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***AARON FLORIAN (1805-1887)
BETWEEN ENLIGHTENMENT AND ROMANTICISM***

**DOCTORAL THESIS
(Abstract)**

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Key words: reforming enlightenment, romantic nationalism, school and society, identity awareness, democratic liberalism, cultural activity.

INTRODUCTION

The five main sections of this work, at their turn divided into many subchapters, are organized following the analysis sequence context - text – subtext, chosen at the proposal of the scientific coordinator of this doctoral thesis, professor Ph. D. Iacob Mârza. In this way, the paper has in view the reconstruction of the general frame, ideological and cultural on the one hand, European and national on the other hand, which helped to Aaron Florian's formation; the paper also studies and analyzes his main achievements in different directions; at the same time, the paper aims at underlining the impact and the influence of his personality in the period, as well as the views and ideas which stirred up his intellectual activity.

Due to the field of interest in which this paper is included I will definitely lay the stress on his accomplishments in the field of historiography. Although these ones are not very numerous, they are very important for the preoccupations and research done by the 1848 Romanian scholars interested in the study of the past. However, I will not lay aside his fulfilments in the field of didactics and journalism, more than that I try to establish connections between different areas of research which were of interest for Aaron Florian.

The final aim is to draw up a "case study" which should reveal the moral and intellectual profile of a Romanian scholar living at the middle of the 19th century, his fields of interest, the way in which he interacted with different national intellectual and political environments, at their turn interested in finding new ways of achieving and promoting the national desires.

ROMANTICISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

At the beginning I presented some of the most known theories in the field of historiography and political science which make clear the moment and circumstances in which the modern concept of nation was born in Europe. Among those who greatly

contributed to his field we can mention the following: the philosopher and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner, the historian Benedict Anderson, the Marxist researcher of the past Eric Hobsbawm, the historian and political scientist Guy Hermet, the sociologist Anne-Marie Thiesse, as well as Anthony D. Smith, one of the most well-known experts in the issues of nationalism and ethnocentrism.

A subchapter was reserved to Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), whose ideas regarding the national community seen as an ethnic, cultural and linguistic unity, will have a great influence on many European romanticists which include the Romanian scholars belonging to this movement.

The introductory chapter also aims at summarizing the way in which the preoccupations characterizing the Romantic period, namely those of defining the concept of national identity, are reflected in the historical works of the intellectuals who geographically, culturally and politically belong to Eastern Europe in general and to Romania in special. The historians coming from the Eastern half of the continent, representatives of nations not having independent states (the Polish, the Czech, the Hungarians, the Serbians, the Bulgarians, the Greeks and the Romanians) were situated in the van of revolutionary movements, their arguments managed to impose the idea of nation with powerful origins in the past, they also manage to give this idea a powerful symbolic significance, proving and claiming at the same time their own ethnic communities' need for unity and political independence. Due to a concurrence of cultural, historical and geographical factors, the German version of the romantic nationalism, mainly relying on Herder's ideas and concepts, became a real standard for the nationalisms in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe and deeply influenced the research studies on the past written in these areas during the first half of the 19th century. Just like the German historians, the Romanian ones were preoccupied with proving the linguistic and cultural unity, as well as the one regarding the historical destiny of their co-nationals separated along the time by more or less artificial boundaries.

The historiographical phenomenon of the Romanian 1848 period can be fully understood only by taking into account its roots which are to be found in the Enlightenment, a previous movement in Romanian culture. The most important element of continuity is represented by the mutual propensity for asserting the national idea, an

interest anticipated by the representatives of the Enlightenment and finished by the ones of the Romanticism.

Nevertheless, the importance of the rationalist concepts which continues to stimulate national ideology even after 1821 must not be underrated, the Romanian political movement has a powerful tendency of synchronizing in a larger European context. The Romanian intellectuals belonging to the first romantic generation in the Romanian culture managed to integrate with the spirit of the period, as their objectives closely resembled the ones of other researchers in Central and South - Eastern Europe, especially of those interested in defining their own ethnic communities, for whom they tried to reconstruct a rich and glorious past.

The first chapter ends with some considerations on the public training system developed in Wallachia during the Organic Regulations period, the area in which many of the representative scholars of the Romanian Principalities performed their activities. Many of them, among whom Aaron Florian, had their origins in the Romanian provinces belonging to the Habsburg Empire. All of them will try to lay the foundations of a national education with stress on the most important elements of identity such as: literature (cultivated and popular), a unified grammar of language, national history or geography. According to the 1848 thinkers, if one wanted to become a good patriot, the latter had to know and respect the great achievements of the national past, which could increase the person's involvement in influencing the positive evolution of the nation's future.

AARON FLORIAN: HISTORIOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCE POINTS

The first part of the second chapter aims at making a short chronological inventory of the most important contributions which have been brought along the time from different directions and which could help to a better knowledge of personality which is the subject of our thesis. From the very beginning we can notice that the number of exegesis focused on the activities performed by Aaron Florian was quite reduced, many of the researchers who preoccupied by this personality were authors of articles which revealed either the biographical side (Nicolae Iorga, Victor Popa, Mihail Regleanu, Nicolae Albu), or his achievements in different fields: history (Pompiliu Teodor, Vasile

Cristian), school training (Paul Grigoriu) journalism (D. Șt. Petruțiu, Gheorghe Bulgăr, Nicolae Isar, Vasile Netea). There has not been written any paper so far to make a detailed and overall approach of the Transylvanian scholar's activity and fulfillments.

Born in 1805, in the family of an Orthodox priest from the village of Rod, situated near Sibiu, Aaron Florian spent the most part of his life in Wallachia, which was a common thing for many Transylvanians who could not make a career in their own province because the latter was under a foreign rule. The biographical and bibliographical presentation, structured on four stages successively focuses on: the cultural and didactical achievements during the period before 1848; the activities performed during the 1848 Revolution; the period of the exile in Sibiu and then in Vienna, the final part refers to the last years of activity, which are less documented. I consider that the biographical account is very important for a better understanding of the stages which the professor of general history at Sfântul Sava followed during his complicated process of full intellectual development and self-assertion.

In this exposure the stress was laid on the decades preceding the 1848 Revolution, as well as on the period during its development, which represented the years of the maximum cultural and political involvement, when the main achievements of his didactic, historical and journalistic performance were made. This is the period when he builds up a sound career in the field of Wallachian public education, this is also the period in which most of his books, both historical and didactic, were published, at the same time during this time he coordinates the editing of the publications *Muzeu național* and *România*; drawing close to the society of those who prepared the starting of the Revolution.

Although he was the beneficiary of a sound professional and social position and although he was older than most of the participants at the 1848 events, Florian did not hesitate to endanger his future and that of his family getting involved in revolutionary activities both in Wallachia and in his native province, Transylvania.

As a result of the fact that the Revolution in Wallachia was defeated, he had to live in exile for a period of time, first in Sibiu, then in the capital of the Habsburg empire. During this period he was confronted with great material difficulties and, in different ways, he tried to obtain the acceptance of the authorities from Bucharest to resettle there.

After his arrival in Wallachia the degree of his political and cultural involvement will be reduced in comparison with the one during the previous years. The main contribution during the last part of his professional career remains the effort made as a member of many committees which tried to modernize Romanian school and culture around the Union of the Principalities in 1859, at which we may add the short period of time served at the "critical and world history" Chair from the newly founded University in Bucharest.

Without claiming to have minutely reconstructed the entire career of the history teacher from Sf. Sava, this chapter tried to refer to significant moments and events in Aaron Florian's life. The aim of the chapter was to corroborate biographical information coming from many sources so as to eliminate errors and mistakes. In spite of all the efforts I made I have not managed to clear up all unknown aspects in the Transylvanian scholar's existence. The difficulties I encountered were related to the approach of less documented episodes such as: the university studies in Pesta; the exile period in Vienna from 1853-1856; the involvement in the process of the Union of the Principalities in 1859, or the last stage of his life when he lived isolated and away from every public activity.

AARON FLORIAN BETWEEN ENLIGHTENMENT AND ROMANTICISM; EUROPEAN INFLUENCES AND NATIONAL REALITIES

The following chapter of the paper includes a series of hypotheses regarding the probable European or national directions from where the ideas and concepts that could influence the political and historical discourse practiced by Aaron Florian around the 1848 Revolution could come. His origins were in Transylvania, but he lived most part of his life in Wallachia, he accomplished his intellectual development in the transition period from rationalist Enlightenment to the nationalist Romantic, thus he was subject to different and multiple. The German influences which prevailed during his studies in Sibiu, Blaj and Pesta do not exclude the impact of Enlightenment ideas and those of the French pre-romantic period, widely circulated in Wallachia, the place where Florian will build up a successful didactic career.

During the time spent in Pesta the history teacher to be must have got in touch with the community of Transylvanian students, whose spirit was embodied by Petru

Maiorescu's personality, the last master mind and representative of the movement Școala Ardelenă, who had been proof reader of Romanian books issued at the Buda University Publishing House, from 1809-1821. His work entitled *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dacia*, published in 1812 at the same publishing house had a great echo among the 19th century Romanian scholars, exerting a great influence on Aaron Florian's first preoccupations of Romanian history.

Patria, patriotul și patriotismul, was at the same time his most modern and defining work, both as regards the degree of political maturity reached by the history teacher from Sf. Sava around the 1848 Revolution and due to the fact that it provides various information about his interests in reading and his European intellectual horizon.

One of the first things we can notice is the heterogeneity of the sources quoted, beside the ancient classics there are quoted rationalist, baroque, democrat liberal authors or those that can be included in the conservative romanticism, such as the Swiss authors who wrote in German Johann Müller and Karl Ludwig von Haller. Florian might have known many of these authors from foreign media, especially the French and German ones from which he translated articles for the publications he edited. Some of the writers he resorted to are little known in the cultural space of the Principalities, some others are not known at all, such as: counts of Ségur and of Tilly, Ludwig von Haller and John Owen. Two of them are unknown for today's researchers; as Florian used his own transcription for their names I was not able to identify who "the historian Vevel" or "count Șmetov" were. In *Patria, patriotul și patriotismul* the author has the merit of processing and integrating concepts and ideas coming from a large variety of directions, yet, his contributions and interpretations are not less important. Along his existence, the scholar whose origins were in the county of Sibiu had contacts and cooperated with many of the personalities who were representative during his time, I believe that the most important ones were Dinicu Golescu and Ion Heliade Rădulescu. They had a spiritual and material influence on him since the Transylvanian teacher and journalist had started his career in Wallachia. Golescu's belief, representative for the Enlightenment, in the unlimited possibilities of education, seen as the main way of increasing a country's standard of development, came to back up Florian's similar views that had already been laid while he lived in Transylvania. Heliade Rădulescu, the real leader of the active

generation in the Romanian culture during the years 30s of the 19th century, was the one who guided Florian`s beginning in his Wallachian career in journalism. From him Florian borrowed a certain courage and full of initiative spirit which characterized many of the activities performed by him during the Organic Regulation period.

During the decades preceding the year 1848, when Aaron Florian`s personality was finally outlined we can successively and simultaneously include the Transylvanian scholar, in three groups of cultural and ideological active members who performed their activity in that period. First of all, as shown before, he belongs to the Transylvanian emigrant scholars, who, in search for better conditions that could help their social and professional assertion, crossed the mountains to Wallachia and Moldavia where they would promote an education system based on national values. However, Florian can also be included in the category of Wallachian representatives of the Enlightenment that advocate moderate reformation, then, at least as regards ideological theories, he closely draws near the group of young representatives of Romanticism who prepared the future revolution. During the 1848 events, most of those that were still representing the so-called Enlightenment generation had a moderate involvement, or even refused their involvement, while Florian played an active role both together with Wallachian revolutionaries and together with the Transylvanian ones.

ASPECTS OF HISTORICAL DISCOURSE

The fourth section of the thesis aims at pointing out his historiographical view, the sources used, the way in which he plans to use history as a support for setting up and spreading national feelings among larger categories of population having a minimum degree of education. As compared with many other contemporary or posterior authors Aaron Florian`s historical work has quite few achievements, yet it had a great echo in the period: *Idee repede de istoria Prințipatului Țării Rumânești* (1835-1838) the paper was projected in eight volumes out of which the first three were published; *Manualul de istoria Prințipatului Românei* (1839) in which he managed to include entirely Wallachia`s past; *Mihaiu II Bravulu, biografia și caracteristica lui* (1858), which represents a re-edited, revised and enlarged version of the volume which starts his career and which is dedicated to the Wallachian ruler.

One of the last significant achievements of the Transylvanian teacher who moved to Wallachia is the lecture held at Sf. Sava College near 1859, discovered and published by Nicolae Iorga.

Florian's ideas about historical writing can be identified in the 1837 speech delivered on the occasion of the ceremony organized by Sf. Sava College at the end of the year, from his correspondence with different people he knew, from the articles that he had published along the time, yet many of these are difficult to identify as they are not signed by the author.

At the beginning of the chapter I tried to point out the sources used by Aaron Florian in writing the volumes about Romanian history. In this context I issued some assumptions on the relationships established in his books between direct sources (old medieval documents) and the indirect ones (works written by other foreign or national historians).

Although Florian did not hesitate to use as sources many volumes written by Romanian or foreign authors, more or less contemporary with him, his two books about Wallachia's past cannot be included in the category of compilation, as it is the case of manuals written in different times. His books comprise his own work of documentation, but they also rely on the difficult efforts of interpretation and synthesis, Florian makes thus the first compendiums of Romanian history written on didactic purposes. The benefits of his long professional career as history teacher, activity relying on a certain degree on his own research work will give their final results during the last part of his career, when the lectures of Romanian history held at Sf. Sava College, or at the newly founded University of Bucharest manage to make a coherent and well-documented synthesis of the Romanians' past and to analyze different sources from a critical perspective.

In my opinion the study regarding Aaron Florian's point of view on the national ideal can be approached from three points of view. This ideal which relies on mutual history and ethnical inheritance, promoted during the first half of the 19th century by most of the East-European intellectuals, is combined and completed by Florian with a linguistic and cultural nationalism inspired by the Transylvanian Enlightenment. It is also enriched by that type of political and active nationalism that characterized the participants

at the 1848 European revolutions. In the three special sections of this chapter I will try to point out all these concepts of his national construct.

One of the conclusions that many historical researchers who have studied Florian's work along the time came to is the fact that the latter belonged to that group of intellectuals interested in history who, during the first half of the 19th century set up the formation of national identity in the mentality of different social categories. During this process the common past, noble and brave at the same time, was supposed to provide the new ideological construction with numerous defining elements. Thus, the Transylvanian scholar becomes a co-participant in the early stage of drawing up that historical mythology which had to ensure the necessary frame in the development of the Romantic idea of nation. Almost every myth that has circulated in the national historiography along the time can be identified in his writings: the noble character of the Roman origin; the continuity and awareness of unity; the fundamental Christianity; the victimization because of the others' permanent aggression; the heroism and bravery proved in the struggle for independence. Florian is first of all a history teacher, thus he is more interested in the educative possibilities of this discipline and less interested in the specific scientific research. He is not an innovator, most of his ideas regarding the importance of history are not new in the Romanian cultural space, what is remarkable is the role played by him in imposing the study of past in schools and out of schools. Many episodes from Romanians' history in general and from Wallachia's history in particular are interpreted from the perspective of national unity ideal, the focus being on pointing out the common and major priorities of the Romanians in all geographical and historical areas where they lived. By outlining the linguistic and ethnic similarities he suggested the possibility and necessity of making the political union of the Romanian nation.

Aaron Florian, just as other 1848 generation scholars interested in history presents the objective of a possible union of the Romanians in close connection with the one of independence, as the relationship that establishes between the two of them is indissoluble. This context explains why, at the middle of the 19th century, Mihai Viteazul is the embodiments of the two ideals mentioned above and the pages written by the Transylvanian scholar had a lot to do with the construction of this image.

By all his activities, whether they are connected or not with the field of historiography Aaron Florian greatly contributed to the construction and spreading of a cultural heritage, a requirement which is considered by representatives of the Romanticism as absolutely necessary in the existence of a national conscience within all members of an ethnical community. At the same time he wanted to build the Romanian culture on the strong foundation of the historical past, by trying to reconstruct and to follow the former's stages of development along the years. In his historical writings as Wallachia's subordination toward the Ottoman Empire increases and the times of the conflicts by the Turks begin to disappear, Florian moves his attention from the ruler's military achievements to the cultural ones.

Although the Christian - Orthodox spirituality plays an important role in the Romanian ethnical profile outlined by the Transylvanian scholar, the national interest is considered as being always higher to a religious -type solidarity. The history teacher from Sf. Sava College was also involved in many associations which advocate the union of all Romanians in one state. One of the main aims of these associations which were active both before and after the 1848 Revolution, was to stimulate a written national culture based on the development of the Romanian literary language, these two elements representing important parts of the frame which was necessary for a full national assertion. Aaron Florian was continuously interested in the ways of approaching national, patriotical and civic education, his concepts in this field had been subject to a process of gradual evolution and modernization.

In 1834 he began his career with a small didactic volume entitled *Catihismul omului creștin, moral și soțial*, the ideas circulated here were to a large extent in accordance with the ones of the princes of the Romanian Principalities who reigned at the time of The Organic Regulations. The latter were known as advocating moderate reformation while trying to obtain an unconditioned loyalty from their subject. Almost ten year later Florian printed *Patria, patriotul și patriotismul*, a guide of civic education in the most modern meaning of the word at that time and it presented important liberal and democratic political notions which began to impose themselves within Romanian cultural and political society.

We cannot leave aside the stimulative role which Florian's lectures and manuals had upon successive generations of students, many of whom became active participants at the 1848 Revolution. Along his didactic career he had remained a continuous supporter of the idea that the good and real patriots are only the persons that possess sound intellectual knowledge and are able to assume devotion for their native country in a rational and aware way. At the end of the longest part of this thesis I try to establish which was the degree of spreading and of impact which Florian's books had during that period. The subscription lists for *Idee repede* show that besides the Wallachian teaching staff, his readers were members of the highest categories of society (boyards and important persons in the hierarchy of the church) as well as representatives of Romanian town middle class in the making that began to show its openness to national culture and history. Most of the researchers that studied his texts admit the fact that the ideas and concepts previously initiated and circulated by Florian can be subsequently found at Mihail Kogălniceanu and Nicolae Bălcescu, the two overpass Florian by the scientific performance and profound ideas. The Transylvanian scholar has the advantage in many cases of theoretization, especially in case of the argumentation regarding the need for studying national history he forestalls Kogălniceanu, having a certain influence on the latter, admitted by Kogălniceanu himself who quoted Florian in his famous *Cuvânt de deschidere de la Academia Mihăileană*. The popularization made by Florian to the first ruler that united the Romanian provinces had an impact on the author of the book *Românii supt Mihai Voevod Viteazul*, the ascendancy which the Transylvanian scholar had on Bălcescu was not enough outlined and studied in the history of Romanian historiography. The fact that Nicolae Bălcescu knew the pages dedicated by Florian to the Wallachian prince seems quite clear, although Bălcescu does mention in his reference list the volumes published Florian. The idea of presenting Mihai as a symbol of national unity launched by the Transylvanian scholar was enriched by a more profound interpretation by Bălcescu in his more known work on the Wallachian ruler. As a conclusion Bălcescu și Kogălniceanu can not be considered as pioneers, they enrich orientations and directions which had already begun to outline in Romanian historiography before 1848 moment.

As I tried to point out in this thesis one cannot leave aside Aaron Florian`s contribution in setting up these tendencies. The efforts made by the researchers interested in the study of the past, among whom the world history teacher from Sf. Sava College, contributed to the perception of national history as one of the reliable sources from which to draw out a heritage of values, ideals and objectives whose aim is to grant common identity (ethnical, cultural, political) to all Romanians living on the area previously occupied by the Dacians.

FROM NATIONAL TO UNIVERSAL

Besides the large variety of courses taught along the time (catechism, geography, biblical history, writing practice, rhetoric or statistics) most of them with temporary character, teaching world history courses represented the most consistent work done along Aaron Florian`s long and prolific didactic career. In 1845 the result of his rich experience in the field was the publication of the book entitled *Elemente de istoria lumi* at the publishing house of Sf. Sava College.

The Preface of this manual represents a relevant text regarding the author`s knowledge of historical science theory and regarding his preoccupations of being acquainted with the progress made by the European historiography of his times. Florian defines here the most known auxiliary sciences: genealogy, heraldry, numismatics, epigraphy, diplomacy, sigillography and history of journeys. He also enumerates the main methods of presenting history: geographical, ethnographical, synchronical, pragmatic, chronological and political, one of these ways of exposing ideas are even experimented in the content of his manual. As regards its organization, we may mention a more logical and modern structure than the previous didactic manuals on world history, the book manages to fit some of the contemporary requirements regarding the arrangement of a content having explicitly instructive and educative purposes. Thus, the author aims at respecting the relationship between history as science and history as discipline, having in view the selection of those data, facts and events that have an important significance in understanding the phenomena of Romanian society evolution, without any focus on useless details and with maintaining the logic and fluency of the presentation.

In comparison with his previous books on Wallachian history, which bear a deeper influence of the Romantic idea of nation, his book entitled *Elemente de istoria lumii* seems closer to 18th century rationalism, these influences represent the result of the sources used in writing it. Thus, in defining world history as discipline, the author outlines the Enlightenment notion of multi-layered progressive development of the world and of human society. In the spirit of the rationalist view on history Aaron Florian believes that a nation cannot become really civilized until it adopts a legislative system, developing at the same time its arts and sciences.

In *Elemente de istoria lumii* the author tried to integrate national history into world history approaching the origin of the Romanians and of the Romanian language in the context of the formation of other Romance nations or by outlining the natives' struggle to prevent the Ottoman's penetration towards the Western part of the continent. At the same time he speaks about the civilizing influence on his conationals which more politically and culturally advanced European countries, no matter their proximity, had had along the time. Just like for many of his contemporaries, Western Europe represents for Florian a high reference point of civilization, a place from where the best influences come.

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL INVOLVEMENT IN JOURNALISM

Although this paper mainly focuses on the activities accomplished as teacher and historian, one cannot draw up Aaron Florian's portrait without referring to his achievements in journalism, this is why the last chapter is especially conceived to outline his results in this field. Performed mainly before 1848, his career as journalist reached its climax between the years 1836-1838, when the main journals he contributed to were published: *Muzeu național* and *România*. In accordance with the tendencies and orientations of the epoch, Florian's journals tried to respond to general informative needs on the one hand, and to impose new development trends. The latter were considered as necessary for the modernization of Romanian society by the Romanian intellectuals before 1848 moment in general and by the teaching staff from Sf. Sava College in particular. Just like most of the intellectuals of his epoch the Transylvanian scholar was stimulated by the ideal of synchronizing the Romanian space with the more advanced Western one. An essential requirement in achieving this process was to immediately

inform Romanians about the progresses made in Western Europe in the field of culture and of science, the written press being the easiest way of getting informed. A consistent feature of the journalism practiced by Aaron Florian was the attention given to education, a preoccupation encountered in almost all publications he participated to, this can be easily explained if we take into account his long and prolific didactic effort on the one hand and the interest granted to school by the Romanian society before the year 1848. As he promoted the ideal of national unity in the Wallachian cultural space, by means of his weekly newspaper *Muzeul Național* and of his daily one *România*, Aaron Florian wanted to provide various information on the Romanian's life from the entire Romanian area.

The historian also participated actively at the periodical publications edited by George Barițiu and he also had an important role in printing the first issues of *Telegraful român* in Sibiu, a newspaper founded under Andrei Șaguna's protection in 1853. His most interesting material published here seems the article „Ce s-a scris și s-a tipărit pentru poporul român? Și cum s-a scris și s-a tipărit”, a real achievement of our written work, Florian trying to draw up possible future trends in the development of national language and literature. The fact that we obtained a better paid job at *Foaia legilor imperiale* which was published in Vienna would stop his short cooperation period with the publication from Sibiu, yet there remains his merit of having contributed to the coming into being of the publication with the longest uninterrupted life from the national area. Thus, Aaron Florian can be included in the category of Romanian journalism pioneers who had to overpass huge obstacles in their attempt to attract audience that could ensure their material subsistence and at the same time could be open to those cultural, political and even economic initiatives that lead to modernization and progress. His courageous and spectacular initiatives of publishing the daily newspaper *România*, and of assuring its printing for a year's time, thus awakening his contemporaries' respect and admiration seem even more considerable. In this way Florian marked a reference point in the history of Romanian national press.

FINAL REMARKS

The historian, professor and journalist Aaron Florian can be included among the category of the 20th scholars who are ready to make special efforts in order to identify the

development ways and models necessary to the Romanian community, with that end in view they tried to adjust to national realities ideas and concepts having the origin in western cultural and ideological trends, be them older or newer.

The deep research of his achievements, with or without didactic purpose reveals an original and interesting combination between the intellectual values that circulated in Transylvania and that were bearing a strong German influence on the one hand and concepts characterizing the Wallachian cultural society, which was bearing a French influence. Although by his initial intellectual structure can be considered as one of the last results of the Transylvanian *Aufklärung*, after he had settled in Wallachia Florian gradually embraced the typically Romantic attachment for revolutionary changes, which according to the 1848 generation could be operated in almost all fields of cultural, political and social- economic life.

During the Organic Regulations period, characterized by an effervescent intellectual search for designing new and diverse development ways, the Transylvanian emigrant proved a good flexibility and adaptability and managed to make an exemplary didactic career by himself, without hesitating to get involved in projects which would have seemed risky to others. The attempt of publishing an impressive history of Wallachia in no less than eight volumes, the creation of school books that covered a large range of humanist disciplines, as well as the initiative of editing a daily newspaper represent few of the projects that, without reaching the aim established by their author certainly had an impact among Florian's contemporaries and among the following generations of Romanian scholars. Many of his didactic books, especially those on history themes printed by Florian before 1848, greatly overpassed the similar achievements of some contemporaries and they enjoyed a great success both inside and outside the school environment, his books circulated and were known among the intellectuals from Moldavia and Transylvania. An excellent representative of school, throughout his life Florian maintained his trust in the unlimited possibilities of education. In the Transylvanian scholar's view on the need of generalizing public instruction, there continues to exist a double cultural and ideological vision: the school seen from the perspective of the Enlightenment as factor of population's emancipation and the school as subordinated to the Romantic perspective, as a main means of asserting the national idea,

the Romanian history having an important role especially within the second direction. Surpassing the position of teacher at the most important Wallachian education institute and the duty of promoting moral and political values agreed by the authorities during the Organic Regulations period, Florian managed to subtly render in his many writings, ideas that can be claimed by democratic liberalism which mixed with the Romantic nationalism would ensure the ideological foundation of the 1848 revolutionary action, both in Romania and in Europe.

The efficient ways through which he manages to combine and harmonize the ideology of moderate rationalism, advocating gradual changes with the Romantic ideal of promoting a new type of social and ethnical community desired by a younger and more radical group of intellectuals turn the Transylvanian scholar into a symbolic personality which embodied the tendencies, ideas and concepts which animated and tormented at the same time the Romanian society at the middle of the 19th century.

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