

Silviu Dragomir

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I. Introduction

2024 MARKS two hundred years since the birth of Avram Iancu, “Crăișorul Munților” (The Prince of the Mountains) and the hero of the Transylvanian 1848. When we think of Avram Iancu and the Romanian 1848, the name of Silviu Dragomir automatically comes up since—in spite of his deep scholarly involvement with numerous other important aspects of Romanian history—Silviu Dragomir was the preeminent historian of the Romanian 1848. What follows has two purposes: firstly, to provide an overview of Silviu Dragomir’s life and scholarly work, followed by, secondly, a brief introduction to his writings dealing with Avram Iancu and the Revolution of 1848.¹

II. Silviu Dragomir, 1888–1962: Life and Work²

A. Life, 1888–1918

SILVIU DRAGOMIR was born 13 March 1888 in Gurasada, Hunyad (Hunedoara) County. After

a local primary education, though Dragomir was a deeply-devout Romanian Orthodox, he was sent to the Greek Catholic Romanian Gymnasium in Blaj (Blasendorf, Balázsfalva) from 1897 to 1903.³ This was precisely because Blaj was the recognized center of Romanian education and national spirit in Transylvania. This was followed by two years at the Serbian Orthodox National Gymnasium in Novi Sad between 1903 and 1905, specifically to study Slavic languages, a striking aptitude identified early on by his teachers.

From 1905 to 1909, Dragomir was a student at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Cernăuți (Chernivtsi, Czernowitz), where he studied history, theology, and philology. The Faculty of Theology in Austrian Bukovina was an especially inviting destination for young Romanian scholars since the majority of professors were Romanians and the city was a center of growing Romanian national affirmation. This was centered on the Junimea (The Youth) Academic Society which numbered among its founders in 1878 the historian Dimitre Onciul (1856–1923). Silviu Dragomir was a very active participant in Junimea, and gave numerous lectures at Junimea-sponsored events.

As already remarked, the youthful Dragomir was an assiduous student of languages,⁴ eventually mastering Latin, Hungarian, German, Greek, Serbian, Russian, Ruthenian, and Polish. At Cernăuți, his rigorous study of philology not only facilitated language study but also brought him into contact with linguist and philologist Sextil Pușcariu (1877–1948), who had begun to teach there in 1906 and was a preeminent inspiration to Bukovinian and Transylvanian nationalist youth. Dragomir also mastered Slavic paleography. All of this opened up to him an unparalleled cornucopia of published and unpublished sources. Pușcariu later wrote of Dragomir in his memoirs:

*Dr. Silviu Dragomir is developing more and more, and promises to become one of our great historians in the future, combining as he does his superior knowledge of Slavic languages with the excellent scientific method of Professor Jireček.*⁵

He obtained the doctorate in history from Cernăuți in 1910. From 1909 to 1911, he studied at the University of Vienna with Professor Konstantin Jireček, and did archival work in Vienna, Karlowitz (Sremski Karlovci), Belgrade, and Moscow. He also studied at N. Iorga's summer school in Vălenii de Munte in 1909, 1910, and 1911.⁶

In 1911, at the age of 23, Silviu Dragomir became a professor of history at the Theological–Pedagogical Institute in Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben), where he taught until 1919. There he joined an outstanding didactic corps assembled by the Romanian Orthodox Metropolitan Ioan Mețianu (1899–1916), including Aurel Crăciunescu (1877–1944), Ioan Lupaș (1880–1967), Nicolae

Bălan (1882–1955), Onisifor Ghibu (1883–1972), Romulus Căndea (1886–1973), among others.⁷ Among noteworthy students at Sibiu during this time were Nicolae Colan (1893–1967), Andrei Oțetea (1894–1977), Lucian Blaga (1895–1961), D. D. Roșca (1895–1980), and Ioachim Crăciun (1898–1971).

B. Scholarship 1888–1917

DESPITE A heavy teaching load, Silviu Dragomir was early on a productive scholar.⁸ Most noteworthy, prior to World War I, were two fundamental articles on Russian relations with the Transylvanian Romanian Orthodox Church⁹ as well as numerous other pieces both popular and academic, including his first approach to the Uniate question.¹⁰ Dragomir's scholarly work was so promising that in 1916 he was elected a corresponding member of the Romanian Academy.¹¹ At the same time, he was deeply involved in the Romanian Orthodox Church, being elected to the Archdiocesan Synod, 1915–1917, and serving as secretary of the Synod in 1915–1916.¹² While in Sibiu, Dragomir also became member of the Historical Section of the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People (ASTRA) and became a mainstay of the Association's activities.¹³

When the Kingdom of Romania entered the World War in August 1916, against Austria-Hungary and Germany, the Hungarian authorities forcibly moved part of the Sibiu Institute to Oradea (Großwardein, Nagyvárad) and part to Arad. This unhappy event brought Silviu Dragomir to Arad where he taught during the 1916–1917 academic year.¹⁴ An unintended effect of this was to bring him into the sphere of influence of one of the leading lights of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania, Vasile Goldiș (1862–1934). Dragomir now became even more of a radicalized nationalist activist for the unification of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania. This was solidified by his marriage to Goldiș's niece in early 1917.¹⁵

C. Life, 1918–1947

RETURNING TO Sibiu, in 1918 Dragomir became the editor, along with Ștefan Popp, Nicolae Bălan and Ioan Broșu (1886–1943), of the militant nationalist newspaper *Gazeta Poporului* (The people's gazette).¹⁶ This led to his selection as a delegate in the Grand National Assembly in Alba Iulia (Karlsburg, Gyulafehérvár) on 1 December 1918 which proclaimed the union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania. Dragomir served as one

of the secretaries of the Assembly, and subsequently in 1918–1919 as secretary-general of the press bureau of the Ruling Council, the Romanian interim government in Transylvania.¹⁷

From 1918 to 1920, Silviu Dragomir was the Ruling Council director of higher education. As such, he played a major role in the creation of the new Romanian University of Cluj (Klausenburg, Kolozsvár).¹⁸ In 1919, he was named professor of Southeast European history there and tenured in 1923. He held this position along with the directorship of its associated South-East European Studies Seminary until he was illegally pensioned in 1947. He was also director of the Institute of World History (1923–1924), dean (1925–1926) and vice-dean (1926–1927) of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy. In addition, under the auspices of ASTRA, Dragomir was founder and director (1934–1944) of the *Revue de Transylvanie*, a leading voice for the Romanian case in Transylvania, tasked with “informing readers in the West concerning the diverse aspects of life in an important province of the new Romania . . . ”¹⁹

In yet another important and time-consuming extra-mural activity, Silviu Dragomir was a founding member and active in an outreach program called the University Extension which was designed to do programming for the general public.²⁰ Begun in 1924 by Professor Virgil I. Bărbat (1879–1931) as part of the Cluj University’s “duty to the nation,” the Extension partnered with ASTRA and sponsored over 1,400 lectures in 50 towns and villages. Unfortunately, the economic depression of 1930 forced the University to suspend the program.²¹

In 1928, Silviu Dragomir, at the age of 40, was elected a full member of the Romanian Academy, filling a vacancy created by the death of the historian and archeologist Vasile Pârvan. His reception lecture was on the 1848er Constantin Romanul Vivu (1821–1843).²² In the same year, he had published a monograph on another 48er, Ioan Buteanu (1821–1849).²³ And in 1930, he produced one additional noteworthy 1848-related study, “N. Bălcescu în Ardeal” (N. Bălcescu in Transylvania).²⁴ These were indications that the history of the Romanian 1848 was alive and growing in Dragomir’s eyes as it was among his countrymen.

Dragomir’s political activities and profile began to enlarge in this era.²⁵ He was a founding member of the Romanian Antirevisionist League in 1933, organized to combat the growing sentiment in Hungary, Germany, Russia, and Italy for a change or revision of the Paris Peace treaties that had ended World War I. As one of the principal beneficiaries of these treaties, revisionism was anathema to Romanians and would have spelled disaster for the Romanian state.²⁶ In 1939, he was elected to its governing committee. His work with the *Revue de Transylvanie* was another aspect of growing Romanian concern with the breakdown of the French System in Central Europe and the flourishing of revision-

ism now powered by the ascendancy of Hitler to control in Germany and the floundering of the French *cordon sanitaire*.²⁷

Initially, Dragomir was active in General Alexandru Averescu's People's Party and was elected to parliament in 1926. Leaving Averescu's group, he was a leader of the newly-founded Octavian Goga's National Agrarian Party, where he was joined by Vasile Goldiș. In 1935 this party fused with A. C. Cuza's National-Christian Defense League to become the National-Christian Party, which supported the authoritarian monarchy of Carol (Charles) II.²⁸

Following one of the most controversial elections in Romanian history in 1937, Silviu Dragomir became a minister and sub-secretary of state in the mercifully short-lived Goga–Cuza party government of 29 December 1937–10 February 1938, which was the most extremist constitutional regime in Romanian history. In the merry-go-round of governments that followed, he was minister of state for Minorities under Miron Cristea (1939), Armand Călinescu (1939), General Gheorghe Argeșanu (1939), Constantin Argetoianu (1939), and Gheorghe Tătărescu (1939–1940). He was also secretary-general for intellectual activities of Carol II's National Renaissance Front, in 1939.²⁹

With the formal establishment of the Royal Crown Councils in 1939, Dragomir became a royal counselor and was frequently involved in the major events involving Romania in the disastrous period of the royal dictatorship (1938–1940). He was one of only six voting “No” on accepting the Soviet ultimatum demanding Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina at the 27 June 1940 Crown Council³⁰ and one of eleven intransigent “No” votes at the 30–31 August 1940 Crown Council dealing with the Vienna Diktat (Second Vienna Award) that ceded Northern Transylvania to Hungary; twenty-one others voted to accept it.³¹

The implementation of the Vienna Diktat meant that the University of Cluj had to be hastily evacuated to Sibiu.³² There, the administration stressed the duty of the exiled university to promote the “affirmation of Romanian spirituality on the lands that saw the birth of our nation” and carry out “scientific activity useful to the nation and thus contribute to the historic mission of our national development.” This included restarting the University Extension program, which was seen as more essential than ever in the chaotic years of the Second World War. Silviu Dragomir was chosen as the new leader of the program when it was revived in 1941. This program was run in tandem with ASTRA's myriad organizations and outreaches and demonstrated that while the Romanian cause was down, it was not out. During this period, Dragomir also took the lead in other activities. Working under dire conditions in Sibiu, he became the founder and director (1942 to 1947) of the Study and Research Center

regarding Transylvania³³ and editor of a new book series, “Bibliotheca Rerum Transsilvaniae.”³⁴

D. Scholarship, 1918–1947

TURNING NOW to the scholarly side of Silviu Dragomir’s work, we find that he published extensively and widely between 1918 and 1947.³⁵ The present essay is simply an overview of that activity. Conveniently, those who want a fuller analysis can find all that is needed in Sorin Şipoş’ comprehensive study *Silviu Dragomir—Istoric* (Silviu Dragomir—historian) (2008). Şipoş has conveniently organized Dragomir’s inquiries into three basic categories: 1. historian of the Middle Ages (Ch. III, pp. 150 ff.);³⁶ 2. historian of Romanian religious union (Ch. IV, pp. 275 ff.);³⁷ and, 3. historian of the Revolution of 1848 (Ch. V, pp. 372 ff.).³⁸ I would suggest we need a fourth category, namely, 4. “historian militant,” which would include, for example, advocacy works such as his 1934 *La Transylvanie roumaine et ses minorités ethniques*³⁹ or much of the materials in the *Revue de Transylvanie*.⁴⁰ It should also be noted that some items could easily fit into more than one of these categories.

In 1920, Silviu Dragomir published the first volume of his massive religious study, *Istoria desrobirei religioase a Românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII* (The history of religious disenfranchisement of the Transylvanian Romanians in 18th century).⁴¹ This pathbreaking book was awarded the Adamachi Prize by the Romanian Academy. His investigation was completed with the appearance of vol. 2 in 1930.⁴² This book not only had an impact at the time, but also in post-1989 historiography, especially because of its massive documentation.⁴³

1924 saw the publication of the biography of Dragomir’s *Avram Iancu*, the first of its kind.⁴⁴ This modest volume (138 pages) was published on the occasion of the celebration of the centennial of Iancu’s birth and owed a good deal to the circumstances of the context in which Dragomir lived and worked. 1924 also saw the publication of *Vlahii și morlacii: Studiu din istoria românismului balcanic* (The Vlachs and the Morlachs: Study from the history of Balkan Romanianism),⁴⁵ opening yet another fruitful chapter in Southeast European studies. He later expanded on this in 1959, though in circumstances that may have limited the scope of his analysis. He returned to the Romanian-Russian issue in 1944 with “La Politique religieuse des Habsbourg et les interventions russes au XVIII-e siècle.”⁴⁶

In 1927, as more and more of his work took on a militant anti-revisionist emphasis,⁴⁷ Dragomir published a study entitled *The Ethnical Minorities in Transylvania*.⁴⁸ A similar but much longer volume appeared in 1934 under the title

La Transylvanie roumaine et ses minorités ethniques. Other examples of his militant historiographical efforts included his work with the *Revue de Transylvanie* (1934–1944) and pamphlets on the Vienna Diktat in 1943 and on the Banat in 1944.⁴⁹

In 1944–1946, Dragomir’s *Studii și documente privitoare la Revoluția Românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848–49* (Studies and documents concerning the Transylvanian Romanians Revolution in the years 1848–49) (3 vols.)⁵⁰ appeared, as did his beginnings of his *Istoria Revoluției. Partea întâia: În ajunul Revoluției. Primăvara libertății. Mișcarea politică la Românii din Banat și Ungaria până în toamna anului 1848* (The history of Revolution. Part 1: In the eve of Revolution. The spring of freedom. The political movement of the Romanians from Banat and Hungary until the fall of 1848), which appeared as volume 5 of the *Studii și documente* series.⁵¹ Dragomir’s last book to appear before 1948 was *La Transylvanie*,⁵² prepared to advance the Romanian cause at the post-World War II peace talks. In addition, between 1918 and 1947, he published significant articles in *Dacoromania*, the *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională*, *Revue de Transylvanie*, *Balcania* and the *Analele Academiei Române: Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, on a variety of subjects, as well as in publications aimed at wider audiences. In addition, he was also the head of the Romanian Academy’s Historical Section from 1945 to 1948.

E. Life, 1948–1962

FORCIBLY PENSIONED in September 1947 at the age of 59, things went from bad to worse for Silviu Dragomir after 1947.⁵³ In 1948, he was expelled from the Romanian Academy (he was restored in 1990). In 1948, he was also brought to trial on false charges of abusing his position as a member of council of the Agrarian Bank of Cluj. Following a six-month prison sentence at Caransebeș, he was arrested in 1950 as part of the communist regime’s general liquidation of pre-1948 political and cultural luminaries.⁵⁴ Dragomir’s record in politics, church affairs, and as a pillar of pre-1948 Romanian culture placed him high on the new regime’s black list. Though arrested, no formal charges were brought against him. Nevertheless, he was sent to the infamous gulag at Sighet.⁵⁵

Tall and of imposing physical stature, when he was released in July 1955, Silviu Dragomir had lost all of his teeth and his health was broken. In addition, he returned to find that his home had been confiscated by the regime and he had no pension. Remarkably, he thrived by returning to his scholarly preoccupations. Allowed to function at first as an “external” worker at the Institute of

History and Archeology in Cluj through the good will of historians Constantin Daicoviciu (1898–1973) and Andrei Oțetea, he became a full-time researcher in 1957, joining working groups on the Revolution of 1848 and on Church Union (this included Dragomir, Ioan Lupaș, Ștefan Meteș, Pompiliu Teodor, and others). Failing to regain his house, he was provided with a small apartment within the Institute’s building and eventually his pension was restored, signs of the respect he still commanded from his former colleagues and students despite the obvious danger to themselves. Eventually in 1960, his Securitate file was closed for complete lack of evidence, though he continued to be under surveillance.⁵⁶

Dragomir’s post–1955 researches included medieval Balkan Vlachs, Church Union issues, 1848, and Avram Iancu. In 1959, he published *Vlahii din Nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu* (The Vlachs from the north of the Balkan Peninsula in the Middle Ages),⁵⁷ a work that capped his Balkan studies.⁵⁸ In 1959–1962, he returned to the Church Union question once more with “Românii din Transilvania și unirea cu biserica Romei: Documente apocrife privitoare la începuturile unirii cu catolicismul roman (1697–1701)” (The Romanians from Transylvania and the union with the Church of Rome: Apocryphal documents concerning the beginning of the union with Roman Catholicism, 1697–1701).⁵⁹ And he was in the midst of trying to get his revised and expanded biography of *Avram Iancu* published, which finally happened in 1965. On the other hand, Dragomir had hoped to complete his work on 1848, but this was not to be.

Following an unsuccessful surgery, Silviu Dragomir passed away on 23 February 1962, just shy of his 74th birthday. Eventually his expanded Avram Iancu biography, which had been ready since 1958, was published in 1965.⁶⁰ However, this was only possible following the 1964 mini-thaw which saw the return to Romanian academia of many first class pre–1948 scholars. Why? The unacknowledged motivation for this was the overriding mediocrity of the first postwar generation of historians (which included such worthies as Clara Cușnir-Mihailovici, Vasile Liveanu, and S. Știrbu) who were protégés of Mihail Roller (1908–1958), Petre Constantinescu-Iași (1892–1977), and other party hacks.⁶¹ Promoted in the universities, institutes, and politics, they were incapable of producing much actual solid historical research, while stylistically their incredibly boring writing was nicknamed “the wooden language.”⁶²

Secondly, by the mid–1960s, a clear divide had appeared between the “academic” historians and the proletcult Marxists. The communist regime was beginning to recognize that the latter were a handicap as it took a national communist, de-Slavicising turn and sought to diminish the cultural influence of the USSR. Perhaps the tipping point came in 1964 with the publication of K. Marx, *Însemnări despre români* (Notes about Romanians), an obvious slap at Soviet historiography and theses.⁶³ Those of the older generation who were genuine scholars, who had survived, and who were dependably nationalist were qui-

etly re-integrated into universities and research institutes and allowed to work. Alumni of Sighet alone produced Silviu Dragomir, Ioan Lupaș, C. C. Giurescu (1901–1977), Ștefan Meteș (1887–1977), and Victor Papacostea (1900–1962).

The fascinating story of the official⁶⁴ and non-official treatment of Silviu Dragomir following his death is treated in detail by Sorin Șipoș and Ioan-Aurel Pop and need not detain us here.⁶⁵

III. Silviu Dragomir and the Romanian 1848

WITHIN THE context provided by the preceding overview of the life and work of Silviu Dragomir, the aim of the final section of this study is to provide a brief introduction to the writings of Dragomir dealing with the Romanian 1848 and with Avram Iancu. This task is greatly facilitated by the work of Pompiliu Teodor⁶⁶ and Sorin Șipoș.⁶⁷

A. Avram Iancu

DRAGOMIR'S SCHOLARLY interest in 1848 can be said to have begun with Avram Iancu. In January of 1924, Dragomir was asked by the President of ASTRA, Vasile Goldiș, to write a biography of Iancu to commemorate the centennial of his birth. This story is told in a brief essay he published in the festive issue of *Societatea de Măine*, 31 August 1924, entitled “Pe urmele lui Avram Iancu: În loc to prefață la o carte” (In the footsteps of Avram Iancu: Instead of a foreword to a book),⁶⁸ obviously a kind of preface to the biography he had published earlier in the year. He was surprised at how little documentary material was available, so he had persuaded Goldiș to fund a four-week research trip to Vienna.

There he found part of the Kossuth archives,⁶⁹ which provided the Hungarian view into what was happening in 1848–1849, into Magyar military operations, and into Kossuth's policies. He also found the reports of the three Romanian prefects, Avram Iancu (1824–1872), Simion Balint (1810–1880), and Ioan Axente Sever (1821–1906), along with other materials in the Habsburg Ministry of Interior, Ministry of War, and Ministry of Justice archives,⁷⁰ including most of the Romanian petitions to the emperor and a detailed alphabetic chronology of the events of the war. Dragomir also processed materials in various public and private archives in Romania, and library resources. An unfortunate exception was the Alexandru Papiu Ilarian, Iosif Hodoș, and George Barițiu collection at the Romanian Academy which had been sent to Moscow

during the World War I and not returned. He also had to deal with previous writings—such as those of Iosif Sterca-Șuluțiu (1897)—which freely mix facts with fantasy.

Commenting on his own book about Iancu, Dragomir points out that it was commissioned as a work of popularization. That meant no notes or bibliography. It also meant that he left out or only lightly alluded to problematic issues. His goal was to include only those things that could be documented, and to concentrate on the factors that made the subject worthy of attention.⁷¹

Silviu Dragomir's 1924 book on Avram Iancu was short and to the point. It was, as it was supposed to be, a popularization. And apparently it was widely received in that spirit and sold quickly, despite its lightly demythologizing of Avram Iancu. Perhaps the still young (he was 36 in 1924) Dragomir was already recognized by academics and ordinary people not only as a scholar but also as a deeply patriotic and sincere Romanian Orthodox (these for many Romanians were, in fact, inseparable). He became even more the center of attention at the 31 August 1924 commemoration festivities in Câmpeni, held in the presence of King Ferdinand I and Queen Marie, where he was chosen to give the festive lecture.⁷² Dragomir expounded on two points: firstly, on the unexpected development in the early 19th century of the Romanian national idea, and, secondly, on how Avram Iancu had become not only the hero of the Revolution but also the embodiment of the 1848 national movement and spirit. The travails of Iancu's life after 1848 also became a symbol of the suffering that being part of the Romanian national movement would inevitably involve, both past, present, and future.

The book and the lecture were not Dragomir's last words on Avram Iancu. As he subsequently accumulated more and more documentary material on 1848, he was accumulating documentary material for an expanded version of *Avram Iancu*. Thwarted by civic duty, politics, war, and the Stalinization of Romania, nevertheless by 1949 he had completed an expanded version of *Avram Iancu*.⁷³ Owing to the ideological priorities of the communist regime, it was not published until after Dragomir's death in 1965. A principal reason for all the delay and equivocation owed to the fact that Dragomir's conclusions concerning Iancu were in the main incompatible with the official party line, whether this be the Romanian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, or the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. These findings he obstinately and courageously defended.⁷⁴

The publishing history of Dragomir's *Avram Iancu* was as follows:

1. Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, with a foreword by Vasile Maciu (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1965), 303 pp.

2. Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, 2nd edition (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1968), 367 pp.

3. Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, with a foreword by Francisc Păcurariu (Bucharest: Editura Minerva/Biblioteca pentru toți, 1988), 377 pp.

4. Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1998), 206 pp.

5. Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu: O viață de erou*, edited with an introduction and note on the edition by Ioan Bolovan and Sorin Șipoș, with a word of appreciation by Ioan-Aurel Pop and a foreword by Liviu Maior (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2022), 461 pp.

As the 2022 publication of Dragomir's full treatment of Avram Iancu makes clear, Dragomir's book was and is an important contribution to the study of the Romanian 1848 in Transylvania, and it is certain that it will continue to influence future historiography.

B. The Revolution of 1848

THE SECOND area of Silviu Dragomir's work as the historian of the Romanian 1848 involves the Revolution in Transylvania proper. Here, of course, he is known for his *Studii și documente privitoare la Revoluția Românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848–49*, an amazing work even in its incomplete form. He had, as was noted previously, taken his “find the documents or hold your peace” approach to his 1924 study of *Avram Iancu*. The Iancu book in turn led him to teach a course at the University in 1924–1925 on the “History of the Revolution in Transylvania in the years 1848–1849.” This was followed in 1930–1931 by a course on the political movements in Southeastern Europe in the year 1848 (with special look on the Romanians from Transylvania and the Romanian Principalities).⁷⁵

Between 1924 and 1942, his continued work on the Revolution led to a string of articles and books on 1848. These included “Ultima încercare a guvernului unguresc de a câștiga pe Avram Iancu” (The last attempt of the Hungarian government to attract Avram Iancu), “Din corespondența dascălilor ardeleni în anul 1848” (From the correspondence of Transylvanian teachers in the year 1848),⁷⁶ *Ioan Buteanu, prefectul Zarandului în anii 1848–1849* (Ioan Buteanu, the prefect of Zarand in the years 1848–1849), “N. Bălcescu în Ardeal” (N. Bălcescu in Transylvania), *Un precursor al unității naționale: profesorul ardelean Constantin Romanul Vivu* (A precursor of national unity: Transylvanian Professor Constantin Romanul Vivu), “Les Roumains de Transylvanie à la veille du mouvement de résurrection nationale,”⁷⁷ and “La Politique des Roumains de Transylvanie en 1848–1849 et la Cour de Vienne.”⁷⁸ In addition there were numerous short commemorative pieces in the popular press. This listing illustrates the intensity, breadth, and duration of Dragomir's preoccupation with

1848. His studies on Avram Iancu, Ioan Buteanu, and Constantin Romanul Vivu clearly set forth the political program of the Transylvanian Romanians and the character of their leaders, and laid a solid foundation for further investigations based on extensive documentation rather than hagiography.

Silviu Dragomir's culminating but unfinished masterpiece was the *Studii și documente privitoare la Revoluția Românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-49*, in six volumes, of which four saw the light of day. Here they are: Vols. 1, 2 and 3 (1944–1946; see the complete references in note 50); vol. 4 (draft completed in 1946–1947, but unpublished); vol. 5 (1946; see the complete references in note 51); vol. 6, *Istoria Revoluției. Partea a doua: Revoluția. Eroii. Împăratul și românii* (The history of Revolution. Part 2: The Revolution. The heroes. The emperor and the Romanians), draft completed but unpublished.⁷⁹

The fate of vol. 4 remains unknown, though it was completed in manuscript by 1946–1947, when Dragomir's arrest and imprisonment brought a temporary end to his work. His apparent awareness of what might be looming on the horizon accounts for the publication of vol. 5 before completing work on vol. 4: Dragomir wanted to get his history done before it was too late. He also hoped that it would be completed by the 1848 centenary, which in the event, was hijacked by the communist regime in 1948 and an absurd Marxist re-interpretation was imposed on the events of 1848–1849.⁸⁰

Under the communist regime, Dragomir's expertise was sought after for the work on volume 4 of the official collective history, *Istoria României* (The history of Romania).⁸¹ Though he was present at the discussion and was supposedly a member of the editing committee, his name was omitted from the book, which showed that even after his death his name was still a hot potato. Volume 4 had this to say about Dragomir's work on 1848:

*a vast documentary material is found in the volumes of Silviu Dragomir, Studii și documente privitoare la Revoluția românilor din Transilvania... in which, however, the author does not accent the role of the masses and doesn't appreciate the revolution in Transylvania in its complexities.*⁸²

Dragomir passionately defended his views, and forcefully opposed the consensus criticism that the Transylvanian Romanians had “sold out” to the Habsburgs.⁸³

In the process of preparing the document volumes, Dragomir came to know thoroughly what was available and something about their organization and importance for Romanian historiography.⁸⁴ His long introduction to vol. 1 is a short survey of 1848–1849 indicating new insights that emerged from the documents, dispelling rumors, discussing promises made and promises broken.⁸⁵ The actions, attitudes, and intentions of the Habsburg authorities were made much clearer through these materials.

Avram Iancu emerges in these documents, according to Dragomir, as a dauntless leader: “It is beyond any doubt that the perseverance and heroism with which he knew how to defend his mountains earned him the respect of imperial officer circles.”⁸⁶ Iancu “understood from the first the dubious character of the Austrian officers sent to the mountains as his collaborators and advisors.”⁸⁷ In the end, the Romanians—especially A. T. Laurian (1810–1881) and Simion Bărnuțiu (1808–1864)—understood from the failures of 1848 that their task would be “first to build the Romanian nationality” and not act before they were prepared.⁸⁸

In 1960, Dragomir had again proposed completing the *Studii și documente* series, this time with an expanded scope in 10 volumes. The new series would not contain Dragomir’s history (vols. 5 and 6), but would be devoted to documents only. The material for the new vols. 4–5–6 and 8 were already almost complete.⁸⁹ However this project also was blocked.

The 1960 plan has been made obsolete by the on-going publication by the Cluj Institute of History of a multi-volume (a dozen and counting) successor series of the documents related to *Revoluția de la 1848–1849 din Transilvania* (1977 ff.)⁹⁰ However, it would appear to be both feasible and useful as well as a tribute to Silviu Dragomir’s work to publish the two unpublished parts of the original six-volume 1940s Dragomir *Studies and Documents* series in the future. Perhaps the set could be published with anastatic versions of vols. 1–2–3, and 5.

IV. Conclusion

NICOLAE BOCȘAN once wrote an article entitled “Silviu Dragomir—Historian of the Romanian National Phenomenon.”⁹¹ It seems clear from the above that Silviu Dragomir might rightly himself be called “a Romanian national phenomenon.” Pompiliu Teodor, the premier Transylvanian student of historiography—who worked with Dragomir at the Institute in Cluj after 1957 and knew both his work and the man personally—described Dragomir’s work as “monumental,” and contended that

*No one in modern Romanian historiography contributed as much to the revival of an epoch . . . than the historian Silviu Dragomir. It is undoubtedly possible to affirm that he revived . . . the real dimensions of the Romanian revolution.*⁹²

Not only did he revive neglected aspects of study, he incorporated them into a “global reconstitution of the revolution.” At the same time, his documentary method was an inspiration to others.

Silviu Dragomir certainly made what now have to be seen as serious errors in judgement coupled with nationalist political mistakes, but these tended to affect his scholarly efforts less than most. This owed, in part, to his passionate engagement with national ideals in a dialectic between his intransigent Orthodoxy and his Romanianism. The longevity of his work owes not only to his insistence on carefully documenting everything but also to the fact that he was a positivist in his historical method. That is to say that he pursued a kind of Rankean goal of trying to ascertain “what happened” based on documents rather than inference.⁹³ And such an effort, it would seem, is vastly superior to those who posit that we cannot really know anything and therefore fall into complete and useless relativism and emotivism.⁹⁴

Silviu Dragomir’s commitment to documents saved him from a myriad of blunders, and his courage after 1947, when many others simply caved in to the new totalitarian regime and rigid Marxist framework (what such people usually refer to as “new realities”), demonstrated the sincerity of his position. These elements are also what continues to make his work useful even when some of his conclusions are disconfirmed.⁹⁵ Unlike many of his contemporaries, Dragomir appears to have done rather well on not letting his passionate personal commitments impair his scholarly efforts.

On the occasion of the Avram Iancu bicentennial, we look forward to additional and fair explorations of the work of Silviu Dragomir, discussions of its pros and cons, and perhaps a further revival of the study of 1848–1849 in the Romanian lands about which people can agree to disagree while trying establish as far as is humanely possible what happened in the past and why.



Notes

1. It should be emphasized that this paper is a description and not a critique of Dragomir’s work.
2. The primary source of information on the life of Silviu Dragomir, which has heavily been drawn on for this sketch is Sorin Şipoş’s outstanding study *Silviu Dragomir—istoric*, 2nd edition, with a foreword by Ioan-Aurel Pop (Oradea: Editura Universităţii din Oradea; Chişinău: Editura Cartdidact, 2008). This has been supplemented by Sorin Şipoş, “Historiography, Borders and Political Imaginary,” habilitation thesis, Oradea University, 2015. Şipoş does an excellent job of getting into Dragomir historical worldview as well as dealing in an informed way with the complexity of his work touching as it does on medieval history, the history of Southeastern Europe, Church Union, and 1848.
3. For the context in which Dragomir largely lived and worked, we are fortunate to have four classic essays: Ioan Bogdan, *Istoriografia română și problemele ei actuale*:

- Discurs rostit la 8 (21) aprilie 1905 în ședință solemnă*, Academia Română, Discursuri de recepțiune XXVII (Bucharest: Inst. de Arte Grafice “Carol Göbl” s-sor Ion St. Rasidescu, 1905), published at the beginning of Dragomir’s career; and C. C. Giurescu, “Considerații asupra istoriografiei românești în ultimii douăzeci de ani,” *Revista istorică* 12, 7–9 (1926): 137–185, both of which usefully present the historiographical status quo. There are two works specific to Dragomir’s Transylvanian environment: Alex. Lăpedatu, “Nouă împrejurări de dezvoltare ale istoriografiei naționale: Lecțiuni de deschidere a cursului de *Istorie veche a Românilor*, ținută la Universitatea din Cluj în ziua de 6 Noembrie 1919,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională* 1 (1921–1922): 1–18, and Aurel Decei, “Istoriografia română transilvană în cei douăzeci de ani de la Unire: O caracterizare bibliografică,” *Gând românesc* 7, 7–9 (1939): 191–208. For modern treatments, see Al. Zub, *Istorie și istorici în România interbelică* (Iași: Editura Junimea, 1989); Șipoș, “Historiography,” *passim*; and Doru Radosav, “Istoriografia românească în perioada interbelică: De la istoriografia unității naționale la circumscrierea regională și europeană a scrișului istoric românesc,” in *Istoriografia românească*, edited by Doru Radosav (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române; Univers Enciclopedic Gold, 2019), 215–280.
4. See Radu Mârza, *The History of Romanian Slavic Studies: From the Beginnings until the First World War*, translated from the Romanian by Leonard Ciocan (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2008); and id., “Slavistica și formația istorică a lui Silviu Dragomir,” in *Silviu Dragomir—120 de ani de la naștere*, edited by Ioan-Aurel Pop and Sorin Șipoș (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2011), 197–208.
 5. Sextil Pușcariu, *Memorii*, edited by Magdalena Vulpe, foreword by Ion Bulei, notes by Ion Bulei and Magdalena Vulpe (Bucharest: Editura Minerva, 1978), 290, entry for 7 June 1918.
 6. See Nicolae Stoian, “Date privitoare la formația intelectuală a istoricului Silviu Dragomir,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca* 28 (1987–1988): 563–581.
 7. See Mircea Păcurariu, *Două sute de ani de învățământ teologic la Sibiu 1786–1986* (Sibiu: n.p., 1987), 102 ff.; and id., “Activitatea lui Silviu Dragomir ca profesor la Institutul Teologic-Pedagogic din Sibiu,” in *Silviu Dragomir (1888–1962)—50 de ani de la trecerea în veșnicie: Simpozion național, Deva, 10–11 februarie 2012*, foreword by Ioan-Aurel Pop and Sorin Șipoș, edited by Florin Dobrei (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane; Deva: Editura Episcopiei Devei și Hunedoarei, 2012), 21–32.
 8. The basic bibliographical resources on the work of Silviu Dragomir are: Veronica Turcuș, Felicia Hristodol, and Gheorghe Hristodol, “Dragomir, Silviu,” in *Bibliografia lucrărilor științifice ale membrilor Institutului de Istorie din Cluj-Napoca 1920–2005* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2008), 110–115, which appears to be the most complete to date; Nicolae Edroiu, “Istoricul Silviu Dragomir,” and “Repere cronologice: Date despre viața și opera istorică a lui Silviu Dragomir,” in *Silviu Dragomir, Scrieri istorice*, edited by Nicolae Edroiu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2015), ix–xx; Veronica Turcuș, “Referințe bibliografice asupra

- activității și operei lui Silviu Dragomir,” in Dragomir, *Scrieri istorice*, 557–559; ead., “Dragomir, Silviu,” in *Dicționarul membrilor Institutului de Istorie din Cluj (1920–2020)*, edited by Mara Mărginean, Mirela Popa-Andrei, and Attila Varga, foreword by Ioan Bolovan (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2020), 153–156; and Veronica Turcuș and Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan, “Dragomir, Silviu,” in *Enciclopedia reprezentanților scrisului istoric românesc*, vol. 2 (D–K), edited by Victor Spinei and Dorina N. Rusu (Suceava: Editura Karl A. Romstorfer a Muzeului Național al Bucovinei, 2021), 107–109.
9. Silviu Dragomir, “Contribuții la istoria legăturilor Românilor ardeleni cu Rușii,” *Revista teologică* 3, 2 (1909): 65–73; “Contribuții privitoare la relațiile Bisericii românești cu Rusia în veacul XVII,” *Analele Academiei Române: Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, 2nd ser., 34, 21 (1911–1912): 1065–1247; and “Relațiile bisericești ale Românilor din Ardeal cu Rusia în veacul XVIII,” *Anuar al Institutului Pedagogic-Teologic al Arhidiecezei Ortodoxe Române Transilvănene în Sibiu* 30 (1913–1914): 3–35. A brief but important study is Dragomir’s survey of Russian historiography: “Istoriografi ruși și Biserica noastră,” *Telegraful Român* 58, 58 (1910): 257–258; 58, 63: 261; 58, 65: 269–270; 58, 66: 273; 58, 67: 277–278. Finally, he wrote a brief “Clerici ardeleni peregrini în Rusia,” *Revista teologică* 6, 2 (1912): 2–8. On Dragomir and Romanian-Russian Church issues, in addition to Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir*, 313 ff., see Ovidiu Ghitta, “Silviu Dragomir, historien des relations ecclésiastiques roumano-russes,” *Transylvanian Review* 2, 2 (1993): 53–59.
 10. Silviu Dragomir, “Din istoria luptelor noastre pentru ortodoxie: O aniversare (1761–1911),” *Revista teologică* 5, 9 (1911): 257–265.
 11. He was nominated by Romania’s most outstanding Slavist Ioan Bogdan.
 12. On the Orthodox Church connection, see Mircea Păcurariu, “O sută de ani de la nașterea istoricului Silviu Dragomir (1888–1962),” *Mitropolia Ardealului* 33, 2 (1988): 109–122. Păcurariu also includes an entry on Dragomir in his *Dicționarul teologilor români* (Bucharest: Univers Enciclopedic, 1996), 150–152. Dragomir appears to have been a very devout Orthodox with a strong and informed faith. In fact, prior to the War, he gave considerable thought to seeking ordination as an Orthodox priest, but decided against it. Of course, his religious commitment was quite compatible with his view that Romanian Orthodoxy and Romanian nationality are two sides of the same coin. This also was a serious indictment against him after 1945, but paradoxically became a positive in the early 1960s.
 13. On ASTRA, see Pamfil Matei, “Asociațiunea Transilvană pentru Literatura Română și Cultura Poporului Român” (ASTRA) și rolul ei în cultura națională (1861–1950) (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1986). For the interwar era, see Olimpiu Boitoș, “Le Progrès culturel en Transylvanie de 1918 à 1940,” *Revue de Transylvanie* 7–9 (1941–1943): 197–199. On the powerful and significant “associationism” trend in Transylvania, see Liviu Maior, *Asociaționism și naționalism la românii din Transilvania* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2022).
 14. Păcurariu, *Două sute de ani*, 114–117.
 15. On Goldiș, see Silviu Dragomir, *Vasile Goldiș: Luptătorul și realizatorul politic* (Sibiu: Editura “Asociațiunii,” 1936), 16 pp. Lucian Nastasă-Kovács has pointed out how

- surprisingly inter-bred Romanian academics were prior to 1945; see his *Intimitatea amfiteatrelor: Ipostaze din viața privată a universitarilor "literari" (1864–1948)* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Limes, 2010). However, in the case of Dragomir, Nastasă-Kovács (189) writes that that this marriage didn't provide Dragomir "any supplementary trump cards in his career."
16. Gelu Neamțu, "Silviu Dragomir—redactor la 'Gazeta Poporului' (1918–1920), colaborator la 'Voința' (1921) și 'Societatea de mâine' (1924)," in Pop and Șipoș, *120 de ani*, 37–60.
 17. See Dragomir's retrospective, "Vingt-cinq ans après la réunion de la Transylvanie à la Roumanie," *Revue de Transylvanie* 7–8 (1941–1943): 5–36. This same number has a number of other pieces about the unification period.
 18. See Vasile Pușcaș, "The Post-War Reorganization of the Cluj University," in *University and Society: A History of Cluj Higher Education in the 20th Century*, edited by Vasile Pușcaș (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, 1999), 61 ff.
 19. See Paul E. Michelson, "Silviu Dragomir, the Historian-Militant, and the *Revue de Transylvanie*," in *Călător prin istorie: Omagiu Profesorului Liviu Maior la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani*, edited by Ioan-Aurel Pop and Ioan Bolovan (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2010), 261–276; and Sorin Șipoș, "Revue de Transylvanie: Creation, Structure and Research Themes," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis: Series Historica* 25 (2021): 299–317.
 20. Virgil I. Bărbat and Fl. Ștefănescu-Goangă, *Extensiunea Universitară* (Cluj: Extensiunea Universitară Cluj, n.d., [1926]). See also Boitoș, "Le Progrès culturel," 201–202.
 21. Pușcaș, *University and Society*, 236–244.
 22. Silviu Dragomir, *Un precursor al unității naționale: Profesorul ardelean Constantin Romanul Vivu. Discurs rostit la 29 Maiu 1929 în ședința solemnă*, with a response by I. Lupaș (Bucharest: Cultura Națională, 1929), 40 pp.
 23. Silviu Dragomir, *Ioan Buteanu: Prefectul Zarandului în anii 1848–49* (Bucharest: Editura Casei Școalelor, 1928), 158 pp.
 24. Silviu Dragomir, "N. Bălcescu în Ardeal," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională din Cluj* 5 (1928–1930): 1–34.
 25. Ioachim Lazăr, "Din activitate politico-națională a istoricului Silviu Dragomir," in Dobrei, *50 de ani*, 151–162. Lucian Nastasă has discussed the predilection of Romanian intellectuals for politics in his "*Suveranii*" *universităților românești: Mecanisme de selecție și promovare a elitei intelectuale*, vol. 1, *Profesorii Facultăților de Filosofie și Litere (1864–1948)* (Cluj: Editura Limes, 2007), 79–95. See also Paul E. Michelson, "The Historian As a Political Force in Central Europe: R. W. Seton-Watson's 1922 Inaugural Address," in *Slujind-o pe Clio: In Honorem Dumitru Vitcu*, edited by Mihai Iacobescu, Gheorghe Cliveti, and Dinu Balan (Iași: Editura Junimea, 2010), 321–334.
 26. See Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars* (Seattle-London: University of Washington Press, 1974), 3–7. For the Hungarian case, see C. A. Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors: The Treaty of Trianon and Its Consequences 1919–1937* (London etc.: Oxford University Press, 1937), especially 348–

- 355; and for the Romanian case, Vasile Pușcaș and Ionel N. Sava, eds., *Trianon, Trianon: A Century of Political Revisionist Mythology*, with a foreword and afterword by Vasile Pușcaș (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școală Ardeleană, 2021).
27. One aspect of this was the ensuing “propaganda” war covered by Nicolae Dascălu, *Propaganda externă a României Mari (1918–1940)* (Bucharest: Editura Alternative, 1998); Zsolt Nagy, *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities: Hungarian Cultural Diplomacy, 1918–1941* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2017); and Radu Mârza, *Romanian Historians and Propaganda (1914–1946): The Case of Transylvania*, translated from the Romanian by Carmen-Veronica Borbély (Bratislava: AEPRESS, 2014); id., “Diplomacy and Propaganda in Romania (1918–1946),” in *Empires and Nations from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2, edited by Antonello Biagini and Giovanna Motta (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 351–369.
 28. On the Goga–Cuza regime, see Aurelian Chistol, *Cronica unui eșec așteptat: Guvernarea Goga–Cuza* (Craiova: Aius, 2011).
 29. Ion Mamina and Ioan Scurtu, *Guverne și guvernanți (1916–1938)* (Bucharest: Editura Silex, 1996), 168–169.
 30. Ion Mamina, *Consilii de Coroană* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997), 189–209. Cf. C. C. Giurescu’s account in Constantin C. Giurescu, *Amintiri*, edited by Dinu C. Giurescu (Bucharest: Editura ALL Educațional, 2000), 288–292.
 31. Mamina, 226–283. Also interesting is Emil Panaitescu’s account of Dragomir’s report following the session to his fellow academicians in 1940: Emil Panaitescu, “Însemnări,” *Magazin istoric*, new ser., 33, 9 (354) (1996): 12. See Silviu Dragomir, *La Transylvanie avant et après l’arbitrage de Vienne* (Sibiu: Centrul de Studii și Cercetări privitoare la Transilvania, 1943), 52 pp.
 32. For details on this epoch, see Vasile Pușcaș, “The Cluj (Sibiu) University (1940–1945),” in Pușcaș, *University and Society*, 285–296.
 33. Stelian Mîndruț, “Centrul de Studii și Cercetări privitoare la Transilvania: Istoric și activitate (1942–1948). I,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj 29* (1988–1989): 318–345; and “Centrul de Studii și Cercetări privitoare la Transilvania: Istoric și activitate (1942–1948). II,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj 30* (1990–1991): 151–162.
 34. Stelian Mîndruț, “‘Bibliotheca Rerum Transsilvaniae’, I–XXI/1943–1946,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj 33* (1994): 417–443.
 35. As was typical among Romanian historians, Dragomir was active in more than scholarly writing, publishing a good deal in what might be called the popular press. These included: *Transilvania, Adevărul, Patria, Țara Noastră, Gazeta Poporului, Telegraful Român, Revista teologică, Biserica și Școala, Luceafărul, Națiunea, Renașterea, Societatea de Măine, Tribuna Poporului, Universul, Voința*, among others.
 36. See also Ioan-Aurel Pop and Sorin Șipoș, “Silviu Dragomir—istoric al Evului Mediu,” in Ioan-Aurel Pop and Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir și dosarul Diplomei cavalerilor iohaniți* (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2009), 45–77.
 37. Cf. Greta Monica Miron, “Silviu Dragomir, istoric al ‘unirii’ religioase,” *Revista istorică* 3, 5–6 (1992): 599–604, and Ion Alexandru Mizgan, “Unirea românilor tran-

- silvăneni cu Biserica Romei în cercetările istoricului Silviu Dragomir,” in Dobrei, *50 de ani*, 113–120.
38. See Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir*, 5–6.
 39. Silviu Dragomir, *La Transylvanie roumaine et ses minorités ethniques* (Bucharest: M. O., Imprimerie Nationale, 1934), 281 pp.
 40. Michelson, “Silviu Dragomir, the Historian-Militant,” *passim*.
 41. Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase a Românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, vol. 1, *Cu 150 documente anexate* (Sibiu: Editura și tiparul Tipografiei Arhidiecezane, 1920), vii + 259 pp. Just before the war, he published some of the related documents: Silviu Dragomir, “Corespondența episcopului Gherasim Adamovici și mișcarea de emancipare a clerului și poporului românesc în a. 1791,” *Revista teologică* 5, 14–19 (1911): 400–423, and *Acte și documente culese și publicate de Dr. Virgil Cioban și Dr. Silviu Dragomir*, with foreword by Dr. Silviu Dragomir (Sibiu: Tiparul Tipografiei Arhidiecezane, 1914), VI + 26 pp.
 42. Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase a Românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, vol. II, *Cu 76 documente anexate* (Sibiu: Editura și tiparul Tipografiei Arhidiecezane, 1930), vii + 440 pp.
 43. Șipoș, “Historiography,” 28–29. Șipoș argues that part of the irenic Dragomir’s approach was to avoid polemics and rely on overwhelming documentation.
 44. Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu* (Bucharest: Institutul de Arte Grafice “România Nouă,” 1924), 138 pp.
 45. Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii și morlacii: Studiu din istoria românismului balcanic* (Cluj: Imprimeria Bornemisa, 1924), 136 pp. On this subject, see Anca Tanașoca, “Contribuția lui Silviu Dragomir la cercetarea romanității balcanice,” *Sud-Estul și contextul european: Buletin* 2 (1994): 47–57; and Ela Cosma, “Vlahii Negri: Silviu Dragomir despre identitatea morlacilor,” in Pop and Șipoș, *120 de ani*, 107–128.
 46. Silviu Dragomir, “La Politique religieuse des Habsbourg et les interventions russes au XVIII-e siècle,” *Balcania* 7, 1 (1944): 152–172.
 47. Liviu Lazăr, “Silviu Dragomir și mișcarea antirevizionistă din Transilvania în perioada interbelică,” in Dobrei, *50 de ani*, 70–85.
 48. Silviu Dragomir, *The Ethnical Minorities in Transylvania* (Geneva: Sonor Printing, 1927), 130 pp.
 49. Dragomir, *La Transylvanie avant et après l’arbitrage de Vienne*; id., *Le Banat roumain: Esquisse historique* (Sibiu: Centrul de Studii și Cercetări privitoare la Transilvania, 1944), 42 pp.
 50. Silviu Dragomir, *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848–49*, vol. 1, *Documente din Arhivele Ministerelor de Război, Justiție și Interne din Viena*; vol. 2, *Documente din colecțiile Academiei Române, Asociațiunii transilvane și ale Muzeului Ardelean, în colaborare cu Prof. Eugen Hulea și Prof. Lazăr Nichi*; vol. 3, *Documente din Arhivele Statului (Budapesta) Arhiva Kossuth 1848–49* (Sibiu–Cluj: Tipografia “Cartea Românească din Cluj,” 1944–1946), lv + 354 + xxv + 603 + 320 pp.
 51. Silviu Dragomir, *Studii și documente privitoare la Revoluția Românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848–49*, vol. 5, *Istoria Revoluției. Partea întâia: În ajunul Revolu-*

- ției. Primăvara libertății. Mișcarea politică la Românii din Banat și Ungaria până în toamna anului 1848* (Cluj: Tipografia “Cartea Românească,” n.d. [1946]), iv + 412 pp.
52. Silviu Dragomir, *La Transylvanie* (Paris: Boivin, 1946), 317 pp. Also published in English as *Transylvania* (Paris: Boivin, 1946), 318 pp.
 53. Sorin Șipoș, “Destinul istoricului Silviu Dragomir în România comunistă (1947–1950),” in Dobrei, *50 de ani*, 33–69. The new communist authorities regarded Dragomir, even after his dismissal, as “remaining at the pinnacle of University reaction.” See Liviu Pleșa, “Dosarul de Securitate al istoricului Silviu Dragomir,” *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 9, 1 (2005): 220.
 54. On these matters, see Liviu Pleșa, *Istoriografia clujeană sub supravegherea Securității (1945–1965)* (Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2017); and Sorin Șipoș and Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Dosarul de anchetă al istoricului Silviu Dragomir (1 iulie 1949),” in Pop and Șipoș, *120 de ani*, 71–103.
 55. For a first-hand account, see C. C. Giurescu, 3rd Part, “Cinci ani și două luni în penitenciarul din Sighet (7 mai 1950–5 iulie 1955),” in *Aminiri* (2000), reprinted of the volume *Cinci ani și două luni în penitenciarul din Sighet (7 mai 1950–5 iulie 1955)*, edited with annexes and index by Lia Ioana Ciplea, and an introduction by Dinu C. Giurescu (Bucharest: Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1994).
 56. Pleșa, “Dosarul de Securitate,” 227–228.
 57. Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii din Nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1959), 228 pp.
 58. Șipoș, “Historiography,” 28, considers this one of Dragomir’s lasting contributions.
 59. Silviu Dragomir, “Românii din Transilvania și unirea cu biserica Romei: Documente apocrife privitoare la începuturile unirii cu catolicismul roman (1697–1701),” *Biserica Ortodoxă Română: Buletinul oficial al Patriarhiei Române* 80, 9–10 (1962): 863–937. An earlier effort, “Românii din Transilvania și unirea cu biserica Romei,” was published in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 3 (1959): 323–339. Also published as a book: Silviu Dragomir, *Românii din Transilvania și unirea cu biserica Romei: Documente apocrife privitoare la începuturile unirii cu catolicismul roman (1697–1701)* (Bucharest: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune Ortodoxă, 1963), 100 pp.
 60. Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, foreword by Vasile Maciu (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1965), 303 pp.
 61. Gabriel Catalan, “Instituții, practici și personalități la începuturile sovietizării culturii și istoriografiei românești,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie “George Bariț” din Cluj-Napoca: Series Historica* 44 (2005): 439–462; id., “Rezistență și compromis în istoriografia anilor 1944–1948,” *Anuarul Institutului Român de Istorie Recentă* 2 (2003): 71–98.
 62. See Vlad Georgescu, *Politică și istorie: Cazul comuniștilor români 1944–1977* (Munich: Jon Dumitru-Verlag, 1981), 34 ff. As to the quality of the last wave of kulturniks, one could peruse the list of names given on p. 57. There is not a single name there that could even be called second rate. On “The Suppression and Reassertion

- of National Values in Socialist Romania,” see Katherine Verdery, *National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceaușescu’s Romania* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 1991), 98–134. See also Al. Zub, *Orizont închis: Istoriografia română sub dictatură* (Iași: Institutul European, 2000), 165 ff.; and Andi Mihalache, *Istorie și practici discursive în România “democrat-populară”* (Bucharest: Editura Albatros, 2003).
63. K. Marx, *Însemnări despre români (Manuscrise inedite)*, published by Acad. A. Oțetea and S. Schwann (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1964). Most of the work was done by Cornelia Bodea and G. Zane, both old generation scholars.
 64. Set forth by Vasile Maciu’s foreword in Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, 1965, 5–10. This involved the usual Ceaușescu era approach to such matters: emphasizing whatever the regime wanted to emphasize in the work of pre-communist historians whether or not this was in or out of context, ignoring inconvenient facts, statements, or interpretations; and sanitizing the person’s biography and writings, and claiming that the individual in question had seen the light and adopted “in good measure the materialist conception of history . . . to give a scientific foundation to his new works of history” (Maciu, “Prefață,” 8). Incredibly, subsequent to 1989, free access to manuscripts of Dragomir remained blocked. Șipoș was repeatedly denied access to Dragomir manuscripts on grounds that turned out to be untrue or tendentious (publication would be “a disservice to Romanian historiography and to the national interest,” Pop and Șipoș, *Dosarul Diplomei*, 13–14). I am more negative about Maciu’s foreword than Șipoș appears to be.
 65. Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir*, 85 ff.; Ioan-Aurel Pop and Sorin Șipoș, “Silviu Dragomir —Repere istoriografice,” in Pop and Șipoș, *Dosarul Diplomei*, 13–43; and Ioan Bolovan and Sorin Șipoș, “Studiu introductiv: Silviu Dragomir și elaborarea biografiei lui Avram Iancu: etape și implicații ideologice, semnificații istorice,” in *Silviu Dragomir, Avram Iancu: O viață de erou*, edited with an introduction and note on the edition by Ioan Bolovan and Sorin Șipoș, with a word of appreciation by Ioan-Aurel Pop and a foreword by Liviu Maior (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2022), 15–72.
 66. See Pompiliu Teodor, “Silviu Dragomir istoric al Revoluției din 1848,” in *Silviu Dragomir, Studii privind istoria revoluției române de la 1848*, edited with an introduction, notes, and commentaries by Pompiliu Teodor (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1989), 7–43. Also useful is A. Egyed, “Silviu Dragomir și cercetarea revoluției din Transilvania de la 1848–1849,” *Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice a Academiei*, 4th ser., 13 (1988): 11–18.
 67. Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir*, 372 ff.
 68. Silviu Dragomir, “Pe urmele lui Avram Iancu: În loc de prefață la o carte,” *Societatea de Măine* 1, 19–20 (1924): 389–390.
 69. Later published in Dragomir, *Studii și documente privitoare la Revoluția Românilor din Transilvania*, vol. 3.
 70. Later published in Dragomir, *Studii și documente privitoare la Revoluția Românilor din Transilvania*, vol. 1.

71. Dragomir, “Pe urmele lui Avram Iancu,” 390.
72. “Avram Iancu: Discursul rostit de prof. univ. dr. Silviu Dragomir, în ședința solemnă a Asociației ținută în 31 August sub prezidenția M. S. Regelui la Câmpeni,” *Societatea de Măine* 1, 21 (1924): 412–416. In 1924, Dragomir also published an article on Iancu: “Ultima încercare a guvernului unguresc de a câștiga pe Avram Iancu,” *Transilvania* 55, 7 (1924): 221–227.
73. For the story of the last years of Dragomir’s life and publication issues from 1955 onward, see Ioan Bolovan and Sorin Șipoș, “Cercetările lui Silviu Dragomir despre Avram Iancu din anii 1955–1962,” in Dragomir, *Avram Iancu: O viață de erou*, 25–41.
74. Dragomir, *Avram Iancu: O viață de erou*, 31.
75. Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir*, 411.
76. Silviu Dragomir, “Din corespondența dascălilor ardeleni în anul 1848,” in *Omagiu lui Ion Bianu: Din partea colegilor și foștilor săi elevi* (Bucharest: Cultura Națională, 1927), 155–170.
77. Silviu Dragomir, “Les Roumains de Transylvanie à la veille du mouvement de résurrection nationale,” in *La Transylvanie: Ouvrage publié par l’Institut d’Histoire Nationale de Cluj* (Bucharest: n.p.), 337–378.
78. Silviu Dragomir, “La Politique des Roumains de Transylvanie en 1848–1849 et la Cour de Vienne,” *Bulletin de la Section Historique (Histoire–Géographie–Sciences sociales)*, Académie Roumaine 23 (1942): 142–143.
79. Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir*, 432 ff. Manuscript in the Romanian Academy Library, Manuscripts, Silviu Dragomir coll. Șipoș, 436 ff. gives a full description of the contents of the sixth volume. It appears that a good deal of the material in this volume was included in Dragomir’s 1965 version of *Avram Iancu* (434). Pompiliu Teodor published an excerpt from vol. 6 as “Legiunile și prefectii,” in Dragomir, *Studii privind istoria revoluției române de la 1848*, 186–213; and in the same volume (41 ff.), refers to other parts of vol. 6.
80. Dragomir, *Studii și documente*, 1: V.
81. Acad. P. Constantinescu-Iași, ed., *Istoria României*, vol. 4, *Formarea și consolidarea orînduirii capitaliste (1848–1878)* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1964). For discussion, see Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir*, 451 ff. Just before the end of his life, he was also asked to comment on vol. 3 and come to discussions in Bucharest (452).
82. Constantinescu-Iași, *Istoria României*, 4: XXVI.
83. On Transylvanian historiography, see Gabriel Moisa, “Evoluții istoriografice transilvănene în primele două decenii ale regimului comunist,” *Crisia* 30 (2000): 399–417; id., *Istoria Transilvaniei în istoriografia românească 1965–1989* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003); and Florin Müller, *Politică și istoriografie în România 1948–1964* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Nereamia Napocae, 2003).
84. See the favorable reviews of vols. 1 and 2 by Ștefan Pascu in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională* 9 (1943–1944): 559–562 and 10 (1945): 427–430; and of vol. 5 by Z. Pâclișanu in *Revista Istorică Română* 16, 4 (1946): 385–386.
85. Dragomir, *Studii și documente*, 1: XVII ff.

86. Dragomir, *Studii și documente*, 1: X.
87. Dragomir, *Studii și documente*, 1: XV.
88. Dragomir, *Studii și documente*, 1: XXIV–XXV.
89. Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir*, 449–450.
90. Ștefan Pascu, “Cuvânt introductiv,” in *Revoluția de la 1848–1849 din Transilvania*, vol. 1, *2 martie–12 aprilie 1848*, edited by Ștefan Pascu and Victor Chereșteșiu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977), VI–VII. On Dragomir’s hope for an expanded series, see Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir*, 449 ff.
91. Nicolae Bocșan, “Silviu Dragomir—istoric al fenomenului național românesc,” in Dobrei, *50 de ani*, 121–129.
92. Teodor, “Silviu Dragomir istoric al Revoluției din 1848,” 7, and 7–43 for further illumination. This essay should be required reading for anyone interested in the Romanian 1848.
93. Pompiliu Teodor, “Silviu Dragomir,” in Pompiliu Teodor, *Introducere în istoria istoriografiei din România* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Accent, 2002), 200–202. On Romanian positivism, see Al. Zub, *De la istoria critică la criticism (Istoriografia română sub semnul modernității)* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2000), 275–280.
94. C. S. Lewis writes in his admirable book on values and ethics, *The Abolition of Man or Reflections on Education with Special Reference to the Teaching of English in the Upper Forms of Schools* (London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1943), 13: “I had sooner play cards against a man who was quite sceptical about ethics, but bred to believe that ‘a gentleman does not cheat,’ than against an irreproachable moral philosopher who had been brought up among sharpers.” And, of course, we have Lord Acton’s 1895 Cambridge Inaugural Lecture on “The Study of History,” reprinted in Lord Acton, *Essays in the Study and Writing of History*, edited by J. Rufus Fears (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Classics, 1985), 504–552, which stresses that one must always begin with primary documents which are then subjected to the critical “art of investigating . . . of discerning truth from falsehood” (528–529).
95. For a reasonable critique of some of Dragomir’s ideas, see Șipoș, “Historiography,” 42–47.

Abstract

Silviu Dragomir, Historian of the Romanian 1848

The aim of the study is to provide an overview of Silviu Dragomir’s life and scholarly work, from his early studies in Blaj (Blasendorf, Balázsfalva) and Novi Sad to his university education in Cernăuți (Chernivtsi, Czernowiz) and Vienna, continuing with the major moments in his scholarly activity, with a special focus on the persecutions suffered under the communist regime. This is followed by a brief introduction to his writings dealing with Avram Iancu and the Revolution of 1848–1849

Keywords

Silviu Dragomir, Romanian historiography, Avram Iancu, Revolution of 1848–1849