

Museums, Nationality, and Public Research Libraries in Nineteenth Century Transylvania

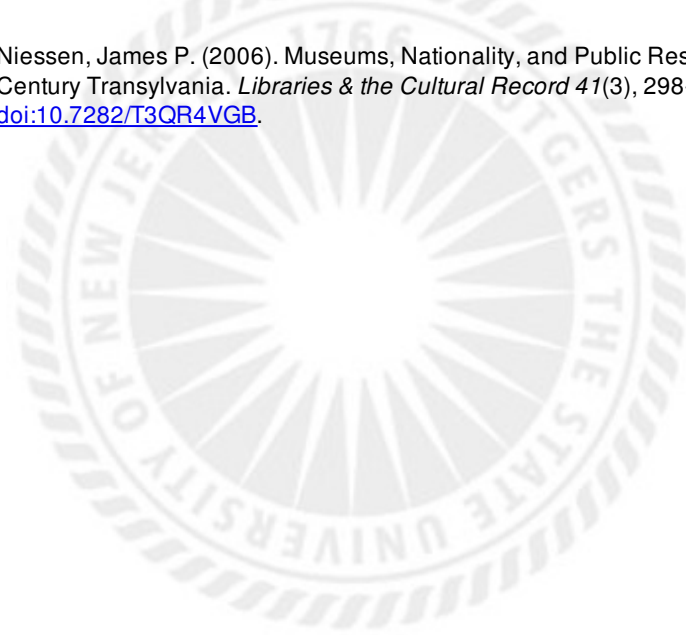
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Museums, Nationality, and Public Research Libraries in Nineteenth-Century Transylvania

James P. Niessen

In nineteenth-century Transylvania (now in Romania but then a province of Hungary) Germans, Hungarians, and Romanians all attributed special importance to research collections in the creation of their political nations. This study traces the development of the most important repositories of the respective nations: the Germans' Brukenthal Museum, the Hungarians' Transylvanian Museum Society, and the Romanians' Astra. These institutions arose as hybrid museum-libraries and even included archives. Despite this common conception, they developed differently due to the nature of their constituencies, the growing professionalization of libraries, museums, and archives, and political change within Hungary and Romania.

In the multiethnic society of the province of Transylvania (in present-day Romania) three separate research libraries emerged contemporaneously in the nineteenth century, each calling itself a national library. The model for these national libraries was not a collection simply of books and manuscripts, as libraries more commonly are conceived. Rather, under the contemporary influence of the British Museum, the model was of the library-in-museum, aiming at a multimedia presentation of knowledge.¹ A library's position within a museum seemed to conflate its roles as a workshop for the scholarly elite, a place to display the collections, a source of prestige, and a resource for the reading public. Development of these libraries-in-museums occurred amidst the tension between the early modern ambition to classify and present a wide range of objects together and the nineteenth-century preoccupation with the establishment of a written national culture.

Until 1918 Transylvania was associated with the Hungarian Crown in the Habsburg Monarchy but was composed of three principal nationalities of Romanians, Hungarians, and Germans, which were in an approximate numerical relationship of 6:3:1.² Each national community sought to establish its own national library, although each used this term

without defining it clearly. Traditionally, Transylvanians used the term *nation* to signify a sociolegal category whose privileges were defined by the province's constitution. The term rarely referred to the entire population of the province. Indeed, in the nineteenth century the term *nation* was used commonly to refer to a particular ethnolinguistic community.

Each of the three ethnic groups in Transylvania aspired to collect the bibliographic output of its nation, or at least the Transylvanian portion, as completely as possible and to make it accessible to the public.³ The small German community, known as Saxons, boasted a well-developed civic culture as well as easy access to international scholarship through their language. The nobility of the Hungarian nation (as distinguished from the peasant majority of this nationality) had not only the wealth to amass numerous outstanding personal collections but also the political means to place them at the service of an emerging national state. More numerous than the Hungarians and Germans combined but lacking the resources of the Hungarian nobility, the Romanians were the last of the three nations to begin developing their library. Nevertheless, they were able to lay the foundation for explosive development after the creation of Greater Romania at the end of World War I.

While the origins of the Transylvanian libraries often can be traced to individual collectors, the ethnopolitical movements gave them their organizational form. Moreover, the association with museums was important in the evolution of each library, though in the end, each of the three Transylvanian national libraries emerged in a form close to the modern concept of the public research library. The evolution in each case owed much to the character of each national community and its institutions.

The Library-in-Museum Tradition

The unification of museum and library within the same facility, bringing scholars, libraries, and museums under one roof, has a long tradition. In the ancient Greek world the *Museion*, from which the concept of a museum as a collection of valuable objects is derived, was a shrine of the Muses where religious ceremonies were performed. A museum was often associated with a school. The most famous museum in Alexandria had scholars in residence, a library, zoological and botanical collections, an observatory, a medical institute, and workshops.⁴ The library's destruction, whether in one or a few cataclysmic events or over an extended period of time, represented the loss of not only the written record and other objects of the lost collections but also the organized scholarly activity for which the library was a locus.⁵

The medieval library's practice of collecting only manuscript codices was a departure from this Hellenic tradition. Humanistic scholars revived the practice of the composite collection, first in the private study collections, or *studioli*, of Renaissance Italy. The Florentine *studiolo* of Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449–92) was intended to present visitors with library and *antiquarium* in adjoining wings but then had by force of circumstances to limit itself to the library. The Bavarian court library in Munich, founded in 1558, became the model for the unification of natural objects and human artifacts under one roof. A scholar living in Munich, Samuel von Quichelberg, published a description of the theoretical foundation of this union. He called the composite collection *theatrum sapientiae*, or theater of knowledge, thereby highlighting the goal of presentation rather than solitary study. His work described a model collection and presented it in categories.⁶ This pioneer work of both museum and library science contained separate classifications for library books and for other objects but, interestingly, placed some of the books in the collection of objects rather than in the library.

In assembling their artifacts, collectors of that era sought to classify knowledge in “cabinets of curiosities,” known also at times as cabinets of art, antiquaries, treasuries, and museums.⁷ Prestige, curiosity, and the opportunity to serve as a patron of scholarship competed among the collectors' motivations. The collector might host resident scholars or artists to use these artifacts and proudly showed them to visitors. We should not minimize the scholarly motivation and value of these collections: there was the intellectual quality of wonder at curious and unexpected things and connections and the concept of scholarship based on the observation of physical evidence rather than only on written authority.⁸ Of the best-known contemporary cabinets, those in Ambras near Innsbruck, Prague in Bohemia (owned by the Habsburg grand duke and the emperor, respectively), Rome, and Bologna also contained books in their cabinets, sometimes in separate library sections and sometimes interspersed with the other objects.⁹

By the eighteenth century the cabinet of curiosities had seen its heyday on the European continent and was no longer the preferred environment for library collections. This increasingly archaic model became important for Transylvania, however, due to its survival in two locations that attracted the attention of Transylvanian collectors: Halle (in Germany) and London. Halle's university was one of the preferred places of study in Germany for Protestant Hungarians and Saxons from Transylvania during this period. At the Francke Foundations in Halle a cabinet of curiosities has been preserved to the present day.¹⁰

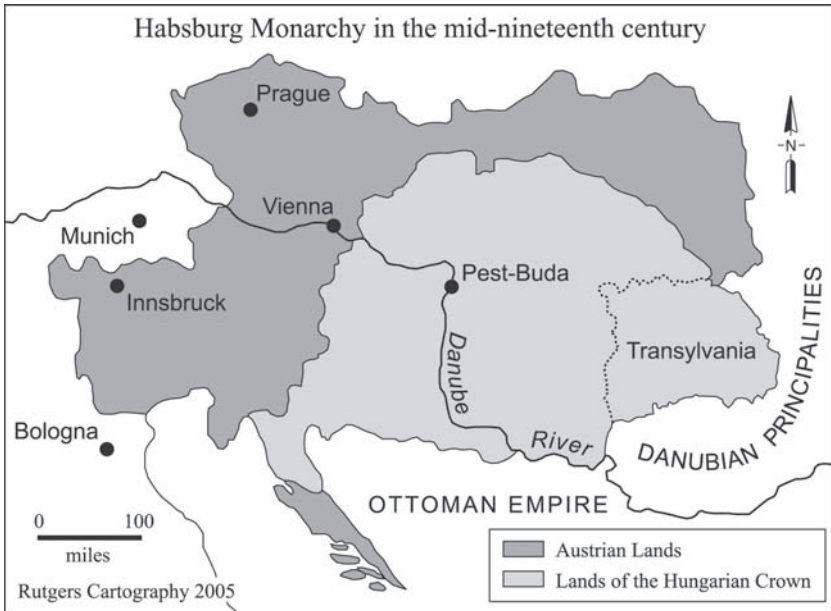


Figure 1. The Habsburg Monarchy in the mid-nineteenth century. Rutgers University Cartography.

The Oxford English Dictionary indicates that the first use of the word “museum” in English (1603) referred (as in the Hellenic model) to a place where scholars congregated. In 1656 John Tradescant (1608–62) used the term as a synonym for a “collection of rarities” in a publication entitled *Museum Tradescantianum*. The *OED* notes a further use in 1683, a reference to “Mr. Ashmole’s Musæum at Oxford.” Tradescant’s catalog lists objects in fourteen categories, including coins and other man-made artifacts, many of them evidently acquired during travels in the new and the old worlds; however, books were not among them.¹¹

John Tradescant was a pioneer also in publishing his collection’s catalog and providing it with a patriotic rationale. He stated in his prologue that friends prevailed upon him to publish the catalog because “the enumeration of these Rarities, (being more for variety than any one place in Europe could afford) would be an honour to our Nation.”¹² By its geographic and conceptual variety, the collection honored not just one man but a political community.

The most influential modern exemplar of the library-in-museum was the British Museum. It was founded by an Act of Parliament in 1753, when Sir Hans Sloane and Sir Robert Cotton donated their books,

manuscripts, and artifacts to form the initial collection. In 1757 King George II donated the royal library, and two years later the collection was open to those in the public who could acquire tickets for entry. Thus from its earliest years the facility united in one location materials in many formats. The original organization was tripartite: “printed books, maps, globes and drawings,” “manuscripts, medals and coins,” and “natural and artificial productions.” Parliament established the museum as a trust of the nation, and the trustees intended it as a resource for resident scholars and inquisitive persons from the general public.

Three Eighteenth-Century Precursors of National Libraries in Transylvania

Three outstanding new libraries in Transylvania arose in the late eighteenth century as museums. Contemporaries were aware of the British Museum, and models from ancient culture also had special resonance in a society where proficiency in Greek and Latin was required of all well-educated men. In fact, Latin remained the official language of the Transylvanian authorities until 1844.

The Saxon count Samuel Brukenthal assembled a large collection during government service in Vienna beginning in the 1750s, then in Hermannstadt (Sibiu) after his appointment as governor of Transylvania in 1777.¹³ It was rich in manuscripts and incunabula and in equally outstanding collections of coins, archaeological artifacts, paintings, prints, jewels, weapons, and minerals. The Hungarian Roman Catholic bishop Ignác Batthyány founded an institution in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) in 1798 that would become known as the Batthyaneum. The facility included precious medieval manuscripts and 530 incunabula (two thirds of all the incunabula that are preserved in Romania today); it also housed a mineral collection, an astronomical observatory, and the seat of a short-lived learned society, *Societas Assiduorum Litteraria*. The library of the Hungarian count Sámuel Teleki in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș), established at roughly the same time, is known today as the Teleki-Bólyai Library. As interesting for library historians as the collection of books and manuscripts itself (Teleki was less assiduous than the others in pursuing other objects) was the fact that he published a four-volume catalog between 1796 and 1819 to publicize his collection and invite people to use it.¹⁴

All three libraries were open to the educated public and quite international in the provenance of their collections and in the authors represented there. The core of Batthyány’s collection had been purchased from Cardinal Migazzi, the archbishop of Vienna and bishop of Vác,

the most notable book being the Codex Aureus, a ninth-century gospel compilation. Both churchmen collected theological works extensively, not only Roman Catholic and Romanian Greek Catholic books but also German and Hungarian Protestant ones. Count Teleki, who began collecting in Vienna during his tenure as court chancellor of Transylvania, purchased materials in Central Europe over a course of many years, spending his wealth for the publications of German, French, British, Italian, and other printing houses, including even an early edition of the American Declaration of Independence. Like the others, he was eclectic in his tastes and purchased science and art books to support his other collections. As a high government official, he was especially astute in documenting the output of Transylvania's own presses in Latin, German, Hungarian, and Romanian.

The national pride invested in these three collections by later generations of Hungarians and Saxons could not obscure the fact that they were, as Victor Neumann has put it, borrowing a phrase of Răzvan Teodorescu, "cultural channels" that facilitated complex encounters among geographically or culturally distant peoples and intellectual schools. The collections, and their readers, were extremely varied.¹⁵

The Bathhyaneum and Teleki libraries were rapidly superseded after 1859 by the Library of the Transylvanian Museum Society in the larger town of Kolozsvár (Cluj) as the premier library of the Transylvanian Hungarians. The Brukenthal Library would assume the national role for the Saxons and continue to grow dynamically in the nineteenth century. In building their collections Brukenthal, Teleki, and Batthyány followed an enlightened ideal of learning and knowledge as keys to progress. They did not yet clearly envision the national path this progress would take.

Transylvania in the Age of National Imagination

Transylvania became a part of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary sometime between the ninth and twelfth centuries.¹⁶ The region gained its name (Transilvania in Romanian, from Latin *trans*-, "beyond," and *silva*, "forest") because, as seen from the central part of the kingdom, it was situated on the other side of a wooded area. The province was a royal outpost in the southeast, periodically threatened by armed incursions of Turkic peoples across the Carpathians. The Hungarian kings settled the Saxons in southeastern Transylvania to help defend it. They guaranteed the social privileges and political autonomy of the Saxon townspeople, of the Szekler military class (a Turkic people that adopted

the Hungarian language in the Middle Ages), and of the Hungarian nobility in their respective regions as the three ruling “nations.” Romanians were present in large numbers in all regions but were excluded from these privileges. These conditions survived the period of Ottoman dominance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as the transition to Habsburg rule at the beginning of the eighteenth.

Historians of Eastern Europe often refer to the nineteenth century as the age of national revival. In fact, patriots were creating nations of a new kind, making political claims for all the speakers of a language. This work required prodigious research and propaganda as well as political activity. Philologists defined the national languages, historians traced the origins and achievements of the ethnic nation, and writers and artists created a vision of the people alongside other nations of the world. Before the new nations could be realized, they had to be imagined.¹⁷

The terms *museum*, *library*, and *archive* supplied a powerful metaphor in the titles of four of the Hungarian, Romanian, and Saxon patriots’ most important early cultural periodicals: although their subject matter was not repositories per se, they were assembling a new canon of knowledge.¹⁸ Such a formidable project prompted patriots to seek to assemble, or at least use, actual collections. This is why the capabilities and location of the collectors, and especially of the potential readers, became important.¹⁹

Transylvanian Saxons numbered 219,342 in 1850, or 10.6 percent of the population of the Grand Principality of Transylvania.²⁰ Most were descended from settlers brought in by the Hungarian kings in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to develop and defend the southern boundary of the province. They founded most of the urban centers, building Gothic churches and city buildings that give southern Transylvanian towns their German appearance today, although the German population has dwindled. Hermannstadt was the seat of the Saxons’ autonomous district administration and its assembly, the Nationsuniversität, and had a population of 18,588 (68.8 percent German, 16.4 percent Romanian, 7.3 percent Hungarian) in 1857.²¹ The Saxons had well-developed local self-government, schools, and a distinguished Lutheran clergy that was educated in German universities.²² Their community life helped the Saxons retain their separate consciousness and their identification with German culture despite being geographically distant from the primary areas of German settlement in Europe. As one of the three nations in the Transylvanian constitution, the Saxon patriciate enjoyed municipal autonomy in its region and a substantial voice in the provincial diet.

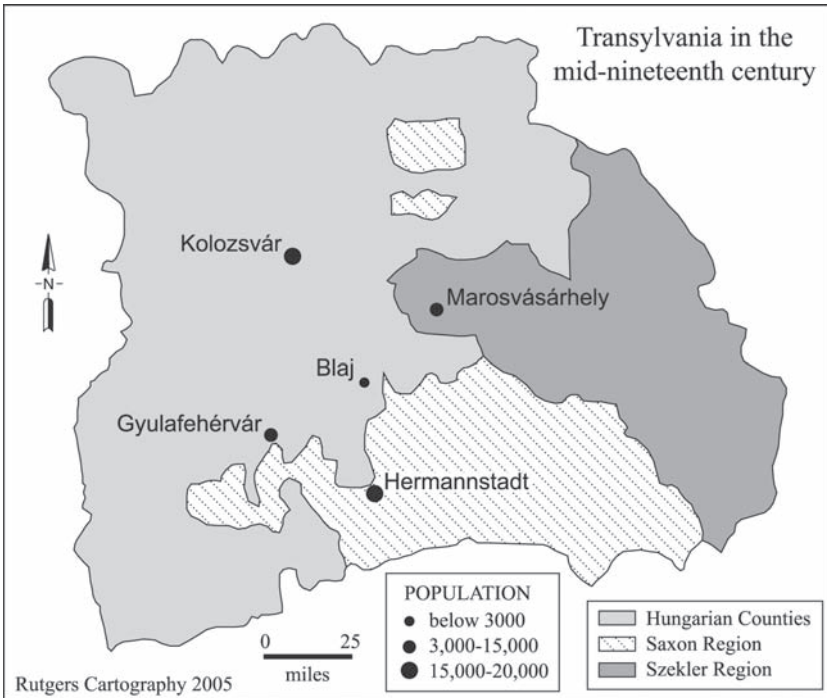


Figure 2. Transylvania in the mid-nineteenth century. *Rutgers University Cartography.*

Hungarians were more numerous than the Saxons (585,342, or 28.2 percent of the population in 1850) and the politically dominant segment of the population of Transylvania.²³ They nurtured a strong sense of identification with Hungary proper and with the goals of the Hungarian national movement. The Hungarian population of Transylvania was less urbanized than that of the Saxons, though it boasted significant towns, including Marosvásárhely and Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) (20,615 in 1857; 65 percent Hungarian, 18.4 percent Romanian, and 8.5 percent German), the largest town in Transylvania, in the plain facing Hungary and developing rapidly.²⁴ The Hungarian nobility derived most of its power and wealth from land ownership. Hungarian reformers in Hungary proper demanded the unification of Transylvania with Hungary; they achieved it temporarily in 1848–49, then again in 1867. As a result, the Hungarian element was strengthened by an even stronger association with the emerging national state to the west than was the case with the Saxons.

Romanians, devoid of any comparable privileges in the Transylvanian constitution, were the most numerous of the three nationalities

(with 1.2 million, or 57.9 percent, in 1850) but primarily rural and less educated than the others.²⁵ The Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches exercised considerable influence in the life of the Romanians. Their episcopal sees in Hermannstadt and Blaj (Hungarian: Balázsfalva; German: Blasendorf) were important Romanian cultural centers, but Hermannstadt was still a Saxon town, and Blaj (below 2,000 population at midcentury; 83.1 percent Romanian, 10 percent Hungarian, 2 percent German) was small and isolated.²⁶ Lacking wealth and concentrations of potential readers comparable to the Saxons and Hungarians, the Romanians faced a relative disadvantage in the competition to erect a national library for the province.

The rival national trajectories of these peoples collided during the revolution and Hungarian war for independence in 1848–49. A period of Austrian absolutism that favored the Saxons and Romanians followed the Hungarian defeat, then the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 established the union of Transylvania with Hungary and an autonomous Hungarian national state that supported Hungarian cultural institutions and tolerated but increasingly restricted those of the Saxons and Romanians. Saxons and Romanians increasingly looked abroad for their political and cultural models after the emergence of independent Romania (1859–78) and the unification of Germany (1866–71).

The Brukenthal Museum and the Society for Transylvanian Studies of the Saxons

Count Brukenthal (1721–1803) studied at the universities of Halle and Jena. In Halle his most famous professor was an historian and book collector from Transylvania named Martin Schmeizel, who had a special fondness for the many Saxon students there. Schmeizel's works included two pioneer bibliographies for the study of the Habsburg lands and an investigation of Transylvanian coins, books that themselves appear to be among the earliest components of Brukenthal's own library.²⁷ A member of the Saxon office-holding class, Brukenthal was no nationalist in the modern sense but proud of the Saxon nation, a category of society defined by ancestry, political privilege, and culture. While he honored tradition, he was also a man of the Enlightenment and a Freemason, interested in all branches of knowledge and their dissemination through public institutions.²⁸ He also visited and admired the collections of the new university library in Göttingen and the British Museum in London during his years of study.

Brukenthal began his collecting activity during his years in Vienna from 1750 on, when he engaged scholars and artists to advise him. Three years before he moved back to Transylvania as governor in 1777 his collection of paintings was already renowned as the second largest private gallery in the imperial capital.²⁹ Forced out of office by Emperor Joseph II in 1787, he devoted his remaining years and substantial wealth to his homes and collections. In 1789 he helped establish in Hermannstadt the first scholarly journal in Transylvania, the *Siebenbürgische Quartalschrift*, which appeared until 1801. Already in the count's lifetime his museum became a stopping point for genteel tourists who reported their impressions of the collections.³⁰ He stipulated in his will that the books, paintings, prints, coins, guns, antiquities, and minerals as well as the palace itself should remain an inalienable whole and be administered as a public museum. He established an endowment whose revenue was earmarked above all for the acquisition of books, then, funds permitting, to retain a librarian and other staff, and (in much smaller measure) to expand the rest of the collection. Due to the instability of the Austrian currency the opening of the museum was delayed until 1817, fourteen years after Brukenthal's death.³¹

Brukenthal's motto was *Fidem genusque servabo*, "I will serve [my] faith and people." The choice of *genus* (with its intimation of ancestry or race) rather than the Latin *natio* seems to signify more than just family. The Lutheran pastor of Hermannstadt, Johann Filtsch, intimated an even broader meaning when he spoke at the opening of the Brukenthal Museum in 1817. He greeted the new institution as the "Saxon national museum" and suggested that, by opening the magnificent collections and palace to the public and hopefully attracting new donations from other patriots, the late count was raising the dignity of the Saxons by analogy to the Britons and the Hungarians with their national museums.³² It appears contemporaries regarded a *national* collection as one that was diverse and large, but later that term would mean one that was Transylvanian and finally Saxon in its content.

The Brukenthal Museum was consulted by a number of Saxon scholars investigating the past and present condition of Transylvania in the tradition of *Landeskunde*, or regional science. This scholarly preoccupation of the German Enlightenment involved fields of inquiry such as statistics, topography, and the physical environment.³³ In Transylvania, however, *Landeskunde* was associated with the provincial tradition of historical and legal scholarship in defense of national rights. Inspired by the scholarly achievements and patriotic efforts of Germans and Hungarians in the same

era, the Saxons received official support when they proposed a *Verein für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (Society for Transylvanian Studies) in 1840.

The invitation to the organizational meeting was addressed to “all friends of Transylvanian studies of every nation and estate.” Sponsors emphasized the purpose of cooperating to fill in blank spots in the history of the province. The society held its annual assembly in a different Transylvanian Saxon town each year. Hungarians like József Kemény and Sámuel Brassai and Romanians like George Barițiu attended some of these assemblies, and Transylvanians of all nationalities were invited to contribute to the work of the society. One Saxon argued that denying access to the others would undermine the Saxons’ own ability to do research because many archives were under Hungarian control.³⁴ Despite the society’s inclusive rhetoric, it was clearly a Saxon endeavor; all ninety-seven charter members were Saxons or resident Germans.³⁵ Its publications were all in German, most of its honorary members were Austrians and Germans, and its major publishing projects were a Transylvanian Saxon dictionary and a collection of sources on Saxon history.³⁶ The society’s annual assemblies favored general Saxon identity over local particularism and became popular celebrations of Saxon learned culture.³⁷

The society never sought to affiliate itself with the Brukenthal Museum. It lacked a permanent seat, and through its rotating annual meetings it recognized the plurality of Saxon cultural centers. Not only the Brukenthal Library but also Lutheran high schools in the major towns, various church districts, and some elementary schools boasted significant collections of older books and manuscripts and an annual budget for acquisitions. The Society for Transylvanian Studies donated its publications to many of the high school libraries as well as to the Brukenthal Library. Saxon towns also had reading societies and even village schools with their own libraries of popular literature and textbooks.³⁸

The anonymous author of a newspaper article in 1879 expressed pride in the wealth and variety of Saxon library collections, contrasting the situation to complaints in the Hungarian press about the state of Hungarian libraries. But he also insisted on the need for more public information about the holdings of the Brukenthal Library.³⁹ The guide to the library within the overview of the museum by its director, Michael Csaki (1858–1928), was a response to this criticism, appearing first in the same newspaper in 1894–95. Csaki excused the delay in publishing a catalog, rather defensively, by referring to the considerable labor involved and his lack of assistants.⁴⁰

Csaki’s guide reveals much about contemporary perceptions of the library. He responded not only to the demand that public information

about the library holdings be made available but also to those who complained that he was giving more attention to the art collection than to the library. Brukenthal designated the bulk of regular expenditures for library staff and acquisitions, Csaki wrote, so it was understandable that the library “became the center and by far most important part of the museum.” Given the relatively high cost of outstanding paintings, this was also a more effective use of available funds.⁴¹ Yet we know that Csaki was the first art historian to direct the museum, and he dedicated more attention to the art gallery than to the library during his directorship. He participated in the identification of its holdings of Flemish masters, he published well-researched updates to the gallery catalog in 1901 and 1909, and he presented the collection in other publications as well.⁴²

Much of Csaki’s guide to the library is a description of what the visitor would see when walking from one room to the next, with fascinating details about the appearance and historical significance of individual works as well as their arrangement and display. The library was open twenty hours per week, he wrote, twice as many hours as the art gallery, and books could be borrowed for as long as three months. The greatest part of the text reads like a tour guide’s script, noting picturesque and colorful items and apologizing for the physical layout of the books due to the shortage of space and the placement in their own rooms of separately acquired collections.

The classic work of Transylvanian Saxon *Landeskunde* in the nineteenth century, published in 1857, identified the Brukenthal Museum as the outstanding research collection in the province, proudly noting its renowned paintings, coins, and minerals but revealing that its library collection was at this time (still) smaller than that of the Teleki Library.⁴³ The Brukenthal Library’s acquisition of new imprints and major, older collections of other Saxon institutions in Hermannstadt reversed this ranking in subsequent decades. Thanks to an acquisitions budget that was generous for its time and to the additions of these new collections, the Brukenthal Library holdings reached one hundred thousand volumes, compared to fifteen thousand in 1817. There were four in-house catalogs in the form of cards and ledgers.⁴⁴ Csaki’s guide notes the medieval manuscripts, incunabula, and scarce Transilvanica, yet it also documents extensive holdings of eighteenth-century publications outside Transylvania and a strong representation of nineteenth-century Hungarian and German books, including the protocols of the Hungarian Diet and the works of the Prussian general Helmuth von Moltke and his staff. The publications of the Society for Transylvanian Studies and foreign society publications acquired in exchange for those of the

society, collections assembled by other institutions and acquired by it later, and the well-funded selection and acquisition of new publications made the Brukenthal Library both the largest library of the Transylvanian Saxons and the most complete collection of their publications. The art gallery, on the other hand, grew very little. As Csaki's colleagues put it, the gallery constituted "the real national museum" because it was primarily the product of Baron Brukenthal's own collecting activity, but its national role also dictated that it ought to incorporate more recent Transylvanian and Saxon art.⁴⁵ The library was *in* the museum but was now seen as a distinct institution.

In 1876 the Hungarian government eliminated the administrative autonomy of the Saxon district, and in the same year that district's archives, with the records of the Nationsuniversität, became a public research institution. After the opening of the archives, for the next few decades Saxons could boast, alongside the Brukenthal Library with its medieval manuscripts and collections of personal papers, the only publicly accessible archives in Transylvania.⁴⁶

The Transylvanian Museum Society and the Hungarians

The effort to establish a national museum and library of the Transylvanian Hungarians had its roots within that province but was spurred to its completion by the establishment of the Hungarian National Museum in Pest as well as the Society for Transylvanian Studies. Brukenthal's Hungarian successor as governor of Transylvania, Count György Bánffy, approved a proposal from the provincial diet to create a society to cultivate the Hungarian language, including a provincial museum, in 1793.⁴⁷ The society held its first meeting in Marosvásárhely and received donations for a modest collection of manuscripts and books but by 1810 had ceased its activity due to flagging interest and obstruction from later governors. The journal *Erdélyi Múzeum* (Transylvanian Museum, 1814–18) was also short-lived but attracted scholarly contributors and readership. In 1829 the reformist politician Sándor Bölöni Farkas (1795–1842) made a new proposal for a provincial museum.⁴⁸ Thus a series of Transylvanian Hungarian politicians and literary figures supported the plans for a museum and society during the Age of Reform in the years before the 1848 revolution. "Museum" and "learned society" came to be closely associated in the rhetoric of the Hungarian reformers.⁴⁹

Outside Transylvania a Hungarian Museum was established in Pest by Count Ferenc Széchenyi (1754–1820). A supporter of the initiatives

of enlightened absolutism in various official posts, he resigned from government service in 1786 and, like Brukenthal a year later, dedicated himself full-time to his collections. Traveling abroad, he gave special attention to the major libraries he visited, especially those of the British Museum and the University of Göttingen. He hired a librarian to organize his book collection and prepare a catalog, whose first two volumes in 1799 were followed by five supplementary and index volumes and a three-volume manuscript catalog by 1815.⁵⁰ In 1802 the king approved Széchényi's proposal to establish a Hungarian national library through the donation of his thirteen thousand books and more than twelve hundred manuscripts and documents. It opened its doors in 1803, and its status was recognized by a royal decree as the *Bibliotheca Hungarica Széchényiano-Regnicolaris*.⁵¹ An act of the diet in 1807 made it a component of a new *Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum* (Hungarian National Museum). An endowment was established for the institution's support, and donations in kind began to flow in. The National Library moved with the museum into an impressive neoclassical edifice in Pest in 1846–47.⁵² The library remained an integral part of the museum until 1949.

The Hungarians, like the Saxons, established a learned society. The son of the National Museum's founder, Count István Széchényi, inspired the diet to establish the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1825 by pledging one year's revenue from his estates for its support. In the following year the academy established its own library, which also exists today in Budapest.⁵³

In 1841 the Transylvanian Hungarian historian and collector Count József Kemény (1795–1855) pledged his 15,439-volume collection of books and 1,083 manuscripts as the foundation of a Transylvanian museum and society. Kemény was a member of the Saxons' learned society and enjoyed prestige among them as the editor of an important collection of German historical documents.⁵⁴ While his proposal aroused great enthusiasm among the Hungarian members of the Transylvanian Diet, the Saxons opposed it because the proposal called for substantial financial support from the state and because the society and museum would be based in the Hungarian Kolozsvár rather than in Hermannstadt or even in Marosvásárhely, which at least was closer to the Saxon population centers. Marosvásárhely had been an early Hungarian favorite for the seat of the museum because of the support of Hungarian enthusiasts on the Hungarian provincial court there. Kolozsvár, on the other hand, offered the largest concentration of educated Hungarians as the seat of several Hungarian high schools with venerable but small libraries and two Protestant bishoprics.⁵⁵ In the face of strong opposition by the

Saxons and after a virulent public debate lasting two years, the diet abandoned the proposal in 1843.

The death of Kemény in 1855 bestirred the Hungarians to mobilize in favor of the museum society, this time without demanding any government support, lest Kemény's bequest be lost to Hermannstadt or even to the Hungarian National Museum. The Saxon legal scholar Schuler von Libloy joined those arguing for Marosvásárhely, claiming it would be unfortunate to increase the already troubling dispersion of Transylvanian collections by creating a rival to the renowned Teleki Library.⁵⁶ Donations of property helped turn the tide, however; founding president Count Imre Mikó (1805–76) donated his villa in Kolozsvár as the seat of the new society and museum, and its library collections were housed for a time in the city residence of another benefactor, Count Sándor Bethlen.

The official permission for and founding act of the Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet, later the Egyesület (Transylvanian Museum Society), took place in November 1859. József Eötvös (1813–71), vice president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, argued in an 1860 address before a Saxon audience that the Transylvanian Museum Society and the Saxons' Society for Transylvanian Studies were pursuing the same goal. He compared scholarly activity to the climbing of a mountain, at the peak of which nations would meet and join hands.⁵⁷ The image was attractive, but in order to defuse Austrian and Saxon suspicions of the Hungarians it understated the degree to which scholars, like other contemporaries, were seeking to establish ethnically separate institutions. According to the protocol of the society's first meeting, the 383 attendees voted unanimously by secret ballot that the language of the society would be Hungarian.⁵⁸

The founders of the society enacted detailed regulations for the operation of the library. They stipulated the maintenance of ten different catalogs, the terms of in-house use and borrowing, preservation, acquisitions, and general administration.⁵⁹ The scientist and editor of the society's yearbook, Sámuel Brassai (1800?–97), became the first director of the museum proper (realia collections), now installed in Mikó's villa; the first librarian of the society was Károly Szabó (1824–90). Not content to catalog the library's own collections, Szabó also set to work on a pioneering union catalog of early Hungarian imprints in libraries throughout the Hungarian lands.⁶⁰ He began with the cataloging of the library but then branched out to institutional and private libraries in Kolozsvár, Transylvania, and Hungary proper. He assembled his catalog by traveling around the country with a growing pack of note cards, visiting libraries. Not incidentally, through the contacts he made he also

increased the donation of collections. The first, Transylvanian portion of the catalog appeared in the yearbook of the society from 1868 to 1872, but the longer version under the aegis of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in three volumes was published from 1879 to 1898.⁶¹

Like Schuler von Libloy, Szabó was troubled by the dispersal of collections. He asserted in the foreword to the longer work that a mere bibliographical listing would be of little use to those wishing to study the works unless library locations were also given.⁶² He made use of earlier catalogs like those of Teleki and Széchényi but sought to correct their mistakes and gaps by holding the books in his hands when ever possible. His concept of a collective catalog, with locations of holdings, prefigures today's practice of complementing local collections with a union catalog of library holdings. While writers had proposed union catalogs as early as the fifteenth century and made attempts before Szabó, this Hungarian publication may have been the first one actually created.⁶³

The founding of the Transylvanian Museum Society was followed soon afterward by that of the first Transylvanian university in the modern age. The society and the Kolozsvár law academy provided the twin institutional bases for the new Hungarian university founded in 1872. In trying to decide whether to establish Hungary's second university in Kolozsvár or in Pozsony (Bratislava, in today's Slovakia), the Hungarian parliament chose the former when the society offered the new university the use of its collections. Society members formed the core of the teaching faculty, and they and students were assured access to the society's collections through an operating agreement concluded in 1872 and renewed in 1894. The society ceded the former gardens of Count Mikó for the construction of the university clinic and laboratories and received an annual fee of 5,000 fl. for the use of the collections. Károly Szabó became university as well as society librarian. The museum society selected the director and for many years paid his salary as well.⁶⁴

At its founding the new, composite library had holdings of more than thirty-one thousand volumes. In 1885 the university library gained the status of a national depository library, meaning that along with others in the Hungarian Kingdom it was supposed to receive free copies of everything published along with an obligation to catalog them and make them available for use. (In fact, publishers' compliance with the law was inconsistent.) In 1895 the library moved into a more pleasant but already congested location in the university building and completed its first subject catalog. During the 1894–95 academic year 5,988 readers visited the facility, or an average of 26 per day, borrowing 1,107 books



Figure 3. The legend on this pre–World War I postcard highlights the composite character of the Hungarian provincial city’s new library landmark: “University and Museum library, Kolozsvár. Built 1906–1909, designed by Fl. Korb and K. Giergl, architects” (undated). *National Széchényi Library, Budapest: Small Imprints Department, Postcard Collection, with permission.*

and using 1,812 on location. Clearly, the library was serving a large user base, and it is evident the collections were being used more than those in the Brukenthal Museum.⁶⁵ The art gallery, antiquities, mineralogical, and zoological collections continued to grow but in even closer connection to the university than that of the library. The individual components associated with academic departments and became their study collections, and the department heads were designated as heads of the collections.⁶⁶

The library collections of the university and the museum society were managed separately under a single director, with the former strongest in current imprints, dissertations, and curricular materials and the latter possessing the bulk of the rare books and manuscripts. The museum society collections were housed in display cabinets such as those used in contemporary museums. The two halves also had separate budgets; there was a combined collection of between two and three hundred thousand volumes by 1900. Each half also had several separate ledger and card catalogs, and the university library published a four-volume subject catalog in book form between 1892 and 1898. The books and manuscripts moved in 1909 into today’s impressive and still functional

library, with 252 seats for readers (a manifold increase), efficient and secure stacks constructed of iron and reinforced concrete, and separate reading rooms for general collections, periodicals, manuscripts, maps, rare books, and archives. Director Pál Erdélyi (1864–1936) and Deputy Director Farkas Gyalui (1866–1952) played key roles in planning the new facility, and Gyalui was also the holder of the first professorship in library science (1901) at a Hungarian university. The move into the new building cemented the new preeminence of use rather than display and preservation as the institution's *raison d'être*.⁶⁷

Even more than their colleagues in the Brukenthal Library, Szabó and his successors were faced with the challenge of preserving and providing access to manuscripts and administrative records. Kemény's original bequest included medieval documents and family archives, and the new museum attracted even more of these from other collectors. The librarians resolved at first to catalog the records in the same way as the manuscripts but, fortunately, abandoned this attempt as well as the idea of alienating records from their administrative context. In many cases this context was already gone, because the accessions were sometimes artificial genealogical or thematic collections assembled by aristocratic collectors. After the turn of the century the recognition of organizational records' special character and the principle of archival provenance led to the creation within the library of a separate archival department in which the administrative and family archives were placed. This provided a suitable framework, in the words of library director Pál Erdélyi in 1904, to “develop a national archives of Transylvania” that was a “depository of the history of the nobility and of the Hungarians of Transylvania.”⁶⁸

The Szeklers, that Hungarian-speaking “nation” living in the eastern part of Transylvania, also established their own national museum before 1918. The first donor of books, manuscripts, and artifacts stipulated that the collection should carry the name *Székely Nemzeti Múzeum* (Szekler National Museum), and it found a home in a building donated by a school in Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe) in 1879. By 1913, when the collection moved into its present landmark building designed by the folk revival architect Károly Kós, it constituted a truly significant repository of books, local administrative records, family papers, and the output of archaeological digs organized by the museum.⁶⁹

Astra and the Romanian Collections

The Romanians, the numerically dominant ethnic group in Transylvania, lacked the landed aristocracy and urban elites able to support

many ecclesiastical schools, libraries, and private collections. The Romanians' more modest level of education meant that the number of readers was modest as well, especially in the Romanian language. The literacy of the Transylvanian population varied with social origin, class, and nationality. The Hungarian census of 1881 reported that 62.3 percent of the Germans, 31.4 percent of the Hungarians, and 8.8 percent of the Romanians in Transylvania could read and write.⁷⁰ Many of the best-educated Romanians studied in the Saxon and Hungarian schools and became readers of German and Hungarian publications.⁷¹

Secular publishing supplanted religious publishing relatively late among the Romanians, whose political leaders and intelligentsia were primarily clerics well into the nineteenth century.⁷² The unrivaled cultural center of the Transylvanian Romanians at the beginning of the nineteenth century was Blaj, a town in central Transylvania that was the seat of the Greek Catholic bishopric, school with accompanying library, and printing house, which benefited from the support of the Catholic Habsburg rulers. Several historical and philological scholars from Blaj, who formulated the core ideas of modern Romanian nationalism, came to be known collectively as the Transylvanian School.⁷³ The library in Blaj, founded in 1747, is considered to have been "the first Romanian library of national significance."⁷⁴ The catalogs of the library that have survived in manuscript form indicate it had a representative collection of Latin, German, French, Hungarian, and Romanian scholarship.⁷⁵ Certainly, the contemporary collections of Teleki, Batthyány, and Brukenthal dwarfed those of Blaj in size and value, but the library in Blaj provided an important resource for the more than 350 Romanian leaders of the period up to 1848 who are known to have studied in Blaj.⁷⁶ The diocesan printing house in Blaj published the first fruits of the Transylvanian School, though it declined in significance later.

The importance of Blaj should not be overstated. It was a small town; half the Romanians in Transylvania were Orthodox rather than Greek Catholic and gravitated to their diocesan seat in Hermannstadt; and after 1800 the university printing house in Buda became the leading producer of Romanian books. Remarkably, more Romanian titles were published in Buda than in any other town between 1801 and 1830, with Hermannstadt and Bucharest a distant second and third. These towns and others published roughly equal numbers of religious works; Buda achieved its margin with textbooks, history, periodicals, and belles lettres. The printing house was a magnet for Romanian scholars seeking to evade ecclesiastic control, while for state officials the interest in promoting secular Romanian culture paired with a desire to increase

exports to the Danubian Principalities for the sake of the revenue they provided.⁷⁷

The greatest Transylvanian Romanian library was a private one. Timotei Cipariu (1805–87) was a linguist, journalist, and Greek Catholic canon in Blaj who regularly ordered scholarly books from foreign dealers throughout a scholarly career spanning most of the century. At the time of his death his collection contained an estimated six to seven thousand volumes. He acquired old and new material to support his far-ranging philological research, including two hundred classical and Oriental manuscripts and books in Latin, Arabic, and modern European languages as well as Romanian. It appears that he envisioned eventually placing his collection at the disposal of the nation.⁷⁸

Sadly, much of the collection of the school and diocesan libraries in Blaj, Cipariu's personal library, and the relatively new Orthodox diocesan library in Hermannstadt were destroyed during the disorders of the Hungarian revolution of 1848–49.⁷⁹ Cipariu and the others began a steady rebuilding effort under the postrevolutionary Austrian regime. Encouraged by the foundation of the Transylvanian Museum Society in 1859, the Romanians renewed their efforts to found their own society. There were Romanian precedents, relatively weak and episodic, for the establishment of learned societies and public libraries.⁸⁰ Some Romanians organized reading circles and societies with small circulating libraries and periodical reading rooms. These arose at the diocesan seats and church-based centers of Romanian secondary education and among Romanian merchants in south Transylvanian towns.⁸¹

In 1860 the Romanian historian and politician Ioan Pușcariu proposed the establishment of a Romanian literary and cultural organization that would hold annual meetings in towns where Romanians lived and “should establish a Romanian library, a Romanian museum, etc.”⁸² *Astra*, or *Asociațiunea transilvană pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român* (Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People), founded in 1861, combined elements of the Romanian reading societies as well as Saxon and Hungarian practices. Like the Transylvanian Museum Society, *Astra* provided in its statutes for a society librarian, although it did not stipulate the establishment of either a library or a museum. Like the Society for Transylvanian Studies, the new society followed Pușcariu's proposal to hold annual meetings in various cities, and it emphasized outreach to the population. Unlike the other two societies, *Astra* included territorially defined departments for which it would eventually seek to establish public libraries stocked with *Astra* publications and other approved Romanian literature.

Because of the rivalry between the Greek Catholic and Orthodox bishops, Astra's statutes explicitly excluded religious questions from the society's activity and stipulated religious neutrality in the selection of leaders. Despite joint patronage by the two Romanian churches, the wealthiest segments of Romanian society, Astra was far more modestly funded than the Saxon and Hungarian societies. The Astra assembly of 1862 established an annual allocation of 100 fl. for library acquisitions, yet in many years not even this amount was allocated. The Orthodox bishop, Andrei Țaguna, became the first president of Astra, but Greek Catholic churchmen were also prominent in the leadership. In recognition of Cipariu's scholarship and bibliographic expertise the society appointed him chair of a committee charged with directing the development of the library's collection.⁸³

Cipariu hoped for robust support by Astra and by Transylvanian Romanians for a library that would build a comprehensive collection of old Romanian books, and he was among the Romanians who made modest donations to the library from time to time. He was disappointed in the response to his proposals for the Astra library in July 1862. In November of the same year he wrote a friend in Bucharest offering to sell his personal collection to a planned Romanian National Library south of the Carpathians, suggesting he might otherwise sell it to a German or an Englishman. He did not do this, but he does not appear to have considered presenting his collection to Astra either. Perhaps as a Greek Catholic canon he had trouble envisioning his collection in close proximity to the seat of the Orthodox bishop, but his letter to Bucharest suggests he doubted there was any suitable readership among Transylvanian Romanians for his esoteric treasures. Eventually, he bequeathed the library to the archdiocese in Blaj on condition that a suitable facility be established for it—a condition that was not fulfilled until 1916.⁸⁴

The Astra library occupied shelves in the society's modest offices in Hermannstadt, only blocks away from the Brukenthal Museum. Regular donations by the Austrian Academy of Sciences and two Saxon booksellers were so substantial a part of early donations that until 1868, when the first donations from the Romanian Ministry of Culture in Bucharest arrived, most of the approximately one thousand volumes in the collection were in German.⁸⁵

Publication of holdings information in the Romanian press increased interest in the collection and attracted more substantial Romanian donations. The Astra assembly directed the librarian to publish catalogs, and two appeared in book form in 1882 and 1895. The 1895 catalog listed 3,214 titles and 4,645 volumes in 13 subject categories and published

library regulations that had been enacted by the association. The library was to be open at least two days a week, and books could be borrowed for up to three months, but only after the payment of a deposit for the cost of the book.⁸⁶

The publication of this catalog occurred during a surge in the activity of the Romanian National Party and of Romanian society in Transylvania. The party appealed to international public opinion in 1894 for support of its grievances against the Hungarian government. In 1905 Astra published an excellent three-volume Romanian encyclopedia, earlier than the publication of such an encyclopedia in Romania itself.⁸⁷ The editor, Constantin Diaconovici, asserted at the Astra meeting in 1897 that the library urgently needed room for expansion so that it could become “the great public, national library.”⁸⁸ The palatial new seat of Astra in Hermannstadt, popularly called the national house (*casa națională*) was dedicated in 1905. A second celebration a year later, the consecration of the impressive new Orthodox cathedral nearby, reinforced the sense of a growing Romanian presence within the walls of the old Saxon town.

In the early 1900s Astra finally realized the long-neglected project to establish a national museum, and it undertook a new project that would be its most characteristic innovation: the promotion of local public libraries. Beginning with Blaj in 1850, various Transylvanian Romanian schools had established small museums for pedagogical purposes. The Astra meeting of 1868 proposed a museum for the organization, and a call was published in 1871 for the establishment of a national museum. Donations to the association apparently included objects as well as books almost from the beginning, and at least one newspaper article referred to “the association’s museum,” although it had not been formally constituted. After an exposition of Romanian agriculture and crafts in Hermannstadt in 1881, many Romanians regretted the subsequent dispersal of the objects. In 1897 Astra modified its statutes to add “the establishment of museums and other collections” to its basic mission of promoting Romanian literature and culture. The Historical and Ethnographic Museum was formally established in 1905 and given a prominent place both inside and outside the national house, with the words “Museum of the Association” on its façade.⁸⁹ A professor of Romanian at the Hungarian university in Kolozsvár who surveyed the state of Transylvanian Romanian culture in 1913 referred to the museum as one of Astra’s greatest achievements, not even mentioning the library.⁹⁰

The program to establish local public libraries under the auspices of Astra was one facet of a new populist direction in the policies of the Romanian National Party and of Astra. The new generation of Romanian

leaders was not content to continue to rely on the weak Romanian urban elites and poor prospects within the Hungarian political system but sought instead to enlist the rural population in the national cause. The new statutes of Astra in 1897 not only placed expanded emphasis on museum and library collections but also called for the extension of this activity to the countryside, supported by the publication of inexpensive editions of popular books.⁹¹ Two new series of seventy titles published between 1900 and 1914, the *Biblioteca populară* (Popular Library), were distributed for free or at a reduced price to help populate the new local libraries.⁹² Local priests and teachers often wrote Astra's central committee directly to request the free publications for their libraries, which were supplied on condition that the requesters also establish local agencies of Astra that would support other activities such as museums, expositions, and visits by speakers.⁹³ Astra's central library appears to have had little role in the popular library campaign, and the 594 such libraries recorded in 1913 were all under the authority of the district and agency committees. Astra even established mobile libraries that moved from one community to the next at discrete intervals. The Hungarian government regarded these practices with suspicion but also recommended their emulation in Hungarian communities.⁹⁴

When it moved into the national house in 1905 the central library was still quite modest in size compared to those of the Brukenthal Museum and the university and museum society in Kolozsvár, with only 6,109 volumes. The new space and new élan of Astra permitted relatively rapid growth in subsequent years. In 1910–11 the system employed by the Romanian Academy was introduced, with the organization of the collection in twenty subjects, book stacks separated from the reading room, separate departments for manuscripts and periodicals, a card catalog, and hours open to the public increased to two a day. The collection had expanded to 22,158 volumes by 1918. However, Transylvanian Romanian society was still primarily rural and of modest means. Thus the number of potential local users and the sources of support for the central library were still far smaller than those for the Brukenthal Library and the composite museum and university library in Kolozsvár. The development of collections was never central to the mission of Astra as it was to the Transylvanian Museum Society and the Brukenthal Museum.⁹⁵

Libraries, Museums, and Archives in Romania after 1918

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and with it Greater Hungary, which included Transylvania, dissolved at the end of World War I. Capitalizing on

the sudden turn of events, the Romanian army advanced into Transylvania. Unification with Romania was acclaimed by the Romanian majority of the province. The administrative position of the three libraries did not change during the first decades of Romanian rule. The parallel existence but unitary administration of the Transylvanian Museum Society and university collections at the University of Cluj Kolozsvár continued. Most of the Hungarian librarians served out their careers there, but with the general expansion and Romanian reorientation of services, many Romanians joined the staff. In 1923 the university library also gained depository status in Romania to replace the similar status it had enjoyed in Hungary, leading to a rapid increase in Romanian collections in what was by 1935 “the largest and richest library in Romania.”⁹⁶ Hungarians resented the establishment of Romanian control and the increasing integration of the museum and university library collections, which they had seen as mutually beneficial as long as the university was under Hungarian control. Polemics, lawsuits, and sporadic serious negotiations between the Hungarians and Romanians persisted for decades.⁹⁷

During the interwar period *Astra* enjoyed enormous prestige as the cultural vanguard of the successful movement for Romanian national unification. Its library gained depository status, and its holdings grew rapidly. The Brukenthal Library saw the least change of all, growing more modestly but continuing as it had under Hungarian rule to serve as the principal library of the German-speaking minority. The art gallery of the Brukenthal Museum directed its attention increasingly to the collection of Romanian paintings.

The authorities’ interest in the archives of the Hungarian and German minorities substantially increased under Romanian rule. The archival section of the museum library in Kolozsvár, now associated with a Romanian university library under a Romanian director, was still led by a Hungarian department head, but it continued the process of adopting international archival theory and practice that it had begun earlier. The provisional Romanian administration established a Romanian state archives for Transylvania in the rapidly Romanianizing Kolozsvár (Cluj) in 1920. This new repository became a component of the state archives system headquartered in Bucharest. A rival repository now existed for the family and administrative records collected by the museum archives: the new archives branch acquired more than three thousand linear meters of such material in the course of the next two decades.⁹⁸ The longtime director of the Saxon archives in Hermannstadt, Georg Eduard Müller (1866–1944), was on good terms with Romanian historians, becoming simultaneously director of a new local branch of the prestigious Institute for Southeast European

Studies in Bucharest. His political connections eased the way when his repository assumed the title of Saxon National Archives in 1926.⁹⁹

The turmoil of the Second World War brought dizzying administrative changes for Transylvania's cultural institutions. The Second Vienna Arbitration of September 1940 ceded northern Transylvania to Hungary. The Romanian leadership and faculty of the university and archives in Cluj abandoned the city before the Hungarian occupation, taking the materials acquired since 1920 with them but leaving the older collections in place; for three years the city was again under Hungarian administration, and the university became Hungarian once again. The Romanian University of Cluj transferred to Hermannstadt (Sibiu) and established the transferred portion of the library collections as a new library.¹⁰⁰ Profiting from association with the German allies, in 1944 the Brukenthal Museum took over the museum collection of Astra. Surprisingly, despite the political upheavals and the passage of the war front across Transylvania in 1944, the only catastrophic loss to collections was the decimation of the holdings of the Szekler National Archives in the explosion of an ammunition dump after being moved for safekeeping to Hungary in September 1944.¹⁰¹

During the initial phase of the postwar period the borders and cultural institutions of Transylvania were restored to their prewar status. The establishment of Communist rule after 1947 brought more drastic changes, however. The new rulers had little tolerance for autonomous cultural institutions, forcing the self-dissolution of the Society for Transylvanian Studies, the Greek Catholic Church, Astra, and the Transylvanian Museum Society in 1948–50, and the museum society formally renounced its claim to its collections. The administrative records of these organizations and many of those of the Brukenthal Museum and the rich holdings of the Saxon National Archives and Museum Archives were transferred to the state archives. The latter came under the authority of the Ministry of Interior in 1951 and the organs of state security known as the Securitate. The realia collections in Cluj were separated from the university and transferred to new museums of ethnography, art, and history. The archival laws of 1957 and 1974 provided for broad definitions of the types of documentation that should come under state control. The totalitarian purpose was clear, even if theorists in the Soviet bloc chose to argue, in a critique of bourgeois archival theory, that social purpose rather than provenance and format was the decisive determinant in the proper disposition of records.¹⁰²

The Astra library has continued in existence, now as a component of the national network of county libraries. The Astra museum is an

independent institution, consisting of six component parts known collectively as the Astra National Museum Complex. Relatively speaking, the Brukenthal Library has changed the least. It remains a library-in-museum, with the historical museum and art gallery having a more prominent public profile and international reputation than the library. Many paintings of the Brukenthal gallery were lost in the war or as a result of administrative measures of the Communist authorities, but Brukenthal's European masters still constitute the core of the collection.¹⁰³ The entire ensemble bears the title of Brukenthal National Museum. The mass emigration of Transylvanian Saxons in recent decades, compounding the assumption of management by Romanian officials, has eliminated any residual ambition of the Brukenthal Library to function as a Saxon "national" library. That role has been assumed on a relatively modest scale by an institution in Germany.¹⁰⁴

In 1990 the Transylvanian Museum Society was resurrected in Cluj as an independent organization with its own publications and modest collections. The expropriations of the Communist era have not been reversed, but the Law on National Archives of 1996, democratization, and the process of accession to the European Union have eased ethnic relations and access to collections despite the serious professional and financial challenges facing Romanian libraries today.¹⁰⁵ There is a sort of division of labor between the Brukenthal and Astra libraries, with the former understood to possess the outstanding collection of older Saxon and Transylvanian publications, while Astra is pursuing Cipariu's aspiration of collecting and studying older Romanian books.¹⁰⁶

Conclusion: Representation, Scholarship, and Professionalization in the Evolution of Collections

The changes undergone by the museums, libraries, and archives examined in this study offer insights into the role of collections in modern European history. The juxtaposition well into the modern era of materials that modern professionals tend to separate may puzzle us at first. Early modern collectors assembled artifacts, manuscripts, and books in cabinets of curiosities and museums in emulation of the classical model, but especially because the new scholarly model valued material evidence and observation. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the professionalization of libraries, museums, and archives had begun to inspire the separation of these institutions' methodologies and collections. Enthusiasts for the national idea in Eastern Europe and especially in Transylvania bucked this trend for some time. The *national*

in their proposed national museums, libraries, and archives projected the goal of assembling in one place the evidence needed to facilitate the expression of the modern Saxon, Hungarian, and Romanian nations they were constructing.

It is instructive to consider the ways in which the guardians of collections presented them to contemporaries and how travelers described them. The published catalogs and visitors' descriptions of the cabinets of curiosities emphasized the variety of the contents and expended more or less effort on establishing the connections among these contents. By the modern period we encounter this close juxtaposition more rarely. Catalogs of the libraries of Teleki and Széchenyi published at the beginning of the nineteenth century strove for comprehensive coverage only of the books, and the catalogs were valued as scholarly tools by their contemporaries. Lists of the Transylvanian libraries' holdings in newspapers and their published book catalogs, in-house ledgers, and finally card catalogs were designed with ordinary library users as well as scholars in mind.

But museums and even library collections continued well into the nineteenth century to function also as spectacles or, to use a more modern term, tourist attractions. Travelers demanded to see the collections, and much of the staff's time in museums and libraries was taken up with showing the visitors around.¹⁰⁷ Travelers' accounts mention remarkable paintings, artifacts, books, and manuscripts presented to them in these seemingly mandatory visits. The most famous Romanian traveler to Central Europe in the nineteenth century, Dinicu Golescu, impressed his readers with the collections in Pest, Munich, and the towns of Italy. His recollection of the Hungarian National Museum around 1825 noted "many rooms full of books, in the Hungarian, Latin, German, medieval Latin, and French languages. In a large room various coins, from olden times to today[,] . . . Turkish weapons, quite varied and very different from those of today."¹⁰⁸ Travelers moving from west to east, like the Englishman John Paget, also made sure to visit the famous collections. Of his visit to Marosvásárhely in 1840, he wrote "The great pride of the town is the fine library of the Telekis," praising its orderliness and noting several treasures and "bibliographical curiosities pointed out to us"; and in Hermannstadt "the first objects we visited after our arrival were the museum and gallery of Baron Bruckenthal [*sic*]."¹⁰⁹ For both writers these collections appear in ensemble, as testimonies to national aspirations.

Scholarly and professional priorities determined the contrasting development of the Saxon, Hungarian, and Romanian repositories. The Brukenthal Library's placement within a museum collection was a

traditional approach that has survived to the present. The Hungarians' museum society benefited from the patronage of the Hungarian government. Its museum function was eclipsed by service to higher education as the core of a growing university library, but the realia collections survived by being dispersed and maintained as instructional tools of academic departments. Museum society librarian Károly Szabó superseded the museum function in his pioneering creation of one of the first union catalogs anywhere in the library world. Astra and its library struggled with much more modest resources and only established a real museum in 1905. But the Romanian association contributed to the Romanian cause through its popular publications and especially the establishment of a network of public libraries. Each institution's manuscripts and archives would be taken over in time by the Romanian state archives.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century hybrid institutions of museums, libraries, and archives are beginning to appear less anomalous than they did in the twentieth. The online presentation of digital objects is creating the possibility to span physical repositories and distances, bringing together kindred but multimedia cultural artifacts. In an age when the Research Libraries Group advocates collaboration among museums, libraries, and archives, and the Institute for Museums and Library Services administers grants targeted specifically for the support of museum-library collaborations, the library-in-museum is a useful model for the present.¹¹⁰

Notes

The original version of this essay was presented to the Bolyai Conference in the Museum of the American Hungarian Foundation in New Brunswick, New Jersey, on 23 November 2002. The library situated above this museum, with roughly thirty thousand volumes, is the largest freestanding Hungarian collection in the United States and circulates its collection through Rutgers University Libraries and Interlibrary Loan. I would like to extend my thanks to the staff of the Library of the Romanian Academy and the University Library in Bucharest, Romania, and the Rutgers University Libraries and Interlibrary Loan for the provision of materials that contributed to the completion of this study. I am also grateful to Tom Glynn, the late Lara Moore, and the anonymous reviewers for their comments on an earlier draft.

1. Michael H. Harris, *History of Libraries in the Western World: Compact Textbook Edition* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1984), 121–25.

2. The best English-language history of Transylvania is Gábor Barta et al., *History of Transylvania* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994). Austrian and Hungarian census figures for 1850, 1900, 1900, and 1910, presented on p. 563 of this work, indicate the 6:3:1 proportion did not change radically during this period.

3. Michael P. Olson posits four functions of a national library: “to be the nation’s bibliographic center; to be the repository for the nation’s printed works; to collect foreign literature as comprehensively as funds allow; to have outstanding retrospective collections.” Olson, *The Odyssey of a German National Library: A Short History of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, the Deutsche Bücherei, and the Deutsche Bibliothek*, Beiträge zur Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 36 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996), 1. The Transylvanian libraries studied here were far less ambitious than those in Olson’s model with respect to the comprehensiveness of their collections.

4. Andreas Glock, “Museion,” in *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2000), vol. 8, cols. 507–11.

5. Roy MacLeod, ed., *The Library of Alexandria: Centre of Learning in the Ancient World* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000); Lionel Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 31–47.

6. Samuel von Quichelberg, *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi, complectendis rerum universitatis singulas materias et imagines eximias, ut item recte quoque dici possit: Promptuarium artificiosarium miraculosarum rerum, ac omnis rari thesauri et pretiosae suppellectis, structurae atque picturae, quae hic simul in theatro conquiri consulantur, et eorum frequenti inspectione tractationeque, singularis aliqua rerum cognition et prudential admiranda, cito, facile ac tuto comparari possit* (Monachii: Adam Berg, 1565). For the early history of the Munich collection and the role of Quichelberg see Franz Georg Kaltwasser, *Die Bibliothek als Museum: Von der Renaissance bis heute, dargestellt am Beispiel der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 9–32, also summarized in English as “The Common Roots of Library and Museum in the Sixteenth Century: The Example of Munich,” *Library History* 20 (November 2004): 163–81.

7. Commonly used German terms were, respectively, *Wunderkammer*, *Kunstkammer*, *Antiquarium*, and *Zimelienkammer*.

8. There is a good analysis of the early modern cabinets in the chapter “The Museum-Library Hybrid Institution,” in Juris Dilevko and Lisa Gottlieb, *The Evolution of Library and Museum Partnerships: Historical Antecedents, Contemporary Manifestations, and Future Directions* (Westport, Conn.: Libraries Unlimited, 2004), 143–79. An earlier version of this chapter constitutes a section of the authors’ “Resurrecting a Neglected Idea: The Reintroduction of Library-Museum Hybrids,” *Library Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (2003): 160–98.

9. Kaltwasser, *Die Bibliothek als Museum*, 45–57; Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, eds., *The Origin of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

10. Thomas Jakob Müller-Bahlke, *Die Wunderkammer: die Kunst- und Naturalienkammer der franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle (Saale)*. Photographs by Klaus E. Goeltz (Halle: Verlag der franckeschen Stiftungen, 1998). Contemporary catalogs, engravings, and accounts survive for many cabinets of curiosities, as becomes clear from the chapters and illustrations in the book edited by Impey and MacGregor. The pedagogical purpose of cabinets, including the one in Halle, is the focus of an article by William Schupbach in the same volume: “Some Cabinets of Curiosities in European Academic Institutions,” 169–78.

11. “Museum,” in *Oxford English Dictionary* online, 2nd ed. (1989), consulted 5 July 2005. The composition of the Ashmolean Museum’s original library is documented in an auction catalog published in 1694: Edward Millington,

Bibliotheca Ashmoleana a catalogue of the library of the learned and famous Elias Ashmole, Esq.: containing not only the rarest books of history, philosophy, genealogies, heraldry, coins, &c., but of the most abstruse parts of human learning: about 40 volumes of tracts and pamphlets neatly bound, and also 30 volumes of mss., many of them written on velum: to be sold by auction on Thursday next, the 22th day of this instant February, 1693/4 (Rolls's Auction House, in Petty-Canon Alley, in St. Paul's Church-yard, [1694]), available in *Early English Books Online*; John Tradescant, *Musaeum Tradescantianum: or, A collection of rarities. Preserved at South-Lambeth neer London* (London: Printed by John Grismond, 1656), 179 pp., available in *Early English Books Online*; George Simonds Boulger, "Tradescant, John (1608–1662)," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 19:1072–74.

12. Tradescant, unnumbered page, image 8 of 104 in *Early English Books Online*.

13. Most place-names in Transylvania have Romanian, Hungarian, and German forms that are used in these respective languages. Reflecting their ethnic character in the period under study, I use the Hungarian (Gyulafehérvár, Marosvásárhely, Kolozsvár) or German (Hermannstadt) forms for most towns, with today's Romanian form in parentheses.

14. Sámuel Teleki, *Bibliothecae Samuelis S.R.I. com. Teleki de Szek*, vols. 1–4 (Vienna: Baumeister, Schmidt, or Pichler, 1796–1819). The manuscript of the fifth part was believed lost but recently found and published: *Bibliothecae Samuelis com. Teleki de Szék Pars Quinta. Libros inde ab Anno MDCCCXIX post typis vulgatum catalogi partem quartam comparatos complexa. Curam gerebat Anikó Deé Nagy* (Budapest: Bibliotheca Nationalis Hungariae; Novo Forum Siculorum [Marosvásárhely]: Bibliotheca Teleki-Bolyai, MMII [i.e., 2002]).

15. Victor Neumann, *The Temptation of Homo-Europaeus* (Boulder: East European Monographs; New York: distributed by Columbia University Press, 1993), 149–209. The English translation is flawed but only occasionally obscures the meaning of the Romanian original, *Tentația lui Homo-Europaeus: Geneza spiritului modern în Europa Centrală și de Sud-Est* (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1991), which I reviewed in *Libraries & Culture* 29, no. 3 (Summer 1994): 339–40. Neumann's foreword to the English edition fails to note that it omits much of the historiographic discussion from the footnotes and also the many illustrations and maps in the Romanian original. Many eighteenth-century Transylvanian collections are detailed by Neumann and also in Gábor, *Múltunk neves könyvgyűjtői* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1988), 295 pp., online (minus the bibliographic notes at the end) at <http://www.mek.iif.hu/porta/szint/tarsad/muvtort/kelecsen/html/index.htm>. Kelecsényi's useful work gives separate chapters to the major collectors but lacks footnotes.

16. This paper refers to the Transylvania that corresponds very roughly to the northwestern one third of present-day Romania. Some other regions of the former Hungary that came to Romania were historically separate from Transylvania and are outside our immediate concern, but for convenience many writers include them within Transylvania: Maramureș, Crișana, and Banat. For a synthetic presentation of Romania's geography, history, and culture that gives ample attention to Transylvania see James P. Niessen, "Romania," in Richard Frucht, ed., *Eastern Europe: An Introduction to the People, Lands, and Culture* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 3:735–90.

17. The best overviews in English of the patriots' cultural work are still Peter F. Sugar and Ivo J. Lederer, eds., *Nationalism in Eastern Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, [1969]) and the briefer Emil Niederhauser, *The Rise of*

Nationality in Eastern Europe (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1981). The seminal work on modern nationalism that has informed much research on nationalism in the region as well as the preceding sentences is Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983; rev. and extended ed., 1991). Richard Harvey Brown and Beth Davis-Brown follow Anderson in arguing that "archives, libraries and museums help to store and create modern 'imagined communities'" ("The Making of Memory: The Politics of Archives, Libraries and Museums in the Construction of National Consciousness," *History of the Human Sciences* 11, no. 4 [1998]: 20). Following a theoretical introduction, the article presents examples from recent archival, museum, and library affairs in the United States.

18. They were *Erdélyi Múzeum* (Kolozsvár, 1814–18), *Biblioteca românească* (Buda, 1821, 1829–34), *Arhiva românească* (Iași, 1841–45), and *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (Hermannstadt, 1843–1944).

19. I am not arguing that the successful establishment of substantial "national" collections was a precondition for the national movements. We will see that the Romanians had the least success in building such a collection, but this did not prevent the emergence of their national movement.

20. Barta et al., *History of Transylvania*, 563.

21. Gábor Sonkoly, *Erdély városai a XVIII–XIX. Században* (Budapest: L'Harmattan-Atelier, 2001), 257, cited in Zsuzsanna Török, "The Friends of Progress: Learned Societies and the Public Sphere in the Transylvanian Reform Era," *Austrian History Yearbook* 36 (2005): 101.

22. For an excellent recent synthesis of Saxon history see Konrad Gündisch and Mathias Beer, *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen, Vertreibungsgebiete und vertriebene deutsche, Studienbuchreihe der Stiftung ostdeutscher Kulturrat*, no. 8 (Munich: Langen Müller, 1998).

23. Barta et al., *History of Transylvania*.

24. Sonkoly, *Erdély városai*; Török, "The Friends of Progress."

25. Barta et al., *History of Transylvania*.

26. Sonkoly, *Erdély városai*, 258.

27. Martin Schmeizel, *Catalogus scriptorum qui res Hungariae, Transilvaniae, Valachiae, Moldaviae, Croatiae, Dalmatiae, Vicinarumque Regionum et Provinciarum illustrant, et in bibliotheca Martini Schmeizel* (Halae, 1744); Schmeizel, *Martin Schmeizels Erläuterung Gold- und Silberner Münzen von Siebenbürgen welche zugleich durch merkwürdigste Begebenheiten des XVI, XVII, und XVIII Jahrhunderts im selbigen Fürstenthum zu erkennen giebet* (Halle im Magdeburgischen, 1748); Schmeizel and Michael Agnethler, *Index bibliothecae res Hungariae Transilvaniae vicinarumque provinciarum illustrantis* (Halae propter Salam: Kittler, 1751). On Schmeizel (1679–1747) see "Schmeizel, Martin," in Constant von Wurzbach, ed., *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Vienna: Druck und Verlag der k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1875), 30:158–62; Georg Adolf Schuller, *Samuel von Brukenthal* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1967), 2 vols. Schuller writes that the works of Schmeizel were among the earliest acquisitions of Brukenthal's personal collection (1:29). Dr. Joachim Migl of the Lower Saxon State and University Library in Göttingen kindly consulted Schmeizel's bibliographic works for me and reports that Agnethler indicates he donated Schmeizel's collection to the city library in Hermannstadt. The full contents of this library came into the possession of the Brukenthal Library in 1879 (e-mail communication from Dr. Migl, 28 July 2005).

28. Heinrich Benedikt, "Bruckenthal (Brukenthal), Samuel v., Frhr. v.," *Neue deutsche Biographie*, 2:646–67; Kelecsényi, cf. chap. 14, "Brukenthal Sámuel 1721–1803." The authoritative biography of Brukenthal deals primarily with his political career (Schuller, *Samuel von Brukenthal*). Christine Lapping is the author of a history and analysis of the collection, with strong emphasis on the art gallery: *Die Sammlung des Freiherrn Samuel von Brukenthal: eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte und zum Charakter der Sammlung im Hermannstädter Museum* (Kronstadt: Aldus Verlag; Heidelberg: Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 2004).

29. Kurzböck, *Almanach von Wien zum Dienste der Fremden* (Vienna, 1774), 159, cited by Elena Cernea, "Die Sammlung eines aufgeklärten Geistes: die Brukenthal-Sammlung," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européenes* 19, no. 4 (1981): 767. Cernea's article provides an overview of Brukenthal's collecting activity and how it was perceived by contemporaries, updating the more detailed treatment of this topic in Schuller, *Samuel von Brukenthal*, 2:283–305 (763–70).

30. Mihaela Grancea, "Foreign Travelers about the Personality of Samuel von Brukenthal," *Transylvanian Review* 12, no. 3 (2003): 14–23.

31. There are accounts of the founding, regulations, and collections of the Brukenthal Museum and Library in the nineteenth century in Michael Csaki, *Das Baron Brukenthal'sche Museum: Skizzen zu einem Führer* (Hermannstadt: Druck von Josef Drotleff, 1895) and Lapping's recent work. The latter also publishes the greater part of Brukenthal's testament (1802) and an initial plan of operation (1804) (187–94, 222–36).

32. Johann Filtsch, cited in "Unsere Bibliotheken," *Siebenbürgisch-deutsches Tageblatt* (Hermannstadt), no. 1801 (30 November 1879): 1128.

33. Török, "The Friends of Progress," 105, citing Henry Lowood, "Science for the Fatherland," in Lowood, *Patriotism, Profit and the Promotion of Science in the German Enlightenment, 1760–1815* (New York: Garland, 1991), 205–61. Lowood's understanding of *Landeskunde* is actually more strongly associated with the natural sciences like mineralogy and agronomy, with far less attention to the humanities, than Török seems to imply.

34. Török, "The Friends of Progress," 113, citing L.H., "Auch einige Worte über den besprochenen Verein für Vaterlandeskunde," *Blätter für Geist, Gemüt, und Vaterlandeskunde* 28 (9 July 1840): 223.

35. Török, "The Friends of Progress," 114.

36. *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (1843–1944), *Korrespondenzblatt für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (1878–1930), and successor publications up to today.

37. Carl Göllner, "Vereine," in Göllner, ed., *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in den Jahren 1848–1918*, *Siebenbürgisches Archiv* 22 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1988), 254–57. The chapter goes on to describe the Saxons' societies for natural sciences, agriculture, various trades, mountaineering, women, and so on.

38. "Unsere Bibliotheken," *Siebenbürgisch-deutsches Tageblatt*, no. 1801: 1128–29, and no. 1802 (20–21 November 1879): 1132; Göllner et al., "Kultur," in *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in den Jahren 1848–1918*, 302–4.

39. "Unsere Bibliotheken," 1128.

40. The installments appeared in the *Siebenbürgisch-deutsches Tageblatt*, 1894–95. The recent publication of a substantial catalog of the much smaller library of the Saxons' Lutheran church must have augmented Csaki's defensiveness: *Katalog der Bibliothek der evangelischen Landeskirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen, herausgegeben*

vom Landeskonsistorium (Hermannstadt: W. Krafft, 1889), 488 pp. A Viennese journal had published a description of the collections in the Brukenthal Museum in 1827: "Die literarischen und Kunstsammlungen in Siebenbürgen. Die Freyherr Brukenthal'schen Sammlungen in Hermannstadt," *Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur und Kunst* 18 (1827), cited by Domokos Kosáry, *Bevezetés Magyarország történetének forrásaiba és irodalmába* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1970), 1:62–63. Csaki's defense is in a long footnote on page 34 of the brochure, *Das Baron Brukenthal'sche Museum*.

41. Csaki, *Das Baron Brukenthal'sche Museum*, 30. Due to shortage of staff the library and the art gallery were the only parts of the museum open to the public (35).

42. Gudrun-Liane Ittu, "Aus der Geschichte des Brukenthalmuseums: in den Geschäftsprotokollen der Kustoden geblättert," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 40, nos. 1–2 (1997): 177–86; Maria Ordeanu and Gudrun-Liane Ittu, "Von den 'Kleinen Galeriestudien' zu den 'Skizzen zur Gemäldekunde.' Der Beitrag der Kunsthistoriker Abraham Bredius, Cornelis Hofstede de Groot und Karl Voll zur Erforschung der brukenthalschen Gemäldesammlung in Hermannstadt," *Zeitschrift für siebenbürgischen Landeskunde* 24, no. 2 (2001): 213–35. The article reproduces letters to Csaki from the art historians mentioned in the title. Julius Bielz, "Michael Csaki, Leitender Kustos des brukenthalschen Museums," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 39, nos. 1–2 (1996): 159–61, identifies the publications of 1901 and 1909 as the fifth and sixth editions of a gallery catalog that had first appeared in 1884.

43. Eduard Albert Bielz, *Handbuch der Landeskunde Siebenbürgens: eine physikalisch-statistisch-topographische Beschreibung des Landes* (Hermannstadt: S. Filtsch, 1857), 230–31 (repr., Cologne: Böhlau, 1996).

44. The figures are from Johann Bohatta and Michael Holzmann, *Adressbuch der Bibliotheken der oesterreich-ungarischen Monarchie* (Vienna: K.u.k. Hof-Buchdruckerei und Hof-Verlags-Buchhandlung Carl Fromme, 1900), 441.

45. Lapping, *Die Sammlung des Freiherrn Samuel von Brukenthal*, 137–38. The author cites plans published by Csaki's deputy in 1908 and his successor in 1921.

46. Monica Vlaicu, "Das Staatsarchiv Hermannstadt," 50–84, and Gustav Gündisch, "Zur Geschichte des Archivs der Stadt Hermannstadt und der sächsischen Nation," 85–88, in Monica Vlaicu, ed., *120 Jahre öffentliches Archiv in Siebenbürgen: Jubiläumsband* (Hermannstadt: Editura Tennis-Club-Sen, 1996). The volume's studies appear in parallel Romanian and German texts. Vlaicu also gives an overview of the archives' history, including a summary of its holdings and some relevant policy documents, in "The Sibiu Archives—A Historical Retrospective," *Transylvanian Review* 4, no. 3 (1995): 115–39.

47. Transylvanian Society for the Cultivation of the Hungarian Language, *Erdélyi Magyar Nyelvmívelő Társaság*.

48. He is best known today for the report of his travels in the United States, first published in 1834: *Útazás Észak Amerikában* (Kolozsivárt: Ifiabb Tilsch János Tulajdona, 1834); English translation: *Journey in North America*, trans. and ed. Theodore and Helen Benedek Schoenman (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1977).

49. Lajos Kelemen, "Az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület története," in Pál Erdély, ed., *Emlékkönyv az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület félévszázados ünnepére 1859–1909* (Kolozsivárt: Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület kiadása, 1909–42), 5–79 (the volume was completed by the earlier date but only published in 1942); see also Attila

T. Szabó, *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület története és feladatai* (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1942), and Samu Benkő, *A romániai Magyar tudomány helyzete és az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület feladatai* (Budapest, 1993), 1–2, both online (minus bibliographic references) at <http://www.emero/tortenet.htm>.

50. The original two volumes were *Catalogus Bibliothecae Hungaricae Francisci com. Széchényi*, 2 vols. (Sopronii, 1799). Victor Neumann asserts that Romanian scholars carried out research in the library; one of the index volumes, with the ex libris of Alexandru Papiu Ilarian, resides today in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj (*The Temptation*, 205, 265 n. 123).

51. *Regnicolaris*, meaning “of the kingdom or land,” was translated into Hungarian as *országos*. This word appears in the national library’s current name rather than *nemzeti*, or “national.”

52. On the foundation of the library and the first century of its history see Gabriella Somkuti, *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár története 1802–1918* (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2002); briefer, in English with many facsimiles, *The National Széchényi Library*, 3rd ed. (Budapest: National Széchényi Library, 1985), 143 pp.

53. G. Rózsa, ed., *The Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences 1826–1976* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1976).

54. *Deutsche Fundgruben der Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, 2 vols. (Klausenburg: J. Tilsch und Sohn, 1839–40).

55. Hungarian contemporaries were very aware of the three cities’ rival claims. In Aranka’s proposal each city would be a seat of a separate subject section of the society, while it was suggested later that the Teleki Library be incorporated into the proposed Museum Library (Kelemen, “Az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület története,” 7, 15). On Kolozsvár’s importance as a cultural center see Pompiliu Teodor and Ioan Gabor, “Dezvoltarea culturii,” in Ștefan Pascu, ed., *Istoria Clujului* (Cluj: Consiliul Popular al Municipiului Cluj, 1974), 227–46.

56. Fr. Schuler von Libloy, “Nachrichten über Bibliotheken in Siebenbürgen,” *Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekswissenschaft* (January 1857): 11–12, online in *DigiZeitschriften* (licensed resource), <http://www.digiZeitschriften.de>.

57. György Kristóf, *Báró Eötvös József utazásai Erdélyben*, Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek 42 (Cluj-Kolozsvár: Minerva, 1932), 20–22. The speech was published in the 23 August 1860 issue of *Kolozsvári Közlöny*.

58. Szabó, *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület története*.

59. “Utasítás az erdélyi múzeum könyvtárnoka számára,” *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Évkönyve* 1 (1859–61): 12–16.

60. ALA’s *Glossary of Terms* defines a union catalog as “a complete record of the holdings for a given group of libraries of material of a given type, in a certain field, or on a particular subject” (Elizabeth H. Thompson, comp., *A.L.A. Glossary of Terms with a Selection of Terms in Related Fields* [Chicago: American Library Association, 1943], 145). Dr. Joachim Migl of the Lower Saxon State and University Library in Göttingen kindly consulted the bibliographies by Martin Schmeizel, Brukenthal’s one-time professor in Halle (n. 27), and informed me that they contain no references to holdings of the works in individual libraries (e-mail communication, 28 July 2005).

61. Károly Szabó, “Az erdélyi közkönyvtárak régi Magyar könyveiről,” *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Évkönyvei* 5–6 (1868–73); Szabó, *Régi magyar könyvtár*, 3 vols. (Budapest: A. M. Tud. Akadémia Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1879–98).

62. Lajos Schilling, "Szabó Károly emlékezete," *Erdélyi Múzeum* 9 (1892): 1–27; Szabó, *Régi magyar könyvtár*, 1:xi: "I indicated the location of the copies of individual books examined by me in order to demonstrate the accuracy of my description and so that individuals wishing to study the books would know where to go for them; without this, men of literature and scholarship would derive little practical benefit from even the most precise bibliographic description" (my translation).

63. Eugene R. Hanson, "Union Catalogs," in *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, 31:391–445. Thomas D. Walker suggests that several library directories compiled in the eighteenth century "could be regarded as early attempts at union catalogs" ("The State of Libraries in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Adalbert Blumenschein's 'Beschreibung verschiedener Bibliotheken in Europa,'" *Library Quarterly* 65, no. 3 [July 1995]: 275). The greatest of these directories was Blumenschein's unpublished work, which included entries for twenty-four libraries in Hungary. I actually visited only one of these.

64. Csaba Csapodi, András Tóth, and Miklós Vértessy, *Magyar könyvtártörténet* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987), 236–27 and online (minus bibliographic references): <http://www.mek.iif.hu/porta/szint/tarsad/konyvtar/tortenet/csapodi/html/>; Klára Jakó, "Egyetemi és Akadémiai Könyvtár, Kolozsvár," *Aetas: Történet-tudományi folyóirat*, no. 3 (1993): 207–9.

65. "Múzeum-Egyleti Értesítő," *Erdélyi Múzeum* 13 (1896): 508–9.

66. Szabó, *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület története és feladatai*; Aurelia Bunea and Mircea Țoca, "Cultura (1867–1914)," in *Istoria Clujului*, 357–58.

67. *Adressbuch der Bibliotheken der oesterreich-ungarischen Monarchie*, 457–58; the published catalog was *A kolozsvári m. kir. Ferencz József Tud.-Egyetem könyvtárának szelekciójegyzéke* (Kolozsvár, 1892–98); Lajos György, "Az erdélyi könyvtárügy és a kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár," in Gyula Bisztray, ed., *Erdély magyar egyeteme: az erdélyi egyetemi gondolat és a M. Kir. Ferencz József tudományegyetem története* (Kolozsvár: Az Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet kiadása, 1941), 207–46; Eugen Barbul, *Biblioteca Universităţii Regele Ferdinand I. din Cluj* (Cluj: Tipografia Cartea Românească, 1935), 148 pp.; Andrei Veress et al., *Biblioteca Centrală Universitară Cluj* ([Cluj:] Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, 1965); Miklós Vértessy, "1867–1945," in Vértessy et al., *Magyar könyvtártörténet*, 236–37; Gabriella Rózsa Pogány, "Habent fata sua libelli et bibliothecarii: Gyalui Farkas életútja és munkássága," *Könyvtári figyelő* 14 (50), no. 4 (2004): 763–93. The study by György and the first half of Barbul's work provide the most extensive treatments of the library's history before 1918 in any language. Barbul, a Romanian, was a librarian at the University of Budapest beginning in 1901, moved to the Kolozsvár library around the time of its move into the new building, and was promoted to director in 1920. Gyalui served as acting director from 1899 to 1901 and 1914 to 1920 and then as technical director until his forced retirement in 1926.

68. András Kiss and Rudolf Wolf, "The Archives of the Transylvanian Museum, 1842–1950," *Transylvanian Review* 4, no. 3 (1995): 72–94; the quotation appears on page 82, citing *Erdélyi Múzeum* for 1904, 218.

69. Judit Pál, "Székely Nemzeti Múzeum, Sepsiszentgyörgy," *Aetas: Történet-tudományi folyóirat* 1993/3, 212–19.

70. Ladislau Gyémánt, "Das offizielle statistische Bild Siebenbürgens am Vorabend der Revolution von 1848," *Zeitschrift für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 16, no. 2 (1993): 163; Ambrus Miskolczy, "Alphabetisation und gesellschaftliche

Schichtung in Siebenbürgen in 20ger und 30ger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts,” *Études Historiques Hongroises 1990* (Budapest: Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1990), 4:77–96; “A magyar korona országában az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei megyék és községek szerint,” *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*, vol. 61, cited by Zoltán Szász, “Gazdaság és társadalom a kapitalista átalakulás korában,” in Béla Kőpeczi, ed., *Erdély története* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1986), 3:1510; Szász, “From the Empire to Civic Hungary,” section on education in *History of Transylvania*, 587–91.

71. According to statistics from 1857, one third of the 1,214 students in Roman Catholic (Hungarian or German) higher schools were Greek Catholic or Orthodox, therefore Romanian; 18 percent of the 1,008 students in the Lutheran (German) high schools were Orthodox or Greek Catholic (Gustav Adolph Schimmer, “Statistik der Lehranstalten des österreichischen Kaiserstaates für die Studienjahre 1851–57,” *Mitteilungen auf dem Gebiete der Statistik* 7, no. 4 [1858]: 44–47).

72. According to Mircea Tomescu, only 15.6 percent of all eighteenth-century publications in Transylvania and the Danubian Principalities were secular, but roughly half in the last two decades of the century were. Under the impact of the Saxons and Hungarians secular publishing advanced more rapidly in Transylvania (*Istoria cărții românești de la începuturi pînă la 1918* [Bucharest: Editura științifică, 1968], 108). Tomescu’s figures seem to refer to Romanian publishing only, but he does not make this explicit. A contemporary journalist, George Bariț, estimated that nearly half of the literate Romanians were clerics at the middle of the nineteenth century (*Părți alese din istoria Transilvaniei* [Sibiu: W. Krafft, 1891], 2:70–71, cited in Keith Hitchens, *Orthodoxy and Nationality: Andreiu Șaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846–1873* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977], 202).

73. The best overview of the Transylvanian School in English is still the third chapter of Hitchens, *The Rumanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780–1849* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 58–111.

74. Cornelius Dima-Drăgan, “Das rumänische Buch- und Bibliothekswesen,” pt. 1, *Biblos* 27, no. 4 (1977): 350–73.

75. Livia Ardelean, “Le fond documentaire de la Bibliothèque centrale de Blaj,” *Transylvanian Review* 4, no. 3 (1995): 60–61; Neumann, *The Temptation*, 152–53; Iacob Mârza, *Școala și națiune (Școlile de la Blaj în epoca renașterii naționale)* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1987), 152–53.

76. Mârza, *Școala și națiune*, 195.

77. Ambrus Miskolczi, “Le rôle des publications de l’imprimerie universitaire de Buda dans l’évolution de la culture roumaine de la fin du XVIIIe siècle a 1830,” in Péter Király, ed., *Typographia Universitatis Hungaricae Budaë, 1777–1848* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983), 301–7. A rich collection of the printing house’s correspondence, most of it in Latin and German, has been published in Endre Veress, ed., *A budai egyetemi nyomda román kiadványainak dokumentumai 1780–1848* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1982).

78. Zsigmond Jakó, “A Cipariu-könyvtár kialakulása és története,” in Jakó, *Írás, könyv, értelmiség: tanulmányok Erdély történelméhez* (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977), 257–83, and in Romanian: “Istoricul bibliotecii lui Timotei Cipariu,” in *Philobiblon transilvan* (Bucharest: Editura Kriterion, 1977), 310–61. The Hungarian edition includes numerous illustrations that are lacking in the

translation. Jakó examined booksellers' receipts in Cipariu's personal papers to reconstruct his collection. Twelve percent of the letters received by Cipariu in one published collection are letters, with receipts, from booksellers (Liviu Botezan, Ioana Botezan, and Ileana Cuibus, eds., *Timotei Cipariu: Corespondența primită* [Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1992], 144–245).

79. The history of the library of the Orthodox diocese, later archdiocese in Hermannstadt, is traced in Victor Bunea, "Biblioteca mitropolitană din Sibiu," in *Arhiepiscopia Sibiului—pagini de istorie* (Sibiu: Tiparul tipografiei eparhiale Sibiu, 1981), 113–27. After it got a new start in 1850 this library was not much smaller than that of Astra by the late nineteenth century, but it was not open to the public.

80. Ion Hangiu, ed., *Societies and Associations in Romanian Science* (Bucharest: Associations of Scientists in Romania, 1981), 13–14.

81. Hermina Anghelescu, "Public Libraries in Modern and Contemporary Romania: Legacy of French Patterns and Soviet Influences, 1830–1990," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2000, 112–14; Gheorghe Buluța, *Scurtă istorie a bibliotecilor din România* (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 2000), 103–12.

82. Pamfil Matei, "*Asociațiunea transilvană pentru literatură română și cultura poporului roman*" (ASTRA) și rolul ei în cultura națională (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1986), 234.

83. The Hungarians' museum society also recognized Cipariu's expertise in library matters. Shortly after its establishment it sent him (and probably other collector-scholars in the region) a letter inviting him to submit his scholarly studies to the society for publication and also to assist in the society's work of acquiring documents, books, and libraries (Imre Mikó and Henrik Finály to Cipariu, 20 April 1860, in *Timotei Cipariu: Corespondența primită*, 248–51).

84. Jakó, *Írás, könyv, értelmiség*, 280–81. Elena Dunăreanu asserts that Cipariu's decision was based on religious considerations: "Biblioteca în preocupările marilor bărbați ai ASTREI," in Victor V. Grecu, ed., *ASTRA 1861–1950: 125 de ani de la înființare* (Sibiu, 1987), 397. The historian Nicolae Iorga wrote incorrectly in 1907 that Cipariu's collection was "the largest and most expensive library ever owned by a Romanian" ("Vechile biblioteci românești," *Floarea darurilor* [1907]: 62, cited by Dunăreanu, 395). The most valuable Romanian private collections of the era were those of Iuliu Todorescu of Budapest (1867–1919), who bequeathed his collection to the Széchényi National Library in Budapest, and Gheorghe Sion of Moldavia (1855–1944), who donated his old Romanian manuscripts, books, engravings, seven hundred stamps, and forty-five hundred coins to the University Library in Cluj in 1922–23. See Maria Berényi, *Cultura românească la Budapesta în secolul al XIX-lea* (Gyula, 2000), 79–82; Doina Hanga, "Donația Sion în cadrul fondurilor Bibliotecii Centrale Universitare Cluj-Napoca," *Biblioteca și învățământul* (Cluj-Napoca: Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, 1981), 5:169–79.

85. The account of library development is taken, unless indicated otherwise, from Ioan Domța, *Biblioteca Centrală a Asociațiunii (ASTRA): Istoric—Dezvoltare—Perspective* (Sibiu: Tipografia "Astra Culturală" Sibiu, 1945).

86. Nicolae Petra-Petrescu, *Catalogul cărților aflătoare în biblioteca "Asociațiunii transilvane pentru literatură și cultural poporului român" pînă inclusive la adunarea generală de la Turda din 7–9 august 1880* (Sibiu: Tiparul tipografiei arhidiecezane, 1882); Nicolau Togănu, *Catalogulu bibliotecii Asociațiunii transilvane pentru literatură română și cultura poporului român* (Sibiu: Editura "Asociațiunii transilvane,"

1895). The statutes of the central Astra library for 1869, 1892, and 1913 have been republished in Constantin Mătușoiu and Mihaela Hélène Dinu, *Istoria bibliotecilor din România în legi și documente (1817–1944)* (Constanța: Ex Ponto, 2001), 1:58, 83–84, 164–66.

87. Constantin Diaconovici, *Enciclopedia română* (Sibiu: ASTRA, 1905). Zoltán Szász writes that half of the thirty-eight thousand entries were written by authors living in Romania (“From Empire to Civic Hungary,” in *History of Transylvania*, 586).

88. Domșa, *Biblioteca Centrală*, 16.

89. Matei, *Asociațiunea transilvană*, 234–45; Corneliu Bucur, “Programul ASTREI privind conservarea patrimoniului cultural-național și valorificarea sa expozițional-muzeală,” in Grecu, *ASTRA 1861–1950*, 399–406.

90. Gergely Moldován, *A magyarországi románok* (Budapest, 1913), 390.

91. Among the young leaders was the historian and inspector of Orthodox schools Ioan Lupaș, whose career is the topic of my article “Ioan Lupaș and the Cluj School of History between the World Wars,” *Balkanistica* 7 (1981–82): 78–91. For the new orientation in Astra see Tanya Dunlap, “Astra and the Appeal of the Nation: Power and Autonomy in Late-Nineteenth-Century Transylvania,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 34 (2003): 215–46, esp. 228–42, and Ioan Holhoș, “Conceptia biblioteconomică promovată în acțiunea ASTREI de creare a sistemului de biblioteci publice în Transilvania și în alte provincii românești,” in Grecu, *ASTRA 1861–1950*, 383–94.

92. Mihai Sofronie, “Activitatea editorială a Asociațiunii Transilvane pînă la 1918,” in Grecu, *ASTRA 1861–1950*, 286–93.

93. Dunlap, “Astra and the Appeal of the Nation,” 240.

94. Matei, *Asociațiunea transilvană*, 230–33; Angheliescu, “Public Libraries in Modern and Contemporary Romania,” 161–62. The statute for Astra popular libraries (1899) is republished in *Istoria bibliotecilor din România în legi și documente*, 104–6. The museum society chose to emulate Astra’s outreach practices in another way, establishing in its 1905 statutes the right to create local affiliates of the society and the obligation to organize periodic popular education events outside of Kolozsvár.

95. Lajos Kántor, “Párhuzam az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület és az Astra megalakulásában és korai működésében,” *Erdélyi Múzeum* 45, no. 2 (1940): 115.

96. Barbul, *Biblioteca Universităţii*, 1.

97. Szabó, *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület*. The 1923 statute of the university library makes no mention of the museum society or its collections. See *Istoria bibliotecilor din România în legi și documente*, 223–30.

98. Kiss and Wolf, “The Archives of the Transylvanian Museum,” 77–79; Al. Matei et al., *Îndrumător în Arhivele Statului județul Cluj* (Bucharest: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, 1979), 1:31–36.

99. Vlaicu, “The Sibiu Archives,” 126–28.

100. Lidia Gross, “The ‘Lucian Blaga’ Central University Library (Short History),” *Philobiblon* 2, no. 2 (1998): 171–73.

101. Pál, “Székely Nemzeti Múzeum,” 214.

102. Ingo Rösler, “Die Dokumentationsbereiche Archiv, Bibliothek und Museum: Ein Diskussionsbeitrag,” *Archivmitteilungen* (East Berlin) 21, no. 4 (1971): 128, 32. On the status and holdings of Transylvanian archives today see James P. Niessen, “Romania,” in *A Guide to East-Central European Archives* (Minnesota:

Center for Austrian Studies, 1998), which appeared as *Austrian History Yearbook* 29 (1998): pt. 2, 105–21. András Kiss, while very critical of the state archives' expropriations, writes that Romania's professional archivists applied the principle of provenance in practice despite avoiding the term because it was rejected by the Soviet archival literature ("A kolozsvári levéltárak," 178–79).

103. Lapping, *Die Sammlung des Freiherrn Samuel von Brukenthal*, 142–51.

104. The Siebenbürgische Bibliothek (Transylvanian Library) was founded in Germany in 1963 and is now associated with the Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde (Working Group for Transylvanian Studies) in Gundelsheim am Neckar, the legal successor to the former Society for Transylvanian Studies, and the Siebenbürgisches Museum (Transylvanian Museum). Today the library, an archive of organizational and personal papers, and the museum are in the same building. The *Zeitschrift für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, cited in many references in this study, is the journal of the Working Group and successor to the society's journals.

105. Hermina G. B. Anghelescu, "Romanian Libraries Recover after the Cold War: The Communist Legacy and the Road Ahead," *Libraries & Culture* 36, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 233–52. Despite liberalization, the archives law still justifies the withholding from researchers of documents "pertaining to the security, territorial integrity, and independence of the Romanian state"—a very broad category with regard to Transylvanian history ("Legea Arhivelor Naționale," *Monitorul Oficial al României* 8, no. 71 [9 April 1996]: 13).

106. The two libraries published bibliographies reflecting these roles: Doina Năgler, *Catalogul Transilvanicelor*, vols. 1–2 (Sibiu: Biblioteca Muzeului Brukenthal, 1974–82); Elena Dunăreanu and Aurelia Popa, *Cartea românească Sibiană (1544–1918)* (Sibiu: Biblioteca "ASTRA" Sibiu, 1979).

107. Kaltwasser, *Die Bibliothek als Museum*, 156–80; Csaki, *Das Baron Brukenthal'sche Museum*, 34–35.

108. Dinicu Golescu, *Utazásaim leírása 1824, 1825, 1827* (Bucharest: Kriterion könyvkiadó, 1978), 45–46. The first edition of this work, *Însemnare a călătoriei mele în anul 1824, 1825, 1826*, was one of the most popular Romanian publications of the University Printing House in Buda after it appeared in 1829.

109. John Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania: With Remarks on Their Condition, Social, Political, and Economical*, new ed. (London: John Murray, Albermarle Street, 1850), 316–17, 385–86.

110. Dilevko and Gottlieb, *The Evolution of Library and Museum Partnerships*, passim, esp. 203–20. The libraries, archives, and museums of the Szekler town of Sepsiszentgyörgy, whose disastrous losses in 1944 were noted above, are working together to put local serial publications online: Andrea Hollanda, "A helyismereti munka és a helyismereti célú digitalizálás problémái Háromszéken," *Magyar könyvtárosok VI. Világtalálkozója. Budapest, 2004. július 11–14* (Budapest: Könyvtári Intézet, 2004), 49–54.