Collection, Doc. 9134/564, p. 8. For the other two mentions, see "Report 1897/8," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov, Doc. 1975, p. 1. And "Report 1900-1901," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov, Doc. 2083, p. 1.

[251] "Founding documents to the Austrian throne," 16/28 March 1850, AM, Doc. 9054/5/1, p. 1-2.

[252] *Statutele R.F. in Braşov pentru ajutorinţa orfanelor române, modificate în şedinţa generală din 31 Mai 1858 şi întărite de In. Guvern la 21 Octomvre 1860* [*Bylaws of the Romanian women's association, modified in the general meeting from 31 May 1858 and approved by the government on 21 October 1860*] (Braşov: Römer & Kamner, 1879), art. 4, p. 4. Compare, for instance, the 1 florin contribution to

categories, only current members had a right to vote in the business of the association – in the general assembly usually held on the name day of Empress Elizabeth of Austria, on 19/7 November.[253]

The exact number of members at all times remains to date unknown. The only mention of how well the association fared in its first five years in the whole of the Habsburg Empire is made in one document that counted 309 members (probably in its most general sense, as contributors).[254] The number of local members in Braşov could have been on average of at least a hundred, if we extrapolated the following numbers: 103 members for the years 1866-1868;[255] some decades later, in 1907-1908 Braşov counted 149 members;[256] after the war, from 1918-1919, the number of members had risen to 215[257] – perhaps unsurprisingly given the conditions and the commitment of the association as stated in 1916: "… The Romanian women's association in Braşov is and has always been ready to be at the disposal of the public authorities so as to help with accomplishing noble and humanitarian deeds."[258]

3.2.2 Local Branches: from Activism to Movement

In mid-nineteenth century the overall strategy of strengthening the position of the women's association in Braşov continued unabated. The leadership of the association contacted not only prominent figures from the Habsburg Empire, but it

the yearly salary of the secretary of the association who received up to 105 florins (p. 10 in this document). All the other members worked as volunteers for the association.

[253] Ibid., art. 6, p. 5.

[254] AM, Doc. 9171/573, p. 1.

[255] SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov, 1868, Doc. 1295. And SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov, 1867, Doc. 1294.

[256] "Lista membrelor pe anul 1907-1908," [*Membership list for 1907-1908*] 31 October/13 November 1908, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov, Doc. 2435.

[257] "Lista membrelor Romanian women's association, pe anul 1918-19," [*Membership list for 1918-19*] SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov, Doc. 2814.

[258] Letter 1916, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov, Doc. 2798.

also devoted generous efforts to efficient outreach with the purpose of raising money and/or of establishing, at a later date, local branches of the women's association in Braşov. As it seems, the plan that had not worked out at the beginning came into being later. And when such local associations were successfully established, they carried the ultimate goal of creating education opportunities for Romanian girls. According to the purposes of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*, members worked toward "the more solid education of females (*creşterea mai solidă a sexului femeiesc*), and especially of the poor orphans girls, first and foremost those belonging to the martyrs of our nation fallen in the 1848-9 revolution."[259] With the passing of years, this short-term goal was transformed into the more general project of offering access to education to girls. The Romanian women's activism demonstrated same-sex solidarity, and pursued projects on behalf of other women. Towards the turn of the century, the vastness of the Romanian women's network pointed to the development of a Romanian women's movement in Hungary. Up to the outbreak of World War One, sixty-one such associations had been established throughout Austria-Hungary, and about half of them formed in 1913 the *Union of Romanian women in Hungary*:

> [w]omen, with their social mission of benefaction and culture, have become an important factor in the life of a people. Today's problems, as well as our future's problems, do not allow us to remain in our narrow field of activity, because with a little help we could make up for many of the deficiencies that the Romanian woman faces in general, and with her, her family as well.
>
> Centralizing our women's association in the *Union of Romanian women in Hungary* makes possible such work though unity of thought.[260]

[259] "Letter from the committee of the association to Baroness Sina," 1852, AM, General Collection, Doc. 564/9077, p. 2.
[260] "Letter from Maria Baiulescu to all Romanian women's associations in Hungary," AM, Genral Collection, Doc. 564/9109.

The following chronology and map (see Fig. 3.1) present a fragmented, yet telling picture of the network of Romanian women's associations in the Habsburg Empire and after 1868 in Hungary:[261] 1850 – Braşov, 1863 – Lugoj, 1866 – Abrud[262], (1867 – Iaşi[263]), 1867 – Blaj[264], (1868 – Ploieşti), 1870 – Mediaş, 1876 – Făgăraş, 1879 – Turda, 1880 – Sălaj[265], 1881 – Şimleu, 1881 – Zărneşti, 1881 – Sibiu, 1884 – Arad, 1886 –Hunedoara, 1888 – Cluj, 1889 – Oraviţa[266], (1889 – Cernăuţi), 1891 – Răşinari, 1891 – Caransebeş, 1893 – Timişoara, 1897 – Bran, 1902 – Zlatna, 1913 – Bistriţa.

[261] The chronology is based on corroborating information from from archival sources as indicated in subsequent references and from the following secondary sources: Glodariu, "Unele consideraţii privind mişcarea feministă din Transilvania;" and Stiger, "Mişcarea feministă românească din Transilvania." Baiulescu, "Reuniunea Femeilor Române din Ardeal."
To make just a note here, the context of establishing these associations could have been very different in each case. Compare, for instance, the Romanian women's association in Braşov to the socialist-oriented establishment of the Romanian women's association in Ploieşti (1868), as indicated briefly in a document in SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov, Doc. 1324, p. 1.

[262] Archival sources indicate that this association was established much earlier than Maria Baiulescu indicates (Boabe de grâu). Namely, a protocol dates the existence of the association from Abrud at least to the year 1866. "Protocol din 26 ianuarie 1866," SJBAN, Doc. 1199. President: Anna Gallu. Among members: Maria Popp de Harsianu, Iuliana Tobias, Olivia Dorobanth, Sofia Telecki, Anna Duca. The main question of this protocol was whether this local branch of the association was able to fund a girls' school on their own.

[263] SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1303, p. 1.

[264] Document reporting financial matters, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, 24 March 1868, Doc. 1325. The local branch had 16 members in 1867 (p. 2). The information that Baiulescu gives is not accurate – this association was obviously much older than she claimed it to be (1890).

[265] *Familia*, Oradea-mare, XVI, no. 68, 7/19 September 1880, p. 431. (This is just a mention of the association, not the date of establishment.)

[266] The *Romanian women's association* in Oraviţa was not yet recognized by the state in 1889. Nonetheless, as the newspaper *Transilvania* recounted that year, it still had managed to have concrete plans for establishing a school for girls in the Banat: "Patru factori vor conlucra la realizarea ideii: comuna bisericească din Oraviţa-montana, 3 protopopiate: Oraviţa, Versietiu si Biserica albă, consistoriul din Caransebeşiu şi femeile române. Armonia acestor factori poate face minuni!" See "Scoala de fete cu internat in Oraviţa," in *Transilvania. Foaia Asociaţiei transilvane pentru literatură română şi cultura poporului roman*, XX, no. 21-22, Sibiu, 1-15 November 1889, p. 163.

Fig. 3.1: Map of Romanian women's associations in Austria-Hungary (selection).

The network of the *Romanian women's associations* charted a solid development throughout the pre-war period, indicating that these organized activities had been shaped into a women's movement. Indicative of this change is the fact that in 1913 thirty-one (out of a total of sixty-one) Romanian women's associations in Hungary gathered together in Braşov to form the *Union of Romanian women in Hungary*.[267] To reach such a magnitude on the scale of outreach and to form such a network, the association members had worked relentlessly.

But let us also take an example of how the outreach strategy of the association worked half-successfully. It is a realistic story because it makes reference to local stagnation, but also to the flow of information, and the pattern of fundraising for the Romanian women's associations.

[267] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXVI, no. 121, June 5/18, 1913, p. 1.

In the annual report for the year 1864-65, president Anastasia Datcu urged that the association expanded its reach outside of Braşov. On a page written in black ink, she made a note that twenty-eight letters had already been sent individually to prominent women in the Habsburg Empire with the purpose of requesting either the establishment of similar local institutions or of collecting money for the association in Braşov.[268] Such letters, as the one that president Anastasia Datcu sent on 19/31 July 1865 to Paulina Roman (born Covaci, married to Iosif Roman[269]), started by invoking "the honor of our sex, the national honor, and the interest in the advancement of our culture."[270] In such cases, the appeal to solidarity took almost immediate effect, but the actual practical outcome was usually much awaited. Paulina Roman had answered the call to action that she received from president Datcu that year. The newspaper *Familia*, published in Oradea-Mare (Nagyvárad), recalled that since 1870, Paulina Roman "had initiated the establishment of a Romanian school for girls in Oradea-mare."[271] The newspaper probably referred to the handsome sum of money (about 5,000 florins) that Paulina Roman had fund-raised and which her husband donated to the association in charge with promoting the girls' education after she died.[272] However, in 1900 when such news were published in *Familia* [The Family], not only had there been no school established yet, but also the association that was supposed to

[268] "Raportul despre lucrarile Comitetului Reuniunii f.r. in decursul anului al 16lea din 7/19 noiembrie 1864 – 7/19 noiembrie 1865, impartasitu adunarii generale," [*Report of the activities of the Romanian women's associaion during the 16th year of existence 1864-1865*] SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1158, p. 3.

[269] In the 1850s Iosif Roman (1829-1908) contributed poems to *Foaia pentru minte, inima si literatura.* He was also a member of the *Society of Reading of Oradea.* For the cultural context of this activity, see Vasile Todorici, "The cultural concerns of the studying youth from the Academy of Law of Oradea held in the society of reading," *Analele Universitatii din Oradea* XIX (2009): 109-132.

[270] "Letter to Paulina Roman from Oradea Mare from Anastasia Datcu in Braşov," 19/31 July 1865, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1175, p. 1.

[271] *Familia*, Oradea-mare, XXXVI, 17/30 September 1900, no. 38, p. 454.

[272] *Familia*, Oradea-mare, XVI, 7/19 September 1880, no. 68, p.430. Contrary to expectations, there were no women in this association. President was Teodor Kőváry, vice-president Simeon Bica, members Iosif Nestor, Nicolae Zigre, Iosif Erdeli, Ioan Popu, Silviu Rezeiu, Ioan Glitie, and Iosif Vulcan.

gather the funds for it had gone through latent years of inactivity. The enthusiasm from the 1880 inaugural address that praised "the topicality of education and […] its influence on the social and political life of a people"[273] had mysteriously faded away. Or at least so it seemed, but local failures and successes were all part of the story.

Among other areas of women's activism, one should mention that the Romanian women's solidarity identification with the ones of the same sex was expressed though the establishment of other associations with other purposes than providing education for girls. For instance, in 1884 Romanian women began to feel responsible for widows and they established *The women's association for protecting Romanian widows in Braşov and Săcele* (*Reuniunii femeilor române pentru ajutorarea femeilor române văduve din Braşov şi Săcele*). Women's power of caring can be gleaned from these self-reflexive lines:

> The goal of the Romanian women's association to help poor widows is so close to the woman's heart and so humanitarian that we would have expected to see women grouped for this purpose in every town.
>
> As far as we know a Romanian association of this kind is only our association in Braşov and Săcele.
>
> Only among Romanian women in Braşov, in better times, when the vibrations of the Romanian life were shinier and sparklier than nowadays, an association was established addressing a beautiful problem: healthy women taking care of those women who are ill and poor.[274]

[273] *Familia*, Oradea-mare, XVI, 7/19 September 1880, no. 68, p. 430.

[274] "Report of the women's associaton for protecting Romanian widows in Braşov and Săcele," 28 November 1905, SJBAN, Collection of documents of ASTRA library, Donation Muşlea, series 16, Doc. 20, p. 7. In original: "Scopul Reuniunii femeilor române pentru ajutorarea văduvelor sărace este atât de apropiat de inima femeii şi de altă parte atât umanitar încât s-ar putea aştepta ca în fiecare oraş să vedem constituite damele pentru necesar ca acestui scop.
Dupa câte ştim Reuniunea românească de felul acesta este însă numai Reuniunea noastră din Braşov şi Săcele.
Numai în mijlocul damelor române din Braşov, în timpuri mai bune, în timpuri când vibraţia vieţii româneşti era mai intensică şi mai scânteietoare decât acum, s-a constituit o reuniune cu problemă frumoasă: de a se îngriji femeile cele sănătoase şi cu stare de cele lipsite şi bolnave."

The end goal of the association, the report went on to specify, was to establish an asylum for poor widows.[275] The number of founding members was thirty-three, and the ordinary members numbered a hundred for the year 1904-1905.[276] Among other details, Constantin I. Iuga, from the old and famous merchant family, had supported the association for Romanian widows with 200 crowns per year in the past three years, reported the committee of the association in 1907.[277] For the year 1906-7 the association reported an income of 1962,39 crowns out of which 660 crowns were distributed to poor widows, and the rest of 1463,76 crowns was added to the main fund of the association, a total sum of 27055,90 crowns.[278] Among founders was also Victoria C. Iuga, who contributed 300 crowns to the funds of the association.[279] This indicates that the philanthropic tradition was preserved in merchant families over generations, contributing to various local projects, such as the Romanian women's association for helping poor widows.

3.2.3 The Clergy and the Association

The trajectory of the association remained in contact to the two representative Churches of the Romanians in the Habsburg Empire: the Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Churches. Their competition for souls bore an impact on the association as early as the mid-nineteenth century struck the hour. Although in the case of the Aromanian women's association from Pest, the religious marker seemingly acted as overarching and unifying, in the case of the Romanian women's association in Braşov, the religious aspect came to be characterized as "the clerics' whim"

[275] Ibid., 11.
[276] Ibid., 10.
[277] Ibid., 2-3.
[278] Ibid., 1.
[279] Ibid., 6.

(*capriciu popesc*) because it divided Romanians and it caused conflict with regard to the loyalties of the association.[280] This is an important point of discontinuity as compared to the first decades of the nineteenth century when religion was an overarching cohesion marker. The Romanian women's association diplomatically maintained connections with both the Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Churches, seeking financial support. But they also attempted to keep the clergy's interference at a distance. The founding documents from 1850 did not make a mention of the religious affiliation of the Romanian orphans or of the members of the association. Moreover, correspondence letters reveal, the association tended to the needs of both Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Romanian orphan girls, without discriminating between believers.[281] This novel situation, when lay women cared and took action in view of social purposes, was about to cause problems. In this case through sponsorship and patronage relationships, religion did go straight to the heart of the matter.

Through its outreach, the association received considerable financial support from a wide-range of people. From among religious figures, at the highest level Bishop Alexandru Sterca-Şuluţiu (1794-1867) donated money on behalf of the Greek-Catholic Church. In a letter from the early 1850s, the Bishop underscored the importance of such a philanthropic institution as the *Romanian women's association* because "[t]he baby takes his/her moral and noble attributes since he/she if in his/her mother's arms, or even in her womb…"[282] According to the Bishop, the association's

[280] "Letter," Arad, 25 October 1851, AM, General Collection, Doc. 515/3036, p. 1.
[281] "Letter to the Committee of the Romanian women's association," 23 October 1851, AM, General Collection, Doc. 9139/559, p. 1.
[282] „Fragment from a letter of Bishop Alexandru Sterca Şuluţiu sent to the Romanian women's association," 1851, AM, General Collection, Doc. 559/9146, p. 1.

goal was to "flourish and to produce the best and kindest mothers! –"[283] He donated fifty florins, on that occasion. As compared to this sum, the two florins that priestess Emilia Porumbescu from Bukovina donated seemed indeed like "the widow's two mites," as she herself described her contribution.[284]

By keeping the interference of the two Churches at the distance of sponsorship and lobbying, the *Romanian women's association* came under the attack of the highest Orthodox clergy who demanded unilateral loyalty and subordination. In December 1855 Andrei Şaguna, Bishop and Metropolitan of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the Habsburg Empire took drastic measures. First, he excommunicated the *Transylvanian Gazette* (whose editor-in-chief, Greek Catholic Iacob Mureşianu was the son-in-law of the association president, Maria Nicolau). Şaguna's act represented an attempt to eliminate competition for his own newspaper, *Telegraful roman* [The Romanian Telegraph].[285] Second, he then put an enormous pressure on the *Romanian women's association* in an attempt to channel it in a solely Greek Orthodox direction.[286]

Romanian elites were furious and revolted at Şaguna's radical reaction. In a letter from Moldavia to Iacob Mureşianu, August Treboniu Laurian reassured him that "good Romanians" still existed, and although he did not enumerate "Kogălniceanu,

[283] Ibid.
[284] Clips from the newspaper "Carpaţi," AM, General Collection, Doc. 573/9268.
[285] Mircea Gherman, "Corespondenţa lui Timotei Cipariu păstrată în arhiva Mureşenilor," [*Timotei Cipariu's correspondence stored in the Mureşeni Archive.*] *Cumidava* XII-1 (1979-1980): 241-242.
[286] See Valer Rus, "Schimbarea conducerii Reuniunii Femeilor Române reflectată în corespondenţa dintre Timotei Cipariu şi Iacob Mureşianu (1855-1865). "Uniţi" şi "neuniţi" pe drumul afirmării naţiunii," [*The change in the leadership of the Romanian women's association mirrored in the correspondence between Timotei Cipariu and Iacob Mureşianu (1855 - 1865). "Uniates" and "Non-Uniates" on the Road to National Assertion*] *Studia historia* 49, no. 2, (2004): 77-84. Valer Rus, "Confesionalism şi cultură la Iacob Mureşianu (1812-1887)," [*Confessionalism and culture in Iacob Mureşianu's case (1812-1887)*] *Ţara Bârsei* 10 (2010): 67. And Valer Rus, "Decembrie 1855 – ‚excomunicarea' *Gazetei Transilvaniei* de către episcopul Andrei Şaguna," [*December 1855 - the "excommunication" of Transylvania's Gazette by bishop Andrei Şaguna*] *Sargeţia* 28-29, no. 2 (1999-2000): 117-120. See also Gherman, "Corespondenţa lui Timotei Cipariu," 239-257.

Russu, Istrate, Ionescu and some other 'good-for-nothing' (*lichele*) among them," he referred positively to Hurmuzachi, and to the bishop from Cernăuţi who returned to Şaguna the fifty copies of the circular letter regarding the excommunication of the *Transylvanian Gazette*.[287]

As a consequence, nonetheless, in 1855 there was a change in the leadership of the association – Maria Nicolau stepped down from the position as president of the association. This change was precluded by a prolonged and open conflict that involved Şaguna, the association, and the newspaper.[288] Regardless of this change of leadership, the association continued its mission and acted as a catalyst for laity donors "regardless of religion or nation" – as stated in a letter (below) that was meant to counteract rumors that might have spread after Bishop Şaguna's intervention. This is a fragment from a standard letter sent to the patrons and benefactors of the association in an attempt to reassure them of the loyalty of the association and of its project:

> I am using this occasion, on the one hand, to declare on behalf of the Association that such words are untruthful; on the other hand, having a clean conscious, I wish to reassure You and all our sisters from Your social circle that the current committee, faithful to its mission, will receive money or objects for this philanthropic institute from any merciful person regardless of religion or nation (*fără a căuta la*

[287] "Letter from August Treboniu Laurian to Iacob Mureşianu," Iaşi, 20 January 1856, AM, General Collection, File 261, no. 7,570. Typewritten. August Treboniu Laurian was a historian, linguist, school inspector (in Moldavia at the time of writing the letter to Muresianu), and founding member of the Romanian Academy.

[288] Valer Rus, "Schimbarea conducerii," 77-84. We only have a fragmented view of all the presidents of the association throughout its existence. The following list records these fragments and gives in parantheses first the date of mention of the president and then the source: Maria Secarianu (1855/6; AM, Doc. 9134/564), Ana Orghidan (7/19 May 1856; AM, Doc. 9134/564), Zoe I. Petric (1860; AM, Doc. 9134/564), Maria Apostol Pop (1860/1; AM, Doc. 9134/564), Zamfira G. Iuga (7/19 November 1861; AM, Doc. 9134/564), Anastasia Datcu (7/19 November 1864; AM, Doc. 9134/564), Eufrosina I.G. Ioan (7/19 November 1867; AM, Doc. 9134/564; and 1868; SJBAN, Doc. 1295), Agnes Duşoiu (1900; AM, Doc. 9126/5; and 6/19 November 1903; SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1295), Virginia Vlaicu (1917; SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2819), Elena Sabadeanu (1918-1919; SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2814), Maria B. Baiulescu (1908; SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2461).

> *confesiune sau naţiune*); moreover, now and in the future it will distribute aid from this fund to the Romanian girls regardless of religion who became orphans after the sad 48 and 49 years.[289]

Throughout the Dualist period, the association benefited from the networks of support of both Churches, and followed its educational goals by relying on their financial support. The association implemented its education programs within the frame of both confessional schools (as it will be described later) throughout Dualism. Moreover, modified bylaws from 1858 further introduced a provision that referred to the dissolution of the association. If the worst came to worst, read the founding documents, the fortune of the association was to be distributed in two equal shares: one would have been directed to the Greek Orthodox Gymnasium in Braşov, the other share to the Greek Catholic Gymnasium from Blaj. The specific purpose of these two equally divided funds was only one: the income associated to these funds was to be used only for the education of Romanian girls, and the mentioned parties that were entrusted with these funds had to establish an institution in which female teachers could receive the necessary education for passing it down to girls.[290] This provision was maintained in the subsequent bylaws that were modified in 1900 and 1913. In the event of dissolution, the association authorized the most representative and relevant institutions of the two Churches: in 1900 the bylaws directed one part of the funds to the Trusteeship (*Eforia*) of the Greek Orthodox Romanian schools in Braşov, respectively to the churches that owned these, and the other part was destined to the Greek Orthodox consistory in Blaj, to be used for the Greek Catholic schools in that

[289] Ana Orghidan, president of the Romanian women's association, signed a printed standard letter to Iuliana Mocioni, on 1 July 1857, AM, General Collection, Doc. 9091/564.

[290] *Statutele Reuniunei F.R. în Braşov pentru ajutorinţa orfanelor române, modificate în şedinţa generală din 31 mai 1858 şi întărite de In Guvern la 21 Octomvre 1860* [*Bylaws of the Romanian women's association, modified in the general meeting from 31 May 1858 and approved by the government on 21 October 1860*] (Braşov: Tipărit la Römer & Kramner, 1879), AM, General Collection, Doc. 5/9122, p. 10.

town [291]; article 21 in the 1913 bylaws of the *Union of Romanian women in Hungary* stated that "[i]n case of dissolution, the fortune of the *Union* was to be shared in two equal parts – one for the archdiocesan consistory in Sibiu, the other one for Blaj – with the purpose of helping primary schools and boarding schools for girls.[292]

3.2.4 Finances

What amount of money did the association actually refer to when making provisions in case of dissolution? What was the financial outcome of this vast net of resources that was mobilized in the Habsburg Empire? The documents give us fragmentary glimpses into the development of the association and its reach. In the first eight years of the *Romanian women's association*, the incipient financial donations to the association showed a rapid and steady growth. As the figures in the following table perhaps surprisingly indicate, only a very small amount of money was spent yearly for the short-term goal of the association, e.g. supporting the Romanian orphan girls.

As a reference note here, I will mention a few figures so as to put the table below into perspective. As a way of lobbying and also of collecting money for the association, the *Romanian women's association* became famous for its balls in Braşov. In 1865 after throwing its customary ball (with a fifteen-year old tradition),

[291] *Statutele Reuniunii femeilor române din Braşov modificate în adunarea generală estraordinară ţinută în 25 Decemvrie 1900* [*Bylaws of the Romanian women's association, modified in the general meeting from 25 December 1900*] (Braşov: Tipografia Ciurcu & Comp., 1902), AM, Doc. 5/9126, p. 17-8.

[292] *Statutele „Uniunei Femeilor române din Ungaria,"* [*Bylaws of the Union of the Romanian women in Hungary*] (Brassó: Tipografia Ciurcu & Comp., 1913), AM, Doc., 5/9131, p. 16. The holdings of the local archives in Braşov only preserve documents from the establishment of the association until 1919. The Romanian women's association established after the fall of communism in Braşov was not a direct and legal continuation of the 1850 association.

the income of the association rose by 133 florins and 25 kreutzers[293]; in 1872 the ball in Braşov generated an income of 282 florins (Blaj, in this regard, fared better, accumulating 336 florins after their local ball);[294] in 1897 a ticket for the ball cost 1,50 florins per person, 3 florins for a family, and 2 florins for a balcony seat. [295]

The fundraising pattern of throwing balls so as to accumulate capital for the purposes of the *Romanian women's association* was a widely spread practice at the time. They opened up spaces of socialization where a national apparatus was put at work. "Romana" was a ballroom dance invented at the same time with the establishment of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* and the two of them became closely linked through practice and ritualization: at every ball that the association threw, "Romana" was danced. It was a nationalized form of socializing that took over the dance floors on such occasions intended for fundraising. This web of symbolic social practices will be analyzed in greater detail in the following chapter.

In returning to the outcome of fundraising, let us first review the financial situation of the association for the first eight years.

Period	Dates	Income	Expenditure
1st Year	15 December 1849 – 21/9 October 1850/1	4047 florins, 9 kreutzers	206 florins, 42 kreutzers
2nd Year	22/10 December 1851 – 21/9 October 1852	4255 fl., 37 kr.	36 fl., 41 kr.
3rd Year	22/10 October 1852 – 21/9 October 1853	3548 fl., 22 kr.	111 fl., 7 kr.

[293] Report for 7/19 noiembrie 1864 – 7/19 noiembrie 1865, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1158, p. 2.
[294] Report for the year 1871/2, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1367, p. 1.
[295] Invitation the the ball of the Romanian women's association, 11 (23) ianuarie 1897, AM, General Collection, Doc. 5/12567.

Period	Dates	Income	Expenditure
4th Year	22/9 October 1853 – 21/9 October 1854	2195 fl., 10 kr.	430 fl., 19 kr.
5th Year	22/9 October 1854 – 21/9 October 1855	1929 fl., 9 kr.	269 fl., 23 kr.
6th Year	22/10 October 1855 – 21/9 October 1856	1822 fl., 43 kr.	579 fl., 55 kr.
7th Year	22/10 October 1856 – 7/19 May 1857	904 fl., 45 kr.	416 fl., 40 kr.
8th Year	31/19 May 1857 – 19/31 May 1858	1917 fl., 36 kr.	276 fl., 39 kr.
Total income after yearly expenditures	15 December 1849 – 19/31 May 1858	15993 fl., 45 kr. (income) + 4624 fl., 45 kr. (interest) **20618 fl., 33 kr.** - 2327 fl., 26 kr. (expenditure) **18291 florins, 7 kreutzers**	

Table 3.1: The financial situation of the Romanian women's association (1849-1858) [296]

These figures point to the fact that the efforts of the association's members focused from the very beginning on securing a richer fund for future solid projects. In all these first years, orphans received from the association precisely 1679 florins and 40 kreutzers, while the rest of the donations were saved and invested, bringing 4624 florins and 45 kreutzers profit.[297] The new financial guiding principle of the association was that of investing all income with the aim of buying state stocks,

[296] The table is based on data collected from two booklets: *Computu publicu despre starea Collectionui Reuniunei F.R. pre sesse ani dela 30/18 Octom. 1850-21/9 Octom. 1855/6 publicatu de comitetulu reuniunei* [*Public accounting about the state of the Association for six years from 150 to 1855/6*] (Braşov: Römer & Kamner, 1857) AM, Doc. 12566/5. (The initial date, 15 December 1849, refers to the first donations received, even before the bylaws of the association were submitted for state approval.) And from *Comptu publicu despre starea Collectionui Reuniunei F.R.pe anulu al VII si al VIII, dela 21/9 Oct. 1856 până la 31/19 Maiu 1858, publicatu de Comitetulu Reuniunei* [*Public accounting about the state of the Association for the seventh and eighth year of activity*] (Braşov: Römer & Kamner, 1859). AM, Doc. 9120/5.

[297] *Comptu publicu despre starea Collectionui Reuniunei F.R.pe anulu al VII si al VIII, dela 21/9 Oct. 1856 până la 31/19 Maiu 1858, publicatu de Comitetulu Reuniunei* [*Public accounting about the state of the Association for the seventh and eighth year of activity*] (Braşov: Römer & Kamner, 1859). AM, Doc. 9120/5, p. 11.

leaving only three fourths of the profit for expenditures (the fourth was to be invested again).[298] At the end of the first eight years, the association took pride in a handsome sum of money, which it hoped it would invest in more concrete and durable projects, namely providing access to education for Romanian girls. The long-term goal of the association was "the flourishing and consolidation of the education of poor Romanian females"[299] and through it "to help the growth of our nation's culture and morality that depends so much on the culture of well-educated mothers." [300]

The financial evolution of the association for the entire Dualist Period can be gleaned only from sporadic documents that attest its development. By all accounts, the table below suggests that the association had fared well, especially since it opened new educational programs and supported others as well, at the same time managing to increase its capital almost yearly. This was, in fact, the core of Romanian women's activism in Braşov: access to education for Romanian young women.

Period	Capital
1864-1865[301]	26641 fl. 58 kr.
1866-1867[302]	29053 fl. 68 ½ kr.
1867-1868[303]	30282 fl. 54 ½ kr.
1871-1872[304]	33654 fl.
1879-1880[305]	37536 fl. 2 kr.

[298] "Project to change the bylaws of the association," Braşov, 1860, SJBAN, Doc. 989/5151, p. 2. This project was drafted a few times in the preceding years and in these versions the financial principle of investment appeared for the first time.
[299] "Letter from the committee of the association to Baroness Sina," 1852, AM, General Collection, Doc. 564/9077, p. 3.
[300] Ibid.
[301] "Report 1864-5," AM, Doc. 573/9176.
[302] AM, Doc. 9134/564, p. 9.
[303] SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1347, p. 1. [Efrosina Ioan – president; Maria Secareanu – treasurer]
[304] "Protocol," 31 October 1873, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1370, p. 1.
[305] "Raportul comitetului pe anul 1880/81," [*Committee report for 1880/81*] 5/17 November 1881, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1547, p. 2.

Period	Capital
1880-1881[306]	37968 fl. 68 kr.
1887-1888[307]	41075 fl. 60 kr.
1888-1889[308]	41708 fl. 99 kr.
1889-1890[309]	42523 fl. 99 kr.
1890-1891[310]	43066 fl. 16 kr.
1891-1892[311]	38406 fl.
1892-1893[312]	38878 fl. 21 kr.
1896-1897[313]	42182 fl. 33 kr.
1897-1898[314]	43094 fl. 09 kr.
1898-1899[315]	44000 fl. 45 kr.
1906-1907[316]	108236.45 cor. (≈ 54000 fl.)
1907-1908[317]	112208.02 cor.
1918-1919[318] (Union)	145570 cor. 20 fil.

Table 3.2: The financial situation of the Romanian women's association[319]

[306] Ibid.
[307] "Raport de activitate pe anul 1888/89," [*Activity report for 1888/89*] 6 November 1889, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1596, p. 1
[308] "Raport de activitate pe anul 1889/90," [*Activity report for 1889/90*] SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1612, p. 1. And "Raport de activitate pe anul 1888/89," [*Activity report for 1888/89*] 6 November 1889, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1596, p. 1.
[309] "Raport de activitate pe anul 1889/90," [*Activity report for 1889/90*] SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1612, p. 1.
[310] Lazăr Nastasi, *Raport despre festivităţile jubileului semicentenar*, 76.
[311] "Report 1892-3," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1694, p. 1.
[312] Ibid.
[313] "Report 1897/8," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1975, p. 5.
[314] Ibid.
[315] "Report 1898/1899," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2032, p. 6.
[316] "Report, 5 November 1908," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2437, p. 2.
[317] "Report for 1907/908, 4 November 1908," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2436.
[318] "Meeting of the committee of the Romanian women's association in Braşov," 9/22 septembrie 1919, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2820, p. 3.
[319] Note that 1 florin (fl.) = 100 kreutzer (kr.). After the monetary reform from 1892, 1 florin = 2 crowns (cor.) and 1 crown = 100 fileri (fil.). Both florins and crowns stayed in use until 1900, when only the crowns remained in use.
http://www.oenb.at/de/ueber_die_oenb/geldmuseum/allg_geldgeschichte/oesterr_geldgeschichte/gulden/gulden_und_kronen.jsp

If only by taking into account the increasing capital of the *Romanian women's association*, one could still argue that its efforts of mobilizing resources were impressive, ranging from "the widow's two mites" to the contributions of the Empress of Austria and of the highest and most generous of patrons. But how exactly was this money used to further the goals of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*?

Although philanthropic activities that targeted the Romanian orphans of 1848-49 prevailed in the first bylaws, after the first few years of activity it became obvious that one of the most important goals of the association was educating poor Romanian girls. Establishing suitable institutions for attaining this purpose became in a short time the priority of the committee. This project was carried out in the specific frame of Transylvania, where throughout the long nineteenth century there was a strong tendency of developing schooling along ethnic lines.[320] The Romanian women's efforts of providing access to education were part and parcel of this context in which alliances with churches had to be made. The following story of institutionalizing education for girlspresents a view from below and brings back into the picture different actors that took part in the consolidation of the education system in Transylvania, for it was not only religious elites (such as Şaguna) that contributed to founding education establishments. The whole story of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* and its activism actually shows what this dynamic was like at the local level. As Joachim von Puttkamer noted, this dynamic was possible in the frame of the government regulation that provided an incentive "for a broad participation of the laity in school affairs and gave an impetus towards the dynamic

[320] Joachim von Puttkamer, "Framework of Modernization: Government Legislation and Regulations on Schooling in Transylvania (1780-1914)," in eds. Victor Karády and Borbála Zsuzsanna Török, *Cultural dimensions of elite formation in Transylvania (1770-1950)* (Cluj-Napoca: Ethnocultural Diversity Research Center, 2008), 23.

development of all schools under the specific conditions of the confessionally structured multiethnic fabric of Transylvanian society."[321] In the following pages I focus on the timeline of the arduous efforts and input of the *Romanian women's association* in institutionalizing education for girls in Braşov.

3.2.5 Institutionalizing Education for Girls

The reader may well remember from the previous chapter that Braşov was not an ordinary town. It was "the biggest educational center in the region (and even in the whole country outside Budapest) with five classical secondary schools for boys by 1910 (hosting 1314 pupils)".[322] Judging by the levels of education, it is well known that Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics fared the poorest as compared to the rest of the denominations in the whole of Transylvania during Dualism.[323] At the bottom of this educational pyramid, in the most disadvantaged position were women. However, the reader is by now familiar with the fact that the denominational and gender gap in education terms was much smaller in Braşov County as compared to the regional unit of Transylvania. This is due largely to the efforts of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*. Let us review the difficulties overcome and the stages that led to institutionalizing education for girls and the input of the association as a measure of its activism.

The 1850s in Braşov were consumed by the Romanians' attempts of institutionalizing education along confessional lines. The projects and plans of the association began to unfold since March 1855, when the committee of the association

[321] Ibid., 17.
[322] Karády and Nagy, *Educational inequalities and denominations*, 24.
[323] Victor Karády, "Denominational inequalities of elite training in Transylvania during the Dual Monarchy," in *Cultural Dimensions of Elite Formation*, eds. Karády and Török, p. 82.

decided to open and to support with 400 florins education for poor orphan girls at two schools – one in Braşov, one in Blaj (both representative sites for the two main religions of the Romanian-speaking population); on the same occasion, they also established small scholarship funds for the most diligent students.[324] However, from decision to implementation there was always going to be a long way, marked by hindrances. These two projects became operational only after five years fault of a missing clause in the bylaws that should have stipulated their focus on promoting education.[325] The association followed the long process of obtaining the approval of state authorities, while also going through the turbulent period of religious conflicts caused by Şaguna over the loyalties of the association. Nonetheless, seeing that donations allowed for further developments, the association drew alternative plans by attempting to set up a school for orphan girls to teach them handiwork in Braşov.[326] These plans were dated 1855. Iacob Mureşianu's idea for educating girls was "to help the more solid bringing up of the female orphans, and in general, of women so that they could be able to make an easier living by using their hands, so that they could better take care of the house, so that they could be good mothers for the sons of the fatherland, planting in them noble moral and religious feelings."[327]

The handiwork school for girls would have been hosted in the new building of the Romanian Orthodox Gymnasium in Braşov, and according to the conditions imposed by the Trusteeship (*Eforie*), pupils would have been required to have had at

[324] AM, Doc. 9134/564, p. 4.
[325] "Elena A. Mureşianu's speech," in *Raport despre festivităţile jubileului semicentenar*, ed. Lazăr Nastasi, 16.
[326] AM, Doc. 9134/564, p. 5.
[327] Syllabus for the girls' school for handiwork, by Iacob Mureşianu, 1855, AM, General Collection, Dos. 5, no. 9,080, p. 1.

least three primary education classes prior to enrolment.[328] However, despite all preparations for this handiwork school, the Transylvanian government did not approve its establishment that year, but only after successive modifications of the proposal in 1861.[329]

One needs to take a short look at the local background of this seemingly insignificant progress. Generally, those years were marked by assiduous struggles for opening schools – education opportunities available at Romanian schools in Braşov in the 1840s and 1850s were indeed truly scarce. In 1844 protopope Ioan Popazu (also of Aromanian origin) won a small battle he had fought for four years, which meant that the Romanian school in town supported by Sfântul Nicolae Church was to offer four grades for boys and two for girls.[330] Offering a few extra-grades at the already existing, precarious school paved the way for a slow but steady progress. The overall situation of this school in the 1840s reflected the endemic problems of the time: the paychecks of the teachers were small, the churches did not approve spending too much money on education, community cohesion was missing, plans were falling apart, Greeks and Romanians had had a prolonged conflicting relationship and so forth. Despite these dreary circumstances, protopope Popazu's relentless work of transforming Braşov into a "Romanian Jerusalem"[331] (as he called his dream) managed to overcome these centrifugal factors in 1850 when the little town boasted with a brand-new Romanian 'normal' school – a Gymnasium! (Two more had already been established in Blaj and Beiuş.) This gymnasium in Braşov, under Gavriil

[328] Andrei Bârseanu, *Istoria şcoalelor centrale române greco-ortodoxe din Braşov, scrisă din incidentul jubileului de 50 de ani ai gimnaziului* [*The history of the Romanian Greek-Orthodox central schools in Braşov, written on the occasion of the 50 year celebration of the gymnasium*] (Braşov: Tipografiu Ciurcu, 1902), 107.
[329] Ibid., 161.
[330] Ibid., 36 and 38.
[331] Ibid., 118.

Munteanu's directorship, offered four grades for boys, three for girls, and its maintenance cost 3660 florins per year.[332] (By coincidence, should it be mentioned here, the kinship chain that is recurrent in these stories was continued here, too – among the first pupils at this gymnasium was Titu Maiorescu, protopope Popazu's nephew.) Most of the financial support for this Gymnasium came from Sfântul Nicolae Church and from Sfânta Biserică Adormirea Maicii Domnului, but merchants brought their florins as well adding up to one third (1200 florins) of the sum needed yearly.[333] The collaboration between the two local churches, merchants, and intellectuals grew even closer in the following years when they made further arrangements for better learning conditions – in autumn 1856 they finished a new impressive building, which was "a roomy construction (72 meters wide, 10 ½ meters tall), but well proportioned […]. The whole building had 22 spacious classrooms, well-lit and with tall-ceilings […]."[334] The 1851 contract between churches stipulated that "the school would stay forever national and confessional," but that education offered at the Romanian Orthodox schools in Braşov "would never be closed to other nations and religions."[335]

At the end of the fifth decade that century, Orthodox Romanians took pride in their own gymnasium in Braşov, albeit it only had a few classes rolling. In the following decade they consolidated this educational foundation by resorting to the same wide network of connections, regardless of nationality or religion. Beside

[332] Ibid., 48-49.
[333] Ibid., 55. Here is the list of names of merchants and laymen who swore a ten-year contribution to the Gymansium: Ioan Iuga, Vasile Lacea, Rudolf Orghidan, Nicolae Teclu, Gheorghe Iuga, Bucur Popp, Vlad Pîrlea, Gheorghe Nica, Gheorghe Ioann, Dumitru Eremia, Iacob Mureşanu, Ioan Pantazi, Nicolae Dima, Nicolae Maciuca, Gheorghe R. Leca, Ioan Manole, Ioan Leca, Gheorghe Bubea.
[334] Ibid., 118.
Bârseanu recounted that the costs for this building, including the donated materials, added up to around 80,000 fl. (p. 119).
[335] Binding between the two local churches (1 September 1851), conceptualized by George Barițiu and Ioan Popazu, quoted in Bârseanu, *Istoria şcoalelor*, 68.

financial support from the two local churches, Romanian schools in Braşov received state money from Transylvanian authorities – 1465 florins 12 kreutzers per year. Since this was not at all a large sum of money, in 1860 Emperor Franz Joseph I made up for it and ordered that Transylvanian authorities take the appropriate financial measures so that the Romanian Orthodox Gymnasium in Braşov be capable of supporting eight grades, while "preserving the religious and national character of the school."[336] This was finally achieved at the end of the 1860s. Meanwhile, among other donors of this Gymnasium, one should certainly mention the government of Moldavia and the government of Wallachia who both offered the same amount of money yearly: 2500 fl.[337]

In its turn, the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* also supported education for girls at this gymnasium. The 1860s brought about a change in the bylaws that emphasized the educational goals of the association, which I argue, marked the first few stages of the institutionalization of education for Romanian girls in the Habsburg Empire. First, in 1860-61 the association established a fourth grade for the instruction of girls, adding to the other three already existing primary school grades in Braşov, at the Romanian Orthodox Gymnasium.[338] Second came the school

[336] See Bârseanu, *Istoria şcoalelor*, 145 and 147.
[337] Ibid., 149.
[338] At the beginning, this project received 500 florins per year: 300 florins went to the handiwork teacher, Maria Petrescu, and 200 florins went to the other two teachers, Vasile Oroianu and Ştefan Iosif. President of the association at that time was Maria Pap. See AM, General Collection, Doc. 9134/564, p. 6-7.
In the first few grades, pupils learned Romanian and German, but starting with the 4th grade, they also learned French – this was Şaguna's contribution to the curriculum of the gymnasium. Moreover, the curricula for the boys' grades and for the girls' grades were largely similar. See Bârseanu, *Istoria şcoalelor*, 160-161 and 251-255.
The financial support for these three schools slightly varied throughout time. For the academic year 1864-65, these were the funds distributed by the association: Blaj – 400 florins; Sibiu – 200 florins; Braşov – 400 florins. See "Raportul despre lucrarile Comitetului Reuniunii f.r. in decursul anului al 16lea din 7/19 noiembrie 1864 – 7/19 noiembrie 1865, impartasitu adunarii generale," [*Public report from November 1864 to November 1865*] SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1158, p. 3.

in Blaj, which the association supported at the beginning with 200 florins and then with 400 florins per year until 1868.[339] The curricula of these schools, designed by Iacob Mureşianu, first had to be approved by the religious leaders, Şaguna and Sterca-Şuluţiu, following one guiding principle:

> The purpose of this school for handiwork and instruction was to ease the way of the female sex, of poor girls, namely of the orphan girls bereft of their parents who died in 1848-1849, by seeding in their souls the Principles of Religion and of Morals and by teaching them the things that are specific to women, giving them the means of being able to live honestly, without vices, so as to become good mothers and wives.[340]

At the same time, however, women were also developing their power of caring for the other. At the same time thez acted on behalf of and for other women. The curriculum of the school in Blaj included activities that counted as housework or handiwork, but the pupils also attended classes on Catholic religion; Romanian, German, and Hungarian using the Latin alphabet; arithmetic; geography (especially Austria's and Transylvania's); history (natural history); a mother's duties; and if needed also French.[341] This education was destined to girls who afforded to pay a 30 kr. monthly fee, who already had a basic education (reading and writing in their first language), and were older than 8 years old; these conditions did not apply to orphans or poor girls.[342] The school was under the supervision of the religious authorities in

The number of Romanian girls that attended this class in the academic year 1863-64 amounted to 20, according to "Raportul general despre activitatea Comitetului Reuniunii f. r. in decursul anului XIV-lea 1863/4," [*General report about the activity of the association for the fourteenth year 1863/4*] SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1157, p. 2.

[339] Ibid.

[340] "Syllabus for the girls' school in Blaj, by Iacob Mureşianu," 1855. AM, Doc. 5/9070, p. 1.

[341] Ibid., 1-2.

[342] Ibid., 2.

Blaj, and the handiwork classes fell under the responsibility of the Romanian women's association in Blaj.[343]

Furthermore, the association in Braşov also started funding a girls' school in Sibiu during the same decade. With such already notable results, the voice of the *Romanian women's association* sounded even more determined to accomplish greater projects. In a report from 1865 president Anastasia Datcu, born Nicolau, forcefully laid down the education plans for Romanian women:

> Let us concentrate all our strength into this association, all the more so because in the regions inhabited by Romanians much less is being done for the education of the female sex than for that of the male one, when […] **the future of the Romanian nation everywhere needs imperatively a direct ratio between the education of the male youth with regard to sciences and the cultivation of the heart, and the education of the female sex** lest there should be too big a difference in the following generations in terms of **real** culture, followed by a total distancing of one sex from the other, and then by their mixing with other people and tribes (*seminţii*) or even followed by total de-nationalization. This is why the goal of the Association will be reached only when it is capable to establish more schools for girls from its own funds in different Romanian regions and when it has also its **own** pedagogical institute, a school or a seminary to prepare well-educated and trained female professors, filled with the importance of their calling and paid respectably to occupy those positions at the schools for girls.[344]

All in all, it was estimated that since their establishment and until 1868, these three schools in Braşov, Blaj, and Sibiu provided for and contributed to the education of over a hundred poor (orphan) girls every year.[345] Although the education levels differed by a few grades, the association's efforts were only comparable to the number

[343] Ibid., 3.
[344] "Reuniunea dela 1856 până la 1867," [*The association from 1856 to 1867*] AM, General Collection, Doc. 564/9135, newspaper clip, p. 2.
[345] AM, General Collection, Doc. 9134/564, p. 6-7.

of pupils schooled at the gymnasium in Braşov, which was on average 112 boys per year in the period 1850-1868.[346]

	Braşov 4th grade (handiwork or instruction)	**Sibiu (handiwork or instruction)**	**Blaj**
No. of pupils 1864-1865[347]	30 (19+11)	26	50
No. of pupils 1866-1867[348]	32 (20+12)	23	63
Total no. of pupils (1864-65; 1866-67)		224	

Table 3.3: Number of pupils who studied at one of the schools sponsored by the association in Braşov, Sibiu, and Blaj (1864-1865 and 1866-1867)

Although theoretically the association opened access to education only to Romanian girls, in practice, it seems that there were exceptions as well, as the school in Blaj showed, where two Hungarians, one Jewish pupil, and a German one were enrolled for classes in 1863.[349] This was not a singular case as the same observation applied to the gymnasium for boys too, where from 1850 to 1900, out of the 9419 pupils enrolled during this period, 95 were not Romanians: 66 Jews, 18 Slovaks, 9 Saxons, 1 Armenian, and 1 Hungarian.[350] The number of Jewish pupils attending the Romanian Orthodox Gymnasium is not necessarily surprising, given that the network

[346] Bârseanu, *Istoria şcoalelor*, 548-549. In fifty years' time, 9419 pupils were educated at the gymnasium, which means that on average 188 pupils received education every year.
[347] Report for 1864/65, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1158, p. 4.
[348] Report for 1866-1867, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1290, p. 1.
[349] According to a report for the academic year 1863-64, the school in Blaj was divided into two, counting 27 girls (out of which 23 were Romanian, two Hungarian, one Jewish, and one German) in one department, and 13 more girls in the other department – all of them being Romanian.Report for 1863/4, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1157, p. 2.
[350] Computed from the statistics in Bârseanu, *Istoria şcoalelor*, 552-553.

of Jewish primary schools in Transylvania was small, counting only seven in 1900.[351] As Karády remarked, "Jews were the only confessional group around 1900 which sent a mere minority of its offspring to its own confessional schools (37% in 1904), the majority attending state or municipal schools (48%), those of other denominations (13%) or private institutions (3%)."[352]

The very late 1860s in Braşov recorded not only the gymnasium extension with another four grades for boys (1869), but also the establishment of two other schools for boys: one was a *reáliskola*, the other a commercial school.[353] They both reflected and adapted to the changing times when the first Romanian Bank – Albina (1871) – was established in Sibiu. The teachers employed at these two schools were graduates mostly from the University of Vienna (Nicolae Teclu, Lazar Nastasi, Ipolit Ilasievici), but also from Bucharest University (Ioan C. Tacit) and from Bruxelles (Ioan Al. Lapedatu, Ph.D.). Overall, the schooling facilities were consolidated, the number of grades slowly grew, and the body of teachers was better prepared as a result of the scholarships that enabled them to study abroad.

In 1871-72 the association also did well financially, counting 33,654 florins. Although it invested money in education for girls in three towns, the association's capital was still rising. This meant that it actually afforded to invest another 375 florins in education, after setting aside one fourth of the profit made that year.[354] Thus, the question arose of setting up two more grades for girls that would continue the 4th one at the Romanian primary school in Braşov. For unknown reasons, it turned out

[351] Karády, "Denominational Inequalities," 69.
[352] Ibid.
[353] Bârseanu, *Istoria şcoalelor*, 187. Pupils at these two schools, besides, learning specialized topics pertaining to commerce, for instance, were also brought up learning four languages: Romanian, Hungarian, German, and French. For the curricula, see Bârseanu, *Istoria şcoalelor*, 352-353.
[354] "Protocol," 31 October 1873, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1370, p. 2.

that the plans had been too ambitious and that only the 5th grade was added in September 1874. Once again, the target group was made up of Romanian girls in Braşov, especially the poor ones, "who could receive here a more complete upbringing and education."[355] Their curriculum included religious education, Romanian language, Hungarian, German, and French, as well as geography, history, arithmetic, natural history, physics, drawing, singing, and handiwork.[356] This curriculum resembled greatly the one designed for the school in Blaj. The rationale behind this effort stated that "only through a more rational and careful education of the female sex can the Romanian people be raised to self-awareness, thus being in the position to withstand the dangers that threaten its national existence."[357]

Besides these schools, the association also financially supported a school in Câmpeni until 1883 (when most of the efforts concentrated on establishing a fifth and sixth grade in Braşov).[358] The school in Câmpeni started as a joint-venture – co-founded and co-funded with ASTRA in view of their common goal: „promoting, upbringing, and educating the female sex."[359] The association in Braşov was not the only one offering access to education for young women. On 15 September 1886 ASTRA had established a civil school for girls with a boarding school, which meant that their pupils had already studied for four years at an elementary or primary school. Gheorghe Dima was in charge with the music instruction, and baronness Elena Popu

[355] Ibid., 1.
[356] Bârseanu, *Istoria şcoalelor*, 205.
[357] "Protocol," 31 October 1873, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1370, p. 3.
[358] "Elena A. Mureşianu's speech," in *Raport despre festivităţile jubileului semicentenar*, ed. Lazăr Nastasi, 17.
[359] "Letter from Iacob Bologa, president of ASTRA, to the *Romanian women's association*," 10 October 1876, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1471, p. 1. The reason for financing the school in Wallachia demonstrated superiority: "[...] the Wallachian people, as miserable as it is, is not in the position to contribute as required to the establishment and support of an institute of culture […]." See the same document as above, page 2.

was director of the boarding school.[360] However, prior to the ASTRA civil school for girls the Romanian women's association in Sibiu had established another school for girls in November 1883, which had made significant progress, functioning with seven grades in 1885/6.[361]

By 1878/1880 the association invested 1560 florins in the girls' education.[362] With this money, the association supported four schools: the 4th and 5th grades of schooling for girls in Braşov (800 florins), the girls' school in Blaj received 400 florins, Sibiu got 300 florins, and Câmpeni 60 florins.[363] To put it in the larger local context of Braşov, the general picture of education opportunities in the 1870s that Romanians preferred pointed to the following venues: for boys – a gymnasium with 8 grades, a commercial school with 3 grades, a reálsikola with 4 grades, a primary school with 4 grades (including parallel classes for the first three grades); and for girls – and a primary school with 5 grades.[364] All in all, the efforts of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* were reaching everywhere in the region where there were schools for Romanian girls, while at the same time planning for their own bigger project that was to take off in the 1880s.

[360] *Şcoala civilă de fete cu internat a "Asociaţiunii transilvane pentu literatura română şi cultura poporului român" din Sibiu. Monografie de S.A.* [The ASTRA civil school for girls with a boarding school] (Gherla: Imprimeria "Aurora" p.A. Todoranu, 1887), 8. See also Andra Carola Pinca, "Educaţia feminină în Transilvania. Studiu de caz: Şcoala civilă de fete din Sibiu," [*Female education in Transylvania. A case study: the civil school for girls in Sibiu*] *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, supplement (2010): 29-44.

[361] *Şcoala civilă de fete cu internat a "Asociaţiunii transilvane pentu literatura română şi cultura poporului român" din Sibiu. Monografie de S.A.* (Gherla: Imprimeria "Aurora" p.A. Todoranu, 1887), 11.

[362] "Report 1879/1880," 15/24 January 1881, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1537, p. 1.

[363] Ibid.

[364] Bârseanu, *Istoria şcoalelor*, 207.

	Blaj[365]	**Sibiu**[366]	**Braşov**	**Câmpeni**
1873-1874[367]	54	N/A	N/A	-
1874-1875[368]	49	N/A	N/A	-
1861-1877[369]	N/A	422	N/A	-
1879-1880[370]	45	40	39	-
1880-1881[371]	42	31	37	31
1873-1875 and 1879-1881	**190**			
1861-1877 and 1879-1881		**493**		
1879-1881			**76**	

Table 3.4: Pupils who studied at the schools sponsored by the association in Blaj, Sibiu, Braşov, and Câmpeni mostly in the 1860s and 1870s

The 1880s brought a second round of projects for expanding the major pillars of education for Romanian girls and the new project directed the resources of the association inward for establishing their own boarding school. Maria Săcăreanu, president of the association at that time, took the initiative and suggested a plan that shifted the emphasis from poor girls to middle-class ones. "It has been a long time that we felt the need for a practical school for the middle-class girls of our people," wrote Săcăreanu in a later complementary project – an orphanage attached to the boarding

[365] Greek-Catholic school for girls, grades I, II, III.
[366] School for girls' handiwork, partially funded by the association.
[367] "Information," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1443.
[368] "Information," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1457.
[369] "Reports," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1503.
[370] "Report 1879/1880," 15/24 January 1881, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1537, p. 1.
[371] "Report 1880/81," 5/17 November 1881, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1547, p. 1.

school where pupils received practical knowledge.[372] A very efficient committee was immediately formed,[373] and as a result, the following year (1886) the boarding school for girls was already setup and it received 550 florins a year from the association. In the association's boarding school, pupils, who had at least three years of previous education, studied Romanian and German, arithmetic, natural sciences, and religion (one hour a week).[374] However, only few poor or orphan girls were allowed to attend the boarding school with a scholarship – usually one in six girls; the monthly fee for pupils was 12 florins.[375]

Since the target group of the association was poor or orphan Romanian girls (as stated in the 1879 bylaws), the fact that every year only between three and five such girls had the opportunity of enrolling at the boarding school caused some dissensions within the association. A committee assigned by the association put forth another project for setting up an orphanage attached to the boarding school, financed with 1200-1500 florins a year so that it could address the needs of some eight to twelve poor or orphan Romanian girls, aged 8 to 12.[376] The part of the institute that was a boarding school remained dedicated to middle-class Romanian girls aged 12 to 18, with some places open to poor or orphan Romanian girls, coming from the track of the association orphanage or from that of a primary school.[377] This new institution that incorporated both the orphanage and the boarding school was established in 1893, when the new estimation of the total yearly costs of this institute amounted to 4500

[372] Project for an orphanage. AM, Doc. 564/9113, p. 1.
[373] The committee members were: Maria Săcăreanu, Elena Sotir, Maria and Iosif Maxim, Maria and Ioan Popea, Bartolomeiu Baiulescu, Ioan Lenger, and Vasile Popovici. See Lazăr Nastasi, *Raport despre festivităţile jubileului semicentenar*, 55-56.
[374] "Regulament pentru internatul de fetiţe a Reuniunii femeilor române din Braşov," [*Rules for the boarding school for girls established by the Romanian women's assocation*] 1/13 December 1888, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1571, p. 2-3.
[375] Ibid., 1.
[376] Project for an orphanage. AM, Doc. 564/9113, p. 2-3.
[377] Ibid., 4.

florins.[378] Due to such significant expenses, the institute became in a few years' time the highest priority of the association. [379] Content-wise, the girls from this institute were generally taught "the practical matters needed for every family,"[380] while in the rest of their time, they attended classes at the primary school in Braşov. More precisely, in the three years of schooling they were taught how to maintain a household, how to cook, wash, iron, sew, and make clothes. They learned knitting and the art of embroidery. And they were also exposed to some pedagogical principles insofar as they were applicable to bringing up children. In 1898 there is mention of the fact that Hungarian was also introduced in the curriculum, thus adding to Romanian and German and totaling three languages studied.[381] Brick after brick and volume after the volume, the library of the institute slowly grew and after the turn of the century, it counted 164 volumes.[382] On an average that takes into account a period of seven years, this institution offered access to education to about 37 pupils every year.

Period	With tuition fee	With scholarship	Orphans	Total students
1893-1894[383]	24	4	5	33
1894-1895[384]	25	5	7	37
1895-1896[385]	22	5	7	34
1897-1898[386]	21	5	7	33

[378] Document dated 1893, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, 1727, p. 8.
[379] "Report 1898/1899," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2032, p. 1.
[380] "Project for an orphanage," AM, General Collection, Doc. 564/9113, p. 3.
[381] "Syllabus for the boarding school of the association," 27 August 1898, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1957.
[382] "Report about the boarding school of the Romanian women's association," 10 December 1907, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2403, p. 3.
[383] "Report 1893/4," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1802, p. 4.
[384] "Report 1895/6," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1897, p. 7.
[385] Ibid.
[386] "Report 1897/8," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1975, p. 1-2.

Period	With tuition fee	With scholarship	Orphans	Total students
1898-1899[387]	24	4	6	34
1908-1909[388]	37	5	8	50
1909-1910[389]	27	5	8	40
In 7 years' time				**261**

Table 3.5: Number of pupils that attended the boarding school and the orphanage of the association over a period of seven years at the turn of the century

As the table shows, the highest number of pupils was recorded in the academic year that began in 1908. At this peak, an even more relevant evaluation of the importance of the institute was given in an opening speech, when the newly elected president, Maria Baiulescu, spoke highly of the association's "school for housekeeping and for home industry," and compared it to other similar endeavors:

> The importance of such a school is illustrated by the fact that in the civilized countries of the West where such schools are currently established; even this summer an international congress for the advancement of these schools was held in Switzerland; in Germany too, schools for girls are to include mandatory classes on home industry and housework.[390]

The references to Switzerland and to Germany that Baiulescu made are not at all surprising. Since the mid-1860s the Romanian women's association had looked up at German women's associations, and emulated their efforts of promoting education

[387] "Report 1898/1899," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2032, p. 2.
[388] "Report about the boarding school," 19 January 1908, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2461, p. 1.
[389] "Report about the boarding school," 7 October 1909, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2529, p. 1.
[390] "Opening speech at the general meeting of the association," 1908, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2433, p. 3. For a brief biography of Maria Baiulescu, see Tanya Dunlap's entry in *A biographical dictionary of women's movements and feminisms*, eds. Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova, and Anna Loutfi, 48-50.
For a collection of primary sources in Romanian, see Ruxandra Moaşa Nazare, *Maria Baiulescu (1860-1941). Corespondenţa* [*Maria Baiulescu (1860-1941). Correspondence*] (Bucureşti, Editura Ars Docendi, 2001).

for girls. A report from 1864 primarily invoked the German women's association in Leipzig that had just been founded. This example, as invoked in the previous quotation, perfectly illustrated the speaker's point: "Who is not convinced that the upbringing of girls, as well as their moral and intellectual cultivation, has become an imperative requirement among cultivated people (*popoarele culte*)?"[391] The example from Leipzig validated the local association's "very high and noble goal of establishing and supporting schools for handiwork and instruction, where the girls of our nation could grow in morality and acquire the adroitness necessary for life, so that they could give brave and fit members to society and to the nation."[392]

Although the records saved in the national archives in Braşov do not keep any correspondence regarding a direct contact with the relevant persons from what they called "the civilized countries of the West," at the Mureşeni Archives there is at least evidence that the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* closely followed the news about the European women's activism and movements. These archival documents include printed brochures in German that reported at length on the *International Congress of Women in London* (1899), and a handwritten document that copied a published account of the women's movement in Austria whose author was Marianne Hainisch.[393] These few indications, corroborated with cursory evidence on the local

[391] "Report 1864-1865," AM, Doc. 573/9176.

[392] "Raportul despre lucrarile Comitetului Reuniunii f.r. in decursul anului al 16lea din 7/19 noiembrie 1864 – 7/19 noiembrie 1865, impartasitu adunarii generale," [*Public report about the activities of the association for november 1864 – November 1865*] SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1158, p. 1. In original: „un scop foarte nobil şi înalt, adică de a întemeia şi sprijini şcoli de lucru şi învăţătură, în care fetiţele naţiunii noastre să crească în moralitate şi în dexterităţi necesare în viaţă, ca apoi să poată da societăţii şi naţiunii membri bravi şi apţi."

[393] Two printed brochures: *Bericht über die Generalversammlung des International Council und den Frauencongress zu London im Juni 1899, erstattet von der österreichischen Delegierten Marianne Hainisch* (Wien 1900, Im Selbverlage der Verfasserin), AM, Doc. 9124; *Der Londoner Frauencongress von Helene Suess-Rath, Präsidentin des Nieder-Oesterr. Frauen-Gewerbe-Verein.* Wien 1900, Commissions-Verlag der Gesellschaft für Grafische Industrie. AM, Doc. 9125. And a handwritten article: Marianne Hainisch, „Die Frauenbewegung in Österreich," in *Revue de Morale Sociale*, Paris:

interactions with Saxon and Hungarian women's associations, point to the areas of social and political awareness of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* on a plurality of geographical levels.

On the local level, the association also maintained contacts with other similar organizations. At the 1901 jubilee that celebrated 50 years of activity of the Romanian women in Braşov, representatives of five similar organizations took part in the festivities: *The protestant association for the upbringing of poor orphans in Braşov, The protestant association for the school of girls in Braşov, The protestant association for caring for the ill, The Roman Catholic women's association in Braşov, The benefit association of the protestant Hungarian women in Braşov.*[394] To be sure, such proof of sociability and collaboration was not at all uncommon as other examples of interactions further testify. For instance, Maria Baiulescu, president of the *Romanian women's association*, had also been invited for the twenty-five-year celebration of *The Saxon women's association in Braşov*.[395] On another occasion, president of this latter mentioned association, Federika Schell, planned on visiting the school for housekeeping managed by the *Romanian women's association in Braşov.*[396] This shows that the dynamic exchange of information and "know-how" in the field of promoting education and practical knowledge among girls was not hindered by nationalistic considerations. In a 1905 letter Valeriu Bologa suggested to the Romanian women's association in Braşov the well-known handiwork classes for girls

March 1900, AM, Doc. 8368. For a brief biography of Marianne Hainisch, leader of the Austrian liberal women's movement, see Birgitta Bader-Zaar's article in *A biographical dictionary of women's movements and feminisms*, eds. Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova, and Anna Loutfi, 173-177.

[394] Nastasi, *Raport despre festivităţile jubileului semicentenar*, 38.

[395] Radu, "File din activitatea reuniunii," 173.

[396] Ibid., 172.

that the Saxons in Sibiu held, including in the envelope the program of the *Protestant school for women's work* (*evangelische Frauenarbeitsschule*) in Sibiu.[397]

Against the wider European background of advancement in the field of education for girls, the association did not hold back from investing more resources in this direction. Through Maria Baiulescu's voice, it claimed that it brought together in the same classroom "pupils recruited from all strata of our society, representing both the family of our hard-working ploughman, and the family of the superior intellectual."[398] Her enthusiastic speech from the beginning of her long presidency re-formulated the goal of the association, namely "to care for and to educate the Romanian woman,"[399] while addressing the committee with the intention of "transforming them into a big family, into a powerful group, a rejuvenating current that would provide impulse and new direction".[400] With this speech, I argue, one can already refer at this point to a Romanian women's movement in our context, as defined by van Drenth and de Haan – "organized activities of women on behalf of other women, based on an identification with 'those of their own sex' sometimes expressed by the notion of sisterhood."[401] In a few years' time, Maria Baiulescu called on all Romanian women's associations in Hungary to form the *Union of Romanian women in Hungary* (1913). The Romanian women's goals remained centered on education for girls and establishing an orphanage for all Romanian orphans.[402] Around the same time, the *Transylvanian Gazette* published an article stating that

[397] "Letter from V. Bologa," Sibiu, 16 June 1905, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 2156, p. 1.
[398] "Opening speech at the general meeting of the association," 1908, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov, Doc. 2433, p. 4.
[399] Ibid.
[400] Ibid.
[401] van Drenth and de Haan, *The rise of caring power*, 47.
[402] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXVI, no. 121, June 5/18, 1913, p. 1.

> [w]omen's voice is being heard everywhere. Their movement cannot be crushed. They started forming associations and working for society being fully conscious. Even if some nations lag behind, this happens because women have not yet reached the required intellectual status.[403]

At the time when this article was published, the newspaper was edited by Elena Mureşianu, as she was in charge of the *Transylvanian Gazette* from 1909 to 1911.[404] She was part of the mid-nineteenth century generation of merchants who intermarried with the educated elite: her maternal uncle was Gheorghe Nica, and her husband one of the Mureşeni intellectuals.

Her view about the role of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* was that the organization had to engage in offering a more specialized education for girls, in order to enable them "to make a living and to ensure an independent status regardless of the whims of fortune."[405] Elena Mureşianu referred directly to women who were dependent on men and marriage. "What happens to the woman and her family when she loses the support of her husband? What happens to those who have no luck at all? Isn't the general discontent that today marriage has become really difficult for girls?"[406] These questions point to the complexities of the women's

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[403] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXIII, no. 23, January 30/February 12, 1910, p. 4.

[404] Unfortunately, there is not much research done on Elena Mureşianu's activism. She was born Elena Popovici on 13 September 1862. Her father, Ioan Popovici, had studied at the army school for officers in Timişoara, and later became tradesman in Sibiu and Braşov. He was first married to Elena Gligor Matei from Sibiu, and then to Zoe I. Nica, the daughter of "fruntasul roman Braşovean" Ion Nica Nichifor. ("Spita familiei lui I.B. Popovici din Braşov," AM, General Collection, Dos. 126, no. 12547, p. 1.) After her parents' death, she was taken care of by her maternal uncle, Gheorghe I. Nica (1792-1870) – the "Father of Greek Catholics." (See the previous chapter.) She married Dr. Aurel Muresianu in October 1888, and assisted him with printing and editing the *Transylvanian Gazette.* Aurel Muresianu (1847-1909), obtained his Ph.D. in Law from Vienna, and returned to Braşov to edit the *Transylvanian Gazette*. He was also one of the founding members of the Romanian National Party. Elena Muresianu's studies at the Vienna School of Arts and Crafts from 1884 to 1888 were a truly remarkable achievement, especially when 0,1% of the women of Greek faith (referring to Greek Catholics and Greek Orthodox) attained 8 classes of education or above. (Karády and Nagy, *Educational inequalities and denominations*, 27.) The School Elena Muresianu attended had been established in 1867, and it was part of the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry. The School of Arts and Crafts is the present-day University of Applied Arts.

[405] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIV, no. 26, February 4/17, 1901, p. 3.

[406] Ibid.

movements, their contradictions and negotiations within an international context, which could constitute the next research step to take. However, for the purpose of the present research, suffice it to argue that the Romanian women's activism, which was embedded in the mid-nineteenth Orthodox philanthropic merchants' milieu of Braşov, had developed into a women's movement by the turn of the century.

Fig. 3.2: Pictures of Elena Mureşianu[407] *(on the left) and of Elena Mureşianu's parents, Ioan B. Popovici and Zoe I. Nica.*[408] *(on the right)*

To sum up, in this chapter I focused on the activism of lay Romanian women in Braşov, and their projects for caring about the Romanian orphan girls of the 1848-49 revolutions. On the long term, women concentrated their efforts on setting up education opportunities for Romanian girls coming from underprivileged backgrounds. In so doing, the association had to negotiate its position vis-à-vis the Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches, and to build on the existing

[407] Open source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Elena_Muresianu_-_Foto02.jpg
[408] Photograph from "Spiţa familiei lui I.B. Popovici din Braşov" [*The family tree of I.B Popovici in Braşov*]. AM, General Collection, Dos. 126, no. 12,547, p. 2.

confessional education system specific to Transylvania. The analysis of education opportunities for men and for women in Braşov County demonstrates that the gender gap was reduced as compared to the regional level in Transylvania. To a large extent, this happened due to the women's activism on the local level. In this chapter I followed the stages of institutionalizing education for girls in the frame of the Romanian women's association in Braşov so as to substantiate the argument that Romanian women's activism in Hungary had reached the proportions of a movement towards the turn of the century. The financial status of the association made possible the opening of education opportunities for Romanian girls. They usually learned three languages in school: Romanian, Hungarian, German; sometimes also French. Through their programs the association offered education to about one hundred girls every year. Romanian women felt responsible for the ones of the same sex, and tried to improve their situation in society, forming what van Drenth and de Haan identified in their context as "a new sense of collective gender identity."[409] The network of Romanian women's associations in Hungary rose to over sixty after the turn of the century; prior to World War One half of them came together to form the *Union of Romanian women in Hungary*. In the following chapter, I examine some aspects related to the fundraising patterns practiced by the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*, namely the spaces of socializing it opened in town everytime it threw its customary balls. As we shall see, the nationalist activists had a particular interest in reporting and surveying the dancefloors and their participants.

[409] van Drenth and de Haan, *The rise of caring power*, 12.

4 WHO'S WHO IN BRAŞOV: MUSIC, GYMNASTICS, AND NATIONALISM

> Music is the field, the territory I want to work on and will work on so as to be able to say once that I honor the name that I have; just as you, as a journalist, will elevate the nation from its rust, I am going to elevate the national music from its daily sing-song.[410]
>
> Iacob Mureşianu Jr.

> We cannot claim that our popular music has a well defined national character. Our *doina* herself is nothing but a mix of Arab, Russian and Hungarian motives.[411]
>
> George Enescu

In this chapter I shift the attention back to the nationalist activists and how they viewed the relationship between music, gymnastics, and nationalism. Let us start with several guiding questions. How did they conceive of music, gymnastics, and the nation coming together? Where were these connections most visible? How was the national body made and disciplined? How did music shape social experiences? What was the degree of groupness of the association for music and singing analyzed in the second part of this chapter? These are the leading questions discussed in this chapter. The many examples and angles presented in the text should not put off the reader for the nationalists savored details, creating the symbolic texture of the community out of them.

By way of brief outline, in the first part of the chapter I concentrate on the spaces of socialization where music, dance, dress codes, and nationalism seemed to

[410] Iacob Mureşianu, *Opere*, edited by Mircea Gherman, (Bucureşti: Editura Muzicală, 1983), 153. In original: "Muzica e câmpul, e teritoriul pe care voi să lucru şi voi lucra ca să pot zice şi eu odată că sunt demn de numele ce-l port; pe cum vei ridica tu, ca ziarist naţiunea din rugina ei, aşa voi ridica şi eu muzica naţională din dârlăiturile ei zilnice."

[411] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 201, LXXV, 13/26 September 1912, p. 1. In original: "Nu se poate susţine că musica noastră populară are un caracter bine definit naţional. Însăşi doina noastră nu este decât un amestec de motive arabe, ruseşti şi ungureşti."

come together. The *Romanian women's association in Braşov* opened spaces of socialization through its fundraising activities. Here I place special emphasis on analyzing the nationalists' invention of a ballroom dance for Romanians called "Romana," which was danced at the soirees organized by the *Romanian women's association*. I argue that this ballroom dance was used for claiming visibility for the nation. It formalized, ritualized, and nationalized social practices, contributing to the social cohesion and visibility of Romanians, wherever this ballroom dance was performed. In order to support this argument I analyze the symbolic web of social practices to which "Romana" belonged. The main themes are thus the nationalization of folklore, and the reinforcing of codes of behavior and dress codes. Overall, in this part I emphasize the claim for visibility through symbolism and social practice on the dance floor. This is by and large a story from the nationalists' point of view, what they wanted to achieve, and how they wanted to do it.

In the second part of this chapter I shift the attention to the *Romanian association for gymnastics and singing in Braşov*[412] and inquire into how this organization shaped social experiences. Of particular interest are similar Saxon and Hungarian local associations and the interactions among them shaped by music performances and music canons. Another aspect of interest is the degree of groupness that this association presented at the turn of the century, a time marked by a change in the political tactics of the Romanian National Party in Hungary. All in all, I argue that the *Romanian association for singing* modeled in the first place a profound sense of inclusive local identity that was most visible in the social life in Braşov. Equally

[412] In Romanian the name of the association was *Reuniunea română de gimnastică şi cântări* (the gymnastics branch was established in 1863; the one for music in 1870). The sources that I used for this chapter are from SJBAN, the collection of documents *Reuniunea română de gimnastică şi cântări*; the George Dima Collection from the AM; and the *Transylvanian Gazette.*

important is the fact that the branch for gymnastics failed to mobilize people. In both cases – that of the ballroom dance and of the association – the local newspaper played a multitude of roles, from writing the national music canon to disciplining the partakers in Romanian national festivities.

4.1 The Ballroom Dance "Romana": Story and Social Functions

In the latter part of the long nineteenth century, the balls and parties in Austria-Hungary were as countless as the Danube's whirlpools. In terms of figures, the extent to which people associated and socialized is reflected in the rise of numbers of associations from 2,234 in 1856 in the Habsburg Empire to more than 85,000 associations in 1910 in Austria-Hungary.[413] They all throve on symbolic meaning and its making, competing in the process of nationalizing the masses and claiming visibility for their own national community by putting at work in social spaces a national apparatus made of an array of symbols. In these interconnected fields, Romanian social life also sought to make itself visible throughout the empire: from Vienna, where Romanian balls were hosted "in the big hall [of the Association for music], made green with all sorts of exotic plants, and decorated with Persian and Turkish tapestries and carpets – objects of great value and price"[414] to the popular venues in Braşov, at the border with the Romanian Kingdom. Romanian nationalists in Braşov contributed to the formation of a collective self by inventing the national ballroom dance *par excellence*. "Romana," as this dance was named, ritualized, institutionalized, and nationalized social practices. It throve in this local social context, where it was first enacted. The dance underwent a similar process of standardization as the Romanian language did and it permeated social strata of

[413] Nolte, "Voluntary associations," 88.
[414] *Gazeta Transilvaniei,* Braşov, XLIX, no. 37, 15/27 February 1886, p. 2-3.

Romanian society. Performing this dance was far from being an innocent practice; it implied assuming identity and membership in the nation, entailing a range of symbols and social codes. Although this national identity may not have been the most important one that a person could have assumed, "Romana" was one of the options given for performing being Romanian.

It was customary in the long nineteenth century to organize dancing soirees. Sometimes they went hand in hand with social purposes developed in the philanthropic tradition. Such lively spaces of socialization – loaded with symbolism and rituals that began to visually differentiate among partakers along ethnic coordinates – were rather common currency at the time. According to Robert Nemes, who surveyed the "politics of the dance floor" of the 1840s in Budapest, the distinctive feature of this setting "was its connection to an emerging oppositional civil society of associations and the press."[415] The author further argued that Hungary's opposition to Vienna in that decade became characterized to a remarkable extent by "the degree to which consciously 'national' costumes, music, dances, and language became de rigueur in all areas of social life."[416] At the local balls in Braşov, however, the emphasis was not so much placed on "resisting" or opposing the post-*Ausgleich* order. What nationalists particularly focused on was on claiming the visibility of one nation by contrast (but not necessarily/always in opposition) to another one. For this purpose, the Romanian nationalists in Braşov made use of an array of symbols and social practices in order to showcase their nation. "Romana" was part and parcel of this context.

[415] Nemes, "The politics of the dance floor," 822.
[416] Ibid., 803.

The invention of the ballroom dance "Romana" took place in the same social milieu of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*. The ballroom dance became ritualized at the philanthropic balls of this association, and it was popularized and canonized by *Transylvania's Gazette*. It did not take the nationalists too long to discover that dance floors offered one of the best chances for absorbing practitioners into a common symbolic culture in the making. But they did not limit themselves to dance floors. The following chapter will take a step further in the direction of stages and investigate how nationalists almost believed that every person could be a Romanian actor. Theater, the nationalists thought, was also a venue for nationalizing the masses.

In the 1840s the French quadrille had animated social life in Braşov, but it could not have possibly represented the Romanian nation on the dance floor.[417] At that point, the need for a specifically "national" ballroom dance began to be acutely felt, and the occasion for creating and launching such a dance arose shortly thereafter. The national unifying dance had to be invented, and the time was ripe. The post-1848-49 revolutionary period gave a strong impulse for inventing traditions, for formalizing and ritualizing social practices in the local social life of Braşov as well. Such phenomena happen, Eric Hobsbawm noted, in the midst of radically changing times, during periods of intense transformations, when "[e]xisting customary traditional practices – folksong, physical contests, marksmanship – were modified, ritualized and institutionalized for the new national purposes."[418] What was then the specific story of "Romana" and what did it entail? To answer these questions, the reader first needs to

[417] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 22, LXIV, 28 January/10 February 1901, p. 1.
[418] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: inventing tradition," in *The Invention of tradition*, eds. Hobsbawm and Ranger, 4 and 6.

be reminded of the previous chapter that evoked the Romanian women's activism in Braşov because it provided "Romana" with the occasion to be recurrently performed.

> At around 1850-1851, after perturbances ceased, a lively and utterly enthusiastic movement took place in the national social life of Romanian society in Braşov, the famous trade center of Transylvania. […] They used to organize the so-called picnics, and then balls, but these became more customary in Romanian society only after the establishment of the Romanian women's association, which threw its first ball in winter 1851.[419]

The *Romanian women's association in Braşov*, through its philanthropic committment to social purposes on the short term and to creating access to education for girls on the long term, sought to constantly fundraise for these causes. Consequently, new spaces of socialization opened up to serve mainly this purpose. But lobbying and networking were also part of these dancing soirees, which were at times attended by high-ranking military and civil officials.[420] Moreover, Eugene Weber had also observed in the case of his *Peasants into Frenchmen* that "[m]ost of the time dancing was an integral part of the courting ritual; witness the many places where engaged or married couples simply did not join in the dance."[421] The balls or dancing soirees, in urban and rural settings, were marked by many overlapping interests and tradition; among these, the nationalists' are of more urgency and concern for us.

One of the most renowned and long-awaited events that increased the budget of the association was the ball organized in January every year since its establishment.

[419] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIV, no. 22, 28 January/10 February 1901, p. 1. In original: "Pe la 1850/51, după încetarea turburărilor, în societatea română din Braşov, vestitul oraş comercial al Ardealului, se produse o mişcare viuă şi plină de avânt în viaţa socială naţională. […] Se aranajau pe atunci aşa numite picnicuri, apoi şi baluri, dar acestea se încetăţeniră în societatea română numai după înfiinţarea Reuniunii femeilor române, care a dat primul său bal în iarna anului 1851."
[420] See for example *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXX, no. 12, 24/12 February 1867, p. 48.
[421] Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 447. See also Weber's chapter twenty-six, "Fled is that music", 429-451. In fact, Weber takes songs, dances, proverbs, tales as particularly rich sources for his survey analysis that deals so much with the rural population. (p. xiv)

On the first such festive occasion, Iacob Mureşianu – son-in-law of Maria Nicolau, president of the association – officially introduced the ballroom dance suggestively called "Romana" that he and a few friends had arranged. The ballroom dance received its name in January 1850 in merchant Gheorghe Ioan's house in Braşov.[422] When performed, the dance did what it knew best: it gave a sense of social cohesion and of belonging to an ethnic group, while making it stand out as visibly different. At the same time, it also symbolically raised the status of this group to that of the middle class who attended balls. This characteristic of the ballroom dance was maintained only at its beginnings; in half a century, it managed to cut across classes, reaching popularity at around the turn of the century.

If we compared "Romana" to Hobsbawm's grill of inventing traditions, this ballroom dance can be said to exemplify two of the three overlapping types of inventing traditions that the author had put forth, namely "a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, […] and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour."[423] While the former function was joined by other symbols, such as national folk costumes, the latter function gained support from *Transylvania's Gazette*, which reinforced codes of behavior and disciplined the national body. I will deal with both extensions of this invented tradition in the following pages, but before this, however, a brief factual description of "Romana" is needed, alongside with an interpretation of its functions.

Scholars agree that it is usually difficult to date exactly the invention of a tradition due to a conspicuous lack of sources. However, the fact that the association,

[422] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIV, no. 22, 28 January/10 February 1901, p. 1.
[423] Hobsbawm, "Introduction: inventing tradition," 9.

the newspaper, and the ballroom dance were all linked together in the same family history (and archive) provides more information about its beginning and development. Thus, the first date for the official performance of the "Romana" dance was directly connected to the first festive ball held by the *Romanian women's association* on 31 January 1851.[424] Although the exact description of this dance is of secondary importance as compared to its functions, let it be briefly mentioned here that from a formal point of view, "Romana" was a combination of popular regional folk dances and songs, its name being an acronym for the choreographic moves the dance incorporated: Rosa, Octavia, Mureşana, Augusta, Nimfa, and Amata.[425] It was meant for couples to dance in salons, calling a face-to-face interaction. It had no lyrics, which means that when we think of it as a performative act, it did not connect to speech as much as it did with the exact repetition of moves within a specific social setting. In terms of authorship, it should be noted that "Romana" is commonly associated only with Iacob Mureşianu, but there were two other persons who arranged different aesthetic components of this dance – Ştefan Emilian and Francisc Kamauf.[426]

What "Romana" succeeded in doing was due to this great symbolic force that was assigned to it: through its formalizing and ritualizing of social events, it served the purposed of creating social cohesion and visibility. It remained closely associated with the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*, and it was usually danced once before midnight and once after on the occasion of festive balls. Repetition was key for making this performance national. Gradually, with gaining practice and recognition,

[424] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIV, no. 22, 28 January/10 February 1901, p. 1.
[425] Ibid. For the afterlife and the revived interest in this dance coupled with local patriotism nowadays, see, for instance, Odăţeanu, Harald. "Romana, un dans născut la Braşov," [*Romana, a dance born in Braşov*] *Monitorul expres*, 20 January 2012, available online: http://www.monitorulexpres.ro/?mod=monitorulexpres&p=week_end&s_id=108793
[426] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIV, no. 22, 28 January/10 February 1901, p. 1.

"Romana" was frequently danced at different balls throughout Hungary, at events that made Romanians visible. In less than a decade, it became part of the national apparatus put on display in these social spaces, which were, *par excellence*, spaces of competition and performativity. This competitive spirit transpired through a newspaper account of a Romanian ball in Vienna, February 1881:

> The Magyars did not organize a ball this year; the Bohemians neither; in any case, they could not compete with the Romanian ball anyway. Everything that is Romanian must rejoice seeing that journalists – the most competent judges of social life – have assigned Romanians such a place in social life at the center of the monarchy.[427]

An article from the *Transylvanian Gazette* published in spring 1891 unequivocally demonstrated that "Romana" was already part and parcel of the nation's dancing canon and tradition.[428] Undoubtedly, the ballroom dance became part of the national dance canon largely through the newspaper's contribution. Journalists did not fail to put nationalism in the every detail each time they wrote about the couples that danced "Romana."[429] By 1901 the nationalist activits claimed that the ballroom dance had reached popularity and entered social practice among Romanians in Transylvania, the Banat, Hungary, but also in Bukovina and the Romanian Kingdom.[430] Moreover, just like with the standardization of the Romanian language, nationalists also required that "Romana" be danced uniformly, literally by the book, in all countries and regions inhabited by Romanians. To this end, at the beginning of the

[427] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIV, no. 18, 12/24 February 1881, p. 3.
[428] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 45, LIV, 26 February/10 March 1891, p. 3.
[429] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 5, LXVIII, 9/22 January 1905, p. 4. The same observations go for other Romanian folk dances; see *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 50, LXVIII, 4/17 March 1905, p. 6.
[430] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 22, LXIV, 28 January/10 February 1901, p. 1.

twentieth century, Romanian nationalists published a brochure that explained the dance in greatest detail.[431]

"Romana" was one of the symbolic elements that the Romanian nationalists were extremely fond of, representing a tradition anchored in Braşov – an illustrious center for Romanians, being claimed by Romanian nationalists at the center of their symbolic national map. The *Transylvanian Gazette* was tied to this ballroom dance through family history – Iacob Mureşianu was one of the first editors of the newspaper and also prime inventor of this dance. It is then not surprising that the newspaper reported often about the evolution of the dance, attempting to make it widely known. The *Transylvanian Gazette* reported about the hundreds of people that socialized in these nationalized forms. But even so it is impossible to go beyond the interpretations and wishes of the nationalists in this case and analyze the dancing evenings and those who took part in them. For instance, in March 1905 the gazette proudly presented a popular party in Braşov organized by the local youth, which only ended with the break of dawn, and generally described the participants in the following way:

> [l]ots of Romanian people, as we have seldom seen, met tonight at the Central Hotel to the extent that the hall could hardly keep between its walls the many Romanian families from among the peasants and the intellectuals, as well as the youth who was eager to celebrate once again Shrove Tuesday. It happened that some of the guests who came late did not find room any longer and had to go home. I would not say too much if I content that the number of those present was over 500.[432]

Other articles reported that many hundreds of people usually attended these socializing events, estimating a range from 400 to 600 participants.[433] Above all, these numbers served as an argument for the nationalists to highlight "the spirit of solidarity

[431] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXVI, no. 67, 23 March/5 April 1903, p. 3-4.
[432] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXVIII, no. 50, 4/17 March 1905, p. 6.
[433] Ibid. And *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXX, no. 48, 2/15 March 1907, p. 5.

and brotherhood", "the harmony and understanding" among Braşovecheni – the inhabitants of a suburb in Braşov.[434] Yet one needs to ponder on why and how this ballroom dance might have been understood and accepted by contemporaries and what other dances it might have replaced in fulfilling the same cohesion functions.

Undoubtedly, in 1850 other dances could have spun the Romanian community around, such as "Bătuta" or "Căluşeru."[435] But these dances were already saturated with meaning, they represented the local, and did not rise to the social status required for matching the "civilized Western world."[436] The moment and the nationalists called for the elevation of the nation and for bringing it to – what was perceived as – a different standard. With the Romantic identification of what constituted folk music, these dances came to be regarded as historical (fault of another word for describing a genre), as belonging to the nation. The nationalists made many claims on behalf of the nation, while building up an array of distinguishable symbols for their nation. In the 1850s "Bătuta" and "Căluşeru" lacked the necessary qualities for fostering a collective sense of identity that span over regions. Or rather, these qualities had not yet been attributed to them.

Time and social practice had an important role to play in the acceptance of "Romana" as part of the rich and slowly changing symbolic texture of social life. Moreover, only those nationalists who had a solid symbolic capital could invent traditions. In this case, he who had arranged the dance was editor-in-chief of the newspaper, director of a gymnasium, and professor – a social status that contributed

[434] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 133, LXVIII, 17/30 June 1905, p. 6.
[435] See, for example, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIV, no. 77, 9/21 July 1881, p. 4. Or *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LVI, no. 31, 11/23 February 1893, p. 3. Other historical dances were the regional ones: "Haţegana," "Abrudeana," "Someşana," "Olteana." See *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 22, LXIV, 28 January/10 February 1901, p. 1.
[436] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIV, no. 22, 28 January/10 February 1901, p. 1.

greatly to the canonization and popularization of this ballroom dance among literate individuals. Through practice, "Romana" reached many of its partakers regardless of the literacy level – such was the gift of music and dance that nationalists used so well. Iacob Mureşianu was bent on the study of music and it was not by chance that he arranged "Romana" so as to incorporate elements from regional folk dances, which – I assume – made it partially recognizable to the practitioners.

Iacob Mureşianu and his son had been preoccupied with elevating the Romanian nation and with ascribing it a higher social status. To this end, they both presented a growing interest in identifying and defining "folklore." In a letter from 1881, Iacob Mureşianu jr. wrote to his father with excitement from Leipzig: "I want to collect all folksongs… Oh, how beautiful sonatas and symphonies I will make out of them".[437] This arrangement of folklore songs in view of dancing and singing (for) the nation signified the surpassing of the regional limits those folklore songs and dances represented. It also implied a patronizing gesture and clear civilizing self-assumed mission on the part of the collectors, as the motto of this chapter also exemplifies: "*this is how I am going to elevate the national music from its daily sing-song.*"[438]

"Romana" was probably the first and one of the most prominent examples of nationalizing "folklore." It is interesting to observe here that the process of nationalizing, of appropriating and modifying elements to suit the nation, took place

[437] Carmen Solomon, "Preocupările celor dintâi profesori şi elevi blăjeni pentru folclor şi valorificarea lui," [*The interest of the first teachers and students in Blaj in folklore and in enhancing its value*] *Ţara Bârsei* 8 (2009) : 284.
Iacob Mureşianu (1857-1917). He was the son of Iacob and Sevastia Mureşianu, born in Braşov. Iacob Mureşianu Jr. became a composer. He was a music teacher in Năsăud, Braşov, and Blaj, and had studied engineering and music in Vienna and Leipzig (1880-1883). See "Mureşianu**,** Iacob (1857-1917), Komponist und Musiker," *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, Bd. 6 (Lfg. 30, 1975), 445.

[438] Mureşianu, *Opere*, 153. In original: "*aşa voi ridica şi eu muzica naţională din dârlăiturile ei zilnice.*"

before actually institutionalizing the interest in what was to be identified as "folklore." This process proved extremely fertile for the invention of tradition. Whatever gap in the narrative was to be logically found, it was filled – as if a cavity – with a combination of factors that invoked inscrutably long decades marked by hardships:

> Under the thick foreign crust that covered Romania, hopes suppressed by unfavorable times have lain dormant for many long centuries full of sufferances. And under this crust the Romanian existence has been hidden for almost a millennium so much so that many doubt his being. So horrible was the wrath of times that came upon Romanians as a conquered people and suppressed by foreigners.[439]

Being national was not perceived as an invention, but as an awakening that needed to be sung and danced because "when the Romanian leaves needs aside and enters the dance, he does not ask himself when the dance was born."[440] National dances – for during the latter half of the nineteenth century, "Bătuta" and "Căluşeru" had gone historical and national (without competing with "Romana") – preferred immemorial times: "[w]e, Romanians, do not recall to have ever celebrated the jubilee of a national dance."[441] Nonetheless, "Romana" was so distinct that the date of its inception was celebrated alongside with the half-centennial festivity of the *Romanian women's association*. The nationalists forged a deep connection between this invented tradition and the establishment of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov*. Above all, "Romana" was exceptional because it was the national ballroom dance – the first of this kind, "[w]hich are of a more recent date, since Romanians began to slowly introduce in their midst the mores of the civilized Western world (*moravuri ale lumei civilizate apusene*)."[442] By the turn of the century, "Romana" had taken its place

[439] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXIV, no. 266, 4/17 December 1911, p. 3.
[440] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIV, no. 22, 28 January/10 February 1901, p. 1.
[441] Ibid.
[442] Ibid.

among other social dances one could find on the program of an event organized by the *Romanian association for gymnastics and singing* in Braşov. On 24 April 1899 participants enjoyed the hall of Hotel "Orient No. 1" and danced, one after the other, Hora, Vals, Quadrille I, Polka Mazur, Vals, Romana, Zarina, Polka française, Lanciers, Vals, Quadrille II, and fast Polka.[443]

4.2 The Claim for Visibility

The need to create and show identity was prolonged by the need to recognize others, and especially each other as part of the same community. It was a claim for visibility made in the sociability context of the dance floors, but it involved more sides to the story: being visible and being seen, recognizing and being recognized. Here one is well reminded of George L. Mosse's astute observation according to which "the use of visual means to influence and control the masses was therefore of the utmost importance, affecting both the projection of the national image and the preoccupation of respectability with personal appearance and behavior."[444] It is precisely at this junction between visibility and behavior that the *Transylvanian Gazette* contributed most, by disciplining the national body.

In our case, the dress code was a crucial element in the national display, and thus, in creating visual difference. When representative dances for the nation were performed at balls and parties – the mandatory canon including "Bătuta," "Căluşeru," and "Romana" (among others)[445] – practice entailed a specific dress code: national folk costumes, which were the work in progress of the nationalists.[446] One would

[443] "Poster," AM, Collection George Dima, folder 3, no. 42, p. 2.
[444] Mosse, "Nationalism and respectability," 223.
[445] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 45, LIV, 26 February/10 March 1891, p. 3.
[446] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIV, no. 77, 9/21 July 1881, p. 4.

perhaps not be surprised to read about the nationalists' concern with the behavior of the ball participants – which I will detail shortly –, but one may, nonetheless, be struck by the keen observing spirit that nationalists displayed. Most certainly, the nationalists were in the detail and they passed along taste judgments freely. According to nationalist criteria, they ranked not only national folk costumes more favorably than elegant ballroom clothes,[447] but fabrics had their ranking too: "[t]onight the 'iia' and the 'embroided chemise' rivaled in elegance with – if not surpassed –silk and velvet."[448] Nationalists then worked against what merchants had brought through trade in their town – the expensive Leipzig cloths, Russian furs, or French cloths.[449] With these symbolic details the nationalists made up the texture of the community, which, in their own words, "had to show proof of its national existence".[450] Precision and detail expressed the growing concern for the limits and boundaries of the national body.

The notion of "national taste" appears as a concern in the weaving of the symbolic texture of the community, with recognizable and selected visual elements. The selection process occurred through various channels, in an attempt to reach the masses. The girls' school for handiwork in Sibiu, for instance, had requested that Romanian women send representative samples of handiwork from all over the country, which through a reassembling process "would generate a solid basis and a

[447] *Gazeta Transilvaniei,* Braşov, XLIV, no. 95, 22 August/3 September 1881, p. 3. In the vein of local patriotism, the newspaper also praised the women from Braşov for having worn wonderful national folk costumes at this ball in Sibiu.
[448] *Gazeta Transilvaniei,* Braşov, XLVIII, no. 29, 7/19 February 1885, p. 3. In original: "În astă seară 'iia' şi 'cămaşa de altiţă' rivalizau în eleganţă – dacă nu întreceau – cu mătasea şi catifeaua."
[449] For instance, the "Leipzig cloth", according to Stoianovich, was brought to the trade market in the Danubian principalities since the 1720s, when *Lipiscanes* or „Leipzig traders" (Germans, Poles, Jews, Greeks, and Vlachs – explains Stoianovich quoting Nicolae Iorga) brought this product all the way from its manufacturing place in Verviers, Vervins, and Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen). Stoianovich, "The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant," 261. French cloth and Russian furs were brought into the Balkans via Constantinople, Salonika, and the Adriatic ports. (Ibid., p. 262)
[450] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LIV, no. 208, 20 September/2 October 1891, p. 3.

genuine Romanian character that would put an early stop to the corruption of taste that begins to be manifest among the people, especially in things that make up its way of dressing." [451] This call reflected the quest for a standard – just like with "Romana" or with the Romanian language – there had to be a uniform reinforceable code of difference. The economic interests lay therein hidden, as the new artistic cloths representing what was Romanian, served as basis for home industry.

From a gender perspective, the dress codes enforced through the newspaper expressed a strong preference for associating national folk costumes much more with women than with men.[452] Not only were they preferred to other clothes, but it was as if women were meant to be their main wearers: "We would like that our ladies maintain their habit, and continue to cultivate the national costumes, which always inspire Romanian patriotic feelings".[453] What came as an urging was later transformed into a mandatory dress code for women, and this was especially implemented for national celebrations, such as the major gathering that took place in Blaj, in 1911.[454] The degree to which newspaper articles spoke of women and made them visible in the newspaper depended on their dress codes, e.g. the national folk costume. The *Transylvanian Gazette* nationalists likened the woman to a "(gold) crown," which not

[451] Maria Cosma, president of the Romanian women's association in Sibiu, to Romanian women, Januarie 1888, SJBAN, Collection of documents of ASTRA, Donation Mușlea, series 16, Doc. 11, p. 1.
[452] This can be contrasted with the interesting Icelandic case, see Inga Dóra Björnsdóttir, "Nationalism, gender and the body in Icelandic nationalist discourse," *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 5, no. 1 (1997): 3-13.
[453] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Brașov, XLIV, 11/23 August 1881, p. 4.
[454] *Serbările dela Blaj 1911* [*Blaj celebrations in 1911*] (Blaj: Tipografia Semin. teol. gr. cat., 1911), 19. Drawing on a different set of archival sources centered on ASTRA, Tanya Dunlap discussed the gendered interpretation of the dress code requirements at public gatherings in the context of her research. The author added another aspect to this, by arguing that the dress code for women went beyond a question of "purity of the national community", it was a "debate over proper national leadership." Wives wearing the peasant dress legitimized their husbands (in particular urban intellectuals) and represented them as the real leaders. Tanya Keller Dunlap, "A union in disarray: Romanian nation building under Astra in late-nineteenth-century rural Transylvania and Hungary," (Ph.D. dissertation, Rice University, Houston, Texas, 2002), 326.

only raised the status of men, but that of the nation as well.[455] Following the same string of thoughts, many other pedagogically-minded articles in the *Transylvanian Gazette* invoked the Biblical reference "[a] wife of noble character is her husband's crown"[456] to enhance their arguments. Following this Christian twist of rhetorics in newspaper accounts of social events, women were portrayed as representing both the aesthetics and the morality of the nation. The nationalists' keen concern with women's symbolic force as wearers of national folk costumes can be traced in their observing of details and phrasings, such as "[a] wreath of ladies dressed up in distinguished clothes embellished the room",[457] or when deploring that, on a certain Saturday night, the poor illumination of the ballroom diminished the effect of the ladies' outfit.[458] These fragments show that what was at stake at these social events seemed to be the honor of the nation itself and women were entrusted with it.

> The crowning merit for tonight is to be given, naturally, to the fair sex who, through their dresses (not so much luxurious, but elegant and tasteful) and through their gentle and tactful behavior, not only do they support the name of this brilliant ball, but they also inspire strangers too with respect for this party and esteem for the Romanian nation.[459]

Undoubtedly, the *Transylvanian Gazette* closely monitored the dance floors and rated performativity according to "national criteria," indulging in details that reinforced conventions and expectations. Moreover, correcting and disciplining the national body, providing guidelines for attitudes and behavior and for taking a public

[455] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXXVII, no. 64, September 13/1, 1874, p. 2-4.
[456] See for instance, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LX, no. 43, February 23/March 7, 1897, p. 3. In this article, the Romanian original is the following: „Femeia silitoare este cununa bărbatului său". In a Cornilescu translation, it reads „O femeie cinstită este cununa bărbatului ei". *The Bible* [New International Version], Proverbs 12:4.
[457] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIII, no. 2, January 6/18, 1880, p. 4.
[458] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLVII, no. 6, January 15/27, 1884, p. 4.
[459] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXX, no. 12, 24/12 February 1867, p. 48. In original: "Coroana meritului pentru această seară firește se cuvine sexului frumos, care prin toaletele sale (nu atât luxurioase cât elegante şi gustoase) şi prin purtarea sa cea fina şi cu tact nu numai susţin renumele acestui bal stralucit, ci insuflă şi străinilor, care participă la această petrecere respect şi stimă către naţiunea română."

stance were topics that interested newspapers a great deal. Here is an example of how the newspaper sanctioned an event that they labeled "a sad depravity as far as national discipline is concerned, on which we have to draw the attention of those who have the duty to prevent any difficulties for our social life."[460] This happening refers to what was supposed to be a Romanian event, but that was "disrupted" by Hungarian language and folk dance. The eyewitness – a Romanian nationalist who wrote a letter to the *Transylvanian Gazette* and signed it Sandi – complained that "the Romanian public was forced to leave being disgusted by the contempt shown toward Romanian language, dances, and songs; preference was shown for *csárdás* and the Hungarian conversation and songs."[461] By publishing this letter and commenting upon it, the newspaper reinforced the portrayal of the good Romanian and the bad Romanian. The former felt betrayed when seeing the *csárdás* danced at a party that was supposed to be "purely Romanian" (*curat românească*), whereas the latter was considered the traitor when suggesting that *csárdás* be danced at the party. In our story here, the bad Romanian was he who had asked for *csárdás* to be danced, arguing that Dicsőszentmárton/Sankt Martin[462] "is a Hungarian town close to the Szeklers, where the Magyar spirit dominantes, and we cannot isolate ourselves in front of it if we want to be happy […][;] given the local circumstances, a pure Romanian party would not fit at all with the harmony and understanding that need to exist among Romanians and Hungarians."[463] The newspaper chided the national body, requiring Romanian

[460] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXV, no. 171, 4/17 August 1902, p. 3. In original: "o tristă destrăbălare în ce priveşte disciplina naţională, asupra cărei împrejurări trebuie să atragem atenţia celor ce datori sunt de a preîntâmpina orice neajuns în viaţa noastră socială."
[461] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXV, no. 171, 4/17 August 1902, p. 3. In original: "publicul român a fost silit a se depărta scârbit de dispreţul ce a văzut manifestându-se acolo faţă cu dansurile, vorba şi cântările româneşti prin preferinţa ciardaşului, conversaţiei şi cântecelor maghiare."
[462] Nowadays Târnăveni - a town at less than 200 km from Braşov.
[463] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXV, no. 171, 4/17 August 1902, p. 3. In original: "e un oraş unguresc situat în apropierea Secuimii, aci spiritul maghiar dominează, înaintea căruia nu-i iertat să ne

participants at such social events to "keep above all their reverence, respectability, and dignity as Romanian" in contrast to a "repulsive servility."[464] The appeal to "dignity" was frequently invoked and we will analyze it again in connection to gymnastics and singing.

These dynamic spaces, where dances spun communities around, weaving new forms of solidarity that throve on symbolic meaning and its making, were ripe with negotiations of identities and with ethnicized conflicts as well. It was an expression of the narrowing of the nationalists' vision that channeled the participants into adopting and performing only what was considered to be national and worthy of the nation. The newspaper fulfilled correcting and disciplining functions for distinguishing the Romanian nation in socializing places.

The need to distinguish "who was who" intensified during the last decade of the nineteenth century, on the background of the government preparations for celebrating the Millennium, which celebrated the approximate point (a thousand years earlier) when Árpád and the Magyar tribes he led settled in the area. In 1891 Romanian nationalist activists in Transylvania contributed to the opening of a museum for national folk costumes to take place in Bucharest.[465] The article from the *Transylvanian Gazette* that dealt with this brand new idea called all Romanians to get involved in this campaign, "to prove ourselves and through this to get to know ourselves better, […] to show skillfulness and self-awareness, which will raise our

izolăm dacă voim a ne ferici […] [;] între împrejurările locale, armoniei şi bunei înţelegeri ce trebuie să existe între români şi maghiari o petrecere curat românească de loc nu ar corespunde."

[464] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXV, no. 171, 4/17 August 1902, p. 4. In original: "a-ţi păstra înainte de toate stima, vaza şi demnitatea ta ca Român" and "slugărnicie respingătoare."

[465] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LIV, no. 208, 20 September/2 October 1891, p. 3.

status in everyone's eyes."[466] The call for action came from Bucharest, via the *Transylvanian Gazette*, whose goal was to engage all strata of Romanian society from Hungary in the quest for defining and identifying what was nationally representative. The need for symbolic capital and competition were foreseen to be embodied at the museum opening ceremony in three to five years' time, when the variety of "Romanian human beings" was to be on display.[467] It was not only the national folk costumes that mattered, but also the Romanians' physiognomy. For their best representations and identifications, nationalists thought of using photography so as to subsequently recreate the persons out of wax based on the pictures taken.[468] Moreover, the plan was to form a committee in Bucharest for analyzing these photographs with the purpose of characterizing "the main traits of one of the Romanian types".[469] The ideological underpinning of this endeavor went even further in seeking connections with the "neighboring people, such as Italy and Spain",[470] and the nationalists were convinced that if they analyzed woven fabrics or the prick of a needle, they would find a mental pattern or at least an affinity with these people, finding themselves together in the "ancestral cradle".[471] The delirium of folklore research tried to find the similarities between the "faces of the Dacians on Trajan's column in Rome" and "the types of people and clothes that Romanians from Răşinari, near Sibiu and from other places wore".[472] The idea of a museum showed that the nationalization of folklore met with the institutionalizing forces of the Romanian

[466] Ibid.
[467] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LIV, no. 208, 20 September/2 October 1891, p. 3.
[468] Ibid.
[469] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LIV, no. 209, 21 September/3 October 1891, p. 3.
[470] Ibid.
[471] Ibid.
[472] Ibid.

state.[473] The museum opened in Bucharest later than planned, in 1906, and it was called *The museum for ethnography, national art, decorative and industrial art* [*Muzeul de etnografie, artă națională, artă decorativă și industrială*]. At its roots stood an extensive quest for identity and resemblance in looks and clothes that was deeply ideologically motivated by Romanian nationalists. To see and to be seen became an imperative of the times.

4.2.1 "The Quasi Development of Our National Gymnastics"

On the occasion of a Romanian ball organized in Vienna in February 1886, in the big hall of the Musikverein decorated with exotic plants and expensive carpets, protector of the event Archduke Rainer, who wore his colonel uniform, was discussing the ball atmosphere with Nicolae Teclu, a participant to the ball and future to be distinguished Romanian chemist.[474] The latter, who is of more interest to this story, was the initiator of an association in Braşov, called the *Romanian association for gymnastics (and singing)* (Reuniunea română de gimnastică şi cântări din Braşov). The branch for gymnastics was established earlier, in 1863, and it is the focus of this section, which tells the brief story of the attempt of the Romanian nationalists' in Braşov to test what gymnastics could do for the social cohesion of their community. At the height of national mass mobilization at the turn of the century (phase C in Hroch's language), the *Romanian association for gymnastics* discontinued its activity fault of a lack of interest from the locals. In the following pages I refer to the establishment of this association in Braşov, briefly relate it to the German and Czechs

[473] ASTRA had opened a historical and ethnographic museum in 1905 in Transylvania. See James P. Niessen, "Museums, nationality, and public research libraries in nineteenth-century Transylvania," *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 41, no. 3 (2006): 298-336.
[474] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIX, no. 37, 15/27 February 1886, p. 2-3.

movements, and turn to some elements that could have been similar in these cases, but that failed to actually mobilize Romanians.

From a snapshot of the history of sports in Braşov,[475] the reader will learn that the first gymnastics lesson in a classroom in Braşov took place in 1847. After the revolutionary years, in 1851 the town boasted with a gymnastics hall. Ten years later, Saxons in Braşov established an association of gymnastics.[476] The following year, gymnastics became compulsory in Saxon schools. And shortly thereafter, in 1863 Romanians established the association for gymnastics. From 1869 onwards, gymnastics became mandatory in Romanian schools as well. Braşov was thus opening up to gymnastics and to other sports as well. Athletics, boxing, biking, skiing, fencing, wrestling gained popularity in the latter half of the nineteenth century. On the world scale, championships and federations began to take place in the 1880s, and thus, the competitive spirit was channeled in codified and regulated spaces. In Braşov, notable sports competitions took place in 1886 – athletics, for both girls and boys, in 1909 – skiing, and a wrestling competition in 1913.[477] All of these sports events implied competition, and equally important, they implied spectatorship. Sports, in their historical dimension, proved to be at the intersection of a multitude of histories, such as the history of leisure (with its cognate – the history of work), the history of masculinity, the history of tourism (for instance, one Saxon association in Braşov combined both skiing and tourism), and the history of medicine, which refers to therapeutic gymnastics.[478] Working at this intersection of all these histories falls

[475] Dincă and Furnică, *Sportul braşovean pe spirala timpului,* 6.
[476] Stephan Ludwig Roth had established a Turnverein in Mediaş as early as 1822.
[477] Dincă and Furnică, *Sportul braşovean pe spirala timpului*, 8-9.
[478] I refer here to *Siebenbürgische Karpatenverein* (SKV). For an interesting collection of articles on the histories mentioned above, see Rudy Koschar, ed., *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 2002).

beyond the scope of this chapter and dissertation. Nonetheless, it is important to mention them here since they point to the fast-paced, multi-faceted changes that urban culture in Braşov experienced – athletic competition became a modern phenomenon in the business of twentieth century popular entertainment, which was to develop to a much larger extent in the interwar period. The story of Romanian gymnastics in the pre-war period in Braşov is a fairly short one. While German and Czech associations for gymnastics mobilized masses to great extents, the *Romanian association for gymnastics* in Braşov did not succeed in engaging local citizens. Let us review this "quasi development".

After a series of meetings held in 1863, a group of men led by Nicolae Teclu decided to establish an association for gymnastics.[479]

> In autumn 1863 more Romanians of good feelings in Braşov agreed on Mr. Nicolae Teclu's proposal and were convinced of the great importance of gymnastics for the development of physical power and also of the spiritual powers of the human being, and seeing that this discipline was introduced among all civilized people of Europe and that it is regarded as part of the education of the youth, these people discussed the way in which gymnastics could be introduced among Romanians.[480]

Teclu was – in historian Nicolae Iorga's memory - the academician "with a long white beard, resembling a prophet from the Old Testament."[481] However, Teclu was not a prophet, but a member of the Romanian Academy who had studied

[479] For the first drafts and meetings see Doc. 1/863, AM, Collection Romanian association for gymnastics and singing. Among the other committee members were Ioan Lengeru, Ştefan Rus, and Ioan Meşotă. They drafted the first governing document of the association.

[480] From the founding documents of the Romanian association for gymnastics and singing, quoted in Catrina, "Contribuţii la cunoaşterea bibliotecii muzicale," 486. In original: "*În toamna anului 1863 mai mulţi români cu semţiu bunu din Braşiovu la propunerea D-lui tecnicu Nicolae Teclu şi pătrunşi de însemnătatea cea mare a gimnasticei pentru dezvoltarea puterilor fizice cât şi spirituale ale omului şi văzînd cum s-a introdus această disciplină la toate popoarele civilizate ale Europei şi că se priveşte ca o parte întregitoare a educaţiunei tinerimii, s-au sfătuit între sine asupra modului, cum s-ar putea aceasta introduce şi la români.*"

[481] Nicolae Iorga, *Oameni cari au fost* [*People who were*] vol. II, (Editura pentru literatura, 1967), 374.

engineering, architecture, and chemistry in Vienna and Munich. Above all, he is best known to have been a reputed Romanian chemist who had taught at the University of Vienna. His major invention was a burner that bore his name and that is still nowadays used in laboratories, side by side the equally famous and useful Bunsen burner.[482] At the time when Teclu initiated the association for gymnastics in Braşov he was a teacher in Braşov, his career being about to start. After the first draft of the governing documents was issued, the first official meeting of the newly-formed association took place in autumn 1864, when Nicolae Teclu was officially elected president. But the pace of the association was slow – the following meeting was held in 1865,[483] and the official approval of the association came only in 1866.[484] The beginning foreshadowed the development of this section that did not live up to the enthusiasm of its initiators. It was off with a slow start.

The main purpose of the association was to experiment with gymnastics in the Romanian community, taking as example local associations in their proximity, and further away, among the "civilized people of the Europe," the Czechs and the Germans whose ample gymnastics movements would later leave echoes through passing trains in the station of Braşov. The main purpose of the association stemmed from a concern with disciplining the body of the Romanian youth.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was Friederich Ludwig Jahn who initiated the gymnastic movement in Prussia by founding the prestigious *Turnverein*. George L. Mosse, who insightfully analyzed this phenomenon and the new dimension

[482] For supplementary information about Teclu's contribution as a chemist, see G. E. Baiulescu, S. Moldoveanu and T. S. West, "Nicolae Teclu (1839–1916): A pioneer of flame spectroscopy," *Talanta* 30 (2) (1983): 135–137.
[483] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXII, no. 42, 24 February/8 March 1899, p. 2.
[484] Chirilă, "Contribuţii la istoria reuniunii române de gimnastică şi cântări din Braşov," 142.

it brought to festivals, remarked that "[t]he cult of manliness through physical competition became an integral part of such rites".[485] "Gymnasts," as Mosse put it in one of his brilliant articles, "were the national stereotypes in the making".[486] Gymnastics was far from being an innocent enterprise, and the nationalists' concern with the making of the national body was not apolitical either. To the contrary, as Mosse emphasized in his book, gymnastics was intertwined with political aesthetics. Collectively performed in public spaces, German gymnastics propagated the Greek ideal of beauty and the celebration of the Germanic deeds in festive contexts; gymnasts "pioneered the ideals of German national self-representation".[487] The numbers that the German gymnastic movement boasted with had reached hundreds of organizations and about six thousand gymnasts around 1818.[488] These numbers, as well as the festivals, monuments, and the development of the gymnastic movement until after the Third Reich testified to the function of rites, which as Mosse put it, "meant the channeling of a chaotic crowd into a mass disciplined in part through the performance of 'sacred acts.'"[489] This was, in a nutshell, a facet of the nationalization of the masses, which was attempted in Braşov.

In the case of the failed/mediocre Romanian gymnastics in Hungary, or to put it in the more generous words of the contemporaries – "the quasi development of our national gymnastics"[490] – all these elements that I emphasized in connection to the German gymnastic movement seem to have surfaced every now and then throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. Local national archives preserve documents of

[485] Mosse, *The nationalization of the masses*, 83.
[486] Mosse, "Nationalism and respectability," 234.
[487] Mosse, *The nationalization of the masses*, 128.
[488] Ibid., 129.
[489] Ibid., 128.
[490] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXI, no. 194, 4/17 September 1908, p. 2.

a few Romanian associations for gymnastics/athletics that were established in Timişoara, Arad, Cluj, among other towns. In a letter from Timişoara about the situation there, one of the Romanian nationalists conveyed his opinion: "It's a terrible indifference, it's horrible! I have just made another attempt to awaken the national feeling and to animate the Romanian public that is entirely numb."[491]

The number of Romanian associations for gymnastics and their activities in Hungary were by far not as significant as the more nationally organized interest in gymnastics that took place in the Romanian Kingdom, where gymnastics teachers, such as Gheorghe Moceanu, Nicolae Velescu, and Dimitrie Ionescu, were active. The Romanian Federation of Gymnastics in Romania was established in 1906, incorporating sixteen associations. At that time, the association in Braşov was about to be discontinued for lack of members.

The *Transylvanian Gazette* made seldom references to other Romanian associations for gymnastics, and thus we know, for instance, that the representatives of another association for gymnastics from Brăila visited the local one in Braşov in 1880.[492] The circumstances of this visit and the little evidence we are left with from the past gives way to more speculations than interpretations. The representatives from Brăila were joined in their visit by Emilia Herkt who was responsible for the flag of the association. She was married to Colonel Heinrich Herkt, born in Coblenz in 1829, and organizer of the modern Romanian artillery. At the time of the visit that is of interest here, Herkt was commander of the 3rd battalion of artillery from Brăila. The

[491] "Letter from Timişoara to the association in Braşov," 28 October 1882. SJBAN, Collection Romanian association for gymnastics and singing, Doc. 175/1882, p. 2. In original: "E rău indifferentism, că ţi-e groază! Acuma am făcut ultima încercare să mai descopt simţul naţional şi să animez publicul românesc cu totul amorţit."
[492] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIII, no. 83, 16/28 October 1880, p. 4.

Romanian local newspaper in Braşov dismissed all possible political implications of this visit, and argued that the celebration was one of fraternity between human beings regardless of social status, nationality, and religion.[493] We do not know precisely what the purpose or outcome of that meeting was, but its festive character and the echoes of the "national march" that the same newspaper article mentioned certainly contributed to the Romanians' visibility locally. It was yet another exercise in blending symbolism with ritual in their search for the national.

Rather than mass mobilization and displays of nationalism on a grand scale, the gymnastics department in Braşov contributed locally through public exercises and trips that showed an exercise in manliness and discipline. Article 2 of the Bylaws of the association stipulated that gymnastic exercises were to be performed in public weekly.[494] For the purposes of visibility and discipline of the national body, trips were particularly useful as well. What comes through in the newspaper articles that called for participation was the sense of disciplining the partakers by requiring punctuality and performativity from them.[495] More forcefully put, it was gender performativity that was required from participants: "the manly moment, one could say warrior-like, as compared to the pleasant graciousness of the dance",[496] stated in an article that highlighted the qualities of gymnastics. This happened precisely because "nationalism also received a sexual dimension of its own through its advocacy of beauty, its stereotypes of ideal men and women."[497]

[493] Ibid.
[494] *Statutele Reuniunii romane de gimnastica si de cantari din Braşov, aprobate de I.M.R.U. de Interne* [*Bylaws of the Romanian association for gymnastics and singing, approved by the authorities*] (Braşov: Roemer & Kamner, 1874), 3. SJBAN, Collection Romanian association for gymnastics and singing, Doc. 55/1874.
[495] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLI, no. 40, 21 May/2 June 1878, p. 4.
[496] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXI, no. 194, 4/17 September 1908, p. 2.
[497] Mosse, "Nationalism and respectability," 223.

These highly symbolic events were just one side of the story of the ethnically mixed town of Braşov, where at the train station – probably one of the best places to observe such displays of nationalism – other nationalist groups performed their own rituals. For instance, in July 1889 the German association for gymnastics from Bucharest, on its way by train to Munich to attend the seventh German congress of gymnastics,[498] was ceremoniously greeted at the station by the local German association for gymnastics in Braşov, with "a glorious welcome, with a flag ahead and an orchestra leading".[499] As the Romanian correspondent of the *Transylvanian Gazette* further recounted, the two associations spent four hours cheerfully drinking beer together before parting their ways. Once again, the town stood at the crossroad of a flux of information. This time, it was not the merchants that brought the news, but the gymnasts attending congresses, by taking the iron way. The *Transylvanian Gazette* kept a keen eye on these events, and echoed them by narrating with words of admiration tales about German unity:

> separated politically from the German fatherland, we are all Germans in our national project, because we are not isolated in the family of the European peoples, but we are like one free and true branch of the big German people… Despite the political separation, we should maintain the intimate friendship and kinship between Austria's Germans and the Germans of the Empire.[500]

These were the words that Dr. Knotz from Bohemia, uttered during a toast he held at the sixth German congress of gymnastics, representing another peak of Friederich Ludwig Jahn's movement. And yet, the *Romanian association for*

[498] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LII, no. 158, 15/27 July 1889, p. 1.
[499] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LII, no. 163, 22 July/3 August 1889, p. 1.
[500] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLVIII, no. 155, 13/25 July 1885, p. 1. In original: "*despărţiţi politiceşte de patria germană, unu suntem cu toţii Germani în direcţiune naţională, fiindcă nu suntem izolaţi în familia popoarelor europene, ci suntem unu liber şi adevărat ram al marelui popor german… Cu toată separarea politică să îngrijim de intima legătură a prieteniei şi a rudeniei dintre Germanii Austriei şi Germanii Imperiului.*"

gymnastics in Braşov did not manage to sweep Romanians off their feet, as it happened in the German or Czech cases, the latter being represented by the legendary Sokol (Falcon) club founded in 1862 in Prague.[501] In fifty years' time, the Sokols boasted with over 150,000 members belonging to more than 1,000 clubs.[502] If we measured success by sheer numbers of members, then they certainly illustrated the success of the Sokol gymnastics organization in Cisleithania, which was so resounding that many researchers considered it "a major component in the transformation of Czech nationalism into a mass movement."[503] The intensity and frequency of debates within the Sokol clubs,[504] also testified to the vivid social engagement of its members, which would perhaps constitute a more accurate measure of nationalist efficacy. In the Romanian case, the number of members in the Braşov association did not rise to anything that might have indicated a mass mobilization, but only participation in local social life that came in over a dozen or at most two yearly.[505] In fact, the decreasing number of participants after the turn of the century caused the committee to discontinue the activity of this association branch in mid-1908,[506] leaving the nationalists to deplore this situation in the local newspaper, while constantly fearing what they called "a dangerous indifference."[507]

[501] For the Czech association and a gender perspective on it, see Nolte, "Every Czech a Sokol!" and Nolte, "Voluntary associations."
[502] Nolte, "Every Czech a Sokol!", 80.
[503] Ibid., 79.
[504] Women's membership in the Sokol was an intense topic of debate, which Nolte described as "a larger identity crisis in the Sokol between being a male-dominated militaristic union or a progressive educational organization for the whole nation." See Nolte, "Every Czech a Sokol!", 100.
[505] In 1903 sixteen members in the gymnastics section, in 1904 – fifteen, and in 1905 – seventeen. For references see *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 68, LXVII, 25 March/7 April 1904, p. 3; *Raportul general al comitetului Reuniunii romane de gimnastica si de cantari din Braşov pe anul 1904 prezentat adunarii generale tinuta in 11/24 februarie 1905* [*General report of the committee of the Romanian association for gymnastics and singing for 1904 presented on 11/24 February 1905 on the occassion of the general meeting*] (Braşov: Tipografia A. Muresianu, 1905), 19. SJBAN, Collection Association for gymnastics and singing; *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 37, LXIX, 17 February/2 March 1906, p. 4.
[506] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXII, no. 99, 7/20 May 1909, p. 3.
[507] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXXIII, no. 92, 7 December/25 November 1870, p. 1.

4.2.2 The Romanian Association for Singing

The other branch of the Romanian association in Braşov dedicated itself to music entirely, and contributed to social life in Braşov, especially during the years when George Dima was the conductor of the choir. From the two branches of the association, the music section gave public performances and raised small amounts of money. On average, when Dima was choir conductor, the association gave three performances a year.[508] The performative peak of the association's activity was in the first five or six years of the twentieth century, when the choir gave fourteen concerts, featuring a repertoire of 248 scores, as compared to the period from 1894 to 1899, when the choir performed ten times and sang 70 musical pieces.[509] Paradoxically, at its performative peak the association committee complained about the inability of the citizens to mobilize themselves, and the association came to rest for over two years until 1911.[510] In brief, this was the numerical trajectory of the association in terms of performances. And still the number of members during this period declined, as I will demonstrate in the following pages.

First, I examine the broader context of the association, as well as similar ones in Transylvania and the Banat, focusing on the Romanian association's strength and reach, so as to support by evidence the fact that its possibilities, in terms of human and financial capital, were too reduced to be active on a larger scale than the local one. Second, I explore the highlights of its repertoire in Braşov, emphasizing the collaboration between similar associations in Braşov regardless of ethnicity. Music

[508] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXI, no. 48, 2/15 March 1898, p. 3.
[509] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIX, no. 37, 17 February/2 March 1906, p. 4.
[510] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXIV, no. 223, 9/22 October 1911, p. 2.

and nationalism were not marked by the theme of conflict, and in the last part of this chapter the reader will find out why.

To start with differences, the gymnastics section required more of a voluntary and disciplined spirit, whereas the music section asked for gifted women and men, aware of their responsibility and the role distribution within a choir. The founders and members took upon themselves a civilizing task, believing that the force of music would uplift people morally: "[b]y cultivating music, one cultivates feelings, and by cultivating feelings, one disseminates morality."[511] Thus, the "noble" goal of the association was seemingly plain and simple: popularizing and cultivating music so as to civilize the people.[512] The following chapter on theater will re-iterate this preoccupation.

From their local perspective, Romanian activists had noticed that in Braşov and around Braşov there had been a movement that made people form choirs and sing.[513] This movement that took off in the second half of the nineteenth century was part of a larger European development. At that time, as Mosse argued, male choirs left no national monument or festival unattended, becoming "an integral part of the national liturgy".[514] The exact count of such Romanian associations that flourished locally remains unknown, but on the radar of the *Transylvanian Gazette* there were about a dozen such associations that featured in the news. They were established in the latter half of the long nineteenth century, and were located in Sibiu[515], Oraviţa[516],

[511] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXXIII, no. 92, 7 December/25 November 1870, p. 1.
[512] Ibid. See also Art. 1 in *Statutele Reuniunii romane de gimnastica si de cantari din Braşov, aprobate de I.M.R.U. de Interne* [*Bylaws of the Romanian association for gymnastics and singing approved by the authorities*] (Braşov: Roemer & Kamner, 1874), 3. SJBAN, Collection Romanian association for gymnastics and singing, Doc. 55/1874.
[513] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXII, no. 42, 24 February/8 March 1899, p. 2.
[514] Mosse, *The Nationalization of the masses*, 136-7.
[515] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIII, no. 30, 25/13 April 1880, p. 3.

Ticvaniu Mare[517], Şomcuţa-mare[518], Orăştie[519], Gherla[520], Săcele[521], Timişoara[522], and Caransebeş.[523]

Fig. 4.1: Map of Romanian associations for singing (Transylvania and the Banat, second half of the long nineteenth century).[524]

To be sure, these associations were not conceived to form a network in the sense that the Romanian women's associations in Hungary did. Their capital was so modest that it was barely enough to cover the yearly expenses, including paying the

[516] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIII, no. 17, 27 February 1880, p. 4.
[517] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 23, LIII, 28 January/9 February 1890, p. 3.
[518] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXII, no. 52, 7/19 March 1899, p. 5-6.
[519] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 93, LXVIII, 28 April/11 May 1905, p. 3.
[520] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 154, LXIX, 13/26 July 1906, p. 3.
[521] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 39, LXXV, 19 February/3 March 1912, p. 2.
[522] "Letter from Timişoara to the association Braşov," 28 October 1882. SJBAN, Collection Romanian association for gymnastics and singing, Doc. 175/1882.
[523] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIV, no. 148, 30 December 1881, p. 3.
[524] For the purpose of mapping a dozen associations, I modified an open-source map from 1915: http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fi%C8%99ier:Ardeal_si_Bucovina.JPG
The associations that I chose for a graphic representation are the ones that the *Transylvanian Gazette* mentioned on its pages, or that were supported by evidence from the local archives.

rent for the rehearsal place, and the paycheck of the choir master, which increased from 150 to 200 florins per year.[525] The associations complained about poverty – "we are poor, God forbid" [526] - and exchanged scores, as they were expensive and the association in Braşov took pride in owning 226 scores in 1906.[527] The scores were the most valuable possession they had. Otherwise, the modest capital indicates that all their efforts concentrated in the immaterial realm, working with dedication to cultivate aesthetics and musical taste. These were the standards of the nineteenth century, when as Mosse noted, "the cultured person ideally not only acquired an appreciation of the ancients, but also musical tastes."[528]

Years	**Financial Situation**
1879[529]	1865 fl. 63 kr.
1883[530]	2172 fl. 59 kr.
1897[531]	2328 fl. 99 kr.
1898[532]	2107 fl.

[525] George Dima, choir master in Braşov and Sibiu, at both Saxon and Romanian associations for singing received the following paychecks: in 1885 – 150 fl. *Bericht des Hermannstädter Männergesangs-Vereins für das Jahr 1885* (Hermannstadt: Verlag des „Hermannstädter Männergesangs-Vereins", 1886). AM, Collection Dima, Dos. 3, no. 64, p. 18. In 1896 – 200 fl. *Raportul general al comitetului Reuniunii romane de muzica din Sibiu. (1 septembrie 1896 – 31 august 1897)* (Sibiu : Tipariul tipografiei arhidiecesane, 1897). AM, Collection George Dima, Dos. 6, no. 225, p. 15). In 1904 and 1905 - 400 cor. *Raportul general al comitetului Reuniunii române de gimnastică şi de cântări din Braşov pe anul 1904 prezentat adunării generale ţinută în 11/24 februarie 1905* [*General report of the committee of the Romanian association for gymnastics and singing for 1904 presented on 11/24 February 1905 on the occassion of the general meeting*] (Braşov: Tipografia A. Mureşianu, 1905), 15. SJBAN, Collection Romanian association for gymnastics and singing.

[526] "Letter from Timişoara to the association in Braşov," 28 October 1882, SJBAN, Collection Romanian association for gymnastics and singing, Doc. 175/1882, p. 1. In original: "suntem calici să ferească Dzeu."

[527] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIX, no. 37, 17 February/2 March 1906, p. 4.

[528] Mosse, *The Nationalization of the masses*, 137.

[529] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIII, no. 7, 24 January 5 February (?) 1880, p. 2. The reader is reminded that at this point, the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* took pride in having collected 37,536 fl. and 2 kr. See previous chapter.

[530] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLVII, no. 19, 15/27 February 1884, p. 4.

[531] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXI, no. 48, 2/15 March 1898, p. 3.

[532] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXII, no. 42, 24 February/8 March 1899, p. 2.

Years	Financial Situation
1903[533]	3527 cor., 62 fil.
1904[534]	3831,34 cor.
1905[535]	3454 cor. 54 fil.
1908[536]	4268 cor. 41 fil.

Table 4.1: Financial situation of the Romanian association for gymnastics and singing – selective years

A brief comparison to other associations reinforces our statement that their mission was local. At the end of 1885, everything that the German *Männergesangs Verein* in Sibiu owned, including scores and cash, amounted to 1,578 florins.[537] In 1896 the *Romanian association for music* in Sibiu, counted all its possessions and coins, leading to the sum of 2,450 fl. 40 kr.[538] Such were the regular and modest funds that allowed associations for music to exist in Hungary.

The human capital of the association in Braşov remained proportionate to the financial capital it owned. As such, it preserved small numbers. Member of the association was any citizen of Hungary, aged at least 18 years, who received the majority of votes from the committee. [539] Moreover, like any association of the time,

[533] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXVII, no. 68, 25 March/7 April 1904, p. 3.
[534] *Raportul general al comitetului Reuniunii romane de gimnastica si de cantari din Braşov pe anul 1904 prezentat adunarii generale tinuta in 11/24 februarie 1905*[*General report of the committee of the Romanian association for gymnastics and singing for 1904 presented on 11/24 February 1905 on the occassion of the general meeting*] (Braşov: Tipografia A. Muresianu, 1905), 15. SJBAN, Collection Romanian association for gymnastics and singing.
[535] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIX, no. 37, 17 February/2 March 1906, p. 4.
[536] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXII, no. 99, 7/20 May 1909, p. 3.
[537] *Bericht des Hermannstädter Männergesangs-Vereins für das Jahr 1885* (Hermannstadt: Verlag des „Hermannstädter Männergesangs-Vereins", 1886), AM, Collection Dima, Dos. 3, no. 64, p. 19.
[538] *Raportul general al comitetului Reuniunii romane de muzica din Sibiu (1 septembrie 1895 – 31 august 1896)* [*General report of the committee of the Romanian association for music in Sibiu*] (Sibiu: Tipariul tipografiei arhidiecesane, 1896), AM, Collection George Dima, Dos. 3, no. 63, p. 14.
[539] *Statutele Reuniunii române de gimnastică şi de cântări din Braşov, aprobate de I.M.R.U. de Interne* [*Bylaws of the Romanian association for gymnastics and singing in Braşov, approved by the*

the one in Braşov received its stellar and honorary members, taking pride in mentioning metropolitan Miron Roman from Sibiu as member since 1876.[540] The same year Iuliu de Szentiványi, alderman of counties Braşov and Trei scaune, joined the association as contributing member, and even attended one of the association's meetings.[541] The *Transylvanian Gazette* commented on this fact extremely positively and complimented the local official authority on his wisdom, spirit of justice, finesse, and nobility that brought honor to his nation.[542] From the family we already know, Aurel Mureşianu (married to Elena Popovici) was elected honorary member of the association for the "many services that the newspaper [the *Transylvanian Gazette*] had brought to the Association from its beginning until today".[543] Moreover, Maria Baiulescu, leading member of the *Romanian women's association* in Braşov, answered the call for action, and sang in the choir when it performed at its best, under George Dima's leadership.[544]

Nonetheless, despite the association's artistic performativity being at its peak, despite illustrious and honorary members, the decline in membership numbers after the turn of the century led to discontinuing the activity of the association. From eighty-one active members in 1900,[545] to around sixty choir members in 1903 and

authorities] (Braşov: Roemer & Kamner, 1874), p. 3. SJBAN, Collection Romanian association for gymnastics and singing, Doc. 55/1874.

[540] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXXIX, no. 90, 30/18 November 1876, no page number.

[541] Ibid.

[542] Ibid.

[543] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXI, no. 48, 2/15 March 1898, p. 3.

[544] *Raportul general al comitetului Reuniunii române de gimnastică şi de cântări din Braşov pe anul 1904 prezentat adunarii generale tinuta in 11/24 februarie 1905* [*General report of the committee of the Romanian association for gymnastics and singing for 1904 presented on 11/24 February 1905 on the occassion of the general meeting*] (Braşov: Tipografia A. Mureşianu, 1905), 19. SJBAN, Collection Romanian association for gymnastics and singing.

[545] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 59, LXIX, 15/28 March 1906, p. 3.

1904,[546] the numbers dropped to thirty-nine the following year,[547] and down to thirty-one active members in 1907.[548] At that point, Dima resigned and the association stopped its activity for several years. The "beautiful institution established for consolidating Romanian society in Braşov"[549] had become inactive.

Local nationalists explained the causes of this development in the following words:

> It's been two years since the music branch of our Association stopped functioning. The causes of this regrettable fact are many and known, and they are to be explained largely by the indifference and the passing sick state of our society in Braşov.[550]

They further blamed the Romanian inhabitants of Braşov for their "lack of *true* interest and their lack of *altruism*,"[551] and complained about having to almost knock at people's doors to make them take part in the association's life. This rhetoric together with the fact that the *Romanian association for singing* had discontinued its activity demonstrates that the degree of responsiveness and of groupness of Romanians even

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[546] See *Raportul general al comitetului Reuniunii române de gimnastică şi de cântări din Braşov pe anul 1904 prezentat adunării generale ţinută în 11/24 februarie 1905* [*General report of the committee of the Romanian association for gymnastics and singing for 1904 presented on 11/24 February 1905 on the occassion of the general meeting*] (Braşov: Tipografia A. Muresianu, 1905), 19. SJBAN, Collection Romanian association for gymnastics and singing. And *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 68, LXVII, 25 March/7 April 1904, p. 3.

[547] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 37, LXIX, 17 February/2 March 1906, p. 4.

[548] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 99, LXXII, 7/20 May 1909, p. 3. By way of comparison to the neighboring music associations in Sibiu, the end-of-century books recorded similar numbers in membership (before the decline) for both the Romanian and German choirs. In 1896-1897, the Romanian association had 87 active members. See *Raportul general al comitetului Reuniunii romane de muzica din Sibiu. (1 septembrie 1896 – 31 august 1897)* [*General report of the committee of the Romanian association for music in Sibiu*] (Sibiu: Tipariul tipografiei arhidiecesane. 1897). AM, Collection George Dima, Dos. 6, no. 225, p. 9. In 1885 the German association had 60 choir members, and a couple of hundreds of financially supporting members. See *Bericht des Hermannstädter Männergesangs-Vereins für das Jahr 1885* (Hermannstadt: Verlag des „Hermannstädter Männergesangs-Vereins", 1886). AM, Collection Dima, Dos. 3, Nr. inv. 64, p. 20.

[549] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 221, LXII, 6/18 October 1899, p. 3.

[550] "Report," November 1909. SJBAN, Collection Romanian association for gymnastics and singing, Doc. 1051/1909, p. 1. In original: "S-au împlinit doi ani de zile de când secţia muzicală a Reuniunii noastre a încetat de a mai funcţiona. Cauzele acestei apariţii regretabile sunt multe şi cunoscute, ele sînt de atribuit în cea mai mare parte indiferentismului şi unei stări bolnăvicioase trecătoare a societăţii noastre Braşovene."

[551] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 223, LXXIV, 9/22 October 1911, p. 2.

in an urban setting such as Braşov was rather low. It was now not just the branch for gymnastics that was inactive, but also the one for singing.

As mentioned above, the driving force for establishing the music branch in Braşov came from the idea that music had civilizing qualities, representing a cultural force of change, which potentially led to the moral uplifting of the people. The promoters of these ideas of cultural progress were a few locals of Braşov who had studied music in Leipzig. As musicologist Constantin Catrina observed, the idea of transferring this knowledge acquired in Leipzig had older roots, invoking once again the traveling Romanian merchants who in 1827 edited in Leipzig the first newspaper in Romanian – *Fama Lipschi.*[552] Published in this newspaper, the 1858 bylaws of the *Capela română din Lipsca* [The Romanian chapel in Leipzig] stipulated that

> When we have the necessary funds, then instead of one singer, we will bring two or three young poor people that will also study science in these schools from here, and after they acquire the necessary knowledge, they can also spread the light of science [and of art] in our fatherland…[553]

Leipzig-Braşov became in the second half of the nineteenth century an important channel of knowledge transfer. Prominent musicians from Braşov who took leading positions in the music association had been schooled at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Leipzig. Iacob Mureşianu Jr., when he wrote to his father about his plans of transforming Romanian folksongs into symphonies and sonatas, was a student in Leipzig (from 1880 to 1883). He returned to Braşov to teach music at the local high school, and conducted the choir of the *Romanian association for music*

[552] See Catrina "Muzica şi muzicienii Braşovului."
[553] Ibid. In original: "*Când vom aduna fondul necesar, atunci, în loc de unul vom aduce doi-trei cântăreţi sau mai mulţi juni fără mijloace, care să şi studieze vreo ştiinţă în şcolile de aici, şi, după ce-şi vor dobândi ştiinţa cuvenită, să se poată înmulţi lumina ştiinţei* [şi a artei] *în patria noastră …*"

and gymnastics.[554] George Dima had studied in Leipzig as well, from 1872 to 1874, and from 1878 to 1880. His influence and success had raised the status of the association after the turn of the century, with resounding performances praised in Hungarian, German, and Romanian local newspapers. In fact, Dima managed to accomplish two important aspects: inter-ethnic cooperation between associations for music especially in Braşov and Sibiu; and the elevation of cultural life in Braşov.

With a strong professional interest in music, Dima worked as choir master for both Romanian and German associations for music; consequently, rather than becoming rivals, these associations collaborated together for charity concerts. Associations for music at times lent each other scores, exchanged free tickets to each other's concerts, and they maintained correspondence with other associations, as it happened with the Romanian association for music in Sibiu and the local German *Männergesangsverein* and the Hungarian *Dalkor*.[555] These associations sometimes performed together on the same stage. For instance, at the beginning of the twentieth century, when Dima was choir master of the *Romanian association for singing and gymnastics* there were quite a few charity concerts advertised in three languages announcing

> The program of the big concert that will take place in the big hall of the tower in favor of helping the widows and the orphans of the courageous people of the Boers. The collaborating choirs are those of the Associations Kronstädter Männergesangsverein, Magyar Dalárda,

[554] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 276, LXVIII, 16/29 December 1905, p. 4.
[555] *Raportul general al comitetului Reuniunii române de gimnastică şi de cântări din Sibiu. (1 septembrie 1895 – 31 august 1896)* [*General report of the committee of the Romanian association for music in Sibiu*] (Sibiu: Tipariul tipografiei arhidiecesane, 1896). AM, Collection George Dima, folder 3, no. 63, p. 10.

> The Romanian association for singing, Deutscher Liederkranz, Bartholomäer Männerchor, The town choir.[556]

Such a collaborative fundraising concert was by no means an isolated event. Although it is remarkable that these associations were drawn together with the purpose of helping the relief of victims of the South African War, the above mentioned music associations performed together for local causes as well, such as for the tuberculosis sanatorium.[557] Moreover, it also happened that Romanian singers sang with Saxon choirs[558], or that Saxons performed at Romanian national events.[559] Pondering on these mutual artistic contributions and exchanges that seemed to ignore ethnic differences, one may even put forth the hypothesis according to which, in the context of Braşov at the turn of the century, music and nationalism primarily had a cultural dimension that worked towards forming an inclusive local identity.

To substantiate this hypothesis further, let us survey – not as musicologists, but as historians – what the repertoire of the Romanian choir was. The channel Leipzig-Braşov had facilitated the formation of a rich musical canon for the choir of the Romanian association in Braşov. From the couple of hundreds of scores that had been interpreted throughout the history of this branch of the association, the *Transylvanian Gazette* – one of the most faithful spectators of these concerts – selected for public praise various musical performances. But first, let us mention that the common, in the sense of classical, musical pieces that the choir interpreted were signed by composers,

[556] In original: "Programa pentru marele concert care se va da în sala cea mare a redutei în favoarea văduvelor şi orfanilor bravului popor al Burilor. Cu conlucrarea Reuniunilor Kronstädter Männergesangsverein, Magyar Dalárda, Reuniunea română de cantari, Deutscher Liederkranz, Bartholomäer Männerchor, Capela orăşenească." AM, Collection Dima, folder 7, no. 293.
[557] "The program of the concert," AM, Collection Dima, folder 3, no. 65. And AM, Collection George Dima, folder 3, no. 60.
[558] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIV, no. 67, 24 March/6 April 1901, p. 2.
[559] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXI, no. 48, 2/15 March 1898, p. 3.

such as Robert Schumann, Franz Schubert, and Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy.[560] To be sure, they represented a common denominator for all associations of music mentioned so far, regardless of ethnicity. More interesting, however, is the fact that the highlights that the *Transylvanian Gazette* selected pointed to several Scandinavian composers. Niels W. Gade (1817-1890), for instance, had a tremendous success on stages in Braşov, and the newspaper oftentimes acclaimed the interpretations of his pieces:

> Everything that the heart of a choir master could desire is to be found in this composition that has an undeniable musical value, featuring the most admirable, delicate, and grandiose choirs with a delicious duet, all of them being accompanied by instrumental music that only Gade could have imagined with so much art and effect.[561]

The *Transylvanian Gazette* went on to specify that sixty-six men and women partook in the performance of Gade's dramatic poem, "The Crusaders" ["Cruciaţii"].[562] This poem had become so popular that it was printed in Braşov in 1875.[563] Dima, but also other choir masters from Braşov or Sibiu who had studied in Leipzig, emulated Gade's works because they used folk music in art music, being the first one to make the Danish nation sound.[564] Along with Gade, whose influence was channeled through Leipzig, where he taught in the nineteenth century, other Scandinavian influences came as well. Edvard Grieg (1843-1907), the Norwegian composer, was particularly appreciated for his pieces, which conveyed the "we could

[560] See, for example, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLI, no. 53, 18/6 July 1878, p. 4.
[561] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 67, LXIV, 24 March/6 April 1901, p. 2.
[562] Ibid.
[563] *Cruciaţii*. *Poem romantic după poema dramatică a lui Carol Andersen compusă pentru Soli, Cor şi Orchestru de Niels W. Gade* (Braşov: Tiparit la Römer& Kamner, 1875). AM, Collection Dima, folder 3, no. 51.
[564] Yvonne Wasserloos, "'Hearing through eyes, seeing through ears,' Nation and Landscape within the Works of Niels W. Gade, Edvard Grieg and Carl Nielsen," 5. Paper presented at the *International Grieg Society – IGS – Conference*, Bergen, Norway, May 30 – June 2nd 2007. URL: http://www.griegsociety.org/filer/1139.pdf.

say, eccentric peculiarities of the original Nordic character."[565] According to musicologist Wasserloos, both Gade and Grieg "created musical landscapes through the inspiration of cultural landscapes".[566] On local stages, Danish and Norwegian music, celebrating the nation and the landscape, were translated metaphorically into the Romanian, Saxon, or Hungarian contexts, being received with acclaim and applause. What differentiated the musical concerts of these associations was dictated by contexts – social occasions, and thus, ultimately, audiences.[567] Generally, the musical programs of the *Romanian association for singing and gymnastics* performed pieces that belonged to the canon described above, but they also produced what could be called, attempts at composing Romanian hits. Before the turn of the century, "The song of the Latin people" ["Cântecul ginţii latine"] was the musical piece that tried to gain recognition and a wider audience, but it seemed to fall behind the critical acclaim that Gade's works received. Arranged by Filippo Marchetti after Vasile Alecsandri's lyrics,[568] this piece seemed to require the audience to educate their taste with patience and with the guidance of the *Transylvanian Gazette*: "The song composed by Marchetti does not make a big impression on first hearing, but the more it is repeated, the more beautiful, maestic, and expressive it becomes."[569]Among the most representative musical pieces for Romanians around the turn of the century one should mention "The mother of Stephen the Great" ["Mama lui Ştefan cel Mare"] by George Dima (with a text by Dimitrie Bolintineanu), which was performed quite often in

[565] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXVI, no. 132, 17/30 June 1903, p. 3.
[566] Wasserloos, "'Hearing through eyes, seeing through ears,'" 8.
[567] For a concert that the association gave in Bucharest, Dima prepared only Romanian musical pieces. See *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIX, no. 236, 25 October/7 November 1906, p. 2.
[568] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLI, no. 53, 18/6 July 1878, p. 4.
[569] Ibid.

1904, with the occasion of 400 years from the death of Stephen the Great.[570] The choir from Braşov also performed it in Bucharest, on the stage of the National Theater in October 1906.[571]

Fig. 4.2: Photograph of George Dima and a choir [undated].[572]

To sum up, in the first part of this chapter, I explored the dance floor and the symbolic texture of the ballroom halls in Braşov, which were closely surveyed and disciplined by the *Transylvanian Gazette*. "Romana" was invented as a ballroom dance in one of the Romanian merchants' houses with the purpose of symbolically raising the status of the Romanian nation. The dance played a role in creating a larger sense of identity that reached beyond regional borders. It blended recognizable

[570] *Raportul general al comitetului Reuniunii române de gimnastică şi de cântări din Braşov pe anul 1904 prezentat adunarii generale tinuta in 11/24 februarie 1905* [*General report of the committee of the Romanian association for gymnastics and singing for 1904 presented on 11/24 February 1905 on the occassion of the general meeting*] (Braşov: Tipografia A. Mureşianu, 1905), 1. SJBAN, Collection Romanian association for singing and gymnastics in Braşov.
[571] "Concert program," AM, Collection Dima, folder 3, no. 43.
[572] AM, Collection George Dima, File 6, No. 238.

elements of folk dances, which made it absorbable to its partakers through practice. At the same time, its social function was that of creating community cohesion. Based on the nationalists' criteria that invoked discipline both in terms of dress code and of social practice, "Romana" also contributed to distinguishing among participants at social events.

However, before actually wearing the dancing shoes at these festivities and ceremonies that (were) claimed as often as possible to be national, the concert spectators on the local scene were required to educate their taste in music, being exposed to what their educated elite had learned in Leipzig. It was not only the German style of gymnastics that was invited to permeate local society in Braşov, but also the German taste for nineteenth century music that was channeled from Leipzig to Braşov. Its best re-enactor was renowned conductor George Dima. His professional dedication to music, and the fact that he was hired as choir master by various associations for music in the region, shed another light on the "intermittence of ethnicity," even at the height of mass mobilization. It did not yield the cohesion that the nationalists urgently asked for. Ethnicity was not a salient marker in many of these local contexts. Instead of inter-ethnic conflicts (the discursive paradigm claimed by nationalists) local associations for music – Hungarian, Romanian, Saxon – performed together, sometimes for charity's sake, sometimes for art's sake.

Undeniably nationalists tried to engage the citizens of Braşov through gymnastics and music – two media so commonly used in the long nineteenth century for mobilizing people, as the famous examples of *Turnvereine* and *Männervereine* reminds us. In the end, both the gymnastics and the music branches of the Romanian association revealed the perspective from below: the disengagement of the common

citizens with the projects of the nationalists. The branch for gymnastics did not rely on much more than a dozen individuals at a time, and it did not manage to connect or to form a network in the country. Music shaped social experience in Braşov in such a way that the cultural dimension worked towards forming an inclusive local identity. The association for singing remained under the conductor's imperative: "[m]usic has to be intensly cultivated because it constitutes the most important factor in the social and cultural life of Braşov, having as sublime goal the elevation of the Braşov society."[573]

[573] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXVII, no. 68, 25 March/7 April 1904, p. 3. In original: "[m]uzica trebuie în mod intensiv cultivată, căci ea este cel mai însemnat factor in viaţa social-culturală a Braşovului, având scopul sublim de a ridica nivelul societăţii Braşovene."

5 EVERYMAN A ROMANIAN ACTOR: THEATER AND NATIONALISM

> They say that we live in the century of ships and iron, that materialism threatens the humanities to the point of extinction and that the development of the arts is curved by the dominant vision: to obtain at all costs material wealth.
>
> Yes, it is true that we no longer live in the golden age of Pericles, but in the century of competition and fight for existence.[574]
>
> theater guides and awakens those who do not know how to read and write.[575]

In this chapter, I focus on the way Romanian nationalists conceived of theater, and theater-related endeavors, in view of their mission to "awaken" the people, by taking as case study an association initiated in 1870 in Budapest, then relocated to Braşov in 1895.[576] The association was initially established with the purpose of raising funds for building a Romanian national theater in Hungary. In the following sections of this chapter, I delineate the general trajectory of the association from its beginning until the outbreak of World War One, by paying close attention to how the association was run, what its goals had been, what was achieved – the benchmarks that nationalists set themselves in the bylaws of the association and the results they obtained on paper. I will investigate the way the association worked in order to implement its goals – the claims presented, the strategies of mobilization and at the

[574] SJBAN, Braşov, Collection Association for establishing a fund for building a Romanian national theater (in short henceforth, Association for establishing a theater), Doc. 8/1885 (7332), p. 1.
[575] Teodor V. Păcăţian, *Cartea de aur sau luptele politice-naţionale ale românilor de sub coroana ungara* [*The golden book or the national, political fights of Romanians under the Hungarian Crown*] vol V, (Sibiu: Tipografia arhidiecezană, 1909), 306.
[576] In this dissertation, I refer to the *Association for establishing a fund for building a Romanian national theater* (*Societatea pentru crearea unui fond spre a înfiinţa un teatru naţional roman*) by using the short form *Association for theater*. The primary sources that I used for this chapter are the collection of documents "Association for establishing a fund for building a Romanian national theater" (SJBAN) and Zaharie Bârsan's memoirs published in *Impresii de teatru din Ardeal* [*Impressions about theater in Transylvania*] (Arad: Tipografia George Nichin, 1908).

same time of nationalization of individuals. And finally, I will try to uncover the impact of this association, the difficulties it encountered on the ground level, and where possible the individuals' response to the efforts of the association representatives.

What follows is not a monographic attempt, but a story of a theater that never was. It is both an example of a future past, and also an example of how many hats nationalists wore. Nationalists fought their battle on all fields, and although historiography usually engages in the analysis of politically organized formations, such as the Romanian National Party, association life uncovers the everyday efforts of nationalists of mobilizing the population and its response to these strategies. As decades went by, the association for a Romanian theater came to present itself – paradoxically – as a nationalist straitjacket on stage. It claimed not only popular support, which counted on dead members as well, but it also aimed at performing the national on stage, a request that had the least metaphorical connotations, and extended to an astonishing scale as the branching out of the association proved. The stage was for nationalists, in a perfect mimetic exercise, life itself. As such, it provided an alternative schooling system for an age group that could no longer attend regular schools.

5.1 Beginnings

The long nineteenth century was marked by a seemingly existential cultural competition among all nations-in-the-making. Comparisons and benchmarks, superiority and inferiority complexes came to organize and guide cultural directions. The everyday language of the nationalists had a certain urgency that almost never got tired of asserting itself as breaking news even as decades went by. They restlessly

urged to „cultivate the beautiful and to fight to ensure *national greatness*".[577] The nationalist activists took it seriously, and understood their times as "the century of competition and fight for existence."[578] Moreover, they also proclaimed the fact that "we live in an era of all sorts of associations."[579] This reflection corresponded to the height of sociable societies – a transnational phenomenon at the turn of the century. The press, in this context, had as audience the literate and the more educated public, whereas associations, such as the one for theater, targeted the illiterate and the less educated – the ones who were perhaps too old to go to school, but old enough to attend a theater play.

In this seemingly existential competition, Romanian activists took national theater buildings and national cultural production as benchmarks and objectives, as vectors for institutionalizing and nationalizing culture. In pursuing these goals, in 1879 they asked themselves rhetorically: "Can't we see that Serbs, and even Slovaks, have their own national theater?"[580] It was an often practiced eluding-the-neighbors type of exercise, when nationalist activists surveyed other horizons. The histories of theater in Transylvania and the Banat indicate earlier successful developments in the direction of institutionalizing theater culture. But probably these buildings did not qualify in the eyes of the Romanian nationalists as truly national, beause they did not match the intensity of nationalism of the nineteenth century, in its entire neo-renaissance splendor. Saxons had built a theater in Sibiu in 1788, and Hungarians

[577] SJBAN, Braşov, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 8/1885 (7332), p. 4.
[578] SJBAN, Braşov, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 8/1885 (7332), p. 1.
[579] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXI, no. 206, 19 September (2 October) 1908, p. 3. In original: "trăim în era însoţirilor de tot soiul."
[580] SJBAN, Braşov, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 25/1879 (7225), p. 2.

followed suit with a theater building in 1821, raised in Cluj.[581] The former had Christoph Ludwig Seipp as director, a contemporary of Kotsi Patko János who had run a theater group in Hungarian (founded in 1792), just as Seipp had run one in German. In the same eighteenth century context, one identified the shadows of an itinerant theater initiated in Blaj, by Romanian students and professors who put together a joint endeavor referred to as *comedia ambulatoria alumnorum.*[582] They performed in Transylvania in 1755, alongside with other theater groups that tried to animate local society in eighteenth century Transylvania.

In mid-eighteenth century the histories of theaters were just as entangled as the identities of their practitioners. An excursus into the local entangled histories of theater and theater groups reveals – above all – multilingualism and not (yet) nationalism. Historiography, marred by nationalistic overtones, tried to reconstruct their histories along national lines in order to render a coherent narrative out of a fragmented mass of documents and absences. What these narratives do is most often to obscure the multilingual character of the first itinerant theater groups that performed in Transleithania, by retroactively re-claiming them as part of one nation or the other. One could bring as brief example the *Romanian association for singing and theater* ("Societate românească cantatoare theathrale"). This theater group performed in Transylvania in 1847 and 1848, under Iosif Wolf Farkas' leadership. Some authors in Romanian historiography claim this association to be representative for the history

[581] Ion Breazu, *Literatura Transilvaniei. Studii. Articole. Conferinte* [*Transylvania's Literature. Studies. Articles. Conferences*] (Sibiu: Casa Şcoalelor, 1944), 37-38.
For a more recent monograph on the German theater in Sibiu, see Radu Nica Alexandru, "Istoria teatrului german din Sibiu" [*German Theater History in Sibiu*] (Ph.D. dissertation, Lucian Blaga University, Sibiu, and Arts University, Târgu-Mureş, 2009).
[582] Breazu, *Literatura Transilvaniei*, 36.

of the Romanian theater in mid-nineteenth century Transylvania.[583] Yet others express the incompatibility of such a multilingual theater company with the idea of "one nation, one language, one state", characterizing this theater group as a "bizarre mix of Romanians, Hungarians, and Saxons. Just as mixed were its repertoire and its language."[584] The *Romanian association for singing and theater*, Breazu further recounted, was not the only one to perform a multilingual repertoire.[585] It is then rather plausible to put forth the hypothesis that at least in the first half of the nineteenth-century theater companies were rather multilingual endeavors, without claiming loyalty to a nation, but rather to a muse.

The latter half of the nineteenth century was swept by the business of building theaters in Europe. "Fellner & Helmer," a company run in Vienna by founders Ferdinand Fellner and Hermann Helmer, had dominated the market since 1873 until World War One to the point where it earned the nickname of "Theater Factory."[586] The forty-eight theaters that they built in Europe constituted the reason for their fame. But most representative and imposing cultural buidlings in Europe at the time were by far the Operas. According to Philipp Ther, culture, and in particular operas, played a central role in the construction of nations.[587]

[583] N. Barbu, Ion Olteanu, I.D. Sîrbu, Gabriel Manolescu, and M. Nadin, "Din istoria dezvoltării teatrului în regiuni. Iaşi, Cluj, Oltenia, Banat, Braşov" [*From the history of the development of theater in regions. Iaşi, Cluj, Oltenia, Banat, Braşov*] *Teatrul XI*, no. 12 (1966): 91.
[584] Breazu, *Literatura Transilvaniei*, 39.
[585] Ibid., 40.
[586] See the concise history of the theater in Cluj by Virgil Pop in *De la Shakespeare la Sarah Kane* [*From Shakespeare to Sarah Kane: the National Theater of Cluj: performances from 2000-2007*], eds. András Visky and Ion Vartic (Cluj: Koinónia, 2007).
"Fellner & Helmer" also reconstructed the architecture of the theater in Iaşi.
[587] Ther, *In der Mitte der Gesellschaft*, 18.

5.2 General Trajectory of the Association for Theater

Beginnings are not only a major concern for writers, in general, and especially for novelists, but they are a trope for nationalists as well. Whatever mathematical concern nationalists may have – and as we shall see, nationalism cannot do without arithmetic –, they always go back to the point zero of reference in their story. Thus, there had been talk in the newspapers about establishing an association for theater since 1870, when an imperative call for action was formulated on behalf of all Romanians ("întreaga românime"), being addressed directly to the "Romanian intelligentsia in Budapest."[588] It was certainly not a call coming from the people, from below. The proclaimed goal, as stated in the full name of the association, was fundraising for building a Romanian national theater. And indeed, throughout its existence the association paved the way to the distant and enduring goal of an imposing building, but never constructed in the pre-war political frame. While fundraising for a Romanian national theater, the association invested in the professionalization of actors, offering them scholarships to study, produced music and plays in the vernacular, and disseminated the canon-in-the-making through local performances given by itinerant theater groups. These new directions of activity showed that the preconditions of institutionalizing theater had been underestimated.

[588] "Către inteligința română din Budapesta," [*To the Romanian intellectuals in Budapest*] SJBAN, Braşov, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1870 (7035). Signataires: Antoniu Mocioni, Georgiu Mocioni, Alesandru Mocioni, Eugeniu Mocioni, Ionu Eugeniu Cucu, Sigismund Popovici, Iosif Pop, Dr. Aureliu Maniu, Vichentie Bogdan, Sigismund Borlea, Iosif Hodosiu, Ladislau Buteanu, Basiliu Jurca, Lazar Ionescu, Petru Mihalyi, Demetriu Ionescu, E.B. Stanescu, V. Babes, Iosif Vulcan. The committee in charge with the establishment of this association was formed of five members: Victor Babes, Iosif Hodosiu, Petru Mihalyi, Alesandru Mocioni, Iosif Vulcan. See Doc. 2/1870 (7036), in the same collection of documents mentioned above.
See also the published newspaper article, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXXIII, 5 March / 21 February 1870, no. 15, p. 1.

Before assessing the difficulties the association committee encountered in pursuing their goals, one needs to take one more aspect into account. The overall process of establishing and running the association occurred neither smoothly nor at a fast pace. Long before World War One the association counted enough florins for building a Romanian national theater, but it continued postponing the actualization of the initial plan. This fact, unavoidably, attracted public criticism in the press, and generated pre-war debates about the capital of the association, and the committee's use of money.[589] The call for transparency and accountability, to which we will return in a few pages, invoked the close connection between sociability and democracy that accompanied the local activism of associations in the long nineteenth century, *y compris* the association for theater. However, as Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann rightly pointed out, the outcome of this mixture of democratic exercise, practice, and associational life was not a guarantee for democracy.[590] The most obvious examples Hoffmann invoked were National Socialism in Germany and Fascism in Italy, which did not evolve out of a lack of tradition of associative life in the respective countries, the author argued. This critical aspect that accompanies analyses of nineteenth century associations remains a constant theme of reflection in the entangled accounts presented here. In what sense was association life vibrant, gripping, or inclusive? How could we characterize the activities of the association? Undoubtedly, the answers rest in a closer investigation of the claims the leadership of the association for theater made.

[589] See, for instance, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXIII, no. 170, 5 (18) August 1910, p. 1. This article is a response to newspaper "Țara noastra" [*Our country*] which had criticized the use of public money fundraised by the association in issue 32, from 1908.

[590] See Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, "Democracy and associations in the long nineteenth century: toward a transnational perspective," *The Journal of Modern History* 75, no. 2 (2003): 269-299.

5.3 The Road to Legal Recognition

Chronologically, the first public announcement of an association for a Romanian theater was made in February 1870, when the initial organizing committees were drawn. But the date when the association for a Romanian theater was planned and announced to the public did not coincide with its formal recognition by the state. It had a tumultuous start right in the Chamber of Deputies when on February 11, 1870, Ioan Cucu argued in favor of receiving financial state support for cultural projects, e.g. for the theater. The debater argued that

> Hungary's civiziling mission means especially to support in the field of general education the nationalities that remained without rights without their fault. […] Because, if it is true that panslavism concentrates its operations close to the medium Danube, where Hungary is also located, then against panslavist tendencies there is no other more efficient way than culture and general freedom of all people.[591]

The argument of building a cultural front against panslavism did not function. That day efforts had only begun, and more arguments were thrown into the debated as this topic extended over a few days in the Chamber of Deputies.[592]

In support of equal state-support for all tax-paying nations, Romanian deputies invoked the new governing law from 1868 – the Nationalities' Law, an intensely and long disputed piece of legislation that did not recognize collective rights.[593] Prior to its

[591] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, 23/11 March 1870, no. 20, year XXXIII, p. 2.
[592] Păcăţian, *Cartea de aur*, vol. V, 286-312.
[593] Historians gave a broad spectrum of interpretations to this law. To quote a few examples from its more recent historiography, Zoltán Szász regarded this law as a fundamentally liberal creation, and yet a compromise between the partisans of liberalism and those who wished to preserve the integrity of the Hungarian national state. See Zoltán Szász, "Politica oficială şi naţionalităţile" [The official politics and the nationalities], in *Transilvania văzută în publicistica istorică maghiară*, [Transylvania in Hungarian historical reviews] ed. Bárdi Nándor (Miercurea-Ciuc: Ed. Pro-Print, 1999), 203-4. In the same vein, Peter Sugar went even further by arguing that "the peace-makers on Paris in 1919-1920 used it as their model when they drafted their version of minority rights without coming near to the generous clauses of the Magyar law." See Peter F. Sugar, *East European Nationalism, Politics and Religion* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 22. However, Romanian historiography most often interpreted the Nationalities Law as illiberal, reducing it to nothing more than a denationalizing element in the process of

enactment, the Nationalities' Law was much criticized by Romanian deputies, first and foremost by Alexandru Mocioni. The Romanian representatives involved in the debate about a national theater and its funding made reference to the Nationalities Law so as to argue for equal rights, hence equal state support for cultural projects. But the voices of the deputies sitting in the benches retorted to the Romanian speakers that "there is only one nation"[594], a reply which fully echoed the Nationalities' Law

> Since all citizens of Hungary, according to the principles of the constitution, form from a political point of view one nation – the indivisible unitary Hungarian nation – of which every citizen of the fatherland is a member, no matter to what nationality he belongs: since, moreover, this equality of right can only exist with reference to the official use of the various languages of the country, and only under special provisions, in so far as is rendered necessary by the unity of the country and the practical possibility of government and administration; the following rules will serve as standard regarding the official use of the various languages, while in all other matters the complete equality of the citizens remains untouched.[595]

Pulling the card of the Nationalities Law did not turn things in favor of the Romanian deputies. It only exemplified once again that it was a political dialogue of the deaf. As a last attempt, Vincenţiu Babeş tried to resonate with the educated politicians who valued theater. The cultural argument defined "theater as not only a school for aesthetic education, but also a true popular school, the school of life. More precisely, just as some institutes for education are schools for the youth, so does

Magyarization. See for example, Ion Stanciu and Iulian Oncescu, *Românii în timpurile moderne. Reperele unei epoci* (Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2004), 228. Distancing himself from the liberal-illiberal description, Mark Cornwall preferred to characterize the Nationalities' Law as "a base for fusing together a Hungarian civic nation," containing "a civic-ethnic amalgamated notion of nationhood." Mark Cornwall, "The Habsburg Monarchy. 'National Trinity' and the Elasticity of National Allegiance," in *What is a Nation? Europe, 1789-1914*, eds. Timothy Baycroft and Mark (Hewitson Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 182.

[594] Păcăţian, *Cartea de aur*, vol. V, 303.

[595] "The Law of Nationalities (Act. XLIV of the year 1868)," in Scotus Viator, *Racial Problems in Hungary*, 429.

theater establish the school for adults, the school for the older population."[596] Furthermore, Vincenţiu Babeş argued that "theater guides and awakens those who do not know how to read and write."[597] This understanding of what theater did or could do manifested itself over the decades, when the association for a Romanian theater diverted its attention from the end goal of raising the building to exactly channeling its efforts under Babeş' motto. The days of debates in the Chamber of Deputies ended with voting state support in favor of the Hungarian theater.

In 1871, one year after the debates in the Parliament, the legal status of the association for theater was still pending, depending on the approval of the ministry that seemingly delayed issuing the necessary documentation for the association.[598] The problem persisted. As late as 1876 the association committee reported that the delay had been caused by disputes over the bylaws of the association and the right of the state to monitor the association.[599] Throughout this time, nonetheless, the committee could still organize cultural events and raise money for the cultural goal pursued. Eventually both parties found a middle ground and in 1877 the association gained the legal recognition of the authorities.[600]

5.4 Periods of Development

The historiography of the association for theater divided the activity period into two: from 1870 to 1895, the association activated in Budapest; starting with 1895, it moved its headquarters to Braşov, thus initiating a second and distinct period of

[596] Păcăţian, *Cartea de aur*, vol. V, 305.
[597] Ibid., 306.
[598] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXXIV, 31/19 May 1871, no. 39, p. 3.
[599] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Brasvo, XXXIX, no. 82, 2 November/21 October 1876, p. 4.
[600] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXIII, no. 235, 26 October/8 November 1910, p. 2.

activity.[601] A post-war period does not actually exist because after World War One, the association transferred its money to ASTRA and went bankrupt. In between the two periods there was an inactive gap that also triggered a change of strategy and geographical relocation of the association. During the first twenty-five years of existence, the Budapest-based association for theater slowed down its pace to the point where the last four years before it moved to Braşov were significantly inactive in the life of the association. The newspaper reported that

> [i]t had been about four years since the association last gave any signs of life and held its yearly meetings; the association committee lacked members because some of them moved away from Pest where the association was based, and stepped down from the committee, without being replaced. Thus, as of late, we knew nothing about this association and its committee.[602]

Although the bylaws stipulated that the association was required to have one yearly meeting, from 1890 to 1895 the association was not able to mobilize itself. One explanation was that the steering committee members did not have a stable domicile, which made it difficult for them to synchronize and meet.[603] Yet from another point of view, the committee observed that the distance between Budapest and the masses did not facilitate the activity of the association: "Budapest is located too far away from the masses of the Romanian people […] so it cannot stir a lively interest in this association among our people".[604] Following this period of inactivity, the committee decided in 1895 to look for the best strategic place to be in the middle of the people, and they chose Braşov, "with many intellectuals in a region where the Romanian

[601] See Catrina, "Trepte ale teatrului liric," 249.
[602] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LVIII, no. 230, 17 (29) October 1895, p. 1.
[603] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 16/1895 (7416), p. 5.
[604] Ibid.

element is fairly well represented."[605] Moreover, on the same occasion, the committee recommended that the annual general meeting of the association be held at the same time and place with the meeting organized by ASTRA.[606] The suggestion was based on consideration of the material strains that were put on all participants to these cultural events. In an effort to carry a comprehensive outreach, the committee stipulated that the association needed women as well, and they could be granted the status of founding or ordinary members, depending on their financial contribution.[607]

It can be said that the Braşov-based period of the association was significantly more active. This fact is proven by the increasing capital of the association, and the more active strategies of fundraising that a new leadership, presided over by Iosif Vulcan, came to energize the association for theater. Moreover, during the Braşov period of the association, the committee meetings also increased in frequency, counting ten meetings in 1910.[608] Furthermore, the association was now based in a town with a strong tradition and practice of voluntary associations, which contributed to implementing efficient fundraising strategies in an already established network of connections.

5.5 Leadership

In terms of leadership, Iosif Vulcan had remained constantly involved in the top activities of the association.[609] From 1870 to 1906, Iosif Vulcan represented an element of continuity over the transition from one period of activity to the other. But it was not an associated led single-handedly by Vulcan. We shall briefly identify here a

[605] Ibid.
[606] Ibid.
[607] Ibid.
[608] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 7756, p. 2.
[609] Lucian Drîmba, *Iosif Vulcan* (Bucureşti: Editura Minerva, 1973).

few key names that the reader may remember from previous chapters. What emerges from this entire account is the plurality of engagements that illustrates the many activities, which nationalists took upon themselves in raising awareness and money for what they identified as the national cause.

The constellation of the most prominent individuals that drove the association in first decades was predominantly marked by the Mocioni family, who through financial contributions, network, and leadership constantly contributed – whether in a formal or informal position – to the association. Especially in the 1870s Alexandru Mocioni took the main role in the association, being followed by Iosif Hosszu as vice-president, and Iosif Vulcan as secretary.[610] In the early days of the association, Iosif Hodoşiu acted as president.[611] Rotating positions, Iosif Hosszu took the leading role, and Iosif Vulcan continued his work as secretary.[612] Since 1882 Atanasie Marienescu took over the job as secretary, until he moved from Budapest to Oradea.[613] All in all, the Budapest-based period of the association had a leadership that was politically involved at the highest level, several of the committee members being Romanian deputies in the Parliament. The most obvious examples are two: Alexandru Mocioni and Iosif Hodoşiu, who both entered the debate on state-sponsored theaters in Hungary in February 1870. In this context, it can be argued that the association for a Romanian theater proceeded on a highly politicized and nationalized path right from its inception.

[610] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, 12/24 January 1878, no. 3, year XLI, p. 3.
[611] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, year XXXIII, no. 30, 30/18 April 1870, p. 2.
[612] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIV, no. 76, 7/19 July 1881, p. 3.
[613] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLVIII, no. 196, 4 (16) September 1885, p. 3. And *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LVIII, no. 230, 17 (29) October 1895, p. 1.

The committee that organized the relocation of the association from Budapest to Braşov had the brief mission of transitioning – Pavel Boldea was appointed acting-secretary, while Hosszu remained president.[614] From 1895 onwards, the Braşov-based committee started with a fairly new group of people, maintaining, however, Iosif Vulcan as president, and continuing with new volunteers: G.B. Popp – vice-president (who, nonetheless, dropped out shortly); V. Bologa – treasurer, V. Oniţiu – secretary I, Vasile Goldiş – Secretary II. Other members in the committee were Coriolan Brediceanu from Lugos and George Dima (based in Sibiu) – choir master and musician (see previous chapter).[615] The tandem Vulcan-Goldiş, president-secretary, dominated the association life for a long period in Braşov, drawing Virgil Oniţiu into their circle of activity. After Vulcan died, Ioan Mihu was appointed as president.[616] Before World War One, Alexandru Vaida was elected president; the main focus of the steering committee he presided was to modify the paragraphs of the by-laws and to give a new plan of action and strategy to the association.[617]

By that time, however, the association seemed to have unexplainably paralyzed a heap of money in a few bank deposits. For a decade, it had already been struggling to rechannel the funds into the durable monument of culture that nationalists perceived as a benchmark in their cultural competition with other nations. Around this time, our story and its unfinished business ended abruptly with the outbreak of World War One. By that time, the association claimed to have co-opted into its circles of activities over a thousand members.[618] The difference between the Budapest list of members, counting slightly over a hundred members annually, and the Braşov list had increased

[614] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LVIII, no. 230, 17 (29) October 1895, p. 2.
[615] Ibid.
[616] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXII, no. 196, 12 (25) September 1909, p. 2.
[617] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXVII, no. 62, 18 (31) March 1914, p. 3.
[618] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 7756, p. 5.

ten times after the relocation of the association. How can such a numerical increase be explained? And what quality did this membership have? To what extent were association members made partakers in how the business of the association was run?

5.6 Counting the Dead: Membership Numbers

The mediated connection between the committee association and the population was facilitated by the primary support newspaper, *Familia* [The Family], whose editor-in-chief was Iosif Vulcan.[619] The *Transylvanian Gazette* also wrote in its support, at times echoing *Familia*, especially in the Budapest-based period of the association. Starting with 1895, the local newspaper in Braşov delivered first hand contributions about the association activities. Around three million people of state-identified Romanians based on the first language they spoke constituted the readership of the newspaper in so far as they were literate. They also constituted the main source of financial funding in so far as they donated at least five florins for the greater goal of the association for theater. How did the association develop from the point of view of membership? A trajectory is possible to sketch, based on the sources available.

End of year	Total number of members[620]
1872[621]	111
1873[622]	131

[619] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, doc. 6/1875 (7098), p. 1.
[620] The total number of members varies in the analyzed documents referring either to the total number of members that contributed their financial share to the association during the last year or to the total number of members that association registered up to that point in time since its beginning.
[621] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, doc. 4/1872 (7055), p. 2. Out of the 111 members, 6 were founding members, 76 ordinary members, 23 supporting members, 6 members of unclear membership status.
[622] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, doc. 13/1873 (7079), p. 1. More specifically, 6 were founding members, 122 ordinary members, 3 members of unclear membership.

End of year	Total number of members[623]
1874[624]	157
1885[625]	88
1886[626]	79
1895[627]	147
1899[628]	178
1908[629]	580
1909[630]	923
1910[631]	1095

Table 5.1: Numerical membership in the association for theater (1872-1910)

From the first decade of existence, numbers indicated a continuous increase in membership terms. This was by no means an astonishing result. Just as predictable was the fact that in the 1880s members seemed either to have lost their interest in the association or the association itself lost its gripping power. Again, this confirmed the falling into inactivity at the end of the Budapest-based period of the association. After the inactive gap when the association committee did not manage to mobilize itself, the

[623] The total number of members varies in the analyzed documents referring either to the total number of members that contributed their financial share to the association during the last year or to the total number of members that association registered up to that point in time since its beginning.
[624] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 5/1874 (7089), p. 1. More precisely, 6 were founding members, 147 ordinary members, 4 members of unclear membership.
[625] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 16/1895 (7416), p. 3. More precisely, 49 founding members and 39 ordinary members.
[626] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 10/1885 (7334), p. 2. The document refers only to 47 founding members and to 32 ordinary members. The explanation for not including more members could be the common fact that they had not paid the membership fee.
[627] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LVIII, no. 230, 17 (29) October 1895, p. 2. More precisely, 59 new ordinary members paid 5 florins, 49 were founding members, and the rest of 39 were older ordinary members.
[628] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXII, no. 144, 3 (15) July 1899, p. 3.
[629] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXI, no. 206, 19 September/2 October 1908, p. 3.
[630] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXII, no. 196, 12 (25) September 1909, p. 2.
[631] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 7756, p. 5.

Braşov period started yet again with a slight increase in membership numbers. Each public meeting of the association provided the steering committee with the occasion of connecting with and fundraising from local populations. Consequently, each time the association organized an annual meeting in a town in Transleithania, it increased its human and financial capital. Nonetheless, the first decade of the twentieth century presented itself with spectacular results: individuals seemed to flock toward the association and their numbers increased to over a thousand. How was it possible that a ten-fold increase in membership numbers took place in about a decade? Was the Braşov-based association so much more active than the previous one? Did mass mobilization sweep over their feet all citizens at the turn of the century? The answer is entirely different.

In search of mass support, the committee of the association progressively extended the status of members by all means. They extended the membership status for individuals not only to a life-long period, but they did so also retroactively. Moreover, the life-long status was not long enough, so the leadership of the association counted as members also the dead who had contributed the minimum amount of five florins to the association at some point. Counting the dead has long been a favorite past time of the nationalists. Including the dead or excluding them from various lists has long been the mathematics language of the nationalists. Thus, in 1899 the association counted 60 founding members since the beginnings of the association, out of which 20 were dead, 53 ordinary members out of which 20 were dead, and the new ordinary members since 1898 that added to 65.[632] From the turn of the century onwards, the numbers became entirely mystified, counting historically all

[632] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXII, no. 144, 3 (15) July 1899, p. 3.

members together because death did not part nationalists and members of the association for theater. Thus, in 1909 the association strategically expanded its reach for mass support and reached another few hundreds of members for life. Out of the total of 923 members in 1909, it is impossible to know exactly how many of them were dead or alive.[633] In 1910, once again the association committee took as reference point its beginnings as an association and made a note of 186 founding members, 688 life-long members, 177 ordinary members, and 44 supporting members.[634] In total 1095 members – dead or alive. Meanwhile, the association committee ensured a constant increase of capital through safe bank investments.

Beyond the morbid passion of the nationalists to count the dead – and also, in general, to re-bury them[635] – the question of democratic practice is still timidly lingering, as tied into the sociable society of the nineteenth century. Certainly, democratic practice did not extend beyond life and death, and the over a thousand members did not get a chance to debate or vote on the matters of the association for theater. Those who did, however, were the committee members, who rotated in leadership positions, restlessly working in the name of the nation. The tasks and the difficulties faced were almost countless. Let us examine some of them so as to have an overview of the main intertwined themes that structure the rest of the chapter.

"National indifference" was an immediate problem that nationalists tried to tackle through constant appeals in the name of the nation. This theme cannot be easily

[633] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXII, no. 196, 12 (25) September 1909, p. 2. In 1909 dozens of branches of the association for theater were established throughout Hungary, thus bringing to the association a total of 439 members (70 founding members, 306 life-long members, 30 ordinary members, 33 supporting members).
[634] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 7756, p. 5.
[635] See Katherine Verdery's insightful collection of texts in *The political lives of dead bodies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). And especially the chapter titled "The restless bones of Bishop Inochentie Micu."

dismissed as pertaining only to the rhetoric of the nationalists. As the nationalist math done above illustrated, the mobilization of the masses had encountered some obstacles because individuals resisted to easily molding into nationalist forms. As mentioned in the introductory theoretical part, Tara Zahra took "national indifference" as a central category of analysis and a building block for her argument, claiming that indifference to nationalism in the Bohemian lands stood as "a driving force behind escalating radicalism."[636] It pushed Czech and German nationalists further and further on their way to eliminate indifference. The story about membership numbers in the association for theater partially functions as evidence for national indifference. In the rhetoric of the nationalists it was an often invoked term – not caring ("nepăsarea"[637]), indolence ("indolenţa"[638]), whose alternatives and causes were the "disharmony" that tore intellectuals apart ("disarmonia),[639] or simply the lack of enthuasiasm ("lipsa de zel"),[640] or the individuals' egotism.[641] The background story was also the Romanians' poverty.[642] However, this indifference of the common folk was tied in the more complex web of factors, as the following theme reveals.

At the grassroots level where the association for theater aimed to work, it found people who were beyond national indifference. I would argue that they were rather anational. Who were they? The preferred targets for this association were peasants, probably born in families of serfs until mid-nineteenth century. Their underprivileged background had given them few chances of upward mobility, and literacy rates were probably very low as well. I will substantiate this point with a more

[636] Zahra, *Kidnapped souls*, 5.
[637] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 3.
[638] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 15/1883 (7295), p. 4-5.
[639] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 3.
[640] Ibid.
[641] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 15/1883 (7295), p. 4-5.
[642] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 3.

grassroots perspective when introducing the itinerant theater group lead by Zaharia Bârsan.

Nationalists wore many hats. Perhaps too many. The mission they took upon themselves in speaking on behalf of the nation was gigantic and exhausting. Countless accounts engaged with the role of intellectuals/educated elite in the formation of modern nations in Europe. Among them, one could invoke here John Neubauer's brief, clear and useful classification of activity fields based on two criteria: constructing texts and institutions. Neubauer referred in the following delineation exclusively to poets and philologists in the creation of a national identity. He stated that

> "[w]e may categorise these activities according to the modes of text construction: (1) language revival, (2) vernacular translations, (3) writing vernacular lyric poetry, (4) collecting and publishing oral poetry, (5) editing and reissuing older texts, (6) writing new national epics, (7) writing historical fictions, (8) canonizing national poets and (9) writing national literary histories. We may also categorise these activities' modes of institutionalization: (1) founding vernacular journals and newspapers, (2) establishing publishing houses, (3) founding literary and cultural societies, (4) staging vernacular plays, (5) building national theatres and opera houses, (6) establishing national academies, (7) establishing national libraries, (8) establishing university chairs for vernacular language and literature and (9) introducing vernacular language and literature into the school curricula."[643]

The successive committees of the association for a Romanian theater grew more and more aware of the numerous tasks ahead of them. In 1870 when they conceived of the idea of an organized association in view of fundraising for a Romanian theater building, working thus primarily within a mode of institutionalization, they probably did not understand the full implications of such an

[643] John Neubauer, "The institutionalization and nationalization of literature in Nineteenth-century Europe," in *Narrating the Nation. Representation in History, Media and the Arts*, eds. Stefan Berger, Linas Eriksonas and Andrew Mycock (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), 100.

endeavor. But it soon became visible that until performing plays in a Romanian theater building, other emergencies had to be tackled. The construction of texts was the sore problem as nationalists had to translate plays into the vernacular and at the same time ensure a standardization of the vernacular, all the while creating national literature. Staging and performing the plays was yet another problem, just as the professionalization of actors and the canonization of national plays. We thus see the myriad of problems that nationalists had to face with creativity. In the following parts of the chapter I will survey the interplay of these two modes of text construction and institutionalization, while trying to re-capture the response of the average individual to this dynamics.

5.7 Branches

Late into the development of the association, the committee pulled out the long-awaited task of branching out into the country. It was already well into the first decade of the twentieth century. As we have seen in the previous chapter on women's associations, the pattern of development for associations was to multiply organizationally on the local level throughout the country. The degree of centralization in the network thus formed varied. The majority of the Romanian women's associations congregated in Braşov to form the *Union of Romanian women in Hungary* (1913). By contrast, the *Romanian association for gymnastics and music* did not form a network in the way the women's associations did. Their financial capital was insignificant, and their activities were concentrated on developing a local identity – in Braşov, a particularly inclusive one. In the case of the association for a Romanian theater, the story was yet again different.

Intentions for opening local branches dated since 1886, but they actualized only much later. A report from 1886 stated that despite an attempt to establish local branches in several towns (Arad, Blaj, Deva, Lugoj, and Sibiu), the founding members contacted did not respond in any way.[644] Nonetheless, the Braşov-based committee managed to activate its network of contacts. Shortly after the association was reactivated in 1895, the committee leaders nominated thirty-nine trustworthy men (*bărbaţi de încredere*) throughout the country and gave them "the moral task" of organizing and encouraging events in support of the association: theater performances, literature distribution from the theater library, co-opting members etc.[645] Many of them – high-school teachers mostly, but also priests– took up the challenge of lending a helping hand to the association for promoting a common and national good. The brief evaluation of the committee in a report from 1899 concluded that "we managed to find the way to promote the interests of the association for theater among broader strata of the Romanian people."[646]

In 1908 the association committee decided yet again to try expanding and opening branches throughout the country. One year later the strategy of expansion had bore fruit: fifty-eight new local associations became subordinated to the Braşov-based main association, in the following locations: Lugoj, Caransebeş, Făget, Reşiţa, Oraviţa, Bozovici, Biserica-albă, Alibunar, Cubin-Timiş, Satul nou, Petruvasila, Timişoara, Sânmihaiu, Seleuş, Doloave, Uzdin, Ecica, Torac, Comloş, Nerez, Sânmicâuşul mare, Pesac, Ciacova, Lipova, Gherla, Dej, Bistriţa, Năsăud, Rodna veche, Sângeorgiul român, Lăpuşul unguresc, Ilva mare, Borgo-Prund, Beclean,

[644] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 10/1885 (7334), p. 2.
[645] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 7585, p. 11-12.
[646] Ibid., 13.

Luduş, Turda, Topliţa, Uioara, Teiuş, Blaj, Alba-Iulia, Deva, Orăştie, Haţeg, Hunedoara, Dobra-Ilia, Lipova, Sălişte, Sibiu, Agnita, Mediaş-Ibaş-Falău, Sighişoara, Sânmartin, and Şimleu.[647] Furthermore, Aurel Barnuţiu – appointed artistic director, and former scholarship-holder of the association – had planned, as a follow-up step, to organize companies of dilletants that they would educate "in view of enlarging and perfecting our theater movement."[648] The relentless activity of the nationalists took further fast steps in mobilizing the masses, and in 1910 it boasted with sixty-two local branches.[649] As compared to the development of the branches of the Romanian women's associations, the association for theater branched out with a sudden top-down move. The network of Romanian women's association had evolved slowly, decade by decade, and it reflected a more pronounced degree of local initiative.

Many of the places where the association opened branches were not even towns, but only villages that are mostly difficult to spot on a nineteenth-century map. Why then did the association committee pursue the formation of this network by drawing into the circle of activity forgotten villages where probably only illiterate peasants lived? Could the answer be for financial reasons? Or for claiming membership into a national association? While refining the hypotheses, let us first examine the financial terms of the association in order to gain more insight into the development of the association.

5.8 Finances and Disagreement

The inactive period that characterized the first half of the 1890s was followed by a renewal in the strength of the association once it relocated to Braşov. In search of

[647] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXII, no. 196, 12 (25) September 1909, p. 2.
[648] Ibid.
[649] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 7756, p. 3.

national vitality, the trajectory of the association changed significantly as compared to the first two decades of Budapest-based activity:

1870-Year	Total Amount
1870	591 fl. 92 kr.[650]
1872	14,449 fl. 62 kr.[651]
1873	17,750 fl. 33 Kr. and 1200 francs[652]
1874	18, 731 fl. 1 Kr. and 1200 francs[653]
1876	14,881 fl. 24 kr.[654]
1877	12,393 fl. 73 kr.[655]
1879	14,936 fl. 46 kr.[656]
1881	26,000 fl.[657]
1883	31,570 fl. 86 kr.[658]
1885	38,558 fl. 83 kr.[659]
1886	41,556 fl. 66 kr.[660]
1887	44,700 fl. 44 kr.[661]

[650] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 25/1879 (7225), p. 1.
[651] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 4/1872 (7055), p. 2.
[652] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 13/1873 (7079), p. 1. Albina Bank agreed on raising the interest rate for the deposits of this association from 6% to 7% on the condition that the account money be at the disposal of the bank in the way it made use of it. See page 2 of the document.
[653] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 5/1874 (7089), p. 1.
[654] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXXIX, no. 82, 2 November 21 October 1876, p. 4. Anton Mocioni had contributed 3,000 florins to the 8,881 fl. 24 kr. the association owned, while Alexandru and Eugen Mocioni also donated another 3,000 florins.
[655] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLI, 12/24 January 1878, no. 3, p. 3.
[656] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLII, no. 74, 16/28 September 1879, p. 2.
[657] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIV, no. 87, 1/13 August 1881, p. 3.
[658] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLVI, no. 89, 3/15 August 1883, p. 3-4.
[659] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 10/1885 (7334), p. 1.
[660] Ibid.
[661] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 4.

1870-Year	Total Amount
1888	48,048 fl. 56 kr.[662]
1890	71,113 fl. 83 kr.[663]

Table 5.2: Finances of the association for a Romanian theater (1870-1890)[664]

After two decades of fundraising the budget of the association for theater had risen to over 70,000 florins, almost twice the capital of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* who totaled over 40,000 florins in 1890.[665] The differences between the two associations were many, the most obvious of them being the fact that women had already launched their education programs for girls, whereas the association for theater was still gathering kreutzer after kreutzer in bank deposits.

Around those years, on the wider European stage, the new theater building in Odessa opened its doors. It was 1887. The building represented one of the many projects carried out by the prestigious "Fellner & Helmer", the so-called "theater factory" of Europe. One after the other, the company built theaters at the turn of the century: in Rijeka (1885), Salzburg (1893), Zagreb (1895), Berndorf (1898), Graz (1899), Sofia (1906), Klagenfurt (1910) and so forth. Parallel to this development, in 1890 the association for a Romanian theater entered an inactive period. Official reasons stated that committee members had not found the time or opportunity to meet in Budapest any longer, given that some of them changed residence. Also clear is the

[662] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 4. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LI, no. 206, 20 September (2 October) 1888, p. 3.
[663] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LVIII, no. 230, 17 (29) October 1895, p. 2.
[664] It is impossible to be precise about the exact dates of the fiscal year when the association committee was not particular about it either. The amounts of money recorded in the table were given at the yearly public meetings of the association, and record the financial progress the association had made up to that point. However, these amounts do not always indicate whether the income generated by these public events was recorded or not. Furthermore, documents provide at times contradictory figures for the same period.
[665] "Activity report for 1889/90," SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association, Doc. 1612, p. 1.

fact that the 1890s engaged political and national forces in Budapest in different battles. First, there was the Romanian memorandum sent to Vienna in 1892, then forwarded to Budapest, followed by a trial of the Romanian political leaders, convicted in 1894, and absolved in 1895.[666] This major political event was doubled by the official preparations for the celebration of the Hungarian Millennium in 1896, which triggered the resent of all Romanian nationalists in the country. In this context, it is certainly understandable why the association for a Romanian theater lost all of its leading force during the first half of the 1890s.

Meanwhile, the financial capital of the association for theater remained deposited at Romanian banks in Hungary. Although it is unfortunate that the exact locations of investments down to the last kreutzer are impossible to identify, it is worth considering that associations and banks during the Romanian nation-building process in Transylvania and the Banat had a strongly intertwined history. It is a hypothesis that could be further investigated in another study. The association for a Romanian theater contributed to the development of the Romanian banks throughout the Dualist period, as the finances of the association demonstrate. In 1873 Albina Bank agreed on raising the interest rate for the deposits of this association from 6% to 7% on the condition that the deposited money be at the disposal of the bank in the way

[666] The memorandum followed a long petitional tradition in a format that had started with the Supplex Libellus Valachorum in 1791 and continued throughout the nineteenth century. Countless memoranda were sent to the Habsburg emperor mainly in 1834, 1837, 1842, 1848-49, 1849-51, 1865-67, 1866, 1882 and 1892. See Maior, "Petionalismul romanesc," in *Memorandul 1892-1894*, ed. Teodor, 1-24. The memorandum form 1892 was the last significant document sent to the emperor, and it did not pass unnoticed. The text was printed in Romanian in 7500 copies, as well as in 700 French and Italian versions, 500 in German and 500 in Hungarian. The preparation of this updated document on the political and social situation of Romanians took about eight years. The memorandum summarized the two points of discontent that referred back to the 25 year old events, namely the *Ausgleich* and the loss of Transylvania's autonomy, and it also addressed more specific and critical issues, such as the election law and a critique of the nationalities' law.

it made use of it.[667] In 1888 the association had only 146 florins and 88 kreutzers cash, the rest of the money being invested in shares at Albina Bank, and Transylvania Bank, in deposits at Albina Bank, in state and private bonds.[668] At the beginning of the Braşov period, the association committee reported that the capital of the association had been administered by Albina Bank. During the four years of inactivity, the association's funds increased from interest rates with 16,328 fl. 28 kr.[669]

As given in year	Total amount
1895	71,113 fl. 83 kr.[670]
1897	108,870 fl. 13 kr.[671]
1899	127,266 fl. 18 kr.[672]
1900	271,811 cor. 74 fil.[673]
1901	286,286 cor. 25 fil.[674]
1902	310,664 cor. 49 fil..[675]
1903	331,309 cor. 47 fil.[676]
1904	348,512 cor. 14 fil.[677]
1905	365,078 cor. 73 fil.[678]

[667] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 13/1873 (7079), p. 2.
[668] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 4. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LI, no. 206, 20 September (2 October) 1888, p. 3.
[669] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LVIII, no. 230, 17/29 October 1895, p. 1.
[670] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 16/1895 (7416), p. 1. In a speech at the opening ceremony in Braşov, Iosif Vulcan argued that the actual capital of the association, after counting the income generated by the investment at the "Albina" Bank added up to a sum over 100,000 florins. See *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LVIII, no. 230, 17 /29 October 1895, p. 1.
[671] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LX, no. 122, 5 (17) June 1897, p. 2.
[672] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXII, no. 160, 23 July (4 August) 1899, p. 2-3.
[673] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIII, no. 154, 12 (25) July 1900, p. 1.
[674] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIV, no. 162, 22 July (4 August) 1901, p. 3.
[675] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXV, no. 188, 28 August (10 September) 1902, p. 2.
[676] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXVII, no. 171, 4 (17) August 1904, p. 3.
[677] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXX, no. 240, 31 October (13 November) 1907, p. 2.
[678] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXX, no. 240, 31 October (13 November) 1907, p. 2.

As given in year	Total amount
1906	385,816 cor.[679]
1907	409,419 cor. 91 fil..[680]
1909	451,798 cor. 29 fil.[681]
1910	497,420 cor. 04 fil.[682] / 550,000 cor.[683]

Table 5.3: Finances of the association for a Romanian theater (1895-1910)

By all means, the amount of money that the association for theater had raised in four decades was immense. For comparative purposes, it is important to remind the reader that the amount of money the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* owned in 1908 was 112,208.02 cor.,[684] and that the *Romanian association for music and singing* barely raised 4,268.41 cor. also in 1908.[685] However, just the comparison of numbers, without taking into account the goals and activities of the associations discussed here, would not justify a hasty conclusion that places the association for theater on the first rank.

In 1901 the association looked into its bank accounts and deposits, and realized that the end goal stated in paragraph 21 of the bylaws had almost been achieved, that they had accumulated enough money to build a Romanian national theater.[686] The dilemma of whether to build the walls of this institution arose without delay. How

[679] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXX, no. 198, 7 (20) September 1907, p. 3.
[680] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXX, no. 198, 7 (20) September 1907, p. 3.
[681] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXII, no. 196, 12 (25) September 1909, p. 2.
[682] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 7756, p. 8.
[683] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXIII, no. 175, 13 (26) August 1910, p. 1.
[684] "Report 1907/908," 4 November 1908, SJBAN, Collection Romanian women's association in Braşov, Doc. 2436.
[685] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXII, no. 99, 7/20 May 1909, p. 3.
[686] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 11.

could all Romanians benefit from this institution that was supposed to serve the aesthetic, cultural, and national needs of them all? Mobility had its limits, and they were bound not only by the financially insecure status of Romanians in Hungary, but also by the decisions of the association committee. "[W]e cannot do absolutely anything for beginning the work on building a Romanian national theater in the frame of our association,"[687] they argued feeling the constraints of the bylaws that restricted the association's activity to fundraising. The committee pinned down on the agenda for 1902 debating the matter of building a Romanian theater. But in the midst of a dilemma rather than a debate, it appeared that the solution for feeding national culture to all souls was still the practice of the itinerant theater. Instead of asking the people to come to theater, the theater had to go to the people's homes, and as we already know, almost a decade later, the association formed a vast network of branches in its search for nationalist efficiency.

The almost half a million crowns represented not only a financial success, but also a question mark for the Romanian imagined community. If the money had been raised and were enough for a theater, why then did the association not plan accordingly and fulfill the decades-long plan? This was the question Romanian newspapers asked at the beginning of a new century, in a request for transparency and accountability

> because our association for fundraising for a Romanian theater would have faced a problem that it cannot solve. It has the necessary money and it does not have the courage to decide on building the theater … and just like everywhere our association would have reached a point

[687] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIV, no. 162, 22 July (4 August) 1901, p. 3.

> where there is a need for changing the fronts and clarifying the debts because otherwise its role would remain unfulfilled.[688]

The debate was slow to begin, and hard to capture and follow from newspaper clips because *Ţara noastră* [Our country], the newspaper that started it, ceased to exist by 1910 when the answer of the association committee was printed in the public sphere. The treasurer argued first that the general meeting of the association from 1903 in Sebesul sasesc had taken the decision to finalize the project of the association in a decade. The given time had not elapsed when the criticism was made. Furthermore, the treasurer argued that the association was under the constraints of the bylaws, being established only to fundraise and not to spend. The limitations imposed that the association spend only ¼ of the association's capital for preparing the building a Romanian theater.[689] Lastly, the association representative completely rejected the criticism made according to which the Albina Bank interfered in the business of the association. Moreover, the treasurer stated that most of the money was kept at sixteen Romanian financial institutions, whereas Albina Bank only managed 9,951 cor. 50 fillers.[690]

Later in 1910 the committee suggested the modification of the by-laws and proposed readjusting the paragraphs so as to correspond to the activities of the association: "maintaining alive the interest in theater and the neighboring arts," "distributing scholarships for youth (of both sexes), who would study the art of musical-drama and any other science that relates to theater," "distributing prizes and financial aid for writing theater plays etc.," "establishing or supporting one or more

[688] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXIII, no. 170, 5 (18) August 1910, p. 1. This article came as a response to the criticism from *Ţara noastră* [Our country], no. 32, Sibiu, 1908.
[689] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXIII, no. 170, 5 (18) August 1910, p. 2.
[690] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXIII, no. 169, 4 (17) August 1910, p. 2.

itinerant theater groups", using no more than 60% of its yearly interests and investing the rest.[691] The project of a Romanian national theater building seemed more distant than it had appeared in 1870.

The rightfulness of the discussion carried out in the press sporadically over a period of a few years, the slowness of action of the association committee, the strategy of postponing the future, the unclear bank-association relationship, the very determined branching out into the country and the establishment of sixty associations in just a couple of years – these are all aspects that cast a shadow of a doubt on the intentions of the committee members. Theaters and what they meant involved a power game and battle between different social groups.[692] In our case, the aspects listed above indicate rather a monopoly of the committee over the wealth and future of the association for a Romanian theater.

In returning to the question asked in the previous section – why did the association form a network of sixty associations including the rural area? – we can eliminate the hypothesis that the association branched out to seek financial contributions. It owned more than it could spend already. The association, I will argue then, was more in search of identifying (and helping self-identify) co-nationals than in search of money. The association functioned as a nationalizing venue, reaching its arms into the countryside, where activists hoped to reach an age group of population that was too old to go to school. Nationalists valued theater because it was spoken – as opposed to the written word of newspapers that required literacy. Let us further

[691] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXIII, no. 235, 26 October (8 November) 1910, p. 2.
[692] See, for instance, Philipp Ther, „Die Stadt, Der Adel Und Das Theater. Prag Und Lemberg Im 19. Jahrhundert Im Vergleich," *East Central Europe* 33, no 1-2 (2006): 99-121.

explore the ways of reaching out to the population, of mobilizing and calling them into the nation.

5.9 Strategies: from the Nation Made of Hearsay to the Face-to-Face Nation

Fundraising was one strategy for reaching out for financial purposes, but also for communicating the goals of the association. The strategies used for fundraising were mainly the widely spread ones that we have seen animating local societies in Hungary during Dualism. Creating a network of associations on the local level was one option. In seeking committed popular support, and in return for financial contributions, the association offered a symbolic membership status to individuals. Furthermore, nationalists recurrently used newspapers, such as the *Family* and the *Transylvanian Gazette*, to maintain ties with members and the literate audience at large. Members were asked to contribute yearly to the development of the association in view of reaching the ultimate goal of building a Romanian theater.

Besides forming a broad network of members, another option for fundraising was to organize balls locally.[693] Societies reproduced symbolic patterns that were first introduced on the occasion of a ball of the *Romanian women's association in Braşov* – what became the prestigious ballroom dance "Romana." At a yearly get-together of the association and its supporters, organized that year, in 1881, in Baia-Mare, a participant reported for the *Transylvanian Gazette* that he "had seen at the ball about 120 pairs dancing 'Romana' and the 'Qaudrille', 'Ardeleanca' and Haţiegana' with a

[693] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLI, no. 86, November 1878, p. 4. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei,* Braşov, XLII, no. 70, 2/14 September 1879, p. 4.

youthful joy."[694] Such social events generated an increase in income and in members; the Baia-Mare event welcomed 800 extra florins.[695]

But the material use of the yearly public gatherings came second for the association. These occasions, the organizers thought, "gave us the occasion to raise the flag of our national culture at the extreme margins of the Romanian element, where our idiom suffered, but where they constituted just as many celebrations of the Romanian spirit."[696] Annual meetings, as stipulated in the by-laws, weighed immensely in the plans of actions of the nationalists. While theorists of nationalism give lots of credit to the communication factor in the formation of nations, nationalists themselves were critical of what the means of communication had done to their nations:

> the gradual progress in communication between people from a distance contributes also to their separation, it prevents them from having an intimate connection. At a time when the press, post, telegraph and telephone make my personal contact superfluous with people that are at a distance from me – meeting them in person becomes rarer. Romanians know each other "from newspapers", "from speeches", "from hearsay" - but *personally* few are known to us from such a nice crowd that we like. There is no opportunity, there is no time […] If the association for theater would not bring us any real benefit, then even for this one and only advantage of getting to know each other on the occasion of the idealism, we have to support it unconditionally.[697]

A constant concern of the association for theater was to bring people in a face-to-face interaction, within the nationalist frames and forms produced by the activists themselves. They pursued this objective, every year with utmost seriousness, recording an impressive circuit of public meetings in Hungary, going from bigger to smaller towns in search of drawing a common geography by connecting people and

[694] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIV, no. 87, 1/13 August 1881, p. 3.
[695] Ibid.
[696] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LVIII, no. 230, 17 (29) October 1895, p. 1.
[697] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LX, no. 123, 6 (18) June 1897, p. 3.

raising awareness: Deva, 1870[698], Satu-Mare, 1872[699], Reşiţa, 1875[700], Lugos, 1876[701], Abrud, 1877[702], Blaj, 1879[703], Sibiu, 1880[704], Baia-Mare, 1881[705], Lipova, 1883[706], Bocşa-montană, 1885[707], Şomcuţa mare, 1886[708], Oraviţa-montană, 1887[709], Lugoj, 1888[710], Caransebeş, 1889[711], Orşova, 1890[712],[from August 1890 to 1895, the association could not hold any meetings[713]], Braşov, 1895[714], Făgăraş, 1896[715], Orăştie, 1897[716], Haţeg, 1898[717], Sălişte, 1899[718], Abrud, 1900[719], Şimleul-Silvaniei, 1901[720], Bistriţa, 1902[721], Sebeş, 1903[722], Brad, 1904[723], Sibiu, 1905[724], Lipova,

[698] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 25/1879 (7225), p. 1. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXXIII, no. 30, 30/18 April 1870, p. 2.
[699] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 4/1872 (7055), p. 1.
[700] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 6/1875 (7098).
[701] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 11. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXXIX, no. 82, 2 November 21 October 1876, p. 4.
[702] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XL, 29/17 July 1877, no.55, p. 3.
[703] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 11. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 69, XLII, 30 August/11 September 1879, p. 4.
[704] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 15/1880 (7241).
[705] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 9/1881 (7263). See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIV, no. 76, 7/19 July 1881, p. 3. And *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIV, no. 87, 1/13 August 1881, p. 2-3.
[706] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 11. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLVI, no. 89, 3 (15) August 1883, p. 3-4.
[707] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLVIII, no. 196, 4 (16) September 1885, p. 3.
[708] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 4. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIX, 3 (15) July 1886, no. 147, p. 3.
[709] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 4.
[710] Ibid., 3. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LI, no. 206, 20 September (2 October) 1888, p. 3.
[711] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 8/1889 (7369), p. 1.
[712] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LVIII, no. 230, 17 (29) October 1895, p. 1.
[713] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 16/1895 (7416), p. 1.
[714] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LVIII, no. 230, 17 (29) October 1895, p. 1-2.
[715] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 7. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LIX, no. 204, 17 (29) September 1896, p. 2.
[716] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 4. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, no. 121, LX, 4 (16) June 1897, p. 2-3.
[717] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 7585, p. 1. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XIL, no. 70, 29 March (10 April) 1898, p. 3. And especially, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXI, no. 114, 27 May (8 June) 1898, p. 2.
[718] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 7585. See also, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXII, no. 159, 22 July (3 August) 1899, p. 1-2.
[719] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIII, no. 153, 11 (24) July 1900, p. 1.
[720] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIV, no. 145, 1 (14) July 1901, p. 4.
[721] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXV, no. 175, 11 (24) August 1902, p. 3.
[722] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXVI, no. 166, 27 July (9 August) 1903, p. 2.
[723] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXVII, no. 157, 17 (30) July 1904, p. 3.
[724] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXVIII, no. 162, 24 July (6 August) 1905, p. 2.

1906[725], Cohalm, 1907[726], Alba-Iulia, 1909[727], Reghinul săsesc, 1910[728], Blaj, 1911[729], Braşov, 1912[730].

The diversity of locations and the determination with which the association committee pursued gathering popular support testified to the mobility of nationalism, and the constant efforts of the nationalists in pursuing their projects. The iron way brought representatives of the nation face-to-face, and their encounter first occurred at the station.

Fig. 5.1: Train station in Braşov.[731]

This is where the ABC of nationalism continued – in a common welcoming place, out of the monopoly of any nation. All nationalists took turns on the platforms of the train

[725] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXIX, no. 181, 17 (30) August 1906, p. 1-2.
[726] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXX, no. 198, 7 (20) September 1907, p. 3.
[727] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXII, no. 186, 28 August (10 September) 1909, p. 2.
[728] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXIII, no. 156, 18 (31) July 1910, p. 2.
[729] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXIV, no. 188, 27 August (9 September) 1911, p. 1-2.
[730] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXV, no. 241, 1 (14) November 1912, p. 1.
[731] The train station in Brașov was inaugurated on June 1, 1873. Source: http://story.casasfatului.ro/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/gara.jpg

station, flashing out the symbols of their communities so as to recognize each other. When official participants and high-ranking members of the Romanian intelligentsia showed up in various locations where the association for theater decided to meet, the organizing local committee personally greeted them. Newspapers reports narrated these significant events and encounters for the Romanian community by first invoking the welcoming at the train station, which had become a topos of nationalism in such narratives. "Saturday, the 26th of September, at 10 o'clock in the evening guests were greeted and welcomed at the train station in Bocşa-montană by the steering committee; they were then accommodated."[732] Others reported that "[a]t the train station in Bistriţa the steering committee, almost in complete formation, and a handsome number from the people, such as the choir men and women, came to greet the president and the guests that arrived by the same train."[733] The platform of the train station was thus open to official and provincial manifestations of nationalisms in its face-to-face recognitions, with visual and auditive markers playing a significant role.

5.10 Theater at Grassroots Level

What did theater mean for Romanian nationalists in Hungary, and what, in particular, did the association for a Romanian theater based in Braşov do to promote its interests? First of all, it needed to reach out and engage the masses. As defined in the most argumentative public speeches of 1870 in the Chamber of Deputies in Budapest, theater represented "the arm of public morality and of general cultivation".[734] The Romanian deputies' speeches aimed at convincing deputies of

[732] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLVIII, no. 196, 4 (16) September 1885, p. 3.
[733] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXV, no. 187, 27 August / 9 September 1902, p. 2.
[734] Păcăţian, *Cartea de aur*, vol. V, 302.

granting financial state support for building a theater. It was an effort of placing an institution on the map of Hungary, and the activities of the Romanian representatives were part of a mode of institutionalization, to use Neubauer's phrasing.[735] As decades went by and public yearly meetings took place, nationalists grew more and more painfully aware of the fact that the content to be performed on such a national stage lacked in diversity and originality. They nonetheless remained true to the 1870 definition of theater and what it implied – morality and education.

Thus, Romanian leaders took upon themselves the imminent tasks of creating texts and of pushing for the building of an institution for theater. In a self-legitimizing speech, Iosif Vulcan argued that "[t]he duty of any leaders of a people is to awaken, root, and develop national consciousness."[736] Consequently, the association committee saw a huge potential in what theater could do for Romanians, and for their status, as self-proclaimed leaders. They conceived of theater as an alternative to the school system because it reached out and embraced an age group that could not be schooled anymore by regular means and which was also most often illiterate: "[a]nd here we have to observe that theater can develop a longer activity and has a wider field of action than school; moreover, it happens that many times it has the mission to do what school did not."[737] In a sweeping enthusiasm for the advantages of theater, nationalists believed that "[o]ur peasant who comes back from blowing, the Romanian worker tired of work, in the evening and during holidays takes in his rinkled hand the book and the scores, learns, cultivates himself so as to be able to go up on the art

[735] Neubauer, "The institutionalization," 100.
[736] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXII, no. 158, 20 July (1 August) 1899, p. 3.
[737] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 15/1883 (7295), p. 2.

scene… Romanian theater in the villages performed by ploughmen!" [738] The efforts of building a Romanian theater diverged into a focus on cementing culture into the body of the nation from top to down, from the intellectual's door to that of the ploughman. It was as if all individuals were invited to open these doors and play on the stage of nationalism. Furthermore, the extent to which nationalist discourses tried to raise the status of theater went as far as claiming a national trinity formed by church, school, and theater.

> Theater is the biggest education school apart from church and school. It is a temple of morality, of light and of science. Through it one develops and cultivates noble and cherished feelings, humanitarian, generous and national feelings; it shows us the way of virtue and honor, it develops in us the taste for the beautiful and for well behaving, it shows the debts that we have as Christians and patriots, it shows us the icon of freedom and of honor, as well as the bad parts of despotism, depravity, and infamy.
>
> […] Without Church, without school and without theater one cannot talk about culture and morality; one cannot talk about the future of life; blessed is the nation that owns this trinity! [739]

Customarily, priests and intellectual leaders of the nation sat at the same table during the yearly festivities of the association for a Romanian theater.[740] From an organizational point of view, the association committee went even further. It began scheduling the yearly public meetings at the same time with major religious celebrations. Socialization – which as we have seen already took place in nationalist forms (dress code requirements, music and dance canons being the two most obvious examples) – came to be closely connected to religious rituals. Oftentimes the Pentecost

[738] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLVIII, 19 September / 1 October 1885, no. 208, p. 2. In original: "Ţăranul nostru întorcându-se de la plug, muncitorul român obosit de lucru, seara şi în sărbători ia în mâna-i brăzdată cartea şi notele muzicale, învaţă, se cultivă, ca să poată urca scena artelor…. Teatrul românesc la sate jucat de plugari!"

[739] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LIX, no. 204, 17 (29) September 1896, p. 2.

[740] For instance, the newspaper reported that Greek Catholic Bishop Ioan Vancea took part in the yearly celebration of the association from 1879 in Blaj. See *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLII, no. 74, 16/28 September 1879, p. 2-3.

celebration was doubled by the association's public meeting: "It is the first day of the Pentecost. A celebrating atmosphere envelops the days of the town. Peasants – both men and women – dressed in white, picturesque, and clean costumes go one by the other on the streets. Their walk is a little more hurried than usual, because today's holy day brings a double celebration: a religious celebration and a national one."[741]

The preferred strategy of spreading the word of theater and through it the word of nationalism into the masses followed a few preliminary steps. The simplistic equation of theater with "a practical school for the people, for guiding him to do beautiful and good deeds and for ennobling his feelings – this ennobling encapsulates happiness in this life"[742] motivated the association to prepare a group of itinerant actors who received the almost impossible mission of transforming the masses into Romanian actors. In view of this goal, the association facilitated and sponsored the education abroad of a handful of actors.[743] But not long after the transforming zeal of the committee and the schooling of future actors conflicts emerged. Zaharia Bârsan, one of the scholarship holders who went from village to village to perform plays partially funded by the association, had described his quarrel with the funding committee in the following way:

> They cannot claim from me that I make out of each individual an actor. Even if I rehearse a play for five weeks, it is still going to end up poorly played because I am forced to perform with people who feel in a

[741] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LX, no. 121, 4 (16) June 1897, p. 2. The following year, the annual association meeting was held on the same religious occasion. See *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XIL, no. 70, 29 March (10 April) 1898, p. 3.
[742] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIII, no. 82, 12/24 October 1880, p. 2.
[743] Among the scholarship holders were Zaharia Bârsan, Aurel P. Banuţiu, Romul Baila, Ionel Crişan. See *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXX, no. 240, 31 October (13 November) 1907, p. 2. The association also sent to the Academy of music in Vienna two young students, Ionel Crişan and Ştefan Marcus – the later became artistic director of the association in the pre-war years. See SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a fund for building a Romanian national theater, Doc. 7756, p. 7.

> role just as a savage in a gallery full of paintings. And they have no blame in this.
>
> […] Under the conditions that I am to work, the Honorable Committee, I think, will notice that one cannot make art, but trade. And for trade I have no gift.[744]

The conflict between Bârsan and the association extended over a longer period of time,[745] leading to the independent publication of Bârsan's theater experiences in Transylvania at a publishing house in the Banat.[746] It constituted a dissident gesture, which had found another venue of expressing a different point of view from that of the association and of the *Transylvanian Gazette*. The core of the matter revolved around taking credit for having started a theater movement in Transylvania. The two parties involved in this claim – Bârsan and the association – presented divergent understandings of what theater meant for them. For Bârsan, theater was definitely not a trade that everyman could learn. In the opposing corner, the association conceived of theater as a medium for its message, working towards "establishing a new pulpit for spreading morality, a new department for disseminating taste, a new organ for strengthening our national culture; […] We want a rostrum for polishing our language, a rostrum that would enchant us with the beauties of the national language."[747]

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[744] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXX, no. 12, 17 (30) January 1907, p. 2. In original: "Nu mi se poate pretinde să fac din fiecare individ un actor. Chiar cinci săptămâni să stau la o piesă, tot prost are să se joace, fiind sunt silit să joc cu oameni care într-un rol se simt tot aşa de acasa ca un sălbatic într-o galerie de tablouri. Şi n-au nici o vina.
[…] În condiţiile în care mi se cere să lucre, Onoratul Comitet, cred, că vede că nu se poate face artă, ci meşteşug. Şi pentru meşteşug n-am talent."

[745] About the quarrel with the association, see *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXX, no. 11, 16 (29) January 1907, p. 2-3. And *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXX, no. 12, 17 (30) January 1907, p. 2.
The quarrel had started once Bârsan received scholarships to study in Vienna and Berlian (1903). The association complained that Bârsan did not present the official results of his studies abroad and had not filed an activity report. In 1904 he was sent to Bucharest for further advanced theater studies in his first language. See one point of view on this disagreement: *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXX, no. 13, 18 (31) January 1907, p. 2-3.

[746] Zaharie Bârsan, *Impresii de teatru din Ardeal* [Impressions about theater in Transylvania] (Arad : Tipografia George Nichin, 1908). The author also stated that the *Transylvanian Gazette* did not publish his views on the conflict with the association for theater. See page 79.

[747] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 5.

Nationalists functioned here within a seeming contradiction. On the one hand, they set themselves up as the moral voices of the nation and its aestheticians,[748] and claimed to instruct the people through theater. They thus made a claim on the hat of authority. On the other hand, romantic nationalism could not deny the people its originality. In the nationalists' quest for the national in art, they found as the real substance of the people, their customs, traditions, folklore, language and so forth.

> We find in our people the beauties of the language, the original and pure idiom; we discover in it the treasure of new ideas, fragile and ennobling; this is where we could find our old traditions and modern habits; it offers original characters, topics for literary pieces and motives for music compositions… it is there that we have to search the intellectual elements for establishing our national theater![749]

Nationalists further argued that dabbling in the arts, and especially in the dramatic art, had an important role for the people because it allowed for a natural growth of national talents.[750] Theater was a two-way medium: while empowering the common folk by facilitating self-expression, theater also made the people "accessible for everything that is good, true and beautiful."[751] The branching out of the association at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century was an expression of how much nationalists encouraged dilettantism in theater. This idea also concurred with the understanding of theater by following a very narrow definition of mimesis. Theater simply imitated social reality, an interpretation which conveniently fit the scheme of things of the nationalists: "Romanian theater will be the mirror of our type. It has to represent the Romanian as he is, with his dance, language, music, and his way

[748] On morality, nationalism, and the middle class in mainly Germany, Italy, and England, see George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and sexuality: respectability and abnormal sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985). For further references on Mosse and aesthetics, see the previous chapter in this dissertation on gymnastics and nationalism.
[749] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLVIII, no. 208, 19 September / 1 October 1885, p. 3.
[750] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXX, no. 253, 16 (29) November 1907, p. 2.
[751] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 8/1885 (7332), p. 6.

of dressing, with everything that he has: virtues and weaknesses…"[752] Dilettanti, just as professional actors, not only had to imitate life but also to reproduce it on stage – to perform it. And this was part and parcel of the story, and a main reason for disagreement between the association committee and the itinerant theater company they intended to sponsor.

The field of action was inextricably linked to stages and performances, to the concept of an audience who was at least supposed to recognize the kind of event if not also the author of the play performed in places that "smelled of poverty and old age."[753] The distance between improvised stages and the nationalists' pulpits was still considerable. On the one hand, there were those who authored vernacular literature, unified the language, created national music and dances etc. But it was not only poets and philologists that were involved in the nationalization and institutionalization of culture. On the other hand, there were also those who tried to communicate and canonize their texts, by entering specific local communities. In this story, itinerant actors had a go-in-between role to play. They functioned as ombudspersons between the creators of the texts and institutions for national culture and the common folk. Zaharia Bârsan, as a prime example of itinerant actor, represented texts, adaptations, and translations into the vernacular, interpreted and performed plays and poems, and canonized national authors. These ombudspersons – professional actors and self-made actors – represented more or less consciously a mode of canonizing culture in the vernacular.

[752] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 2. See also Iosif Vulcan's speech in *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXV, no. 187, 27 August / 9 September 1902, p. 2.
[753] Bârsan, *Impresii de teatru din Ardeal*, 16.

Zaharia Bârsan recounted his impressions from the on-the-road shows in Transylvania that were contemporary with Bufallo Bill's Wild West tours in Europe – Braşov made no exception on the tour map.[754] Had there been more conflicts between the association and the Romanian itinerant actors, a mediated reception theory could have been written on this topic based on similar ethnographic accounts. Bârsan retold his struggles on the grassroots level from the perspective of the path-breaker: he (almost) alone as the initiator of a Romanian theater movement in Transylvania. His position was firm, claiming that he initiated the movement with his first two on-the-road shows, and only for the last two did he receive the financial support of the association.[755] The difficulties encountered revealed beyond the shade of doubt the gap between the intelligentsia and their imagined nation, between pulpits and stages. A few of Bârsan's collected experiences and stories better illustrate this point in his own language that captured the mundane.

First, Bârsan had to perform at best on creatively improvised stages.

> At the theater there were few people. The people were indifferent, who did not get excited because of theater – with some honorable exceptions! Instead we had a superb stage, built on beer barrels that were … empty. And the decors … admirable, with doors and non-doors, you could get out wherever you wanted – all in all, you felt as well and at ease as possible. […] You want theater? Very well! First drink my beer, otherwise I cannot give you the barrels. And what were we supposed to do? We, who wanted Romanian theater? Let's get it, boys; the end justifies the means.[756]

[754] Ibid., 10. It was probably June 1906 when Bufallo Bill, "zăpăcitorul de minţi" (mind sweeper) as Bârsan called him, had just raised his tents in Braşov – also the day when Bârsan left in his theater mission once again through Transylvania.
[755] Bârsan, *Impresii de teatru din Ardeal*, 137.
[756] Ibid., 16. In original: "La teatru lume puţină. E o lume indiferentă, nu se încălzeşte de de-al de astea, onoare excepţiunilor! Am avut însă o scenă superbă, ridicată pe nişte butoaie de bere … goale. Şi-apoi decorurile… admirabile nici uşe nici ne-uşe, ieşeai pe unde vreai, în sfârşit te simţeai în cel mai larg larg posibil. […] Vreţi teatru? Bine! Să-mi beţi întâiu berea, altfel n-am de unde să vă dau butoaie. Iar noi doritori de teatru român ce să ne facem ? Hai pe chef, băeţi; scopul scuză mijloacele."

In Caransebeş an alternative temporary stage, where the audience was captured by mistake because the coffee place in a hotel served as stage as well.

> The stage was impossible… as if for dolls. And the hotel did not have another room for the café; everyone in the café, including their cigars, all the waiters, and all the cups of coffee had to witness the show. Under these circumstances we could not possibly perform.[757]

The basic requirements for performing in public were not met. But nor did actors have a sense of time for ending their performances. The narrator of the recollections recounted that there were plays performed for so many hours and so late at night that the audience had no other choice than leave. Bârsan attended such a performance play in Braşov that lasted until past 2 AM.[758]

Slipping into extremes was facile, especially when entertainment standards and expectations had not been drawn on either side. Audience, actors, and dilettanti were not on the same theater page. If at the beginning, the nation leaders thought that comedy was the appropriate genre for the people because it offered entertainment and could be used as a corrective for behavior, in a few decades "[t]heater became a synonym for *comedy*", noticed Bârsan. He blamed this transformation on the dilettanti who "[i]f they had stayed with performing easy comedies, based on simple conversations, on situational humour, *that would have been something*, but by daring to perform 'characters' they walked downside the hill and pushed the public in a complete state of confusion."[759] From this there was just one step to the disharmony that tore the trinity of church, school, and theater. On local levels, it happened that religious authorities did not give permission for performances during fasting: "I, the

[757] Ibid., 50. In original: "Era o scenă imposibilă… ca pentru păpuşi. Şi-apoi hotelierul n-avea alt local pentru cafenea; toată lumea din cafenea, cu toate ţigările de foi, cu toţi chelnerii, cu toate ceştile de cafea, trebuiau să asiste la spectacol. În imprejurările astea nu se putea juca."
[758] Ibid., 7.
[759] Ibid., 8.

head of the Church [bishop Papp of Arad], cannot allow you to perform a *comedy* during fast." [760] Moreover, problems with local state authorities were not uncommon. Bârsan reported that in 1908 when he wanted to give a performance in Braşov, the authorities required an authorization from the ministry on account that he was a professional actor.[761]

But perhaps two of all these difficulties and troubles were most crucial: one referred to language, the other to performance contents. They were, needless to say, intertwined. In countless speeches, Romanian leaders expressed their love for language – not as linguists, but as nationalists. It was indeed as if to be a nationalist was a profession, allowing one to minor in linguistics, philology and so forth. In the language of nationalism and on behalf of the nation, committee members proclaimed once again that "the national theater does not serve only as entertainment; its mission is that of being a true school for national culture, in which the sublime melody of our language can enchant those who regard with contempt the sweetness of this language and in which the heroism examples of our ancenstors will inspire our great-grandchildren with similar virtues."[762] The vernacular was, as we know it well, at the heart of nationalism. In its written form, the Romanian intelligentsia had fought the battle of changing the alphabet from Cyrillic's to the Latin script.[763] But the standardization of language had to take place in the spoken word as well. Itinerant actors had the role of teaching their audiences one Romanian language – the literate

[760] Ibid., 76. In original: "Eu, capul bisericii [episcopul Papp, Arad], nu pot permite să se facă *comedie* în post."
[761] Ibid., 131.
[762] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XXXIII, no. 30, 30/18 April 1870, p. 2. Countless such examples can be found in the association documents and speeches. See also, SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a fund for building a Romanian national theater, Doc. 1/1885, p. 5. In original: "Voim o tribună pentru poleirea graiului nostru, o tribună care să ne încânte cu frumuseţile limbii naţionale."
[763] For a short essay on the transition alphabet, see Ştefan Cazimir, *Alfabetul de tranzitie* [*The transition alphabet*] (Bucureşti: Cartea românească, 1986).

one. On the occasion of a performance in Orăştie, Bârsan recounted the short conversation he had had with an old man who attended the local event:

> *In Orăştie.* After the performance – I cannot recall what I played – it happened that I sat at a table with an old man, whom I asked if he had liked the play. He responded:
>
> "I couldn't possibly answer your question because *we are charmed by the way you speak Romanian and we do not even seek to understand what you are saying.*"[764]

The young artist, educated abroad, who performed shows that entertained the audience must have been the embodiment of an amazing event, perhaps comparable to scientific discoveries. And if Bârsan did not manage to get a message across or to stir emulation among spectators, he at least enjoyed the awe feelings of the older audience. But the slow motion of the language standardization required much more than a one-man show. All that Bârsan could do was to perform endlessly and tirelessly, on improvised stages with a handful of spectators, requesting the financial support of the association for theater. In his tours in the first decade of the twentieth century, Bârsan estimated over two hundred performances he had given, with a repertoire of thirty-nine plays – over thirty of them being translations and very few plays actually authored by Romanian writers.[765]

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[764] Bârsan, *Impresii de teatru din Ardeal*, 71. In original: "*La Orăştie.* Dupa reprezentaţie – nu-mi aduc aminte ce jucasem – mă nimeresc la masa cu un bătrân, pe care-l întreb cum i-a placut piesa? El îmi răspunde: N-aş putea să-ţi răspund la intrebare, fiinca *noi suntem fermecaţi dela început de felul cum vorbiţi d-voastră româneşte şi nici nu mai cautăm să înţelegem ce spuneţi.*"

[765] Namely, only seven: "Mărioara" (Carmen Sylva), "Năpasta" (Caragiale), "Fântâna Blandusiei" (Alecsandri), "La Turnu Magurele" (Alecsandri), "Ovidiu" (Alecsandri), "Cârlanii" (Negruzzi), "Hershcu Boccegiul" (Alecsandri). See Bârsan, *Impresii de teatru din Ardeal*, 135-136. The association provided more quantified information about performances and plays. A committee report from 1899 recorded the six titles that the theater library possessed: „Soare cu ploaie" (Iosif Vulcan), „Idil la tara" (translated from Iuin and Flerx, adapted by Maria Baiulescu), „Biletul de Tramvai" (Grigorie Maruntzeanu), „Un om buclucas" (Michel and Labiche, adapted by Maria Baiulescu), „Trei doctori" (translated from German, adapted by Virginia A. Vlaicu), „Palaria Ceasornicarului" (by Madame Girardin). See SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 7585, p. 15.
By 1910 the number of theater pieces had increased to twenty-six – published localy by the Ciurcu library under the auspices of the association. The same year the committee remarked that „Cu regret

This situation echoed older and more profound concerns about the state of the national theater plays, dating a decade earlier. When the association relocated to Braşov, it continued its mission with fresh enthusiasm, and tried to co-opt in their projects more actively the local intelligentsia. In a painfully lucid answer to the association committee, Iacob Mureşianu Jr. provided an executive summary of the state of the art:

> The opionions were many and very diverse, but we all agreed that […] we do not have theater plays. Alexandri is too old, the other ones from Romania are too local and the specificities, traditions, and phrases which they incorporate are for us so new that they do not have any impact. Moreover, the translations, with very few exceptions, are tragedies or dramas that require a more advanced society, not made of dilettanti. This is why the most pressing issue would be to offer prizes for original theater plays (comedies) and for translations. When we have a solid repertory, we can establish a committee that will stimulate and form groups of theater dilettanti in all the places where Romanians live, because then they will surely not be confused when choosing the plays – now, with all their enthusiasm and will, they abstain from playing. They do not have theater plays to play![766]

The situation of national literature did not improve significantly until the outbreak of World War One. The aspects presented here from the point of view of the

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trebuie sa constatam ca lucrari originale, iesite din viata poporului nostru, nu ni se prea prezinta."See SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 7756, p. 7.
In terms of performances, in 1898 the association committee recorded 38 performances in Hungary, 55 plays. Plays by Alecsandri were played 17 times, Iosif Vulcan 18 times, adaptations by Maria Baiulescu 4 times. See *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXII, no. 144, 3 (15) July 1899, p. 3.
The local newspaper stated that in 1903 there had been 179 theater performances in Hungary (with 114 different plays), 28 more than in 1902, and 62 more than in 1901, 67 more than in 1900, 106 more than in 1899, 151 more than in 1898 when the association committee had started quantifying progress in terms of theater performances. See *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXVII, no. 171, 4 (17) August 1904, p. 3.

[766] Iacob Mureşianu, in a letter from Blaj, 18 February 1896. SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 7690, p. 1-2. In original: "Părerile au fost multe şi foarte diferite, însă în una am convenit cu toţii şi anume […] n-avem piese teatrale, Alexandri e prea hurbuit, celelalte din Romania sunt prea locale şi specialităţile, datinile şi expresiunile care provin în ele, ne sunt nouă de dincoace tot atâtea noutăți care nu produc nici un efect. Mai departe traducerile, cu puține excepțiuni, sunt tot de conținut tragic sau dramatic pentru care se recere o societate mai dibace, nu începători diletanți. De aceea chestiunea cea mai urgentă de rezolvat ar fi premierea de piese teatrale (comice) originale și traduceri. Având după aceea un repertoir considerabil se va alege o comisiune cu însărcinarea de a îndemna și a forma societăți de diletanți teatrali în toate localitățile locuite de români, că atunci sigur nu vor veni în perplexitatea la alegerea pieselor, din care cauză acuma cu tot zelul și voința abstan (abțin) de la dorința de a mai juca. N-au ce!"

itinerant actor, launched in a (self-)glorifying national fight for theater and culture, whose victory was claimed by the association committee, are usually less known and less researched. They measure the distance between pulpits and stages. And they also provide another point of view on the difficulties of educating the national taste[767] of the audience, of canonizing writers, standardizing the language – all part of "the divine and gigantic mission"[768] of the Romanian nationalists, who relentlessly worked in those two modes of text creation and institutionalization. However, there were still more perspectives on the process of nation formation.

In competition with the project of building a Romanian national theater, one could identify local needs that aligned loyalties and financial contributions in different ways, thus bypassing the "national" as category and criterion. The unfulfilled or delayed promise of building a Romanian theater somewhere in Hungary, projected into the unknown and the undated, could not monopolize individuals and hold their interest alive for too many years. This point is illustrated by a few newspaper articles published in the local Romanian newspaper of Braşov. One day in 1879 the journal published the bylaws of a newly-formed association whose purpose was very similar to the one of the association that makes the focus of this chapter. The difference was, however, that the new call for action served a more local purpose, but also a more inclusive one: an association for building a theater (and a tower) in Braşov.[769] The bylaws of the association did not specify any other criterion for acquiring membership than being a "person without a taint."[770] From the article, one may infer that no nationality had initiated this call for raising a theater building in Braşov. Moreover,

[767] SJBAN, Collection Association for establishing a theater, Doc. 8/1885 (7332), p. 4.
[768] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXII, no. 158, 20 July (1 August) 1899, p. 3.
[769] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLII, no. 73, 12/24 September 1879, p. 3.
[770] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLII, no. 73, 12/24 September 1879, p. 3.

article 11 stated that "[a]fter the dissolution of the association, its finances will be given to the administration of Braşov with the special mention that it be handeled separately as a gift for building a theater and a tower."[771] The association was approved by order of the minster on May 30, 1879. The association further engaged local society in the already known strategies of fundraising and of socialization. The significant difference was that this time the forms of social practice did not follow nationalist patterns. The *Transylvanian Gazette* recalled a masked ball that mobilized local society in Braşov in 1880 in view of fundraising for a local theater: "[I]t was one of those rare parties, where the whole population of all nationalities reunited. Many hands make light work – such was the case with this ball when the outcome was above expectations."[772] With a keen eye for details and national clothes, the newspaper also recorded that "[m]ost of them were Romanian women's national clothes, among which, we have seen as a big exception five Saxon ladies that were wearing Romanian clothes. Among men we noticed three young Romanian men whose traditional clothes were very suitable and beautiful."[773] This is a point of view on the local society that was not as straitjacketed as nationalist account let us believe. "Who was who" on the dance floor or in a daily walk downtown did not always bear nationalist markers, e.g. popular costumes that lent themselves to easy decoding.

It was not only the theater that could bring together a multilingual crowd that did not separate according to national lines. Extraordinary circumstances, such as the Buffalo Bill's European tours, addressed all inhabitants as potential clients and spectators. The first screenings of cinematic shootings were also presented to local

[771] Ibid.
[772] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, XLIII, no. 9, 31 January/12 February 1880, p. 5.
[773] Ibid.

society at large. Take, for instance, the call for participation in the amazing event that introduced Edison's discovery

> Cinema and gramophone. The last screenings of Edison's clever invention will take place today, the 9th of March, and tomorrow evening, the 10th of March, in the big hall of the city tower. We draw the public's attention to these interesting and instructive screenings. The cinema presents photos like in nature, with dozens of people moving easily, as if they were alive. Another example is that of a screening that presents the train entering the station, people getting on and off the train; ships reaching the port, colorful national dances, people bathing, children playing etc. The gramophone reproduces the music, songs and funny tales, as if hearing the singers themselves etc. The screenings start at 8 o'clock in the evening.[774]

Such events were not nationally framed, and probably did not engage the common individual in her daily life into the ideologically-committed perspective on the world. They bypassed nationalist straitjackets and the national order of things. Such events, and probably many others that ignored the "national" as main category, constituted competitive view points to the nationalist one.

As I have shown in this chapter, the cultural umbrella represented by theater provided a venue of nationalizing the masses for Romanian activists. Their goal came to be the performing on stage of the national canon, in a standardized Romanian language, on a mass scale. The association committee claimed popular support by counting the dead as members of the association in an attempt to highlight the importance of the association in Romanian society in Hungary. However, the grassroots experience revealed the countless problems that the go-in-between actors had to face when attempting to transform individuals into Romanian actors or dilettanti, at the request of the association. The branching out phenomenon that took place at a furious speed in only a few years counting around sixty Romanian

[774] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXI, no. 44, 26 February/10 March 1898, p. 3.

associations for theater in the country reflected the delicate situation at the grassroots level. It called for special measures because the illiterate peasants whom the association targeted to transform into Romanian actors were beyond national indifference – they were rather anational. As a response to this situation, nationalists had to wear too many hats, working on creating original texts, canonizing them, mobilizing the people to perform their text. The institutionalization of theater became a postponed momentum and the idea of building a national Romanian theater in Hungary became the curse of the past and a broken promise.

6 CONCLUSIONS

In abstract terms, in this dissertation I analyzed the difficulties and failures of imposing ethnicity as an interpretative frame and first act of categorization in the pre-war period. In order to substantiate a perspective from below on the "intermittence of ethnicity," in Rogers Brubaker's sense, I took a case study and focused on the interactions between Romanian nationalists and their targeted population mostly in Braşov/Brassó/Kronstadt, a Transylvanian town in the Habsburg Empire, later in Austria-Hungary, and nowadays in Romania. The core research period covered the Dual Monarchy, until the break-up of World War One, a time that scholars of nationalism claimed to have been ripe with patriotic agitation and conducive to national mass mobilization.

My research analysis drew inspiration from more recent developments in the historiography of the Habsburg Empire, especially research done on Cisleithania, which focused on the responses of the population to the nationalist activists' attempts to co-opt them into national projects. This body of research concluded that the outcome of patriotic agitation involved more ambivalence, national indifference, and opportunism on behalf of the population than the nationalists' side of the story lets us believe. From a methodologically more diverse approach, Rogers Brubaker and a team of researchers analyzed the contemporary everyday impact of nationalist agitation on common citizens in Cluj – another Transylvanian town, and substantiated "the disjuncture between the thematization of ethnicity and nationhood in the political realm and their experience and enactment in everyday life."[775] Their conclusion was that "they [ethnic and national categories] are neither ubiquitous nor omnirelevant;

[775] Brubaker, *Nationalist politics*, 363.

and where they are present, they are not always salient or operative."[776] This sums up the explanation for the "intermittence of ethnicity", which I took as a key concept of analysis in this research.

In trying to understand and analyze the responsiveness or non-responsiveness of the population to the Romanian patriotic agitation and to the call to national mass mobilization, understood on Miroslav Hroch's scale of nationalist intensity, I explored three overlapping channels of activism that tempted the population to engage in different projects. The three Braşov-based associations provided a wide range of activities that parted with the "all national" worldview of the nationalists. The plurality of social experiences on the local level contrasted sharply with the discourses and objectives of the Romanian ethnopolitical elites that engaged in a fight against the daily increasing policy of ethnic violence of the Hungarians. This view point of the elite demonstrates that the reification of ethnic groups has had a history as long as the nationalists' one. But the efforts of the Romanian national elite to represent and claim political rights on behalf of the Romanian nation are not questioned here. They affirmed the existence of the Romanian nation without discussing it. What I tried to capture is a perspective from below on how masses responded to the calls for mobilization for the nation.

The multiperspectivism of the research was initiated with the chapter on the *Romanian women's association*, established in Braşov, in 1850. This initiative grew out of the specific milieu of this town, which had been once a gate of communication and trade between empires. The "rise of the women's caring power" emerged in the Orthodox merchants' environment of Braşov, where philanthropic deeds had a long

[776] Ibid., 362.

tradition. In this town, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, an interest in the "Romanian nation" emerged out of the Orthodox merchants' extending solidarity. It was not only the Romanian national project that was connected to this vast network of Orthodox merchants who steadily grew toward a self-identification as Romanians, but also the Romanian women's project that took off with the establishment of the association in 1850. I used the concept of "caring power"[777] to refer to women's engagement in society and to the developing sense of a new collective gender identity. Women began to take more responsibility for the ones of the same-sex. Romanian women's activism was manifested first toward the Romanian orphans of the 1848-49 revolutions, but on the long term the association invested enormously in institutionalizing education for girls. The network of similar Romanian associations that extended throughout Hungary during the Dual Monarchy charted the growth of the women's caring power, reaching the level of a women's movement. Because women's experiences at that time have been over-ethnicized in Romanian historiography, in this chapter I made an argument for the Romanian women's activism and movement, by analyzing in detail what they did, and much less what the nationalist activists claimed on their behalf. Further research needs to change the scale of analysis in order to analyze the feminist and nationalist negotiations in a broader international context. What this chapter demonstrates is that by looking beyond the narrowing vision of the nationalists, we find a plurality of engagements for citizens in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Women's growing care and solidarity practiced on behalf of women did not limit the interactions of the Romanian women's association with other local group projects because of the ethnic conflicts that animated the Romanian ethnopolitical elite.

[777] As coined and elaborated in van Drenth and de Haan, *The rise of caring power*.

The chapter on music, gymnastics, and nationalism approached the "intermittence of ethnicity" from another perspective, centering first on the social cohesion that nationalist activists attempted to symbolically weave on dance floors among Romanians. This chapter reviewed the invention of a ballroom dance in the house of a Romanian merchant in Braşov, and its standardization and diffusion among the population through repeated performances. The purpose of this ballroom dance was to symbolically raise the status of the Romanian nation in society, and to create a larger sense of identity that reached beyond regional borders. The dance was directly connected to the Romanian women's association because it was first performed on the occasion of a fundraising for the goals of the association. The two remained interconnected in the collective memory of the Romanian elites, in their quest for visual markers for their nation. Having invented this ballroom dance as a nationalized form of social practice, Romanian nationalists attempted to discipline the national body by imposing behavior and dance codes. The local newspaper, the *Transylvanian Gazette*, served as their medium. Nationalists proved to be keen observers of the dance floor, with a particular taste for details in their quest for visibility.

The second part of the chapter shifted the attention to the *Romanian association for gymnastics and singing in Braşov* to inquire into how it shaped social experiences locally. In the "making of a nation" series of attempts, Romanian nationalists tested gymnastics as a way of disciplining and making the national body. It failed in doing so. The disengagement of the common citizens with the project of the nationalists led to the positive formulation "the quasi development of our national movement"[778] (in one of the nationalists' phrasings); in effect, it signified that the

[778] *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Braşov, LXXI, no. 194, 4/17 September 1908, p. 2.

branch for gymnastics had ceased its activity at a time when national mass mobilization was supposed to be in full swing – a possible indication of a low degree of groupness for the Romanian nation. On the other hand, the branch for music had its peaks under George Dima's leadership – an educated choir master, hired by different associations for music in the region regardless of their ethnic affiliation. Having studied in Leipzig, Dima channeled a German taste for music in the southern part of Transylvania. The financial situation of Saxons, Hungarian, and Romanian local associations for music made them exchange scores and participate together at fundraising events, sharing to some extent the same music canon. Due to Dima's professional interest in music, the Romanian association for singing modeled in the first place a profound sense of inclusive local identity with an emphasis on linguistic pluralism. Once again, the association's activities did not reproduce the inter-ethnic conflicts that preoccupied the Romanian political elite. The association ceased its activity shortly after the branch of gymnastics did. Parallel to the activity of the association for singing and gymnastics, the *Transylvanian Gazette* assumed the role of writing the national music canon and of disciplining the partakers in national festivities. In this case, it was not the music association that sang the national liturgy, but the local nationalist journalists.[779]

The last chapter of the present research attempted to capture the "intermittence of ethnicity" by charting the trajectory of a Romanian association whose aim was to fundraise for building a Romanian theater in Hungary. It was the time of "Fellner and Helmer", the so-called "Theater Factory" that raised dozens of theaters in Europe, in the competition for the cultural existence of nations. In this context, the Romanian

[779] For male choirs and German nationalism see Mosse, *The nationalization of the masses*, 136-137.

association presented the story of a theater that never was. The goal of building a theater was slowly transformed into nationalizing the masses. The people that itinerant theater groups encountered in Transylvania were beyond being "nationally indifferent" – they were rather a-national Romanian speakers. And perhaps they spoke other languages as well. Ethnicity was probably not an operative concept in their context. After fundraising enough for building a theater, the leadership of the association concentrated on nationalizing the masses to the extent that individuals – peasants and ploughmen alike – were expected to dabble in theater performing. Theater became in the hands of the Romanian nationalists an approximation of drama therapy nowadays as practiced for therapeutic purposes. In the case of the association for theater, the preferred genre was comedy, but the role-play retained a central role in performing a national identity in the making. This chapter proved the extremes: on the one hand, Romanian nationalists wore (too) many hats, creating texts in the vernacular, mobilizing and nationalizing people, institutionalizing the national canon and so forth; on the other, the Romanian-speakers living in the countryside were difficult to mobilize for many reasons, among which the former "three nations" system in Transylvanian and the denominational and gender inequalities in the educational system.

The present research explored the individuals' responsiveness and non-responsiveness to the Romanian nationalists' attempts of bringing their nation face to face, of making it self-recognizable and visible on the dance floor and at the train station – places on a possible topography of nationalism. In trying to co-opt individuals into the national project and its symbolism, Romanian nationalists faced a wide range of difficulties in imposing ethnicity as a first act of categorization in

interpreting the world. By taking a perspective from below on the "intermittence of ethnicity", this dissertation presented a contrasting narrative to the one of intense ethnopolitical conflict written by the Romanian elite in Hungary.

7 APPENDIX

County	Men							
	Roman Cath.	Greek Cath.	Calv.	Luth.	Greek Orth.	Unit.	Jews	All
Braşov	4,8	2,9	3,9	4,0	2,4	3,5	7,7	3,61
	(11,7)	(1,3)	(7,7)	(41,7)	(34,5)	(1,6)	(1,6)	(100,0)
Mureş-Turda	2,4	1,1	2,4	3,6	0,95	2,8	4,0	1,9
	(12,3)	(24,9)	(38,0)	(2,9)	(15,8)	(3,6)	(2,4)	(100,0)
Cluj	3,2	0,8	2,2	2,9	0,9	3,5	4,1	1,35
	(4,2)	(52,1)	(20,0)	(2,7)	(17,9)	(0,7)	(2,3)	(100,0)

Table 7.1: Comparison of three counties regarding religion related inequalities of education, 1910[780]

County	Women							
	Roman Cath.	Greek Cath.	Calv.	Luth.	Greek Orth.	Unit.	Jews	All
Braşov	3,6	2,2	3,4	3,2	1,6	2,8	5,8	2,73
	(11,8)	(0,7)	(5,9)	(43,1)	(35,9)	(1,3)	(1,4)	(100,0)
Mureş-Turda	1,6	0,4	1,6	2,7	0,4	1,7	2,4	1,19
	(12,0)	(24,2)	(38,7)	(3,1)	(15,7)	(3,8)	(2,5)	(100,0)
Cluj	2,3	0,3	1,5	2,1	0,3	1,8	2,75	0,75
	(4,1)	(52,0)	(20,1)	(2,7)	(17,8)	(0,6)	(2,6)	(100,0)

Table 7.2: Comparison of three counties regarding religion related inequalities of education, 1910.[781]

[780] Compiled from Karády and Nagy, *Educational inequalities and denominations*, 33.
The figures represent mean numbers of years of education. The equivalents of the numbers of classes are explained in the database as follows: 8 years of secondary education and above = 13 years, 6 years of secondary education = 11, 4 years of secondary education = 9, illiteracy = 0. Ibid., 26. Writing and reading skills equal three years of schooling.
Braşov County had the highest number of years of education among men among counties in the whole of Transylvania.
[781] Ibid., 34-35. See explanations above.

Men	Roman Catholics		Greek Catholics		Calvinists	
W/R	3772	Nationalities: Hu: 79,5 % Ge: 15,3 % Sl: 1,5 % Cr: 0,2 % Ot: 3,0 %	369	Nationalities: Hu: 21,6 % Ge: 0,8 % Sl: 0,9 % Ro: 69,3 % Ru: 2,5 % Se: 0,8 % Ot: 4,1 %	2721	Nationalities: Hu: 98,2 % Ge: 1,4 % Ro: 0,4 % Ot: 0,1 %
Illiterate	1062		191		691	
Educated*	1072		78		460	
Total	5906		638		3872	

* Schooled for 4 to 8 classes

Table 7.3: Braşov County, 1910. Literacy and illiteracy among men by denomination[782]

Men	Lutherans		Greek Orthodox		Unitarians	
W/R	14695	Nationalities: Hu: 36,6 % Ge: 63,2 % Ro: 0,1 %	9829	Nationalities: Hu: 1,6 % Ge: 0,1 % Ro: 96,4 % Se: 0,1 % Ot: 1,8 %	561	Nationalities: Hu: 98,3 % Ge: 0,3 % Ro: 1,3 % Ot: 0,1 %
Illiterate	4296		6901		160	
Educated*	2025		637		64	
Total	21016		17367		785	

* Schooled for 4 to 8 classes

Table 7.4: Braşov County, 1910. Literacy and illiteracy among men by denomination[783]

Men	Isrealites		Together	
W/R	340	Nationalities: Hu: 85,2 % Ge: 13,7 % Ro: 0,5 % Ot: 0,6 %	32305	Nationalities: Hu: 35,8 % Ge: 28,6 % Sl: 0,2 % Ro: 34,2 % Ot: 1,1 %
Illiterate	116		13423	
Educated*	341		4682	
Total	797		50410	

* Schooled for 4 to 8 classes

Table 7.5: Braşov County, 1910. Literacy and illiteracy among men by denomination[784]

[782] Ibid., 98-9.
[783] Ibid., 100-101.
[784] Ibid., 102-103.

Women	Roman Catholics		Greek Catholics		Calvinists	
W/R	3795	Nationalities: Hu: 83,5 % Ge: 13,1 % Sl: 1,1 % Ro: 0,5 % Cr: 0,1 % Ot: 1,6 %	185	Nationalities: Hu: 49,9 % Ge: 0,3 % Sl: 1,2 % Ro: 46,9 % Ru: 0,6 % Ot: 1,2 %	1900	Nationalities: Hu: 98,0 % Ge: 1,8 % Ro: 0,1 % Ot: 0,1 %
Illiterate	1477		136		802	
Educated*	707		20		280	
Total	5979		341		2982	

* Schooled for 4 to 8 classes

Table 7.6: Braşov County, 1910. Literacy and illiteracy among women by denomination[785]

Women	Lutherans		Greek Orthodox		Unitarians	
W/R	15799	Nationalities: Hu: 35,4 % Ge: 64,4 % Ro: 0,1 %	9231	Nationalities: Hu: 1,3 % Ge: 0,3 % Ro: 96,7 % Ot:1,7 %	504	Nationalities: Hu: 99,4 % Ge: 0,5 % Ot: 0,2 %
Illiterate	4863		8812		131	
Educated*	1233		175		21	
Total	21885		18218		656	

* Schooled for 4 to 8 classes

Table 7.7: Braşov county, 1910. Literacy and illiteracy among women by denomination[786]

Women	Isrealites		Together	
W/R	311	Nationalities: Hu: 80,0 % Ge: 18,8 % Ro: 1,0 % Ot: 0,1 %	31743	Nationalities: Hu: 34,1 % Ge: 29,8 % Sl: 0,2 % Ro: 35,1 % Ot: 0,8 %
Illiterate	126		16348	
Educated*	269		2698	
Total	706		50789	

* Schooled for 4 to 8 classes

Table 7.8: Braşov County, 1910. Literacy and illiteracy among women by denomination[787]

[785] Ibid., 104-105.
[786] Ibid., 106-107.
[787] Ibid., 108-109.

	Transylvania	Hungary
% of Transylvanians among students from Hungary at institutions of higher education in Vienna (1890-1918)	17,4	100,0 (=6247)
% of Transylvanians among students from Hungary at institutions of higher education in Germany (1789-1919)	26,0	100,0 (=14548)
% of Transylvanian students at the Universities of Budapest and Cluj (1893)	10,3	100,0 (=7733)

Table 7.9: Percent of Transylvanians among students who pursued higher education in Vienna, Budapest, Cluj, and Germany[788]

[788] Ibid., 13.

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