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O I P O S D R U



ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ



Valentin COȘEREANU

Identitatea românească
la granița imperiului.
Eminescu și
Aron Pumnul
— *impactul cernăuțean* —



Editura Muzeului Național al Literaturii Române



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Valentin COȘEREANU
**IDENTITATEA ROMÂNEASCĂ LA GRANIȚA
IMPERIULUI. EMINESCU ȘI ARON PUMNUL
– *IMPACTUL CERNĂUȚEAN* –**



**IDENTITATEA ROMÂNEASCĂ LA GRANIȚA IMPERIULUI.
EMINESCU ȘI ARON PUMNUL – IMPACTUL CERNĂUȚEAN –**

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Colecția AULA MAGNA



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ADDENDA

Abstract

Being (still) a thorny issue and taboo in the communist Romania, Bukovina issue will be reopened only in 1991, with the occasion of publication of the book "History of Bucovina" by Ion Nistor. A year later, the initiative of Dumitru Vatamaniuc – an honorary member of the Romanian Academy - resulted in the creation of the "Bucovina" Institute in the frame of the Romanian Academy, where he established a partnership with another similar institute in Augsburg (Germany), having the same name - "Bukowina" Institute.

Generally speaking, the ideas of the Romanian researchers coincide (up to a point) with those of the German ones, but they are definitely apart of those of the Ukrainian researchers who belong to the Bukovina center of the University of Chernivtsi (Ukraine). Their theories are fabricated and not based on documents. Supporting the Slavic origin of Bukovina inhabitants, printing maps of Bukovina which includes whole Moldavia and Bessarabia, the Ukrainians do nothing but to show another way to justify the reason of maintaining a territory inside its current border, distorting the vision of an authentic research and driving it to a wrong direction – to mystification.

The present paper is a part of the horizon and trajectory of the Romanian research, keeping the line of the research work published under the aegis of the Romanian Academy Institute mentioned above. Divided into three parts, the book is based on published studies and documents found in the archive, answering to the major questions concerned the theme and it is a synthesis of the Bukovina phenomenon during the

Habsburg occupation and domination, focusing on the status of Romanian identity at the border of a great empire.

In order to understand the place and the role of Bukovina, as a province placed at the margin of the Empire, the first chapter of the book ("Vienna and the Austro-Hungarian empire. Fame and contradictions") is an intellectual, cultural and social radiography of the life of Vienna and of the imperial officials. Different nations faced and evaluated first on the social level, performing then in arts, architecture, philosophy and medicine.

The second chapter ("The Romanian identity at the border of the empire") brings evidence of the Romanian identity in the Austrian Bukovina, focusing on the fact that during the time when Bukovina was abducted from Moldavia by the Habsburg Empire (1775-1918), the imperial authority, arbitrariness and arrogance have represented the major coordinates of imposing a Catholic authority in the conscience of an Orthodox nation. And all these, in the name of enlightened reforms "translated" by the Austrians through the act of "civilizing" the land in question, which was labeled as "wilderness" and "barbaric".

Chapter is a part of customizing the Romanian identity in terms of Aron Pumnul "phenomenon" related to his student, Mihai Eminescu. The role of the constant patriotism of the erudite professor is outlined by the parallel done with the status of Romanian identity in the Habsburg Bucovina. This part of the book is the milestone of a writerly edifice, that concluding the entire work.

Being present in all three chapters through his journalism articles about Bukovina issues, Eminescu is the binder that homogenized the defining ideas of the book, by his theories and visions on both the empire side and on the native Bukovina side. As the journalist, he says that the concerned community "is related by unopened chains to the group of people within he was born "

Clarifying many of the controversial issues of the history of Bukovina, the present book opens windows to other topics to deal with, not emphasized in the volume. One of them could be the reconstruction of the Habsburg Bukovina parliamentary life. The sources of the foreign archives will provide major surprises on this topic, for sure.

Synthesis

The tumultuous history of Bukovina came into the attention of researchers especially in the last two decades and the institutes established up to 1989, which are dealing with issues related to Bukovina, each have a perspective more or less individualized. Studies involving history of Bukovina become (still) a thorny issue because – except a few – they tend „to serve a cause – a «Romanian» one, a «Ukrainian» one, a «German» one, a «Russian» one, etc. – a party or a morality" (Purici, 2002, p.501).

Therefore, this paper is a part of the horizon and the trajectory of the Romanian research, based on studies and documents of the archive and answers to all problems described herein above. Divided into three parts, the paper is a synthesis of the Bukovina phenomena, about the Habsburg domination and occupation over a century and a half, focusing on the status of the Romanian identity at the border of a great empire.

In Europe today, there are three specialized centers in „Bukovina problems" and they are as follows: „Bukovina" Institute in Augsburg (Germany), then Bukovina Scientific Research Center, near Chernivtsi University and the „Bucovina Research Centre" of the Romanian Academy based in Rădăuți.

Identifying three different ways to approach this issue, three ways of interpreting the history of Bukovina have resulted. The studies published over time by the German researchers are concerned „to demonstrate that after Bukovina annexation in 1775, the Habsburg Empire found there a population with a low level of civilization and culture" (D. Vatamaniuc, 2002, p.339). The arguments of the mentioned researchers are those commonly circulated: replacing the Romanian traditional administration, opening Bukovina to the West civilized space, building roads and introducing of cadastre, opening schools and the establishment of the University of Chernivtsi.

All these has resulted - in optics of foreign researchers – in creating ideal conditions in the formation of educated and tolerant people with the other coexisting nationalities. The new inhabitant was labeled by a *post factum* given term as *homo Bucovinensis*. In fact, this specimen never existed. It was a fantasy of what some wanted to be, but it was not. *Homo Bucovinensis* is related to the theories passed from one researcher to another, depending on the interest and demonstration target and not on the social reality.

The motivation of Bukovina occupation itself was a pretext, a rather poorly motivated one - a road. "As master of Galicia, Austria had to open a direct and easy communication way between these provinces and Transylvania! It needed to have a road and it could not pass elsewhere than through Moldavia" (Kogalniceanu, p.30) - says Kogalniceanu, based on the authentic documents found by Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi in the secret archives of Vienna. The same documents show an onerous agreement between the Viennese court and the Porte, with regard to Bukovina abduction. Once it was accomplished, a political argument was given: if the Habsburg Empire was not annexed Bukovina, than the Russians would occupied it. Despite the fact that their territory was not conquered in a battle, the people had no word to say.

The target of the Bukovina Center of the University of Chernivtsi is to demonstrate that „Bukovina is the hearth of Slavs and that they are the the statutory descendants of that population" (Vatamaniuc, 2002, p.339) – another way to justify why maintaining the territory inside its current border, even it was unjustified obtained as a result of international treaties. As their attitude shows, the Ukrainian scientists have transformed into Stalinist propagandists, since they still release maps which include the whole Moldavia into Ukraine. Moreover, „the Romanians are, in the vision [...] of the Ukrainian publishers and researchers, a conquering people who came from Transylvania, drove the Slavs out of Bukovina, took over their settlements in order to expand then, more and more, towards east" (Vatamaniuc, 2002, p.340).

Founded in 1992, the „Bukovina" Centre of Studies of the Romanian Academy has its own vision upon the old territory of the Upper Country of

Moldavia, and the majority of the ideas of the Romanian researchers coincide with those of the German researchers.

Sharing the opinions of the German researchers translates mainly by acquiring the importance of classification the Bukovina area into the Western civilization. From here, however, the opinions are split up, because the other Romanian provinces had the occasion to face the civilization, too, but in a natural way – and not to the German, but to the French culture instead. The opinions are also separated when, after recognizing all the material improvements – roads, bridges, cadastre etc. – they were told to be not made „in order to change the level of civilization of the native population, but to make the province as a «Hinterland» for the Habsburg Empire" (Vatamaniuc, 2002, p.340). More than that, „the established schools and the University are not intended to raise the cultural level of the local population. Their mission was to contribute to the Germanization process of the province" (Vatamaniuc, 2002, p.340).

To all these, other issues are also added: the policy of isolating Bukovina by Romania by constructing that sanitary barrier (allegedly) – a kind of incipient Berlin wall; favoring the immigration from Galicia, Poland, and Germany, as well as the immigration of Jews and Armenians in the visible purpose of erasing the Romanian character of the province; imposing the Catholicism in an Orthodox country. The Romanian researchers do not deny that the intellectuals from Bukovina received a German education (under a Germanized system), that they have learned a useful foreign language, that they could continue the higher education at the most important universities of the empire - as was the case of illustrious poet Mihai Eminescu.

The opinions of the two groups of researchers are separated also where the Germans sustain that before the occupation of the province (1775), the Romanian school and civilization was absent. Certainly this theory, which is rather justifying the Bukovina taking over than the reality is contradicted by the evidence of an ancient civilization certified by the domestic industry, by the school of Putna, by the erection of some monuments of a religious architecture, which German historians do not mention. "During a century of Austrian rule it was built no monument on

the land of Bukovina, to be equal as art importance with those belonging to the pre-annexation period of the province" (Vatamaniuc, 2002, p.340), as it happened in Transylvania - for example - where Saxons have built their churches that Romanians have acknowledged. The "argument" of transition from an archaic civilization to a Western one does not stand, simply because this process has followed its natural course all over the world and did not represent a particular example to follow.

Today, the German researchers of the „Bukovina" Institute of Augsburg are obviously bothered by the fact that the Romanian researchers use the terms of „abduction" and „annexation" when talking about incorporating of Bukovina to Austria. From this point of view, the remark of Eminescu is an answer that does not require any comment, „do not pretend to be offend on what we say, you better be angry [...] on the reality ...", namely on what the secret documents from the archives of imperial Vienna say [nota bene]. "We are *compelled* of scientific honesty - said D. Vatamaniuc - to consider annexation of Bukovina in Austria, in 1775, as a "ravishment", as that of Bassarabia to Russia in 1812" (Vatamaniuc, 2002, p.341) .

It is to add that, if the claimed indulgence was the pride and achievement of Austria, then this phenomenon restricted to the Bukovina region is, in fact, the proverbial characteristic of the Romanian citizen, which Cantemir noticed long before the Austrians in his „Descriptio Moldavie”.

The Romanian researchers do not avoid, however (a common idea with the Germans), the promotion of peace and stability in Bukovina for a century and a half - as in the other Romanian provinces was not. The Center of Studies in Rădăuți - and with it, the Romanian Academy – „see Bukovina as a part of Moldavia before 1775, then ruled by the Habsburg Empire between 1775 and 1918, returned to Romania between 1918 and 1940, half occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940, and inherited by Ukraine in 1991" (Vatamaniuc, 2002, p.341).

As regard the theories of the Ukrainians made in the absence of reliable documents, some explanations are to be made, as follows: why the Romanians from Transylvania run in Bukovina where they were in trouble

and why did they spoke the same language?; why – especially in Galician administration – the Romanian names were modified, so to look Slavic ones (Călinescu, becoming Kalinowski etc.)?; how the minor toponymy with regard to hills, mounds or street names is explained?; why „in this toponymy the name of the cohabitants are not registered, just even some of them are considered older than Romanians on this territory”? (Vatamaniuc, 2002, p. 342).

The questions left without reasonable explanations based on documents, do not stop there. There are also those referring to the reason that the Romanian Upper Land of Moldavia was renamed after the occupation, or another one: why the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of the University of Czernowitz had as the language of instruction the German one, because, as "we know, there are no orthodox Germans"? (Grigorovici, 2002, p.334). Besides, there was no answer to the question: why when speaking about the Romanian folklore collections, ordinary people do not use the term of Bukovina, made after the annexation of the territory and instead of it they use Great Moldavia and Small Moldavia, as resulted from the brilliant folklore collection of Friedwagner?

The foreign researchers can not answer nor to the controversial issue of the Religious Fund, which "got its full contribution in financing the campaign of Austria in Bosnia-Herzegovina, fact that flagrantly contradicted its statute" (Grigorovici, 2002, p.390). In fact, the „arguments” made by foreigners are not only actual, but they were tools used by them during the occupation, so that Eminescu started to react in the moment when „Bukovinskaia Zariia” newspaper was founded. At that moment the Ukrainians categorized the native population as "Romanized Russian" or "persecutors of Ruthenian population", bringing as argument the Slavonic language used by Romanian people both in official documents and in the church. The journalist gives a lesson in historical culture to the Ukrainians, showing them that the Slavonic language was the official language in Orthodox countries, as Latin was in the Catholic countries – and it does not meant, in any case, that Polish people, for example, are of Latin. What today needs to be demonstrated was done by Eminescu, using documents since 1192, 1378, 1383, 1420, 1511, long before the occupation of Bukovina.

An additional argument showing the Romanian root of Bucovina is the one that "in terms of cultural, religious and human relationships - with all imperial efforts - breaking of Moldavia, isolation from Transylvania and of the Romanian kingdom, were never effective" (Olaru, 2002, p.477). Moreover, after forty-eighters revolution, these links were becoming closer and closer, tracing the Daco-Romanian spirit for which Bukovina people fought and suffered the consequences. This explains the fact that in 1871, at the celebration which took place at Putna, Slavici will salute the Romanians "of the four corners", the historian A.D. Xenopol will emphasize an obvious echo of national unity ("Stefan the Great hero ceases to be a part of the country inhabited by the Romanians and became a center for the same nation"), Ciprian Prumbescu told his father that he sang to "whole Dacia" and the Congress of the students was not only of the Romanian students from Bukovina, but of the Romanians from everywhere.

It is also said that Romanians from Bukovina were reluctant to school, but not reminding the "discriminatory treatment of raising the schools in Romanian villages, sending Ukrainian, Polish or German teachers *who didn't speak Romanian language* in schools, appointing inspectors who were known for being hostile to Romanians" (Olaru, 2002, p.480). All these had as result the fact that "many youth renounced to school and some had the discriminatory idea that being Romanian was a wrong thing" (Olaru, 2002, p.480).

All these issues are systematically treated in the present paper with a significant title entitled: "The Romanian Identity at the empire border. Eminescu and Aron Pumnul - Czernowitz impact". Aligning to the studies conducted by the "Bucovina" Institute, the first chapter ("Vienna and the Austro-Hungarian empire. Fame and contradictions") is an intellectual, cultural and social radiography of Vienna and of the empire officials, representing also a review of their main achievements: the role of the great theorists of the reforms (Karl Pribror, Josph Schumpeter, Carl Menger, Hans Gross, Viktor Adler, Otto Bauer), without the progress would not have been possible in such a large extent; the importance of the large imperial universities of Prague, Vienna , Graz, Innsbruck, Krakow, Lemberg, Budapest and Clausenburg (Cluj), and even the role of great professors in

the two great imperial universities: Robert Zimmermann, Rappaport, Theodor Vogt, Rudolf von Ihering, Karl Ludwig Lorentz, Jacob von Stein, Ernest Brücke or Joseph Hyrtl at Vienna University, and Karl Richard Lepsius, Eduard Zeller, Johann Gustav Droysen, Eugen Dühring, C. N. Althaus, Hermann Bonitz, Hermann von Helmholtz, Hermann Munk, Emil Du Bois-Reimond in Berlin. All these teachers and professors were Eminescu's ones, "authors of fundamental treaties and creators of education in their specialties" (Vatamaniuc, 1988, p.12).

The central idea of the chapter is characterized by the fact that "the Habsburg Empire was par excellence a homeland for foreigners, where different nationalities faced and raised the level of achievements [...]. From Vienna [...] came the majority of the great thinkers [and creators] of the twentieth century" (Johnston, 2000, p.40-41): Bruckner, Mahler, Schönberg in music, Klimt, Kupka and Kokoschka, in the fine arts, Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal in the literature, Wittgenstein in philosophy and Freud, in that of medicine.

The synchronization of the major issues of the time, debated in the Romanian press, was in Eminescu's journalism a constant and a true relief of the Austro-Hungarian influence upon the principalities. Therefore, the subchapters about Eminescu – a true theorist of the dualism and of the "superposed social strata" – are in the paper the bridge between two opposite worlds: that of Vienna and of the Habsburg empire – on one hand – and that of Bukovina as a margin of empire, with a rural capital and a cursed policy of denationalization – on the other hand. In order to penalize the opinion of '50s, the section entitled „The Europeanism of Eminovicescu family” is a general demonstration of all the connexions between those found on this side of „Sanitary border” with Europe of that time, despite the distorted theorizing of some propagandist researchers.

The second chapter ("The Romanian identity at the empire border ") is focusing on the cultural, religious and social identity, presenting Romanian identity evidence in Austrian Bukovina. This part emphasize the fact that in the period when the Romanian province of Bukovina was abducted from Moldavia by the Habsburg empire (1775-1918), the authority, arbitrariness and imperial arrogance were the major coordinates

of a hallucinatory time, dilated (on one hand) and crowded (on the other) in the consciousness of an Orthodox nation – imposed without limits by a Catholic authority par excellence. And all these, in the name of the Josef enlightened reforms, "translated" by the Austrians through the act of "civilizing" the land in question, which was labeled as "wilderness" and "barbaric" (actually contradicted by a stranger - Count F. Karaczay, a traveler in this world).

In essence, by occupying this land, which was rich in natural resources, richer than whole territory of Moldavia, only the Crown treasury increase was aimed. Moreover, "considering that all reforms designed for the profit of the people had to come from up to down, [the Emperor] thought unnecessary the cooperation with nation, in the idea that people actions could slow down or embarrass the proposed reforms. Therefore, in an absolutist way, Joseph II imposed himself as motto "everything for the people, but nothing from the people" (Ceașu, 1998, p.23-24). This fact stimulated Eminescu, in 1871, to express his total disagreement: "there is an axiom of history, that what is good is a result of the collective contemplation and everything is bad is the result of the individual" (Eminescu, 1980, p.99).

The role of celebration at Putna was added to all these, and through it, the fear of an unwanted incident at the empire border – an exceptional moment of affirmation of the Romanian aspirations in the consciousness of the young intellectuals.

The third chapter of this paper is a particularization of the Romanian identity due to the relation between Aron Pumnul and his pupils. The role of the constant patriotism of the erudite professor, connected with the status of Romanian identity in Habsburg Bukovina is the final cornerstone of the present paper.

The ordinance of 1805 has shown the compliance of the Romanian identity in Bukovina. It "provided fines to be paid and goods to be confiscated from the entire village in case the inhabitants emigrated to Moldavia" (Ceașu, 1998, p.212). In fact, the statute of inhabitants of Bukovina was obvious: the abuses of the administration, fear of recruitment within the royal army, increase the number of corvee days,

closing the borders, the tithe, unsuccessfully petitions, population Germanization and secularization of the monastic properties.

The binder with the role of homogenizing the defined ideas of the book is the theory of Eminescu translated as follows: „the individual is condemned through time and space to work for the part where he belongs. [...] He is bound by unopened chains to the group of people within he was born" (Eminescu, 1980, p.457). However, this may prove especially through myths, traditions, customs and folklore. Applied to the Upper Country of Moldavia, as seen in Chapter II, they remain by definition the Romanian identity data, which stands against all other theories. The arguments of the paper are a demonstration of the fact that when breaking a part of a country, that piece put in another context will keep its inner nature, substance and specific blood of the people from which it was separated, until it found an opportunity to reunite his nation identity, as soon as the historical circumstances appeared to be favorable. Israel and Poland are some cases that exemplary illustrate the statement.

Speaking about all these, Mircea Eliade said that „in vain a king or a despot is trying to build its state for eternity. A historical form, even if perfect it is also poor; it lasts a number of years or decades and then give place to another historical form. No eternity is allowed to political and social organizations. Only the eternity of the spiritual creation is accepted by the history" (Eliade, 1985, p. 23).

Clarifying many of the controversial issues raised at the beginning of this paper, the research work opens bridges to other topics, to complete this work. One of them could be - for example - restoring of the parliamentary life in Habsburg Bukovina. The sources of foreign archives will offer major surprises on this subject, too.

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