

## ABSTRACTS

### DIONISIE LIBONI, **The Development of the Concept of “New Russia” and a Chronological View of the Inclusion of Bessarabia in the North Pontic Entity**

**Abstract:** Through the first decades of the 1800s, the concept of “New Russia” led to tremendous regional changes. The administrative unity it represented was becoming increasingly a sphere of progress which was supposed to civilize and enlighten formerly undeveloped “wild” territory. Novorossiya was depicted as a fortified region with enormous potential to attract Christians from the neighbourhood adjacent to the south-eastern boundary of the empire. For example, the Chief of the Third Section of the Imperial Chancellery, A. Benckendorff, noted two main tools, which might be crucial for the exploitation of this factor: colonization and the assurance of special juridical status. Frequently, this unity was viewed as a territorial prolongation of Catherine the Great’s “Greek Project.” Tsar Nicholas I’s philosophy of power saw this engineering revoked, and during the interval, the province between the Prut and Dniester Rivers (Bessarabia) was absorbed into the Russian sphere of unity. Gradually, the policy of attracting colonists was postponed and a policy of homogenizing the gubernial legislation of the region was implemented.

Also, according to Kimitaka Matsuzato, New Russia was affected by the process of juridical re-evaluation, because the region was classified in the same range as the three macro regions of the Russian Empire: the Moscow core, the Volga-Ural zone and Malorossiya.

Additionally to the construction of an administrative base, the process involved a cultural component, which was reflected in the development of the region’s own history, literature and ethnography. Under the auspices of the governor of New Russia and Bessarabia, M. S. Vorontsov, a complex programme for recording the history of the region was initiated.

**Keywords:** Novorossiya, imaginary, province-building, historiography, project, Vorontsov.

### DINU BĂLAN, **The Legal Status of Foreign Subjects in Moldavia in the Period of Organic Regulations: Legal Barriers and Ethno-Cultural Frontiers**

**Abstract:** This article explores the legal status of foreign subjects in a period of Moldavian national effervescence and to present and analyse the ethno-cultural frontiers between the two bodies (i.e. the natives and the foreign subjects). It analyses the articles of the Organic Regulations in 1831-32, which had direct implications for the issue of foreign subjects. The reading of these Constitutional Settlements offers enough arguments for applied analysis and urges reflection in trying to understand the regrettable political attitudes resorted to in that period. The article also analyses the administrative and juridical measures adopted by the Moldavian state concerning foreign subjects and the main trends and features of the specific legislation on this topic.

The issue of foreign subjects cannot be separated from widely-held perceptions of strangers. The xenophobic accents in the image of the Other revealed in this

legislation are related to the “besieged fortress complex.” These elements highlight the ethno-cultural frontiers between the Romanians and foreigners. In the end, the imaginary foreigner overshadowed the reality, leading to a negative stereotype. This article, therefore, attempts to reveal the difficulties involved in cohabitation with foreigners - the avatars of a relationship involving multiple aspects, from strictly jurisdictional ones to disagreements generated by different cultural perspectives.

**Keywords:** foreign subjects, Organic Regulations, juridical status, consular jurisdiction, ethno-cultural frontiers.

**VIOLETA-ANCA EPURE, Geographical, Political and Linguistic Frontiers of the Romanian Principalities in the Vision of pre-1848 French Consuls and Voyagers**

**Abstract:** The Romanian Principalities, which were located at a suitable distance from Western Europe, and hence from France, were perceived by Western Europeans as the exotic boundaries of Enlightenment Europe. French testimonies written the end of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the next one identified the Romanian countries with a geographical area little or not (yet) known to the French public.

In the chronological interval mentioned, observers such as Carra, Marquis de Salaberry, the Counts d' Hauterive, de Langeron, de Rochechouart, de Guilleminot and de Lagarde, the Prince de Ligne, the consuls Parant, Flury and Reinhard, as well as Leclerc, Barthélémy Bacheville, Charles Pertusier, Emile Gaudin, Saint-Marc Girardin, J. Jacquin, Bois-le-Comte, Auguste de Marmont, Raoul Perrin, Stanislas Bellanger and Adolphe Billecocq all mentioned in their writings the geographical and political borders of the Romanian Principalities. They noted their geo-strategic position on the border of three empires, and also discussed the Eastern Question, which has brought many disadvantages over time, turning the Principalities into a real bone of contention between Russia, Austria and Turkey. Although often perceived by the pre-1848 French voyagers and consuls as part of the Ottoman Empire, the Principalities stood out thanks to their economic and natural potential, as Ottoman power declined. They also noted the rise of Russia in the area and the ascendancy achieved because of religious identity. Most French visitors noticed the similarities between the two Romanian provinces and their importance with regard to the Eastern Question.

Linguistic borders were more permissive compared to the political ones, French consuls and travellers evoking rightly the Latin character of the language and linguistic borrowings from the populations that natives came into contact or lived with over time. The boyars spoke mainly the then fashionable Greek and French, speaking Romanian less; the last was, in most French observers' view, unjustly despised and spoken mostly by common people.

**Keywords:** Romanian Principalities, travellers, France, image, borders.

**MIHAELA MEHEDIŢI-BEIEAN, Solidarity across Borders: Transylvanians and the Romanian War of Independence (1877-1878)**

**Abstract:** Transylvania's multi-ethnic and multi-religious character and the Romanians' disadvantaged position within a province in which they represented the numerical majority greatly impacted upon how events concerning Romania were seen from within the Carpathian arch. Motivated by a yearning for political rights, Transylvanians

were very sympathetic towards Romania's fight for independence from the Ottoman Empire. As a result, the Romanian press in Transylvania resorted to a number of strategies to avoid the vexations of the harsh censorship system imposed by the Hungarian authorities, in order to publish numerous articles that informed their readers about the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. Moreover, editors managed to express more or less directly their solidarity with the national struggle taking place on the other side of the Carpathian Mountains and some voices even suggested concrete ways in which Transylvanians could help the Moldavians and Wallachians.

The present study uses press articles as sources and reveals the declarative and practical forms solidarity took in Transylvania during the Romanian War of Independence. Relevant texts published by four literary periodicals, namely *Familia* [The Family], *Gura satului* [roughly, Gossip from the Village], *Transilvania* [Transylvania] and *Albina Carpaților* [The Carpathians' Bee], are discussed from the perspective of the period's geopolitical context, but also with regards to the previous cultural ties between Romanians inhabiting all of the three large historical provinces of today's Romania. The results of collections of money and other aid for wounded Romanian soldiers organised by the Transylvanians, the manner in which the news from the frontline was presented, the literary creations inspired by the conflict, and the consternation towards Russia's annexation of Cahul, Bolgrad and Ismail after the end of the war demonstrate beyond any doubt that Transylvanians fully supported their fellow nationals in their endeavours.

**Keywords:** ethnic and national solidarity, Romanian periodicals, Transylvania, Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, nineteenth century.

NICOLETA HEGEDŰS, **The Identity of Transylvanian Frontiers in the Magazine *Kalotaszeg*, at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century**

**Abstract:** The main goal of this study is to identify components of the discourse on Hungarian identity as it appeared in the Transylvanian journal *Kalotaszeg*, emphasizing those aspects which describe a regional identity. Reflecting especially the ideological universe of young Károly Kós, the ethnic self-image promoted by this journal contained several features which are specific to a "Transylvanian" identity: a historical tradition of political autonomy, a unique social and religious structure, legislation designed to balance such a heterogeneous society, and its particular geographic position which favoured, along with the political system, the preservation of Hungarian identity in its authentic form, untouched by foreign influences. This "Transylvanism," although undeniably linked with the interwar period Transylvanism, is not an identity discourse in itself. The "Transylvanian" features present in *Kalotaszeg* had the purpose of sustaining, especially emotionally, the political and cultural aims of those intellectuals disappointed by the new peripheral status of Transylvania as part of the Hungarian monarchy. The solution proposed by Kós was a change in government politics regarding Transylvania, moving towards firmer support for Transylvanian Magyars in their political fight against non-Magyar Transylvanians in order to consolidate the Hungarian national state. The Transylvanian particularities demonstrated the need for preferential treatment for Transylvanian Magyars in the Hungarian state, although emphasizing them did not mean a desire for autonomy or a distinct identity discourse.

**Keywords:** Transylvanian Hungarians, regional identity, *Kalotaszeg*, dual monarchy, Kós Károly.

VALER MOGA, **The Interests of Romania and Serbia in Banat: The Difficulty of Drawing a Frontier between Allies (1914-1920)**

**Abstract:** The Banat belonged to Hungary until the beginning of twentieth century. It was a rich agricultural region which also possessed significant mining, metal-working and animal husbandry potential in its eastern, mountainous half. The region was bordered on three sides by the lower Mureş, Tisza, and the Danube. As concerns ethnicity, it was characterized by an unparalleled complexity, being nicknamed “Europe’s harlequin coat.” Soon after the outbreak of World War One, the region became the object of competing disputations among the neighbouring states of Romania, Serbia and later Yugoslavia.

Allocating the province formerly known as the Banat of Timișoara to a new state proved one of the most difficult problems submitted to the Peace Conference in Paris. Although this subject was discussed in the historical literature before, it is still open to new contributions both from the point of view of primary sources as well as from that of interpretations. The earliest texts dealing with this topic were propaganda works commissioned by those governments interested in sustaining territorial claims before the victorious Entente’s decision-makers.

The authors of both sides approaching this topic at a later stage have gradually mitigated their one-sidedness more or less successfully. The most important primary sources consist of documents produced by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs during World War One and the Peace Conference in Paris.

The debates taking place in the Commission for Romanian and Yugoslav affairs, aiming to decide between the Romanian position of “all or nothing” and the Serbian one with regards to the division of the Banat, were in reality formal. The decision to adopt the latter position had been already made by the Supreme Council of the conference. With small corrections introduced in 1923, the decision regarding the state borders between Romania and Yugoslavia, proposed in 1919, although regarded as not viable at the time, has remained in force to the present.

**Keywords:** frontier, Banat, Romania, Serbia, Peace Conference (1919-1920).

STEFANO SANTORO, **The Latin “Frontier of Civilization”: Italian Cultural Policies and Fascist Propaganda towards Central and Eastern Europe in the Interwar Period**

**Abstract:** Italian Fascism consciously used a series of myths built by the Italian cultural and political world in the second half of the nineteenth century and continued up to WWI, which presented Italy, the cradle of Latin civilization, as a natural point of reference for the “young nations” of Central and Eastern Europe eager to free themselves from the oppression of central European empires. Until WWI, these myths had a democratic connotation and had, in effect, developed within circles inspired by Mazzinian ideals. From the early 1920s, however, the fascist regime started to use the myth of “Latinity” for the purposes of power politics, in order to give a historical and cultural basis to its expansionist ambitions towards Central and Eastern Europe. In fascist propaganda, the “frontier of civilization” in Eastern Europe coincided with the

area where the influence of Italian culture had asserted itself over the centuries. On this mythical “frontier line” stayed peoples related somehow to Rome, both for religious reasons (the majority of the population belonging to Catholicism), and for linguistic and cultural reasons. Beyond this imaginary line were the “enemies of civilization,” which were represented either by political entities (Russian Bolshevism) or religious entities (eastern “Byzantinism”) that Latin and fascist civilization had a historical mission to face.

This article aims to study the strategies of the cultural policies and propaganda implemented by the fascist regime, with the collaboration of Italian and foreign pro-Italian scholars, through a network of cultural institutions operating in Italy and abroad, aiming to foster the myth of the “frontier of civilization.”

**Keywords:** Italy, Central and Eastern Europe, Fascism, propaganda, culture.

#### IRAH KUČEROVÁ, **Geopolitics of Central Europe - A Historical Perspective**

**Abstract:** Geopolitics may be summed up as an approach exploring the relationship of the country, or its space, and state. Geopolitics cannot offer objective assessments: in practice it will always be subjective in terms of the major players, which, in Central Europe, are Germany and Russia.

Central Europe is a logical buffer zone between Western and Eastern Europe, not only in terms of geography, but also, of course, with regards to security and institutions, as well as culture and economics. For centuries, one major subject of interest in Central Europe has been the conflict between the powerful historical Germanic and Russian states. Although for a thousand years Central Europe was subject primarily to Germanic influence, after World War II it fell into the Soviet sphere of power. The Berlin-Moscow vector was a murderous one for Central European countries - continuously from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. The Russian vector of power has still not ended - twenty years after the lifting of the Iron Curtain, Russia is still surprised that Central European countries really want to break away from the Russian sphere of influence.

The geopolitical significance of the Central European region contributed primarily economic characteristics initially, establishing a free territory for colonization, called *Ostsiedlung* by the Germanic tribes. Political changes, namely the formation of early medieval statehood within Central Europe, were associated with the acquisition of a hereditary royal title and Christianization. An important proof of emancipation was provided by ecclesiastical investiture - the right to decide on who would fill roles within ecclesiastical authorities and the autonomy of these authorities.

This paper, then, covers the development of Central Europe’s geopolitical importance from the early Middle Ages to World War I; the geopolitical perspective of Central Europe after World War II, the vision of Central Europe as a *cordon sanitaire*, the Cold War and the Sovietisation of Central Europe.

**Keywords:** Central Europe, geopolitics, Germany, Russia, Sovietisation.

JEAN-MICHEL LEMONNIER, **The New Hungarian-Romanian Relations: What Will Be the Political Consequences in Romania? Historical Meanders, Actual Situations, Perspectives**

**Abstract:** This paper focuses on the issue of the legitimacy of the Hungarian ethnic group in Transylvanian space, summarizing the partisan arguments of various historians. It discusses recent political events in Hungary since 2010, with Viktor Orbán's return to power, exploring how the ruling political party, FIDESZ, occasionally reactivates discussion on the theme of Greater Hungary and various irredentist issues. Speeches from various Romanian political parties are also analysed, including the Romanian government's official line in response to provocative statements by the Hungarian government and other political groups, such as the far-right nationalist party Jobbik, on the status of the Hungarian minority in Romania. These verbal interventions signal the reactivation within the public debate of pan-Romanianist concepts associated with Corneliu Zelea Codreanu's Legion of the Archangel Michael (Iron Guard), the military junta of Ion Antonescu, and Nicolae Ceaușescu's national communism. While Viktor Orbán seems to limit himself to verbal provocations and symbolical measures, some Romanian and Hungarian nationalists are reconnecting with the ethno-nationalist ideologies of the inter-war years, rejecting cosmopolitanism, internationalism and supranational bodies, finding a new audience among citizens hostile to the rulers of the post-communist era. The role of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (HDUR), playing a double political partition in Romania, is also examined. This multifaceted nationalist resurgence, which can even be seen in moderate Romanian political organizations, is symmetrical to the discursive orientations of certain Hungarian political parties outside Romania and, to a lesser extent, within the country (HDUR party). We hypothesize that Viktor Orbán's return to power and the political tropism toward nationalist themes is indirectly causing a reconfiguration of the Romanian political spectrum. The ideological lines of battle in this mutation-evolution are dominated by a broad anti-Liberal Front movement, which may presage the end of the post-communist era and, indeed, the gradual marginalization of communist dissidents who converted to social liberalism. In other words, the positions of certain Hungarian politicians regarding Hungarian minorities in Romania could herald, in response, the marginalization of the ruling Romanian political class, bringing medium to long-term benefits in terms of new poles of political perspective and a new political system.

**Keywords:** Central and Eastern Europe, Romanian political parties, Hungarians in Transylvania, Siculian regionalism, Viktor Orbán.