

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION  
„1 DECEMBRIE 1918” UNIVERSITY OF ALBA IULIA  
FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOLOGY

CULTURE, POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN SIXTH CENTURY NĂSĂUD DISTRICT.  
MACEDON POP (1809-1873)

(Abstract of doctoral thesis)

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ALBA IULIA  
2015

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This research underlines the impact of the IInd Romanian Regiment, Church and mainly activity of Vicar Macedon Pop on society from Năsăud district, the way it is revealed by archive documents, bibliographies, studies and articles dedicated to this subject. By choosing this research area and investigation, the author proposed to fill a gap in local and national historiography. It is considered that Năsăud district needs such a paper, as within consulted bibliography we only tangentially identified dealing with this subject, meaning binomial culture, politics and society in Năsăud district, illustrated by Vicar Macedon Pop (1809-1873).

Lately, the Romanian scientific environment, mainly that from Năsăud, was preoccupied with researching, interpretation and reconstitution of life and activity of some personalities from the period of military border, that influenced local history but also that national, as well as their subsuming under Romanian historiography. The same interest also produced recommendation of Professor PhD Iacob Mârza referring to the theme of this doctoral thesis.

The first sequence is the *Argument*, necessary for pointing out motivation, objectives and methodology of research. The chosen theme approaches from the perspective of trinomial – *society, politics, culture* – modern history of Năsăud district in XIXth century, an extremely important period by the events occurred, that contributed to beginning of modernisation process of society from Năsăud.

By this paper was attempted to sketch a monograph of Năsăud district, the territory of the former IInd Romanian Border Guard Regiment, from the perspective of life and activity of Macedon Pop. The theme debated here is important especially through active involvement of the former Vicar and Preposytus in the endeavour of emancipation and modernisation of the society from Năsăud and in the process of establishment and affirmation of the Romanian nation. The main objective of the work is represented by researching life, activity and work of Macedon Pop, investigation that necessitates approaching the political, national, economic, religious and cultural context within which the personality from Năsăud manifested.

The first chapter of the thesis is dedicated to a historiographic estimation of contributions to the study of issue had in view in this paper. Deeply involved in the political, national, religious cultural and school life, life and activity of the Vicar and then Preposytus Macedon Pop offer to researcher a vast terrain for scientific investigation. The research field of local history is not totally known, Romanian historiography manifesting certain interest on personality of Macedon Pop. Both older historical investigation, and especially that more

recent have revealed us certain aspects of his personality. Yet, life and activity of leader of Romanians from Năsăud from the latter part of XIXth century did not undergo a unitary and modern interpretation.

The IInd chapter of the thesis entitled *Năsăud district and impact of modernity* attempts to present the geographical pattern but especially the historical context, by which this political unit set out on its way of emancipation and modernization. This brief presentation necessitates also approaching the political, social-economic, cultural and religious factors that determined start of the modernisation process of the society and allowed some important personalities of Năsăud to distinguish, develop and manifest.

The first section of the chapter includes a presentation of the general European political context and that local Transylvanian, that abounds in political-military events of indubitable importance for the history of the continent and implicitly of north-eastern Transylvania. Mutations at socio-economic, political-military and cultural level that characterise Europe the beginning of modernity, affect deeply the old continent, mainly the eastern and southeastern side of it.

In the context of the siege of the Ottoman Empire over Vienna ending in failure, a fierce fight was started for hegemony in southeastern Europe, conflict known as „the oriental issue”. The main result of this fight was exclusion of sultans from the great game of European powers and annihilation of that feeling of insecurity generated by presence of Turks on European territory. At the same time, beside reconfiguration of the European map, it takes place also a major cultural transformation by appearance and imposing of a new philosophical trend, Enlightenment, that will trigger the break down from scholastic and passing to modernity.

The next section of the first chapter records briefly the main moments of historical development of XVIIth century Transylvania. One of the most important moments was peace from Karlowitz (26 January 1699) by which the Ottoman Empire loses a series of territories (amongst which also Transylvania) to Austria. Full integration of Transylvania within the borders of the Hapsburg Empire was made by the diploma issued by the Court from Vienna in 1691. Leopold's Diploma represents the juridical norms of the Austrian domination system in Transylvania, establishing the political status but also the regime of internal organisation of the Principality.

After installation of domination in Transylvania the main preoccupation of the Hapsburgs was consolidation of political domination and Catholicism, establishing of the Greek-Catholic Church representing the political intention of Vienna to assimilate the

Transylvanian population predominant Orthodox to cultural-religious values of Catholic Europe. The author concludes that the Austrian Empire was aware that the integration policy of the inhabitants of its new territorial acquisitions within the social-economic and cultural norms promoted by the Imperial Court could be made much more efficiently by Catholic religion, that was perceived as a bridge towards western European values.

The third section presents border guard regiments in general and IInd Romanian border guard regiment from Năsăud, in particular. The new political reality of Europe, within which the Hapsburg Empire had not only to maintain its status of great power but also to permanently consolidate position, necessitated a new approach of its internal and external politics. Consequently, the House of Hapsburg had to implement reformist policy that focused on political, administrative and cultural domain but especially the military one. The imperial army was in dire need of reform, by which the Empire to cope with the more and more expansionist policies of Prussia and Russia, two powers eager to affirm on the scene of great European forces, especially in the south-eastern part of the continent.

The new international context imposed a security system of provinces recently integrated within the Empire, mainly of Transylvania, considered a weak spot of stability of the Austrian state in this part of Europe. Consequently, Empress Maria Theresa decided to revive an older security system, that proved to be efficient in protecting the frontiers with the Ottoman Empire, in Serbian-Croat and Slovene territories, meaning border guard regiments. By their establishment in Transylvania it was followed both securing eastern borders and consolidation of Hapsburg domination and promoting much more efficiently reform policies in the border Romanian province. Thus, at the mid of the XVIIIth century, on the territory of Transylvania are established the three Romanian border guard regiments and two of Szeklers. The first Transylvanian border guard regiment is set up along the southern border of the principality having as mission securing the area spanned between Braşov and Hunedoara, having its headquarters in Orlat. The second regiment is deployed in the district of Năsăud, with headquarters in Năsăud, and the third regiment is also set up in the southern part of Transylvania.

The district of Năsăud, located near Moldavia and benefiting of good strategic position conferred by geographical position, represented the area where the IInd Romanian border guard regiment was established. The mission of setting up the border guard military system from Transylvania was entrusted to General Adolf Nikolaus von Buccow, Governor and general commander of the Austrian troops. The project of establishing the military border was approved by Empress Maria Theresa on 16 April 1762. Yet, in the following years it benefited

of a series of modifications and completions, such would be imperial patent from 16 March 1764, regulations from 12 November 1766 etc.

In a first phase, in 1762, in the Năsăud border guard territory were included 23 localities (21 from the upper valley of the Someșul Mare and two from the valley of the Șieu). Lastly, by reorganisation of the first and annexation of other new (5 localities from the valley of Șieu and two from the area of the Mureș, in 1764, and 8 localities from Bârgăului valley, in 1783), their total number reaches 44. Situation maintained until disbanding of the regiment in 1851.

Amongst arguments that determined the Court from Vienna to establish in this region a border guard regiment are, first of all those of military nature, but also those political, economic, fiscal, cultural, demographic etc. At military level the Hapsburgs followed two objectives, one internal, meaning consolidation measures of maintaining the internal safety, and one external, to assure security of frontiers in front of eventual aggressions. Another motivation equally important in decision of militarising the area was the wish of the Court from Vienna of consolidating the positions of Catholicism, menaced by activity of some Orthodox monks such as Visarion Sarai or Sofronie from Cioara, but also to combat Calvinism and to isolate Transylvanian Orthodoxy from influences from the two Romanian extra-Carpathian countries and from Russia.

Similarly, the Hapsburg authorities attempted to limit contraband and to avoid as much as possible entering of some contagious diseases of oriental origin, that represented a great danger for the health of the population. Amongst the reasons of the Imperial Court of setting up border guard regiments was also the wish of controlling even stopping free circulation of persons from the intra-Carpathic area in the extra-Carpathic one, in one word stopping emigration and immigration. Another goal followed by Vienna was attempt of diminishing positions of Transylvanian nobility that represented a major opponent and a permanent one for political stability by the manifested wish of returning to previous autonomy of Transylvania.

Militarization process also faced a series of difficulties generated by reticence of the inhabitants from Năsăud, that initially were extremely displeased with the condition imposed on enrolling, that of embracing the Catholic religion. Yet, gradually, by concessions made by both parties, it was succeeded to remove this impediment. Nobility and Saxon patriciate mounted major resistance, as they could not accept losing revenues they produced from this area, and tried in an exceeding degree to stop villages to get out of its administration. Relevant for unease provoked by militarization is the event that occurred near Salva locality, in 1763. The moment when recruits followed to take the oath, a spontaneous revolt led by

several locals broke out. Amongst these was also Tănase Todoran, who showed that the peasants were dissatisfied with the fact that although militarization exempted them from all taxes and contributions towards Bistrița Saxon patriciate, on the other hand it impoverished them with a new kind of obligations, this time of military nature.

As for effects of establishing the IInd Romanian border guard regiment from Năsăud, these may be identified in all aspects of life of communities from this territory. Setting up of the border guard military entity determined a series of mutations at social, political, cultural and religious level. These embodied in remarkable progress as for development of agriculture, trade, industrial and school infrastructure, organization of administration, transforming Năsăud into a genuine centre of cultural and social development of Romanian nation. Destined to be an instrument of the new domination, the regiments have contributed in the case of Romanians to stimulating self-consciousness, by the military elite that is created. Militarization of Năsăud territory marked an important transformation in the life of communities from the upper valley of the Someșul Mare. Romanian peasants oppressed by the Saxons and their Magistrate became border guards, and sacrifice and endeavours made for almost a century resulted in multiple and positive consequences for them, mainly for their descendants, especially at economic and cultural level. One of the major and defining consequences for the Năsăud territory, of the process of militarization and involvement of the Greek-Catholic church, manifested within the cultural- educational field. Efforts of the two institutions, the Regiment and Church, resulted in appearance of intellectuality from Năsăud, out of who remarked numerous personalities, who by their activity have earned a well-deserved place in the Romanian cultural scene from Transylvania in the latter half of XIXth century.

In the fourth section of the first chapter we focused attention on pointing out role of Năsăud border guard funds in shaping the Romanian elites from Năsăud district. Established approximately two centuries ago, during the military border, *Năsăud border guard Funds* represent one of the most important accomplishments of Romanian population from this territory as for education is concerned, determining reorganisation of the old schools but also construction of some other new. Their contribution is reflected in the economic, administrative and town planning progress. Several years after establishment of Năsăud regiment, Court from Vienna decided creating some funds, whose main goal was to cover expenses of internal administration of frontier districts.

The first fund set up within Năsăud military border was Revenue Fund (Fondul de provente), that represented common property of border guards and whose foundations had

been laid ever since 1764. Financial sources of the Revenue Fund were represented by the incomes obtained by capitalisation of royal rights, such as tavern keeping, milling, butchery, hunting, fishing, capitalisation of wood from border guard forests, incomes resulted from transport of salt on the Someș, activity of postal offices and customs from bridges, taxes from weekly fairs, fines, rent of border guard goods, etc. Amounts of money resulted from this fund had an essential contribution to consolidation of modernisation process of the Năsăud territory. They were used to building houses and orderly rooms for officers of General Staff and from companies, administrative buildings, educational institutions, roads, bridges, to arrangement of new business premises, to financial support granted to entities entitled with protection of border guard forests, helping poorer priests, wage payment of some employees from the district etc. Yet, the domain where the revenue fund mainly manifested was that of education, out of its sums being established and maintained numerous schools from Năsăud territory: trivium schools (rural), Latin-German school known as Normal School from Năsăud (set up in 1771), Military Institute from Năsăud (1784), Girl School from Năsăud (1826), Romanian middle school from Năsăud (1863). Beside support and maintenance of the educational institutions above mentioned, the Border Guard Funds favoured establishment of a network of Romanian elementary schools in all localities of Năsăud border guard District.

Beside the Revenue Fund, in the territory of Năsăud military district, was also established Uniform Fund (Fondul de Mondire), that represented the collective property of border guard communes. The goal of its establishing was that of purchasing uniforms of better quality. Sources of this fund came from incomes made from rent of some mountains, amounts of money paid by authorities for border guards' footwear, ware of clothes etc. Once with disband of the regiment, it was renamed as stipend fund, and was destined for some cultural purposes, especially for sustentation of descendants of border guards while attending higher education.

During existence of Năsăud regiment, there were also established Communal School Funds, which are the separate property of each border guard commune, being destined to maintenance of elementary national schools. Established by initiative of Vicar Ioan Marian, these funds had as main source of revenues right on tavern keeping from the three months of autumn, and out of its sums were paid wages of teachers, textbooks for students were purchased and maintenance of schools was provided.

Major importance in Năsăud arises from grants and subsidies offered to decedents of Năsăud border guards, that led to appearance of some new social-professional categories as well as to consolidation of elite of Romanian intellectuality. According to study made by the



regretted Prof. Ph.D. Lazăr Ureche, between 1861-1918, 2977 grants and subsidies were provided to 1190 young, these contributing to training of approximately 80 promotions of intellectuals and Romanian masters as they represented the only money source to support during school years.

Schools from Năsăud and Blaj have contributed to establishing a genuine constellation of intellectuals in this corner of the country, that have made a remarkable contribution to stimulation of the economic development, education and art, by setting up libraries and own publications, organisation of exhibitions, holding conferences and lectures on different themes but interesting for the community. Regarded and interpreted as a cultural extension of Blaj cultural centre, Năsăud represents the main centre of setting up Romanian intellectuality from the north-east of Transylvania. Intellectuals from Năsăud actively got involved in the political-national and social events that characterised the history of Transylvania in XIXth century: Revolution from 1848-1849, Memorandum (by Gherasim Domide). On the territory of the upper valley of the Someșul Mare they got engaged in the fight for regaining lost border guard assets, once with disband of the IInd Romanian border guard Regiment.

The third chapter of the thesis, dedicated to Macedon Pop (1809 – 1873), from the perspective of a personality's biography, records important moments from life and activity of former Vicar and Preposytus. Based on new and published information and autobiographic works there were presented aspects referring to his native village (Sângeorz), period of studies, activity as Vicar in Năsăud and Preposytus in Gherla bishopric, information referring to his work and about his last years of life.

Macedon Pop was born on 24 June/7 July 1809 in the family of the Greek-Catholic priest from Sângeorz, Iacob Pop, being one of the six children of him and his wife Maria Pop. According to information provided by Victor Bojor, Macedon Pop was baptised on 29 August/10 September 1809, which coincided with the Beheading of St. John the Forerunner.

The first contact with school occurred exactly in his native locality, at trivium school, where the three elementary classes were, after which he goes to Normal School from Năsăud, that was a military school and had four classes. After graduating elementary education, he attends the Roman-Catholic gymnasium from Bistrița, and in 1830, he attends the Theological Seminary from Blaj, that he graduated in 1834. After finishing theological studies, in September 1834, Macedon Pop was appointed teacher to Greek-Catholic Gymnasium from Blaj, where he will activate between 1834-1835, and then as Rhetoric teacher between 1835-1838. During the period as he activated as teacher in Blaj he was ordained, in 1835, as celibate priest by the bishop of Blaj Ioan Lemeni.

In 1838, Macedon Pop was invited by the vicar Ioan Marian and commander of Border Guard Regiment from Năsăud, and is appointed catechist of the normal school and Military Institute where he taught religion and history to the fourth grade. At the same time, he also occupied the position of chaplain of Năsăud parish, where he worked until 1846, when at the death of Vicar Marian he was appointed parish priest and administrator of the Vicarage. In May 1847, he was appointed Vicar forane of Rodna vicarage, position that he held effectively until 1857, when he was appointed Provost Capitulary in Gherla.

Within his activity of Vicar and Preposytus, is almost impossible to identify any political, cultural and school event from the territory of Năsăud between 1846-1873, in which Macedon Pop not to have been encountered by name or to have made his contribution. As for ecclesiastical domain, Macedon concentrated all his efforts to implementation and assuming of the members of the clergy of model of moral conduct, which to honour the status of spiritual leaders of border guard population. As for school, the Vicar militated throughout his whole life in favour of a well-defined educational system, endowed with material means but also well trained teachers, an educational system appropriate to requirements of the time.

Similarly, he remarks by activity at political-national level, being involved in all great political events that characterised history of Transylvania from the mid of XIXth century. He had an active role in the Revolution from 1848-1849, when as a Vicar, he took part in the Great National Assembly from Blaj (3/15May 1848), whose political decisions he made known to inhabitants of Năsăud by his circular letters. The peak moment of his political and national involvement was effective participation in the fight for regaining border guard assets. In the latter half of XIXth century, Macedon Pop is an active factor in numerous events with special implications, such as: election of the Bishop from Blaj, Alexandru Șterca-Șuluțiu; the support given to the Bishop to drawing up and editing numerous documents and memorials forwarded to the Imperial Court; enthronisation of Metropolitan bishop Șuluțiu (occasion by which he was entrusted with the noble mission of greeting the emissary of the pope, Apostolic Pro-nuncio Viale Prela); he accompanied and supported Gherla Bishop Ioan Alexi in his travelling to Vienna, where he militated for different religious or laic issues in favour of the former border guards etc.

At the proposition of the Bishop of Gherla, Ioan Alexi, Macedon Pop was appointed Provost Capitulary in Gherla in 1857, and officially established on 24 May 1857, position which he occupied until 1873. As new ecclesiastic dignitary, Pop held numerous positions and attributions, continuing to serve interests of the church, school and Romanian population. In Gherla, the former Vicar held beside the position of Provost capitulary also that of President

of Diocesan Matrimonial Court, President of Pro-Synodal Examiner, President of Scholastic Committee, similarly he being the first Director of the Royal Theological Episcopal Domestic High School, institution that later on became Theology Academy.

Towards the end of 1872, feeling that his health is getting worse, Macedon Pop draws up several documents of testamentary value. Out of their analysis, it is revealed the fact that similarly as many inhabitants of Năsăud, he supported in continuation education and those dedicated to their training as intellectuals and reliable people to country. On 29 July 1873, suffering from gallstones, Macedon Pop dies in Carolin Hospital from Cluj, at the age of 64, after an activity in the service of the Church and Romanian nation of 38 years. He was buried in the central cemetery from Cluj, at the service not being present any member of his family or any representative of Năsăud, territory that he held so dear.

Unconditionally supporting the national and cultural-school cause and promoting by all means and with all resources school and education, Macedon Pop remarks through own activity of theological and scientific creation. During the period while he held the position of vicar in Năsăud, he translated *Large Catechism* of Debarhe, which for a good period was used as textbook in confessional schools from Transylvania and Preparandia (normal school) from Năsăud. Similarly, his creation includes adaptations or translations of the *Small Catechism* as well as a work printed in Vienna entitled *Galeria icoanelor sfinte (Gallery of Saint Icons)*, that represents a religious textbook set up according to requirements of educational system from that period. The main work is represented by *Activitatea vicarilor foranei episcopoești greco-catolici din Districtul Năsăudului, de la înființarea vicariatului până la Anhidim Pop inclusive (Activity of Greek-Catholic vicars forane from District of Năsăud, from establishment of vicarage inclusively to Anhidim Pop)*, posthumously published, in Budapest, in 1875, by his nephew, teacher at the Gymnasium from Năsăud, Maxim Pop. The work is a brief history of the activity of vicars forane of Năsăud, starting with the first that held the vicarial position, Ioan Para, until the one that will succeed the author in the vicarial seat, his brother, Anhidim Pop. In introduction, we have several pages addressing readers, which briefly present the circumstances that led to realisation of the book. Furthermore, are discussed chronologically relevant aspects from the activity of six vicars from Năsăud, Ioan Para, Ioan Halmagy, Ioan Nemeș, Ioan Marian, Macedon Pop and Anhidim Pop. Chapters referring to vicars represent the essence of the paper and present information extremely important for the action of reconstituting history, mainly the ecclesiastical one, of Năsăud border guard territory. The book ends with presentation of a will, by which the author states

the manner by which his wealth to be administered after his death, as well as several statements concerning his own funeral and its expenses.

Analysing correspondence of Macedon Pop it is revealed that to its great part it was carried on between the former Vicar and his follower on the position, Grigore Moisil. Still, exchange of letters he kept up in different moments of activity also with other political or ecclesiastical personalities of the time, meaning Vasile Naşcu and Iacob Mureşan. Generally, correspondence approaches themes such as: situation generated in the border guard territory by disband of the military institution; information about the actions carried out by inhabitants of Năsăud to regain border guard possessions; issues of administrative ecclesiastic nature.

The central part of the doctoral thesis is the fourth chapter dedicated to Vicar Macedon Pop, where is analysed and interpreted, from the perspective of the circular letters issued while he was vicar in Năsăud, activity at political-national, religious, school and cultural level. The chapter opens with presentation of some general aspects concerning history of Rodna vicariate forane, amongst which motivations that determined establishment of this ecclesiastic institution, attributions of vicars as well as role of Vicarage in the historical development of Năsăud territory.

In the first section of the chapter, the main moments of the Revolution from 1848-1849 from this part of Transylvania were recorded, events with profound consequences for the society from Năsăud. Revolution from Transylvania, from 1848-1849, triggered by numerous social and national contradictions, found also echo on the territory of IInd Romanian border Guard Regiment, its fundamental problems in Năsăud being: hope of the Romanian population that it had arrived the time of its political and economic emancipation, special situation of border guards from Năsăud; eruption of the civil war in the province; involvement of the Năsăud regiment in confrontations with the Hungarian revolutionary army; destructions brought about to villages and Romanian inhabitants from the area by Hungarian insurgents; brutal treatment applied to civil Romanians by the Hungarian occupational forces et al. Within political actions, that will take place in Năsăud, the central place is occupied by Macedon Pop, the one that takes over the position of vicar after death of Ioan Marian, and will hold it between 1847-1858. Briefly after participation and heading a delegacy from Năsăud, in the Great National Assembly from Blaj, the Vicar initiates and coordinates the Assembly of border guards from Năsăud, from 10 July 1848, that ends with drawing up of a petition, that encompasses a series of claims made at national, political, social, economic, juridical-administrative and cultural level. The delegacy entrusted with forwarding the above-remembered document to the Emperor yet did not receive permission on behalf of the

authorities to leave to Vienna, only in the autumn of 1848. In the context of deterioration of the social and political situation, on 13-14 September 1848 takes place a second Assembly of the border Guards in Năsăud, occasion by which a new petition was drawn up (the two documents forwarded to the Emperor remained unsolved).

Involvement in the revolutionary movement had also caused to Macedon Pop troubles, breaking up of the conflict in the autumn of 1848 determining him to leave Năsăud for a short period of time. Consequently, he took refuge in Bukovina together with soldiers from the border guard regiment for whom he was a military priest. Once with return to vicar dignity he suffered a shock and was terribly disappointed and sad when he saw sufferings caused by the Hungarians to border guard population. Also this time, Macedon Pop represented the initiator of the action of restoring materially and spiritually the Năsăud territory, permanently appealing to unity and fraternity amongst inhabitants from the upper valley of the Someșul Mare.

In the second section of this chapter, we attempted, following analysis of archive documents, to offer an overall image of the activity carried out by Macedon Pop at ecclesiastical level. Thus, the Vicar tried to transform the clergy into a model of morality, worthy of being followed by the inhabitants of Năsăud. More often than not, he urged and advised subordinate priests to obey ecclesiastic norms and to get close to people, encouraging them in their activities, but also scolding them during those times when they estranged from Christian teachings. He actively militated in favour of improvement of people of the church's welfare, focusing mainly on construction of new churches and parochial homes, considering only that way he could modernise a priestly class, many times limited to Năsăud rural realities of XIXth century. His efforts materialised in construction of new churches, repairing those affected by events from 1848-1849, such was the case of the church from Năsăud, but also construction of parochial homes in some border guard localities. By his circular letters he asked Năsăud clergy to start and coordinate an extensive movement of civic education of the population from Năsăud, which to honour the border guard territory and which to place Năsăud next to the other provinces of the Empire. Laying special emphasis on professional training of priests, Macedon Pop initiates an extensive campaign of attracting and promoting those well prepared and punishment or elimination of those who did not have a proper behaviour. By circular letters population from Năsăud is urged and stimulated to contribute to supporting certain institutions, foundations but also support some persons in their intention of attending classes of some important educational institutions and of training specialists in different domains.

As we can notice from the following section of the IVth chapter, Macedon Pop also involved actively in the scholar life of Năsăud, militating throughout his life in favour of modernisation of educational system. In his vision, schools had to support and train that intellectual elite so much necessary to Romanian society in the fight for political and national emancipation. In his circular letters are presented numerous claims and urges addressed to population from Năsăud to leave children at school to learn and become good citizens of a society that was in full process of affirmation. Similarly, priests are asked – and many times forced- to send such messages in their Sunday sermons, but also to supervise the educational process developing in their parishes. Following disband of Năsăud regiment, the Vicar had made an essential contribution to material support of these culturalization efforts and sound education of Năsăud population. He was the main architect of decision of border guard communes of destining funds established during the period while the regiment existed to school purposes to train wide and solid intellectual elite in Năsăud. He directly supported organisation of pedagogical classes, establishment of a Romanian normal school, which succeeded to train whole generations of qualified and initiated teachers in the pedagogical science of time. He succeeded to bring in the schools from Năsăud competent teachers, many of them trained in European university centres, such as Vasile Naşcu, Cosma Anca, Vasile Petri etc. At cultural level, Macedon Pop attempted by his circular letters to convince the priests and not only of necessity and importance of subscribing to Romanian magazines and newspapers, such is the case of *Gazeta Transilvaniei (Transylvania's Gazette)*, but also purchasing last editorial appearances.

Vicarial activity of Macedon Pop does not only limit to political-national or ecclesiastic field. He also involved actively in cultural development of Năsăud territory, as it is revealed from the fourth section of the chapter. He closely follows the line initiated and promoted by his predecessors in the vicarial seat, being preoccupied with increasing the level of culture and education of border guard population. The vicar remarked as tireless defender of Romanian language and unconditionally promoted culture amongst Năsăud clergy and by them amid local communities. By his attitude towards culture, Macedon Pop follows direction of the European Romantic Movement that laid great emphasis on scientific knowledge, always militating in favour of emancipation of the nation by culture. Thus, the Vicar continually promotes book science and spread of culture by schools and diverse works of its popularisation. Importance of school and culture for the inhabitants of the former border is also revealed from decision of putting the border guard funds in the service of schools and educational and culturalisation process of Romanians in general. The increased level of

education existent within Năsăud school system is reflected by personalities trained in these schools, and who remarked in different activity domains: army, diplomacy, pedagogy, education, religion, literature, mathematics, history, philosophy, biology, geography, medicine, law etc. Many of the intellectuals from Năsăud, by admirable scientific rigour, succeeded to become members of Romanian Academy, while previously had remarkable results in „Astra” (The Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and Culture of the Romanian People). In the education and culturalisation of inhabitants from Năsăud, an important role, beside schools, had also had funds of private or public book, press but also numerous scientific and literary societies as well as several foundations and private funds from the sums of which was ensured education of numerous generations of young fond of book.

Notable success the vicarial institution achieved in emancipation and modernisation of Năsăud is also explained by an excellent collaboration with laic authorities, as it is showed in the last section of this chapter. Collaboration of church servants with state functionaries produced a remarkable transformation at individual and collective level of society from Năsăud. In their action of organising and coordinating religious, school and cultural life of the population from Năsăud, vicars mainly based on priests and elementary teachers, and result of their common mission consisted in crystallisation and flourishing of intellectual elite, which from the very start served the cause of the nation. Graduates of the schools from Năsăud became priests, elementary teachers, lawyers, functionaries, military men succeeding by fruitful collaboration with the vicar of Năsăud to lay the foundations of a national movement, which in the end led to political-national emancipation of Romanians from Năsăud.

Involvement and collaboration of the Vicar with the school authorities materialised in construction of new schools, acquisition of textbooks and other instruments necessary for education, better wages for elementary teachers, increase of the percentage of class attendance. All these determined development and modernisation of the educational process and increase of the level of culturalisation of population from Năsăud.

Emancipation and modernisation of society from Năsăud was radically influenced by active involvement of two institutions, which throughout time had organised and coordinated the process of spiritual, intellectual and material development of inhabitants from the upper valley of the Someșul Mare: the Church and military institution. Ever since its establishment, the Regiment searched to inoculate the border guards with discipline and Austrian rigour, in this attempt also involving the Church by the institution of the vicarage. Permanent collaboration between the two institutions materialised in remarkable results in social,

political-national, economic, school and cultural development of Năsăud territory. If in the beginning, the inhabitants of Năsăud were quite circumspect as for the military institution, throughout time they understood advantages and benefits of status of border guards and were witnesses of a transfiguration of mentality and society on its whole. Cooperation of the church servants with officers of the Regiment did not only limit to religious or military aspects, but also manifested in everyday life of society from Năsăud, in the school, cultural, economic, sanitary field, etc.

The Vth chapter of the thesis, debating Macedon Pop as militant in the fight for regaining border guard assets, proposes to notice and analyse the peak moment of political and national involvement of the Vicar, meaning direct participation in the fight for regaining goods that were confiscated by the authorities of the state. Attempts of the revenue authority of getting hold of border guard assets determined a coalition of intellectuality from Năsăud, and not only, with the goal of retrieving own rights. Fight for regaining border guard assets, that generally developed throughout the latter half of XIXth century, reveals a remarkable sense of property, that the inhabitants from the upper valley of the Someșul Mare had, representing one of the most interesting inheritances ever since immemorial times.

Shortly after the end of the Revolution, Hapsburg authorities decided disband of border guard regiments from Transylvania, which will send Năsăud into a new phase of its development, dominated by the fight of the former border guards for regaining border guard assets. The petitionary movement from the post revolutionary period manifested at two levels. The first is represented by the Romanian political elite, which formed a national delegacy authorised by the Romanian National Committee to defend the political claims of Romanians. The second one is that from local level, by hiring representatives of rural communities who were authorised to forward petitions meant to protect them old privileges and own interests.

Petitionary movement of inhabitants from the former military border occurred almost throughout the latter half of XIXth century. The phenomenon succeeded, beside the fact that it represents a Transylvanian historic particularity, to finally obtain the much expected result: ownership over all border guard assets. Bellow we will briefly present petitions forwarded by the inhabitants from Năsăud to the emperor: 1) In 1852, the former border guard population is addressing the Emperor a petition, by which they claim restitution of properties, funds and homes that belonged to former officers from the regiment. 2) Petitions from 1853 addressed to Commission for Delimitation of Properties of the former military border, by which is asked acknowledgement of property deed over all goods that are on the territory of the former military border. 3) Petition from 1856 addressed to the Emperor by which is claimed



replevining forests and handing over of uniform fund. 4) Petition from 13 December 1860, by which is claimed acknowledgement of the status of free men of inhabitants from the territory of the former regiment. 5) Petitions from 1861, by which is asked establishment of Năsăud District. 6) Petition from 1862 concerning „argument over the border”, referring to ownership of border guards from communes Rebrișoara, Feldru and Ilva – Mică. 7) Petition from 5 October 1865, by which the Emperor is presented the great injustice that would have been made to former border guards by a new division of the claimed mountains. 8) Petition from 1886 addressed to the Emperor and directed against Magyarisation policy led by Baron Bánffy Dezideriu, that held the position of prefect.

As a much awaited end, in 1890 the judicial peace is established, by which will be acknowledged the ownership of former border guard communes over forests, mountains and the other goods. The right cannot be violated or contested by either state entities or families of Hungarian aristocrats.

### *Conclusions*

Throughout this doctoral thesis the author proposed realisation of a monographic sketch of Năsăud district, the territory of the former IInd Romanian border guard regiment, from the perspective of life and activity of Macedon Pop. Rediscovery of some personalities, such it also was Vicar and Preposytus Macedon Pop, who indelibly marked political, religious and cultural life of society from Năsăud, represents much than a necessary approach. Furthermore, it is a duty and a moral obligation to bring to light and replace amongst the great names from Năsăud, and why not those national, the man and Vicar Macedon Pop.

Researching life, activity and creation of Macedon Pop also necessitates approaching the political, national, economic, religious and cultural context within which the personality from Năsăud manifested. Instauration of the Hapsburg domination in Transylvanian brings with it a series of radical changes that will influence profoundly and irreversibly the collective mentality: Union with the Church of Rome and establishment of the Greek-Catholic Church, development of education in Romanian language, modernisation of the Orthodox Church, and, mainly, setting up the system of military border.

Once with establishment of the military border and by participation in military campaigns of the Hapsburg Empire, population from Năsăud became aware of its special administrative and political status. Following the militarization process, on the territory of the Regiment is emphasised usage of the phrase military state. By this was followed reasserting the status of free men, defining the new status by comparison with the Saxons from Bistrița and the other privileged nations, as well as obtaining a special position within the Romanian

society. Thus, was developed the feeling of affiliation to a distinct community dominated by particular mentality named border guard mentality. By militarization was succeeded a much better implementation of the status of free men in the border guard mentality, offering the possibility of heightened awareness about affiliation to a certain social state, that military, much more solid at territorial, social-economic, cultural and ethnic level. Beside the idea of free men, border guard mentality may also be defined by an accentuated feeling of ownership, both features representing important inheritances that came from the most remote times.

Phrases by which is named the Upper Valley of the Someșul Mare, the Rodna Valley or Rodna District represent evidence of growing awareness about existence of a district with a predominant Romanian population, proof of existence of Năsăud conscience. Inhabitants of Năsăud territory are aware of economic, political, social and ethnical differences between Romanians and privileged nations, for example: Saxons from Bistrița are named citizens or inhabitants of „Fundus Regius”, inhabitants from the Upper Valley of the Someșul Mare are free men, and peasants from neighbouring feudal estates are serfs.

Faith and animation that the Năsăud border guards showed during the Revolution from 1848 originate in the rights they gained, their status of free men affected by numerous obligations they had to comply with throughout time. In exchange for acquiring the status of free men, the border guards had offered loyalty to the Emperor.

Representative of the generation of the intellectuals trained in the schools from Năsăud, Macedon Pop (1809-1873) imposes as one of the illustrious personalities of Năsăud. Although, is much more active and more representative at the level of political-national assertion, Macedon Pop also contributed to a great extent to consolidation of educational system in Năsăud area, closely following the lines of school policy initiated by his predecessor, Vicar Ioan Marian.

Although he activated in the service of the Church, is almost impossible to identify any political, cultural and school event from the territory of Năsăud between 1846-1873, in which Macedon Pop not to have been encountered by name or to have made his contribution. After his appointment in the vicarial seat, he remarks by several very inspired dispositions on cultural growth of border guard villages. He preoccupies with functioning of courses of the normal school, fulfils an extremely important role in defending the Romanian language, is preoccupied with providing classes in the best possible conditions and coordinated and also led fight of the border guards to obtain their rights and properties.

During the period while he was Vicar of Năsăud, Macedon Pop will occupy the central place of political actions. This period represents the decade of fight from life of Macedon Pop

as for national and patriotical assertion of Romanians from Năsăud territory, under political, social-economic and cultural-spiritual aspect, the core of actions dedicated to the proposed goal being participation and heading the border guard delegacy in the National Assembly from Blaj, from 3-5 May 1848. Macedon Pop, a man of vast theological and historical culture will donate his library, which he held so dear, to the high school from Năsăud, he being the main architect of this prestigious Romanian cultural institution.

Finally, there must be mentioned that the author followed, throughout the paper, especially formation and activity of Macedon Pop and social, political and cultural context within which he manifested, attempting to offer a historiographic actual perspective to personality and creation of the former Vicar and Năsăud preposytus. He honourably represented the generation he was part of, being very active, meticulous and exact in fulfilling the missions that he assumed. Macedon Pop remains defender of justice, morality and order, in the service of the Church and nation.

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