

Universitatea „Babeş-Bolyai”, Cluj-Napoca

Şcoala Doctorală Istorie, civilizaţie, cultură

Università degli Studi di Messina

Cultură și presă în Cluj (1920-1940)

Culture and press in Cluj (1920-1940)

(Summary)

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Cluj-Napoca

2013

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Keywords: Transylvania, interwar period, culture, press, the culture magazines, the University, journalists

This paper consists of four main chapters, plus the introduction and the conclusion. The following chapters were entitled "Culture" - with two subsections "Prewar culture" and "Cultural categories- the interwar evolution"; "Press" - with four subsections "Prewar press-framework", "Legislative organization of the press", "Newspapers and journalists", "Clujul Românesc"; "The interdependence of culture and press" with three subsections - "Societatea de mâine"(Cluj period) and Ion Clopoșel", "Gând românesc" and "Gândirea", and the last chapter is "Cultural aspects in the Romanian interwar period in the Romanian and Italian historiography". The achievement of this thesis was mainly based on a thorough analysis of the four publications. The selection was based on the fact that those were some of the most representative publications in the period. Analyzing each issue of each publication aimed at highlighting the issues of economic, social, political and especially cultural. All the publications studied were provided by the Central University Library "Lucian Blaga" Cluj-Napoca. In outlining the study period the general studies were used, but especially the studies that paid particular attention to Transylvania. For the specific topics treated here it has been used the works with topics such as the University of Cluj, the Cluj cultural space or the Cluj press. The studies appeared in various editorial publications have brought their contribution to shaping the theme proposed by this thesis. Regarding the chapter on the cultural aspects in the Romanian interwar period in the Romanian and Italian historiography, it proposes an approach to the same interdependence between culture and the press, but extended to the national plan, not

just local. Much of the used works were provided by Prof. Dr. Pasquale Fornaro from the University of Messina.

The novel aspect of this work is that the two sides of Cluj society have not been studied together. This paper aims to provide a thorough research of what the culture meant in conjunction with the press, because many of the personalities mentioned here were at one time, a part of both social spheres, as the four publications studied provides very good perspective of the mentioned cultures. Even if one of these publications „Clujul românesc” declared itself an informative newspaper, most of the published articles deal with the cultural sphere, but the other three are really cultural publications that bring to the reader the literary works (prose, poetry, drama), the scientific discoveries and the methods of the research in the social field.

Between the two world wars, Romania had perfected the character of the national state, developing political, economical, social and cultural field. It was a period full of vitality and creativity, when Romanians have tried different fields and then they developed the philosophical theories in literature, politics or economics. Romanians were forced by the international context to reorganize all the state institutions, build new ones and move on to the state’s urbanization, even if the agriculture was predominant. This remained the foundation of the Romanian economy and it has continued to be the main occupation of the majority population providing raw materials for export, an important field on the state finance. Also it developed the industry with a contribution to national income.

Regarding social structure, the main social category remains the peasantry like before the First World War. The working class, who lived mostly in industrialized cities

occurs with the industry and trade development, but the bourgeoisie dominated the interwar period. Although with a small number, it was the creative engine, that contributed to the most the political and economic life.

Perhaps the most important thing that Romania had to do after the Great Union was the reorganization of political life. "It has to be taken into consideration the political life following the introduction of universal suffrage, land reform, political system with more parties, unifying institutional structures, that explains the exchange of ideas, which is reflected on the intellectuals sphere and it is assumed by the high profile personalities: Ștefan Zeletin, Eugen Lovinescu, Dimitrie Gusti, Nicolae Iorga, Alexandru Lapedatu, Ioan Lupaș, Ionel Brătianu, Gheorghe Vintilă and many others, who so far have given measure to the questions recorded in statistical, scientific, political, cultural level and were discussed by the Social Romanian Institute by several newspapers and magazine and submitted to the Parliament Academic Society "¹. Politics has been dominated since 1920 by two political parties: the National Liberal Party and the National Peasant Party, which wanted to support parliamentary governance both wishing to lead the country to democracy. Economic and social problems, have tested their plans in the next decade, right-wing movements and parties responded to fears that liberal democratic institutions cannot adapt to the conditions, with authoritarian solutions.

After The First World War, Romania chose to stand by France and Britain, powers that supported the establishment of Greater Romania, but after 1930, in

¹ N. Păun, „Il modello romeno nel periodo interbellico”, în *La tentazione autoritaria. Istituzioni, politica e società nell'Europa centro-orientale tra le due guerre mondiali*, coord. Pasquale Fornaro, Ed. Rubbettino, Messina, 2004, p. 163

Germany, Hitler came to power with his aggressive plans and both states showed opposition. Romania was forced to end its agreement. The international movement brought a broad discussion among Romanian intellectuals after Romania's involving for defending their newly annexed territories. Some people considered that Romania should rally to the Western model and join the modern nations, on the other hand there was the idea that Romania should keep its peasant, agrarian and Orthodox traditions and remaining faithful to itself, or if there was a third possibility, it was keeping Orthodox traditions and values, but also giving the opportunity to participate in Europe's social and economic progress. These three issues governed the social field in the whole interwar period.

The politics was caught in between democracy and authoritarianism. In the early '20s inclination towards Western values was stronger, thus the parliamentary strengthening was based on the adoption of universal suffrage for men and brought the hope that the oligarchy would only be a thing of the past. The Romanian National Party of Transylvania and the Peasants Party of vechiul Regat were two parties with strong support from the masses and supported the participation of all citizens in public life through elections. The parties declared its support for the Western development model, opening the way for democracy. The voters showed strong support for democracy after the 1923 Constitution and then the 1928 elections. These political changes were difficult and the impact of universal suffrage was limited because the peasantry was the majority and lacked experience, which led to its exclusion from the political process. The Liberal Party, although they had the desire to change, hardly did so, preferring to

govern in an authoritarian manner, aided by important personalities from the financial and industrial environment. This led to the creation of a favorable current of opinion to nationalist, extremist and authoritarian movements. The '30s brought a Romanian democracy crisis caused by global recession and its economic and social problems and extremist movements became more apparent. The anti-Semitism reached grandiose values, many supporters of the traditionalism ideas in the early 20's approached this to gain as much public as possible. „Garda de Fier” reached its peak popularity during this period and Carol II came to the throne in 1930, marking the last gasp of democracy. It was not a secret that Carol II despised the parliamentary institutions and had the intention to declare himself an undeniable source of power in the state. It cannot neglect the changes in Europe, so the rise of the Nazi Germany and the Fascist Italy aggressive behavior with policies of Western democracies led to the formation of a current of opinion which established that the authoritarianism was the best way to run the country. In 1938 the Carol II dictatorship perfected this current of opinion.

The interwar period was dominated by two major parties, the Liberals and the National Peasants. The Liberal National Party stood by the financial oligarchy, grouped around large banker and industrialist families headed by the Brătianu family and interphering politics with these fields was determined by assuming the role of being the main pawn in economic development. The Party believed that it was above all social classes, promoting favorable measures and assuming the role of justifying the fact that land and electoral reforms initiated and contributed decisively to the creation of Greater

Romania. The idea of progress promoted by the Party was that the progress should be gradual, based on private property, social harmony and national consciousness.

The National Peasant Party was born from the merger of the Old Kingdom Peasant Party and the National Party of Transylvania in 1926. The two parties shared certain ideals, such as the extension of the democratic institutions and civil liberties at all social levels, also there were substantial differences and points. While Peasants pushed for radical land reform, the National Party had substantial support from the peasants in Transylvania, but being essentially bourgeois considered itself nationalist rather than peasants. The Peasants promoted the agrarian issue, considering that the peasants that work the land should exercise control over the production means, the agriculture organization should be based on small and independent farms and the production carried out in the cooperative movement. The National Party of Transylvania was representative for all the Romanian classes, claiming the rights of Romanians in Hungary before the war. It was sustained by the peasantry and intellectuals, supported by the banking and industrial bourgeoisie, but felt threatened by the Liberal's financial oligarchy, to whom they are opposed. In the same period the People's Party was established, which was rather a union of people who had ideals, having principles like good governance and respect for the Constitution. Averescu and the people around him felt that it is very important siding with the Liberals, so that they could come to power, but after 1927 the Party did not play an important role in political life anymore. Now the parties on the left were born with support from the urban working class, but had little influence in politics. The Social Democratic Party had a

permanent character in 1921. In 1922 the Romanian Communist Party was founded, but was outlawed in 1924 and continued its work unlawfully until after World War II.

In this general context, Transylvania played an important role, such as „Dobrogea and Basarabia were a sore spot, which resist, despite all the pressures, and also one of the liveliest and concerned irredentist movements for Bucharest, which comes from Budapest. At the first revisionist reference Romanians do not waste time to say that Transylvania is an indisputable Romanian land and cannot question its membership in Romania”². This dispute between Romania and Hungary for Transylvania, was discussed widely throughout history by both Romanian and Hungarian historians. The Romanian’s argument is that Transylvania belongs to Romania on a Daco-Roman continuity and Hungarians entered the Transylvanian territory when there was already a well-established population, and occupied a vast territory.

In the nineteenth century in Transylvania, Banat, Crişana and Maramureş, under Hungarian occupation, there were about 2.785 million people. They were considered an ethnic minority and therefore could not participate in politics and cultural life that were constantly under government pressure. Transylvanian Romanians were aware of the historical rights that were due, therefore waged a constant struggle for the affirmation of the national ideal, having also two strong national institutions, the Ortodox Church at Sibiu and the Greek Catholic Church in Blaj. The late Romanian movement was led by business and professional occupations, especially lawyers, who gradually replaced

² L. Berra, *Vinti e vincitori nell’Europa danubiana*, Ed. L’Eroica, Milano, 1937, p. 239

Orthodox and Greek Catholic priests in the forefront of the movement and went to their main objective, which was to have political autonomy and self-determination. Their main goal was to have economic development because it could only lead to political and cultural progress, and if this did not happen Romanians will always be inferior to Transylvanians Hungarians and Germans. They fought for the development of agriculture and the establishment of Romanian banks and industry, believing that although agriculture is a priority, the industrialization and the banking system will bring the fulfillment of the national ideal. In the early twentieth century Transylvanian Romanians were mostly concerned with agriculture, and with small properties their productivity was increased by being only for own consumption and had no means to cultivate land. The Romanians' struggle for national idea went political: they rejected the pact which created Austria-Hungary, in which Transylvania became from a historical majority population in the principality, a minority in the United Hungary, and by the law of 1868 Romanian minorities received only limited religious and cultural autonomy. Over 10 years the relations between nations took a new turn after the law that said that the language in all Romanian Orthodox and Greek Catholic elementary schools should be Hungarian and the same thing happened with non-Hungarian secondary schools and kindergartens. Then it started undermining Romanian Churches, so that priests and teachers received prime from the Hungarian state, being the main instigators against the resisting assimilation policy. It was the time when the Romanian political leaders gave up the idea of autonomous Transylvania, transforming it into a new idea of the nation. Before The First World War a negotiation between the

Romanian and Hungarian parts was tried, although it started on the right track to improving the situation of the nationalities in Hungary, it failed miserably, because the Prime Minister wanted only the strengthening of the Hungarian State. The negotiation was more than a political compromise, it was the survival of nationalities followed by the national ideal on both sides, but in totally opposite directions.

As a result of all these problems encountered by Romanians in Transylvania, it can only be said that the Great Union was able to help them. This important turning point for the entire Romanian nation could provide an opportunity to assert Romanians' true values and national goals with the political objective and that left only the development of other areas.

The second chapter intituled „The culture” has two parts „Prewar culture”, „Categories of culture- the interwar evolution” and presents all the categories of culture, like education, theatre, cinematography, wanting to put the University of Cluj in the spotlight. This was the most important cultural field and was the basis for all the cultural domains.

The prewar Romanian culture in Cluj has encountered various problems caused by the Hungarian government, however it has not given in to create its way to reaching the national cultural ideal. Undoubtedly this period was characterized by the Romanians' desire to cleave Romania, while it entered the road to upgrading all the powers to fulfill political, economic, social, cultural Romanian space.

The culture division was needed to better highlight each issue. The first was the education sector, which was governed by the 1868 law, which provided compulsory

and free elementary education. The schools were public or confessional. The state had not made schools for each nationality and each had to sacrifice important material to support their education. This is the also case of Romanians that hardly reached the city, where there was only one Romanian school, an elementary school for boys inside the Bob Church³. The initiative to establish an elementary school for girls was doomed to failure. The Hungarian-language schools had a better financial situation but also had their own funds and were not aided by the state.

“The number of schools and daycares in Cluj is presented in 1915 as follows: 16 kindergartens, 29 primary schools, 10 additional primary schools and agricultural schools 3 schools for apprentices and 3 gymnasiums”⁴.

From the 29 primary day schools, 27 were teaching in Hungarian and German, and two were Romanian confessional schools, one in the city and one in Mănăştur. The population of elementary schools in Cluj in 1907 was 4683 students. In that year, however, the number of boys and girls from 6 to 11 years compelled to attend school, was 5.143 and 460 remained uneducated. Among those who did not attend school, a total of 66 children spoke Romanian⁵. Regarding the secondary education in Cluj there were 3 high schools with Hungarian teaching for boys. The girls had The High School for girls, all with Hungarian teaching, but access was limited to this school because the fees were high. It can be noted that all schools focused in the downtown area and the increasing number of students led to the construction of new homes. Gradually the city

³ E. Dăianu, *Biserica lui Bob în Cluj*, Cluj, 1906, p. 50 *apud* Ş. Pascu, *Istoria Clujului*, Cluj, 1974, p. 344

⁴ Ion Enescu, Iuliu Enescu, *Ardealul, Banatul, Crişana şi Maramureşul*, Bucureşti, 1905, p. 80 *apud* Ş. Pascu, *op. cit.*, p.345

⁵ *Ibidem*

is enriched with new educational institutions, but none of these institutions was in Romanian, and Romanian students were forced to attend schools with Hungarian teaching. Another category of schools were the professional schools because of the industrial development and specialists to work in this field were needed.

We must not forget that here the language of instruction was Hungarian, without exception.

And “the 1884 industrial law XVII obliges municipalities to establish industrial and commercial schools, where there already are 50 active disciples”⁶. There were three vocational schools in Cluj in 1918, two commercial and one industrial one. The Industrial School specialized to a higher level in preparing workers and technicians in the manufacturing wood and metals⁷. Also the Superior School of Drawing and then of Music arises and the Agricultural schools had a much better representation. The increased trade with the commodity production development demanded by the capitalist market in 1878 led to the establishment of the Higher Schools of Commerce, which in 1902 was elevated to Academy. There were only two such institutions of higher trade, one in Budapest and one in Cluj. A new building was erected in 1902 on a land provided by the city with funds from the “Transylvanian merchants Fund”⁸. The administrative schools arose along with schools of notaries required in the construction that the Austro-Hungarian government had in mind in the city. The Government intention to turn the confessional schools in public schools destroyed the enjoyed

⁶ O. Ghibu, *Viața și organizația bisericască în Transilvania și Ungaria*, București, 1915, p. 128-129 *apud* Ș. Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 346

⁷ Ș. Pascu, *op. cit.*, p.347

⁸ *Clujul. Viața culturală românească*, Cluj, 1929, p. 92, *apud* Ș. Pascu, *op.cit.*, p. 347

autonomy of nationalities' schools because they brought state employed teachers and transformed them into normal public schools⁹. The Higher education was represented in Cluj in 1867 by the three theological institutes: Roman Catholic, Reformed and Unitarian with a small number of students. In 1905 the Agronomic Institute became The Agricultural Academy, which had an important role in knowledge development.

With all these educational improvements in Cluj, there was an urge for University development, the only missing thing from the scientific and cultural center of Transylvania. The Romanians wanted it since the revolution of 1848, and gathered private and institutional donations for this purpose. The Romanians wanted a university and made a statement to the Emperor Franz Joseph in which demanded in university Romanian employed professor, also equality and respect between nations. This is designed for the Hungarians also and requires each nation to be represented equally, therefore equality between Hungarians, Romanians and Germans, who hold each section taught in their own language. The Emperor disagreed and signed the establishing decree of a Hungarian University in Cluj, on 12 October 1872 with four faculties: law and science of the state; philosophy, letters and history, with a department of Romanian language and literature; science and medicine. It could hardly provide all the expertise needed also the university received the founding act after 20 years since it was founded. Some professors and personalities contributed to build this scientific and cultural institution. Among those who stood Grigore Silași was one of the few teachers who had PhD, dedicating himself to educating the younger generation, also notable is

⁹ O. Ghibu, *op. cit.*, p. 167, *apud* Ș. Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 347

Samuel Brassai, an important personality in the cultural life of Cluj, teaching courses in mathematics, physics and oriental languages tending plants in the Botanical Garden or editing journals such as „Revista de istorie literară comparată” and the newspaper „Ziarul de duminică”, in the botanical field. Other notable personalities were Agost Kanitz, in mathematics and the natural sciences, Geza Entz, in medicine, Lechner Karoly, Antal Fleischer and Rudolf Fabiny in chemistry. The history department had Henrik Finaly and archaeologist Bela Posta and training educational and scientific department, Karoly Bohm. Romanian graduates who distinguished themselves were: Petre Dulfu, George Coşbuc in literature, Iuliu Haţieganu in internal medicine. From these examples it could be seen that the nationalities’ proportionality was not met, and that leading to the academic year 1911/1912 the Romanian students, Germans, Slovaks, Serbs represent only a sixth of all students in the university. It was because of these conditions that the Romanians suffered a struggle for the recognition of rights after university and many of them had to leave Romania. The University development was hindered by the conditions imposed by the government, facing financial difficulties, and who was unable to pay the teachers' salaries, which were already unequal. The same happened among students for whom it was impossible to afford living in a city like Cluj, and especially being able to continue scientific work performance. Until the late nineteenth century material conditions did not improve but the World War changed things considerably. Despite all these difficulties, the educational establishment has created an ideal environment for the culture development, but it can be noted that a large part of the Cluj population could not enjoy this culture and a

significant number of individuals were still illiterate. An important role in the cultural life was played by the University Library and the Transylvanian Museum. The library was endowed with many valuable works, including some incunabula, collections of laws and valuable manuscripts from families' archives. In 1903, the library numbered 160,000 volumes and 2,000 bundles of manuscripts, letters and other important valuable collections, among them being the original „Cronicile Românilor” by Gheorghe Șincai¹⁰. An important role was played in Cluj by the „Astra” association which over the years had a significant role and strengthened Romanian culture elements, with the Romanian intelligentsia standing out which brought to light personalities like Iuliu Hațieganu, Ion Goia, Constantin Stanca.

The museums established in Cluj, had an important role and this was first discussed in the Diet of Transylvania in 1841-1842, and in Vienna in 1852. Gradually they founded the Botanical Garden and Zoological Institute with donations and private investment. Within 12 years, from 1860 to 1872, The museum Society succeeded to organize five sections: 3000 archaeological objects and 20,000 coins, a botanical section with 7316 species of plants, totaling 50,000 pieces, a zoo section with 17,000 exhibits objects and groups; a mineralogical section with 8,000 exhibits and a library with 30,000 volume¹¹.

Regarding theatrical, musical and cinematic life, it was probably the closest to the people. The Cluj theatre had a tradition. Concerning the representation of social reality, the theater is distinguished by its two personalities: actor E. Gyula Kovacs and actress

¹⁰ Ș. Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 354

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 358

Mari Jaszai, first interpreting Shakespearean works: „Romeo and Juliet”, „Hamlet”, „Othello”, „King Lear”. In the same years, in Budapest, the foundations of an institution „The Society for Romanian theater fund” proposal made by Joseph Hodos was rejected, but created an impetus for Romanian intellectuals and a correspondent of the newspaper „Federațiunea” recorded echoes from Cluj: “the idea of raising a national theater is well received by all people here and its realization is desired most sincerely and we are happy when we see that our excellent Pest intelligence took serious measures to achieve and bring this idea to life ...”¹². The desire to achieve a Romanian theater was growing in all the cultural centers of the country, including Cluj, so that in the 1868-1870 period at The Piarist High School, under the guidance of Ion Baciú the theater circle was formed for amateur players which started the contact with actors all over Romania, and „Lipitorile satului” brought some topics from the Moldavians’ lives in Transylvania. Romanian actors spent nearly two weeks in Cluj, performing exclusively a repertoire of Romanian, especially Vasile Alecsandri's creations. Press echoes of these events occurred, greeting once more the closeness between actors in Romania and Romanian amateur actors in Cluj. The beginnings of the project of the two groups that performed in Cluj continued with a tour in all country.

Regarding art, romance, a new architectural trend started with neoclassical buildings. The influence was evident in the architecture of the palace hall, and the

¹² *Anuarul I al Societății pentru crearea unui fond de teatru român pe anii 1895/6, 1896/7, 1897/8, Brașov, 1898, p. 15, apud Ș. Pascu, op. cit., p. 360*

architecture of The St. Michael's Church, the neo-Gothic influence on the romantical current in Cluj can be observed.

All these cultural movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth century will contribute immensely to culture in the interwar period. Now, beginnings of Romanian culture in Cluj can be noticed, which would grow increasingly more between the two world wars and which had greatly suffered exile in 1940 with all the cultural figures of Cluj.

The Great Union meant the fulfillment of a national ideal for all the Romanians, this being commented and discussed extensively. All Romanian movements did nothing but to bring the achievement of this ideal even closer and The Great Unification perfected these efforts. Now, the educational institutions and Romanian culture arose.

Education was one of the main objectives of the Council, giving an order on January 3th, 1919 to take over all public schools and the Hungarian teachers took the oath of allegiance to the Romanian state. The reorganization of Romanian education has led to a lack of Romanian staff and teachers received training. In addition to the University of Cluj, from September 1st, 1919, 28 boys' schools, 8 girls' high schools and 60 civilian schools were opened, besides the 7 religious schools. The Romanian language education was introduced only for Romanian students and other students were educated in their own language.

The Ruling Council commended it's resources to Cluj in terms of education, because the city became the cultural center of Transylvania, thus in the first decade of the Union in Cluj there were 7 kindergartens teaching in Romanian with 12 teachers

and 5 minority kindergartens with 6 teachers. Regarding basic education, until 1929, there were 11 primary schools with Romanian tuition, with 66 teachers, and 15 schools that were operating simultaneously in Hungarian, German and the Yiddish language. The application worked also for 2 schools beside the boys' school and the girls' school, unlike the first years after the unification when there were 14 schools: 9 boys' schools and 5 girls' schools. Environmental education was represented by theoretical schools: The „Gheorghe Barițiu” School, The „Dr. C. Anghelescu” Gymnasium, The Application School and The teachers Normal School. Apart from these, operating The „Ecole Supérieure de Commerce”, The Trade Elementary School, The School of Arts and Crafts, the School of conductor wire techniques and The School of public works. Girls studied at two theoretical schools, and the normal school, the girls vocational school and the girls commerce high school. After the Union practical schools arose with Romanian tuition, and the industrial school for apprentices, The apprentices CFR school and The trade school apprenticeship. Also in Cluj, the Ministry of Health: the Medical-Pedagogical Institute was set up to educate retarded children, the deaf and dumb children Institute and the Institute for the blind, to which was attached a special printing for the blind, in the 'Braille'. In the 1939-1940 school year in Cluj, 14 schools of theoretical average, 7 of Romanian language functioned and 7 in Hungarian. After the Vienna Dictate all 7 Romanian schools were suspended, from then on only one section taught in Romanian remained, Romanian students no longer having the opportunity to attend language courses until later, during the release of Northern Transylvania.

Higher education suffered after 1918, because a significant number of teachers refused to accept the union, thus The Governing Council decided to take the lead of the university, and in management functions were placed Romanian academics, like lead Rector Nicolae Drăganu, former Romanian language teacher at the University of Cluj. He then formed a university committee headed by Professor Sextil Pușcariu made up of professors from Bucharest and Iași, a committee aiming to organize the new institution of higher education and filling teaching positions with recognized specialists. From this committee: Nicolae Iorga, Vasile Pârvan, Dumitru Pârvan from the Faculty of Letters, G. Țițeica, G. Mrazec and P. Poni from Faculty of Science, T. Stelian, C. Longinescu and I. Teodorescu from the Law School, Dr . G. Marinescu, Dr. V. Babeș, Dr. Juvara and Dr. Manicatide from the medical school. After the proposals of Romanian scientists Emil Racoviță, Constantin Levaditi and Gheorghe Cantacuzino, French teachers were employed to teach certain subjects that could not be covered by other specialists from the country¹³. The University held its teaching and scientific activity in its four faculties: letters and philosophy, science, law, medicine and pharmacy, each with several sections.

Regarding Romanian theater and opera, they could not organize themselves before the First World War, but after the Great Union, in May 14th, 1919 the first theater performance took place in Romanian, which included a representation from the National Theatre actors in Bucharest, „Poemul Unirii” by Zaharia Bârsan and „Răzvan și Vidra” by B.P. Hașdeu. The Ruling Council approved the plan for the Romanian

¹³ B. Surdu, A. Morar, „Dezvoltarea culturii”, în Ș. Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 421-422

theater in Cluj under the playwright Zaharia Bârsan, who built a team for carrying out the theater activities. The National Theatre season officially began December 1st, 1919 consecrating the first anniversary of the Union of Transylvania with Romania. Followed by different staging of national and international work, the annual seasons always started with a work from a Romanian writer like Vasile Alecsandri, B.P. Hașdeu Alexandru Davilla or Ion Luca Caragiale. So in the first 10 years of activity 1198 performances were held of which 182 were awarded, counting the ones presented by theater staff outside Cluj¹⁴. Like other cultural institutions in Cluj, after 1940, the National Theatre moved its work to Timisoara, and the work continued here throughout this period of exile.

Like all cultural institutions in Cluj which arose after 1918, the Romanian Opera opened its doors in 1921 as the first Romanian music institution of this kind. The Ruling Council appointed Constantin Pavel as the Opera head to arrange and organize the Romanian Opera. It allocated a significant budget for hiring talented conductors and singers, and „Aida” was the first Romanian opera sung in Cluj. After the Constantin Pavel withdrawal D. Popovici-Bayreuth was appointed Opera manager. In the next period in the Opera scene universal musical art masterpieces like „La Traviata”, „Trubadurul”, „Bal mascat” from Verdi, „Faust” - Gounod, „Madame Butterfly” - Puccini, „Carmen” - Bizet, „Fidelio”- Beethoven were performed, not leaving aside national creations: „Luceafărul”- N. Bretan, „Făt-Frumos”- H.Klee, „Seara mare” and „La șezătoare”- Tiberiu Brediceanu or „Crai Nou”- Ciprian Porumbescu. In addition to

¹⁴ Z. Bârsan, „Teatrul românesc în Ardeal”, în *Transilvania, Banatul, Crișana, Maramureșul, 1918-1928*, II, București, 1929, p. 1255-1262 *apud* B. Surdu, A. Morar, „Dezvoltarea culturii”, în Ș. Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 424

stage performances in Cluj, the Romanian Opera toured in other cities, including Bucharest, Arad, Timișoara, Cernăuți, Oradea and after 7 years activity, Romanian Opera had 1180 performances with 42 premieres¹⁵.

An important cultural role was represented by the Romanian literature published in the interwar period. All this literature appeared primarily in cultural magazines. Magazines like „Gândirea”, „Țara noastră”(a political rather than a literary character, but names as Octavian Goga, Tudor Arghezi, Zaharia Stancu wrote here), also „Cosânzeana”, „Societatea de mâine” or „Gând românesc” contributed immensely to the development of the Romanian culture in Cluj. Ion Agârbiceanu was one of the great names working here, capturing the reality of political and social unrest in the Transylvanian Romanian society in his stories, sketches and novels. Others were: Emil Isac, known for his poetic, and Lucian Blaga, poet, playwright, essayist and philosopher, one of the most representative cultural personalities of Transylvania and „La cumpăna apelor”, „La curtea dorului” and dramas like „Zamolxe”, „Tulburarea apelor”, „Meșterul Manole”, „Cruciada copiilor” or „Avram Iancu” are just a few of the many poems written by him worth mentioning.

As a continuation of the cultural aspects that have enriched Cluj in the interwar period the arts cannot be forgotten. The sculptor Cornel Medrea had specific duties to organize the „School of Fine Arts”, but the Romanian government hasn't attached a vital importance to this area. Local intellectuals decided that a cultural development on this plan was needed, so in November 1925 they established the „School of Fine Arts” in

¹⁵ Z. Bârsan, C. Olariu, „Opera Română din Cluj”, în *Transilvania, Banatul, Crișana, Maramureșul, 1918-1928*, II, București, 1929, p. 1263-1267 *apud* B. Surdu, A. Morar, *Dezvoltarea culturii*, în Ș. Pascu, *op. cit.*, p. 425

Cluj, the fourth school of its kind in Romania. The school began the work in January 1926 with two sections: one for painting and one for sculpture, following the same course as in similar institutions in Bucharest and Iași. Director of the institution is called the painter Alexandru Pop, former professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Budapest, while representative personalities of cultural life were appointed as teachers; in painting: Pericle Capidan, Catul Bogdan, Anastasie Demian; in sculpture: Eugen Pascu, Romul Ladea; plastic anatomy: Dr. Victor Papilian; art history: Coriolan Petran; perspective: Emil Iasc, and Anastasius Popa. The institution fulfilled its mission through exhibitions and gave impetus employment to youth, but the lack of funds and space moved the school to Timișoara, in 1933 and returned it only after 1944. The school enriched the cultural life by making secret arts known and offering the public another view of the field. Although it attempted collective exhibitions for attracting central authorities' interest to supplement material funds, this did not happen, and art was doomed to failure, but this period, up to 1933, represented the affirmation of a sector which contributed to the development of Romanian culture.

The University was the foundation of the Romanian cultural life in Cluj. It formed the new generation, but it also promoted its teachers. Many of the personalities contributed to the formation of each culture sector enabled by the University, because these sectors were under the guidance of the University of Cluj. An analysis of Romanian culture couldn't be done without forgetting the great contribution of the Universities to the city, its yearbooks can present the best of the academic work, as well as the inter-war developments of this prestigious institution.

The first yearbook (1919-1920) published the report of Sextil Pușcariu, the Rector of the University activity. This report was read at the inaugural meeting of October 10th, 1920. The Rector's speech began with praising the actions taken to establish a Romanian university in the middle of Transylvania, never forgetting those who have contributed to this event „The people chosen to occupy public functions through the will of the nation, even while facing the hardships and difficulties of introducing a new regime and an orderly lifestyle in a province ravaged by a long war and troubled by revolutionary ideas, haven't forgotten our ancestor's dreams to have a Romanian university in the heart of Ardeal. In the same time they realized that our people have a renewed high-cultural mission in central Europe”¹⁶. The report continues by explaining all the events that led to the establishment of this university, the composition of the reorganization commission, the faculties and its composition, the number of students and the benefits of auxiliary teaching claiming that „the Council's intentions were not to destroy a cultural institution with a history of nearly 50 years, but to introduce it in the new state situation”¹⁷. The report noted that the New University organization could be achieved in two ways: „ a normal way, the best in normal times, taking into account all the forms set out in prevention of law abuse, and the hazard way where the future organizers would take advantage of the good parts of the existing laws only because in the given circumstances the laws were adaptable or creating the needed laws themselves”¹⁸. The first path was followed in the early reform of the institution when the specialists were

¹⁶ „Raportul rectorului Sextil Pușcariu despre activitatea Universității din Cluj de la înființarea ei”, în *Anuarul Universității din Cluj, anul I, 1919-1920*, Tipografia Instit. De Arte Grafice „Ardealul”, Cluj, 1921, p. 1

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 2

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 2-3

called from the University of Bucharest and Iași to handle vacancies at the University of Cluj, giving these only to those who are truly prepared to handle all the forms prescribed by law. After this step, the Governing Council chose the second way, „a little revolutionary, but the only practicable: it appointed a general commissioner, who could make appropriate proposals for the University organization”¹⁹. Due to the situation of Romanians in Transylvania until 1918 and their lack of scientific development under the Hungarian regime „the University teachers should be recruited from the men of science of Tara Romaneasca, between whom were a few of Transylvanian origin, who would gladly come back to old abandoned places”²⁰. With the completion of all administrative obstacles the University was able to open its doors to students. In the second year Dr. D. Călugăreanu, the Rector of the academic year (1921-1922) said: „the public understands that the University fulfills a social function, it was living and working closely with the society lifestyle and order and it also suffers the environmental influences”²¹. Until now the name of the University was „University of Cluj”, but the 1927-1928 school year brings the appointment „King Ferdinand I University of Cluj”. This is the year of a decade celebration of the Great Union, reminding also that since the Revolution of 1848 the Romanians of Transylvania and Hungary wanted a Romanian higher education institution, but born after the Union, the University was „the highest cultural institution of the region in which foreign nations crushed mercilessly large ideals and modest

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 3

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p.4

²¹ D. Călugăreanu, „Dare de seamă anuală despre activitatea Universității din Cluj în anul școlar 1921-1922”, în *Anuarul Universității din Cluj(1921-1922)*, Institutul de arte grafice „Ardealul”, Cluj, 1923, p. 1

desires”²² and it „the spiritual life popped up, which would have been stopped by the secular oppressors who didn’t want any ashes to remain from it”²³, emphasizing again that this university was the result of a struggle for the national identity of Romanians, for affirming ideals that they achieved against all the received refusals until 1918. The title of the new University was given as a tribute to the king that made the fulfilling wishes of the Romanians in Transylvania possible. After praising the King, the report brought back the achievements of the University in the year before and all these achievements went back into the lack of financial support and progress difficulties. However 1928 saw the renovation of the old theater under university property and it was enriched with five teachers. The students number is remarkable here, the boys preferred the Faculty of law, medicine, letters, sciences, pharmacy, the girls maintained a preference for the Faculty of Letters, followed by science, medicine, pharmacy and law, also their number continuously increased, and the number of students who attended theological faculties was also larger. It is found that the number of minority students represented the third part of all students, this is still a sign that after 10 years since the unification, the university fulfilled the objective of giving minorities a chance to join the Romanian education without intending to undermine the minorities’ need to have education.

The teachers manifested the need for specialization and the University sent them to Europe, where they took part in scientific conferences. Two of them were Iuliu Moldovan and Cassin Maniu, while Professor Sextil Pușcariu took part in the

²² G. Bogdan-Duică, „Raportul Rectorului”, în *Anuarul Universității Regele Ferdinand I din Cluj pe anul școlar 1927-1928*, Librăria R. Cioflec, Cluj, 1929, p. 5

²³ *Ibidem*

International Congress of Linguistics in Hague and the University of Marburg and Bohn and held two conferences. Professor Coriolan Petranu responded to a call from the Association of cultivating the history arts and the Czechoslovak-Romanian Institute and held a conference on „Romanian monuments in Transylvania” at the University „Carol” of Prague²⁴.

Nicolae Drăganu, rector of 1931-1932, lectured at the beginning of the academic year and thanked all those who occupied the same position before him, and mentioned that he did not want to change anything in the University, but wished to maintain at least what his predecessors brought to it. As a complement to this speech, he did a review of all Romanian intellectuals who were schooled in the leading universities of Europe.

The year 1933 was marked by the economic crisis of all states, and of Romania implicitly, thus the university was forced to cut funds, which were just enough to maintain a waterline. Rector of the year, Goangă Florian Ștefănescu, said that because of this crisis, all universities were forced to make a more careful selection among students, choosing those who „are endowed with superior intelligence, with great power of thought and penetration, as well as a creative capacity and its own directive, accompanied by a high sense of responsibility”²⁵. This made the university offer a lot more opportunities for these young people carefully selected to carry out scientific work in the best conditions. Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă retained the position for the next six years, continuing to support the fact that students must have a flawless

²⁴*Ibidem*, p. 10

²⁵ F. Ștefănescu-Goangă, „Discurs Inaugural”, în *Anuarul Universității „Regele Ferdinand I” Cluj pe anul școlar 1932-1933*, Institutul de Arte grafice „Ardealul”, Cluj, 1933, p. 7

preparation through to cultivate all powers, because „only through orderly and intellectual work by continuous training the knowledge and that complex bundle of skills can be acquired, and without those no thorough and useful work can not be done”²⁶, it is the only way that students can be the intellectual elites that society needs.

The 1938-1939 academic year marked the beginning of World War II, so the Rector appealed to the 20 years of uninterrupted academic activity, remembering that the national identity of all nations must be strong facing the foreign elements which want to destabilize it and for this the Romanian people fought fiercely. As in the previous years, the rector referred to the younger generation that studied at the university, that would lead the country's reins of political, economic and cultural aspects, along with the entire society, and said that both must defend what was built all this years.

1940 brought the University refuge in Sibiu, from where, in 1941, its Rector, Professor Iuliu Hațieganu wanted to remember that the university's financial situation improved compared to 1940, and also said that „The University of Cluj had an eternal mission: Romanian spirituality affirmation on the lands where our nation was born. It is a symbol of the union after the millennial struggle and it has to be the will, the fight and the Romanian ideal's spiritual fortress”²⁷, the country's difficulties motivated the University to fight with all its weapons and regain all national values.

²⁶ *Idem*, „Discurs inaugural și dare de seamă”, în *Anuarul Universității „Regele Ferdinand I” Cluj pe anul școlar 1934-1935*, Institutul de Arte grafice „Ardealul”, Cluj, 1935, p.6

²⁷ I. Hațieganu, „Universitate și națiune”, în *Anuarul Universității „Regele Ferdinand I” Cluj-Sibiu, în al doilea an de refugiu, 1941-1942*, Tipografia „Cartea românească Cluj”, Sibiu, 1943, p. 7

Interwar Romanian culture would not have been possible without the contribution of the University of Cluj in all cultural spheres, each intellectual movement being closely linked to it. To promote education and intellectual elites who worked at the university, all Romanian Cultural levels were developed and evolved based on the national idea, but not enslaving other minority nationalities.

The third chapter presents the interwar Romanian press and its evolution. The chapter has four subchapters entitled „Prewar press-framework”, „Legislative organization of the press”, „Newspapers and journalists: the role of journalist in Cluj”, „Clujul românesc”. This chapter tried to present the Romanian press difficulties, the laws and the journalist training. The press was one of the most important parts of the society, helping the development of the information.

The cultural landscape of Cluj was enriched by the newspapers and magazines published here. The number of printers was high and it would reach, in some years, the number 8. More than 100 employees worked here, especially printing periodicals that totalize a large number of pages²⁸. The prewar period was punctuated by the appearance of several Hungarian newspapers “Cluj had at least one daily newspaper continuously updated”²⁹. These Romanian newspapers can be seen as inserting Cluj in Romanian life Transylvania. The beginning of December 1877 was marked by the appearance of the handwritten literary sheet „Diorile” (Zorile). It had Petre Dulfu as editor and Grigore Silasi as guide. Both, the title and the multiplication form constituted a bridge with the sheet „Diorile pentru minte și inimă”, which appeared in the years

²⁸ Aurelia Bunea, Mircea Țoca, „Cultura (1867-1914)”, în *Istoria Clujului*, sub redacția Acad. Prof. Ștefan Pascu, Cluj, 1974, p. 364

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p.365

preceding the revolution of 1848 under the guidance of the Piarist High School's Romanian students. In the absence of the Romanian periodic at Cluj, Romanian intellectuals appealed to the newspapers from Braşov and Sibiu³⁰. The press developed in Cluj with the evolution of the city, the first newspaper appeared at April 4th, 1903, the Romanian „Răvaşul” where the editor aims for: fighting some social vices: drunkenness, luxury; fighting ignorance and pushing for traditions preservation, and the manners of the ancient Romanian people³¹.

On January 1st, 1913 the „politics and culture” magazine - „Orientul Român” occurs in Cluj where the editorial campaigned for the peasantry raising, for „the universal vote, the national culture, the welfare of people, and the interests' balance of the agriculture, industry and trade”. The „union of all Romanians” ideal was declared open. The advanced bourgeois democratic goals were thwarted by the wrong conception of the future shape of the states of Central and South-eastern Europe, proclaiming their confederation „under Habsburg House”. After the sixth number published in June 1913 magazine ceases appearance³².

The continuous Romanian publishing in Cluj will be provided in the summer of that year by the social-cultural magazine „Noi”, The organ of the Romanian students, the first page having the motto message sent by Alecsandri to „României June” in Vien „... And when I look behind me, the old age disappears, as I see the foothills of a green, generous, enthusiastic and patriotic generation, aiming its eyes higher, walking with confidence to a great future”. In the feature article „Acţiunea” the founders' intention

³⁰ *Ibidem*

³¹ *Ibidem*

³² *Orientul Român*, I, nr. 1 din 1 ianuarie 1913, p.1-4; nr. 2-3 din februarie-martie 1913, p.49-114

was to carry the magazine through a link between Romanian youth and preparatory schools and higher education institutions in the monarchy, but also from Romania. The editorial was convinced that „brothers beyond the mountains” will bring „not only free and healthy air of their country, but also a language more beautiful than ours”³³. The editor proposes to bring the social issues of students before the readers, advocating for enriching the living conditions of those who came to Cluj to study and had financial problems, having no home. The magazine highlighted the portrait of a professional prepared, hardworking, educated, and honest young man, while emphasizing the role of the young generation in the cultural lifestyle. Also in the 12th issue, the magazine highlighted the need for the unification of Transylvania with Romania.

From 1867 until 1918, the list of periodicals reached a large number of over 80 titles. The scientific and literary book, however, was relatively low. In Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș, the bibliography of 1913 totalized only 77 books in Hungarian, as much as achieved in 1919, although it still felt the consequences of war³⁴. The Romanian publishings have been sporadic, but in 1903 when „Carmen” printing opened, growing with the help of Vasile Moldovan, I. Agârbiceanu, A. Barseanu, O. Goga and many others.

After the Great Union the Romanian newspapers sought place among the many Transylvanian minority newspapers, though in small steps these managed to find their position, succeeding to address various topics to the Romanian public interest, aiming

³³ *Noi*, I, nr. 1 din 15 iunie 1913, p.1; nr. 6 din noiembrie 1913, p. 76; nr. 2-3 din iulie-august, p. 37-38; nr. 4 din 15 septembrie 1913, p. 49-52

³⁴ G. Kristoff, „Zece ani de viață literară a ungarimii din Ardeal”, în *Transilvania, Banatul, Crișana și Maramureșul 1918-1928*, II, București, 1929, p.1154-1155 *apud* Ștefan Pascu, *op.cit.*, p.368

to contribute to the social, economic, political and cultural development of the Romanian people. In Cluj more than 300 periodicals occurred, including journals, pedagogical periodicals, youth and women publications, sports newspapers, theater and cinema and industrial and craftsmen professional newspapers. Also, each major political party had its newspaper. The National Party (1926 - NPP) newspaper was „Patria” (1919-1940), the Liberal Party had „Națiunea” (1924-1938) and the People's Party had „Înfrățirea” (1920-1925), „both political, and we read them for the vast quantity of information from which we can extract the Romanian advance. All the journalists of my generation made their apprenticeship here”³⁵. Also a number of daily newspapers appeared, but they only had a brief appearance.

The press played an important role regardless the period to which we refer. It was and is the link between all spheres of society. This can help a society increase or decrease, and this is possible because of its influence. The political, economical and the social press were strongly influenced by the simple fact that its purpose was to show the events as objectively as possible, but distorting the truth could also help to influence the society. Due to the influence of the press, it was often overtaken by people with financial power who often tried to impose their own beliefs when the press is the pawn of a political party or another. "The press has, indeed, the immanent power of dissolution, dissociation, but only by criticism, it is capable to fix the outlook of a more perfect order”³⁶.

³⁵ Horia Stanca, *Fragmentarium clujean*, Ed. Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1987, p.13

³⁶ I. Clopoțel, „Ziarism disolutiv, dar creator”, în *Almanahul Presei Române din Ardeal și Banat*, 1928, p.54

The press in general is the body through which a nation or a state can reveal all sorts along with other nations or countries with which it comes in contact. It is a powerful weapon that a nation has in its hand, and through which it can be known both in terms of social, political and literary terms, but especially from the economic point of view. With the press' help, a favorable or unfavorable political or social trend for a state can be formed from which it may produce a benefit or the beginning of disorganization for that state or nation that is concerned by publishing³⁷.

The year 1918 found in Transylvania the law of 1914, amended by Decree no. 10 of April 1919, by the Ordinance Resort Interior of September 19, 1919 and the Circular Order of 19 May 1919. The Romanian Constitution of 1923 provided: Article 5: Romanians, regardless of ethnic origin, language or religion, enjoy freedom of conscience, freedom of education, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association and all the freedoms and rights established by law, Art. 25: The Constitution guarantees everyone the freedom to communicate and publish their ideas and opinions in words, in writing, and through the press, each being responsible for the abuse of this freedom in cases determined by criminal codices, which in no case shall not restrict the right itself. No censorship and no other measures prevented the emergence, cure or distribution of any publication. The authorization doesn't need any authority prior to the occurrence of any publication. Any regular publication of any kind, has to have a responsible director and an editor in his absence. The director or editor will need to enjoy civil and political rights. The director's name and the editor's

³⁷ E. Giurgea, "Presa românească în Ardeal", în *Societatea de mâine*, I, 1924, nr. 27, p.236

name will figure prominently and permanently on the publication forefront. Before the advent of the newspaper, its owner is obliged to declare and register his name to the Commercial Court, Art. 26: In the non-periodical publications, the author is responsible for his writings, in his absence, the editor, owner and publisher printer is accountable when the author is not discovered. The periodical publications responsibilities are in order: the author, the director and the editor³⁸.

Press legislation is one of the basic points of a society. Without that, publications cannot operate. Although, most of the pressure factors exist and try to divert the press from its natural course, it is important that its status is officially recognized by the state. With all the restrictions that imposed the Romanian media appearance, its exponents tried wherever possible to impose their own ideas. Although oppressed, they searched intensively to fight for Romanian ideals and to promote the social and political needs of Romanians.

In Transylvania, in the interwar period, the Romanian publication's situation is complicated, because many of the appeared publications are in Hungarian and German, and less in Romanian. The statistics are revealing, in Romanian 89 publications, 120 Hungarian, and 38 German appeared³⁹. Eugen Giurgea believes that in Transylvania the foreigners tried to impose their own publications to make their national literature known, but also to be able to get in all classes regardless of nationality. For the number of publications in the Romanian Transylvanian cities, Eugen Giurgea refers to three important cities of Transylvania: Cluj, Timisoara and Oradea Mare, saying that in Cluj

³⁸ Articolele din Constituție sunt preluate în totalitate din E. Boșca-Mălin, „Lupta presei transilvane”, în *Colecția Voința Transilvaniei*, București, 1945

³⁹ E. Giurgea, „Presa românească în Ardeal”, în *Societatea de mâine*, I, 1924, nr. 27, p.236

in 60 periodicals at the end of 1923 there were only 22 Romanian and 38 foreign, in Timișoara from 26 publications, only 6 were Romanian and 20 foreign and in Oradea Mare of 19 publications, 7 were Romanian and 12 foreign.

The Romanian press continued to be discussed in the press of the early twentieth century. If in the nineteenth century there was a blossoming of Romanian press, with the Romania's entering in the war and the exile of many Romanian journalists in Bucharest, the Transylvanian press fell into obscurity. „The Transylvanian press crisis started in the summer of 1914. The Hungarian Justice Blows, the imprisonments and deportations, which they almost went through for daring to say one sincere and determined word in any Romanian newspaper column, near Romania's entry into the war or immediately after withdrawal of the Romanian Army in Transylvania, giving a blow to the press”⁴⁰.

The question was when did „the factors for the direction in which the extracurricular education is made will understand the duty to take the necessary measures for the founding and support of a Romanian newspaper which should not be in the hands of the political parties, but above them towards accomplishing in the spirit of the glorious Transylvanian journalistic tradition with devotion the mission to share national and patriotic education and Christian morals not only to the new but also to the old citizens of Great Romania”⁴¹. N. Ghiulea and Onisifor Ghibu discussed the Transylvanian press crisis in two articles in the „Societatea de mâine” magazine under the headlines „Pentru presa Ardealului” and „O soluție pentru chestia presei din

⁴⁰ I. Lupaș, „Criza presei ardelenne”, în *Societatea de mâine*, III, 1926, nr. 1-2, p.4

⁴¹ *Ibidem*

Ardeal". Both agreed that the press before the war was written by heart and not aimed to political ideals, but to the ideas of patriotism and nationalism. The two noted that after the war the press was heavily assaulted by politics, overlooking the correct information for the people which should be an objective critic of political power, and it must not be influenced by the pressure, often leading to abuse. The two think that the authorities should intervene in the formation of a free press and that there must be funds for the establishment of a capable press which could compete with Hungarian and German publications.

Ion Clopoșel had an important contribution to the progress of Romanian press in Transylvania by setting up the „Societatea de mâine” magazine, but also because of his commitment to journalism. In his opinion, the press has the same role in the spiritual field like the transportation system had in the economic life of a society, considered a „determinant fact of the approach the tendency of the people”. „The press will exchange ideas, build a closer communion between people and society and pave the way for a unified spirit of humanity, without thereby prejudicing the interests of the universality of particular companies and peoples, influencing them with a good effect and impregnating a new force”⁴².

The problem of the postwar press content was discussed extensively, and was the subject of an article written by Peter Ilcuș, where he said that „instead of the old extensive character of the content and the range expansion of domestic energy, today we must create a new intensive nature content, supplying all our socio-cultural

⁴² I. Clopoșel, „O putere ascendentă: presa”, în *Societatea de mâine*, II, 1925, nr. 19, p. 327

energies. The press should receive a serious boost containing all our social, cultural and political elements. It should unveil a huge battle for developing a unified working program for the constructive stance strengthening our new social life phase"⁴³.

Especially in urban areas, the press has the most important and effective means of socialization, replacing the old ones, such as fairs, weddings, funerals or pubs: „Today those were largely replaced - except in villages - by the aided press with an improved technique. Today the printing industry has put many ideas into circulation, in the social environment, forcing them to merge into a continuous refreshed unit"⁴⁴.

Also the journalist had a very important role. The selection of journalists would be done by the rules that the Magazine "Societatea de mâine" would highlight. First they wanted to mention that there were three elements that would be important in selecting journalists, associations and unions such as Union of Transylvania and Banat Romanian Press: The Organization Committee called upon to judge with impartiality and divide justice between journalists; the general meeting composing of all the members; the Committee or the Central Council of the Federation⁴⁵.

The journalist selection should have a few clear criteria: the first selection should cover the training of journalists and should take into account that a lot of journalists were self-taught, their experience being based on many decades of work and culture journalism. The Union of Transylvania and Banat Romanian Press organized several

⁴³ P. Ilcuș, „Problema conținutului social al presei”, în *Societatea de mâine*, III, 1926, nr. 7, p. 117

⁴⁴ I. Clopoșel, *op.cit.*, p.329

⁴⁵ „Selecționarea ziaristilor din asociațiile de presă”, in *Societatea de mâine*, I, 1924, nr. 5, p. 116-117

conferences attended by young journalists, lectures by big names in journalism and publishing. These conferences were designed to help young journalists improve their level of training by observing other working methods. The second method for selecting and improving journalists should be scholarships for studying abroad, but this remained only at the design stage because the Union of Transylvania and Banat Romanian press did not have, in 1923, the funds needed to support this project. A third way might be involving the State and this could be done by sending the journalists in other countries, where they could capture objective social, economic and political realities of that country. His professional preparation and the many more means he used, the correspondence with newspapers from the country of origin and his links to the local newspaper could contribute to a better understanding of Romania's neighbors and other countries. Another way to improve the selection of journalists, in addition to Cluj associations and State, could be by helping the associations in Bucharest which had more money than the Union of Transylvania and Banat Romanian press, and could send Cluj journalists to improve their craft in other countries, thus contributing to a better development of the profession throughout the country. The "Societatea de mâine" editorial aimed to put a warning on the work of newspapers; wanting to highlight that what matters the most is the journalist's individuality. He must be in constant contact with the world he lives in to observe events objectively. Therefore the owners of newspapers, albeit under a political party, should not stifle the journalist by imposing or censoring certain topics. The editorial also suggests that associations should take Slavic language courses to learn more about the realities of our neighbors and not have

to rely on information about neighbors coming from more distant countries such as England or France. These Slavic languages courses would help the Romanian journalist appeal directly to the source, it would help him to know our neighbors without having to resort to intermediaries. An editorial points out: "Our national household can infinitely benefit from the direct and accurate information and our country's government can trust journalists rather than diplomats who do not know the languages of neighboring countries"⁴⁶.

The Magazine „Clujul românesc” was one of the most important magazine for the interwar period. Since the beginning it has identified itself as a politically independent weekly newspaper, one that wanted to highlight the entire social reality of Cluj without bringing a political party forward and without a solid economic support, which came from the director of the newspaper, Alexandru Anca, who was its owner, but also from the newspaper subscriptions. This four-page weekly newspaper appears divided into two halves: the first two pages were reserved for political, economical, social and cultural issues, and the last two pages were pages of advertising and announcements.

Even though the title of the newspaper announced its independent character, a clear Jewish minority criticism is noted from the beginning especially for its press, later an affinity to the Liberal National Party can be seen.

The conflict the editors had with the Jewish newspapers was based on the fact that this press wanted to remove Romanian press from Transylvania, and it could be

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*

considered an attack against the national unity of the Romanians in Transylvania which was hardly acquired in 1918. In an article from 1923, in issue 19, marked the beginning of the conflict, from the title „How the Jews has bottlenecked our press in Transylvania. The Hebrew depositories miserable act. It requires a response from the audience”.

The reiterating of the need for an exclusively Romanian press was found in issue 30 of 1923: „The need for a true Romanian press is becoming of an increasingly urgent importance, so, as we announced in a recent issue, several Romanians aware of the purpose of the press in public life are determined to interfere and not to allow certain newspapers to appear in Romanian exclusively, except the newspapers written and supported by Romanians so as not to exploit the public trust”⁴⁷.

The newspaper covered all kinds of subjects, from social to political. The press crisis was an important subject, but in every issue the politics occupied more columns. The interwar period was also a struggle for this field and the newspaper did not forget that Romanian people wanted to know every single move of its leaders.

In the interwar period the press played an important role. If the first steps were timid, gradually a trajectory of the press was defined. The administrative improvements and the content of each paper can be seen with every issue, also the journalists training was important, during the 20 years the election criteria of journalists multiplies, but it also improves. Even if they worked for several newspapers under various pseudonyms, their work and opinions cannot be challenged.

⁴⁷ „Presa românească”, în *Clujul*, nr. 30, 1923, p.3

The press involved most interwar intellectuals in its approach. While the litterate published their works, scientists announced their investigation, the economists sponsored the newspaper while the politicians had their columns in which they were either criticized or praised, but most importantly everyone had the right to reply.

The fourth chapter presents the interdependence between culture and press into the analysis of three Romanian magazines, each of these approaching every cultural aspect of society. These magazines represented the connection between culture and press.

The interwar period brought in Cluj the Romanian cultural life blooming. This was desired by the Transylvania Romanian and the intellectuals played an important role in the achieving development. Their main purpose was to bring a number of personalities from all cultural fields to the public that could be reached through the press. This was marked by financial difficulties, but managed to reach the goal. Many newspapers and magazines had an informative role. Some newspapers had an information role from the beginning and brought information from the political and economical field, also presenting cultural events, exhibitions launches and literary works. The other magazines assumed the education role, presenting the literary, the cultural events chronicles and bringing the latest scientific appearances to the readers. This is the case of the three magazines presented in the following lines, three of the most important magazines of Cluj, the magazines which gathered the most important cultural figures in all of Transylvania and beyond. Each of these magazines "Societatea

de mâine”, “Gând românesc” and “Gândirea” represented the tuft-hunting of the Romanian culture in various scientific or literary domains.

“Societatea de mâine” was founded in Cluj by several representatives, personalities of national culture, including Vasile Goldis, Ioan Lupas, Dimitrie Gusti, Gheorghe Bogdan-Duică and Onisifor Ghibu. The magazine grouped around it all the Transylvanian writers of prewar period, and collaborated with “the foremost theorists of social and economic sciences from Bucharest”. The magazine was published continuously for 22 years, first in Cluj (1924-1934) and then in Bucharest (1934-1945).

„Societatea de mâine” attempted to address different topics of interest for Romanian society. The magazine's stated purpose was to be an organ of democracy, the fight for the freedoms and rights of the many, the founders of the magazine considered that „the Romanian people can be better defended and helped to signal its priceless treasure that is provided, then giving it a regime to enable the unrestrained outpouring of its energy...Our unshaken faith is that the fundamental problem of our time is the cultural issue. It can only be in the sciences’ lightning”⁴⁸.

Although it was part of a shaken age, the magazine maintained its direction aims, that of democracy and progress, choosing collaborators exclusively by their competence in one area or another. The Editorial office was composed by a series of known and appreciated names: Vasile Goldis, Dimitrie Gusti, M.Popovici, Gh. Bogdan-Duică, Ioan Lupas, Onisifor Ghibu, Vasile C. Osvadă, Radu Dragnea, Ion Clopotel- the editor in chief (members of the editorial board) I.Agârbiceanu, D. Antal, A. Buteanu-

⁴⁸ I. Clopotel, „Chemarea noastră”, în *Societatea de mâine*, I, 1924, nr. 1, p.5

editorial secretary, A. Cotruș, Ilie Cristea, V. Gherasimo, N. Ghiulea, Ax. Iancu (the collaborators). The joint committee was also a number of the cultural centers of the country: Oradea, Cernăuți, Arad, Blaj, Turda, Brașov, Luduș, Lugoj, Timișoara, Făgăraș County, Sibiu, Tg. Mureș, Maramureș, Mehadia, Hațeg, St. Gheorghe, Cohalm, Beiuș and Secuime⁴⁹. Even if at first the magazine focused on the locals' problems it then chose to close the Romanians in all the provinces. The magazine content was bound and determined by the work of its editor in chief, Ion Clopotel. Reflecting the collaborators's concerns for the social reality research, the magazine inserted into its pages a number of materials that varied in terms of content and rigor of the analysis from simple sociographical descriptions to purely sociological studies, which intended to reveal the social problems of the Romanian society, and developing solutions to overcome them⁵⁰.

A particular attention was paid to the economical phenomena and processes manifested in Romanian society at that time. " In the economical publications of this magazine, we would like to reflect at least snatches of a vibrant and effective life of the economical turmoil. We will keep ourselves away from any economical construction made at the desk or in the dreamer or theorist's fantasy. We are writing our own economic life sprang from our people and not others"⁵¹. The political life was shown in the section "Actualități", being examined by a group of collaborators like: Onisifor Ghibu, Gheorghe Bogdan-Duică, Ioan Lupas, Ion Clopotel, Al. Ciura, N. Ghiulea. The magazine consistently reflected the international political activity of the time. Another

⁴⁹ „Lămuriri” (articol redacțional), în *Societatea de mâine*, I, 1924, nr.1, p.4

⁵⁰ T. Iancu, „Societatea de mâine (1924-1945)”, în Nae Antonescu, *Reviste românești de cultură din Transilvania Interbelică*, vol I, Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, Colecția „Philobiblon” a Bibliotecii Centrale Universitare „Lucian Blaga”, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p. 402

⁵¹ V. C. Osvadă, „Chestiuni economice”, în *Societatea de mâine*, I, 1924, nr. 1, p.21

item of the general interest was titled "Probleme sociale", where it presented and analyzed a number of problems of Romanian society. These materials contained viable solutions for the public authorities and these solutions were given by competent and trained people. These materials targeted issues such as the alcoholism, the alarming spread of the venereal diseases, the malnutrition of the population, the unfavorable financial situation of the intelligentsia, the problem of abandoned children and orphans, the situation of women in society, the Romanian people's health etc. The employees of the magazine were interested in the cultural situation of the Romanian people, the articles and studies devoted to scholarly and educational problems were found in "Învățământ-Educație". Although it was firmly anchored in the present, the publication called to the past, the reason was that the past is helpful in the understanding of the present, as well as foreshadowing the future. Along with the history, the other scientific disciplines related to the study of social life contributed to the achievement of the magazine content. A major field was the sociology. The concern for the society science has led the magazine to initiate a debate on contemporary Romanian sociology. Although it was a socio-economic profile magazine, "Societatea de mâine" gave way to the science representatives. The magazine established itself in interwar cultural journalism under "Pagini literare", mostly represented by poetry: Aron Cotruș, Ecaterina Pitiș, Octavian Goga, and prose was signed by Al. Ciura, E. Isac, I. Munteanu, I. Agârbiceanu. Regarding the literary chronic, the magazine was not limited to the national literature, but wanted to extend to the international ones. The artistic life appeared in the "Societatea de mâine" in "Cronica muzicală", "Cronica dramatică", and

"Cronica plastică". Another item was the "Revista revistelor", which depicted the international intellectual movement.

„Gând românesc” is a cultural magazine that was published monthly by ASTRA under the direction of a committee. The editor in chief: Ion Chinezu, the editorial secretary: Olimpiu Boitoș. It functioned during May 1933 and April 1940. During this period, because of the financial problems, the magazine was published every two months, three months, four months, six and even eight months. Its editor in chief, Ion Chinezu, scholar, essayist, literary critic and historian, with a real vocation, had a decisive role in the literary renewal process of the time and in its organization's expression⁵².

The programmatic article of the first issue, entitled "Cuvânt înainte" presented the position of the magazine: "Some people imagine that after correcting the borders we leave ourselves to providential autonomism and that repeating words empty of free ego, can replace the real efforts. The others, among the most valuable, anticipating the stages of development to which we are constrained, retire in a splendid isolation, justified in countries with secular tradition of cultural life, enabling lossless this subtle form of egoism, forbidden by us, where everything is to be done. The purpose of this magazine is to mobilize all the energies of Transylvania by holding the complex problems of this part of the country, continuing to update the "Astra" tradition. The time used for this is not wasted time, this work is not a sacrifice: it is a simple and self-

⁵² O. Roman, „Gând românesc”, în Nae Antonescu, *op. cit.*, p. 189

evident duty to make the life you live as individuals and as a nation to have meaning and dignity⁵³.

The magazine campaigned for the change in attitude towards the values of the past, to unleash energies of young literary forces that will lead to the affirmation of Transylvanian writing at a level equal to the Romanian writing from everywhere and on an equal level with the universal literary phenomenon⁵⁴. The magazine saw a continuity between the old and the new writing, a progress of Romanian literature "the new settlement, reaching us from day to day, closer to Europe, bringing a lifetime of proportions beyond our old habits could not stay without repercussions for the youth, who are looking for new support, according to the new rhythm of life"⁵⁵. In "Gând românesc" poetry and prose, theory, literary criticism and history studies: ethnography, folklore, linguistics, philosophy, psychology, library science, pedagogy, sociology, economics, law, politics, history, geography, arts were published. Also here authors from around the country were published, but the Transylvanian authors had priority in literature. In the pages of this magazine a large number of writers were published: Ion Agârbiceanu, Victor Papilian, Victor Ion Popa etc. Also, a number of translations of foreign literature, the reviews found in the "Revista revistelor", the comments of the nationalities creations and a series of articles on philosophy and aesthetics can be encountered.

⁵³ I. Chinezu, „Cuvânt înainte”, în *Gând românesc*, I, 1933, nr.1, p.3

⁵⁴ O. Roman, „Gând românesc”, în Nae Antonescu, *op.cit.*, p.192

⁵⁵ I. Chinezu, „Mircea Eliade: Întoarcerea din Rai”, în Ion Chinezu, *Pagini de critică*, București, 1969, p.157
apud Octavia Roman, „Gând românesc”, în Nae Antonescu, *op.cit.*, p.192

The magazine continues to be the cradle of all those young people who wish to make their literary work known, but the editors of this magazine did not forget those who had already earned an important place in the history of Romanian literature. This is the case of Ion Pillat, to whom Ion Chinezu makes a review of the volume published in 1934, "Pasărea de lut" noting that "Pillat's theme of the poem is certainly traditional, a piece of land and an ancestral soul from Arges or from the fields of Prut" (the preface to the book "Întoarcerea")⁵⁶, by this statement Ion Chinezu puts Ion Pillat in the same category as Nichifor Crainic, Adrian Maniu, N. Voiculescu and even Lucian Blaga.

Without a doubt, the cultural magazine brought a eulogy to the Romanian language, a language of the ancestors, a language whose originality "reflects the originality of the Romanian soul and that originality comes primarily from the trunk grafting certain characters which were enslaved in the old Dacia-Romanism"⁵⁷. This is the language used in literary works, it is the language that best expresses how their creators feel, but it can also be "rational, but turned out especially sensory, it can be demonstrative, but until now has remained more instinctive, maybe accurate, although still vague"⁵⁸, it is the Romanians' soul language, forgetting to say that although the language of poetry and prose is the feeling, the spoken word has serious shortcomings, managing to be incomprehensible or to show a the doubtful character of those who use it in this way. The latin roots were remembered by Sextil Pușcariu in a description of Romanian culture in Transylvania making a comparison with what is happening in the Tara Romaneasca. The concerning of all the writers was "to demonstrate and

⁵⁶ I. Chinezu, „Ion Pillat, Pasărea de lut”, în *Gând românesc*, II, nr. 4, 1934, p. 220

⁵⁷ B. Munteanu, „Limba românească”, în *Gând românesc*, II, nr. 6, 1934, p. 321

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 322

popularize the idea of Roman origin and our continuity in these places, defending it against those who deny it"⁵⁹.

Since 1940, when the latest issue of the magazine appeared, its issues had many literary works, which were part of the cultural baggage of Cluj and beyond. The chronicles of all areas enrich each of the readers. The magazine had fully understood its time when it existed and directed it with a real vocation. The years did not decrease its place in the Romanian literary magazine life or the beneficial influences on the Romanian writing⁶⁰.

The publishing environment in Cluj before "Gândirea" was composed by several newspapers, "the weekly sheet for the people" and a magazine. The newspapers were "Cultura poporului" published in 1921, "Facla" (1920-1921), "Gazeta Ardealului" (1921-1922), "Glasul libertății" (1919-1923), "Foaie săptămânală pentru popor", the magazine "Lumina femeii"(1921), "Patria", "Patria literară", "Înfrățirea", "România" and "Voința".

It should be noted that in Cluj, the journalists besides their profession, dealt with literature. More specifically, the journalism provide a minimum of material existence, and through it they had time to write literature.

In 1921 "Gândirea" appears in Cluj thanks to a youth initiative fueled mostly by Cezar Petrescu. The other young men were: Adrian Maniu, Lucian Blaga and Gib. I. Mihăescu, each of them convinced that they could run a magazine in Cluj: "In the New Romania, it is a duty to try to write a review at least as good as could occur in times of

⁵⁹ S. Pușcariu, „Perspective culturale”, în *Gând românesc*, II, nr. 9-10, 1934, p. 473

⁶⁰ O. Roman, „Gând românesc”, în Nae Antonescu, *op. cit.*, p.204

foreign oppression. Will today's chained material needs be a greater burden than yesterday's enemy? This has to be experienced. It's not in our power, the little ones today, to keep the great height. The others come, because they have to come, because the country needs "Gândirea" light as it once needed the comforting thought of "Luceafărul"⁶¹. The schedule-article looks the editors' intentions to impose a literary magazine in the capital of Transylvania, to Cluj as the cultural center of the Transylvanian Romanians. The employees of the first issue in 1921 were: Cezar Petrescu, Gib. I. Mihăescu, Lucian Blaga, Ionel Teodoreanu, Adrian Maniu, Tudor Arghezi, Nichifor Crainic, Ion Agârbiceanu, Ion Vinea, Al. A. Philippide, Ion Pillat, Em. Bucușa, Al. O. Teodorescu, Perpessicius. With such big names among employees it's not surprising that the first issue of the magazine was exhausted quickly. The line of the magazine was a balanced one, otherwise even the editorial office was on pending with clarification of the magazine guidance: "In our anemic literary movement there is not enough room today except for the eclectic publications. Any other attempts proved to be hazardous. The time will sift the mediocrity and leave only the robust talents. And talents, not the dogmatism will create the trends and tendencies"⁶².

The magazine's employees were recruited from all over the country. The "Gândirea" profile has emerged over the issue like many other magazines in the interwar period. The literary articles had priority in the content of the magazine, those are positioned along the front pages among poetry and prose. The covered topics were different but mainly all related to the literature or the literary work. At first "Gândirea"

⁶¹ „Cuvinte pentru drum (articol redacțional)”, în *Gândirea*, I, nr.1, 1921, p.1

⁶² „Cronica mărunță”, în *Gândirea*, I, nr.2, 1921, p.38

had not a distinct literary chronicle not even literary chronicles, but only book reviews without significance. Only in 1922 Octav Botez signed the first literary chronicle for the volume "Cocostârcul albastru" by Mihail Sadoveanu, but this text is more of a developed review than other literary chronicles that followed. Numerous articles were under the "Mișcarea literară" column where Romanian literature is concerned in terms of its development, being making comparison with other literatures.

The "Gândirea" ideology can be extracted from the current notes of "Cronicle mărunte", from the operational records of the books and the magazines to the literary echoes of the press, discussing literary awards, debating with some of the magazines, like the case of the Cezar Petrescu's conflict with "Revista vremii"⁶³. The magazine and many poets of the time, also note names that have also worked at "Luceafărul" like Ecaterina Pitiș, which proves that the old and new generations get along very well in the editorial office.

Lucian Blaga was one of the pillars of strength in the magazine. He published a lot of his lyrical creations here. From 1921 he began working with Ion Pillat, Ion Vinea, Perpessicius, Al. A. Phillipide and Demostene Botez. The literary prose was represented by Cezar Petrescu and Gib. I. Mihăescu and the other collaborators were: Ion Agârbiceanu, Ion Teodoreanu, Alexandru Busuioceanu, Leon Donici.

"Gândirea" had a column dedicated to the culture, art and ideas chronicles, where the brilliant name of Lucian Blaga shined. Then, he was at the beginning of his career as a writer and a philosopher.

⁶³ Nae Antonescu, „Revista „Gândirea”-perioada clujeană”, în Nae Antonescu, *op. cit.*, p.220

A particularly important issue for "Gândirea" was what was called the trend of the mutual knowledge between Romanian and Hungarian, and a magazine that followed World War I conditions could not overlook the relations with the Hungarian writers⁶⁴.

"Gândirea" did not last long and the year 1922 proved to be an unstable one for the review. Since February 1922 Cezar Petrescu was left alone in the editorial office, in October of the same year the review was printed in Bucharest and at the end of the year the editorial office was also moved. During its Cluj period, "Gândirea" had an eclectic orientation, but a careful researcher could observe the group attitude, the war generation, who wanted an effort and talent reorganization of the Romanian writers in the capital of Transylvania. The review tried a literary transition by accumulating the collaborators throughout the country and showing sympathy in front of the knowledge and mutual understanding current to the Hungarian and German literature from Romania and not at least, creating a convenient atmosphere to the literary and artistic events in Cluj that began to integrate into the privileged space of Romanian culture and literature⁶⁵.

The fifth chapter is called "Cultural aspects in the Romanian interwar period in Romanian and Italian historiography" and deals with the relationship between the Romanian and the Italian culture. Also the chapter presents two personalities: Nichifor Crainic and Nae Ionescu. Their philosophical models were the basis for the Romanian cultural field.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p.229

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p.231-232

The cultural relationship between the two countries was widely discussed throughout history, in fact all the references were linked to the Roman colonization of Dacia and continued throughout the medieval period through the literary and architectural references, in the modern period through political references, through the idea of national unity, so that the twentieth century period coincided with an extensive experience exchange between the two cultures. In fact Italy was a powerful cultural space that influenced the whole Europe with "the ancient culture's continuity with Latin, with medieval philosophy and religion, deeply rooted in social and political processes which gave a different profile to Western spirituality, through the development during the Renaissance, and the renewal of the reflection method on the world and towards the new projects offer for the coexistence between peoples⁶⁶. The exchanges made by the two cultures profoundly marked the important areas of the Romanian society. The Italian personalities' activity in Romania and the cultural help that they gave, marked a difficult period of the Romanian people's lives, who during the wars waged a major battle to define themselves as national and unified. The defining of the popular personality was marked by several key points: the recognition of its majority in the Carpathian territory, the tolerance of minorities who developed, so far, from all points of view, the creation of social areas which should coincide with the already achieved national ideal, the development of politics which should create the legal leverage needed to affirm the Union.

⁶⁶ K. Ploetz, *Enciclopedia della Storia*, vol. I, Mondadori, Milano, 1974, *apud* L. P. Zăpârțan, „L'influenza del pensiero politico italiano su quello romeno”, în *L'immagine riflessa. Romeni in Italia e italiani in Romania. Atti del convegno italo-romeno- Foligno 22-25 febbraio 2007*, coord. Giordano Altarozzi, Ed. Nuova Cultura, Roma, 2008, p. 85

Undoubtedly the most influential interwar Italian personalities manifested in the cultural field. Here, some journals which contributed to the development of Romanian culture can be discovered, also, a number of Italian authors address the issue of Romanian nationalism in several studies published in Italy.

The interwar period is marked by a number of influences exercised by the cultural phenomenon in Bucharest on what happened in Cluj. This was a cradle of inspiration for the interwar Transylvanian culture and brought a series of events to the public which appreciated and respected throughout the Romanian territory. The relationship created between Romanian and Italian culture was discussed even in the Cluj press, while making some remarks about Italians' work in Bucharest.

The model offered by Nechifor Crainic, who continued the magazine „Gandirea” in Bucharest, in tandem with what Nae Ionescu proposed, demonstrated that Romanian culture work together to help society development. Cultural issues are also noted by Italian historians who discussed the interwar period in Romania in the perspective of philosophical phenomena which marked the Romanian national identity.

Regarding the Italian press with reference to space appeared in Romania it should be noted that the initiator was Ramiro Ortiz, the first professor of Italian language at the University of Bucharest, which in 1921 along with students and two Romanian friends published a periodical for 10 years, monthly, which contributed to a better understanding of Italian culture. The programmatic article „Ce vrem” of the magazine, presents an attempt to build a spiritual bridge between the two Latin nations, which is justified by the fact that 'readers, subscribers, propagandists and all the

Romanians that love Italy will be with us, the ones who know and admired it , enjoyed the caresses of its sun and felt refreshed by its blue sky, and all the Italians who love their country and want to see it known and valued by the world through it's rarest and most valuable, it speaks especially to them⁶⁷.

„Roma” appeared in the first period (1921-1926) in paper format in 8 pages, monthly, and then in magazine format, quarterly, in 48 pages. The first period was rather difficult for editors in terms of structure and content so that it could have their own articles and reviews in the magazine. They took items from the Italian media and contemporary literature and translated them without any bibliography, based on the fact that the purpose of the magazine is to be informative. Also worth mentioning is the financial struggle to bring Italian press, so that the translated and published articles without references were hard to discover.

The collaboration of the Italian magazines with „Roma” began in the first year with short writings published the 'Cronaca' column, part of it housing the medical intervention of Dr. Leone Friedmann and was dedicated to the representatives of the Italian medical science while the next issue included an article by Professor Giovanni Cecchini, collaborator of Alexandru Marcu for the translation of Mihail Sadoveanu's novels and the founder of the „Aperusen” magazine in 1922, which manifested its

⁶⁷ „Ce vrem”, în *Roma*, 1921, nr.1, p.1 *apud* D. Cârstocea, „Colaboratori italiani delle riviste romene di italianistica, Roma e studii italiene (1921-1945)”, în *Annuario dell'Instituto di Studi Italo-Romeno*, an VIII, Cluj-Napoca/Roma, 2011, p. 135

interest in Romanian literary life. Giovanni Cecchini wrote the article in „Roma” about how the first edition of „Divina Commedia” appeared⁶⁸.

The national idea propagated by all Romanian media could not be overlooked by Italian historians, so one of them, Mario Cuaz noted that Romanian historiography, especially after 1919, pointed to the unity of the Romanian people and justified the annexation of Transylvania, supported centralization „Scolii latine transilvane” built a bridge to develop a national consciousness already present a large scale among the masses⁶⁹.

The Italian historiography presents the national idea as a linguistic and historical justification of the Romanian people, noting the chronology of several historical events, from the conquest of Dacia by the Romans until 1848, all these having a strong influence on the Romanian language, on its Latin heritage and all cultural events that had Romanian Latinity as an equilibrium point. „ The historiographical paradigm built by „pasopotisti” is articulated around three points that become tenets of national historiography: The Latin, therefore Western origin of Romanians, the unity and continuity of the Romanian people despite foreign invasions, the peasant, a popular figure, tenacious and oppressed, but resistant to any invasion ⁷⁰.

All this historical arguments were based on the theories of Nichifor Crainic and Nae Ionescu, who spoke about the fact that the development of the culture has to be

⁶⁸ D. Cârstocea, „Colaboratori italiani delle riviste romene di italianistica, Roma e studii italiane (1921-1945)”, în *Annuario dell' Instituto di Studi Italo-Romeno*, an VIII, Cluj-Napoca/Roma, 2011, p.135

⁶⁹ M. Cuaz, „L'invenzione della Romania. Gli storici e la costruzione dell'identità nazionale rumena”, în A. Pitassio, *L'intreccio perverso. Costruzione di identità nazionali e nazionalismi xenofobi nell'Europa Sud-orientale*, Ed. Morlacchi, Perugia, 2001, p. 53

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 58

based on the tradition and the Orthodox ideas. It appealed to the Latin origin of the Romanian people, the idea of nation and community, and even in Italy there were some personalities who contributed to the development of culture and education in Romanian society even in its own territory.

Their contribution was significant and made the Romanian cause known beyond its borders and managed to create a bridge between the two cultures.

This thesis was intended to be an analysis of what interwar media and culture meant in Cluj. In a context that has brought both benefits and difficulties to the Romanian space. Perhaps the most important moment of Romania's recent history was the Great Union of 1918, a moment long awaited by all Romanians, especially those from Transylvania, because they have been throughout history the ones who took part in all the territorial struggles that the Romanian space has been through. Set in a historic province, at the border between Romania and Hungary, Romanians fought here permanently to fulfill the national ideal, often attacked by those who were the political majority. The prewar period meant a continuous kneading for the Transylvanian territory, because their historical right was not fulfilled. As the minority population, they could not participate in the public life of the province, they were denied the right to be represented in the Parliament in Budapest also the right to an education in their mother tongue and hardly obtained a limited right to conduct their religious customs under the auspices of the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Church. Being a predominantly rural population, the possibility of studying in the city was made difficult because of high costs. However the few Transylvanians who could cultivate

their education in other territories, either in Romania or in Germany, France or Hungary have felt justified to advocate for the rights of Romanians in Transylvania. Even if it was politically difficult, they tried in various fields to make the Romanian grievance known so they plea for the return of Transylvania to the motherland in Western magazines, being its historical right since Roman times, to be adept in the development of a state that it once belonged to and which now is doing everything possible to bring them back.

The Great Union animated the Transylvanian's call, and the unification with Romania brought the fulfillment of their Romanian identity.

A very difficult period began, because once the border issue was solved, new challenges arise. The business reorganization of all areas was difficult due to lack of funds and personnel that should of dealt with this reorganization, so they had to be brought in from Bucharest and Iasi.

If The First World War meant a political and economical return of Transylvania to Romania and also a change, it meant a fulfillment of Romanian ideals for which they fought for so many generations, people's mindsets being hardest to change. Besides that, though the majority in many social areas, Romanians were a minority in many cultural fields. Even though many of the reforms after 1918 arrived in Transylvania, perhaps they did not have the desired effect most of the time, or maybe it took longer to adapt to the new conditions.

Culture was the one that even if it had a history was the most difficult to organize. Each of the branches of culture needed attention, that's why its reorganization

took the longest. Areas like education, theater, opera, and the cinema engaged all Romanian intellectuals. Culture was the one who had the most to suffer and now they wanted a swift reform. Precisely for this reason, the Transylvanian intellectuals was the one who contributed to the development of culture at all levels and the intelligentsia was closely linked with the University of Cluj, which managed to bring under its wing the most important personalities of culture. Thanks to the contribution of the university, most cultural industries developed in a relatively short time, improvements being made each year.

The Transylvanian Romanian media situation was quite tricky simply because it was a minority press, one that had to obey the laws, which often were not in its favor.

The media in general is the body by which a nation or state can reveal itself in all sorts of ways through other nations or countries with which it comes in contact. It is a powerful weapon that a nation has at hand, and with which it can make itself known both socially, politically and literary, but especially from the economic point of view. With the press' help, favorable or unfavorable social or political currents can be formed from which a benefit or a beginning of disorganization may result for that state or nation, if is endorsed by journalism. The legislation of the press made it fill an important role in society. The situation of newspapers in Transylvania and Cluj was a delicate one, because there were quite a few titles in Hungarian, German and very few titles in Romanian. The Transylvanian Romanian media crisis was felt especially financially, because there were very few people willing to invest in a newspaper. If regarding the financial side, things have always been delicate, many editorial offices

from Romanian newspapers and magazines were forced to relocate to other cities after 1940, but not the same can be said about the cultural work of several Romanian magazines and newspapers. Their work grouped the most important names in Romanian culture ever. Here, most Transylvanian writers poets had the opportunity to submit works. They have contributed to the establishment of standards of what the journalist profession is. It was often written in the press about the formation of a journalist, about the fact that he must have thorough knowledge, and must have taken at least the baccalaureate exam. Imposed rules did not allow editors to hire the intellectually unprepared. Although many of those who contributed to a remarkable Romanian press in Cluj were either self-taught or tried to get into journalism to promote their own creations. We must not forget that the emergence of cultural and literary magazines, which promoted Romanian literature made a center worthy of consideration from Cluj. The cultural center of Cluj consisted largely around the University, and the teachers' and students' contribution to the cultural life of the city can be considered part of the effort to establish a clear Romanian identity. Literary journals such as „Gandirea” and „Gand romanesc” contributed to the formation of a Romanian current of opinion. Personalities who worked in the newsrooms of these magazines as well as the other journalists were facing financial problems, but beyond that, they were able to conceive what they had wanted for so long. Combining culture with the press was auspicious and within the lines written they were able to promote not only the works of Romanian writers, but also to make an incursion into French literature, English, German and even Russian. The literary chronicles were always part

of the magazines, reviews of new works appeared, making known the entire work of each writer. Nothing was random in their writings, because they tried to get the reader close to the true feelings of love for the land, through traditionalist writings or modernist ones that treated foreign models, as well as the presentation of foreign literature wanted to show readers and the younger generation of writers which are the topics addressed.

All these magazines have relied on training the younger generation. A generation that is aware of its past, but who should fight to acquire a culture of values that form the intellectual custom. That's why in the interwar press we find reviews about the Latin origin of the people, the historical and linguistic origin, medical advice, educational advice because the younger generation had to cultivate its soul and intellect, but shouldn't forget its body.

The organization of Romanian press in Transylvania can really be taken into account when The Union of Transylvania and Banat Romanian Press is formed. A union which only sought to protect the interests of journalists, to help those who had problems of any kind. The union allowed itself to intervene in the selection of journalists, imposing conditions of entry into the union, because at that time it was very important that all journalists join the union because it's much easier fight for rights, when dealing with a well-organized institution. The union organized various events to highlight the work of journalists, cultural and artistic events attended by all affluent people in Cluj. No wonder that because of these events proposed by the union, money was raised to help young journalists. We must not forget that money have always been

a problem for the press. It is therefore not surprising that some prestigious journalists often wrote to several publications and maybe with different political orientations, using one or more aliases. The financial strength of some of the most important people of the time weather also influenced some of the Romanian newspapers and magazines.

Despite the various problems that have existed over time, the atmosphere in the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines was a friendly one and the working environment was a conducive one, so as to bring out the best articles and works which deserved to be published.

The organization of the Romanian press in interwar Cluj and the journalist training meant a lot to the cultural life between the wars, but this has always been undoubtedly the victim of politics, which always radically changed some situations.

Besides cohesion between the press and culture it is necessary to mention the contribution of the personalities of Western cultures had in the development of the interwar Romanian culture. If in terms of science and literature, the University of Cluj tried to bring intellectuals from the universities abroad, in terms of foreign personalities residing in Romania, they tried to make the Romanian nation known in their home countries. This is the case of some Italian professors who during the wars staged a relationship between nations and the easiest way this could be done was through the press. Thus with Romanian colleagues they brought information from the Italian press, or Italian literature and presented them in the form of translations, the same thing happening with the Romanians in Italy.

It should be noted that a number of Italian historians wanted to better know the contribution of some leading personalities to the development of Romanian society. Two of these individuals were Nechifor Crainic and Nae Ionescu. The two made a special contribution to the formation of some currents of opinion.

Undoubtedly the interpenetration of culture with press was auspicious between the two world wars. Moreover neither one of them would not have survived without the other. Culture needed a channel through which to propagate its scientific innovations, literary creations, and the press needed a field to gather information from. Together the two reached all social classes, because they addressed them. The diversity of information provided led to a communication between all levels of society, where the audience the opportunity to choose its information. Newspapers and magazines addressed the public so eager to current information, the gossip sites or classified advertising, but also the public eager to learn the latest editorials, or new findings in the fields of natural sciences and medicine.

It can be said that the press is a state power, just like the culture is the base on which the power of the press was built.

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