THE BIRTH OF AN AROMANIAN ELITE: THE CASE OF CHRISTEA GEAGEA

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Abstract: The case of Christea Geagea is emblematic of the profile of an Aromanian intellectual dedicated to the ethnic survival of his own group in a context where the danger of assimilation was at the highest levels. Christea Gegea represented an extremely effective pivot in popularizing and supporting the Aromanian cause north of the Danube, showing that there was also a reverse direction of this movement, not only the one established in the historiography dealing with this issue.

Keywords: Aromanians, Romania, cultural elite, nationalism

Context

The Aromanian question has been, especially since the second half of the 19th century, a strategic point on the agenda of the Bucharest diplomacy, not less complicated, however, by the difficult equations of survival that the Balkan space predisposes by excellence.

Romania, the only state that did not share a common border with the Ottoman Empire, proposed a policy of intervention in the area aimed at protecting and preserving the cultural and spiritual heritage of the Aromanian communities, known at the time as Macedo-Romanians. During Carol's1 reign, the Romanian Kingdom's interest in Balkan Romanity reached its peak. Between 1880 and 1904, Romanian consulates were established in Thessaloniki, Monastir and Ianina, whose main objective was to establish links with the Aromanians in the area. Historical interpretations have been put forward to the effect that the attention paid by the Romanian authorities to the Aromanian populations was strategically directed and encouraged by Austro-Hungary, eager to redirect Romanian foreign policy and public opinion from the increasingly uncomfortable Transylvanian "irridency" to the more distant and utopian realms of Balkan Romanianism². Other scholars (the English historian William Miller, for example) explained Romania's intervention by the territorial advantages it was supposed to enjoy as a result of its involvement (with reference to Silistra), and other analysts considered that the young kingdom north of the Danube wanted to dominate the Balkans by using the Aromanian question.³ Even if at one level of the Bucharest political elite this hypothesis may have been justified,

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there was also a disinterested perspective at this political level that was pursuing in the Romantic age the cultural-national revival of "the brothers south of the Danube".

The Romanian cultural effort in the Balkans was eventually initiated by a number of personalities of Aromanian origin who had emigrated to the northern Danube area and who, in the course of time, came to hold key positions both in the state apparatus (Anastasie Panu, Alexandru Diamandi, Eugeniu Carada, Tache Ionescu, Gheorghe Manu) and in cultural and economic life (Ioan Kalinderu, Ioan Caragiani, Dimitrie Cozacovici, Menelau Ghermani, Pericle Papahagi). In 1880, when the Macedo-Romanian Cultural Society was founded as the supreme forum for representing the Aromanian concerns before the Romanian state and the domestic and European public opinion, the national movement south of the Danube began to coagulate and to express more and more articulate concerns, especially of a cultural-church nature, which were to undermine the position of many Aromanians in Romania and the Balkans. On this occasion, two divergent discourses arose, the Romanian and the Greek within the same Macedonian-Romanian community on the question of the South Danube Vlachs.

It was also the first time that the Balkan Aromanian entity found an alternative to the Hellenization process that had been going on for centuries. The Romanian state offered a series of instruments or opposition capacities that would initially provoke reactions especially among the rural Aromanian population, less affected by the Hellenization process, a phenomenon responsible for major changes in mentality and perception of their own Romanic identity throughout history. In spite of this pressure, there was still an ethnic awareness of otherness to the Greek element, but this was gradually fading through the extraordinary capacity of assimilation of the elite Aromanian elements, a process that was beginning to descend to the bottom of the social pyramid. Just when the Hellenistic assimilationist process pumped through the confessional channel and doubled by the modern scholastic one was on the point of levelling the ethnic structure of northern Greece forever, Romania's "disturbing" action in the territory intervened.

In 1864, the year taken as the first point of reference because it represents the moment of the establishment of the first school with Romanian funds south of the Danube, the amount allocated from the central budget to the Aromanian cause was 14,000 lei, practically 0.022% of the total state finances.⁴ In the period 1864-1881 the figure remained relatively constant with a slight upward trend, thus remaining between 0.01%-0.02%. After the proclamation of the kingdom, even though the Romanian budget was lower than the previous year, the amount allocated to the cultural-educational effort in the Balkans increased by 125% from 32,000 lei to 72,000 lei. The Romanian Kingdom's interest in Balkan Romanity is also visible in terms of the budgetary funds allocated, with the end of the 19th century seeing a gradual increase from 0.05% (1881) to 0.3% (1900).

Following intense diplomatic pressure from the Foreign Ministry in Bucharest, in May 1905, Sultan Abdul Hamid issued a decree recognising the presence and implicit school rights of Romanians within the Ottoman Empire.⁵

This constitutional act was the channel through which the Aromanian communities were officially allowed a certain autonomy in school and church matters.

In practice, Romanian schools did not change their status as private schools, but the various restrictions on their functioning were removed, once the Aromanians could elect their mayors or members of the administrative councils of the municipalities and thus find a niche of authority through which their interests could be defended. Even if the schools were not considered to be state schools, the 1905 Act gave them the possibility to have their diplomas recognised by the Ottoman higher education establishments where several graduates of the Romanian schools were to be admitted and become scholarship holders of the Ottoman state.⁶

The last years of the Ottoman regime marked for the Aromanian community the beginning of the formation of an elite that succeeded in becoming part of the top officials of the state. This objective was pursued as a priority by the Romanian diplomacy, which aimed at forming an elite class deeply rooted in the state apparatus, which would of course represent the interests of the Aromanians and provide new levers for their protection through their contribution in various fields, especially in the legal area. It was not by chance that a university boarding school was set up in Constantinople in 1905, which received 15-20 Aromanian students each year for university studies in the Ottoman capital. From April 1911 the number of new annual scholarships was set at 21, with a further six scholarships going to students of the Faculty of Law in Thessaloniki.⁷

However, it should not be ignored that the Ottoman decree from 1905 will potentiate, through the rights offered to the Aromanian communities, a type of nationally justified violence on the part of the Greeks, strongly disrupting the educational process begun by the Romanian Kingdom south of the Danube. The Romanian Consul in Thessaloniki noted with concern almost a month after the issue of the Iradela (*irâde-i seniyye*) that Greek gangs in the area had imposed a state of terror in the Aromanian settlements, targeting mainly Aromanian priests and teachers who dare to declare themselves Romanians in the next state census.⁸ The pressure that was constantly exerted on the teaching staff and the educational process should not be omitted from any analysis that attempts to trace the evolution of Balkan Romanian education.

In the school year 1887-1888 for the Romanian schools in Macedonia, the Romanian state paid 54 people to work as teaching staff.⁹ In 1902-1903 the Romanian state had 153 teachers south of the Danube with 3991 pupils. The following school year there were 174 teachers and 5170 pupils. However, this upward trend would come to a halt by 1910 due to the actions of the Greek Andartes bands. In the school year 1910-1911 there were 106 schools operating in 81 localities with 202 teachers for 4300 pupils.¹⁰

As a rule, future scholarship holders of the Romanian state were recruited from among the best pupils of the Romanian gymnasiums south of the Danube. When in 1901 he pleaded for the encouragement of academic tourism from south to north of the Danube, Nicolae Mişu, the diplomatic agent in Sofia argued: "these young people can indeed later be a good element for the Romanian culture in the communes where they originate, settling there on their own initiative or being appointed."¹¹

This idea of educating young Aromanians in Romanian educational institutes and then returning them to their homelands to form a local elite was a constant feature of Bucharest's intervention in the area. Since the beginning of the 20th century, parents who agreed to send their children to study in Romania had to sign the following papers at the consulate: "The undersigned Fanca Papa Goga, a Romanian from Macedonia, commune of Gopeși, domiciled in the city of Sofia (Bulgaria), hereby obliges me that my son Papa Goga Toma, graduate of the second class of the commercial section of gr. I-a from the Romanian School in Sofia, after finishing a Seminary in Romania, where he will be received as a scholarship holder, to serve as a priest in Macedonia."¹²

The existence of schools, of teachers, of parents willing to send their children to Romanian schools was a great community effort. At a time when the Greek metropolitans were sending circulars to be read in church threatening to excommunicate anyone who sent their children to Romanian schools,¹³ the functioning on the ground of this Romanian educational system seems even more deserving. Obviously, we cannot ignore the fractures within the Aromanian community that Romania's action in the area has produced.

The outbreak and then the complicated evolution of the Balkan events of 1912-1913 had serious repercussions on the future of the Aromanians spread throughout the Balkan Peninsula, on territories belonging to all the states in the area. A number of changes took place in the area through the new political reality that emerged after the military operations, followed by the establishment of occupation regimes, some temporary, others permanent.

From the first phase of the war, many Romanian communities were forced to flee because of the terror that accompanied the occupying army. The Romanian Consul in Thessaloniki, G. C. Ionescu exemplified the case of the large Vlaho-Clisura commune, whose destruction began after the withdrawal of the Ottoman troops, when Greek nationalist extremists began to appear, accompanying the regular troops of the Greek state. They first burned all the Romanian books they had collected from all over the country and then destroyed the Romanian school.

After the signing of the Bucharest Peace Treaty, the Aromanian community in the Balkan Peninsula found itself in a new geopolitical situation, as the sovereignty of a multinational multi-religious empire disappeared and was replaced by monarchical regimes pursuing an exclusive national policy. The Ottoman era of Aromanian history came to an abrupt end in 1912 with the de facto and de jure occupation in 1913 with the signing of international agreements fragmenting the legacy of the Muslim caliphs into several territories that would revert to the successor states. For the Aromanian communities the danger of assimilation was many times more dangerous in the new geopolitical context after 1913. Most of the settlements inhabited by Aromanians became part of the Kingdom of Greece and the future Albanian state. Hellenisation had already been practised on the Aromanians for a long time in the territories under the rule of the Crescent, and the intensity of this assimilationist process increased during the 19th century, in direct proportion to the stage of dilution of official authority in Istanbul.

The outbreak of the First World War also had a very negative impact on school activity, with most schools closed since the Balkan conflicts. The period in which the schools stopped their activities caused many teachers to flee to Romania, causing a haemorrhage of Aromanian leaders in the territory with dramatic consequences for the morale of the population left behind.¹⁴

This was, in short, the scenario of the creation of an Aromanian elite that was to support the survival of the identity of its own group, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, a desideratum assumed by the political decision-makers in Bucharest. The unfolding of this process is essential for understanding the challenges that the Aromanian community south of the Danube endured, but also the turbulence, the identity upheavals that arose and have been perpetuated to the present day.

The case of Christea Geagea

Christea Geagea, the son of Mihail and Maria Papatănase, from the Aromanian village of Avdela, Grebena-Pind district, was born on 10 April 1878 into the family of famous Celniks and Armatols who had been involved in the anti-Ottoman struggle since the 18th century. The Celnik are great herdsmen, and tradition propelled them to the head of the Aromanian communities. The Celnik was always the richest of all the shepherds he commanded, their judge and the executor of their sentences, the one who took care of everything, and whose decisions were respected without question. Several Celniks in a settlement formed the village court and the staff that settled disputes in the community. The institution of Celnikates played an active role in the accumulation of wealth, the relatively good economic situation of the Aromanian population in general, the celnikates forming since the Middle Ages the noble class of Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, holding considerable wealth both movable (herds) and immovable (extensive land holdings). The institution of the Aromanian population in general, the celnikates forming since the Middle Ages the noble class of Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, holding considerable wealth both movable (herds) and immovable (extensive land holdings).

Another institution specific to the Aromanians, closely related to their pastoral way of life, was of military origin, known as captaincy. The captaincies were military estates led by a chief, called a captain, whose subordinates bore the Latin name of armatoli, meaning armed men. They were responsible for maintaining order and peace in the communes and towns, and especially for guarding the mountain passes (dervenele). In return for their services, they were exempt from taxes, but were obliged to pay an annual fee to the Sultana Valide, the mother of the Sultan, as a sign of vassalage. At the beginning of the 18th century, with the reorganisation of the Ottoman military system, some of these armatoles lost their previous privileges and were forced to find a new occupation.

The Gegea family was thus socially a point of reference for the Aromanian community in which they worked.

Christea Geagea graduated the high school in Bitolia, a strong centre with Aromanian representation. The high school in Bitolia was an achievement of the Romanian state, a culmination of efforts to establish an educational network for the Aromanian students south of the Danube. The founder and first director of the high school was the teacher from Brasov, Vasile Glodariu. In 1882, Gheorghiade Murnu, a priest who had been the director of the Greek gymnasium in the town of Xanti, was the principal of the high school. In 1893, the normal school for girls was established,

and from 1902 a professional section was added. A church was functioning there, with two priests serving in dialect.²⁰

After graduating from high school in Bitolia, Geagea was for one year, between 1899 and 1900, teacher and headmaster of the primary school in Ianina (1899-1900), a position that could be paid for even at the cost of his life, given that the Greek paramilitary groups were primarily targeting notable Aromanians involved in the process of cultural emancipation of their own ethnic group. In this capacity, as a teacher in Ianina, he gave lectures to the Aromanians about their own history, about the Romanians north of the Danube and their expansion, about the successes of the Romanian army at Plevna and so on.²¹

In 1901, the young Aromanian became a Romanian state scholar at the University of Chernivtsi (currently in North Bukovina -Ukraine). In 1905, Geagea left Bukovina to continue his studies in Leipzig. Here he followed the the courses of the philosopher Wilhelm Wundt at the university and continued his studies of Romanian language and especially dialectology at the Institute of the Romanic Languages founded by the famous German dialectologist Gustav Weigand. In Leipzig he will obtain his doctorate in dialectology with a thesis on the Romanian language.²²

It was in this environment that he came into contact with the Romanian intelligentsia of Bukovina and Transylvanian, who attended the two educational institutions. His links with Horia Petra Petrescu and Constantin Dracinschi revealed to Geagea a Romanian world in the throes of a struggle for a national ideal, in many respects similar to the aspirations of southern Danube Romanians, who were also in the process of rediscovering their identity at the beginning of the century. In 1903, he was a member of the board of the Junimea academic society in Chernivtsi, along with George Tofan, Alecu Procopovici, or Nicolae Bălan, the future Metropolitan of Transylvania, also a graduate of the University of Chernivtsi. This publication promoted the idea of Romanian cultural unity which was to precede political union. Christea Geagea's pilgrimages to the Old Kingdom, Bucovina or Transylvania to various friends and university colleagues will enhance a series of cultural contacts important for familiarizing with the turmoil of the Balkan world and especially for getting to know the large Aromanian population in modern Greece, which was trying to safeguard its right to national life through school and church. Christea Geagea gave several lectures in the first decade of the 20th century under the title "Romanians in Macedonia" at ASTRA (The Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People) meetings in rural areas of Transylvania: Fofeldea, Nocrich, Săliște, etc. ²³ He was a constant contributor to the Transylvanian magazines Transilvania, Tara Noastră and Gazeta Transilvaniei, as well as to the Aromanian magazines Deșteptarea in Thessaloniki and Românul de la Pind.

During his stay in Bukovina, he was part of the delegation of Romanian students from Bukovina sent to Bucharest to prepare, together with the University and the cultural forums of the capital of the Old Kingdom, the celebration dedicated to Stephen the Great in 1904 in Putna.²⁴

As mentioned before, when the Romanian state offered scholarships to Aromanians, they were conditional on their return to the Aromanian communities and to apply the expertise gained by these scholars during their years of study in vulnerable areas in terms of identity, such as those south of the Danube. Following this algorithm, after 1911, Christea Geagea returned to Thessaloniki where he was appointed professor of Romanian language and literature at the Higher School of Commerce in Thessaloniki. Here he briefly edited the magazine of the *Association of the Macedonian Teaching and Church Body* which appeared at the end of the Balkan Wars. Geagea was also the owner of this magazine which appeared for only a few months until April 1914.

Teodor Capidan, the famous Romanian linguist, notes in his memoirs: "Just then, having been appointed professor at Thessaloniki, I intervened to have Christea appointed. After a year of being entrusted with running the school as Principal, Christea was put in charge of the boarding school. It was a most fruitful and ideal collaboration. Under both of us the great premises of the Higher School of Commerce in Thessaloniki were built, which still stands today. Christea was the most loved by the students. Unfortunately, this collaboration did not last long. The Balkan War of 1912 and the Great War of 1914 interrupted our work. In 1916 we volunteered to join the French army in Thessaloniki with the intention of fighting on the home front. After that, in 1917, Christea got in touch with the leaders of the movement for the autonomy of Pindus [...] Christea Geagea belonged to that generation of teachers who, as long as they worked in the Romanian school in the South Danube, did not limit their activity only to the professorship or to scientific research, but as mentors of the Romanian culture, they worked in all the directions, where their work and skills were needed, for the defence of the national interests in the Balkans. "25

In 1919, Christea Geagea was forced to return to Romania because of the political persecution that had begun with even greater virulence from Greek extremism. Geagea had taken an active part in the attempt to declare a political autonomy for the region of Pind, the so-called Republic of Pind. Although shortlived, this attempt at state organisation was the expression of a need felt by the Aromanian communities in 1917, when, taking advantage of the historical context of Italian intervention in the Pind Massif (a territory with a dense Aromanian population), the Aromanian leaders tried to proclaim their freedom to govern themselves. From the same accounts of Teodor Capidan, it appears that Christea Gegea was in several delegations for interventions with the Greek authorities, including Eleftherios Venizelos. This was also due to the fact that Christea knew the modern Greek language perfectly well and was "of a gentle and most conciliatory nature."26; "He was esteemed by his opponents and loved beyond measure by his own. His means of persuasion were logic and persuasion. He hated the Balkan means of hatred, brutality and violence. Then there was another secret. The Veneizelist regime's sympathy for the Romanians and especially for the leading Romanian intellectuals, among whom Christea was the most highly regarded."27

Disillusioned by the changes that the First World War had brought to the Aromanian communities, after years of "spending his selfless soul's energy", ill with malaria, Christea Gegea decided to return to Romania and start a new life at $4.\ ^{28}$

Although Theodor Capidan, his friend, had invited him to Cluj, in Transylvania, Christea Gegea opted for Bukovina.²⁹

Back in Cernăuți (Chernivtsi), Christea Geagea held a chair in secondary education, then in the university where he headed the Transdanubian Romanian dialectology department, first as a lecturer, then from 1924 as a professor. He retired in December 1941 with the rank of university professor. Two years later, in 1943, Christea Geagea died.

The Mission

The Macedonian-Romanian question, as it was known at the time, was the major theme of Christea Geagea. This enthusiast journalist brought to the Romanian and German-speaking press of the Habsburg Empire, and implicitly to the public opinion here, various well-documented analyses of the realities of the Ottoman Empire. The familiarization of the Transylvanian and Bukovinian public with the identity survival dilemmas of the southern Danubian Romanians was in fact the major motivation of Christea Geagea's writing, a real transmission vector that contributed considerably to the internationalization of the Aromanian question. His work went beyond the strictly journalistic horizon, and had repercussions at the diplomatic level, as even the Romanian consuls accredited in Bucovina confessed.

On 1/14 January 1913 the Romanian consul for Bucovina and Galicia informed the foreign minister, Titu Maiorescu, that Christea Geagea had written a memoir describing the atrocities committed by the Greeks and Serbs against the Macedo-Romanians, which he handed over to the deputy Nicu Cavaler de Flondor. He presented the memoir in the Bukovinian Diet pleading for the protection of Macedo-Romanians from the extermination struggles waged by the Greeks. This motion was put to the vote, and all the party leaders, Romanians, Ruthenians, Germans, Poles and Jews spoke "denouncing with harsh words the horrors committed against the Macedo-Romanians," so that the motion passed unanimously. The Romanian consul warned the Romanian authorities that this episode could have very serious consequences for Christea Geagea.³⁰

It has often been speculated that the Romanian message of the Aromanian elite is strictly due to the fact that they study in Bucharest or Iaşi and are somehow "nationalised" by their training environment, and then receive stipends from the Romanian state, which thus ensures their loyalty and provides them with a redoubtable propagandist. Christea Geagea, however, represents a different training pattern: that of the Aromanian intelligentsia, which has a formative path within the framework of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, being very connected to the cultural life of Central Europe. The way of acting professed by Christea Geagea is more in keeping with the national romanticism of the 19th century, as she is truly an intellectual with convictions, and not at all circumstantial. Together with his colleagues in the Transylvanian press, he is part of an extraparliamentary politics, which thus exerts pressure on political decision-makers.

The incursions of an Aromanian into Transylvania at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in order to familiarise the Romanians there with their cause represent an unusual episode of cultural-national missionarism. Geagea is one of the few Aromanian publicists with a professional career in Transylvania who have so vocally assumed Aromanian identity within the Romanian supra-identity.

The conferences he gave, with the help of ASTRA (Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and Culture of the Romanian People) at the beginning of the first decade of the 20th century in the Transylvanian villages, impresses by the scenario and rhetoric he puts into play.

In the magazine *Țara Noastră* of Sibiu, in the summer of 1909, the following report appeared: "On Sunday, July 18, a literary meeting was held at the Fofeldea branch of the Agnita branch of the Association. The school hall and corridors were filled with people: men, women and children. It was announced in church that a gentleman was to speak about our brothers from Macedonia. And who among us does not wish to learn as much as possible about these beloved brothers, who live so far from us and yet are so close to us?"³¹

There is a lecturer's direction, a didactics of teaching lessons in the Transylvanian countryside: Christea Geagea began with explanations of the name and settlement of the Aromanians and then continued with the heroic narration, telling of "how bravely they had to defend themselves and how much suffering they have endured to this day for their faith, the law, but especially for their Aromanian language."³²

In his lectures, Geagea does not shy away from strong sentences and has the courage to point directly to the oppressors: "The most bitter enemies of the Aromanians were and still are today the foolish Greeks, their neighbours, who use all means to force them to renounce their nationality and join the Greeks."33; "Little by little the sense of nationality began to awaken in the Aromanians, they asked for Romanian priests, Romanian teachers. This infuriated the Greeks to the point of madness. In their savage fear that they would not be able to multiply their nation with the 300,000 Aromanians, they began to organize and arm themselves with all means against them. The whole Greek soul was set in motion... The Elenismos society, headed by Kazazis, the rector of the University of Athens, gathered the money with the help of the Greek governments, organized numerous bands of Greek soldiers and officers, who were raiding the innocent people day and night, especially still on the rulers and all the leading Aromanians, kidnap and plunder their possessions and kill them without any cruelty in the most barbarous faces, if they show the slightest sign of wanting to care for their Aromanian nation."; "The Greek patriarch curses the Aromanian priests "the lives of priests and teachers are always in danger"; "If someone dies in a family who gives their children to a Romanian school, the Greek priests do not bury them."34

Christea Geagea has a strategy of impressing the audience: she makes a lot of use of particular situations, which arouse strong emotion: for example, Geagea relates the following case: in Avdhela the Greeks capture an Aromanian leader, Tuliu Papa and his sons. With rifles pointed at the victims, the Greeks ask them what they are: "The old man replied: 'We are Romanians. Why are you Romanians? Because God made us so. Say that you are Greeks or we will shoot you! How can we say we are Greeks if God made us Romanians? Don't kill us for God's sake, if you want money, we'll give you what you need, let us live. We don't need money. [...] Soulless people! We're Romanians and we'd rather die than leave the law and become Greeks. You

think that in this way you will make us leave our language, never! If you kill us, our descendants will avenge us! "35

Geagea practices an Aromanian martyrology in his lectures, being aware that memory is a form of identity salvation that he has the mission to carry forward. After an intense excursion enjoyed by the audience (the chronicler of the event reported "Geagea spoke to us so plastic, with such warmth and love for our brothers, that at the end of the conference of more than an hour and a half, the people asked for more to speak to them, that they listened gladly...and asked one and another questions about what they would like to know...") ³⁶, at the end, "as a proof of language" as he expressed it, in the sense of showing the closeness of the Aromanian to the Romanian, Geagea recited *Our Father*.

This willingness to speak about the cause of the Aromanian communities south of the Danube, both in the elite, political-diplomatic, academic and literary circles that he assiduously cultivated, and especially in the rural environment through the summer conferences organised in Transylvania, made Christea Geagea an agent of influence capable of enthusing audiences of all kinds, in the sense of the stakes that they set.

The publicity signed by Christea Geagea, as well as her unpublished memoirs³⁷, reveal an intellectual profile of great generosity and devotion, an extremely effective pivot in popularizing and supporting the Aromanian cause north of the Danube, showing that there was also a reverse direction of this movement, not only the one historically consecrated in the specialized literature.

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- ³³ Petra Petrescu, N. (1909): 5.
- ³⁴ Petra Petrescu, N. (1909): 5.
- ³⁵ Petra Petrescu, N. (1909): 5.
- ³⁶ Petra Petrescu, N. (1909): 5.
- ³⁷ We would like to thank Mrs. Maria Olaru for the generosity of entrusting us to publish the manuscript with Christea Geagea memoirs.