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GELLÉRT ERNŐ MARTON, A Dissertation in Preparation – Structure, Methodology, Approach and Content. The Peace Treaty of Szőny (1627) and Its Subsequent Territorial Negotiations (1628–1629) in Light of Péter Koháry’s Correspondence	3
ÁRPÁD BOTOND GYÖRGY, Witch Trials in Seventeenth-Century Târgu Mureş	27
DIANA URSOI, Outcasts or Scapegoats? A Portrait of the Victims of Witchcraft Trials in Early Modern Transylvania	43
CSABA HORVÁTH, The Captains of the Habsburg 11th Székely Border Guard Hussar Regiment	57
ORSOLYA SZILÁGYI, What’s the Use of a Manuscript? Uncovering Relevant Information from András Lugosi Fodor’s Unpublished Book	67
GYÖNGYVÉR FOTH, Friedrich Balthes- An Attempt to Reconstruct the Oeuvre of a Transylvanian Saxon Artist	87
SILVIA FĂGĂRĂŞAN, What Did They See? Looking at Art in a Medical Setting: Brâncuşi’s Écorché at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj	111
JÉRÉMY FLOUTIER, Laws of Education and the Minorities of Transylvania between 1867 and 1990: some considerations	141
ANA-MARIA UNGUREANU-ILINCA, The Communal Elections from 1930: Case studies – Slimnic and Presaca Communes, Sibiu County	159
MARK ORTON, The Game of the Italians: Football and Dual Identity in Argentina 1910-1935	189

A Dissertation in Preparation – Structure, Methodology, Approach and Content
*The Peace Treaty of Szőny (1627) and Its Subsequent Territorial Negotiations (1628–1629) in Light of Péter Koháry’s Correspondence**

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Abstract: The goal of this paper is to provide an outline of the author’s dissertation in progress in terms of its structure, methodology, approach, and content. This article aims to present the author’s work on this topic so far, so it focuses on the Peace Treaty of Szőny with an emphasis on its subsequent territorial negotiations in light of Péter Koháry’s correspondence. The paper also contains an overview of Habsburg–Ottoman peace treaties, besides a summary of the afore-mentioned peace process. In this article, one can find a survey of the already collected sources (both published and unpublished). The data from these sources was entered into a database which allowed for the quantitative analysis of these exchanges of letters. The aim of the second part is to present a guide for the documents

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in Hungarian supplemented with examples. The examples are designed to demonstrate how the sources could be published in accordance with the rules of the guide.

Keywords: Péter Koháry; Peace Treaty of Szőny (1627); territorial negotiations at Szécsény and Buda (1628–1629); Habsburg–Ottoman diplomatic affairs; quantitative analysis of a collection of an exchange of letters; guideline for publishing sources in Hungarian

Rezumat: Scopul acestei lucrări este să ofere un tur ghidat prin teza de doctorat a autorului în termenii structurii acesteia, a metodei folosite, a abordării și a conținutului. Articolul își propune să prezinte rezultatele cercetării autorului asupra tratatului de pace de la Szőny, punând accentul asupra negocierilor teritoriale subsecvente, în lumina corespondenței lui Péter Koháry. Articolul conține o trecere în revistă a relațiilor Habsburgo–Otomane și a tratatelor de pace, pe lângă un sumar al negocierilor deja menționate. În acest articol putem găsi un sumar al documentelor deja colectate, atât editate cât și inedite. Datele din aceste documente au fost integrate într-o bază de date care a permis o analiză cantitativă a acestui schimb de scrisori. Scopul celei de a doua părți a studiului este să ofere un ghid pentru documentele în maghiară și să-l illustreze prin exemple. Exemplele sunt alese pentru a demonstra cum ar putea fi publicate aceste surse, în conformitate cu regulile stabilite în acest ghid.

Cuvinte cheie: Péter Koháry; tratatul de pace de la Szőny (1627); negocierile teritoriale de la Szécsény și Buda (1628–1629); relații diplomatice Habsburgo–Otomane; analiza cantitativă a unei colecții de scrisori; ghid pentru publicarea unor documente în limba maghiară

Inquiry into Habsburg–Ottoman diplomatic history is not a novel trend in historical research. Investigation of Habsburg–Ottoman diplomatic history as well as research on the topic of peace treaties of the early modern period has flourished in recent decades in Hungary and elsewhere.¹

¹ See more (non-exhaustive collection):

Zsuzsanna Cziráki, '„Mein gueter, väterlicher Maister” – Wissenstransfer unter kaiserlichen Gesandten an der Hohen Pforte in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Chronica*, 19 (2019): 42–83; Krisztina Juhász, '„...gyümölcsé pedig semmi nem volt”. Esterházy Miklós véleménye 1642. február 28-án a szőnyi béke(tervezet) pontjairól' [“...and its fruit was nothing”. Miklós Esterházy's Opinion about the Points of the Peace Treaty of Szőny on 28 February 1642], *Levélári Közlemények*, 89 (2020): 353–366; Papp Sándor, 'A pozsareváci békekötés és a magyarok' [The Treaty of Passarowitz and the Hungarians], *Aetas*, 33/4 (2018): 5–19; Szabados János, 'Habsburg–Ottoman Communication in the Mid-17th Century – The Death of Imperial Courier Johann Dietz. A Case Study', *Osmanli Arastirmalari*, 54/2 (2019): 119–140; Hajnalka Tóth, 'Mennyit ér egy magyar lovas hadnagy? Egy rabkiváltás története diplomáciatörténeti

From the late Middle Ages till the eighteenth century, several peace treaties were made between the Kingdom of Hungary (later Habsburg Empire) and the Ottoman Empire which could be divided into five major categories in a chronological order,² which are worth mentioning.

kontextusban a 17. század közepéről [How much is a Hungarian Cavalry Captain Worth? Prisoner Ransoming and International Diplomacy in the Mid-17th Century], *Századok*, 152/2 (2018): 247–284; Hajnalka Tóth, 'The circumstances and documents of the Peace of Vasvár', *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 34 (2017): 243–256; Zsuzsanna Nagy: *Bethlen Gábor külpolitikája és a francia diplomácia a harmincéves háborúban (1619–1629)* [Gábor Bethlen's Foreign Politics and French Diplomacy in the Thirty Years War (1619–1629)]. PhD Dissertation, Manuscript, Doctoral School of History, Pázmány Péter Catholic University. Budapest, 2020; Gábor Kármán, 'Zülfikár aga portai főtolmács' [Grand Dragoman Zülfikar Aga], *Aetas*, 31/3 (2016): 54–76; Gábor Kármán, 'Gábor Bethlen's Diplomats at the Protestant Courts of Europe', *Hungarian Historical Review*, 2/4 (2013): 790–823; Arno Strohmeier, 'Trendek és perspektívák a kora újkori diplomáciatörténetben. A konstantinápolyi Habsburg diplomaták esete' [Trends and Perspectives in Early Modern Diplomatic History. The Case of Habsburg Diplomats in Constantinople], *Történelmi Szemle*, 59/2 (2017): 177–198; Frank Castiglione – Ethan L. Menchinger – Veysel Şimşek (eds), *Ottoman War and Peace. Studies in Honor of Virginia H. Aksan* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2019); Colin Heywood – Ivan Parvev (eds), *The Treaties of Carlowitz (1699). Antecedents, Course and Consequences* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2020); Gábor Kármán – Kees Tszelszky (eds), *Bethlen Gábor és Európa* [Gábor Bethlen and Europe] (Budapest: ELTE BTK – Transylvania Emlékeiért Tudományos Egyesület, 2013); Gábor Kármán – Lovro Kunčević (eds), *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2020); Gábor Kármán (ed), *Tributaries and Peripheries of the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2020); Gábor Kármán, *A Seventeenth-Century Odyssey in East Central Europe. The Life of Jakab Harsányi Nagy* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2016); Articles of the following volume: Zsuzsanna J. Újváry (eds), *Oszmán–magyar viszony a 16–18. században. Tanulmányok a Magyar Királyság és az Oszmán Birodalom népeinek – magyarok, törökök, rácok, tatárok, zsidók, görögök és egyéb népek – hétköznapijairól; Egyén és közösség viszonya* [Ottoman–Hungarian Relations in the 16th–18th Centuries. Studies on the Everyday Life of the Peoples of the Ottoman Empire – Hungarians, Turks, Rascians, Tartars, Jews, Greeks and Other Peoples; the Relationship of Individual and Community] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, Az Apostoli Szentszék Könyvkiadója, 2020). Especially: Gergely Brandl – János Szabados, 'A megbízás terhe. Johann Ludwig von Kuefstein báró konstantinápolyi nagykövetségének előkészítése 1628-tól' [The Burden of a Mandate. The Preparation of the Embassy of Baron Johann Ludwig von Kuefstein to Constantinople in 1628], pp. 149–170; Krisztina Juhász, 'A második szőnyi béke margójára. Adalékok az 1642. évi szőnyi békekötés történetéhez' [Additional Data to the History of the Peace Treaty of Szőny in 1642], pp. 171–188; Gellért Ernő Marton, '„Szőnyből tudatjuk...”. Három magyar diplomata – Rimay János, Tassy Gáspár és Tholdalagi Mihály – követnaplójának összehasonlító elemzése az 1627. évi szőnyi békekötés kapcsán' [“We Inform You from Szőny”. Three Hungarian Diplomats. A Comparative Analysis of the Emissary Diaries of János Rimay, Gáspár Tassy and Mihály Tholdalagi in the Context of the 1627 Peace Treaty of Szőny], pp. 135–148.

(See further literature in the footnotes below.)

² See more: Sándor Papp, 'Az Oszmán Birodalom, a Magyar Királyság és a Habsburg Monarchia kapcsolattörténete a békekötések tükrében (Vázlat és adatbázis)' [The History of

Figure 13 Fritz Balthes: Plan variation for the market place without the meat stalls (above) and with the restored arcade row (below) In: *Die Karpathen*, 6/10, May 1912

Figure 144 Portrait of Emilie Fuchs, Sketch from Balthes, digital copy from the Evangelical Archives in Sibiu

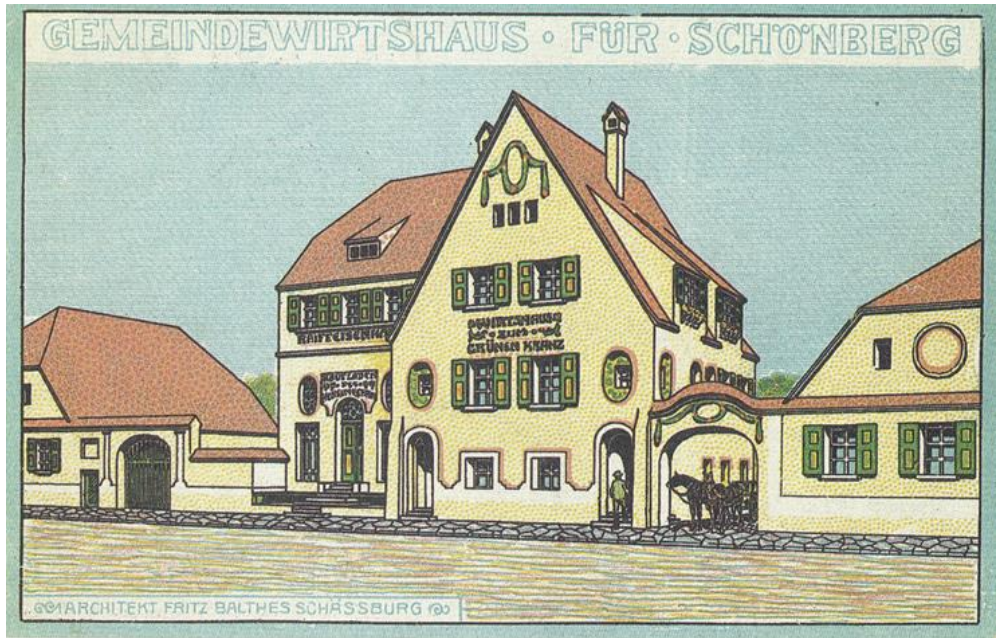


Figure 155 Fritz Balthes, Design for the Community Inn in Dealu Frumos, Chromolithography., 1909. In: Konrad Klein, *Grüße aus dem Bärenland: Siebenbürgen in alten Ansichtskarten*, Munich, 1998, p. 118.

What Did They See? Looking at Art in a Medical Setting: Brâncuși's Écorché at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj¹

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Abstract: The main question addressed by this paper stems methodologically from the intersection between the history of art and the history of medicine as embodied by the anatomical object: what do professionals in medicine see when looking at a work of art which takes the human body as its subject? In this particular instance, the medical figure is represented by Victor Papilian, appointed in 1919 as Head of the Institute of Anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj, while the work of art presented to his students is the Écorché, executed earlier in 1902 by Constantin Brâncuși. The story of the Écorché is punctuated by controversies surrounding the number of its original pieces and copies (in Bucharest, Craiova, Iași and Cluj), directly related to the institutional efforts invested in their acquisition (either by faculties of medicine or academies of art). However, it is generally agreed that this sculpture primarily functions as a didactic prop, no matter its recipient (the medical student or the training artist). By contextualizing Brâncuși's Écorché within the specific field of anatomical knowledge developed at the Cluj Faculty of Medicine in the third decade of the twentieth century, I propose an argument for its hybrid nature, mainly by pointing out the distinct interests corroborated in the creation of this anatomical object with an emphasis on the changes set in motion by the contexts of production and distribution.

Keywords: Faculty of Medicine, Écorché, Constantin Brâncuși, Victor Papilian, anatomy, medical setting, history of art, context of display, medical gaze, didactic prop

¹ This article represents an extended written form of the paper presented at the PhD Candidates' Annual Conference in History, organized by History. Culture. Civilization Doctoral School at Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, November 2020, online.

Rezumat: Principala întrebare adresată în această lucrare derivă metodologic din intersecția dintre istoria artei și istoria medicinei, așa cum este ea reprezentată de obiectul anatomic: ce văd specialiștii din medicină atunci când privesc o operă de artă ce își ia ca subiect corpul uman? În cazul analizat aici, figura medicală este întruchipată de către Victor Papilian, numit în anul 1919 în funcția de șef al Institutului de Anatomie al Facultății de Medicină din Cluj, în timp ce opera de artă prezentată studenților săi este *Écorché*-ul, executat mai devreme, în anul 1902, de către Constantin Brâncuși. Istoria *Écorché*-ului este punctată de controverse în jurul numărului de piese originale și copii al acestuia (aflate în București, Craiova, Iași și Cluj), în directă legătură cu eforturile instituționale depuse pentru achiziționarea lor (fie de către facultățile de medicină, fie de către academiile de artă). Cu toate acestea, faptul unanim acceptat este că această sculptură funcționează în primul rând ca necesar didactic, indiferent de destinatarul ei (studentul la medicină sau artistul în formare). Prin contextualizarea *Écorché*-ului lui Brâncuși în domeniul specific al cunoașterii anatomice dezvoltate la Facultatea de Medicină din Cluj în al treilea deceniu al secolului al XX-lea, este propus un argument în favoarea naturii sale hibride, în special prin evidențierea intereselor distincte coroborate în crearea acestui obiect anatomic, cu accent pe schimbările declanșate de contextele sale de producție și distribuție.

Cuvinte-cheie: facultate de medicină, *Écorché*, Constantin Brâncuși, Victor Papilian, anatomie, context medical, istoria artei, privire medicală, necesar didactic

Introduction

The collision between the history of art and the history of medicine has given rise in recent decades to a growing number of studies aiming at deciphering their fascinating, if not sometimes perplexing instances.² This has precipitated a mobilization of textual, material and

² See Jon Agar, Crosbie Smith (eds), *Making Space for Science. Territorial Themes in the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998); Grant Malcolm (ed.), *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Visual Representations and Interpretations* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Academic Press, 2005); Sandra Cavallo - David Gentilcore (eds.), *Spaces, Objects and Identities in Early Modern Italian Medicine* (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2008); Renée van de Vall and Robert Zwijnenberg (ed.), *The Body within: Art, Medicine and Visualization* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Sarah Ferber, Sally Wilde (ed.), *The Body Divided. Human Beings and Human 'Material' in Modern Medical History* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Patricia A. Baker, Han Nijdam, Karine van't Land (ed.), *Medicine and Space. Body, Surroundings and Borders in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Sachiko Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago: University of

visual sources, staged not only as historically transformative objects of cross-disciplinary investigation, but also as tools for dismantling convoluted dilemmas: how do we get to know what we see? What do we understand from looking at objects used by doctors, but crafted by skilful artisans or artists? Who authors medical illustrations and to what extent may they do so? How much data can images of irrefutable artistic virtuosity convey about the scientific contexts they stem from? Such questions have nurtured the pivotal works of researchers active in the interdisciplinary field of 'science, technology and medicine'³ and whose primary aim is to shed light on the ideas, instruments and relationships that have developed between artists and doctors in the process of deciphering the natural world. In this methodological perspective, one such enduring meeting gestures towards an anatomical object located in the faculty of medicine in Cluj: Constantin Brâncuși's Écorché from 1902, commissioned by the anatomist Dimitrie Gerota at the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest, sent in the mid-1930s to Victor Papilian, then head of the Department of Topographic and Comparative Anatomy in Cluj.

The purpose of this study is to provide an answer to a double-folded question: how was the écorché perceived by those who commissioned it and those who made use of it? In situating the analysis within the theoretical background mentioned above, the argument unfolds in the following steps: firstly, narrative details concerning the times when the écorché was produced and distributed are laid out, for the purpose of extracting the main storyline made possible by research so far. Secondly, I examine the notion of agency to highlight the profiling of the people

Chicago Press, 2012); Rina Knoeff, Robert Zwijnenberg (ed.), *The Fate of Anatomical Collections* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Domenico Bertoloni Meli, *Visualizing Disease: The Art and History of Pathological Illustrations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

³ See Bruno Latour - Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory Life. The Construction of Scientific Facts* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986); Lorraine Daston - Michael Otte (eds.), 'Style in science', special issue, *Science in Context* 4/2(1991): 223 - 447; B.T. Moran (ed.), *Patronage and Institutions: Science, Technology, and Medicine at the European Court, 1500 - 1750* (London: Boydell, 1991); John V. Pickstone, 'Ways of Knowing: Towards a Historical Sociology of Science, Technology and Medicine', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 26/4 (1993): 433 - 458; Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Oakland: The University of California Press, 1994); Lorraine Daston, Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* (New York: Zone Books, 1998); Pamela M. Henson, "'Objects of Curious Research": The History of Science and Technology at the Smithsonian', *Isis*, 90 (1999): S249 - S269; Thomas Glick et al. (eds.), *Medieval Science, Technology and Medicine: An Encyclopedia* (New York, NY and London: Routledge 2005); John V. Pickstone, 'Working Knowledges Before and After circa 1800: Practices and Disciplines in the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine', *Isis*, 98/3 (2007): 489 - 516; Robert Bud et al. (eds.), *Being Modern. The Cultural Impact of Science in the Early Twentieth Century Book* (Oakland: UCL Press, 2018).

involved in the dynamic of distinct outlooks for the *écorché*, with a particular emphasis on the theorization of the artist-anatomist interaction and the rapprochement between their actions and the larger tradition of cultural exchange they were familiar with. Motives and the issue of didacticism pertaining to the creation of the *écorché* entail the development of the third section of analysis: here I explore the medical ideas that contributed to the design of the object, epitomized in the teaching of anatomy, with a focus on Gerota's and Papilian's anatomical views and methods. The study delves into the positioning of the *écorché* as a merely instrumental genre of illuminating a museological impulse inhabiting the anatomist's choice for keeping the object: here I address the *écorché*'s potential to have been conceived more as an exhibit than as a didactic tool by the anatomist, and how, beyond acquiring knowledge about the human body, Papilian's relation with Brâncuși's *écorché* is more revealing of his perception of art and his placement within an expanding culture of collecting art in Cluj, as well as within his own literary work. From this point on, the text explores the effectiveness of objective knowledge activated by the *écorché* by tracing a rapprochement between Brâncuși's object and the visual culture of anatomy. On one hand, this section of my text is meant to highlight the value of the *écorché* in terms of display and function and the impact it had on the teaching of anatomy by way of artistic visualizations in the larger European context. On the other, it supports understanding how such culture prompted not only changing interpretations of the *écorché*, but also its polymorphous representation in the anatomists' quest to conflate boundaries between its artistic and medical investments: to put it briefly, the displacements incurred by the *écorché*'s meaning in relation to the anatomist's perspective. Far from being appropriated in a manner solely oriented towards the pragmatic use in the teaching of anatomy, Brâncuși's *Écorché* mutates from a pedagogical instance of sculpture into a work of art in the possession of Papilian, the anatomist who energetically engaged with the artistic scene of his time. The paper's conclusion argues that Brâncuși's *Écorché* unveils a fundamentally hybrid nature pertaining to the anatomical object, and that it marks a transition from its initial context of production, where it performed more of a didactic role, to the context of reception, where it mobilized the anatomist's interest for early twentieth century modern art.

Defining the *écorché*

The *écorché* is defined as an anatomical illustration or sculpture that represents the body of a living being or a bodily fragment, stripped of its skin and fat tissues, with the purpose of revealing to the onlooker the

internal parts.⁴ Anatomical images can range from high to low fidelity, and manifest varying degrees of realistic depiction. Starting with the Renaissance, one area of artistic anatomy slowly began to be individually conceived as a field of representation mainly focused on the morphology of muscles, veins and joints, and increasingly integrated developing medical perspectives, such as views of the organs within the torso and abdomen. During the Renaissance, artists performed their own dissections and produced wax *écorchés*, figures without skin, but showing off musculature, in a move that had been described as simultaneously referencing the societal interest for corporeal visualizations, as well as establishing the success of their respective makers on the art scene.⁵ The end result of these anatomical images mirroring the medical work of fellow colleagues in the realm of anatomy was to prefigure the merging of pictorial virtuosity with the conquering of what would have been understood as objective knowledge. Another concept brought into discussion within the anatomical representation of the body is that of ‘manikin’, which is a jointed model of the human body, used in the teaching of anatomy starting with the eighteenth century,⁶ based on earlier models used by artists in their pursuit of realistic depiction of bodily movements. The ‘manikin’ is similar to ‘mannequin’ in the sense that it is a human-shaped model used to simulate the human body: however, instead of being used in the realm of clothing, manikins are meant to contribute to the advancement of medical knowledge and assist in the simulation of surgical or clinical scenarios. The purpose around these objects is to provide anatomists, surgeons, clinicians and their students a safe environment to learn and practice their skills, without resorting to the use of a live patient. Both manikins and mannequins act as human simulators, despite their uses being different: the quest for realism is reframed in the history of art as an endless production of artificial men and women: explicit images of anatomically accurate bodies, *écorchés* in the categories of sculpture, drawing or painting become, in their stylized form, an implicit blueprint for looking at the world in an objective manner. Notwithstanding the surface or medium that allow for their configuration, art history’s *écorchés* inaugurate a phantasm of developing objectivity-infused inquiries: the possibility to translate and transcribe tridimensional reality on the surface of the canvas, wall or paper via investigations of the anatomical rendering of

⁴ Monique Kornell, “Ecorché” entry, Grove Art Online (<https://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000024851?rsk=wlwxjs&result=1>), accessed on February 1st, 2021.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ K. F. Russell, ‘Ivory Anatomical Manikins’, *Medical History* 16/2 (1972): 131 - 142.

the body had been linked to the formation and proliferation of fluid encounters between the works of anatomists and the vision of artists.⁷

The history of Brâncuși's Écorché - contexts of production and distribution

Constantin Brâncuși's Écorché does not exist as a single material item.⁸ The bibliography brings forth a number of art historians and medical figures who, on one hand have attempted to establish a precise chronology concerning the number of the écorché's originals and copies, while on the other hand set out to extract the messages conveyed by the entity itself: is it a work of art meant to convert the artist's desire to do an unusual sculpture, is it rather a co-authored piece of an indelibly didactic nature, or is it ultimately an anatomical object designed to look like a work of art, but acting as another tool of instruction in a museum of anatomy?⁹ The trouble with delineating a precise mode of analysis is

⁷ See Glenn Harcourt, 'Andreas Vesalius and the Anatomy of Antique Sculpture', *Representations*, 17 (1987): 28 - 60; Brian P. Kennedy - Davis Coakley (eds.), *The Anatomy Lesson: Art and Medicine*, exhibition catalogue (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 1992); Mimi Cazort et al. (eds.), *The Ingenious Machine of Nature. Four Centuries of Art and Anatomy* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1996); Deanna Petherbridge - Ludmilla Jordanova (eds.), *The Quick and the Dead. Artists and Anatomy*, exhibition catalogue (London: Hayward Gallery & University of California Press, 1997); Elliot Bostwick Davis, "William Rimmer's 'Art Anatomy' and Charles Darwin's Theories of Evolution", *Master Drawings*, 40/4 (2002): 345 - 359; Cynthia Klestinec, 'Civility, Compartment and the Anatomy Theater: Girolamo Fabrici and His Medical Students in Renaissance Padua', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60/2 (2007): 434 - 463; Raphaël Cuir, *The Development of the Study of Anatomy. From the Renaissance to Cartesianism: da Carpi, Vesalius, Estienne, Bidloo* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2009); Domenico Laurenza, 'Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy. Images from a Scientific Revolution', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 69/3 (2012): 5 - 48; Roberto Lo Presti, 'Anatomy as Epistemology: The Body of Man and the body of Medicine in Vesalius and his Ancient Sources', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, 33/3 (2010): 27 - 60; Elizabeth Hallam, *Anatomy Museum. Death and the Body Displayed* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016); Andrew Graciano, *Visualizing the Body in Art, Anatomy, and Medicine since 1800: Models and Modeling* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2019).

⁸ For an excellent analysis of the work in terms of copies and originals see: Elena Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși - Gerota. Istoria unei lucrări realizate la Școala de Belle Arte din București* [Brâncuși-Gerota Écorché. The History of a Work done at the Belle Arte School in Bucharest] (București: Editura UNARTE, 2013).

⁹ See George Oprescu, *Sculptura Românească* [Romanian Sculpture] (București: Meridiane, 1965); Mircia Deac, *Brâncuși* (București: Ed. Meridiane, 1966); V.G. Paleolog, *Tineretea lui Brâncuși* [Brâncuși' Youth] (București: Ed. Tineretului, 1967); Petre Comarnescu, *Brâncuși mit și metamorfoză în sculptura contemporană* [Brâncuși myth and metamorphosis in contemporary sculpture] (București: Meridiane, 1972); Sidney Geist, *Brâncuși - un studiu asupra sculpturii* [Brâncuși- a study of the sculpture] (București: Meridiane, 1973); Petre Oprea, *Incursiuni în sculptura românească sec. XIX-XX* [Incursion into Romanian sculpture] (București: Litera, 1974); Barbu Brezianu, *Brâncuși în România* [Brâncuși in Romania] (București: Editura Academiei RSR, 1976); Gheorghe Ghițescu, *Permanențele artei* [The Permanents of Art]

reflected in the omissions, ambiguities and discontinuities one can detect in this bibliography.¹⁰ Given the shortage of archival sources and the tendency to work out arguments within the framework of their respective disciplines, it becomes apparent where the conditions for the difficulty of deconstructing the significance behind the many versions of Brâncuși's *Écorché* stem from. In the historiographical space of the *Écorché*, its art historical mobilization is based on considerations of genre, artistic formation, the acquisition of stylistic virtuosity, perhaps as a stepping-stone towards future emancipation of form; in a way, the *Écorché* is inadvertently subjected to a silently condescending approach in art history - it symbolically imagines the work of art as one dutifully inscribed in a trajectory that sees it as a catalyst for radical change in the sculptural realm of the twentieth century. Scholars, nevertheless agree that the *Écorché* is a single work of art that materialized between 1901-1902 in several material formats: it was initially made by Brâncuși in plaster and after the extraction of its negatives, the statue was replicated after 1903 in several exemplars made of gypsum (white or coloured).¹¹

Brâncuși started working on the *Écorché* in 1901, while in his final year at the academy of art in Bucharest, benefitting from the support of his professor in artistic anatomy, Dimitrie Gerota, who was also active as professor of topographic anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine. For his *Écorché*, Brâncuși was awarded the bronze medal in the anatomy competition and the *Écorché* was exhibited at the Atheneum¹² in 1903, being met with critical and public success. At the time, the Atheneum's building hosted the school of arts' picture gallery ('Pinacoteca'), exhibitions of contemporary art, as well as the classes of human anatomy, perspective, theory of decorative arts, aesthetics and history of art.¹³ Gerota played a pivotal role in the creation of the work. In order to complete his *Écorché*, Brâncuși not only frequented the anatomy classes in the medical school,

(București: Ed. Meridiane, 1976); Gheorghe Brătescu, *Trecut și viitor în medicină - Studii și note* [Past and Future in Medicine - Studies and Notes] (București: Ed. Medicală, 1981); Gheorghe Ghițescu, *Antropologie artistică* [Artistic anthropology] (București: Ed. Didactică și Pedagogică, 1981); Doina Lemny, Cristian-Robert Velescu, *Brâncuși inedit - însemnări și corespondență românească* [Brâncuși- notes and correspondence] (București: Ed. Humanitas, 2004); Elena Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși - Gerota. Istoria unei lucrări realizate la Școala de Belle Arte din București* [Brâncuși-Gerota *Écorché*. The History of a Work done at the Belle Arte School in Bucharest] (București: Editura UNARTE, 2013).

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 13 - 39.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 57- 69.

¹² Ibid., p. 73.

¹³ Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Învățământul artistic românesc 1830 - 1892* [Romanian Artistic Education 1830-1892] (București: Meridiane, 1999), p. 154.

but was allowed to attend the dissection activities carried out by the doctor. Aware of the young artist's potential, Gerota wanted to support Brâncuși in his ambitions to study abroad, hence, after the Atheneum exhibition, he was the one in charge with organizing the execution of several replicas of the *écorché*, to be distributed equally in artistic and medical environments, and for which young Brâncuși was financially compensated. One of these originals was sent by Gerota to Victor Papilian, professor of topographic and comparative anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj, sometime in the mid-1930s.¹⁴ For several decades after this offering, information concerning the existence of an original work by Brâncuși simply evaded the literature of the time. It was only by the late 1960s that light was shed upon the existence of a Brâncuși *écorché* in Cluj: during a visit in town, Gheorghe Ghițescu, professor of artistic anatomy at the academy of art in Bucharest, identified the object as an original work by Brâncuși, and consequently informed art historian Barbu Brezianu about its existence.¹⁵ Later on, Cluj anatomist Ioan Albu sent a letter to Brezianu, describing the work in detail; he also later published an article in 'Clujul Medical' where he confirmed the existence of the original work in the department's museum of anatomy. He based his argument not only on Ghițescu's previous identification, but also by recalling the oral testimony of C.C. Velluda (1893 - 1978), a long-time assistant and collaborator of Papilian.¹⁶ Egon Lövith (1923 - 2009), professor at the department of sculpture at the Ion Andreescu Institute of Visual Arts, took charge of the restoration works for the *Écorché*, firstly by detaching negatives, an intervention followed by the execution of several other copies: two of them were given to the Faculty of Medicine, two were kept for the institute of arts in Cluj and the negatives were also preserved, in order to allow for the production of copies for various educational institutions in the country. Brâncuși's *Écorché*'s trajectory eventually included a larger number of copies: two were distributed in the 1980s to the Army's Fine Arts Studio in Bucharest and in Târgu Jiu, and later, in the 1990s, other copies were sent to the High School of Music and Fine Arts in Alba Iulia, the Faculty of Music and Visual Arts at the University of Pecs, 'Corneliu Baba' High School of Art in Bistrița, 'Aurel Popp' High School of Art Satu-Mare and the 'Patriarch Justinian' Faculty of Orthodox Theology at the University of Bucharest.¹⁷

¹⁴ Ion Albu, 'Victor Papilian, 1888 - 1956', in I. Simiti (ed.), *Figuri reprezentative ale medicinei și farmaciei clujene* (Cluj-Napoca: Litografia IMF, 1980), p. 88.

¹⁵ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, annex 10, no page no.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, p. 137.

The interesting detail in this list of events is that, according to C.C. Velluda, Victor Papilian, a former student of Gerota in Bucharest, entered into possession of the *écorché* sometime in 1934 or 1935. The work is included in the museum of anatomy founded by Papilian at the department of anatomy a decade earlier, at a time when things were already changing in a museological sense: the museum of anatomy could not be visited anymore by the general public, and the anatomical objects were meant to be seen only by the professor of anatomy and his students. The *Écorché's* identity as a work of art remains hidden for the public at large, and the *Écorché's* display is bestowed the sole purpose of helping students learn anatomy; besides attending the professor's lectures and applying his methods during the dissection lessons in the designated laboratories, students were supposed to visually grasp the field of anatomy by consulting book illustrations and by looking at the wet and dry specimens in the museum of anatomy.

Investigating agency - the artist and the anatomists

Having so far provided the narrative context for Brâncuși's *Écorché*, I will move next to the issue of agency and succinctly present the main figures responsible for the way the history of the *Écorché* unfolded. Dimitrie Gerota (1867 - 1939) was an anatomist, physician and radiologist. He was born in Craiova, being the son of a priest. In 1886, Gerota enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Bucharest, and graduated in 1892. After graduation, he travelled and furthered his studies for four years in France and Germany. After returning to Bucharest, he started practicing medicine and teaching at various institutions. Considered to be the first Romanian radiologist, Gerota researched the anatomy and physiology of the bladder and appendix, and developed a method for injecting lymphatic vessels, known in textbooks as the 'Gerota method'.¹⁸ During his lifetime, his merits were recognized in the way he applied anatomy to surgery, as well as for being the founder of a large emergency-care hospital. Gerota also founded a museum of anatomical-surgical casts. Together with Francisc Rainer (1874 - 1944), he was Victor Papilian's professor of anatomy in Bucharest.¹⁹

¹⁸ <https://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Gerota+method>, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

¹⁹ Cristian Bârsu, 'Fighting for Anatomy. Overview regarding two prestigious Romanian anatomists of the 20th century: Victor Papilian and Grigore T. Popa', *Romanian Journal of Morphology and Embryology*, 57/1 (2016): 331 - 337.

Constantin Brâncuși (1876 - 1957) is ubiquitously presented as a key figure in the history of modernist development of the sculptural form in the beginning of the twentieth century. The *Écorché*, without exhibiting literal clues of this emancipatory destiny of the sculptural morphology, nevertheless represented a novelty in the local context, it being the first oeuvre of this kind, originally designed and executed within the institutional framework of a Romanian school of art. Up to Brâncuși's undertaking of the task, no other professor of sculpture at the institute had come up with the idea of making an *écorché* (the existing *écorchés* were plaster casts brought from Paris). As a student in the department of sculpture, learning from and training under the supervision of artists Ion Georgescu (1856 - 1898) and Wladimir C. Hegel (1839 - 1918), Brâncuși makes a rather unconventional choice when he decides to work on an *écorché*: beyond the requirements of treating plaster as a valid medium for an exercise in visibility (revealing the inner structure of the body), the format allowed for the expression of a yearning. Despite his naturalistic appearance, his 'flayed man' might be seen not only as a successful instance of reuniting the natural and the ideal in a single piece of sculpture, but also as a tentative leap in transgressing the boundaries of the Neoclassical school of sculpture he was part of during his study years.

Victor Papilian (1888 - 1956) was an anatomist, writer and active figure on the cultural scene of Cluj in the first decades of the twentieth century. After he graduated from the Conservatory of Music, he pursued studies of medicine in Bucharest between 1907 - 1916, under the supervision of anatomists Francisc Rainer and Dimitrie Gerota.²⁰ In 1915 he was appointed president of the Students' Society of Medicine in Bucharest and in 1919 he was invited to be head of the Department of Anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj. While there, he became a member of the Society of Biology and the Society of Anthropology, and he was also appointed dean of the Faculty of Medicine (between 1930-1931, and 1940-1946). In addition to his medical research, Papilian gained notoriety for his many artistic interests: he was director of the Romanian Theatre (1936-1940), director of the Cluj Philharmonic, as well as a member of the Writers' Society of Transylvania. During the Communist regime, he was imprisoned in 1952 for a period of two years. Papilian was a prolific writer of fiction and a passionate collector of art. According to his assistant, C.C. Velluda, Gerota personally sent him Brâncuși's *Écorché*. His art collection included works of contemporary art.²¹

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ioana Vlasiu, 'Colecții și colecționism în Clujul interbelic', *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei, artă plastică*, 8/52 (2018): 29 - 43.

Papilian was good friends with dermatologist Coriolan Tătaru (1889 - 1957) and encouraged him to open a museum of casts; in his turn, Tătaru was also an avid collector of art.²² According to Ioan Albu, during the temporary evacuation of the Faculty of Medicine in 1940, to Sibiu, Papilian took the écorché with him and kept it in his small office, without confessing to anyone the value it had.²³ In the archives of the faculty of medicine there are no indications of an official transfer made from Bucharest to Cluj between 1933 - 1937, but Albu posits that the écorché was a personal donation.²⁴

The relationship between Gerota and Brâncuși

Having briefly described the main figures of the story, the emphasis falls nevertheless on an important question: why was the écorché ultimately commissioned? In order to answer it, I will first examine the relationship between Gerota and Brâncuși. Gerota was both an anatomist and a surgeon. He adhered to the German school of modern anatomy that drew a close link between anatomy and surgery in the advancement of modern medicine.²⁵ His experiences abroad were defining for his career as an anatomist. During his studies in Berlin, he worked for a period of three years as an assistant to the renowned anatomist Heinrich Wilhelm Gottfried von Waldeyer-Hartz (1836 - 1921), who coined the notions of 'chromosome' and 'neuron' as anatomical-morphological concepts. Waldeyer was not only a gifted teacher, but also an excellent microscopist and microscopic researcher. Among his many anatomical and embryological studies, Waldeyer became known for his pioneering research on the development of teeth and hair, and many of the terms he invented are still in use today. He also published the first embryological, anatomical and functional studies about the naso-oro-pharyngeal lymphatic tissue. During his studies in France 1894, Gerota worked as an assistant to Paul-Julien Poirier (1853 - 1907) and Luis Hubert Farabeuf (1841 - 1910): Farabeuf's anatomical practice brought great service to surgery, mixing a topographical view with physiology and his anatomical discoveries and inventions of surgical tools bear nowadays his name ('Farabeuf's triangle of the neck', 'Farabeuf retractors' and 'Farabeuf forceps').²⁶ He wrote an influential 'Précis de manuel opératoire', and was also greatly respected for the beauty of his anatomical drawings, of which

²² Ibid.

²³ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, annex 10, no page no.

²⁴ Albu, 'Victor Papilian', p. 90.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Konstantinos Laios et al., 'Louis Hubert Farabeuf (1841 - 1910). A pioneer of topographical, clinical and surgical anatomy', *Italian Journal of Anatomy and Embryology*, 123/1 (2018): 46 - 50.

he made use during teaching classes (lost nowadays).²⁷ In a photograph from 1908 taken from his office, Farabeuf is surrounded not only by surgical instruments, but also by a large anatomical picture ('planche murale')²⁸ and a 1926 caricature shows him demonstrating the articulation of the knee on one such 'planche murale'.²⁹

After he returned to Bucharest, Gerota got involved in the organization of a museum of anatomy, being the first anatomist pursuing this museological project at the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest. His endeavour reinforced the importance played by the practice of developing visual artefacts in the activity of an anatomist at the beginning of the twentieth century. Gerota founded a museum of anatomical-surgical pieces with objects made exclusively by himself, by the method of injecting fragments of dead bodies with coloured wax; his work was considered significant, since for this museum he was awarded the gold medal and the diploma of honour in the 'Science exhibition' organized in Bucharest, in 1903.³⁰ Next to the description of the renal fascia, Gerota's fame as an anatomist is closely linked with the development of the formaldehyde method. In the creation of anatomical specimens, his method consisted in first injecting the formaldehyde, then freezing the corpse, and finally sectioning the corpse: 'one of the most valuable properties of formic adhesive is to fix the organs in their natural situation and to give them a remarkable elasticity'.³¹ The main advantage of this method consists in the possibility of sectioning full corpses into longitudinal and latitudinal sections, so that the anatomist can carefully trace the disease's trajectory and its aftermath in the ill body. This method also allowed Gerota to articulate the description of the renal fascia, later known as 'Gerota's fascia': 'Thanks to this property one can study the anatomy of the whole body... I was able to section whole corpses into transverse or longitudinal slices [...]'.³² In his work, Gerota acts as a specialist who locates, names and describes anatomical regions and markers, by way of intense visualization.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 49.

²⁸ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M._Farabeuf,_professeur_d%27anatomie_honoraire,_dans_son_cabinet_%C3%A0_la_fa_CIPB0294.jpg, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

²⁹ <https://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/histmed/image?medchanteclx1926x16x0011>, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

³⁰ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, pp. 40 - 42.

³¹ Laios et al., *Louis Hubert Farabeuf (1841 - 1910)*, p. 49.

³² See Dimitre Gerota, 'Über die Anwendung des Formols in der topographischen Anatomie', *Anatomischer Anzeiger*, 1895, vol. XI.

The preservation of specimens in the history of anatomy is a story intertwined with the museological framework that consolidated the authority of the anatomist not only as a medical figure in charge of mapping objective knowledge within the confines of human corporeality, but also as a curator of an anatomized way of seeing. For example, Dutch medicine by the mid-seventeenth century performed wax-based experiments resembling Egyptian embalming; organs injected with wax could preserve their structure before the decomposition of tissues.³³ Colouring was an important addition, because when combined with red, green or yellow dyes, it affected the perception of the anatomical formation. By late 1770s in Scottish medicine, spirit was used in the creation of soft tissue specimens. In England at the same era, turpentine was applied by anatomist John Sheldon in the process of drying specimens in order to render them transparent, so that he could have a clearer picture of the mercury injections applied to blood vessels. When wax injections became more widely used due to their increased quality, mercury-based technologies were gradually abandoned.³⁴

Gerota was willing to both inspire and encourage young Brâncuși in his work. The anatomist's activity at the school of art in Bucharest - where he was drawing, in front of the students, various schemes and structures of the body - was deemed of utter importance by the head of the school. In a letter sent by G.D. Mirea (1852 - 1934) to the ministry of education, he emphasized the importance of Gerota's class of artistic anatomy in the training of the young artists.³⁵ Books remained a valuable source of instruction too: in his communication with Brâncuși, Gerota is thought to have provided him with two important sources of visual documentation, namely Paul Richer's 'Artistic Anatomy' (1893) containing 110 plates and 300 figures, as well as Franz Liharzik's 1871 volume devoted to the structure of the human body. Paul Richer (1849 - 1933) was a French anatomist, neurologist, historian of medicine, illustrator, sculptor and medallist. He worked as professor of artistic anatomy at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris, was appointed member of the Académie Nationale de Médecine (1898), and significantly, he was also an assistant to Jean-Martin Charcot (1825 - 1893) at the Salpêtrière,

³³ Rina Knoef, 'Dutch Anatomy and Clinical Medicine in 17th-Century Europe', *European History Online* (EGO), published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2012-06-20, <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/models-and-stereotypes/the-dutch-century/rina-knoeff-dutch-anatomy-and-clinical-medicine-in-17th-century-europe>, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

³⁴ Phyllis Allen, 'Medical Education in 17th Century England', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 1/1(1946): 115 - 143.

³⁵ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, annex 6, no page no.

together with whom he conducted research not only on hysteria and epilepsy, but also co-authored studies about the relationship between medicine and art: *Les Démoniaques dans l'art* (1887) and *Les Difformes et les malades dans l'art* (1889). The myology plates in Richer's *Artistic Anatomy* (no. 53 - 55, no. 59 - 62, no. 68 - 71)³⁶ present écorchés detailing the muscles of the torso and the head, paralleling earlier images developed in ancient classical sculpture as well as their neoclassical iterations. A few of these plates render fragments of myological set-ups, explaining in schematic drawings accompanied by textual descriptions the relation between bones and muscles. They also pay close attention to the spatial distribution of each element, without sacrificing at any point a sense of unity, harmony and symmetry hailed by classical theories of aesthetics. Such anatomical illustrations at Brâncuși's disposal promote a picture of idealized beauty far removed from the rather distressing encounters with the human material during dissections at the faculty of medicine. The anatomist carefully arranges these fragments on the surface of the page according to the laws of symmetry and by keeping under tight control the page's margins. Muscles and bones are constricted to the contouring of their general shape, while at other times the anatomist as artist resorts to a juxtaposition of contour less anatomical spaces and carefully demarcated ones through the use of an uninterrupted line. Plate 74 opens the series of 'topographie morphologique' dealing with the exterior surface of the body: the way shading was applied says perhaps less about anatomical content (as simplified as it might have been in a book of artistic anatomy), and more about the technology of seeing anatomy through the draughtsman's eyes. Polished, neat, shaded surfaces of the body echo the practice of drawing after classical sculptures in the education of young artists. Richer, in a line of artist-anatomists, orchestrates a liminal process that characterizes the relationship between medical and artistic anatomy: the conversion of medical knowledge into visual schemes, able to be read and understood on the basis of acquaintance with the cultural heritage of post-Renaissance corporeal art.

Anatomical realms - artistic and medical

After Brâncuși's departure to Paris, Gerota is the one responsible for making the Écorché known in Romania and he will never present the Écorché as his work, despite having co-authored it.³⁷ In order to grasp the meaning of Gerota's decision of commissioning the original copies after

³⁶ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k205846w.pdf>, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

³⁷ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, p. 55.

Brâncuși's *Écorché*, we need to look beyond the narrative details of the story. In this sense, the iconography of Gerota's anatomical studio³⁸ is helpful, as it reveals it as an ambiguous and eclectic space, mixing the private and public nature of anatomy. It speaks of the juxtaposition of art and nature, as well as of the representations of their encounter in the shape of wax models and anatomical moulages. A multitude of representations of the human form are brought together, be they of an anatomical, ideal or museological nature. It demonstrates that anatomy relies on a mixture of textures, materials and intentions not only in the teaching spaces and laboratories, but also in the private space of the anatomist's office. The protagonist of the photo is Brâncuși's *Écorché* and there is one important detail to be taken into account: the *écorché* belongs to the 'white' series, that is, the gypsum had not yet undergone the medically-oriented stylized painting in red (for the muscles) and yellow (for the tissues), even if it strikingly models anatomical accuracy. On the left, a human-sized skeleton fulfils the role of displaying the human body devoid of any flesh; stacks of shelves presenting dry and wet specimens fill the back wall; large X-Ray photographs show the newly acquired technology, invented just a few decades earlier by Roentgen and for which the scientist was awarded in 1901 the Nobel prize in Physics; on the right, anatomical moulages in wax after a pregnant woman's body reference not only the interest in anatomical visualization, but also Gerota's earlier investment in gynaecology, having co-authored with O. Schaeffer a book called 'Elements of Gynaecology'. What is striking in this particular photographic instance of the ambiance of an anatomist's office is the clear cohabitation of distinct anatomical realms, artistic and medical, united however by a longing for scientific translation of content: the anatomist positions himself as a curator of experiences in visuality, assigning objectivity to various pictures and artefacts, in a bid to organically contain a corpus of images and imaginings of the human body (conceived as a frail entity prone to incurring disease which then prompts medical assistance). Gerota's office, as captured in the photograph, speaks to the anatomist's predilection for mixing materials, surfaces, and their assigned visualizations. In this sense, the anatomist reveals an identity which is not divorced from the museological impetus inherent in the practice of collecting distinct media in order to make visible the encounters between the body and the anatomical gaze.

During Brâncuși's time at the academy of art in Bucharest, the young artist could consult the collection of imported statues meant to assist in the development of the sculptural form. The first imported

³⁸ After a photo published in Elena Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, p. 46.

statues were those brought in 1864 by Theodor Aman from Paris, representing gypsum casts executed in the Louvre workshop as copies after the following statues: Apollo of Belvedere, Diana, Venus, Antinous, a smaller-sized écorché and ten metopes from the Parthenon.³⁹ In addition to these statues, Brâncuși was also able to consult the anatomical atlas of Dr. Julian Fau, given as a present to the school's library by Petru Verussi in 1868, who received a state scholarship to study in Paris. According to a letter sent to the minister in September 1903 by G.D. Mirea: '[...] we agreed with a moulder to make copies, in double numbers, after: Apollo, Antinous, Ariana, Child with Swan, Diana, Faun with Pipe, The Gladiator, Mercury in repose, Venus of Medici and Venus of Milo, for a sum of 1650 lei – a sum that is higher than the price these models were paid for in Paris. The company in charge with them is Luigi Brida - the first Italian workshop of sculpture, gypsum ornaments and cement'.⁴⁰ By 1903, the school of art's inventory contained a number of eleven statues representing late nineteenth-century copies after canonical statues from Antiquity. The aftermath of Brâncuși winning the bronze medal and the 1903 display of the Écorché at the Atheneum is reflected in a letter sent by the students of the art academy, asking for the commissioning of several copies after the écorché, in order to support the development of the artistic anatomy as well as the correct anatomical understanding of the human body by the artists in training.⁴¹ In the absence of teaching material, it was very difficult for young artists to develop their skills, representation-wise.

I will next explore the details found in a photo of Brâncuși's workshop,⁴² and in which one can notice the sources of inspiration for his own anatomical work. The sources are: a fragment of anatomical moulage in the shape of a leg écorché; a fragment of an arm écorché; a human skeleton; a copy after Houdon's Écorché from the eighteenth century (1767); a copy after the statue of Antinous from the Capitoline Museum in Rome (bought by Theodor Aman in Paris). The posture of Brâncuși's écorché closely mirrors the one of Antinous, which triggers the question of the artist's motives in re-enacting it. Gheorghe Ghițescu argued that the choice for modelling the écorché after Antinous relied upon the artist's preference for an elegance of form, as the androgynous-looking body exhibiting a thinly veiled musculature resonated with a concept of beauty assigned to the rhymed

³⁹ Ionescu, *Învățământul artistic românesc*, p. 154.

⁴⁰ Dumitrescu, *Ecorșeul Brâncuși*, annex 1, no page no.

⁴¹ Ibid. annex 2, no page no.

⁴² https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Constantin_Brâncuși_-_Ecorseu.jpg, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

movement of proportions.⁴³ Charles Bell (1774 - 1842), Scottish anatomist and anatomical artist, wrote a book entitled *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting* (1806), demonstrating that ancient models often imitated by painters did not accurately reflect anatomical realities. Even if the book combined his interest in art and medicine, the book's audience mainly targeted visual artists. Bell argued in favour of paying greater attention to anatomy in the representational projects of accurate presentation of the body.⁴⁴ A few years earlier, in 1801, Bell had written a book accompanied by illustrations entitled 'Engravings of the Arteries', meant to be used by students of medicine as a foundational text for surgical study and practice. Truthful learning of anatomy could be achieved when detailed descriptions were joined with meticulous drawings; in choosing the type of body most suitable for representation, Bell was in favour of going for a diversity of bodies, and also proposed that the artists ought to represent the most typical anatomical examples. Concerning the copy after Houdon's 'flayed man', it is worth mentioning that his source of inspiration consisted in the figures of anatomy and the anatomical plates of Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (1751 - 1772).⁴⁵ According to Quatremère de Quincy, the écorché '[...] had become, in schools, the normal example of human muscular anatomy':⁴⁶ 'Houdon's merit lies in having produced, with a view to future sculptors, a work entirely educational in character, which had been tried before him, but not really carried out', according to Émile Delerot and Arsène Legrelle.⁴⁷ The presence of the copy after Houdon in the workshop where Brâncuși was working on his own écorché recalls the presence of this type of statue in the pictorial realm. One such example is an oil painting from the Wellcome Collection in London, entitled 'A man holding an écorché statuette'. The statuette is based on an original wax model designed around 1600 in Florence by Ludovico Cigoli, il Cardi, 'La bella anatomia', or 'Lo scorticato', later reproduced in plaster and bronze and becoming very popular. The

⁴³ Ghițescu, *Permanențele artei*, p. 162.

⁴⁴ See Carin Berkowitz, *Charles Bell and the Anatomy of Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

⁴⁵ Morwena Joly, 'L'obsession du dessous : Diderot et l'image anatomique', *Recherches sur Diderot et l'Encyclopédie*, 1/43 (2008): 57 - 70.

⁴⁶ Quatremère de Quincy, *Recueil de notices historiques lues Dans les séances publiques de L'Académie royale des beaux-arts à l'Institut*, vol. 1 (Paris: Adrien Le Clere, 1834), pp. 393-394; http://archive.wikiwix.com/cache/index2.php?url=https%3A%2F%2Fnumelyo.bm-lyon.fr%2Ff_view%2FBML%3ABML_00GOO0100137001101401854#titre_complet, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

⁴⁷ Émile Delerot - Arsène Legrelle, *Notice sur J.-A. Houdon, de l'Institut (1741-1828)* (Versailles, 1856), <http://archive.wikiwix.com/cache/index2.php?url=https%3A%2F%2Farchive.org%2Fdetails%2Fnoticesurjahoud00legrgoog%2Fpage%2Fn8%2Fmode%2F2up>, accessed on February 1st, 2021.

schools of art in Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth century produced copies of this original statue for the instruction of their students in the correct rendering of the human body, equally for the painting and sculpture departments. The difference between Houdon's écorché and Cigoli's 'Lo scorticato' is not only one of style, material and era: it is also embedded in the status of the anatomical representation in the artist's imaginary, promoting two distinct understandings of the value of the écorché for the advancement of an objective understanding of corporeality on the part of the artist.

Anatomists in Cluj and their interest for anatomical collections

Moving further in the present analysis, it is the context of dissemination for Brâncuși's Écorché that is worth investigating. I will focus on Papilian and his interests as a collector, as well as on one of his most important literary works. The practice of collection is intimately linked with the status of the anatomist starting from the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁸ A double thread of interests of the anatomist as collector can be traced, according to the medium of representation: the anatomist as collector of anatomical artefacts and equally, of works of art. The tradition of exhibiting anatomical artefacts in Central Europe had been the object of research in several studies.⁴⁹ The history of anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj is punctuated by an encounter with the works of Clemente Susini (1754 - 1814), potentially through two important figures: the first anatomists at Cluj, credited with founding the museums of anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine - Czifra Ferenc (1826 - 1878) and Davida Leo (1852 - 1929). The first's specialty was pathological anatomy, while the latter's was topographic anatomy. Czifra Ferenc was keenly interested in the visual culture of displaying anatomy, and during his study trip, undertaken in 1871, he visited the collections of anatomy that were displayed in Pest and Vienna (currently hosted in the Semmelweis Museum in Budapest and the Josephinum in Vienna).⁵⁰ As a professor of anatomy, twice in 1882 and 1885, Davida Leo travelled abroad at public

⁴⁸ See Rina Knoeff - Robert Zwijnenberg (eds.), *The Fate of Anatomical Collections* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

⁴⁹ See Tatjana Buklijas, 'Mapping anatomical collections in nineteenth-century Vienna', in Rina Knoeff - Robert Zwijnenberg (eds.), *The Fate of Anatomical Collections*, pp. 143 - 161; Mélanie van der Hoorn, 'Monsters in Vienna: The pathologisch-anatomisches Bundesmuseum', *Etnofoor*, 11/1 (1998): 77 - 94; Birgit Nemeč, 'Anatomical Modernity in Red Vienna: Textbook for Systematic Anatomy and the Politics of Visual Milieus', *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 99/1 (2015): 44 - 72; Bettina Dietz, 'Making Natural History: Doing the Enlightenment', *Central European History*, 43/1 (2010): 25 - 46.

⁵⁰ See Emil Pasztor, 'Medical Education in Hungary from 1769 to 1971', *Orvostört Kozl.* 53:3-4 (2007): 5-35.

expense to study the furnishing and equipment of autopsy, pathology, and forensic institutes; he visited the medical faculties of Vienna, Prague, Munich, Erlangen, Heidelberg, Würzburg, Tübingen, Giessen, Göttingen, Jena, Leipzig, Halle, Berlin, Strasbourg, Nancy, Zurich, Bern, Basel and Paris.⁵¹ These examples gesture toward the presence of a museological awareness on behalf of the Cluj anatomists, and of a cultural link between this Central European culture of display and the practice of collecting anatomical objects long before Papilian received the *écorché* in the 1930s. By visiting the medical faculty of Vienna, Davida Leo would have certainly been acquainted with the anatomical figure of a flayed man displayed at the Josephinum (a museum open also to the general public since the end of the eighteenth century).

The value of anatomical collections in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century has been read as the securing of a core component in the development of anatomical research.⁵² Specimens of anatomy and pathology resulting from dissections were assembled in exhibition devices which formed the blueprint for the future medical museums. In their turn, these medical museums became one of the gatekeepers of academic credibility for anatomists starting with the mid-nineteenth century: their 'modern' identity set itself apart from the previously inscribed one in the figure of the barber-surgeon precisely through a combination of achievements in discovering and naming anatomical structures (or correcting previous errors) on one hand, and the anatomist's own execution of a collection of specimens with the aid of new methods of preserving bodily structures, on the other. Whilst in eighteenth-century collections, 'curiosities' occupied the majority of the display spaces, at the end of the nineteenth century the realization that it was essential to correlate symptoms with anatomical lesions fruitfully contributed to the theorization of the modern anatomical collection, an indelible marker of the anatomist's expertise. An eager student of anatomy meant a potentially famous future surgeon, ready to cure and save lives, thus the prestige of anatomists as teachers became widely understood as the marker of a modern medical institution.

Teaching was often carried out through the use of visual aids, atlases, drawings made in real time in front of the audience, as well as through the display of dry and wet specimens. From this perspective, it is highly suggestive to examine the plans for the building of the institute of anatomy in Cluj and discover that a large number of rooms were dedicated to the display of normal and pathological specimens of

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² See Findlen, *Possessing Nature*.

anatomy.⁵³ Davida Leo's input in the spatial configuration of the pavilion of anatomy's architecture is marvellously explained in his own words, on the occasion of a publication of an anthology in 1903 of all existing university buildings in Cluj. After the integration of Transylvania into the Kingdom of Romania in 1918 and the institutional establishment of a Romanian-led department of anatomy the year after, the first things to be removed from the building were precisely these early anatomical collections created by the Hungarian anatomists. They were taken to the medical faculty at the University of Szeged, where many of the Hungarian professors transferred their activities. It is for this reason that Victor Papilian, appointed in 1919 as head of the freshly-refashioned department of anatomy, found little in terms of anatomical artefacts and undertook the task of creating new pieces for a new museum of anatomy, a decision which practically involved a high degree of both economic and epistemic investment.⁵⁴ A change however was visible: if during the tenure of Davida Leo, the anatomical museum could be visited by the general public, there is no archival or textual mention that the museum established by Papilian could be seen by regular visitors. In his medical and literary works, Papilian delves into issues concerning the formation and application of the scientific gaze upon objects from the natural world, but there is no mention any longer of the importance of the medical collection from a museological perspective. His identity as maker of anatomical artefacts is overshadowed by his personality, deeply immersed into the cultural scene of his time, especially in its literary and visual arts manifestations.

Papilian - collecting and writing on art

The practice of collecting art is reflected in Papilian's relationship with the art production of the 1920s-1930s. After the First World War and the Union of Transylvania with Romania, the city of Cluj experienced a boom in artistic activities due to the founding of the School of Fine Arts in 1925 and the donation of Virgil Cioflec's important collection of Romanian art to the University, open for public access.⁵⁵ Personalities linked to liberal professions, such as lawyers or doctors, are involved in the emerging prestige of art, because they support art production, in an increasing

⁵³ L.Davida, *L'institut d'Anatomie in Les Facultés de médecine des Universités Royales Hongroises de Budapest et de Kolozsvár, Ouvrage offert à Mm. Les membres de Congrès [XVIe Congrès International de Médecine] par le Ministre Royal Hongrois des Culte set de l'Instruction Publique*, (Budapest, 1909), p. 283.

⁵⁴ Cornel Sigmirean, *Românii și învățământul superior din Transilvania și Ungaria în anii 1900 – 1918 [Romanians and Higher Education in Transylvania and Hungary in 1900-1918]* in Sabin Manoilă, *Istorie și demografie* (Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română, 1995), pp. 226 – 256.

⁵⁵ Vlasiu, *Colecții și colecționism în Clujul interbelic*, p.30.

number of exhibitions. The most well-known figures of doctors-collectors in Cluj were those of Coriolan Tătaru, Victor Papilian, Miklos Elekes and Nicolae Mărgineanu. Their interest in modern art had contributed to the change in artistic taste and supported the artistic practice of several young artists, including Catul Bogdan, Sándor Szolnay, Romul Ladea, Nagy István, Anastase Demian, Ion Vlasiu, Jenő Szervatiusz, Nicolae Brana, Tasso Marchini, Eugen Gâscă, and Traian Bilțiu Dăncuș. Having their works bought for private collections, these artists started asserting themselves or they consolidated an already acquired reputation. Papilian's art collection is documented in an important catalogue for one of the most visited exhibitions of visual arts in 1946, and it included works by Elena Popea, Anastase Demian, Eugen Gâscă, Ion Vlasiu, Romul Ladea, Radu Pușcariu.⁵⁶ Papilian's keen interest in the art of his time is marked not only by his activity as collector, by attending cultural Salons, but also by the intriguing collaboration with a local artist. For one of his literary works, Papilian, the anatomist, commissions Catul Bogdan as illustrator for his work of fiction entitled 'Faust's Soul' (1928).

Without being able to reference particular texts devoted to the role of visual art and artists within medical circles, it is nevertheless fruitful to read Papilian's *Immortality's Tormented Ones*. Written between 1941 - 1945 during his refuge in Sibiu, the literary trilogy presents, amongst others, the multifaceted interactions between medical figures and issues pertaining to the sphere of art in pre-WWI Bucharest. The work is rich in vivid depictions of the struggles encountered by young protagonists in their ambitions to reach highly desirable positions on the Bucharest medical scene; it is however more than the narrative matrix that catches one's attention. The trilogy is infused with implications related to the act of seeing, as performed within a medical setting. It shows Papilian's peculiar interest in zooming in on his protagonists' lives as their medical framing is punctuated by issues stemming from the world of art. In this sense, his literary production supports his investment as collector of art, because it uncovers his obvious positioning as a specialist in medicine tackling art-related issues. I will quickly present a few of these aspects, in order to shed light on Papilian's ways of approaching the field of art through his protagonists, as they debate, perform and move in medical circles.

The medical figures whose actions and thoughts are systematically intertwined with the art/medicine collisions are those of Leluț (an ambitious hospital intern who eventually gets the much desired professorship of the histology department at the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest), Leonin

⁵⁶ Ibid.

(Leluț's opponent, seemingly devoid of career goals, but a gifted young surgeon who is deeply invested in existential questioning of practicing medicine), Magheru (a practitioner of psychoanalysis, who disputes the value of Freudianism, as well as an established figure on the Bucharest medical scene, whom Leonin is very much in awe of), Urlieșu (a well-respected experimental scientist, as well as pathologist, who rejects Magheru's views on almost every level and is much admired by Leluț), Ioana Stamatu (a celebrated poet who is an early adept of Modernism in art) and Eustațiu (a much-revered contemporary painter by almost every character in the book, except for Leluț, who repeatedly finds himself at a loss when dealing with his art). The myriad of scenes involving these characters render visible the vital encounters between the worlds of art and medicine, the way value is transacted and negotiated both in a scientific and artistic sense.

Seeing in connection with the formation of knowledge through using the eye is one of the main features of these encounters. Teaching Leluț the fundamentals of experimental science, Urlieșu reveals to him that many of his peers have no idea how to look at things⁵⁷ because they don't make enough use of their powers of observation, and in particular on those relying on sight required from their medical status. 'Looking at' becomes a recurrent *topos* in the way he elaborates the requirements involved in the development of a scientific eye, and which Leluț is ready to incorporate in his daily activities, thus exasperating his colleagues with his incessant over-watching and recording of their every word or gesture. From this perspective, Urlieșu places the art of painting in the closest vicinity to medical work:⁵⁸ a scientist is primarily called to exercise his vision-dependent function, much as a painter, whose occupation/endeavor develops the power of close inspection. Being a true scientist equals being able to apply to the highest degree the results of an observation-based sensibility. Interestingly, Urlieșu's theory is mirrored by Eustațiu's take on the relationship between the eye and the act of seeing in reaching artistic authenticity: a great artist is called to look at the world around

⁵⁷ Victor Papilian, *Chinuții nemuririi* [vol. I *Marius Leluț*, vol. 2 *Gaby Leonin*, vol. 3 *Manoil*; editor and preface by Titus Bălașa] (Craiova: Scrisul Românesc, 1976) (original in Romanian, my translation): ' [...] not one of them knows how to observe. They have ears, but they won't hear; they have eyes, but they won't see...', vol. I, p. 69; '[...] our professors would be geniuses, if only their intellectual bags would contain this minuscule instrument, the power of observation.', p. 70.

⁵⁸ (original in Romanian, my translation) 'It is the closest form of art to our profession. It develops in us the power of observation which [...] is the primary trait of the man of science.', *Chinuții nemuririi*, p. 286.

him beyond the biological conditioning and get rid of the anatomical teachings, such as *écorchés* after dead bodies. In abandoning the anatomy-infused way of seeing, artists are able to develop truthful forms as 'symbols' and 'movement-thinking'.⁵⁹

Tensions arise when limits are inevitably attached to this celebrated power of the observing eye. Despite his efforts to comprehend the intimate movements behind *Urlieșu's* face, *Leluț* finds himself struggling: he is able to anatomically read the visual clues, but finds it impossible to endow them with meaning; thus he is left without a real understanding of his protector's intentions.⁶⁰ As a defender of *Magheru*, who is vying for the same professorship that *Urlieșu* had set his eyes upon, *Eustațiu* centers his criticism on seeing, as a catalyst for discerning value, this time in the realm of medicine, and not in that of art. *Urlieșu's* 'entire science values less than one glance of *Magheru*, because *Magheru* is able to look at things, while *Urlieșu* sets a screen of lead between him and the world'.⁶¹ The painter's virulence is also aimed at anatomy as an institution, which again and again fails to render the young surgeon receptive enough to the true message of painting.⁶²

The novel is rich in passages tackling the topic of looking at modern art, both with positive and negative outcomes. *Tomaziu*, a colleague of *Leluț* and *Leonin*, is a frequent visitor of the 'Independența' exhibition and is known for his keen interest in acquiring contemporary paintings;⁶³ *Leonin* has in his possession two paintings by *Ștefan Luchian*;⁶⁴ *Magheru* owns drawings by *Auguste Rodin*, a precious gift received from *Rainer*

⁵⁹ (original in Romanian, my translation) 'A great artist must see with his eyes cleaned even from the curtain of the eyeball. He must look at and absorb the view. He must learn from the beauty of the human body's shapes, from the transparency of the dream and the depth of the eyes, from the softness of the skin and the elasticity of the tendons, and not from the rigid proportions and the *ecorches*' copy after dead bodies. The form ought to be symbol and movement - thinking.', *Chinuții nemuririi*, p. 344.

⁶⁰ (original in Romanian, my translation) 'In vain he put down the shape of the nose, the dimensions of the lips, the prominence of the cheekbones. On top of the largely pared back shirt's collar, he was able to see the ribbons of the two sternocleidomastoid muscles, the angles of the thyroid cartilage and the depth of the suprasternal notch. He could see everything and yet something escaped him.', *Papilian, Chinuții nemuririi.*, p. 68.

⁶¹ *Papilian, Chinuții nemuririi*, p. 343.

⁶² (original in Romanian, my translation) 'It is anatomy that has turned you all into idiots [...] you should rather look at carpets and flowers all day long. They ought to teach you painting, not anatomy. Ravish your soul with the variety of lines and the subtlety of the colours [...] Search for that trace of mystery in the richness of the stained-glass windows or that of a sunrise...Because a beautiful painting should have a fragment of secrecy able to escape anatomy and geometry.', *Papilian, Chinuții nemuririi*, p. 344.

⁶³ *Papilian, Chinuții nemuririi*, p. 19, p. 60.

⁶⁴ *Papilian, Chinuții nemuririi*, p. 61.

Maria Rilke.⁶⁵ Numerous discussions bring forth the argument of Nicolae Grigorescu's lesser status in comparison with modern painters and the need, among the younger generation of artists or any practitioner of art, to leave behind the classical heritage and instead start a 'spiritual movement'.⁶⁶ Eustațiu's modern take on pictorial visibility is compared with the art of Matisse, Bonnard and Cézanne, and praised for having the courage to simplify the form and get rid of the debased academic prescriptions, in attempting to transcribe natural shapes into geometric forms.⁶⁷ Magheru insists on the importance of 'educating the eye' in order to be able to appreciate the morphological reductions contained within the paintings of Eustațiu.⁶⁸ In an effort to flatter the particularly modern sensibility of Lia Caloianu, Leluț appropriates Eustațiu's vocabulary and mocks the status of anatomy in the training of the artistic eye.⁶⁹ Lia's uncle turns out to be a painter who left Paris for Tahiti, and Magheru praises Gauguin's style.⁷⁰ Urlieșu owns a volume with reproductions after Claude Monet and in his turn, frames in a positive light the painter's achievements in refraining from merely 'copying nature'.⁷¹

The conversations on art carried out by medical figures show their inclination to look at medical acts as endowed with an artistic dimension. In this sense, dissection is positioned as a form of art few can really master, and those who are unable to do so are consequently shamed for it. Urlieșu, the pathological anatomist, is able to perform 'elegant'

⁶⁵ Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 164.

⁶⁶ Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 152.

⁶⁷ (original in Romanian, my translation) '[...] he dared in our poor little country to make art at the same time with Matisse, Bonnard and Cézanne...Eustațiu entirely pushed away anecdote from painting...He simplified the cumbersome technique of the academic art, framing into quasi geometric planes the utterly varied forms of nature and thus searching to infuse them with the true discipline of the human spirit.', in Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 410.

⁶⁸ Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi* p. 189.

⁶⁹ (original in Romanian, my translation) 'I resent flowers, because I love art too much [...] Someone who likes art is unable to appreciate flowers too...[...] There are painters who render nature in a deformed way, they enlarge proportions, destroy the lines and mock our poor anatomy. Good for them. What kind of importance anatomy has, when we're dealing with beauty, in Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 235.

⁷⁰ Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 349.

⁷¹ (original in Romanian, my translation) 'It is only a copy, but look at this subtle chromatism, which only the perfect eye of the man of science is able to detect...[....] Claude Monet had a miraculous vision. His eye was a magnifying glass and a stethoscope. He did not rudely copy nature, as many painters do, but he first contemplated and only afterwards expressed. He proved, before physicists, the reality of the light's undulating movements. His eyes caught the artifice of the perspective...[...]. For Leluț, Claude Monet seemed like a great man of science, possessed by a miraculous power of observation.', Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 286.

dissections and thus instigate 'choreographic emotions' in the audience.⁷² By attending the autopsies performed by Urlieșu, the young interns gradually become participants in a visual spectacle characterized by a kind of aesthetic beauty. Urlieșu holding a heart in his hand turns into an 'aesthetic painting';⁷³ professor Anghel Drăghiceanu defends the art-like nature of surgical interventions;⁷⁴ Leonin frequently provokes Leluț's envy because of his undisputed talent for carrying out operations for an audience which becomes fully immersed in a spectacle of aesthetic enjoyment. Leluț discovers that such is the emphasis placed on the aesthetic nature of the surgical act, that he is almost driven to the point of exasperation: his agile movements are too 'acrobatic' for being considered artistic,⁷⁵ and everyone around him seems unable to get rid of an artistic vocabulary in the surgical rooms.⁷⁶ Leluț's seemingly exclusive outlet for rejoicing aesthetic emotion is delegated to the space of the laboratory: the orderly nature of the instruments and the various colour combinations created in the test tubes provide him with those rare instances of authentic enjoyment.⁷⁷ Cleaning the instruments feels like a 'thing of art'.⁷⁸ Despite his best efforts at appropriating the language and format of modern art, Leluț repeatedly fails to align his taste with that of his opponent, Leonin, for whom mental cohabitation with the acquisitions of modernity seem natural. Leluț's modest victories in the realm of aesthetics are contained in his end-of-year 'rigid' and 'meticulous' drawings supporting the medical content of his papers, and for those he presents at the Society for Medical Students.⁷⁹

Painting is the primary medium characters in the novel debate about; much less is written about the others - architectural descriptions are intertwined with existential readings of Leluț's reactions in his communication with Magheru and Ioana Stamatu, and they underlie his

⁷² (original in Romanian, my translation) 'Urlieșu seemed to have the gift of bringing life even in the house of death. How much safety, how much elegance! What a wonderful surgeon he could have turned into [...] Now, moving forth and back the big knife, as if ready to sketch a drawing, Urlieșu opened the muscles on the ribs, sectioned the diaphragm and cut open the abdomen. [...] This is too a kind of aesthetics, Blidariu said. Mr. Urlieșu has a line which curves from the forehead, on the face's profile and merges with the line of the body, through his hands, up to the instruments of the autopsy. In their evolution, his hands trigger choreographic emotions.' in Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p. 138.

⁷³ Papilian, *Chinuiții nemuririi*, p.139.

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 361.

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 201.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 223.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 175.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 417.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 473.

profound anxiety in understanding modern art. Without specifically mentioning names of contemporary sculptors, there is one passage in the book that might allow for the supposition that Brâncuși's art is present in Magheru's house and art collection: entering the entrance hall of his house, Leluț is struck by the massive presence of marble and stone and is surprised to notice the existence of a significant number of sculptures '[...] on prismatic bases made of wood. And how strangely they were executed. Stiff, linear, as if cut with an axe'.⁸⁰ Significantly, this is the only passage in the trilogy that succinctly brings forth the changes in the conception of sculpture brought by its recent developments, even if it is one-sided and shown in its fear-inducing effect on the viewer.

The visual culture of anatomy

Having previously tackled the manifestation of a double-folded context surrounding Brâncuși's *Écorché* in connection with the field of anatomy, I will proceed further to detailing the concept and historical realities of a visual culture of anatomy whose impact can be linked equally to Gerota and Papilian, and their respective institutional frameworks. In doing so, the emphasis falls on a more nuanced account of the way anatomists were trained to look, not only at art, but more tellingly, at the very objects they manufactured and included in their collections and museums of anatomy. This branch of visual culture had been for centuries conceived as a fluid platform operating between two poles: one, the pedagogical component of art addressing corporeality and second, the immersion into artistry-based production by a certain branch of medical science (anatomy). This section explores possible models and similar objects for Brâncuși's *Écorché* as fundamentally an anatomical object, and it addresses the following questions: how was the anatomical object displayed in order to reflect its value as an artistic object? How was it used in order to fulfil its role as a didactic item?

The starting point for formulating the proposed answers is that of setting a clear distinction between the media these objects were executed in. Brâncuși's *Écorché* in Cluj is a statue made of gypsum, onto which red and yellow painting was added to highlight the body's muscles and tissues. Colour 'anatomizes' what was traditionally delegated to the environment of neoclassical carving or what was preponderantly the 'Antinous' in Brâncuși's *Écorché*. Colour fixes an anatomical layer and meaning on a surface that, left white (like in the photograph of Gerota's

⁸⁰ Ibid. pp. 163 - 164.

studio in Bucharest) seems infused with an ideologically charged aesthetics, delegated to the sphere of art history. Brâncuși's *Écorché* opposes resistance to interpretation simply by virtue of the medium it is made of. 'Anatomical écorchés' were representations of 'flayed men' executed altogether in a different medium: wax. And wax is a term, in its turn, ideologically charged, this time, by the history of medicine. Wax helped the visualization attempts of the anatomists, because it solved a problem concerning the conservation of bodies which was impossible in the eighteenth century. Wax was chosen as a preferred medium because it was easy to be used for moulding human structures, and it also helped make visible the scientific interest and achievement of the anatomist. When travelling abroad, Davida Leo visited the anatomy collections of Pest and Vienna and had the opportunity to engage with the anatomical objects as they were also staged for artistic and rhetorical purposes. Clemente Susini's (1754 - 1814) pivotal role led to the founding of museums affiliated to medical schools, such as those of Bologna and Florence, suffused with bodies either embalmed or moulded in beeswax.⁸¹ The relationship between the work of Susini with the Central European space is reflected in the collections kept nowadays at the Semmelweis Museum in Budapest and the Josephinum in Vienna. Josephinum's famous collection of wax anatomical and obstetric models is the result of a personal initiative of Joseph II.⁸² Inspired by the wax models he saw in Florence, Joseph II ordered 1,192 models for the newly-founded academy in Vienna. In charge of their production were anatomists Felice Fontana and Clemente Susini. After their arrival in Vienna, the objects were shortly put in a museum set-up and thus understood both as visual aids in the teaching of anatomy, as well as objects triggering collective awe because the general public also had access to them.⁸³

At the end of the nineteenth century, a prominent figure of the Viennese anatomy emerged and whose medical ideas about a 'living anatomy' were much admired by both Gerota and Papilian:⁸⁴ Joseph Hyrtl (1810 - 1894). Hyrtl's approach is a much clearer illustration of the didactic dimension of the anatomical object, and he was also an avid

⁸¹ See Thomas N. Haviland, Lawrence Charles Parish, 'A Brief Account of the Use of Wax Models in the Study of Medicine', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 25/1 (1970): 52 - 75.

⁸² See Alessandro Riva et al., 'The evolution of anatomical illustration and wax modelling in Italy from the 16th to early 19th centuries', *Journal of Anatomy*, 216 (2010), pp. 209 - 222.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ See Crisan Mircioiu et. al, *Omagiu Victor Papilian* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Medicala a UMF, 1988).

collector of artworks.⁸⁵ Hyrtl emphasized the need for anatomical instruction with a clinical orientation, later an idea powerfully promoted by the anatomists in Cluj (both in the Hungarian and Romanian traditions).⁸⁶ In his view, physiological experiments on animals were cruel and devoid of real use in advancing scientific anatomical knowledge. Though not known for discoveries in the field of anatomy, Hyrtl was considered the most gifted teacher of anatomy in the nineteenth century and he also discovered a method of producing large quantities of anatomical models: by injecting vessels and bone cavities with a stiffening material and then removing the surrounding soft tissue, he executed corrosion preparations admired by many anatomists of the time. Moreover, his famous 'osteological tableaux' include a large-scale recreation of the Laocoön group, which had been interpreted as a successful integration of representational strategies and 'vanitas' iconography in the context of display culture.⁸⁷ Hyrtl's 'anatomical' Laocoön infuses the identity of the medical model with the configuration of an anatomical artwork.

The importance of the medical museum is keenly reflected in these anatomical collections that facilitated the accuracy and acceleration in the process of acquiring knowledge by the students and the way they supported the anatomists' efforts as teachers. By the end of the nineteenth century such collections were open to the public, a fact that had been interpreted also as a bid to alleviate the pain incurred by the knowledge that bodies were dissected in spaces proximate to those dedicated to therapeutics and healing of patients. In short, anatomical museums were open to the general public with the less than subtle undertone that they were beneficial to society. Moreover, they also contributed to the transformation of medical schools into universities, and they were perceived to indicate academic excellence, teaching expertise, and authority. The museum of anatomy was not only a site endowed with pedagogical virtues, but it also signalled the institutional significance of a place engaged in advancing medical knowledge. This feature that linked museology, medicine, anatomy and societal recognition already makes us aware of the investment of power in visualizing medical knowledge through anatomical artefacts, specimens and objects. In this perspective, the *écorché* becomes a vehicle whose formation may stem from the field of art, but which may play a multiplicity of other roles.

⁸⁵ See Alys X. George, 'Anatomy for All: Medical Knowledge on the Fairground in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna', *Central European History* 51 (2018), pp. 535 - 562.

⁸⁶ See N. Olinic - Cristian Bârsu, 'Clujul medical. 1920 - 1999. Date de istorie', *Clujul medical*, 72:3 (1999), pp. 409 - 418.

⁸⁷ George, 'Anatomy for All', pp. 546-547.

Conclusion

The history of Brâncuși's *Écorché* reads like a story, intertwining details of artistic pursuits and particulars of medical set-ups, where the history of the object reclaims a double attention: on one hand, on the art historical context of Brâncuși's body of work, on the other hand, on the scientific context of the medical knowledge of the era in the field of anatomy. The Cluj *Écorché* brings into attention several protagonists and contexts of production and reception. More precisely, the individual genre of the 'flayed man' gave rise not just to a singular object, but to several ones, and its uniqueness is deposited neither in materiality, nor in a referential system. Brâncuși's *Écorché* is born at the crossroads of art and medicine, and their theoretical counterparts, i.e. art history and the history of medicine, found themselves at pains in deciphering its layers of meaning. Where art history assigns meaning to aspects related to artistic biography, genre, style, originality, studio practice and the role played by such specimens in the training of artists, the history of medicine is finding itself in the difficult position of shedding light on the materiality of its artefacts, with instruments that belong to the sphere of humanities, devoid of medical terminology. This paper proposes an argument for the hybrid nature of Brâncuși's *Écorché* at the Faculty of Medicine in Cluj and points out several layers of multifaceted encounters: the anatomist as collector and organizer of the visual display of medical knowledge; Gerota's relationship with Brâncuși positions the former as a supporter of artistic production; an interplay between the visual culture of anatomy, on one hand, and the tradition of organizing a collection for didactic purposes, or museums of anatomy, on the other; the context of production differs from the context of reception, despite the mingling of anatomical and artistic agencies.

The Cluj *écorché's* hybridity is galvanised by the distinct interests corroborated in the creation of the anatomical object. On one hand, it was a way for young Brâncuși to assert his growing artistic prowess and for Gerota, the anatomist, to support the artistic trajectory of an exceptionally gifted student at the department of sculpture. On the other hand, the anatomist's involvement represents a key-identifier in discerning the artistic propensities of the commissioning agent, as well as of his eclectic taste within the anatomical imaginary. Placed within the context of its arrival at the faculty of medicine in Cluj, as a personal gift sent by Gerota to Papilian, the *écorché* highlights the importance of dissection in

anatomical practice: the 'flayed man' signals the anatomist's mission of rendering visible the inner structure of the body, for the higher purpose of bringing new knowledge able to help the living bodies.

Laws of Education and the Minorities of Transylvania between 1867 and 1990: Some Considerations.

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Abstract: Through the laws passed in the educationnal field, this study aims to apprehend the governments' relation with the minorities living in Transylvania from the beginning of the Dualist era until the end of communism in Romania. If Transylvania represents a *fairy land* in both Romanian and Hungarian imaginaries, it was also the center of an intense national competition between Bucharest and Budapest during the last 150 years over the control of the region. Following the rise of national feeling, mother tongue education became one of the most sensitive aspects between the governments and the elite of the nationalities. Considering this fact, this paper attempts to analyze how has evolved the access to mother tongue education from the Dualist period to the regime change in 1989-1990, with the help of the laws enacted as well as the literature data written by the specialists of Hungarian and Romanian educations. Despite the profound differences between the regimes, many parallels exist in this matter. As the study tackles, the reinforcement of the "nation" came at the expense of school access in mother tongue for the minorities.

Keywords: Education access, Nation-building, Nationalism, Transylvania, Hungarian-Romanian relations

Rezumat: Analizând legile promulgate în domeniul educației, studiul își propune să surprindă relația dintre guvern și minoritățile care au trăit în Transilvania de la începuturile Dualismului până la sfârșitul perioadei comuniste în România. În timp ce Transilvania, reprezintă o 'țară fermecată' atât în imaginarul românesc cât și în cel maghiar, aceasta a fost în ultimii 150 de ani și în centrul unei competiții naționale acerbe între București și Budapesta pentru deținerea controlului în regiune. În urma unei creșteri a sentimentului național, educația în limba maternă a devenit unul din aspectele cele mai sensibile în dialogul guvernelor și a elitelor celor două naționalități. Ținând seama

de acest fapt, studiul încearcă să analizeze modul în care a evoluat accesul la educația în limba maternă din perioada Dualismului și până la schimbarea de regim din 1989-1990 cu ajutorul legilor în vigoare, precum și cu cel al literaturii scrise de specialiști din domeniul educației din Ungaria și România. În ciuda diferențelor profunde între regimurile politice, există paralele în acest domeniu. Studiul abordează întărirea națiunii care s-a realizat în detrimentul accesului minorităților la școli în limba maternă.

Cuvinte cheie: acces la educație, construirea națiunii, naționalism, Transilvania, relații româno-maghiare

In both Hungarian and Romanian traditional national narratives, Transylvania (*Ardeal*, *Erdély*, *Siebenbürgen*) represents a very special territory through history. Despite the fact that several linguistic communities inhabit the region at least since the Middle Ages, it's also perceived as a rigorously Hungarian or Romanian land.¹ From the late eighteenth century on, and following the French and English patterns, each elite of Central and Eastern Europe people directed towards the creation of a national, centralized and unified state for the sake of modernization. As Anne-Marie Thiesse wrote « nothing is more international than the creation of national identities », as national construction followed a similar pattern all over Europe with mutual influences.² For the reason that Transylvania was fundamental for both elites, it became the center of an intense national competition between Bucharest and Budapest along the last 150 years for the control of the region, with no less than four major territorial changes between 1918 and 1945.³

On the path towards modernity, general schooling became a central matter in order to enable economic development, but also to educate the masses in the national spirit and unify through language. Indeed, education became one of the main nationalizing institutions and was of crucial importance in transmitting national identity. While in the previous centuries the masses only had very low access to education, modernity brought a gradual change in this matter.⁴ As a matter of fact,

¹ For more information about Transylvania's role in both national consciousness, see: László Kürti, *The Remote Borderland: Transylvania in the Hungarian Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 259p. Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), 286 p.

² Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales*, (Paris: Seuil, 1999), pp. 11-13.

³ Anders Blomqvist, 'Competing Stories about Transylvania's Past - National Stories in an International Context', in Rindzevičiūtė Eglė (eds.), *Re-approaching East Central Europe: Old Region, New Institutions?* (Stockholm: Södertörns högskola, 2006), pp. 265-358.

⁴ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 91-97.

language turned into the watchdog of the nation and the peasantry started to embody the national spirit. One illustration of this phenomenon took place in 1844 when Hungarian was appointed as the official language of Hungary instead of Latin. Notwithstanding the improvement, national constructions started to collide, as their claims were antagonistic. In Transylvania, Romanians and Hungarians pursued two similar, but opposite paths. Hence, during the twelve decades covered by this study, the changing minorities paid much attention to schooling in the mother tongue, while the state appeared as a centralizing and assimilationist force.⁵ In the meantime, political instability also strengthened the distrust between the state and the minorities.

For Hungarians, Dualist Hungary (1867-1918) represents an economical and cultural golden age. Besides the economic successes achieved during the half-century lifelong Austro-Hungarian Empire, one of the main political issues concerned the attitude to adopt towards the 'nationalities' (*nemzetiségek*), which formed roughly 50% of the whole population in Transleithania.

As a consequence of the Great War, and formalized by the treaty of Trianon signed on 4th June 1920, Transylvania became then a part of Greater Romania.⁶ As well as Dualist Hungary, one of the main purposes was to modernize the country and to catch up with Western Europe. This "Great Union" (*Marea Unire*) fulfilled Romanian elite's dream of a Romanian national state containing all the Romanians. However, the national minorities also formed about one-third of the total population and remained a possible political threat in Bucharest's eyes.⁷ On the other hand, hitherto Trianon embodies the mournfullest national trauma for Hungarians.

Following king Mihai's abdication in 1947, the Romanian Communist Party (*Partidul Comunist Român* - PCR) seized power.⁸ In similar manner to the other People's democracies, the Soviet model replaced the Western one in the first decade. The communist authorities

⁵ Transylvania is a region inhabited by three main linguistic groups, Romanians, Hungarians and Germans. In 1910, 53.78% were Romanians, 31.1% Hungarians and 10.74% Germans. According to the 1977's census, 69.4% of the population declared themselves as Romanians, 22.6% as Hungarians and 4.6% as Germans. Árpád E. Varga, 'Erdély magyar népessége 1870-1995 között' [The Hungarian Population of Transylvania between 1870 and 1995], *Magyar Kisebbség*, 4/3-4 (1998): 331-407, especially pp. 380-381.

⁶ In this study, the term Transylvania does not only refer to historical Transylvania when invoking the post-WWI territory, but to all the formal Hungarian territories conceded to Romania, which include the Western half of Banat and the so-called *Partium*.

⁷ Gábor Egry, 'Phantom Menaces? Ethnic Categorization, Loyalty and State Security in Interwar Romania', *The Hungarian Historical Review*, 3/3 (2014): pp. 650-682, especially pp. 650-656.

⁸ Renamed into Romanian Workers' Party (*Partidul Muncitoresc Român*) between 1948 and 1965.

considered the national question as solved, thanks to the Leninist paradigm and as such – at least in theory – it disappeared from the political agenda. From the late fifties, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1901-1965) started to take a palpable distance with the Soviet Union and laid the foundations of the so-called national communism.⁹ After a few years of transition between 1965 and 1971, when the new leader Nicolae Ceaușescu (1918-1989) seemed to be willing to engage a new course with the minorities, he actually implemented and developed the policies previously launched by his predecessor.¹⁰

Despite the fact that several studies, in both Romania and Hungary, dealt with the mother tongue schooling in Transylvania – to the best of our knowledge – none carried out a comparison of the three periods in this respect.

In such a situation where the state mainly strove to create a national state and looked at the minorities as a threat, the purpose of this study is to compare the laws passed in the educational field throughout the three regimes. Beyond that perspective, the main goal is to analyze the differences in the attitude regarding the minorities living in Transylvania and their access to mother tongue education. In order to possess an exhaustive comprehension of the relation of the state's perception of the minorities, the laws should be put in perspective with actual data about mother tongue schooling between 1867 and 1990.

With the signature of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (*Ausgleich* – *kiegyezés*) Transylvania was formally attached to the Hungarian administration. József Eötvös (1813-1871), Minister of Religion and Education (*vallás és közoktatásügyi miniszter*) of Hungary between 1867 and 1871, best personifies the initial progressive spirit of the Hungarian political elite in the first years of the Dualist period. Education was the main springboard to reach the long-awaited modernization of the country, as such, one of the main purposes was to expand school enrolment.¹¹ In this regard, the policies first implemented by József Eötvös were a great success as in 1913 about 85% of the 6-12 years generation attended school.¹² However, huge differences existed among

⁹ Irina Gridan 'La Roumanie de Gheorghiu-Dej, satellite récalcitrant de l'URSS: acteurs, vecteurs et enjeux d'une politique extérieure sous influence, 1944-1965', *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, 1/39 (2014): pp. 147-154.

¹⁰ Zoltán Csaba Novák, *Aranykorszak? A Ceaușescu-rendszer magyarságpolitikája I. 1965-1974* [Golden Age? The Hungarian Policy of the Ceaușescu System I. 1965-1974] (Miercurea-Ciuc: Pro-Print, 2011), pp. 45-47.

¹¹ Paul Bödy, 'József Eötvös and the Modernization of Hungary 1840-1870', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 62/2, (1972): 1-134, especially pp. 101-108.

¹² Ignác Romsics, *Magyarország története a XX. században* [History of Hungary in the 20th century] (Budapest: Osiris, 4th ed., 2010), p. 21.

the different confessional and national groups. While Jews, predominantly Hungarian-speaking in Transylvania and Lutherans, mainly German-speaking Saxons, enjoyed the best conditions, the Orthodox, almost exclusively compounded of Romanian speakers, were at the bottom of this ranking.¹³ These gaps are related with the deep socio-economical inequalities, not only between the ethnolinguistic groups, but also according to the religious belonging, which furthermore show a great overlap in this region. As a matter of fact, 30% of Romanians attended or had attended a school in 1868, thereafter this rate increased up to 60% after 1879. In spite of this notable progress, they remained the linguistic group showing the weakest schooling rate in Transylvania. Throughout the Dualist era, Romanians could not catch up with the delay inherited from the previous period.

This feature is very central due to the fact that the Hungarian schooling system was mainly based on denominational schools, where primary schools formed the backbone and secondary mainly remained a reality only for the upper classes. Insofar as Transylvania was a more conservative land, the church had an even stronger foundation in this part of the kingdom.¹⁴ The very central importance of denominational schools for the minorities can be seen through the fact that in 1897 in the whole country, only 1% of state primary schools had a language different than Hungarian.¹⁵

Concerning the attitude towards the minorities, the first measure taken was the nationality law, followed by the law regarding education in the primary schools (*népiskola*), both passed in 1868. If scholars agree on their liberal spirit, in fact, it turned out that the authorities poorly implemented them.¹⁶ As provided by the 58 § of the latter Act « each student can get education in his native language, if this language is one of the languages used in the township », with reference to townships' duty to establish a primary school upon the request of the families, when at least thirty children belonged to a denomination without school in the

¹³ Viktor Karády, Tibor Péter Nagy, *Educational Inequalities and Denominations, 1910: Database for Transylvania* (Budapest: John Wesley, vol. 3, 2012), p. 12.

¹⁴ Joachim von Puttkamer, 'Framework of Modernization: Government Legislation and Regulation on Schooling in Transylvania 1780-1914', in Viktor Karády, Zsuzsanna Borbála Török (eds), *Cultural Dimensions of Elite Formation in Transylvania (1770-1950)* (Cluj-Napoca: Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, 2008), pp. 17-18.

¹⁵ Viktor Karády, Tibor Péter Nagy, *Educational Inequalities and Denominations, 1910: Database for Transylvania*, (Budapest: John Wesley, 2006), pp. 79-80.

¹⁶ Gelu Neamțu, *The Hungarian Policy of Magyarization in Transylvania: 1867-1918* (Cluj-Napoca: Center for Transylvanian Studies, 1994), pp. 8-10.

township.¹⁷ As early as 1868, in the civic lower secondary school (*polgári iskola*) and teacher training college (*tanítóképezde*), Hungarian was a compulsory subject alongside the mother tongue. In 1883, with the first law enacted for the secondary schools, Hungarian language and literature appeared among the mandatory subjects. Moreover, the Matura (*érettségi*) had to be taken in Hungarian for this subject.¹⁸

Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, in subsequent years the nationality law became incrementally marginalized by the Hungarian authorities. In the impetus of modernity experienced by Hungary, the acquisition of the Hungarian language appeared to be more and more essential in the eyes of Budapest. Besides promoting economic development, the view was also to strengthen the loyalty of the population toward the Hungarian crown.¹⁹ As early as 1876, a new law increased education inspectors' power, even in the denominational primary schools, where they had to control the local curriculum as well as the textbooks used in the school.²⁰

This series of measures began in 1879, with the law enacted by Ágoston Trefort (1817-1888), Minister of Education and Religion in function between 1872 and 1888. The latter mandated Hungarian language for six hours a week in all primary schools of the country, which represented a real shift in the relationship with nationalities.²¹ Two years later, in 1881, a new Act set with the obligation for teachers working in the country to master Hungarian, on pain of potential dismissal if they weren't eager to learn it within four years. In the meantime, from 1882, new teachers' appointment hinged of their capability to teach in Hungarian.²²

¹⁷ «58. §: Minden növendék anyanyelvén nyerve az oktatást, amennyiben ez a nyelv a községben divatozó nyelvek egyike », 1868. évi XXXVIII. törvénycikk a népiskolai közoktatás tárgyában [Article 58 of the law No. 38/1868 on the Subject of Public Education in Primary Schools].

¹⁸ 7. §: 1883. évi XXX. Törvénycikk a középiskolákról és azok tanárainak képzéséről [Article 7 of the law No. 30/1883 on High Schools and the Qualifications of their Teachers].

¹⁹ One of the best examples of this approach can be found in Imre Sándor's article, a renowned linguist and scholar: Imre Sándor, 'Nemzetiség és nevelés' [Nationality and Education], *Budapesti Szemle*, 4/9 (1875): 42-117.

²⁰ 1876. évi XXVIII. törvénycikk a népiskolai hatóságokról [Act No. 28/1876 about Primary School Authorities].

²¹ Tibor Péter Nagy, 'Nemzetiség és oktatás a dualizmuskori Magyarországon' [Nationality and Education in Dualist Hungary], *Educatio*, 2/2 (1993): 253-269, especially p. 255.

²² 2 §, 3 §: 1879. évi XVIII. Törvénycikk a magyar nyelv tanításáról a népoktatási tanintézetekben [Articles 2,3 of the law No. 28/1879 on the Teaching of the Hungarian Language in Popular Instruction Institutions].

The law concentrating the discontent of the minorities is undoubtedly the one passed in 1907, commonly known as the “Apponyi law”. Albert Apponyi (1846-1933), Minister of Education and Religion between 1906 and 1910, became the apostle of Magyarization and best embodied the change in direction taken by Budapest in this matter. As the Act stated:

« All schools and all teachers, regardless of the nature of the school and whether or not they receive state aid, have a responsibility to develop and strengthen in the souls of children the spirit of belonging to the Hungarian homeland and the sense of belonging to the Hungarian nation».²³

In addition, as provided by the 17th paragraph, any questioning of Hungary’s integrity may lead to sanctions. In the case of schools receiving state aid, the curriculum and textbooks used for geography, history, Hungarian language, arithmetic and civic education could be chosen solely by the state. However – and despite the fears expressed by the elites of the national minorities – this did not mean the teaching of these subjects in Hungarian.²⁴

Moreover, the Minister aimed at promoting Hungarian as the single language used in schools with several language groups. In fact, the law required that:

« If the number of Hungarian native speakers reaches twenty or makes up to 20% of all students enrolled: for them, the Hungarian language must be used as the language of instruction. If at least half of the students enrolled are native Hungarian speakers, the language of instruction is Hungarian, but school administrators can ensure that non-Hungarian-speaking students receive education also in their native language ».²⁵

²³ «17 §: Minden iskola és minden tanító, tekintet nélkül az iskola jellegére és arra, hogy állami segílyt élvez-e vagy sem, a gyermekek lelkében a magyar hazához való ragaszkodás szellemét és a magyar nemzethez való tartozás tudatát [...] tartozik kifejleszteni és megerősíteni », 1907. évi XXVII. törvénycikk a nem állami elemi népiskolák jogviszonyairól és a községi és hitfelekezeti néptanítók járandóságairól [Article No. 27/1907 on the Legal Relations of Non-State Elementary Popular Schools and the Remuneration of Community and Denominational Schools Folk Teachers].

²⁴ Béla Bellér, ‘A nemzetiségi iskolapolitika története Magyarországon 1918-ig’ [The History of School Policy for the Nationalities in Hungary until 1918], *Magyar pedagógia*, 74/1 (1974): 47-65, especially 59-62.

²⁵ «18 §: ha pedig a magyar anyanyelvűek száma a huszat eléri, vagy az összes beirt növendéknek 20%-át teszi: számukra a magyar nyelv, mint tannyelv okvetlenül használandó. Ha pedig a beirt tanulóknak legalább fele magyar anyanyelvű, a tanítási nyelv a magyar, de az iskolafentartók gondoskodhatnak arról, hogy a magyarul nem beszélő növendékek anyanyelvükön is részesüljenek oktatásban », 1907. évi XXVII. törvénycikk.

Through this reform, all teachers obtained the status of civil servant, whose salary corresponded to the remuneration scale offered by the Hungarian state. If, at first sight it can be interpreted as a step further toward modernization, this reform had a serious consequence for the national groups. Indeed, if the institution in charge of the establishment could not support its schools, then the state aid was only granted if the staff was able to prove its knowledge of Hungarian, as well as its capacity to teach it. As a continuation, when 20% of the pupils in a school wished to study in Hungarian and the municipality did not have another school, Hungarian automatically became the language of instruction, without the possibility to change it afterwards.²⁶

In the Transylvanian case, if the Lutheran Church had the necessary resources, the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches had to apply for state subsidies and therefore tended a little more towards a state dependency. On the other hand, a year later, in 1908, elementary education became free of charge, which severely hampered the financial autonomy of the churches and made them more and more subordinate to Budapest.²⁷

Data about the situation of mother tongue schooling for Romanians reveals that in 1910, 74.6% of the enrolled Romanians attended a Romanian school in Hungary. Furthermore, five years later this rate decreased to 70.6%, while 99.7% of the Hungarians studied in Hungarian.²⁸ Regardless of this decrease, the number of Romanian educational institutions expanded from 2,569 to 2,901 between 1869 and 1914.²⁹ In the meantime, the Romanian population grew from 2,492,500 to 2,829,389 between 1869 and 1910, showing then a very slight difference between the demographic growth (+13.5%) and the number of Romanian schools (+12.9%).³⁰

The situation of secondary schools (*gimnázium – reáliskola*) shows a significant paradox, as the overwhelming majority of secondary schools in the country taught in Hungarian, although Hungarians made up only about 50% of the population. In 1910, the country had two hundred and

²⁶ 18 §: Ibid.

²⁷ 1 §: 1908. évi XLVI. Törvénycikk az elemi népiskolai oktatás ingyenességéről [Article 1 of the law No. 46/1908 on Free Elementary Education], Ágoston Berecz, *The Politics of Early Language Teaching: Hungarian in the Primary Schools of the late Dual Monarchy* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), pp. 125-132.

²⁸ Nagy, 'Nemzetiség és oktatás a dualizmuskori Magyarországon', pp. 259-261.

²⁹ Sándor Bíró. *Kisebbségben és többségben. Románok és magyarok 1867-1940* [In Minority and in Majority. Romanians and Hungarians 1867-1940] (Miercurea-Ciuc: Pro-Print, 2002), pp. 144-149.

³⁰ Varga, 'Erdély magyar népessége 1870-1995 között', pp. 380-381.

thirty-two Hungarian secondary schools, eight German-speaking schools held by the Lutheran Church of the Saxons, five Romanians and one Serbian.³¹ Social rise undoubtedly meant a fast Magyarization as far as the vast majority of secondary schools taught in Hungarian and were perceived as an indispensable tool on the way to a modern state.

As previously mentioned, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire caused great territorial changes in Central Europe and 102,000 km² previously belonging to the Hungarian crown became henceforth part of the Romanian kingdom. In the aftermath of the peace treaties, and mainly in order to secure these territorial gains, the Romanian government signed the Treaty for the minorities, which established that:

« Roumania will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which considerable proportion of Roumanian nationals of other than Roumanian speech are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Roumanian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Roumanian Government from making the teaching of the Roumanian language obligatory in the said schools ».³²

As Sorin Mitu pointed out, Romanian rule over Transylvania marked a great upheaval, insofar as the Romanians were hitherto dominated by the Hungarians or the Habsburg.³³ In the educational field, the main issue centered on the deep inequalities in access to education between the different language groups. The rebalancing came at the cost of discriminatory measures against the Hungarian and German minorities and therefore affected their attachment to the Romanian state.³⁴ As such, state schools were Romanianized and many denominational schools had to close due to their lack of financial resources, as well as the zeal of the new Romanian authorities.³⁵

On the other hand, the differences in development existing between the former territories of Hungary and the Old Kingdom of

³¹ Viktor Karády, 'Les inégalités ethniques et confessionnelles dans les performances scolaires des bacheliers en Hongrie 1851-1918', *Histoires et mesures*, 29/1 (2014): 167-194, especially 174.

³² Société des Nations, *Recueil des traités*, vol. 5, n°140, 1921. p. 336-342.

³³ Sorin Mitu, *National Identity of Romanians in Transylvania*, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), pp. 30-34.

³⁴ In order to apprehend the extent of the gap between Romanians and Hungarians on this topic see the two following studies, both written in French for an international audience, but with tangible differences in the scope of mother tongue schooling in Romania: Silviu Dragomir, *La Transylvanie roumaine et ses minorités ethniques* (Bucharest: Imprimerie nationale, 1934), 281 p.; Ferenc Olay, *Un nationalisme exaspéré dans le Sud-est européen* (Budapest: Danubia, 1935), 45 p.

³⁵ Bíró. *Kisebbségben és többségben. Románok és magyarok 1867-1940*, pp. 352-357.

Romania were glaring. Besides the economic disparity, the literacy rate differed conspicuously between the two entities, since in Transylvania in 1930, 67.4% of the population over six years old could read and write, compared to 56.1% in the Old Kingdom and only 38.2% in Bessarabia.³⁶ Before 1918, the duration of compulsory schooling was of four years in Romania, but was increased to seven years in 1924, while the school curriculum was obviously unique and unified throughout the country.

From a legal point of view, the main reform of the primary school system dates from 1924 and defined the educational policy of Greater Romania for the entire period until 1939. The minorities' treatment in the country recalls in more than one respect the measures taken by Budapest before 1918. The law on private education (*lege asupra învățământului particular*) was adopted in 1925 as a complement to the law of 1924, both under the supervision of Constantin Angelescu (1869-1945) Minister of public instruction (*ministrul instrucțiunii publice*) between 1922 and 1928. Despite the fact that, during Dualism, one of the main concerns of the Romanian elite was due to the making of Hungarian as a compulsory subject in all primary schools, the Romanian government implemented the same policy.³⁷

As with the measures taken in Hungary, to be allowed to work, teachers had to take a Romanian language test and to certify their level of knowledge in Romanian history, geography and constitution.³⁸ As a continuation, these three subjects had to be taught in Romanian, since they were considered as "national subjects". Once again, the will to create a stable and strong state was confronted by the centrifugal inclination expressed by the minorities. In this framework, and as Mirela Luminița Murgescu underlined, history's teaching bore a deep political function: educate the people in a patriotic manner to strengthen the roots of the new regime.³⁹

³⁶ Attila Gidó, *School Market and the Educational Institutions in Transylvania, Partium and Banat between 1919 and 1948* (Cluj-Napoca: Institutul Pentru Studiarea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2011), p. 8.

³⁷ See for instance the text of the Memorandum sent in 1892 to Vienna as a protest against the attempts of Magyarization launched by Budapest. About the parallels between the Monarchy and Successor states see: Pieter Judson, 'Where our Commonality is necessary...: Rethinking the End of the Habsburg Monarchy', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 48 (2017), pp. 1-21.

³⁸ Articles 114, 118: *Lege pentru învățământul primar al statului și învățământul normal-primar din 26 Iulie 1924* [Law for the state primary education and normal-primary education of July 26, 1924], ed. Gheorghe Bunescu, *Antologia legilor învățământului din România* (Bucharest: Institutul de științe ale Educației, 2004), p. 200.

³⁹ Mirela Luminița Murgescu, 'L'enseignement de l'histoire dans les écoles roumaines, 1831-1944', *Histoire de l'éducation*, 86 (2000): 115-142, especially 122.

The “novelty” brought about by the 1924 law laid in its discriminative feature in the field of minority schools’ access. Thus, as the act stated, « citizens of Romanian origin who have lost their mother tongue are obliged to educate their children only in public or private schools with Romanian as the language of instruction ». ⁴⁰ Consequently, pupils with a possible Romanian origin, but with a different mother tongue, had to be enrolled in a Romanian-language school. This practice resulted in numerous abuses, which aimed at promoting education in Romanian-language schools, based on family names or families’ genealogical tree. In addition, the Romanian state refused students in a minority school, if they belonged to another national group. This measure particularly affected Transylvania’s Jewry, considered as a distinct ethnic minority for the purpose of weakening the Hungarian element on this disputed territory. Although they were overwhelmingly Magyar-speaking and of Hungarian culture, Jewish children had to be educated in Romanian or in Hebrew. ⁴¹ In this matter the 1925 Act stated as follows:

« 35 §. The language of instruction in private schools, attended by students whose mother tongue is other than the state, will be established by the proponents of the school. However, only students whose mother tongue is the same as the language of instruction of the school will be accepted in these schools. 36 §. In private Jewish schools, the language of instruction is Romanian or Hebrew ». ⁴²

The immediate aftermath of this kind of policy implementation resulted in a wave of school Romanization all around Transylvania. In that respect, formal Hungarian schools were turned into Romanian ones, referring to the necessity to renationalize Romanian fellows. As Irina Livezeanu shows, this action took place even in Szeklerland, a region largely inhabited by Hungarians. ⁴³ Attila Gidó’s research demonstrates

⁴⁰ « Cetățenii de origine română, care și-au pierdut limba maternă sunt datori să-și instruiască copiii numai la școalele publice sau particulare cu limba română de predare », *Lege pentru învățământul primar al statului și învățământul normal-primar din 26 Iulie 1924*, p. 187.

⁴¹ For more information about the situation of the Transylvanian Jewry, refer to Attila Gidó, ‘L’enseignement préscolaire et pré-universitaire juif de Cluj à l’époque de l’entre-deux-guerres’, *Revue de Transylvanie*, 18/2 (2009): pp. 106-123; Zvi Hartman, ‘A Jewish Minority in a Multiethnic Society during a Change of Governments: the Jews of Transylvania in the Interwar Period’, *SHVUT*, 9/25 (2001): 162-182, especially 175-177.

⁴² « 35 §: Limba de predare în școalele particulare, frecventate de elevi ai căror limbă maternă este alta decât a Statului, se va stabili de susținătorii școlii. În aceste școale nu se vor primi însă decât elevi a căror limbă maternă este aceeași cu limba de predare a școlii. 36 §: În școalele particulare evreești limba de predare este limba română sau limba evreească », *Lege asupra învățământului particular din 22 decembrie 1925* [Law on private education of December 22, 1925], ed. Bunescu, *Antologia legilor*, p. 223.

⁴³ Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930* (London: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 138-143.

that denominational school's numbers dropped from 3,223 in 1920 to 1,210 in 1927. As a consequence, in 1920 40.2% of pupils were enrolled in a state school, against 84.1% in 1936. In the meantime, less than 1% of the Romanian children attended a denominational school in Transylvania during the interwar period, which means that such schools were overwhelmingly for the German and Hungarian minorities. Moreover, denominational schools enjoyed a very scarce support from the state, which also tended to crystallize bitterness towards Bucharest.⁴⁴

The 1939 act well illustrates the nationalistic atmosphere all around Europe on the eve of the Second World War. Indeed, from the right to have a mother tongue access to education, the law had evolved to the possibility to benefit from it on the Ministry of Education's good will:

«In all state schools, education and teaching are done in the Romanian language. In localities with a very large minority population and where there are at least 20 school-age children, schools with the language of instruction of the respective minorities or sections attached to Romanian schools may be established, with the approval of the Ministry of National Education. In the minority state schools and sections, the Romanian language, the history and geography of Romania, as well as notions of civic instructions will be taught in Romanian as compulsory educational subjects ».⁴⁵

Signed on 30 August 1940, the Second Vienna award assigned back to Hungary Northern Transylvania. Considered for some as a repair and the triumph of justice after the humiliation of Trianon, others regard it as a national trauma and a genuine *diktat*. If, at first, the Hungarian authorities strove to develop sympathy towards Hungary among Romanians, this attitude did not last long and the previously Romanianized state schools were Hungarianized again and by this the resentment among Romanians increased.⁴⁶ In Southern Transylvania,

⁴⁴ Gidó, *School Market and the Educational Institutions in Transylvania, Partium and Banat between 1919 and 1948*, pp. 28-33.

⁴⁵ « 7. §: în toate școlile de Stat, educația și învățământul se fac în limba română. În localitățile cu populație minoritară foarte numeroasă și unde există un număr de cel puțin 20 de copii în vârstă de școală, se pot înființa școli cu limba de predare a minorităților respective sau secții pe lângă școlile românești, cu aprobarea Ministerului Educației Naționale. În școlile și secțiile minoritare de Stat sunt obligatorii ca obiecte de învățământ limba română, istoria și geografia României, precum și noțiuni de instrucțiuni civice care se vor preda în românește », *Lege pentru organizarea și funcționarea învățământului primar și normal din 27 Mai 1939* [Law for the Organization and Functioning of Primary and Normal Education of May 27, 1939], ed. Bunescu, *Antologia legilor*, p. 277.

⁴⁶ János Szlucska, « *Pünkösdi királyság* »: *az észak-erdélyi oktatásügy története, 1940-1944* [« Pentecostal Kingdom »: History of Education in Northern Transylvania, 1940-1944] (Budapest: Gondolat, 2009), pp. 226-227.

where about 400,000 Hungarians and almost half million Germans remained under Romanian authority, the situation also worsened.⁴⁷ The implemented policy of reciprocity came once again at the expense of minorities living on both sides of the border.⁴⁸ By the end of the war, Romania eventually managed to regain Northern Transylvania with the support of the Soviet Union, thereafter formalized by the Treaty of Paris signed on 10 February 1947.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Romania inherited a heavy burden when it comes to granting rights to national minorities and especially in the educational field. As soon as the whole of Transylvania came back under Romanian rule, the traditional parties intended to continue the educational policy of the interwar period. Nevertheless, the relationship with national minorities changed considerably with the coming to power of Petru Groza (1884-1958) in March 1945, himself a perfect Hungarian speaker trained in Budapest during Dualism. The latter strove to emphasize respect for the rights of minorities, in particular in order to show the best possible image of Romania to the Great powers, as part of the competition with Hungary for Transylvania.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the purpose was to mark the break with open nationalism from the previous regime. It is however important to stress out that nationalism did not disappear from the stage, as the Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu's example shows. This staunch communist served as the Minister of Justice between August 1944 and February 1948 and delivered two speeches in Cluj in 1945 and 1946. In this instance, he openly criticized the lack of national spirit of the Hungarian community toward Romania as well as their revisionism. Being one of the main hurdles on the path toward power for Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the latter took the opportunity and arrested him in 1948 basing his charge on Pătrășcanu's nationalism and deviationism.⁵⁰

In the educational field, the eradication of illiteracy rose to a national priority for the authorities, since it still affected about a quarter of the population after the Second World War. The enrollment of 92.1% of

⁴⁷ Varga, 'Erdély magyar népessége 1870-1995 között', p. 349.

⁴⁸ János Kristóf Murádin. 'Minority Politics of Hungary and Romania between 1940 and 1944. The System of Reciprocity and its Consequences', *Acta Univ. Sapientiae, European and Regional Studies*, 16 (2019): 59-74, especially 64-66.

⁴⁹ Cristina Petrescu, 'Who was the First in Transylvania? On the Origins of the Romanian-Hungarian Controversy over Minority Rights', *Studia Politica*, 3/4 (2003): 1119-1148, especially 1124-1125.

⁵⁰ Antonio Faur, 'Considerații cu privire la discursurile rostite la Cluj în iunie 1945 și 1946 de către Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, ministru de justiție' [Considerations Regarding the Speeches given in Cluj in June 1945 and 1946 by Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, Minister of Justice], *Analele banatului*, 16 (2008): 333-341.

youth in 1948-1949 witnesses this progress and for the first time in Romanian history, a situation of almost full schooling could be reached.⁵¹

The complete seizure of power by the Romanian Communist Party had as a direct consequence the nationalization of denominational schools in the country. However, since the interwar period, the latter acted as a safeguard for education in minority languages. As such, in 1947, 45% of the Hungarian pupils studied in a denominational primary school and even 75% in the case of the secondary schools.⁵² In a wider perspective, the attitude of the PMR *vis-à-vis* the Catholic Church should be seen in the global context of denigration of the Holy See as an agent of the West and a reactionary force by the various Communist parties.⁵³

From then on, the national orientation was replaced by Marxist internationalism with an unprecedented ideologization of education. In the meantime, the PMR recognized national fact's existence, based on the Soviet pattern and as provided by the 1948 law: « for schools of cohabiting nationalities, their specific character will be taken into account ». ⁵⁴ Besides this recognition, Romanian was a compulsory subject, and the teaching of the so-called “national subjects” remained a highly debated issue.

While the situation of Hungarian-language education proved stable for primary schools, many secondary schools had to close their doors or to be transformed into Romanian-language schools. The notable exception concerns the Hungarian Autonomous Region (*Magyar Autonóm Tartomány – Regiunea Autonomă Maghiară – HAR*), created in 1952, which pretty near corresponded to the limit of the Szeklerland until 1960.⁵⁵ The region comprised about one-third of the Hungarian minority and its Magyar-speaking inhabitants enjoyed full access to Hungarian-language schools. Thus, for the school year 1952-1953, in 80% of the 250 primary schools and 75% of the 12 secondary schools in the region, the language of instruction was Hungarian.⁵⁶ This situation is one great illustration of

⁵¹ Loredana Tănăsie, ‘Anul 1948 și învățământul românesc’ [The year 1948 and the Romanian Education], *Memorial 1989. Buletin științific și de informare*, 14 (2014): 108-118, especially 109.

⁵² Vincze Gábor, ‘A romániai magyar kisebbség oktatásügye 1944 és 1989 között. II. rész. (1948-1965)’ [The case of Education for the Hungarian Minority in Romania between 1944 and 1989. Part 2 (1948-1965)], *Magyar Kisebbség*, 3-4 (1997): 375-403, especially 375-377.

⁵³ Philippe Chenaux, *L’ultima eresia: la Chiesa cattolica e il comunismo in Europa da Lenin a Giovanni Paolo II*, (Rome: Carocci, 2011), pp. 159-178.

⁵⁴ « Pentru școlile naționalităților conlocuitoare se va ține seamă de caracterul lor specific », *Decretul nr. 175/1948 pentru reforma învățământului* [Decree no. 175/1948 for Education Reform], *Monitorul Oficial, Partea I nr. 177 din 03 august 1948*.

⁵⁵ For a history of the HAR see: Stefano Bottoni, *Stalin’s Legacy in Romania: The Hungarian Autonomous Region, 1952-1960* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 397 p.

⁵⁶ Gábor Vincze, ‘A romániai [...] II. rész’, pp. 375-403.

the numerous paradoxes existing in Central and Eastern Europe. If the Stalinist represents a period where freedom was largely denied, it is also the time when the Hungarian minority enjoyed the best facilities in terms of access to mother tongue education.

However, this situation did not last long. Instead of destalinization, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej preferred to replace internationalism by a more nationalistic line at the expense of the minorities, while from 1956 onwards, the Hungarian revolution gave him a great pretext.⁵⁷ As early as 1955, the Romanian General Secretary limited access to vocational schools in the language of the minorities, by referring to the need to eradicate Hungarian irredentism from Romania. It is in this regard that, from 1959, the language of instruction of the so-called national subjects became once again Romanian. At the same time and during the same year, Romanian classes increased from two to six hours a week in minority schools.⁵⁸

Ceaușescu's accession to power in 1965 resulted in a major reform, adopted in 1968. As many Romanian education specialists demonstrate, this reform turned out to be primarily the result of a political will, rather than the result of a debate between specialists, even if they participated in its development. The Romanian leader aimed at making the change tangible with his predecessor Gheorghiu-Dej, while polishing his image as a reformer.⁵⁹ This profound revision of the 1948 law also initiated a return to national traditions as well as the ambition of a partial abandonment of the Soviet model, although as Cătălina Mihalache demonstrates, this reform is largely inspired by the measures taken in the other socialist countries.⁶⁰ Concerning the minorities, no major modification can be found as the law still guaranteed the access of mother tongue schooling for the minorities as following:

« In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, for cohabiting nationalities, education of all grades is also conducted in their own language. The Ministry of Education ensures the training of the

⁵⁷ Stefano Bottoni, 'De la répression politique à la purge ethnique? L'impact de la révolution de 1956 sur le modèle communiste roumain', Dan Cătănuș, Vasile Buga (eds), *Lașărul comunist sub impactul destalinizării 1956* [The communist camp under the impact of de-Stalinization] (Bucharest: Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2006), pp. 365-368.

⁵⁸ Katalin Oanță, 'Situația învățământului în limba maghiară sub regimul lui Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej' [The Situation of Education in Hungarian under the Regime of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu*, 54 (2015): 223-247, especially 228-230.

⁵⁹ Cristian Vasile, 'Towards a New Law on Education: some Reflections Regarding the Communist Educational Policies under the Ceaușescu Regime', *Revista istorică*, 25/5-6 (2014): 493-502, especially 495-500.

⁶⁰ Cătălina Mihalache, 'Antireformă și reformă în școală, la căderea regimului comunist' [Anti-reform and School Reform at the fall of the Communist Regime], *Romanian Political Science Review*, 8/42 (2008): 849-868, especially 854-857.

teaching staff necessary for education in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities. In the admission competitions provided for in this law, candidates have the right to take the examinations in their mother tongue in the subjects they have studied in this language ».⁶¹

If the first years of the Ceaușescu era showed a certain kind of appeasement between the Party and the minorities, it was due to special circumstances. In the context of the diplomatic clash with the Soviet Union, the Romanian leader could not afford a lack of cohesion in the Romanian society and in this respect, he made a step toward the minorities.⁶² Although the year 1971 is generally seen as the turning point in the stance on the minorities' issue, the 1978 law did not bring any clear policy reversal. The only shade lies on the possibility to teach some subjects in Romanian, which paves the way for a Romanianization of education.

Access to vocational schools in a minority language remained strictly limited, as Gábor Vincze's study illustrates it: in 1974, 6.5% of the pupils studied in Hungarian in primary schools, 5.7% in high schools and barely 1.3% in vocational schools.⁶³ In fact, this issue concentrated the dissatisfaction of the Hungarian minority. On this topic, the 1978 law stated that:

«At vocational schools, foremen's schools, qualification courses and mass agro-zoo technical education, which operate in these localities, the teaching activities can also be carried out in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities. For this purpose, in the educational units, primary, secondary and high school, where the languages of the cohabiting nationalities are taught, the Romanian language is studied, and some subjects, provided in the curriculum, can be taught in Romanian ».⁶⁴

⁶¹ « În conformitate cu prevederile Constituției, pentru naționalitățile conlocuitoare, învățământul de toate gradele se desfășoară și în limba proprie. Ministerul Învățământului asigură pregătirea personalului didactic necesar învățământului în limbile naționalităților conlocuitoare. La concursurile de admitere prevăzute în prezenta lege, candidații au dreptul de a susține probele în limba maternă la disciplinele pe care le-au studiat în această limbă », *Legea nr. 11/1968 privind învățământul în Republica Socialistă România* [Law no. 11/1968 on Education in the Socialist Republic of Romania], ed. Bunescu, *Antologia legilor*, p. 347.

⁶² Novák, *Aranykorszak?*, pp. 45-49.

⁶³ Gábor Vincze, 'A romániai magyar kisebbség oktatásügye 1944 és 1989 között. III. rész. (1965-1989)' [The case of Education for the Hungarian Minority in Romania between 1944 and 1989. Part 3 (1965-1989)], *Magyar Kisebbség*, 3/3-4 (1997): 289-317, especially 295-297.

⁶⁴ « La școlile profesionale, școlile de maiștri, cursurile de calificare și învățământ agrozootehnic de masă, care funcționează în aceste localități, activitățile didactice se pot desfășura și în limbile naționalităților conlocuitoare. În acest scop, în unitățile de învățământ, primar, gimnazial și liceal, cu predarea în limbile naționalităților conlocuitoare, se studiază limba română, iar unele discipline, prevăzute în planul de învățământ, se pot preda în limba

As provided by the act, only some classes could be taught in the language of the minority, to this extent the ambiguity led to large reductions.⁶⁵ Despite the fact that no major change appeared in the legislation, access to mother tongue schooling worsened significantly from the 1970s.

Assimilation had never been put on the official political agenda, although it became a clear objective for the Romanian elite in the frame of its national construction. The nationalist shift experienced by the Romanian power was to be achieved at expense of education in the languages of nationalities and this restriction followed a well-established process. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the Romanian school system suffered from the economic crisis as a whole, not only minorities' schools.⁶⁶

Within the framework of the 'socialist fraternity', the Romanian and Hungarian-speaking establishments were forcibly unified. As a result, Hungarian disappeared as the administrative language of the school, with the added bonus of the removal of symbols in Hungarian from the school environment. Over time, the Hungarian sections were merged into its Romanian counterparts, justified by the need to carry out budget cuts or by staff shortage.

Finally, the second process consisted of opening a class in a minority language only when twenty-five families requested it for a primary school and respectively thirty-six in the case of secondary education. This system mainly penalized minorities scattered in regions with a strong Romanian majority, such as Banat or southwestern Transylvania in the case of the Hungarians.⁶⁷ In regions inhabited mainly by Hungarians, another method was to be used, with the creation of Romanian sections in Hungarian educational facilities without a minimum threshold. In the 1980s, this method made possible to open Romanian-language classes with a few Romanian-speaking students and a majority of Magyar speakers. As a consequence of these policies, access

română », *Legea educației și învățământului nr. 28/1978* [Law on Education and Instruction no. 28/1978], ed. Bunesu, *Antologia legilor*, p. 381.

⁶⁵ Zoltán Csaba Novák, *Holtoágányon. A Ceaușescu-rendszer magyarságpolitikája II. 1974-1989* [On a dead track. The Hungarian Policy of the Ceaușescu System II. 1974-1989] (Miercurea-Ciuc: Pro-Print, 2017), pp. 37-39.

⁶⁶ Constantin Dan Rădulescu, 'Învățământul românesc 1948-1989 - între derivă și recuperare instituțional funcțională' [Romanian Education 1948-1989 - between Drift and Functional Institutional Recovery], *Calitatea vieții*, 17/3-4 (2006): 307-318, especially 315-317.

⁶⁷ Csanád Demeter, 'A székelyföldi oktatás az 1960-1980-as években' [Education in Szeklerland in the 1960s and 1980s], *Prominoritate*, 1 (2012): 93-109, especially 100.

to mother tongue schools for national minorities decreased tangibly. In the last five years of the regime, education in Hungarian decreased by 30% and even affected the so far spared Szeklerland.⁶⁸

From a constitutional monarchy to a post-Stalinist power through a far-right dictatorship, the analysis of three regimes' behavior shows tangible common features in the field of mother tongue schooling, despite the strong differences between them.

In the first years of each period, authorities showed a short-term openness toward the minorities, as the laws and data could certify. The measures taken met the European standards and even exceeded it to several extend, with the will to integrate the minorities on the road toward a modern and prosperous state.

However, throughout the three periods, these policies quickly confronted with the national construction, in which minorities appeared as a major obstacle. Homogenization or at least the attempt to forge the attachment to the state, through the credo one nation, one language appeared as an unavoidable appeal.⁶⁹ All along the three periods, the laws sanctioned the desire to modernize the country and to strengthen the state. The fear of the minorities, as a possible political threat but also a danger in respect of the nation's survival was at stake, while their lack of devotion to the state and actual - or imagined - aspiration to separatism crystallized the tensions. In the meantime, since the second half of the nineteenth century the access to a mother tongue education rose to a priority for the elite of each national group. The restriction to a full access to schools teaching in the languages of the minorities or the implementation of assimilationist policies alienated the minorities and favored disregard.

Such a situation goes beyond the Hungarian and Romanian cases, but the delay observed in the attempt to set up a nation-state was due to the political instability, the belonging to multinational empires and the economic backwardness. Meanwhile, in Western Europe, the opposite phenomenon facilitated the process of homogenization with less turmoil. As a result, in Central and Eastern Europe, these attempts went at the expense of the other national communities and generated deeply antagonistic national projects.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Csanád Demeter, 'A székelyföldi oktatás', pp. 107-109.

⁶⁹ See for example: Lucian Boia, *Două secole de mitologie națională* [Two Centuries of National Mythology] (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2011), pp. 69-75.

⁷⁰ Jenő Szűcs, *Les trois Europes* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985), pp. 86-111.

The Communal Elections from 1930: Case studies - Slimnic and Presaca Communes, Sibiu County

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Abstract: The parliamentary elections play a special role in Romanian historiography, but we still need many studies on the local ones. The study aims to focus on how political life occurred in rural areas after the achievement of the administrative unification. Following that newly created context, we intend to capture how the electoral campaign is carried out at the local level. We analyse the changes in the Romanian electoral system, primarily focusing on the local elections in the rural area of Sibiu. From a methodological point of view, we studied the press of the period and archival documentary sources. We have focused on the communal electoral lists, which we analysed with the support of a database. Our approach, based on a quantitative statistic-sociological classification of the candidates, and of the voters from the communal elections in Sibiu County, reveals how involved the peasants were in political affairs. At the same time, this paper elucidates, through archival evidence, how authorities interfered in the mechanisms of the electoral process.

Keywords: communal election, electoral system, candidates, political parties, propaganda, electoral results

Rezumat: Alegerile parlamentare joacă un rol important în istoriografia românească, dar avem încă nevoie de studii asupra celor locale. Studiul își propune să se concentreze asupra modului în care a apărut viața politică în zona rurală, după ce a fost realizată o unificare administrativă. Urmărind contextul nou creat, studiul are intenția să captureze modul în care campania electorală s-a desfășurat la nivel

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local. Studiul analizează schimbările în sistemul electoral românesc, concentrându-se asupra alegerilor locale din zona rurală din proximitatea Sibiului. Din punct de vedere metodologic, am studiat presa epocii și surse de arhivă. Ne-am concentrat asupra listelor electorale comunale, pe care le-am analizat cu ajutorul unei baze de date. Abordarea, bazată pe o clasificare cantitativă, statistică, sociologică a candidaților și a electoratului participant la alegerile comunale din regiunea Sibiu, relevă nivelul de implicare a țărănimii în activitatea politică. În același timp, studiul elucidează, cu ajutorul documentelor de arhivă, modul în care autoritățile au intervenit în mecanismele procesului electoral.

Cuvinte cheie: alegeri comunale, sistem electoral, candidați, partide politice, propagandă, rezultate electorale

Introduction

In Romanian historiography, the political elite played a central role.² Also, the researchers manifested interest in the subject of public administration, being provided examples of Romanian county officials, in Transylvania,³ the Old Kingdom, and Great Romania.⁴ But, unfortunately,

² Many studies have been published on the political elites (local and central) through the research grant 'The Political Elite from Transylvania (1867-1918)', also, an electronic database was created, including the MPs names and political orientation, see Judit Pál, Vlad Popovici, *Elites and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe (1848-1918)*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014); Judit Pál, 'The Survival of the Traditional Elite: The Transylvanian Lord Lieutenant Corps in 1910', *Colloquia. Journal of Central European Studies*, Vol. XIV, (2007) : 78-85; Judit Pál, Vlad Popovici, 'O perspectivă comparativă asupra cercetării elitelor politice din secolele XIX-XX în Ungaria și România' [A comparative perspective over the research on political elites in the 19th and 20th centuries in Hungary and Romania] *Analele Științifice ale Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iași*, Tom LXI, (Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iași, 2015): 600-604; Judit Pál, 'Elita politică din Transilvania la cumpăna secolelor XIX și XX: comiții supremi' [The political elite from Transylvania between the 19th and the 20th centuries: the supreme committees] in Ioan-Aurel Pop et al (coord.) *Călător prin istorie. Omagiu profesorului Liviu Maior la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani* (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2010), pp. 495-501; Judit Pál, Vlad Popovici, Andrea Fehér, Ovidiu Emil Iudean (eds.) *Parliamentary Elections in Eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865-1918)* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2018) etc.

³ Vlad Popovici, 'Considerații privind funcționarii publici români din Transilvania. Studiu de caz: comitatul Sibiu și scaunele săsești care l-au format (1861-1918)' [Considerations regarding the Romanian public servants from Transylvania. Case study: Sibiu county and the predating Saxon seats], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca*, LV (2016): 166-176.

⁴ At the same time, the author highlighting the role of the Prefect, see Andrei Florin Sora, *Servir l'État roumain. Le corps préfectoral (1866-1940)* (București: Editura Universității din București, 2011), pp. 37-48; Andrei Florin Sora, 'Les fonctionnaires publics roumains appartenant aux minorités ethniques dans la Grande Roumanie' in Silvia Marton, Anca

studies on civil servants at the local level are still rare,⁵ the aspect related to the knowledge of office workers remained unknown many research would be necessary, especially, in the first half of the twentieth century. The bibliography dedicated to the parliamentary elections during the interwar period is varied and well-known,⁶ very rarely providing references to the situation from the rural areas, on this subject only a few studies have been written. Sorin Radu outlines the atmosphere in which the first communal

Oroveanu, Florin Țurcanu (eds) *L'État en France et en Roumanie aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (New Europe College-Institut d'études avancées, 2011), pp. 178-192; Andrei Florin Sora, 'Être fonctionnaire 'minorité' en Roumanie. Idéologie de la Nation et pratiques d'État (1918-1940)' (New Europe College Ștefan Odobleja Program Yearbook 2009-210), pp. 209-220.

⁵ Some examples for the study of the body of civil servants are based on a quantitative analysis, which illustrates that the number of Romanian officials has remained relatively small. Valer Moga, 'Introducere în cercetarea activității electorale din Transilvania, în noiembrie-decembrie 1918' [Introduction in the research of the electoral activity in Transylvania, in November-December 1918] *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, 16/1 (Mega, 2012): 262-264. In addition, Vlad Popovici provided some biographical data on Romanian civil servants, see Vlad Popovici, 'Funcționarii din Administrație și Justiție Delegați la Marea Adunare Națională de la Alba Iulia (1 Decembrie 1918)' *Revista de Istorie a Moldovei*, 4 (2018): 74-85; Vlad Popovici, *Studies on the Romanian Political Elite from Transylvania and Hungary* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2012), pp. 18-23. Timea Longaver, Vlad Popovici, 'Considerații privind corpul funcționarilor administrativi județeni din zonele cu populație săsească în perioada 1919-1925' [Considerations Regarding the County Officials in the Saxon Areas between 1919 and 1925] *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis, Series Historica*, vol. XV (2018): 164-170. Cornel Micu, 'Mayors and Local Elite in the Interwar Period: Case Study - The Bordei Verde Commune, Brăila County', in Sorin Radu and Oliver Jens Schmitt (eds) *Politics and Peasants in Interwar Romania: Perceptions, Mentalities, Propaganda* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), pp. 113-120.

⁶ See Florin Müller, *Elite parlamentare și dinamica electorală în România* [Parliament Elites and Electoral Dynamics in Romania (1919-1937)] (București: Universitatea din București, 2009), pp. 13-15; Cristian Preda, *Românii Fericiți. Vot și Putere de la 1831 până în prezent* [Happy Romanians. Vote and Power from 1831 until Present Days] (Iași: Polirom, 2011), pp. 135-159; Sorin Radu, *Electoratul din România în anii democrației parlamentare (1919-1937)* [Electorate in Romania during Parliamentary Democracy (1919-1937)] (Iași: Institutul European, 2004), pp. 30-36; Sorin Radu, 'Administrația și procesul electoral din România în anii democrației parlamentare 1919-1937' [The administration and the electoral process in Interwar Romanian (1919-1937)] *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, 8 (2004): 391-397; Marin Pop, *Viața politică în România interbelică (1919-1938). Activitatea Partidului Național și Național-Tărănesc din Ardeal și Banat* [Political Life in Interwar Romania (1919-1938). The Activity of the National Party and of The National Peasants' Party in Transylvania and Banat] (Cluj-Napoca, Zalău: Mega, Porolissum, 2014), p. 469; Vasile Dudaș, 'Alegerile parlamentare din anul 1919 în județul Caraș-Severin' [Parliamentary Elections in Caraș-Severin County, 1919] *Analele Banatului. Arheologie și Istorie*, XIX (2011): 467-470; Sorin Arhire, 'Alegerile parlamentare din anul 1932 în județul Alba' [The Parliamentary Elections from 1932, Alba County] *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, 6 (Alba-Iulia, 2002): 214-217; Ramona Miron, 'Alegerile parlamentare din anul 1920 în județul Putna' [The Parliamentary Elections from 1920 in the Putna County] *Muzeul Vrancei Cronica Vrancei* (Focșani, 2013): 88-89; Petru Obodariu, 'Alegerile din 1937 în județul Putna' [Elections from 1920 in the Putna County] *Cronica Vrancei II* (Focșani: DMPress, 2001): 241-249, etc.

elections took place in February 1926, highlighting electoral propaganda and political alliances.⁷ Marin Pop dedicated studies to local elections, but the author descriptively presented the electoral aspects, being interested more in the role of the National Party and Peasant Party.⁸

The issues we analyse in this study⁹ start from the following research questions: How was the electoral campaign carried out at the local level? Which factors influenced political life on the village level? How did they react to the messages of political authority? Which political parties received the vote of the peasants? How many candidates were standing for election? What was the profile of a local candidate? The hypothesis is related to the perception of the rural world described as a passive group unable to understand political changes. Stelu Șerban has argued that “politics is a family business,”¹⁰ and in our approach, we will try to find out if this issue is confirmed or not. The approach used in this research consisted of case studies in two communes in Sibiu County. The term “commune” found in archival documents refers to areas formed by a single village according to the published legislative texts (art. 39).¹¹ We have chosen the villages of Slimnic and Presaca because they are representative examples of ethnic and religious diversity.

The study is based on unpublished archival sources, documents that have been preserved containing a series of minutes, and ballots papers used in the electoral elections.¹² Such analysis of documentary

⁷ Sorin Radu, ‘Alegerile comunale și județene din februarie 1926’ [The Communal and County Election in February 1926] *Apulum*, XXXVIII/2 (2001): 207-224.

⁸ ‘Alegerile comunale și județene din anul 1930 în județul Sălaj și o radiografie a orașului Zalău în anii 30’ [Communal and County Election from 1926 in Sălaj County and an radiography of Zalău in the 1930s] C. Silvane (2010) <http://www.caietesilvane.ro/cautare>, accesat în 03.05.2019, ora 11:17; Marin Pop, ‘Alegerile pentru Camera Agricolă a județului Sălaj și înființarea Consiliului Județean (1925-1926)’ [Elections for the Agricultural Chamber of Sălaj County and the establishment of the County Council (1925- 1926)] C. Silvane (2009) <http://www.caietesilvane.ro/cautare>, accesat în 07.05.2019, ora 20:15.

⁹ We mention that similar aspects on communal elections could be found in the following study case: Ana-Maria Ungureanu-Ilinca, ‘Alegeri comunale din anul 1930. Studiu de caz: comuna Ocna Sibiului, Județul Sibiu’ [The Communal Elections from 1930. Case study – Ocna Sibiului Commune, Sibiu County] *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis, Series Historica*, vol. XVII (2020): 211-235.

¹⁰ Stelu Șerban, ‘Communal Political Cultures in Interwar Romania’, in Sorin Radu and Oliver Jens Schmit (eds) *Politics and Peasants in Interwar Romania: Perceptions, Mentalities, Propaganda* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), p. 61.

¹¹ ‘Lege pentru organizarea administrațiunii locale’ [Law for the Organisation of Local Administration] *Monitorul Oficial*, No. 170, 3 August 1929, p. 6191.

¹² Serviciul Județean Sibiu al Arhivelor Naționale, Fondul Tribunalul Județului Sibiu. Dosar alegeri [National Archives Service of Sibiu County, Fund of the Sibiu County Court, Election File], (hereafter called SJANS, FTS, DA).

sources allows us to look at the electoral process from another perspective, highlighting some specific elements of electoral mechanisms. We have also researched articles on rural aspects published in official newspapers like *Monitorul Județului Sibiu*, *Cuvântul Liber*, *Foaia Poporului*, *Cuvântul Poporului*. We describe and analyse the administrative information, the candidates, laws, orders, and ordinances signed by the Prefect, focusing more on the local election, in the rural area of Sibiu, in the 1930s.

Electoral rules

Firstly, to be able to observe how the electoral rules were applied, we will make a detailed presentation of the electoral legislation. During the interwar period, the Romanian electoral system has undergone several changes regulated through administrative laws published in 1918,¹³ 1919,¹⁴ 1925.¹⁵ The last one produced a stabilization of the voting system based on unique legislation according to the same criteria at the level of the whole country.¹⁶ In the summer of 1929, a new administrative law was adopted, according to the new law, the village is managed by a Communal Council and a Mayor. In the case of mayors, from communes consisting of a single village, the mayor is elected directly by the electorate, and Communal Council no longer includes unelected members. Generally, preparation for the election fell under the remit of

¹³ The next study detailed how the officials delegated to participate in the Great National Assembly in Alba Iulia were elected by universal suffrage at the local level, see Valer Moga, 'Introducere în cercetarea activității electorale din Transilvania, în noiembrie-decembrie 1918' [Introduction in the research of the electoral activity in Transylvania, in November-December 1918] *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, 16/1 (2012): 253-260.

¹⁴ By decree was decided that all councils should have been dissolved and until the organization of new elections, based on universal suffrage, the officials would be appointed by the Prefect. Also, an important criterion was knowledge of the official language. 'Decret nr. II despre funcționarea în mod provizoriu a serviciilor publice administrative [Decree no. II on the temporary Assembly of Deputies operation of public administrative services] *Gazeta Oficială*, Sibiu, no. 6, 19 January/1 February 1919, p. 26. Finally, was decreed the organization of elections for communal representatives and town hall according to the norms of law XXII from 1886 and based on the lists of voters for the Assembly of Deputies. Therefore, all representatives will be elected for six years, but half of them being replaced after three years. 'Decret nr. XXII despre alegerea reprezentanțelor comunale și a primăriilor' [Decree no. XXII on the election of communal representations and town halls] *Gazeta Oficială*, Cluj, no. 65, 12 November 1919, p. 1; 'Rectificare' [Rectification] *Gazeta Oficială*, Cluj, no. 67, 19 November 1919, p. 1.

¹⁵ 'Lege pentru unificarea administrative' [Law for Administrative Unification] *Monitorul Oficial*, 14 June 1925, pp. 6850-6893.

¹⁶ For the analysis of the legislative stipulations see Radu, 'Alegerile comunale și județene din februarie 1926' [The Communal and County Election in February 1926], pp. 208-209; Preda, *Românii Fericiți*, p. 142; Ungureanu-Ilinca, 'Alegeri comunale din anul 1930', p. 214.

the local administrative apparatus. Convocation of the electorate was made by the Prefect, it will need at least 30 days before the deadline set for elections in the official gazette of the county.¹⁷ An important role was played by magistrates, who were in charge of distributing the voter cards to all citizens. The voter cards were drawn up by the court based on the final electoral lists. Finally, to increase the number of voters was decided that the distribution of voter cards should be done through the town hall by the local administration.¹⁸ Therefore, magistrates had a decisive role in counting, annulling the ballots, as well, in checking the registers or resolving the appeals.

Members of the councils were elected by the Romanian citizens, by universal, equal, direct, secret, obligatory vote, and with the representation of minorities.¹⁹ Another condition, valid for the voting right and electability, depends on the criterion of local residency, requiring at least one year. The electorate voted on the list in a single round of elections using the stamp with the mention "voted".²⁰ That was a majoritarian system, meaning that if none of the candidates accumulated an absolute majority of the votes (50%+1), a ballotage ("balotaj")²¹ was held the following week. Romanian citizens over the age of twenty-one took part in universal suffrage. For the first time, women received the right to vote, but only in the communal elections, and conditioned by - art. 335 - one of the following provisions: to graduate secondary school, to be officials, widows of war, to have been decorated for activity during the war or to have been part of the management of association with social demands, cultural propaganda, or social assistance.²² However, citizens who did not turn up to vote were liable to be penalized with the amount of 500 lei.²³

The Mayor was elected for five years by the voters, for one to become Mayor they had to be an "honest man".²⁴ At the same time, the cashier was selected by universal suffrage, but he had to graduate at least

¹⁷ 'Lege pentru organizarea administrațiunii locale' [Law for the Organisation of Local Administration] *Monitorul Oficial*, No. 170, 3 August 1929, pp. 6186-6272.

¹⁸ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 162/1931, f. 277.

¹⁹ Radu, *Electoratul*, p. 37.

²⁰ 'Alegerile comunale și județene' [The Communal and County Election] *Cuvântul Liber*, II/3, 19 January 1930, pp. 1-2.

²¹ In order for the ballot to be held at least two candidates must register. *Cuvântul Liber*, I/3, 15 September 1929, p. 4.

²² Al. Gh. Savu, *Sistemul partidelor politice din România 1919-1940* [The Political System of parties in Romania 1919-1940] (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1976), p. 157.

²³ Preda, *Românii Fericiți*, p. 159.

²⁴ Candidates had to be at least 25 years old. 'Legea comunală cea nouă' [The new communal law] *Cuvântul Liber*, I/10, 3 November 1929, p. 1.

three or four secondary classes. If such a candidate did not exist in the village, in this situation, a person who has finished primary school could be accepted.²⁵ Voting took place on the same day on separate ballots, one for each: council, mayor, cashier, - with different colours - the ballots for the mayors' elections were orange and purple for the cashier.²⁶

Electoral register

First of all, to be able to exercise the right to vote, the citizens had to be registered in the communal electoral registers. In this case, a database was created that contained information from the communal tables. The files provide us data about citizens of the interwar period, information regarding the place, year of birth, profession, or death. The electoral lists were made (by the authorities) using those from the previous elections, but it was necessary to take into account deleting people who have died in the meantime and to add those who have reached the age required to vote. Our approach, based on a quantitative statistic-sociological classification from the communal elections in Sibiu County, revealed how involved the peasants in political affairs were. Documents issued by the communal administration were sent to the Prefect, they were stamped, dated, and signed by the mayor, notary, or magistrates. One copy of the electoral register was published at the door of the town halls, people were notified by beating the drum in the commune.²⁷ Also, the press was constantly appealing to the citizens to register in the electoral lists or to check if they had been registered.²⁸

Although through various addresses, ordinances, the officials were notified on how to note all citizens, in a more detailed analysis, the table shows that administrative officials drew up the electoral registers as they considered, rules being respected only in a small part. An electoral register should have contained references to the names of all citizens, with specific observations on age, occupation, address.²⁹ Unfortunately, the data collected gives little information about the women who appeared on the lists. Sometimes, the president of the polling section marked the presence and absence from polls directly on the electoral registers using the colour red or blue. Occasionally, it was made a nominal list but specified only the name and number of the voter (Fig. 1-2).³⁰ The mayor,

²⁵ 'Alegerile comunale și județene' [The Communal and County Election] *Cuvântul Liber*, II/3, 19 January 1930, p. 1.

²⁶ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 114/1931.

²⁷ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/3, 19 January 1930, p. 2.

²⁸ *Cuvântul Liber*, I/3, 15 September 1929, p. 5.

²⁹ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 40/1925, f. 4; SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

³⁰ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

notary, secretary, or other officials had an essential role in preparing the electoral register, citizens depending on how they performed their duties. However, people who have been omitted from the lists had only ten days to claim their right to vote in Court.³¹

In the following, we have been trying to answer the next questions: Who were the citizens from Slimnic and Presaca villages? What ethnicity, age, and occupation did they have? We mention that the information processed from the electoral register refers only to the active segment of the citizens - who participate in elections - were not included people who have died or didn't go to the polls.³² Usually, in the village, inhabitants were known by the paternal father names and grandfather, respectively. Sometimes to limit the identification to several identical names, we use the house number. We have checked the accuracy of the information in the electoral register whit civil status and nationality registers.³³

From an ethnical standpoint, inhabitants were grouped into three categories, the first group - Romanian ethnics, the second group included minorities, and the third category called "others" was made up of unidentified people. The population was distributed as in the following charts (Chart 1-2). Even if these three categories are purely conventional, they help with the analysis of the differences between these two villages. In Presaca, Romanians constituted the majority of voters (96,38%), minorities (2,72%), and others (0,90%). On the other hand, minorities recorded a higher percentage than Romanians in the elections of Slimnic (minorities - 54,66%, Romanians - 43,88%, others - 1,46%)³⁴.

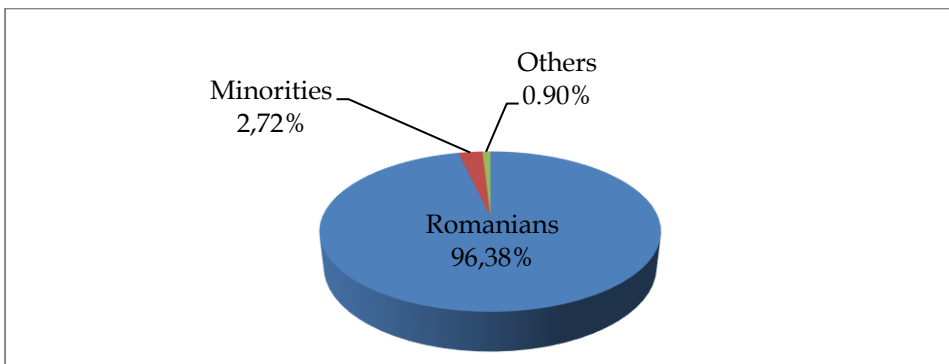


Chart no. 1. Ethnicity of citizens in Presaca.

³¹ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 161/1931, f. 171.

³² We mention that the data refer exclusively to the elections of 10th-11th February 1930.

³³ Colecția Registre de Stare civilă [Collection Register Civil Status] Slimnic, No. 134.

³⁴ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 40/1925, f. 4; SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

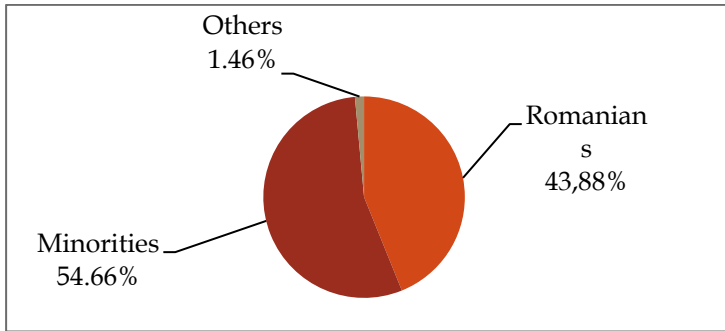


Chart no. 2. Ethnicity of citizens in Slimnic.

As well, the age of the voters was divided into several series, with groups covering about twenty years. Except for the first group (between twenty-one and thirty-nine year-olds) in which we chose to start at the age of twenty-one for political reasons.³⁵ The second group started with voters forty to fifty-nine years old, group three includes people between sixty to seventy-nine, and group four over eighty years old.³⁶ Several examples taken from the research material show that they were a higher representation for the first two age categories in both villages. The evolution of ages can be observed in the below charts (Chart 3-4).³⁷

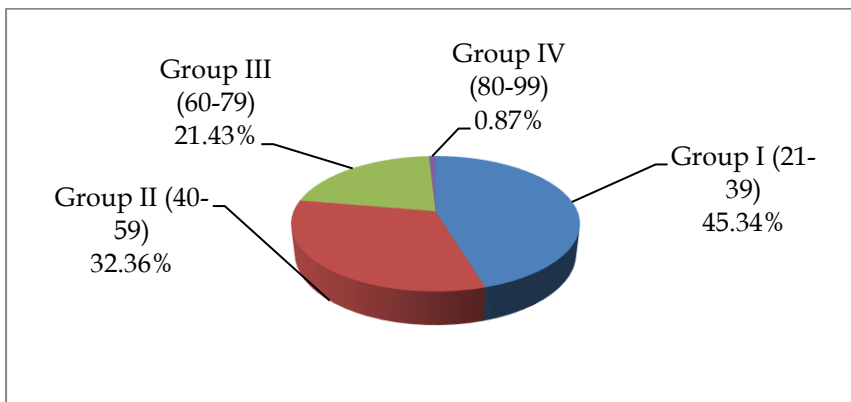


Chart no. 3. The age of the voters in Slimnic.

³⁵ According to the law, the voting age was set to 21 years. *Cuvântul Liber*, II/3, 19 January 1930, p. 1.

³⁶ Slimnic: group I (45,34%), group II (32,36%), group III (21,43%), group IV (0,87%). Presaca: group I (49,77%), group II (28,52%), group III (21,71%), group IV (0,00%).

³⁷ One can easily note that only six persons went to the polls over 80 years old (in Slimnic), and none in Presaca.

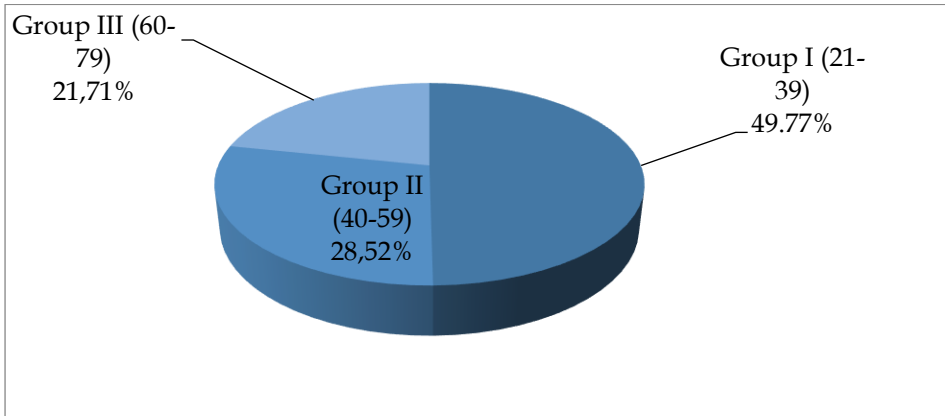


Chart no 4. The age of the voters in Presaca.

In Slimnic, the analysis of the professional structure of the voters reveals that from a total of 686 people, most of them were ploughmen (89,50%), laborers (3,06%), trades (2,40%), etc.³⁸ In Presaca, from a total of 221 people, the large majority of the voters were farmers (94,12%), but we also encountered notables of the village: teachers (0,90%), priests (0,45%), and many others.³⁹ However, the declared profession is most likely subjective, the voters aiming for another occupation when they are obliged to declare it in the electoral registers. We do not know if the professions listed are real. Sometimes, the press and other documents were mentioned the same person with another occupation, for example, "economist"⁴⁰ instead of farmer or ploughmen. The collected data suggest not only men (211) participated in the elections. Also, ten women can be identified in the lists of the voters in Presaca commune. A quantitative analysis of the voters in Slimnic shows us that of 686 voters, only 32 of these were female and 654 male.⁴¹ So, the typical characteristics of the voter were represented by the male sex, age between 21-39 years, belong to the national minorities in Slimnic, on the other hand, in Presaca were Romanian ethnics. In both communes, voters have agricultural occupations, whether they have been categorized as ploughmen or farmers.

³⁸ Shoemaker (1,46%), teacher (0,73%), innkeeper (0,29%), carpenter (0,58%), blacksmith (0,15%), office worker (0,29%), notary (0,15%), priest (0,44%), builder (0,29%), unknown (0,58%).

³⁹ Trader (1,36%), miller (0,45%), notary (0,45%), shoemaker (0,45%), student (0,45%), laborer (0,90%), unknown (0,45%).

⁴⁰ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 43/1925.

⁴¹ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930; 79/1930.

Candidates

A list of candidates should have been submitted at least eight days before the vote. The proposal had to be given in writing and signed by ten citizens with the right to vote.⁴² Candidates could be nominated by parties or by local citizens, depending on the influence exercised in the party at the local level. All candidates were enlisted, but only people at least twenty-five years old could stand as candidates in elections. Also, the law provided that people over 60 years would be replaced.⁴³ Another requirement for all candidates was for them to be able to read and write. Specifically, the law provided that third-degree relatives could not be members of the council at the same time. In spite of the fact that it was forbidden by law, we notice that the junior (Thal Thomas) and senior (Thal Martin) were validated in the council of Slimnic. In Presaca, although they were relatives, the members of the Berea, Bulea families were validated in the council. Also, candidates were not allowed to be officials, innkeepers, or to be entrepreneurs with communal contracts, because they were incompatible with the position.⁴⁴

Mandates were assigned to the candidates on each list, in the order in which they were declared - by the proposers - on the lists. The rest of the candidates from the winning lists became substitutes. If the first councillors were suspended, the substitutes would replace them.⁴⁵ It should also be mentioned, the electoral lists that we were able to identify do not contain data about the political affiliation of candidates. For example, the list of the communal council, from Slimnic on February 11th 1930, included two groups of candidates, under the headings "the first list" and "the second list"⁴⁶ but nothing about the political parties they represented. However, the only information that appears on the ballot was provided with an electoral sign, from where we can see the political affiliation of local elites. For example, the symbol is described as "a circle/ wheel"⁴⁷ for the National Peasant Party, and "vertical line"⁴⁸ represents the specific sign of the National Liberal Party.

⁴² *Cuvântul Liber*, II/3, 19 January 1930, p. 1.

⁴³ *Cuvântul Liber*, I/10, 3 November 1929, p. 2.

⁴⁴ For example, in 1929, the Prefect dissolved the Communal Council of the Slimnic village for the following reasons: cases of incompatibility and embezzlement of the budget. *Cuvântul Liber*, I/7, 13 October 1929.

⁴⁵ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 45/1926, f. 1.

⁴⁶ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

⁴⁷ Sorin Radu, 'Semnele electorale ale partidelor politice în perioada interbelică 1919-1937' [The Symbols of the Political Parties in the Interwar Period] *Apulum* XXXIX (2002): 575.

⁴⁸ *Foaia Poporului*, XXXIII/33, 16 August 1925, p. 2. Pop, 'Alegerile pentru Camera Agricolă...' [Elections for the Agricultural Chamber...].

According to the electoral lists, in Slimnic, about 67 candidates participated in the elections throughout the 1930s. If we take into consideration the ethnic diversity, we could say that Romanians constitute a percentage of 70.15%, minorities - 29.85%. Socio-professionally, most candidates have specified that they were ploughmen (78,46%), carpenter, office worker, priest (each category with 1,54 percent), shoemaker, trader (3,08%), teacher (4,62%), unknown (6,15%). Classification according to ages, into four categories, as follows: group I (25-39 years) 31,34%, group II (40-59 years) 53,73%, group III (60-79 years) 8,96%, group IV (unknown) 5,97%, illustrates that six people applied in Slimnic elections, even though they were over the age of 60 years, regulated by electoral law.⁴⁹ We also remark an incompatible candidate, for example, the office worker Poplăcean Ioan 594 (see Table I-II). In Presaca, a quantitative analysis of the candidates reveals that everybody is Romanian. Except for one candidate, most have specified that they were farmers. Depending on age, the percentage remained relatively similar for the first group (26,32%), the second category was higher (68,42%)⁵⁰, while about 5.26% of people were of unknown ages (see Table III-IV). Concluding, we can say that the typology of the candidate corresponds to a Romanian male, between 40-59 years old, with agricultural occupations. Even if in Slimnic, the minorities represented the majority population, however only a small proportion (29.85% of the total number of candidates) belong to the minorities. While minorities had no candidates in Presaca, they represented a small percentage among the inhabitants with the right to vote (2,72%).

⁴⁹ *Monitorul Județului Sibiu*, XI/4, 1 March 1929, pp. 44-45. *Monitorul Județului Sibiu*, XI/12, 15 June 1929, p. 133.

⁵⁰ It is easy to observe, that most of the candidates were between 40-59 years, at the local level members with experience and prestige were preferred.

Propaganda

The Prefect was blamed and constantly charged with doing propaganda for the National Peasants' Party. From the moment of the appointment of an Interim Commission, the citizens started to protest in Slimnic. Even the Saxons, who supported him in the election, disapproved of his actions.⁵¹ The Interim Commission committed several illegalities, including embezzlement of funds, the payment of two notaries, "unavailing"⁵² the elections made with enormous expenses, electoral bills reached the amount of 16.436 lei,⁵³ provided by the commune fund. Furthermore, the Prefect was accused of relying too much on the support of the Greek Catholic priest Păculea - a member of the National Peasant Party - who was considered wanting revenge on the Orthodox through politics, according to the teacher Ioan Tatu⁵⁴ (a member of the National Liberal Party).

First, candidates needed in the electoral campaign professional agents, which would try to mobilize voters in the candidates' favour. For example, at the political assembly of the Liberals, besides the party leaders,⁵⁵ the priest P. Alesie and the teacher I. Tatu also spoke, encouraging the citizens of Slimnic to vote for the liberals.⁵⁶ Nicolae Bratu, from the National Peasant Party, visited the commune of Slimnic, greeted by villagers with fanfare led by teacher N. Nicoară. He gives a speech to the peasants about the causes of the economic crisis and offers some advice, but during the speaking was interrupted repeatedly by liberal supporters I. Tatu, Vicențiu Fântână, and other councillors.⁵⁷

On the one hand, the liberal press was focused on electoral violence made by young people from the National Peasant Party, so-called "hefty" ("voinici").⁵⁸ Violence, from verbal to physical

⁵¹ The worst people have been appointed, but communal elections will show their prestige. *Cuvântul Liber*, I/11, 10 November 1929, p. 2.

⁵² The political information presented in the local press mentions four elections in the commune of Slimnic, in spite must be said that in the archives, we find documents only for three elections. *Cuvântul Liber*, II/29, 20 June 1930, p. 3.

⁵³ For example, a teacher earns 90 lei per day, he can buy a liter of milk, a kilogram of meat, potatoes, onions, and bread. *Cuvântul Liber*, I/17-18, 22 December 1929, p. 7. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

⁵⁴ Both made propaganda to support his party. 'Scrisoare deschisă dlui Prefect Coriolan Ștefan' [Open letter to Prefect Coriolan Ștefan] *Cuvântul Liber*, I/7, 13 October 1929, p. 3.

⁵⁵ Vicențiu Fântână was the president of the liberal organization from Slimnic commune. *Cuvântul Liber*, I/14, 1 December 1929, p. 3.

⁵⁶ *Cuvântul Liber*, I/10, 3 November 1929, p. 4.

⁵⁷ 'Parlamentarii jud. Sibiu la sate' [MPs in the villages Sibiu County] *Foaia Poporului*, XXXVIII/41, 12 October 1930, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Marin Pop, 'Aspecte privind activitatea Tineretului Național-Țărănesc din Ardeal și Banat. Organizațiile de Chemări și Voinici' (1929)", *Studii și Comunicări XXXI/II* (2015): 100.

aggressiveness was a common thing several citizens were ill-treated, including Nanu from Slimnic.⁵⁹ Moreover, gendarmes arrested innocent people from Slimnic, Cornăţel, Glâmboaca.⁶⁰ The Prefect focused on sabotaging the opposing party. For instance, he planned, just before the elections, investigations against some Liberal representatives - I. Tatu, Luca Nan, and L. Boabeş - from Slimnic.⁶¹ On the other hand, during the election, the peasant press described this aspect differently. According to the Prefect report "no arrests were made, the propaganda was completely free for all,"⁶² it is said that the elections in Sibiu County took place in the most perfect order, allowed all parties to campaign. Protesting against the electoral law, the People's Party⁶³ advised citizens to cancel their vote and not submit lists of candidacies.

Through promises and threats, citizens were manipulated by the Prefect. He argued that citizens who do not vote for the National Peasants' Party will no longer receive any support from the Prefectures.⁶⁴ As well, various amounts of money were given for public interest purposes.⁶⁵ Administrative officials were involved in the election campaign, notaries were called to the Prefecture and receive the order to do anything to win the election. Also, they were asked to report the liberal meetings,⁶⁶ and all untrustworthy notaries were replaced. For example, the notary from Slimnic - Aurel Căpăţână has been moved.⁶⁷ The priest Păculea would have contributed to the removal of the notary, but citizens - of all nationalities - protested.⁶⁸ Also, the notary Căpăţână submitted a factum to the authorities explaining the situation and demanding justice.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the sources do not mention much information about the propaganda made in Presaca. During the election campaign, the entire village was divided into many groups, which were

Described in the press as strikers. *Cuvântul Poporului*, XII/3, 18 January 1930, p. 2. *Cuvântul Liber*, II/4, 26 January 1930, p. 3.

⁵⁹ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/6, 9 February 1930, p. 3.

⁶⁰ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/9, 2 March 1930, p. 3.

⁶¹ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/7, 16 February 1930, p. 2.

⁶² *Foaia Poporului*, XXXVIII/7, 16 February 1930, p. 1.

⁶³ *Cuvântul Poporului*, XII/3, 18 January 1930, p. 1.

⁶⁴ 'Ilegalităţile Naţional Ţărănişte în judeţul Sibiu' [National Peasant Illegals in Sibiu County] *Cuvântul Liber*, II/15, 13 April 1930, p. 2.

⁶⁵ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/6, 9 February 1930, p. 2.

⁶⁶ 'Cori, trilimanii şi notarii comunali' [Cori, "trilimani" and communal notaries] *Cuvântul Liber*, II/5, 2 February 1930, p. 3.

⁶⁷ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/15, 13 April 1930, p. 4; *Cuvântul Liber*, II/22, 1 June 1930, p. 3.

⁶⁸ 'Ilegalităţile unui Prefect' [The Prefect illegals] *Cuvântul Poporului*, XII/14, 5 April 1930, p. 2.

⁶⁹ *Cuvântul Poporului*, XII/19, 10 May 1930, p. 4.

sympathizers of liberals, but the majority supported the National Peasants' Party.⁷⁰ Therefore, the Prefect was personally involved in the election campaign, actively contributing to the electoral propaganda in favour of the National Peasant Party, using his authority to manipulate the citizens with the help of gendarmes and other officials.⁷¹

Election results

Minutes of the election can be found in the archives, which certifies the composition of the electoral commission, the results, and possible appeals during the electoral process. The number of councillors is variable from one village to another (between eight to sixteen) depending on the demographic size of the village.⁷² Presaca was a smaller village (1000 inhabitants) we have eight counsellors, while in Slimnic (4000 inhabitants) fourteen counsellors. In Presaca, elections were established on 10th February and in Slimnic the next day.⁷³ The final result of the election was decided by a relative majority.⁷⁴ To obtain seats in the council, a list had to receive at least 20% of the total number of votes. No mandate shall be assigned if any lists did not accumulate at least one-fifth of the votes. The seats were distributed proportionately among all lists, depending on the score obtained. In order to illustrate the results, we used the following tables (Table 1-2).

⁷⁰ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

⁷¹ For more examples on local election propaganda see Ungureanu-Ilinca, 'Alegeri comunale din anul 1930', pp. 221-224.

⁷² 'Lege pentru organizarea administrațiunii locale' [Law for the Organisation of Local Administration] *Monitorul Oficial*, No. 170, 3 August 1929, p. 6191.

⁷³ The election did not all take place on the same day.

⁷⁴ The term refers to the highest number of votes. *Monitorul Județului Sibiu*, XI/1, 10 January 1930, pp. 2-3.

Council		○		
	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	415	239	32	686
Percentage ⁷⁵	60,50%	34,84%	4,66%	
Percent ⁷⁶	63,46%	36,54%	-	
Seat	9	5		

Table no. 1. Council – Slimnic, 11 Feb. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

Council	○			
	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	112	108	1	221
Percentage	50,67%	48,86%	0,47%	
Percent	51%	49%	-	
Seat	4	4		

Table no. 2. Council – Presaca, 10 Feb. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

Therefore, the number of mandates was divided equally in the commune of Presaca. In Slimnic, the liberal list won first place with nine seats, and the National Peasant Party obtained only five seats in the council.⁷⁷ While to win the position of mayor/cashier, candidates had to register an absolute majority of votes (fifty percent plus one).⁷⁸ If no one receives the majority of votes in the next week, a ballottage will be arranged, as in the Slimnic elections (Table 3,5). Three lists were submitted, but none managed to win the position of mayor or cashier. Simion David won the mayoral elections of Presaca, with only two votes, and the position of cashier was held by Bulea Gligor (Table 4,6).

Mayor	List no. 1	List no. 2	List no. 3	Canceled	Total
No.	186	278	178	44	686
Percentage	27,11%	40,52%	25,95%		
Percent	27%	41%	26%		
Result	ballottage				

Table no. 3. Mayor – Slimnic, 11 Feb. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

⁷⁵ Refers to the initial percentage mentioned in the cited source.

⁷⁶ The second time, percentages were calculated without taking into account the lists that did not reach 20% of the votes, respectively canceled votes.

⁷⁷ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/8, 23 February 1930, p. 1.

⁷⁸ Having only one candidate was declared elected "ex officio". *Cuvântul Liber*, II/3, 19 January 1930, p. 2.

Mayor	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	107	109	5	221
Percentage	48,42%	51,58%		
Percent	48%	52%		
Result		<i>Simion David</i>		

Table no. 4. Mayor – Presaca, 10 Feb. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

Cashier	List no. 1	List no. 2	List no. 3	Canceled	Total
No.	116	342	164	64	686
Percentage	16,91%	49,85%	23,91%	9,33%	
Result	ballotage				

Table no. 5. Cashier – Slimnic, 11 Feb. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

Cashier	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	122	99	0	221
Percentage	55,20%	44,80%		
Percent	55%	45%		
Result	<i>Bulea Gligor</i>			

Table no. 6. Cashier – Presaca, 10 Feb. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

Furthermore, we observe that many ballots were canceled. Ballot papers were annulled because the control stamp was improperly applied. For example, ballots for the mayor election from Slimnic. Also, ticket vote without any stamp was canceled (see Fig. 3-4). In the electoral file, only the canceled ballots are annexed, which allows us to observe that many votes were annulled abusively for the National Peasant Party. Moreover, the villagers in Presaca appealed against the election of the mayoralty, and the Perfect recall to vote again on June 15th 1930. Finally, a member of the National Peasant Party won the elections, according to the next table.

Mayor	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	120	86	6	212
Percentage	56,60%	40,57%	2,83%	
Result	<i>Keitea Dionisie</i>			

Table no. 7. Mayor – Presaca, 15 Jun. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

The official cause of the invalidation of the elections in the village of Slimnic, from February, was the closing time of polling. Although the lunch break lasted two hours, the polling station was closed at 5 p.m. by the head of the election committee. However, according to the electoral

law, it could have been extended until 10 p.m. If there were voters who did not vote.⁷⁹ Several citizens with the right to vote didn't have time to vote, although they were present in front of the polling station. Finally, the election results were invalidated, and they were to be reorganized on June 15th 1930. The seats in the council were divided between the Hungarian Party⁸⁰ with seven seats, the Liberals four, and the National Peasant Party three (Table 8). Also, Liberals won the position of mayor in Slimnic,⁸¹ Luca Nan was elected (Table 9). None of the candidates obtained an absolute majority in the cashier election (Table 10). So, a ballottage was held on June 22nd 1930, Cuiorean Pavel - the candidate of the National Liberal Party - was elected (Table 11).

Council	×	○			
	List no. 1	List no. 2	List no. 3	Canceled	Total
No.	246	114	163	22	545
Percentage	45,13%	20,31%	29,90%	4,04%	
Percent	47,03%	21,79%	31,16%	---	
Seat	7	3	4		

Table no. 8. Council – Slimnic, 15 Jun. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

Mayor	○			
	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	249	274	22	545
Percentage	45,69%	50,28%	4,04%	
Percent	45,69%	54,31%	---	
Result		<i>Luca Nan</i>		

Table no. 9. Mayor – Slimnic, 15 Jun. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

Cashier	○			
	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	265	264	16	545
Percentage	48,62%	48,44%	2,94%	
Result	Ballottage			

Table no. 10. Cashier – Slimnic, 15 Jun. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

⁷⁹ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 45/1926, f. 1.

⁸⁰ The minorities - Hungarians and Saxons - ran on a common list, using the sign related to the Hungarian Party. By comparing the results we mention that contradictory information was reported in the press, were generally small differences (1-2 mandates). For example, Liberals: mayor, cashier, and five councilors. Saxons: assistant mayor and seven councilors, and National Peasants' Party two councilors. *Cuvântul Liber*, II/29, 20 July 1930, p. 3.

⁸¹ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/26, 29 June 1930, p. 3.

Cashier	○			
	List no. 1	List no. 2	Canceled	Total
No.	207	331	4	542
Percentage	38,19%	61,07%		
Result		<i>Cuierean Pavel</i>		

Table no. 11. Cashier – Slimnic, 22 Jun. 1930. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

After the elections, the priest Păculea (a member of the National Peasant Party) was accused of tricking the Saxons and forged signatures for the appeal.⁸² Also, he replaced a few candidates only to win the National Peasant Party. In this context, Luca Nan (candidate of the National Liberal Party) appealed against the decision taken by the County Council - to invalidate the elections in Slimnic. Finally, the results were validated.⁸³

Conclusions

Typical for the interwar elections is the involvement of the administrative apparatus in the electoral process. We must take into account that the number of people with the right to vote depending on how officers prepared the electoral register. For this reason, the Prefect appointed an Interim Commission and resorted to the replacement of the notary from Slimnic. According to the law mayors, notaries, communal councilors can be suspended by the Prefect, were replaced with persons approved by the government. Probably the omission of some citizens from the electoral registers was related to their affinity for opposition parties. However, elections were constantly annulled, and voters were called to vote, even three to four times during the year. Archival documents contain sufficient evidence regarding the manipulation of the results through the fault of the magistrates by canceling valid ballots or closing earlier the polling section.

We could say that the hypothesis supported by Stelu Șerban “politics is a family business”⁸⁴ is confirmed - in both communes - several relatives were part of the local administration, in spite of the fact that it was forbidden by law. The most significant example was the presence of the son and father, from the Thal family, in the communal council of Slimnic. Among the relatives who candidates for a position in the local administration of Slimnic, we notified the families: Crețu, Fântână, Hallmen, Mașca, Popa, Seiwerth, etc. (see Table I-II). Members of the

⁸² “Din Slimnic” [From Slimnic] *Cuvântul Liber*, II/29, 20 July 1930, p. 3.

⁸³ *Cuvântul Liber*, II/38, 16 November 1930, p. 2.

⁸⁴ Șerban, ‘Communal Political Cultures...’, p. 61.

families Berea and Bulea were part of the council of Presaca, and Mitea, Roman participated in local elections (see Table III-IV).

Even though the vote was compulsory, there is a relatively low turnout in elections, but we must mention that from the total number of voters entered in the final registers, although the authorities removed people who have died, did not decrease their number from the total number of citizens with the right to vote. Also, we must not forget that in the press were reported some problems encountered by peasants in the purchase of voter cards, when they were distributed by administrative officials. In this way, it could be explained the decrease in the number of citizens with the right to vote. On the other hand, communal elections were held three or four times in the villages. Especially, in June people had to take care of agricultural affairs, but we must also admit the phenomenon of passivity among the peasantry regarding politics. Based on collected data, we may conclude that the number of voters decreased (see Graph no. 1). Although we would have expected increasing the number of voters for the ballot, but that didn't happen. A possible cause was the closing time of the polls. In this regard, we noticed an interest of the citizens to vote, manifested by requests addressed to the court or by appeals, claiming their right to vote. In Presaca, according to the table drawn up by the magistrate, only twenty-five people were absent without reason from the elections, they should have been penalized (with 500 lei⁸⁵) for the benefit of the village, but we do not know if such penalties were applied.

In Slimnic, most people voted for the liberals according to the press, minorities voted against the National Peasants' Party. By comparing the two villages, it becomes obvious that the situation was different from one village to another. In Presaca, electoral competition between the National Liberal Party and the National Peasant Party was fierce. However, the National Peasant Party recorded a victory with only a few percent more than the Liberals. At the county level of Sibiu, most mandates were obtained by the National Peasants' Party in the 1930s.

⁸⁵ SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 76/1930.

Annexes:

Nr. crt.	Numele de familie și botez	Vârsta	Ocupa- țiunea	Județ	co- mună
✓ 201	Gabor Jacob	397 42	plugar	1	—
✓ 202	Genescu Toader	626 63	"	1	—
✓ 203	Gabor Saru	593 52	"	1	—
✓ 204	Hallmen Mihail	5 45	"	1	—
205	Hemberger ^{Martin} Mihail	13 33	"	1	—
✓ 206	Hallmen Loan	22 41	"	1	—
✓ 207	Hallmen Loan	25 66	marșator	1	—
✓ 208	Hallmen Toma	27 53	plugar	1	—
✓ 209	Hallmen Mihail	36 59	"	1	—
210	Hallmen Martin sen.	68 57	"	1	—
211	Hallmen Martin jiu	68 23	"	1	—
✓ 212	Hallmen Loan	129 45	"	1	—
✓ 213	Hallmen Toma sen.	126 53	"	1	—
✓ 214	Hallmen Toma	134 ⁵⁷ 37	"	1	—
✓ 215	Hallmen Toma jiu.	136 23	"	1	—
✓ 216	Hallmen Martin	138 57	"	1	—
✓ 217	Hallmen Mihail	140 47	"	1	—
✓ 218	Hallmen Toma	180 47	"	1	—
✓ 219	Hallmen Loan	180 37	"	1	—
✓ 220	Hallmen Loan	212 40	comercial	?	—

Fig. no. 1. Electoral register from Slimnic. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 43/1925, f. 5.

Registru electoral conform art. 14							Conform Art. 14
NUMELE DE FAMILIE in ordine alfabetică si prenumele alegatorului	Domiciliul	Age	Profesiunea	Alegător la Camera	Alegător la Senat	No. cărți de judecată cu care a fost înscris	Observații
Waldenfeld	721	28	Boboc	Michael		392	
Louvent	730	29	Birch	Michael		52	
Chirile	113	30	Birch	Michael		36	
Gaier	51	31	Fouler	Laueruta		688	
Kepcam	675	32	Michael	Waldenfeld		937	
Ioan	309	33	Vintila	Ioan		299	
Ioan	711	34	Tradits	Ioan		347	
Francis	9	35	Gula	Michael		271	
Petru	313	36	Laueruta	Kudj		735	
Michael	441	37	Lein	Ioan		702	
Michael	384	38	Schmer	Michael		432	
Martin	398	39	Ariz	Ioan		4	
Alfred	121	40	Sheep	Michael		753	
Ioan	144	41	Klein	Toma		405	
Ioan	460	42	Barton	Lein		675	
Ioan	493	43	Waldenfeld	Michael		905	
Michael	454	44	Stancu			787	
Michael	644	45	Blanc	Michael		388	
Michael	834	46	Stancu	Pard		763	
Michael	936	47	Drăghici	Michael		185	
Michael	26	48	Brebu	Carol		87	
Ioan	130	49	Laueruta	Michael		765	
Toma	199	50	Barton	Michael		14	
Laueruta	228	51	Oltean	Ioan		551	
Leupen	418	52	Belter	Ioan		463	
Vasile	634	53	Drăghici	Michael		165	
Michael	934	54	Laueruta	Ioan		435	

Fig. no. 2. Nominal list from Slimnic. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

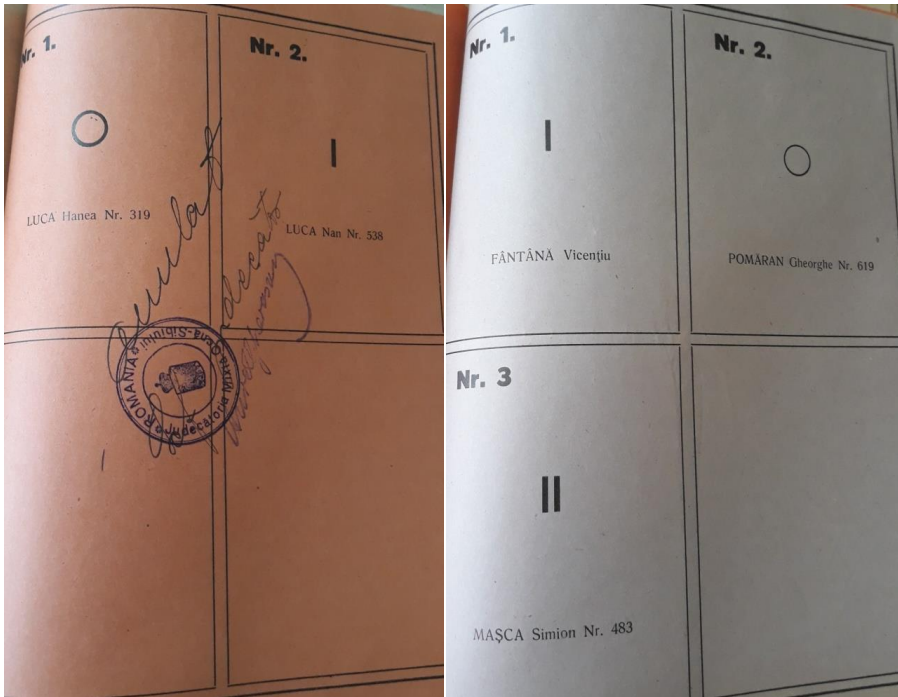


Fig. no. 3-4. The ballot for the mayors' elections from Slimnic, 15 Jun.1930 (the first). And cashier ballot from Slimnic,10 Feb. 1930 (the second). SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930.

Village	Year	Symbol	Name	Profession	Year of birth	Observations
Slimnic	1930	₁	Luca Nan 538	ploughmen	1887	
	1930	× ₂	Cuierau Paul 119	cashier	1879	
	1930-1932	×	Csallner Alfred 121/273			
	1930-1932	×	Liennerth Mihail sen. 431/283	ploughmen	1874	
	1930-1932	×	Thal Thomas jun. 803/259	ploughmen	1898	
	1930-1932	×	Seiwerth Martin sen. 697/138	ploughmen	1870	
	1930-1932	×	Thal Martin sen.803/259	ploughmen	1903	
	1930-1932	×	Zollner Martin 958/13	ploughmen	1884	
	1930-1932; 1937	×	Weidenfelder Mihail 904/39	ploughmen	1887	
	1930-1932; 1937	○ ₃	Păculea Ariton 603/672	priest	1882	assistant 1931 ⁴
	1930-1932	○	Vintilă Pavel 885/692	ploughmen	1890	
	1930-1932	○	Mordășan Mihăilă 457/96	shoemaker	1892	
	1930-1932		Fântână Ilie 214/667	ploughmen	1871	
	1930-1932		Hanea Nicolae 317/574	ploughmen	1887	
	1930-1932		Mașca Ioan 470/352	ploughmen	1899	
1930-1932		Cioconea Miron 132/514	ploughmen	1903		

¹ National Liberal Party.

² Hungarian Party.

³ National Peasant Party.

⁴ Refers to people who attended elections by political parties.

1937		Fântână Vicențiu 1/667	ploughmen	1896	candidate 1930, 1934, assistant 1932
1937		Mașca Simion 483/479	ploughmen	1887	candidate 1930
1937	×	Seiwerth Mihail 680/77	ploughmen	1887	candidate 1930
1937	×	Low Ioan 429/274	teacher	1891	candidate 1930

Table no. I. The Communal Administration of Slimnic. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930; File 43/1925, f. 1-19; File 161/1931, f. 261; File 393/1937, f. 1-27; File 164/1932, f. 2-8; File 227/1933, f. 1-45; File 412/1937, f. 32-33.

Village	Year	Symbol	Name	Profession	Year of birth	Observations
Slimnic	1930	○	Luca Hanea 319	ploughmen	1864	
	1930	○	Pomăran Gheorghe 619	ploughmen	1868	
	1930		Cinezan Pavel 117			
	1930	×	Plattner Ioan 973	ploughmen	1872	
	1930	×	Schieb Toma 706	ploughmen	1880	
	1930	×	Baier Ioan 20	ploughmen	1888	
	1930	×	Meltner Mihail sen. 467	carpenter	1872	
	1930	×	Barth Toma 46	ploughmen	1898	
	1930	×	Hallmenn Ioan 309	teacher	1859	
	1930	○	Crețu Nicolae 139	ploughmen	1890	
	1930	○	Opriș Nicolae 557	ploughmen	1872	

1930	○	Pomăran Simion 579	ploughmen	1893	
1930	○	Rotariu Pavel 655	ploughmen	1885	
1930	○	Costea Ioan 143	ploughmen	1900	
1930	○	Bobeş Nechifor 80	ploughmen	1880	
1930	○	Draghiciu Simion 180	ploughmen	1899	
1930	○	Moldovan Dionisie 503	shoemaker	1878	
1930	○	Nan Zaharie 548	ploughmen	1893	
1930	○	Poplăcean Ioan 594	office worker	1860	
1930	○	Apolzan Ioan 1	ploughmen	1904	
1930		Popa Luca 597	ploughmen	1884	
1930		Popa Ioan 591	ploughmen	1896	
1930		Bobeş Simion 84	ploughmen	1870	
1930		Tatu Ioan 854	ploughmen	1882	
1930		Nan Simion sen. 535	ploughmen	1892	
1930		Encea Miron 192	ploughmen	1878	
1930		Galer Iacob 277	ploughmen	1883	
1930		Bobeş Simion 82	ploughmen	1890	
1930		Măsar Ioan 493	ploughmen	1884	
1930		Tăpălagă Dumitru 342	ploughmen	1898	
1930	×	Părău Ioan 589	ploughmen	1878	
1930		Izdrilă Pavel 524	ploughmen	1876	
1930		Cucea Airon			

1930		Dropeiciu Luca	ploughmen	1900	
1930	×	Negrea Pavel 514	ploughmen	1892	
1930	×	Medeacăsan Mihăilă 457	trader	1884	
1930	×	Neutes Pavel 593			
1930		Tatu Ioan 159	ploughmen	1880	
1930		Hannu Ioan 593	ploughmen	1887	
1930		Hallmen Ioan 620	trader	1885	
1930		Boabeş Simian 691	ploughmen	1890	
1930		Stănilă Ioan 565	ploughmen	1892	
1930		Bărichia Ioan 564	ploughmen	1875	
1930		Soanea Vasile 684	ploughmen	1873	
1930		Creţu Ioan 677	ploughmen	1888	
1930		Stangu Dumitru 698	ploughmen	1899	

Table no. II. Opponents in the Slimnic elections. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 79/1930; File 43/1925, f. 1-19; File 161/1931, f. 261; File 393/1937, f. 1-27; File 227/1933, f. 1-45.

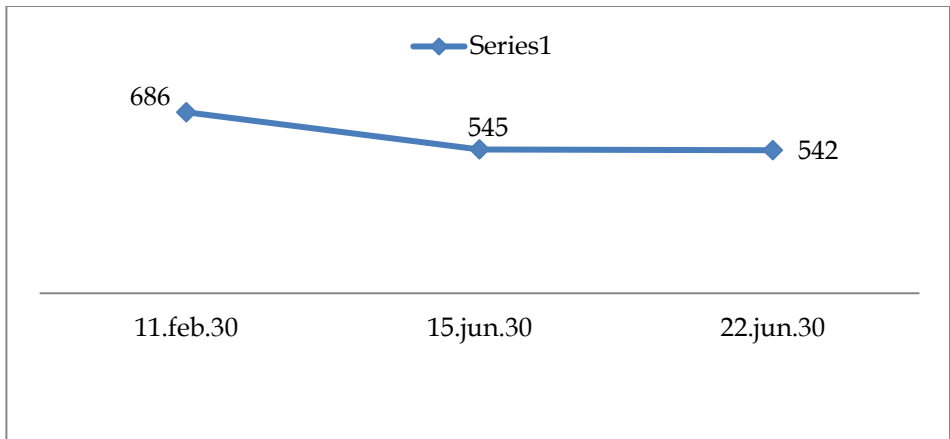
Village	Year	Symbol	Name	Profession	Year of birth	Observations
Presaca	1930		Simian David	farmer	1877	
	1930; 1934-1935; 1937	○	Berea Maşteiu 19	farmer	1879	candidate 1934, counselor 1935- 1937
	1930; 1934	○	Bulea Gligor 39	cashier	1882	assistant 1931, candidate 1934
	1930-1932	○	Popa Ioan	farmer	1892	
	1930	○	Ioarză Simion	farmer	1875	

1930-1932; 1934-1937	○	Dragoș Mateiu 124	farmer	1889	candidate 1934, counselor 1935- 1937
1930-1932	○	Berea Nicolae	farmer	1892	
1930-1932; 1934-1937		David Manoil 97	farmer	1886	candidate 1934, counselor 1935- 1937
1930-1932;		Roman Ioan	farmer	1890	
1930-1932; 1934-1935		Bulea George 38	farmer	1890	candidate 1934- 1935
1930-1932		Stoica George	farmer	1895	
1931	○	Mitea Maftai	farmer	1890	candidate 1930

Table no. III. The communal administration of Presaca. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 40/1925, f. 1-7; File 76/1930; File 161/1931, f. 258; File 380/1937, f. 168-176; File 164/1932, f. 2-8; File 240/1934, f. 1-38; File 242/1935, f. 1-10; File 412/1937, f. 28.

Village	Year	Symbol	Name	Profession	Year of birth	Observations
Presaca	1930	○	Berea Todor	farmer	1887	
	1930	○	Roman Zachiu	farmer	1893	
	1930	○	Mitea Ioan	farmer	1889	
	1930		Mitea Ion I. Nefie	farmer	1899	
	1930		Mitea Ion I. Solon	farmer	1871	
	1930		David Filip	farmer	1887	candidate 1934-1935
	1930		Torean Sevastian			

Table no. IV. Opponents in the Presaca elections. SJSAN, FTS, DA, File 40/1925, f. 1-7; File 76/1930; File 161/1931, f. 258; File 380/1937, f. 168-176; File 240/1934, f. 1-38; File 242/1935, f. 1-10.



Graph no. 1. Evolution of the number of voters in Slimnic.

The Game of the Italians: Football and Dual Identity in Argentina 1910-1935

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Abstract: In 1934 Italy won the football World Cup with four Argentine-born players in their squad. Whilst this reflected Argentine footballing excellence during the era, it was also recognition of the close relationship between Italian and Argentine national identity born from mass immigration from Italy to Argentina at the turn of the twentieth century. Using the case study of football, this paper challenges existing assumptions surrounding national identity construction in Argentina that has largely neglected the role of dual identity amongst immigrant groups, and which has focused instead on assimilation and a discourse of the Argentine ‘melting pot’ in bringing these disparate elements into a national whole. In contrast to a concurrent narrative of nativizing Argentine football from British influence in the 1910s, this paper makes the case that it was the Italo-Argentine community that held influence in the sport, both at a playing and boardroom level over the next two decades. It will demonstrate how football afforded Italo-Argentine community the opportunity to celebrate both their Argentine and Italian identity through the example of Genoa’s 1923 tour to Argentina. Moreover, we examine how the reverse migration of footballers from Argentina to Italy from 1910 further complicated ideas of national identity.

Keywords: Sport; Identity; Argentina; Migration; Ethnicity; Assimilation

Rezumat: În 1934, Italia a câştigat cupa mondială la fotbal cu patru jucători născuți în Argentina în echipă. În timp ce acest fapt reflectă excelența Argentinei în domeniul fotbalului în acel moment, el reprezintă și o recunoaștere a relației strânse dintre identitatea națională argentiniană și italiană apărută în contextual imigrației în masă din Italia în Argentina la începutul secolului XX. Folosind studiul de caz al fotbalului, acest studio dialoghează cu prezumțiile

existente în privința construcției identității naționale în Argentina, care au neglijat în mare măsură rolul identității duale în rândul grupurilor de imigranți și care s-au focalizat în schimb asupra asimilării și a discursului referitor la ‘cazanul de topit’ argentinian și rolul acestuia în a reduce această diversitate de elemente într-un tot național. În contrast cu o narațiune concurentă, referitoare la ‘nativizarea’ fotbalului argentinian sub influență engleză în anii 1910, această lucrare sugerează rolul comunității italo-argentine în consolidarea acestui sport, atât în privința jocului în sine cât și la nivelul decizional, în următoarele două decenii. Lucrarea va demonstra cum fotbalul a oferit comunității italo-argentine oportunitatea de a celebra atât identitatea lor italiană cât și cea argentiniană prin exemplul turului genovez în Argentina din 1923. În plus, studiul va examina cum migrația în revers a fotbaliștilor din Argentina în Italia, începând cu 1910 a complicat și mai mult problema identității naționale.

Cuvinte cheie: sport, identitate, Argentina, migrație, etnie, asimilare

Introduction

As Nancy Struna has noted, sport has long been regarded by academics as a way of illustrating social formation within individual nation states and territories. As such, the understanding of sporting social history can tell us much about how national identities are constructed and evolve over time.¹ John Wilson contends that leisure activity has long since been a medium through which societies have projected nationhood and established national identities. More importantly in the Argentine context where the country was fundamentally shaped by mass immigration, Wilson highlights sport’s capacity ‘to integrate existing conglomerates into national communities’.²

Ranaan Rein’s 2015 historical exploration of *Fútbol, Jews and the Making of Argentina* explicitly recognised the role of dual identities, ignored by other scholars. His study of one specific ethnic group was prompted by a recognition that ‘very little has been written about ethnicity and sports in immigrant societies such as Argentina’. However, by focusing solely on the Jewish community, Rein gives no sense of the contribution of larger and more influential migratory communities, a gap this research fills.³ In the wider historiography of Argentine identity,

¹ Nancy Struna, ‘Social History and Sport’, in Jay Coakley – Eric Dunning (eds), *Handbook of Sports Studies* (London: Sage Publishing, 2007), pp.189–90.

² John Wilson, *Politics and Leisure*, (London: Routledge, 1988), p.149.

³ Ranaan Rein, *Fútbol, Jews, and the Making of Argentina*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), p.1.

writers like Samuel Baily, Dorna Zaboli and Fernando Devoto have shown that there is a role for examining dual-identity, in which the children and grandchildren of immigrants did not entirely forego celebrating their ethnic heritage.⁴ Indeed, Devoto observes that 'It is somewhat paradoxical to note that in Argentine historiography unlike that in the United States, scholars have been reluctant to describe the nation as a multi-ethnic society'.⁵

In using the case study of the relationship between the demographically important Italo-Argentine community and football, this paper advances the historical understanding of dual identity in nations shaped by immigration. We explore how football offered a way for the Italian community to exert a greater influence in Argentine society than their absolute numbers would otherwise suggest, investigating the agency of the collective as administrators, players and supporters. Furthermore, by investigating the case study of Genoa's 1923 tour to Argentina, we show how the sport gave the Italo-Argentine community opportunity to express their Italian identity.

Whilst the presence of dual Italo-Argentine identity within Argentine football reflected wider complications surrounding Argentine national identity, the same was true in terms of narratives of Italian national identity. The fluid nature of national identity amongst Italo-Argentines was reflected by the labour migration to Italy of dozens of Argentine footballers from the 1910s to the 1940s and further confused by their incidence in the Italian national team, exemplified by the presence of four Argentine-born players in Italy's 1934 World Cup-winning team. Zachary Bigalke has approached the issue through an in-depth study of the Italo-Argentine involvement in that World Cup victory,⁶ one that has also attracted the interest of Simon Martin due to the links between Italian football and the Fascist state.⁷ Meanwhile, scholarship by Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor has focused principally on the migratory

⁴ Samuel L. Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); Dorna Zaboli, 'Italian Immigration to Argentina 1880-1914: Assimilation or Rejection of Argentine Society', *Glendon Journal of International of International Studies*, Vol.8, No.1-2 (2015): 1-15; Fernando J. Devoto, 'Progress and Politics of the First Italian Elite of Buenos Aires 1852-80', in Donna R. Gabaccia - Fraser M. Ottanelli (eds), *Italian Workers of the World*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press), 2001.

⁵ Devoto, 'Progress and Politics of the First Italian Elite of Buenos Aires 1852-80', pp.41-2.

⁶ Zachary Bigalke, *"If They Can Die for Italy, They Can Play for Italy!" Immigration, Italo-Argentine Identity, and the 1934 World Cup Team*, MA Thesis, Manuscript, University of Oregon, Eugene, 2017.

⁷ Simon Martin, *Football and Fascism*, (Oxford: Berg, 2004), pp.58-65.

phenomenon that they suggest began in 1925 with Torino's signing of Julio Libonatti, something that aroused 'ambiguities' enabling different interpretations of national identity to be applied in the respective countries.⁸ Much of the existing literature posits that this migratory flow was the result of regulatory changes within Italian football included within the 1926 Carta di Viareggio which banned foreign players, but allowed for the contracting of South American players with Italian heritage.⁹ This paper argues that footballing interactions between the two nations ran much deeper than this and began at an earlier point than otherwise suggested. It investigates these 'ambiguities' more deeply to reach a more comprehensive understanding of the nature and complexity of dual Argentine and Italian identity within Italy.

Football and National Identity Construction in Argentina

To exploit the opportunities afforded by the opening up of the *pampas* for cattle and sheep ranching, and cereal cultivation for the transatlantic export market, Argentina needed labour and lots of it.¹⁰ Influenced by Social Darwinism and Herbert Spencer's theories of racial determinism, Argentine nation-builder, Juan Bautista Alberdi argued that the route to his country's progress lay in 'improving the blood line' of its population, with immigration from Europe perceived as the answer.¹¹ Predicting the impact that mass immigration would have on the shaping of Argentine identity, Alberdi wrote in 1852:

Do not fear, then, the confusion of tongues and races. From Babel, from the chaos, there will emerge, some bright, fine day, the South American nationality. Our soil adopts men, it attracts and assimilates them and makes our land theirs.¹²

State financial assistance was made available for immigrants to cross the Atlantic following the 1876 Avellaneda Law, whilst Argentina's temperate climate was also attractive to them. Argentina's 1869 population of 1.8 million more than quadrupled to 7.8 million by 1914 as foreigners accounted for half of the inhabitants of the capital, Buenos

⁸ Pierre Lanfranchi – Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, (Oxford: Berg, 2001), pp.72–81.

⁹ Martin, *Football and Fascism*, pp.58–65.

¹⁰ Edwin Williamson, *The Penguin History of Latin America*, (London: Penguin, 1992), p.283.

¹¹ Juan Bautista Alberdi, 'Immigration as a Means of Progress', in Gabriela Nouzeilles – Graciela Montaldo (eds), *The Argentina Reader*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 100.

¹² *Ibid*, pp.95–101.

Aires, even allowing for the number of Argentine-born offspring born to earlier immigrants.¹³ Although some immigrants settled in provincial cities such as Rosario, Córdoba and Mendoza, or worked in the countryside, the vast majority remained at their first point of arrival, Buenos Aires, where the greatest demand for labour existed.¹⁴ Better skilled, and endowed with greater literacy than the existing *criollo* inhabitants from the popular classes, these immigrants therefore improved the human capital available in Argentina.¹⁵ Collectively nicknamed *gringos*, foreign immigrants had myriad reasons for going to Argentina. Some went to escape persecution, some to escape poverty and make a new life for themselves, whilst other *golondrinas* ('swallows') migrated back and forth across the Atlantic back to capitalise on the opportunity to earn money during the harvest seasons of both Argentina and Europe.¹⁶ Crucially, each contributed to new understandings of national identity.

Italian immigration was the most numerous in Argentina, accounting for almost half of all foreigners there by 1914 (see Table 1). Early immigration came from the more prosperous, northern regions of Italy such as Liguria, Sardinia, Piedmont and Tuscany, but later arrivals in the late nineteenth century originated principally from the poorer southern regions of Apulia, Calabria, Campania and Sicily. It was Italian entrepreneurs who dominated Argentina's incipient industrialization at the end of the nineteenth century, owning more than half of the country's factories, and becoming key players in the Argentine economy. As with other immigrant groups, the Italian community formed their own mutual aid societies, banks and newspapers, the most prominent of which was *La patria degli Italiani*, published between 1877 and 1930.¹⁷

The impact of mass immigration aroused debates within Argentine intelligentsia about the country's identity as the government wrestled with how best to assimilate these arrivals into a common purpose. Those born on Argentine soil, regardless of parentage, were automatically granted

¹³ Luis Alberto Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, (University Park Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2004), pp.10-11; María Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina: Historia del País y de su Gente* [Argentina, History of the Country and its People], (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2012), p.325.

¹⁴ Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, p.11.

¹⁵ Colin M. Lewis, *Argentina: A Short History*, (Oxford: Oneworld, 2002), p.102.

¹⁶ Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina*, p.391; Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, p.14; República Argentina, *Tercer censo nacional, levantado el 1° de junio de 1914*, (Buenos Aires: República Argentina, 1916), pp.403-17; Carl Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1970), pp.42-3.

¹⁷ Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina*, pp.39-4; Colin M. MacLachlan, *Argentina: What Went Wrong*, (Westport: Praeger, 2006), pp.45-6.

citizenship based on *jus soli*. Therefore, the idea of being *criollo* or a native Argentine was being reinterpreted as the result of mass immigration. The conventional and original understanding of the term *criollo*, 'Creole' related to the white Argentine-born descendants of Spanish colonists, dating back to the sixteenth century.¹⁸ State-led attempts at the assimilation of these 'new' *criollos* came with the instruments under its direct control, principally education and the military as they sought to incorporate immigrant populations into a 'hyphen-less' Argentine nation.¹⁹

The introduction of state primary schooling in 1884, which was free, mandatory and secular, meant that the children of immigrants, whether they originated from Italy, Spain or elsewhere were inculcated with Argentine patriotism.²⁰ This was done through *mitrismo*, a historiographical current based on the writings of former president Bartolomé Mitre which created a pantheon of national military and civic leaders in what became known as the 'Official History' of Argentina.²¹ Used in schoolbooks, this civic version of national identity was designed to elicit an emotional response in which the newly arrived immigrant and the *criollo* could unite in a sense of *argentinidad*.²² Meanwhile, the Argentine-born sons of immigrants became liable for a year's military conscription at the age of twenty. It was policy to mix conscripts from different areas of the nation and socio-economic backgrounds in order to accelerate assimilation.²³ Nationalist intellectual Manuel Gálvez even suggested that this road to assimilation would be most quickly achieved in military combat, claiming: 'War would convert the foreigners to Argentines and the cosmopolitan spirit would be destroyed beneath the vast patriotic fervour'.²⁴

Although enabling the assimilation of youngsters, these policies largely passed by large swathes of the adult immigrant population, who in many cases lacked sufficient knowledge of Spanish to absorb it. Despite many immigrants arriving in Argentina with the intention of making a

¹⁸ Michael Goebel, *Argentina's Partisan Past*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), p.43.

¹⁹ Donna R. Gabaccia - Fraser M. Ottanelli (eds), *Italian Workers of the World*, (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2001), p.3.

²⁰ Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, p.15.

²¹ Goebel, *Argentina's Partisan Past*, pp.29-9.

²² Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p.188.

²³ James Scobie, *Argentina: A City and a Nation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp.190-5; Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina*, p.423.

²⁴ Manuel Gálvez, *El diario de Gabriel Quiroga: Opiniones sobre la vida argentina* [The Diary of Gabriel Quiroga: Opinions about Argentine life], (Buenos Aires: Arnoldo Moen & Hno., 1910), p.78.

new life for themselves, only 2.25% of the foreign-born population took Argentine citizenship. Two key reasons account for this. Firstly, with citizenship came certain civic responsibilities, including military service. Secondly, their status as foreigners meant immigrants retained the legal protection of the diplomatic missions of their original countries whilst simultaneously enjoying the safeguards of the Argentine Civil Code.²⁵ For many immigrants this was a price worth paying for not having access to direct political participation. This reticence to become citizens created tensions between *criollos* and immigrants, who in the 1900s and 1910s were held to blame by *criollos* for increasing social conflict within Argentina as the introducers of socialism and anarchism, with workers acting collectively in meaningful ways for the first time. By contrast, hard-working *gringos* were equally scornful of what they saw as the idle nature of the *criollos*.²⁶ In 1909, the Italo-Argentine writer Eduardo Maglione argued that immigrants had actually improved Argentina culturally and economically, and that attempts to assimilate them to the 'indolent and ignorant creole mentality' would set back this improvement'.²⁷

As an attempt to square the circle of forming a national citizenry out of these distinct social groupings of *criollos*, immigrants, and the descendants of immigrants, President Roque Sáenz Peña introduced the 1912 electoral reform law bearing his name. The Sáenz Peña Law, including other measures like secret ballots, granted the vote to all men holding Argentine citizenship. As a result, far more immigrants became naturalized, whilst their Argentine-born children felt a greater kinship to the land of their birth than those of their forebears, giving rise to a more civically active and homogenous society.²⁸

Despite the concerns of nationalists, a discernible identity emerged from the cosmopolitanism of Buenos Aires at the most basic level. Immigrants from different backgrounds intermixed with working-class and middle-class *criollos* at a neighbourhood basis to create an organic hybrid civic society rather than disperse into ethnic ghettos, as happened in other countries of high immigration such as the United States. The lack of cultural homogeneity enabled the incorporation of

²⁵ Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina*, p.325.

²⁶ *Ibid*, pp.446-7.

²⁷ Eduardo F. Maglione, 'Cosmopolitismo y espíritu nacional' [Cosmopolitanism and national spirit], *Renacimiento*, II (November 1909), pp.320-6.

²⁸ Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina*, pp.446-7; Jorge A. Náállim, *Transformations and Crisis of Liberalism in Argentina*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), p.27; Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, pp.37-8; Matthew B. Karush, *Workers or citizens: democracy and identity in Rosario, Argentina, 1912-1930*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), p.26.

immigrant customs and words, principally from Italy, such as *chau* (goodbye) and *pibe* (street kid), contributing to a new vernacular known as *lunfardo* and the emergence of new cultural expressions like the tango (which also incorporated Afro-Argentine influences).²⁹ The mutation of Spanish into this local slang became the *de facto* language of the street, and was transformed into the written word with its adoption in popular media outlets such as the magazine *Caras y Caretas* as it competed for sales in a changed cultural market place.³⁰ It was within these rapidly urbanised cosmopolitan *barrios* of Buenos Aires and other Argentine cities, that football became an agent for the establishment of a shared local identity. Football supplemented, and to an extent, supplanted extant national identities, acting as an engine for integration and assimilation as the Genoan, Asturian, *criollo* and Englishman played side by side or stood together on the terraces.³¹

The key to football's broader diffusion across both ethnic and class boundaries was its simplicity. Language was not implicitly a barrier, as this could be overcome with mutually understood gestures and body language, whilst the background noise from the crowd often rendered talking on the pitch redundant. Moreover, as a new cultural phenomenon (to working-class Argentina), participants had no pre-existing notions of how the game should be played, allowing for home-grown idiosyncrasies to evolve, eventually forming a footballing identity that became apparent when transposed against foreign touring teams. Economically, football was a cheap sport, requiring only a ball, goal posts and space to play, enabling participation by the popular classes who were otherwise excluded from elitist sports such as golf, tennis and rowing. Neither was it necessary to be a player to feel part of the collective experience. One could also do so as a spectator, expressing partisanship for those wearing the shirt of their local neighbourhood or co-workers.³²

²⁹ Scobie, *Argentina: A City and a Nation*, pp.190–5.

³⁰ Geraldine Rogers, *Caras y Caretas, Cultura, Política y Espáctulo en los Inicios del Siglo XX Argentina* [Caras y Caretas, Culture, Politics and Spectacle at the Beginning of the 20th Century], (La Plata: EDULP, 2008), pp.230–2.

³¹ Horacio Rosatti, *Cien años de multitud: historia de Boca Juniors, una pasión argentina: I. El period amateur* [One hundred years of multitude: History of Boca Juniors, an Argentine passion], (Buenos Aires, Galerna, 2009), pp.19–21 and pp.59–60; Martín Caparrós, *Boquita* [Little Boca], (Buenos Aires: Booklet, 2012) p.18; Rein, *Fútbol, Jews and the making of Argentina*, pp.45–6.

³² Rosatti, *Cien años de multitud I*, pp.19–21; Tony Mason, *Association Football & English Society 1863–1915*, (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), pp.24–31; R. Holt, *Sport and the British*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp.153–4.

It was this simplicity that enabled football to take a foothold amongst the popular classes. Whilst Chris Gaffney has suggested that football was able to develop unopposed by other sports, the popularity of pelota – a high-speed racquet game – amongst the Basque community did offer just such a challenge to football at the end of the nineteenth century as matches achieved attendances commensurate with football games.³³ The first pelota court in Argentina was opened in Buenos Aires in 1882 at Plaza Euskara and an 1885 match between two of the era's biggest pelota stars, Pedro Zavaleta and Indalecio Sarasqueta, attracted a crowd of 8,000, much larger than any attending football at this time.³⁴ However, where the two sports diverged was the ability of football to break across ethnic lines, something that pelota was not able to do with such success. The technical nature of pelota, rather like cricket in Argentina, militated against its cultural transfer beyond Basque immigrants. Reputedly, President Julio Roca and Buenos Aires Mayor, Torcuato de Alvear, watched matches in 'puzzlement' at the inauguration of Plaza Euskara.³⁵

The ethnic heterogeneity within neighbourhoods in Argentine cities meant that the tendency to form football clubs along national immigrant lines was far less prevalent than in neighbouring nations like Chile and Brazil. In those two countries, clubs such as Unión Española, Audax Italia and CD Palestino in Chile, and Palestra Italia (later Palmeiras) and Vasco da Gama (founded by Portuguese) in Brazil, were formed by, and represented distinct immigrant groups.³⁶ The lack of ghettoization meant that this process scarcely occurred in Argentina. Amongst clubs of the British community, those that were explicitly ethnically British, such as Old Caledonians and St. Andrew's Athletic Club, had only a limited longevity.³⁷ Clubs formed explicitly along ethnic lines were not established until the 1950s, with the arrival of Sportivo

³³ L. Contreras, *Buenos Aires Fútbol* [Buenos Aires Football], (Buenos Aires: Olmo Ediciones, 2013), p.21; Chris Gaffney, 'Stadiums and society in twenty-first century Buenos Aires', *Soccer and Society*, Volume 10, Issue 2, (2009), pp.160–4; César R. Torres, 'South America', in S. W. Pope – John Nauright (eds), *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), p.557.

³⁴ Ariel Scher et al, *Deporte Nacional*, (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 2010), pp.86–8.

³⁵ Vic Duke – Liz Crolley, 'Fútbol, Politicians and the People: Populism and Politics in Argentina', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18:3, (2001): 100; Torres, 'South America', p.557.

³⁶ Brenda Elsey, *Citizens & Sportsmen*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), pp.138–40; Greg Bocketti, 'Italian Immigrants, Brazilian Football, and the Dilemma of National Identity', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 40, (2008), pp.275–83.

³⁷ Rosatti, *Cien años de multitud I*, pp.19–21; Caparrós, *Boquita*, p.18; Elsey, *Citizens & Sportsmen*, pp.138–40; Bocketti, 'Italian Immigrants, Brazilian Football, and the Dilemma of National Identity', pp.275–83.

Italiano (1955) and later followed by Deportivo Español (1956) and Deportivo Armenio (1962), by which time the assimilation of immigrants into Argentina was an accomplished fact.³⁸

La Italianización de la Argentina

In 1923 an advertisement for Bariatti and Co furniture appeared in the pages of *La Nación*:

“Genoa Club” Young footballers ... welcome to this great land of Argentina, where the effort and honest labour of OUR BEST have found real success. OUR COMPANY, of Italian origin, is eloquent testimony of Argentine hospitality in its consistent and incomparable progress.³⁹

It reflected a discourse held in the 1910s and 1920s surrounding the assimilation and integration of immigrants into a unified Argentine society, one that continued to vex politicians and intellectuals of various viewpoints. If one group magnified these debates, it was the Italian community, which accounted for almost half of the immigrant population, and who embodied both Argentine and Italian identity.

As well as control of the Argentine economy, the dominant nature of the Italian cultural contribution to the *criollo de razas*, in terms of linguistics, customs and gastronomy led *criollo* nationalists to fear that Argentina was actually being Italianized, rather than the Italian community being Argentinized.⁴⁰ Italo-Argentines were seen as infiltrators, with the writer Ricardo Rojas arguing that they, ‘have become dangerous as the result of their excessive quantity’.⁴¹ It was a theory synthesized in the 1924 book by Néstor Maciel, whose title summed up the apparent threat, *La Italianización de la Argentina*.⁴² As María Sáenz Peña suggests, the nature of Italian immigration, in which the ratio of arrivals was 2:1 in favour of men, meant that marriages with *criolla* women were the norm. This combined with lower rates of marriage within the *criollo* population led intellectuals to predict that by the middle of the twentieth century,

³⁸ Alejandro Molinari – Roberto L. Martínez, *El Fútbol: La conquista popular de una pasión argentina*, (Avellaneda: Editorial de la Cultura Urbana, 2013), pp.147–8.

³⁹ *La Nación*, 20 August 1923, p.7.

⁴⁰ Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, pp.134–41.

⁴¹ Ricardo Rojas, *La restauración nacionalista*, [The Nationalist Restoration] (Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Justicia e Instrucción Pública, 1909), pp.469–71.

⁴² Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, p.19; Rosatti, *Cien años de multitud I*, pp.59–60; MacLachlan, *Argentina What Went Wrong*, pp.46–9.

'Argentina would be an Italo-American republic'.⁴³ It was a feeling exacerbated by the presence of so many Italian-only institutions across Argentina, beginning with the establishment of the Italian Hospital of Buenos Aires in 1858. By 1904 there were 121 Italian societies in the city of Buenos Aires alone, with a combined membership of 100,000. Among the most influential of these were the *Unione e Benevolenza* mutual society which had branches throughout Argentina, in cities like Córdoba, Río Cuarto and Rosario, and the Dante Alighieri Association which sought to preserve Italian culture within the community. In the religious sphere the Salesian order were also influential especially in the provision of education in Italian schools.⁴⁴ These various institutions acted interconnectedly, uniting Italo-Argentines around a common idea of Italian identity.⁴⁵

Just as within the British community in Argentina, the First World War consolidated notions of dual identity within the Italo-Argentine collective. Although not in the same proportions as their British-Criollo counterparts, some 32,000 answered the call to fight for Italy when they joined the War in 1915. Although ultimately the decision to enlist was an individual one, peer group pressure was brought to bear on those called up by the Italian consulate. For example, the *Circulo Italiano* in Buenos Aires expelled any man of fighting age who did not return to Italy and enrol in the armed forces.⁴⁶ Indeed, the Italo-Argentine community celebrated the contribution made and lives lost in support of Italy's wartime effort with the unveiling of plaques within Buenos Aires in 1920.⁴⁷

In the socio-political field, a more militant unionisation in support of workers' rights by socialists and anarchists was often led by Italians, such the anarchist Pedro Gori. As a result, the blame for worker agitation and resulting social strife was laid squarely on the shoulders of these outsiders, leading to the introduction of the 1910 Law of Social Defence, designed to deal with foreign-born political agitators.⁴⁸ This militancy was also seen in football, as players sought to improve their working conditions. A 1931 strike held by members of the *Asociación Mutualista Footballers* was led by several players from the Italian community including, Juan Scurzoni, Bartolucci and Hugo Settis. Denounced as anarchists by the footballing authorities of the *Asociación Amateur Argentino de Football (AAAF)*, these ringleaders were deemed no longer eligible to play for Argentina because of their 'subversive' activity.⁴⁹

⁴³ Sáenz Quesada, *La Argentina*, Buenos Aires, 2009, pp.393-4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.393-4 and pp.469-70.

⁴⁵ Donna R. Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, (London: Routledge, 2000), pp.121-3.

⁴⁶ Fernando J. Devoto, *Historia de los italianos en la Argentina*, (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2006), p.319.

⁴⁷ *La Nación*, 23 May 1920, p.6.

⁴⁸ Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, pp.102-12.

⁴⁹ Osvaldo Bayer, *Fútbol Argentino*, (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2010), p.38.

It was in the entrepreneurial field that Italian immigrant impact on Argentina was most evident. In a more pronounced way than other immigrant groups, such as the Spanish, the Italo-Argentine community were driven to succeed economically – to *Fare l'America*, 'make it in America' – and attain social mobility within Argentine society.⁵⁰ This work ethic combined with a greater level of literacy resulted in Italian immigrants and their families being at the vanguard of an emergent bourgeoisie of entrepreneurial industrialists and shop-keepers, introducing new techniques from Europe and filling the void of incipient industrialists which was not filled by native Argentines.⁵¹ This work ethic enabled these Italo-Argentines to assume the economic dominance in Argentina vacated by the British after the First World War, owning more than half of the country's industrial production.⁵²

Like their fellow entrepreneurs in the USA and other industrializing and increasingly urbanized societies, Italo-Argentine businessmen used the popularity of sports clubs for their own commercial or political ends. The 1912 Sáenz Peña electoral reforms saw an immediate impact in terms of political participation amongst the Italian community. The Socialist victory in the Buenos Aires by-elections of 1913, brought Italian immigrants like Nicolás Repetto and Mario Bravo into the Chamber of Deputies for the first time.⁵³

The Argentine democratic club model in which football clubs were owned by members rather than by shareholders, meant that football acted as an excellent proving ground for incipient political careers, with elected roles within clubs offering a platform for demonstrating fitness for office in a wider setting, as well as building a personal support base amongst club members.⁵⁴ This can be seen in the example of River Plate. After the club's first president Leopoldo Bard completed his mandate in 1908, his seven successors up until 1931 all came from the Italo-Argentine community, using the position as a springboard for political office, as well as utilising their commercial and professional positions to improve

⁵⁰ Robert F. Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of Our Time*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1924), p.423.

⁵¹ Lewis, *Argentina: A Short History*, p.102; Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, p.93; Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, pp.48–51.

⁵² MacLachlan, *Argentina What Went Wrong*, p.30.

⁵³ Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism*, p.123; Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, p.200.

⁵⁴ Dilwyn Porter, 'Entrepreneurship', in S. W. Pope – John Nauright (eds), *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp.197–8; Joel Horowitz, 'Football Clubs and Neighbourhoods in Buenos Aires before 1943: The Role of Political Linkages and Personal Influence', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 46, (2014): 561; Vic Duke and Liz Crolley, *Football, Nationality and the State*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p.103.

the club's facilities and ensure their continued success in club elections.⁵⁵ By the club elections of 1928, 65% of those bidding for office were Italo-Argentines. Among them was Antonio Zolezzi, who after arriving from Genoa as an immigrant, founded a business in the *barrio* of La Boca before becoming two-time president of River. As a Socialist councillor, Zolezzi used his political influence to obtain subsidies from the Buenos Aires metropolitan government for River and their erstwhile neighbours in La Boca, Boca Juniors.⁵⁶

Meanwhile another Genovese, José Bacigaluppi, helped lead the club out of a troubled financial situation, setting them on the course to become the global institution that they are today.⁵⁷ He became president of River in 1921, who had until that point led a nomadic existence since their foundation in the *barrio* of La Boca in 1901. Recognising the need to stabilise the club in one location where it could grow a mass membership, Bacigaluppi told a meeting of the club's management committee, 'River is not a club for a *barrio*, it is for a city.'⁵⁸ Bacigaluppi was symbolic of the aspirational social mobility within the Italian community. Whilst the club's founding members could be found in the main among the working class of La Boca's dockworkers, he managed a business that dealt in the sale of land in the rapidly growing city and was well placed to find a site for a stadium big enough to match his ambitions for the club. Thanks to his contacts, Bacigaluppi was able to secure the rent of a huge site in the exclusive northern *barrio* of Recoleta from the Buenos Aires to Pacific Railway company for five years. From a base of 400 in 1920, the membership grew more than seven-fold to 3,493 in 1922 thanks to the move.⁵⁹

Whilst football clubs were not exclusively Italian in make-up, there is sufficient evidence to show that from the 1910s until the 1930s Italo-Argentine players rose to the top in terms of talent and influence and were widely considered to be the best players in the Argentine game. Using the cover stars of the influential sports magazine *El Gráfico* as a barometer of prominence, we can see the overwhelming presence of Italo-Argentine players. The first player to appear on its cover was Américo Tesorieri on 8 July 1922, and from that point until the end of 1930, of all the players that appeared on the cover of *El Gráfico* more than once, 80%

⁵⁵ Miguel Ángel Bertolotto, *River Plate. Mientras viva tu bandera* [River Plate. Whilst your flag flies], (Buenos Aires: Atlántida, 2016), p.22.

⁵⁶ *Boletín Oficial de River Plate*, Año 1, No.3, January 1929, p.4; Diego Barovero, *Caudillos and protagonista políticos en La Boca del Riachuelo*, (Buenos Aires: Editorial Dunken, 2013), p.39.

⁵⁷ *Boletín Oficial de River Plate*, Año 1, No.3, January 1929, p.4; *Boletín Oficial de River Plate*, Año 2, No.7, May 1929, p.10.

⁵⁸ Carlos Aira, *Héroes de Tiento*, (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Fabro), 2015, p.115.

⁵⁹ *Boletín Oficial de River Plate*, Año 1, No.3, January 1929, p.4; *La Nación*, 6 December 1925.

came from an Italian background, with Raimundo Orsi and Roberto Cherro each appearing on the cover no fewer than five times. Meanwhile their level of influence can also be seen in a 1941 article by the renowned journalist, Félix Frascara. In discussing the nine players who had been the 'architects' of the *rioplatense* style of play up until that time, six of them were Italo-Argentines: Natalio Perinetti, Luis Ravaschino, Bacchi, Roberto Cherro, Chiesa and Cesáreo Onzari.⁶⁰ Another way of assessing the impact of Italo-Argentines on Argentine football is the make-up of the country's national team. After Anglo-Criollo players started to leave the scene, the Italian collective began to assume their influential role, which for much of the 1920s saw Italo-Argentines make up two-thirds of the team as Table 2 shows.

Heavy Italo-Argentine influence could also be seen in the support base of some of Argentina's biggest clubs. Although founded by players from a cross-section of Argentina's immigrants, Vélez Sarsfield's establishment in the Liniers district which was heavily populated by Italo-Argentines, saw that community account for 55% of the club's membership by 1924. Indeed, in 1914 the club changed the colour of its shirt to that of the Italian tricolour in homage to its support base, whilst the Italo-Argentine building magnate, José Amalfitani, president between 1923 and 1925 and from 1941 to 1969, left such an enduring legacy that the club's stadium is now named after him.⁶¹

Another way of assessing ideas of dual identity is to examine relationships between the point of departure and that of arrival for immigrants. The tour of Italian champions Genoa to Argentina in 1923 is instructive in demonstrating how these notions of dual identity were reflected through football in the context of wider relations between the Italo-Argentine community, of which 800,000 still held Italian passports, and the Argentine state.⁶² As previously mentioned, Italian immigration regained momentum after the First World War, with 100,000 arriving in 1923 alone, more than double the number migrating to the United States. This meant that the 1.2 million Italians resident in Argentina was greater than the population of Rome.⁶³

⁶⁰ *El Gráfico*, 24 January 1941, pp.18-20.

⁶¹ Club Atlético Vélez Sársfield, *Memoria y Ejercicio 1924*, (Buenos Aires: C A Vélez Sarsfield, 1925), pp.40-7; Club Atlético Vélez Sársfield, *Memoria y Ejercicio 1931*, (Buenos Aires: C A Vélez Sarsfield), 1932, pp.42-56; Club Atlético Vélez Sársfield, *Memoria y Ejercicio 1934*, (Buenos Aires: C A Vélez Sarsfield, 1935), pp.20-2.

⁶² *La Nación*, 11 August 1923, p.7.

⁶³ *La Nación*, 9 October 1923, p.5.

Genoa was a significant connection given the iconic role played by the Ligurian city as the port of departure for the vast majority of the millions of Italian emigrants to Argentina.⁶⁴ Thousands of Italo-Argentines lined the dockside of Buenos Aires to welcome the Genoa team as they arrived on the *Principessa Mafalda* on 16 August. The make-up of this impromptu welcoming committee crossed class lines as the middle-class Italian merchants and small industrialists rubbed shoulders with the proletariat from the *conventillos* in a unified demonstration of their Italian-ness.⁶⁵ The great interest of the Italo-Argentine community manifested itself in myriad ways, the extent of which was not seen before or after for any touring teams. FIAT, who established its first factory in Argentina that year, made seven of its modern 515 models available to Genoa's entourage to transport themselves around Buenos Aires for the duration of their visit.⁶⁶

For the second of Genoa's three matches a silver trophy was donated for the winners by the Nuevo Banco Italiano, prompting *La Nación* to argue: 'It is fit to assert that the banking institution was an exteriorisation of confraternity between the Italian and Argentine nations'.⁶⁷ The duality of identity was reflected in Genoa's opening match against Zona Norte at the stadium of Sportivo Barracas. In advance of kick-off there was an unscheduled fly-past in honour of the visitors by Italo-Argentine pilots led by Captain Eduardo Oliveiro who served in the Italian air force during the First World War.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, thirty thousand fans speaking Spanish, Italian and the hybrid Italian-inflected Lunfardo dialect, packed the stands displaying both Argentine and Italian flags.⁶⁹ Later tours by Italian clubs, such as that by Torino in 1929 engendered nothing like the same level of affection as that bestowed upon Genoa. Distaste towards the Fascist regime within the Italo-Argentine community, as well as Argentine cultural nationalists, was manifested by the whistling of the Bologna team, intimately linked with the regime when they gave the Fascist salute ahead of one of their 1929 tour matches.⁷⁰

Rimpatriati: Italo-Argentines in Italian Football

The presence of Italo-Argentines in Italian football since the 1910s has largely been overlooked in the existing literature. Moreover, by pre-

⁶⁴ Lanfranchi - Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, pp.72-81.

⁶⁵ *El Telégrafo de la Tarde*, 16 August 1923; *La Nación*, 22 July 1923, Section 2, p.3.

⁶⁶ Aira, *Héroes de Tiento*, p.138.

⁶⁷ *La Nación*, 22 August 1923, p.8.

⁶⁸ *La Nación*, 20 August 1923, p.6.

⁶⁹ Aira, *Héroes de Tiento*, pp.140-1.

⁷⁰ Martin, *Football and Fascism*, pp.194-7; *La Cancha*, 3 August 1929.

dating the rise to power of Mussolini's Fascist regime, their existence cannot be solely attributed to nationalist policies, and are resonant of the more personal and familial debates surrounding identity on the part of individual Italo-Argentine families. These footballers were the offspring of the 750,000 Italian returnees from Argentine migration between 1871 and 1950. Whilst Bigalke identifies that the return of Italian families reflected more general patterns of transitory transatlantic migration, we go further in explaining their specific contribution to Italian football.⁷¹ The significance of their upbringing in Argentina was that they learned the sport in the *potreros* of Argentina cities like Buenos Aires and Rosario, where football was more developed than in Italy, honing skills that enabled them to flourish in Italian football after returning with their parents to the land of their ancestors.⁷²

The first Italo-Argentine to make an impact was Cesare Lovati. Born in Buenos Aires on Christmas Day 1891, midfielder Lovati made his debut for AC Milan in 1910 before going on to play six times for the Italian national team.⁷³ Another feature of these *rimpatriati* or returnee players, was the incidence of siblings in the same teams. Although a year or two apart in age, they were often selected *en bloc* because they were collectively better than their Italian peers. The four Mosso brothers – Eugenio, Francisco, Julio and Benito – left Mendoza for Turin as teenagers in 1912 to return to their parents' native Piedmont. All played for Torino, with Eugenio representing Italy.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, the three Boglietti brothers – Ernesto, Romulo and Octavio – also migrated to Turin in the early 1910s, aged 14, 13 and 12 respectively. Romulo debuted as a teenager for Juventus in 1913, having already played for Gimnasia y Esgrima de General Paz in his native Córdoba, shortly to be followed into the Juve side by his brothers.⁷⁵ Moreover, we can see the examples of the Badini brothers born and raised in Rosario, who returned as teenagers to their parents' native Bologna, with Angelo and Emilio starting to play for the club in 1913, soon to be followed by their two younger brothers. The integration of the Badinis, Bogliettis, Mossos and others into Italian football were early examples of how players who learned their football in Argentina, offering something different in terms of ability and playing style, alerted Italian clubs to the possibilities offered by Italo-Argentine

⁷¹ Bigalke, "If They Can Die for Italy, They Can Play for Italy!", pp.93–4.

⁷² Salvatore Lo Presto, *Tango bianconero: Dai Fratelli Boglietti a Dybala e Higuaín* [Black and White Tango: From the Boglietti Brothers to Dybala and Higuaín], (Turin: Bradipolibri, 2017), pp.8–9.

⁷³ Fabrizio Melegari (ed.), *Almanacco Illustrato del Calcio 2019*, (Modena: Panini, 2018), p.626.

⁷⁴ Lo Presto, *Tango bianconero*, p.8.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp.8–15.

players. As such, these footballing representatives of dual identity cannot simply be dismissed as the offspring of *golondrinas* who just happened to be born in Argentina. As we can see from Table 3, four of the eleven Italo-Argentines to have worn the *azzurri* of the Italian national team up until 1935 came from this first wave of *rimpatriati*.

The first player to cross the Atlantic for purely economic reasons was Libonatti who joined Torino from Newell's Old Boys in 1925 after being talent spotted by the Italian club's president, Enrico Marone, whilst in Buenos Aires on business as owner of the Cinzano drinks company.⁷⁶ But as has been widely reported in the existing literature, it was nationalist reforms of the Italian game enshrined in the 1926 Carta di Viareggio that led to the real talent drain of Italo-Argentine players to Italy. These signings were an imaginative response on the part of Italian clubs to the Charter, which scaled back the signing of foreign players from powerful neighbouring Danubian countries like Austria, Yugoslavia and Hungary, from two per team in 1926 to none by 1928. The rationale behind this policy being that the Italian league championship should not become an extension of the Austrian and Hungarian leagues, thus aiding the development of young Italian players.⁷⁷ The pretext that the Argentine players were brought back because of their Italian cultural roots was something of an oxymoron; they were in fact repatriated *exactly* because they offered something different to what already was on offer in Italy. Indeed, in another contradiction they became direct replacements for the now excluded Austrians and Hungarians, thus perverting the Charter's original intentions.

This second migratory wave, which included the cream of Argentine footballers such as Raimundo Orsi, Renato Cesarini and Guillermo Stábile occurred as the Fascist regime of Benito Mussolini used football to create a feeling of unity and national sense of purpose that had been undermined by mass emigration from the economically undeveloped country. This had seen an international Italian diaspora of six million people living outside the peninsula by 1914, a sizeable proportion of which lived on the banks of the Río de la Plata. Considered part of the Italian race, these descendants of emigrants, were welcomed 'home' with open arms as being members of a 'Greater Italy', whose extremity went beyond the geographical confines of the Italian peninsula, with citizenship granted on the basis of *jus sanguini*.⁷⁸ It was a refrain

⁷⁶ Lanfranchi – Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, pp.72–81.

⁷⁷ John Foot, *Calcio*, (London: Harper Perennial, 2007), p.25; Martin, *Football and Fascism*, pp.63–5.

⁷⁸ Lanfranchi – Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, pp.72–73; Martin, *Football and Fascism*, pp.63–5; Foot, *Calcio*, pp.429–31.

taken up in a 1931 article published in *La Gazzetta dello Sport* and reprinted in its entirety in Argentina by *La Nación*. According to the Italian newspaper:

The repatriated are authentic Italians, and if their denomination as regards citizenship, is that of Italo-Argentines, the blood is clearly Italian even when the right of [South] American citizenship through place of birth has been assigned in addition to the Italian citizenship that they have not lost. And when these elements return to the Fatherland it is not that they reassume Italian citizenship because one does not acquire that which he has not renounced.⁷⁹

What was seen in Italy as an 'inevitable repatriation of Italian citizens', was regarded differently in Argentina. The exodus of Argentina's top players enabled *El Gráfico* to expound a nationalist narrative, in which Italian immigrants were perceived to have been 'improved' by *criollo* ways and went home as 'Super-Italians' and *criollo* footballing missionaries. As the magazine explained when Guillermo Stábile left in 1930 after top-scoring for Argentina at the World Cup:

We must not be egotistical. Orsi, Cesarini, Stábile and those crossing frontiers in search of better horizons, to other countries that need them, must be seen in the same way as Old Spain saw its conquerors leave. They go to conquer other lands. The country is now a little small for us, and a good football lesson given on one of our pitches no longer dazzles anyone. For many years we have perfected the art of dribbling and scoring goals. For that reason, it is necessary to go abroad, the good players that do us proud abroad are working patriotically.⁸⁰

According to Osvaldo Bayer, this was the start of, 'a colonial bleeding that remains even today - and more than ever - is suffered by *criollo* football'.⁸¹ The Italian response was unequivocal. *La Gazzetta dello Sport* argued:

The laments that flourish in the South American periodicals every time a local player takes the steam ship are perfectly understandable from the sporting and sentimental point of

⁷⁹ *La Nación*, 15 March 1931, Section 2, p.6.

⁸⁰ *El Gráfico*, 25 October 1930, p.37.

⁸¹ Bayer, *Fútbol argentino*, p.25.

view, but are radically absurd when they appear in nationalist terms: for Argentines don't leave for Italy; Italians return to Italy ... Without money it is said they would not come ... nobody could blame them if an Italian from [South] America returned to Italy in the same way that nobody would think it strange if a player from the South of Italy would pack his suitcases to play for a club in the North. It is a question of distance and not of principle.⁸²

Italian citizenship had associated civic duties like military service, a serious consideration given Italy's colonial forays into the Horn of Africa in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Italy coach Vittorio Pozzo justified the selection of Italo-Argentines for the national team on this basis, famously claiming, 'If they can die for Italy, they can play for Italy!' and was not a flippant remark given that he himself had fought in the Italian Mountain Infantry during the First World War.⁸³ The first to do so in the Fascist era was Libonatti, adding 17 appearances for the *Azzurri* to the 15 international caps he earned for Argentina. The presence of Italo-Argentines in the blue jersey represented a reversal of the detrimental effect of Italian emigration, as members of the diaspora contributed to the greater national good by playing for Italy. There were dissenting voices though. Italy's coach Augusto Rangone resigned in June 1928 in protest at the fast-tracking of Orsi into the national side.⁸⁴

There was a significant precedent for utilising Italo-Argentine sportsmen to showcase the Fascist regime. Although born in Italy, the swimmer, Enrique Tiraboschi, was raised in Argentina, and reached international prominence in August 1923 when he swam the English Channel in a record time. In an open letter to the Argentine people published in *La Nación*, Italian prime minister, Benito Mussolini wrote:

The wonder achieved by Tiraboschi has shone with new light the name of Italy, having repercussions today throughout the entire world ... Today an Italian unites the glory of his native country to the land that gave him hospitality, Italy sends an enthusiastic greeting to the great Argentine people, that

⁸² *La Nación*, 15 March 1931, Section 2, p.6.

⁸³ Cited in Brian Glanville, *The Story of the World Cup*, (London: Faber and Faber, 2005), p.25; Pierre Lanfranchi, "La Première Guerre Mondiale et le développement du football en Europe: l'exemple italien" in Yvan Gastaut - Stéphane Mourlane, *Le football dans nos sociétés*, (Paris, Autrement, 2006), p.141.

⁸⁴ Lanfranchi - Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, pp.72-81.

represent so nobly and with such energy the immortal Latin gaze.⁸⁵

Italy's victory at the 1934 World Cup with four Italo-Argentines – Monti, Demaría, Orsi and Guaita – in the squad, highlighted this duality of identity, with *El Gráfico* contradicting the ethnocentric theories of its writers by reporting 'the numerous Italian community from our country have celebrated this triumph with a rejoicing that they have perfect right to'.⁸⁶ For its part *La Nación* reflected the almost interchangeable notions of identity amongst Italo-Argentines in an article entitled, 'Three cheers for Italy':

For us the Italian triumph has two aspects equally full of spontaneous sympathy; that which Italy deserves from us as a nation intertwined with our nationality in permanent character through blood, love and recognition, and the other flowing from the injection made by the inclusion of four Argentine lads that were key to the fight for the trophy.⁸⁷

Had the Argentine team progressed further in the competition than the first round, it would have been interesting to see exactly how these loyalties would have been reconciled, especially in the event of the two nations playing each other directly. Bigalke suggests that lack of contact at international level meant that elite players were not forced into emotional or moral decisions about who to represent internationally, and as such acted in a mercenary way by playing for which country was most beneficial to their financial situation.⁸⁸ However, it can be argued that such judgement calls were more complex for Italo-Argentine footballers. It was a complexity summed up by a later *rimpatriato*, Omar Sivori, 'I am the grandson of an Italian from Chiavari (near Genoa), something which allows me to be Argentine and Italian at the same time'.⁸⁹ The choice of national jersey was an overt way of deciding on national identity, given that in international football players could only represent one country at a given time. Emotional considerations also came into making such decisions. For example, Luis Monti chose the *Azzurri* of Italy after being scapegoated for Argentina's defeat in the 1930 World Cup Final against Uruguay. He had claimed, 'All the Argentinians had made me feel like

⁸⁵ *La Nación*, 21 August 1923, p.1.

⁸⁶ Néstor Saavedra, 'El poeta de la zurda', in Carlos Poggi (ed.), *El Gráfico 90 años*, (Buenos Aires: Atlántida, 2009), pp.56–7.

⁸⁷ *La Nación*, 14 June 1934, p.1.

⁸⁸ Bigalke, "'If They Can Die for Italy, They Can Play for Italy!'", p.77.

⁸⁹ *Mundo Deportivo*, 8 May 1962, p.23.

rubbish, a maggot, branding me a coward and blaming me exclusively for the loss against the Uruguayans'.⁹⁰ However, not every player who migrated to Italian football could be lured into wearing the Italian jersey. Argentina's 1930 World Cup goalscoring hero, Stábile joined Italian club, Genoa shortly afterwards, with *El Gráfico* noting: 'Stábile goes to Italy, not to defend football in the peninsula, but to defend *criollo* football, since he is a *criollo* player'.⁹¹ In Stábile's case, this was not an exaggeration. Alone of the *rimpatriati*, Stábile refused to accept Italian citizenship or selection for the Italian national team, seeing the move to Genoa as purely an economic one, like the old *golondrinas*, to help his young family. After returning to Argentina, Stábile later had a long and successful period as coach of the national team that only ended after the tumultuous defeat to Czechoslovakia at the 1958 World Cup.⁹²

The alacrity with which some of the early *rimpatriati* served their mother country in the First World War in the same way as Italian-born footballers such as national captain, Virgilio Fossatti, ensured their commitment to Italy was not questioned in the same way as later arrivals.⁹³ Francisco Mosso and Ernesto Boglietto both fought in the army, whilst Romulo Boglietto served in the nascent Italian air force.⁹⁴ Pozzo's criteria of selecting players for national team duty on the basis of their willingness to die for Italy, soon looked empty, however, when just four months after making his debut for Italy in May 1935 (see Table 3), Alejandro Scopelli, along with fellow Italo-Argentine players, Guaita and Andrés Stagnaro escaped across the French border to avoid fulfilling their call-up to fight in Abyssinia.⁹⁵ The incident changed the tenor of the relationship between Italo-Argentine footballers and the Italian press, who began to see them as mercenaries with no emotional bond to the land of their ancestors.⁹⁶

Whilst it is commonly argued in the existing literature that the introduction of professionalism in Argentina in 1931 and Italy's military involvement in Abyssinia, and later in the Second World War led to the wholesale return repatriation of Italo-Argentines to Argentina, this was not the case.⁹⁷ A good number stayed until well into the 1940s, and it was

⁹⁰ Cited in Andreas Campomar, *¡Golazo!*, (London: Quercus, 2014), p.145.

⁹¹ *El Gráfico*, 25 October 1930, 37.

⁹² Miguel Ángel Bertolotto and Sergio Danishevsky (eds), *Argentina Mundial. Historia de la Selección*, Buenos Aires, 2002, p.30.

⁹³ Lanfranchi, "La Première Guerre Mondiale et le développement du football en Europe: l'exemple italien", p.141.

⁹⁴ Lo Presto, *Tango bianconero*, pp.8-15.

⁹⁵ Foot, *Calcio*, pp.429-31.

⁹⁶ Cited in Lanfranchi – Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*, pp.72–81.

⁹⁷ Bigalke, "If They Can Die for Italy, They Can Play for Italy!", p.96.

the ruination of Italy's economy by the War that was the most decisive factor in their ultimate return.

Conclusion

By the time Argentina played in the 1930 World Cup it was clear that Argentina was still some way from exhibiting a national identity that was inclusive of all its citizens. Our case studies have shown that amongst the biggest immigrant grouping in Argentina, the Italo-Argentines, dual identity remained an important factor in Argentine society. Although active agents in the Argentine economy and civil society, feelings of *argentinidad* did not preclude simultaneous emotions of Italian-ness. This was highlighted during Genoa's 1923 tour of Argentina when the Italo-Argentine community felt able to celebrate both their Italian heritage and identification with their Argentine homeland. The dominance of Italo-Argentines at all levels of Argentine football from the early 1920s reflected what could be described as an Italianization rather than a *criollización* of Argentine football, mirroring the concerns of Argentine nationalists that Argentina was in danger of becoming an Italian colony.

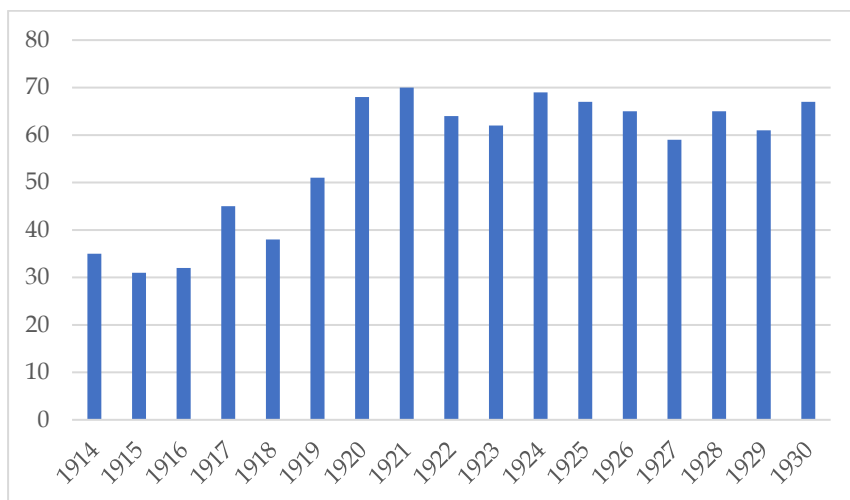
This discourse was further complicated by the reverse migration of the top Italo-Argentine players who were central to Argentine success at the 1928 Olympic Games and 1930 World Cup to Italy in the 1920s and 1930s. Their departure was perceived in the Argentine press in colonial terms. Whilst reaching the finals in the aforementioned competitions reflected Argentine prestige at a world level, the subsequent departure of Argentina's elite players and the presence of Orsi, Guaita, Monti and Demaría in Italy's World Cup win in 1934 World Cup-winning side reflected Argentina's weakness in the global marketplace and subservience to its effective neo-colonial sporting masters.

Table 1: Net Immigration to Argentina 1857-1914 by Nationality

Italians	2,283,882
Spanish	1,472,579
French	214,198
Russians	160,672
Ottomans	136,079
Austro-Hungarians	87,108
Germans	62,006
British	55,055

Source: República Argentina, *Tercer Censo Nacional Levantado el 1° de Junio de 1914*, (Buenos Aires: República Argentina, 1916), p.201.

Table 2: Percentage of Italo-Argentine Players in the Argentine National Team by Year



Source: Calculated from data in Rubén René Macchi (ed.), *Desde 1893 Hasta 1981 Toda la Historia de la Selección Argentina*, (Buenos Aires: GAM ediciones, 1981), pp.4-103.

Table 3: Italo-Argentines in the Italian National Team 1914-1935

Player	Year of Birth	Date of Debut	Italy Caps
Eugenio Mosso	1895	05/04/1914	1
Cesare Lovati	1894	18/01/1920	6
Adolfo Baloncieri	1897	13/05/1920	47
Emilio Badini	1897	31/08/1920	2
Julio Libonatti	1901	28/10/1926	17
Raimundo Orsi	1901	01/12/1929	35
Renato Cesarini	1906	25/01/1931	11
Attilio De María	1909	27/11/1932	13
Luis Monti	1901	27/11/1932	18
Enrique Guaita	1910	11/02/1934	10
Alejandro Scopelli	1908	12/05/1935	1

Source: Fabrizio Melegari (ed.), *Almanacco Illustrato del Calcio 2019*, (Modena: Panini, 2018), pp.611-39.