TEACHING HISTORY IN THE CONFESSIONAL SCHOOL FROM DUALISTIC TRANSYLVANIA. THEIR HISTORY AND OUR HISTORY

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Abstract: The present study wants an overview of a subject mainly reiterated to the nineteenth century and up to the First World War in Austro-Hungary, in several ways, one of which stands out the lack of pressure other than one related to pedagogy. For primary school of dualistic state, the ministry has not provided, despite a large number of legislative initiatives, a comprehensive teaching approach, devoid of any political pressure.

I tried to analyze the subject, according to the following levels: evolution of the history textbook, the point of wiev of the teachers from the Theological Institute in Sibiu, respectively, debates and conferences of the teachers and priests from the Orthodox Archdiocese in Transylvania.

Far from being supported only from the national point of view, History, as a discipline in the curriculum of primary school led to another jam in anyway difficult dialogue between Hungarian and Romanian elites from the dualistic state.

Keywords: School, Pedagogy, Religious School, National Education, School Legislation.

Concerning the present subject, the existing documents in the ecclesiastic archive come to bring for the Orthodox confessional school from Transylvania, a complex image, regarding its development, for the complex period of the dualistic state.Why this period? Because, especially now it become caught in the middle, in a precarious counterpoise, between the educational politics of the dualistic state and the continuance of an educational process, specific for any elementary school.The subject as such has been analyzed not only in the context given by a particulary case, that of the dualistic state, thus, in the Old Kingdom of Romania, History as a subject has reaffirmed the same amount of attention, not only as a keeper of humanity's memory, after all, but also of its own identity.(Murgescu, 1999).

The complex problem of the confessional Romanian Orthodox School has developed in a necessary tandem with the representatives of the nation's elite, which it represented. In a comparative paper, which refers to the case of the Romanians from Transylvania too, the German historian, Joachim von Puttkammer tried to answer the question, to what extent the most important ethnical minorities from Austro-Hungary, have answered to the mentioned school politics in the fight for creating: " a cultural hegemony of the Hungarian nation."(von Puttkamer, 2003:1).

The autor tried to make a comparison, regarding the way, in which they reacted to this politics: the Saxons and Romanians from Transylvania, respectively the Slovacs and the German population from Upper Hungary.The first problem, which the author approached, refered to the educational „offers" of the dualistic state and the way the nationalities formulated their own school politics.

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In the case of the Romanians from Transylvania, the relationship between: elites, churches and schools asserted and maintained as a compulsary base.The author has no doubt, that the clergy authonomy has been one of the greatest difficulties, encountered by the governmental politics, with or without allusions to the law from 1868.Anyway, this has been pleaded on articles, for their defence from the authorities, but also from the representatives of the non-Hungarian nations, since there were articles, which refered to a Hungarian nation, but to more nationalities, the term nation was ambiguous, since it was used in order to describe two different ideas.(von Puttkamer, 2003:.3).

Starting from the honorable wish to cut of illiteracy, the school politics asserted itself other standards subsequently, which it wanted fulfilled, at any price.Because this was a mass plenomenon, the author explains to himself, why, initially, the national churches were allowed to organize and support a chain of primary schools, called confessional. The practical implications of some school laws have been different, depending on the nations and the stages in which there were, from several points of view. (von Puttkamer, 2003:3).

All the above presented arguments have been considered adequate for revealing then, what Putkammer called: „the second lack of the dualistic educational system, the too powerful accent put on the nationalistic shade.The wish of forming a civic elite of the empire was obvious, but the state's implication, in everything that was bound to the primary instruction of those who were not of Hungarian ethnos, ended up with the most disastruous consequences, for the both sides.

If it remained only a state implication in the advencement of the approach methods of pedagogies, the discussions and idea's differences would have established only a material for the royal inspectors and the branch publications, but the implications have been much more profound, additionally the state wanted the intervention, but not for free.

The wisch to supervise the school masters and theachers advencement, including the Romanian and Saxon ones, from the Transylvanian area was consorted by a series of interventions in the curriculum of the primary schools, by trying to assert, for example, a certain vision upon history, a think accredited as intolerable. Also, in this context, we can mention the attempt to get over the place and role of history in primary school, by considering the Fatherland's Constitution, as being of a greater practical importance which was justified, in a certain percentage. (von Puttkamer, 2003:3).

Starting from history, it come again, also inside the primary school, to the mute recommencement of a debate, including the application of the emotional factor. History, as it has been showed before, was attractive, also because it was easy to manipulate.At the first sight, the history manuals had to align to an officialy point of view, wich lead to- in the nations'case, who remained outside the dualistic state-the presentation, of an own point of view.

At it was expected, Hungary's national history focused on the Hungarian conquest and its implications, in the absence of any political and social structure in Transylvania, asserting the privilege and historical right to be the first once here and to lead. The Transylvanian Saxons did not want from the beginning to get involved in the debate, considering that it is much more important to include their own history in the Hungarian one and the achivements of: economical, administrative and cultural kind were more important.Their official history in Transylvania began with the Andreanum diploma. (von Puttkamer, 2003:5-6).

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The mentioned author considered however that, the most difficult fling for the official history comprised in the Romanian theory of continuance.It was hence, very clear, that this theory became the endurance against the Hungarian hegemony, in the curriculum programms of the schools, but especially a strong unifying force in the political life. (von Puttkamer, 2003:7).

One of the most important questions, which can be raised, would be, at what extent was school definitive, as a means of building-up and keeping the national identity?No doubt that, between the ethnical and the elaboration process of a national identity, the school had a principal, but not determinative role.

The turning to impose Hungarian language in the all the primary schools was made also based on the manuals, such as, in an informed way, Onisifor Ghibu proved in a study dedicated to the subject. It starts, for example, in the case of Zaharia Boiu, who had to replace in his horn-book, words like: Rome and roman heroes, also in his Geography, where he has texts refering to: Moldavia,Bassarabia, Bucovina and Macedonia.The edition of this manual was forbidden. It happened the same with the History manuals: the one of Tuducescu, from 1866 or the one of Athanasie Marienescu have been replaced with the „arid history" of Meletie Drăghiciu, translated from the Hungarian and the one of Kis Aron.After 1907, the new generation of manuals were translated from the the History of Hungary, used in the state primary schools, in ordered to avoid problems, for example the manual of Dariu (VIII th edition, Brasov, 1907).

Alike, in a series of Geography manuals, for example, the one of Nicolae Pop (ed. from 1894 and 1911) we notice differences which, at a closer analysis, tell us a lot: in the edition from 1894, the inhabitans of a village, differed through nationality and confession, in the edition of 1911, the words which branched from nation could not be used anymore, but instead, we find the enunciation: „the inhabitans (of a village) will differ through language and confession, the only acknowledged political nation is the Hungarian one, regardlles the nationality and religion".

Especially the manuals concerning the Fatherland's Constitution where practically „ an architecture creation" based on the most uncompromising idea of Hungarian state.For example, in 1899, dr. Dengi, appreciated the Constitution manual of Vasile Goldiş, especially because „this edition is much more patriotic then the one from 1894, where the Romanians figure as special citizens", alike in Iosif Marian's History, for Greek-Catholic schools, publisched in Blaj, in 1910.(Ghibu,1915 :51, 56-59).

By far, the most interesting study on this theme has been set by Ioan Lupaş and represented an amalgamation of the didactic principles of teaching history, with the pedagogical ones altogether. The discussion fundament has been exactly Hungary's history, which was tought acording to the curriculum from 1879, following the historical national principle (the country's foundation-Atilla and Arpad, the introduction of Christianity and the national state's organization-St. Stephan and St. Ladislau, the Tartars'Invasion-after Carmen Miserabile by Rogerius, the Angevins- after Toldy epopee by Arany, the national fights-Huniade, Ràckozi, the establishment of the national state- Szècheny, Kossuth, the speches of Francisc Deák).At the end, Lupaş demand a manual of Romanian Language, elaborated on this principle, a request most unlikely being taken into account. (Vatra Şcolară, I, 1907:300-302).

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Also in the articles in "Vatra Şcolară", the necessity of organizing a series of ethnographical museums no matter how modest, has been underlined, because they were, beside a cultural factor with an unexploited potential, also "the most wonderful nationalism school". (Vatra Şcolară, VI, 1913:41:67:82).

In many conferences of the Consistory from Sibiu and in circular letters of the metropolitan Ioan Meţianu it was given heed also to didactical materials, alike necessary to the school, concerning History and Geography, a school need Hungary's map, the ones of Austro-Hungary, Europe, the village and the county. The protopopes had to keep an eye in their canonical visits also on the school's inventory.(The Archdiocese of Sibiu Archive-A.A.Sibiu,IV, 4850 from 1899).

From the year of the enforcement of law 28 from 1907, in the year 1910, the fight for confessional schools is lead, starting with the manuals.It was asked for the usage of authorized ones. (circular letter nr. 12 804), from the list on wich were also manuals for History and Fatherland's Constitution, Iuliu Vuia- About Hungary's History (Arad, 1910) and Ioan Popovici, Knowledge about the Fatherland's Constitution (Sibiu, 1909).

In regarding with the articles 17-20 from the law 27 from 1907, some ministerial decrees created confusion, because a lot of school masters have been urged by the inspectors to misconstrue this articles, according to which, some disciplines, such as : History, Arithmetics, Geography and the Fatherland's Constitution are thought in the Hungarian language. In fact, the article 17 was refering to quality and not to quantity and at the Hungarian classes « short abridgments of the tought disciplines were made ».

In these years, although the Consistory had appeciated the argumentations and the great number of dissertations and practical lessons, inside of the school conferences, the work was : «lacking in proportions », so he demands a more sure orientation on the vast domain of Pedagogies » and also asserted into discussion special themes, for example in 1905, the theme : Educational importance of the local legends and local historical traditions (every school masters will gather all the legends and local traditional customs from the village). (A.A.S.,12804: 1910).

The didactical materials such as maps and globes, which were not elaborated with the approval of the ones qualifed in this respect, were forbidden, this is what happened with the ones of German descendance from the confessional schools from Sibiu County, or the map displayed in Bucharest, on the occasion of the exhibition from 1906, although it descended from Viena, was forbidden in the Gymnasium from Brad and Brasov.(A.A.Sibiu, 3:1906).

History as a subject has been included also in the assessments for obtaining the school master diploma.Especially, after 1907,the exam was held with the participation of the royal inspector, regarding the graphical exam, beside the Romanian language, also a paper in the Hungarian' language was elaborated, regarding the literature or history of the Fatherland, in order to prove the fact, that the respective candidate dominates also the state's official language.The oral exam was kept in 19 disciplines, among them:Religion, Hungarian Language, Romanian language and literature,Universal and Fatherland's History and of course Fatherland's Constitution.(A.A.Sibiu,5723:1914).

Through the circular letter nr. 5481 from 1914, detailed the fact that from 1913, acording to the articol law nr. 37, it has been assessed that a special graduation exam to grant

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the right to vote. The exam followed 5 points and one of them was: „The icon" about the Fatherland's land.(A.A.Sibiu, 1:1914.)

As a matter of fact, with the enforcement of the law 27 from 1907, the Ministry eventually tolerated knowingly, that the inspectors should have a growing influence and power, especially in the confessional schools supported by the state, put them in an advantageous situation, after there was actuated a real course in order to obtain as many patriotical schools as possible.Because of the created situation, in the conference nr. 49 from 23 december 1910, the metropolitan Ioan Metianu suggests, that the assessor Lazar Triteanu should be sent to the Ministry, in order to clear up some law articles. The reason has been given especially by a circular letter of the royal inspector, who asked the school masters from Cetatea-de-Piatra archpriestship to teach: Arithmetics, Geography and Fatherland's Constitution in the Hungarian language, although no law article stipulated such a thing. (A.A.Sibiu, 1:1910).

About History's role it has been talked a lot also in the casement of the school conferences.Dr. Csernatony Gyula participated at the XV th circle conference (Mures, Osorhei and Reghin), beside the high county officer Pasko Zoltan and the tax notary Samu Josza, being interested in the practical History lesson-*The Hungarians settling*.The school masters'comments have been that, the one who graunded the theme should have told „thruth about Gelu".The school masters who participated at the school conference from the mentioned circle, concerning the curriculum, considered a commision to review the school manuals was necessary.

The school circle from Zarand showed that, concerning the History manuals, these are important in any confessional school, being the first ones requested, when the state inspector was present. As an official manual it recommended the Fatherland's History by Vasile Goldis.In the practical History lesson, compulsory beside:Romanian, Hungarian, Arithmetics and Natural History, the participants would have wanted it, to be talked not only about Dragos, but more about the Romanians from Bucovina and Maramures.

All the same, the practical history lessons remain caught in a limited topic, are not assorted as a thematics, they prefer processing some singular subjects, only in terms of „the land's masters", exactly in order to avoid the charge of agitators, made by the cvasipermanents inspectors at the conferences'studies. (A.A.Sibiu, IV, 40:1907).

At similar ideas also came the school masters of circle X (Abrud and Campeni), where mentions are still made, regarding the generality of history themes, at the VI th class. (A.A.Sibiu, IV:4907).

In the 11 nd circle (Agnita and Fagaras) the school masters programme included an ambitious project, the outlining of an ethnical profile of the Romanian people, starting from the study of the Romanian customs. It had to be included everything that was connected with: tales, folk poems, ancestry love and fatherland's love. (A.A.Sibiu, IV :8253).

History and Hungarian language which became an argument object even before the enforcement of the law 27 from 1907 have brought about discussions between the state inspector and the school master Iancu Dragota from the archpriestship Agnita, regarding his point of view, that History should be taught in multiple, in the Hungarian and in the Romanian language. (A.A.Sibiu, IV :13778).

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Dr. Onisifor Ghibu, present at the Fagaras archpriestship's conference had hence the possibility to bring forward the school laws of Apponyi in a simplified manner and to emphasize upon the fact, that only the manuals approved by the Consistory can be used in the confessional schools, regardless if these were supported by the state or not, and asked the schools masters to gather all the Romanian national ballads and their local variants. (A.A.Sibiu, IV, 12115 :1910). In the archpriestship of Trei-Scaune, he established for the school masters a work plan, including also the following point: every school master would compile the village's historic, including the traditions of the respective village, aside a geographical draft of this. (A.A. Sibiu, IV, 4960:1914).

In the Sibiu's archpriestship in the year 1912, at the History practical lesson, some themes could not elude the Romanians, the example of the lesson, *The Fatherland before the ocupation* is given, underlining the fact, that, far from being fearsome, the school master should have told, at the respective practical lesson- also something about the Romanian ancestry's beginning especially, because the notions of local and central administration were little known. An unexpected result has been obtained in Geography, where the pupils do not know to target on the map, the fact, that no notions of town's history are tought, absolutely necessary, led to the fact, that the pupils knew more things about Budapest than about Sibiu, for them the monument build in Rasinari, in Saguna's memory means just the immage of « Jesus on a stone ».(A.A.Sibiu, IV,1912).

We bring forward the point of view and especially the modality, by wich a series of manual authors understood to defer the curriculum of the Orthodox Church but also the official one, from the schools in the scope of Appony's laws. Hence, in the Church History manual's foreward, Ilarion Puscariu affirmed in 1919, at the V th edition of the manual, which as it has been mentioned, was many times forbidden, that he feels in 1919 entirely different, then before: "when, under the Hungarian kingship, there were Argus eyes intented on the Romanian books, which acted as school manuals, so that lest something against the Hungarian state should edge in them". What annoyed in his manual, was the reference to the Romanians age and the Christianization of the Hungarian people. (Puşcariu, 1919: 1).

Nicolau Pop, author of a History manual from 1875, teacher at the Gymnasium from Brasov does not refute the fame of the teaching staff at this gymnasium, the good professional training, but also the pertinacious attitude, from the point of view of the autorities. Some of his enunciation have not found their place in the History manuals after 1907: the Romanians were the most inveterated in Transylvania, the Romanization of Dacia province in 169 years has been possible, the matrimonial alliances of some Hungarian's princes in the conquest of Transylvania were important, Negru prince settling in Walachia took place and in a diploma from king Andrei the III rd, a Romanian nobility is mentioned, even in the diet.(Pop, 1875:1-14)..

Among the historical figures emerge also Romanian rulers, who interfered with Transylvania: Mircea, Vlad the Devil, Vlad the Impaler and Mihai the hero, "who elevated the Roman name".(Pop, 1875:15-27).

The coming of the Habsburgic dynasty and especially Maria Terezia's and Iosif the II nd's kingship allowed the Romanians for the first time to ask for political rights; but the received answer was: " they should be contented that the Romanian nobility is rated equally with the Hungarian one and the Romanian landmen with the Hungarian ones".

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From the reign of Iosif the II nd is mentioned only "the frightening rebellion of the Romanians". Leopold the II nd kingships offered to the Romanians the chance of asking in the diet, again, of equal rights with those of the other nations, but also confessional freedom, the received answer being negative, but the situation became drawn with the revolution of 1848 and the organization of the second conference from Blaj.The last chapter of the manual answers trenchantly the short but full of promises period from the liberalism, when the Romanian nation and its confessions were officially acknowledged, followed by Transylvanian's association with Hungary, decided in Cluj in 1865 and with emperor Francisc-Iosif' s also coronation a as a king of Hungary in 08 06 1867.(Pop, 1875:31-39).

Having a more diversified structure, the History manual of professor Ioan Moldovanu from the Gymnasium in Blaj, presented Transylvania's history in 8 periods, but its begin with some geography lessons, able to give the pupil a better assignation of history knowledge. The first period stops in the year 105 and the author, upholder of the theory of the Dacians disappearance after the wars with Trajan, concludes that a large number of colonists from Rome and Italy repopulated Dacia. The second period in the history of Transylvania end with the Aurelian retreat when, for the author, few colonists left from what became their country.

The first of the difficult periods was the one of Transylvania during the barbarian course, when, for 500 years, they endured the attaks coming from the unsedentary. Among them, the Hungarians are considered to be related to the Huns. Beginning with the start of the IV th period, 797-1002, we enter the Hungarian conquest of Transylvania, through direct fights but also through matrimonial alliances.The first important king of Hungary, Stephen the Holy brings power to the new feudalistic state also by Transylvania 's inclusion. From Romanian feudalistic state, there are mentioned: Vlad, the prince of Romania, the famous Ioan Huniade and Mihai, the hero, "who had the sadest ending of the Romanians born in Dacia's land".

From the period from 1002 to 1699, the Romanians are not in a favorable situation, especially after the nobility is considered Hungarian regarding the confession.(Moldovan, 1875:20-57).A great gain has been noticed only in the period which referes to the last two, the VII th (1699-1848) and the last one, the VIII th period (beginning with the 1848), the raising of the two Romanians Churches, the development of a school chain, the struggle for sustaining the Romanian language, the concernment to the revolution from 1848 in the name of a political programme, sustained by an elite. (Moldovan, 1875: 74-90).

The authors of the above mentioned manuals defered from the syllabus, but in the future, after law nr.27, in order to please the authorities, History manuals were, in many cases translated from the Hungarian one, from the manual of Kis Aron, for example.

A special case has been availed by the manuals, which to some extent doubled the History manual, the one of Fatherland's Constitution.We have 3 manuals framed up by: Vasile Goldis (1905) and Ioan Popovici, with 2 editions (1902 and 1915).

In the first one, the author mentions in the forword the fact that we have a new edition of this, much improved and which aimes at being just a good manual, practical for the pupils and also for the teachers, every chapter title and important notions are also translated in Hungarian language. The only mentioning of Transylvania is in the account of the Hungarian Crowns Countries: "Own Hungary, meaning here also earlier Transylvania, which in the year 1848 entirely fused in Hungary".(Goldiş,1905:16-17).

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Another author, Ioan Popovici has been one of the most often mentioned authors for manuals, of what we currently called the Fatherland's Constitution. In the edition from 1902, he makes quite consistent allusions to the Romanian nation, Transylvania is mentioned as an integrating, but special part of Hungary aside:Croatia, Slovenia and the town of Fiume. Among the members of right of the Magnats House, we retrieve the metropolitans and bishops of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic confession, but maybe the most important are the references to the legislations, which handled, theoretically the problem of the nationalities from the Hungarian part of the empire: the Hungarians, the Romanians, the Germans, the Slovaks, Serbs, Croats. According to the law nr.44 from 1868, in all schools, the Hungarian language must be also tought, but the state must be on the watch that: "the citizens'education should be done in the language of the citizens in the popular and more elevated" and if in the cities, 1/5 from the public board required another language, furthermore, the political communes establisches the correspondences language. (Popovici, 1902:7-30).

In another edition of the manual, from 1915, Ioan Popovici specifies just the fact, that the manual, being at the IV th edition has been drawn up in according with the curriculum edited by the Ministry of Public Instruction from 1905. At the inculpative chapter, no more reference to Transylvania, nationalities, the law of nationalities or the Romanians is made, it is just mentioned:"Our state is called Hungary, we are citizens of Hungary…".(Popovici,1915:7-8).

The main idea of this paper consisted in the debate concerning the finality of the educational act in the Hungarian area of the dualistic state: education or patriotical education? It has been very clear, that beginning with the dualistic state's setting up, the school legislation could not establish an imperative balance between the national objectives and the ones of strict speciality. Thus, the political and cultural Hungarian elite choosed to relate exclusively to the affirmance and development of one culture, the Hungarian one.

At the level of the primary schools curriculum, the History and the manual of Knowledge from the Fatherland's Constitution have been the most vulnerable and it was obvious that, so as we noticed from the debates of the school conferences, most of the times, these were taken in sight, because they had to fit with a certain image of the political reconfiguration of the Habsburg empire, after 1867.

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