

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE FOR DACIA – THE MEANING OF A TITLE

In the period between 1845 and 1848, August Treboniu Laurian and Nicolae Bălcescu created a historical magazine¹, a continuation of Mihail Kogălniceanu's *The Romanian Archive*. It was intended to answer in a clearer manner the historiographic demands of its age and it also had to cover the entire Romanian space through its themes. At the same time, it had to meet the methodological requirements of western historiography. The five volumes issued before the 1848 revolution were followed by Laurian's attempts to continue the magazine on his own in 1850 and 1851², while in Vienna as a delegate of the Romanians from Transylvania³.

The magazine's title mirrored the concerns and aspirations of an entire generation. *Historical Magazine for Dacia* was not just a title – it was a program, a formula, a desideratum. The clearly formulated and comprehensive title explained the content of the magazine. At first sight, through its variations from one issue to the next, the title revealed in a nutshell the cultural changes and especially the orthographic transformation from the middle of the 19th century. Laurian and Bălcescu's magazine put forward a gradual replacement of Cyrillic letters with the Latin alphabet in just two years, utterly rejecting the alternative of several decades of translation. Writing – like fashion – was a 'cultural code'⁴, a way through which the modern entered the Romanian society and according to Laurian and Bălcescu, this modernization had to happen fast. This accounted for the rapid metamorphosis of the magazine's orthography, from the prevalence of Cyrillic writing in the first volume, which also contained Latin letters, to a dominance of Roman letters in the second and third volumes, without completely changing the letter type and finally to the completely Latin content of the fourth⁵ and fifth

¹ *Magazin istoric pentru Dacia (Historical Magazine for Dacia)* I, Bucharest, printed by the National College, 1845; II, 1846; III, 1846; IV, 1847; V, nr. 1-3, 1847, 4-6, 1848. From the references dedicated to this publication, see: Iorga 1903, p. 1-127; Bălcescu 1940, *passim*; Baiculescu 1941, p. 381-388; Sacerdoțeanu 1941, p. 356-360; Teodor 1966, p. 511-519; Bucur 1966, p. 6-7; Pop 1967; Piru 1967, p. 26-27; Nestorescu 1968, p. 45-73; Zane 1969, p. 249-256; Netea 1969, p. 213-230; Popescu Teiușan și Netea 1970, *passim*; Cojocaru 1970-1971, p. 471-475; Nestorescu-Bălcești 1970-1971, p. 263-267; Ionescu 1972, p. 145-148; Bălcescu 1974, *passim*; Iorga 1983, *passim*; Șerbu-Deșu 1994, p. 37-40; Roșu 2005, p. 65-82.

² *Magazin istoric pentru Dacia, (Historical Magazine for Dacia)* published by A. Treb. Laurianu, volume VII, fascicle 1, Vienna, printed by the widow of J. P. Sollinger, 1851; in connection to the hypotheses regarding volume VI, that which contained the discourse of Simion Bărnuțiu from the Cathedral of Blaj, see Nestorescu-Bălcești 1970-1971, p. 263-267; Șerbu-Deșu 1994, p. 37-40.

³ Netea 1970, p. 521-541; Popescu Teiușan și Netea, 1970, p. 81-140; *George Bariț* 1973, p. 145-182.

⁴ Cazimir 1986, *passim*.

⁵ Beginning with iss. 3 (p. 179) of volume IV, the orthography becomes completely Latin.

volume. The progress was all the more obvious in the title page: “MAGAZINU ISTORIKU PENTRU DACIA SUBT PEDAKȚIA lui A. TREB. LAURIANU Проф. de Φιλοσοφίε în Колеџиул Наџионал lui НИКОЛ. БЪЛЧЕСКУ. БУКУРЕЩІ. Cu tipariul Колеџиului Наџионал”, for the cover of the first volume, namely “MAGAZINU ISTORICU PENTRU DACIA SUPTU REDACTIA lui A. TREB. LAURIANU Professor de Filozofie în Collegiul National si NICOL. BALCESCU. BUCURESCI. Cu tipariul Collegiului National”, (HISTORICAL MAGAZINE FOR DACIA EDITED BY A. TREB. LAURIANU Professor of Philosophy at the national College and by NICOL. BALCESCU. BUCHAREST. Printed at the National College) in the case of the last volume.

The first editor of the magazine, Laurian, was one of the most fervent militants of the use of Latin characters and of an orthography that “relies on the nature of Romanian language”⁶. Starting with 1843, he fought for the use of the Latin alphabet at the Literary Society. To this end, he also wrote to George Bariț: “You should also try to use the Latin alphabet more often, as we shall use it exclusively starting next year. It would dishonor Transylvanians, who were the first to use it, to fall behind!”⁷. Laurian included in the magazine a rhetorical plea for the new type of writing, a symbolic dialogue with the Roman forefathers: “Pour into the hearts of your grandchildren your vigorous virtue, make them love your vibrant language and the elegant letters through which you have passed your names unto us!”⁸

The title of the new magazine was an epitome of the desiderata of an age through each of its four signs⁹ taken separately and as a whole. The notion of ‘magazine’, apart from denoting a variety of themes, was a new trendy French notion indicating a cultural space to which the Romanian scholars of the new wave related or tried to relate. The term also occurred in the title of a contemporary publication from Brașov *Magazin für Geschichte, Literatur und alle Denk- und Merkwürdigkeiten Siebenbürgen* that Laurian reviewed in his magazine¹⁰. The title of the historical publication of Kemény József and Kovács István from Cluj was also translated as ‘magazine’: *Erdélyország történeti tára. Egykoru és magyar nyelven készített történet iratok, levelek, országgyűlési végzetek és törvény cikkelyekből*¹¹, i.e. “Magazine of Transylvanian events composed of narrations, letters, decrees of the General Assembly and articles of Law”¹².

⁶ *Istoria literaturii (History of Literature)*, 1968, p. 247-249.

⁷ *George Bariț* 1973, p. 120.

⁸ Laurian 1846a, p. 127.

⁹ We speak about the term “sign” in a semi logic perspective, defined on the basis of the relation between its two components, the signifier and the signified.

¹⁰ In the column “Bibliographic Bulletin”, in *Magazin istoric pentru Dacia*, II, 1846, p. 381-385.

¹¹ Vol. I, Kolozsvár, 1837; II, 1845.

¹² In *Magazin istoric pentru Dacia*, IV, 1847, p. 375-382.

The new spirit was reflected in the terminology of the publication, in the title and the titles' headings and in the magazine's pages. Columns contained new Latinizing formulas: "the Romanian Chronicle", "the Romanian Diplomacy", "the Dacian Handbook", "the Dacian Writer", "the Historical Dissertation" and "the Bibliographic Bulletin".

The diversity of materials that the notion of 'magazine' implied is obvious in the publication's *Prospect*¹³, which synthesized the editor's view on history. The first step was the restitution and valorification of sources of three main types: ancient and medieval narrative sources, diplomatic sources and epigraphic sources. Furthermore, the documents were to be reproduced in a form as close to their original structure as possible. 'Dissertations' were to be included, i.e. debates, a critical analysis of sources, new discoveries, geographic and ethnographic descriptions. The *Magazine* would also contain the "list of modern national or international writings that discuss Dacia and its history, together with critical comments on their margin". Moreover, the editors had also intended to publish "geographical maps and various drawings of historical monuments with a historical interest", which they failed to do.

The adjective 'historical' from the magazine's title clearly pointed to the fact that history was the main interest of the editors, one of whom had called it "the first book of a nation". The magazine's vision was that in history, a nation "sees its past, present and future. A nation without history is still primitive and God protects those who no longer hold their memories holy"¹⁴.

It is not the time to insist on the acceptation and implications of the notion of 'history', which are numerous and complex. However, in keeping with the present topic, we must formulate a few essential considerations. At the level of the 1820s and 1830s, a great mutation occurred, as François Furet noticed. History became the family tree of European nations and of their civilization¹⁵. It was the moment when the classical paradigm of nation was grounded at a European level¹⁶. Towards the middle of the 19th century, under the imperatives of this phenomenon, the science of history substantially diversified its methodology and thematic aspect. A. Thierry, J. Michelet, L. von Ranke, Tocqueville, Mommsen, Taine and others leave own their mark on historical investigation, continually offering new nuances. The general directions of the new historical writing were nonetheless common for all the great historians of the age. They aimed at: highlighting the genius of the people, as history makers and at total restitution at

¹³ *The Prospect* is issued just before the publication of the first volume of the *Magazine*, in several publications at once: references at Nestorescu-Bălcești 1971, p. 4, 160-162. For the present paper I shall refer to one of the most widely spread editions of the recent period: Bodea 1982, p. 281-283.

¹⁴ Bodea 1982, p. 281-283.

¹⁵ Furet 2002, p. 145.

¹⁶ Smith 2002, p. 21-22.

a methodological level, including all aspects of social life – politics, religion, science, art, law and philosophy¹⁷.

The phenomenon influenced Romanian historiography as well, as proven by the increasing number of specialized magazines. Although ‘history’ had been a term long used, other specialized publications avoided using it in their titles, e.g. Mihail Kogălniceanu’s *The Romanian Archive*, or Al. Popovici’s foreseen *Ancient and Modern Dacia*¹⁸. *Historical Magazine for Dacia*, the object of our study, belonged to a new type, as its full informed editors rejected the lacks of previous historiography. “[...] We should be just and not accuse without reason the men to whom we owe respect and gratitude. We should ask instead whether they could have done otherwise under those circumstances and whether we have the right to a true history of our own.”¹⁹ The editors of the historical magazine from Bucharest believed that in order to fill in those missing parts, the document and “the materials of history” had to be paid full attention, a practice that was merely at its beginnings for Romanian historiography²⁰. In Moldavia, through *the Romanian Archive* and *the Chronicles of Moldavia* Mihail Kogălniceanu had begun to collect as many documents as possible in order to increase the number of scientific sources for the Romanian historiography. George Bariț’s newspaper had the same objectives in Brașov and the publication of a similar magazine in Wallachia was therefore only a matter of time. Apart from the principle of document primacy, the new history that Laurian and Bălcescu promoted dealt with structures as well, going beyond biographies and events. This idea became an essential coordinate, clearly formulated in the publication’s *Prospect* “[...] all these historians, except for M. Kogălniceanu, have given us nothing but the rulers’ biography, which is still uncertain [...] while the most interesting aspect of history, namely institutions, industry, trade, intellectual and moral culture, habits and way of life has not been spoken about”²¹.

In January 1845, Laurian wrote to George Barițiu “My friend Bălcescu and I have started something together about which you may read in the attached notification [...] we kindly ask you to print this notification at the printing house of your gazette [...]”²². This was obviously the announcement of the new publication *Historical magazine for Dacia*. A first announcement had been made by *The Romanian Courier*²³, which published at the beginning of the same year

¹⁷ Zub 1981, p. 59-60.

¹⁸ Iorga 1983, I, p. 290; Cristian 1972, p. 165-172.

¹⁹ Bodea 1982, p. 281.

²⁰ A few titles from the bibliography dedicated to this theme: Iorga 1903, p. 1-127; Zub 1971, p. 375-413; Zub 1981, passim; Zub 2000, p. 53 sqv.

²¹ Bodea 1982, p. 281.

²² *George Bariț* 1973, p. 103.

²³ *Curierul românesc (the Romanian Messenger)*, XVII, 3, 1845, p. 11-12.

the magazine's prospect, its program and the subscription conditions. George Bariț also complied with Laurian's request and published a comprehensive announcement regarding the advent of the *Magazine*²⁴ that was subsequently re-published several times in his gazette. Moreover, excerpts from the *Magazine* and studies by Laurian and Bălcescu were published²⁵. Several notable publications of the period informed their readers about the advent of a new Romanian magazine: *Gazeta de Transilvania (The Transylvanian Gazette)*, *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură (Newspaper for the Mind, Heart and Literature)*, *Curierul românesc (The Romanian Messenger)*, *Vestitorul românesc (The Romanian News shedder)*, *Arhiva românească (The Romanian Archive)* and *Albina românească (the Romanian Bee)*, but also in *Magazin für Geschichte, Literatur und alle denk- und merk-würdigkeiten Siebenbürgens*²⁶.

Magazinul istoric pentru Dacia (Historical Magazine for Dacia) will be edited by the two collaborators between 1845 and 1848, in five volumes of six brochures each – “small elegant notebooks” as N. Iorga had called them²⁷ – 1945 pages all in all²⁸.

The new history modeled by the national desiderata was supposed to reach as many people as possible, to cultivate their interest and taste for history. George Bariț's exclamation summed up this phenomenon: “How a well-written history wakes up noble and precious senses! Of all these we only mention the love for the country and the love for freedom [...]”²⁹. That is why the low price of the *Magazine* remained one of the editor's constant priorities and efforts were made to ensure a wide distribution of the magazine. Before the 1848 revolution, such an enterprise had more complex reasons than its creators' mere passion for history. History was the basis for national, political and social claims. The supreme aim of history was to increase self-awareness and create an explicit and clear national profile that would facilitate a link between the national culture and Western mentalities³⁰.

The preposition “for” from the title of the magazine indicated an aim, a desideratum and a precise reference. This was not a magazine “of Dacia”, “on Dacia”, “about Dacia”; it was one “for Dacia”, *for* its rebirth. The magazine – “a

²⁴ *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură (Newspaper for the Mind, Heart and Literature)*, VIII, 5, 1845, p. 33-35; 29, p. 236 (“We are just receiving the first issue from this useful book and we are eager to inform our public and recommend it [...] thinking that every Romanian is interested in this national work, we shall be glad to quote here the things that seem to deserve to be known by all who love their nation”).

²⁵ See Popescu Teiușan and Netea 1970, p. 54-75; *George Bariț* 1973, p. 104 sqv.

²⁶ According to Pervain and collab. 1983, p. 205.

²⁷ Iorga 1983, II, p. 134.

²⁸ Tomul I, 411 p.; II, 378 p.; III, 378 p.; IV, 382 p.; V, 388 p.

²⁹ Barițiu 1962, p. 88.

³⁰ Sălcudean 2004, p. 311.

colossal collection”, as the editors themselves put it – aimed to mobilize all that could contribute to this “national work”³¹.

The magazine was therefore disseminated without precedent at the level of the entire Romanian cultural area. An essential desideratum of the editors was that the *Magazine* should be accessible to all intellectuals. A. T. Laurian and N. Bălcescu therefore addressed “the Internal Affairs Department” on May 5, 1847 in order “[...] to kindly recommend the *Historical magazine for Dacia* to the honored magistrates, as a valued acquisition for town libraries”³². The same letter sent “25 copies for the office of the honored Department”, i.e. the first three volumes of the magazine. The Department honored the request by sending out three copies to the libraries of the normal schools from Focșani, Brăila, Buzău, Ploiești, Giurgiu etc.³³. The editors also addressed the “Church Department” and as a consequence, the *Magazine* also reached the monasteries from Wallachia³⁴. When the magazine’s dissemination came to a halt, like in Romanăți, Laurian tried to obtain the support of Gh. Magheru, the governor of the county, for “the national enterprise”, i.e. the *Magazine*³⁵.

The two editors wanted from the very beginning to disseminate the magazine in Transylvania. In a short while, their expectations were met and *the Magazine* came to enjoy fame and prestige. Laurian’s most important connection who helped the editors was George Barițiu³⁶. In order to tighten the relation with Barițiu and through him with Transylvania, Laurian found new subscribers and arranged for the magazine to be disseminated from Brașov to Wallachia³⁷. The increase of subscribers was not only pragmatically significant; it had a national dimension, born from its creators’ belief in the binding and catalyzing character of the written media for the Romanian provinces. Having introduced the magazine in Transylvania, G. Barițiu attracted prestigious collectors for the periodical, such as Timotei Cipariu³⁸. Doctor P. Vasici was another important

³¹ Bodea 1982, p. 281-283.

³² Cojocaru 1970-1971, p. 473.

³³ Cojocaru 1970-1971, p. 473-474.

³⁴ Nestorescu 1968, p. 59-60.

³⁵ Bodea 1967, p. 312-313.

³⁶ Teodor 1966, p. 511-519.

³⁷ *George Bariț* 1973, p. 106-108 sqv.

³⁸ When *the Magazine* was first issued, Timotei Cipariu was just interested in the magazine; on January 26, 1845, he wrote to George Bariț “Buy me the historical magazine from Bucharest and send it in the envelopes of the Gazette” – *George Bariț* 1978, p. 211. However, in a short while, T. Cipariu found subscribers for the magazine. On February 23/March 7, he wrote to G. Bariț again “I am sending you more subscribers, together with the first, as follows: 1. His Holiness the Bishop; 1 Mr. Crainic [Simion]; 1 Mr. Raț [Basiliu]; 1 Mr. Alutan [Constantin]; 1 Mr. Boer [Ștefan]; 1 Mr. Ladai Dimitrie, teacher of world history; 1 Myself. The total so far, 7 copies”, in *George Bariț* 1978, p. 218.

Ever since the first announcement from *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură* (Newspaper for the mind, heart and literature, issue 5, 1845, p. 33) on the advent of the *Magazine* the names of the

figure who facilitated the *Magazine's* circulation to Braşov. Without his help otherwise, the route of the periodical from Turnu Roşu, as Laurian confessed, would have been blocked by “[...] pedantic employees”³⁹. Especially due to Laurian’s activity, the magazine won subscribers in Oradea⁴⁰ (9) and around the city (23), in Lugoj (c. 25 subscribers)⁴¹, in Arad (same number)⁴² etc., counting over 200 subscribers in Transylvania and Banat. All sums from subscriptions were managed by G. Bariţiu: “All subscribers from Transylvania and Hungary should pay you the subscription fee for the *Magazine* and for other books delivered by me”⁴³.

Not all Transylvanian areas were as prolific as these. For instance, in the Apusenî Mountains, the *Magazine* was introduced by Grigore Mihali, but it did not have a wide circulation here.⁴⁴ Sometimes, the gathering of subscribers also brings forth disputes, as in the case of Al. Gavra and Atanasie Şandor, the former trying to take the merits of the latter, thus determining him to complain to G. Bariţiu: “Mr. Gavra wanted to boast in front of Mr. Laureani, as if he had been in charge of subscriptions for *Historical Magazine* [...]”⁴⁵.

The circulation of *the Magazine* was extremely high as compared to other magazines. The first issue came out in 1000 copies and in a short while, it was supplemented with a new edition, with slight differences⁴⁶, all in all 1500 copies⁴⁷. For instance, Mihail Kogălniceanu’s *Arhiva românească* (*the Romanian*

people authorized to make subscriptions for the magazine were given: G. Bariţ for Braşov, professor Moise Fulea and Archbishop Nicolae Maniu in Sibiu, Timotei Cipariu in Blaj, the secretary of the consistory Grama in Oradea, professor Alexandru Gavva in Arad, Rector Petrovici in Timişoara, professor Ventilă in Lugoj, professor Diaconovici Loga at Biserica Albă and Archbishop Manu in Maramureş. Several bookshop keepers from Bucharest are named (“Mr. Valbaum and Mr. Romanov”), Iaşi (“Mr. Nica”) and Braşov (“Mr. Nemet”), but also the “baker Ioanid”, then the publications *Cantora foii săteşti* (Reader of the Village Newspaper) and *Albina românească* (the Romanian Bee) from Iaşi and *Gazeta de Transilvania* (the Transylvanian Gazette) of Braşov. In time, Atanasie Şandor in Arad, Nicolae Tincu Velia in Banat, Ion Munteanu in Bihor and I. Miescu at Lugoj were added.

³⁹ George Bariţ 1975, p. 15.

⁴⁰ Baiculescu 1941, p. 387-388.

⁴¹ Teodor 1966, p. 515.

⁴² George Bariţ 1975, p. 298, 300.

⁴³ George Bariţ 1973, p. 118.

⁴⁴ George Bariţ 1976, p. 98-99.

⁴⁵ George Bariţ 1975, p. 311.

⁴⁶ Şerbu-Deşu 1994, p. 37. Several brochures of the 1st and 2nd volume had two or three editions, with different matters: Sacerdoţeanu 1941, p. 356-360; Nestorescu 1968, p. 45-73; Zane 1969, p. 249-256. Information on multiple editions are also found in letters: in January 1846 – “As soon as this 2nd brochure is finished, volume 2, we’ll republish the 1st brochure, 1st volume. So, with a little patience, we’ll be able to please everybody” (George Bariţ 1973, p. 104); in February, the commitment is renewed – “On Monday, I am re-printing issue I of volume 1. Patience and you will have it” (ibidem, p. 107); in May, the promised copies were delivered – “I am now sending you 160 copies of issue 1, volume 1” (ibidem, p. 111).

⁴⁷ Popescu Teiuşan and Netea 1970, p. 74-75; also see Netea 1969, p. 226-227.

Archive) was only issued in 100 copies and “more than half were distributed for free”⁴⁸, and *Gazeta Transilvaniei (the Transylvanian Gazette)* reached 800. All the copies of *the Magazine* were thought to be proportionally distributed to all Romanian provinces. However, Bucharest absorbed the largest number of copies through its 307 subscribers⁴⁹. For the 2nd volume, for example, 410 copies were distributed only to subscribers from Wallachia⁵⁰. Transylvania received about a third of the total, but the circulation was subjected to the oscillating number of subscribers, hardships of transportation, the collectors’ interest, delayed payments, censorship etc.⁵¹. The unwarrantable interferences of censorship were indeed a serious problem for the editors as well as for the subscribers both in Wallachia and Transylvania. Laurian repeatedly expressed his uneasiness as to the way in which the magazine’s circulation was obstructed and to the brutal interventions on the contents. He wrote to George Barițiu: “Please be so kind as to edit this volume as well as possible to pass unchanged through censure. Please let me know if there are any objections, to see how we can save the issue. I have had some problems here with a foreign censor”⁵². The discussion was brought up again on another occasion: “Please edit it well so that censure won’t cut that much. I want the Transylvanians to get it uncut”⁵³. On the other hand, Moldavia added some difficult situations for the editors (a certain reserve of Moldavians for a publication from Bucharest, but also the “delay” of a librarian from Iași in sending the money collected⁵⁴), which defined an even more difficult route of the magazine⁵⁵.

The earnings on the *Magazine* seemed to be the last matter that the editors cared about. The aim of the magazine was to be read and to wake the national

⁴⁸ *Arhiva românească*, II, Iași, 1845, p. VIII.

⁴⁹ Pop 1967.

⁵⁰ Teodor 1966, p. 513.

⁵¹ In a letter to G. Barițiu from January 1846, T. Cipariu noted “That damned magazine still hasn’t arrived” – *George Barițiu* 1978, p. 247. The problems that T. Cipariu faces in receiving the magazine seem to be numerous: see *ibidem*, p. 249, 270, 297 sqv. Laurian is not satisfied with the magazine’s circulation as well “I am sorry that our magazine has so many problems. Subscribers from all over Hungary or Transylvania are complaining that they either do not get the brochures or they do not get them on a regular basis” (*George Barițiu* 1973, p. 116). Recalling in 1869 the situation of publication circulation around the revolution, G. Barițiu wrote “The papers across the Carpathians could seldom be read here; the reason was that they could only pass as letters with an enormous price of 1/2 *douăzecier* (piece with the value of 20) for each issue or that they had to be sent to the Government Cluș, to be censored, from where we received – as many as they could – once in two, sometimes even five months [...]” (*George Barițiu* 2003, p. 328).

⁵² *George Barițiu* 1973, p. 120.

⁵³ *George Barițiu* 1973, p. 122.

⁵⁴ *George Barițiu* 1973, p. 108.

⁵⁵ At first, “[...] over 300 Moldavians ran to subscribe to the list in order to consolidate such a national enterprise”; in a short while, “[...] this fervor diminished” and only 65 took a copy; according to Bălcescu 1974, p. 330.

spirit. In a letter to Barițiu, Laurian confessed “I regret being poor; were I rich, I would print books and give them for free to the scholars who are poor. You should see then how many readers I would have!”⁵⁶. Laurian was also convinced that all the press should reach all social classes, and through it the national spirit⁵⁷. This explained the wide circulation and the accessible price of *the Magazine*. History should become accessible and then vital to the masses, It should alter their judgment and patriotism, in order to get them out of the almost catatonic state in which they were thought to be.

The key concept in the magazine’s title is the term “Dacia” itself, which we shall analyze over the following pages. Dacia represented the original configuration of all the 19th century Romanian states. Romania was not what it is now⁵⁸, although, at the middle of the 18th century, Martin Felmer used the term *Romanien* to speak about the Romanian people and the territory of ancient Dacia. Moreover, in 1816 Daniel Philippide considered that *România* comprised Moldavia and Wallachia⁵⁹.

Dacia had never covered the territory between the Dniester and Tisza as a “country” or “state”. As Andi Mihalache noticed, the name *Dacia* is “rather extrapolating, posthumous or at most anticipatory, intentional, Bovaryan”⁶⁰. At the middle of the 19th century, the term appeared frequently to stand for nowadays Romania. Dacia – the national territory – became an extension of Dimitrie Cantemir’s idea of initial, primitive homeland of the Romanians⁶¹. This name appeared in magazine titles, starting with the first gazette edited in Romanian *Fama Lipschii pentru Dația* (The Voice of Leipzig for Dacia) and continuing with the project for *Dacia veche și nouă* (Ancient and Modern Dacia), with *Dacia literară* (Literary Dacia) and later with *Dacia*, *Dacia română* (The Romanian Dacia), *Dacia viitoare* (Future Dacia). The same term could be found in the titles of major papers, from P. Maior’s *Istoria pentru începuturile românilor în Dacia* (History of the First Romanians in Dacia)⁶² to Al. Papiu Ilarian’s *Istoria românilor din Dacia Superioară* (History of Romanians from Upper Dacia).

The term *Dacia* with its political connotation was ubiquitous. Aaron Florian, just like ancient Humanists and scholars, imagined a united Dacia, a foreshadowing of modern Romania. The Dacian past was a proof that the unity all dreamt about was possible. It was A. Florian as well who said that “the fatal

⁵⁶ George Barițiu 1973, p. 127.

⁵⁷ “I must make the peasants read newspapers or to hell with them !” – George Barițiu 1973, p. 149.

⁵⁸ Zub 1981, p. 150-151; Boia 1997, p. 149.

⁵⁹ Armbruster 1993, p. 260-261.

⁶⁰ Mihalache 2003, p. 97.

⁶¹ Bocșan 1997, p. 79.

⁶² For the frequency of the term in the first decades of the 19th century, also see Teodor and collab. 2002, s. v.; Mârza and Stanciu 2005, s. v.

division of Dacia” was caused by Transylvania’s conquest by the Hungarians⁶³. Bălcescu talked about the land “for which our ancestors spilled their blood to pass unto us”⁶⁴. Historians from the middle of the 19th century, such as Simion Bărnuțiu and Vasile Maniu, wanted to prove the Romanians’ right to this territory, through a modern discourse using current notions of international law⁶⁵. A historical magazine that wished to address all Romanians could therefore not forget to insert the term *Dacia* in its title, which gave away from the very start the orientation of the publication.

Spatial determinism was essential for the nationalist formula that Romanians adopted, which was closer to the German configuration than to the French one, i.e. closer to the expressions of the *volk* that Herder created. An interest for the anatomical and morphological description of the human being, for the identification of the “organic”, “genetic” faculty gave rise to the theory that man’s traits were strongly influenced by the space in which he lived, by the external influences that he processed instinctively. Space closes the powers of creation and time perfects them⁶⁶. Nature is a crucial element, without which no interpretation could seize the essence of social or national particularities. A country can only be represented by one people. The entities that mix human species are unnatural⁶⁷.

As Lucian Boia noticed, “the issue of unity also implies a geographical mythology. If nations are predestined then there must also be a geographical predestination, a space well defined, marked by obvious borders, which would always be reserved for them”⁶⁸. Space ensures in the collective mentality the community’s stability, while time is unstable. In order to define and legitimate themselves, communities keep in their memory the image of their own space. A community ‘shapes’ its space in its own manner, based on a real and imaginary geometry, where common events, actions, memories and customs come together⁶⁹.

The term *Dacia* implies dialectic reconciliation common to that age, between the aspiration of having borders that are fluid enough to contain Romanians who are left outside them and the opposite desire that they work as fossilized borders. Space is the best support for representing the idea of time but it is also guilty of reproducing so well the indifference of duration and the symptoms of forgetting⁷⁰.

⁶³ Cf. Teodor 1968, p. 584.

⁶⁴ Bălcescu 1974, p. 174.

⁶⁵ Bocșan 1997, p. 145-156.

⁶⁶ Neumann 1997, p. 133-136.

⁶⁷ Neumann 2001, p. 9-23; Bocșan 1997, p. 31.

⁶⁸ Boia 1997, p. 199.

⁶⁹ Boia 1998, p. 49-52; Nicoară 2002, p. 222.

⁷⁰ Mihalache 2003, p. 85-104.

At the middle of the 19th century, the theories on the influence of the geographical location on the people's character and on the state existence were less forward and complex. Nonetheless, Romantic historians in general cherished the idea of territorial and climate conditions influencing peoples' and nations' soul, after Herder had dedicated a hymn to almighty geography⁷¹. A professor from Blaj, Ioan Rusu, wrote about the influence of climate on a people's character⁷². Mihail Kogălniceanu thought that Romanians had to change their way of life because of climate changes⁷³. Nicolae Bălcescu developed Pelegrino Rossi's theories, by showing that in order for a country to become unitary, the territory must meet three essential requirements: to provide living means, to offer means of communication and means of defense⁷⁴. He also thought that the country's geographical position made Romanians belligerent⁷⁵. Under the influence of Ch. Darwin's and H. Spencer's evolutionism, the theory of geographical determination would receive in modern Romanian culture new definitions and a high degree of complexity after 1865 in the works of Hașdeu⁷⁶ or Xenopol⁷⁷. In the case of Hașdeu, "the national genius" was explained through an appeal to physiognomy, phrenology, sciences of nature and especially biology because "nature does not kill free will [...] but [...] it sets a direction"⁷⁸. Understanding the relation between man and nature was essential for understanding history.

Through his writings mostly on ancient history, Laurian was closer to the essence of the notion of *Dacia* than Bălcescu, although he was not far either. He distributed in Paris on the eve of the revolution publications containing the idea that "la Dacie est bornée naturelment pour être unie"⁷⁹ (Dacia's natural borders keep it together). However, his articles from *Historical Magazine for Dacia* spoke more about Wallachia and Moldavia. Laurian would however pay attention to the Romanian territory as a whole and especially to Transylvania and the Banat but also to Southern-Danube "Dacia". The same large frame was present in other authors' works: Bărnuțiu traced the national space "from the Dniester to Em and from Em to the Tisza"⁸⁰ and N. Bălcescu also spoke about "the Romanians from Aurelian's Dacia"⁸¹.

⁷¹ Boia 1998, p. 50.

⁷² Rusu 1845, p.13.

⁷³ Kogălniceanu 1946, p. 92-93.

⁷⁴ Bălcescu 1974, p. 274.

⁷⁵ Bălcescu 1974, p. 191.

⁷⁶ Hașdeu 1999, p. 104, 329-344, 389-399, 406-407.

⁷⁷ Xenopol 1881, p. 385; Xenopol 1925, p. 15-18.

⁷⁸ Hașdeu 1999, p. 343-344.

⁷⁹ Desprez 1848, p. 152

⁸⁰ Bodea 1982, p. 472.

⁸¹ Bălcescu 1974, p. 173.

The notion of *Dacia* would be amplified and systematized in Laurian's studies and applied to all ages. For instance, while discussing the political realities from the second half of the 16th century, he noted "now Dacia weeps from all sides under the Turkish yoke"⁸². However, if the contributions of the two editors might be considered to be complementary, then the aim of the publication, that of dedicating it to all Romanians, had certainly been accomplished.

The term *Dacia* meaning the territory that comprises all Romanians appeared in Laurian's work, even after his journey with the *Magazine* came to an end. His geography manuals and his history manuals⁸³, began by talking about a Dacia spreading between the Tisza, the Dniester and the Danube⁸⁴. The image of Dacia should also dominate, in his opinion, the graphical space of the new coins that he imagined in 1860 and whose "markings have to be set on a historical basis". The representations proposed for the new national currency still carried elements reminding of Roman Dacia: a woman representing "the genius of Dacia", the flag of the 5th Macedonian legion, of the 13th legion Gemina, the inscriptions "Dacia felix" and "the Province of Dacia"⁸⁵. Dacia, represented by a woman, was brought back to life since the rule of Joseph II, his trip to Transylvania being symbolized through a statue of a woman dressed in Roman clothes and wearing the inscription "Felicitas Daciae", as Al. Papiu Ilarian noted later⁸⁶.

The same 'Dacian' spirit had repercussions on the map representations of the Romanian territory.⁸⁷ The entire historical conception of Laurian's was synthesized in the *Chart of Dacia* from 1867⁸⁸, which offered the perspective of Romanian political unity more than works before. It was a complex scientific work that combined historical, geographic, archaeological and ethnographic elements and it used relevant cartographic terms. The circular effigy placed in the right corner bore the marking "Roman Dacia" and the Roman year "MMDCXXI." In the same year, an atlas⁸⁹ was published containing 20 maps, of which "Ancient Dacia" and "Modern Dacia" had been elaborated after the *Chart of Modern Dacia*. N. Iorga characterized it as "splendidly elaborated for the schools of the new Dacia, free among the fields with wide rivers, with the mountain spine of the Carpathians to support it in its midst, the Dacia of a strange future and of the blue dream as of the two thousand old past"⁹⁰.

⁸² Laurian 1845, p. 80.

⁸³ Laurian 1862, p. 3-57.

⁸⁴ Laurian 1863, p. 5.

⁸⁵ Laurian 1860 a, p. 13-15.

⁸⁶ Papiu 1996, p. 75.

⁸⁷ Popescu Teiuşan and Netea 1970, p. 228-229.

⁸⁸ Laurian 1868 a.

⁸⁹ Laurian 1868 b.

⁹⁰ Iorga 1903, p. 10.

Laurian had an intensely 'Latinized' vision of the geographic space, in keeping with his typical Latin purism and exaggerations⁹¹. This mainly Latin orientation would find its peak within the pages of the *Dictionary* from 1871-1876⁹², which comprised an intensely Latinized and etimologized vocabulary, while words considered to be "of foreign origin" were "cast away" in a glossary⁹³.

On the Romanian geographic space, Laurian proposes a Latinized image beginning with 1840, with the advent of *Tentamen criticum*. There he spoke of a natural division of Dacia⁹⁴, an idea also included in *Historical Magazine*. "Old Dacia was divided by nature into: Central, Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern."⁹⁵ These designations existed in the Middle Ages or the Modern Ages, but not in Antiquity, he noted, underlining the territorial unity of the old ages. In the first volume of the new historical magazine, using the formulae from *Tentamen*, he made a list of all names that the Romanian provinces had carried: "Central Dacia: Intramontana, Μεσοδαχία, Μεσδαυία, Μεσοβλαχία, Οροδαχία, Οροδαία, Οροβλαχία, Αργοδεβελου, Erdenellum, Ardellum, Erdelium, Ultrasilvana, Transsilvana, Septemcastrensis, Heptapolitana." He also mentioned "Dacia orientalis, Ultramontana" (Moldavia), "Dacia australis, Inframontana" (Wallachia, "Istria"), "Dacia occidentalis, Citramontana" (Banat and Crişana) and "Dacia borealis, Supramontana" (Maramureş and Bukovina)⁹⁶. He thought very highly of the criterion of naming provinces according to their location with reference to the Carpathians (Inframontana, Citramontana etc.), with Transylvania in the middle and the other territories as its extension. These names appeared partially in other studies published in *the Historical Magazine*⁹⁷.

One theme which raised Laurian's interest was how Roman Dacia had spread and had been divided. At the middle of the 19th century, these matters were not clear. Moth authors agree over the overlapping between Roman Dacia and Ancient Dacia and the entire territory inhabited by the Romanians. Al. Papiu Ilarian stated that the Dacia that had been colonized by Trajan spread between the Danube, the Tisza, the Carpathians and the Dniester⁹⁸, an idea also common to Aaron Florian⁹⁹. The theories that excluded the extra-Carpathian principalities

⁹¹ Many of those who identified and promoted the exaggerations of A.T.Laurian (Alecu Russo, Lazăr Şăineanu etc.) have also proceeded in an exaggerated manner. Some of the most pertinent studies dedicated to this subject are Macrea 1967, p. 169-187; Seche 1966; Dumitraşcu 2002, passim.

⁹² Laurian and Massim 1871-1876.

⁹³ Laurian and Massim 1871.

⁹⁴ Laurian 1840, p. XIV-XVIII.

⁹⁵ Laurian 1845, p. 23.

⁹⁶ Laurian 1845, p. 28-29.

⁹⁷ Laurian 1847, p. 225-227.

⁹⁸ Papiu 1996, p. 32.

⁹⁹ Aaron 1839, p. 1.

from the territory of Roman Dacia were rare and groundless scientifically (until the middle of the century), emerging from the seeds of dacianism and of less rigorous spirits, such as Filaret Scriban and Alexandru Popovici¹⁰⁰.

For Laurian, “the territories between the Dniester, the Black Sea, the Danube and the Tisza formed once the Kingdom of Dacia, which had been conquered and colonized by the Romans”¹⁰¹. Although he often used Eutropius and *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Laurian failed to recreate the real territory of Roman Dacia. Eutropius’ “one million paces” of Dacia did not baffle Laurian. Even the territory between the Prut and the Dniester “belonged to Dacia but was ruled from Moesia Inferior”¹⁰². The historians’ confusion between Aurelian’s and Trajan’s Dacia and the existence of the hypothetical “Dacia alpestris” were rejected and harshly criticized by Laurian¹⁰³.

It is interesting that Laurian was the first historian to infer the division of Roman Dacia into Superior and Inferior, which entitled him to assert that “the more alert critics” could not “[...] indicate the true division of the country. I can boast to have been the first who had the pleasure of making this notable discovery”¹⁰⁴. In the first volume of the *Magazine*, based on an inscription discovered at Cellei (Corabia), he proved the existence of Dacia Inferior, hence the idea of a Dacia Superior¹⁰⁵. In the next volume of the magazine, his deduction was confirmed¹⁰⁶. This division was supported in his vision by a natural division into Cisalpine and Transalpine Dacia and by the similar administrative structure from Pannonia and Moesia¹⁰⁷. Guessing the consequences of this discovery, seen from the perspective of increasing the idea of Latinity in Dacia, Laurian came back to it subject several times with new information¹⁰⁸ based on archaeological findings.

As for the new theories created after 1850 about the existence of three Dacias (Apulensis, Aurariae, Malvensis) Laurian was cautious, without denying them but suggesting a re-interpretation of sources¹⁰⁹. The division into Superior-Inferior was closer to the needs of time, as it overlapped the notions with which historians operated at the middle of the century. Laurian used the term “Dacia Superior” even in his private letters¹¹⁰, while Al. Papiu Ilarian spoke about “our brothers from Dacia Inferior”¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Cristian 1972, p. 167-172.

¹⁰¹ Laurian 1857, p. 77.

¹⁰² Laurian 1845, p. 22-23.

¹⁰³ Laurian 1845, p. 22, 28; Laurian 1840, p. XIV; Laurian 1860 b, p. 50.

¹⁰⁴ Laurian 1846 a, p. 87.

¹⁰⁵ Laurian 1845, p. 23.

¹⁰⁶ Laurian 1846 a, p. 87.

¹⁰⁷ This idea is also present in Laurian 1845, p. 23 and later in Laurian 1862, p. 84.

¹⁰⁸ Laurian 1852, p. 25-29; Laurian 1860 b, p. 50-55.

¹⁰⁹ Laurian 1860 b, p. 54-55.

¹¹⁰ *George Bariţ* 1973, p. 200.

¹¹¹ Papiu 1996, p. 155.

Another characteristic of the historians' relation to the Romanian territory resided in the idealization of this Dacian space. The Romanian land was portrayed in idyllic and vivid colors, as a world blessed by fate and by God with special beauties and riches. The authors praised the country as "one of the most fertile and most beautiful of Europe"¹¹². George Bariț saw the Romanian countries as "[...] provinces with a fortunate geographic location, richly gifted by nature, after centuries of terrible trials"¹¹³. Ioan Rusu spoke about "delightful river meadows", "romantic lands", "fertile fields and hills with food and wine", "clear rivers", "icons of natural beauty" and "a healthy climate". Al. Papiu Ilarian mentioned "Fortunate Dacia"¹¹⁴, which was for Laurian "one of the most beautiful provinces of the Roman empire"¹¹⁵. In later geographic descriptions, pastoral images were used to describe each province: the Carpathians had turned Maramureș into "a very Romantic country", the land of Timiș "is very fertile and produces the best wheat", Transylvania has a healthy climate and "is the richest country in gold mines of all Europe" and its soil is very fertile, just like Wallachia's, where "the mountains are covered with all kinds of trees". "The vineyards produce much wine and of good quality" in Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. Bukovina is also "a very romantic country". The differences between the provinces were rare "the soil [of Transylvania] requires a lot of cropping and cannot be compared to that of Wallachia"¹¹⁶. Even the negative aspects of nature, restricted to deforestation, were characteristic for each Romanian country. The resemblance between them created confusion, as the image of a single province multiplied emerges.

The negative consequences of Romania's position may arise precisely from its excellent conformation: "the Romantic beauty of the country, the fertility of the land, Dacia's gold – all melted the barbarians' heart"¹¹⁷. The theme of the unfortunate location of the Romanian territory was common in that time. It could always be explained in the European political and geographic context. From Kogălniceanu's perspective "our country, through its pitiful destiny has been meant since long ago to be the scene of foreign invasions and wars"¹¹⁸. N. Bălcescu wrote about the Romanians "trodden on by so many

¹¹² According to Murgescu 1999, p. 162-164. The image of Romanian space, grandiose, fairy-like, generous through shapes and proportions is unchanging in Romanian culture, present from times immemorial, from that *Near a low foothill/At Heaven's doorsill* (translation by W. D. Snodgrass) from Miorita, the pastoral ballad, to Dimitrie Cantemir, Nicolae Iorga and Simion Mehedinți and until our times (see Puha and Cristian 1989, p. 107-116), almost never shown objectively and in an impersonal manner.

¹¹³ Bariț 1962, p. 54.

¹¹⁴ Papiu 1996, p. 32.

¹¹⁵ Laurian 1862, p. 86; Laurian 1845, p. 20.

¹¹⁶ The quotes from this paragraph were taken from Laurian 1862.

¹¹⁷ Papiu 1996, p. 32.

¹¹⁸ Kogălniceanu 1846, p. 642.

barbarian people from their beginning [...] then surrounded by strong nations [...] which all wanted to enslave them”¹¹⁹. The same idea was presented in school textbooks – the country was “the gateway of invasions by foreign peoples, given its geographic location”¹²⁰. The blessings of the Romanian land accounted, in George Bariț’s opinion, for all fatalities. He asked rhetorically “tell me, who wouldn’t feel tempted to desire such a country?” Hence the antithetic real/imaginary image built on historical and geographic good/bad luck “A nation gifted with so many riches [...] can also live in isolation, without missing closer communication with the foreigners. But alas! Just the opposite has happened so far!”¹²¹.

The same image emerged in *Historical Magazine* through Laurian. He began his French¹²², German¹²³ and Latin¹²⁴ versions (published in separate brochures) of the *Introductory Speech* with a motto from *The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire* by E. Gibbon “The Walachians are surrounded by, but not mixed with barbarians”. Laurian’s favorite passages were from classic authors: “Romanians surrounded by barbarians still preserve the Romanian language”¹²⁵ or Dacia was “a scene for barbarian wars or incursions”¹²⁶. The idea of hostile neighbors was underlined “We are surrounded by people who do not want our best and they have never wanted it”¹²⁷.

The title of Laurian and Bălcescu’s magazine was the epitome of an entire age, of its ideals and hopes. By covering the historiographical realities of the middle of the 19th century, *Historical Magazine for Dacia* synthesized at least partially the cultural and social horizon of that period. It captured an age and a world in one title.

VICTOR-TUDOR ROȘU

MAGAZIN ISTORIC PENTRU DACIA: SEMNIFICAȚII ALE UNUI TITLU

REZUMAT

Titlul publicației istorice de la București oglindește preocupările, chiar aspirațiile unei generații întregi. *Magazin istoric pentru Dacia* înglobează, prin semnificațiile sale, nu doar un

¹¹⁹ Bălcescu 1974, p. 95.

¹²⁰ Albineț 1845, p. IV-V.

¹²¹ Barițiu 1862, p. 58.

¹²² Laurian 1846 b.

¹²³ Laurian 1846 c.

¹²⁴ Laurian 1846 d.

¹²⁵ Laurian 1845, p. 44.

¹²⁶ Laurian 1845, p. 20-21.

¹²⁷ Laurian 1846 e, p. 95.

simplu titlu al unui periodic, ci și un program, o rețetă, un deziderat. Aparent, acest titlu se prezintă a fi curgător, limpede formulat, cuprinzător, explicitând conținutul paginilor revistei. Mai departe de această primă instanță, expresia relevă o încărcătură ideatică deosebit de complexă, lucru pe care autorul prezentului studiu încearcă să îl demonstreze prin analiza, pe mai multe paliere, retrospective și prospective, a conținutului formei și, mai ales, a bagajului ideologic al nominalizatului titlu.

Această formulă de abordare a tezei enunțate nu putea să nu pornească, așadar, de la expresia scriptică a titlului, ce expune într-o formă condensată, prin simplul său aspect diferențiat de la un tom la altul, nu doar tranziția ortografică a epocii sale, ci chiar întreaga tranziție culturală a respectivei perioade. În pasul imediat următor, ce asigură, de altfel, gabaritul studiului de față, fiecare dintre cele patru semne ale titlului (“magazin”, “istoric”, “pentru” și “Dacia”) este analizat după trinomialul context-text-subtext și forțat astfel să își dezvăluie întreaga pleiadă de semnificații.

Concluzionând, conceptul de “Magazin istoric pentru Dacia” poate cuprinde paradigma unei întregi societăți, ori cel puțin al unui important segment al acesteia, funcționând mai degrabă ca un firmament, un zenit al așteptărilor unei generații, nutrită din nadirul istoriei, atunci mai feculent ca niciodată.

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