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**ANALELE ȘTIINȚIFICE
ALE
UNIVERSITĂȚII „ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA”
DIN IAȘI
(SERIE NOUĂ)**

ISTORIE

**TOM LXXI
2025**

Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași

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Árpád HORNYÁK*

Depiction of Hungarians in 20th century Serbian history textbooks

Abstract: The decisive factor in defining the national image is the relationship between the two nations throughout history, in this case the role played by Hungarians in the life of the Serbian nation, the extent to which they interfered with the realization of Serbian national goals, the extent to which they stood in the way of the realization of Serbian interests, or, in some cases, the extent to which they helped them. It can be said that the image of Hungarians in most Serbian history books, at least until the 18th century, is relatively favorable, and mostly emphasizes cooperation between the Hungarian and Serbian nations. The change came at the turn of the 18th century, but more typically from the middle of the 18th century, when the Hungarians appeared as an obstacle to the realization of the privileges “promised” to the Serbian masses who fled from the Turks to Hungary and had settled there. The Hungarians appear to have sought to eliminate the privileged areas established for the Serbs when they settled and to integrate them into the Hungarian county system, thus becoming the main obstacle to Serbian nationhood and independence – at least according to the textbooks. Serbian secondary school students have been given a fundamentally positive image of Hungarians, especially in newer textbooks. In most works, Hungary is presented as a viable, developing nation belonging to Western civilization, almost creating an empire, although this is rather implicit, and much depends on how teachers interpret the mostly accurate information provided in textbooks.

Keywords: Hungary; Hungarians; history textbooks; national image; Serbia.

This study examined Serbian secondary school textbooks in the post-war period, from the 1950s to the present day. Three main “waves” of textbooks can be distinguished. The first wave was published in the 50s, and later on revised in the 60s. The second wave was published over the course of the 90s, however, this is being, partially, supplanted by the third wave of textbooks, published in the 21st century. What makes such a distinction between waves of textbooks possible is the fact that even nowadays, textbook publishing in Serbia is highly-centralised. A key difference between the publishing practices of textbooks in Hungary and Serbia is that nearly all the Serbian textbooks were written by leading historians. While in

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Hungary it is quite difficult to find among authors members of the Academy of Sciences or history professors, Serbian textbooks are routinely written by historians who have been well-regarded in Titoist Yugoslavia, and in most cases nowadays, or, especially in the 60s, by groups of such historians.

The decisive factor in defining the national image is the relationship between the two nations throughout history, in this case the role played by Hungarians in the life of the Serbian nation, the extent to which they interfered with the realization of Serbian national goals, the extent to which they stood in the way of their interests, or, in some cases, the extent to which they helped them. It can be said that the image of Hungarians in most Serbian history books, at least until the 18th century, is relatively favourable, and mostly emphasizes cooperation between the Hungarian and Serbian nations. The change came at the turn of the 18th century, but more typically from the middle of the 18th century, when the Hungarians fled from the Turks to Hungary and appeared as an obstacle to the realization of the “promised” privileges of the Serbian masses who had settled there. The Hungarians appear to have sought to eliminate the privileged areas established for the Serbs when they settled and to integrate them into the Hungarian county system, thus becoming the main obstacle to Serbian nationhood and independence – at least according to the textbooks.

But who are these Hungarians? In an encyclopaedia containing the biographical data of 1,000 people featured in history textbooks, 28 Hungarians or people considered Hungarian are listed, from Árpád to Béla II and IV, Charles II, Matthias Corvinus, and John Hunyadi, then through Ferenc Rákóczi, Gyula Andrásy, and Béni Kállay to Miklós Horthy. Béni Kállay has a whole page dedicated to him, while the others are summarized in articles ranging from a quarter to an eighth of a page in length. This number is not very large, but it is still more than the estimated number of Serbian names in Hungarian history books. Of course, it must be taken into account that the impact and significance of this thousand-year coexistence on the other nation was not entirely the same, as few Serbian politicians military leaders played a role in shaping the fate of the Hungarian nation, just as Serbian statehood rarely reached the level where it could (or wanted to) have a meaningful say in the Central European region. Hungary and the history of the Hungarian nation are only mentioned in textbooks when they show how they are intertwined with Serbian history. Hungarian history itself rarely appears in textbooks, which is perhaps understandable.

One of the earliest textbooks examined was published in Belgrade in 1952, written by Julijana Vrčinac¹. The author was a prolific textbook writer in the 1950s and 1960s, whose name will be encountered several times later on. The target audience of the textbook was not explicitly defined, but from the level of detail it provides, it can be concluded that it was probably intended as a teacher's manual.

¹ Julijana Vrčinac, *Opšta istorija: od Versajskog mira do drugog svetskog rata: sveska druga*, Beograd, Savez studenata Novinarske i diplomatske visoke škole, 1952.

The author begins with the end of the world war and the peace conference, where she sadly notes that the great powers trampled on the right of nations to self-determination, not only leaving Austria and Hungary to the South Slavic masses, who had been subjected to Magyarization and Germanisation, but also placed a significant South Slavic population under Italian imperialism. She emphasizes that from Finland to Yugoslavia, including Hungary, states were not fundamentally formed on the basis of national self-determination, and she attributes the disputes between these states to this fact (the bad relations between Czechoslovakia and Poland over Teschen, the dispute between Austria and Yugoslavia over Carinthia, and the conflicts between Italy and Yugoslavia over Istria). What is strange is that she does not mention Hungary's disputes with any of its neighbours, generally with the Little Entente.

It examines each state, including Hungary, in great detail. The textbook bears the mark of the era in which it was written and thus expresses its opinion on events in Hungary in accordance with the spirit of the 1950s. While it condemns István Tisza and the Hungarian ruling classes most deeply for opposing even the smallest reforms aimed at improving the situation of the masses, it treats the establishment of the Soviet Republic, by quoting Lenin's statement that Hungary should be followed as an example, with express sympathy. She considers one of the greatest mistakes of the Soviet Republic to be its failure to eliminate class antagonism and allowing it to infiltrate the ranks of the Red Army instead of disarming it, thus failing to destroy the bourgeois state apparatus². She discusses the formation of the Horthy regime in detail and relatively well, emphasizing, of course, the significance of the White Terror, quoting the technical term "Horthy cudgel" in Hungarian. The author knows of 70,000 victims who were murdered (without trial), hanged, or buried alive, and 6,000 who were convicted by court judgment. This is significantly more than Hungarian historians have been able to count.

There is no further mention of Hungary for a long time; until 1940, when it states that Antonescu ceded part of Transylvania to Hungary, including the "ancient Romanian city of Kolozsvár (Cluj)". She mentions the famous Percentage Agreement, which placed 75% of Hungary under Soviet influence. Regarding the Paris Peace Treaty, she writes only that Hungary had to cede the areas on the right bank of the Danube opposite Bratislava and return to Czechoslovakia and Romania the territories it had acquired with German assistance. It should be noted here that she does not mention Yugoslavia in this regard, perhaps because of Yugoslav pride that they had regained what was rightfully theirs by their own efforts?

² The author of this study feels compelled to share with the reader his own experience in this regard. Namely, as a young schoolboy, he was filled with boundless pride when, looking through a history atlas published for Hungarian students in Vojvodina, he discovered that his mother country had preceded Yugoslavia in the spread and implementation of socialist/communist ideology throughout the world.

In another work published in the same year, although essentially covering the same period, the author places the emphasis on earlier events³. In discussing the Compromise, the Hungarians appear in a rather negative light. On the one hand, because they had previously prevented the federal transformation of the empire promised in the October Diploma, and on the other hand, because despite not constituting a majority, they (and the Germans) were the only full-fledged nations of the empire. The oppression of other nations manifested itself at all levels, according to the textbook. Leaving aside the class struggle, the author also feels sorry for the national bourgeoisie, because “the Hungarian and German bourgeoisie enjoyed state support in economic and other areas, and everywhere pushed the bourgeoisie of other nations into the background”⁴. However, the situation of the peasantry of the nationalities was truly desperate. The book acknowledges that the situation of Hungarian and German peasants was also dire, but they were “only oppressed by class, while the peasantry of other nationalities in the empire were not only oppressed by class, but also subjugated in a national sense, deprived of political rights and exposed to denationalisation”⁵. The policies of the ruling circles of the dual monarchy not only facilitated the penetration of Austro-Hungarian capital into the Slavic territories of the empire, but also promoted the transfer of land into German and Hungarian hands, citing Slavonia and Vojvodina as characteristic examples. The situation of ethnic minorities was particularly bad among the working class: they had to do the worst and hardest jobs, and as punishment for participating in strikes, they were not allowed to work anywhere in the empire, which led directly to their increasing emigration from the Monarchy. The Hungarian bourgeoisie drove the merchants of Vojvodina out of Hungary and took control of grain exports to the Austrian market. The chapter ends with a truly orthodox Marxist observation: “The irreconcilable differences between the bourgeoisie of different nations made it impossible for them to act as a unified class in the struggle for power”⁶.

A little over a decade later, Julija Vrčinac wrote an extremely detailed textbook with a similar approach on the recent history of the South Slavic nations for teacher-training colleges, which will not be discussed or analysed here⁷.

Written in the 1960s but still in circulation in the 1970s, Đorđe Knežević and Bogdan Smiljević’s textbook was intended for fourth-year secondary school students⁸. In this book, they speak with admiration about the establishment of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, emphasizing that Hungarians were already organizing themselves very actively before the war and especially at the end of it (social

³ Julija Vrčinac, *Istorija novog veka (od 1870-1939)*, Beograd, Znanje, 1952.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 75.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 76.

⁷ Eadem, *Naša najnovija istorija. Pregled (1919-1945)*, Beograd, Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika Socijalističke republike Srbije, 1966.

⁸ Đorđe Knežević, Bogdan Smiljević, *Istorija najnovijeg doba za IV razred gimnazije*, Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavnih sredstava, 1974 (13th ed.).

democratic and labour organisations), and that their goal was not only to achieve social change, but also to break away from the Monarchy. After a long pause, Hungarians are briefly mentioned again in connection with World War II, when it is stated that “the Hungarians annexed Backa, Baranya, Prekmurje, and Medimurje”. No more prominence is accorded to Hungarians later on in the textbook when discussing the period after World War II. In the chapter on the characteristics and problems of socialism, we it can be read with satisfaction that Hungary is ranked among the developed states alongside the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and Poland (ahead of Romania, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, and the “slightly more backward” Albania). The problems are not discussed in detail, with only a brief mention that the other states in the bloc followed Khrushchev’s denunciation of Stalinism, which was sometimes very turbulent, for example in Hungary. Hungary is also only mentioned in passing in connection with the Tito-Stalin split. The authors do not even mention Rákosi’s name, but they do refer to the fact that one of the means of exerting pressure on the Yugoslav communists was a series of show trials held in several countries, including Hungary, to which “many outstanding leaders fell victim”⁹.

A textbook written in 1957 for upper secondary school students describes in relative detail the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin, invasions, settlement, and conversion to Christianity¹⁰. “The Hungarians who arrived in the 9th century were nomads, similar in origin and lifestyle to the Huns and Avars, who gradually moved westward from Asia and then, under the leadership of Árpád, arrived in the Pannonian Basin, where they subjugated the Slavs living there and established their state. They led numerous raiding campaigns until Otto I defeated them at Augsburg. After that, they retreated to Pannonia. With their settlement, feudal social relations began to develop, which went hand in hand with the adoption of Christianity. First, their king, Géza, converted to Christianity, then his son István forcibly baptized the people around the year 1000. The pope wanted to make allies of the warlike Hungarians and granted Stephen the title of Apostolic King. This created an alliance between the pope and the Hungarians, the aim of which was to combine the conquering Hungarian policy in the Balkans with the violent spread of Catholicism and papal power. This alliance brought much harm to our nations, because with the blessing of the Roman Pope, the Hungarian feudal lords led a series of conquests in the Balkans during the Middle Ages to gain control over Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Raška”¹¹. It is worth paying attention to the adjectives, because these are the elements that really grab the reader’s attention. Implicitly, the wild Hungarian-peaceful Slavic contrast is also present here (warlike Hungarians who subjugate the Slavs living there).

The two volumes, which guide high school students through history from ancient times through the settlement of the Slavs to 1959, could even be used as

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 166.

¹⁰ Miodrag Jugović, *Istorija srednjeg veka za više razrede gimnazije*, Beograd, Nolit, 1957.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

slightly subpar university or college notes¹². Dozens of authors contributed to both volumes. Hungarians also feature extensively in these textbooks. For example, there is a separate chapter on Bosnia's struggle with the Hungarian Kingdom. The Hungarian-Serbian/Croatian confrontation in 1848-49 is presented in meticulous detail. However, their ideology and attitude do not differ in any way or hardly differ from those discussed so far. It is mentioned that the Hungarians welcomed the Serbs fleeing from the Turks because they wanted to use them in their defence against the Turks. Also included is the Serbian peasant uprising of 1527 (in which a small number of Hungarians also took part), which was crushed and brutally punished by János Zápolya. After that, there was not much to write about the Hungarians, as there was little to criticise. However, during the Spring of Nations, they appear as an obstacle to Serbian national interests. After the fall of the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence of 1848/49, the textbook quotes the old saying that the Serbs were rewarded with the same that the Hungarians received as punishment. Then, after the reincorporation of Voivodeship of Serbia and Temes Banat in 1860 to the Hungarian administration, Hungarians again appear in a negative role: "In this way, the majority of the Serbian population came under direct Hungarian administration, and from then on, the Serbian population had to fight the Hungarian ruling circles to obtain internal autonomy"¹³.

Another textbook, published ten years later, broke with the curriculum and was written for the first grade of high school¹⁴. The textbook also begins its discussion of Hungarian history with the conquest of the Carpathian Basin. Long after the Bulgarians, the Finno-Turkic Magyars and Ugrics arrived in Pannonia. They were mainly engaged in animal husbandry and had set out from Western Siberia in the distant past. After arriving in Europe, they lived together with the Huns and Bulgarian tribes for a while, until the 9th century, and then began independent military ventures. Between 895 and 900, led by their leader Árpád, they occupied the area between the Danube and Tisza rivers, and their settlement divided the northern and southern Slavs. (This is an old accusation that has been around since the 19th century – Á.H.) The number of Hungarian settlers was not large, totalling about 25,000 people (it is likely that this is a typographical error and a zero was omitted – Á.H.). The majority of the population of the Pannonian Basin was Slavic or belonged to other tribes. Over time, the Hungarians assimilated with them, learned farming from them, adopted some of their words, but basically retained their language, which was accepted by the Magyarised indigenous population. Of course, the role of Hungarians in the destruction of Great Moravia was not left unmentioned. In the subsequent chapters, the book covers the establishment and strengthening of the Hungarian state and its foreign policy in

¹² *Pregled istorije Jugoslovenskih naroda*, Beograd, Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika Socijalističke republike Srbije, I (1963), II (1965).

¹³ *Ibidem*, II, p. 32.

¹⁴ Ivan Božić, *Istorijska zvezda za I razred gimnazije*, Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavni sredstava, 1974 (9th unchanged edition).

relative detail, highlighting the acquisition of Croatia. Hungary quickly grew stronger and aligned itself with Western Europe in terms of religion and culture. However, the Hungarian rulers were wary of the German kings' power ambitions, and throughout the 11th century, their main goal was to build an alliance against the Holy Roman Empire. During the Investiture Controversy, they firmly sided with the pope, and Ladislaus I and his successor, Coloman, enjoyed the unconditional support of the pope and his vassals. Foremost among them was the Norman ruler of Southern Italy, whose main goal was to break the power of Byzantium, thus presenting the Hungarian rulers with the task of strengthening their positions in the Balkans and preventing the consolidation of Byzantine power on the peninsula.

An interesting novelty is the textbook for the first grade of four-year vocational schools; originally published in 1987 but used here is the 13th unchanged edition¹⁵. The textbook dedicates a relatively large amount of coverage to the history of Hungary. The key points are, of course, the usual ones: the conquest and founding of the state, and the fight against the Turks. The novelty referred to above is that the book discusses the culture and art of the nations neighbouring the South Slavs, which is not found elsewhere. Hungarians are given two paragraphs. It is worth quoting them in their entirety. "With the adoption of Christianity from Rome, medieval Hungary became an outpost of the Catholic religion and the Roman Pope (from the 11th century). The official language of the church and the state was Latin, so the first literary and scientific works were also written in Latin, although works in Hungarian were already being produced in the 14th century, such as "The Funeral Oration" and "The Life of St. Francis of Assisi". Among the historical works, chronicles appeared in the 13th and 14th centuries, followed by true historiographical works during the reign of Matthias Corvinus, patron of the humanists. The first university was founded in Pécs in 1367, and the first printing press was established in Buda in 1473. At the end of the Middle Ages, feudal law was codified in a magnificent work known as the Tripartitum of Werbőczy. Hungarian architecture initially incorporated many elements of Byzantine architecture, but the dominant style was Gothic. Among the artists, the Kolozsvári brothers (14th century) stand out as sculptors. János (fl. 14th century) the "royal painter". Italian painters lived and worked at the court of the Anjou kings, depicting both religious motifs and secular themes. Hungarian culture reached its peak during the reign of the famous King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490)"¹⁶. The textbook discusses in great detail the situation of the South Slavs in the Habsburg Empire, not forgetting to mention, in addition to their grievances, that the Serbs of Southern Hungary had their own newspapers and magazines, which served to spread culture and education as well as to promote national political goals. In its discussion of 1848-49, it presents the events

¹⁵ Milutin Perović, Bogdan Smiljević, *Istorija za I razred četvorogodišnjih stručnih škola*, Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstava, 2000.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

objectively, even dispassionately, as well as the life-and-death struggle between Serbs and Hungarians unfolding in the territory of Vojvodina.

In his textbook written for the second grade of academic high schools (intended for science students, which is slightly shorter than the textbook written for humanities students), Sima Ćirković highlights Hungarian opposition to Serbian privileges¹⁷. The Hungarian feudal lords considered these privileges to be contrary to the laws of the Kingdom of Hungary and demanded that the settled Serbs become serfs and pay tithes to the Catholic Church. In response, the Serbs turned to the Imperial Court, which was initially very accommodating, as it needed their military strength. Due to opposition from the Hungarian nobility, the Serbs' demands for territorial autonomy and the election of their own secular dignitaries (despot, voivode) were not met, but the emperor confirmed the rights of ecclesiastical dignitaries and the clergy. In connection with the discussion of the reform era, the author emphasizes that: "The Hungarians fought for greater freedom and independence within the Monarchy, opposing centralising efforts and the predominance of the German language, but at the same time, as the state-forming majority in their own territory, they practiced the very policies they themselves had fought against. All this provoked opposition from other nations, as they also had their own rights, state traditions, and were proud of their nation, language, and folk culture"¹⁸.

Serbian students can learn about the "Twelve Points" from the textbook in connection with the events of 1848. The book briefly discusses the repercussions of the events in Pest in Zagreb and how they were received by the Serbs. The author summarizes the essence of all this by saying that the Hungarian movement was led by democrats and that the Serbs also welcomed the revolutionary events. However, the Serbs' demands for territorial autonomy and national equality soon led to conflict with the leaders of the Hungarian revolution, who had Hungarian national goals in mind and aimed to create a unified state. The division among the national movements drew the Croats and Serbs to the side of the court and compelled them to fight against the Hungarians. The fighting in Vojvodina was fierce and desperate; Hungary proclaimed the republic in April 1849 and put up stiff resistance to the imperial armies. Finally, Vienna called on the Tsar for help, and the revolutionary armies capitulated to the Russians. Under Bach's absolutism, the conflicts that had arisen in 1848-49 quickly disappeared¹⁹.

In 2002, Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić and Marko Suica published a history book for secondary school students, which also begins with the first Hungarian invasion²⁰. "The Hungarians (Magyars) appeared in this region from the interior of

¹⁷ Sima Ćirković, *Istorija za II razred gimnazije prirodno-matematičkog smera*, Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstava, 1991.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 205

²⁰ Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, Marko Suica, *Istorija za II razred gimnazije opsteg i društveno-jezičkog smera*, Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstava, 2002.

Asia with their horseback hordes, and after the destruction of the Great Moravia, they settled on the middle reaches of the Danube and led raids to the west. With their large number of fast, light cavalry, they destroyed everything in their path until Otto defeated them after implementing military reforms. After the Battle of Augsburg, the Hungarians settled down and converted to Christianity in the 11th century during the reign of Stephen, who was later canonized and became the protector of Hungary”²¹. The short text is accompanied by an illustration of the Hungarian crown. A separate subchapter deals with the founding of the Hungarian Kingdom on two pages. In it, the Hungarian state is portrayed in a very favourable light. “The Hungarian state, established in the 10th century, eventually became an extremely important political factor, influencing the fate of the Balkan states and the events taking place within them. Hungary expanded and incorporated Croatia into its borders. Relations between Hungary and Serbia were very close in the 13th and 14th centuries. [...] With the accession of the Anjou dynasty to the throne in the 14th century, royal power was strengthened once again and the political influence of the Kingdom of Hungary grew and became decisive in the Balkans”²². This is supported by a map supplement of the 14th-century Kingdom of Hungary, in which Hungary, enlarged by the Hungarian-Polish personal union, appears to be truly impressive in size.

Shortly after its conversion to Christianity, the Kingdom of Hungary became one of the strongest strongholds of Catholicism, bordering directly on the Balkan states, through which the Catholic clergy could exert strong religious and political pressure on the Balkans. This fact is also mentioned in more recent books, which attach great importance to it. Knowing the political events of recent decades, this does not cast us in a favourable light. Of course, they mention Croatia’s incorporation into the Kingdom of Hungary, followed by Serbian-Hungarian relations, primarily dynastic intermarriages, but always in a positive context, emphasizing the “partnership” between the two countries. For example, we learn that after the death of Manuel Komnenos, an alliance was formed between Stefan Nemanja and the Hungarian king, in the spirit of which they jointly participated in the conquest of Byzantine territories. During the reign of Louis, many nobles recognized the Hungarian king as their suzerain. There is mention of John Hunyadi, in connection with whom Hungarian-Serbian cooperation is repeatedly highlighted. After the death of Despot Đurad Branković, the textbook discusses two trends among the Serbs: the pro-Turkish and pro-Hungarian. Serbia, the book says, became a pawn in the political ambitions of Hungary and Turkey. After the fall of the despotate, some Serbian nobles continued to cultivate the remnants of Serbian traditions on their estates in Hungary. The textbook refers to the settlement of Serbs in Hungary on several occasions. It explains the emigration of Serbs for two reasons: on the one hand, it considers it a conscious decision on the part of

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 37-38.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 184.

Serbian lords who wanted to populate their estates in Hungary with Serbs, and on the other hand, the Serbs were fleeing from the Turks. In any case, the book notes that their settlement was supported in all cases (which is true). They write in great detail about the reign of King Matthias Corvinus, highlighting his successes in defending against the Turks. In this context, they mention the role of the Serbs and the light cavalry, as well as the Šajkaši. Next to the picture of Matthias is a picture of Vlad Tepes, which is probably intended to capture the imagination of students rather than reflect its significance. Finally, it mentions Battle of Mohács, which it considers to be of decisive importance for the entire region, even if the Turks did not immediately occupy Hungary.

Overall, this textbook serves to promote a positive image of Hungary, as it considers Hungary to be the dominant power in the region, which established dynastic ties with the Serbian ruling families. There is no mention of Hungarian attempts to occupy Serbian territories, but instead it mentions that after the extinction of the Árpád dynasty, the Serbian ruler also became involved in the battles over the Hungarian throne. Cooperation and collaboration continued to dominate in later periods. This may explain why the book contains a relatively rich collection of Hungarian images. There are two images on one page: one depicts a 13th-century Hungarian knight in armour, while the other shows the Battle of Gorjan near Đakovo, which marked the end of the Anjou dynasty's rule. In addition, John Hunyadi, the Battle of Mohács, and the Holy Crown also appear as illustrations.

Nikola Gaćesa, Dušan Živković, and Ljubica Radović's book, published in 2001 in its ninth revised edition, was written for the 3rd and 4th grades of secondary schools (specifically, the 3rd grade of secondary schools specializing in science and the 4th grade of secondary schools specializing in the humanities)²³. The book first deals with Hungary in connection with the Compromise, listing which South Slavic territories came under the Hungarian half of the empire. From a Hungarian perspective, he sees the significance of the Compromise in the fact that, despite certain restrictions that stood in the way of its independence, Hungary experienced fortunate developments in society and the economy. Embourgeoisement gained great momentum, and there were also significant developments in terms of civil and political freedoms. However, the nationality issue was not resolved, even though it was a matter of life and death, especially for the Hungarian part of the empire. For this reason, the Andrásy government was one of the first to address this issue with the 1868 Nationality Law, but in the spirit of the well-known Greater Hungarian policy, reflecting the views of the Hungarian nobility. The representatives of the nationalities were dissatisfied with the freedoms granted to individuals, and because they did not agree to the creation of

²³ Nikola Gaćesa, Dušan Živković, Ljubica Radović, *Istorija za III razred gimnazije prirodno-matematičkog smera i IV razred gimnazije opšteg i društveno-jezičkog smera*, Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstava, 2001.

counties organized on the basis of nationality, the nationality representatives, led by Svetozar Miletić, left the Hungarian parliament.

According to the textbook, the law nevertheless ensured the basic conditions for the preservation of national characteristics. It saw the biggest problem as being that it was not applied consistently; moreover, attempts were made to circumvent it, and its provisions were violated. This is a clear improvement on previous assessments. However, the textbook's conclusion is very serious: according to it, Hungary established national inequality and oppression at the state level. The compromise divided influence over the state between the leading elites of the Austrian and Hungarian nations, and the other nations, which were in the majority in both parts compared to the ruling nations, were in an unequal and exploited position, so the nationality issue continued to worsen. It was not only the Serbs who protested, but the Hungarian government used various means to accelerate Magyarisation. This situation led to the 1895 Congress of Nationalities in Budapest, where they jointly protested against this policy. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Hungarian government resorted even more forcefully to the tools of Magyarisation, such as the Law of 1907 (lex Apponyi), according to which teachers and students in church schools also had to learn the Hungarian language. This culminated in 1912, when Serbian church school autonomy was abolished. "In this way, the situation of Serbs and other nationalities in Hungary deteriorated noticeably before World War I"²⁴.

It is noteworthy that when discussing World War II, the textbook only mentions Hungary's participation in the war against Yugoslavia in terms of which territories Hungary acquired and that after the annexations, the occupiers, including the Hungarians, set about resolving the "ethnic question". This manifested itself in the fact, according to the textbook, that almost all Serbian settlers were expelled or sent to concentration, or labour camps in Hungary. What may be even more interesting is that the textbook does not say a single word about the events of 1956 in Hungary.

This textbook was replaced in 2002 by a textbook for grades 3 and 4 of secondary school, authored by Kosta Nikolić, Nikola Žutić, Momčilo Pavlović, and Zorica Spadijer (all of the authors are employees of the Institute of Contemporary History in Belgrade)²⁵. It is noteworthy that, similar to the textbook described above, Eötvös's nationality law is also characterised here as fundamentally good and satisfactory, but one that could not be enforced in everyday life and put into practice.

Earlier Serbian history textbooks contain very little Hungarian-related imagery; Hungarian figures are rarely encountered, with at most one or two objects depicted, such as Hungarian swords, bows, or perhaps the Hungarian Holy Crown.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

²⁵ Kosta Nikolić, Nikola Žutić, Momčilo Pavlović, Zorica Spadijer, *Istorija za III razred gimnazije prirodnno-matematičkog smera i IV razred gimnazijeopštег i društveno-jezičkog smera*, Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstava, 2002.

In newer history books, however, including this one, individuals also appear. The negotiations for the Compromise are illustrated with a portrait of Ferenc Deák and a painting depicting the Surrender of Világos. Another Hungarian featured in the book is Béni Kállay, who is otherwise notorious in Serbia for his role in Bosnia and his attempts to create a Bosnian nation at the expense of the Serbs. It is interesting that chapters about World War II make no mention of Hungary, nor of the conclusion and violation of the treaty of eternal friendship. Admittedly, this is generally omitted from textbooks (somehow Hungarians attach greater importance to this “breach of contract”), the only mention is that Hungary also occupied Yugoslav territories, Baranya, Bačka and Medimurje, and that it also participated in the partition of Slovenia through the annexation of Prekmurje.

What is new about this book is that it discusses at length the dissatisfaction with communism in Hungary. It mentions Imre Nagy and his liberal reforms, then talks about Rákosi's removal in the summer of 1956, and finally discusses the revolution (using the terms “uprising” and “rebellion”). It identifies Nagy's statement demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops and Hungary's announcement of its withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact as the reasons for the Soviet intervention, which led to the bloody suppression of the uprising. The book mentions that Nagy and his followers were given refuge at the Yugoslav embassy and that those who left the embassy after receiving guarantees were secretly tried and executed. In the section on changes in Eastern Europe, it highlights that the ruling Communist Party in Hungary had already taken a stand in favour of liberal reforms and political pluralism in 1985, which is why the transition took place peacefully. In the spring and summer of 1989, events unfolded with unexpected speed, with parliament taking on a greater role, a new constitution being adopted, and the first free elections being held in 1990.

In addition to history textbooks, newer publications designed to aid history teaching in secondary schools are also worthy of attention. A project was launched in the new millennium to produce workbooks to make history teaching more successful²⁶. These volumes are written by leading Serbian historians and professors at the University of Belgrade. Andrija Veselinović, and his colleague Radoš Ljušić, have compiled volumes of important resources crucial for teaching medieval history, and modern national history, respectively²⁷. The volume on medieval history devotes five pages to the Hungarians. Quotations from Leo the Wise's *Tactica*, Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *On the Administration of the Empire*, St. Stephen's *Admonitions*, and the *Golden Bull* help students orient themselves in medieval Hungarian history and the placing of the Hungarians in general. In contrast to the varied source material, the images are rather one-sided:

²⁶ It should be noted that the backbone of the volumes consists of excerpts from history textbooks written decades earlier for upper grades of elementary schools.

²⁷ Andrija Veselinović, *Srbija i Evropa u odabranim izvorima srednjeg veka. Radna sveska iz istorije za II razred gimnazije*, Novi Sad, Platoneum, 2003; Radoš Ljušić, *Identitet Srba. Radna sveska iz istorije za III razred gimnazije*, Novi Sad, Platoneum, 2002.

they are practically limited to the coronation jewels (sword, crown, sceptre, mantle, and orb). The presentation of the sources can be disregarded, as they are of no special interest, since besides being familiar to Hungarians, anyone can find them in Hungarian history books. More interesting are the questions posed to students at the end of the chapter: What is the origin of the Hungarians, and where did they come from to the Pannonian Basin? Why did the Hungarians migrate? What characterises their fighting style? What are the furthest areas to which their raids led? What is the Golden Bull of Andrew II about?²⁸ Even more exciting are the research tasks: 1) Compare Ammianus Marcellinus's excerpt about the Huns with the Byzantine sources on Hungarians: find similarities and differences. 2) Try to identify the two main reasons why the Hungarians managed to survive in Pannonia, unlike the earlier barbarian peoples, the Huns and the Avars²⁹.

Strangely, the 16th and 17th centuries are almost completely omitted from these books. The workbook, which helps students learn about modern history, begins its discussion of national history with the great migration of the Serbs (1690), and even then, only in broad strokes. It only deals with the Hungarians in connection with the Compromise (with excerpts from Academician Vasilije Krestić's 1969 monograph on the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise). However, it devotes a subchapter to them, titled *Hungarians – the Northern Neighbours of the Serbs*. This two-page chapter is crammed with history, a quite superficial national characterisation, and a description of the stratification of Hungarian noble society. The nobility, says the textbook, which made up one-twentieth of Hungarian society, was characterized by enormous differences: it was divided into the high, middle, and low nobility. The high nobility held the most important positions, such as archbishop, bishop, and chief magistrate. The wealthiest lived in their own castles; 200 palaces were built during the reign of Maria Theresa alone, according to the book. "Among them, the Eszterházy palace stood out with its splendour and lively atmosphere. It had its own theatre, where opera performances were held with Haydn as the composer and conductor"³⁰. The middle nobility, unable to afford shiny new palaces and content with its old family manor house, served as county officials: the sub-magistrates, chief clerks, and judges were chosen from among them. They led a patriarchal lifestyle, dreaming of the glorious days of their ancestors and hoping for a revival of the old life. "Withdrawn to their modest estates, they sometimes lived in near isolation. Their social life consisted of feasts, drinking parties, and huge hunts – and the countless anecdotes associated with them seem to have been born for realistic prose"³¹. This negative image is softened by the addition of the following sentence, which states that there were also many "among them who employed their talents in the arts".

²⁸ Andrija Veselinović, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ Radoš Ljušić, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

The lesser nobility often had little or no land and lived almost like peasants. Many of them received their nobility without receiving any property; they were the *armalis*. There were entire villages where *armalis* nobles lived. They willingly entered government service, but they also often hired themselves out to high nobles and did not shy away from other types of work. More importantly, however, they were the intellectuals: pastors, teachers, doctors, and lawyers, all of whom were attracted to the emerging centre, the future capital, Budapest³².

The chapter then guides students into the culinary world of the Hungarians: “The dishes are very varied, but, as one Hungarian said, this cannot yet be called a cuisine because it lacks a unified civilizational style. Generally, only dishes prepared on the wide plains of the Great Hungarian Plain, i.e., dishes cooked in a cauldron, are considered Hungarian food: goulash, paprikash, fish soup, and bean goulash”. Hungarian music and dance also feature among the important things to know: “The csárdás is the best-known Hungarian folk dance, danced by mixed couples. The name is a collective term that encompasses everything from slow to stormy dance forms. It got its name from the pubs and inns of the Plains, the csárda, and the name itself came into the Hungarian language via Serbian [čardak = corn crib - Á.H.], while the Serbian word comes from Persian via Turkish”.

The most positive image is definitely that of Count István Széchenyi. The book presents him as the greatest Hungarian reformer, a statesman who placed the prosperity and advancement of his nation and country above all else, listing his role in the founding of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the construction of the Chain Bridge, the launch of steamboat navigation on Lake Balaton, etc. At the bottom of the excerpt, students are given the following rather difficult task: “Draw parallels between the Hungarian and Serbian nobility in southern Hungary. What similarities and differences do you see?”³³.

Historical albums should also be mentioned. Among these, the publication on the 20th century, entitled *The Age of Socialist Revolutions*, deserves attention³⁴. It contains a total of three photos related to Hungary. One of the well-known photos shows a truck loaded with people and flags, with the caption: *The revolutionary movement reaches Hungary*. The other is a photo of the elections held after the proclamation of the Soviet Republic. Neither of these photos would suggest that they were taken in Hungary. The third photo is also quite nondescript. It shows fascist occupiers in a block, soldiers in Stahlhelms herding peasant women and men with their arms raised, with the caption: “Part of Yugoslavia falls to Hungarian fascists, Backa, Baranja, Prekmurje and Medimurje are in their hands”.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

³⁴ Relja Novaković, Milutin Tasić, Dragutin Ranković, *Istorijski album. Epoha Socijalističkih revolucija*, Beograd, Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika Socijalističke republike Srbije, 1969.

Conclusion

After thoroughly studying half a century of Serbian history textbooks and rereading my study presenting the facts about Hungarians and Hungary filtered from them, I believe that my conclusion is correct: Serbian secondary school students have received/are receiving a fundamentally positive image of Hungarians, especially in the most recent textbooks. In most works, Hungarians are presented as a viable, developing nation belonging to Western civilization, almost creating an empire, although this is rather implicit, and much depends on how the teacher interprets the mostly accurate information provided in the textbooks. When Hungarians are portrayed in a negative light, as is sometimes the case due to the development of Hungarian-Serbian historical relations, particularly in discussions of the 18th and 19th centuries, then almost every time, especially in older works, the terms “ruling circles,” the “Greater Hungarian nobility,” or the “Hungarian bourgeoisie,” are present, which condemn only certain strata and not the Hungarian people as a whole.

ABREVIERI

<i>AARMSI</i>	= Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice
<i>AARMSL</i>	= Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Literare
<i>AARPAD</i>	= „Analele Academiei Române”, seria II, București, 1879-1916
<i>AA.SS.</i>	= <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. Bollandisti, III ^a edizione, Parigi 1863-1870
<i>AB</i>	= Arhivele Basarabiei
<i>ACNSAS</i>	= Arhivele Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității
<i>AE</i>	= <i>L'Année Epigraphique</i> , Paris
<i>AIR</i>	= Arhiva Iсторică a României
<i>AIAC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Iсторie și Arheologie Cluj
<i>AIAI</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Iсторie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași
<i>AIIC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Iсторie Cluj
<i>AIINC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Iсторie Națională, Cluj
<i>AIIX</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Iсторie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași
<i>ALIL</i>	= Anuarul de Lingvistică și Iсторie Literară, Iași
<i>ALMA</i>	= <i>Archivum Latinitatis Medi Aevi</i> . Genève.
<i>AM</i>	= Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
<i>AMAE</i>	= Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe
<i>AmAnthr</i>	= American Anthropologist, New Series, Published by Wiley on behalf of the American Anthropological Association
<i>AMM</i>	= Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis, Vaslui
<i>AMMB</i>	= Arhiva Mitropoliei Moldovei și Bucovinei, Iași
<i>AMN</i>	= Acta Musei Napocensis
<i>AMR</i>	= Arhivele Militare Române
<i>AMS</i>	= Anuarul Muzeului din Suceava
<i>ANB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, București
<i>ANC</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Județean Cluj
<i>ANSMB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Municipiului București
<i>ANG</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Județean Galați
<i>ANI</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Iași
<i>ANIC</i>	= Arhivele Naționale Iсторice Centrale
<i>ANR-Cluj</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Cluj-Napoca
<i>ANR-Sibiu</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Sibiu
<i>ANRM</i>	= Arhivele Naționale ale Republicii Moldova, Chișinău
<i>ANRW</i>	= Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin-New York
<i>ANSMB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Municipiului București
<i>ANV</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Vaslui
<i>AO</i>	= Arhivele Olteniei
<i>AP</i>	= Analele Putnei
<i>APH</i>	= <i>Acta Poloniae Historica</i> , Varșovia
<i>AqLeg</i>	= <i>Aquila Legionis. Cuadernos de Estudios sobre el Ejército Romano</i> , Salamanca
<i>AR</i>	= Arhiva Românească
<i>ArchM</i>	= Archiva Moldaviae, Iași
<i>ArhGen</i>	= Arhiva Genealogică
„Arhiva”	= „Arhiva”. Organul Societății Științifice și Literare, Iași
<i>ArhMold</i>	= Arheologia Moldovei

ASRR	= Arhiva Societății Române de Radiodifuziune
AŞUI	= Analele Științifice ale Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași
ATS	= Ancient Textile Series, Oxbow Books, Oxford și Oakville
AUAIC	= Arhiva Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași
AUB	= Analele Universității „București”
BA	= Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Roma, Città Nuova Editrice
BAR	= Biblioteca Academiei Române
BArchB	= Bundesarchiv Berlin
BAR <i>int. ser.</i>	= British Archaeological Reports, International Series
BBRF	= Buletinul Bibliotecii Române din Freiburg
BCIR	= Buletinul Comisiei Istorice a României
BCMI	= Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice
BCU-Iași	= Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, Iași
BE	= Bulletin Epigraphique
BF	= Byzantinische Forschungen, Amsterdam
BJ	= Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn
BMI	= Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice
BMIM	= București. Materiale de istorie și muzeografie
BNB	= Biblioteca Națională București
BNJ	= Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher
BOR	= Biserica Ortodoxă Română
BS	= Balkan Studies
BSNR	= Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române
ByzSlav	= Byzantinoslavica
CA	= Cercetări arheologice
CAI	= Caiete de Antropologie Istorică
CartNova	= <i>La ciudad de Carthago Nova 3: La documentación epigráfica</i> , Murcia
CB	= Cahiers balkaniques
CBI	= <i>Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken. Corpus des griechischen und lateinischer Beneficiarier – Inschriften des Römischen Reiches</i> , Stuttgart
CC	= Codrul Cosminului, Suceava (ambele serii)
CCAR	= Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România, CIMEC, București
CCh	= <i>Corpus Christianorum</i> , Turnhout
CChSG	= <i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca</i>
CCSL	= <i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i> , Turnhout, Brepols
CDM	= <i>Catalogul documentelor moldovenești din Arhivele Centrale de Stat</i> , București, vol. I-V; supl. I.
CDTR	= <i>Catalogul documentelor Tării Românești din Arhivele Statului</i> , București, vol. II-VIII, 1974-2006
Chiron	= Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 1971
CI	= Cercetări istorice (ambele serii)
CIL	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin
CL	= Cercetări literare
CLRE	= <i>Consuls of the Later Roman Empire</i> , eds. R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz, K. A. Worp, Atlanta, 1987
CN	= Cercetări Numismatice
CNA	= Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică, București
CSCO	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> , Louvain
CSEA	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiae Aquileiensis</i> , Roma, Città Nuova Editrice
CSEL	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticon Latinorum</i> , Wien, De Gruyter
CSPAMI	= Centrul de Studii și Păstrare a Arhivelor Militare Centrale, Pitești
CT	= Columna lui Traian, București

<i>CTh</i>	= <i>Codex Theodosianus. Theodosiani, Libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis, I, edidit adsumpto apparatu P. Kruegeri, Th. Mommsen, Hildesheim, 1970-1971</i>
<i>Cv.L</i>	= Convorbiri literare (ambele serii)
<i>„Dacia”, N.S.</i>	= <i>Dacia. Nouvelle Série, Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Bucureşti</i>
<i>DGAS</i>	= Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului
<i>DI</i>	= <i>Diplomatarium Italicum</i>
<i>DIR</i>	= <i>Documente privind istoria României</i>
<i>DIRRI</i>	= <i>Documente privind Istoria României. Războiul pentru Independență</i>
<i>DOP</i>	= <i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>DTN</i>	= <i>Din trecutul nostru, Chișinău</i>
<i>DRH</i>	= <i>Documenta Romaniae Historica</i>
<i>EB</i>	= Études Balkaniques
<i>EBPB</i>	= Études byzantines et post-byzantines
<i>EDCS</i>	= <i>Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby</i> (http://www.manfredclauss.de/)
<i>EDR</i>	= <i>Epigraphic Database Roma</i> (http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php)
<i>EpigrAnat</i>	= <i>Epigraphica Anatolica, Münster</i>
<i>ERAsturias</i>	= F. Diego Santos, <i>Epigrafía Romana de Asturias</i> , Oviedo, 1959.
<i>EuGeSta</i>	= <i>Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity</i>
<i>Gerión</i>	= Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua, Madrid
<i>GB</i>	= Glasul Bisericii
<i>GCS</i>	= <i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller</i> , Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1897-1969
<i>GLK</i>	= <i>Grammatici Latini Keil</i>
<i>HEp</i>	= <i>Hispania Epigraphica</i> , Madrid
<i>„Hierasus”</i>	= <i>Herasus. Anuarul Muzeului Județean Botoșani</i> , Botoșani
<i>HM</i>	= Heraldica Moldaviae, Chișinău
<i>HU</i>	= Historia Urbana, Sibiu
<i>HUI</i>	= Historia Universitatis Iassiensis, Iași
<i>IDR</i>	= <i>Inscriptiile din Dacia romană</i> , Bucurști-Paris
<i>IDRE</i>	= <i>Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie</i> , I-II, Bucarest, 1996, 2000
<i>IGLN</i>	= Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae, Bordeaux
<i>IGLR</i>	= <i>Inscriptiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România</i> , Bucureşti, 1976
<i>IIIPecs</i>	= Instrumenta Inscripta Latina. <i>Das römische Leben im Spiegel der Kleininschriften</i> , Pecs, 1991
<i>ILAlg</i>	= <i>Inscriptions latines d'Algérie</i> , Paris
<i>ILB</i>	= <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae. Inscriptiones inter Oescum et Iatrum repertae</i> , Sofia, 1989
<i>ILD</i>	= <i>Inscriptiile latine din Dacia</i> , Bucureşti
<i>ILN</i>	= <i>Inscriptions latines de Novae</i> , Poznań
<i>ILLPRON</i>	= <i>Inscriptionum Lapidarium Latinarum Provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> , Berlin, 1986
<i>ILS</i>	= <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , 1892
<i>IMS</i>	= <i>Inscriptiones Moesiae Superioris</i> , Belgrad
<i>IN</i>	= „Ioan Neculce”. Buletinul Muzeului Municipal Iași
<i>ISM</i>	= <i>Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> , Bucureşti, vol. I-III, 1983-1999
<i>JGO</i>	= <i>Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas</i>
<i>JL</i>	= Junimea literară
<i>JRS</i>	= The Journal of Roman studies, London
<i>LR</i>	= Limba română
<i>Lupa</i>	= <i>Ubi Erat Lupa</i> (http://lupa.at/)
<i>MA</i>	= <i>Memoria Antiquitatis, Piatra Neamț</i>

<i>MCA</i>	= Materiale și cercetări arheologice
<i>MEF</i>	= <i>Moldova în epoca feudalismului</i> , vol. I-XII, 1961-2012, Chișinău
<i>MEFRA</i>	= <i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité</i> , Roma
<i>MGH</i>	= <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum auspicis societatis aperiendis fontibus rerum Germanicarum mediis aevi</i> , Berlin 1877-
<i>MI</i>	= Magazin istoric, București
<i>MIM</i>	= Materiale de istorie și muzeografie
<i>MM</i>	= Mitropolia Moldovei
<i>MMS</i>	= Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei
<i>MN</i>	= Muzeul Național, București
<i>MO</i>	= Mitropolia Olteniei
<i>MOF</i>	= Monitorul Oficial al României
<i>Navarro</i>	= M. Navarro Caballero, <i>Perfectissima femina. Femmes de l'elite dans l'Hispanie romaine</i> , Bordeaux, 2017.
<i>NBA</i>	= <i>Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana</i> , Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum
<i>NDPAC</i>	= <i>Nuovo Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane</i> , I, A-E, 2e edizione, Marietti, 2006; III, P-Z, 2e edizione, Marietti, 2008
<i>NEH</i>	= Nouvelles études d'histoire
<i>OI</i>	= Opțuni istoriografice, Iași
<i>OPEL</i>	= <i>Onomasticum provinciarul Europae latinarum</i> , vol. I-IV, Budapesta-Viena, 1994-2002
<i>PG</i>	= <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris, 1886-1912
<i>PIR</i>	= <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I.II.III.</i> , editio altera, Berlin.
<i>PLRE</i>	= <i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , 3 vol., eds. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, Cambridge, 1971-1992
<i>RA</i>	= Revista arhivelor
<i>RBAR</i>	= Revista Bibliotecii Academiei Române, București
<i>RC</i>	= Revista catolică
<i>RdI</i>	= Revista de istorie
<i>REByz</i>	= <i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
<i>RER</i>	= <i>Revue des études roumaines</i>
<i>RESEE</i>	= <i>Revue des études Sud-Est européennes</i>
<i>RGI</i>	= Revista Generală a Învățământului
<i>RHP</i>	= <i>Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. I: Die Inschriften</i> , Viena
<i>RHSEE</i>	= <i>Revue historique de Sud-Est européen</i>
<i>RI</i>	= Revista istorică (ambele serii)
<i>RIAF</i>	= Revista pentru istorie, arheologie și filologie
<i>RIB</i>	= <i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> , Londra
<i>RIM</i>	= Revista de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău
<i>RIR</i>	= Revista istorică română, București
<i>RIS</i>	= Revista de istorie socială, Iași
<i>RITL</i>	= Revista de istorie și teorie literară
<i>RIU</i>	= <i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i> , Budapesta
<i>RJMH</i>	= <i>The Romanian Journal of Modern History</i> , Iași
<i>RM</i>	= Revista muzeelor
<i>RMD</i>	= <i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> , Londra
<i>RMM</i>	= <i>Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</i> , Mainz
<i>RMM-MIA</i>	= Revista muzeelor și monumentelor, seria Monumente istorice și de artă
<i>RMR</i>	= Revista Medicală Română
<i>RRH</i>	= <i>Revue roumaine d'histoire</i>

<i>RRHA</i>	= Revue roumaine de l'histoire de l'art
<i>RRHA-BA</i>	= Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux Arts
<i>RSIAB</i>	= Revista Societății istorice și arheologice bisericesti, Chișinău
<i>Rsl</i>	= Romanoslavica
<i>SAHIR</i>	= Studia et Acta Historiae Iudaeorum Romaniae, București
<i>SAI</i>	= Studii și Articole de Istorie
<i>SANIC</i>	= Serviciul Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale
<i>SCB</i>	= Studii și cercetări de bibliologie
<i>SCh</i>	= <i>Sources Chrétiennes</i> , Paris
<i>SCIA</i>	= Studii și cercetări de istoria artei
<i>SCIM</i>	= Studii și cercetări de istorie medie
<i>SCIV/SCIVA</i>	= Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie)
<i>SCN</i>	= Studii și Cercetări Numismatice, București
<i>SCSI</i>	= Studii și cercetări științifice, Istorie
<i>SEER</i>	= The Slavonic and East European Review
<i>SHA</i>	= Scriptores Historiae Augustae
<i>SJAN</i>	= Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale
<i>SMIC</i>	= Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană, București
<i>SMIM</i>	= Studii și materiale de istorie medie, București
<i>SMIMod</i>	= Studii și materiale de istorie modernă, București
<i>SOF</i>	= Südost-Forschungen, München
<i>ST</i>	= Studii Teologice, București
<i>StAntArh</i>	= Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
<i>T&MBYZ</i>	= <i>Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines</i>
<i>ThD</i>	= Thraco-Dacica, București
<i>TR</i>	= Transylvanian Review, Cluj-Napoca
<i>TV</i>	= Teologie și viață, Iași
<i>ZPE</i>	= Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
<i>ZSL</i>	= Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde