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ABSTRACTS

SENATORS FOR LIFE IN THE ROMANIAN PARLIAMENT IN 1866–1938

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Our paper traces the evolution of the category of senators for life, from the first constitutional regulations in the nineteenth century to the imposition of the personal regime of King Carol II. It also presents in detail the socio-professional categories from which the senators with life tenure were recruited. The institution of senators for life represents one of the distinctive characteristics of the Romanian parliamentary system during the constitutional monarchy. Besides the elected senators, the senators with life tenure were a constant feature in the organization of the Romanian Senate, having been granted the mandate due to their high position in the church or state. The senators for life were the most notable members of the parliamentary elite during the constitutional monarchy and enjoyed full prestige and legitimacy, despite not having been elected by voters.

***EHRENGESCHENK* OR TRIBUTE – FROM MISUNDERSTANDING TO DISTORTION. A CHAPTER OF THE HABSBURG-OTTOMAN DIPLOMACY (SIXTEENTH–SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES)**

ILEANA CĂZAN

From the sixteenth century onwards, Habsburg-Ottoman relations took a sinuous course, which led to tensions and crises, ended sometimes in conflict, and compromises, all aimed at reaching an acceptable *modus vivendi* for both parties. Thus a first peace treaty between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans was signed in 1547. Noteworthy is the ambiguity of diplomatic terms employed by the two powers at the time. While the foundations of international law were being laid in Europe, the Ottoman Empire still functioned within the traditional frame of Islamic law. Hence, the western diplomats spoke of peace treaties, whereas the Ottomans of armistice.

This study concerns one of the most delicate issues in the Habsburg-Ottoman diplomacy: the payment of the yearly contribution of 30,000 guildens. However strange it may seem, in 1547 Emperor Charles V and his brother Ferdinand of Austria agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 30,000 guildens to the Sublime Porte for territories

held in Maghreb (North Africa), respectively Eastern Hungary and Transylvania. This agreement gave way to controversy, and the non-payment of the tribute became a most legitimate *casus belli* for the Ottoman Empire. The Latin and German versions of the 1547 text interpreted the tribute as a honorific gift (*Ehrengeschenk*), not leading to a relation of vassalage.

The peace of Zsitva-Török (1606), which ended the hostilities begun in 1593, established also the formal protocol terms between the two sovereigns (that of a father to his beloved son), and Emperor Rudolf II also wanted to settle the tribute question. He acknowledged the payment of 200,000 gold pieces for war damages *once and for all*. However, according to the Osmanli version, the amount represented the outstanding debt deriving from the unpaid tribute over the previous years, and the Habsburgs were additionally liable for a *haraç* to be determined subsequently.

Moments of tensions occurred on the expiration of the peace treaties, which were periodically renewed in 1615, 1627, 1642, and 1648. Most common reasons were the non-observance of the clauses of the treaty of 1606 and the interpretation of the tribute's payment. As the latter issue could not be solved, the negotiations were pursued until 1664, and the tribute question was brought periodically to the attention of the two courts and employed by the Ottomans as a means of pressure in territorial disputes. In 1664, under troubled political circumstances for Hungary, the House of Austria, as the victor at Sankt Gothard, yielded to a quick peace with painful territorial losses for its Hungarian subjects. Following the peace of Vasvár, the Habsburgs agreed to pay 200,000 gold pieces as war reparations, which they had been avoiding for half a century. As for the political and diplomatic *equality* between the two empires, a consensus could not be reached until the peace of Karlowitz. Only in 1699 would the tribute question be erased from both text versions, leaving only the spontaneous exchange of gifts.

AN UNPUBLISHED ROMANIAN TEXT OF 1763 ON THE CEREMONY OF ELECTING AND CROWNING THE HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR

EMANUELA TIMOTIN, ANDREI TIMOTIN

A brief text on the election and crowning of the Holy Roman Emperor is published and analyzed here for the first time. Preserved in two different versions at the State Archives of Venice (ms. 68, Miscellanea Codici II serie Diversi), the text was translated by Vlad Boțulescu de Mălăiești, secretary to Prince Radu Cantacuzino (1699–1761), and copied in 1763, during his imprisonment in Milan. The two versions are preceded here by an analysis of Boțulescu's interest in this text and the place it holds in the ceremonial literature concerning the election of the Holy Roman Emperor in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries.

THE OTTOMAN-RUSSIAN-HABSBURG INFORMATION NETWORKS AND THE NEGOTIATION OF OTTOMAN AFFAIRS ON THE DANUBE (1800s–1820s)

ȘTEFANIA COSTACHE

Owing to the Eastern Question, it became apparent in the early nineteenth century that the Habsburg and Russian Empires were jointly preoccupied with two issues: the management of the crisis in the Ottoman Empire and the development of a new concept of sovereignty in a Europe afflicted by revolutions and the Napoleonic Wars. Against the backdrop of a prolonged state of war, the solution seeking was devolved upon an agent in full process of transformation and assertion in the Ottoman, Habsburg and Russian Empires: the diplomatic corps. The present paper aims to illustrate how the transition period of the three diplomacies enabled the information networks of an inter-imperial frontier, Wallachia, to influence the seeking of solutions to the two aforementioned European issues.

While revisiting the career of the Wallachian *kaymakam* and *vornic* of Constantinopolitan origin Constantin Samurcaș (?–1825), the paper recreates the information networks which involved the Wallachian *boyars*, the princes acting as *dragomans* and *ayans* in the Ottoman Empire, and the Austrian and Russian consuls, ambassadors and counselors, from the early nineteenth century until the Greek uprisings (1821); it focuses on the involvement of these networks in mediating the Russian-Ottoman wars and the political crises in the Ottoman Empire (1806–1812). Moreover, it recreates the line of argument put forward by these networks so as to reconcile the conservative concept of state and monarchic sovereignty recognized in Europe with the people's self-determination claims to which the Greek uprisings opened the door.

ON THE EVE OF THE ROYAL DICTATORSHIP INSTAURATION. NOTES FROM THE DIARY OF PETRE G. PAPACOSTEA II (JULY 1937 – APRIL 1938)

ȘERBAN PAPACOSTEA, SIMION GHEORGHIU

During the months preceding the instauration of the royal dictatorship, the political activity heated up, this evolution being reflected by the increasing intensity of the contacts between the political actors of the time. Part of these contacts, indication of the efforts channeled towards identifying a political solution, can be found within the notes herein. The political evolution in Romania at that time is a small scale representation of Europe's great fall into dictatorship and totalitarianism between the two world wars.

What is remarkable under these circumstances is the opposition of Marshal Alexandru Averescu – loyal to his belief that the political pluralism, even with all its deficiencies, is preferable to the concentration of the entire power in the hands of a single man or party – to endorse such evolution. He remained true to his lifelong belief that “evolution is better than revolution.”

A DICTATORSHIP IN CONDOMINIUM? THE CONSERVATIVE ELITES AND THE MONARCHY DURING ROMANIA'S 1938–1940 AUTHORITARIAN REGIME

DORU ADRIAN LIXANDRU

This article explores the role played by the conservative elites in the institutionalization and practice of the Romanian royalist authoritarian regime (1938–1940). First, we analyze the interests which bring together the monarchy and this social stratum in the period that precedes the dictatorship of King Carol II (1930–1937). Then, we examine the years of the authoritarian rule (1938–1940), in an attempt to understand both the institutional involvement and the relationship between the monarchy and a series of traditional establishments (the army, the Orthodox Church) and personalities (Nicolae Iorga, Dimitrie Gusti, Miron Cristea, Armand Călinescu, Istrate Micescu) belonging to a national-conservative social category. We conclude our study by formulating some reflections on the nature and the role played by conservative elites in authoritarian regimes similar to that analyzed in our paper.

SHAKESPEARE AS DÉTENTE: CULTURAL DIPLOMACY DURING THE COLD WAR (1955–1964)

VIVIANA IACOB

The article argues that events such as the visit of the Royal Shakespeare Company in Bucharest and the Romanian delegation at Stratford in 1964 were not singular and momentous achievements of détente cultural diplomacy. They were the most visible results of an exchange program with Great Britain that began in earnest in the mid-1950s. With the start of Khrushchev's détente in Europe, the countries behind the Iron Curtain capitalized on points of contact that would speed up the cultural rapprochement. Consequently, when it came to engaging with a Western theatre tradition such as the UK's, Shakespeare was always the starting point for transnational exchanges. From the mid-fifties onward, Romanian theatre practitioners and Shakespeare scholars pursued such interactions not only as a means to strengthen diplomatic ties between the two countries, but also as a medium for mutual cultural transfers with tremendous impact by the 1960s.

UNDER THE IMPACT OF AN IDEOLOGICAL INDICTMENT: SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE ROMANIAN LITERATURE AT THE END OF THE 1970s

CRISTIAN VASILE

In the early 1970s Nicolae Ceaușescu wanted a new profile for Romanian literature; it had, too, to contribute to the communist Five-Year Plan (1971–1975). From this point of view, the “July 1971 Theses” also expressed his profound dissatis-

faction. Both archival materials and open historical sources indicate N. Ceaușescu's intention of planning within Romanian literature.

1976 like 1971 was the first year of another communist Five-Year Plan (1976–1980) and it coincided with other furious ideological indictments pronounced by RCP Secretary General N. Ceaușescu against the leadership of the Romanian Writers' Union. On 2 June 1976 at the Congress of the Political Education and Socialist Culture N. Ceaușescu raised numerous charges against nonconformist writers; ten of these charges were most important (among them: the writers' ideological errors; the lack of political orientation of the literary works; dangerous drawbacks and deficiencies regarding the publication of the modern Romanian writers; receptivity towards Western cultural influences and so on). Last but not least he was irritated that the literary critics encouraged a sort of frivolous literature, without social and political message.

Although Ceaușescu did not use the term *socialist realism* and did not suggest a return to the 1950s dogmatism, many writers were worried when he utilized the concept of *revolutionary realism*. My hypothesis is that Ceaușescu was very attached to this 1976 ideological indictment and he hindered the reelection of the two presidents of the Writers' Union, in 1977 and 1981, punishing them for ignoring his charges.

FOOD SHORTAGES IN THE 1980s: THE POPULATION'S SCIENTIFIC NUTRITION PROGRAM

MIOARA ANTON

At the beginning of the 1980s, for economic reasons N. Ceaușescu decided to elaborate a program of scientific nutrition. The new program, imposed in a time of economic austerity, did not improve the quality of Romanian nutrition but answered the needs of rationalization and saving of the communist regime. Consequently, in the 1980s, Romanian society was faced with dire food shortages as a result of Ceaușescu's desire to increase the rate of exports and to pay the external debt. At the end of 1989, the relationship between the leader of the communist party and Romanian society reached a critical point. There was hope that after the repayment of the foreign debt, the internal situation was going to improve thanks to the abandonment of the program of austerity and rationalization. But this did not happen, the population being subjected continually to food shortages and excessive surveillance by the Securitate apparatus.

THE RIBBENTROP-MOLOTOV PACT – A TEST OF THE ROMANIAN-SOVIET RELATIONS DURING THE '80s–'90s

SIMION GHEORGHIU

Depending on the political requirements of the moment, in the Soviet historiography, the secret additional protocol of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, with its territorial provisions, has been fiercely denied, firmly condemned, or justified based on sophisms. The launch of the reform politics of M.S. Gorbachev with its two

guiding principles, *perestroika* and *glasnost*, would have brought up the matter of the protocol, sooner or later. The documents had become a weapon in the battle of reconquering the Baltic states' independence, in particular in the case of Lithuania. Under the pressure of these countries, Moscow was forced to take the first steps on the path of protocol recognition. This delay of official recognition shows that a decision was a difficult step to take by the country's rulers. This indecisiveness has been accurately mirrored by the soviet historiography. The historians approached matters related to the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact; however, until the official recognition they avoided to discuss the starting point of the political-territorial changes as a result of the agreement between Hitler and Stalin. The evolution of this method of approach and interpretation perfectly illustrates the activity carried out by the "Ministry of Truth" from the famous novel of George Orwell, 1984.

The soviet perspective, denying the secret additional Protocol's existence, has been adopted by all the socialist bloc countries. The exception from the rule was Romania, which, during its politics of distancing itself from the Soviet Union, considered that recognizing the protocol's existence represented a conclusive evidence both internally, as well as abroad, of the rightfulness of its independence politics (in reality, its autonomy) from Kremlin. The assertion of this point of view passed through several stages, being set out by multiple events.

In conclusion it can be stated that the additional secret protocol has been a true test of the Romanian-Soviet relations. As long as Romania was the obedient satellite of the Soviet Union, the Bucharest regime strictly followed the position of Moscow and completely ignored this document. As the Romanian communist elite distanced itself from Kremlin, the references to the additional secret protocol progressively infiltrated into the public opinion, in the beginning only verbally and, as of 1981, through printed works.

BYZANTINE-LOMBARD FOREMEN IN MEDIEVAL TRANSYLVANIA

IOANA FILIPESCU

The aim of this study is to attribute properly the mosaic floor in the present Bizere Monastery (Frumușeni, Arad county), and to trace its stylistic connection with a church floor mosaic seen by Villard de Honnecourt at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Folio 30 of Villard de Honnecourt's sketchbook preserved at the National Library in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Français 19093) shows a fragment of a mosaic seen by Villard in a church of present-day Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), during his stay in Hungary in 1230, with the same decorative pattern encountered in Bizere. The monastery was probably built in the early twelfth century by a group of Benedictine monks with the support of Lombard-Byzantine foremen, also active in Alba Iulia.

In the second half of the eleventh century at Monte Cassino, at the invitation of Abbot Desiderio (1058–1087), Lombard craftsmen worked on the reconstruction of the monastic complex and Byzantine foremen on assembling the church mosaic. The only remaining depictions of Desiderio's monastery are descriptions in two contemporary sources, one written by Abbot Desiderio's friend, the poet Alphanus, archbishop of Salerno (1058–1085), in the poem *De situ, constructione ac renova-*

tionē Casinensis coenobii, and the other included in the chronicle of the monastery's historian, Leo of Ostia, in the section concerning the dedication of the monastery. Unfortunately, Abbot Desiderio's architectural complex was destroyed by an earthquake in 1349, but its plans designed by the Renaissance architects Antonio and Battista da Sangallo, as well as the reconstruction of the mosaic from 1713, due to a historian present in the monastery in the eighteenth century, Erasmus Gattola, still survive.

Given the difficulty of bringing an entire team of craftsmen from Monte Cassino to medieval Hungary, my hypothesis is that foremen from Byzantium and Lombardy were employed for the churches of both Bizere and Alba Iulia.

ORTHODOXY, CATHOLICISM AND EUROPEAN IDENTITY IN ROMANIAN TRANSYLVANIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. PRELIMINARIES TO A DEBATE

CECILIA CÂRJA, ION CÂRJA

The present study analyzes the contributions of Orthodoxy and Catholicism to the modernization of the Romanian society, seeking to determine whether the stereotype "Catholicism = Western values *versus* Orthodoxy = Eastern specific incompatible with the Western paradigm" holds true. The article focuses on some aspects from the modern history of the Romanians from Transylvania, given the fact that this historical province was the most profoundly marked by Central and Western European influences, primarily through the Romanian Greek Catholic Church. The history of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church contradicts such a stereotype, because, from the beginning, it has always encompassed two ecclesiastical and religious models: Western-Catholic and Eastern-Orthodox. The co-existence of Orthodox and Greek Catholic denominations in the Romanian communities in the second half of the nineteenth century imposed gradually the need to accept diversity, to practice tolerance in everyday life, providing them with the skills specific to a democratic culture and forming mentalities compatible with Western values.