

ION I. NISTOR AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN BUCOVINA TO THE UNION OF 1918¹

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Rezumat: *Preferința românilor bucovineni pentru istorie și limbă este un reflex al militantismului național propriu sfârșitului de secol XIX. Supuși unei administrații străine, care modificase structuri și mentalități, românii au căutat în limbă și în istorie mărturii și argumente folositoare la conservarea valorilor naționale și la recuperarea demnității colective. O întreaga pleiadă de cărturari a fost cuprinsă în procesul de forjare a conștiinței românești. Următorul studiu evidențiază aspecte din biografia și activitatea istoriografică a lui Ion Nistor, ca și contribuția sa la dezvoltarea istoriografiei românești în Bucovina, în două epoci critice: perioada de dinainte de Primul Război Mondial, atunci când mișcarea națională fusese redimensionată, în funcție de nevoile vremii, și perioada 1914-1918, cu accent pe unificarea Bucovinei cu Regatul Român, inclusiv consecințele imediat următoare evenimentului din decembrie 1918. Deși nu lipsesc amănuntele legate de viața istoricului, accentul cade pe contribuția lui Ion Nistor la acțiunea de profesionalizare a istoriografiei românești, specifică sfârșitului secolului al XIX-lea și începutului secolului XX.*

Abstract: *The preference of Romanians in Bukovina for history and language is a reflection of their national militancy, which characterized the end of the XIXth century. Subjected to a foreign government, that changed structures and mentalities, the Romanians have found in language and history some useful arguments for preserving their national values and recovering their collective dignity. Many scholars were involved in the forging of Romanian consciousness. The following study highlights aspects of biographical and historiographical activity of Ion Nistor. It also presents the historian's contribution to the development of Romanian historiography in Bukovina, in two critical periods: the period before the World War I, when the national movement had been resized, depending on historical needs, and the period during 1914-1918, focusing on unification of Bukovina with the Romanian Kingdom, including the consequence of the next events in December 1918. Although there are some details about the historian's life, this study is emphasized in the role of Nistor to the professionalization of the Romanian historiography, which was specific to the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.*

Résumé: *La préférence des historiens bucoviniens pour l'histoire et la langue est un reflet du militantisme national propre à la fin du XIX-ème siècle. Soumis à une administration étrangère, qui avait modifié des structures et des mentalités, les Roumains ont cherché dans la langue et dans l'histoire des témoignages et des arguments utiles à la conservation des valeurs nationales et à la récupération de la dignité collective. Une pléiade toute entière d'érudits a été comprise dans le processus de forger la conscience roumaine. L'étude ci-jointe*

¹ This article is dedicated to the memory of George R. Ursul (Emerson College), who always made a point of noting his Bucovinian descent.

met en évidence des aspects de la biographie et de l'activité historiographique de Ion Nistor, ainsi que sa contribution au développement de l'historiographie roumaine de la Bucovine, en deux époques critiques: la période d'avant la Première Guerre Mondiale, lorsque le mouvement national avait été redimensionné en fonction des besoins de l'époque, et la période 1914-1918, avec accent sur l'union de la Bucovine avec le Royaume de la Roumanie, inclusivement les conséquences immédiatement suivantes à l'événement de décembre 1918. Quoiqu'il ne manque pas les détails liés de la vie de l'historien, l'accent tombe sur la contribution de Ion Nistor à l'action de professionnaliser l'historiographie roumaine, spécifique à la fin du XIX-ème siècle et au début du XX-ème siècle.

Key words: *historian, professionalization of history, elite, historiography, national movement, education, unification, cultural life.*

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1927, N. Iorga, the doyen of Romanian historiography, wrote "The awakening of historical study in Bucovina is due to Ion Nistor"². Indeed, Ion Nistor distinguished himself prior to World War I as the first Romanian professor of history at the University of Cernăuți in Austrian Bucovina. He was an outstanding scholar, whose accomplishments at the University of Vienna and meticulous publications based on first hand study of a wide variety of archives put him at the forefront of the new generation of Romanian historians that emerged after 1900³.

At the same time, because of the environment in which Nistor functioned—living in an estranged Romanian province ruled by the Habsburg Monarchy since 1775 that was threatened with denationalization—he was also a key member of a cohort of increasingly militant Romanian scholars who saw themselves called to affirm national rights both by means of their academic work and through political activism⁴. Many in this generation of Romanian academics were inspired by a kind of

² N. Iorga, *Roumanie*, in M. Battalion, et al, *Histoire et Historiens depuis Cinquante Ans* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1927), p. 334.

³ For background, see Lucian Boia, *Evoluția istoriografiei române* (București: Universitatea din București, 1976); Paul E. Michelson, *The Birth of Critical Historiography in Romania: The Contributions of Ioan Bogdan, Dimitrie Onciul, and Constantin Giurescu*, "Analele Universității București. Istorie", Vol. 32 (1983), pp. 59-76; Al. Zub, *De la istoria critică la criticism. Istoriografia română sub semnul modernității*, second edition (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2000); and Lucian Nastasă, *Generație și schimbare în istoriografia română. Sfârșitul secolului XIX și începutul secolului XX* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1999).

⁴ See Vasile Grecu's excellent *Ion I. Nistor ca istoric*, in: Maximilian Hacman, et al., *Omagiu lui Ion I. Nistor, 1912-1937* (Cernăuți: Glasul Bucovinei, 1937), pp. 22-23. For more on militant Romanian historians, see my forthcoming "Silviu Dragomir, Romanian Militant Historiography, and the *Revue de Transylvanie*, 1934-1944". The experience of Transylvanian Romanian historians and that of Romanian scholars in Bucovina had many obvious, close parallels. Al. Zub, *Istorie și istorici în România interbelică* (Iași: Editura

"political missionaryism" and a "call to arms" mentality, which was strengthened by a strong *esprit de corps* and a drive to become the leading elite in the development of their nationality and nation.⁵ Historians played a prominent role in this process. And in the end, as Iorga noted, the development of historiography in Transylvania, Bucovina, and even Basarabia and Macedonia "was determined by parallel struggles"⁶. Ion Nistor's prolific research and publications across a wide range of issues and problems in Bucovinian and Romanian history not only shed new light to the past of the region. It also resulted in his election to the Romanian Academy in 1915, the highest scholarly recognition in the then separated Romanian lands⁷.

The chaotic events of World War I might have disrupted the academic work of a less-focussed individual, but even as Nistor was forced to flee Bucovina with the outbreak of the War in 1914 and subsequently became involved between 1914 and 1918 in a significant number of cultural and political activities in the Romanian Kingdom, in Basarabia and Odessa, and finally in Bucovina, he continued to carry out research, to give academic lectures virtually everywhere he went, and to publish⁸.

Ion Nistor was not only an important academic and cultural figure, he was a leader in the process which resulted in the reunion of both Basarabia and Bucovina with the Romanian Kingdom in 1918. During the interwar era, he was the most prominent figure connected with the Romanianized University of Cernăuți, a leader in the Romanian Academy, and numerous times a cabinet minister. However there was a price to be paid: as Lucian Boia noted, "Unfortunately, as for others, political

Junimea, 1989), p. 234, argues that both the Cluj school and the Bucovina group had their "sources in the needs of national militantism."

⁵ Elena Siupiur, *Misiunea poliției și funcțiile intelectualilor în Europa de Sud-Est în secolul al XIX-lea*, in Al. Zub, Venera Achim, and Nagy Pienaru, eds., *Națiunea română. Idealuri și realități istorice. Acad. Cornelia Bodea la 90 de ani* (București: Editura Academiei, 2006), pp. 406-418, which includes a comprehensive bibliography. See also Lucian Nastasă, *Le rôle des études à l'étranger dans la carrière des professeurs d'université roumains (1864-1944)*, in Victor Karady and Mariusz Kulczykowski, eds., *L'enseignement des élites en Europe Centrale (19e-20e siècles)* (Cracow: Université Jagellonne, 1999), pp. 149-158.

⁶ Iorga, *Roumanie*, 1927, p. 335.

⁷ See Nicolae Stoicescu, *Istoricul Ion I. Nistor (1876-1962)*, "Revista de Istorie", Vol. 29 (1976), pp. 1967-1970, for a summary.

⁸ In addition to Grecu, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, pp. 22-48, and Stoicescu, *Istoricul Nistor*, 1976, pp. 1967-1978, Nistor's bibliography is well-served by Sanda Căndea, Nistor, Ion I., in her *Bibliografia lucrărilor științifice ale cadrelor didactice Universitatea București. Seria istorie* (București: Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, 1970), Vol. 2, pp. 392-400; Vianor Bendescu, *Opera unui măiestru de frunte al istoriografiei române pragmatice și al practicei politice. Contribuții la bibliografia scrierilor profesorului și bărbatului de stat Dr. Ion I. Nistor (Născut 4/16 August 1876+11 noembr. 1962)*, "Buletinul Bibliotecii Române" (Freiburg), Vol. I (V) (1967-1968), pp. 141-162; Emil Ioan Emandi, "Ion I. Nistor. Bibliografie selectivă," *Europa XXI*, Vol. 1-2 (1992-1993), pp. 155-165; and Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, *Bibliografie*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 20-34.

activity took much of his time and hindered him from his true calling".⁹

Ironically, it was also these very academic, civic, and political activities that have made the study of the life and work of Ion Nistor problematic. The fact that he was one of those who both "wrote and made history" made him *persona non grata* when Romanian society was turned upside down after 1945¹⁰. In 1940, Northern Bucovina was annexed once more by the Soviet Union¹¹. It returned to Romanian control in 1941, but in 1944 it became part of the Soviet Union's Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Romania itself became a communist people's republic in 1948. All study or even mention of Bucovina was prohibited and/or risky, libraries were purged of books and journals relating to the region by special teams sent in from the Soviet Union¹², and people like Nistor himself were sent off to the Romanian gulag and given little or no mention in history books¹³.

For nearly two decades, almost nothing could appear in a tightly-censored Romania concerning Bucovina, Bucovinian Romanians, or Romanian culture in Bucovina, and most of the materials relating to this area and its history were extremely scarce.¹⁴ And because of tensions with the Soviet Union over the "lost provinces", even after the Romanian leadership began to pursue a neo-Stalinist national-Communism, Bucovina rarely appeared on the cultural radar screen, though a number of direct and indirect studies were published beginning in the 1970s¹⁵.

⁹ Boia, *Evoluția istoriografiei române*, 1976, pp. 320-321. Compare Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), pp. 63 ff., dealing with objectivity, political involvement, and historiography.

¹⁰ See Al. Zub, *Istorie și geopolitică: Ion Nistor*, in Al. Zub, ed., *Ion Nistor (1876-1962)* (Iași: Editura Universității Al. I. Cuza, 1993), pp. 35-38. Zub notes that whereas Gh. Brătianu, Silviu Dragomir, and Ioan Lupaș were "discreetly" rehabilitated, Nistor was not because of the breadth of his activities and because of the themes which his work pursued (such as "territorial disputes"). Zub's *Istorie și istorici*, 1989, p. 28, alludes to the same point. Despite the pre-1989 taboo, Zub manages to make more than two dozen references to Nistor and his work.

¹¹ See my "The Nazi-Soviet Pact and the Outbreak of World War II," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, Vol. 31 (1992), Nr. 1-2, pp. 65-102.

¹² The loss of the University of Cernăuți Library, the second largest in all of interwar Romania was particularly tragic.

¹³ For a listing of banned books and periodicals, see *Publicațiile interzise până la 1 mai 1948* (București: Ministerul Artelor și Informațiilor, 1948), 522 pp. Nistor gets 28 entries, pp. 303-305. As for Nistor's place in posterity, one book consulted for this study (which shall remain nameless) actually confuses him with the archaeologist Ion Nestor in its index.

¹⁴ Extensive personal book searching and buying in the 1970s and 1980s confirms this.

¹⁵ An example of this censorship is provided by V. Curticăpeanu's *Mișcarea culturală românească pentru unirea din 1918* (București: Editura tiințifică, 1968), which has a map showing centers of cultural societies including Rădăuți and Suceava in Bucovina, but discreetly omits Cernăuți and other parts of Bucovina that are no longer part of Romania. Ironically, the one academic outlet between 1945 and 1989 that actually included information and discussion of Bucovinian Romania culture was the work of Romanian Orthodox Church historians, such as Mircea Păcurariu.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Bucovina and Basarabia were once more "open" topics, but because Northern Bucovina had been pretty successfully Ukrainianized, there was much less forthcoming from Cernăuți as compared with Chișinău. On the other hand, studies of figures such as Ion Nistor, of Romanian education in prewar and interwar Bucovina, of Bucovinian Romanian culture, and of Romanian national and cultural associations have begun to appear—although often in obscure places and sources—and there are signs that these blank pages in the recent Romanian past will continue to be filled in. Since these individuals and movements made important contributions to 19th and 20th century Romanian history and civilization, this is all to the good.

The study that follows traces the biography and work of Ion Nistor in the development of Romanian historiography in Bucovina in two critical eras: the prewar epoch of Romanian national awakening and affirmation at the beginning of the 20th century, and, secondly, the period of the World War and the resultant unification of Bucovina with the Romanian Kingdom in 1918 and its immediate aftermath, the establishment of the first post-unification Romanian cabinet in December 1918. Though Nistor's non-historiographical activities are of course included, the emphasis is on the contributions of Nistor the historian in the context of the professionalization of Romanian historiography in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

II. AUSTRIAN BUCOVINA, 1876-1914¹⁶

Ion Ilie Nistor was born into a Romanian peasant family the Rădăuți region of Habsburg-controlled Bucovina in 1876¹⁷. He graduated from the German lyceum in

¹⁶ For the Bucovinian context, see Ion Nistor's posthumously published *Istoria Bucovinei*, edited by Stelian Neagoe (București: Humanitas, 1991); Emanuel Turczynski, *Geschichte der Bukowina in der Neuzeit: zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte einer mitteleuropäisch geprägten Landschaft* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), for a German perspective; and Nicolae Ciachir, *Din Istoria Bucovinei (1775-1944)* (București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1993), for a contemporary Romanian point of view.

¹⁷ There is an excellent "Tabel cronologic," by Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 12-19. The most extensive collection of studies on Nistor is Zub, *Nistor*, 1993. For brief overall sketches, see Mihai Iacobescu, *Ion I. Nistor (1876-1962)*, "Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Județean", Vol. 4 (1977), pp. 263-277, and *Viața și activitatea istoricului Ion I. Nistor*, "Studii și Articole de Istorie", Vol. 49-50 (1984), pp. 140-157; Ștefan Ștefănescu, *I. I. Nistor și opera sa istorică*, "Analele Bucovinei", Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 1, pp. 29-37; Eugenia Istrate, *Ion Nistor (1876-1962), Destin Românesc*, Vol. 4 (1997), Nr. 1, pp. 77-85; and Nichita Adăniloae, *O personalitate a Bucovinei: Istoricul Ion I. Nistor*, in Zub, *Nașterea română*, 2006, pp. 130-136. For the period up to 1918, see Mihai Dim. Sturdza, *Ion Nistor, Istoric al Bucovinei*, *Buletinul Bibliotecii Române* (Freiburg), Vol. 14 (XVIII) (1987-1988), pp. 387-391; Stelian Neagoe, *Ion Nistor. Un istoric pentru eternitatea Românilor de pretutindeni*, in Ion Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, edited by Stelian Neagoe (București: Editura Humanitas, 1991), pp. v-xxxvi; Stelian Neagoe, *Ion Nistor cel mai de seamă istoric și om politic al Bucovinei*, in Ion Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, edited by Stelian Neagoe (București: Editura Humanitas, 1991), pp. v-xxxii (these are similar but the one

Rădău i in 1897, where, despite the absence of the subject in school manuals, he developed an interest in history, particularly Romanian history.¹⁸ He not only became aware of the discrepancy between the official version of Bucovina's history and culture and what he heard at home about the place of his own ethnic group in that history and culture, his national consciousness was raised in the second year at the lyceum when a teacher forbade him to wear Romanian national colors on his sleeve¹⁹.

Now somewhat radicalized, Nistor decided to pursue his interest in history by enrolling in the University of Cernău i (the K. u. K. Franz-Joseph Universität founded in 1875)²⁰, located in the capital of the province²¹. He participated in the Romanian

focusses on Nistor and Basarabia and the other stresses Nistor and Bucovina); and Ovidiu Bozgan, *Ion I. Nistor. Preliminarii monografice* (I) and (II), *Revista Istorică*, Vol. 4 (1993), pp. 573-582, and Vol. 5 (1994), pp. 345-357, Part I covering up to 1914, Part II deals with 1914 to 1962 (Bozgan had access to Nistor family archives). For Nistor's own take, there is an autobiographical note covering 1897-1914, published as *Fragmente autobiografice*, *Buletinul Bibliotecii Romane* (Freiburg), Vol. 5 (IX) (1975-1976), pp. 579-588, with an introductory note by Vianor Bendescu, cited below as Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976. There are also available extracts from an unpublished Nistor manuscript, *Date autobiografice*, (from which the *Fragmente* were probably extracted though there are minor differences between them) used by Bozgan, "Preliminari (I)" 1993, *passim*; this is cited below as Nistor, *Date*, 1993. Lastly, Neagoe's introduction to Nistor's *Istoria Basarabia*, 1991, has some autobiographical materials from 194-1918. Of course, Nistor's views on the late 19th and early 20th centuries are also presented in *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, especially Chapters X-XIV.

¹⁸ Nistor, *Date*, 1993, pp. 574-575. According to Bozgan, Rădău i was the "most Germanized city in Bucovina". Bozgan, *Preliminari (I)* 1993, p. 574. The need to perfect his German explains why it took Nistor so long to complete his basic schooling. However, this command of German proved to be a major contributing factor in his subsequent success. Nistor, "Date," 1993, p. 574.

¹⁹ Nistor, *Date*, 1993, p. 575: "În gândul meu găseam o nepotrivire între cele văzute i auzite acasă i cele învățate la coală i de aceea eram ve nic preocupat de dorul să aflu adevărul. A a s-a trezit în mine dragostea i interesul pentru preocupările istorice."

²⁰ The establishment of a German university in Cernău i had been part of the celebrations connected with the centennial of the Habsburg annexation of Bucovina. On the history of the university, see Ion I. Nistor, *Originea și dezvoltarea Universității din Cernău i* (Chi înău: Tipografia Eparhială Cartea Românească, 1927); Marin Popescu-Spineni, *Instituții de înaltă culturală. Învățământul superior: Muntenia 1679-1930, Moldova 1562-1930, Ardeal 1581-1930, Bucovina 1849-1930* (Vălenii-de-Munte: Datina Românească, 1932), pp. 172 ff.; Mircea Grigorovița, *Învățământul în nordul Bucovinei (1775-1944)* (Bucure ti: Editura Didactică i Pedagogică, 1993); Grigore Bostan, "Der Beitrag der Universität Czernowitz zur Entwicklung der Rumänischen Kultur un der ukrainisch-rumänischen Beziehungen," in Ilona Slawinski and Joseph P. Strelka, eds., *Glanz und Elend der Peripherie. 120 Jahre Universität Czernowitz* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998), pp. 123-133; Hannelore Burger, "Das Probleme de Unterrichtssprache an der Universität Czernowitz," in Slawinski, *Glanz and Elend*, 1998, pp. 65-81; and Eugen Pitei, Vladimir Trebici, and Drago Rusu, *Universitatea din Cernău i (1880-1938)* (Ploie ti: Fundația Gh. Cernea, 2001). Because of protests by Romanian activists, the university belatedly

*Societatea Academică Junimea*²² (serving as president) and other activities related to the Romanian national movement in Bucovina, thus clearly associating himself with the emerging political movement of the Romanians in the region²³. Paradoxically, the

included a professorship of Romanian language and literature, which was held by Ion Gh. Sbiera. Sbiera's memoirs, published as *Familia Sbiera după tradițiune și istorie. Amintiri din viața autorului* (Cernăuți: Societatea Tipografică Bucovineană, 1899), constitute a kind of history of the Romanian side of the university at the end of the 19th century.

- ²¹ For the history of Cernăuți, see Harald Heppner, ed., *Czernowitz. Die Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Stadt* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2000). On turn-of-the-century Cernăuți, see Jean-Paul Bled, "Czernowitz avant 1914: Une société multiculturelle," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, Vol. 35 (1996), Nr. 1-2, pp. 21-26; and Ortfried Kotzian, *Die Bedeutung der Universität für den 'Mythos Czernowitz*, in Slawinski, *Glanz und Elend*, 1998, pp. 15-26.
- ²² See O. Tofan, *Societăți academice din Bucovina (1875-1938). Scurtă privire istorică, Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Județean*, Vol. 17-19 (1990-1992), pp. 314-327; Emilian-Dan Petrovici, *Repertoriul societăților cultural-naționale românești din Bucovina (1848-1918), Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Județean*, Vol. 20 (1993), pp. 219-238; Anghel Popa, *Societatea Academică Junimea din Cernăuți, 1878-1938* (Câmpulung Moldovenesc: Fundația Culturală Alexandru Bogza, 1997); Corneliu Crăciun, *Societăți academice din Bucovina. Arboroasa și Junimea* (Oradea: Fundația Culturală Cele Trei Cri uri, 1997); and Simina-Octavia Stan, "Societăți culturale românești din Bucovina până la Primul Război Mondial," *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 11 (2004), Nr. 2, p. 335-344. The first president of *Societatea Academică Junimea* was Dimitrie Onciul.
- ²³ On pre-World War I Bucovina culture and politics in general, see Mircea Grigorovița, *Din istoricul culturii în Bucovina (1775-1944)* (București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1994); Ioan Căpreanu, *Bucovina: istorie și cultură românească (1775-1918)* (Iași: Editura Moldova, 1995), especially pp. 91 ff.; Gerald Stourzh, *Der nationale Ausgleich in der Bukovina 1909/1910*, in Ilona Slawinski and Joseph P. Strelka, eds., *Die Bukovina. Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 35-52; Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, *Parlamentarism, partide și elită politică în Bucovina habsburgică (1848-1918)* (Iași: Editura Junimea, 2004); and Erich Prokopowitsch, *Die rumänische Nationalbewegung in der Bukowina und der Dako-Romanismus* (Graz-Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1965); Marian Olaru, *Mișcarea națională a românilor din Bucovina la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea* (Rădăuți: Editura Septentrion, 2002); Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în timpul stăpânirii austriece (1774-1918): Aspecte etnodemografice și confesionale* (Chișinău: Civitas, 2003); Ioan V. Cocuz, *Partidele politice românești din Bucovina. 1862-1914* (Suceava: Editura Cuvântul Nostru, 2003); Ștefan Purici, *De la supus la cetățeni. Românii din Bucovina (1775-1914)*, *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 13 (2006), Nr. 1, pp. 155-166; and Simina-Octavia Stan, *Mișcarea cultural-națională în Bucovina în a două jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea-începutului al XX-lea*, *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 12 (2006), Nr. 2, pp. 515-527. On Nistor, see Grigore Nandri, *Commemorative Address at the Centenary Meeting of the Society for Culture, Delivered on the 27th November 1962*, in: Grigore Nandri, *Bessarabia and Bucovina. The Trojan Horse of Russian Colonial Expansion to the Mediterranean* (London: Editura Societatea Pentru Cultura, 1968), pp. 47 ff.; Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, *Ion Nistor, luptătorul pentru unirea Bucovinei cu România*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 111-112. Doina Huzdup, *Ion I. Nistor și rolul său în viața culturală a Cernăuțiului*, *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 2, pp. 243-262; and Doina Alexa,

University, which was seen by both Germans and Romanians as a move to further the Germanization of culture in the region, provided both theological training for the Romanian Orthodox Church and a platform for Romanian national consciousness raising²⁴.

Nistor's studies were interrupted for Habsburg military service in 1899-1900 (part of which was spent in Vienna, the rest at Pola on the Adriatic). This was not only the first time he had left Bucovina; it also introduced him to "a new world" as he came into contact with *România Jună*, the Romanian activist student association in Vienna; became aware of the nationalities situation of the Habsburg Empire; met the Transylvanian Romanian cultural leaders such as Iosif Vulcan of Oradea; and visited the Romanian kingdom (the Regat) on his way to and from Vienna and Pola²⁵.

He returned from his military service "disgusted" with the factionalism of the Romanian national movement in Bucovina, particularly because he felt it had neglected to link up with their compatriots especially in the Regat "without which a truly national politics in Bucovina could not be carried out. For me, as I pursued my historical studies, I was also caught up in the whirlpool of political life, realizing that the injustices committed against the Romanian people in Bucovina and elsewhere needed righting and complete overthrow. But, this could not be done without rigorous political and national action"²⁶.

Ion Nistor graduated from the University of Cernăuți with a degree in history and geography in 1904 and began teaching at the lyceum in Suceava²⁷. At the same time, he co-founded (with Gheorghe Tofan and others) the activist review, *Junimea*

Ion Nistor. Dimensiunile personalității politice și culturale (Rădăuți: Editura Institutului Bucovina Basarabia, 2000).

²⁴ Aurel Morariu, *Bucovina 1774-1914* (București: Pavel Suru, n.d.), pp. 61-65. On the Austrian Mission of the German university, see Rudolf Wagner, ed., *Vom Halbmond zum Doppeladler. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bukowina und der Czernowitzer Universität Francisco-Josephina* (Augsburg: Verlag Der Sudostdeutsche, 1996). One exception to the Germanization was the establishment of a Metropolitanate of Bucovina in Cernăuți in early 1875 (with an imposing palace and church by 1882), followed by the formation of a Romanian Orthodox Faculty of Theology at the university in 1875, which was a center of theological education throughout the Romanian lands, and the publication of a major journal, *Candela*, in 1882. Several of the rectors of the university were Romanians from the theological faculty. See Ion Nistor, *Istoria bisericii din Bucovina și a rostului ei național cultural în viața românilor bucovineni* (București: Editura Casa Școalelor, 1916); Simeon Reli, *Politica religioasă a Habsburgilor față Biserica Ortodoxă Română în secolul al XIX-lea, în lumina unor acte și documente inedite din arhiva Curții imperiale din Viena, Codurul Cosminului*, Vol. 4-5 (1927-1929), pp. 445-562; and Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române* (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1981), Vol. 3: pp. 188-194 and 277-279.

²⁵ Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, pp. 580-582.

²⁶ Nistor, *Date*, 1993, p. 575.

²⁷ In 1904, he married Virginia Pauliuc. Their only child, a daughter Oltea, was born in 1905. Virginia was related to the pioneering professor of Romanian at Cernăuți, I. Gh. Sbiera. Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 583.

Literară, which he served as editor²⁸. They declared that "we represent not only art... we also represent the national idea.... [I]n order to avoid disappearing under the waves of the peoples who surround us, we need to have our own culture...we need to be inspired by an unbounded love for all that is ours, which love will serve as a fortification against the multitude of foreign influences"²⁹. One of the first activities that they sponsored was a mass commemoration in 1904 of the 400th anniversary of tefan cel Mare's death.

Nistor was a frequent contributor to this journal on historical subjects between 1904 and 1914, with more than two dozen articles, reviews, and commemorative pieces, ranging from the idea of Latinity in Romanian history³⁰. to a tribute to Sim. Fl. Marian³¹. to reviews of works by N. Iorga³². Having thus stabilized his situation professionally and personally, he was now "able to dedicate myself completely to historical studies, which I continued with great passion"³³.

After teaching high school in Suceava (1904-1907) and Cernăuți (1907-1908), Nistor went on extended leave to attend the University of Vienna, studying at the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung and the Seminar for East European History³⁴, and defending a dissertation in 1909 under the direction of the noted Slavist

²⁸ *Junimea Literară* appeared January 1, 1904, in Cernăuți. In October, 1904, it moved to Suceava, where it was published until May 1914. It reappeared between 1925-1939. Nistor was editor-in-chief throughout. I. Hangiu, *Dicționarul presei literare românești (1790-2000)*, third edition (București: Editura Institutului Cultural Român, 2004), pp. 368-369. For additional comment, see Constantin Loghin, *Istoria literaturii române din Bucovina (175-1918)* (Cernăuți: Tipografia Mitropolitului Silvestru, 1926); Ioan Cocuz, *Presa românească din Bucovina (1809-1914)*, Suceava. *Anuarul Muzeului Județean*, Vol. 16 (1989), pp. 1-117; Aurel Buzincu, *Junimea literară în prima perioadă de apariție, Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 2 (1995), Nr. 2, pp. 297-310; and Mihai Lazăr, *The Contribution of 'The Political Magazine' to the Affirmation of Cultural Identity of the Romanians from Bucovina*, in Mihai Iacobescu, Gheorghe Cliveti, and Dinu Balan, eds., *Slujind-o pe Clio. In Honorem Dumitru Vitcu* (Iași: Editura Junimea, 2010), pp. 603-608.

²⁹ Quoted in D. Marmeliuc, *Aspecte din viața culturală a Bucovinei, Revista Fundațiile Regale*, Vol. 8 (1941), Nr. 8-9, pp. 449. Marmeliuc discusses other pan-Romanian activities before World War I as well.

³⁰ *Ideea latinității în istoria română, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 3 (1906), pp. 74-76, 100-101, 110-114, 126-129.

³¹ *Un modest prinț de venerare* (Lui Simion Florea Marian), in *Junimea Literară*, Vol. 4 (1907), pp. 161-164.

³² Including *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes im Rahmen seiner Staatsbildungen, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 3 (1906), pp. 58-61; and *Istoria imperiului otoman, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 8 (1911), pp. 115-120.

³³ Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 583.

³⁴ He is mentioned in the histories of these two institutions: Leo Santifaller, *Das Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (Vienna: Universum Verlag, 1950), p. 131; and Walter Leitsch and Manfred Stoy, *Das Seminar für Östeuropäische Geschichte der Wiener Universität 1907-1948* (Wien: H. Böhlau, 1983), pp. 50, 58-59. On Nistor's graduate studies, see Stelian Mândruț, *I. I. Nistor, doctor în filosofie al Universității din Viena*

Konstantin J. Jireček³⁵, This was followed by additional study at the Universities of Munich, Leipzig³⁶, Bucure ti, and Ia i.³⁷ He specifically noted his debt to the emerging critical Romanian historiography of the Regat: "Romanian historiography took a great leap forward in that era through the studies and publications of A. D. Xenopol,³⁸ Dimitrie Onciul,³⁹ Ioan Bogdan⁴⁰, and especially those of Nicolae Iorga,⁴¹ inspired by the national idea"⁴².

(1909), *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A. D. Xenopol*, Vol. 34 (1997), pp. 341-354. Also useful in Mândruț, *Die Rumänische Intelligenz und die Wiener Universität, 1867-1918. Allegemeine Betrachtungen*, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, Vol. 34 (1995), Nr. 1-2, pp. 97-107, with full bibliographical notes.

³⁵ Nistor's autobiographical notes (Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 584) speak highly of Jireček and in 1924, he published a tribute to him as *În amintirea lui Constantin Jiricek, Codrul Cosminului*, Vol. 1 (1924), pp. 613-615. His dissertation was published as *Die moldauischen Ansprüche auf Pokutien*, *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*, Vol. 100 (1910), pp. 1-182.

³⁶ At Munich, he studied Byzantinology with Karl Krumbacher and economics with Luigi Brentano. At Leipzig, he studied with Karl Lamprecht. Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 585.

³⁷ See Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, pp. 585-586, where Nistor wrote: "To become a professor of Romanian history, I felt the need to spend some time in Bucure ti and Ia i in order to attend the courses of Onciul, Xenopol, Iorga, and Bogdan. Knowing the German method of historical study, it was easy..." Stoicescu, *Istoricul Nistor*, 1976, p. 1967, sees this experience as critical, both in orienting Nistor to contemporary Romanian national historiography and in establishing Nistor's credibility with the leaders of that historiography.

³⁸ On Xenopol, see Ion Nistor, *Opera istorică a lui A. D. Xenopol, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 18 (1929), pp. 233-241.

³⁹ On his fellow Bucovinian, Onciul, see Ion Nistor, *Dimitrie Onciul, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 5 (1908), pp. 135-138; *În amintirea lui Dimitrie Onciul, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 12 (1923), pp. 57-60; and *Dimtrie Onciul. La zece ani dela moartea sa, Junimea Literară*, Vol. 22 (1933), pp. 73-79.

⁴⁰ On Bogdan, see Ion Nistor, *Die Urkunden Stephans des Grossen, Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*, Vol. 4 (1914), pp. 392-400, a review of Bogdan's *Documentele lui Itefan cel Mare* (1913).

⁴¹ Iorga had made a big splash in 1905 when he toured and lectured in Bucovina. For his account of the visit, see N. Iorga, *Neamul Românesc în Bucovina* (Bucure ti: Editura Minerva, 1905). In 1917, he published *Histoire des Roumains de Bucovine à partir de l'annexion autrichienne (1775-1914)* (Ia i: Imprimeria Națională, 1917). These were reprinted as *Românisumul în trecutul Bucovinei* (Bucure ti: Datina Românească, 1938). Nistor tributes to Iorga included *Opera istorică a d-lui Nicolae Iorga, Academia Română. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Seria III, Vol. 12 (1931), pp. 45-54; *Nicolae Iorga ca istoric, Codrul Cosminului*, Vol. 7 (1931-1932), pp. xxi-xxxii; and numerous reviews.

⁴² Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 583. Ceau u writes that contact with Iorga's Semănătorist ideas "constituted a moment of ideological programatic clarification for Ion Nistor". Mihai-Ștefan Ceau u, *Ion Nistor, luptătorul penury unirea Bucovinei cu România*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, p. 111.

In 1911, Nistor took the daring step of applying for and taking the habilitation exam at the University of Vienna which would allow him to teach at the principal university of the Empire⁴³. This was a calculated part of a campaign that had been waged since 1908 to create a chair of Romanian history at the University of Cernăuți⁴⁴. The strategy was that the Austrian authorities could hardly refuse a scholar who had qualified to teach at the leading university in the Monarchy, even though Nistor's Romanian activism constituted a major objection to him for German and Ukrainian professors at Cernăuți⁴⁵. (Sextil Pu cariu had "pioneered" the approach by becoming a docent in Romance philology at Vienna in 1904, which set the stage for his ascending to the chair of Romanian language and literature at Cernăuți in 1906)⁴⁶.

In 1911, Nistor passed the daunting Vienna habilitation exam, became an official university docent, and published a second thesis, this time on medieval economic history⁴⁷. Almost at the same time, his friends in București gave another boost to his career: on May 18, 1911, he was voted a corresponding member of the

⁴³ Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 586. On this episode, see Astrid and Dumitru Agache, *Ion Nistor – docent al Universității din Viena*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 41-94, with documents, including a copy of Nistor's handwritten curriculum vitae of 1911 (pp. 83-85).

⁴⁴ See Drago Olaru, *Contribuții la istoricul creării catedrei de istorie a Românilor la Universitatea din Cernăuți*, *Glasul Bucovinei*, Vol. 2 (1995), Nr. 1, pp. 76-85. Shortly after arriving in Cernăuți in 1906, Sextil Pu cariu had written a lengthy letter to Nistor and *Junimea Literară* (published in the first number of 1907) bemoaning the pathetic, crisis situation of the Romanian national movement in Bucovina, in which politics and infighting, not unity and national disiderata, were primary. This letter is quoted extensively in Bozgan, *Preliminari (I)*, 1993, pp. 578-579. One result was the campaign to establish the Romanian chair. See Bozgan, *Preliminari (I)*, 1993, pp. 579-580.

⁴⁵ For "a short history" of the history chair and the machinations connected with its founding and Nistor's eventual election, see Sextil Pu cariu, "Câteva scrisori," in Hacman, *Omagiu Nistor*, 1937, pp. 1-21; and Lucian Năstasă, "Ion Nistor. Debutul la Academia Română," in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 106-108. Pu cariu notes that Nistor was the ideal combination of tireless researcher, established scholar and writer, gifted teacher, and unflinching defender of his people (p. 2).

⁴⁶ Mândruț, *Doctor din Viena* 1997, p. 343. Nistor and Pu cariu, one of Romania's leading linguists, were close collaborators in Cernăuți until the latter left to found the Romanian University of Cluj in 1919. See Sextil Pu cariu, *Memorii*, edited by Magdalena Vulpe (București: Editura Minerva, 1978); Drago Olaru, *Sextil Pu cariu. Scrisori către Ion Nistor*, *Glasul Bucovinei*, Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 3, pp. 122-146. In 1937, Pu cariu noted that he and Nistor had had three decades of "sincere and undisturbed friendship." *Scrisori*, 1937, p. 21.

⁴⁷ His habilitation thesis was *Die auswärtigen Handelsbeziehungen de Moldau im XIV., XV., und XVI. Jahrhundert* (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1911), XIX + 240 pp. It received the Hagi Vasile Prize of the Romanian Academy. Ion Bogdan praised the work as "complete exposition of external Moldovan commerce in the first three centuries of Moldovan history" and noted that it was the first study of this sort in the literature. Stoicescu, *Istoricul Nistor*, 1976, p. 1968.

Romanian Academy, nominated by Ioan Bogdan and supported by N. Iorga and Dimitrie Onciul⁴⁸. He cemented his credentials by delivering a course in South East European history at Vienna, beginning with a lecture on "The Place of the Romanians in South-East European History"⁴⁹. In 1912, he completed his work on Moldovan economic history with two more significant publications⁵⁰.

The result of these assiduous efforts was the appointment of Ion Nistor in the fall of 1912 to a newly founded chair of South-East-European history at the University of Cernăuți (the title of the chair was both a compromise and a stratagem to get approval from the German-dominated university administration).⁵¹ His inaugural lecture in October 1912 was on "The Historical Importance of the Romanians and the Beginnings of their State Organization"⁵². Delivered in German, Nistor's publicly announced that his chair would concentrate on the history of the Romanians since they were plainly the leading nationality in South Eastern Europe. This was because they had maintained their state existence throughout the Ottoman era, they had served as a refuge for Balkan culture, and they had provided a base for Balkan national awakenings. He also passed in review key elements of Romanian medieval culture, including its outstanding painted churches, its theological and historical writings, and its educational contributions, including the Academy of Putna.

⁴⁸ See Dorina N. Rusu, *Nistor, Ion I.*, in her *Membrii Academiei Române 1866-1999* (București: Editura Academiei, 1999), p. 376. Ceaușescu, *Tabel cronologic*, 1993, p. 14, (among others) mistakenly dates Nistor's election as 1914. Năstasă, *Debutul la Academia*, 1993, pp. 108, sees this election as part of a concerted effort by the București critical school to gain control of the principal institutions of Romanian culture. Bogdan, Vasile Pârvan, and G. Weigand had also been "mobilized" to derail (through withering reviews) the candidacy of Ilie Gherghel, who was supported for the Cernăuți post by the German party. Pu cari, *Scrisori*, 1937, p. 3; Năstasă, *Debutul la Academia*, 1993, p. 107. On the Academy and Bucovina, see Vasile I. Schipor, *Bucovina istorică, elita bucovinenilor și Academia Română, Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 12 (2005), pp. 33-49. For references below to events at the Academy, see Dorina N. Rusu, *Istoria Academiei Române. Repere cronologice* (București: Editura Academiei, 1992), *passim*.

⁴⁹ Pu cari, *Scrisori*, 1937, p. 7, cites a letter from Nistor, dated 31 October 1911, reporting that 80-100 people attended this lecture and that 40-50 students were signed up for the course, a remarkable number. See also Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 586.

⁵⁰ These were *Handel und Wandel in der Moldau bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Cernăuți: H. Pardini, 1912), XIII + 200 pp., focussing on trade routes, postal systems, social and ethnic status of merchants, monetary systems, and prices; and "Das moldauische Zollwesen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung, und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich*, Vol. 36 (1912), pp. 235-282, which dealt with customs systems and Moldovan trade. See Grecu, "Nistor istoric," 1937, pp. 25-26.

⁵¹ Pu cari, *Scrisori*, 1937, p. 1. The title of the chair was the "Lehrstuhl für Geschichte Südosteuropas, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der rumänischen Geschichte." Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 586.

⁵² For a summary, see Grecu, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, pp. 26-27. For a discussion, see Ion Toderașcu, *Prelegerea inaugurală a lui Ion Nistor la universitatea din Cernăuți (1912)*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 95-104.

By May 1914, Nistor was tenured at the University of Cernăuți.

On the national/political front, in the summer of 1912, Nistor and Sextil Pu cariui had agreed that the national movement in Bucovina was on the wrong track⁵³. In their opinion, the cultural associations were dominated by "the old men" and by unhealthy "politicianism". The term had been popularized by Constantin Rădulescu-Motru's *Cultura română și politicianismul*⁵⁴, which saw contemporary Romanian politics as a con game: "The reforms accomplished in Romania by politicians are, some of them, for the apparent benefit of the generation of today, and all of them to the real harm of the generation of tomorrow." What happens is that "public institutions and services are transformed from the means of accomplishing the public good...into the means of achieving private interests."⁵⁵ Regrettably, the course of modern Romanian history has shown that the reformers and critics of politicianismul today usually become the exponents of politicianismul tomorrow, partly because of the lack of a wide enough civil (i.e. private) society tradition. Etatism and centralism made politicianism almost inevitable in Romanian culture.

Nistor spent some time at Pu cariui's summer retreat at Bran in Transylvania, where they laid out plans to transform the Romanian cultural movement in Bucovina (in collaboration with Gheorghe Tofan and Alecu Procopovici). The goal was to move beyond the "tiny problems" of Bucovina to the larger "Romanian problem" and Pan-Romanianism⁵⁶. This was fostered by the Balkan wars of 1912-1913, where Romania's acquisition of Southern Dobrogea was seen as only "the first step of Romanian expansion." Though in 1913, Nistor and Pu cariui had been elected members of the committee of the Societatea Pentru Cultură și Literatură Română din Bucovina (and Nistor had edited the Society's *Calendarul* for 1914), both resigned in early 1914 because they thought the Society was wasting time in pointless debates and discussions rather than working out a strategic approach for the promotion of Romanian culture in Bucovina⁵⁷.

In 1912, Nistor also published a study on the history of Austrian education which refuted the claim that the Austrian regime had brought public education to Bucovina. The truth was, he argued, that the new regime's policies had led to an

⁵³ For details on these summer activities, see Pu cariui, *Scrisori*, 1937, pp. 8 ff. For the context, see Ioan V. Cocuz, *Viața politică românească în Bucovina (1900-1914)*, Suceava. *Anuarul Muzeului Județean*, Vol. 10 (1983), pp. 599-627; and Vladimir Trebici, *Sextil Pu cariui și Bucovina*, *Glasul Bucovinei*, Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 3, pp. 28-33. Among their collaborators was Dr. Isidor Bodea. See Cornelia Bodea, *Isidor Bodea, Sextil Pu cariui și Bucovina*, *Glasul Bucovinei*, Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 3, pp. 34-38.

⁵⁴ Third edition (București: Socec, 1904).

⁵⁵ Rădulescu-Motru, *Politicianism*, 1904, title page and p. iii.

⁵⁶ This constituted a rejection of the *Bucovinitist doctrine*, which tended to argue for a comfortable, status quo, multiculturalist view of a "unique" Bucovina. Ceaușu, *Luptătorul*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, p. 112.

⁵⁷ Nistor, *Fragmente*, 1975-1976, p. 587-588.

undermining of existing Romanian schools⁵⁸. Nistor and Pu cariu became increasingly aware of the ramifications of education for the Romanian national cause. As a result, in 1913, they set up a summer school at Dorna Candreni attended by 50 to 100 participants. They hoped to expand these activities the following year, but, as Pu cariu wryly noted, "The war brusquely interrupted our plans"⁵⁹.

III. THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1914-1918⁶⁰

Though World War I did not officially begin for Romania until 1916, for many Romanian cultural leaders living outside of the Romanian Kingdom, such as Ion Nistor, the outbreak of the war in 1914 brought immediate chaos and disruption⁶¹. Sextil Pu cariu was called up to his Austro-Hungarian regiment on 28 July. When the Romanian Kingdom declared neutrality on 3 August, things became very difficult for Romanian nationalists in Bucovina. Eduard Fischer, head of the Austrian gendarmerie, called the *Junimea Literară* group "a band of spies and traitors" and the Governor of Bucovina, Rudolf Meran, threatened the death penalty for people "even suspected of espionage"⁶². This repression and the subsequent occupation of Cernăuți in 2 September 1914 by the Russians (the Russian border was just 20 miles from the capital of Bucovina) led Nistor and his family to flee to București⁶³. In the long run, this was rather counterproductive for the Austrians, since it meant that they provided the Romanians with a cluster of talented and ardent advocates in favor of the entry of the Romanian Kingdom into the war against Austria-Hungary, "the Dungeon of Peoples"⁶⁴ and eventually for the union of all the Romanian lands.

⁵⁸ *Zur Geschichte des Schulwesens in der Bukowina, Jahresbericht der gr. or. Ober-Realschule in Czernowitz*, Vol. 18 (1911-1912), pp. 2-49, summarized by Grecu, "Nistor istoric," pp. 27-28.

⁵⁹ Pu cariu, *Scrisori*, 1937, p. 12.

⁶⁰ Much of the biographical specifics in this section are from Ceaușu, *Tabel cronologic*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 14-16; and Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991,

⁶¹ For Romania and the Great War, see Constantin Kirîțescu, *Istoria războiului pentru întregirea României*, second edition, three volumes (București: Casa Coalelor, 1925-1927); Victor Atanasiu, et al., *România în primul război mondial* (București: Editura Militară, 1979); and Glenn E. Torrey, *Romania and World War I. A Collection of Studies* (Iași: The Center for Romanian Studies, 1998), dealing with a wide variety of topics.

⁶² Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 356 ff. See also Volodimir Sapouloudchyj, "Activitatea structurilor de forță austriece în Bucovina în condițiile 'stării excepționale' (1914-1918)," *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 13 (2006), Nr. 2, pp. 609-629.

⁶³ Nistor, *Date*, 1993, p. 581. The Nistor family arrived in București in November 1914. The Russians occupied Cernăuți times during the war: September- October 1914, November 1914-February 1915, and June-July 1917. Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 357-375; and Dumitru Preda, Vasile Alexandrescu, and Costică Prodan, *În apărarea României Mari. Campania armatei române din 1918-1919* (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1994), p. 81. Naturally, each occupation and retreat brought further hardships and reprisals for the Romanian population of Bucovina.

⁶⁴ Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, p. 362.

Thus began a remarkable new chapter in Ion Nistor's work. Though in exile, though a leading activist in the Romanian Bucovinian cause, though venturing (willingly and sometimes unwillingly) from one end of the Romanian war zone to another, eventually sentenced to death in absentia by the Austrian authorities, Ion Nistor managed not only to continue his academic research and writing (he was busily at work in the Academy Library soon after his arrival in Bucure ti in 1914), but to teach and publish as well. In Bucure ti, Ion Nistor immediately became involved with others in forming a Bucovinian Refugee Committee, which elected him as president⁶⁵. This was just the first of many such duties that he assumed between 1914 and 1918. It seems clear that he had decided to cast his lot with the Romanian Kingdom against the Austrian Monarchy come what may. In fact, in July 1917, he officially became a Romanian citizen.

Despite the unsettled circumstances, in 1915, Nistor published *Românii i rutenii în Bucovina. Studiu istoric i statistic*⁶⁶, a book that examined the Ukrainianization of Bucovina on a statistical basis. He was particularly keen to refute Ukrainian claims to the contrary, arguing that the Romanian element in Bucovina had been the largest until very recently. When the outcome of the Great War led to a situation potentially supportive of Wilsonian national self-determination claims, such analyses had an obvious linkage to the larger Romanian national question, so in 1916 a revised and expanded German edition was printed, though it was not "published" until the end of 1918.⁶⁷ These two books and the ethnographic map in the second, Greco tells us, later played an important role at the Paris Peace Conference and provided the basis for the eventual border with Poland. Indeed, the fact that "the Romanian government succeeded in gaining the entire Bucovina in its former historical boundaries" was due to Nistor's work⁶⁸.

In May of 1915, Ion Nistor was elected a full member of the Romanian Academy in Bucure ti, where he joined Pu cariu (who had become a full member in

⁶⁵ Nistor, *Date*, 1993, pp. 581-582.

⁶⁶ Bucure ti: Socec, 1915, xx + 209 pp. This work was reprinted under the same title by Editura Dominor in Ia i in 2001.

⁶⁷ Published as *Der nationale Kampf in der Bukowina. Mit enier ethnographische Karte der Bukowina* (Bucure ti: Carol Göbl, 1919), 227 pp. Nistor prepared the translation himself. Details in Greco, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, pp. 29-30.

⁶⁸ Greco, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, p. 30. In 1930s, Nistor resumed his examination of "the Ukrainian Problem," with three articles: "Contribuții la relațiunile dintre Moldova i Ucraina în veacul al XVII-lea," *Academia Română. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Seria III, Vol. 13 (1932-1933), pp. 185-221; and *Problema ucraineană în lumina istoriei. Codrul Cosminului*, Vol. 8 (1933-1934), pp. 1-281, reprinted as Ion Nistor, *Problema ucraineană în lumina istoriei*, edited by tefan Purici (Rădăuți: Septentrion Agora, 1997); and *Die rumänisch-ukrainischen Beziehungen in ihren geschichtlichen Werdegang, Sudostdeutsche Forschungen*, Vol. 4 (1939), pp. 229-242. His key affirmation was that "The territorial claims of the Ukrainians always stopped at the Nistru." Greco, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, p. 32.

the summer of 1914)⁶⁹. He would be one of the most active members of the historical section over the next thirty years, frequently speaking at Academy commemorative sessions⁷⁰, and published over forty studies under the Academy's auspices⁷¹.

One of these works, "Emigrările de peste mun i în Moldova i Bucovina"⁷², a paper given three days after his election to the Academy, made a significant contribution to the movement toward Romanian national unification and preparations for Romania's eventual entry into the World War against Austria-Hungary by emphasizing that the Romanians in the Romanian lands spoke the same language, shared the same religion, and were, in fact, the same people. Ironically, Austrian policies, both economic and political, led to considerable immigration from Transylvania (especially of intellectuals), which in turn fueled the Romanian national movement throughout the Carpathian arc⁷³.

Nistor's Academy inaugural lecture in 1916, entitled "Un capitol din viea a culturală a Românilor din Bucovina 1774-1857"⁷⁴, took up once more the theme of Austrian educational pseudo-reform after 1774. Instead of improving, the educational and cultural life of Romanians in Bucovina actually got worse. Despite this, Romanian national consciousness was preserved and cultural activities expanded. Particularly noteworthy were the contributions of the Hurmuzachi family to Romanian culture generally⁷⁵ and the consciousness-raising events of 1848. In the end, "Bucovinians, even in the saddest epoch of their past, were and remained a living branch of the Romanian people".

In 1916, Nistor published yet another work of importance for affirming

⁶⁹ See Năstasă, *Debutul*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 109-110. On the role of the Romanian Academy in the war and the creation of Greater Romania, see Dorina N. Rusu, *Academia Română i lupta pentru desăvâ irea statului național unitar român*, in Zub, *Națiunea română*, 2006, pp. 345-358.

⁷⁰ Zub, *Istorie i istorici*, 1989, pp. 154-162, notes that Nistor was one of the principal Romanian "broadcasters of ideals" and continued to contribute to "the crystallization of national consciousness, an always open problem". Elsewhere (p. 97), Zub compares Nistor to Ioan Lupa as an "apostol of the national ideal."

⁷¹ Stoicescu, *Istoricul Nistor*, 1976, p. 1969. Nistor also represented Romania and the Academy at the interwar international historical congresses in Warsaw, Zurich, Berlin, and Stockholm, served as president of the historical section from 1929-1932, and was director of the Academy Library from 1945 to 1950.

⁷² *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice. Seria 2*, Vol. 37 (1914-1915), pp. 815-865. Cf. Stoicescu, *Istoricul Nistor*, 1976, p. 1974; and Grecu, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, p. 33.

⁷³ The primary sources for this study, from the Ministry of War Archives in Vienna, were later published by Nistor at "Bejenarii ardeleni în Bucovina," *Codrul Cosminului*, Vol. 2-3 (1925-1926), pp. 443-563.

⁷⁴ Delivered 21 May/3 June, 1916, with a response by N. Iorga, published in *Academia Română. Discursuri de recepție*, Vol. 49 (1916), pp. 1-64. Iorga praised Nistor for the collegial tenor of his work and approach and noted that Nistor had permanently enlarged the foundations needed for the study of Bucovina's history.

⁷⁵ Nistor would later edit several volumes in the fabled Humuzaki document collection.

Romanian national rights in Bucovina. This was his *Istoria bisericii din Bucovina și a rostului ei național cultural în viața românilor bucovineni*⁷⁶. The argument here was that the Romanian Orthodox Church was the national church and as such safeguarded national existence. (The contrast was with the Roman Catholic Church, which saw itself as "universal" not national.) The role of Romanian Orthodoxy was threatened in 1775 when Bucovina was annexed by Austria and the church became a battleground just as education and other areas had. Some Bucovinian church leaders excelled as defenders of the nation; others allowed for a bureaucratization of the Romanian church and made far too many concessions to non-Romanian (i.e. Ruthenian/Ukrainian) orthodoxy⁷⁷.

Lastly, as Romanian negotiations with the Entente proceeded between 1914-1916, Nistor prepared numerous memoranda on Bucovinian issues⁷⁸. He was pleased that his efforts to get Cernăuți along with the whole of Bucovina included in the proposed Romanian state settlement were successful⁷⁹.

Romania's entry into the war in August 1916 did not go as planned as defeat after defeat followed. When the Romanian government fled into refuge following the German occupation of București at the end of November 1916, Nistor went with it. On the 17th of January 1917 in Iași, he signed a declaration of war against the Habsburgs and was part of the leadership of a National Committee of Romanian Emigrants from Austria-Hungary. This led to his being condemned to death by the Austro-Hungarian regime for treason.

In June of 1917 – their numbers greatly increased by Austrian prisoners of war – the first battalions of Transylvanian and Bucovinian volunteers from Russia arrived in Iași and in the presence of the Romanian Prime Minister, Ion I. C. Brătianu, took an oath of loyalty to Romania. Ion Nistor addressed the volunteers in the name of Bucovina, hailing the "brotherhood in arms and the union of Romanians from

⁷⁶ București: Editura Casa Școalelor, 1916, 295 pp., including 15 annexes.

⁷⁷ See Greco, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, pp. 30-31, who remarks that this was no longer a problem following 1918. In 1932, Nistor gave another paper at the Romanian Academy on *Biserica și coala greco-română din Viena*, published in *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice. Seria 3*, Vol. 12 (1932), pp. 69-108. Also relevant is his contribution to *Biserica și problemele sociale* (București: Tipografia Cărțile Bisericești, 1933), pp. 167-190: *Rolul politic și social al bisericii în trecut și prezent*, which underlined the social and political contributions of the Orthodox Church in all of the Romanian lands and called for a revival of this influence (Greco, *Nistor istoric*, 1937, p. 47). Nistor was, thus, at least partly responsible for the myth of the nationalist church, when, in fact, the Church was one of the most recalcitrant elements in the process of modernizing Romanian society. See Paul Michelson, *Romanian Politics, 1859-1871. From Prince Cuza to Prince Carol* (Iași: Center for Romanian Studies, 1998), pp. 89-90. His views also gave comfort to Romanian adherents of the Orthodox heresy of phyletism.

⁷⁸ See Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 370-371; and Ion Varta, *Le tsarisme russe et la question de la Bucovine pendant la première guerre mondiale. Contributions documentaires*, *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, Vol. 33 (1995), pp. 267-277.

⁷⁹ Nistor, *Date*, 1993, p. 582. Cf. Ceaușu, *Luptătorul*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, p. 115.

everywhere," and the comradeship of those "with whom you will form a single country and with whom you will live together when triumph is ours. As it will be!"⁸⁰ This was followed in July of 1917 by the founding by the Romanian government of the Romanian Mission to Bucovina (in which Nistor also played a part) to conduct pan-Romanian propaganda in Bucovina itself and to prepare for the peacetime reorganization of the country⁸¹. It was at this time that he was proclaimed a Romanian citizen.

In August of 1917, as Austro-German forces moved on the offensive in Moldova, Nistor and others were sent to Russian Odessa (now in the throes of the Russian revolution that had burst out in March of 1917), where he collaborated with Octavian Goga, the president of the Transylvanian refugee group, in a joint Transylvanian-Bucovinian refugee committee. Nistor continued his academic work: doing research, teaching courses on Romanian history and on Romanian language at the University of Odessa⁸², and writing.

The situation on the Eastern Front deteriorated rapidly at the end of 1917: in November the Bolshevik coup ousted the Russian Provisional government; this led to the armistice at Brest-Litovsk between Russia and the Central Powers on 5 December and the armistice of Focani between Romania and the Central Powers on 9 December. These would culminate respectively in the Peace of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) and the Peace of București (7 May 1918). Following the Bolshevik takeover of Odessa, Ion Nistor barely managed to escape to Basarabia⁸³.

However the Romanians of Transylvania and Bucovina were not without hope⁸⁴. The Basarabian Romanians had carved out a bit of space between the Prut and the Nistru. When the Russian revolution occurred in March 1917, numerous Transylvanian and Bucovinian intellectuals rushed to Chi inău to help develop Romanian cultural life and support Basarabia's political emancipation⁸⁵. Included among these were Onisifor Ghibu (who left detailed memoirs)⁸⁶, Gh. Tofan, and, later on, Ion Nistor. A congress of Moldovan soldiers in November 1917 had called for Basarabian autonomy and the election of a popular assembly, the Sfatul Țării⁸⁷. The Sfatul Țării began work in December 1917, declaring an Autonomous Moldovan

⁸⁰ Text in Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, p. 366.

⁸¹ Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, p. 366.

⁸² Ștefan Ciobanu, *Cultura română în Basarabia sub stăpînirea rusă* (Chi inău: Editura Enciclopedică Gheorghe Asachi, 1992), p. 144; Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, p. 408.

⁸³ Pu cari, *Memorii*, 1978, p. 340. This is amplified in a dramatic autobiographical extract published by Neagoe in Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1991, pp. xiii-xiv.

⁸⁴ For the events of 1917-1918 in Basarabia, see M. Cernenco, A. Petrencu, and I. Și canu, eds., *Crestomație la istoria românilor (1917-1992)* (Chi inău: Universitas, 1993).

⁸⁵ See Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, p. 412.

⁸⁶ Onisifor Ghibu, *Pe baricadele vieții. În Basarabia revoluționară (1917-1918)*, edited by Octavian O. Ghibu (Chi inău: Editura Universitas, 1992).

⁸⁷ See Alexandru Bobeică, *Sfatul Țării. Stindard al renașterii naționale* (Chi inău: Universitas, 1993). In part, this was a reaction to efforts by the Ukrainian Rada in Kiev to take control of Basarabia and Bucovina. Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, pp. 412-414.

Democratic Republic on 15 December. The new government found it necessary to invite the Romanian army in Moldova to enter Basarabia to maintain order (23 January 1918)⁸⁸, which led to a breaking of diplomatic relations between the Soviet government and the Romanians (26 January) and a declaration of independence by the Sfatul Țării (6 February). Basarabia thus became virtually the only Romanian area that was free to carry forward and more Romanian intellectuals poured into the area to assist in 1918⁸⁹.

Late February or early March of 1918 found Ion Nistor in Chi inău, where he remained until 17 November.⁹⁰ There he promoted popular education, organized libraries, prepared teachers⁹¹, taught the history of Basarabia, did work in Basarabian archives⁹², was a co-founder of the Chi inău Historical and Literary Society⁹³, and launched the publication of a series of popularizations of Romanian history⁹⁴.

And he was present as a guest at the Sfatul Țării session of 27 March 1918 that voted for union with the Romanian Kingdom. At the conclusion of the vote, the Romanian Prime Minister himself, Alexandru Marghiloman, entered the hall and accepted the declaration. Nistor published an article on the proceedings in Ghibu's *România Nouă* describing the proclamation as "one of the greatest, most remarkable, and felicitous events in entire past of our people"⁹⁵.

Nistor and Goga proceeded to establish a National Committee of Transylvanians and Bucovinians in Moldova and Basarabia and also organized a volunteer corps of Transylvanians and Bucovinians ready to fight⁹⁶. Nistor served as

⁸⁸ Bolshevik troops occupied parts of Chi inău in late December. A week later, Romanian troops ousted them. Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, pp. 419-420.

⁸⁹ Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, p. 422.

⁹⁰ See Doina Huzdup, *Un episod din viața lui Ion Nistor. Chi inău 1918*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 123-130; and an autobiographical extract published by Neagoe in Nistor, *Istoria Basarabia*, 1991, pp. xiv-xvi, for what follows.

⁹¹ Nistor, *Istoria Basarabia*, 1923, p. 423, has a photo of lecturers who gave courses to teachers. Nistor is in the center of the first row.

⁹² Some of this teaching and research was eventually published in 1932 as Ion Nistor, *Istoria Basarabia. Scrieri de popularizare* (Cernăuți: Glasul Bucovinei, 1923), which went through four editions.

⁹³ The Society was to promote monument conservation, promote archaeological, ethnographic, and other studies, set up a Basarabian region museum, and publish. Nistor was named director of the Society's annual and conservator of its archives. He also gave numerous lectures and organized various projects for the Society. Huzdup, *Episode*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 128-129.

⁹⁴ The first book in the series was Nistor's *Drepturile noastre asupra Hotinului* (Chi inău: Biblioteca Istorică pentru Istoria Basarabia, 1918), 31 pp.

⁹⁵ An extended extract is reprinted in Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, pp. 427-432. Pp. 432 ff. details some of what Nistor thinks are the principal consequences of the Union, especially as a positive omen for the other Romanian provinces.

⁹⁶ See Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, pp. 407 ff.; and Gh. Palade, *Din activitatea intelectualilor din Vechiul Regat, Ardeal și Bucovina în Basarabia anilor unirii 1918-1920*, *Destin Românesc*, Vol. 4 (1997), pp. 85-100.

president of the Transylvanian-Bucovinian committee, was in constant contact with the Romanian government in Iași⁹⁷, and was part of the executive committee of Bucovinian refugees which was approved by the Romanian government on 1 November 1918. (On 10 December 1918, the Sfatul Țării declared that, having received assurances that the new Romania would be democratic with a universal vote and that the agrarian problem would be resolved, voted to annul the preconditions and declared an unconditional union of Basarabia with Greater Romania)⁹⁸.

Ion Nistor also participated in the first gathering of the Romanian Academy (15 November) following the end of the German occupation. This meeting was the scene of considerable recrimination over "collaborationism" with the Germans and other World War issues. N. Iorga was particularly incensed by the Germanophiles. It was Ion Nistor who conciliated these disputes, suggesting that the Academy would do well to not dwell on a painful and humiliating past, but instead to focus on its mission of leading the nation in scholarship and culture⁹⁹. Following the session, Ion Nistor moved to Iași in preparation for his return to Bucovina¹⁰⁰.

Meanwhile, Sextil Pușcariu had been demobilized in February 1918 and returned to Cernăuți in June, resumed teaching and his deanship of the faculty of letters, and re-entering the Romanian national movement¹⁰¹. He was somewhat depressed to note that four years of war hadn't really changed many people: there was the same bickering, factionalism, and naked ambition. "The war has not enlarged the horizons of most; almost everybody is intimidated and disoriented," he wrote. The one major change was that the German mystique had almost completely disappeared in Austrian defeats mounted up¹⁰².

Throughout 1917 and early 1918, various schemes for the future of Bucovina were hatched by the Austrians and the Ukrainians. The former even proposed a so-called Halici project (the creation of a unified Galicia, Bucovina, and Subcarpathian Rus principality as part of the Austrian Empire). The latter wanted a Ukrainian Bucovina either within a federalized Habsburg Monarchy or as part of a Ukrainian

⁹⁷ On 19 October 1918, Goga and Nistor met with King Ferdinand to formally present a declaration of the Transylvanian-Bucovinian committee rejecting the federalist "solution" being promoted by the Austrian Emperor Karl. For the text of the declaration, see Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 367-369.

⁹⁸ Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei*, 1923, pp. 432-433.

⁹⁹ Zub, *Istorie și istoricii*, 1989, pp. 108-109.

¹⁰⁰ For the final stage, see Mihai-țefan Ceaușu, *Ion Nistor, luptătorul pentru unirea Bucovinei cu România*, Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 111-122; and several contributions by Nistor himself: Ion Nistor, *Unirea Bucovinei, 28 Noiembrie 1918. Studiu și documente* (București: Cartea Românească, 1928), pp. 76-211 is documents; Ion Nistor, *et al.*, *Zece ani de la Unirea Bucovinei. 1918-1928* (Cernăuți: Glasul Bucovinei, 1928); an anthology edited by Nistor, *Amintiri răzlețe din timpul Unirii 1918* (Cernăuți: Glasul Bucovinei, 1938); and Nistor's own account in his *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 354 ff.

¹⁰¹ Pușcariu, *Memorii*, 1978, pp. 300 ff. for details.

¹⁰² Pușcariu, *Memorii*, 1978, pp. 301-302, 307.

state under the title of "Western Ukraine"¹⁰³.

By early fall 1918, the Emperor Karl was calling for a federalized Austria and issued a manifesto to that effect on 6 October 1918. Nistor wrote: "The manifesto of Karl I, which in effect self-dissolved the Habsburg Monarchy, produced a great impression in Bucovina. Romanian scholars recognized the significance of the moment and decided to act"¹⁰⁴. Thus it was that in response to a question from Alecu Prokopovich: "Shouldn't we begin?" Pu cari u responded: "Now, yes. We will begin"¹⁰⁵. On 11 October 1918, the Bucovinian Romanians issued a statement entitled "Ce vrem?" outlining their program. This was published in the first issue of a new periodical, *Glasul Bucovinei*, which appeared on 22 October¹⁰⁶ and led directly to the 27 October formation of the Bucovinian Constituent Assembly and the election of a Romanian National Council headed by Iancu Flondor¹⁰⁷.

Things began to move quickly. On 28 October, the independence of Bohemia and Moravia was declared and Galicia proclaimed union with Poland. On 29 October, the independence of Yugoslavia was formalized, while on 2 November Hungarian independence was announced. On 11 November, Emperor Karl I abdicated and the next day Austria was proclaimed a republic¹⁰⁸.

As the Empire crumbled, and Ukrainian soldiers began to flood Bucovina, the Bucovina Romanian National Council asked the Romanian government (still under Marghiloman, who left office on 16 November) in Ia i to send troops, which occurred on 9 November. Eventually Romanian troops occupied not only Cernău i (on 11 November) but most of the traditionally Romanian regions of Bucovina.¹⁰⁹ Ion Nistor, on behalf of the Bucovina refugee committee in Ia i, sent King Ferdinand a congratulatory telegram declaring their support, joy, and commitment to completing "the work of national unification" and their gratitude for the first steps toward "the work of liberation and rejoining for all time [of Bucovina] to the Mother Country."¹¹⁰ The Romanian National Council, meeting on 12 November in Cernău i, assumed supreme power in Bucovina, with Iancu Flondor serving as head of state.

¹⁰³ Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 372-376.

¹⁰⁴ Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, p. 380.

¹⁰⁵ Pu cari u, *Memorii*, 1978, pp. 316 ff. On the work of this group, see Ceau u, *Luptătorul*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 117-118.

¹⁰⁶ The text is in Pu cari u, *Memorii*, 1978, pp. 322-323. The first issue also carried Alecu Procopivici's *The Obituary of Austria*. Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 380-381.

¹⁰⁷ On Flondor, see Constantin Longhin, *Iancu cavaler de Flondor (1865-1924)* (Bucure ti: Dâmbovița, 1944); Marian Olaru, *Iancu Flondor și mișcarea națională a românilor din Bucovina (sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea)*, *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 5 (1998), Nr. 2, pp. 333-350; and Vlad Gafița, *Doi oameni politici bucovineni: Aurel Onciul și Iancu Flondor*, in *Slujind-o pe Clio*, 2010, pp. 609-622.

¹⁰⁸ Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, p. 385.

¹⁰⁹ Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 385-387. See also Ion Zadik, *Generalul Iacob Zadik și revenirea Bucovinei la România*, *Analele Bucovinei*, Vol. 5 (1998), Nr. 1, pp. 21-29; and Ceau u, *Luptătorul*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 118-119.

¹¹⁰ Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 387-388.

On 14 November 1918, Sextil Pu cariu, now serving as the secretary of state for external affairs for the Bucovina National Council, was sent to Iași to thank the King and to solicit Nistor's support for the *Glăsuț Bucovinei* program and return home¹¹¹. Nistor's uncompromising advocacy of unification with Romania without conditions (in part he argued that an unconditional union would communicate to the world the overwhelming desire of the Romanians in Bucovina to dismantle the Habsburg Monarchy and unite with the Romanian Kingdom) convinced Pu cariu that this was the best course of action for the Bucovinians¹¹². He met with King Ferdinand (who surprised him with his grasp of leaders and events in Bucovina and Ardeal), Queen Marie, Ionel Brătianu, and others. On 17 November, Pu cariu and Nistor were sent by special train to Cernăuți¹¹³, where Nistor was promptly cooped into the National Council and charged by Flondor with writing the Act of Union¹¹⁴. These events culminated on 28 November 1918 when the Bucovinian Assembly voted for "unconditional union" with the Romanian Kingdom.¹¹⁵ That same day, a delegation of Bucovinians, including Ion Nistor, travelled to Iași to present the declaration to King Ferdinand and the Romanian government. In effect, "Bucovina ceased to exist any longer as a political entity" and the irredentist point of view of Ion Nistor, Sextil Pu cariu, and others had triumphed against very long odds and through very complex historical developments¹¹⁶.

On 12 December 1918, Ion I. C. Brătianu once more assumed the Prime Ministership of Romania which he had relinquished in January 1918. Ion Nistor was named by Brătianu as a member of his cabinet on 18 December, as Secretary of State for Bucovina. The Great War was over and the time for building had begun.

IV. CONCLUSION

In his posthumously published *Istoria Bucovinei*, Ion Nistor wrote that that "the history of Bucovina began in 1775 and ended in 1918"¹¹⁷. This was the hope and aspiration of the interwar generation that emerged from the World War to lead

¹¹¹Incidentally, both Nistor and Pu cariu were among those afflicted by the deadly flu epidemic of 1918, which was particularly hard on people in their 30s and 40s. Pu cariu, *Memorii*, 1978, pp. 337, 346.

¹¹²Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 390-391. Nistor was also a centralist, a view he shared with Ionel Brătianu. Interestingly, Iorga told Pu cariu that he was for "the widest possible autonomy" and warned him against Brătianu. King Ferdinand was a supporter of unconditional union, but promised to nominate as functionaries only those that the Bucovinians proposed. Pu cariu, *Memorii*, 1978, p. 340-343.

¹¹³Pu cariu, *Memorii*, 1978, pp. 340-346. He commented wryly: "How the times have changed! The traitor to his country returns home by special train" (p. 346).

¹¹⁴Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 391-392.

¹¹⁵Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, pp. 393-403, including extracts from a lengthy article published by Nistor published in *Glăsuț Bucovinei* just before the meeting and the text of the declaration.

¹¹⁶Ceaușu, *Luptătorul*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1993, pp. 120-121.

¹¹⁷Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, 1991, p. 1.

Greater Romania, including Ion Nistor. Unfortunately, this was not to be.

The Austro-Bucovinian and World War stages of his career were over; he and his colleagues looked forward to building a new Romania. Unfortunately, they were to have less than two decades in which to do this; it was their lot to have come of age in what turned out to be a time of almost perpetual turmoil, struggle, crisis, and change. As Al. Zub put it, these scholars were to live through "the vitalist frenzy of the Belle Époque, followed by the Balkan crisis, the World War, which for Romanians was a war of national union, then the post-war reconstruction efforts, the great economic crisis of the 1930s, the territorial amputations which drastically diminished the Romanian space, and lastly the Soviet occupation and installation of a communist regime with all its disastrous consequences." In short, "a convulsive and dramatic time"¹¹⁸ in which promise and pitfall awaited just around every corner. For Ion Nistor it would be a time of affirmation, but also of disaster and eventually tragedy.

¹¹⁸Zub, *Cuvânt înainte*, in Zub, *Nistor*, 1991, p. 10.