### REVUE DE TRANSYLVANIE: CREATION. STRUCTURE AND RESEARCH THEMES

SORIN ŞIPOŞ\*

The Founding of the Journal Revue de Transylvanie and of the Centre for Transylvanian Studies

When we write about *Revue de Transylvanie*, we think of the Cluj historian Silviu Dragomir, the founder of the publication, and about the specialists which constituted its editorial board. Silviu Dragomir was born on 1 or 13 March 1888, in the Gurasada commune of Hunedoara County. At the University of Superior Dacia, which opened its gates in the autumn of 1919, Silviu Dragomir was proposed for employment by Sextil Puşcariu, as associate professor for the history of the peoples in southeastern Europe, in the history department of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. The young university professor delivered lectures on the history of Slavic peoples, of Balkan Romanians, as well as the course about the 1848 Revolution, appreciated by students at the university in Cluj until 1947, when he was abusively retired, for political reasons, before reaching the legal retirement age.<sup>3</sup>

Silviu Dragomir showed a constant interest in delivering university lectures on the medieval history of Serbians and Bulgarians, as well as on the Romanians in the north of the Balkans, devoting several specialty studies to them. Besides his historical research, Silviu Dragomir followed the European political revolution, with a particular interest in states that were dissatisfied with the

*Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica* 25, I (2021): 299-317; https://doi.org/10.29302/auash.2021.25.1.15.

<sup>\*</sup> PhD, Professor, Faculty of History, International Relations, Political Science and Communication Sciences, University of Oradea, Romania; e-mail: sorin.sipos@yahoo.com.

¹ According to the extract from *Matricula botezaților* [Baptismal Register] of the Romanian Ecclesiastical Orthodox Commune in Gurasada, fol. 1, Fund *Silviu Dragomir*, Serviciul Județean Hunedoara al Arhivelor Naționale (henceforth abbreviated as SJHAN); Nicolae Stoian, "Date privitoare la formația intelectuală a istoricului Silviu Dragomir" [Data Regarding the Intellectual Formation of the Historian Silviu Dragomir], *AIIACN*XXVIII (1987-1988): 563; Mircea Păcurariu, "O sută de ani de la nașterea istoricului Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962)" [One Hundred Years since the Birth of the Historian Silviu Dragomir (1888 1962)], *MA* XXXIII, no. 2 (1988): 109; Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric* [Silviu Dragomir – Historian], 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2008), 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Fund *Universitatea din Cluj. Facultatea de Litere*, Minutes, no. 186 of 1921/1922, Serviciul Județean Cluj al Arhivelor Naționale (henceforth abbreviated as SJCAN); Fund *Onisifor Ghibu*, file 1, 1919-1929, vol. I, fol. 10, Serviciul Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale Bucharest (henceforth abbreviated as SANIC Bucharest); *Anuarul Universității din Cluj* I (1919-1920) (Cluj, 1921): 32; Stelian Neagoe, *Viața universitară clujeană interbelică* [The Interwar University Life in Cluj], vol. I (Cluj-Napoca, 1980), 111; Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir*, 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Neagoe, *Viața universitară clujeană*, 187-202. See also Fund *Onisifor Ghibu*, file 282, 1919-1929, vol. I, fol. 10, SANIC Bucharest.

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peace treaties concluded after the First World War and which endangered the territorial unity of Romania. Possessing great knowledge of the historical realities, Dragomir embarked on an intense publishing campaign that aimed to prove, from a scientific basis, the groundlessness of the pretentions of revisionist states. To this end, in 1934 in Cluj, he founded *Revue de Transylvanie*, a publication that would host within its pages studies created with remarkable professionalism, with the purpose of propagating within the European scientific and public opinion the results of Romanian historical research. Shortly after its appearance, perhaps because of its title, the journal, attracted the attention of Romanian police organs. The publication was a successful complement to the specialty journals in the country that appeared in an international language.



Fig. 1. Silviu Dragomir, when a student at the University of Chernivtsi, student card, Fund *Silviu Dragomir*, file 4, SJHAN.

The changes that occurred in the architecture of Europe, starting in 1939, also impacted the Romanian state. The loss of Bessarabia, Bucovina, Hertsa region and northwestern Transylvania – and, especially, the irresponsible attitude of the Romanian political figures of the time – created a profound state of discontent in the country. Romanian intellectuals – who had often warned the political authorities, long before that, of the danger posed by the revisionist forces, and who tried to present Romanians' rights over Transylvania and Bucovina to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Stelian Mândruţ, "La 'Revue de Transylvanie' et l'école d'histoire de Cluj (1934-1945)," *Studia hi.* XXXII, no. 1 (1987): 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Fund *Servicul C. Arhiva operativă. Dosar de anchetă a lui Silviu Dragomir*, no. 10 162, p. 44, Arhiva Ministerului Justiției.

European public opinion and the political decisionmakers – were living a true personal drama. An intensification of publication activity by Transylvanian intellectuals was required under these new circumstances, especially since Hungarian propaganda, through the founding in Cluj of the Transylvanian Institute (Institutul Ardelean), continued to claim that Transylvania was a Hungarian province.

The affirmation of the Romanian point of view via wide-ranging works had been debated in a meeting of the University College on 1 July 1942. The rector, Iuliu Hatieganu, had proceeded to draft a work plan for the future and had insisted on the necessity of forming a Transylvanian studies circle. After the rector's enunciation of motives during a subsequent meeting on 6 July, the University College decided, by virtue of article 101 of the Education Act, to found a Centre for Transylvanian Studies, with the purpose of guiding and coordinating the scientific study of Transylvanian problems. 6 The founding of the Centre for Transylvanian Studies in 1942, with Silviu Dragomir as its director, had as its goals the publication of documented works that would demonstrate to the European political forces the injustice of the Second Vienna Award and of the Soviet ultimatum in the summer of 1940. These works would come to the attention of political decisionmakers, thus ensuring Romania would be prepared in the event of the discussion regarding Europe's borders being reopened. For instance, the report presented by Dragomir in a 10 March 1943 meeting of the Centre referred to the discussion held by the four representatives of the institution (I. Hatieganu, S. Dragomir, I. Lupas, G. Sofronie and Mihai Antonescu) about Romanian peace efforts and about the Hungarian competition in the same direction. Silviu Dragomir asked for proposals for the creation of works on the history of Transylvania. The project advanced to achieve this by Silviu Dragomir, which was to be put in concordance with the work directives of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and of the Ministry for National Propaganda, included two courses of action. The first involved undertaking durable and wide-ranging scientific research under 14 themes, starting with the monographic analysis of the vitality of the Romanian people in Transylvania and ending with a complete bibliography of the area.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Stelian Mândruţ and Liviu Ursuţiu, "Repere istoriografice: destinul unei instituţii" [Historiographical Landmarks: The Destiny of an Institution], *Buletinul Centrului de Studii Transilvane*, Supplement (Cluj-Napoca, April 1995): 5. See also the documented study published by Stelian Mîndruţ, "Centrul de studii şi cercetări privitoare la Transilvania. Istoric şi activitate (1942-1948) (I)" [Transylvania Studies and Research Center. History and Activity (1942-1948) (I)], *AIIACN* XXIX (1989): 318-344; Idem, "Centrul de studii şi cercetări privitoare la Transilvania. Istoric şi activitate (1942-1948) (II)" [Transylvania Studies and Research Center. History and Activity (1942-1948) (II)], *AIIACN* XXX (1990-1991): 151-162.



Fig. 2. Professor Silviu Dragomir's refugee identification card, Sibiu, 1942 (from the collection of Florica Enescu).

After this, the plan was to create works of immediate necessity, as dictated by circumstances, under a total of 25 subjects, which were debated and accepted. It is worth noting that numerous articles and studies that appeared in *Revue de Transylvanie*, which had become the publication of the Centre, and the 21 works published in the *Bibliotheca Rerum Transsilvaniae* collection, argued for the importance of the involvement of Romanian specialists from Transylvania in this project. The Centre also financially supported studies undertaken done by the university's specialists. For instance, in 1943, at the request of Constantin Sudețeanu, Director of the Seminar of Sociology and Ethics at the Faculty of Philosophy, Silviu Dragomir approved the sum of 170,000 lei to carry out a monographical study on the village in Transylvania. This was connected to the fact that the university had found itself, until 1944, in a refuge in Sibiu. After 1945, financial and ideological problems appeared that created difficulties in the activity of the Centre's members and collaborators.

After the end of the war, Silviu Dragomir, together with other specialists, committed to editing a comprehensive work that appeared under the aegis of the Centre, namely, a "true" history of Transylvania. The work was intended to offer a fresco of Transylvanian realities for the Romanian delegation at the Peace Conference, in order to make the political forces of the time aware of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Mândruţ and Ursuţiu, "Repere istoriografice," 7.

<sup>8</sup> See Stelian Mândruţ, "Bibliotheca Rerum Transsilvaniae, I-XXI/1943-1946," AIICNXXXIII (1994): 417-443.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Request by Professor Constantin Sudețeanu to Professor Silviu Dragomir, Director of the Centre for Transylvanian Studies, dated 15 June 1943, Fund *Istorici clujeni*, p. 36, *Biblioteca Centrală Universitară Lucian Blaga*.

justification of their claim to rights over Transylvania. Silviu Dragomir was replaced in the position of Director of the Centre for Transylvanian Studies through a decision signed by Minister and Secretary of State Constantin Daicoviciu, his former collaborator, on 26 June 1948.<sup>10</sup>

In this work we aim to determine the context in which the journal appeared, the editorial structure, the authors, the theme of the published studies and the reasons that led to its cessation.

Revue de Transylvanie was edited under the moral and material aegis of ASTRA (Asociatia Transilvană pentru Literatura Română și Cultura Poporului Român) with Silviu Dragomir as its director, and D. D. Rosca as its first editorin-chief, between the years 1934 and 1936.11 After its relocation from Cluj to Sibiu in September 1940, the journal appeared as a publication of the Centre for Transylvanian Studies, in collaboration with ASTRA.<sup>12</sup> Historian Silviu Dragomir remained the director of the journal until 1 July 1934, when he was named minister of minorities. 13 Silviu Dragomir's name appeared on the cover of the publication as its founder, starting from volume 4, issue no. 3-4, dated July-December 1938. In the seventh volume, dated January 1941, Silviu Dragomir's name reappears as director, and this continues until the tenth volume, published in December 1944, when the journal ceased publication.<sup>14</sup> Dragomir gave up directing the journal when he accepted the role of state secretary and minister for minorities in the new government led by Octavian Goga, a role to which he was appointed on 30 December 1937.15 Goga's government, however, did not last long. On the evening of 9 February 1938, the king signed a decree naming a new government presided over by Patriarch Miron Cristea. 16 Dragomir retained his position as state minister for minorities in the new cabinet, as well as in those formed under the authoritarian regime of Charles II of Romania.

The next people to hold the position of editor-in-chief after D. D. Roşca were Ioachim Crăciun, between January 1938 and December 1940, and George

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  Mîndruț, "Centrul de studii și cercetări privitoare la Transilvania (II)," 161; Fund Silviu Dragomir, file 4, SJHAN.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Revue de Transylvanie, vol. I, no. 1 (Cluj, 1934): 139; Mândruţ, "La 'Revue de Transylvanie'," 65; Radu Mârza, Romanian Historians and Propaganda (1914-1946). The Case of Transylvania (Bratislava: AE Press, 2014), 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Mândruţ, "La 'Revue de Transylvanie'," 70; Idem, "Revue de Transylvanie. Bibliografie" [Revue de Transylvanie. Bibliography], Revue de Transylvanie (1991): 195; Mârza, Romanian Historians and Propaganda, 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ioachim Crăciun, "Cinq ans au service de la Transylvanie," *Revue de Transylvanie* V, no. 4 (Cluj, 1939): 491.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Revue de Transylvanie VII-IX, no. 3-4 (Sibiu, s.a.): 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Stelian Neagoe, *Istoria guvernelor României de la începuturi – 1899, până în zilele noastre – 1995* [The History of Romanian Governments from the Beginning – 1899, to the Present Day – 1995] (Bucharest: Machiavelli, 1996), 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ioan Scurtu and Gheorghe Buzatu, *Istoria românilor în secolul XX (1918-1948)* [The History of the Romanians in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (1918-1948)] (Bucharest: Paideia, 1999), 338.

Sofronie, between January 1941 and December 1944.<sup>17</sup> Florica Enescu, a niece of Silviu Dragomir, remembered the agitation and feverishness that would set in the house of professor Dragomir, on 40 Mikó Street, which had become the editorial headquarters, in the months before the publication of every journal number.<sup>18</sup>

The initiators of the publication considered, with good reason, that a journal that set about tackling the history of Transylvania was justified due to the essential role this province had played in the reunification of the Romanian state, the number and diversity of its inhabitants, their many confessions and religions, its geographical situation, and its rich tradition and history. The purpose of the journal was to "eliminate the information gap caused by the absence of a periodic publication appearing in an international language and tackling the problems of Transylvania." <sup>19</sup>

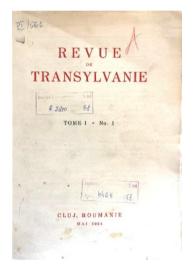




Fig. 3. *Revue de Transylvanie*, Volume I, no. 1, Cluj, May 1943 (cover and table of contents of the journal).

The reasons for publication and the goals of the journal

The initiators of the editorial project intended that the journal should have four issues per year, grouped in one volume. Out of the 10 volumes that appeared,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Crăciun, "Cinq ans," 491; Mândruţ, "Revue de Transylvanie," 196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> In the basement of this house, in 1934, the publication of the journal *Revue de Transylvanie* started; its editing continued after 1940 in Sibiu, until 1943 [1944]. I remember the feverishness around the dates of publication of the journal: collaborators, translators, editors were rushing through Silviu Dragomir's office, breaking the silence and calm that usually reigned in that office. Toader Buculei, *Mărturii și opinii privind destinul istoriografiei românești în epoca totalitarismului comunist* [Testimonies and Opinions on the Destiny of Romanian Historiography in the Era of Communist Totalitarianism] (Brăila: Editura Libertatea, 2000), 89.

<sup>19</sup> Mândruţ, "La 'Revue de Transylvanie'," 65.

only vols I-V and X appeared with all four issues.<sup>20</sup> Publication of the journal involved great financial efforts by the editors and collaborators, and it received financial support from ASTRA Association until the founding of the Centre for Transylvanian Studies in the summer of 1942. The Centre for Transylvanian Studies appeared, along with ASTRA, on the first page of the journal in volumes VII-IX and X as the research institution involved in the journal's publication.<sup>21</sup> The journal's financial problems, sometimes flagged up by Silviu Dragomir,<sup>22</sup> were doubled by the difficulties related to the cession of northwestern Transylvania, the need for the journal to take refuge in Sibiu, and the war years, making the publication of all planned issues impossible for the years 1940-1943.

Below, we explore the reasons that drove the journal's publication and the objectives of the editorial board. The source materials in which these topics are discussed are short texts that appeared in exceptional situations. The programmatic documents were, for the most part, the work of the editorial board of the journal, namely the director and editor-in-chief; however, based on their content and style, they were most likely edited by Silviu Dragomir.

In the Avant Propos (Foreword) of the first issue, the reasons for founding the journal are mentioned, as well as the objectives of the Transylvanian intellectuals who were involved in its publication.

Firstly, Silviu Dragomir, the director of the journal and the author of its editorial manifesto, and D. D. Roşca, the editor-in-chief, aimed for the journal to become a means of informing readers and decisionmakers in Europe.

"La Revue de Transylvanie se propose de renseigner les lecteurs d'Occident sur les divers aspects de la vie d'une province importante de la Roumanie nouvelle : la Transylvanie. Le nom de Transylvanie n'a plus aujourd'hui qu'une valeur historique et géographique : politiquement, la Transylvanie fait maintenant partie intégrante de l'état roumain. Elle est d'ailleurs appelée à y jouer un rôle capital, par le nombre de ses habitants, sa situation géographique et ses caractères propres. [...]

Notre revue sera un instrument d'information objective et précise. Jusqu'à la guerre, la Transylvanie a fait partie d'un État hostile à l'élément le plus nombreux de sa population : les Roumains. En 1918, elle est entrée dans la voie normale de son évolution. Depuis qu'elle est devenue roumaine, elle a réalisé de progrès dépassant les prévisions les plus optimistes."<sup>23</sup>

Besides the general aspects:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Mândruţ, "Revue de Transylvanie," 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Revue de Transylvanie VII-IX, no. 3-4 (Sibiu, s.a.): 1; Revue de Transylvanie X, no. 1-2 (Sibiu, 1944): 1; Revue de Transylvanie X, no. 3-4 (Sibiu, 1945): 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Letter sent to the journal's editorial board, to collaborators and state institutions in Romania, 6 November 1936.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Revue de Transylvanie I, no. 1 (1934): 3; Mândruţ, "Revue de Transylvanie," 65-66; Mârza, Romanian Historians and Propaganda, 70.

"Notre revue donnera à ses lecteurs des renseignements précis sur les problèmes ethniques de Transylvanie, et en particulier sur la question des minorités. Nous étudierons les rapports de ces dernières avec la population roumaine ; nous espérons montrer comment cette question peut et doit être logiquement résolue dans les cadres de la Roumanie nouvelle. Nous serons ainsi amenés à aborder des problèmes politiques intéressant toute l'Europe centrale.

Le Traité de Trianon n'a pas cessé d'être attaqué par ceux qu'il a mécontentés. Le cheval de bataille de ses ennemis est précisément la question des minorités, qu'ils ne cessent depuis dix ans d'agiter devant l'opinion européenne. Bien entendu, ils la présentent à leur manière, en déformant les données du problème."<sup>24</sup>

The editors wished the journal to become "a means of informing readers in the West about Transylvania through various aspects of the life of an important province of Romania, from the year 1918."<sup>25</sup> In other words, the publication was addressed to foreigners, to readers in Western Europe who were to be informed, through the studies published by specialists, about the realities in Transylvania following its democratically chosen integration into the Kingdom of Romania. The authors of the manifesto were at pains to point out that up to that moment there was no other French-language journal devoted to studies and research on the topic of Transylvania.<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, in line with the strong tradition of Transylvanian historiography, the editorial board presented the historical evolution of Transylvania. The editors, most likely Silviu Dragomir, briefly mentioned the changes and main events that led to the union of Transylvania with Romania. The union in 1918 is treated as a historical reality, an inevitable process. All it needed was a favorable context. Moreover, according to the authors, in the new political reality that had emerged, Transylvania made progress that exceeded even the most optimistic predictions. It is precisely for these reasons that intellectuals had become involved in making the new political reality last. The union of Transylvania with Romania represented for Romanian intellectuals a moment of great political and national significance in their country's history.

Silviu Dragomir brought to the attention of his contemporaries the status of the Romanians in Transylvania who found themselves under different leadership. From the present reality, the historian appeals to the past, to historical memory. It is necessary to revisit some of the argumentative strategies of that time whose purpose was to show the legitimacy of the union of 1918 and identify the essential stages that the Romanian nation went through on its way to unity. The union of 1918 was, in the eyes of Silviu Dragomir, a quintessential expression of the national movement and held a symbolical value for the people of that time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Revue de Transylvanie I, no. 1 (1934): 4; Mârza, Romanian Historians and Propaganda, 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> "Avant-Propos," Revue de Transylvanie I, no. 1 (1934): 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ibid.

Consequently, remembering the stages that led towards the realization of the union holds a symbolical value for recent history. However, at the same time, the union had to be defended in argument against those forces that questioned the new realities in Transylvania. Silviu Dragomir therefore expounds, in the first part of the editorial manifesto, upon the reasons that drove the creation of the publication and the role that intellectuals must play in the new political reality. According to him, "The name of Transylvania today does not only have a historical and geographical value. Politically, Transylvania forms an integral part of the Romanian state. It has always been called upon to play a decisive role through the number of inhabitants, its geographic position and its special characteristics." In other words, the past is important because it represents the foundations on which Romanian historians and political figures have built their national discourse; however, the realities after 1918 are more important for the destiny of Transylvania. Maintenance of the political realities after 1918 would be largely dependent on the way in which the integration of Transylvania was carried out and in which Romania would develop.

It was for this reason exactly that the founders aimed for the journal to "be an objective and precise instrument of information" about the realities in Transylvania after the union for scholars and the public in the West. In this new political context, following the union in 1918, the journal's founders explain the reasons for which it was created, namely, to offer readers precise information on ethnic issues in Transylvania and, particularly, on the region's minorities, to investigate their relationship with the Romanian population, and attempt to solve any related problems within Romania. The status and protection of minorities in the newly emerged states following the disintegration of the great empires after the First World War represented a major problem for the Great Powers and for the international institutions of the era. The idea was that minorities groups that had become integrated into the Romanian state – especially the ethnic Hungarian minority, which was the most populous – should be able to retain their identities and languages. On the other hand, some states that were dissatisfied with the post-WWI peace treaties condemned – sometimes without offering any argument to support their stance – the policy of integration and denationalization of minorities in the new nation states. In addition to ethnic issues, the initiators of this scientific endeavor aimed to tackle interesting political problems from across Central Europe, especially those which had an explicit link to Transylvania. All of their objectives related directly to the ever-more aggressive propaganda of the states that had been defeated in the First World War.

The initiators of the journal note a common fact present in the era, namely that "the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon did not cease to be attacked by those discontent with them. The workhorse of the treaty's enemies was the problem of minorities, which did not cease to be a source of agitation even ten years later in European public opinion. They of course present it in their own

way and distort the facts of the problem."<sup>27</sup> In this context, *Revue de Transylvanie* took upon itself to defend the treaties against the ever-stronger and ceaseless attacks coming from the states that had been defeated in the First World War.<sup>28</sup>

Without a doubt, the multiplication of attacks coming from Hungary, but also from Germany and Italy, towards the system of peace instituted after the First World War made Dragomir, together with other professors from the University Charles II, determined to look for solutions that could scientifically counteract this propaganda. The main attacks were on Transylvania, and in this case the problems associated with the rights of minorities were the spearhead. Consequently, studies published in *Revue de Transylvanie* were to include those that investigated the degree of rapport between minority groups and the majority population, as well as the rights of minorities in the new political reality. This theme would be added to by the publication of investigations into Transylvania's international relations within Central Europe, which was also an important aspect in the future of a reunited Romania.

From the perspective of their objectives, the initiators focused their attention of the situation in Transylvania from 1918 onwards. The studies the journal would publish were to concentrate on the problematic of the minorities in Transylvania, especially the Hungarian minority, as well as on the social and economic development of the province, on the integration of Transylvania into the Kingdom of Romania and on analysis of international relations. Without a doubt, the journal was answering to some immediate needs and necessities within the complex realities of interwar Romania. The investigation of the past was important, but such research was subordinate to the demands of the era, namely the investigation of ethnic, confessional, economic and cultural realities of the time that needed to be made known across Europe.

Another work that can help us understand the objectives of the journal's initiators is the one published, most likely by Silviu Dragomir, in the fourth volume of the journal, issue no. 1-2, 1938. The introductory note offers information on the content of the two issues, as well as data about the thematic profile of the journal in the four years since it first appeared.<sup>29</sup> The introduction's author was evoking, once again, the effort that the editorial office, the authors and ASTRA were making to publish the journal.

It is also clearly stated that the journal is addressed to the cultivated public in the West, and that it aims to present the problems that affect Transylvania. It goes on to note that in the four years since the journal was first published, it has highlighted and explained many interesting aspects of the historical evolution of this province, especially after its integration with

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> "Le quatrième tome de notre revue," in *Revue de Transylvanie* IV, no. 1-2 (Cluj, 1938): 109.

Romania.<sup>30</sup> Dragomir considered the aggressive propaganda promoted by Budapest – with the aim of altering perceptions of the old Hungarian domination in Transylvania and presenting the current political realities as a regression – to be very well orchestrated and manipulated. Consequently, the introduction's author states that the editors do not take into account allegations that are not in accordance with reality and believe that they should present the facts exactly as they are or were recounted. For every issue of *Revue de Transylvanie*, the editorial team sent 1,200 copies abroad, free of charge.<sup>31</sup>

The subsequent publication of *Revue de Transylvanie* journal was uncertain due to a lack of financial resources. Beyond these beautiful words there are some aspects that Silviu Dragomir wanted to transmit to his contemporaries. The text is very informative about the state of mind of the director and his colleagues, but also regarding the disinterest from a part of Romanian society with regard to national problems:

In the four years since its creation, only 4 firms, 8 institutions and one public library in Romania bought the journal.<sup>32</sup> To no avail have we addressed the great Romanian enterprises that have secured immense revenues after the drawing of the new borders here and just like this; in vain have we solicited the help of our great wealthy men, beneficiaries of the circumstances created by the border won with blood.<sup>33</sup>

For the editorial project to continue its service in protecting the rights that the peace treaties brought to Transylvanian society, Dragomir appealed to the large circles of modest and patriotic intellectuals, asking them to help by subscribing to the journal.<sup>34</sup>

In 1939, five years after the publication of the first issue of the journal, Ioachim Crăciun, Secretary of the editorial board, published an anniversary note presenting two fundamental ideas for understanding the philosophy of the publication *Revue de Transylvanie*.<sup>35</sup> In contrast with the introductory article of the first issue, this one articulated more clearly that the journal was addressed to the cultivated public of the West, to present the problems that affect Transylvania.<sup>36</sup> Likewise, the editorial board aimed to highlight and explain the most interesting things in Transylvania's history, especially the continuity and demographic majority of Romanians in this province. It is for this reason that the Romanian-Hungarian disagreements of the past, with echoes in the present, were the theme of numerous articles in the issues published up to that point. According

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Circular sent by the editorial board of the journal *Revue de Transylvanie* to their collaborators and readers, November 1936.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Crăciun, "Cinq ans," 490-495.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 491.

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to Crăciun, "the letters received show us that we are on the right path and we will continue this policy of clarifying to the public opinion with scientific material the realities of the former and current Transylvania."<sup>37</sup>

In 1943 – a difficult moment for the country – in volumes VII-IX, Silviu Dragomir published an "Avant-Propose" explaining the context of the journal's relocation to Sibiu, and highlighting the fact that its editing was carried out with the support of the Centre for Studies and Research."<sup>38</sup> The journal followed the same themes and projects, mentioned in the programmatic documents analysed above, to which we now also add the efforts made to publish articles with the aim of recovering northwestern Transylvania.<sup>39</sup>

## The structure of the journal

The journal's structure remained the same throughout its period of publication, namely. It would have one section containing four to six specialty studies on history, demography, art, linguistics, international relations, historical geography, law. This section, the most important of the journal, was complemented by a section entitled Notes, where short articles about Transylvania appeared. It remained the same, only the numbers are a bit changed. The journal also contained a section presenting reviews of works tackling the problems of Transylvania and one offering obituaries paying homage to important intellectuals and political figures.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> "Mais, en dépit du voeu le plus cher de ses collaborateurs dévoués, son activité fut interrompue a l'automne de 1940, lorsque le rythme précipité des événements internationaux imposa au développement naturel de cette terre roumaine par excellence, une rupture qui retentit douloureusement dans le coeur de tous les Roumains. Depuis lors, des problemes d'une importance primordiale pour le sort de la Transylvanie roumaine n'ont cessé de se poser. Ils n'intéressent d'ailleurs pas seulement les destinées nationales, mais encore la vérité scientifique. Aussi les fondateurs et les anciens collaborateurs de la Revue ont-ils estimé que sa réapparition constituait une impérieuse nécessité. Elle reparaît donc, cette fois comme un organe du *Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches relatives à la Transylvanie* qui fonctionne auprès de l'Université de Cluj, a laquelle Sibiu offre un refuge temporaire." "Avant-Propos," in *Revue de Transylvanie* VII-IX, no. 3-4 (Sibiu, s.a.): 3.

<sup>39 &</sup>quot;En sa nouvelle qualité d'organe scientifique du *Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches relatives à la Transylvaniè*, la *Revue de Transylvanie* espère remplir mieux que jamais la mission qu'elle a toujours assumée en publiant les résultats des recherches scientifiques entreprises dans le cadre de ce nouvel organisme de l'Université de la Dacie supérieure, pour les porter à la connaissance des cercles occidentaux qu'intéressent les réalités de cette partie du Continent européen. Reprenant son activité et une heure où le déroulement des hostilités atteint des proportions inconnues jusqu'à ce jour et rejette dans l'ombre la justice et le droit des nations, la *Revue de Transylvanie* espere que sa contribution scientifique aidera et trouver la solution définitive vers laquelle tendent les aspirations légitimes de la population la plus ancienne et la plus nombreuse de Transylvanie: la population roumaine. C'est dans cette conviction que la *Revue de Transylvanie* reprend le cours de son apparition, résolue en servir par-dessus tout la cause de la vérité et de la justice." Ibid., 4.

In the first issue, works by historians thematically dominated, with the following works: Silviu Dragomir, *Les deux attitudes du comte Bethlen*; Ioan Lupaș, *La chute de la monarchie austro-hongroise*; Onisifor Ghibu, *Un livre secret du Gouvernement hongrois*; and Nicolae Drăganu, *Quelques remarques historiques*. There were also demographic studies, such as Sabin Manuilă, *Les problèmes démographiques en Transylvanie* and art histories, such as Coriolan Petranu, *L'histoire de l'art hongrois au service du révisionnisme*.

In the next issue, the articles were more diverse in terms of theme. We mention here: Sextil Puṣcariu, *Le parler de Transylvanie*; A. Caliani, *L'ensignement minoritaire en Transylvanie*; George Sofronie, *La lettre Millerand 6 Mai 1920 et la valabilité juridique des clauses teritoriales du Traité de Traianon*; and Zenovie Pâcliṣanu, *Statistique des Roumains de Transylvanie au XVIII-e siècle*. In the third issue, from 1934, we have the following contributions: Ion Breazu, *Un éloge roumain de la France*; Vasile Moldovan, *Le nouveau régime des cultes en Roumanie et les minorités confessionnelles*, A. Caliani, *L'enseignement minoritaire en Transylvanie (II)*; Victor Jinga, *La Transylvanie économique et la thèse révisionniste hongroise*; and Silviu Dragomir, *La Hongrie et le problème de la Transylvanie*. For the year 1934, the thematic structure of the published works was as follows: out of 14 published studies, six were on history, two on historical demography, two on education history, one on international law study, one on language history, one on economic history, one on art history and one on the history of the Church.

The articles, for the most part, tackled themes from recent history, reflecting the fact that the journal aimed at offering answers to some acute problems in Romanian society.

Below, we analyze the structure of the journal based on the authors and on the themes investigated, to see whether there is any correlation between the studies published and the editorial plan that the editors adopted. What is more, we are interested in identifying whether internal and international political events influenced the editorial policy of the journal.

In the years 1934-1944, 118 studies were published in *Revue de Transylvanie*. Many of the most prolific authors of full-length studies were professors and researchers at the University of Cluj who already had established reputations for professionalism and honesty before they started their collaboration with *Revue de Transylvanie*. In the other sections of the journal 93 notes, 102 reviews, 10 chronicles and 13 obituaries were published in the period under consideration.

Authors	Number of studies
Petru Bănescu	2
Ion Berciu	1

Hilda Beşa 1 Octavian Beu 1 Olimpiu Boitoş 2 Dimitrie Braharu 1 Salvator A. Brădeanu 1 Ion Breazu 1 Augustin Caliani 3 Theodor Capidan 1 Romulus Cândea 1 Ion Chinezu 2 Nicolae Corivan 1 Ioachim Crăciun 4 Constantin Daicoviciu 1 Leon Daniello 1 Aurel Decei 2 Alexandru Doboşi 1 Silviu Dragomir 9 Nicolae Drăganu 1 Tudor Drăganu 1 Onisifor Ghibu 1 Aurel Gociman 1 Victor Iancu 1 Aurelian I. Ionașcu 2 Victor Jinga 2 Ioan Lupaș 4 Ștefan Manciulea 2 Sabin Manuilă 2 Simion C. Mândrescu 1 Radu Meitani 1 Vasile Meruțiu 1 Ioan Moga 2 Valer Moldovan 1 Virgil Nistor 1 Alexandru Olteanu 3 George Oprescu 1 Ștefan Pascu 1 Zenovie Pâclișanu 1 Iulian M. Peter 1 Coriolan Petranu 6 Petre Petrinca 1 Emil Petrovici 1 Valeriu Pop 1 Gheorghe Popovici 1	,		
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Gheorghe Popovici 1	-	1	
	Gheorghe Popovici	1	

Revue de Transylvanie. Creation, Structure and Research Themes

Petru Poruțiu	2	
Sextil Pușcariu	2	
Valeriu Pușcariu	1	
Andrei Rădulescu	1	
Petru Râmneanțu	1	
Valer Roman	1	
Iacob Rusu	2	
Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu	1	
Nicolae Săulescu	1	
Petre Sergescu	2	
George Sofronie	7	
Laurian Someşan	6	
Horia Teculescu	1	
Gheorghe Tulbure	1	
Romulus Vuia	1	

Data source: Revue de Transylvanie, 1934-1944.

Authors	Number of
	reviews
Caius Bardoși	1
Nicolae Bănescu	1
Olimpiu Boitoș	6
Ion Breazu	2
Mihail Ciocâlteu	1
D. Ciurea	1
Ioachim Crăciun	15
Mihail P. Dan	5
Aurel Decei	5
Alexandru Doboși	3
Silviu Dragomir	5
Nicolae Drăganu	2
Tudor Drăganu	1
Alexandru Filipașcu	4
Hortensia Georgescu	1
Ion Gherghel	1
Dorin Iosof	1
Henri Jacquier	1
Caius Jiga	1
Ioan Lupaş	1
Semproniu Lupaș	2

loan Moga	8
Tiberiu Morariu	2
Ioan Muşlea	1
Sabin Opreanu	2
Andrei Oțetea	1
Ștefan Pascu	3
Aurel Păcurariu	1
Zenovie Pâclișanu	1
Coriolan Petranu	3
Gherasim Pintea	1
Ion I. Podea	1
Gheorghe Popa	1
Valeriu Pușcariu	1
N. Al. Rădulescu	1
T. Rusu	1
Laurian Someșan	5
I. Vaida-Voevod	1
Virgil Vătășianu	1
Gheorghe Vinulescu	5
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Data source: Revue de Transylvanie, 1934-1944.

Authors	Number of notes
	and chronicles
Alfa [pseudonym]	1
Ernest Armeanca	1
Caius Bardoși	3
Olimpiu Boitoș	3
Valeriu Lucian Bologa	1
Alexandru Borza	1
Dimitrie Braharu	1
Ion Breazu	1
George Călugăreanu	1
Mihail Ciocâlteu	1
George Ciulei	1
Corneliu I. Codarcea	4
Ioachim Crăciun	3
Titus A. Crișan	1
Mihail P. Dan	1
Aurel Decei	1

Revue de Transylvanie. Creation, Structure and Research Themes

Victor Dima	2
Silviu Dragomir	8
Romulus Ioan Fodor	1
D. G.	1
Hortensia Georgescu	1
Ion Gherghel	1
Aurel Gociman	2
Paul Henry	1
Ioan Lupaş	3
Dimitrie Macrea	1
Ion Mateiu	1
Ioan Moga	3
Camil Negrea	1
Al. Nemeș	1
Traian Nichiciu	2
Virgil Nistor	1
Ilie Olteanu	1
P. P. Panaitescu	1
Ştefan Pascu	6
Aurel Păcurariu	1
Coriolan Petranu	3
Petre Petrinca	3
Sever Pop	1
Grigore Popa	2
D. D. Roșca	2
George Sofronie	3
Laurian Someşan	2
Edouard Soulier	1
Avram P. Todor	1
Ioan Vască	1
Petru Vlad	1
Unsigned notes	10
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Data source: Revue de Transylvanie, 1934-1944.

Authors	Number of
	obituaries
Nicolae Bănescu	1
Olimpiu Boitoș	1

### SORIN SIPOS

Ion Breazu	1
Ioachim Crăciun	3
Alexandru Dragomir	1
Silviu Dragomir	1
Ioan Lupaș	3
Sextil Pușcariu	1
George Sofronie	1

Data source: Revue de Transylvanie, 1934-1944.

A total of sixty-four authors, a significant proportion of whom were historians, published specialty studies in the journal. One way to classify the articles published in *Revue de Transylvanie* is the timeframe or era investigated. For example, 63 studies tackle issues in recent history, 32 are focused on the modern era, 11 on the Middle Ages, and 2 on Antiquity. Regarding the topic investigated, 91 studies deal with issues related to Transylvania, ethnic minorities and the relations between minorities and majorities. This demonstrates how the authors fulfilled the editorial board's desire to investigate the ethnic realities in Transylvania and the status of minorities in the province. Silviu Dragomir is probably the most eloquent case among the authors who extended their investigations towards recent history. He had, of course, several antecedents in researching the ethnic structure of Transylvania and Banat in the Middle Ages and the modern era, but it is clear that the creation of the journal encouraged him to deepen and develop his research in this area.

### Conclusions

Revue de Transylvanie appeared as a reaction to the Hungarian propaganda promoting the idea that Transylvania, after becoming a Romanian province, was regressing. The journal was not founded immediately after 1918, to express the Romanian point of view of the political-administrative realities but was rather a reaction to the Hungarian propaganda that followed.

The publication was founded in 1934, when it was obvious that the black clouds that had gathered over Europe were threatening the new international order. It was established under the initiative of several Transylvanian intellectuals and with the financial support of ASTRA. The Romanian state became financially involved much later, after the Second Vienna Award, through the Centre for Transylvanian Studies.

The journal achieved some of the goals for which it had been created – namely, informing scientists and decision-makers in the Western world – first of all due to the professionalism of the collaborators and of the 1,200 copies that were distributed for free. Moreover, *Revue de Transylvanie* published studies on social history, political history, history of culture, ethnography which all tackled the realities of Transylvania.

More than 60 authors published scholarly articles in the journal, but there were far more collaborators if we take into account those who contributed to the other sections. However, only a limited number of intellectuals and professors were permanent collaborators of the publication, and they proved to be the heart and soul of the journal. Those who published the most numerous studies were: Silviu Dragomir -9 studies, George Sofronie -8 studies, Laurian Someşan -6 studies, Coriolan Petranu -5 studies, Ioachim Crăciun, 5 and Ioan Lupaş, 4.

Revue de Transylvanie also proved to be a workshop for the formation of younger specialists who made their apprenticeship especially in the sections Notes and Reviews. Of these young historians, we mention: Ioachim Crăciun, Aurel Decei, Ioan Moga, Andrei Oțetea, P. P. Panaitescu, Ștefan Pascu, Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, David Prodan and Virgil Vătășianu.

Most of the collaborators with *Revue de Transylvanie* became voluntarily involved in the activity of publishing studies, articles and reviews. The university professors and researchers of the various institutions believed in a reunited Romania and in the truth of the Romanian cause. It has been proven, over time, that it was not sufficient for Romanians to have historical truth on their side. The evolution of international politics showed that not all political decisions taken by the great powers were based on historical truth.

The journal contained high-quality studies and proved itself an interdisciplinary journal thanks to its diverse thematic range, which included recent history, the issue of minorities, international law, demography, tourism, art, history of language and historical geography. A number of disputes and polemics — especially those which engaged with Hungarian historians and politicians — were presented in the Notes and Reviews sections. Unfortunately, the political figures in Romania used the information and articles published in the journal only to a minor extent.

The editorial team set goals for themselves, such as the defense of borders and treaties, that were impossible to achieve. Indeed, such things were not achieved even by the country's politicians.

For some collaborators, the journal was a true launchpad for occupying some important political dignities.