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Contents

Ioana Bican	<i>Introduction</i>	5
Marcela Sălăgean	<i>The topicality of the messages of the interwar Cluj rectors</i>	7
Doru Cristian Todorescu	<i>1940 – Transylvanian Institutions and Personalities Promoting Romanian Culture after the Vienna Arbitration</i>	27
Marius Mureșan	<i>The Visits of the Romanian Royal Family to the University of Cluj in the Interwar Period</i>	35
Ana-Maria Stan	<i>Academic Sociability in the interwar period – the example of “Andrei Șaguna” maial festivity of Brașov settlers in Cluj</i>	44

Introduction

Throughout history, universities have proven to be excellent indicators of the social, political and economic dynamics of the communities that build them, and inside of which they themselves evolve. Just as they produce knowledge and build the elites of some worlds, universities also reflect the value systems, problems and vision of those same worlds. The relationship between universities and the communities they belong to is one of particular complexity. More than once, studies published in the JRHE journal have focused on topics centred around these complex problems. In the particular case of the centennial anniversary of the creation of the Romanian University of Cluj (2019), one of the most important higher education institutions of modern Romania, in the affiliation of which Babeş-Bolyai University is explicitly found today, the festive events were accompanied by extensive programmes dedicated to research on the history of higher education – in Transylvanian, Romanian and European contexts -, that have been published in various books and journals in recent years. The anniversary thus opened a debate whose topicality needs no further justification, about the role of universities in the history of a nation, a region or a country – these three never coinciding perfectly in modern Europe.

The studies included in the present issue of the journal come to amplify the echoes of the respective debates, reverberating in a series of examples and 'discreet' excerpts, of some institutions, personalities, traditions, etc., which the Romanian University of Cluj, during the interwar period, appropriated in its identity construction project as a higher education institution dedicated to Romanians from the province united with the Kingdom of Romania on December 1, 1918. The multicultural and multi-ethnic history of Transylvania, a former province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire before December 1918, reverberates on the surface of the great narrative of the Romanian national project, built by state institutions after the union in December 1918. The studies published in the present volume bring to light a profusion of seemingly 'minor' examples of that identity construction, in relation to the process

of creating a modern university, following the European Humboldtian model, and thus allow us to refine the way we reflect on the place of university in history: hard to define, essential and irreducible by definition.

Professor Ioana Bican

The topicality of the messages of the interwar Cluj rectors¹

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Abstract: The interwar period marks the first decades of existence of the Romanian University of Cluj. The present article aims to immerse in the history of the Transylvanian University with the help of a set of documents that has only been analysed tangentially so far, i.e., the inaugural speeches of the interwar Cluj rectors. These speeches, also referred to as reports, besides offering an authentic view on the difficulties of an emerging university, can also surprise with the topicality of their messages. Thus, contemporaneity is faced with a special image of the metamorphosis of the University of Cluj, from its creation as an institution of the Romanian state, to the end of a special historical period, which saw Romania crossing dictatorships and a war, which forced the University to go into refuge and which brought the most difficult institutional constraints.

Keywords: History of the University, Interwar Cluj rectors, "King Ferdinand I" University, Rector's Speech, Higher Education in Interwar Romania

¹ An earlier version of this study was published in Romanian in: M. Motogna, M. F. Hasan, & V. Vizauer (Eds.). (2019). *Nicolae Edroiu. Cel ce a trecut făcând bine* (pp. 207-218). Editura Școlară Ardeleană.

The internal context and the challenges that had to be overcome for the existence of a Romanian University in Transylvania after the proclamation of the Union with the Kingdom of Romania were topics that came to the attention of Romanian, Hungarian authors and not only. In the last ten decades historiography has been enriched over the years with some interesting publications. The institutional evolution of the University, particularities of the different faculties or lines of study, personalities, student life, political influences, student organizations and movements, etc. were approached. Volumes of synthesis, studies and articles, documents were published, all bearing the role of evoking the importance of the University of Cluj in the academic and social landscape of the city, and especially of the country.²

In this approach, our intention is not to resume topics that have already met with publication.³ However, we are considering a subject which has been tackled only tangentially in the various works dedicated to the University of Cluj in the interwar period, namely; the problems highlighted by the rectors in their speeches at the beginning of each academic year.⁴ In many publications dedicated to the University,

² We point out the most recent synthesis, published on the occasion of the celebrations of the centenary of the University of Cluj: POP, Ioan Aurel, SIMON, Simion, BOLOVAN, Ioan (Eds.). *Universitatea din Cluj în perioada interbelică*. Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, <https://biblioteca.ubbcluj.ro/produs/universitatea-din-cluj-in-perioada-interbelica-set-4-volume/>.

³ Ioan Breazu, Onisifor Ghibu, Sextil Pușcariu, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Ana-Maria Stan, Ovidiu Ghitta, Vasile Pușcaș, Marius Mureșan are just a few of the authors who addressed such subjects.

⁴ In Cluj, the rector was elected every year from a different faculty, from among the tenured professors, and the choice was made by the teaching staff of the faculties, together with the representatives of the professors and lecturers. The election of the rector usually took place in May, although the start of his activity was eight days before the beginning of the academic year so that he would be already solemnly installed once the courses began. The rectors of the University of Cluj during 1919-1940 were: 1919-1920, Sextil Pușcariu (Faculty of Letters and Philosophy); 1920-1921, Vasile Dimitriu (Faculty of Law); 1921-1922, Dimitrie Călugăreanu (Faculty of Sciences); Iacob Iacobici (Faculty of Medicine); 1923-1924, Nicolae Bănescu (Faculty of Letters and Philosophy); 1924-1925, Camil Negrea (Faculty of Law); 1925-1926, Gheorghe Spacu (Faculty of Sciences); 1926-1927, Ioan Minea (Faculty of Medicine); 1927-1928, Bogdan Duică (Faculty of Letters and Philosophy); 1928-1929, Emil Hațieganu

speeches of the personalities in charge of the institution were sometimes quoted or reproduced, partially or completely, the respective texts being very useful to the authors, in an attempt to familiarize the reader with the time period or a certain event. However, we do not know if a general analysis of the difficulties encountered and reported by those in charge of the institution exists. In this context, by identifying certain issues, we do not aim only to pass them on, but we want to raise the awareness of the efforts made by elite faculty staff in order to ensure the optimal functioning of the Romanian University of Cluj, in all its components. We furthermore wish to highlight the topicality of the situations and shortcomings reported decades ago, still present in the higher education of the contemporaneity.

In order to be able to accomplish what we set out to do the main source of documentation is contained by the lectures - the reports - accounts - the speeches⁵ given at the beginning of each academic year by the rectors of the Transylvanian institution. With one exception, the mentioned texts were published in the Yearbooks of the University of Cluj from the interwar period just the way they were uttered, without other modifications. It is a primary source of documentation, which is why we have given it due importance. Those who have the curiosity to study them will find that the texts possess a similar structure as a whole, and around the mid 1920s, in the opening speech of the new academic year, some rectors also gave a short lecture on a specific topic, usually from their area of expertise (e.g.: about hygiene; about the Greek Academy in Bucharest and the School of Gheorghe Lazăr; about Romanian students studying in the West etc.). The Rector who was beginning his term of office always presented a summary of the activity carried out in the institution in the previous year, and then set directions for the new academic year. There is also information about the scientific activity and publications of the University's professors and researchers; about the number of students and teachers and their organizations; about the

(Faculty of Law); 1929-1930, Emil G. Racoviță (Faculty of Sciences); 1930-1931, Iuliu Hațieganu (Faculty de Medicine); 1931-1932, Nicolae Drăganu (Faculty of Letters and Philosophy); 1932-1940, Florian Ștefănescu -Goangă (Faculty of Letters and Philosophy).

⁵ During the interwar period, the terms used were: "raport", "dare de seamă", "discurs". In the bibliographic references we followed the exact formula used in the Yearbooks of the University of Cluj.

decisions taken by the internal structures of the University or those at national level; about the acquisitions and constructions made; academic exchanges; homage manifestations and more. Whether they served as a reminder of what happened at the University, or as projections for a new academic year, the speeches of the rectors contain interesting evocations, analyses and critiques of the Romanian realities from a legislative, political, cultural point of view. There are sometimes references to events of international resonance.

Chronologically, the first such text is that of the rector Sextil Pușcariu, presented on October 10, 1920, on the occasion of the inaugural meeting of the second academic year under Romanian patronage. Sextil Pușcariu began his speech by reviewing the history of the founding of the University of Cluj in the second half of the 19th century, then insisting on the decision of the authorities in 1919 to transform the institution into a Romanian University. Professor Pușcariu specified that the intentions of the Governing Council were not to destroy a cultural institution with a tradition of almost half a century, confessing that the decision to establish the Romanian University in Cluj could be considered one of the important events of our history (*Anuarul Universității din Cluj*, 1921, p. 2). The rector of Cluj also considered it necessary to recall the fact that there were suspicions too, many not believing that it would be possible for the Romanian authorities to take over the old university in Cluj and ensure its functioning at the appropriate standards. He also continued stating that the possibility of the Romanian University of Cluj to start its activity in the autumn of 1919 at the set deadline was due to the fact that in those complex times of transformation that the country underwent, there were people who had the courage to take full responsibility for their actions (*Anuarul Universității din Cluj*, 1921, p. 3). Evoking the efforts of the Governing Council and the University Commission to find well-trained professors to teach in Cluj, Sextil Pușcariu, comparing with the similar efforts of the French at the University of Strasbourg, also highlighted some of the difficulties encountered. For example, he pointed out that in Cluj it was difficult to realize what had happened in Strasbourg, where the elite of French scholars had gathered. On the other hand, he added that in a small country, such as Old Romania, the university professor had so many other duties besides his chair that, if he were to move, he would have had to leave a lot of occupations in which he could hardly be replaced. Apart

from this, the Universities of Iași and Bucharest, which also had a lot of vacant chairs, should not be disembodied. Then, he confessed that the negotiations with some Romanian professors, and especially with foreign professors, were difficult, which delayed the occupation of some chairs. But through new appointments during the year, through replacements and especially thanks to the help received from Bucharest, there managed to be professors and courses in all the main subjects (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1921, p. 5-7). Sextil Pușcariu also had a word to say regarding the differences between the Cluj higher education system, inherited from the Austro-Hungarian system, and that of the Old Kingdom, differences that required the revision of Romanian legislation in the field. Speaking at the opening of the 1920-1921 academic year, Sextil Pușcariu did not only consider the auditor in front of him. He actually sent a message to the decision makers, reminding them that even after a year of operation, the internal composition of the University remained the one established following a decree of the Governing Council, not yet abolished by the Ministry of Bucharest, i.e. the structure existing before the Union, which resulted in a number of shortcomings (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1921, p. 9). He pointed out the need to adopt a law on higher education, a law that would be part of the process of integration and legislative unification carried out by the Romanian governments in the first interwar years (Sălăgean, 2018, p. 75). Professor Pușcariu, referring to the need to adopt a unitary legislation, argued that the University, as an important institution of culture, should set an example to the other institutions, on the way in which the unification should be achieved. At the same time, he drew attention to the need to adopt a responsible attitude, that a new law cannot be made without a preparatory study, that the law of higher education existing in the Old Kingdom since 1912 could not be extended to Cluj, a law that was criticized by university students in Bucharest and Iasi anyway. For that reason, the leaders of the University of Cluj requested the Ministry of Instruction to consult the Universities before presenting the new law on higher education to the Parliament (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1921, p. 12). Rector Sextil Pușcariu's report continues with the presentation of statistical data on the number of students and teachers, the number of departments and institutes established, the persons in charge of the faculties and of the university Senate and the way of organizing the university library and other administrative structures. Last but not least,

the festivity on the occasion of the official inauguration of the University was given the right place, being presented in detail the development and the events that took place, the personalities present etc.

During the ceremony at the beginning of the academic year, held on October 22, 1922 the rector Dimitrie Călugăreanu, presenting the activity that took place in the institution in the previous school year, made public the difficulties encountered. From the outset, we noticed Professor Călugăreanu pointing out that what happened at the University should not be considered as isolated events, but on the contrary, the difficulties are influenced and are interdependent with what was taking place externally at that time. He noted the social role that universities have acquired, a role that is all the more important as, he argued, the war destroyed not only countries but also values that could hardly be rebuilt (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1923, p. 1). Referring to the material damage caused by the war, he stressed that it would not mean much if mankind's state of mind had not been changed, in some respects for the better, in others for the worse. He said that the democratic idea has made progress, but that there are programs that support the need to fulfill some utopias, considered harmful to humanity by the rector of Cluj. He went on to say that in all European countries, defeated or victorious, shoddy work was being done, which had negative consequences for the economic recovery, and progress was not yet visible. In support of his arguments, Dimitrie Călugăreanu stressed that the economic disaster in Europe is deeply felt in the Universities on the continent, all suffering from a lack of staff and materials. Their budgets were insufficient, and they could not cover the high cost of scientific materials, all the more necessary as, not only in our country, but in all European universities, the number of students increased compared to the pre-war situation (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1923, p. 2). Referring to the number of students, considered by him (but also by other rectors, as will be seen in the present material) too high, Rector Călugăreanu did not hesitate to express his own doubts, wondering if it was thanks to a greater desire for culture in the younger generations than before the war, or was it only a pursuit of titles, considered to give rights to positions. Then, the Rector pointed out that young people who decided to pursue university studies did not have the same level of training as in previous periods, and did not show the same desire and strength to work seriously, to acquire the

knowledge offered by university studies (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1923, p. 3)

Of course, Dimitrie Călugăreanu also mentioned the progress of the University, especially the success in acquisitioning the scientific materials that had been commissioned abroad, which facilitated the practical work and the courses to be carried out in better conditions (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1923, p. 3). However, compared to his predecessor, Professor Călugăreanu chose to dwell more on undertaking a critical analysis of the problems in education, thus leaving to posterity a special image about the reality of the time.

As for the next rector, Prof. Iacob Iacobovici, in his opening speech for the academic year 1922-1923 he presented the institutional achievements but, in accordance with what his predecessor also pointed out, the rector emphasized that the purpose of the University was to train generations of people of character, not to get as many graduates as possible, insisting that it was not the quantity but the quality of the students' training that was important (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1924, p. 4). Not insignificant, but rather surprising we consider to be the point of view expressed by the rector Iacobovici concerning the educational process, especially the comparison he made with the Western-British system. In his speech at the opening of the academic year, he said that in the West, Universities (especially British Universities) have cultivated two postulates: culture and education, and that English higher education institutions are those that gave the world that unique human species, the gentlemen. And he goes on to say that the University does not have to be a factory of titles that allows holders to live an easy life (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1924, p. 6-7).

A year later, the new rector, Prof. Nicolae Bănescu, came before those present at the opening of the academic year with something special compared to his predecessors. If this rector's report had a structure similar to that of his predecessors, the festive speech had a distinct theme. Professor Bănescu preferred to give a lecture on the Greek Academy in Bucharest and the School of Gheorghe Lazăr (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1925), but not without remarks on certain delicate situations in the University. At one point, Nicolae Bănescu, referring to the general situation of the institution, drew attention to the fact that the University started as a well-cohesive body and through a valuable collaboration of the factors that compose it, year after year its powers increased, but the

year that ended was a year of crisis, in which unity was broken (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1925, p. 7). We do not consider Bănescu's remark to be meaningless, taking into account the tensions existing in the institution in the period 1922-1924: the anti-Semitic movements; the influence of some political groups on the students; the student strikes and rallies (some of them even violent). In addition to the problems mentioned, Nicolae Bănescu also wanted to emphasize the financial problems faced by the institution, stating that the amounts received from the State could not keep up with the high costs of the scientific material (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1925, p. 36).

Rector Camil Negrea, in his report presented in the autumn of 1924, emphasized the need for appropriate legislation for the proper conduct of academic activities. We consider that his words were aimed not only at those present at the beginning of the academic year but also at the lawmakers. Referring to the existing laws, Camil Negrea considered that the unification of the university education regime by drafting a new law seemed to be still far from the implementation phase. His conclusion resulted from finding that the Law of June 13, 1925, which extended the provisions of the Law of Secondary and Higher Education only to the University of Chernivtsi, resulted in the University of Cluj remaining under special legislation (Monitorul Oficial, 1922), except for the provisions of art. 72-95 of the Law on Secondary and Higher Education extended upon the Universities of Cluj and Chernivtsi. But even those provisions were considered inappropriate for the situation in Cluj, which is why Rector Camil Negrea pleaded for their removal. That removal should be achieved through a truly modern regime, and not through the convenient procedure of the extent of the old law, the numerous and serious shortcomings of which have been the subject of so many complaints (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1926, p. 5).

Highlighting the delicate issue of a unitary law on higher education, expressing his disappointment that even in the last academic year the Legislatures did not fulfil the desire of teachers to compile the code of higher education, however, Professor Negrea did not forget the achievements of the legislative field. According to the opinion expressed then, one of the most important laws was that of November 4, 1926 (Monitorul Oficial, 1924), which decreed the acknowledgement of the legal personality of the University of Cluj, the institution becoming equal to the Universities of Iasi and Bucharest, providing the possibility of

having a distinct patrimony. By the same law, the special laws and regulations that existed in the University were expressly reconfirmed (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1926, p. 6). Constantin Negrea also referred (in a positive sense) to the law published on March 4, 1925 (Monitorul Oficial, 1925), which repealed and replaced with new provisions art.81 of the law of higher education, regarding the appointment of tenured teachers not only through competition, but also by recommendation (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1926, p. 6). However, he was critical of a legislative provision of November 4, 1924 (Monitorul Oficial, 1924), which stipulated the establishment of Judicial Commissions for members of the Faculty in universities. Regarding the initiative, the Rector of the University of Cluj claimed that, once the Judicial Commissions started functioning, the principle of university autonomy was ignored, because the judiciary was placed at the head of the accustomed evaluators of the teachers, who must also be teachers, understanding of the issues in question (Anuarul Universității din Cluj, 1926, p. 6). The episode allows us to have access to essential elements for the construction of the university autonomy of that period - and which indicate the academic standards of the University of Cluj in this regard.

In the next three years, the rectors' reports were simpler, not referencing particular events or decisions, restraining to the presentation of the rectory staff and other structures of the University management, statistical data on students, teaching staff, scientific activity, courses, institutes etc. In his 1927 report, rector Gh. Bogdan-Duică announced that a history of the evolution of the institution would be published in the first decade of functioning in the Romanian state borders. At the same time, he also announced the decision of the University Senate to rename the University as "King Ferdinand I University" (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I din Cluj, 1929, p. 5). Instead, Emil Hațieganu, in the report presented at the beginning of the academic year 1928 - 1929, raised the issue of proper behavior within the University, stating that he planned the cultivation of good collegial relations. Reviewing what happened in the previous academic year, Professor Hațieganu noticed the unproblematic environment in which the academic activities took place: the students had a dignified behavior, the scientific activity progressed (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1929, p. 5-6), marking an academic year without problems. It is a rare

image in the inaugural reports or speeches of the rectors, in the sense that it was clearly stated that there were no tensions or delicate situations, on the contrary, progress became more visible, existing problems being minor, unable to cause dysfunctions in the current academic activities. The university seemed to have reached an internal balance - but also in relation to the society in which it operated. The period of "infancy" and hesitation was over.

However, the situation would change (as a consequence of the tensions in the Romanian and European political field) not long after. Emil G. Racoviță, in the report read in the solemn meeting of October 21, 1930, held under the auspices of HM King Charles II and the Royal Family, practically sounded the alarm when announcing that hard times were coming. He warned that the youth is choosing (in large numbers) higher education institutions, but only in order to acquire a lucrative profession, those who wanted to prepare for a career in research being far too rare (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1930, p. 5). At the same time, Racoviță noticed the ferocity of the economic crisis, its negative consequences affecting the University as well. Emil Racoviță also said that, in parallel with the economic crisis, there unfolded another crisis that is specific to universities. The latter is even more disquieting since the great mistakes of the past aggravated it. Despite all the insistence of many academics in the past, the reform never started (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1930, p. 17). Like other rectors, Professor Racoviță also drew attention to the problem of young people entering universities unprepared, and expressed his concern about a phenomenon he called "multiplication of diplomas" (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1930, p. 17). Last but not least he warned that tensions and unrest had resurfaced among students amid the economic crisis, lack of funding and declining living standards and that various groups and political figures were trying to manipulate university youth. The street riots of the students resumed, which determined the rector to bring back into discussion the principles of university autonomy and the status of the so-called "academic citizens" (professors and students). However, he informs that the debates that took place over several months resulted in two official documents on university autonomy and the status of professors and students (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1930, p. 280), documents that remained in force throughout the second interwar decade.

Emil Racoviță was succeeded by Iuliu Hațieganu. In his inaugural speech on October 21, 1930, on the occasion of the solemn opening of the 1930/1931 academic year, Hațieganu pointed out that, at that time, the concept that the University was an institution of pure culture was slowly being abandoned, since it was evolving in a national and social direction, becoming an indispensable institution in the life of any state. At the same time, he brought back the issue of university education, which was considered that could no longer focus only on the training of professionals, but also on the training of characters. Also, according to Iuliu Hațieganu, the University had to be concerned about the health of young people as well (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1931, p. 7). In turn, he re-examined the existing legislation at the national level, saying that in terms of university legislation it suffered from the same "disease" that was present in any legislation, i.e. the belief that by issuing a new law, morals and habits could be changed. Iuliu Hațieganu also specified that in the life of a University it is not the laws written on paper, but the spirit that leads and the model that is applied which are decisive, and that a legislation regarding higher education cannot be an improvisation, but something deeply thought out, solid and durable. Many social dramas exist due to the too frequent change of laws, but that nowhere do greater disasters occur through frequent changes of laws, than in education, be it of any category (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1931, p. 16). He supported university autonomy, stating that an autonomous university was more entitled (and even had the duty) to exercise criticism and influence over legislators and laws concerning education. He went on to announce that in the last year, several bills have been discussed at the University. That of Neculai Costăchescu ⁶, which (although it remained at the project stage) had the merit that in addition to addressing all the problems of the university, discussed the need for the systematic organization of student life for the first time. In this regard, the University argued that the establishment of a "University Office" designed to coordinate and ensure the balance of student life should be welcomed as an initiative which cannot be delayed. Another document placed in the spotlight was Nicolae Iorga's legislative initiative on university autonomy. The idea was appreciated among the academics of Cluj, but they considered that it could be transformed into a law

⁶ Former Minister of Public Instruction and Religious Affairs

appreciated at national level, only if it will be elaborated by the reunited Senates of all the Universities in the country (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1931, p. 16). It was an interesting, innovative point of view, which required the participation of universities in the drafting of laws concerning themselves. Thus decision-making was not only the attribute of the parliamentary majority or of those in government, who did not always know in detail the particularities existing in the university education system.

Nicolae Drăganu, in his inaugural speech delivered on October 25, 1932, on the occasion of the solemn opening of the academic year 1931/32 and subsequently in the report on the school year 1931/32, read in the festive opening meeting (November 8, 1932) of the year 1932/33, emphasized the budgetary problems faced by the University. Highlighting the role and activity of the university Senate, perhaps more than any other rector, he warned that the university structure wasted its powers fighting with insecurity and lack of material resources. Budgetary and “household” problems completely absorbed its activity. For truly academic issues, there was no time left, nor were there opportunities. Accusations were brought against the directors of Finance, whom N. Drăganu suspected of ignorance or the fact that they did not bother to find ways to remove the crisis, given that the institution's budget was reduced by 60% (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1932, p. 17). He also criticized the excessive centralization imposed by the Ministries of Education and Finance, pointing out that, although the University was autonomous and responsible for its own management, if it did not comply with the provisions of the law on public accounting, a series of collective auctions were required by the Central Auction Office, approvals being granted contrary to the proposals made by the University Commissions - internal structures which, knowing the needs of the institution, were also the most entitled to make recommendations (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1932, p. 20-21).

The consequences of the financial crisis on the University were also in the attention of the new rector, Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă who stated at the opening of the academic year 1932-1933 that all services are suffering; seminars, laboratories and institutes (which during the current financial year did not receive funding for their teaching and scientific expenditure), could not complete their projects; libraries ran out of magazines and had to stop buying books; clinics struggled to

maintain their activity; student dormitories had to cancel all scholarships (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1933, p. 5-6). He then turned his attention to the government, headed by most prominent politician in Transylvania according to Goangă, who, in his capacity as chairman of the Governing Council, decided and imposed the creation of the University (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1933, p. 6). However, Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă would also admit that no matter how great the goodwill of the government, in those circumstances not much could be done for the University, which, only through its own policy of ensuring resources could ensure its proper functioning and its true autonomy (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1933, p. 7). He also brought back the issue concerning the great number of students, calling for a severe selection of those who wanted to take university courses. At the same time, he suggested that in research, the University of Cluj should turn its attention to investigate national realities as well as those of the province (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1933, p. 10).

Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă remained rector until the end of the interwar period because, after the Law on the organization of university education came into force on April 22, 1932, the system of electing the rector changed, being identical to all higher education institutions in the country. According to the new legal provisions, the rector once elected had a term of five years and could be re-elected. But a rector could not have more than two terms (Bunescu et. al., 2004, p. 257).

As the economic crisis passed and its effects were less felt by academia, university life began to run smoothly, as noted by Rector Goanga himself in his inaugural speeches for the next two academic years. For example, at the beginning of November 1934, he highlighted the quiet period when no agitation disturbed the university community, stating that for the first time since the functioning of the Romanian University of Cluj it was possible to establish a full understanding between students and university authorities who collaborated to reorganize student societies and associations. Principles and guidelines were discussed, statutes and regulations were drafted, which were examined and approved in several meetings of the University Senate. The new student committees were also elected (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1935, p. 6).

Those interested in the speeches at the beginning of the new academic year will be able to easily notice that, in 1937, two of the most

common topics over the years were resumed, namely: the degree of preparation of young people willing to pursue university studies and the mission of the University. Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă said in the autumn of 1937 that the fundamental mission of any university is scientific activity and creation. However, as far as the University of Cluj is concerned, its main mission was research and knowledge of national realities, in order to develop an intense national and cultural propaganda, according to the rector (*Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I*, 1938, p. 10-11). These last statements of Professor Ștefănescu-Goangă should not be surprising, taking into account both the internal and European context of those years: a period in which the states contesting the peace treaties concluded at the end of the First World War were more active at continental level; the borders of Central and Eastern Europe were brought back into diplomatic, political and academic debates; Romania's integrity and security being visibly threatened. Romanian academics could not be indifferent to the existing challenges, especially if they were related to the status of Transylvania. The scientific productions regarding the Romanian past and traditions were starting to be more and more numerous, the proof of what was stated being found in the University Yearbooks, more precisely in the numerous pages in which the annual publications of the University professors and researchers were mentioned.

As the situation on the continent became more and more worrying, university life became tense again due to several factors: legislative changes and the establishment of an authoritarian regime in the internal plan; the resurgence of extremist right-wing movements; the reactivation of Hungarian cultural and political circles in Romania which were hoping for a change in the Romanian-Hungarian border in favor of Hungary etc.

On November 6, 1938, at the opening ceremony of the academic year, Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă first brought to attention the problem of reorganizing higher education. He reiterated the mission that any university must have (scientific activity and education), but for the first time during the entire interwar period, a rector (in this case Professor Goangă), claimed that in such times The University cannot remain isolated in the ivory tower of the “academic citadel”, without being in touch with the realities and current events of life. As a cultural institution, its mission is to clarify in its unique way the aspirations and currents of

thought that trouble the national, social and cultural life of the people (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1939, p. 11). Furthermore, Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă confessed that, in his opinion, in order for the University to be able to fulfill its mission, it must meet three conditions: the first one concerns the teaching staff - which was supposed to be an elite one, with a vocation as a researcher. But in order for the Universities to be able to benefit from such a teaching staff, Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă said that more requirements must be met: 1) a system for recruiting teachers and auxiliary scientific staff based on criteria of scientific competence; 2) an appropriate salary; 3) facilitating their activity by equipping libraries and laboratories; 4) ensuring the freedom of scientific research, the freedom of discussion and the expression of scientific beliefs, the freedom to organize and practice their discipline in accordance with scientific requirements; 5) the obligation of scientific research. Whoever did not prove to be able to work scientifically or whoever, for some reason, ceased to be productive had to be retired early; 6) the establishment of a fund, in order to be able to publish the scientific works of the professors and researchers of the University; 7) establishing awards for outstanding scientific works; 8) organizing a simpler system for the promotion of deserving assistants and supervisors, as well as the establishment of more teaching degrees and titles of distinction for teachers with exceptional scientific merit. The second condition that had to be met concerned the students. They had to be more thoroughly selected and their number limited to the capacity of the University, as well as to the real needs of society. The third condition was to ensure favorable working conditions, laboratories, qualified staff, well-organized libraries and institutes (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1939, p. 12-14).

The worsening of the international situation, the outbreak of armed conflicts, the disappearance of some European countries, the conclusion of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, the abuses of the far right, the assassination attempt on Rector Ștefănescu-Goanga (set up by a group of legionnaires), marked the academic life of Cluj, a fact to be noticed in Professor Goanga's speech in November 1939. Making a comparison with the festivities of previous years, the Rector of the University said that, for the first time, the opening of the new academic year was taking place in a changed atmosphere with strong reasons for concern due to ongoing events which violated internal peace and the

security of the borders of the country. Due to the external turmoil and dangers, Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă claimed that it was necessary to check the degree of strength or weakness of the state institutions, the University being one of the important institutions, without a doubt (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1940, p. 7-8). Then he returned to the mission of the University, and identified the situations that favored the emergence of some problems in academic life. Rector Ștefănescu-Goangă specified that, in his opinion, one of the essential causes that disturbed the good progress of the University and prevented it, to a large extent, from developing its didactic and scientific activity in favorable working conditions was the excessively large number of students, many of whom did not benefit from a thorough high school. He went on to say that the issue of the selection and training of the ruling elite was the main concern of the Western countries, because both economic prosperity and the social and cultural progress of any country depended to a large extent on its favorable resolution. According to Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă, that is why in the West special classes and schools have been set up and organized for discovering the talents and higher mental abilities of gifted young people; that Western universities and colleges are pursuing the selection of gifted young people by instituting severe examinations upon entering universities. And he concluded that in our country a thorough selection of students was required more than in the West (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1940, p. 11-12). Another shortcoming of the University, identified by Ștefănescu-Goangă, was the lack of space and material resources. He did not refrain from criticizing the attitude of the authorities towards academics, stating that, yes, the state has the right to ask the University for activity and scientific creation, it has the right to demand that the scientific and professional training of students be done as thoroughly as possible, but the university too has the right to demand that society and the state provide it with the necessary space and the material means it needs, without which scientific training and productions cannot be achieved satisfactorily, no matter how much effort its staff would make. He also suggested that the state create a national fund to support scientific research in universities. Another problem that arose in the academic life, listed as one of the most serious, was the series of student agitations that took place, preventing the normal functioning of the University, shaking the principles of order, discipline and authority,

degenerating into criminal acts, which endangered the peace and security of the state (Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I, 1940, p. 15-17).

The security and the integrity of the state could not be defended a few months later. The festivity of the autumn of 1939 was the last opening of a university year in interwar Cluj, without suspecting then. The cession to Hungary of a large part of Transylvania (including the city of Cluj), in a complex occurrence of factors, at the end of August 1940, determined that on September 1, the management of the University should consider the. On the same day, the University Senate received a message from the relevant ministry which indicated the city of Alba-Iulia as a place of refuge. The professors from Cluj did not agree with that proposal, preferring Sibiu as a place of refuge for the "King Ferdinand I" University. The evacuation began immediately after the Vienna decision, with the last transport taking place on the afternoon of September 8, 1940. Not all the faculties functioned in Sibiu. For example, the Faculty of Sciences was established in Timisoara. One month later, on October 5, 1940, the new governing structures of the University in the shelter were appointed. Sextil Pușcariu became rector once again. On October 8, during the meeting of the University Senate, the Rector presented a briefing on how the transport and installation of the four faculties were carried out in the intended locations, and then, on November 10, 1940, both in Sibiu and in Timișoara, "King Ferdinand I" University resumed its activity, but without the festivities they had been accustomed to for twenty years.

Despite all the difficulties inherent in the refuge, with teachers, administrative staff and students mobilized for the front, with numerous material and financial deficiencies, the Cluj institution continued to promote national values throughout the war, while maintaining the university ideal of academic autonomy and its own status and prestige in the Romanian university system. The university remained in Sibiu and Timișoara for almost five years. Attempts were made to return in the autumn of 1944, but the existing situation, and especially the new status of the province under Soviet military administration imposed a postponement. The return was made in 1945.

The speeches of the rectors from the investigated period are a special image of the metamorphosis of the University of Cluj, from its creation as an institution of the Romanian state, to the end of a special

historical period, which saw Romania crossing dictatorships and a war, which forced the University to go into refuge and which brought the most difficult constraints and trials on the University of Cluj. But the opening speeches of the academic year were also ways to anchor the University in the historical realities of that moment, to synthetically express a position and to define a destiny. Like true "cameos" of academic construction, these speeches are revelatory for the history of the University.

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1940 – Transylvanian Institutions and Personalities Promoting Romanian Culture After the Vienna Arbitration¹

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Abstract: Following the German-Italian decision of August 30, 1940, Romania was forced to cede half of Transylvania, including Cluj. Following this decision, the University of Cluj was forced to take refuge.

With regard to the place of evacuation, it was established that three faculties of the “King Ferdinand I” University of Cluj, i.e., the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, and the Faculty of Medicine, be located in Sibiu, while the Faculty of Sciences in Timișoara. After finding the spaces, and especially after Iuliu Hațieganu took over the mandate of the rector of the university, the academic community of Cluj regained its internal balance. The courses were held in accordance with the curricular standards of that time, and the scientific and journalistic activity of teachers, researchers and students was, throughout the entire period of the refuge, remarkable.

Keywords: exile; World War I; Iuliu Hațieganu; University of Cluj; Romanian intellectuals

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The news of what happened in Vienna on August 30, 1940, when, under German-Italian auspices, the Romanian-Hungarian border was changed, leading to the Romanian Kingdom losing over 43,000 km² of Transylvania that had to be ceded to Hungary, shocked the Romanian public opinion. Romania then lost almost half of Transylvania, with a population of about 2,600,000 inhabitants (of which more than half were ethnic Romanians), along with important urban centres, in which, during the interwar period, the authorities from Bucharest have invested enormously in order to promote the Romanian specificity. And, as a direct consequence of the policy of supporting national interests and identity, a pleiad of Romanian intellectuals and institutions asserted themselves in Transylvania, a special place having the Romanian University of Cluj.

Romania's obligation to give up a large part of the Transylvanian territory, not long after ceding Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia to the Soviet Union, and Quadrilateral to Bulgaria, led to widespread protests throughout the country. In Cluj, the Romanian inhabitants of the city, already on August 30, took to the streets to demonstrate against what they considered to be an odious diktat. Romanians from the neighbouring communes joined the citizens of Cluj and, in an impressive column, marched on the city's main boulevards and in front of the town hall, showing their desire to defend the country's borders (Simion, 1966, p. 377). In Bucharest, a large crowd gathered in front of the statue of Mihai the Brave, from where they went on to demonstrate on the main arteries of the Capital, then heading to the home of the well-known Transylvanian political leader, Iuliu Maniu. But actions to condemn the injustice done to the Romanians in Vienna took place not only in Cluj or Bucharest, but also in Arad, Braşov, Sibiu, Timișoara, Oradea, Alba-Iulia, Baia-Mare, Iași and Constanța, as well as in several other smaller cities and towns in the ceded territory or in Romania. The magnitude of the demonstrations across the country was not only reflected in the press of that time, but also aroused the concern of Hitler's representatives in Bucharest, which led the German Legation in Bucharest to report to Berlin on September 2, 1940, that great anti-German demonstrations are taking place all over the country. A day later, on September 3, the same legation recorded that demonstrations were taking place throughout Transylvania, with people shouting: "Down with Hitler," "Down with Mussolini," "We are not giving Transylvania." (Simion, 1966, p. 378-381)

Similarly to other states on the continent, in our case as well, the intellectuals, through specific forms of manifestation, were at the forefront of actions meant to challenge the policy of revising the Peace Treaties of 1919-1920, promoted in more and more countries around Romania, especially after the rise of Nazism. In fact, World War II offered many intellectuals from the countries involved, and who had to suffer from territorial losses and military operations, the opportunity to assert their ethical ideals (Sălăgean&Lapadatu, 2013, p. 26) in university courses, lectures and publications that have remained in the attention of researchers and in the bibliographies on national and international historiographical topics ever since.

At the time when the country was facing difficult events during the summer of 1940, Romanian intellectuals were no worse than their foreign counterparts. In that context, we note, first of all, the attitude of the faculty of the Romanian University of Cluj (renamed in the meantime "King Ferdinand I" University), who had no way of remaining indifferent to the act of Vienna on August 30, 1940, that had a direct connection with the future status of Transylvania and the position of the University itself.

While on the streets of Cluj the demonstrations and protests started by the Romanian inhabitants of the city on August 30, lasted several days, in the plenary session of the Great College of the University of Cluj, chaired by the rector Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă, several professors expressed indignation at the way in which Transylvania was dismantled (Simion, 1996, p. 378). But the protests did not change either the fate of Romania or that of the Transylvanian Romanian intellectuals. Caught unwittingly, like the whole country, in the throes of the interest games of the Great Powers of the late 1930s, powers that redrew the borders of Central Europe, the University of Cluj was forced to pack up and refuge, after its hometown was no longer part of Romania from August 30, 1940 (Sălăgean, 2019, p. 92).

The imminent evacuation of the "King Ferdinand I" University of Cluj found the academic community at a time when it was planning to consolidate its internal development process and increase the European prestige of the institution. Following the decision in Vienna, the rector of the university, pressured by the events, tried to avoid exacerbating the situation. In the rector's view, the evacuation had to be carried out as quickly and as orderly as possible, with dignity, peace and understanding, knowing that the forms of handing over the university's patrimony to the

new Hungarian state authorities had to be established, according to the provisions of the Vienna Arbitration (Pușcaș, 2003, p. 546-547). With regard to the place of evacuation, it was established that three faculties of the “King Ferdinand I” University (the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, and the Faculty of Medicine) be relocated to Sibiu, while the Faculty of Sciences to Timișoara. Having found the new spaces for the relocation, and especially after professor Iuliu Hațieganu took over the mandate of rector of the university, the academic community of Cluj has regained its internal balance (Pușcaș, 2003, p. 548-549). The courses were held according to the curricular standards of that time, and the scientific and journalistic activities of teachers, researchers and students was, throughout the entire period of the exile, remarkable.

Of course, in the context of the war and given the territorial losses suffered by Romania, the scientific activity of the academics from Cluj focussed mainly on the Romanian past and traditions. The direction was outlined in the message delivered on the occasion of the opening speech of the 1941-1942 academic year, delivered by then-rector Iuliu Hațieganu on November 3, 1914, a speech in which he specified that the University of Cluj, in exile, has an essential duty to promote Romanian spirituality in the formation territory of the Romanian people, Transylvania. At the same time, rector Iuliu Hațieganu stressed the need to preserve the ideal of the university, academic independence and the continuation of scientific research. As in the case of other European universities of the time, his scientific activity was to be placed at national service, given that the university ideal was strongly tied to the ideal of the struggle for national liberation. In support of this objective, and in order to scientifically support the interests of Romanians in Transylvania, together with the research institutes already existing within the university, the *Centre for Transylvanian Studies* (Sălăgean et al., 2012, p.178) was established in Sibiu.

The initiative to found the Centre was launched in 1942, when, in July, at a meeting of the University College, professor Iuliu Hațieganu proposed the creation of a study circle dedicated to Transylvanian studies. The proposal was also supported by other professors of the university (among whom were: Ioan Lupaș, Alexandru Popovici, George Sofronie and Romulus Vuia), so by the decision of the University College, the creation of the Centre for Transylvanian Studies was announced, a university institution entitled “Institute of research and scientific

documentation on cultural, literary, artistic, historical, linguistic, ethnographic, geographical, economic, legal, bioanthropological issues." Later, the centre was also known as the "Centre for Studies and Research on Transylvania." The academic Silviu Dragomir was appointed as head of the institution (Pop, 2001, p. 10).

The Centre for Transylvanian Studies was organised into four sections: History and Archeology, Linguistics and Literature, Ethnography and Geography, and Social Sciences. (Sălăgean et al., 2012, p. 178) The list of publications that appeared under the auspices of the new institution is impressive, especially given the conditions of research and publication in a situation of refuge in wartime. Of course, the publications and the research area of the centre's researchers were directed towards the history of Transylvania, the main objective being to offer, above all, to the political decision-makers but not only, as many scientific materials as possible, through which, with pertinent arguments, the anti-Romanian propaganda could be countered.

The Centre for Transylvanian Studies published its own periodical, the journal "Revue de Transylvanie", a publication reorganised by the new university team in Sibiu. In fact, it must be mentioned that this was a "takeover" of an older journal "Revue de Transylvanie", published since 1943 under the auspices of ASTRA (Pop, 2001, p. 10), a journal, which in the new European context that appeared after Hitler took the power in Germany, and especially with the intensification of propaganda and calls for the revision of many European borders established by the Peace Treaties signed at the end of the World War I, proposed, since the first half of the interwar decade, through the studies it published, to be a source of dissemination in the European academic and political environment, from a Romanian perspective, of the history of Transylvania, of the demographic and ethnographic realities of the province, of the economic achievements and the situation of ethnic minorities after 1918, etc.

In addition to the aforementioned journal, volumes were published at the Centre for Transylvanian Studies, reunited in the collection "Bibliotheca Rerum Transsilvaniae." (Pop, 2001, p. 11) As in the case of journal articles, the subjects of history were predominant in

the case of the published volumes as well, but without leaving out subjects from other fields of study at the university².

And, while they were in Sibiu and Timișoara, under the guidance of rector Iuliu Hațieganu, the Romanian academics from Cluj did everything in their power to ensure the development of academic and research activity. At the same time, in the Transylvanian territory ceded to Hungary in 1940, the Romanian ethnics, having overcome the shock suffered by finding out the provisions of the Vienna Arbitration, tried to maintain and promote the Romanian ethnic and cultural identity within the new borders of the Hungarian state. And in the fulfilment of the aforementioned ideal, the most important role was played by the Romanian intellectuals left in their native places in the ceded territories of Transylvania.

On September 14, 1940, several intellectuals took the initiative to form the “National Community of Romanians in Northern Transylvania”, a group that wanted to become the leader of the Romanians in the Transylvanian territory that became part of Hungary. At the head of the community was Emil Hațieganu, a personality that acquired, through the magnitude and significance of his engaging gestures, the dimensions of a true national institution, being a true apostolic figure among the Romanians living in the occupied Transylvania (Sălăgean & Lapadatu, 2013, p. 31). The situation was not exactly easy for the leaders of the community, given the tensions that existed in many locations after August 30. The violence and abuses of the new administration in northern Transylvania, as well as the retaliatory measures ordered in response by the government in Bucharest, have been the subject of numerous complaints and memoranda addressed to the Axis powers. But this did not lead to an improvement in the Romanian-Hungarian relations (Anton, 2017, p. 34).

Still, under the coordination of Emil Hațieganu, it was possible to carry out an important activity to promote national cultural values, the press offering not only the main channel for promoting culture among the population, but also being one of the most significant forms of manifestation of ethnic and cultural identity at that time. The conditions for carrying out the activities of the newsrooms were precarious, and

² The annual list containing the publications of the university's professors and researchers can be found in the institution's yearbooks.

there were no material incentives either. There were great difficulties in obtaining paper distributions, writing the materials, while printing media were scarce and poor, and official censorship was, of course, opposed to many Romanian initiatives. However, despite the existing difficulties, three newspapers appeared, having a huge impact on the Romanians living in Transylvania: “Tribuna Ardealului” (the official publication of the National Community of Romanians in Northern Transylvania), “Viața ilustrată” and “Săpunâna” (published in Bistrița under the auspices of the community leaders of the Năsăud regiment). There were also other publications that were not so much in the attention of the authorities, due to their well-defined character by the very name they bore: calendars and almanacs. But political engagement existed in them as well, despite their seemingly benign names. In all the aforementioned publications, the articles with historical content were the most numerous, the most important events from national history being permanently invoked and adapted to the new contexts, in order to avoid censorship (Sălăgean & Lapadatu, 2013, p. 31-32). Keeping the proportions, the Romanian press in northern Transylvania (ceded to Hungary), returned to the habits and strategies of avoiding the Hungarian political censorship that it had built in the 19th century and used until the union of Transylvania with Romania, in December 1918, i.e., masking political intentions in literary messages and the use of Aesopian language. Such subversive solutions were, in fact, familiar to many Romanians who had seized the times before the First World War in Transylvania.

Even if the results obtained by the Romanian intellectuals were not always in line with their efforts and desires, their greatest achievement was that, throughout World War II, they managed to keep the national consciousness alive and give people hope. Taken as a whole, the efforts of the Romanian intellectuals in Transylvania, whether they manifested themselves in the territory ceded to Hungary, or in refuge in different cities of Romania, were put at the service of the desideratum arising from the need to preserve and promote the national identity. Becoming an important means of response to the policy of the Horthy regime, many of the writings of those years later entered the Romanian historiographical heritage, enriching it significantly.

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The Visits of the Romanian Royal Family to the University of Cluj in the Interwar Period

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Abstract: Shortly after the creation of Greater Romania, an ample process of administrative-territorial integration of the new provinces began, which became part of the Romanian state during 1918. As part of this process, higher education received an important role. The present article analyses the way in which the University of Cluj evolved, after the Romanian takeover of the Hungarian institution, focusing at the same time on the way in which the Royal House supported its development. Primary sources from the interwar period were used for the analysis, such as the “Universul” and the “Gazeta Transilvaniei” newspapers, respectively the yearbooks of the University of Cluj. The objective of the study is to reconstruct the visits paid by the Royal House to the University of Cluj, highlighting, through a quantitative analysis of the press releases, the development of festivities, the significance of the speeches and the evolution of the relations between the university and the monarchy. For the analysed period, i.e., 1918-1939, three visits of the Royal Family dedicated exclusively to university festivities were identified, the first one in 1920, when the inauguration celebrations took place, a second one in 1930, when the tenth anniversary of that event was celebrated, and a third one in 1937, when new spaces were opened for carrying out university activities.

Keywords: monarchy, University of Cluj, Romania, interwar period, higher education

The efforts to reunite Romania, which began during the First World War, reached their peak on December 1, 1918, following the adoption of the Alba Iulia Resolution, which marked the union of Transylvania with the other Romanian provinces. Given the multi-ethnic character of the territory, that was under Ottoman, Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian rule successively, the Romanian Royal Family paid special attention to it, as it marked the need for metamorphoses to reflect the new course of the Romanian administration and the integration from an administrative, economic and cultural point of view into Greater Romania. In this process, the city of Cluj played a central role, justified, on the one hand, by the status obtained in previous centuries as the administrative centre of Transylvania, and on the other hand, as a “cultural capital”, due to the numerous cultural institutions it brought together. Most of the Royal Family's visits to Cluj were focussed on these aspects of the city, supporting the founding of institutions, such as the Institute for the Study of Romanian History, or the development of other already existing institutions.

The first visit of the Royal Family to Cluj took place in 1919, where, according to the *Universul* newspaper, they were greeted by two hundred thousand people, as part of a tour organised by King Ferdinand and Queen Marie in Transylvania. The tour was meant to build bridges between Romanian regions that were significantly different from each other, providing a symbol of unity through the monarchical institution. King Ferdinand motivated choosing Cluj as a place to stop by considering the city as a “historic fortress of Greater Romania, because from here started all the pains and torments to which our tried nation was subjected.” (*Călătoria suveranilor*, 1919, p. 1) The editorial staff of the *Universul* newspaper presented the meeting of the Royal Family, “to whom we owe so much of the Romania that we are proud of today”, with the population of Transylvania, “Romanians that our nation is proud of”, as being epochal, on a territory where sovereigns saw “the Romanian people in the fullness of their material and spiritual strengths and treasures.” (*Suveranii și Ardealul*, 1919, p. 1)

After 1918, the process of administrative-territorial unification of Romania was doubled by one related to the modernisation of the educational system. As such, intellectuals and politicians were interested in creating a strategy that included the integration of the universities in

Cluj and Chernivtsi into the Romanian higher education system (Sălăgean, 2019, p. 19). Despite the ever-changing international situation, as the Paris Peace Conference was in full swing at the time, and tensions with Hungary were still a reality, the Governing Council decided to take over the University of Cluj (Sălăgean, 2019). The entire operation was supervised by Onisifor Ghibu, delegated by Valeriu Braniște, the head of the Resort of Cults and Public Instruction. Thus, June 12, 1919 marks the incident-free takeover of the “Francisc Iosif” University, while the process of founding the Upper Dacia University has just began, being completed on the occasion of the Official Inauguration Celebrations between January 31 and February 2, 1920, an event that members of the Romanian Royal Family also attended (Stan, 2019, p. 154-155).

The visit began on January 31, when the Royal Family arrived at Cluj by train, to patronize the inauguration of the university, after a journey of almost 18 hours. They were greeted in the beautifully decorated train station by Prince Carol, Heir to the Throne, as well as members of the Council of Ministers and the Governing Council, the presidents of the two parliamentary chambers, representatives of local and military authorities, and a large crowd. The solemn festivity took place on Sunday, February 1, in the Hall of the University of Cluj, where the members of the Royal Family were greeted with “endless cries of “Hooray” and very warmly applauded by all those present.” (Mureșan, 2018, p. 19-30).

The word of welcome was delivered by professor Sextil Pușcariu, the rector of the University at the time, who evoked the history of the institution starting from 1872, emphasising that under the Hungarian administration the university was almost forbidden to young Romanians, dedicated to “serving foreign purposes” and to the “Hungarisation through the university” (Serbările pentru inaugurarea Universității, 1920, p. 20-21). For this reason, he reiterated the commitment of the teaching staff, initially made up of teachers from other university centres from Romania, to cultivate the Romanian spirit among young people, keeping a certain specificity, so as to avoid making the educational system follow a predefined model. In the same spirit, through the rector's voice, it was shown that the University recognised its responsibility to offer young people the opportunity to “gain knowledge, maturity of thought, and a longing for disciplined work” (Serbările pentru inaugurarea Universității, 1920, p. 27), to be useful in all areas of public life, instead of preparing

them only for professions of immediate need. Of equal importance was for the University not to distance itself from society, but to cultivate a natural bond with it, with graduates being the main promoters of this coexistence (Mureșan, 2018, p. 10). Sextil Pușcariu gave a modern, visionary speech, in which he underlined the importance of not involving political factors in the university's activities, whose autonomy must be ensured by the University Senate, an entity aware of the real needs of the institution, and one that can make decisions through an elected body of representatives from the faculties, and not by a politically appointed official, who, in the eyes of the well-known philologist, "however benevolent might be, is bound by the ordinances and forms of his office, and who, for material reasons is often compelled to prevent the rise of the scholar seeking to defeat matter, by pouring lead into his wings of conquest" (Serbările pentru inaugurarea Universității, 1920, p. 27). To the same extent, Pușcariu made reference to the university's autonomy in relation to the state by obtaining financial independence, following the model set by the Romanian Academy.

Addressing the audience, King Ferdinand referred to the moment as a national holiday that transcended Romania's borders by the presence of "messengers" of European universities, but also by the commitment to cultivate science, called by the king "the eternal daughter of light" (Serbările pentru inaugurarea Universității, 1920, p. 66), and Latin culture, as a link between Romanians from all over the country. The monarch criticised the cause of the Hungarian university, which, "founded in large part with Romanian money, [...] soon became the focus of exclusive thinking against any national sentiment." (Serbările pentru inaugurarea Universității, 1920, p. 15) To cultivate the Romanian past, King Ferdinand offered a donation of 400,000 lei for the establishment of an institute for the study of Romanian history. Regarding the purpose of the university, starting from the Latin phrase *Omnia scientiarum universitas*, the monarch emphasised in clear terms the importance of quality, not the number of graduates, because beyond the number of graduates, it is more important to train generations of people useful to society. Last but not least, the "young university" was marked by two guiding principles: truth and justice (Serbările pentru inaugurarea Universității, 1920, p. 16-17).

The day of February 1 continued with a gala performance at the National Theatre of Cluj, where Romania's National Anthem and the

anthems of the allied countries were sung, poems were read and a programme of national songs and games was organised. This was followed by a torchlight procession, watched by the Royal Family from the 6th Army Corps Command (Serbările pentru inaugurarea Universității, 1920, p. 10). On the last day, the university, its museums, the student dormitory and the library were visited. At the same time, King Ferdinand granted an audience to the representatives of the “Petru Maior” student circle, to whom he said that “The country trusts in your selfless hearts and sees in you the worthy leaders of tomorrow.” (Serbările pentru inaugurarea Universității, 1920, p. 67)

The year 1927 marks the strengthening of relations between the University of Cluj and the monarchy, since after the death of King Ferdinand, the institution changed its name to “King Ferdinand I” University of Cluj. The role of Queen Marie in supporting the Romanian university and promoting its aspirations was not forgotten either, since during the jubilee celebrations in 1930, she was awarded the title of Doctor Honoris Causa, the first such title awarded by the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy. During its first ten years of activity, the university maintained good relations with European universities that sent professors to Cluj, changes were made to the laboratories, clinics and libraries, and the number of Romanian students increased considerably. The festivities were organised on the occasion of the beginning of the academic year in October, 1930, while on behalf of the Royal House of Romania, King Carol II, Queen Marie and Prince Nicolae participated. The officials were greeted with enthusiasm by the people of Cluj and by people coming from all over Transylvania, who led them along the road from the train station to the university, cheering them on and placing flowers in their path (Mureșan, 2018, p. 10-11). In the University Hall, representatives of the Government were also present, including Prime Minister George Mironescu, representatives of other Romanian universities, leaders of cultural institutions, such as Ion Bianu, President of the Romanian Academy, and Vasile Goldiș, President of ASTRA, members of the parliament, church leaders, former dignitaries, guests from abroad, such as Emmanuel de Martonne, Professor Bertoli, Abbot Zavoral, René Paux, Minister of France in Bucharest, and Chales Michael Palairret, Minister of Great Britain in Bucharest. During the opening speech of the solemn meeting, then-rector Emil Racoviță, mentioned the support offered by the Royal Family to the university during its first

decade of activity, under the auspices of whom the respective celebrations were also organised. King Carol II spoke about the care that his father, King Ferdinand, showed towards the University of Cluj, claiming that “there was no man happier than him, when he saw the phalanx of teachers from all over the country gathering here in the heart of Transcarpathian Romania.” (Sărbătorirea a 10 ani de la înființarea Universității, 1930, p. 3) Recalling the role of some Romanian scholars in the development of education in the Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian Empires, Carol II saw the establishment of the Romanian university as a redress for a historical injustice. Following the example set by his predecessors, he decided to set up a scientific foundation in Cluj, to be named “King Carol II Institute for Scientific Research.”

The last part of the festivity was dedicated to the awarding of the titles of Doctor Honoris Causa. The speech dedicated to Queen Marie was given by Sextil Pușcariu, rapporteur of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, who placed it in a chronology of Romanian writers, who were also crowned heads, and who included Neagoe Basarab, Dimitrie Cantemir and Carmen Sylva. Pușcariu appreciated the writings of Queen Marie and the sensitivity with which she captured fragments of the daily life of the Romanian peasants, the messages of encouragement dedicated to the soldiers on the front, and her praise in her writings to the beauty of Romania, arguing, rhetorically, as follows: “To whom could it have more right to offer, in this country, the highest distinction that a university can give, than to Your Majesty, who through word, deed and writing have contributed so much to Romania's entrance with the defendants of justice in the holy war of liberation and bring it to fruition?” (Sărbătorirea a 10 ani de la înființarea Universității, 1930, p. 3)

A new visit of King Carol II, dedicated to supporting the university environment of Cluj, took place in 1937, on the occasion of the inauguration of the “King Carol II” Academic College. The idea of constructing the college was put forward in 1926, and was later supported by government funds. This construction was necessary for the university, as it brought together the teaching staff and rooms for university guests, performance hall and foyer, buffet and banquet hall, but also spaces for the activities of student organisations. These allowed for the development of university activities and international exchanges, as the university had a partnership with the Sorbonne University of Paris since the previous decade. The cost of the construction amounted to 30

million lei, while the leader of the project was an architect from Bucharest, George Cristinel, known for the design of the Mausoleum from Mărășești the Orthodox Cathedral of Cluj, but also the headquarters of the “Prima Ardeleană” Society or the Normal Romanian Orthodox School, both from Sibiu. In the interwar period, he was known especially for his style that relied on a synergy between classicist modernism and Art Deco (Mureșan, 2018, p. 12). In his speech delivered at the inauguration ceremony on June 13, 1937, King Carol II praised the university for assuming the role of “a beacon to spread the light of Romanian culture as far as possible,” as it represents “the top of the pyramid of the national culture.” (Anuarul Universității, 1938, p. 78-79) In the same year, due to the support given to the educational system of Cluj, King Carol II received, in his turn, the title of Doctor Honoris Causa of the “King Ferdinand I” University. The solemn meeting was opened by the rector Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă, while the words of appreciation were formulated by Gheorghe Tătărescu, President of the Council of Ministers, Metropolitan Niculescu of Blaj, on behalf of the Greek Catholic Church, and Iuliu Moldovan, President of ASTRA (Maj. Sa Regele Carol II, 1937, p. 1). In his speech, professor Silviu Dragomir, rapporteur from the Faculty of Letters, invoked the King's support for the arts and sciences, his attention towards young people, and the king's early concern for supporting the establishment of cultural institutions to promote Romanian values, then the participation in the Royal Foundations and the financial support of cultural projects.

During the interwar period, the University of Cluj became the centre of Romanian higher education and an important player in the European one, largely due to the support it enjoyed from the Royal House of Romania. The two monarchs of this period, King Ferdinand I and King Carol II, supported the university both financially and by promoting its cause and goals among the states allied with Romania. The Royal House of Romania understood, from the very beginning, the importance of a Romanian higher education institution in the centre of the province reunited with Romania in December 1918: the Romanian University affirmed a national identity, and – at the same time – contributed to the construction of that national identity on a cultural, scientific and spiritual level. All the gestures of the members of the Royal House were intended to support that construction, and the University – for its part – understood to respond to them to the same extent.

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Academic sociability in the interwar period - the example of “Andrei Şaguna” maial festivity of Braşov settlers in Cluj¹

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Abstract: The following article is a dual-purpose research. On the one hand, it illustrates one of the ways in which the Romanian academic and intellectual elites became involved in the public life of the city of Cluj, and even of Transylvania, in the first half of the twentieth century: On the other hand, the present study highlights the way in which the networks of alumni and teachers contributed to the geographical and social transfer of a cultural holiday with multiple and long-lasting meanings.

The ‘Maial’ of the Braşov settlers in Cluj, which we will further analyze in detail, is a public event directly related to the educational world: Originally, the maial designates a country festivity or celebration in honor of spring, organized by students in middle school or high school. Of Austrian origin, the Maial ceremony spread in Transylvania during the 19th century, becoming very popular in the Romanian educational environment. The foundation of the Romanian University of Cluj in 1919, as well as the entry into the local academic body of a large number of graduates of the prestigious Andrei Şaguna High School in Braşov, led to the embrace and adoption of the Maial festivity at the university level as well, since 1927. With the help of prosopography and other methods of historical investigation, we are therefore documenting the place and role of different generations of alumni, educated at the schools in Braşov, in creating/ shaping the scientific and social identity of the Cluj Alma Mater.

Keywords: academics in public life; feast of the Maial; cultural transfers; alumni networks; Romanian University of Cluj after 1927

¹ An earlier version of this study was published in Romanian in the journal *Ţara Bârsei (new series)*. (2010). no. 9, Braşov, p. 136-146.

In May 2021, on the blog of the Depozitul de artă gallery (which aims to “value established or unjustly marginalized artists of Romania during the 19th and 20th centuries, active in Transylvania even after 1918”)(Vădeanu, 2021)² an article was published which, starting from a painting by the Braşov lawyer Costi Sotir, displayed new data and especially many unique photos, regarding an important social event in interwar Cluj – The Maial of the Romanians of Braşov. Considered “the moral craftsman and tireless coordinator of the interwar Maials, between 1927-1939 (...), Costi Sotir, also called Nenea Costi” (Vădeanu, 2021), convincingly illustrates through his connections with the academic world of Cluj a certain type of social solidarity, based on a common educational path, prestigious and at the same time selective, which was validated, as we will see, at the age of professional maturity. Bearing remarkable documentary value, these images successfully conclude a series of researches that we undertook a decade ago, regarding the aforementioned custom, an example of the functioning and organization of the social relations of the Romanian Transylvanian elite from the first half of the 20th century. Such a network of alumni is commonplace in Western Europe, and the discovery of these typologies in Central and Eastern Europe can stimulate reflection on the synchronicities and gaps between modern and contemporary models of social organization in Europe.

The involvement of the elites (especially intellectual and academic ones) in the public life of cities and/ or villages therefore remains a topical issue, which deserves further research and can later contribute to the realization of a complete socio-cultural image of interwar Romania. The subject is all the more important when the research’s area of investigation concerns a province like Transylvania, long included in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and united with Romania only in December 1918, at the end of World War I. In the aforementioned region, the Romanian elites frantically built in the interwar period the important public institutions of their national identity - and which had been

² More regarding this topic to be found in Ina Vădeanu (2021), „Maialul braşovenilor la Cluj (1927-1939) și întemeietorul acestuia, av. dr. Costi Sotir”, available online at <https://depozituldearta.wordpress.com/2021/05/01/maialul-brasovenilor-la-cluj-1927-1939-si-intemeietorul-acestuia-av-dr-costi-sotir/>

previously denied to them by the imperial power. The University - namely the Romanian University founded in Cluj in 1919 - is such an institution. In that process, the Romanian community (and its political and intellectual elites, the "educational realm") sought to rely on existing community traditions, customs of folk origin that had prestige in the belief of Romanians.

The maial ritual, which we will analyze in detail below, is a public event directly related to the educational sphere, which has enjoyed a long tradition in Transylvania: Originally, the Maial designates a country holiday or party in honour of spring, organized by students in middle school or high school. As its name suggests, this event mainly takes place in May, when nature announces through flowers and leaves the season of its rebirth: spring. Of Austrian origin, the Maial ceremony spread in 19th century Transylvania, becoming very popular in the Romanian educational environment. Since the Romanians of imperial Transylvania did not have a university in their own language until the end of World War I, the secondary schools were the ones that consolidated the national feeling, forming the elites of the community and promoting its ideals.

The Maial festivity of "Andrei Şaguna" High School

One of the oldest maials was that of the students from the Orthodox (that is to say Romanian - since the Romanians made up the majority of the Orthodox population in Transylvania) High School in Braşov. The foundation of this confessional school of the Romanian community takes place in 1850, when the first 6 classes (four for boys and 2 for girls) of the Romanian Gymnasium start functioning. The foundation stone of the building specially designed to house the new institution was laid on September 17/29, 1851, in the presence of bishop Andrei Şaguna³ (Bârseanu, 1902, p. 45-82). Initially, the educational activity unfolded only at a limited level, namely in the so-called "small or lower gymnasium", with only 4 classes/ training steps. However, in 1862 the operating license for the upper cycle was obtained – i.e., the equivalent of today's high school. From then on, the courses were held

³ More about the context and stages of the establishment of the Romanian gymnasium to be found in Braşov in Andrei Bârseanu (1902), *Istoria şcolilor centrale române greco-ortodoxe din Braşov*, Braşov: Tipografia Ciurcu et comp, p. 45-82.

for a period of 8 years. The right to organize matriculation exams, namely the baccalaureate, was granted to the school of Braşov in 1866, when both the Transylvanian government authorities and Andrei Şaguna, who became the Metropolitan bishop of the province, approved the organization of the first exam for 8th grade high school graduates (Bârseanu, 1902, p. 147-157). Following the steps taken by the government of the Kingdom of Romania, in the autumn of 1869, a natural sciences middle school of three classes and a commercial school of three classes as well were established next to the Romanian gymnasium. These three institutions together formed The Romanian Greek Orthodox Central Schools in Braşov (Bârseanu, 1902, p. 185-189). At the beginning of the 20th century, shortly after the unification of Transylvania with Romania, the Braşov central schools received the official title of Romanian high school, and since 1922 they took the name of Andrei Şaguna, in memory of the hierarch who played a decisive role in their foundation.

The celebration of the Braşov maial has a tradition almost as long as that of the Romanian gymnasium in the city, being introduced at the initiative of archpriest Ioan Popazu since 1853-1854, becoming in time a ceremony with strict rules, dedicated to graduates (Negulescu, 2008). The testimony of one of the most famous students of the Brasov gymnasium, from the 1895 promotion, Sextil Puşcariu (philologist, professor at the Romanian University of Cluj, in the interwar period - and prestigious personality of Romanian culture) brings important clarifications related to the role and place of the maial in the life of the schoolchildren of Braşov:

while the name 'gymnasium' given to the high school with eight grades, according to the German model, was a kind of degradation, that of 'student' given to 'middle schoolers' and 'merchants' of the four - to commercial three - last classes, was a promotion, for in fact this appointment was suited only to academics. The students formed a «coetus», that is, an organization with habits preserved by use, which we held dear and which were also imitated according to those in force at German universities, with small local adaptations. Only the 'prefect' of the eighth grade and the 'subprefect' of the third commercial class were officially appointed by the principal on the occasion of the festive opening of the school year (in St. Sophia). Being a prefect was the highest honor a student could receive, for that was the official

recognition of a 'primus inter pares'. (...) There were two student festivities each year, 'Poiana' and 'Maialul'. (...) Before the 'exitus', that is, the celebration through which the 'maturing students' said goodbye to student life, was the trip to Stejeriș, called 'Maial', although it was held mainly in April or June, when the weather in Brașov was more stable than in May. This party was more solemn than the autumn one, but precisely because of this, it was also less intimate. (...) The 'Maial' ritual was about the same as the 'Poiana', but the schedule was busier. The wine barrels were received with more solemnity; when the principal's arrival was announced, a delegation of students came forward, led by the prefect, holding a 'logos' and inviting him to participate in the order. The principal responded and promised to join the students later. Between the two orders, the people moved to dancing, gliding hard on the arena with the grass torn after the first performances of 'învârtita'. (...) The «Clou» were the 'căluș' and the 'bătuta', performed by students in national costume.

(Pușcariu, 1977, p. 302-306).

The importance of the maial celebrated by the students from "Andrei Șaguna" High School increased with the passage of time, turning into a distinctive ritual of the educational environment of Brașov, still taking place in the present day. In its long existence, however, the maial from Brașov has known several stages of development which have influenced the public life of other Transylvanian communities. As it will further be seen, the festivity was "exported" to Cluj, in the new Romanian university environment created in the 1920s, and transformed into a celebration for the Romanian students there.

The Maial of the Brașov residents in Cluj – the "migration" of a cultural celebration

The interwar period represents the time interval in which the maial of the students from "Andrei Șaguna" High School became, more strongly than before, an element of recognition of the former graduates from the Romanian gymnasium from Brașov. After the Union of Transylvania with Romania (1918), the graduates spread in different parts of the province and joined, in the vast majority of cases, the local elite, benefited from the favourable conditions to exert their influence in

the forefront of public life, both in economic fields as well as in the cultural-artistic ones. Their efforts have fully contributed to the process of Romanianization of this newly united province with the country, changing the balance of power at the top of the social pyramid in various Transylvanian settlements.

Cluj was one of the cities that attracted a large number of Braşov intellectuals after 1919, especially due to the fact that, by establishing the Romanian University, the city assumed the role of cultural capital of Transylvania. The example of Sextil Puşcariu, who played a decisive role in the establishment of the University of Cluj, even becoming its first rector, is edifying, especially since he was not long in being followed by many other “Andrei Şaguna” High School graduates, who held positions of great responsibility in the city.

The change of the demographic structure of Cluj in favor of the Romanian population is also proven by the statistical data, as well as by the prosopographic studies which we carried out, especially for this study, on the population of “Andrei Şaguna” High School graduates established in Cluj. Thus, if in 1920, Cluj had a total population of 85,509 people, of which 29,644 were Romanians, 42,168 were Hungarians, and 10,638 were Jews, in 1930 the city registered a total of 103,840 inhabitants, of which 37,029 were of Romanian nationality, 48,271 of Hungarian nationality, and 13,094 were of Jewish ethnicity (Varga, 1998-2002)⁴.

The increase of the number of Romanians in Cluj during the first interwar decade was also due to the contribution of the aforementioned graduates from Braşov, who constituted one of the most important “colonies” in the city.

Thus, out of the total of the 868 students who graduated from the “Andrei Şaguna” High School between 1900-1925 (Anuarul Liceului ortodox român „Andrei Şaguna”..., 1925, p. VII), we managed to reconstruct the fact that a number of 76 people had settled in Cluj by 1925, i.e. a percentage of 8.76%. Of these 76 former graduates of the Romanian high school in Braşov, 15 worked at the University of Cluj, namely: Onisifor Ghibu, Gheorghe Giuglea, Victor Stanciu, Emil Ţeposu,

⁴ For the year 1930, we used the data that recorded the nationality, and not the mother tongue of the inhabitants of Cluj, since between the two types of statistical records there are small differences.

Ioan Goia, Nicolae Popoliță, Emil Pop, Valeriu Bologa, Alexandru Lupan, Iosif Pușcariu, Gheorghe Sglimbea, Valeriu Pușcariu, Sabin Manuilă and Teofil Dragomir held various positions in the academic hierarchy, from preparatory to full professor, and Ioan Enescu was employed as a librarian at the Italian Language University Seminar. At the same time, we must mention the fact that in 1925, 40 young people from the Brașov promotions between 1900-1925 were students and doctoral students in Cluj at the University of Cluj; at the Academy of Higher Commercial and Industrial Studies; at the Academy of Higher Agronomic Studies or in technical higher education (*Anuarul Liceului ortodox român „Andrei Șaguna”...*, 1925, p. CXXXI-CXLIII).

For a more accurate look, the distribution by generations of the aforementioned graduates from the period 1900-1925 who settled in Cluj can be traced in the table below⁵:

No.	Graduation Year from “Andrei Șaguna” High School	Name of the graduate	Position / Profession exercised in Cluj in 1925
1	1900-1901	Aurel Savu	Lawyer
2	1901-1902	Onisigor Ghibu	University Professor
3		Constantin Martinovici	Forestry Engineer
4	1902-1903	Gheorghe Giuglea	University Professor
5	1903-1904	Victor Stanciu	University Professor
6	1905-1906	Ioan Motoc	Lawyer
7	1907-1908	Eugen Iosif Goga	Editor (Journalist) at <i>Țara Noastră</i>
8		Valeriu Pușcariu	Assistant at the Institute of Speleology

⁵ The data from the yearbook of “Andrei Șaguna” High School were verified and completed with those from the yearbook of the University of Cluj from the interwar period, especially the ones referring to 1920-1925, but also other data from the press of the time. We must mention that the number of “Andrei Șaguna” High School graduates established in Cluj from the 1900-1925 promotions could be even higher than the one identified so far, but not all of the entries offer details about the career followed after graduation.

No.	Graduation Year from "Andrei Şaguna" High School	Name of the graduate	Position / Profession exercised in Cluj in 1925
9	1908-1909	Sebastian Bornemissa	Editor (Journalist)
10		Emil Colbazi	Doctor
11		Iosif Puşcariu	Doctor, Lecturer at the Ophthalmology clinic between 1922-1924
12		Victor Stănilă	Doctor
13		Alexandra Țândărău	Director of the Cultural House
14		Emil Țeposu	Doctor, Assistant Professor at the Surgical Clinic
15	1909-1910	Gheorge Mureşanu* (his name is spelled Murăşanu in the "Andrei Şaguna" High School yearbook)	?
16	1910 - 1911	Valeriu Bologa	Doctor, Assistant Professor at the Institute of the History of Medicine
17		Ioan Goia	Doctor, Associate Professor
18		Iosif Indrieş	Artist, Cluj Opera
19		Eugen Savu	Lawyer
20	1911-1912	Ioan Clopoşel	Journalist at <i>Societatea de Măine</i>
21		Nicolae Popoliţă	Doctor, Assistant Professor the ENT Clinic
22		Gheorghe Popoviciu	Doctor
23		Sabin Manuilă* (his name is misspelt in the Şaguna Annuary as Mămulă!)	Lecturer, the Institute of Hygiene and Social Hygiene

No.	Graduation Year from "Andrei Şaguna" High School	Name of the graduate	Position / Profession exercised in Cluj in 1925
24		Romul (Vespasian) Bălosu	PhD Student
25		Cornel Reca	?
26		Eugeniu Dobrotă	?
27	1912-1913	Gheorghe Sglimbea	Doctor, Assistant Professor at the Dermatological Clinic
28	1913-1914	Ioan Gherghel	Teacher
29	1914-1915	Florian Cocian	Candidate for Lawyer
30		Teofil Dragomir	Doctor, Assistant Professor at the Neurological Clinic
31		Alexandru Lupan	Doctor, Assistant Professor at the Pasteur Institute in 1922-1923 and univ. preparatory at the gynecological clinic in 1923-1924
32		Emil Pop	Assistant Professor at the Botanical Institute
33		Emil Popovici	-----
34		Aurel Voina	Doctor
35		Florin Voina	-----
36	1917-1918	Nicolae Dancu	PhD Student in Law
37		Eugen Herţea	PhD Candidate in Law
38		Mihail Iacob	Law student
39	1918-1919	Gheorghe Bănuţiu	Teacher, Cluj National Theater
40	1919-1920	Fabiu Bercan	PhD Student in Law
41		Ioan Enescu	Librarian, Italian Language Seminar

No.	Graduation Year from "Andrei Şaguna" High School	Name of the graduate	Position / Profession exercised in Cluj in 1925
42		Octavian Nicola	Graduate, Commercial Academy
43		Vasile Nicolescu	PhD Student in Medicine
44		Ioan Runceanu	PhD Student in Medicine
45	1920-1921	Alexe Nan	Pharmacy Student
46		Ioan Tanislau	Chemistry Student
47		Aurel Vaida	Medical Student
48		Eleonora Baiu	Pharmacy Student
49		Ecaterina Tanasache	Philology Student
50	1921-1922	Ioan Bădiţoiu	Student at the Commercial Academy and the Faculty of Law
51		Ioan Ban	Philology Student
52		Nicolae Macrea	Science Student
53		Aurel Nistor	Student at the Commercial Academy
54		Ştefan Popa	Law Student
55		Cornelia Oana	Philology Student
56		Elena Coleşiu	Pharmacy Student
57		Dumitru Căprioară	Medical Student
58	1922-1923	Nicolae Râmboiu	Student at the Commercial Academy
59		Gheorghe Russu	Law Student
60		Dumitru Ursianu	Law Student
61		Virgil Voicu	Law Student
62		Ioan Ducariu	Technical School Student
63		Iosif Mailat	Student at the Commercial Academy
64		Melania Runceanu	Philology Student
65		Steliana Comşia	Philology Student

No.	Graduation Year from "Andrei Şaguna" High School	Name of the graduate	Position / Profession exercised in Cluj in 1925
66		Viorica Marcu	Philology Student
67	1923-1924	Octavian Boş	Law Student
68		Ioan Haller	Law Student
69		Emil Popoviciu	Law Student
70		Virgil Popianos	Law Student
71		Gheorghe Puiu	Medical Student
72		Cornel Runcean	Law Student
73		Ionel Stănescu	Philology Student
74		Dumitru Pascu	Medical Student
75		Victor Taus	Law Student
76		Vasile Velican	Agronomy Student

There were also many graduates of the respective high school from the generations before 1900 who had settled in Cluj, but in their cases the prosopographic identification is more difficult, considering our sources. Among those we managed to find in Cluj, after the Union of Transylvania with Romania, figure: Gheorghe Bogdan-Duică - from the 1885 promotion -, Gheorghe Iuga - from the 1889 promotion, Valeriu Moldovan - from the 1894 promotion, Sextil Puşcariu - from the 1895 promotion -, Marius Sturza - from the 1895 promotion -, Iosif Popovici - from the 1896 promotion -, Ioan Minea - from the 1897 promotion -, Ioan Lupaş - from the 1900 promotion (Bârseanu, 1902, p. 564-577) (Anuarul Liceului ortodox român „Andrei Şaguna”..., 1925, p. 5-164). All of them were professors at the University of Cluj, thus increasing the ranks of intellectuals from Braşov who contributed to the construction of an academic institution essential for the Romanian culture of the province. Special mention should be made of Dr. Constantin Sotir, a graduate of “Andrei Şaguna” High School in 1888, who then proceeded to study law at the University of Budapest, up to a doctoral level (Bârseanu, 1902, p. 571), and which we later find in Cluj, actively involved in all cultural activities carried out by the people of Braşov.

The second large category of Romanians from Braşov settled in Cluj consists of former members of the teaching staff of the “Andrei Şaguna” High School who, after 1918, moved to the capital of the new Romanian province, attracted by the new public institutions founded here by the Romanian state since 1919. We find them either in higher education institutions or in various Romanian high schools. In this regard we count the following: Nicolae Bogdan – who became teacher and director at the “Regina Maria” Girls’ High School, Aurel Ciortea - who was the first rector of the Academy of Advanced Commercial and Industrial Studies in Cluj, Constantin Lacea – German language teacher also at the Academy of Advanced Commercial and Industrial Studies and rector of this institution since 1936, Gheorghe Dima - organizer and director of the Conservatory of Music and Dramatic Art in Cluj, which bears his name today (Anuarul Liceului ortodox român „Andrei Şaguna”..., 1925, p. XCVI-CXVIII).

We must emphasize the fact that throughout the interwar period the number of Braşov residents settled in Cluj increased constantly, from year to year, according to our estimation, reaching a number of about 250-300 people.

The first attempts of manifestation on the Cluj public stage of this important community of “Andrei Şaguna” High School graduates were also related to an event in the life of the Romanian Orthodox High School in Braşov, namely the 75th anniversary of the school’s existence. With this occasion, the Cluj culture magazine „Societatea de mâine” published in its issue of June 21, 1925, a call for some of the 1912 graduates from that very high school, who were at that time in the city of the university. The authors – namely Ion Clopoşel, Dr. Gheorghe Popovici, Dr. Sabin Manuilă, Dr. Nicolae Popoliţă, Dr. Eugeniu Dobrotă, Cornel Reca, drd. Vespasian Bălosu, asked their promotion colleagues “to try their best to participate in the jubilee celebrations from June 25-29, occurring with that occasion and a consultation of ours concerning public duties (s. n.- A.- M. Stan)” (Societatea de mâine, 1925, p. 428).

Indeed, the festivities on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the existence of the Romanian Orthodox “Andrei Şaguna” High School, held between June 27 and 29, 1925, were particularly lavish, exceeding the strict borders of Braşov and turning into a cultural event for the whole of Transylvania, reflecting the importance of the Romanian community of the province, in many aspects. The local and central press

widely depicted the conduct of the ceremonies in its articles, emphasizing the value of the school activity of the institution of Braşov (Anuarul Liceului ortodox român „Andrei Şaguna”..., 1929, p. 66-91). The celebrations were also a good occasion to remember the contribution of the High School graduates to the development of Romanian elites of the province, but also of the Old Kingdom, through the voice of Professor Ioan Lupaş, who made a first list of former High School students who had managed to “lay a foundation stone or a few grains of sand in the different areas of our culture...” (Anuarul Liceului ortodox român „Andrei Şaguna”..., 1925, p. 95-96). On the same occasion, their essential contribution in the founding of the University of Cluj and, implicitly, the intellectual strength of the Braşov community that had settled in Cluj were highlighted: “The Romanian University of Upper Dacia was not built in Braşov, but two former professors of this school, Mr. Goldiş and Mr. Branişte, were the ones who took care of its creation in Cluj, immediately after entering the ancestral heritage, and two High School students from Braşov, Ghibu and [Puşcariu] were given the opportunity to establish and organize it” (Anuarul Liceului ortodox român „Andrei Şaguna”..., 1925, p. 26).

In a short time, the impact of the 1925 holiday led to the establishment of a society of the people of Brasov in Cluj, who reproduced in the city on the Someş the traditions of the academic life from the "alma mater" from which they stemmed. Benefiting from higher education, they thus contributed to the approximation of the traditions of the Romanian community in Braşov by the (academic) elites of Cluj, the capital of the province, the university-city, the center of the new Romanian administration in Transylvania.

Thus, it was decided that “once a year, the Maial should be celebrated, thus awakening the memories of youth” (Realitatea ilustrată, 1927, p. 1). The first ceremony of the Maial (organized by the people of Brasov settled in Cluj) took place on May 8, 1927, and those who hosted the party were Professor Sextil Puşcariu, General Dănilă Pap and the mayor of Cluj at that time, Vasile Osvadă (Realitatea ilustrată, 1927, p. 1): The Romanian university, army and administration thus symbolically joined hands to assert the national identity of the Transylvanian world. The date was not chosen by chance, because on the same occasion the 75th anniversary of the composition of the Romanian dance “Romana” was celebrated. Gathered in the forest of Hoia, which will become the

traditional meeting place for the Maial of the Braşov citizens settled in Cluj, the participants danced lively until the evening. Along with Sextil Puşcariu, elected prefect of the inaugural Maial in 1927, the presence of Dr. Costi Sotir was noted, who guided the 12 couples who adventured to perform the dance “Romana”, and organized the other artistic moments of the day (Gherghel, 1933, p. 80-81). Costi Sotir remained the “master of ceremonies” of the maials from Cluj for a long time, as an enthusiastic teacher of Romanian dances, especially from the area of Braşov. Among the organizers of the first maial of the people of Braşov settled in Cluj we must mention Gheorghe Mureşanu - promotion 1910 - who, in his capacity as cashier of the society of the people of Brasov in Cluj, financially supervised the organization of the festivity. More importantly, Gh. Mureşanu came up with the initiative of “compiling the first list of former students from the Central Schools in Braşov in Cluj” (Gherghel, 1933, p. 80-81), an initiative which we do not know if it was successfully carried out.

The maial of the Braşov people settled in Cluj continued in the following years, imposing itself as a local tradition and bringing in the public life an atmosphere of social and national cohesion, characteristic of the education received at “Andrei Şaguna” High School. The atmosphere in which the maials from Cluj took place during the interwar years is particularly well captured by Sextil Puşcariu:

Three decades after my last maial as a student in Braşov, I started the series of maials in Cluj. For the people of Braşov moved in large numbers to the capital of Transylvania, when the new Romanian life brought by the Union demanded that all the cities of Transylvania be harnessed to the cart that took us stormily to a new and proud country. (...). Then the people from Braşov settled in Cluj remembered their old maials. Buying hats and canes, asking the ladies to sew their ‘ribbons’ and cockades, choosing their prefect, sub-prefect, cantor loci, fux-maior, barrelmaker; the eternally young Costi Sotir, in fact belonging to the 1888 promotion!, arranger and initiator in the subtleties of ‘Romana’, publishing an occasional newspaper with memories from the gymnasium, entitled ‘Gaudeamus Sigismund’, wandering the streets of Cluj in a compact group the night before and singing student songs, with music in the lead, like in the old time, the people of Braşov felt young again. “There is no better life than that of the student” in front of the Universităţii and “Gaudeamus igitur” at the She-wolf in the square, and the departure

following the flag, the fux-maior gathering in the park his fuchsias – university students -, the welcoming of the barrel, the salute of the former professors and the ‘hora trocărească’, ‘Romana’ in traditional costume and ‘călușarul’ and ‘bătuta’ – none of the moments of the old program were forgotten.

(Pușcariu, 1977, p. 307)

As expected, the maial came to include not only the former graduates of the Brașov highschool, but also opened up to the intellectuals from Cluj and to all the other Brașov residents settled in the city, as well as to the students from the local high schools and secondary schools. The custom was established that before going up to the Hoia forest, the group of those who were celebrating the maial should be photographed in the center of Cluj, or in the Union Square, as is the case with the maial from June 5, 1933 (Gazeta ilustrată, 1933, p. 114), or even in front of the statue of the Capitoline Wolf, a symbol of Latinity.

The 1936 edition of the Brașov maial from Cluj was a special one, because it marked ten years since this public cultural celebration was successfully inaugurated in the city. Thus, on May 2, 1936, the society of the people of Brașov from Cluj gathered in a special meeting to establish the program of the tenth maial. The organizers – among which we shall mention univ. Prof. Marius Sturza, univ. Prof. Valeriu Bologa, Ștefan Peneș, Augustin Bena, Gheorghe Mureșan, engineer inspector Zeicu, Dr. V. Gligore, Ioan Ghergel, Ștefan Suci, Grigore Vlădăreanu, Cornel Runceanu, Nicolae Râmboiu, assistant Tanislau etc. – decided that the celebrations should last for two days, namely May 16 and 17, 1936. In order to increase the splendor of the ceremonies, invitations to participate in the Cluj maial were sent both to the “Andrei Șaguna” High School from Brașov, and to the organizations of the people of Brașov settled in Târgu-Mureș, Oradea, Sibiu, Timișoara. Aceștora aveau să li se alătore elevii tuturor școlilor secundare din Cluj. They would be joined by students from all secondary schools in Cluj. It was also decided that the jubilee be “filmed by the Fotofilm Cluj house, the film becoming the property of the Brașov Society, which is to finance it” (Națiunea română, 1936). What was originally a local celebration of a community “ignored” by the imperial power, was now consecrated as a celebration comprising Romanians from the entire province of Transylvania.

In the same assembly of May 2, 1936, the election of those who would fulfill the most important roles in the maial ceremony was made, resulting in: prefect - Sextil Pușcariu (replaced when needed by prof. Marius Sturza), subprefect - Ștefan Peneș, chief arranger - dr. Costi Sotir, high school senior engineer - fuchsmajor - Gheorghe Mureșanu, territorial commander: Colonel Stoica, loci cantor I - eng. Manase D, loci cantor II - Augustin Bena, in charge of barrels I - eng. Alexandru Chițu, in charge of barrels II - Corneliu Runceanu. In addition, Professor Augustin Bena, the rector of the Cluj Academy of Music, compiled and published in a pamphlet the most beautiful student songs of the maial, and Valeriu Bologa undertook publishing the maial's magazine, which would include "interesting articles concerning the student life in Brașov, then jokes and funny little stories, as well as photos from previous maials" (Națiunea română, 1936).

Of course, following such careful planning, the jubilee turned out to be a success. The ceremonies began on the evening of May 16, 1936, when a delegation from Brașov laid a wreath at the graves of former teachers of "Andrei Șaguna" High School, Pandeale Dima and Gheorghe Dima, located in the Central Cemetery in Cluj. Then, there was a "retreat" on the main streets of the city in the sound of military music, in the company of a delegation from the schools of Brașov, led by principal Ioan Moșoiu. The next day, on May 17, "a huge convoy was formed, led by secondary school students" from Cluj, with whom the guests from the "Șaguna" high school lined up, as well as representatives of the people from Brașov settled in Târgu- Mureș, led by professor N. Sulică (in his turn he was a graduate and teacher of the Brașov high school, who had left the city after 1919). They all went to the forest of Hoia, where all the stages of the maial took place: "the national dances, both the ones performed by the students of the different secondary schools, and the ones performed by the people of Brașov were extremely beautiful. The other points in the program, such as the famous 'baptism of the foxes and the little foxes', caused a great deal of laughter. The 'order' was excellently organized, did not last long, and unfolded in perfect discipline. The two leaders, professors Sextil Pușcariu and V. Bologa (= Mocu) conducted the 'order' with skill and verve." (Gherghel, 1936, p. 81).

As previously mentioned, a part of the convoy, more precisely the one formed by the "column of the people of Brașov, was filmed, together with several other scenes from Stejeriș (Romana, the baptism of the foxes,

the order)” (Gherghel, 1936, p. 81). The documentary directed by Ștefan Miezkowski and Fekete Laszlo later played in the cinemas in Cluj, demonstrating both the importance of the festival in the cultural life of Cluj, as well as the scale and local popularity of this event.

The festivity continued to be organized until the outbreak of World War II, when the new socio-political conditions put an end to a tradition that had become an integral part of the public scene of the city on the Someș. At the time of its interruption, the feast of the Cluj maial had already come to be recognized and recorded echoes up to the level of the central press in Bucharest. Since 1937, detailed reports of this event have been published in the newspaper “Timpul”. The articles highlighted in particular the artistic and cultural value of the “Romana” dance, an indispensable component of the ceremony (Gherghel, 1937, p. 76).

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