

Universitatea din Oradea

Teză de abilitare

**HISTORIOGRAPHY,
BORDERS AND POLITICAL IMAGINARY**

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A. REZUMATUL ÎN LIMBA ROMÂNĂ ȘI ENGLEZĂ

a.1. Rezumat în limba română **Istoriografie, frontiere și imaginar politic**

După absolvirea studiilor universitare am fost angajat prin concurs la Universitatea din Oradea din anul universitar 1993-1994. Am avut o evoluție firească în plan profesional, respectiv am fost preparator (1993-1996), asistent (1996-1998), lector (1998-2005), conferențiar (2005-2008) și profesor din anul 2008 până în prezent.

În privința direcțiilor de cercetare științifică investigate după obținerea titlului de doctor în 2001 ne vom referi doar asupra celor mai importante. O primă direcție de cercetare urmărește să repună în circuitul științific activitatea științifică și viața istoricului Silviu Dragomir. Activitatea noastră a continuat pe această direcție și după susținerea și publicarea tezei de doctorat. Lucrarea *Silviu Dragomir-istoric*, retipărită în 2008 într-o ediție revizuită și adăugită, s-a bucurat de o bună primire în lumea științifică dovadă fiind și numeroasele recenzii apărute în revistele de specialitate.

În paralel cu activitatea de reconstituire a vieții istoricului Silviu Dragomir după eliberarea sa din detenție au fost editate și puse în circuitul științific câteva din lucrările sale fundamentale, respectiv: *Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor ardeleni în veacul XVIII și Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu*, dar și alte lucrări și studii aflate în manuscris. În această direcție de cercetare se înscrie și publicarea studiului inedit al istoricului Silviu Dragomir despre diploma cavalerilor ioaniți. În acest sens, au fost tipărite două ediții, una în limba română și alta în limba franceză, anume: Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir și dosarul Diplomei cavalerilor ioaniți* și Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir et le dossier du Diplôme des Chevaliers de St. Jean*. În continuarea acestor cercetări am publicat câteva studii prin care încercăm să surprindem contextul în care a fost realizată unirea religioasă, reliefaarea protestelor românilor din Transilvania care doreau să-și păstreze credința ortodoxă, precum și rezultatele unor anchete realizate în Țara Făgărașului după mișcarea religioasă condusă de Sofronie din Cioara.

O altă direcție de cercetare are în vedere investigarea și editarea unor documente inedite din arhivele franceze privind spațiul românesc, a rapoartelor călătorilor străini, dar și teoretizării asupra conceptului de Europă și de frontieră. Tema supusă investigației este generoasă și a suscitat atenția a numeroși autori români și străini de-a lungul anilor. Interesul nostru s-a focalizat pe realizarea de ediții critice și a unor lucrări de sinteză, dar și de studii fundamentate pe surse documentare inedite. Toate aceste lucrări au în vedere cercetarea spațiului românesc, a imaginii românilor și a frontierei dintre Orient și Occident. Amintim doar câteva din contribuțiile fundamentale, anume ediția bilingvă: Antoine-Françoise Le Clerc, *Memoriu topografic și statistic asupra Basarabiei, Valahiei și Moldovei, provincii ale Turciei Europene* și lucrarea bilingvă Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș, *De la „Mica la Marea Europă“ Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente. De la „Petite“ à la „Grande Europe“ Témoignages français de la fin du XVIII^e et du début du XIX^e siècle sur la frontière orientale de l'Europe. Études et documents*.

Au fost abordate, de asemenea, și alte teme importante de cercetare, anume evoluția frontierelor din Estul și Vestul spațiului românesc din Evul Mediu până în contemporaneitatea noastră. Investigarea spațiului românesc, s-a făcut în durată lungă și printr-o analiză comparativă a politicilor imperiale din Estul și Vestul lumii românești unde au acționat Imperiul Habsburgic, Imperiul Austro-Ungar, Imperiul Țarist, Imperiul Otoman și, mai apoi, URSS-ul. O altă problematică investigată a fost cea despre scrisul istoric din

România și Republica Moldova, pornindu-se de la o realitate evidentă și anume implicarea politicului în cercetarea istorică. Dinspre spațiu și istoriografie ne-am concentrat pe investigarea politicilor imperiale desfășurate de-a lungul secolelor de marile puteri din vecinătatea spațiului românesc. O altă direcție de cercetare importantă pe care ne-am asumat-o a fost aceea de a investiga noțiunea de document istoric, relația dintre istorie și filologie, statutul istoriei în contemporaneitatea noastră, precum și puterea și reprezentările sale politice, simbolice, antropologice și sociale.

Pe aceste direcții de cercetare amintite, dar și pe alte direcții novatoare am publicat numeroase studii și articole. Fie că ne referim la analiza conceptelor de curaj și vitejie în vremea regelui Ladislau al IV-lea Cumanul, la interogațiile asupra ceremoniilor care preced proba fierului în Registrul de la Oradea, precum și la secvențe din viața unor domni și voievozi români și la raporturile dintre politică și ideologie. O altă direcție de cercetare dezvoltată în ultimii ani vizează investigarea unor microzone și punerea în valoare a potențialului istoric, a patrimoniului material și imaterial, precum și conștientizarea de către locuitorii zonei cercetate a valorilor trecutului și a tradiției.

Sunt câteva direcții de cercetare pe care le-am început deja și asupra cărora doresc să mă concentrez și în viitor, dar sunt și altele noi. O altă direcție de interes pe care o avem în vedere în viitor este de-a întări Școala Doctorală în Istorie de la Universitatea din Oradea.

În ceea ce privește activitatea științifică dorim fie să continuăm direcțiile de cercetare pe care le-am dezvoltat până în prezent, fie să investigăm altele noi. În primul rând dorim să continuăm să medităm asupra statutului istoriei românești, în mod special, și a istoriei europene, în general, din societatea contemporană. În al doilea rând ne propunem să elaborăm o lucrare privind simbolistica și perceperea frontierei la călătorii străini care au străbătut spațiul românesc în intervalul 1691-1810. Tema pornește de la studiile noastre publicate deja și debutează cronologic cu intrarea Transilvaniei sub dominația Curții de la Viena, fapt care facilitează și prezența mare a călătorilor străini în spațiul românesc. O a doua temă de cercetare are ca finalitate realizarea unei monografii a capitlului de la Oradea. Se impune în mod obligatoriu o nouă monografie asupra capitlului de la Oradea cu o analiză modernă asupra tipurilor de documente care s-au păstrat și asupra rolului și locului scrisului și a documentului în Evul Mediu. Dorim în continuare să punem în valoare patrimoniul cultural și memoria unor localități sau zone istorice ca Oradea și Valea Bistrei. Nu în ultimă instanță suntem interesați să elaborăm o istorie a trădării, curajului și a vitejei din Țările Române în Evul Mediu.

a.2. English Summary

Historiography, Borders and Political Imaginary

After graduating from higher education, I applied and I was employed at the University of Oradea as of the academic year 1993-1994. I followed the natural professional course, that is, I was a teaching fellow (1993-1996), an assistant (1996-1998), a lecturer (1998-2005), a senior lecturer (2005-2008), and a professor as of 2008.

We will further refer to the most important scientific research concerns after the award of the title of Doctor in 2001. A first direction aims at returning certain aspects of the scientific activity and life of the historian Silviu Dragomir to the scientific circuit. Our activity has pursued this direction after the defence and publication of the doctoral thesis. The work on *Silviu Dragomir-istoric/Silviu Dragomir-Historian*, reprinted in 2008 in a reviewed and appended edition, was welcomed by the scientific world. The proof in point is represented by the several reviews published in journals in the field.

Together with the activity of restoring the life of the historian Silviu Dragomir after his release from prison, some of his fundamental works were edited and disseminated, that is, *Istoria desrobirii religioase a românilor ardeleni în veacul XVIII și Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu/History of the Religious Liberation of the Romanians in Ardeal in the 18th Century and the Wallachians in Northern Balkan Peninsula in the Middle Ages*, as well as other manuscripts of works and studies. To the same approach belongs the publication of the new study by the historian Silviu Dragomir on the Diploma of the Ioannite Knights. Two editions on the topic were published, a Romanian and a French version, as follows: Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir și dosarul Diplomei cavalerilor ioaniți* and Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir et le dossier du Diplôme des Chevaliers de St. Jean*. As a sequel to the aforementioned research, we published some studies where we tried to seize the background of the great religious union, bringing to the foreground the protests of the Romanians in Transylvania wishing to preserve their Orthodox faith, as well as the results of inquiries carried out in the Făgăraș Country.

Another research orientation focused on editing new documents on the Romanian area in the French archives, some reports of foreign travellers and theories on the concepts of Europe and border. Consequently, the inquiry topic is generous and has drawn the attention of several Romanian and foreign authors throughout the years. Our interest aimed at achieving critical editions and syntheses, but also studies based on new documentary sources. All these works speak of the Romanian world, the Romanian area, the border between East and West. We remind only some of the core contributions, such as the bilingual edition by Antoine-Françoise Le Clerc, *Memoriu topografic și statistic asupra Basarabiei, Valahiei și Moldovei, provincii ale Turciei Europene/Topographic and Statistic Memoir on Bessarabia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, Provinces of the European Turkey* and the bilingual work by Sorin Șipoș, Ioan Horga, *De la „Mica la Marea Europă“ Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente. De la „Petite“ à la „Grande Europe“ Témoignages français de la fin du XVIII^e et du début du XIX^e siècle sur la frontière orientale de l'Europe. Études et documents*.

Other important research topics were approached as well, such as the evolution of the eastern and western borders of the Romanian area from Middle Ages to our time. It is a

long-term analysis of the evolution of the Romanian area through the comparative analysis of imperial policies in the East and the West of the Romanian area where the Habsburg, then the Austro-Hungarian Empire acted and, on the other hand, the Tsarist Empire, the Ottoman Empire and particularly the USSR. Another topic focused on the historical writing in Romania and the Republic of Moldova. The starting point was the obvious reality of the involvement of politics in historical research. Out of space and historiography, we focused on investigating imperial policies of great powers neighbouring the Romanian area throughout centuries. Another important research direction we assumed was investigating the notion of historical document, the relations between history and philology, the status of history at our epoch and the power in its different forms and dimensions, as well as its political, symbolic, anthropological, and social representations.

We elaborated numerous scientific works on the research directions mentioned above, as well as on other innovating topics, whether we refer to the analysis of concepts such as courage and boldness at the time of King Ladislaus IV the Cuman, questions on ceremonies preceding the iron test in the Oradea Records, fragments of the life of some Romanian rulers and voivodes considering the relations between politics and ideology. Another research direction developed in the past years aims at investigating micro-areas and the use of the historical material and immaterial patrimony potential, as well as the inhabitants' in the researched area awareness of history and tradition.

There are some research topics already initiated on which we intend to focus in the future together with some new ones. For instance, we envisage strengthening the Doctoral School in History at the University of Oradea. As far as scientific work is concerned, we intend to pursue the research topics we have developed so far and to follow new research directions. First, we need to ponder upon the status of the Romanian history in general, and of the European history in general in contemporary society. Secondly, we wish to elaborate a work on the symbolism and perception of foreigners travelling throughout the Romanian area in 1691-1810 regarding the border. The topic starts from works we have already published on the time when Transylvania began to be under the rule of the Vienna Court, which facilitated the access of foreigners to the Romanian area. A new research topic envisages a monograph on the Oradea Church Court of Justice. Consequently, a new monograph on the Oradea Church Court of Justice using a modern analysis on the types of documents preserved and on the role and place of the writing and the document in Middle Ages is compulsory. We wish to bring to the foreground the cultural patrimony and the memory of certain places or historical areas in Oradea and the Bistra Valley. Last but not least, we are interested in confining our research to the Middle Ages, in order to try and render a history of betrayal, courage and boldness in the Middle Ages Romanian area.

***B. Scientific and Professional Accomplishments,
Development Plans and Career Development***

Historiography, Borders and Political Imaginary

b.1. Scientific and Professional Accomplishments

1.I. Professional Development

After graduation and following a competition, I was hired by the University of Oradea starting with the academic year 1993-1994. I had a natural evolution, being first a teaching assistant (“preparator”) in (1993-1996), assistant lecturer (1996-1998), lecturer (1998-2005), associate professor (2005-2008) and full professor from 2008 to the present. Regarding the teaching and academic activity over the years, I always thought that teaching should be largely based on specific research applied to the domain and specialization area in which one operates. After receiving the title of doctor, I taught the following compulsory courses: *Introduction to the Medieval History of Romania*, *The History of Medieval Transylvania*, *Special Course of Medieval History of Romania*. To these courses others have been joined, for the second cycle, namely, *The Image of the Romanian Society in the Narrations of Foreign Travellers*, *The History of Political Ideas, Power and Political Imaginary*. In this regard, my research has been largely and directly related to the course topics. I also started from the principle that the individual research should be classified and related to research performed by interdisciplinary research teams. In the two decades of scientific research, I have published 33 books as a unique author or in collaboration, editions of historical sources, critical editions and volumes under my coordination. I am also the author of more than 130 studies and articles, reviews, reports, chronicles and prefaces in separate volumes, in specialized journals and cultural publications. I have delivered over 100 papers at national and international scientific sessions. In terms of scientific collaborations, I coordinated and organized as the main organizer 10 international conferences and over 15 national and international editorial projects (together with the Universities of Padua, Venice, Amiens, Reims, Nanterre, Trieste, Chisinau), involving dozens of researchers from our country and abroad. Besides the number of scientific papers, it should also be noted the quality of the scientific contributions as well as the international visibility of the research, as evidenced by the large number of citations and reviews (over 200), and the presence of my studies in large libraries and international databases. I would also like to bring forward the timeliness and modernity of the research topics approached over the years, namely: the life and work of historian Silviu Dragomir, politician, member of the Romanian Academy, arrested and imprisoned at Sighet in 1950-1955, the image of the Romanians in the narrations of foreign travellers, the power and the political imaginary, historiography and politics etc.

To reinforce the research activity of the Department of History, I have established the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies Oradea-Chisinau, placed, since 2013, under the patronage of the Romanian Academy and whose scientific program is to investigate the fate and destiny of the Romanian communities in eastern and western Romanian space.

In this respect, given the current situation of the labour market, we felt that we should provide growth opportunities for our students and establish new specialties that are in demand on the labour market. In this regard, I participated in the licensing and accreditation of six undergraduate majors and four masters. Not ultimately, at the right time, I got involved in institutional management activities by occupying administrative positions. I participated in the development of the journal *Analele Universităţii din Oradea, Seria: Istorie-Arheologie (Annals of the University of Oradea, Series: History – Archaeology)*, the establishment in 2006 of the journal *Eurolimes*, rated B + and indexed in four databases: Index Copernicus, EBSCO, ProQuest and CEEOL. I am also a founding member of the journal *Analele Universităţii din Oradea, Seria: Relaţii Internaţionale şi Studii Europene (Annals of the*

University of Oradea, Series: International Relations and European Studies), BDI listed in Index Copernicus and CEEOL. I am also an honorary member of the magazine *Studia historica adriatica et danubiana*, Trieste, member of the *Romanian Association of International Relations* and member of *Solidas Adriatico-Danubiana*, Trieste.

My management activity for the University of Oradea was materialized by performing the functions Deputy Head of Department at the Department of History (1998-2004), Head of the Department of International Relations (2007), Vice-Dean of the Faculty of History, Geography and International Relations (2008-2011), where I was in charge with the research activity of the faculty, Head of the Department of History (2011-2012) and Vice-Rector for the Management of Research and International Relations (2012-present). In all these activities we supported the scientific research by organizing international conferences, by increasing the rating of faculty and university journals and by supporting authentic research projects.

Meanwhile, I encouraged and developed the internationalization of the department, of the faculty and of the University of Oradea. I, myself have found the importance of attendance to international conferences in European projects and international publishing projects, and as a visiting professor at prestigious universities in Europe. I attended Erasmus projects as a professor and participated in training and research courses at the following universities: University of Venice (years: 2009, 2010, 2011), Padua (years: 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014), Salamanca (years: 2007, 2008, 2009), Alicante (years: 2007, 2008), Reims (years: 2005-2011), Nancy (2010), Nanterre (2009 and 2010), Amiens (years: 2012, 2013, 2014) as well as at the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (2010-2011) and the State University of Moldova (years: 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). Not least, I bring to your attention the national research projects, the EU projects and those won from the local authorities, in which I was involved, either as project manager¹, or as a team member². They provided us with financial support and resulted in conferences, published books, training courses and summer schools for students, master students and doctoral candidates. Research topics are yet again related to research directions that we have taken over the years.

¹ Jean Monnet Project, director *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, project no. 530051-LLP-1-2012-1-RO-AJM-MO, 2012-2015. Research project: the International Conference: *Frontierele spațiului românesc în context european*, Oradea, 2008. Financed by Oradea City Hall, 2008. Research project: The Publishing of the Volume: Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, vol. I-II. Introductory word by Ioan-Aurel Pop. Edited and introductory study by Sorin Șipoș, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 542p; 320p. Financed by Bihor County Council, 2012. Research project: The Publishing of the Volume: Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu*, Edition and introductory study by Sorin Șipoș, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 289p. Financed by the Bihor County Council, 2012. *The Historian's Atelier: Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, coordinators: Sorin Șipoș, Gabriel Moisa, Florin Sfrengu, Mircea Brie, Ion Gumenâi, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 280p. Financed by Bihor County Council, 2012. Research project: The Publishing of the Volume: Sorin Șipoș, Edith Bodo, Sever Dumitrașcu, Gabriel Moisa, Stelian Nistor, Florin Sfrengu, *Villages on the Upper Bistra Valley, History and Society*, Editura Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea, 2012, 141p. Financed by Bihor County Council, 2012. Research project: The Publishing of the Volume: *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, coordinators: Sorin Șipoș, Gabriel Moisa, Dan Octavian Cefruga, Mircea Brie, Teodor Mateoc, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, 292p.

² Grant type A: *Evoluția comunităților românești din Ungaria în secolele XIX-XX*, financed by C.N.C.S.U., period 2001-2003, member; Jean Monnet Project, *Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union Eastern Border*, project no. 176197-LLP-1-2010-1-RO-AJM-MO, 2010-2013, member. *Patrimoniul Cultural Metropolitan Oradea*. NGO Fond, Expert. 2010. MINERVA – *Cooperare pentru cariera de elită în cercetarea doctorală și post-doctorală*. POSDRU 159/1.5/S/137832. 2014-2015. Expert for the monitorization-evaluation of the scientific results.

For my scientific activity, I was honoured with the following awards and distinctions: *Dimitrie Onciul Award of the Romanian Academy* (2010), *Diploma of Excellency for the Outstanding Contribution to the Development and Preservation of National Heritage* awarded by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, 2009, *Prize awarded by the ISSI quoted magazine, Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, on the History domain, in 2008, *Prize awarded by the University of Oradea for The Best Book Published in 2008 at the University of Oradea*, *The Prizes Awarded by the University of Oradea for Research Activity* (years : 2007-2008-2009), *Bologna Professor* in 2014.

The scientific and academic experience gained over the years made me realize that it takes a team of experts to investigate the research topics mentioned above, and other more, through an interdisciplinary analysis and on a long period of time, to provide relevant answers to the topics investigated. Accordingly, in 2008 we have initiated and organized, together with specialists from the State University of Moldova, the Centre for Imperial Studies. I must emphasize that the team of historians currently involved in the scientific activity of the Centre have a professional quality and a research and publishing capacity evidenced by the following data: 15 of the 16 members are doctors in history and 6 are PhD. theses coordinators. Also, between 2007-2014, 63 volumes were published by the members of the centre and two national and international journals were issued, namely the *Annals of the University of Oradea*, *Series History-Archaeology* and *Romanian Review of Financial and Banking History*; in the past six years there have been organized 28 local scientific sessions, 15 national and 13 international; we have teaching and scientific relations with 21 universities in Europe and North America.

The Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies investigates, through a comparative analysis, the destiny of the Romanians from two provinces at the extremities of the Romanian space - Bessarabia and the Romanian West, the imperial policies which were developed here, the ethno-cultural and religious dialogue across the two Romanian borders, the concept of Europe and Europe's eastern border image. The topics are part of a modern research direction, a meditation on the image of Europe, the concept of Europe, the image of the other. We, therefore, believe that a meditation on these lines of research is more than needed. Since 2013, the Centre for Imperial Studies has changed its name to the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies and came under the scientific patronage of the Romanian Academy. Since the establishment of the centre and to the present day I, as a director, have coordinated its activity. In the research conducted, we used the comparative method and the long-term analysis of the border issue. From the methodological point of view, we intended to make a long-term analysis, from the Middle Ages to the new contemporary age, and in terms of research methods, we thought that the most complex and comprehensive research is the interdisciplinary one. All of these were devoted to the investigation of the two extremities of the Romanian space from the edge of the empires. The topics that we have planned to investigate, namely the border issue, the concept of Europe, the image of the other, were decided in scientific meetings by the members from Oradea and Chisinau. The collaboration was conceived as quarterly scientific meetings in the form of conferences, symposia, roundtables and release of scientific publications. In addition, we decided that the scientific papers should be published in separate volumes, first in Romanian and then in languages with international circulation. Along with the work done as sole author or in collaboration, I was interested in the development and publication of research results that had investigated modern topics and in connection to the Romanian spaces included in the USSR and on which there was little written in Romanian historiography.

In terms of the individual research directions, in 2008 I have initiated and organized several national and international scientific meetings. Thus, on the issues of border, Europe, the image and the imaginary and in collaboration with the State University of Moldova, to

which it had associated at different points in time the Transylvanian Studies Center in Cluj-Napoca, the Department of Romance Studies at the University of Padua, the University Ca' Foscari of Venice, the Department of History and Geography at the University Jules Verne of Amiens and the Department of History at the University of Paris X, we have organized the following scientific meetings: the International Symposium *The Borders of the Romanian Space in the European Context*, Oradea, Chişinău, May 8-11, 2008; the International Scientific Seminar *Historiography and Politics in Eastern and Western Romanian Space*, Chişinău, September 12, 2008; International Symposium *Imperial Policies in Eastern and Western Romanian Space*, Oradea, June 10-13, 2010; *Romanian Society between Imperial Frontiers. Centre and Periphery in the History of the Romanians*, Chişinău, October 7-9, 2010; *Nazione Autodeterminazione e Integrazione nell'Europa Centro-Meridionale*, martedi 12 aprile, 2011 Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia; *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, Oradea, June 4-8, 2013; International Scientific Session *The Image of Central Europe and of the European Union in the Narrations of Foreign Travellers*, July 17-26, Oradea, Chişinău, 2014; International Scientific Symposium *Historical Tradition and European Perspective*, Chisinau, July 21-23, 2014. Besides the experts from the two universities, participating in these events there were also researchers and university professors from Cluj-Napoca, Iasi, Bucharest, Budapest, Miskolc, Padua, Reims, Amiens, Nanterre, Caen etc. Lectures were followed shortly by the editing of the conference volumes.

Following these conferences, we initiated and completed the publication of eight volumes in Romanian or in languages with international circulation. We mention the following volumes: **Sorin Şipoş**, Mircea Brie, Sfrengu Florin, Ion Gumenăi (coordinators), *Frontierele spaţiului românesc în context european*, (*The Borders of the Romanian space in the European context*) Editura Universităţii din Oradea-Editura Cartdidact Chişinău, 2008, 457 p.; Svetlana Suveică, Ion Eremia, Sergiu Matveev, **Sorin Şipoş** (coordonatori), *Istoriografie şi politică în vestul şi estul spaţiului românesc*, (*History and Politics in the West and East of the Romanian Space*) Editura Universităţii din Oradea, Oradea, 2009, 349 p; **Sorin Şipos**, Mircea Brie, Florin Sfrengu, Ion Gumenăi (coordonatori), *Frontierele spaţiului românesc în context european*, (*The Borders of the Romanian space in the European context*) Ediţia a II-a, revizuită, Editura Universităţii din Oradea-Editura Cartdidact, Chişinău, Oradea, 2010, 547p., *Politici imperiale în estul şi vestul spaţiului românesc*, (*Imperial Policies in the East and West of the Romanian Space*) coordonatori Sorin Şipoş, Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Ion Gumenăi, Editura Editura Universităţii din Oradea, Oradea, 2010, 483p. Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, **Sorin Şipoş** (coordonatori), *Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union Eastern Border*, Debrecen University Press, 2011, 500p. Mircea Brie, Sorin Şipoş, Ioan Horga (**coordonatori**), *Ethno-Confessional Realities in the Romanian Area. Historical Perspectives (XVIII-XX Centuries)*, Supplement of *Eurolimes*, Editura Universităţii din Oradea, 2011, 319p.; *Nazionalità e Autodeterminazione in Europe Centrale: Il Caso Romeno*, coordonatori Francesco Leoncini, **Sorin Şipoş**, Quaderni Della Casa Romana di Venezia, IX, 2012, Institutul Cultural Român, Bucureşti, 2013, 230 p.; **Sorin Şipoş**, Gabriel Moisa, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Mircea Brie, Teodor Mateoc, *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 292p. The volumes enjoyed a good reception in the national and European scientific world.

Also, to investigate the issue of power's symbolic and political imaginary throughout European history, as well as the status of history and its relationship with philology, I initiated and organized six scientific meetings attended by colleagues from the University of Padua, Department of Romance Philology, who were later joined by colleagues from Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, State University of Moldova, Ca' Foscari University of

Venice. Conferences are, no doubt, unique approaches on the relationship between history and philology, the notion of historical document, but equally classic approaches on the concept of document, the nation and the status of history as a discipline and historiography as a scientific product. The conferences: *Textus testis. Valore documentario e dimensioni letterarie del testo storico* (*Textus testis. Documentary value and literary dimension of the historical text*), Padua, November 17, 2009; the International Symposium on *Istorie. Literatură. Politică* (*History. Literature. Politics*), Oradea, November 4-7, 2010; *Istorie și Arheologie în Centrul Europei. Noi interpretări istoriografice* (*History and Archaeology in Central Europe. New Historiographical Interpretations*), Oradea, May 4-8, 2011; *Nazione, Autodeterminazione e Integrazione nell'Europa Centro-Meridionale*, Tuesday, April 12, 2011, Università Ca 'Foscari di Venezia; *The Historian's Workshop: Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, the 5th Edition, Oradea, Chișinău, May 26-28, 2011; *Un'Idea d'Europa. Prospettive storiche e filologiche da est e da vest*, Padova, November 10-11, 2011; *Statutul istoriei și al istoricilor în contemporaneitate* (*The Status of History and Historians in the Present*), Oradea-Băile Felix, October 17-20, 2013 were initiated and organized by me with the help of colleagues from the Department of History.

The conference papers were published and disseminated in the major national and university libraries. It was, as always, a difficult work to review all those papers, to prepare them for printing, to find financial resources for printing. In all these steps, I engaged in a responsible manner and with great professionalism and I was able to get those conference volumes printed. The six collective volumes are: Cepraga Dan, **Sorin Șipoș**, *Textus testis. Valore documentario e dimensioni letterarie del testo storico*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea-Padova, 2010, 239p.; *History and Archaeology in Central Europe. New Historiographical Interpretations*, coordinators Florin Sfrengeu, Éva Gyulai, **Sorin Șipoș**, Delia Radu, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2011, 203p.; **Sorin Șipoș**, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Ioan Aurel Pop, *Textus Testis. Documentary Value and Literary Dimension of the Historical Text*, Romanian Academy. Centre for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj, 2011, 281p.; *The Historian's Atelier: Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, coordonatori **Sorin Șipoș**, Gabriel Moisa, Florin Sfrengeu, Mircea Brie, Ion Gumenâi, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 280p.; *Statutul istoriei și al istoricilor în contemporaneitate*, coordonatori Gabriel Moisa, **Sorin Șipoș**, Igor Șarov, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, 439p.; *Categorie europene. Rappresentazioni storiche e letterarie del "Politico"*, *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. XXIII, Supplement No. 1, coordonatori **Sorin Șipoș**, Federico Donatiello, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Aurel Chiriac, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, 319p.

Undoubtedly the research directions promoted and encouraged are important and gives the centre that I coordinate a certain specificity and individuality among historical researches in Romania. The presence of colleagues from several important universities in Europe is a guarantee of the seriousness and timeliness of the research topics promoted and developed by us. In addition, the research activity developed and initiated by us at the centre provides a favorable framework for the involvement and empowering of our younger colleagues.

1.II. The Scientific Activity

1.a. The life and work of historian Silviu Dragomir

1. In terms of the scientific research directions investigated after obtaining my doctoral degree in 2001, I will refer only to the most important. A first research direction seeks to put into the scientific circulation aspects from the life and scientific activity of historian Silviu Dragomir. Our work continued in this direction after the public dissertation and publication of the thesis³. The work enjoyed a good reception in the scientific world, as evidenced by the numerous reviews published in magazines⁴. I felt that the work itself was an important step, but in the context of Romania in 2001, it could not exhaust the research. In this respect, there were introduced in the scientific circuit unpublished documentary sources (documents, manuscripts, studies) and important works of historian Silviu Dragomir have been reprinted. The line of research fits into the general framework of the restitution project concerning the scientific and political activity of Romanian intellectuals after 1989, after a period in which the historical writing's image was obscured in communist Romania. Political changes that have occurred in Romania in 1989 have influenced historical writing. Free of ideological pressures, most Romanian historians have sought models either in the Western historiography, especially in the French one or in the works of interwar Romanian historians. Consequently, the work of historians like: Gheorghe I. Brătianu, P.P. Panaitescu, Nicolae Iorga, Ioan Lupaș, Alexandru Lapedatu etc. were reprinted in the new political context, many of them being banned under the communist regime. Therefore, the investigation of the historiographic research directions during the early years of communism imposes itself, considering that during the communist regime there were major frauds in the historical writing. From a methodological perspective conducting investigations on the Romanian historians who have suffered under the communist regime seems to be the most appropriate way to proceed to the second phase of major historiographic syntheses. Parallel with the restitutive approach, our experts make great efforts in order to modernize the historical discourse, to find compatibility with the new research directions in Western and American historiography⁵. We believe that our historiographic research can be incorporated into the

³ Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir-istoric*, Preface by Ioan-Aurel Pop, Fundația Culturală Română, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, 440 p.

⁴ The study enjoyed a good reception among experts, the following reviews being published: Barbu Ștefănescu, *Un istoric de excepție într-o monografie temeinică*, in *Familia*, 2004, no. 6, p. 51-56; Șerban Papacostea, *Sorin Șipoș, Silviu Dragomir-istoric*, in *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, vol. XXI, Brăila, 2004, p. 481-482; Iacob Mârza, *Istorie și națiune*, in *Cotidianul. Supliment cultural*, September 22, 2004, p. 2; Liana Lăpădatu, *Sorin Șipoș, Silviu Dragomir-istoric*, in *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XIII, no. 1, 2004, p. 155-156. Ion Alexandru Mizgan, *Sorin Șipoș, Silviu Dragomir-istoric* in *Altarul Banatului*, year XVI, no. 7-9, 2005, p. 148-150; Stelian Mândruț, *Sorin Șipoș, Silviu Dragomir-istoric*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, no. 43, 2004, p. 697-698. Radu Mârza, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Colloquia*, , vol. XII, no. 1-2, 2005, p. 284-287.

⁵ See some of the reference works published by French historiography on history and the relationship between history and other disciplines. Reinhart Koselleck, *Le futur passé. Contribution à la sémantique des temps passés historiques*. Traduit de l'allemand par Jochen Hoock, Marie-Claire Hoock, Paris, 1990, 329p. Raymond Aron, *Dimensions de la conscience historique*, Préface de Perrine Simon Nahum, Paris, 2011, 299p. Krzysztof Pomian, *Sur l'histoire*, Paris, 1999, 410p. *Historicités*, sous la direction de Christian Delacroix, Françoise Dosse, Patrick Garcia, Paris, 2009, 299p. Moses I. Finley, *Mythe, Mémoire, Histoire, Les usages du passé*. Textes traduits de l'anglais par Jeannie Carlier et Yvonne Llavador, Paris, 1981, 270p. See also the fundamental study *Les sciences historiques. De l'Antiquité à nos jours*. Sous la direction de Charles-Olivier Carbonell, Jean Walch, Roland Marx, Laurent Cesari, Paris, 1994, 637p.

general evolution of Romanian historiography, namely, on the one hand the tendency to continue the interwar tradition and what was valid and applicable during the communist regime and on the other hand, to follow the suggestions of Western historiography, particularly the French ones, through modern and interdisciplinary research.

Soon I began to think about the necessity of reprinting the monograph *Silviu Dragomir-istoric (Silviu Dragomir – Historian)*, published in 2002. Several reasons have led us to prepare the book's reprinting. First, the access to some unpublished documentary sources, especially the study *Cavalerii ioaniți și românii (The Knights of St. John and the Romanians)*, found at the Romanian Academy. The study, donated to the library by the family after the death of Silviu Dragomir in order to enter the scientific circulation has not been made available to researchers. Even though Silviu Dragomir disputed the authenticity of the Diploma of the Knights of St. John, this explaining the refusal to put the manuscript in the scientific circuit, the document is fundamental for understanding the historian's method and views and it, paradoxically, brings clarifications on the historian's conclusions on the Romanians union with the Church of Rome. Also, the access to the historian's surveillance file from 1955-1962, currently found at the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives, which was not available at the time of the first edition's preparation. The documents shed new light on Silviu Dragomir's status after his release from prison, demonstrating, if proofs were needed, that the political authorities had no confidence in him. The historian was always under the surveillance of the Securitate, he was chased and spied on by the officers of the former Securitate, even though he was old and sick.

Finally, new documents provided by Mrs. Florica Enescu, the historian's niece, namely original studies, correspondence and photographs that belonged to Silviu Dragomir, complete the information on Silviu Dragomir. There are dozens of new, fundamental documents, which provide new information on Silviu Dragomir's studies and his relationship with the Securitate. The new data do not change the conclusions that we reached in the monograph published in 2002, they only complete the biography and scientific work carried out by the historian. The second edition of our study appeared in 2008 and was reviewed in Romania and in the Republic of Moldova⁶. I must point out an important fact, namely that we have not removed any line from the first edition's text, we only supplemented the information with new documentary sources published in 2002-2008. I also filled in the chapter on the historian's life and work with new studies published in 2002-2008. Finally, the fact that all the copies of the monograph were sold led us to think of a new edition, postponed again and again because the documentary sources and studies determined the printing of a new edition.

While writing the monograph, in the first stage, I was focused on the identification of the studies written by Silviu Dragomir. Attention was focused on the contributions published by the author during his life, as well as on the editions and studies published by specialists like Pompiliu Teodor, Mircea Păcurariu etc. *Books, studies, articles, reviews, reports, papers, scientific notes, conference texts* published by the author in scientific and cultural journals, in the press of his time represented documentary sources important in the writing of the monograph. These were supplemented by Silviu Dragomir's studies left until the present in manuscript form. In this sense, we investigated the documentary funds from the archives and libraries in Deva, Cluj-Napoca, Sibiu and Bucharest. In fact, while writing the monograph,

⁶ Constantin Hlihor, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir-istoric*, in *Analele Universității Creștine Dimitrie Cantemir, București, Seria Istorie*, New Series, 1st year, no. 3, 2010, p. 220-221. Igor Șarov, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir-istoric*, în *Destin românesc*, 2009, 4th year, no. 4, p. 148-151. Ion Eremia, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir-istoric*, in *Tyragetia. Istorie și muzeologie*, New Series, vol. IV, no. 2, Chișinău, 2010, p. 315-320; Ion Alexandru Mizgan, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir-istoric*, in *Tabor*, 2008, p. 1-2.

one of the principles that guided us was to have a comprehensive documentary material. For full objectivity, we mention that at the Academy Library we were long time refused the access to Silviu Dragomir's study *Cavalerii ioaniți și românii*, found in manuscript.

Along with the sources mentioned above, Silviu Dragomir's *correspondence* with the institutions in Romania, with historians and different scholars was, in its turn, a very important documentary source. Silviu Dragomir's letters revealed his mood, feelings and concerns, his innermost thoughts, plans and scientific projects. They often helped us reconstitute the *deep history* of his works and the *steps* taken by the author in his intellectual formation. The historian's correspondence, especially after 1955, is a valuable documentary source in the reconstitution of the past few years of his scientific activity. The letters exchanged by Silviu Dragomir with different scientific and cultural institutions, as well as some historians, testify to the difficulties encountered when trying to reintegrate into the academic community as well as the cynicism of the authorities of that time.

Important documentary sources in the shaping of his academic and scientific activities are *the political and legal decisions of the Romanian state*, most of them unknown to specialists, that determined the historian's removal from the higher education, the Romanian Academy and his being sentenced to prison for a long period of time. For the the reconstitution of the scientific activity in his last years of life, we have used *information obtained from former colleagues at the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj, as well as from some of his friends and collaborators. Investigations carried out by Romanian specialists on his historical writing* are useful sources for us. Similarly, *the syntheses of the history of Romanian historiography, the studies and works devoted to the positivist historiography* helped us, to a great extent, to contextualize his opera. Meanwhile, researches of the twentieth century Romanian historiography on the Middle Ages, the Romanians religious union with the Church of Rome and the Revolution of 1848, allowed us to determine whether the conclusions reached by the author are still valid.

In the first chapter of the monograph we capture Silviu Dragomir's life in its many forms. We believe that even in a research on the history of historiography it is necessary to grasp the essential stages in the life of the author. The origin, the intellectual environment in which he was formed, the place where he worked, his sympathies and political activity, all helped us to understand the propensity for certain issues and any influences caused by his political sympathies and Orthodox faith. Consequently, we presented those issues related to his intellectual formation and activity at the Theological Institute in Sibiu and Cluj University. There are considered to be relevant, unlike in previous works devoted to the life and work of the author, the political activity, the period of detention and early activity after his release from prison.

I designed the following chapters based on major topics investigated by Silviu Dragomir. Thus, in the third chapter his studies on medieval history are analyzed. In the fourth chapter the religious union and the religious phenomena are examined as they appear in Silviu Dragomir's work. The fifth chapter is devoted to the investigation of the Revolution of 1848. In order to capture the level achieved by the Romanian historiography in these areas, at the beginning of each chapter I made a history of the issues investigated until Silviu Dragomir's debut in the historical research. For each chapter there are presented the documentary sources used in the writing of studies and papers as well as the work method used by the author. Where documentary sources allowed, the steps taken by the historian during the writing process of some of his works are presented. So we managed to get into the historian's laboratory, to see the struggles which accompanied the creation, to understand the gestation and the development of some of the topics investigated by the historian. In order to point out the extent to which the findings of his investigations were imposed in the Romanian historiography, at the end of each chapter we capture the state of research of the moment.

Also, research conducted by Silviu Dragomir was investigated by us in relation to his political activity and political events in Romania after the communist regime. So many shades of the historian's biography, as well as from his research work received answers less than satisfactory.

As for the historian's scientific work carried out after 2001, we must specify that the development of the monograph requires with necessity the outlining of previous research studies on the work and life of the historian. It was presumable that the vastness of Silviu Dragomir's work and the diversity of the issues he had investigated would have a chilling effect on the initiatives of the Romanian specialists who would have dared to undertake an overall research. We see, therefore, that most studies on his historical writing aimed particularly one problem. Some of the studies concerned with the history of historiography also include considerations on the intellectual formation and, generally, data regarding his biography.

Shortly after Silviu Dragomir's death, articles and studies about his work and life were published. The first contribution is historian Vasile Maciu's *Preface* to Silviu Dragomir's monograph about Avram Iancu, work published posthumously⁷. The specialist finished his book since 1958, but its publication was banned until 1965⁸. In the coming years, the policies promoted in Romania proved more open to the national values. In such a political situation and amid increasing national emphasis in the speech of communist leaders, Silviu Dragomir's monograph about Avram Iancu is also published. The lines written by Vasile Maciu about the historian's life and work need to be judged according to the political context of the time. With few exceptions, the considerations made on the life and scientific work of historian Silviu Dragomir up to 1948, are honest. Vasile Maciu pointed out the research lines promoted by the historian from Transylvania, namely: the investigation of the national movement of the Romanians from Transylvania in the eighteenth century, the Romanians' religious ties with Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the union of the Romanians with the Roman Church and the Revolution of 1848. The academician Vasile Maciu presented in the second part of the study the scientific work carried out by the historian from Cluj between 1948 and 1962. The life and work of the professor from Transylvania are treated in the spirit of the era, many essential facts from the biography of the author being ignored. There is no reference to Silviu Dragomir's arrest and imprisonment by the communists between 1949 and 1955. The fact that the historian had acted for achieving the national unity and, later, to defend reunited Romania was not enough evidence of his patriotism in the eyes of the communist authorities. Consequently, the scientific work carried out by Silviu Dragomir was *embellished* to fit the discourse promoted by the Communist Party. Even Vasile Maciu wrote in this regard: "Silviu Dragomir appropriated the Marxist philosophy in the new political realities from Romania"⁹. The academician's opinion on the view and method of Silviu Dragomir is not found but in a small extent in his historical work written during the communist regime.

The following year, sociologist Eugeniu Sperantia published an interesting cameo in *Steaua* magazine, entitled *Figuri universitare: Silviu Dragomir*¹⁰. The study evoked the historian's role during the Union of Transylvania with Romania. Eugeniu Sperantia's

⁷ Vasile Maciu, *Prefață*, in Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, București, 1965, p. 5-10.

⁸ The notification that Editura Stiințifică sent Silviu Dragomir by which he was informed of the termination of his publishing contract, in Arhivele Naționale-Direcția Județeană Deva, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, dosar 93, p. 1.

⁹ "The cultural revolution undertaken under the leadership of the Communist Party, starting with 1948, also engaged the passionate researcher of the liberation movement of the Romanians from Transylvania. Although quite old, but with a quick mind, Silviu Dragomir managed to acquire the materialist view of history and use it to give a scientific foundation to his new history works"(Vasile Maciu, *Prefață* in Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, p. 8).

¹⁰ Eugeniu Sperantia, *Figuri universitare: Silviu Dragomir*, in *Steaua*, year XVII, 1966, no. 11, p. 43-46.

contribution to the historian's biography is based on the memories of the Romanian sociologist and fortunately includes pertinent observations on Silviu Dragomir's scientific work, teaching and involvement in protecting reunited Romania. It should be noted that the man of culture, Eugeniu Sperantia is the first biographer who referred to the political activity carried out by the historian, namely the period when he was the Minister of Minorities¹¹. His considerations on Silviu Dragomir's involvement in politics constitute a first step for an honest reconstitution of his personality. Meanwhile, Eugeniu Sperantia was aware that many aspects of the historian's life, especially between 1948 and 1955 could not be honestly presented; therefore, he preferred to keep them silent. The only reference to the scientific activities during the new political realities in Romania that he made is to the publishing of the monograph devoted to Avram Iancu and the method used by the specialist in developing it¹². Designed in an obvious note of sympathy, Sperantia's study exploited the memories of the years 1918-1921, when the two intellectuals met and worked together.

Shortly, in 1968 respectively, Ion Clopoșel evoked Silviu Dragomir's personality in *Amintiri și portrete (Memories and portraits)*. Proving a remarkable objectivity, the man of culture deplored that so far very little has been written about the scientific, academic and political work carried out by the historian from Cluj¹³. Ion Clopoșel sketched a portrait of Silviu Dragomir based on the memories of 1910, when they met at Vălenii de Munte. Emphasis is placed on historian's political activity around the assembly held in Alba Iulia 1918. Witness to the moments preceding the assembly, Ion Clopoșel shows the genuine involvement of the young Transylvanian intellectual, determined to reject the idea of a conditioned union with Romania, raised by some of the leaders of the Romanians from Transylvania. The text's novelty is given by the presentation of Professor Silviu Dragomir's work in the Transylvanian press before the union, as well as his collaboration with some newspapers in the interwar period. In the same year, Professor Liviu Maior published in *Tribuna* a material that reveals the role played by Silviu Dragomir in the preparation of the assembly from Alba Iulia¹⁴. The young professor from the University of Cluj presents the stages of Silviu Dragomir's work as an editor at *Gazeta Poporului* starting with January 1918, and, later, as a member of the Council of Sibiu, notary of the assembly and chief of the press office of the Ruling Council (Consiliul Dirigent). The study emphasizes Silviu Dragomir's civic dimension and patriotism, qualities about which one could write at that time.

An overview of the specialist's intellectual formation and scientific work is due to Professor Pompiliu Teodor, in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*¹⁵ (*The Encyclopedia of the Romanian Historiography*). The biography he wrote constitutes the beginning of his research on the work of the professor from Cluj. The studies *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al unității naționale*¹⁶ (*Silviu Dragomir, historian of the national unity*) and *Silviu Dragomir*¹⁷ complete successfully the previously published contributions on his scientific and political activity. Professor Teodor's contributions are representative for outlining research directions in the historian's work, namely the investigation of medieval institutions, the destiny of the Romanian population between the Danube and the Balkans, the Western Romanians and the national and religious movements of the Romanians from Transylvania in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Another interesting material published by Stelian Mândruț, researcher

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 44-45.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 46.

¹³ Ion Clopoșel, *Amintiri și portrete*, Timișoara, 1973, p. 193-203.

¹⁴ Liviu Maior, *Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962)*, in *Tribuna*, 1968, no. 40, p. 6.

¹⁵ *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, București, 1978, p. 129-130.

¹⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al unității naționale*, in *Tribuna*, 1985, no. 49, p. 2.

¹⁷ Idem, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Tribuna*, 1988, no. 10, p. 8.

from Cluj *Câteva repere privind publicistica interbelică a lui Silviu Dragomir*¹⁸ (*Some guidelines on Silviu Dragomir's interwar publishing*). Without pretending to be complete, the study examines a little-known dimension of the activity of the professor from Cluj, namely that of a journalist. Following his interwar publishing, Stelian Mândruț reveals an important aspect of the work's history, namely that most of his scientific contributions have been preceded by articles in the press of his time¹⁹.

The year 1988 marked 100 years since the birth of Silviu Dragomir. The anniversary was a good opportunity for the publication of numerous articles²⁰, studies²¹ and critical editions²². On this occasion, the materials devoted to the work and life of Silviu Dragomir beyond what was published in the time period between 1962 and 1988. Of the articles published, we notice the ones belonging to Professor Pompiliu Teodor, which capture the topics investigated by Silviu Dragomir. The historian's intellectual formation and his research are integrated by the academician Pompiliu Teodor in the context of the Transylvanian historiography from the first half of the twentieth century. Among the studies published for the centenary, Professor Emil Stoian's material and Professor Priest Mircea Păcurariu's contribution stand out. Professor Emil Stoian shaped, based on archival sources, the childhood and the studies followed by the future academician, namely his intellectual formation stages. The study, overwhelming in terms of the new information introduced into the scientific circulation, clarifies Silviu Dragomir's intellectual path until the beginning of his teaching carried out at the Andreean Institute of Sibiu.

The material published by Mircea Păcurariu, a known historian of the church, is the first substantial step towards developing a future work devoted to Silviu Dragomir's biography. The author describes the intellectual and political path followed by the historian until 1962, using this unique archival sources. The researcher from Sibiu was forced to abandon, in the respective political context, the investigation of an important segment of the political work carried out by Silviu Dragomir in the interwar period and the period of detention from Sighet. Mircea Păcurariu's analysis on the historical writing in the work of Silviu Dragomir, has, however, unequal value. However, given the unique documentary material and the thorough analysis of the contributions to the church history in the work of Silviu Dragomir, the study represents a real contribution to the historiography of the problem.

¹⁸ Stelian Mândruț, *Câteva repere privind publicistica istorică interbelică a lui Silviu Dragomir*, in *Vatra*, no. 12, 1986, p. 189 B. Also useful is the study *Romulus Vuia către Silviu Dragomir*, published by Stelian Mândruț in *Anuarul de folclor*, V-VII, 1984-1987, Cluj-Napoca, 1987, p. 409-415.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*

²⁰ Liviu Maior, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric și luptător pentru unitatea națională*, in *Steaua*, 1988, no. 4, p. 40; Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Tribuna*, 1988, no. 10, p. 8; Idem, *1848: poporul întreg răspunde la chemarea țării (Despre viața și activitatea lui Silviu Dragomir)*, in *Magazin istoric*, 1988, no. 5, p. 12-13; Mariana Vlasiu, *Silviu Dragomir – credința în viitorul patriei române întregite*, in *Revista Comisiei Naționale Române pentru UNESCO*, 1988, no. 1, p. 66-68; Ștefan Pascu, *Profesorul Silviu Dragomir, profil spiritual*, în *Tribuna*, 1988, no. 22, p. 2; Nicolae Bocșan, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al revoluției de la 1848*, in *Tribuna*, 1989, no. 36, p. 3.

²¹ Nicolae Stoian, *Date privitoare la formația intelectuală a istoricului Silviu Dragomir*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXVIII, 1987-1988, p. 563-581; Nicolae Stoicescu, *100 de ani de la nașterea istoricului Silviu Dragomir*, in *Revista de istorie*, 1988, no. 5, p. 525-534; Mircea Păcurariu, *O sută de ani de la nașterea istoricului Silviu Dragomir (1888-1988)*, in *Mitropolia Ardealului*, year XXXII, 1988, no. 2, Sibiu, p. 109-122; Acațiu Egyed, *Silviu Dragomir și cercetarea revoluției din Transilvania de la 1848-1849*, in *Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice*, 1988, tome 13, p. 11-18.

²² Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*. Preface and chronology by Francisc Păcurariu, București, 1988, 378 p.; Silviu Dragomir, *Studii privind istoria revoluției române de la 1848*. Edition, introduction, notes, coments by Pompiliu Teodor, Cluj-Napoca, 1989, 218 p.

The centenary also occasioned the first Silviu Dragomir edition, edited by academician Pompiliu Teodor. The work is completed by the author with an extensive and well-documented introductory study on the researches of the Revolution from 1848.

Finally, it is necessary to summarize some of the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the works devoted to the life and work of Silviu Dragomir, published in the period between 1962 and 1989. The vast majority of the materials include information on historian's intellectual formation, political activity and work. The studies devoted exclusively to his historical writing are small in number. We find that the first published articles intended to reconstitute in very general lines the destiny and scientific work of the historian who recently passed away. They are written mainly by intellectuals who have known and worked with Silviu Dragomir. A few decades after the historian's death, the analysts of his work felt the need to appeal to the source material held in the archives of Sibiu, Deva and Cluj. The result of their research has brought more clarity in the historian's biography and more information known only to his former colleagues and collaborators. In terms of the topic, we note that the published materials present Silviu Dragomir's work at the national level, the accomplishment of the union, his defending of the reunited Romania and the investigation of the national movement of the Romanians in Transylvania. The emphasis put on the national and patriotic dimensions of interwar historians' work, needless to say, was encouraged by the communist regime after 1964, not for scientific reasons, but also to secure for itself the support of intellectuals and public opinion in Romania. The work undertaken by the specialist on the realm of religious life and the investigation of many aspects of medieval history were not sufficiently emphasized by analysts of his work. We found a similar attitude in the highlighting of his political activity and in relation to his participation in the governments during the authoritarian regime established by Carol II as well as the National Renaissance Front. On Silviu Dragomir's ordeal suffered after the installation of the communist regime in Romania there was nothing written at all.

Political changes that occurred in Romania in 1989 influenced historical writing. Free of ideological pressures, most Romanian historians have sought models either in the Western historiography, especially in the French one or in the works of interwar Romanian historians. Consequently, the work of historians like: Gheorghe I. Brătianu, P. P. Panaitescu, Nicolae Iorga, Ioan Lupaș, Alexandru Lapedatu etc. was reprinted in the new political context, many of which were banned under the communist regime. Parallel to the restitutive approach, our experts make great efforts to modernize the historical discourse and to find compatibility with new research directions in Western and American historiography.

After 1989, out of all the works written by historian Silviu Dragomir only the topics consistent with discussions initiated in the Romanian society were investigated. Thus, amid the religious disputes between the Orthodox and Greek Catholics, that emerged in Romania since 1990, at the initiative of the Orthodox hierarchs, Silviu Dragomir's study on the Romanians union with the Church of Rome was reprinted²³. In the thought of scientific reassessment of the historian's contribution to the issue of religious union and of the Romanians relations with Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the experts from Cluj, Greta Miron²⁴ and Ovidiu Ghitta²⁵ published two interesting material, using for this purpose, papers known to specialists. In the same note we have material on the

²³ Silviu Dragomir, *Românii din Transilvania și unirea cu Biserica Romei. Documente apocrife privitoare la începuturile unirii cu catolicismul roman (1697-1701)*. Extract from the magazine *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, year LXXX, September-October 1962, no. 9-10, Cluj, 1990, 97 p.

²⁴ Greta Monica Miron, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric al „unirii” religioase*, in *Revista istorică*, 1992, no. 5-6, p. 599-604.

²⁵ Ovidiu Ghitta, *Silviu Dragomir, historien des relations ecclésiastiques roumano-russes*, in *Transylvanian Review*, 1993, no. 2, p. 53-59.

Revolution of 1848 published by academician Pompiliu Teodor²⁶, the edition of medieval history texts, edited by Sorin Şipoş²⁷ and the reprinting in Romanian, of the study *Banatul românesc*²⁸. The study published by Anca Tanaşoca, *Contribuția lui Silviu Dragomir la cercetarea romanității balcanice*²⁹, reveals the investigations made by the specialist in a field nearly overlooked by the analysts of his work. The material is the most comprehensive review of the research carried out by Silviu Dragomir on the Romanians from the Balkan Peninsula, namely in Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, on the Dalmatian coast and Istria Peninsula.

For the restitution of the Cluj historian's personality and especially to clarify his fate after 1948, the data provided by Florica Enescu³⁰, one of the professor's granddaughters and by academicians Camil Mureşanu³¹ and Pompiliu Teodor³² are both interesting and useful. We also mention the study of Vasile Ionaş³³ and the one published by Sorin Şipoş³⁴, the latter performed on unpublished documents in the custody of the Ministry of Justice. Stelian Mândruţ also had an attempt to reconstitute historian Silviu Dragomir's destiny between 1948 and 1955, but he stuck to general considerations, without using unpublished information³⁵. The material published by Professor Nicolae Bocşan captures the intellectual and research directions in the work of historian Silviu Dragomir³⁶. We then note the studies which highlight the scientific work carried out by Silviu Dragomir after his release from prison, and in particular, the steps taken in developing the monograph devoted to Avram Iancu³⁷ and the study *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în evul mediu*³⁸ (*The Vlachs from the North of the Balkan Peninsula during the Middle Ages*). Silviu Dragomir's attachment to national values and his involvement in defending the reunited Romania are outlined by Professor Cornel Crăciun³⁹.

In 2002 the first monograph *Silviu Dragomir - istoric*⁴⁰ (*Silviu Dragomir-Historian*) was published, with special attention devoted to the historiographical work, the intellectual formation and the academic and political activity carried out by Silviu Dragomir. The book is the result of a careful research of the already published bibliography of the problem and the

²⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Transylvanian Review*, 1998, no. 3, p. 64-75.

²⁷ Silviu Dragomir, *Studii de istorie medievală*. Edition, introductory study and notes by Sorin Şipoş, Cluj, 1998, 245 p.

²⁸ Silviu Dragomir, *Banatul românesc*. Introductory study by Nicolae Bocşan, Timișoara, 1999.

²⁹ Anca Tanaşoca, *Contribuția lui Silviu Dragomir la cercetarea romanității balcanice*, in *Sud-Estul și contextul european*. Buletin, II, 1994, p. 47-57.

³⁰ Florica Enescu, *Silviu Dragomir*, in Toader Buculei, *Clio încarcerată. Mărturii și opinii privind destinul istoriografiei românești în epoca totalitarismului comunist*, Brăila, 2000, p. 87-93.

³¹ Camil Mureşanu, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Munții Apuseni*, year III, 1997, no. 1-2, Oradea, p. 51-54.

³² Pompiliu Teodor, *Raportul lui Alexandru Lapedatu în vederea concursului organizat pentru ocuparea postului de profesor titular de către Silviu Dragomir*, in *Istoria – ca experiență intelectuală*. Volume edited by Corneliu Crăciun and Antonio Faur, Oradea, 2001, p. 343-347.

³³ Vasile Ionaş, *Fondul personal Silviu Dragomir*, in *Revista Arhivelor*, year LXXIV, vol. LIX, 1997, no. 2, p. 224-227.

³⁴ Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir în perioada „obsedantului deceniu”*, in *Analele Universității din Oradea*, Series History-Archaeology, tome X, 2000, p. 151-162.

³⁵ Stelian Mândruţ, *Istorici clujeni „epurați” în anul 1948*, în *Analele Sighet 6. Anul 1948 – instituționalizarea comunismului*, București, 1998, p. 565-560.

³⁶ Nicolae Bocşan, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Transylvanian Review*, 1998, no. 4, p. 46-51.

³⁷ Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir versus Editura Științifică*, in *Munții Apuseni*, year III, 1997, no. 1-2, Oradea, p. 72-81.

³⁸ Idem, *Destinul unei cărți: Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în evul mediu*, in *Adevărul omenește posibil pentru rânduirea binelui*. Volume edited by: Lucia Cornea, Mihai Drecin, Barbu Ştefănescu, Aurel Chiriac, Ioan Crişan, Sorin Şipoş, Florin Sfrengeu, Radu David, Elisabeta Ardelean, Oradea, 2001, p. 461-471.

³⁹ Cornel Crăciun, *Silviu Dragomir și „problema Transilvaniei” – jaloane ale demersului istoriografic*, in *Cele trei Crişuri*, 1992, no. 5, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric*. Preface by Ioan-Aurel Pop, Fundația Culturală Română, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, 440 p.

archival sources which allows the author to clarify the genesis of the great topics investigated by Silviu Dragomir, the extent to which the conclusions of his work are still valid and the historian's destiny during the communist regime. The work enjoyed a good reception in the expert world as evidenced by the many positive reviews which exempt us from the requirement somewhat unnatural, of writing about our own book⁴¹. In the same year, Archimandrite Emanuil Rus reissued *Istoria dezrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal secolul XVIII*⁴² (*The History of the Religious Setting Free of the Romanians in Transylvania in the Eighteenth Century*). The gesture, otherwise notable, is overshadowed by the modest introductory study which capitalizes the bibliography of the problem only to a small extent. The author does not comply with the mandatory scientific requirements and does not interpret Silviu Dragomir's work in the context of interwar historiography and that of the communist regime. In conclusion, the result was a praising speech, an unfortunately superficial analysis, unrelated to the scientific research. Unfortunately, the issue may be a negative example for what it means the republishing of fundamental works. In 2003, Sorin Șipoș, together with Ioan-Aurel Pop published the study *Silviu Dragomir - bursier al Fundației Gojdu*⁴³. Also, Stelian Mândruț published in the same collection the study *Membri ai Academiei Române, foști bursieri ai Fundației „Gojdu”* (*Members of the Romanian Academy, Alumni of the “Gojdu” Foundation*), which includes unpublished information on Silviu Dragomir's relations with “Gojdu” Foundation⁴⁴. Emanuil Rus published in 2004 the paper *Silviu Dragomir și raporturile româno-slave* (*Silviu Dragomir and the Romanian-Slavic Relations*), an important research topic for the Transylvanian historian⁴⁵. The subject is interesting and important for the historical research, but also difficult, because it requires mastery of historical and philological research methods and vast knowledge of history and historiography, Romanian and universal. As expected, this resulted in a modest analytical work, devoid of originality and wit, with many school like phrases compiled from the works already published. The author of the monograph often took phrases from published works without citing them, which is disqualifying. Radu Mârza dedicates Silviu Dragomir several, judiciously written, pages, in his doctoral thesis entitled *Istoria slavisticii românești. De la începuturi la primul război mondial*⁴⁶ (*The History of Romanian Slavic Studies. From the Beginnings until the First World War*). Liviu Pleșa, in his study *Dosarul de Securitate al istoricului Silviu Dragomir* (*Historian Silviu Dragomir's Securitate File*), based on original documents from the Archive of CNSAS⁴⁷ captures Silviu Dragomir's destiny after 1944, period during which he was chased

⁴¹ Barbu Ștefănescu, *Un istoric de excepție într-o monografie temeinică*, in *Familia*, 2003, nr. 6, p. 51-56; Șerban Papacostea, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric*, in *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, vol. XXI, Brăila, 2003, p. 481-482; Iacob Mârza, *Istorie și națiune*, in *Cotidianul. Supliment cultural*, September 22, 2003, p. 2; Liana Lăpădatu, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric*, in *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XIII, no. 1, 2004, p. 155-156; Ion Alexandru Mizgan, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric* in *Altarul Banatului*, year XVI, no. 7-9, 2005, p. 148-150; Stelian Mândruț, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, no. 43, 2004, p. 697-698; Radu Mârza, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric*, in *Colloquia*, vol. XII, no. 1-2, 2005, p. 284-287.

⁴² Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria dezrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, vol. I-II, edited, introductory study and notes by Archimandrite Emanuil Rus. Foreword by Onufrie Vințeler, Cluj-Napoca, 2002.

⁴³ Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir – bursier al Fundației Gojdu*, in *Emanuil Gojdu. Bicentinar*. Foreword: Acad. Eugen Simion. Coordinators: Cornel Sigmirean, Aurel Pavel, București, 2003, p. 169-174; 165-168.

⁴⁴ Stelian Mândruț, *Membri ai Academiei Române, foști bursieri ai Fundației „Gojdu”*, in *Emanuil Gojdu. Bicentinar*, p. 138; 141.

⁴⁵ Emanuil Rus, *Silviu Dragomir și raporturile româno-slave*. Preface by Onufrie Vințeler, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, 325 p.

⁴⁶ Radu Mârza, *Istoria slavisticii românești. De la începuturi la Primul Război Mondial. Teză de doctorat*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 377-381. The thesis was published, in anul 2008, with the title *The History of Romanian Slavic Studies. From the Beginnings until the First World War*, Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca, p. 409-413.

⁴⁷ Liviu Pleșa, *Dosarul de Securitate al istoricului Silviu Dragomir*, in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, tome IX, 2005, Alba Iulia, p. 217-229. See also Liviu Pleșa, *Istoricul Silviu Dragomir în plasa Securității*, in *Dosarele Istoriei*, year X, no. 11 (111), 2005, p. 40-47, in fact an abbreviated form of the previously mentioned study. In both

by the Securitate⁴⁸. In 2007, Sorin Şipoş reprinted the first volume of Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal secolul XVIII*⁴⁹ (*The History of the Religious Setting Free of the Romanians in Transylvania in the Eighteenth Century*). For Sorin Şipoş, Silviu Dragomir's life and work continued to be research topics even after the publication of the monograph⁵⁰.

After 1989, historian Silviu Dragomir's work remains a focus point for Romanian specialists. We notice, however, a change of the studies' topics. The national and patriotic dimension of Silviu Dragomir's work is now almost ignored by his biographers. The change produced in the Romanian historical writing regarding the reception of the national and patriotic dimension is found multiplied across the Romanian culture, after December 1989⁵¹. Coming back to the reception of Silviu Dragomir's work in post-revolutionary Romania, there is a growing interest of specialists in his works dedicated to the Middle Ages and Romanians' union with the Church of Rome. Amid democratization of Romanian society and the disappearance of censorship, there appear laudable contributions of historians, which clarify in Silviu Dragomir's life the time segment between 1948 and 1955 and after his release from prison.

Just as the synthesis works on national history are preceded by monographic studies, the works on the history of the Romanian historiography involve research on the works of our great historians or on the flows of ideas specific to an epoch. The quality and vastness of Silviu Dragomir's work required, in the spirit of the assertions above, a complex analysis of his historical writing. We must point out that future investigations on Romanian historiography from the first half of the twentieth century will have to take into account Silviu Dragomir's contribution to the research of the national history.

Restoring his biography is an important dimension of the monograph. Access to unpublished documentary sources inaccessible to researchers for a long time, allowed us to reconstitute his destiny after 1945.

When the political changes in the Romanian society were nearing completion, Silviu Dragomir, Emil Haţieganu and Ion Agârbiceanu as well as some officials from the Banca Agrara Cluj (Agricultural Bank from Cluj) were at the end of a criminal trial. This trial, as it will be seen from the analysis of documents, had a deep political meaning and was seeking the removal from activity and even suppression of intellectuals, politicians who held various dignities in the governments of Romania up to 1944. The three were accused "on March 8, 1948 by the indictment number 2 722 of the Cluj Court Prosecutor that from their position at Banca Agrara from Cluj they granted from the bank's own funds a loan of 1.3 million lei to finance the Brick and Tile Industry from Cluj. The Professor is arrested on July 1, 1949 in Cluj⁵² and later he is transferred to Caransebes penitentiary to serve his sentence of six months in a correctional prison for misdemeanour to the Law of the banks, plus a correctional

studies the historian brings new information, but makes no reference to the already published contributions to the restoring of Silviu Dragomir's life published.

⁴⁸ Idem, *Istoricul Silviu Dragomir...*, p. 43-47.

⁴⁹ Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, vol. I. Introduction by Ioan-Aurel Pop. Edited and introductory study by Sorin Şipoş, Oradea, 2007, 318 p.

⁵⁰ Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric al vieţii religioase* (I), in *Revista Teologică*, New series, year XIV, no. 1, 2004, p. 60-82; idem, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric al vieţii religioase* (II), in *Revista Teologică*, year XV, no. 1, 2005, p. 38-75; idem, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric al vieţii religioase* (III), in *Revista Teologică*, year XV, no. 2, 2005, p. 89-119; idem, *Historian Silviu Dragomir in the Communist Prisons*, in *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XV, No 1, 2006, p. 38-59; idem, *Silviu Dragomir, schiţă biografică*, in *Legea românească*, year XVII, New series, no. 3, 2006, p. 69-71; idem, *Silviu Dragomir, schiţă biografică*, in *Legea românească*, year XVII, New series, no. 4, 2006, p. 63-67.

⁵¹ Liviu Maior, *1848-1849. Români şi unguri în revoluţie*, Bucureşti, 1998, p. 10.

⁵² *Conceptul cererii adresată de Silviu Dragomir Preşedintelui Prezidiului Marii Adunări Naţionale*, in the Archive of the Enescu family, p. 1.

fine of 2.6 million lei⁵³. The correctional fine correctional was subsequently changed in a year in prison, so Silviu Dragomir was to spend a year and six months in a correctional prison⁵⁴. On May 5, 1950, Silviu Dragomir was transferred to the prison in Sighet, joining politicians and intellectuals arrested and imprisoned here. The transfer was done quickly and with maximum security. If the historian was moved to Sighet only for safety reasons, then he was to be released on December 27, 1950, when the conviction from 1948 for misdemeanor to the Law of the banks expired. The intellectual's destiny followed a different course. According to the decision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs no. 334 (correct is 343) from August 1, 1951, he was sentenced to another 38 months in prison⁵⁵. Consequently, between December 27, 1950, the date he was to be set free, and August 1, 1951, when he received a new conviction, Silviu Dragomir was abusively incarcerated by the Romanian authorities.

The file which, probably, was for the authorities the motivation to extend his incarceration in the prison from Sighet, was prepared by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Department C. It bears the number 10 162 and contains 44 pages, out of which 26 are articles in the following newspapers *Lupta, România, Porunca Vremii*, written during the period when he was Minister of Minorities, then comments of journalists and press releases given by the National Renaissance Front, signed by Silviu Dragomir, as the general secretary of the organization⁵⁶.

Silviu Dragomir as well as the other dignitaries remained in Sighet until July 5, 1955, when some had been set free, while others had been transferred to other prisons⁵⁷. Silviu Dragomir returned, timidly, to his scientific activity in 1955, when he was hired as an external collaborator at first, and then permanent researcher at the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj⁵⁸. Deprived of financial support (the Romanian state had canceled his pension), evicted from the building located on MikóStreet, Silviu Dragomir had not been forgotten by some of his former students and younger colleagues from the interwar period. Constantin Daicoviciu and Andrei Oțetea intervened for him in order to be employed at the Institute of History and Archaeology from Cluj⁵⁹, as well as for solutioning some problems⁶⁰.

⁵³ According to the decision taken in the meeting from the Council Chamber on December 29, 1948, „the Court decided that the phrase: *together with* shall be replaced by *2 600 000 lei correctional fine each*“ (A.N.-D.J. Deva, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 4, p. 23).

⁵⁴ „Sentenced by the Appeal Court from Cluj on November 6, 1948, for misdemeanor to the State Bank Law to 6 months in prison and a financial fine changed in a year of detention, I was arrested in Cluj in July 1949 and was to be released on December 27, 1950“ (*Autobiografia autorului* in A.N.-D.J. Deva, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 4).

⁵⁵ „But meanwhile on May 6, 1950 I was taken from the main prison from Caransebeș and moved to the prison from Sighet“ (*Autobiografia autorului* in A.N.-D.J. Deva, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 4).

⁵⁶ A.M.J., *Fond Serviciul C. Arhiva operativă. Dosar de anchetă a lui Silviu Dragomir*, no. 10 162, p. 4-30.

⁵⁷ According to the Release note no. 193 534 in 1956, Silviu Dragomir was released on June 9, 1955 (A.N.-D.J. Deva, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 4). His release on June 9 is confirmed by the special travel ticket Sighet-Cluj, 3rd class, series A, no. 0635301, on Silviu Dragomir's name (*Ibidem*).

⁵⁸ According to the memo of the Subdepartment of Historical Sciences at the Romanian Academy signed by Petre Constantinescu-Iași and dated January 30, 1956, Silviu Dragomir was informed that „considering your employment request during our [Subdepartment of Historical Sciences, m.n.] meeting held on January 24, 1956, we have accepted your application and forwarded it to the Presidium of the R.P.R. Academy. Consequently, we are asking you to go to the Institute of History of the Academy of R.P.R. in Cluj, to get the position you have been recommended for“ (A.N.-D.J. Deva, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 92).

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁰ In a letter sent to Constantin Daicoviciu, probably during 1956, Silviu Dragomir thanked him “for the interest shown for his misfortune. He also asks him to intervene in order to regain his house, lost after nationalization” (*Ibidem*, file 3, p. 243). Andrei Oțetea helped Dragomir, as resulted from their private correspondence, to reenter the scientific circuit. In this respect, the academician used all his scientific and political authority, believing that he was helping a great personality, who devotedly served the interests of his country, and a great friend. But there were many people, especially Securitate agents who did not look kindly to the historian's employment at the Institute of History. Here's what agent Voicu writes: “When I entered the Faculty of History, Professor Silviu Dragomir had been removed and arrested, so I didn't know him directly.

Immediately after his release from prison, Silviu Dragomir rejoined the attention of the Securitate, several informative notes regarding the historian were obtained, at first the officers being confused because they did not know where he lived. The results of the investigation were the expected ones and so the Securitate dropped the plan to recruit Silviu Dragomir, especially since he came to the attention of the organs of repression as a suspect of espionage for the British⁶¹.

The occasion was the visit of a delegation of British MPs in Cluj, in September 1957. Among the members of the delegation there was Lord Oswald St., whom the Securitate suspected for being the collaborator of the English service of espionage⁶². Although no additional information was provided about the people encountered by the English delegate and under surveillance for the time they spent in Romania. The Security Service was informed by Tiberius Holan, vice president of the People's City Council of Cluj, who also accompanied the delegation and recorded in the report to Securitate that the latter had a list of names of some people in Cluj, among which there was also the name of Silviu Dragomir. The fact that there was a sign made in pencil right next to Dragomir's name was an indication for the informer that the two had met⁶³. After this, the Cluj Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs submitted the report number 221/21210 of October 16, 1957 to the 2nd Division of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which presented the situation that occurred during the visit of the British Parliament delegation to Cluj. The 2nd Division of the Ministry of Internal Affairs by telegram no. 488 of October 29, 1957, signed by Lieutenant Colonel Holingher, so ten days after receiving the report from Cluj, requested the Cluj Regional Directorate to urgently communicate "the identification and verification results in the case of Agârbiceanu Ion and Dragomir"⁶⁴. In less than a month after the request of the 2nd Division from Bucharest, the Cluj Regional Directorate issued a first informative report about Silviu Dragomir⁶⁵.

Consequently, Cpt. Pîra Nicolae and Lt. Sălișteanu Ioan proposed the head of the 2nd Division, Lt.Col. Breban Iosif that on January 30, 1958, as a result of the acquired information about the historian, to open a surveillance file for Silviu Dragomir⁶⁶. "From the foregoing", the officer concluded "it results that Silviu Dragomir is suspected for acquiring information for the English intelligence and was to be recorded as a suspect of espionage".⁶⁷

Last year he reappeared at our Institute, with an employment agreement, and then I learned that he was working for a team in Bucharest, coordinated by academician Oțetea, without anyone knowing precisely what he was working on. [...]. In addition to the technical work of identification and translation of some older elements, being a connoisseur of the archives, I think no one was thinking to use him. Of course, the old ones are looking to create around him a hint of a changed man, indeed they go as far as to create the impression that the party appealed to him. So when complaints arose that he was given in the Institute a place that he didn't deserve, comrade Director Daicoviciu said that no one had the competence to judge this problem, since the party took this decision on the ground that he would work for the party. I do not see what a man like this could do for the party" (Arhiva Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității, fond informativ, file Silviu Dragomir, no. 513, f. 96).

⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

⁶² „According to the materials we possess - statements – we can reach the following conclusions: In September, the English Parliament delegation went to Cluj. One of the members of the delegation was Lord Oswald St., an alleged agent of the English intelligence. He was subsequently identified as a connection of the runaway Rațiu Ioan in England, an individual involved in espionage against our country“ *Hotărârea de deschidere a dosarului de verificare asupra lui Silviu Dragomir, 30 ianuarie 1958, in CNSAS, file Silviu Dragomir, I 513, p. 8.*

⁶³ „Lord Oswald St. had a list with different people. DRAGOMIR SILVIU was identified amongst the people on the list. Lord Oswald St. is supposed to have gotten in contact with him for unknown reasons.”(*Hotărârea de deschidere a dosarului de verificare asupra lui Silviu Dragomir, 30 ianuarie 1958, in Ibidem, p. 8.*)

⁶⁴ *Telegramă. Către DIR. REG. M.A.I. Cluj, in Ibidem, p. 18.*

⁶⁵ *Notă privind persoana numitului DRAGOMIR SILVIU, 21 XI 1957, in Ibidem, p. 11.*

⁶⁶ *Ibidem, p. 8-9.*

⁶⁷ *Ibidem, p. 9.*

The officers planned, in order to establish Silviu Dragomir's guilt or innocence, in a type of language specific to that era, "to establish the data necessary to confirm or refute the suspicions hanging over him.[...] The verification was to be carried out between February 10 – August 10 1958"⁶⁸.

The proposal was approved by the head of the Cluj Regional Directorate from within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Lt.Col. Breban Iosif. When the superior officer signed the document, he wrote the following sentence: "His age should be taken into consideration!"⁶⁹. One can believe in a sincere and humane approach of Lt.Col. Iosif Breban. Analyzing this phrase in the context of the time, the message sent is, rather, one that urges caution on officers, in order not to complicate things unnecessarily.

Silviu Dragomir enjoyed special attention from the Securitate officers, although he was investigated only in a verification file. 11 Securitate officers investigated the historian from Cluj during February 1958 – February 22, 1962, in the period when he was investigated for the charge of espionage for England, in his older file as a former member of Goga-Cuza government and collateral in the file open for Iuliu Moldovan. The officers' work was, in most cases, reduced to one or at most two meetings with the agents and a report to superiors. There are exceptions! Lt. Sălișteanu, one of the officers in charge of the historian, attended 10 meetings and wrote a memo for his superiors. Similarly, Lt.Mj. Constantin Banciu wrote a note and participated in five meetings with the Securitate informers. There were officers who were in charge of solving the retired historian's file. Except Mj. Hancheș who attended three meetings, and Cpt. Pușcașu and Gocan, who were trying to obtain information through agents, on Iuliu Moldovan, the other eight officers were involved in finding evidence for Silviu Dragomir's verification file on the English espionage problem.

Why such a big mobilization in Silviu Dragomir's case? Most likely, the large number of officers who worked directly or collaborated in this case was due to the fact that at that time Silviu Dragomir was living in isolation and came in contact with few people whom he trusted. The Securitate was thus forced to use officers who had collaborators among people from the Dragomir family entourage.

Another possible clue as to the Securitate's interest in the historian would be the quality of the officers involved in the verification process. The officers working on the Iuliu Moldovan case, where Dragomir was a minor character, had higher ranks. We don't think that was just a coincidence. The fact that these officers were experienced prompted their superiors to use them in solving important cases. In the verification file of Iuliu Moldovan, the Securitate wanted to find out data on reticulin, a product invented by the doctor and highly appreciated in the epoch. Some of the notes and reports provided by the officers arrived at the Minister of Internal Affairs, to the First Secretary of Cluj County and to the director of Securitate, elements that may prove the special interest shown by the regime in Iuliu Moldovan's scientific achievements. In other words, the communist regime was seeking for solutions, at least in this case, in order to reintegrate interwar experts, even though some of them did not fit ideologically.

From a methodological perspective, we underline that the briefing notes are analyzed and interpreted in the general context of the era. Our attention is directed towards all the people mentioned in briefing notes prepared by agents Sanda Predescu, Szarka Ernest, Axinteanu and Ionescu, mentioned in the final report of Securitate⁷⁰.

Along with the aforementioned informers, there are other agents who had written notes about Silviu Dragomir. The agents' number is 13. The number should be taken with

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁰ *Hotărâre cu propuneri pentru închiderea dosarului de verificare 738, privind pe Dragomir Silviu*, from July 28, 1960, in Idem, *File Silviu Dragomir*, no. I 513, p. 6).

caution though because there were situations when an agent had one, two or three code names. However the quantitative analysis of the explanatory notes show the following: Szarka Ernest is recorded with three notes, Ion Baciuc with one note, Voicu has three notes, Ionescu Vasile has three notes, Tudor has one note, Pânzaru three notes, Axinteanu one note, Chioreanu one note, Ionescu Radu one note, Sanda Predescu two notes, Emil Isaia one note, Lucrețiu three notes and Marian with a note. Agents Lucrețiu and Marian provided the Securitate with notes for Iuliu Moldovan's file, agent Tudor for both cases and the rest of the agents for Silviu Dragomir's file.

The Securitate decided, based on the information gathered between February 10, 1958 – July 28, 1960, to close Silviu Dragomir's surveillance file for the English espionage problem⁷¹. The document informs us that, during verifications, the Securitate used the following agents: Sanda Predescu, Szarka Ernest, Axinteanu and Ionescu⁷². Cpt. Pereș Alexandru, the head of the Department proposes the termination of the prosecution of Silviu Dragomir bringing the following motivations: "Silviu Dragomir lives secluded, he is sick and because of that he doesn't walk much on the streets, spending most of his time at home /he is 72 years old/. He made several statements indicating that he regrets his activity and although old he is trying to produce something by writing different articles or historical works, trying to follow the correct path. He was assigned by the apparatus state to make some historical works (translations), making efforts to execute his works properly. There were no suspicions that he would be involved in espionage and at the same time he had no hostile reactions."⁷³

Even though the historian made efforts to demonstrate his good faith, the political regime maintained its former distrust in interwar political leaders. The Securitate pursued the historian until his death, February 23, 1962⁷⁴.

The briefing notes make us reach the following conclusions: in general, the biography is properly reflected; the informers capture the key moments in Silviu Dragomir's work. An additional argument that they knew him well. They knew, for example, his wife's relatives from Bucharest, his brother Alexandru, former Dean of the Bar. There are mistakes made in their reports by the Securitate officers. Silviu Dragomir appears in all the documents of the Securitate as a member of the National Peasant Party although the informers noted that his political activity was in connection with the National Christian Party and National Renaissance Front.

The information provided by agents are generally well articulated for all ages, for his university studies, for the period of his work at the university, pointing out the main moments of the contemporary history, the union from 1918, the Vienna Dictate, the refuge in Sibiu and the return. The informers also highlight Silviu Dragomir's outstanding scientific work in the interwar period. Agents Axinteanu and Voicu are the only ones who make discordant note, criticizing the historian's work and his national options. His political activity is, in general, properly presented, insignificant compared to the scientific one. Most of the informers knew, in details even, about the detention suffered by Silviu Dragomir.

⁷¹ „He was verified in order to see whether the English MP got in contact with Silviu Dragomir and whether the latter is involved in espionage“ (*Hotărâre cu propuneri pentru închiderea dosarului de verificare 738, privind pe Dragomir Silviu*, from July 28, 1960, in Idem, File *Silviu Dragomir*, no. I 513, p. 6-7).

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 7.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 6-7.

⁷⁴ „On Friday, February 23, 1962 Prof. Silviu Dragomir from Cluj died in a hospital in Bucharest, he was a former Minister, a former member of the Romanian Academy and one of the foremost historians of the past of Transylvania. [...] As a historian, Silviu Dragomir is considered one of the best connoisseurs of the history of Transylvania, especially the 18th -19th centuries and the Revolution of 1848-1849, on which he wrote a monumental monograph (manuscript). His death is regretted by all Romanian intellectual groups. The funeral will be held on Monday, 26 February 1962“ (*Raport de Szarka Ernest, 26 II 1962*, in *Ibidem*, p. 3).

Our analysis focused mainly on Silviu Dragomir's historiographical work. In this regard we want to emphasize the historian's findings in researching the North-Danubian Romanians and the North-Western Balkans in the Middle Ages, insufficiently highlighted by the analysts of his work. We managed to shape, in general, the scientific work carried out by the specialist after his release from prison, especially on his research conducted on the Romanians in northwest Balkan Peninsula. Although the political situation in Romania was not at all favourable to resuming this topic, the author's insistence, the support he received from his colleagues, all amid the beginning of a political thaw in Romania, made it possible for the synthesis *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu (The Vlachs in the North of the Balkan Peninsula in the Middle Ages)* to be published. We would like to point out the fact that Silviu Dragomir's contribution to the research on the Balkan Romanity entered the Romanian historiography heritage. His ideas were accepted entirely, in their essence, by all those who, starting with Sextil Pușcariu, focused on this field of study. History has provided answers to many problems that still sparked disputes among specialists of that time. The Romanian historian revealed, better than any other specialist, the social structure, the occupations and reports of this population with the dominant political forces of the time. Although Silviu Dragomir's aforementioned findings were confirmed by new research studies carried on the Vlachs in the north of the Balkan Peninsula, there still are many issues that raise discussions, even controversy among specialists. His research on the history of the Romanians in North-Western Balkan Peninsula led to the clarification of the role played by this population of Roman origin in the Middle Ages. Consequently, his work provided and still provides both by the documentary information put in circulation and by his analyses, a solid starting point for new horizons.

Silviu Dragomir also investigated the past of the Romanian population in the north of the Danube in the Middle Ages, a research topic that has aroused less interest to analysts of his work. The conclusions he reached on the principalities/knezes and provinces/princes are indistinguishable from views expressed decades earlier by Ioan Bogdan. The specialist believed that the origin of the two institutions was Romanian, identifying them with the "juđeciile" (trial courts) and the duchies of the Daco-Roman population and later of the Proto-Romanian population. Only the name was Slavic, picked by the Proto-Romanians during their cohabitation with the Slavic population. The specialist also approached from a linguistic point of view other Romanian institutions of the Middle Ages. He investigated further "jupele, ohabele" and "crăiniciile".

Silviu Dragomir's works on Romanians' religious union provided many conclusions which finally imposed in the Romanian historiography. It stands out then, given his formation, his remarkable effort to multiply the historical information presented in all his works. An important achievement of Silviu Dragomir's research on the religious union is investigating the attitude of the Romanian population on whose behalf the clergy decided the union. He demonstrated when some historians strongly disputed his conclusions that there was a religious solidarity, a deep attachment of Romanian rural world to Orthodoxy, that some of the Romanians from Transylvania sacrificed themselves for their faith, facing authorities' terror and years of imprisonment. The protests against the religious union, which included almost the entire Transylvania, can not be explained, as some historians have tried, only through the intervention of external factors. But there was something in the Transylvanian Romanians movements, namely *a strong commitment to their ancestors' faith*, very well highlighted by the author. We want to emphasize that in the historiography devoted to the religious union Silviu Dragomir's works are reference contributions due to *the vastness of the documentary material used, the critical analysis of the documents of union, his modern interpretations, mainly because he captured the mental contagion triggered among Romanians during the movements led by Visarion Sarai and Sofronie din Cioara. As*

a man of the city, Silviu Dragomir was sometimes subject to exterior influences in his research, but the conclusions he reached are sufficiently balanced to conclude that such influences *have altered only in a small degree the essence of his contributions*.

The analysts of Silviu Dragomir's work have highlighted to a large extent his contributions to the research of the Revolution of 1848. What is, therefore, the contribution of our work? Our contribution in this case is not the new interpretation, but rather to specify the steps that led Silviu Dragomir to the writing of his studies on the revolution, of the monographs on the revolution's leaders, and we also established the historian's work after his release from prison. We emphasize that the specialist tried even under communism to present an unvarnished history, outside the interference from the political ideology of the moment.

In conclusion, his contributions stand out through the impressive volume of documentary material introduced into the scientific circulation. Although Silviu Dragomir was essentially a positivist historian, sometimes the documentary sources used and his interpretations were extremely modern. The historian pleaded repeatedly for an objective investigation of the past. Meanwhile, Silviu Dragomir believed that the historian should be a patriot, should be involved in community problems and should work for the union of all Romanians. Consequently, the specialist was sometimes influenced by his political and religious choices in his historical research. However, we believe that his national and religious partisanship did not affect substantially the results of his research. The most significant evidence in this respect is just the timeliness and validity of some of the findings in Silviu Dragomir's work. These are some of the conclusions we have reached.

As stated before, our interest in researching historian Silviu Dragomir's life and work continued even after the completion of our thesis. Primarily, because we managed to access some important unpublished documentary sources, which for objective and subjective reasons had not been available to us before. Namely, we reconstituted historian Silviu Dragomir's path after his release from prison on the basis of information contained in his surveillance file. This research direction is important because it reveals some significant issues, namely the condition of the intellectual and interwar politician in the new political realities after his being released from the Sighet prison. This type of analysis is part of a new research direction which appeared and developed in Romania after 1990.

1.1. Editing the manuscripts

In parallel with the reconstitution of historian Silviu Dragomir's life after his release from prison some of his fundamental works were published and put into scientific circulation *Istoria desrobierii religioase a românilor ardeleni în veacul XVIII (The History of the Religious Setting Free of the Romanians in Transylvania in the Eighteenth Century)* and *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu (The Vlachs in the North of the Balkan Peninsula in the Middle Ages)* as well as other works and studies, in manuscript. This research direction integrates in a broader current in Romanian historiography, existing in the communist period, too and developed after 1989 and consisting in the reissuing of works published in the interwar period and the entrance into the scientific circulation of unpublished works which were obscured by the communist regime.

The publication of the original study of Silviu Dragomir on the Diploma of the Knights of St. John is included in this line of research. In this regard, two editions were made, one in Romanian and one in French, namely: Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir și dosarul Diplomei cavalerilor ioaniți*⁷⁵ and Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir et le*

⁷⁵ Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir și dosarul Diplomei cavalerilor ioaniți*, Editura Academiei Române, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, ISBN- 978-973-7784-45-2, 219p.

*dossier du Diplôme des Chevaliers de St. Jean*⁷⁶. From a scientific perspective, the enhancement of these works was determined by the need to put into the scientific circulation important studies which were banned for access. The works were well received by the Romanian scientific community.⁷⁷

Our attempts to read the manuscript located in the Library of the Academy were struck by the reluctance of some of the Romanian Academy Library staff. Only after intensive efforts, which have extended over a period of seven years, we managed to get permission to read Silviu Dragomir's manuscripts on the Diploma of the Knights of St. John in 1247.

From a methodological perspective we aim at integrating the whole scientific approach in the context of his historiographical research and of those in Romania of his time, but also taking into account what was the political context in Romania of those times. Consequently, we structured our study in a biographical chapter and another chapter to highlight his historiographical research so that his approach on the Diploma of the Knights of St. John to be more accessible. The analysis was focused on the previous research and on the placing of the Knights of St. John in the Romanian and Central European space in order to determine which were the historical context and the research limitation until present. We then described the efforts made in order to investigate the Silviu Dragomir fund located in the Romanian Academy Library and we performed a critical analysis of Silviu Dragomir's studies.

In the spring of 2007, I made a new attempt to see Silviu Dragomir's study. Several years had passed since my last attempt and the Romanian society was increasingly determined to know and appropriate its past, therefore, the attitude of Mr. Dan Horia Mazilu, the new director of the Academy Library, was open and sincere, he had no hesitation in signing my formal request to see the study which was kept in the secret fund.

Therefore, in the new edition, we were able to introduce this important study for Silviu Dragomir's historiographical work. Now, finally, we had the opportunity to get an insight to Silviu Dragomir's research on the Diploma of the Knights of St. John. The file was unexpectedly voluminous. There are several studies, both in manuscript and in typed version, the historian devoted to the topic, they were prepared in several versions, and the last, in typewritten form in triplicate is called *Diploma Cavalerilor Ioaniți din 1247 a regelui Bela al IV-lea. Studiu critic (King Bela the 4th's Diploma of the Knights of St. John of 1247. Critical study)* and has 110 typed pages⁷⁸. Another manuscript is at the quota A 1281d with the same title, but inside an autograph manuscript⁷⁹. At the same quota, but letters e and f there are other two typed copies of the study *Cavalerii Ioaniți și Oltenia. Studiu de critică istorică*⁸⁰, (*The*

⁷⁶ Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir et le dossier du Diplôme des Chevaliers de St. Jean*, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 221p.

⁷⁷ Ovidiu Pecican, *Avalon. De la Ioaniți la Habsburgi*, review to Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir și Dosarul Diplomei cavalerilor Ioaniți*, *Observatorul cultural*, no. 574, May, 2011. Idem, *Avalon. Securitate și falsuri medievale*, review to Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir și Dosarul Diplomei cavalerilor Ioaniți*, *Observatorul cultural*, no. 575, May, 2011, p. Sergiu Iosipescu, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir și Dosarul Diplomei cavalerilor Ioaniți*, in *Revista de istorie Militară*, 2012, p. 122-125; Corina Teodor, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir și Dosarul Diplomei cavalerilor Ioaniți*, in *Studia Universitatis Petru Maior, Series Historia*, 2011, p. 319-320; Șerban Papacostea, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir și Dosarul Diplomei*, in *Studii și materiale de Istorie medie*, 2010; Ligia Boldea, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir și dosarul Diplomei cavalerilor ioaniți*, *Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, in *Banatica*, 2010, p. 330-334.

⁷⁸ *Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al IV-lea. Studiu critic de prof. Silviu Dragomir*, in *Biblioteca Academiei Române, Department of manuscripts, A 1281 a-b-c*.

⁷⁹ *Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al IV-lea. Studiu critic de prof. Silviu Dragomir*, 137 sheets, in *Biblioteca Academiei Române, Department of manuscripts, A 1281d*.

⁸⁰ *Cavalerii Ioaniți și Oltenia. Studiu de critică istorică de prof. Silviu Dragomir*, 86 sheets, in *Ibidem*, A 2181 e-f.

Knights of St. John and Oltenia. A Historical Critical Study) and have a slightly modified title, a sign that the historian began his research, developed it over the years to reach a final version. Also, there is an autograph manuscript called *Cavalerii Ioaniți și Țările Române. Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al IV-lea*⁸¹ (*The Knights of St. John and the Romanian Principalities. King Bela the 4th's Diploma of 1274*), Cluj, 1948, the initial version of the manuscript is actually titled just *Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al IV-lea (King Bela the 4th's Diploma of 1274)*, at quota A 1281 a-b-c. All variants are important for the specialists seeking to clarify the genesis and evolution of this topic. It is certain that in 1948, the latest version of the autograph manuscript was already completed. The typedscript is significantly different from the manuscript and it was completed after the historian's release from the communist prisons in 1955, evidenced by the inclusion of the translation of the Diploma from the collection *Documente privind istoria României*, Series C, vol. I. Transilvania, published in 1951.⁸²

Given the large number of variants, it is best to state the moment when Silviu Dragomir began his research on the topic. Using the documentary sources that we have so far to approximate the period when the historian began to be concerned about the authenticity of the document. The correspondence of historian Ștefan Pascu, who at the time was in Italy for a research internship, with Silviu Dragomir is really helpful. The letter is important because it gives us a lot of information about Silviu Dragomir's interest in the text of the diploma. In fact, Professor Pascu's letter was a response to a previous letter sent by Silviu Dragomir and the latter asked him to provide paleographic and diplomatic information on the Diploma of St. John's Knights. Silviu Dragomir's questions show that he was familiar with the issue, meaning that he had already started studying the subject. However, although the letter is not dated, we can determine when Ștefan Pascu did some research in Rome, during the war respectively, in 1940-1942. The end of Ștefan Pascu's letter clarifies the period when it was developed: "If you might need other things, I would most joyfully be at your disposal during this month that I have left here." It is clear that at the time, the end of 1942, Silviu Dragomir not only had begun his research, but his work was even in an advanced stage.

In 1948, the year that appears on the title page of the manuscript found in the Academy Library, the study was completed in its first version. After his release from the communist prisons, Silviu Dragomir resumed his research, interrupted for reasons beyond his control, including the research on the Diploma of St. John's Knights. The historian presented his views to some of his fellow colleagues, to Andrei Oțetea⁸³ respectively, who at that time was in the graces of the political power, but also to N. Th. Trâpcea and probably to others. He also tried, unsuccessfully, to present his conclusions in scientific meetings⁸⁴. Nevertheless, Silviu Dragomir did not hide the fact that he was interested in the question of the Diploma's authenticity and he had considerable doubts in this regard. After leaving the prison, Silviu

⁸¹ Silviu Dragomir, *Cavalerii Ioaniți și Țările Române. Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al IV-lea*, Cluj, 1948, in *Ibidem*, A 1281 g.

⁸² *Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al IV-lea. Studiu critic de prof. Silviu Dragomir*, in *Ibidem*, A 1281 a, p. 9-16.

⁸³ „As to the document from 1247, I am less enthusiastic. If the document proves to be forged, we would be deprived of a document of great value. Therefore I hope that we can keep it. But if it proves to be forged, we will obey“ (*Scrisoarea lui Andrei Oțetea către Silviu Dragomir*, București, April 7, 1960, in A.N.-D.J.Deva, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 96, p. 33).

⁸⁴ “Dear Professor, I return you the manuscript of your study with the regret of not being able to assist you. I tried to present it in Lugoj and Severin. In Lugoj I could not do anything because at the festive meeting of the society only works directly concerning the city were read. In Tr. Severin there is a plan for a monograph of the city done by a team led by D. Tudor, the archaeologist, who recruited me too. He was willing to accept your paper, but so far the contract with the Encyclopaedic Publishing House was not signed and apparently there is no chance, because the amount of paper was radically reduced” (*Scrisoarea lui N. Th. Trâpcea către Silviu Dragomir*, București, 14 VII 1959, in A.N.-D.J.Deva, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, dosar 96, p. 213).

Dragomir was surveilled by the Securitate, institution that was informed about the historian's scientific preoccupations, too⁸⁵.

Comparative analysis of the autograph variant from 1948 with the final typewritten variant allows us to specify how much of the text was completed before and after his release from prison. Thus, Chapters 1-7 were drawn up in 1948, and Chapter 1 and Chapter 8, 9, 10 and 11 after his release. However, already in 1948, Silviu Dragomir challenged the authenticity of the Diploma, and the chapters added later reinforced his conclusions.

The first question that we must naturally ask ourselves, taking into account the historian's conclusions reached, is what was his motivation to investigate the Diploma of the Knights of St. John? A positivist historian, it was only natural for Silviu Dragomir to be concerned with the analysis of the fundamental documents on the Romanian medieval history. He made a critical analysis of the documents on the religious union of the Romanians in Transylvania with the Church of Rome. Also, his research studies on the institutions of the Romanians in Transylvania, the Balkan Romance and the Revolution of 1848 are performed with the specific methods of positivist historiography. Critical historiography is essentially the historiography which subjects the historical documents to the diplomatic and paleographic analysis. From this point of view, it was only natural for Silviu Dragomir to be concerned with the Diploma of the Knights of St. John. The document of paramount importance for our medieval history is thus subjected to critical analysis. According to Silviu Dragomir: "The information comprised in it is generally considered worthy of confidence, although none of our historians have tried to critically analyze the text reproduced in the Vatican records. But the Diploma of the Knights of St. John contains a number of terms and provisions, which could not be satisfactorily interpreted even to this day"⁸⁶.

We think that beyond his natural interest, specific to the specialist, Silviu Dragomir's concerns for this fundamental document about the beginnings of Țara Românească must be connected with his research on the Romanian's union with the Church of Rome. When we advance such a working hypothesis we consider some arguments. His research on union revealed that the Jesuits have given the document signed by the Orthodox priests in 1698 a whole new meaning. Silviu Dragomir was convinced of this in 1920 when he published the first volume of *Istoria desrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal secolul XVIII (The History of the Religious Setting Free of the Romanians in Transylvania in the Eighteenth Century)*. Even in this study, Silviu Dragomir reiterates the view expressed in *The History ...*⁸⁷. The historian was proven to be reluctant to any acts that came from the Jesuit funds or had any connections with the Jesuits. Or, in this case, while investigating the context of the religious union, Silviu Dragomir discovered a copy of the King Bela the 4th's Diploma⁸⁸ in Gabriel Hevenesi's

⁸⁵ The Securitate knew all the projects the historian worked at. This is proven by Ionescu Vasile's memo for the Securitate Officer Domnita N. on February 16, 1959, at 19 p.m., the source indicating that Silviu Dragomir was interested in the Diploma of the Knights of St. John, which he considered a fake. Here is the content of the memo: "On February 11, when the source was about to go home, M. Dan, who goes the same way as me at noon, told him. We must stop by Silviu Dragomir, he wants to ask me if I go to Budapest to photocopy some documents for him. When they got of Dan Mihai rang at Silviu Dragomir's house. He came out and asked him to photocopy - in Budapest if it works - some documents for one of his works which is to be printed: Vlachs and Morlachs and another document on a Diploma of the Knights of St. John from 1247, which Silviu Dragomir believes to be false" (Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității, File I 513, p. 65). See, Liviu Pleșa, *Istoricul Silviu Dragomir în plasa Securității*, in *Dosarele Istoriei*, year X, no. 11 (111), 2005, p. 40-47.

⁸⁶ *Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al IV-lea. Studiu critic de prof. Silviu Dragomir*, în *Biblioteca Academiei Române*, A 1281 a, p. 1.

⁸⁷"We know that while initiating the Catholic propaganda among the Romanians in Transylvania, they have provided a huge suspicious material, on which they based their attempt to justify the union with the Church of Rome" (*Ibid*, p. 62).

⁸⁸ "King Bela the 4th's Diploma comes first, however, between the documents collected by Gabriel Hevenesi, head of the Jesuits in Hungary (1715), who kept in his collection a copy of the confirmation of Pope Innocent IV

archive, the head of the Jesuits in Hungary, a person involved in the negotiations with Bishop Athanasius Anghel for the union with the Church of Rome. To Silviu Dragomir, Hevenesî's copy seemed rather to be one of the certification formulas prepared by the Jesuits before applying the Latin spelling of the 13th century⁸⁹. We believe that one reason for the interest shown by Silviu Dragomir in the text of the diploma was determined by his suspicion over the Jesuits's involvement in some way. Initially, he looked at it as a working hypothesis. Then, starting his research on the diploma, he bore in mind the possibility of the Jesuits' involvement, so that any suspicion was transformed into an argument in favor of the idea that the diploma was apocryphal. Moreover, Silviu Dragomir, himself, exposes in the introduction how he came to doubt the diploma's authenticity: "[...] it is not allowed, we think, that the critical examination should be neglected. Using it in our case, it provided unexpected results. We express here the doubts that arise at each step, the critical remarks and hesitations with the hope that they promote the truth knowledge and contribute to a better understanding of the circumstances in which the feudal social order of the Wallachian Principality will be shaped."⁹⁰ Dragomir mentioned, among the reasons that led him not to trust in the authenticity of the diploma, the following forms of writing that appear in the text and that would be inaccurate in his view, ie *Gallitie* instead of *Gallicie*, the names *Szeneslaus* and *Harszoc*, as the *sz* writing, sporadically identified in previous centuries, is used extremely rare situations, the form *olati* instead of *olaci*. All of these leads Silviu Dragomir to say: "If the spelling deficiencies do not yet give us the right to conclude the lack of authenticity of the document, the errors revealed must determine us not to have any consideration, applying a thorough critical view to all the details that seem suspicious. Therefore, the absence from the Vatican archives of documents justifying the papal confirmation of 1250 will not be counted as an accident, but as an aggravating circumstance, even the language used in the diploma, generally correct, to a careful look and after a comparison to the style of other pieces written under the supervision of Chancellor Benedict and Vice-Chancellor Achilles, it looks to be more modernly built"⁹¹. In fact, the historian notices other things too in the text of the diploma, namely the tendency to shorten the sentence by an annoyingly frequent use of the words; *idem*, *ibid*, *memorata*, *supranominata*, *iam dicta*, *supradicta*, *antedicta*, *superius* and *inferius* shows, according to the author, a more recent influence of the German language. Also some expressions denoting the mindset of a modern human, respectively, *a converso*, *sub eiusdem conditionibus*, *hoc addito*, *hac considertione inducti*, *illuc personaliter accedento*, *quantum est persona nostra*. All of these would not have led to any results had they been presented separately. In this respect, Dragomir performs a comparison of documents issued in the time of King Bela IV, and the conclusion reached is that "carefully examining all the diplomas known as being issued during the reign of Bela IV we did not find any one, whose phraseology to justify the claim that the two masters of the style, Chancellor Benedict and Vice-Chancellor Achilles, or such other senior officials of the royal chancery, would have sometimes deviated from their models, employing a language inconsistent with the rule they have imposed to themselves. This nonconformity, however, is also an important element to suspicionate on the whole diploma."⁹² A little further, Silviu Dragomir admits that the diploma appears from a diplomatic point of view as being reinforced by irreproachable

(1250). [...]. This copy does not reproduce the text of the papal register, but the original, which, yes, in the archives from Malta of St. John's Order. It's just that the copy is not genuine, but a draft, although it is visible on the top, right, that it is reproduced from an "authentic copy". Confirmation text written on December 25 is signed by the Order's Vice Chancellor Fr Ferdinand Conterus" (*Ibidem*, p. 64).

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 67.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 2.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 21-22.

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 22.

testimonies and the papal confirmation doesn't present anything suspicious, yet "his conviction remains that the Joannites' donation was introduced in the Vatican records by fraud and its forgery must be the product of a more recent epoch."⁹³

The question we must answer is related to the conclusions Silviu Dragomir reached after the analysis of the Diploma of the Knights of St. John and to see to what extent they are valid. The historian specified the following about the authenticity of the diploma "The conclusion we need to deliver at the end of our critical analysis, is forcing us to declare apocryphal both the diploma from June 2, 1247, attributed to King Bela IV and the papal confirmation."⁹⁴ The opinions expressed by the historian must be treated with full responsibility, because it is beyond doubt that a historian of his value and a man who campaigned all his life for the national interest would have come to this conclusion without having serious arguments. Beyond the inconsistencies noticed by the historian and presented to us, there are other issues that should prompt us to a serious meditation. There are the two documents discussed by Silviu Dragomir, Pope John's appeal to the Knights of St. John in 1248 for defending Christianity and the letter of King Bela IV to the Holy See on November 11, 1250⁹⁵. In the case of the first document, Silviu Dragomir notes the novelty of such an approach, taking into account the fact that there is the King's act of donation to the Knights of St. John. Also the historian believes that there is a serious inadvertency as in the text of the diploma the king gave them Cumania, while in the letter of 1250, he states that the Knights were placed "in a more endangered land, that is in the vicinity of the Cumans beyond the Danube and the Bulgarians."⁹⁶ Also "suspicious and inconsistent with the historical reality is the substitution made, the country of Severin instead of Banat, which was only a military institution [...] On the east of Severin, after the Cumans invasion the Hungarian royalty lacked and will not ever have a territory of its own"⁹⁷. Finally, "the role of princes and rulers, although it seems nebulous, is in contradiction both with the historical tradition of the Romanians and the evolution of these institutions in the Hungarian kingdom."⁹⁸

However, judged in their letter and spirit, Silviu Dragomir's arguments, especially when taken together, can constitute a starting point for the research on the diploma and for its qualification. The historian's objections may lead, as it happened, to detailed analyses, to important observations, especially on the clarification of the era when the document was issued. *We do not think, however, that they may be considered an irrefutable evidence of the alleged apocryphal character of the Diploma of the Knights of St. John.* Inaccuracies, misunderstandings and mistakes are often present in medieval documents; There is nothing unusual in giving someone a territory not yet taken in actual possession, and such a donations can not prove that the diploma is fake. There are many situations where the Hungarian king asserts authority over a territory which was once in his possession, but meanwhile was lost. They are claims and reparatory titles and acts of donation to be implemented when and if it was possible. What can prevent Bela IV to do the same on the territories in the south of the Carpathians, which were before the Tatar invasion in different forms of dependency from the kingdom? In addition, there were serious arguments which appeared lately, showing that the main object of the document – the bringing, even if temporarily, of some hospitable Knights in Oltenia – was put into practice and that with them the southeastern part of the kingdom was defended and especially Transylvania and Banat, that certain territories on the south of the Carpathians were reinstated under Hungarian domination, that battles were fought with

⁹³ *Ibidem*

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34-35.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 55.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*

the Bulgarians (indicated in the document of 1247) etc. Naturally, “Cumania” was never under the control of the Joannites and of Hungary, but that does not mean that the document did not exist, only that the things set there could not be fully applied.

The other question to be answered is who forged the document and for what purpose? According to Silviu Dragomir, neither the Knights of St. John, nor the Kingdom of Hungary or the Holy See had any interest to do so. His allegations went against the Habsburg Empire which was expanding in the late seventeenth century. In addition, the empire needed to legitimize the new conquests, namely Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldova, relying on their old relations with the Kingdom of Hungary’s sovereignty. “With this in mind we are entitled to say that the document attributed to Bela IV fits perfectly the aggressive goals of the Habsburgs. Fear of Polish rival, somewhat favored the papacy and must have urged the government circles in Vienna to buy at any price the necessary tool to prove the rights of the Hungarian crown.”⁹⁹ Even though Ștefan Pascu¹⁰⁰, in a letter from 1942 to the historian and Francisc Pall¹⁰¹ felt that the document from the Vatican archives presents no suspicion, Silviu Dragomir reaffirms the view that we are dealing with a forgery of the document. Moreover, the historian mentions the people and institutions interested in falsifying and introducing the text in the Vatican archives. “We know Hevenesi, the head of the Jesuits, closer due to the role he assumed during the union of the Transylvanian Romanians with the Church of Rome. His collection of documents is filled with forged documents to justify to the posterity a scam no less odious than the one committed during Maria Theresa’s reign. That’s why we are not wrong when we suspect both authors of the forgery and promoters of introducing an apocryphal Bull in the papal registers.”¹⁰²

Beyond all this, Silviu Dragomir’s accusation against Austria was questionable and the Habsburg expansion to the east and southeast had many facets. The historian from Cluj feels encouraged to reach these conclusions by the existence among Hevenesi’s papers, of a draft that the latter was working on, made after an authentic copy of the diploma in 1247, a copy issued on December 15, 1700 and made after the original of the papal confirmation in 1250 of the agreement between king Bela and tutor Rembaldus. This original of the papal confirmation in 1250 should have been found in the archives of the Order of the Knights of St. John of Malta. Silviu Dragomir examined thoroughly the draft in Hevenesi’s archive, compiled from a copy dated December 15, 1700, noting that formally, it was not absolutely identical to the text of the diploma which was present in the confirmation document of Pope Innocent IV, included in the register on which Professor Ștefan Pascu writes in 1942.

Silviu Dragomir believed that it wasn’t the original of the papal confirmation in 1250 that it was kept. However, Silviu Dragomir felt that the confirmation or refutation of his conclusions depended on the existence or non-existence of the papal confirmation. Not incidentally, Silviu Dragomir makes a series of steps to determine whether there is the papal confirmation in the archive of the Joannites Order of Malta. This happened in the beginning of 1960, when Silviu Dragomir wrote to the Director of the Institute of History in Cluj to request additional information on the Order, regarding the papal confirmation in 1250¹⁰³.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 69-70.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 70.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 78.

¹⁰³ “Comrade Director, I have discovered a copy from the early eighteenth century of the confirmation made by Pope Innocent IV for King Bela IV Diploma in 1247 and finding that this document of such a great importance for our history is kept in original in the Joannites Order’s archive from Malta, please kindly intervene with the above-named heads of the order to enlighten us on the following: 1. Whether the original of the Papal Bull of 1250 is preserved in the archives of the Order and 2. Whether there still exists the register in which on December 15, 1700 a copy of this Papal Bull was released by master Fr. Don Raimmundus of Pesellas et R. The Vice-Chancellor testifies the existence of the original. If the original document is still preserved in the archives

Interestingly enough, Silviu Dragomir does not mention his suspicions regarding the diploma of 1247, evidently for reasons well known, but he is very interested in the Register where one might come across the information about the release of the alleged copy from 1700 to see whether the copy was issued or, on the contrary, if it was just a fake antique.

He seems skeptical about the possibilities of publishing a critical study. Dragomir does not hesitate to express doubt and uncertainty due to the conclusions he reached and also because big changes were about to happen. “We don’t know”, said Dragomir, “whether the ideas expressed in this study will ever see the light of day.”¹⁰⁴ He had every reason to be skeptical given the conclusions reached. At the end of the study, he is quite reserved and cautious, but he was willing to accept whatever verdict in case the papal confirmation was discovered. “It may be that the answer is in Malta” wrote Silviu Dragomir, “to end, against our expectations, the doubts arising as to the authenticity of the diploma of 1247. If the original of the confirmation given by Pope Innocent IV is traceable in the Order’s archive, there is no doubt about it, obey to the document drawn up by all the usual forms and regularly sealed by the papal chancery. But we do not believe in such a happening”¹⁰⁵. Until his death in February 1962, he failed to clarify the status of the 1250 papal confirmation. It remained an attempt to address a sensitive topic of our national history in a time when the ideological influence on the historical writing was at its peak.

Even if we do not share Silviu Dragomir’s views on the apocryphal character of the Diploma of 1247 and the involvement of the Hapsburgs and the Jesuits in making a forgery for religious and political reasons, his study is a model of critical analysis. Our paper is an example of a critical, diplomatic and palaeographical analysis on the work of one of the most representative historians from Romania. Even if you do not agree with the conclusions reached by Silviu Dragomir, we are fascinated by his way of analysis and interpretation of the documentary sources available at the time of writing the studies and the consistency shown by the specialist concerning their publication. In addition, the work of Silviu Dragomir is a rupture in his national view on the past, he was willing to contest a fundamental document of our medieval history, the diploma of 1247. Even if his view was refuted, Silviu Dragomir appears as a fully formed historian, unwilling to yield to the current era’s ideas, as it also happened in the interwar period. He is willing to question a document fundamental for the continuity of the Romanians and their institutions in the north of the Danube, when he thinks he has sufficient evidence. He remains dependent on the interwar influences, emphasizing even now the negative role played by the Habsburg Empire and the Jesuits in the history of the Romanians from Transylvania. Identifying and involving all the evils and shortcomings of our national history in the interference of foreigners and of the neighboring empires was the only concession that the communist regime accepted and encouraged.

1.2. Reediting historian Silviu Dragomir’s volumes

Bringing out unpublished studies of Silviu Dragomir’s was completed by reediting some of historian Silviu Dragomir’s fundamental works. In this sense, some fundamental works of historian Silviu Dragomir’s investigations have been reedited. From a scientific perspective, I have considered necessary this reissue because many of the conclusions Silviu Dragomir had reached at were valid, these works, introduced in the scientific circuit and analyzed critically, could constitute models of research, and first editions were difficult to

of the Order, please kindly request a copy. Cluj, March 8, 1960” (A.N.-D.J.Deva, Fond Silviu Dragomir, file , p. 135.)

¹⁰⁴ *Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al IV-lea...*, p. 86.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*

find in libraries. Besides, having taken care of his biography, we had a responsibility towards Silviu Dragomir's works.

Consequently, reprinting his fundamental works seemed to us not only a required action of restitution, but also a pious homage to the man who was Silviu Dragomir. Then, in Romania, after 1989 and in the context of political changes, there were important changes in historical writing as well. An important direction was bringing again to the attention of specialists the works of the interwar historians convicted during the Communist regime. These are the general arguments for reediting Silviu Dragomir's work *Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII (The History of the Religious Liberation of Romanians in Transylvania in the 18th Century)*¹⁰⁶ and of his book *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei balcanice în Evul Mediu (The Vlachs in the North of the Balkan Peninsula in the Middle Ages)*¹⁰⁷. Obviously, for each work there were also particular reasons, which we will return to.

Editing Silviu Dragomir's work, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu (The Vlachs in the North of the Balkan Peninsula in the Middle Ages)* started from the same reasons of introducing his fundamental writings into the scientific circuit. The only difference was that this work was published by Silviu Dragomir after leaving prison and in a difficult ideologic context. After serious research on this issue, carried out during the interwar period, the historian also continued his investigations after his release from prison, managing to publish his synthesis *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu (The Vlachs in the North of the Balkan Peninsula in the Middle Ages)*.

The work was meant to be a complement to the interwar synthesis, by taking advantage of the latest research results on the population of Romanic origin in the North of the Balkans and including the Vlachs of medieval Bulgaria in the mentioned analysis. Here are enough arguments which determined us to reedit this fundamental work by historian Silviu Dragomir. We did it in an anastatic edition, as it is often done nowadays, in order to preserve the language, conception and norms of the era in which it had been written. The introductory study is meant to highlight the historian's investigations on this issue, to emphasize the ideological involvement in the historiographical research of the period.

In the first instance, Silviu Dragomir followed the history of the Vlachs of Serbia and of those settled along the Dalmatian coast and in the Peninsula Istria. Then the research developed into a first synthesis entitled *Vlahii și morlacii. Studiu din istoria românismului balcanic (The Vlachs and the Morlachs. A Study on the History of Balkan Romanianity)*, published in 1924. He returned to the subject almost two decades later, in full World War, amid the emergence of foreign works which questioned the continuity of the Romanized population North of the Danube after Aurelian's withdrawal. The political changes occurred in Romania after 1945 directly affected Silviu Dragomir as well. He was removed from the Romanian Academy, sent to retirement from the university and, then, convicted and imprisoned in Caransebeș and Sighet between 1949 and 1955.

After being released from prison, his scientific attention was also directed on investigating the history of the Romanians in the North-West of the Balkan Peninsula. At the time, the political situation in Romania was not at all favourable to resuming this topic. The author's insistence, the support he received from his colleagues, all amid the beginning of a political thaw in Romania, allowed for the publication of the new synthesis *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în evul mediu (The Vlachs in the North of the Balkan Peninsula in the*

¹⁰⁶ Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, vol. I-II. Cuvânt introductiv de Ioan-Aurel Pop. Ediție îngrijită și studiu introductiv de Sorin Șipoș, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 542p; 320p.

¹⁰⁷ Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu*, Ediție îngrijită și studiu introductiv de Sorin Șipoș, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 289p.

Middle Ages). The work was intended as a complement of the interwar synthesis, by taking advantage of the latest research results on the population of Romanic origin in the North of the Balkans and including the Vlachs of medieval Bulgaria in the mentioned analysis.

A specialist trained in the atmosphere of Austrian universities in a period of positivist historiography domination, Silviu Dragomir remained faithful to the document and consistent to the critical method. Consequently, in both works, the official documents constituted the main sources of information regarding the Vlachs. He didn't rule out the data offered by mediaeval chronicles, the accounts of foreign travellers who crossed the Southern Danube space. The historian was very careful with the documentary sources, he analyzed them critically, taking only the information he considered to be accurate. Even if most of the sources he used were edited, this does not subtract anything from the value of his works. The author mastered and knew as no other the foreign historical literature.¹⁰⁸ He accepted many of the conclusions of Serbian, Croat and Czech historians, trained in the rigorous Austrian school. He rejected the opinions of the historians who either considered that the Vlachs migrated towards the North of the river starting with the 13th century, or contested the Balkan Romanians' Romanic origin.

The research method used by Silviu Dragomir approaches him to the positivist historiography. His retrieving pieces of information from the documentary sources after criticising them first, as well as his use of linguistic studies, especially of those published by Sextil Pușcariu and Theodor Capidan, places him among Ioan Bogdan's descendants. In order to get answers to the questions on the number, occupations, causes of the movement and the directions taken by Vlachs especially towards the West of the Balkan Peninsula, he turned to geography, anthropology, ethnography and demography. Interdisciplinary researches allowed him to reach solid conclusions on the origin, language and destiny of the Vlachs in the Northern Balkan Peninsula.

Silviu Dragomir's contribution to the research on the Balkan Romanity entered the Romanian historiography heritage. His ideas were accepted entirely, in their essence, by all those who, starting with Sextil Pușcariu, focused on this field of study.¹⁰⁹ The historian provided answers to many issues that sparked disputes among the specialist of the time. His conception on the Vlachs or Romanians in the Northern Balkan Peninsula remained the same. The fact that they spoke Romanian, specifically the Daco-Romanian dialect, made the historian to call them Romanians, in most cases. According to the accounts of mediaeval chroniclers, confirmed by the results of the linguistic investigations, the language spoken by the Vlachs was a dialect of the Romanian language, identical or similar to the one spoken by the Romanian population North of the Danube¹¹⁰.

The historian highlighted, better than any other Romanian specialist, this population's social structure, occupations and its reports with the dominant political forces of the time. The Vlachs were not only nomadic and transhumant shepherds, as some wished to present them. The Romanian population also dealt with agriculture where the territory allowed for it. They were also cattle herders and cartmen, as well as successful traders. Based on edited documents, the specialist reconstituted the Vlachs' status in the Kingdom of Serbia and

¹⁰⁸ "One of the chief merits of Silviu Dragomir, a Slavist with a thorough training, is precisely that of having assimilated critically the entire scientific literature – historiographic, anthropo-geographic and linguistic – regarding the Balkan territory on which developed the South Slavik states and cultures, and of having taken advantage of everything that decades of scientific activity abroad could offer the researcher of a missing North Balkan Romanity, both as documentary information, and as a result of its interpretation and, also, as method" (Anca Tanașoca, *Contribuția lui Silviu Dragomir la cercetarea romanității balcanice, în Sud-Estul și contextul european*, Buletin, II, București, 1994, p. 49).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 53.

¹¹⁰ Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu*, p. 155-156.

Croatia. The respective documents, issued by the royal chanceries, the so-called laws of the Vlachs, highlight the obligations towards the political authorities and the autonomy of this population, different by origin and occupations from the other inhabitants of the Slavik kingdoms¹¹¹.

In other words, the Vlachs represented a community which disposed of economic and military force. The inhabited territory, as well as their occupations, were influenced by the massive settlement of populations that dominated the Balkans. If Silviu Dragomir's above mentioned conclusions were confirmed by newer research on the Vlachs in the Northern Balkan Peninsula, there are also many issues that stir discussions, even controversies, among specialists in the phenomenon. There are issues related to the initial space or territory inhabited by the Romanian population South of the Danube, i.e. the territory occupied by the Romanic population before the Slavs' settlement. Similarly, the moment and causes which dislocated the Romanic origin population from its initial space mentioned above.

The relationship between the Vlachs, Megleno-Romanians and Aromanians constitute a controversial chapter in the historiography and history of the Romanian language. Silviu Dragomir considered the Aromanians a Romanian population that lived in the area of the former provinces of Moesia Superior and Schytia Minor. Currently there are some who consider them indigenous in the territories where they are today. Future investigations will probably clarify the causes and final moment of the assimilation of the Romanic origin population from the former kingdoms of Bulgaria, Serbia and Croatia. For the historian, the settlement of foreign populations, respectively the Slavs and the Bulgarians, with all its political, economic, demographic consequences, then the small number of the population of Romanic origin were some of the causes of the Vlachs' assimilation. Silviu Dragomir considered that the end of the assimilation process was in the 13th century for the Vlachs in Bulgaria, and the 16th century for those in Serbia. Recent studies show that remains of the Vlachs in the mentioned states were preserved until modern times, and even to this day.

Research on the history of Romanians in the North-Western Balkan Peninsula led to the clarification of the role played by this population of Romanic origin in the Middle Ages. Specialists from the early 20th century realized that the investigation of the Balkan Romanians' history in the Middle Ages provided a better understanding of the fate of the population North of the Danube. Silviu Dragomir's research represents a definite contribution to the history of Romanians in the North-West of the Balkan Peninsula, validated by subsequent research. His work provided and still provides, both by the documentary information put into circulation, as well as by its interpretation, a thorough starting point for new horizons.

Regarding the religious union, we must note that after 1990 there appeared historiographical contributions favourable both to the Orthodox and to the Greek Catholics. But far more numerous were the works trying to reconstitute the religious union among the Transylvanian Romanians in an objective manner, analyzing the phenomenon in the general context of the imperial policy and of the Counter-Reform in Central Europe and, obviously, analyzing its consequences for the Romanian world¹¹².

This was the context in the Romanian historiography when we have decided to reedit this work. Obviously, another argument to achieve this endeavour was the edition made by Father Emanuil Rus. The reedition of Silviu Dragomir's edition was due to the large number of original documents introduced by the historian into the scientific circuit and to the author's critical analyses. In addition, the holograph will drawn up by Silviu Dragomir in a difficult

¹¹¹ V. Al. Georgescu, *Silviu Dragomir, Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în evul mediu, în Studii. Revistă de istorie*, nr. 5, 1960, p. 233.

¹¹² Sorin Şipoş, *La politique religieuse de la Cour Viennoise dans la Principauté de Transylvanie*, in *Analele Universităţii din Oradea, Relaţii Internaţionale şi Studii Europene*, tom II, 2010, p. 7-17.

moment of his existence, i.e. during the lawsuit filed against him by the new Communist authorities, whose purpose could be easily anticipated, expressed Silviu Dragomir's point of view on his own creation. Silviu Dragomir expressed the wish that of all the works of his early career only *Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII/ The History of the Religious Liberation of Romanians in Transylvania in the 18th Century* should be reprinted.

First of all, it is about the topicality of the theme and the validity of some of the author's conclusions. Then, it is the work method, based on the introduction of new documents into the scientific circuit, his critical spirit which repeatedly prevented him from religious interpretations. In other words, the work contains numerous conclusions validated by subsequent research, as well as suggestions on the historian's return to the documentary sources. From a methodological perspective, we have established the stage of the investigations on the religious union until Silviu Dragomir's onset, we have integrated and analyzed Silviu Dragomir's research before WWI, during the interwar period and his investigations after his release from prison. A third level of analysis was represented by the stage of contemporary researches on the religious union in order to determine which of his findings were still valid. Where recent investigations have noted that the historian had come to inaccurate conclusions, we also reported and marked that.

The analysis of his historiographic contributions up to 1920, the year he published the first volume of *Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor din Ardeal/The History of the Religious Liberation of Romanians in Transylvania*¹¹³, indicates the existence of a project dedicated to the religious union of Romanians in Transylvania. A work at which its author worked for almost a decade, with great effort, rewarded by the favourable reviews of Nicolae Iorga¹¹⁴ and Ioan Lupaș¹¹⁵. Even in its *Preface*, Silviu Dragomir confessed that the manuscript was completed in 1914, but "the onset of World War I as well as my exposures that can only condemn the House of Habsburg's unfortunate policy [...] I listened to the advice of friends and stopped printing the book, until the arrival of bright days which not for a moment have we stopped hoping for."¹¹⁶ Published after the Union of Transylvania with Romania, *The History...* belonged to the plan of research on the history of Transylvania devised by Romanian specialists¹¹⁷, especially by the historians of the University of Superior Dacia¹¹⁸. In this regard, noteworthy are the plans and research projects on the history of Romanians and especially on the past of the united provinces devised by historians such as C. C. Giurescu¹¹⁹ and Alexandru Lapedatu¹²⁰, and by A. Decei a few decades after the union¹²¹.

¹¹³ Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, vol. I, Sibiu, 1920, 259 de pagini și 150 de documente.

¹¹⁴ Nicolae Iorga, *Silviu Dragomir, Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, in *Revista Istorică*, 1921, nr. 7-9, p. 189-197.

¹¹⁵ Ioan Lupaș, *Desbinarea bisericească a românilor ardeleni*, in Idem, *Studii, conferințe și comunicări istorice*, vol. I, București, 1928, p. 231-267.

¹¹⁶ Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase*, I, p. VII. The historian's statement is supported by the study *Revoluția românilor din părțile Sătmăruului și Careilor*, published in the newspaper *Românul* on 23 April 23, 1914, p. 1-3. The study is almost identical with the subchapter entitled *Tumultus Valachorum în Satu-Mare și în părțile unghurene* from the second volume of the synthesis. Furthermore, Silviu Dragomir made the following clarification: "The article is an excerpt from one of my works". These data allow us to say that the author had already finished his work in 1914.

¹¹⁷ Nicolae Iorga, *O introducere despre cuprins și metodă*, in Idem, *Istoria românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria*, p. 15-22.

¹¹⁸ Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir și înființarea Conferinței de istorie medievală universală la Universitatea Daciei Superioare*, in *Anuarul Universității din Oradea, Seria Istorie-Arheologie*, tom XI, 2001.

¹¹⁹ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Considerații asupra istoriografiei românești în ultimii douăzeci de ani*, Vălenii de Munte, 1926, p. 6-49.

¹²⁰ Alexandru Lapedatu, *Nouă împrejurări de dezvoltare ale istoriografiei naționale*, Cluj, 1922, p. 1.

The book, appeared in a favourable political circumstances, was received with enthusiasm by the specialists. Ioan Lupaș wrote the following: “As it appears – a brilliant icon of the tenacity and energy of the Transylvanian Romanian people – Professor Silviu Dragomir’s book is undoubtedly one of the most interesting and most successful historical monographs that our literature can boast with”¹²². An eulogistic review was also signed by Nicolae Iorga in *Revista teologică*. The historian noted the vastness of the original documentary material which allowed Silviu Dragomir to clarify numerous problems in the Transylvanian Romanians’ religious history¹²³.

In its *Preface*, Silviu Dragomir confessed: “I wanted to study the most important era in our past in the light of the new material provided by the archives systematically researched”¹²⁴. Analyzing semantically terms such as “restoring the truth”, “pointless polemics”, “the most important era” and “original documentary material”, we notice that the historian was speaking out for the change of the method in researching the religious union. To emphasize the extent to which he succeeded in restoring the truth using original documents and giving up pointless polemics, we reproduce some lines from the letter addressed by Silviu Dragomir to Ion BIANU: “I am sure you will kindly read the written pages of the history of the grim turmoil and you will not judge me for the few observations less calm, which I slipped here and there. The very history of this era was so passionately discussed that sometimes I also let myself carried away by my feelings”¹²⁵. Remarkable are his sincerity and power of analysis, doubled by undisguised humility. The quoted lines contain pertinent observations on the historiography of the religious union which, in the historian’s opinion, analyzed the period with “great passion”, in a partisan manner and without regard to scientific work.

In the introductory text, he advanced some solutions for overcoming the deadlock of the research on the religious union: giving up pointless discussions and debates, as well as introducing new documents in the scientific circuit¹²⁶. Aware of the importance of writing a new synthesis focused on the Romanians’ religious union and post-Athanasie period, Silviu Dragomir aimed at introducing novel information into the scientific circuit. To this end, he studied in many libraries and archives of the former empire. At the State Archives of Vienna he investigated the so-called *Illyrian documents Collection*, rich in information about the Transylvanian Romanians; then in the Metropolitan Church archives of Karlowitz, read the numerous petitions and memoranda addressed by the Orthodox Romanians to the leaders of the Serbian Church. With financial support from the Metropolitan Ioan Mețianu, Silviu Dragomir managed to explore for the first time the rich documentary funds of the Foreign Ministry Archives in Moscow. The documents there, petitions, memoranda and reports, highlight the Transylvanian Romanians’ confessional situation in the first half of the 18th century. Most of them were original sources, not used by experts until that time. This showed the importance of knowing Slavik languages, i.e. the field Silviu Dragomir had specialized in, for the elaboration of the synthesis.

The historian used various documentary sources in conceiving his work. Besides the official reports, often subjective and hostile to the Romanians, he also gave credit to the documents from Romanian sources, thus being able to complete the image of those under inquiry. He shifted the historiographic investigation from the level of the spiritual elites who concluded the union towards the majority of Romanians, managing to penetrate in the privacy

¹²¹ Aurel Decei, *Istoriografia română transilvană în cei douăzeci de ani de la unire*, Cluj, 1936, p. 1-7.

¹²² Ioan Lupaș, *Desbinarea bisericească a românilor ardeleni*, in *op. cit.*, p. 232.

¹²³ Nicolae Iorga, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 189.

¹²⁴ Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase*, I, p. V-VI.

¹²⁵ Biblioteca Academiei Române, Secția de manuscrise, *Fondul Ion BIANU*, S 29/CDXCVII, p. 1.

¹²⁶ Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase*, I, p. VI.

of the peasant world and to provide pertinent answers on the perception of the new church and on the reasons which urged them to change their faith. The interventions of the Russian Tsars and of the Metropolitans of Karlowitz at the Court of Vienna in favour of the Transylvanian Romanians show the Orthodox world's interest in the situation of this population subjected to aggressions by the political and religious authorities of the empire. Thus, to the already investigated relations between the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Romanians, between Orthodox and the State authorities, were added those between the Orthodox Romanians from Transylvania and those from Russia.

A particularly valuable source used by the author is *the Rosenfeld Collection*, found in Brukenthal Library in Sibiu. The Archive of the Saxon University, as well as the documentary fund of the Greek Catholic Archdiocese, provided the historian information from within the institutions, which reflected a point of view close to the official one. Be noted that the original sources, essential in the economy of the work, are fortunately complemented with numerous edited references. We are bound to make a clarification in this regard. Consistent with the proposed project of giving up pointless polemics, Silviu Dragomir avoided using works by authors who prolonged such disputes, precisely to not turn his work into a polemical one. Besides the bibliography partial to the religious union, he also used works favourable to the Orthodox historiography.

After analyzing Silviu Dragomir's work dedicated to the religious union, some conclusions are naturally required. The historian, trained in the spirit of positivist historiography, showed a worthy of appreciation predilection for the historical document. A passionate researcher of the Romanian and foreign archives, he equally proved to be critical with the discovered and studied documentary resources. As we have already seen, in his synthesis *Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, but also in his subsequent studies, the hard core of his works is represented by the new information introduced into the scientific circuit. He was convinced that the most solid answers given to the issues are those based on archival research. He returned to certain subjects, as was the case of the religious union, only when new uncovered documents imposed it. Although he was an outstanding polemicist, he tried to avoid religious disputes in favour of the source-based arguments. To study the Transylvanian Romanians' religious life, he carried out investigations in the archives of political and religious institutions in the Habsburg Empire and neighbouring states, as well as in many private collections.

For Silviu Dragomir, the notion of historical document had a wide meaning and it included: official documents issued by State institutions, private correspondence belonging to opinion leaders of the Transylvanian Romanians, the memoirs submitted by Orthodox Romanians to the political authorities and protectors of the Transylvanian Orthodoxy, and also notes, proclamations, reports drawn up at the time of the religious movements led by Visarion Sarai and Sofronie of Cioara. In other words, any official and private documentary source contributing to the clarification of the subject, after a preliminary analysis, was used by the historian. Although, in comparison with other types of sources, the official document had for the positivist historiography the most probative power, we note that Silviu Dragomir didn't always comply with this rule. In highlighting the historical information, he took into account the issuer's degree of objectivity. He tried to clarify the extent to which an institution or a person was involved in the reported phenomenon.

For instance, the historian showed hesitation regarding the Latin version of the union acts. He often wondered how the union documents were kept in the Latin version, as copies sent through Jesuits, without keeping the Romanian version of the union documents. Given the Jesuits's interest in the union, it was natural for him to consider them with suspicion. Adding, then, the essential difference between the union document in 1698 in its Latin version, and that in the Romanian version, we find that he had reasonable grounds to accuse

the Jesuits of distorting the meaning of the union promoted by the Romanian clergymen and, consequently, to doubt the authenticity of the official document. The author had a nuanced attitude while researching the religious movements led by Visarion Sarai and Sofronie of Cioara. Silviu Dragomir was aware that, using only official documents, in which the Orthodox Romanians's rebellion was doomed by the authorities, he risked to present the movement as the work of Romanian and Serbian agitators. Or, the use of Romanian documents as well, unofficial ones, it is true, such as memoirs, protests and notes drawn up during the riots, outlined the existence of a Romanian anti-unionist movement.

Silviu Dragomir really worshipped the document as a historical source. His attitude becomes more nuanced when interpreting and analyzing the historical information contained therein. He mastered the research tools specific to positivist historians. He was also, as we have seen, an expert in paleography and Slavic and Latin diplomacy. He was able to consult a multitude of documents, so necessary in drafting his works. However, as a positivist historian, he questioned the veracity of the information they contained. Consequently, they were very carefully interpreted and correlated with other documentary sources. As expected for an issue concerning the Romanians' union with the Church of Rome, the historian focused his attention on the acts considered fundamental in the unionist action. Their research had begun even during the interwar period, but as new documentary sources appeared, the analysis was resumed and extended to all the acts of the union. The numerous inconsistencies discovered therein led him to conclusions that surprised the scientific world. Most analysts consider that Silviu Dragomir's special relations with the Orthodox Church hierarchs made him biased and subjective. At the moment, nobody disputes the Orthodox and national partisanship sometimes expressed by the author in his writings. The issue to be clarified is whether this subjectivity affected essentially the conclusions he reached in his research.

There are, indeed, cases where, despite all the records and proofs, the historian does not accept them. Investigating the religious movements led by Visarion Sarai and Sofronie of Cioara, he constantly refuses to acknowledge the Serbian Metropolitans's involvement in their onset, even if there were proofs of that. Moreover, the Serbian Metropolitans's interest for the Transylvanian Romanians, natural up to a point, if we consider religious solidarity, also hid never admitted economic interests. The author's consideration for the Orthodox Church and its hierarchs made him have a biased attitude towards Bishop Atanasie Anghel, as well. According to most specialists, the hierarch was the artisan of the Romanians' union. Silviu Dragomir long hesitated to acknowledge Atanasie Anghel's involvement in the negotiations for the union. At the beginning of his investigations on the union, the historian only blamed the Romanian Protopopes for getting close to Catholicism¹²⁷. Later, in 1959, resuming his investigations, the author considered that although the Romanian Metropolitan had negotiated with the Jesuits, finally accepting the union, "he signed nothing in this regard"¹²⁸. It was only in Vienna that the authorities, taking advantage of the hierarch's weakness, imposed a different union than the one expected by the Romanian clergy. Only then did Silviu Dragomir accept the idea that *Atanasie Anghel was involved in the negotiations for the union*¹²⁹. In his last published study, the analyst reduced the hierarch's

¹²⁷ Idem, *Istoria desrobirei religioase*, I, p. 10.

¹²⁸ Idem, *Românii din Transilvania și unirea cu Biserica Romei*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 326.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 336. "Nevertheless, as a conclusion, we ought to make a correction to the statements made in a previous work of ours, attributing the Protopopes the initiative of the union negotiations and presenting Atanasie tormented by doubts. The newly discovered and critically analyzed documents do not justify this point of view. The talks for concluding the union were led by Atanasie, perhaps with the help of two-three trusted Protopopes. According to Mihai of Călata's testimony, it is to him that the Protopopes give the list with signatures and seals, in which there is no trace of enthusiasm for the change of faith."

“guilt”, stating that *the union was concluded under the Habsburg authorities’ pressure, and not of the Romanian hierarch’s will*¹³⁰.

The negotiations for the union had begun, as most of the historians have confirmed, during Metropolitan Teofil¹³¹. The union was concluded then, according to some historians¹³², and only during the future Metropolitan Atanasie Anghel, according to others¹³³. In spite of the many inconsistencies in the union acts – and Silviu Dragomir thoroughly demonstrated it – the Romanian elite’s wish to unite with the Church of Rome cannot be denied¹³⁴. It is true, however, that except for the priests, the Romanians did not immediately embrace the union, as they had no gain in changing their faith¹³⁵. After the Viennese moment and the publication by the Imperials of the Second Union Diploma, which also included benefits for the lay people who wished the union, the Romanians proved to be more receptive.

The author seized well the true sense of the union promoted by the Habsburgs¹³⁶, the Romanian hierarchs’ interests, as well as the limits of the concessions which they were willing to make. The Jesuits wanted the union to be achieved regardless of the Romanians’ option. The Latin version of the union act in 1698, far different from that in Romanian, proves this. The author’s analysis of the union acts, the conclusions reached on the causes and manner in which it was achieved found an echo among the specialists in the interwar period and during the Communist regime. Silviu Dragomir’s research proves him to be a historian skilled in handling the instruments of the critical school, with a remarkable historical sense and open towards historical criticism. His intellectual training, the political realities in Transylvania, the denationalization policy to which were subjected the Transylvanian Romanians got him close to the national movement. He campaigned through

¹³⁰ Idem, *Românii din Transilvania și Unirea cu Biserica Romei. Documente apocrife*, p. 94.

¹³¹ Mathias Bernath, *Habsburgii și începuturile formării națiunii române*, Cluj-Napoca, 1994, p. 107; Octavian Bârlea, *L’unionne dei rumeni (1697-1701)*, in *Transylvanian Review*, Volume VI, 1997, No. 1, p. 9-10.

¹³² Augustin Bunea, *Din istoria românilor*, p. 40; Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria*, p. 225; Idem, *Istoria Bisericii românești*, II, p. 22; David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum. Din istoria formării națiunii române*, București, 1984, p. 138-139; Mathias Bernath, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

¹³³ Ioan Crișanu, *Adaos la Istoria uniației bisericești a Românilor din Transilvania sub împăratul Leopold I*, în *Programa Institutului pedagogico-teologic al Arhiepiscopiei ortodoxe române din Transilvania pentru anul școlar 1886/1887*, p. 9; Nicolae Densușianu, *Independența bisericească a Mitropoliei române de Alba Iulia*, Brașov, 1893, p. 46.

¹³⁴ As for the Romanian clergy, it resorted to the union to save itself from social degradation. For several centuries, that clergy had stopped having the rights and privileges of the ruling classes as their people, peasant in its overwhelming majority, did not constitute a *natio*, as the Hungarian aristocracy, Saxon bourgeoisie and Szekler elite” (Keith Hitchins, *Tradiție religioasă*, in Idem, *Mit și realitate în istoriografia românească*, București, 1997, p. 12); “The desire for material improvement, and not the deep religious belief, the worldly gain, and not spiritual transformation, selfish considerations, and not moral abnegation dictated the union act and consequently led to establishing a church” (Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Fragmente din istoria românilor*, vol. II, București, 1900, p. 70; Nicolae Iorga, *Sate și preoți*, p. 168-171).

¹³⁵ “Although devoid of hierarchs, it was carried on by the multitude of believers in the villages. The way the Jesuits approached the union left the villages practically untouched. They had focussed their efforts on the clergy, leaving the bulk of the population to be converted at a later period.” (Keith Hitchins, *Tradiție religioasă*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 13).

¹³⁶ “The main initiator of the union, the Court of Vienna, which had only recently added Transylvania to its possessions, wanted to bring the Romanians in the Roman Catholic Church, as a means of subjecting the independent protestant states in Transylvania” (Keith Hitchins, *Tradiție religioasă*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 12); Pompiliu Teodor, *Politica confesională a Habsburgilor în Transilvania (1692-1759). Cazul românesc*, in *Caietele David Prodan. Revistă de istorie*, year I, no. 2, July-December 1994, p. 15-39. Together with this determination, met at Silviu Dragomir as well, there is another one well perceived by the same and by Mircea Păcurariu: “Attracting Orthodox Romanians to the union with the Church of Rome aimed, on one hand, at increasing the number of Catholics, and, on the other, at breaking any kind of ties with the Orthodox Romanians in Wallachia and Moldavia” (Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, vol. II, București, 1994, p. 290).

all means for the Transylvanian Romanians to unite with their brothers across the Carpathians.

He took part, in the press of the time, in the talks prior to the decision of Alba Iulia, speaking for the union of all his fellow countrymen. Undoubtedly, the Transylvanian Romanians' plight marked young Dragomir. He had a real aversion for any type of tyranny and for the foreigners who caused suffering to Romanians. Of course, the mentioned resentments can, sometimes, be noticed in his historical writing. The author harshly condemned, from the interwar nationalist standpoint, foreign intervention and interference. He condemned the propaganda waged by the Habsburgs as an insult to the Romanians' religious unity. Consequently, his works reflect a negative image of the Austrian Imperial authorities. Until his last study, Silviu Dragomir considered the Jesuits to be the artisans of Romanians's union. But in 1962, insisting upon the Viennese moment and comparing the points of the Second Leopoldine Diploma, the author considered that the union was concluded in Vienna, where the Imperial authorities played a key role. The Jesuits, hitherto considered the artisans of the union, were reduced to the role of negociators and forgers of the documents of 1697, 1698 and 1700¹³⁷.

Because of his resentments towards the nation's traitors, Silviu Dragomir failed or did not want to understand the great change produced in the history of Transylvanian Romanians by the political programme initiated by Inochentie. His refusal to identify the birth of Transylvanian nationalism with the political action started by the Greek Catholic Bishop is hard to understand, given that Silviu Dragomir was one of the Transylvanians nationalists in the early twentieth century¹³⁸. His historical writing was also influenced by the new political realities in Romania after 1944. The author proved reluctant to establish the causes of the religious movements led by Visarion Sarai and Sofronie of Cioara, being influenced, after 1955, by the marxist philosophy. In his interwar writings, he considered the movements of Visarion Sarai and Sofronie of Cioara as having religious causes and seeking to reestablish the Orthodox faith. After 1955, the historian modified his conclusions, considering them social and national movements directed against the Habsburgs¹³⁹.

¹³⁷ Silviu Dragomir, *Românii din Transilvania și Unirea cu Biserica Romei. Documente apocrife*, p. 94; Ștefan Lupșa, *op. cit.*, p. 96-97. Historian Keith Hitchins reached the same conclusion. He considered that "The main initiator of the union was the Court of Vienna" (Keith Hitchins, *Tradiție religioasă*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 12).

¹³⁸ For historian Ioan Moga, Inochentie Micu's request for the Romanians to become the fourth receipt nation is a *revolutionary idea* (Aurel Răduțiu, *Ioan Moga despre luptele religioase la românii din Transilvania*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj*, XXXI, 1992, p. 61, 65).

¹³⁹ He wasn't the only historian who considered that the movements led by Visarion Sarai and Sofronie of Cioara had social and national causes. "It's been 200 years since the repression with armed forces of one of the major popular uprisings in Transylvania, against feudal exploitation and oppression: Sofronie's uprising of 1759-1761" (Alexandru Neamțu, *Un raport din anul 1774 privitor la răscoala lui Sofronie (1759-1761)*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, IV, 1961, p. 253); "In the second half of the 18th century, the anti-feudal and anti-Habsburg struggle intensified in Transylvania. The serfs' uprising both against the nobility, as well as against the Austrian authorities, takes, at times, apparently, a religious garb, the Orthodox religion being the faith of the exploited vast majority [...]. Fearing the rise of the serfs' rebellion, Sofronie surrendered to General Bucow" [...]. (Carol Göllner, *Date noi cu privire la călugărul Sofronie*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, V, 1962, p. 239). Historians such as Ioan Moga, Keith Hitchins, Mircea Păcurariu și David Prodan remain supporters of Dragomir's conclusions in his interwar studies: "The movements led by Visarion Sarai and Sofronie of Cioara were fights of the peasants for religious freedom, for national traditions, for the bond with their brothers over the Carpathians and, thus, for the spiritual union of all Romanians" (Aurel Răduțiu, *op. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 67); "Across the South of Transylvania, they rose to defend their Vlach and Greek faith, expressing their determination by actions of reckless cruelty and also of impressing piety. Whole villages acted together. The villagers took over the united churches and chased away the priests" (Keith Hitchins, *Tradiție religioasă*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 16); "As a matter of fact, Sofronie's entire movement can be considered a full victory of Orthodoxy in Transylvania, for dozens of villages left the uniatism" (Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, II, p. 387).

Some of Silviu Dragomir's conclusions established themselves for good in Romanian historiography. Considering his training, we then note his remarkable effort to multiply the historical information present in all his works¹⁴⁰. An important achievement of Silviu Dragomir's investigations on the religious union is the study of the attitude of the Romanian population on whose behalf the clergy decided the union. In the spirit of the positivist trend, the historians focused especially on the union documents. Nobody had previously researched the believers' mood to see their option as well. Did the Romanians agree with the union with the Church of Rome? The answer to this question is, largely, the key to understanding the religious uprisings in the fifth and sixth decades of the eighteenth century. Without surveying the average population's attitude with respect to the union, we will not understand how, in less than a year after the moment of Sofronie of Cioara, the Greek Catholic Church was threatened with extinction. What were the reasons for the Romanians' return to Orthodoxy? How did Sofronie of Cioara, a simple monk, to convince his fellow countrymen that they had been wrong when they had accepted Greek Catholicism? These are questions which get the researcher closer to the Romanian population mass, in order to understand its aspirations, pains and behaviour¹⁴¹.

When some historians vehemently contested his conclusions, Silviu Dragomir demonstrated that there was a religious solidarity, a deep attachment of the rural world to the Orthodoxy, that some Transylvanian Romanians sacrificed themselves for their faith, facing the terror of the authorities. The protests against the religious union, which spread through almost the entire Transylvania, can not be explained, as attempted, only by the intervention of external factors, namely of the Metropolitan Pavel Nenadovici. Even if Silviu Dragomir refused for decades to acknowledge the Serbian hierarchs' role in the Romanian religious movements, at present no serious historian disputes their role. However, their intervention does not explain fully the numerous anti-union actions initiated by the Transylvanian Romanians. But there was something else in their movements, namely their strong commitment to their ancestors' faith, very well highlighted by the author in the suggestively entitled synthesis, *Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*.

The Romanian believers' return to the Orthodoxy after the religious¹⁴², social and national movement¹⁴³ led by Sofronie of Cioara was a victory and cancelled, in Silviu Dragomir's opinion, the deal made several decades earlier by the Romanian hierarch with the

¹⁴⁰ Greta Monica Miron, *op. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 694.

¹⁴¹ "A simple monk, he addresses the crowds at their level, in their language, stirs popular fanaticism. He abets against the union, the united priests, the Bishop of Blaj. The union is false, the uniates are heretics, Papists sold to the Germans, they have defiled the holy things. He urges the crowds to guard the old faith, to listen to the Metropolitan of Karlowitz." (David Prodan, *op. cit.*, p. 205); "The Orthodox Christians' frustration paved the way for a new outburst of violence. And, again, the leader was a monk, this time a Romanian one, Sofronie of Cioara from the Southern Transylvania, who aroused the same religious enthusiasm as Visarion. For almost two years, from the autumn of 1759 to the spring of 1761, Sofronie was followed by large crowds of supporters who fought against the union with a zeal reminiscent of medieval crusades" (Keith Hitchins, *op. cit.*, p. 18); "Inochentie's departure from Transylvania opened the door for the Orthodoxy's assault against the union. The assault came from the South of Transylvania, from the world of the free and wealthy peasants, for which the sentences and freedoms promised by the Emperor in the two Leopoldine Diplomas had no importance [...] This peasantry's attitude was so determined that priests who had accepted the union didn't even dare to admit it. No change in religion could be conceived so as to divide the sons of the same nation on both sides of the Carpathians" (Aurel Răduțiu, *Ioan Moga despre luptele religioase la românii din Transilvania*, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj*, XXXI, 1992, p. 66).

¹⁴² Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase*, II, p. 197.

¹⁴³ Idem, *Românii din Transilvania și unirea cu Biserica Romei*, in Idem, *Românii din Transilvania și unirea cu Biserica Romei*, în *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, 3, 1959, p. 326-327.

political and religious authorities of the Habsburg Empire¹⁴⁴. Nobody, and much less the priests, had any right to draw the Romanian population in the dangerous game of denying their faith for material interests. The individual or collective reactions against the union were a proof of this. They showed that the union wasn't approved by the peasant world. Although pathetic and with accents of subjectivity, the author was able to reconstruct truthfully the popular tumult and the Romanians' grievances.

In the historiography on the religious union, historian Silviu Dragomir's works are reference contributions due to the vastness of the used documentary material, attentive analysis of the union documents, modern interpretations, especially capturing the mental contagion set on among the Romanians during the movements led by Visarion Sarai and Sofronie of Cioara. In his investigations, as a man of the city, Silviu Dragomir was sometimes influenced by the context. The conclusions he reached are sufficiently balanced to conclude that such influences did not alter the essence of his contributions.

1.b. New research directions

Following these investigations, we have published several studies attempting to grasp the context in which the religious union was accomplished¹⁴⁵, highlighting the protests of the Transylvanian Romanians who wished to preserve their Orthodox faith¹⁴⁶, as well as the results of a survey conducted in Țara Făgărașului/Făgăraș Land¹⁴⁷. The studies are based on unpublished documents, in connection to recent bibliography and in line with new research directions. We have revealed the phenomenon of mental contagion in religious movements and the role of religious leaders on the masses. We were also interested, on a first research level, to see what was the religious policy of the Habsburgs in the newly conquered provinces at the end of seventeenth century. Our second research level also tries to outline the human and intellectual profile of the Romanian Orthodox leaders sent by the communities to Vienna to submit memoirs. And on the third level, the most important one, we wanted to see the Orthodox Romanians community's reaction when asked by the authorities to declare itself Greek Catholic.

The Orthodox Romanians' discontent took the form of memoirs addressed to the Imperial authorities to be granted the right to practice their faith. The Imperial authorities' questioning highlights the profile of the representatives sent by the Romanian to Vienna to submit their grievances.

The inquiry of April 14, 1752 contains 24 questions addressed to Oprea Miclăuș and Moise Măcinic, to which the two gave answers. The questions are important, as they reveal the image the Court of Vienna had on the religious issues in Transylvania, especially the situation of Orthodox Romanians' community. The answers are important as well, as we have

¹⁴⁴ A particularly generous conclusion on the effects of the two Romanian movements belongs to Ioan Moga in 1946: "Victory. Reestablishment of the Orthodox Diocese. Dionisie Novacovici 1762 [...] Victory of the Orthodox peasantry. There is no spiritual border on the Carpathians. Failure of the Austrian Catholic Imperialism. But there is also another victory: the union. Not in the sense desired by Vienna!!! Even less in that sought by the feudal nobility. The resistance of the Orthodoxy and the uprising of the masses showed that the union can be totally jeopardized. Therefore, it had to be consolidated." (cf. Aurel Răduțiu, *Ioan Moga despre luptele religioase la românii din Transilvania*, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj*, XXXI, 1992. p. 67).

¹⁴⁵ Sorin Șipoș, *Politica religioasă a curții vieneze în Transilvania*, în *Politici imperiale în Estul și Vestul spațiului românesc*, Chișinău, 2010, 166-176.

¹⁴⁶ Sorin Șipoș, *Istorie și politică. Date despre anchetarea lui Oprea Miclăuș și Moise Măcinic la Viena, în 1752, în Istorie. Literatură. Politică*, Oradea-Padova, 4-7 noiembrie 2010.

¹⁴⁷ Idem, *Une conscription religieuse parmi les paysans du Pays de Făgăraș en 1761 în Religious frontiers of Europe*. Edited by Sorin Șipoș, Enrique Banus, Karoly Kocsis, Volume 5, Oradea-Debrecen, 2008, ISSN:1841-9259, p. 28-34.

an insight on the status of the spiritual leaders, their theological background, the relations established by the Transylvanian Orthodox community with the Serbian Mytropolity of Karlowitz and that of Wallachia. Those interrogated requested freedom of religious belief, of being able to declare themselves Orthodox, and the extension of the Metropolitan in Karlowitz' authority over them, as well. They also requested the issue of an authorization stating that anyone who did not wish to accept the union was free to leave the Principality and go wherever they pleased.

Oprea Miclăuș admits the fact that the union was concluded by signatures of the Protopopes and, later, by priests' vows, but they declared in front of their communities their full faith and oaths, stating that they had pretended to be united only by constraint. In these circumstances, the priests' lack of morality and their spiritual duplicity expressed in the formula "swearing in two ways" determined them to look for priests who had the courage of assuming their faith in front of the authorities.

The third level of our research, conducted in several localities in Țara Făgărașului, highlights the phenomenon of mental contagion. The Romanians' gesture of banishing their priests must be linked with the religious movement started by Sofronie of Cioara which spread throughout Transylvania. There were, however, latent, smoldering grievances, which Sofronie of Cioara activated, generating agitation all over Transylvania. The revolt, initially started in Zărând, where its leader was present, by occupying the churches and chasing away the united priests, spread from village to village, from county to county. Thus, the other villages did what their neighbours closer to the revolted area had done. Clearly there were many agitators, people and institutions interested in expanding the uprising, but it is also true that they found an expectation level favourable to rebellion in the world of the Romanian villages. All it took was a leader, a spark to trigger grievances as a true religious and social explosion. The villagers of Vadu, Șercaia, Ohaba or Bucium contested not the presence of the united priests in the villages, but the fact that they had told the community they were Orthodox when, in fact, they had another confession. When the village community, mostly ununited, found that the priest was united, it chased him away or, simply, ceased to attend church. Blamable for this situation was, according to the villagers, the priest who failed to inform the community that he had passed to Greek Catholicism. The peasants' answers also reveal the idea that chasing away the united priests from the villages declared Orthodox and, eventually, occupying the churches were carried out amid a mental contagion spread from village to village and materialized in answers like: "we, the ununited, following the example of neighbouring villages, took it (the church – o.n.) again". The answers given by the peasants in Făgăraș give the impression that they wished to transfer responsibility for what happened in their own village to their neighbours. The determination of all the villages to keep their church, revealed by the dignified answer given to the investigators – "we will never voluntarily return the church, except until appearing before the High Commission, to which we will surrender it provided we are asked to" – proved the villagers's wish to have complete freedom in choosing the faith closer to their soul and, implicitly, the conscience and responsibility of assuming the decisions taken by the community.

Our interest in Silviu Dragomir's life and work also materialized in the organization of scientific events¹⁴⁸ and in the publication of the papers presented at these scientific events¹⁴⁹. Such is the volume *Silviu Dragomir - 120 ani de la naștere/Silviu Dragomir – 120*

¹⁴⁸ *Simpozionul național Silviu Dragomir - 120 ani de la naștere*, 13 martie 2008, Cluj-Napoca; *Simpozionul național Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962) – 50 ani de la trecere în veșnicie*, Deva, 10-11 februarie 2012.

¹⁴⁹ Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir-repere biografice*, at *Simpozionul Silviu Dragomir-120 ani de la naștere*, 13 martie 2008, Cluj-Napoca; Sorin Șipoș, *Imaginea lui Silviu Dragomir în dosarele Securității la Simpozionul Silviu Dragomir-120 ani de la naștere*, 13 martie 2008, Cluj-Napoca.

*Years Since His Birth*¹⁵⁰, as well as the collective work *Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962) – 50 ani de la trecere în veșnicie/Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962) – 50 Years Since His Passing Away*¹⁵¹. All these actions were meant to keep actual Silviu Dragomir's complex personality and to introduce into the scientific circuit new documents on his life and historiographic activity. In addition, through the studies published in foreign languages we have wished for the historian's and political man's work and fate to become known by European historians. The volumes bring together the contributions of Romanian specialists who have investigated historian Silviu Dragomir's life and work. Along with the above-mentioned papers, after the public defense of my doctoral thesis I have presented scientific papers¹⁵² and published other studies and articles on historian Silviu Dragomir's work¹⁵³. They complete and complement

¹⁵⁰ *Silviu Dragomir - 120 ani de la naștere*. Coordonatori Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2011, 228p.

¹⁵¹ *Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962) – 50 ani de la trecere în veșnicie*. Coordonator pr. Florin Dobrei. Cuvânt înainte Acad. Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Șipoș, Academia Română. Centrul de Studii Transilvane/Editura Episcopiei Devei și Hunedoarei, Cluj-Napoca - Deva, 10-11 februarie 2012, 337p.

¹⁵² Sorin Șipoș, *Destinul unei cărți: „Silviu Dragomir, studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849. Revoluția. Eroii. împăratul și românii”* la Conferința internațională *Statutul istoriei și al istoricilor în contemporaneitate*, Oradea-Băile Felix, 17-20 octombrie 2013; Sorin Șipoș, *About the “Historian’s Workshop” in Communist Romania. Case Study: Silviu Dragomir’s Scientific Work Reflected in the Reports of the Security (1957-1962)*, in *The Historian’s Workshop: Sources, Methods, Interpretations, the 5th Edition*, Oradea-Chișinău, 26-28 May 2011; Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir istoric al Revoluției de la 1848* în volumul *Conferinței internaționale Asociaționism și naționalism cultural: 150 de ani de la întemeierea ASTREI*, Cluj-Napoca, 2011; *Les frontières et l’historien Silviu Dragomir et les nouvelles réalités politiques roumaines d’après 1947*, in *Leaders of the Borders, Borders of the Leaders*, Oradea, 31 March – 02 April 2011; Șipoș Sorin, *Silviu Dragomir și cercetarea romanității nord-balcanice în România perioadei comuniste*, la Seminarul științific internațional *Istoriografie și politică în estul și vestul spațiului românesc*, Chișinău, 12 septembrie, 2008; Sorin Șipoș, *Despre avatarurile cercetării operei manuscrise a istoricului Silviu Dragomir aflate în Biblioteca Academiei Române în perioada post-comunistă*, la Simpozionul internațional *Tradiție și modernitate în societatea românească în noul context creat de aderarea la Uniunea Europeană*, Oradea, 9-10 octombrie 2007; Sorin Șipoș, *Un studiu inedit privind Diploma Cavalerilor Ioaniți și implicațiile sale*, la Colocviul internațional *Ideologii politice și reprezentări ale puterii în Europa*, Iași, 30 noiembrie-1 decembrie 2007.

¹⁵³ Sorin Șipoș, *Activitatea istoricului Silviu Dragomir la Academia Română*, in *Slujitor al Bisericii și Neamului. Părintele Prof. univ. dr. Mircea Păcurariu, membru corespondent al Academiei Române la împlinirea vârstei de 70 ani*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 720-732; Idem, *Historian Silviu Dragomir in the Communist Prisons*, în *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XV, No 1, 2006, p. 38-59. Sorin Șipoș, *On the avatars of the written work of Silviu Dragomir at the Romanian Academy Library in the „Post-communist” period.*, în *Analele Universității din Oradea. Istorie-Arheologie*, Tom XVIII, 2008, ISSN 1453-3766.; Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir și Securitatea (1957-1962)*, în *Pe urmele trecutului. Profesorului Nicolae Edroiu la 70 de ani*. Coordonatori Susana Andea, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Academia Română, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 629-652. Sorin Șipoș, *Viața și opera lui Silviu Dragomir reflectată în istoriografia românească după anul 1989*, la Simpozionul *Cercetarea istorică bihoreană în context național*, 4 decembrie 2009, Oradea; Sorin Șipoș, *Ideologie și politică în investigarea unirii religioase în opera istoricului Silviu Dragomir, în regimul comunist*, în *Istorie. Etnologie. Artă. Studii în onoarea lui Ioan Godea*. Coordonatori Aurel Chiriac, Barbu Ștefănescu, Oradea, 2009, p. 87-106; Sorin Șipoș, *La politique religieuse de la Cour Viennoise dans la Principauté de Transylvanie*, în *Analele Universității din Oradea, Relații Internaționale și Studii Europene*, tom II, 2010, p. 7-17; Sorin Șipoș, *Le destin de l’historien et homme politique Silviu Dragomir dans la Roumanie communiste*, *Analele Universității din Oradea, seria RISE*, Tom III; Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir and the North Roman Balkan Research in the Context of Romania’s New Political Realities*, in Mircea Brie, Sorin Șipoș, Ioan Horga, *Ethno-Confessional Realities in the Romanian Area. Historical Perspectives (XVIII-XX Centuries)*, în *EuroTimes Supliment* 2011; Sorin Șipoș, *History, Censorship and Ideology under the Communist Regime: Silviu Dragomir and the Investigation of the Revolution of 1848*, in *Analele Universității din Oradea. Seria Istorie-Arheologie*, tom XXII, 2012, p. 123-146, ISSN 1453-3766, CNCSIS, Indexată BDI; Sorin Șipoș, *Despre avatarurile cercetării operei manuscrise a istoricului Silviu Dragomir din Biblioteca Academiei Române în perioada post-comunistă*, in *Tradiție și modernitate în societatea românească*. Volume edited by Nicu Dumitrașcu și Emil Cioară, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, p. 30-42, 2007; Sorin Șipoș, *Ideology, Politics, and Religion in the Work of the Historian Silviu Dragomir*, in *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, 7, 21 (Winter 2008), ISSN-1583-0039, p. 79-105; Sorin Șipoș, *On the Avatars of the Written Work of Silviu Dragomir at the Romanian Academy Library in*

aspects from his life and work which have been dealt with using unpublished studies or by analyzing his historiographic work.

the „Post-communist” Period in Transylvanian Review, 2008, ISSN-1221-1249; Sorin Şipoş, *Silviu Dragomir and the Notes in His Surveillance File (1957-1962)*, in *Transylvanian Review*, nr. 3, Supplement, 2011, Vol. XX, p. 109-134, ISSN 1221-1249; 6. Sorin Şipoş, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Editos’ Note*, in *Transylvanian Review*, nr. 3, Supplement, 2011, Vol. XX, p. 5-6, ISSN 1221-1249; 7. Sorin Şipoş, Ioan-Aurel Pop, *The Security, Silviu Dragomir and the Notes in His Surveillance File (1957-1962)*, in *Transylvanian Review*, nr. 4, 2011, Vol. XX, p. 91-103, ISSN 1221-1249; 8. Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Şipoş, *An Unpublished Study by the Historian Silviu Dragomir*, in *Transylvanian Review*, XXI, no. 4, 2012, p. 65-76, ISSN 1221-1249.

1.c. Borders and Political Imaginary

Another line of research has been dedicated to publishing original documents from the French archives on the Romanian space, foreign travellers' accounts, and also theorizing on the concept of Europe and border. Consequently, the issue under investigation is generous and has attracted the attention of many Romanian and foreign authors over the years. From the first positivist type contributions recent years have reached much deeper contributions which analyze and question the document in a modern manner and with major suggestions coming from the Annals School. Here are only some of the major contributions: Nicolae Iorga, Pompiliu Eliade, George Pascu, Paul Cernovodeanu, Maria Holban, P. P. Panaitescu, Neagu Djuvara, Klaus Heitmann, Dan Amadeo Lăzărescu, Andrei Cornea, Nicolae Isar, Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire et Pierrick Pourchasse, Daniel Barbu, Nicolae Bocșan, Sorin Mitu, Toader Nicoară, Mihaela Grancea, Neagu Djuvara, Alexandru Duțu, Germaine Lebel, Larry Wolf, Maria Todorova. However, as stated by Sorin Mitu, in recent years the subject no longer represents a topical research direction¹⁵⁴. In Western historiography this direction has mainly been investigated and is researched by geographers for the part of medieval travels¹⁵⁵, as well as for those in the modern period. Work tools have been developed, such as atlases, dictionaries¹⁵⁶ and syntheses¹⁵⁷, but also modern works in terms of the methodological approach.

Our interest has focused on making critical editions and works of synthesis, but also studies based on original documentary sources. All these works talk about the Romanian world, the Romanian space, the border between the East and West. Let us mention but a few of the fundamental contributions, such as the bilingual edition: Antoine-Françoise Le Clerc, *Memoriu topografic și statistic asupra Basarabiei, Valahiei și Moldovei, provincii ale Turciei Europene (Topographical and Statistical Memoir of Bessarabia, Wallachia and Moldavia, Turkey's European Provinces)*¹⁵⁸ and the bilingual work Sorin Șipoș, Ioan Horga, *De la „Mica la Marea Europă“ Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente. De la „Petite“ à la „Grande Europe“ Témoignages français de la fin du XVIII^e et du début du XIX^e siècle sur la frontière orientale de l'Europe. Études et documents (From the Little to the Great Europe. French Testimonies from the Late 18th Century and Early 19th Century on Europe's Eastern Border. Studies and Documents)*¹⁵⁹. Both works have enjoyed many favourable reviews published in specialized literature and which have appreciated the originality and novelty of our historiographical endeavour.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁴ Sorin Mitu, *Transilvania mea. Istorii. Mentalități. Identități*, Iași, 2013, p. 93.

¹⁵⁵ *Geographes et voyageurs au Moyen Age*. Sous la direction d'Henri Bresc et d'Emmanuelle Tixier du Mensil, Paris, 2010, 273p.

¹⁵⁶ Francois Angelier, *Dictionnaire des voyageurs et explorateurs occidentaux*, Paris, 2011, 766p.

¹⁵⁷ Michel Bideaux, *Européens en Voyage (1500-1800)*, Paris, 2012, 779p.

¹⁵⁸ Antoine-François Le Clerc, *Memoriu topografic și statistic asupra Basarabiei, Valahiei și Moldovei, provincii ale Turciei Europene*. Ediție îngrijită, studiu introductiv și note de Sorin Șipoș și Ioan-Aurel Pop, Editura Institutului Cultural Român, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, 218 p.

¹⁵⁹ Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș, *De la „Mica la Marea Europă“ Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente. De la „Petite“ à la „Grande Europe“ Témoignages français de la fin du XVIII^e et du début du XIX^e siècle sur la frontière orientale de l'Europe. Études et documents*. Traducerea textelor. Traducation des textes: Delia-Maria Radu, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2006, 280p

¹⁶⁰ Ovidiu Mureșan, *Memoriu topografic și statistic asupra Basarabiei, Valahiei și Moldovei, provincii ale Turciei Europene* în *Impact*, anul II, nr. 40, 3-9 noiembrie 2004, p. 9. Dumitru Sim, Antoine-François Le Clerc, *Memoriu topografic și statistic asupra Basarabiei, Valahiei și Moldovei, provincii ale Turciei Europene*. Ediție îngrijită, studiu introductiv și note de Sorin Șipoș și Ioan-Aurel Pop, Editura Institutului Cultural Român,

Awareness in certain Western circles of the space in the Eastern part of the continent had already occurred, and interest increased progressively over time. The transition from the “Little” to the “Large Europe” was about to be made, and the Enlightenment, with its appetite for exotic realities, with its idea of “citizen of the universe”, with its cosmopolitan discourse, would provide a suitable framework in this sense. Ever since the end of the 17th century, more and more people became interested in knowing the spaces at the periphery of the civilized world, where economic, cultural and human transfers were produced. “Now – wrote Paul Hazard – the Italians’ appetite for travel revived; and the French were as restless as quicksilver”¹⁶¹. “The German we speak of” – added Paul Hazard – “spared no effort: he climbed the mountains to the top; he followed the rivers from the source to their mouths [...], he visited churches, monasteries, abbeys, public squares, town halls, aqueducts, fortresses, arsenals, taking notes. [...] For the British, the journey was a complement to their education; the young noblemen fresh out of Oxford and Cambridge, crammed with guineas and accompanied by wise preceptors, crossed the Strait and began the great tournament”¹⁶². The historians, the art historians and the specialists in Anglo-Saxon literature associated the years 1680-1780 with the golden years of the great tour¹⁶³. A large number of preserved writings or objects advocate the importance of this ritual by which the young men from the greatest families leave for three years on the major roads of Europe in the company of a preceptor or with other people in their service¹⁶⁴.

This was the intellectual context at the moment when the Romanian countries drew again the attention of Europe’s great powers as the territories occupied by Turks were

Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, 218 p., în *Impact*, anul III, 3-9 februarie, 2005, p. 6. Alexandru Simon, Antoine-François Le Clerc, *Memorii topografic și statistic asupra Basarabiei, Valahiei și Moldovei, provincii ale Turciei Europene*. Ediție îngrijită, studiu introductiv și note de Sorin Șipoș și Ioan-Aurel Pop, Editura Institutului Cultural Român, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, 218 p., în *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XX, no. 4, 2005, p. 130-131. Prof. univ. dr. Ion Eremia, Antoine-François Le Clerc, *Memorii topografic și statistic asupra Basarabiei, Valahiei și Moldovei, provincii ale Turciei Europene*. Ediție îngrijită, studiu introductiv și note de Sorin Șipoș și Ioan-Aurel Pop, Editura Institutului Cultural Român, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, ISBN 973-86871-1-X, 218 pg., 2004, în *Tyrageia*. Istorie și muzeologie, Serie nouă, vol. II, nr. 2, Chișinău, 2008, p. 367-340. Dan Horia Mazilu, Sorin Șipoș, Ioan Horga, *De la „Mica la Marea Europă” Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente*, la emisiunea “Omul care aduce cartea”. Georgeta Giurgiu, Sorin Șipoș, Ioan Horga, *De la „Mica la Marea Europă” Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente. De la „Petite” à la „Grande Europe” Témoignages français de la fin du XVIII^e et du début du XIX^e siècle sur la frontière orientale de l’Europe. Études et documents*. Traducerea textelor. Traduction des textes: Deila-Maria Radu, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2006, 280p. în *Eurolimes*, vol. IV, 2006, p. 179-180. Anca Oltean, Sorin Șipoș, Ioan Horga, *De la „Mica la Marea Europă” Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente. De la „Petite” à la „Grande Europe” Témoignages français de la fin du XVIII^e et du début du XIX^e siècle sur la frontière orientale de l’Europe. Études et documents*. Traducerea textelor. Traduction des textes: Deila-Maria Radu, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2006, 280p. în *Analele Universității din Oradea, Istorie-Arheologie*, 2008, p. 179-180. Prof.univ. dr. Ion Eremia, Sorin Șipoș, Ioan Horga, *De la „Mica la Marea Europă” Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente*, în *Tyrageia*. Istorie și muzeologie, Serie nouă, vol. I, nr. 2, Chișinău, 2007, p. 247-250; Ion Gumenăi, Sorin Șipoș, Ioan Horga, *De la „Mica la Marea Europă” Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente*, în *Revista de istorie a Moldovei*, nr.1, 2007, Chișinău, p. 114-115.

¹⁶¹ Paul Hazard, *Criza conștiinței europene 1680-1715*. Traducere Sanda Șora. Prefață Romul Munteanu, București, 1973, p. 5.

¹⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 6.

¹⁶³ Gilles Bertrand, *Voyager dans l’Europe des années 1680-1780*, in *Les circulations internationales en Europe, années 1680 - années 1780*. Sous la direction de Pierre-Yves Beaupaire et Pierrick Pourchasse, Rennes, 2010, p. 243.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

released by the armies of the Habsburg Empire¹⁶⁵. Consequently, we witnessed a resizing of Europe by including within the borders of the Austrian State of the provinces that previously belonged to Hungary. Gradually, Europe regained for a few centuries territories which by the inhabitants's origin, language and tradition belonged to that space. After unsuccessful attempts to include Wallachia and Moldavia, the border delimiting the Habsburg Empire from the Ottoman one includes the principality of Transylvania, and after 1774, Northern Bukovina as well. Under the effective domination of the Porte remain the Romanian provinces on the other side of the Carpathian mountains, Wallachia and Moldavia, while Dobrogea, the Pashaliks and rayas surrounding the Romanian countries like a belt were incorporated into the Ottoman Empire¹⁶⁶.

Significant changes also occurred in the early 18th century in the political relations between the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire¹⁶⁷. First, the Sultans imposed at the head of both countries foreign rulers who come accompanied by their familiars whom they placed in the most important positions. After the final removal of native rulers, the Porte appointed at the head of the principalities people generally coming from the Greek, Levantine world¹⁶⁸. The highest dignity in the state was obtained by purchasing the throne. In his turn, in order to recover his money or pay the debts he had made, the new ruler tried to sell the positions in the upper administration of the country¹⁶⁹. These were the political-social realities of the Romanian space, located at the confluence of the interests of the great powers of the time¹⁷⁰ the works we have published also refer to.

In this complex analysis we have taken into account many elements which can play an important part in outlining the positive or negative image the foreign travellers have on the Romanian space. In this sense, in our view the direction from which the foreigners penetrate the Romanian space is also important for their attitude at crossing the border. This is a topic linked to the relation between the center and the periphery, between the civilized space, where there are laws and institutions which enforce the order, and the uncivilized one, where arbitrariness and corruption are the main coordinates. A traveller passing from Transylvania to Wallachia has certain feelings, different from those shown by the accounts of one leaving Moldavia or Wallachia to enter Transylvania, Maramureș, Bucovina or Banat. Yet, compared to Austria, Transylvania is, in its turn, a periphery. In other words, establishing the center is crucial for finding out where the periphery is. And the center of a certain geographical and cultural space can become the periphery of another space. For instance, Count of Ségur, passing from Prussia to Poland in the winter of 1784-1785, was very aware that he had crossed a very important boundary. He felt that he "had completely left Europe" and more so that he "had travelled ten centuries back in time"¹⁷¹. Several decades later, Marquis de Custine, in Russia, noted the following as a conclusion to his visit: "One must have lived in this restless desert, in this prison without respite called Russia to properly feel the entire

¹⁶⁵ Vezi Călin Felezeu, *Statutul Principatului Transilvaniei în raporturile cu Poarta Otomană (1541-1688)*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p. 107-119. David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum. Din istoria formării națiunii române*, București, 1984, p. 134. Mathias Bernath, *Habsburgii și începuturile formării națiunii române*, Cluj, 1994, p. 87.

¹⁶⁶ *Istoria românilor*. Vol. VI. *Românii între Europa clasică și Europa luminilor (1711-1821)*. Coordonatori: Dr. Paul Cernovodeanu, Prof. univ.dr. Nicolae Edroiu. Secretar științific: Constantin Bălan, p. 13-30

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 30-34.

¹⁶⁸ Neagu Djuvara, *Între Orient și Occident. Țările Române la începutul epocii moderne (1800-1848)*. Traducere de Maria Carпов, București, 1995, p. 41-58. Pompiliu Eliade, *Influența franceză asupra spiritului public în România. Originile. Studiu asupra stării societății românești în vremea domniilor fanariote*. Traducere din franceză de Aurelia Dumitreșcu. Ediția a II-a integrală și revizuită, București, 2000, p. 121-125.

¹⁶⁹ Pompiliu Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 113-118.

¹⁷¹ Larry Wolff, *Inventarea Europei de Est. Harta civilizațiilor în Epoca Luminilor*. Traducere din engleză de Bianca Rizzoli, București, 2000, p. 21.

freedom one enjoys in the other countries in Europe, regardless of their form of government. If one encounters discontent people in France, one should use my method, and tell them: “Go to Russia. It is a travel useful to any foreigner; he who will have seen properly this country would be happy to live anywhere else”¹⁷². Unquestionably, both travel stories contain an idea pervasive in most travellers, that they were at the edge of Europe, but outside its Eastern border, in a different world, in another continent, having little in common with Europe.

At the same time we have to clarify and discuss the concept of Europe. The big problem assumed by the European projects was identifying and assuming the values and common traditions that define Europe. Consequently, the European thinkers’ questions on the concept of Europe and the manner of perception of its Eastern border were numerous. What is Europe? What is the Eastern border of Europe? Is there an overlap between the geographical, political, cultural and religious borders of Europe? And, equally important, what is the relation between *centre* and *periphery*, where does the *centre* end and where does the *periphery* begin, what kind of phenomena occur at the *peripheries* of two *centres*. Finally, we need to insert a new concept in these equations, namely the *image*, i.e. the manners, the way they are seen, perceived by the contemporaries, and also *Europe, the border, the centre and the periphery*.

Unquestionably for an accurate analysis of the concept of Europe we must take into account the important moments in the historical evolution of the continent¹⁷³. Like the other continents, Europe has also experienced moments that marked the forms of political organization and the types of relationships established in relation to the “others”, to the strangers. A first milestone marking Europe’s evolution is the split within the Christian church¹⁷⁴. The Religious separation from the middle of the 11th century between the Catholics and the Orthodox occurred in connection with the power centres of the time in Europe. It triggered a battle for supremacy between Rome and Byzantium¹⁷⁵. The conquest of the capital of the Byzantine Empire by the knights of the Fourth Crusade intensified the animosity between the two spaces of Christianity¹⁷⁶. The religious unification, prerequisite for restoring the religious unity of Europe, accomplished as a result of the conquest of Constantinople, proved to be short-lived. Experiencing the Fourth Crusade settled in the mentality of the Orthodox peoples the idea that the West is the main enemy of Orthodoxy. Only the Turks’ entering in Europe boosted the cooperation between the Orthodox states, which were in the front line against the Ottomans, and the Catholic kingdoms. The Christian Princes, Catholic and Orthodox alike, in order to overcome the differences and the mistrust between European states, insisted on the common grounds, which were more numerous¹⁷⁷. Even this part of Europe witnessed a solidarity that was forged in comparison to the “Other”, the stranger, in this case the Turk, the Muslim¹⁷⁸. The Ottoman expansion across Europe had major consequences for the Christian world. By the end of the 17th century, the Ottoman

¹⁷² Marchizul de Custine, *Scrisori din Rusia în 1839*. Ediție, prefață și dosar de Pierre Nora. Traducerea din franceză de Irina Negrea, București, 2007, p. 337.

¹⁷³ Emmanuel Todd, *Inventarea Europei*. Traducere Beatrice Stanciu, Timișoara, 2002, p. 11.

¹⁷⁴ Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Geneza medievală a națiunilor moderne* (secolele XIII-XVI), București, 1998, p. 124.

¹⁷⁵ Jacques Le Goff, *Civilizația Occidentului medieval*, București, 1970, p. 199.

¹⁷⁶ Jonathan Riely-Smith, *Storria delle Crociate. Dalla predicazione di papa Urbano II alla caduta di Constantinopoli*. Traduzione di Marina Bianchi, Milano, 2011, p. 248.

¹⁷⁷ Constantin Razachevici, *Rolul românilor în apărarea Europei de expansiunea otomană secolele XIV-XVI. Evoluția unui concept în contextul vremii*, București, 2001.

¹⁷⁸ Ioan-Aurel Pop, *op. cit.*, p. 90-92. Jean Delumeau, *Frica în Occident (secolele XIV-XVIII). O cetate asediată*, vol. II. Traducere, postfață și note de Modest Morariu, București, 1998. Elisabetta Borromeo, *Le «Turc» à l’âge moderne: itinéraire d’une image (du XVI^e jusqu’au début du XVIII^e siècle): quelques réflexions*, în *Images des peuples et histoire des relations internationale du XVI^e siècle à nos jours*. Sous la direction de Maria Matilde Benzoni, Robert Frank, Silvia Maria Pizzetti, Milano, Paris, 2008, p. 3-14.

frontier moved to the Western Balkans and the Central Europe. However, the transition from “Little” to “Large Europe” was about to be made, and the Enlightenment, with its appetite for exotic realities, with its idea of “citizen of the universe”, with its cosmopolitan discourse, would provide a suitable framework in this sense. The Austrian Reconquista started in 1683, after a period in which the Ottoman Empire seemed to permanently dominate large regions of the Central and South-Eastern Europe brought again to the public opinion’s attention that in that part of Europe there were peoples who by traditions, languages, origins and confessions were closer to Europe than to the Ottoman Empire.

But Europe’s political separation remained in the public consciousness for decades after the East area was recaptured from the Turks. The boundaries that separated East and West were increasingly imaginarily perceived since the 18th century, as shown by various French, Italian, Austrian missionaries, diplomats and military, who crossed the Eastern European space either from the Baltic to the Carpathians and the Black Sea, or from West to the East, towards St. Petersburg and Moscow, to Iași and Cetatea Albă, or to Bucharest and Constantinople. A major idea evolves from the travellers’ records, namely that as they headed for the East and South-Eastern Europe they were entering a world with other values and principles, governed by a different political system and traditions than those of Western Europe. The foreign travellers also criticize the political and social realities in the Ottoman Empire and the countries situated under its influence.

We believe that this critical perspective on unpublished documents put into the scientific circulation can provide interesting interpretative openings for the analysis of the concept of Europe, the concept of borders, the image of the “Other”, the stranger, the relationship between center and periphery, which are chapters in one of our books.

The Napoleonic wars increased the interest of France for South-Eastern Europe, amid the outbreak of the hostilities with Russia¹⁷⁹. In this political-military framework is written Antoine François Le Clerc’s work (1757-1816), in 1805, entitled *Mémoire topographique et statistique sur la Bessarabie, la Valakhie et la Moldavie, provinces de la Turquie d’Europe*¹⁸⁰. The manuscript has 58 pages and is structured in the following chapters: *Du Boudjiak ou Bessarabie* (p. 1-7); *Commerce d’importation du Boudjiak* (p. 8-13); *De la Valakhie* (14-24); *De la Moldavie* (25-46); *Commerce d’exportation de la Valakhie* (47-48); *Commerce d’importation de la Valakhie* (p. 49-50); *Commerce d’importation de la Moldavie* (p. 50); *Commerce d’exportation de la Moldavie* (p. 50-54); *Intérêt de la France dans ces deux Provinces* (p. 55-58). It can be found in the Military Archives of Château de Vincennes, at the library listing number 1M 1617. We owe a first mention of the manuscript, the only one in fact, to Professor V. Lungu, in a study published in *Revista Arhivelor* in 1937¹⁸¹. At the time, V. Lungu made a general description of the manuscript, with data on the moment of its drafting, as well as the sources used by its author¹⁸², completed with the transcription of pages 45-47 and 53-58, considered as more important for the history of Romanians¹⁸³.

Before proceeding to the interpretation of the manuscript information it is necessary to identify the documentary sources used by its author. In addition to comments from French

¹⁷⁹ Pompiliu Eliade, *Influența franceză asupra spiritului public în România. Originile. Studiu asupra stării societății românești în vremea domniilor fanariote*. Ediția a II-a integrală și revăzută, București, 2000, p. 176-198; Jean Nouzille, *La diplomatie française et les Principautés au début du XIX^e siècle*, în *Revue Roumaine D’Histoire*, tome XXXVIII, N^{os} 1-4, Janvier-Décembre, București, 1999, p. 3-36.

¹⁸⁰ *Service historique de l’armée de Terre, Château de Vincennes, Fond Turquie et Peninsule Illyrienne*, Antoine François Le Clerc, *Mémoire topographique et statistique sur la Bessarabie, la Valakhie et la Moldavie, provinces de la Turquie d’Europe*, 58 p.

¹⁸¹ V. Lungu, *Un manuscris necunoscut din vremea lui Napoleon I, referitor la Principatele Române*, în *Revista Arhivelor*, vol. III, nr. 6-8, București, 1936-1937, p. 171-177.

¹⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 171-172.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 173-177.

citizens present with different missions in the two Romanian countries, such as vice consul Louis Parrant¹⁸⁴, in Moldavia, and Luce Gaspari, count of Belleval in Wallachia, in writing his manuscript, Le Clerc used the works of different authors, taking over entire pages or only short pieces of information. Among these, we should mention Wilhelm Bawr¹⁸⁵, Jean Louis Carra¹⁸⁶, baron de Tott¹⁸⁷ (page 26), Sulzer¹⁸⁸ (pages 17; 19; 24; 38), Peyssonnel¹⁸⁹ (pages 19-20), Dimitrie Cantemir¹⁹⁰ (pages 33-35; 36-37; 43), Nicolas Ernest Kléman, Elias Abesci¹⁹¹ (pages 23-24; 42), William Eton¹⁹² (pages 40), Lafitte-Clavé¹⁹³ (page 24), Johann Christian von Struve¹⁹⁴ (pages 18-23; 27; 32; 36; 38; 42). It can be said without any doubt that we are dealing here with a massive and uncritical takeover of information from the works of authors who had written about the Romanian Principalities. Personal judgements are present to a lesser extent. Obviously, the author's training and the work method he used while writing his work decrease much of its value. Consequently, the work is a successful compilation, without bringing original information about the Romanian space. However, we should accept the fact that Le Clerc did not intend to write a scientific paper, meant for scientists. Its content is a proof of that. Le Clerc wrote it with another purpose and for a different type of public. It is, in fact, a political and economic memoir, written in order to raise the French political authorities' and public opinion's awareness on the Romanian territory. Herein lies the importance of this writing. On one hand, there was a certain public, eager for usual news about an exotic part of Europe; on the other hand, such works aroused a certain interest, educated wide Western audiences for getting acquainted with the Greater Europe, which had been gradually established, as we have said, after the end of the eighteenth century. The measures proposed by Antoine François Le Clerc were beneficial, both for

¹⁸⁴ Citizen Louis Parrant, a young man of only 24 years old with a character rather wise than energetic, appointed in March 1798 Vice Consul in Iași, in a place where the French influence had gained hardly any ground. Unfortunately, Parrant didn't live too long in the midst of the Moldavian society. However, his official reports show serious and critical judgement, a good and unbiased observer. *Notes sur la géographie, l'administration et la population de la Moldavie/Notes on the Geography, Administration and Population of Moldavia* are truly remarkable (*Documente privitoare la istoria românilor/Documents regarding the History of Romanians*. Supplement I, vol II, 1781-1814. Documents collected from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris by A.I. Odobescu, București, 1885, p. 174-175; 177-188; Pompiliu Eliade, *Influența franceză asupra spiritului public...*, p. 185-187).

¹⁸⁵ Wilhelm Bawr (Bauer), *Mémoires historique et géographique sur la Valachie, avec un Prospectus d'un Atlas géographique et militaire de la dernière guerre entre la Russie et la Porte Ottomane*, Frankfurt, 1774; Leipzig, 1778.

¹⁸⁶ Jean-Louis Carra, *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie, avec un dissertation sur l'état actuel de ces deux Provinces*, Iași, 1777.

¹⁸⁷ Barin Fr. de Tott, *Mémoires du baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, vol. I-IV, Amsterdam, 1785.

¹⁸⁸ Johann-Georg Sultzer, *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daziens*, vol. I-III, Viena, 1781.

¹⁸⁹ Charles de Peyssonnel, *Observations historiques et géographiques sur les peuples barbares qui ont habité les bords du Danube et du Pont Euxin*, Paris, 1765, și *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire*, vol. I-II, Paris, 1787, which Le Clerc copiously used.

¹⁹⁰ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descriptio Moldaviae*, 1716.

¹⁹¹ The compilation attributed to Elias Abesci was published in London, in 1784, under the title: *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire...*, and in French translation with the title of *État actuel de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. I-II, Paris, 1892.

¹⁹² William Eton, an English traveller in the Romanian countries, who, in 1798, published a work on the Ottoman Empire, known to us in the French translation made by G. Levebre, under the title *Tableau historique, politique et moderne de l'Empire Ottoman*, 2 vol., Paris, 1801.

¹⁹³ André Joseph de Lafitte-Clavé left a diary on the exploration of the European coast of the Black Sea, *Journal d'un voyage sur les côtes de la Mer Noire du 28 avril au 18 septembre*, which was a source of inspiration for Le Clerc for the description of branch and locality of Sulina, a manuscript preserved in the Archive of the Inspectorate du Genie in Paris, Château de Vincennes, m. 117.

¹⁹⁴ Johann Christian von Struve, *Voyage en Krimée, de Petersbourg à Constantinople en 1792, publié par un jeune russe attaché à cette ambassade*, Paris, 1802, 398 p + pl.

Moldavia, a state which reunified, and for the Gate, which would have established a buffer zone to Russia. France couldn't afford to waste generosity. On the contrary, clarification of the Romanian Principalities's status towards the Gate, as well as blocking Russia's expansion in this area, was going to lead to greater political and economic influence of France.

"The rulers and their descendants", wrote Le Clerc, "who will owe their throne exclusively to Napoleon, will show their gratitude towards him and towards France, remaining his allies and establishing, once and for all, a direct trade with it. This seems to us the best thing to destroy the influence of Russia and of the Court of Vienna. After establishing these connections, the Cabinet in St. Petersburg will be forced to live in peace with France, for the benefit of its trade through its trade agencies at the Black Sea, as we will show. It would be even more advantageous for the French soldiers from all arms to be allowed to pass into the service of these princes and for us to send them people trained in different areas, to exploit the immense wealth of these countries. This association would be fatal to England, who provided us all the necessary for our imperial and commercial navy and all the other food products and commodities from the Russian provinces on the Black Sea, giving it a finishing blow"¹⁹⁵.

Here are sufficient reasons for France to assume a significant political and economic role in the Romanian space. The Romanian Principalities would have become an outpost of French interests in this part of Europe, a means of economic pressure on Russia's and England's interests. At the same time, they were to have direct trade relations with France, amid the re-establishment of the diplomatic relations with the Gate, by the treaty of June 26, 1802, by which France obtained the right of free navigation in the Black Sea. The generous projects designed for the Romanian Principalities by the French officer remained only on paper, in the manuscript we have published. Antoine François Le Clerc wasn't someone with influence on French foreign policy. And the interests of France, as Napoleon I saw them, were totally different. There were French people and even personalities who saw differently the future of the Romanian countries, and Antoine François Le Clerc proves it. More, other things will be said by future generations. Probing the Romanian countries' political evolution in the second half of the 19th century, it is clear that the modest cavalry officer was the one who put forward a political solution confirmed by the historical evolution. France was the main external artisan of the principalities' union, of limiting the influence of Turkey, Russia and Austria on the modern Romanian national state about to be formed and consolidate itself.

Despite its scientific limitations we have already pointed at, many inherent ones, due to Antoine François Le Clerc's training and status, his work reflects a certain attitude, present in the Western world, towards the peoples in South-East Europe and the Balkans, peoples trying to regain the long time deviated natural course of history. It is a historical document for the investigation of the Romanian space in the early nineteenth century and reflects the interest of the great powers, especially of France, in Turkey's European possessions, while being a Western historiographical source on another world, on the image of the Other, the Romania, Turk, Tartar, Armenian, Jew, Greek, who speaks another language, has beliefs and customs different from the Western world. The work is, without a doubt, a historical testimony on the Romanian world facing a profound crisis of conscience, the day before its registration on the coordinates of the nationalities and modernization century.

The same line of research also includes the work *De la „Mica la Marea Europă“ Mărturii franceze de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente. De la „Petite“ à la „Grande Europe“ Témoignages français de la fin du XVIII^e et du début du XIX^e siècle sur la frontière orientale de l'Europe. Études et documents/From the "Little" to the "Great" Europe. French*

¹⁹⁵ Antoine François Le Clerc, *Mémoire topographique...*, p. 57.

Testimonies in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries on Europe's Eastern Borders. Studies and Documents. The edition reproduces unpublished manuscripts about the Romanian countries written by French authors, namely: Joseph Félix Lazowski, *Memorii asupra fortărețelor Ismail, Bender, Akerman și Chilia remise Directoratului la nivôse, în anul 6/Memoirs on the fortresses Ismail, Bender, Akerman and Chilia submitted to the Directorate in the Fourth Month of the French Republican Calendar, Year 6* and *Observații cu privire la starea actuală a Turciei și la raporturile politice ale acestei puteri cu Republica Franceză/Observations on Turkey's Current State and the Political Relations of this Power with the French Republic*; Captain Aubert, *Note statistice despre Polonia rusească, Moldova și Valahia/Statistical Notes on Russian Poland, Moldavia and Wallachia* and Armand-Charles Guilleminot, *Memoriu al comandantului-adjutant Guilleminot asupra observațiilor făcute și informațiilor culese în timpul călătoriei sale în Turcia/Memoir of Adjutant Commander Guilleminot on the Observations Made and Information Gathered during His Trip to Turkey.*

The actuality of the historical information, the novelty of the manuscript texts, the description of the Romanian Principalities and of the Eastern border of Europe, the way the authors describe the Romanians, with their flaws and qualities, France's interest for the populations living in the contact area of the West and the East, the solutions proposed for the Romanian countries to regain their former prestige – among which we identify only a few, namely the need of shedding the Ottoman domination and to intensify their ties with the Western world, reforming the political class, efficient exploitation of the economic resources, making full use of their favourable geopolitical position – these are some of the reasons which have led us to make up this work, conceived in three parts.

The first part of the book comprises the studies on the authors and their manuscripts. Our intention was to analyze the manuscript texts in close connection with their authors, starting from the assumption – fair, in our opinion – that many things can be clarified if we understand the personalities of those who wrote the memoirs. Knowing the biographical data of the French travellers, their intellectual formation, the reasons they find themselves in the Romanian countries, we can judge more clearly the attitudes and options expressed in the manuscript texts. The second part of the book comprises the manuscript texts translated, with corresponding footnotes – of the publishers and, where appropriate, of the author. At the end of the book we have reproduced the original manuscripts, so that the translation can be compared with the original text. The issues encountered during the translation work were mainly related to certain archaic terms which, obsolete, are no longer found in the pages of the dictionaries, as well as certain names of localities or people incorrectly transcribed by the authors and which were impossible to identify using maps, dictionaries and encyclopedias in use. The translation was divided into pages, complying with the structure of the manuscripts, to facilitate the reader's orientation in the text.

One of the authors, Lazowski, the author of the memoirs submitted to the Directorate, is a person directly involved in knowing the system of fortifications on the border of the Ottoman Empire with Russia. His reports contain detailed information on the fortifications, plans and drafts drawn by the officer to improve the Gate's defense at the border with Russia. All these prove to us that Lazowski had first hand knowledge of the space he speaks of in his memoirs, thereby increasing the importance of the information he provided. In addition, knowing personally the situation in the Ottoman Empire, the officer makes an entire plea for abandoning France's good relations with the Ottoman Empire, which haven't brought along the expected advantages for his country, and for starting a military campaign to conquer Egypt. Officer Lazowski's accounts highlight France's interest for the Ottoman Empire, for its border with Russia, but it equally announces his country's change of policy in relation to the Gate. The subsequent political-military events in the space of East Europe and the

Balkans will partially confirm the French officer's considerations on the Ottoman Empire's fate, but will prove the fact that Russia's importance, although acknowledged, was however underestimated when, for instance, he opposed this power to France.

Another French traveller in the Romanian space who left information is the French Pierre Antoine Parfait Aubert. Aubert proves to be an open and direct person in dealing with the others, with strangers. He openly manifests his antipathy towards the Turks because of their hostility towards Christians, but also for their reluctance to innovative ideas. We can also suspect him of anti-Jew feelings. He has no confidence in the fortifications built according to plans by Hebrew engineers, which are, in his opinion, poorly designed. Nevertheless, he shows a certain compassion for the Romanian countries, due to their status in relation to the Gate. He finds unjust the Turks' domination and abuses and condemns them. To some extent, Aubert plays the role of a vigilante.

As for the purpose of Aubert's journey, in fact that of a delegation of French officers, although he makes no statement on the subject, in his report at the end of the mission Guilleminot reveals that they sought to convince the Ottoman political factors to sign an armistice with Russia. The mission was of the utmost importance for France, consequently we can assume that the delegates sent to the Gate were trained and trustworthy people. The journey started on July 11 in Tilsit, where only a few days earlier the secret treaty between France and Russia had been signed, stipulating, among others, that France would offer to mediate for Turkey the restoration of the peace with Russia. The journey started one day before ratification of the treaty.

Regardless of the French Captain's reasons for travelling, the report written by him is an important documentary source on the Romanian space in the early years of the nineteenth century. It was drafted in a moment when the interest of France for the Romanian territory increased from day to day. Guilleminot, the third traveller in our work is among the few foreign authors who managed in so few words to capture the vices of the mighty of the time in the Romanian countries: coward and humble before mightier people, intriguing and ruthless with their own subjects. Interest and fear sort their daily activities. It is no less true, however, that such an elite accelerated the principalities' dependence towards the Gate and, by its irresponsible behaviour, contributed to worsening the status of the Romanian countries. Guilleminot also proves generous when describing the Moldavians and Vlachs he met during his journey, showing a certain sympathy towards the inhabitants of the two provinces. However, he doesn't hesitate to relay to posterity the most common flaws attributed to the inhabitants of these provinces. But not even in this case does he give the impression that he rallies to the criticism uttered against Romanians. He is not as understanding towards the other residents of the principalities.

In the French traveller's opinion, the Turks were blamable for lack of vision, as well as for many other things. We don't think that the author of the report had something with that people. His discontent was due to the fact that the Turks, being the masters of these provinces, in other words those who took advantage of their resources, also had the duty of protecting them. However, in reality that did not happen. More likely, Guilleminot, who came from a world that knew how to use its resources and appreciated those who produced goods, couldn't understand the anachronisms existing in the Ottoman Empire. The tyranny, despotism, corruption, inefficiency are the opposites of the world to which Guilleminot belonged and, consequently, he could neither understand, nor accept them. These are the reasons which make him critical towards the Ottoman system and to show compassion and even sympathy for the Romanians under the dominion of the Gate.

The French Archives still contain unpublished documentary sources on the Romanians North of the Danube and in the Balkan Peninsula¹⁹⁶. The reports are written either by French officers, or by people from the elite of the nations subjected by Napoleon¹⁹⁷. We are dealing with a true policy, promoted by Napoleon's France, of identifying the human and natural resources in the newly occupied countries. To this category belongs the memoir written in 1806 by Colonel Antoine Zulatti, entitled: *Memoire du Colonel des Dalmates Monsieur Zulatti sur la Reforme et Reglement des Morlaques dans la Province de Dalmatie (Memoir of Mister Zulatti, Colonel of the Dalmatians, on the Reform and Regulation of the Morlachs from the Province of Dalmatia)*¹⁹⁸. The document is 39 pages long, written in French, in a beautiful handwriting and without abbreviations. On the last page of the memoir, on the right, we read the place and the date: Zara, March 15, 1806, and on the left there's the name of its author: Antoine Zulatti, Colonel¹⁹⁹. The memoir is to be found in the documentary fund of the Military Archives in Château of Vincennes, at the reference number 1M 31/1591. The memoirs or reports represent important documentary sources for specialists, as they seize a time segment in the history of the Romanic origin community²⁰⁰. The documents issued by the chanceries of the kingdoms of Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, the acts

¹⁹⁶ Sorin Şipoş, *O minoritate uitată: morlacii din Dalmația într-un memoriu al colonelului Antoine Zulatti*, în *Seminatores in Artium Liberalium Agro: studia in honorem et memoriam Barbu Ştefănescu*, coordonatori: Aurel Chiriac, Sorin Şipoş, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, p. 339-444. Sorin Şipoş, *O minoritate uitată, morlacii din Dalmația, într-un memoriu al colonelului Antoine Zulatti (1806)*, în volumul, *Mehedinți, istorie, cultură, spiritualitate*, ed. a V-a, Severin, 2013. Sorin Şipoş, *A Forgotten Minority: the Morlachs of Dalmatia in a Memorandum of Colonel Antoine Zulatti (1806)* în *The Historian's Atelier. Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, Romanian Academy. Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, p. 212-226.

¹⁹⁷ Among the many bibliographical reference, see the following: Anthoine, baron de Saint-Joseph, *Essai historique sur le commerce et la navigation de la Mer-Noire, ou Voyage et entreprises pour établir des rapports commerciaux et maritimes entre les ports de la Mer-Noire et ceux de la Méditerranée*, Paris, 1805; Wilhelm Bawr (Bauer), *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur la Valachie, avec un Prospectus d'un Atlas géographique et militaire de la dernière guerre entre la Russie et la Porte Ottomane*, Frankfurt, 1774, Leipzig, 1778; Jean-Louis Carra, *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie, avec un dissertation sur l'état actuel de ces deux Provinces*, Jassy, 1777; *Călători străini despre țările române*, vol. I, îngrijit de Maria Holban și Paul Cernovodeanu, București, 1968; vol. XI-2, îngrijit de M. Holban, Maria M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru și P. Cernovodeanu, București, 2000, 2001; *Călători străini despre țările române în secolul al XIX-lea*, Serie nouă, vol. I (1801– 1821), îngrijit de Georgeta Filitti, Beatrice Marinescu, Şerban Rădulescu-Zoner, Marian Stroia, redactor-responsabil: P. Cernovodeanu, București, 2004; Antoine François Le Clerc, *Memoriu topografic și statistic asupra Basarabiei, Valahiei și Moldovei, provincii ale Turciei din Europa*, ediție îngrijită, studiu introductiv, note și comentarii de Ioan-Aurel Pop și Sorin Şipoş, traducere din limba franceză de Delia-Maria Radu, însoțită de reproducerea manuscrisului original, Cluj-Napoca, 2004; P. P. Panaitescu, *Călători poloni în Țările Române*, București, 1930; Charles de Peyssonnel, *Observations historiques et géographiques sur les peuples barbares qui ont habité les bordes du Danube et du Pont-Euxin*, Paris, 1765; Idem, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire*, vol. I-II, Paris, 1787; Johann Christian von Struve, *Voyage en Krimée, de Pétersbourg à Constantinople en 1792, publié par un jeune russe attaché à cette ambassade*, Paris, 1802; Robert Walsh, *Voyage en Turquie et Constantinople*, Paris, 1828; William Wilkinson, *Starea Principatelor Române pe la începutul veacului trecut*, traducere de Ionescu Ş. Dobrogianu, în „Buletinul Societății Regale Române de Geografie”, LV, 1937.

¹⁹⁸ *Service historique de l'armée de Terre*, Château de Vincennes, fond Turquie d'Europe, *Memoire du Colonel des Dalmates Monsieur Zulatti sur la Reforme et Reglement des Morlaques dans la Province de Dalmatie (Memoir of donnului Zulatti, colonel al Dalmașilor, despre reforma și regulamentul morlacilor din provincia Dalmației)*, 1M 31/1591, 39 p.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

²⁰⁰ *Memoriu de atașat Recunoașterii militare a Dalmației (semnat Lasseret, inginer geograf) de inginer geograf al biroului topografic din Italia decembrie (1806)* au Service historique de la Défense (Vincennes, France), 85/86-1591. *Souvenirs du capitaine Desboeufs*, publiés pour la Societe d'histoire contemporaine par M. Charles Desboeufs, Paris, 1901, p. 70-93.

issued by Venice, record the Vlachs and the Morlachs as a people of Romanic origin²⁰¹.

From a methodological perspective, we have interpreted the data in the document in a critical manner and by reference to information from other documentary sources of the time. We have tried to establish at least two control sources for the data of the memoir. The whole issue was integrated into the contemporary historiographic debates, in what the specialist define as *the image of the Other, imagology*, in order to explain easier the stereotypes, the commonplaces in describing the Morlachs, to separate truth from fiction and the imaginary from reality.

So far, our endeavour to identify the author of the memoir hasn't had the expected results²⁰². Consequently, our only pieces of information about its author are those from the document, which we have used. Until uncovering new documentary sources, the biographical segment will remain incomplete.

We are dealing with a fresco of the realities of Morlach society, going through the stage of losing its linguistic identity, but very conservative in terms of customs, traditions, holidays. Some of the Morlachs' features, especially the negative ones, are, perhaps, exaggerated, they are spread over a wide area. However, we can't help noticing the existence and permanence of such features at the Morlachs, from the first documentary records to the moment the memoir was written. We consider here the frequent thefts, the conflicts with the political authority, the trespassing and destruction of properties and crops, as well as their difficulty of being integrated into a certain system, due to transhumance. Likewise, their vindictive spirit, pride, rebellion, courage, as well as their generosity towards the poor and faith in God, often speculated to their own advantage by the powerful ones.

The direction from which the foreigners penetrate the Romanian space is also important for their attitude at crossing the border. This is a topic linked to the relation between the center and the periphery, between the civilized space, where there are laws and institutions which enforce the order, and the uncivilized one, where arbitrariness and corruption are the main coordinates. A traveller passing from Transylvania to Wallachia has certain feelings, different from those shown by the accounts of one leaving Moldavia or Wallachia to enter Transylvania, Maramureș, Bucovina or Banat. Yet, compared to Austria, Transylvania is, in its turn, a periphery. In other words, establishing the center is crucial for finding out where the periphery is. And the center of a certain geographical and cultural space can become the periphery of another space. For instance, Count of Ségur, passing from Prussia to Poland in the winter of 1784-1785, was very aware that he had crossed a very important boundary. He felt that he "had completely left Europe" and more so that he "had travelled ten centuries back in time"²⁰³. Several decades later, Marquis de Custine, in Russia, noted the following as a conclusion to his visit: "One must have lived in this restless desert, in this prison without respite called Russia to properly feel the entire freedom one enjoys in the other countries in Europe, regardless of their form of government. If one encounters discontent people in France, one should use my method, and tell them: "Go to Russia. It is a travel useful to any foreigner; he who will have seen properly this country would be happy to

²⁰¹ Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu*, ediție îngrijită de Sorin Șipoș, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, p. 139-148.

²⁰² An important piece of information about the author of the memoir can be found in the electronic version of Carlo Francovich' book, *Storia de la massoneria in Italia. Dalla origini alla Rivoluzione franceze*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 2012, 255p. Antoine Zulatti belonged to the Masonic lodge *I veri amici di Vicenza*, having the rank of Master in 1778. According to the same information, Antoine Zulatti held the rank of Lieutenant Colonel of the Venetian Republic. *Ibidem*, p. 146, nota 12.

²⁰³ Larry Wolff, *Inventarea Europei de Est. Harta civilizațiilor în Epoca Luminilor*. Traducere din engleză de Bianca Rizzoli, București, 2000, p. 21.

live anywhere else”²⁰⁴. Unquestionably, both travel stories contain an idea pervasive in most travellers, that they were at the edge of Europe, but outside its Eastern border, in a different world, in another continent, having little in common with Europe. Consequently, we can reach several conclusions from our investigations on the foreign travelers who crossed the Romanian space and their attitude while crossing the border²⁰⁵.

The foreign travellers note a series of things near the Romanian countries, namely: the militarized border, the customs, quarantine and army, the customs officials, the passport. A border with so many identification elements did not exist between the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire. From this point of view, the Romanian countries seemed to most foreigners as part of the Ottoman Empire.

Then, there are those elements we have identified as belonging to the second level marking the border, namely: the political system, the presence of the Greek officials, the communication ways and transport organization, the quality of accommodation, the inhabitants' prosperity, the law enforcement.

The report between center and periphery goes through significant changes, depending on what we consider as the center. The periphery is set depending on the center. For the foreign travellers, Transylvania is at the periphery of the civilized world, if compared to France. But in relation with the Romanian countries, the intra-Carpathian province is the center, being, according to most travellers, in a position of superiority over the Danubian Principalities.

There are also mental borders, originated in the historical realities and sediments accumulated over centuries, overlapped by personal experiences. Due to the experience of the journey, the direct contact with the roads and resting places, the image of the political elite (from clothing, to behaviour, gestures and origin), the travellers crossing the Romanian space had the impression that the Romanian countries belonged to the Orient.

Consequently, most travellers viewed with optimism the passage into Transylvania and with suspicion and distrust the crossing of Moldavia and Wallachia. Beyond the

²⁰⁴ Marchizul de Custine, *Scrisori din Rusia în 1839*. Ediție, prefață și dosar de Pierre Nora. Traducerea din franceză de Irina Negrea, București, 2007, p. 337.

²⁰⁵ *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, coordonatori Sorin Şipoş, Gabriel Moisa, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Mircea Brie, Teodor Mateoc, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, 292p.; Sorin Şipoş, Dan Octavian Cepraga, *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, în *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, coordonatori Sorin Şipoş, Gabriel Moisa, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Mircea Brie, Teodor Mateoc, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, p. 5-12. Sorin Şipoş, *Foreign Travellers in the Romanian Space and Border Symbolism (1797-1810)* în *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, coordonatori Sorin Şipoş, Gabriel Moisa, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Mircea Brie, Teodor Mateoc, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, p. 141-157. Sorin Şipoş, *România și spațiul românesc într-un manuscris francez din anul 1805*, în *Vocația istoriei. Prinos Profesorului Șerban Papacostea*. Volum îngrijit de Ovidiu Cristea, Gheorghe Lazăr, Brăila, Editura Istros, 2008, ISBN-978-973-1871-10-3, p. 531-556. Sorin Şipoş, *Tra Occidente e Oriente: Un viggiatore francese nei paesi romeni*. *Acta Adriatica ac Danubiana*, Trieste-Pirano, Trieste, 2011, p. 124-137. Ioan-Aurel Pop, Sorin Şipoş, *Image des Pays roumains dans un ouvrage français de 1688*, în *Images des peuples et histoire des relations internationales du XV^e siècle à nos jours*, sous la direction de Maria Matilde Bezoni, Robert Frank, Silvia Maria Pizzetti, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris/Edizioni Unicopli, Milano, 2008, ISBN-978-88-400-1202-5/ISBN-978-2-85944-592-8, p. 15-26. Sorin Şipoş, *Tra Occidente e Oriente: Un viggiatore francese nei paesi romeni*. *Acta Adriatica ac Danubiana*, Trieste-Pirano, Trieste, 2011, p. 124-137. Sorin Şipoş, *Entre Orient et Occident: l'espace roumain dans les recits des voyageurs étrangers (du XVIII^e siècle – debut du XIX^e siècle)* în Florin Sfrengeu, Éva Gyulai, Sorin Şipoş, Delia Radu (coordonatori), *History and Archaeology in Central Europe. New Historiographical Interpretations*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2011, p. 117-132. Sorin Şipoş, *Mărturii asupra frontiere răsăritene a Europei consemnate de ofițerul francez Lazovski la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea*, în *Multa e Varia*. Studi offerți a Maria Marcella Ferracioli e Gianfranco Girauo, Biblion edizioni, 2012, vol. I, p. 523-546.

existence of real causes, we also have to notice both a certain subjectivism of the foreign travellers, glad to reach Transylvania, for example, a province closer to the realities of their native places, as well as a certain desire to exaggerate the realities existing South and East of the Carpathians, a space perceived as part of the Ottoman Empire.

My investigation of this theme, started after the public defense of my doctoral thesis and continued over the years, led to the presentation of many papers in the country and abroad and the publication of these works in scientific journals and in the volumes of the scientific symposia. The investigation of the otherness phenomenon slowly led me towards works of synthesis and critical editions.

Europe is impossible to define. Paul Valéry described Europe as “a small promontory of the Asian continent”²⁰⁶. In other words, is it a myth that Europe is a continent different from Asia? Or that Asia ends and Europe begins? Is it possible for a continent that is slightly larger than a cape to have borders? By the end of the Cold War, from the perspective of many Western Europeans, Europe ended at the “Iron Curtain”. From the point of view of Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary, the essence of Europe was found in the traditions of the civil society, the democracy and the Roman Catholicism. The result was that Central Europe migrated eastward, to the borders of Asia, increasingly pushed towards Turkey and Russia. But this is only a political and cultural definition of the continent. In view of these considerations and in terms of renegotiating borders today, there is logic in defining Europe as a boundary itself. Robert Barlett showed that Europe was created in an ongoing process of colonization and extension towards the border regions²⁰⁷. Europe’s borders and boundaries were possible only in relation to proximity to other centers, in a history of the changing relationships between centers and peripheries. Europe, as well as its limits, is a discursive structure. Where does Europe end is one question, but where will the EU have to end is a rather different and political issue, as noted by William Wallace²⁰⁸. The implication of this analysis is that Europe, becoming what Castells calls a “network society”, has entered a period in which borders become a more complicated form. A “network society” is a society where networks replace hierarchies and boundaries dissolve into a kind of more democratic regions, the argument proposed here being that the networks establish new forms of borders and create more boundaries”²⁰⁹.

There are also many reflections on Europe, consequently we will make some general considerations on the issue. We must specify the fact that our researches fall in this major direction of investigating Europe’s roots. “Like many others of my generation, I also believed, in the years before and after the war, in a Europe united politically under the seal of reason and equality of languages and cultures. And I still believe in it, even if this Europe, of which Federico Chabod wrote very suggestively, tracing the history of its idea together with that of the parallel and opposite one of “nation”, this Europe has not yet been born, on the contrary, ever since its first institutions have been established, seems more distant than ever...” These words opened, in 1983, Gianfranco Folena’s famous book *L’Italiano in Europa*, where is not incidentally mentioned the name of the great Italian historian Federico

²⁰⁶ G. Delanty, “The Resonance of Mitteleuropa: A Habsburg Myth or Anti-Politics?”, in *Theory, Culture and Society*, 14(4), 1996, p. 93-108 apud. Sorin Şipoş, Ioan Horga, *De la „Mica la Marea Europă“ Mărturii franceze de la sfârşitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea despre frontiera răsăriteană a Europei. Studii și documente. De la „Petite“ à la „Grande Europe“ Témoignages français de la fin du XVIII^e et du début du XIX^e siècle sur la frontière orientale de l’Europe. Études et documents. Traducerea textelor.* Traduction des textes: Delia-Maria Radu, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2006, p.

²⁰⁷ R. Barlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350*, London, Allen Lane, 1993.

²⁰⁸ W. Wallace, “Where Should EU Enlargement Stop?”, in *Whither Europe: Borders, Boundaries, Frontiers in a Changing World*, ed. R. Lindahl, Göteborg, CERGU, 2003.

²⁰⁹ M. Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996.

Chabod, a prominent representative of that generation of intellectuals who, after the war, believed in another, more dignified idea of Europe, with a civic enthusiasm and a high perspective, which largely misses today. Although different in intention and disciplinary perspectives, Chabod's studies on the parallel and opposite ideas of Europe and nation, and Folea's research on the Italian language and European heteroglossia of the Enlightenment, had a common spiritual horizon, starting from similar ideal assumptions, considering Europe and the nation as a kind of homeland that can be freely and unconstrainedly joined, "under the seal of reason and equality of languages and cultures". If we measured the distance that separates us from the first university courses dedicated in 1943-1944 by Chabod to the idea of Europe, or the nearly thirty years that have passed since Folea's book appeared, we would undoubtedly find that many steps have been taken towards the political and economic unity of Europe. However, that intellectual and civic desiderium exposed so clearly by Folea, still seems unfulfilled. Even more so today, when its institutional existence can no longer be questioned, Europe is defined more precisely by what it lacks than by what is.

Besides these works carried out as sole author or in collaboration, we were interested in developing collective investigations which researched modern themes in relation to Romanian spaces that are part of the USSR and on which little has been written in Romanian historiography. We have tried using the comparative method and a long-time analysis of the border issue. From a methodological point of view, we intended to make a long-term analysis, from the Middle Ages to our contemporary age, and in terms of research methods, we thought that the most complex and complete research is the interdisciplinary one. All these were dedicated to the two extremities of the Romanian space at Imperial edges. Our main concern was to make it work in scientific and administrative terms. The topics we aimed to investigate, namely: the border issue, the concept of Europe, the image of the Other, were chosen in scientific meetings by the members of Oradea and Chişinău. Our collaboration was conceived as semestrial scientific meetings in the form of conferences, symposia, round tables and launches of scientific publications. In addition, we decided that the papers presented at scientific manifestations should be published in separate volumes, in Romanian at first, and then in international languages.

Thus, in collaboration with the Center for Transylvanian Studies of Cluj-Napoca, with the State University of Moldova we have organized, since 2008, eight scientific events, namely: the International Symposium *Frontierele spațiului românesc în context european*, Oradea-Chişinău, May 8-11, 2008; the International Scientific Seminar *Istoriografie și politică în estul și vestul spațiului românesc*, Chişinău, September 12, 2008; the International Symposium *Politici imperiale în estul și vestul spațiului românesc*, Oradea, June 10-13, 2010; *Societatea românească între frontiere imperiale. Centru și periferie în istoria românilor*, Chişinău, October 7-9, 2010; *Nazione, Autodeterminazione e Integrazione nell'Europa Centro-Meridionale*, April 12, 2011, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia; *From Periphery to Center. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, Oradea, June 4-8, 2013; the International Scientific Session *The Image of Central Europe and of the European Union in the Narrations of Foreign Travellers*, July 17-26, Oradea-Chişinău, 2014; the International Scientific Symposium *Tradiție istorică și perspective europene*, Chişinău, July 21-23, 2014. In addition to experts from the two universities, these events were attended by researchers and professors from Cluj-Napoca, Iași, București, Budapesta, Miskolc, Padova, Reims, Amiens, Nanterre etc. The conferences were shortly followed by the publishing of conference volumes.

As a result of the organized conferences, eight volumes in Romanian or foreign languages were published. Among them are the following: Sorin Şipos, Mircea Brie, Florin Sfrengu, Ion Gumenâi (coordinators), *Frontierele spațiului românesc în context european*, Editura Universității din Oradea-Editura Cartdidact Chişinău, 2008, 457 p.; Svetlana Suveică,

Ion Eremia, Sergiu Matveev, Sorin Şipoş (coordinators), *Istoriografie și politică în vestul și estul spațiului românesc*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2009, 349 p; Sorin Şipos, Mircea Brie, Florin Sfrengeu, Ion Gumenâi (coordinators), *Frontierele spațiului românesc în context european*, Ediția a II-a, revizuită, Editura Universității din Oradea-Editura Cartdidact, Chişinău, Oradea, 2010, 547p., *Politici imperiale în estul și vestul spațiului românesc*, coordinators Sorin Şipoş, Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Ion Gumenâi, Editura Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2010, 483p.; Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Sorin Şipoş (coordinators), *Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union Eastern Border*, Debrecen University Press, 2011, 500p.; Mircea Brie, Sorin Şipoş, Ioan Horga, (coordinators), *Ethno-Confessional Realities in the Romanian Area. Historical Perspectives (18th-20th Centuries)*, Supplement of *Eurolimes*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2011, 319p.; *Nazionalità e Autodeterminazione in Europe Centrale: Il Caso Romeno*, coordinators Francesco Leoncini, Sorin Şipoş, Quaderni Della Casa Romena di Venezia, IX, 2012, Institutul Cultural Român, Bucureşti, 2013, 230 p.; Sorin Şipoş, Gabriel Moisa, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Mircea Brie, Teodor Mateoc, *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 292p. The volumes were well received by the national and international scientific world.

Important topics were discussed, such as the evolution of Eastern and Western borders in the Romanian space since the Middle Ages to our contemporaneity²¹⁰. The analysis of the evolution of the Romanian space is long-termed and done by comparing the Imperial politics in the two Romanian spaces where the Habsburg Empire, and then the Austrian-Hungarian Empire acted, on the one hand, and the Tsarist Empire, the Ottoman one, and then the USSR, on the other. We also aimed to carry out an interdisciplinary investigation, among the authors being specialists in history, demography, international relations, political geography, archeology.

As one can see, the studies address the issue of Romanians' relations with the others, with Germans, Hungarians, Russians, Ukrainians, and we have investigated the inter-religious, inter-confessional, inter-ethnic and intercultural relations at the Eastern and Western borders of the Romanian space. The volume brings back the nation into our attention, but without tensions and ostentation, beyond spontaneous inventory or organic constitution. The authors succeed in convincing us that the nation wasn't evil or beneficial, but that it provided an evolution and conservation frame for ethnic continuity²¹¹.

Another issue investigated was that of historical writing in Romania and Moldavian Republic, starting from an obvious reality, namely the involvement of politics in historical research²¹². The volume includes the papers of the conference where new historical sources were presented and analyzed, while at the same time suggesting new interpretations of the documentary sources, new hypotheses and conclusions highlighting the State's mechanisms to control, shape and reshape national history according to political interests in one period or another. The authors pay special attention to the historiography of the Communist regime and Post-Communist period, when history was either falsified, or used for political and national interests. According to Florin Platon, whose content I have tried to summarize, "the importance of collecting the studies lies not only in revealing the many facets of the

²¹⁰ Sorin Şipos, Mircea Brie, Florin Sfrengeu, Ion Gumenâi (coordonatori), *Frontierele spațiului românesc în context european*, Editura Universității din Oradea-Editura Cartdidact Chişinău, 2008, 457 p.

²¹¹ Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Introduce*, în Sorin Şipos, Mircea Brie, Florin Sfrengeu, Ion Gumenâi (coordonatori), *Frontierele spațiului românesc în context european*, Editura Universității din Oradea-Editura Cartdidact Chişinău, 2008, p.10.

²¹² Svetlana Suveică, Ion Eremia, Sergiu Matveev, Sorin Şipoş (coordonatori), *Istoriografie și politică în vestul și estul spațiului românesc*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2009, 349 p

politicization of historiography. [...] By evoking this interdependence, it brings to the fore, even if implicitly, the equally sensitive issue of the truthfulness criteria in historiographical interpretations²¹³.

After space and historiography, we focused on investigating the imperial policies carried out over the centuries by the great powers neighbouring the Romanian space. Special attention has been given to the careful evaluation of the imperial concept which, after all, also had positive effects, most often associated with modernization of the Romanian world, after a period in which the Ottoman Empire dominated these territories and maintained them under its authority²¹⁴. The historiographical analysis follows the negative consequences, presented by a part of the historiography in the Communist period, as well as the modernization policy promoted, for instance, by the Court of Vienna in Transylvania; it also focuses on the confessional policy promoted by the same empire that eventually imposed the Romanian nation among the states in the Principality. As in other investigations, we have used the method of the comparative analysis which offers the possibility of highlighting the peculiarities, but also the similarities of the economic, religious, military and cultural policies pursued by the neighbouring empires. In time, the interrogations also focused on the documentary sources, research methods and historiographical interpretations in the two border areas²¹⁵. Finally, the most recent highly complex analysis aims at analyzing the image the foreign travellers had on the Eastern border of Europe, generally speaking, and in particular on the Romanian world²¹⁶. The big issue assumed by European projects was identifying and assuming common values and traditions that define Europe. Consequently, the European thinkers' interrogations on the concept of Europe and the manner of perceiving its Eastern border have been numerous. What is Europe? What is Europe's Eastern border? Is there an overlap between the geographical, political, cultural and religious borders of Europe?²¹⁷ And, equally important, what is the relation between *centre* and *periphery*, where does the *centre* end and where does the *periphery* begin, what kind of phenomena occur at the *peripheries* of two *centres*. Finally, we need to insert a new concept in these equations, namely the *image*, i.e. the manner, the way in which *Europe, the border, the centre and the periphery* are seen, perceived by the contemporaries²¹⁸.

For a correct analysis of the concept of Europe we must undoubtedly take into account the important moments in the historical evolution of the continent. Like the other continents, Europe has known moments that marked the forms of political organization and the types of relations established with the "others", the strangers.

Another important research direction we have assumed is to investigate the notion of historical document, the relation between history and philology, the status of history in contemporary time. The main idea, which started the preceding debates, and which is also the

²¹³ Alexandru-Florin Platon, *Cuvânt înainte*, in Svetlana Suveică, Ion Eremia, Sergiu Matveev, Sorin Şipoş (coordonatori), *Istoriografie și politică în vestul și estul spațiului românesc*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2009, p. 11.

²¹⁴ *Politici imperiale în estul și vestul spațiului românesc*, coordonatori Sorin Şipoş, Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Ion Gumenăi, Editura Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2010, 483p.

²¹⁵ Mircea Brie, Sorin Şipoş, Ioan Horga, (coordonatori), *Ethno-Confessional Realities in the Romanian Area. Historical Perspectives (XVIII-XX Centuries)*, Supplement of *Eurolimes*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2011, 319p.

²¹⁶ Sorin Şipoş, Gabriel Moisa, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Mircea Brie, Teodor Mateoc, *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, 292p.

²¹⁷ Sorin Şipoş, Dan Octavian Cepraga, *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, Sorin Şipoş, Gabriel Moisa, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Mircea Brie, Teodor Mateoc, *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, p. 7.

²¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

basis of the present study collection, was the dialogue of interpretative methods and strategies that come from two different subject areas, that of historiography and that of philology, confronting them, especially in the field of textual analysis of the historical document, in its multiple aspects and dimensions. The meeting of history and philology is to be found in positivist historiography, with everything that the new trend meant, namely text criticism, development of auxiliary sciences and the relation between philology and history. The historiography promoted by the School of Annals currently broadens the scope of the historical document and proposes new interpretations. Even if the classical form of collaboration between history and philology is abandoned, the written text still maintains its importance²¹⁹.

In spite of the fact that, along their millenian tradition, philology and history started from the same ideological premises and shared the same methods and purposes, they are mostly separated in the current university systems, having few opportunities to meet and confront their research paths. This separation of philology and history always seemed to us harmful and dangerous for both subjects, as they have lately increasingly been stalked by skeptical and disintegrating tendencies, often risking to reduce philology to a lifeless and self-sufficient formalism, and historiography to a simple rhetorical account. What is the research source for historians and philologists at present? In this case we have, again, In this case we have, again, a variety of source types: chronicles, histories, travel accounts, official documents, memoirs, correspondence, notes on books, parish registers. Then, on the next level, we notice the method of interrogation of the historical document. From this point of view, we believe that our volume brings an original perspective: the interpretation of the political discourse, history as ideology, analysis of concepts and terms from different eras, philological interpretation as an element for dating a text. Various interpretations and methods, for various sources.

All these have in common the presence of history (understood as historiography) and of philology. Within, the historiographical discourse and the philological-literary one meet, first of all on the common ground of idiographic vocation, i.e. putting in the center of the respective interpretive approaches the Text and the Document, with their individual and non-reductive reality. The suggested readings and analyzes fall into a very broad interpretive and diachronic horizon, extending from the European Middle Ages or the long-term phenomena from the rural cultures to the intellectual and political history of the Post-Communist period. Also, the methodological and scientific perspectives that intersect inside the volume come from two different geographical and cultural areas, which, more and more after the fall of Communism and reopening of the old lines of communication between Western and Eastern parts of Europe, feel the need to reconvene and recognize each other. This oscillation of themes, texts and methods between Italy and Romania, between East and West, has had interesting and unexpected outcomes, outlining not only a common space for dialogue, but also a possible intellectual map of Europe.

The great Italian Romance philologist Aurelio Roncaglia rightly argued that “the main requirement of philology and textual criticism is, essentially, a moral requirement before being a scientific one: the will to reconstruct and the duty to abide, most conscientiously, by the substance and form of the document-text, in its historical objectivity”. One might say that the same moral requirement lies at the basis of any research on historical knowledge, i.e. which attempts, with uncertainties and approximations, to find some historical truth, however partial and provisional.

²¹⁹ Sorin Şipoş, Gabriel Moisa, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Mircea Brie, Teodor Mateoc, *From Periphery to Centre. The Image of Europe at the Eastern Border of Europe*, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, 292p.

For the fourth meeting in the series of historical-philological symposia, we have thought of another major issue for the European cultural space: Power, in its various dimensions and shapes, and its political, symbolic, anthropological, social representations. In other words, an interdisciplinary time investigation on a concept, namely power, which Raymond Aron defined as an eternal problem. Given that positivist-type research, highlighting the event, the narrative type history, that G. Duby metaphorically called surface history, attracts no one, makes way for in-depth history, carried out by interdisciplinary investigations, political history, seen as the history of power, recovers the prestige of its discourse, which indicates a conceptual and methodologic evolution. Marc Bloch sensed it, as shortly before dying he wrote the following: “Much could be said about the political word. In order to fully meet its mission, shouldn’t a history centered on the evolution of the modes of governance and on the fate of the governed groups try to understand from inside the facts it has chosen as its own objects of investigation?”²²⁰

However, this history of political depths first started from the outside, from the signs, the symbol of power. P.E. Schram has shown in *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* that the objects having characteristic signs of the holders of power in the Middle Ages: the crown, the scepter, the globe, the hand of justice, didn’t have to be studied in themselves, but placed within the attitudes and ceremonies in which they were highlighted in terms of the political symbolism which gave them their true meaning. The results of the ethnographic surveys, the expertise coming from the studies of religious symbolism, the practices and methods of anthropology and other social sciences have long been used and systematically applied to interpreting historical phenomena and literary facts.

One of the most significant results of this orientation of the political history towards symbolism and ritual was restoring the importance of the monarchy in the political system of feudalism. We are thinking, for instance, of the famous study, which opened new perspectives, in which two great historians, medievalist Jacques Le Goff and classicist Pierre Vidal-Naquet, subjected one of the masterpieces of medieval European novel, *Le Chevalier au Lion* par Chrétien de Troyes (1177-1181 ca.) to a detailed and penetrating analysis using categories and methods of structural anthropology²²¹. For that matter, this kind of ethno-critical approaches, in which history combines with anthropology, have given surprising results even within the most advanced historiographic investigations on medieval, modern and contemporary period. Marc Bloch’s work, *Les Rois thaumaturges*, published in 1924, can even today be considered a vanguard work. Its author doesn’t only describe thaumaturgical manifestations attributed to the kings of England and France, but tries to reach the resorts of collective psychology triggered by this movement. Let us also mention, in this regard, Sergio Luzzatto’s exciting historical investigation on the symbolical values and ideological stakes incrustated around Mussolini’s body²²².

We believe that this critical perspective can also provide interesting interpretive openings for the analysis of the symbolic and political imaginary of Power throughout European history. For this we have organized six scientific events attended by colleagues from the University of Padova, Department of Romance Philology, then joined by Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, State University of Moldova, University Ca’Foscari of Venice. Undoubtedly, these conferences bring novel approaches on the relations between history and philology, on the notion of historical document, and equally classic approaches

²²⁰ Jacques Le Goff, *Imaginarul medieval*, Bucureşti, 1991, p. 444-445.

²²¹ Jacques Le Goff et Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Lévi-Strauss en Brocéliande. Esquisse pour une analyse d’un roman courtois*, in *Lévi-Strauss*, Paris, Gallimard, 1979, pp. 265-319.

²²² Sergio Luzzatto, *Il corpo del duce. Un cadavere tra immaginazione, storia e memoria*, Torino, Einaudi, 1998.

on the concept of document, nation, and the status of history as a discipline and of historiography as a scientific product.

The conferences *Textus testis. Valore documentario e dimensioni letterarie del testo storico*, Padova, November 17, 2009; the International Symposium *Istorie. Literatură. Politică*, Oradea, November 4-7, 2010; *Istorie și Arheologie în Centrul Europei. Noi interpretări istoriografice*, Oradea, May 4-8 2011; *Nazione, Autodeterminazione e Integrazione nell'Europa Centro-Meridionale*, April 12, 2011, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia; *The Historian's Workshop: Sources, Methods, Interpretations, the 5th Edition*, Oradea-Chișinău, May 26-28, 2011; *Un' Idea d'Europa. Prospettive storiche e filologiche da est e da Ovest*, Padova, November 10-11, 2011; *Statutul istoriei și al istoricilor în contemporaneitate*, Oradea-Băile Felix, October 17-20, 2013 have been organized by me with the help of my colleagues from the History Department. As always, the conference papers have been published and sent to the big national and university libraries. Every time it took hard work, from reviewing the papers to preparing them for printing and finding financial resources. We got involved in all these stages responsibly and we were able to publish the conference volumes with utmost professionalism. The volumes Dan Cepraga, Sorin Șipoș, *Textus testis. Valore documentario e dimensioni letterarie del testo storico*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea-Padova, 2010, 239p.; *History and Archaeology in Central Europe. New Historiographical Interpretations*, coordinators Florin Sfrengeu, Éva Gyulai, Sorin Șipoș, Delia Radu, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2011, 203p.; Sorin Șipoș, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Ioan Aurel Pop, *Textus Testis. Documentary Value and Literary Dimension of the Historical Text*, Romanian Academy. Centre for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj, 2011, 281p.; *The Historian's Atelier: Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, coordinators Sorin Șipoș, Gabriel Moisa, Florin Sfrengeu, Mircea Brie, Ion Gumenâi, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 280p.; *Statutul istoriei și al istoricilor în contemporaneitate*, coordinators Gabriel Moisa, Sorin Șipoș, Igor Șarov, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, 439p.; *Categorie europene. Rappresentazioni storiche e letterarie del "Politico"*, *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. XXIII, Supplement No. 1, coordinators Sorin Șipoș, Federico Donatiello, Dan Octavian Cepraga, Aurel Chiriac, Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, 319p. have enjoyed a good reception in the scientific world.

Without a doubt, a reflection on the relationship between history and literature is welcome. More precisely, as well stated by Lorenzo Renzi, we are dealing with an analysis of the historical document in relation to rhetoric, text philology, lexicology, anthropology and archeology. The subject of the research spans over a long period of time, starting from the Middle Ages until recent history, the Communist period in Romania²²³. The same research direction includes the work *History and Archaeology in Central Europe. New Historiographical Interpretations*, except that the focus is on the relationship between history and archeology in Central Europe. The volume *The Historian's Atelier: Sources, Methods, Interpretations* emphasizes the types of documentary sources, research methods and historical interpretation. In this context, the volume is a manifesto for historical profession carried out with honesty, decency and respect for the truth²²⁴.

Each generation has to reflect on the status of history and the historian in contemporary society. Even more so in Post-Communist Romania, when history has been subjected to numerous political influences and intrusions and has, paradoxically, lost its

²²³ Lorenzo Renzi, *Parole introduttive*, în Dan Cepraga, Sorin Șipoș, *Textus testis. Valore documentario e dimensioni letterarie del testo storico*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea-Padova, 2010, p.7.

²²⁴ Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Manifest pentru „meseria de istoric”*, în *The Historian's Atelier: Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, coordonatori Sorin Șipoș, Gabriel Moisa, Florin Sfrengeu, Mircea Brie, Ion Gumenâi, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, p. 8.

status. After the fall of the Communist regime, history and historians have become “victims” of other kinds of constant “abuses” from other humanist and social sciences and the national and European social-political context, having increasingly more limited ongoing opportunities. This has led a series of researchers of the phenomenon to speak of a discipline crisis²²⁵.

The sessions of scientific papers presentations and the volumes of published papers were preceded by personal investigations presented at communication sessions and by studies published in recent years on this issue. I have presented many scientific papers in the above-mentioned research directions or in other innovative research directions. Whether we refer to the analysis of the concepts of courage and bravery in the time of King Ladislaus IV the Cuman²²⁶, the interrogations on the ceremonies preceding the hot iron trial in the Register of Oradea²²⁷, scenes from the life of Romanian rulers and princes taking into consideration Wallachia’s place and role as gate of Christianity, the relations between Sigismund Bathory and Michael the Brave²²⁸ or the relationship between politics and ideology²²⁹.

Another line of research developed in recent years aimed at investigating micro-zones and highlighting their historical potential, of material and immaterial heritage, as well as raising awareness of their history and tradition among the inhabitants of the studied area. This line also includes our research on the localities on the upper Bistra Valley. The investigations are meant to highlight its past by punctual studies on the history, demographic evolution, cultural heritage, ethnography and folklore of the area, by carrying out a micro-synthesis on the area. In this respect, we have organized exhibitions, presented scientific papers and edited syntheses, coordinated editions and published papers in collective volumes and specialized journals. Among the most important contributions in this field are the following: Sorin Şipoş, *Satele de pe Valea Superioară a Bistrei*, Editura Universităţii din Oradea, Oradea, 2011, 128p. and its enlarged and revised second edition, as well as its English version, *The Villages on the Upper Bistra Valley, History and Society*, coordinator Sorin Şipoş, Editura Muzeului Ţării Crişurilor, Oradea, 2012, 141p., *Colinde din Bihor adunate de Voievozi şi Cuzap de George Navrea*, Edited and foreword by Sorin Şipoş and Dan Octavian Cebra, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 127p. Meanwhile, other areas have also undergone scientific investigation, namely those located near urban centers. This is the case of Oradea and nearby localities which today constitute an administrative area called the Metropolitan Area²³⁰. We were interested to see to which extent elements of folk architecture and tradition are still preserved in the localities around urban centers, in this case Oradea, and how can they be preserved and enhanced for the community.

²²⁵ Gabriel Moisa, Sorin Şipoş, Igor Şarov, Introducere în *Statutul istoriei şi al istoricilor în contemporaneitate*, coordinators Gabriel Moisa, Sorin Şipoş, Igor Şarov, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, p. 10.

²²⁶ Sorin Şipoş, *La frontiera dintre fidelitate şi trădare în vremea lui Ştefan (al V-lea), duce al Transilvaniei (1261-1270)*, în *Frontierele spaţiului românesc în context european*, coordinators Sorin Şipoş, Mircea Brie, Florin Sfrengu, Ion Gumenăi, Editura Cartdidact Chişinău/Editura Universităţii din Oradea, Oradea-Chişinău, 2008, ISBN-978-973-759-559-1/ISBN-978-9975-940-70-2, p. 62-70.

²²⁷ Sorin Şipoş, *Pledoarie pentru o hermeneutică a textului: Registrul de la Oradea*, în *Statutul istoriei şi al istoricilor în contemporaneitate*, coord. Gabriel Moisa, Sorin Şipoş, Igor Şarov, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, p. 326-334.

²²⁸ Sorin Şipoş, *Entre le Turc et le Hongrois: le Traite d'Alba Iulia du 20 mai 1595*, in *Transylvanian Review*, nr. 4, 2009, Vol. XVIII, p. 102-111.

²²⁹ Sorin Şipoş, *Ideology, Politics, and Religion in the Work of the Historian Silviu Dragomir*, in *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, 7, 21 (Winter 2008), ISSN-1583-0039, p. 79-105. Sorin Şipoş, *On the Avatars of the Written Work of Silviu Dragomir at the Romanian Academy Library in the „Post-communist” Period in Transylvanian Review*, 2008, ISSN-1221-1249.

²³⁰ Barbu Ştefănescu, Ioan Horga, Sorin Şipoş, Aurel Chiriac, Mircea Brie, Adrian Popoviciu, Adrian Foghiş, Alexandra Bere, Mihai Jurcă, *Patrimoniul cultural al Zonei Metropolitane Oradea*, Editura Universităţii din Oradea, Oradea, 2010, 96p.

b.2. Future Career Plans

There are several research directions on which I have already started working and on which I wish to focus in the future, and there are also some new ones. These research lines focus on several major directions that I have even had in mind so far. First of all, regarding my professional and academic activity, I have some individual and collective projects I wish to accomplish.

With regard to the Center for Interdisciplinary Studies which is made up, at the moment, of 22 teaching staff, and functions under the scientific patronage of the Romanian Academy, we wish to obtain government financing to hire two research assistants and a 3rd degree researcher to prepare and manage research projects with European, national and local funding. The Center also aims to be pole of research which groups around it the most representative experts on the issues of borders, inter-ethnic and interconfessional dialogue. We wish to transform the center into a pole under the scientific authority of the university, but with financing from the government, research projects and contracts.

Another essential aspect we wish to achieve is integrating colleagues from Letters, Theology and Law into our research. This would make a powerful center on the four fundamental directions existing in Oradea before WWI and during the interwar period. Thus, our center could be a first basis for a subsidiary of the Romanian Academy in Oradea, as currently operating in other major university centers in the countrz. It should be mentioned that, at present, two research assistants are carrying out their activity within the center, with the financial support of the project MINERVA – “Cooperare pentru cariera de elită în cercetarea doctorală și post-doctorală/Cooperation for an Elite Career in Doctoral and Post-Doctoral Research” Contract: POSDRU 159/1.5/S/137832.

Another direction we are considering is strenghtening the Doctoral School in History at the University of Oradea. Five PhD advisors are active within the Doctoral School, only one of whom is a tenured Professor. The other four PhD Advisors are associated teaching staff over 70, the age limit to receive PhD pursuers. Thus, we have a highly experienced team, but which urgently needs to be refreshed with Professors with Habilitation qualification to pursue the teaching and research activity in the third cycle of studies.

So far, the Doctoral School in History has also provided the third cycle for other majors in Arts and Humanities, as well as Social Sciences at the University of Oradea. Consequently, the Doctoral School in History has enrolled MA graduates in Theology, Law, International Relations, Political Sciences and Journalism. So as not to lose this tradition and ensure the continuity of the Doctoral School, which proves to be viable both through the potential number of PhD advisors, and through the number of PhD pursuers in History and the above-mentioned areas, it would be mandatory to strenghten the Doctoral School.

As for the Habilitation qualification, it would allow us to continue our work on our research topics with our students and MA students in History. These topics fall into a modern, general European direction, and would provide doctoral students the opportunity to complete their personal training and development activity.

Regarding scientific work, we wish either to continue the research directions we have pursued so far, or to start other lines of research. First, a meditation on the status of Romanian history in particular, and European history in general, in contemporary society. What we have organized so far represents the beginnings of major research topics on which I wish to insist. First of all I want to continue investigating the relationship between history, memory and forgetting, direction imposed in France by Paul Ricoeur by his research on the relations

between history, memory, politics and ideology.²³¹ In November 2014, we have in mind to organize the International Scientific Symposium History and Memory. Secondly, we consider further research on the relationship between History, Literature, Linguistics, by organizing a Scientific Symposium that brings into question the ways of editing historical-literary texts. The meeting of different schools, of different areas, can only be beneficial for historical research. In this regard, we wish to organize an international symposium in collaboration with the Department of Romance Studies at the University of Padova, “Jules Verne” University in Amiens, as well as with the State University of Moldova, “Babeş-Bolyai” University of Cluj-Napoca and the Center for Transylvanian Studies.

Secondly, we want to write a paper on border symbolism and perception with foreign travellers who crossed the Romanian space between 1691-1810. The topic is based on our already published studies which chronologically fall with Transylvania’s entry under the domination of the Court of Vienna, a fact that increases the number of foreign travellers across the Romanian space. Also, by establishing Phanariot reigns and increasing of the Ottoman domination over the Romanian Principalities, many travellers believed that they were under the effective domination of the Gate. That is precisely why we are interested in the feelings they have while penetrating on the Romanian space, which are the elements differentiating one country from another, the West and the East. Last but not least, expanding our analysis over a century is likely to reveal some elements of continuity, while others will prove to be only ephemeral opinions.

A second research topic envisages a monograph on the Chapter of Oradea. The valuable work, achieved in a positive manner, no longer meet modern research directions. Consequently, a new monograph on the Chapter of Oradea is required, with a modern analysis on the types of documents preserved and on the role and place of writing in the Middle Ages. We also need to attempt a reconstitution of the daily life in the Chapter, based on the documentary sources and by means of a comparative analysis.

We further wish to highlight the cultural heritage and memory of historical localities or areas such as Oradea and Bistra Valley. For this, next year we will organize the symposium “Romanian-Slovak and Slovakian-Romanian Cultural Relations”. We also consider achieving a complex monograph of the villages on upper Bistra Valley. We insist on pursuing this direction, as it means highlighting local history and heritage, raising a certain awareness of the fact that these inhabitants belong to the same community, and that those elements pertain to collective memory. The monograph is to highlight various types of documentary sources, make an inventory of the heritage items in this ethnic and religious mosaic area.

Last, but not least, we are interested in continuing our research in the Middle Ages in order to attempt the accomplishment of a history of betrayal, courage and bravery in the Romanian space in the Middle Ages. There are numerous research directions in Western historiography, and only the most important are mentioned here²³².

²³¹ Paul Ricoeur, *La mémoire, l’histoire, l’oubli*, Paris, 2000, 676. Vezi și *L’histoire entre mémoire et épistémologie. Autour de Paul Ricoeur*. Publiée sous la direction de Bertrand Muller, Editions Payot Lausanne, Lausanne, 2005, 218p.

²³² Jean Verdon, *Intrigues, complots et trahisons au Moyen Âge*, Perrin, 2012, 285p.; *Guerre et Violence*, I. Sous la direction de Philippe Contamine et Olivier Guyotjeannin, Paris, 1996, 367p. *Guerre et Gens*, II. Sous la direction de Philippe Contamine et Olivier Guyotjeannin, Paris, 1996, 314p.

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