

Metropolitan Alexandru Sterca-Șuluțiu in the National Movement

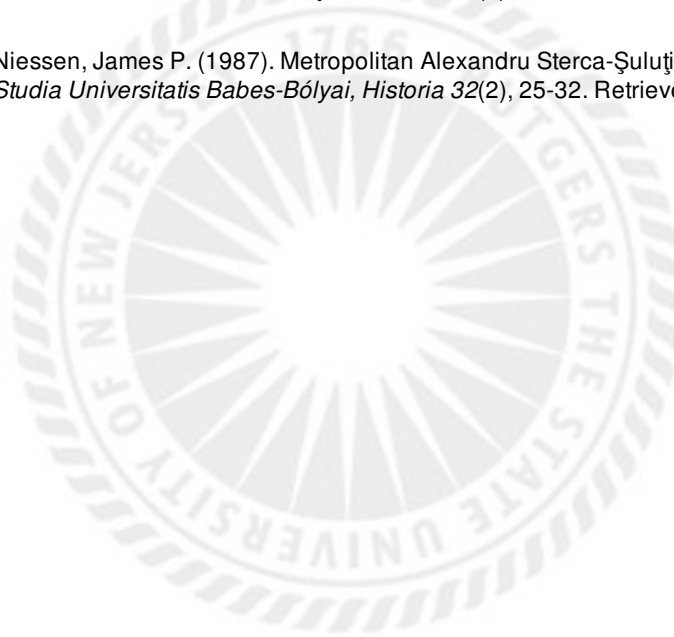
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Citation to Publisher Niessen, James P. (1987). Metropolitan Alexandru Sterca-Șuluțiu in the National Movement.
Version: *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Historia* 32(2), 25-32.

Citation to *this* Version: Niessen, James P. (1987). Metropolitan Alexandru Sterca-Șuluțiu in the National Movement.
Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Historia 32(2), 25-32. Retrieved from [doi:10.7282/T38W3BQ7](https://doi.org/10.7282/T38W3BQ7).



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1482 iulie 12, (Buda)

Anexa 2.

Nos capitulum ecclesie Budensis memorie commendamus tenore presentium significantes quibus expedit universis, quod nos litteras / serenissimi principis domini Mathie, dei gratia regis Hungarie, Bohemie etc., domini nostri gratiosissimi introductoris et statutoris nobis directas reverentia qua decessit recepimus in hec verba: (*Urmasz ad actul lui Matia, regele Ungariei, din 8 aprilie 1482; vezi anexa 1*). Nos itaque mandatis prelati domini nostri regis in omnibus obedientes, uti tenemur, unacum prenotato magistro Emerico Ebele de Sewli, notario, personalis presentie sue maiestatis locumtenente, homine eiusdem domini nostri regis, de curia sua gisrum Johannem de Waradino, socium / hominem, videlicet honorabilem magistrum Johannem de Waradino, socium et concanonicum nostrum, ad premissam introductionem et statutionem faciendam, nostro pro testimonio fidedignum duximus destinandum qui tandem exinde ad nos reversi, nobis conformiter retulerunt quod ipsi, feria quarta proxima ante festum Nativitatis / beati Johannis Baptiste, proxime preteritum² et diebus aliis ad id aptis et sufficientibus ad facies prescriptorum castri: Hwryad ac opidi similiter Hwryad nuncupatorum necnon possessionum Thohy, Kalan, Benchkyral, Rws, Nadasad, Thelek, Charra, Imba, Thopyjka, Wajja, Belch, Polostr, Rwda, Gawaadywar, / Pestesel, Montyromenhe, Hohodol, Cozhaya, Nadabar, Rwnk, Chereswr, Gawaadywar, Chember, Zeebeth, Oynaz, Frazynath, Dobromer, Felech, Poyanicha, Aranyas, in districtu Hakagh, existentium³ item dicte Hakagh et thelonii ibidem habiti necnon Warajja, Bayosd, Ponor in Hwryadiensi, item opido: districtum et theloniorum eorundem in Temesiensi, item portionum possessionariorum in possessionibus Boythor, Lyvad, Barbahwyze, Poros et Maczesd vocatis, in dictis Themensiensi et Hwryadiensi comitatibus, existentis, habitarum, pertheoniarum / videlicet prelati castri Hwryad, vicinis et commetanis earundem universis inibi legitime convocatis et presentem Johanne de Barch, Ladislao de Arky, Michael de Nicolao Pogan, dictis de Bereghnew, Stephano de Rewesor, Stephano de Ozthro, Petro et Stephano de Chwla Alberto de Alsobach, Emerico de Farakd, Michael de Zalaspahak, Alberto littrato de Ikews, Vincenilo de Themeswar, castellano dicti castri Hwryad et Nicolao de predicta Bozyawar, presentibus accedentes, prelatum Johannem dudem / in dominium earundem et dicti iuris regi in eisdem habiti introduxissent, easdemque et idem eidem, simulcum pertheonitis et utilitatibus prelati, premissis regie donationis titulo sibi incumbentes perpetuo possideas nullo contradictore appa- rente statuisset diebus legitimis et horis in facibus earundem / permanentes. In cuius rei memoriam firmitatemque perpetuam, presentes litteras nostras privilegiales, pendenti sigillo nostro consignatas ad lassionem dictorum domini nostri regis et nostrorum hominum duximus concedendas.

Datum Vigesimo quarto, die diei introductionis et statutionis prenotatarum, anno domini supradicto.

Arch. Nat. Magrh., Dl. 37 653.

Orig. hirtie cu pecete atimată cu şnur.

¹ Actul în original.

² 19 iunie.

³ Respectiv veale sale nu se aflau în districtul Huleg, iar numele lor sînt redatè prin h-o. gratis corupta.

METROPOLITAN ALEXANDRU STERCA-SULUŢIU IN THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

JAMES P. NIESSEN*

ABSTRACT. — The contribution reveals some main aspects of the metropolitan Alexander Sterca-SuluŢiu's activity carried between 1860—1867 in defence of the rights of the Romanian nation in Transylvania. Together with the Orthodox metropolitan Andrei Şaguna, SuluŢiu fought in the Romanian's being acknowledged treatment as a political factor in Transylvania, in defence of the province's autonomy against the unitistic claims by the Hungarian aristocracy. SuluŢiu united in his person both the patriotic intellectual tradition of Blaj and the combative social milieu of the *maji* in the Apuseni Mountains.

Alexandru Sterca-SuluŢiu was one of the most important church leaders of the Transylvanian Romanians in the nineteenth century¹. He served the Uniate or Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania for sixty-three years: as a parish priest and then archpriest in the preeminently agitated Western Mountains from 1814 to 1836, as Vicar of Sălaş from that year until 1850, and then leader of the church province of Blaj until his death in 1867. His tenure as bishop and then metropolitan coincided with that of the great Orthodox leader Andrei Şaguna, his rival for leadership of the national movement and a man different from him in many ways. These differences are captured well in this description of SuluŢiu by the historian of the Transylvanian Romanian schools, Nicolae Albu:

He was a proud *mof* [mountaineer] and a fanatical and ambitious Uniate on top of this; indeed he was ambition beyond his means. Nervous impulsive, lacking in calm and political tact, hurried, combative, longing to conquer positions for which his church and his nation had fought for two centuries. What he lacked was precisely what Şaguna possessed in abundance: unusual political ability. In all his actions, Şaguna moved along large lines, like a good strategist on the battlefield².

Albu's main criterion of success was the betterment of the Romanian schools; here SuluŢiu's achievements, though considerable, lagged far behind those of Şaguna; his reluctance to spend money on schools

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¹ Paper presented at the Society for Romanian Studies conference, Ohio State University, April 5, 1983.

² The only published biographies of SuluŢiu are in Iosif Sterca SuluŢiu, *O lăcimă herbine*, Sibiu, 1880; *Şemntismul veneţiatului cler al Arhidiecesei metropolitane greco-catolice de Alba Iulia şi Pădăraş pe anul domniului 1900, de la sfinţitul unte 200*, Blaj 1900; and Ioan Filip, *Al metropolită Alessandro Sterca SuluŢiu*, Contribuţi biografice¹, *Acta Historica Societatis Academica Dacoromana* 1959, pp. 85—99.

² Nicolae Albu, *Istoria şcolilor româneşti din Transilvania între 1800—1867*, Bucureşti, Editura didactică şi pedagogică, 1971, 54.

and textbooks earned him the nickname of *zgricitul*, the miser.³ But in the political field, as well, his successes were few, and the conclusion of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 was even more of a defeat for him than for Șaguna. Șaguna achieved his goal of the Orthodox Metropolitanate in 1864 and deftly secured the approval of a new church statute by the Hungarian government four years later. Still, in our review of Șulufiu's political career we will have occasion to point out Șulufiu's special contributions and significance in the field of politics.

This paper will present a few major aspects of the career of Șulufiu as Bishop and Metropolitan. The rural tone of Transylvanian Romanian life at this time heightened the role of the clergy in politics and culture. Since Romanians there were almost equally divided in number between the Orthodox and Greek Catholic faith⁴, the rivalry between the talented and ambitious Șaguna and Șulufiu was perhaps inevitable. This rivalry sometimes struck contemporaries as petty and destructive⁵, but beyond the differences in character referred to above, it in fact mirrored basically different approaches to national politics.

Șaguna was born in Miskolc, in central Hungary in 1809, the son of a Macedo-Romanian merchant. He studied three years at the University of Pest at the beginning of Hungary's Age of Reform, acquiring a lifelong friend in Hungary's future Minister of Cults József Eötvös; such contacts caused some contemporaries to accuse him, unjustly, of excessive sympathy for the Magyar aristocracy. Upon entering the Orthodox priesthood, he spent his entire career in Serbian surroundings before entering Transylvania for the first time in 1846 and becoming Orthodox bishop shortly thereafter⁶. Șulufiu, fifteen years his senior and a descendant of minor nobility, lived his entire life in Transylvania. The traveller in the villages of Transylvania's Western Mountains today can gain a glimpse into the mentality of that milieu by visiting the wooden church in the village of Săttăș on the River Arges, some twenty miles from Șulufiu's birthplace in Abrud. The church contains a fresco by a Romanian artist from Abrud, executed around the beginning of the nineteenth century, depicting the crucifixion. The pe-

cular thing about it is that the Roman soldiers are wearing the costume of Magyar noblemen⁷.

This world of Șulufiu and of the Uniteds of Transylvania was different from that of the Orthodox. The following table will serve to illustrate this:

Distribution of the Transylvanian Romanian Population by Religion, 1857⁸

Western Counties:			
% of Trans. Romanians	Population	% Romanians	% G. Cath. (in all Transylvania)
71.6	1,103,182	75.3	55.8(84.0)
23.1	Saxon District + Făgăraș: 470,485	56.9	19.1(9.3)
5.3	Szecler District: 400,534	15.3	60.6(6.7)
			39.4(4.0)

Some 71.6% of the Romanians in Transylvania lived in the Hungarian counties, and 84.0% of the Greek Catholics. The Orthodox, on the other hand, were distributed more equally between the counties and the Saxon and Făgăraș districts in the south; they constituted 80.9% of the Romanians in these southern districts, however. Historians generally agree that the living conditions of the Romanians were superior in the Saxon district where there was little serfdom, and more opportunity for economic advancement. In the Saxon district of Brașov, for instance, the majority of the merchants were Romanians⁹, the district had the second-highest proportion of merchants and craftsmen of any district in the Hungarian lands in 1869¹⁰. The Romanian masses in the counties were primarily former serfs. While Greek Catholics and Orthodox in the counties shared the same conditions, the pent-up resentment against the landlords was bound to weigh more heavily in the Greek Catholic community as a whole than in the more differentiated Orthodox society, which included a large Romanian nobility in Făgăraș District.

Șulufiu's perspective of Transylvanian society emerges most clearly from a manuscript he wrote during his years in Blaj, *The History of Horea and of the Romanian People of the Western Mountains of Transylvania*, which was recently published for the first time in Ro-

³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴ According to the 1857 Austrian census, 52.4% (608,007) of the Transylvanian Romanians were Orthodox, and 47.6 (551,743) were Greek Catholic; according to the 1869 census, the corresponding figures were 52.3% (652,945) and 47.7% (596,502). All Orthodox and Greek Catholics in Transylvania were commonly assumed at this time to be Romanians. The source for the 1857 census is Farcas Behlen, "Adatok Erdely viszonyairól kulonos tekintettel az adozási rendszerre," *Statisztikai és népszámlálási közlemények* vol. 4 (1867), pp. 10-13. Behlen recalculated the figures to correspond to the Transylvanian administrative boundaries after 1860, which is the period that primarily concerns us here. For the 1869 census, see Károly Keleti, *Házánk és népe*. Pest: Athenaeum, 1871, pp. 342-3.

⁵ Ioan Puscariu, *Noiile despre întamplările contemporane*. Sibiu: Tiparul tipografiei arhidiecezane, 1915, pp. 60, 76-78.

⁶ Keith Hitchins, *Orthodoxy and Nationality: Andreiu Șaguna and the Romanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873*. Cambridge: Harvard, 1977.

⁷ Visited during an excursion in Transylvania in June, 1984 organized by the Muzeul de Istorie, Cluj-Napoca.

⁸ Behlen, *op. cit.*

⁹ Thomas Năgler, "Contribuția sașilor la dezvoltarea economică a Transilvaniei în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea și prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," in *Studii de istorie a naționalităților conlocuitoare din România și a întinderii lor cu noțiunea fondată*. Naționalitatea germană, vol. 2, București: Editura politică, 1981, p. 102.

¹⁰ Keleti, p. 210.

mania¹¹. Şulţiu consulted written sources, but the great interest of the work is its quality of oral history: his own father was a participant in the events of the revolt, and for twenty-two years Şulţiu was a priest in the area, well-acquainted with the people's experiences and attitudes. The work indicates that, at least at the time of writing in the 1850s, Şulţiu shared their animosity toward the aristocracy and the imperial mining authorities, but also their naive confidence in the emperor. The specific problems and grievances described in the narrative, which ends in 1852, resemble those presented by the rebellious Romanian clergy in the mountains in the form of popular grievances during the tumultuous 1860s¹².

Our presentation will not deal with Şulţiu's considerable political activity prior to 1852. The Austrian Court hoped by his elevation to Bishop of Blaj and that of his see to a Metropolitanate i.e. removing it from the supervision of the Hungarian Primate to attract conversions from Orthodoxy, possibly even that of Şaguna¹³. The latter hope was certainly futile, but it is true that the previous one hundred and fifty years had seen numerous conversion movements among the Transylvanian Romanians, influenced by changing political and cultural conditions¹⁴. This would continue during the age of the national movement, by no means only in one direction. The relative ease of conversion between the Romanian faiths actually provided a stimulus for the clergy to adopt a more nationalistic stance¹⁵.

Between 1860 and 1865, the Austrian Court attempted a liberal-centralist restructuring of the empire. For this plan to succeed, Vienna had to secure the election of deputies to the central parliament by the Diets of all the provinces, including that of Transylvania. To achieve this goal, Austrian authorities guaranteed political rights to the nationalities. Seeing the need for concerted action, Şaguna and Şulţiu sought to resolve the most irritating confessional issues and collaborate in the interest of the national goals¹⁶. Romanian clergy, of whatever church, were prominent in rural political activity; even aside from the

¹¹ Alexandru Sterea-Şulţiu, "Istoria Horii şi a poporului românesc din Munţii Apuseni ai Ardealului," in *Izvoarele răscoalei lui Horea, Seria B. Izvoare narrative*, vol. 2, 1786—1860, pp. 330—447.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 364. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár. D263: Erdélyi Visszailles-tott fölkormányzók, Elnöki iratok, 1861/656, on the participation of the local clergy in the disorders in Ciampi in the Western Mountains.

¹³ Hitchins, p. 196.

¹⁴ Hitchins, *The Rumanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780—1840*. Cambridge: Harvard, 1969, p. 144.

¹⁵ Among the most notorious village conversions in the 1860s, in which the national and political motive clearly rivaled the religious one, were those in Bucserdea Vinosa, Alba County, and Chişineu de Sus, Sibiu District; Alba-Iulia, Arhivele Statului Alba Iulia. Mitropolia română unită Blaj. Fondul general (henceforth: Alba Iulia, Fondul General), passim.

¹⁶ Hitchins, *Orthodoxy*, p. 177; George Barţiu, *Pătri alese din istoria Transilvaniei*, Sibiu: Kraft, 1890, vol. 3, pp. 598—601 publishes the "project of conciliation" of 1861 between the Orthodox and Uniates which sought to regulate mixed marriages, liturgy and mixed confessional schools.

issue of popular religiosity, the clergy were the village intelligentsia, and a sizable, though declining, proportion of the national intelligentsia. Their prominence is indicated by the computation of subscribers to the Braşov Romanian newspapers by George Marica¹⁷:

	1838	1847	1854	1862
Clergy	53%	48%	45%	36%
Officials	7%	7%	35%	25%
Merchants	24%	15%	6%	3%

The Romanian bishops frequently had to answer for the political activities of their clergy and defended them, but also issued circulars warning against illegalities and other improprieties. Şulţiu sent many circulars to the clergy which effectively laid down a political line for them to follow; when the Primate of Esztergom suggested he appeal to the clergy for calm, Şulţiu proudly rejected the request¹⁸.

The Austrian struggle against the Magyar aristocracy presented political opportunities for the Romanians; but there were legitimate grounds for scepticism as to the real value of the Court's promises. Şaguna felt this scepticism much more strongly than Şulţiu, and twice he ceded to Şulţiu the leadership of Romanian delegations to the Court in Vienna, during the political turning points of late 1860 and late 1861¹⁹. It has been argued that Şulţiu was not a forceful political leader in his own right but significant chiefly because of his office²⁰. A Magyar report based on information from Pápai²¹, the Magyarophile Greek Catholic canon in Blaj, states that Şulţiu permitted the popular assembly in Blaj in May of 1861 only upon repeated urging by radical youth, laity and clergy²². But a possible example of Şulţiu's militancy was his advocacy of an Austrian newspaper to be sponsored by the Austrian centralists, which was rejected by Şaguna. Most important, Şulţiu led the delegation to Vienna in October, 1861, which called for the appointment of a Romanian governor and a stronger policy toward the Magyar opposition. Şaguna and Barţiu, the leading lay politician, cautiously declined to join the delegation. Şulţiu added considerable prestige and dynamism to the activity of the delegation during his nearly two-month stay in Vienna, and it is likely that the delega-

¹⁷ George Em. Marica, *Studii de istoria şi sociologia culturii române ardelenae din secolul al XIX-lea*, Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1977, vol. 1, table after p. 32.

¹⁸ Şulţiu's circular occasioned by the Ciampi unrest in 1861 is in: Alba Iulia, Fondul general, 1861/320.

¹⁹ The Primate's letter and the draft of Şulţiu's reply are in Alba Iulia, Fondul general, 1861/48.

²⁰ The complete documents of the delegations are in: Alba Iulia, Fondul general, 1861/123 (1860 delegation) and, Arhivele Statului Alba Iulia, Cabinetul Mitropolitei, 709, 114-123.

²¹ Hitchins, *Orthodoxy*, p. 116.

²² Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár. D228: Erdélyi udvari kancellaria, Elnöki iratok (henceforth: Chancellery), 1861/231.

tion, was influential in the appointment of several Romanian officials at the end of 1861.²³

A recurrent demand of Romanian Greek Catholics in the nineteenth century was the participation of the laity in synods.²⁴ From the beginning, this proposal had more political implications among the Greek Catholics than among the Orthodox. After Şulţiu requested the right to hold a diocesan synod in 1858, considerable debate on the necessity of the synod and the participation of the laity ensued.²⁵ Preparations were made in the diocese for the holding of preliminary synods. The Vatican approved the diocesan synod, and it was planned for July, 1861, but the civil authorities denied permission.²⁶ It is likely that the diocesan synod would have taken on a very political tone. This was the case in the preliminary synods held in Tirgu Lăpuş in June and in Abrud in July, 1861. The first of these, in which the laity also participated, praised the activities of the Romanian deputies to the Diet in Pest, and proclaimed Barţiu and Bărnăuţiu as honorary deputies to the expected diocesan synod.²⁷ The synod at Abrud defended the political activity of the clergy, condemned illegal taxation, and justified the recent insubordination in Ciampeni.²⁸ A few years later Şulţiu attempted once again to call a diocesan synod "under the pressure of the laity"²⁹ but had to give up the idea.

Unlike Şaguna, Şulţiu took an active role in county politics and repeatedly submitted suggestions for county reform to the higher authorities. In a letter to the Transylvanian Court Chancellor in January, 1862, Şulţiu complained of the undemocratic organization of Alba county, which included the Western Mountains, and urged that the only way to assure the election of a Transylvanian Diet favorable to the wishes of the government and of the Romanian patriots would be by a thorough reform of the counties, including Romanian prefects (*főispáns*) for counties with Romanian majorities.³⁰ Şulţiu was a mem-

²³ Nicolae Josan, "Documente inedite privind lupta naţională a romanilor din Transilvania în anul 1861," *Apulum*, vol. 17 (1979), pp. 539-72; the article publishes for the first time the protocol of the delegation's work, pp. 553-71, from Cabinetul Mitropolitului 709.

²⁴ A brief overview of the problem is Ioan Filipp, "Iaicii şi sinode: O kâmură istorică," *Buna vestire* (Rome), vol. 14 (1975), pp. 114-22.

²⁵ The index of the Braşov journal *Voie pentru mine, inimă şi literatură* lists thirteen articles for the period 1860-64 concerning the holding of Greek Catholic synods: George Em. Marica, *Foile pentru mine, inimă şi literatură. Bibliografie analitică, cu un studiu monografic*. Bucureşti: Editura pentru literatură, 1969, pp. 455-64.

²⁶ Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv. Neuer Kultus. Karton 34: Ungarn, Sieberbüchgen: 1861/2364/634; 1861/3333/908.

²⁷ Cluj-Napoca, Arhivele Statului Cluj-Napoca. Fondul Episcopia Greco-Catolică Cluj-Gherla, 1861/2154.

²⁸ Alba Iulia, Fondul general, 1861/639.

²⁹ Vienna, Haus-, Hof- Staatsarchiv. Nachlass Reichenstein. Karton 1b (Henceforth: Reichenstein papers). Korrespondenz Reichensteins 1863-65 besonders mit Nádasdy, Reichenstein to Nádasdy, September 16, 1864. The phrase is from Reichenstein's letter to the Court Chancellor Nádasdy.

³⁰ Chancellery 1869/70/70/a; Şulţiu to Nádasdy, January 23, 1862; *ibid.*, 1862/1497; Şulţiu to Nádasdy, October 10, 1862, along very similar lines.

ber of the county assembly of Tirnave (Küküllő) because of the estates the church owned in the area. The new prefect at this time was Ioan Puşcariu, an Orthodox nobleman, participant in the Romanian delegation of 1861 and a protégé of Şaguna.³¹ The majority of the county's population was Romanian, but in mid-1862 the Magyar landowners were still in complete control of the assembly. Şulţiu took an active role in the assembly as the Romanians' spokesman.³² Yet when the government still failed to break the Magyar resistance there, Şulţiu showed surprising moderation in urging the Chancellor in April, 1863 to conciliate the Magyars. He warned perceptively that many Magyars were inclined to view the Romanians and Saxons as the blind tools of the government, and might boycott the assemblies in the future, a dangerous possibility from the standpoint of the government.³³

In the spring of 1863 the Romanians gained permission to convene a national conference in preparation for the Diet. Both the government and Şaguna rejected the holding of public elections for the deputies to this conference, but Şulţiu provided for public elections in the Greek Catholic parishes and districts, regardless.³⁴ Both church leaders employed their clergy to maximize the election of Romanian deputies to the Diet in July.³⁵

In a sense, the Diet itself was anticlimactic. The Magyar deputies stayed away, so that the Romanians enjoyed a majority with which to pass legislation in their interest. Once the Diet had sent its deputies to the central parliament, the Reichsrat in Vienna, the Romanians had little opportunity to secure further concessions from the Court. Şaguna was still cautiously keeping one eye on future relations with the Magyars: when Şulţiu and several Saxons presented a bill on the nullification of the union with Hungary, Şaguna left the hall.³⁶ An official report from the Diet in September states that Romanian resentment against Şaguna was strong, and there was danger of all Romanians in the Diet uniting under the leadership of Şulţiu.³⁷ In 1865 the Court moved toward compromise with the Magyar opposition, and the legislation of the Diet was annulled. The Romanian opposition to the Court in the Diet did now coalesce around Şulţiu; the extent to which Şulţiu was only the figurehead of the movement is, once again, debatable.³⁸

³¹ Josan, "Activitatea politică a lui Ioan Puşcariu în anii 1860-1863," *Apulum* vol. 16 (1978), pp. 384-6.

³² Alba Iulia, Muzeul Ţării, Arhiva: Fondul Ioan Puşcariu, 6209. Protocol of the county assembly, September 25, 1862.

³³ Chancellery 1863/271: Şulţiu to Nádasdy, April 17, 1863.

³⁴ Chancellery 1863/211: Şulţiu to Nádasdy, March 29, 1863, with draft of negative reply by Nádasdy, April 4, 1863, subsequently disregarded by Şulţiu.

³⁵ The circular of Şulţiu prior to the election is in Alba Iulia, Fondul general, 1863/449; that of Şaguna is published in Gh. Tulbure, *Mitropolitul Şaguna*. Sibiu: Tipografia Arhidiecezană, 1936, pp. 447-50.

³⁶ Reichenstein papers. II. *Reservat-Präsidentalaken* 1863-65. 1863/35. Hermannstadt, August 14, 1863.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Report of September 13, 1863.

³⁸ Hitchins, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 151, 157.

Suluju's gamble on Court policy between 1860 and 1863 failed. Having thoroughly alienated the Magyar leadership, he worried in his final years about plans to appoint a hostile coadjutor or deputy, or even to abolish the Metropolitan see of Blaj.³⁹ What had he achieved? He participated in the establishment of the Mitropolitaneat of Blaj, with the concomitant greater autonomy of the schools which was important after 1867; he contributed to the emergence of Romanian national politics, with the integration of larger sections of the population into national life. He behaved tactlessly in his relations with key figures, and his actions often undermined the possibility of compromise. Suluju united in his person both the patriotic intellectual tradition of Blaj and the combative social milieu of his native region.

THE HUNGARIAN SCHOOL, LEGISLATION BETWEEN 1875—1890
AND THE FIGHT OF THE POPULATION FROM TRANSYLVANIA
AGAINST IT

TEODOR PAVEL*

ABSTRACT. — The study analyses the school policy of the Tisza Kai-man government, especially the school laws from 1879 and 1883 and the reaction of protest of the population from Transylvania to the attempt of the government to transform the school into the main factor of Magyarisation. It reveals the irreconcilable contradiction between the majority of the population from Transylvanian and the government of the dualist Hungary in the cultural and school problems.

The contemporary historiography is quasi-unanimous in recognizing the oppressing character of Hungary's school policy between 1867—1918. Synthetizing this conclusion the Austrian historiographer Fr. Gottas recently revealed that "it is a common truth that in the dualist epoch school was an important instrument of Magyarization"¹, and that the laws from 1868, 1879, 1883, 1891, culminating with the famous "Lex Apponyi" from 1907, are but steps and episodes of a deep reactionary policy, which, together with other factors, contributed to the stressing of the inner contradictions of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy till its full dissolution in 1918.

We consider that a first materialization of the dualist school policy was the Law of the Popular Education itself from 7 Decembre 1868 (Law XXXV/III, 1868)². In spite of its liberal-bourgeois stipulations and of its known concessions given to the nationalities, its aim was subordinated to the idea of a Magyar national state, which implied the forcibly assimilation of millions of Romanians, Slavs and Germans from Hungary in the so-called "Magyar nation, unique and indivisible". Together with the Law of the nationalities from 1868, the law 38/1868 represented the juridical fundament of the policy of forcibly assimilation during the government of K. Tisza between 1875—1890; this is in fact the subject of our present analysis.

After 1875, alongside with the ascension to power of the land gentry and the bourgeoisie round K. Tisza, the Magyarisation fully affirmed itself as a state political doctrine. The liberal-bourgeois stipu-

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¹ Fr. Gottas, *Zur Nationalitätenpolitik in Ungarn unter der Ministerpräsidentenschaft Kálmán Tiszas*, in "Südostdeutsches Archiv", tom XVII—XVIII, München, 1975, p. 103.

² *Magyarország története, 1648—1890*, 2. kötet, Akadémiai kiadó, Budapest, 1979, p. 844—845; *Erdély története*, 3. kötet, Akadémiai kiadó, Budapest, 1936, p. 1628—1631; Johann Weber, *Förvös und die ungarische Nationalitätenfrage*, Verlag Oldenbourg, München, 1966.

³⁹ Filipp, "Il metropolită Alessandro Suluju", p. 90.