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**CULTURAL MOBILITIES AND POLITICAL OPTIONS AT
THE TRANSYLVANIANS AND SLOVAKS IN
AUFKLÄRUNG AND VORMÄRZ. A COMPARATIVE
HISTORY**

- SUMMARY -

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CONTENTS

Introduction

1. Motivation of research
2. Historiography of the subject

I. A time of changes

I.1. Rationality, progress and optimism – the new gospel suggested by the Enlightenment

I.2. The Enlightenment within national context

I.2.1. Occident – „The European Republic of Letters”

I.2.2. Enlightenment and reform in Central Europe

I.2.3. Manifestations of Central European Enlightenment: *The Transylvanian School* and *Slovenské Učené Tovaryšstvo*

II. The intellectual field in the first half of the 19th century

II.1. The age of revolutions (1789-1848)

II. 2. Coordinates of the national movement in Slovakia and Transylvania until the Revolution in 1848

II.3. Adjacent political and cultural currents: Pan-Slavism and Latinism. Czechoslovakia

III. Artisans of change: Transylvanian and Slovakian intellectuals

III.1. The social origin of Transylvanian and Slovakian intellectuals

III.2. Formative culture: national schools and studies abroad. Building-up modern elites

III.3. Expansion of the intellectual categories: secularization and new professionalization

III.4. Convergences and divergences at the level of elites: Ioan Bob and Alexander Rudnay

III.4.1. The priest – a new model?

III.4.2. Ioan Bob and Alexander Rudnay: origin, education, ecclesiastical ascension

III.4.3. Ioan Bob and Alexander Rudnay – two complex personalities

IV. Linguistic revolution / national revolution. The issue of national language at the nations from the Habsburg Empire in the first half of the 19th century

V. Conclusions

VI. Annexes

Annex 1

Demand of the Slovaks to His Royal-Imperial Apostolic Majesty Ferdinand the 5th

Annex 2

Demands of the Slovak nation (Liptovský Mikuláš)

VII. Bibliography

Introduction

The history of Central European nations interpenetrates profoundly. The Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, Croats, Slovenians have lived for hundreds of years a joint history, which vastly merged into the history of the Habsburg Empire. The political and dynastical relations among these nations have naturally given birth to a special culture and destiny. The crisis of Feudalism at the beginning of the 16th century marked a separation of courses: in the Western part, the feudal obligations of peasants were diminished, the urban civilization and economy were developed, the first pre-capitalist elements appeared; on the contrary, in Central Europe the feudal structures were strengthened. The Enlightenment and the Age of Revolutions essentially changed the political and cultural coordinates of the area, preparing the transformations in the 20th century.

By the Ph. D. thesis „Cultural mobilities and political options at the Transylvanians and Slovaks in *Aufklärung* and *Vormärz*. A comparative history” we first aimed at repositioning what Central Europe means from the Romanian perspective. Too many times the historians forget about Transylvania when they speak about Central Europe. They sometimes forget even about Slovakia, by simply including both Slovaks and Transylvanians in the history of Hungary, with few details about the various nations living within the Hungarian Kingdom and which then became its successors. Too many times, we just include ourselves in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe, by taking into consideration inheritances and Oriental traditions due to the - natural – fear of creating an even bigger cleavage than the existent one between different “countries” of contemporary Romania. But Romania, as it is today, is an amount of historical traditions speaking about East through the Turkish and Russian channel, but also about West through the German and French one.

A comparative history of Central Europe from the Romanian perspective was not written yet, although it would be very necessary. Such a paper should at least analyse the history of Romania, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. This work only represents a small step in this direction by the compared presentation of the political and cultural history of Transylvanian Romanians and Slovaks, between *Aufklärung* and *Vormärz*, in relation with the general European setting, and also with the Central European one.

The historical development of Transylvanian Romanians and Slovaks was modelled by the same event: the arrival of Hungarians in the Pannonian Plane and their domination. This event also profoundly marks the history of what shall generically be called Central Europe 10 centuries later. There are several parallelisms between the history of Slovaks and the one of Transylvanian Romanians. Unfortunately, these phenomena are not known enough and taken advantage of at their real value. This research is an attempt to present just some of them, within a period of important changes and transformations for both nations. Even a short examination points out the departure point of the research: the Slovaks and the Transylvanian Romanians were living during the first half of the 19th century within the Habsburg Empire under Hungarian domination, two nations considered as “non-historical”, with no rights. Between Germans and Hungarians, during the century of national Renaissance and of Revolution from 1848, the Transylvanian Romanians and the Slovaks have chosen several times the

same forms of cultural and political fight and, depending on the particularities of each nation, they adapted them and even found new forms. Our aim was, first of all, to present these convergences and divergences within a wider European setting, but also Central European. Because it is impossible to speak about Slovaks and Transylvanian Romanians without integrating such a historical measure at least within the larger setting of the Habsburg Empire and the relations with the Hungarians, Germans or other Slavonian nations. Meanwhile, we have tried - where possible - to outline the convergence points with Western Europe, by proving once again that Central Europe is not an isolated space, but permanently reasoning with the Western part of the continent.

For the Age of the Enlightenment, but also for the period between 1789 and 1848, as well as for the revolutionary moments in this period we had at our disposal a large bibliography, both Romanian and Slovakian. Since we are speaking about a period of profound and essential changes which marked the entire Europe and which laid the basis of the moral support for the creation of a new type of society, the period between the Great French Revolution and the Revolution from 1848-1849 aroused the attention of historians, from those contemporary to the events and up to the studies of last years.

For the nations from Central Europe, this period between 1780-1848, generically named by the historiography the “national renaissance”, became essential and characteristic for each nation. This is the reason for which the events in this period were approached, with separate visions, not only by the Romanian historiography, but also by the Hungarian, German and European ones generally, without forgetting the important contributions of the American researchers. We are thus dealing with a various and complex historiography approaching different problems and subjects, beginning with the general ones and up to studies specially dedicated to the revolutions from 1789 and 1848, studying the Enlightenment or the Romanticism, up to biographic works, studies regarding the history of mentalities or the history of ideas, of Church and elites. As a consequence, for this research we have taken into consideration several documentary collections, general and special works, monographs, studies and articles from different periods of time, trying to extract an overview on the subject itself, but also one to include the characteristic elements as to the approached subject.

Chapter I A time of changes

The first chapter of the Ph D. thesis is dedicated to the Enlightenment. We presented in detail the characteristics of the European Enlightenment, but also those of the Central-European one, as well as the manifestation modalities in Transylvania, Slovakia, Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary. We thus established that there are differences and similarities, that double attraction and rejection movements are being displayed: France brought English Enlightenment in Europe and spread it on the entire continent as a French Enlightenment, and then the German rejection manifested as related to the perspective of a French Europe. We must point out a very important issue: we have not denied the fundamental unity of the Enlightenment as regards the totally different approach manner of philosophy, religion, education, but its expression manifestations. We have analysed these manifestations in geographical terms (the distance towards the new ideological centres), sociological (social structures available to receive the new ideology) and chronological (time display gaps).

We have focused our attention on the German version of the Enlightenment, the current *Aufklärung*, which brought new ideas regarding man's emancipation through culture in Central Europe, a critical attitude regarding superstitions, but also regarding the Church, trust in Rationality as world judge. For the nations in this part of Europe, the Enlightenment represented in fact an intellectual vehicle of transition towards modernity. One of the most important characteristics of the Enlightenment is that, by the fact that during this period of time the study of language, literature and national history was emphasized, the premises for the development of national movements which remodelled the Mitteleuropean political space were created. And even more since, in Herderian spirit, the language used to be the characteristic element of a nation. We have also presented the reforms of Maria Theresa and of Joseph the 2nd and their impact on the nations in the Empire. The Illuminist reforms program had major influence on all the nations from the Empire. Especially the Protestants benefited directly of the reforms in the ecclesiastic field and, at the same time the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary, but also the Orthodox from Transylvania and Serbia and Greek-Catholics. The educational reforms allowed the development of an intellectual class, which began to lead the national renaissance movements at the Slovaks and at the Transylvanian Romanians. The economic measures supported the development of an urban bourgeoisie, which shall also take the lead of the national renaissance movement in the Czech Republic. On the other side, the introduction of the German language in administration, in schools determined protests of the other nations in the Empire, but also the awareness of the necessity to develop their own national languages.

The Enlightenment in Transylvania and Slovakia promoted, as the European Enlightenment did, the dissemination of the national culture, and, at the same time, it borrowed from *Aufklärung* the national note. The Romanian and Slovakian representatives of *Aufklärung* established schools, translated manuals, created a scientific language, transformed the old historiography into a historical science, published dictionaries, grammars and national histories. *Slovenské učené tovaryšstvo* and *the Transylvanian School* represented genuine manifestations of the Enlightenment, both being movements which aims was essentially the development of national culture. These movements originated in the general Enlightenment current from Europe, which considered the education and the "enlightenment" of the nation to be essential. The representatives of *Slovenské učené tovaryšstvo* focused on the Slovakian literary language and on the development of a culture in this language. We must not neglect this dimension at *the Transylvanian School* either, because here it was an essential one. The linguistic program aimed at introducing the Romanian language in the Church instead of Slavonic, introduction of the Latin alphabet, drafting a grammar and a dictionary of the Romanian language, as Slovaks did. We must emphasize the national dimension of *the Transylvanian School*: its representatives were working for the political and cultural rights of the Romanian nation, but also for the development of the national awareness and their political program was the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*. *Slovenské učené tovaryšstvo* used to be, first of all, an institutionalized cultural movement, with a well defined linguistic program. Its representatives essentially aimed at „enlightening” the masses, but during the same period, important historical subjects such as autochthony and oldness of Slovaks on the territories where they lived used to be approached. From the point of view of the open political action, of the fight for national rights, this was just a

period of accumulation for Slovaks, which proved to be essential in the national fight from the 19th century.

Both movements obviously benefited from the reforming program of the Court from Vienna, of the education reform, the *Tolerance Edict*, administrative reorganization, but also of a certain dimension of the Viennese politics which aimed at the access of nations from the centre of Europe to Enlightenment ideas. If Trnava was the centre for *Slovenské učené tovaryšstvo*, as Blaj used to be for *the Transylvanian School*, for both movements Buda represented in fact the cultural capital, the centre attended by most of the regional elites of the time, symbol of the Enlightenment and the town which had three very important institutions: the University, the Library and the Printing House. Here, at the Printing House from Buda, all the nations from Central Europe shall publish characteristic works for their national existence: manuals, grammars, dictionaries, histories, so on and so forth.

Chapter 2 The intellectual field in the first half of the 19th century

The first 50 years of the 19th century were marked by the Great French Revolution and by the Napoleonic wars, all of that leading towards an intersecting point: The Revolution of 1848. The new ideas of the French Revolution spread along with the Napoleonic armies all over Europe. Though the Congress of Vienna and the Metternich system tried to return to the old Europe, nothing could have stopped at that moment the democratic and/or national revolutionary “storm” which came upon the entire continent.

There were at least 30 non-dominant ethnic groups in Europe in the 19th century, which nowadays belong to the national renaissance period, as most of the modern historiography calls it. The national movement mainly meant endowing each group with the attributes of a nation. The cultural stage was the first, and then came the political stage that is the recognition of political and national rights of each people. Beyond the faithfulness towards the Habsburg dynasty, these nations had no feeling of membership to the Austrian state, and German was an unknown language for most of the population. In different states the national movement centres were educational: the German and Polish Universities, the Hungarian Protestant high schools, the Academies of Iasi and Bucharest or the schools of Blaj.

The French Revolution of 1789 with its assault upon the monarchy, the nobility and the Church, resulted into a polarization between the conservative social and political elite and those groups which had been excluded from exerting the power up to that moment and who wished for social reform and political liberalism. After 1815, the determination of the conservative government groups to repress any liberal, democratic and national aspirations kept social tensions high which finally led to the revolution of 1848. The revolutionary movements of 1830-1832 in France and Belgium were largely echoed throughout Central Europe, mainly in Poland but in Hungary, too. Romanticism and Liberalism were two trends which gave to the Central European nations the necessary arguments to interpret their own history as a continuous battle for freedom against foreign occupations, whether German, Hungarian or Russian. The historical references to the Middle Ages and the old lost freedoms had to make this national battle legitimate.

Through an intelligent, dynastic politics, through wars and compromises, the Habsburgs succeeded in building a multiethnic Empire of an incredible vastness within a few hundred years. Yet everywhere throughout these territories, the Habsburg power had been instituted based on constitutional documents and treaties, and a part of the old institutions, as well as some laws, were maintained in all the Empire's provinces. Along with the absolutism, the Court from Vienna tried to limit the activity of these institutions and to essentially change some laws such as those which provided the exemption from tax payment for the noblemen and the Church. The centralizing policy of the Court in Vienna determined an opposition between the provincial and the state identity: Bohemia, Transylvania, Hungary were always invoking the old rights and treaties against the decisions taken by the government.

The first half of the 19th century represented for the Central European nations a period accumulation in different fields. As regards culture, the elite was interested in overcoming the linguistic and cultural inferiority through the development of a literary language and a national culture. The cultural program focused on publishing grammars, dictionaries, manuals, fiction, scientific works, shaping a national history, identifying heroes and some glorious achievements of the people. All that was supported at the institutional level through the foundation of those culturally defining establishments: *The National Library*, *The National Museum*, *The Academy*, *the Theatre*, which all, of course, had to be based on an education in the national language, which had to be accessible to as many categories as possible and consist of all levels of education from elementary school to university. The necessity to have a mass support for the national movement, resulted in setting up certain periodicals, and where this was not possible, leaflets or calendars in order to transmit the national message to as many categories as possible. In politics, the battle was at different levels: through revolutionary movements in Poland, at parliamentary level in Hungary, through petitions addressed to provincial and state authorities in Transylvania. Socially speaking, there were also various demands which aimed at society modernization: abolition of bondage, development and strengthening of the middle class from towns (in the Czech Republic, for example, people required most often the protection of trade and a better education of traders), equal access to education.

The purpose of the national movement was in fact to cover every specific feature of a nation and to eliminate all obstacles, until the nation-state was created. Depending on the historical and political actualities, each nation of Central Europe came out with a national speech which focused on both the linguistic issues and granting of rights and freedoms or autonomy and independence.

The second chapter of the thesis presents the general development of national movements in Transylvania and Slovakia up to the Revolution of 1848: modes of cultural and political action, contacts with Hungarian and other nations of the area, petitioning activities and progresses obtained. In both cases the strategy was similar: national rebirth in culture and literature to open political action then the growth of national awareness and the attraction of the people in support of the national ideal (the popularization of the national program by publishing activities - newspapers, magazines, calendars, leaflets; by creating literary associations, self-help groups, clubs; by theatre performances, by establishing libraries).

Unlike the French Revolution ideas which insisted on the citizen and the nation, the national romanticists from the Central and Eastern Europe differentiated the nation

only in terms of linguistic affinity. It was in fact about the application in real life of Herder's concept, according to which the language represents the spirit of each nation, determines its character and its ethnic and national conscience. The real and infinite national spirit (*Volksgeist*), the race, the superiority of collective structures become frequently encountered topics in the intellectual speech. Each nation finds remarkable events which can define its identity in its own history.

The 19th century marked the birth of two ideologies displaying universal features: the Pan-Germanism and the Pan-Slavism which sometimes degenerated into Pan-Russianism. Both movements were based on linguistic and cultural affinities, but, as political ideology, only the Pan-Germanism had significant historical consequences: it led to the formation of the nation state Germany and it was one of the reasons for the break out of the two world wars from the 20th century. The Slavonian nations spread all over Europe and Asia too, each with their own political interests, could not use the Pan-Slavism as a political weapon, much less that Russia understood the concept as expansion and conquering new territories to strengthen its position as a great European power.

The 19th century meant the national rebirth of most of the Slavonian nations. But the more these nations became aware of their individuality, historical tradition and language, the less interest they showed as to the Pan-Slavic unity. Coming from a simple cultural project based on an actuality of life – unity of the Slavonian languages – the Pan-Slavism was assimilated by different Slavonian nations in order to outline the political programs: the Austro-Slavism, the Ilyrism, but also a great monarchy or federation under the Russian leadership. For the small nations from Central and Eastern European, whether we are talking about the Slovakian, the Serbian, the Croatian, the Polish, the Czech or the Romanian nations, their membership to the great Slavonian or Roman family meant certification of a noble succession which served as an argument for the national movement. The representatives of the national movements from the Central and Eastern Europe gave a new meaning of mission and destiny to those nations to inspire them with trust in their own nation's future and a new European destiny.

Chapter III Artisans of change: Transylvanian and Slovakian intellectuals

Chapter third of the thesis presents the social group which coordinated the national movement in Transylvania and Slovakia - "intelligentsia" - following several important aspects: social origin, education, expanding social scheme, professional development and attitudes to elite level.

Some national movements in the Central Europe were professed movements of the intellectuals coming from the rural environment: teachers, priests and to a less extent, clerks, lawyers, doctors. In Hungary and Poland, most of the patriots came from the small and medium nobility class who meanwhile shifted towards trade, administration, army. In the Czech Republic, the representatives of the national movement came from cities and they were both intellectuals and traders, small undertakers. While in the West in the period studied the bourgeois political elite are developing, Poland and Hungary remain predominantly aristocratic nations, where the landowner nobility keeps its dominant position. Except for the Czech Republic, in the Central and Eastern Europe the bourgeoisie seems to be absent, the undertakers being mostly of German or Jewish origin. The state remains the main instrument of modernisation, and the emergence of the nation-

state in Slovakia and Transylvania was a consequence of the emergence of the „national intelligentsia”. According to the Herderian model, the intelligentsia is the one to invent the nation while speaking in its name. Its members transmit concepts such as national conscience, cultural unity, and national folklore.

The separation of the civil society from the state and the Church in the West came along with the emergence of a new type of “people of spirit” who made politics: the intellectual category. In Transylvania and Slovakia most of the intellectuals came from the clergy, as it was the Church which could make legitimate the intellectual movement in default of other institutions governing the social life. Since here, in general, the education was still under the monopoly of the clergy, most of the intellectuals developed themselves in the spirit of religion, even if many of them turned later to the profane life. The intelligentsia, mainly priests and teachers, coordinated the national movement at all levels, the same as the small nobility/gentry class played this role in Poland, Hungary and the Romanian Provinces and the urban bourgeoisie in the Czech Republic.

The Slovakian and the Transylvanian Romanian intellectuals involve in different fields of activity: they are teachers, jurists, priests, writers, poets, authors of manuals, founders of literary societies, folklore collectors, newspaper editors and publishers, translators, historians, philosophers, mathematicians or geographers. Each of them, in his own way, from the most insignificant rural priest to famous people from those times, contributed, in a way or another, to the national movement.

Both in Transylvania and Slovakia the clergy played a very important role in the national movement. First, the clergy represented the only solid social category, with an increasing percentage of educated members, sometimes even in higher schools abroad, who could assume the role of leaders of the national movement. Even if in Transylvania, for example, there is a tendency of secularization of the national movement in the middle of the 19th century, it is not the case of Slovakia. On the other hand, priests had direct contact with the people and their pastoral and spiritual mission intertwined with the educational one. At the same time they could also play the role of agents in spreading the national ideology. There is also a certain strategy of the Slovakian intellectuals to be noticed here: an overwhelming number of them choose to stay within the clergy as the simplest way and with the greatest impact to promote the Slovakian national movement to the nation, but also because the access to other carriers or positions was very difficult for them to reach.

The situation from Transylvania is not very different, even if there are many peculiarities. In the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century, the Greek Catholic clergy, assumed a great role with regards to the national movement. Inspired by the idea of national conscience, the representatives of the clergy, especially those of the Greek Catholic Church who commands the national movement until 1848, suggested a new idea of a nation based on ethnicity. The fact that Romanians have been excluded from Transylvania’s political life, and because of their religion, was at the same time a requisite and a goal for the national movement.

But of course there are the elites who coordinated the movement, who managed to support it, to organise it, in order to finally attain the main expected goal: the foundation of the nation-state. The Transylvanian elites are: the representatives of the united clergy; the middle school and high school graduates who did not left written works but lead an active work of acknowledgement of the new ideas; then the priests and teachers who

attended higher institutions; the Romanian officers from the border regiments; Romanian trades people and small nobility class from Hateg and Fagaras regions. In Slovakia, the elites are clearly the representatives of the Catholic and Protestant clergy, educated in universities abroad; an important level is represented by the urban clerks whose number has increased during this period, including teachers, the small nobility, engineers especially in the mining areas.

In order to better understand the elite' actions at the time we choose a case study: a comparison between two remarkable persons Ioan Bob and Alexander Rudnay. Both Ioan Bob (1739-1830) and Alexander Rudnay (1760-1831) have actively involved in the Romanian and Slovakian national movements. Their high positions (Ioan was Bishop from 1782 and Alexander Rudnay was first Bishop in Alba Iulia and then Archbishop of Esztergom, Primate of Hungary and Cardinal from 1828) are at the same time an important responsibility and a great burden. Their political choices and actions are not only conditioned by the fact that in a way or another both of them are expected to assume the leadership of the national movement, but also by the intricate relations between the Court in Vienna and the Hungarian nobility class. They have a very difficult mission: besides the challenges of the national movement they have to take care of the priests and parishioners under their pastorate, they involve in the education development, they assume roles as Maecenas to support the cultural development of Romanians and Slovaks. At the same time, they have to face up with some important changes in all fields, from the ecclesiastic to social life. Unlike Ioan Bob, a rather controversial person of the Romanian historiography, Alexander Rudnay enjoyed the unanimous appraisal of contemporaries and historians both during his life and afterwards, for his active role and involvement in different areas of activity.

There has been a period of formation for the Romanian and Slovakian national movements from the late 18th century to 1830. These decades are preparing the movements from 1848, and Alexander Rudnay and Ioan Bob had defining roles during this period. Being the representatives of their nation, but also of the Church, for some decades, the two prelates activated at different levels as their education and conscience dictate. From a broader historical perspective, their actions perfectly suit the age they lived in and represent at the same time one of the impulses which definitely helped for the progress and success of the national movement of Slovaks and Transylvanian Romanians.

Chapter IV Linguistic revolution / national revolution. The issue of the national language at the countries from the Habsburg Empire in the first half of the 19th century

At the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century, Europe faced a real linguistic revolution. It mostly originated in the spreading of education and not only that. The development of industry determined an increase in the urban population with different cultural demands. The need of communication increased, as well as the number of people interested in cultural production. The books, magazines, theatre were no longer the asset of the privileged classes or the clergy. They were also the best tools to put people's opinions together, to give way to reactions. There is no question of a mass communication, but it is now that the first steps are being made.

Why the need of a linguistic and national revolution? One of the fundamental features of a nation is its great power of communication within the group, which is usually conditioned by linguistic homogeneity. In the West, in England or France, the nation represented a group of citizens who lived together, their lives being governed by the state power. It was barely the Revolution from 1789 that introduced the criterion of language as defining for the national membership, and the state that enforced the use of its official language to all the subjects it steered. Once the Republic was installed, the use of the national language became for the citizens a duty which, if not fulfilled, might even lead to extreme sanctions, as it was happening in France during the years of Terror. On the other hand, France or Spain had their national language which was at the same time the language used in administration and by the ruling elites. Moreover, the national cohesion was supported by a rich cultural tradition expressed in this national language. The literary language was a broadly accepted form of the national language, opposed to its local or specialised forms. For important languages, such as French or English, their literary form had been established many centuries ago and their origin and late development are very difficult to establish. In the 19th century the literary language became the most important expression of the national identity. The intellectuals and politicians from the Romantic period established the new concept of nation as a customized whole, which meant that a nation could not use but one single language and it could not incorporate but the collective memory of a single past.

In the Central and Eastern Europe the fact that various nations were living within multinational empires, forced the representatives of the national movement to find other coordinates, in order to claim their rights, the nation being thus defined by linguistic, ethnic and historical features. As regards the national literary language, the situation was pretty complicated for the Eastern Europe countries. We are talking here about two large groups of languages: a part of them recorded a major progress in the Middle Ages to then being left aside due to significant historical moments. If we take the case of the Czech Republic, it is the defeat of the Protestant resistance in the White Mountains in 1620. It is, in fact, the same case as that of the Hungarian and Polish people. The Turkish domination in Hungary, the numerous battles with the Turks and later on with the Habsburgs, the fights for power in Poland, the split and division of kingdom, they all explain to the same degree the stagnation in the development of the national language for several centuries, followed by the first steps towards the emergence of a true national literature at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. Once an elite group from a nation, whether we are talking about Romanian, Slovakian intellectuals or small and medium nobility class in Hungary and Poland or the urban and intellectual classes in the Czech Republic, commits to a national program and starts fighting to reach the final goal (national-state), one of the most important wishes is to establish a national language and to grow inside it a national culture. In case of a multilingual state, the national group holding political power tries to impose its language to all the other ethnic groups. For example, the Hungarians will try to impose their language to all the nations from the much desired Kingdom of Saint Stephan. But they should have learnt their lesson: the moment when Joseph II introduced the use of the German language throughout the entire territory of the Empire, the most vehement objectors were the Hungarians themselves. The reactions of the Slavonians and of the Romanians to the process of Hungarization matched the situation. The Czechs tried to impose their

language to the Slovaks, because the first considered their language traditional and in case of a Czechoslovakian union there was no question about the language to be instituted in the new state. Even Slovaks, who strongly supported the Czechoslovakian union, such as Ján Kollár, were complaining of the fact that the Czechs would not accept any borrowings from the Slovakian language, despite that this language had its own assets and distinct euphony.

We should also mention a group of languages with an almost inexistent literary tradition; they lacked unity or standardized grammar or orthography. It was the case of the Slovakian, the Croatian, the Slovenian, the Serbian, and the Ukrainian. The major population of these nations was still using dialects in the 18th century, which, in some cases, were not transcribed and differed significantly from one region to another. The Romanian language was a particular case, as long as, despite the Latin feature of the language, it continued to be written using the Cyrillic alphabet until the middle of the 19th century. But in order to support the national program it was obvious that if Romanians descended from Romans and their language originated in Latin, it should have been written with Latin characters. The representatives of the *Transylvanian School* took the first actions in this regard in Transylvania.

The national renaissance shall mean for the nations in Central and Eastern Europe an intense literary production, formation of associations to support printing books and periodicals in the national language, imposing its use to all levels of education, in administration and in Church. Any attempt to impose another language, foreign to the body of nation, is regarded as a life and death issue of the nation itself, and this is where the strong reaction of those directly involved in the national movement resulted from.

Obviously, the objective was the adoption of the national language by the entire national group. Though, the local elites could not accept a codified language after illiterate peasants' language, and a too elitist language was difficult to be imposed to the masses. A compromise was often reached, and the national language was codified after the dialects which were considered the purest and the less corrupt of foreign encroachments or after those with a dominant position from the economic and social point of view. The first step of oral language valorisation is the publishing of some folklore collections. The next moment meant publishing some grammars, orthographies, dictionaries and, symbolically, always publishing of the *Bible* in the new national language. Though, there were some cases when spreading within the entire population happened after the formation of the nation state, when an instruction public system was set up within which the national language was taught in an organized way.

Conclusions

In Slovakia and in Transylvania, the national emancipation movements began to appear at the same time with the Enlightenment and were led by functional elite, mainly made up of Josephin type priests and teachers. While we were advancing in the 19th century, these elite had become a resistant social structure, it enriched with members from the liberal professions: lawyers, doctors; it increased its influence within its own national group. Moreover, a part of the members of the elite managed to occupy positions in the administrative structures and thus to work for the benefit of the national movement. Depending on the political situation, the elite was aiming at the equality of the

Romanians with other nations in Transylvania, while in Slovakia, until the Revolution from 1848, the claims were mainly linguistic.

The reforms of Maria Theresa and those of Joseph the 2nd significantly impacted on the Slovaks and Romanians from Transylvania. Firstly of all, they contributed to the liquidation of illiteracy among large masses of population by the increase of access to education and by the development of the educational system generally; also, the educational reforms increased the number of young people in upper educational institutions. Secondly, by promotion of tolerance, they opened new action ways to Orthodox and Protestants. Thirdly, the administrative reorganization opened the way towards access to positions and so to a possibility to influence the destiny of their own nation. Moreover, the Josephine policy initiated the cultivation of the national languages from the Empire, but also allowed the integration of lower classes into prospecting nations by social means: liquidation of serfdom, social assistance, taxation of privileged classes. From state reasons, Josephinism promoted the development of self conscience of vassals from the entire Empire, who had to become loyal citizens to the state. But this development turned unexpectedly for the Monarchy: the nations of the Empire entered the 19th century in a profound restoration process which finally led to the dissolution of the Monarchy.

The national movement of the Romanians from Transylvania found an important support in the activity over the mountains. In Moldavia and Muntenia – the same as in Hungary, where the small nobility took over the control of the national movement -, the representatives of the middle gentry, who had sent their sons to study in Italy and France, were leading the reform movement of the society which gradually transformed in one for national rights and autonomous state. The Slovakian and Czech national movements developed mutual attraction and rejection relations. On one side, there was the vision shared in a measure also by the Czechs and Slovaks, according to which the two single nations did not have the necessary force to fight against Germans and Hungarians. On the other side, the Slovaks always showed their concern regarding the attitude of the Czechs claiming their superiority both as regards the cultural-linguistic area, and the political-historical one. But for both nations it was very clear that the Czechs and the Slovaks were two different nations, with a different historical tradition, with different language and culture. Even though in 1918 Czechoslovakia was formed, the discussions continued on the same subjects: the Czechs wanted a federation made up from free citizens with a strong government, while the Slovaks, scared by the assimilation, wanted a confederation made up from two sovereign states. The solution was found in 1993 by the separation of the two states.

Slovaks or Transylvanian Romanians outlined their national discourse on the same coordinates: the years they have lived in these regions; their number and the blood shed in time; their rights established beginning with the Middle Ages and roughly infringed. The enemy is, in most cases, Hungarian and then German, with different changes of such positions. For the Slovaks, the belonging to the big Slavonic group represented a reason more and a source of profound pride, the same as, for the Transylvanian Romanians, Rome and Latinity speak – with no doubt – about their uniqueness. The Slovakian national movement had to face different obstacles which made reaching the final aim even harder: the formation of the Slovakian state. The hungarization was much more successful at the Slovaks than at the Transylvanian

Romanians, especially after 1848, due to several reasons which have been visible from the very beginning of the century. First of all, the Slovakian national movement suffered a lot due to the religious cleavages. It could not be displayed as an entity and there were several contradictory discussions, misunderstandings between the Catholics and the Protestants which weakened and diminished its effects, both as regards the conflict with the Hungarians, and the attempt to obtain a mass support for the national program. On the other side, the Slovakian national movement lacked a centre – as Blaj used to be for the Transylvanian Romanians or Sibiu later on. Bratislava used to be, at the beginning of the 19th century, a German and Hungarian town, Trnava, which, for a few centuries was the centre of the Slovakian culture, lost some of its importance after Joseph the 2nd moved the University from here to Buda, and the other towns were widely German or were divided between centres of the Catholics and of Protestants. Meanwhile, the Transylvanian Romanians benefited from the important support of their brothers across the mountains. Even though numerous voices were supporting the Czech-Slovakian unity, the Slovaks defended their separate identity. Getting over such obstacles proved to be difficult and demanded time. The Transylvanian Romanians were seeing their national ideal realized in 1918, and the Slovaks almost a century later, in 1993.

In the case of the linguistic program we can identify several phases which are – with little differences – the same for all the nations in the Empire, which, at the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century entered the period of national renaissance. Within the first phase, the language was celebrated and defended. Several evidence were brought to prove that it must be accepted within the superior languages. We speak of language origin, which several times is searched and identified with a major language, such as Slavonic or Latin, of its purity and euphony. In the second phase there is language codification. Either the medieval literary language is being used, such as for Czech, Polish or Romanian, or a spoken contemporary dialect such as Slovakian, Croatian, Slovenian. The third phase is the intellectualization of the national language by journalism and educative culture for the nation, collection of folklore, publishing original literary works which were meant to enrich the language, but also to support the national program. Another phase is the introduction of the national language in schools. The fight for national schools became an essential component of national mobilization. By education in their own language, a conscience community was being created at the same time, and the Hungarians, for instance, saw that process as the best assimilation method. The last phase means the achievement of total equality of languages and so the introduction of the national language in administration, justice and politics. The issue of the language still fans nowadays the flame in Central and Eastern Europe. While in the Occident there are just six circulation languages, and where these languages are not in circulation (for instance in the Scandinavian countries), English, French, German are widely spread, in the East there is a real Tower of Babel. None of the languages spoken here is not of international circulation, none of them is a language with a strong cultural power and, yet, for the nations in that area, the language is one of the essential coordinates when we speak about defining national identity.

Defeated both in Slovakia and in Transylvania, but also in the entire Central and Eastern Europe, the Revolution from 1848 still represents an important moment for the history of this part of the continent. The events in 1848 proved to the nations which were here that their fight for freedom, equal rights and independence might be successful if

better prepared and in other international political circumstances. For the Romanians, even though the Revolution took place in historical provinces, it set off the national unity aspirations, but also the need that in the future, Transylvania, Muntenia and Moldavia cooperate closer for the success of the national movement. For the Slovaks the situation was much more contradictory: the Revolution proved first of all to the representatives of the national movement the need to have a support on the inside from the part of the Slovakian nation; then, the Slavonian Congress undoubtedly proved the inexistence of Slavonian unity; still, when fighting against the Hungarians, the necessity to find a support from the outside imposed, the closest being the Czechs. On the other side, the Revolution also proved to the Slovaks that the Czechs shall never accept an union under equality conditions between the two nations. For half a century more, the representatives of the national movement shall reorient towards the inside, towards the Slovakian nations, due to the need to involve large masses in the fight for national freedom. Meanwhile, for all the nations in Central Europe, the revolutionary events from Central Europe in 1848 aroused the issue of citizens' rights and freedoms. And last, but not the least, it brought forward the important role of the intellectual elites which, in a future phase, shall become the political elites of Central Europe. It is a reality which did not function the same in the Occident, where the intellectual class, much more specialized, shall always deplore its exclusion at the political decision level.

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