Cover: Maria Vladimirovna Ender (1897-1942), *Attempt at a New Spatial Dimension*, 1920, painting (detail), Russian State Museum, St. Petersburg.
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Transylvania between Two National Historiographies. Historical Consciousness and Political Identity

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Abstract

This chapter offers an analysis of the role played by historiography in the construction of identity in Transylvania, with particular reference to rival Romanian and Hungarian discourses. The chapter begins with a treatment of the medieval and early modern background – the foundations upon which later historical consciousness was built. It then focuses on the changing historiographical agenda from the 1790s to the 1980s. From the late 18th century, the formation of civic consciousness was encouraged by concentration on the "patriotic" aspects of the province's history. In the 19th and early 20th centuries debates raged between Hungarian and Romanians on questions of settlement and ethnicity in medieval Transylvania. In the early communist period, the patriotic perspective gave way to one which emphasised proletarian solidarity: the paradigm of the "national struggle" was dismissed as a defining element of bourgeois historiography. Finally, during the era of communist nationalism, the national perspective once again came to the fore as a function of the increasingly chauvinist Ceauşescu regime.

Lucrarea îşi propune să analizeze în durata lungă, de la finele veacului al XVIII-lea şi până către sfârşitul secolului al XX-lea, rolul pe care istoriografia l-a avut în formarea şi difuzarea conştiinţei istorice ca element fundamental în construirea identităţii Transilvaniei. Importanţa acestei chestiuni se regăseşte în disputele politice îndelungate dintre români şi maghiari pentru adjudecarea provinciei ca o parte integrantă a "patriei", fie ea Ungaria sau România. Fără a interveni în polemica propriu-zisă, vom sublinia modalitatea în care discursul politic din ambele părţi, română sau maghiară, a integrat şi refasonat dreptul istoric ca argument pentru susţinerea dezideratelor politice, teme ale identităţii provinciei.

În acest sens, sunt evidenţiate motivele istorice medievale şi moderne timpurii pe baza cărora s-a afirmat conştiinţa istorică şi s-a dezvoltat polemica dintre cele două istoriografi la sfârşitul secolului al XVIII-lea, în epoca dualismului (când polemica s-a acutizat şi s-a

trecut la formarea civică prin impunerea unor teme ale istoriei patriotice), în perioada internaționalismului proletar (când solidaritatea de clasă a recuzat din motive ideologice lupta națională considerată un derivat la istoriografiei burgheze) și în anii naționalismului comunist (când temele istorice au fost lansate ca un surogat pentru a abate atenția populației de la criza economică și socială a regimurilor comuniste).

În urma acestui excurs s-a observat cum temele istorice au fost filtrate prin varii ideologii (naționalism, comunism) care pe de o parte au accentuat polarizarea conștiinței istorice a comunităților din Transilvania, această provincie căpătând identități marcate de amprentele etnice și confesionale; pe de altă parte, elementele de solidaritate și de definire unitară proveneau din dorința construirii unei națiuni politice, fie transilvăneană (cum propunea Iosif II în secolul al XVIII-lea), fie națiunea politică maghiară sau cea românească, ori înlocuirea acestora cu națiunea socialistă.

Introduction

Transylvania/Ardeal[1] is a region in Romania located between the eastern, southern and western Carpathian Mountains. It united with the Romanian Kingdom after a plebiscite of 1 December 1918 in Alba-Iulia. Throughout its history, this territory – or the area as it is generally understood today – belonged to different political entities and, from a geographical point of view, encompassed various frontiers. For much of modern history Transylvania has been the subject of dispute between competing Romanian and Hungarian historiographies. This rivalry was influenced not only by the volatile political landscape that shaped the history of the province, but also by ethnic, confessional and cultural differences. As a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional area, ostensibly Transylvania offered a seductive picture of tolerance; but it was also home to rigid and inflexible positions.

Historiography, as an ideologically- and culturally-conditioned discourse, adopts the social requirements of the group that produces it. Therefore, there is not one history of Transylvania, but rather several histories, concerned with the province's Romanian, Hungarian, and Saxon inhabitants. Without wishing to undermine the historiography of the Saxons in Transylvania, we will focus here on the other two traditions. We will exploit the abundant source material which shed light on three distinct eras: the 18th century, the late 19th century, and the second half of the 20th century during the Romanian and Hungarian communist regimes.

Medieval and Early Modern Transylvanian Identity

Transylvania's distinctiveness within medieval Hungary was due to its peripheral geographic position. A major source for this period – the Hungarian chronicles written in Latin – characterised the region as a province with a distinctive geography and with political, administrative and ecclesiastical autonomy. These chronicles established a frame-
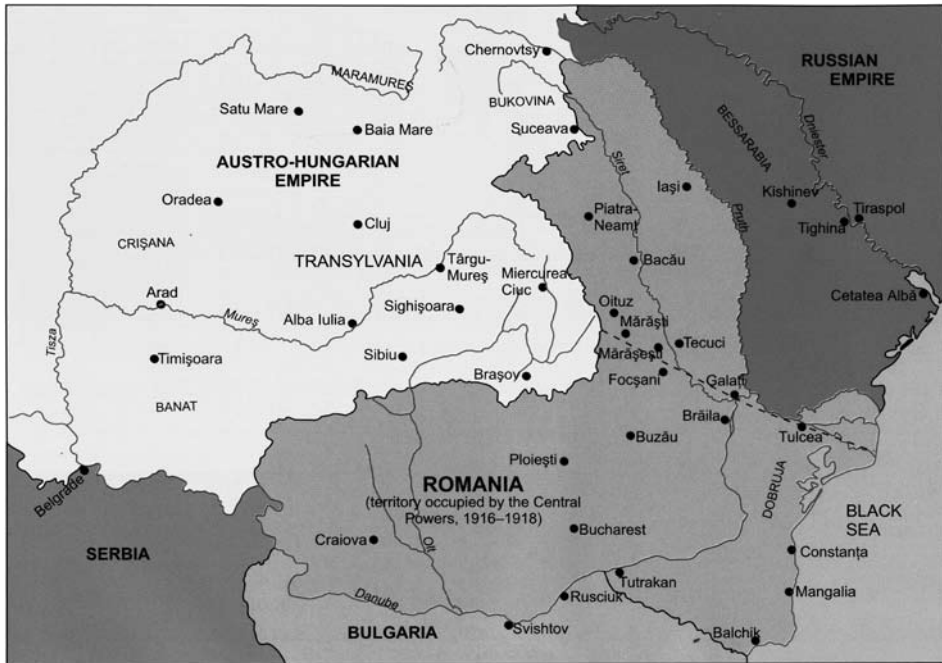
Map 12
Romania during World War I.
From: I. A. Pop, I. Bolovan (eds.), *History of Romania*, Cluj-Napoca 2006.

work of identity that has been (and sometimes still is) the subject of vigorous debate by Romanian and Hungarian historiographies from the 18th century to the present.

The chronicles of the 12th and 13th centuries reflected the Hungarian domination of the region. The concept of Transylvania contained in these sources derived – as in other parts of medieval Europe – from the perspective of alterity: it was a space "beyond", or "the other side", of the great forest. The term "Transylvania" is a Latinised equivalent of the Romanian *Ardeal*, itself a derivative of the Hungarian expression *Erde-elw* (later, *Erdély*). Transylvania/Ardeal was a political and administrative entity. Under the rule of Hungarian kings, it expanded in size until the second half of the 13th century. Its political and administrative identity was consolidated by the creation of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic see of Alba-Iulia and, at the same time, by the transferral of royal authority to the heir apparent to the Hungarian throne.

From the 13th century Transylvanian identity became more independent of Hungary. Pressure from royal authority, the Ottoman threat, social turmoil and peasant revolts all contributed to an awareness of provincial distinctiveness. The voivodeship had a separate administrative apparatus – the Estates General, which included the nobility, the Saxons and the Szeklers. After the Căpâlna Convention (1437) and the rebellion

against King Matthias Corvinus of 1467, this institution gained greater autonomy. By the end of the medieval period, the consolidation of the province's legal and administrative integrity was acknowledged by the identification of Transylvania as a *regnum* in the jurist István Werbőczy's celebrated legal tract *Tripartitum* (1517)[2].

The same century saw the emergence of the "Hungarian question" – the confrontation between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans for control over the former medieval Hungarian kingdom. This dispute also helped to enhance the political status of Transylvania. It became a suzerain state of the Ottoman Empire, but enjoyed extensive autonomy. The disappearance of the medieval kingdom, the emergence of a Hungary under Habsburg domination and "the other Hungary" – Transylvania under the suzerainty of the Ottomans – had equally important ramifications for religion and culture in the region. Political and confessional separation prompted the historians of culture and of Hungarian literature to refer to this period as *Kettészakadás* (the two directions)[3]. From the 16th century, the political autonomy of Transylvania was embedded in a constitutional system, based upon the above-mentioned three political "nations" and on the *receptae religiones* (accepted religions) of Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism and Unitarianism. Romanians and the Orthodox Church were tolerated and accepted "for the public good". Upon this structure, the features of an extremely durable and robust Transylvanian identity emerged.

History and Politics

The integration of Transylvania into the Habsburg Empire at the end of the 17th century, and the reforms imposed by successive emperors, from Charles VI to Joseph II, was intended to undermine a Transylvanian identity based on historic privileges. There were also attempts at generating a new type of provincial subject: a citizen of Transylvania, without reference to traditional privileged groups and accepted religions. In this framework, the Romanians became faithful allies of the Habsburgs: they had more to gain from Vienna's state-building initiatives than the conservative elites of the province. A new status was granted to the Greek Catholic clergy through the religious reforms of the early 18th century. In addition, the new attitude towards the Orthodox Church (from 1759) and the acceptance of equal rights with the Saxons in the *Fundus Regius* (the Saxon territory), were major aspects of a political programme specific to Transylvanian Romanians.

The most important political document for the national emancipation of Transylvanian Romanians was the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* (1791)[4] – a statement of the nation's history and future expectations. The work stressed the antiquity of Romanian settlement in the province: "The Romanian nation of Transylvania is not nomadic, but ancient, far more ancient than all the others". As an antithesis of the contemporary humble status of the Romanian people, its authors claimed ancient Roman heritage as the patrimony of modern Romanians. Against the background of enlightened absolutism and *Toleranzpolitik*, Romanians appealed to the emperor to restore the nation's
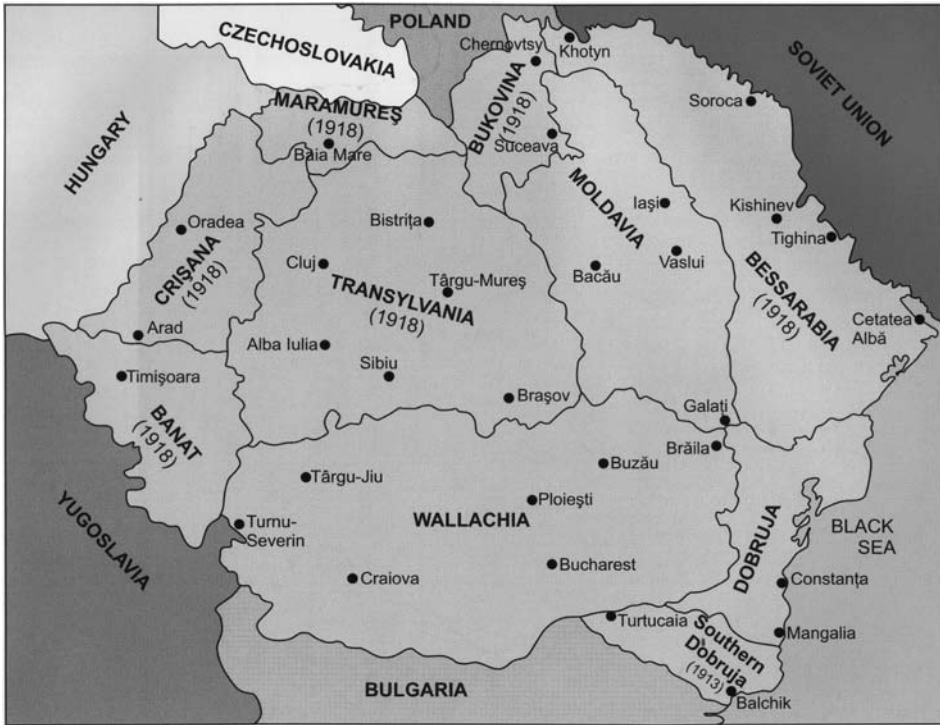
Map 13
Interwar Romania.
From: I. A. Pop, I. Bolovan (eds.) *History of Romania*, Cluj-Napoca 2006.

historic status and privileges. The *Supplex* showed how Romanians had had a higher status within the medieval Hungarian kingdom, and had not been excluded from the political life of the country. The authors cited the 1437 charter of the Cluj-Mănăştur Convent, and discussed medieval Romanians who had risen to the highest dignities, such as Iancu of Hunedoara, Matthias Corvinus, Ioan Getzi, Stefan Josika and Nicolaus Olahus, as evidence for this. According to the *Supplex* it was only in the 17th century that the Romanian "nation" lost its rights, through the acceptance of the judicial codes *Approbatae* and *Compilatae Constitutiones*. This legislation, as far as the Romanians were concerned, was invalid – a set of interpretations and additions by various authors using deceitful and injurious formulas. However, as a result of their promulgation, the practice of referring to the Romanian nation as "nomadic", "admitted", and "tolerated" in the country for the public good became a commonplace. All this amounted to, so the authors of the *Supplex* argued, a total denial of Romanians' "civic and political rights", in spite of the recognition of their rights by the enlightened emperors such as Leopold I, Maria Theresa and especially Joseph II.

Thus the *Supplex* had, as its primary focus, the historical rights of Transylvanian Romanians. It did not go unopposed. Professor I.C. Eder, from Sibiu, was the first to attack the *Supplex*, publishing fifty-nine critical notes designed to dismantle its historical argumentation. Eder claimed that Romanians were not native to Transylvania, because the Roman colonists who came during Trajan's time were later evacuated south of the Danube. Later on, they returned to Wallachia (*Țara Românească)* and Transylvania, but not until the 13th century. Eder used historical sources to rebut the Romanians' claims, including the charter of 1224 granted by Andrew II to the Saxons, and the *Unio trium fraternum* constitutional settlement of 1437 (which extended only to the nobles, Szeklers and Saxons)[5]. More criticism came from the professor of world history at the Piarist College in Cluj and provincial of the Piarist order in Hungary, Martin Bolla. He presented a similar thesis of Romanian migration, claiming that the origins of the Romanians lay in Bulgaria.

As Romanians and Hungarians became more polarised in their interpretations of Romanian constitutional status, the historical debate became more polemical[6]. In turn, this made historical consciousness more defined and an increasingly important factor in contemporary attempts to establish identity in Transylvania.

History and Civic Education

In the later 19th century the discourse surrounding the identity of Romanians in Transylvania continued to be dominated by arguments about Roman origins, the continuity of the Romanian presence in Transylvania and by their constitutional relations with Hungarians and with the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Transylvanian Romanians claimed equality with the other political "nations" in Transylvania (Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers). In contrast to the liberalism of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the politics of the Budapest administration was identified with an aggressive policy of de-nationalization and Magyarization. The problem of multiple ethnic groups in the province stimulated a process by which Hungarians attempted to create "a political nation as a Hungarian nation". The idea was to incorporate a wide ethnic and linguistic spectrum, including Romanians, Slavs and Germans into a greater "Hungarian" community. In 1850 Jozsef Eötvös[7] defined the nation as not only possessing "a unity of language and origin", but also being a "by-product of history" which creates greater political entities. According to Joachim von Puttkamer[8], an authority on the relationship between education and politics in the dual monarchy, this idea can be traced in all Hungarian textbooks. "Every inhabitant of our country is a member of the Hungarian nation; but from the point of view of origin, language and religion, all are different from each other", so asserted a history textbook by Lajos Mangold[9], later translated into Romanian. In the works of civil law by János Környei and Miksa Mayer one can find the same idea: "the Hungarians have been living for more than 1000 years in this homeland, but not only the Hungarians, but

the Saxons, the Slovaks, the Serbs, the Romanians, the Ruthenians, and the Croats, too. These are called nationalities [*nemzetisegek*] and, together with the Hungarians, comprise a united community, a united nation [*nemzet*]".

Conversely, Romanian history and civic education textbooks tended to reinforce distinctions between peoples and states[10]. In 1888, Ion Dariu wrote in his textbook: "in our country live many peoples or nations"[11]. Some years later, Vasile Goldiş, in a textbook about the homeland's constitution, remarked that "the state we live in is called Hungary, but the people to whom we belong, are called the Romanian people"[12].

In the context of using official history as an instrument for creating a historical consciousness, a new discipline called the "history of the homeland" or the "history of Hungary", emerged[13]. It had an integrationist formula which aimed at undermining provincial, ethnic and linguistic diversity. Lajos Mangold, mentioned above, claimed that the "Magyars" were "the core of the country", playing the most important cultural and political roles in the region. Because of this, the history of Transylvania, with its competing discourses, was absorbed into the framework of the history of the homeland, responding to the long-term political ideal of uniformity among Hungarians. Step-by-step, this integrative vision became widespread in the state schools at all levels. At the beginning of the 20th century, following a request by the minister for public education in Budapest, it was forbidden to use the terms Transylvania/Ardeal; the terms were to be replaced by euphemisms such as "the South-East county" or "the region between the Carpathian Mountains"[14].

Until 1870, by and large the historiographical discourse did not contest the presence of Romanians before the settlement of the Magyar tribes. Only after the publication of the work of Robert Roesler did strong criticism regarding the continuity of Dacians and Romans in the region surface. Hunfalvy Pál's *The Ethnography of Hungary*, as part of a rejection of the thesis of continuous Romanian settlement in Transylvania, questioned the credibility of old Hungarian chronicles. However, this did not lead to a questioning of the messianic interpretation of Hungarian conquest and settlement. The German historian, Joachim von Puttkamer, stated that the famous anonymous chronicle, *Gesta Hungarorum*, emphasised three important themes for the Hungarian national idea. First, that the Magyars claimed Pannonia as the inheritors of the Huns. Second, that they imposed upon the territories and the indigenous people a superior culture and a stable form of political organization[15]. Third, that they became the "chosen people" with a historical mission of upholding Western values against the barbarians from the Orient. Thus a mythology of the conqueror was upheld, consistent with the idea of a political Hungarian nation. The leading role of the Hungarians, therefore, rested on these historical foundations: they were leaders of the state and promoters of a superior culture. Historical rights were also part of this framework: it was claimed that the Hungarians did not accomplish their mission of bringing civility by the use of the sword, but by claiming a kinship with the Huns, as the heirs of their kingdom. This

was designed to augment Hungarian prestige in an act of *restauratio memoriae.* The kinship between Huns and the Magyars, specific to the Latin chronicles of the 13th century, became a common topic in the history textbooks of the 1880s. According to these interpretations the Romanians arrived in the medieval voivodeship as migrants from south of the Danube.

This scientific debate had important consequences for the teaching of history in Hungary. In 1872 the first school history textbook to denounce the idea of Romanian continuity in Transylvania was written by Johann Heinrich Schwieker. He claimed that the Roman colonists withdrew totally from Dacia in 275 AD south of the Danube, where the Romanian or Wlach people emerged. They only returned to Transylvania in the 13th century. Therefore the existence of a voivodeship/duchy at the time of the arrival of Magyar tribes was pure legend. Generally, school textbooks for history, geography and civic education adopted this interpretation. As von Puttkamer's work shows, the rejection of the continuity thesis was first articulated in German textbooks, but became popular among the Hungarians through the writings of Hunfalvy Pál[16]. One early echo of this German influence could be found in the curricula for grammar school education proposed by the ministry of education in 1880, which held that the Romanians were to be considered a migratory people. One of the later textbooks edited in the 1880s stated that, "The description given by the Anonymous Notary mentions that, at the time of the Magyars' settlement in Transylvania, the Romanians were already there. It is most probable that they emigrated later from the Balkan Peninsula to Transylvania. Their name is mentioned for the first time in documents confirming the privileges given to Saxons by Andrew II"[17].

A third group of textbooks for history, geography and civic education in Transylvania were the Romanian ones. Unsurprisingly they upheld the theory of Romanian continuity in the province. Vasile Goldiş, one of the authors of the multi-edition textbook *Istoria patriei* [The History of the Homeland], and a representative figure of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania, stated colourfully: "The Romanians had lived in Dacia in peace and happiness, but in later epochs faced great troubles. We, Romanians, [underlined by author] are the offspring of those Romans from Dacia, who live in the same place as Trajan's Romans lived once upon a time"[18]. In a later edition (1899), Goldiş nuanced his interpretation, explaining that the continuous presence of Romanians in this area was disrupted by the intervention of barbarous migratory peoples to whom the Romanians had to surrender[19]. Even though the author did not abandon the idea of continuity, the acknowledgement of the natives' political power being wrested away by "migrants" is an obvious attempt at reconciling the modern Romanian agenda with the political realities.

The political authorities were keen to relate the textbooks to their agenda. Censorship and especially translations of works by Hungarian authors into Romanian were the most popular means of imposing the official point of view. Thus, the leading authors of Hungarian history – Ferenc Ribáry, Lajos Mangold, and Rezsö Jászai – had their works translated into Romanian and published in multiple editions.

The political debates over the status of Transylvania, and the province's incorporation into Hungary in 1867, affirmed once again the fundamental importance of Transylvania in the historical consciousness and national identities of both Romanians and Hungarians. For the Romanians, their early presence in the province signified not only direct descent from the Romans, but also a recognition of a privileged status which needed to be restored. For the Hungarians, their pre-eminence in Transylvania legitimised their claim to consider the province as an integral part of St Steven's kingdom. Moreover, it was the region that had conserved Hungarian culture and civilization during the period of Ottoman suzerainty. Thus, in the dual monarchy, Transylvania was of immense symbolic importance for both Romanian and Hungarian representations of identity, as a "homeland" where each group could claim ancient historical rights.

Another important development in the historiographical debate took place in the aftermath of the Paris Peace Conference of 1946. This involved a new generation of historians, from both sides of the controversy, educated at Cluj University. Once more, Transylvania's status polarised historiographical discourse. On the one hand, Ştefan Pascu[20] reiterated the thesis of Romanian continuity and their Latin origins as Rome's heirs. He developed this by asserting that the Hungarian kingdom only claimed the territory in the 11th century. On the other hand, Lászlo Makkai[21] continued to criticise the *Gesta Hungarorum*. He argued that the Romans had withdrawn from Dacia at the end of the 3rd century to the Balkans; from there they migrated in the 13th century to southern Transylvania as nomadic shepherds, spreading throughout the province in the 14th and 15th centuries. Later, when the political context became more favourable, both historians developed their researches into the history of Transylvania. Initially, however, it seemed that the debate became frozen, as the new communist ideology subsumed both historiographies within a new socialist paradigm.

COMMUNIST-ERA HISTORIOGRAPHY — THE INTERNATIONALIST DECADE

Following a short transitional phase when, between 1944 and 1947, historiography remained orthodox, for over a decade "the new Marxist historiography" offered the only acceptable terms of reference for historians of Transylvania[22].

The history textbook published in 1947, edited by Mihai Roller (referred to by Lucian Boia as "the dictator of Romanian historiography"), illustrates the split with pre-communist Romanian historiography, and the advent of a new vision of the past. National solidarity, often invoked in pre-communist historiography, was replaced in Roller's textbook by class struggle, considered to be "the engine" of historical change. Thus the foundation of the modern nation-state as a result of the unification of the two principalities, Moldavia and Walachia in 1859 was explained as a result of material interests. Likewise, the later unification of Transylvania with the Romanian kingdom in 1918 was placed in the context of aggressive Romanian bourgeois actions against the Re-

public of Hungary at the end of the First World War[23]. Another major concern of pre-communist historiography – the relations between Romanians and the Western world – was replaced by the issue of relations between Romanians and the Slavic world[24].

 From 1948 a new approach to evaluating pre-communist historiography emerged, known as "the reconsideration". This movement – a "purging of works from the past" – was inspired by Roller's textbook[25]. The concept of "cultural revolution", which had so far been avoided, became commonplace within the new historiography. What had been a cautious historiographical debate became an open confrontation[26].

At the same time leading historians like Roller were attempting to establish a new research agenda. Scholars were encouraged to reflect upon the different manifestations of the class struggle from antiquity to the present, and to analyze the role of Slavs in the formation of Romanian society, language and culture. Roller affirmed that history "must play its role on the ideological front"[27]. However, until 1955, the communist regime did not pay much attention to historical writing[28]. For example, the history research plan for 1952 of the Romanian Academy was dominated by social and economic issues, with very little focus on Transylvania[29].

Historiography during the communist period – the national phase

In the early 1960s national elements of Romanian history started to return to the historiographical discourse, while the Slavic (Russian and Soviet) elements began to decrease[30]. This development, which marked a much more important shift in historiography than the earlier communist phase, took place within the context of limited polycentrism in the communist world, brought about by the Sino-Soviet dispute, and by domestic political change. In 1965 Nicolae Ceauşescu became leader of Romanian Workers' Party, changing the name of the party to the Romanian Communist Party (RCP). As other scholars have argued, contemporary communist leaders were interested in restoring national values to the prominence they had enjoyed before World War II – though now in the service of socialism[31]. The first years of the Ceauşescu regime (1965-1971) were characterized by relative liberalization and political *détente*[32]. Censorship of cultural institutions was relaxed, and some academics deemed untrustworthy by the old regime were rehabilitated as part of a renewal of the intellectual elite[33]. In the context of limited intellectual tolerance, historians could pursue a more nuanced historiographical discourse. For instance, three syntheses of national history were published during this period, each with different perspectives on the same issues[34]. During the first period of the communist regime the history of Transylvania was eclipsed. However, in the second half of the 1960s, it regained attention, primarily for propaganda purposes – especially in the context of the semi-centennial celebrations of the 1918 Union. In 1968, there were 83 publications dealing with the history of Transylvania[35].

At the same time, it has been argued that the liberalization was highly limited and tightly controlled. According to this school of thought, Romania did not pass through a real de-Stalinization process, as the RCP remained in total control of the so-called liberalization. Thus, cultural reintegration and engagement with national culture was subordinate to the contemporary demands of the state[36].

At the beginning of the 1970s the limited political reforms were abandoned and replaced by a stronger ideological control[37]. Ceaușescu's visit to China and North Korea in 1971, as well as his fear of losing control over the limited liberalization, triggered the launch of a "mini-cultural revolution", based especially on the cult of the personality. According to S. Papacostea, from summer 1971 the regime changed from "liberal-nationalist" to "radical-nationalist, extremely exalted and aggressive"[38]. Once again history became an important propaganda tool for the regime and a means to influence public consciousness through the large-scale rewriting of national history.

One of the ideological vehicles of the nationalism promoted in the second part of the Ceaușescu regime was so-called *protochronism*. For Katherine Verdery, protochronism is defined as "an intensified resurrection of indigenous arguments for national specificity", although there was a great deal of variety in terms of context[39]. The idea was launched by literary critic Edgar Papu's 1974 article "Romanian Protochronism", published in "The 20th Century" magazine[40]. In this article, Edgar Papu claimed that the work of many Romanian artists anticipated important movements in the West, including Surrealism and Dadaism (though there was not much evidence to support the argument, as the artists in question were not well known outside Romania)[41].

Protochronism spread to other disciplines, including history. Among the most important examples of the impact of protochronism on the historiographical discourse was the debate on Horea's uprising – a late-18th-century peasant revolt in Transylvania. The main participants in this debate were David Prodan and Ștefan Pascu: both members of the Romanian Academy, and educated during the inter-war period[42]. As Katherine Verdery has pointed out, there were important differences between the two scholars: Prodan's reputation rested purely on his scientific approach, while Pascu benefited from the approval of the regime[43]. Prodan charted Horea's uprising from the perspective of class struggle, and asserted that the national movement was led by intellectuals. Pascu's interpretation was more grandiose: he argued that Horea's "Revolution" anticipated the French Revolution[44]. Verdery has argued that ideological gulf between Pascu and Prodan focused on the former's protochronism and the defence of the truth as a political value, and the latter's Europeanism and defence of the truth as a scientific value[45].

Meanwhile, the new ideological requirements specific to Romanian national-communism – centred on the unitary character of the history of the Romanian people – generated, especially in the 1980s, many difficulties in confronting regional and provincial history. In such an environment, it is not surprising that studies of regional history were concealed

under "benign" titles in contrast with their contents[46]. Also in the 1980s, old diplomatic disputes between Romania and Hungary prompted the two national historiographies to pursue projects which placed national concerns over communism. This polemical climate reached a climax in 1986 when the Hungarian Academy of Sciences published a three-volume history of Transylvania (*Istoria Transilvaniei/Erdely Története*). The medieval section reiterated the orthodox interpretation of settlement in the region, including the absence of a Romanian population during the Magyar settlement. The Romanian reaction was passionate. Nicolae Ceaușescu delivered a violent public speech which was published in "Scânteia" [The Spark], the official paper of the RCP in February 1987. Two months later, the political and historiographical dispute was exported, by way of an article in the "Times" magazine, of 7 April 1987, entitled "A Conscious Falsification of History by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences"[47]. The same year a more thorough rejoinder from Romanian historiography appeared in the volume *The Dangerous Game of Falsifying History: Studies and Articles*, edited by Ș. Pascu and Ș. Ștefănescu[48]. As Verdery notes, in the Romanian-Hungarian relationship, territorial, political and economic changes and controversies were closely linked to historiographical discourse. Historiography thus provided a platform for bilateral tensions to be played out[49].

Conclusion

Transylvania's political identity was intimately linked to the historical consciousness of three nations: Romanians, Hungarians and Saxons. These nations' conflicting perspectives often led to a historiographical discourse characterised by polemical and exclusivist interpretations of Transylvania's past. In the case of the Romanians, for over two centuries the political identity of Transylvania was integral to their historical consciousness. A grand narrative was established, which progressed from the Romanians' struggle for equality, to provincial autonomy; from the international proletariat, to the unity of the socialist state. In the Hungarian case, historical consciousness sustained a political identity based on notions of cultural and political superiority and the correspondence of the modern state with the medieval kingdom. The "magic" of Transylvanian identity established within the framework of collective historical consciousness led to a polarized discourse, a seemingly irresolvable polemical discourse. This approach, however, is much less evident among recent historians. It may be that this marks a new beginning for Transylvanian identity.

Notes

1   I.A. Pop, Th. Naegler (eds.), *The History of Transylvania*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca 2005; I.A. Pop, A. Magyari (eds.), vol. II, Cluj-Napoca 2006; M. Laszlo, S. Zoltan (eds.), *History of Transylvania*, vols. I-III, Boulder Colorado 2001.

2   M. Rady, *Voivode and Regnum: Transylvania's Place in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, in L. Peter (ed.), *Historians and the History of Transylvania*, New York 1992, pp. 87-101; G. Murdock, *"Freely Elected in Fear": Princely Elections and Political Power in Early Modern Transylvania*, in "Journal of Early Modern History", 2003, 7, 3-4, pp. 213-244.

3   G. Farkas, *A magyar irodálom története*, Budapest 1934, pp. 52-102.

4   D. Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum or the Political Struggle of the Romanians in Transylvania during the 18th Century*, Bucharest 1971.

5   *Ibid.*, pp. 59-62.

6   *Ibid.*, p. 62.

7   *Die Nationalitaeten-Frage*, Pest 1865.

8   J. von Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und Nationale Integration in Ungarn. Slowaken, Rumänen und Siebenbürger Sachsen in der Auseinandersetzung mit der ungarischen Staatsidee 1867-1914*, Munich 2003, pp. 294-312.

9   L. Mangold, *Istoria Ungariei* [History of Hungary]*,* translated by Vasile Goldiş, Braşov 1890, p. 143.

10 For a complete bibliography of the textbooks see *Bibliografia istorică a României. Secolul XIX* [The Historical Bibliography of Romania], tom I-V, Bucharest 1972-1975.

11 I. Dariu, *Istoria patriei* [History of the Homeland], Braşov 1888, p. 61.

12 V. Goldiş, *Istoria patriei* [History of the Homeland], Braşov 1896, p. 42.

13 For an insightful analysis of the textbooks, see J. von Puttkamer, *Schulalltag* cit., pp. 325-377.

14 I. Chinezu, *Aspects of Transylvanian Hungarian Literature (1919-1929)*, Cluj-Napoca 1997, pp. 44-49. (The first version was published in Romanian in 1930).

15 von Puttkamer, *Schulalltag* cit., p. 328.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 349-363.

17 Mangold, *Istoria* cit., p. 25.

18 Goldiş, *Istoria patriei* cit., p. 17.

19 Id., *Istoria Ungariei* [History of Hungary], Braşov 1899, p. 17.

20 S. Pascu, *Istoria Transilvaniei* [History of Transylvania], Sibiu 1944.

21 L. Makkai, *Histoire de Transylvanie*, Paris 1946.

22 L. Boia, *Istorie şi mit în conştiinţa românească* [History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness], Bucharest 2000, p. 109.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 209.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

25 Al. Zub, *Orizont închis. Istoriografia română sub dictatura* [Closed Horizon. Romanian Historiography under Dictatorship], Iaşi 2000, pp. 65-66.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

27 M. Roller, *Sarcini noi în studiul istoriei României* [New Tasks in Writing Romanian History], in "Studii. Revistă de ştiinţă-filosofie-arte", [Studies. Review of Science, Philosophy, and Arts]*,* I, January-March 1948, pp. 132.

28 Between 1944 and 1964, *Bibliografia Istorică* [The Historical Bibliography], mentions 3954 titles of which only 707 deal with the history of Transylvania. G. Moisa, *Istoria Transilvaniei în istoriografia*

românească, 1965-1989 [The History of Transylvania in Romanian Historiography], Oradea 2003, p. 122.

29   Moisa, *Istoria* cit., pp. 112-113.

30   Boia, *Istorie* cit., p. 112.

31   K. Verdery, *Compromis și rezistență. Cultura română sub Ceaușescu,* Bucharest 1997, p. 77, original version, *National Ideology under Socialism. Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania,* Berkeley - Los Angeles 1991; the quotations are from the Romanian edition.

32   Moisa, *Istoria* cit., p. 44.

33   *Ibid.*, p. 45.

34   *Ibid.*, p. 58; Boia, *Istorie* cit., p. 114.

35   Moisa, *Istoria* cit., p. 54.

36   Boia, *Istorie* cit., pp. 115-116.

37   Verdery, *Compromis* cit., p. 95.

38   Quoted in Moisa, *Istoria* cit., p. 62.

39   Verdery, *Compromis* cit., p. 153.

40   Papu was an intellectual educated during the interwar period, convicted in the first phase of the communism, and then rehabilitated.

41   *Ibid.*, p. 160; Boia, *Istorie* cit., pp. 122-123. Three years later, he expanded his argument in a book.

42   D. Prodan, *Răscoala lui Horea* [Horea's Uprising], 2 vol., Bucharest 1979, 2nd edition, 1984; S. Pascu, *Revoluția populară de sub conducerea lui Horea* [The Popular Revolution Lead by Horea], Bucharest 1984; the discussion about the significance of this debate, see Verdery, *Compromis* cit.

43   *Ibid.*, p. 220.

44   *Ibid.*, p. 223.

45   *Ibid.*, p. 232.

46   Moisa, *Istoria* cit., p. 94; N. Bocșan, S. Mândruț, *Istoria regională între anii 1970-1995. Cazul Transilvaniei și Banatului* [Regional History Between 1970-1995. The Case of Transylvania and Banat], in "Transilvanica", I, 1, 1999, pp. 7-8.

47   Verdery, *Compromis* cit., pp. 209-210.

48   Ș. Ștefănescu, Ș. Pascu (eds.), *The Dangerous Game of Falsifying History: Studies and Articles,* Bucharest 1987. The Romanian language edition is, *Jocul periculos al falsificarii istoriei: culegere de studii si articole*, Bucharest 1986.

49   Verdery, *Compromis* cit., p. 210.

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