

THE GERMANS IN ROMANIA, WITH SPECIAL REGARD TO THE TRANSYLVANIAN SAXONS

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CONTENTS

<i>Zusammenfassung</i>	297
<i>Summary</i>	298
1 Introduction	298
2 The German population in Romania. A general outline. The Transylvanian Saxons, a component part of the German minority in Romania	299
3 Germans settling the present territory of Romania. The ethnic flux	302
4 The Saxons and their organisation in the Middle Ages. The Saxon Seats	307
5 The Transylvanian Saxons in the first half of the 20 th century	310
6 The ethnic reflux. The Saxon emigration and ethnic structural change	313
7 Conclusions	317
8 References	320

Zusammenfassung

Die Deutschen Rumäniens, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siebenbürger Sachsen

Die ethnische Struktur eines Gebiets ist das Ergebnis von Ab- und Zuwanderungen als Folgen historischer Ereignisse und Umstände. Aus dieser Perspektive wird der Fall der Siebenbürger Sachsen analysiert, einer deutschen Gruppe in Siebenbürgen [Ardeal], welche während etwa acht Jahrhunderten Kultur und Zivilisation dieses Gebiets stark geprägt und dadurch auch ein wichtiges touristisches Potenzial hinterlassen hat. Sie waren im Mittelalter Kolonisten, welche die Grenzen des Königreichs Ungarn verteidigt und ihr

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Territorium ökonomisch entwickelt haben. Aber der Großteil ihrer Nachkommen ist nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg aus politischen und ökonomischen Gründen in sein Herkunftsland zurückgekehrt.

Schlagwörter: Kulturgeographie, ethnische Strukturen, Rumänien, Siebenbürgen, Deutsche, Siebenbürger Sachsen

Summary

The ethnic structure of a territory is the outcome of in- and out-migrations in the wake of specific historical events and under specific historical circumstances. Our analysis focuses on the case of a German community in Transylvania [Ardeal], the Saxons, who during some eight hundred years have stamped their strong mark on the culture and civilisation of this territory, which has thus acquired a remarkable tourist potential. The Saxons had been settled down in the Middle Ages to defend the frontiers of the Hungarian Kingdom. However, after World War II, political and economic circumstances made most of their followers return to their land of origin.

Keywords: Cultural geography, ethnic structures, Romania, Transylvania, Germans, Transylvanian Saxons

1 Introduction

The ethnic structure of any territory is the outcome of long historical evolutions marked by successive temporal political-ideological changes. It is also the direct outcome of either migration fluxes, through colonisations, deportations, or the indirect result of selective settlement stimulation for certain groups of population (VALENTINE & HARRIS 2016; KING 2012). Inter-cultural exchanges led to a process of assimilation of the in-coming population by the dominant autochthonous element; whenever the number of in-comers was in excess, or their socio-political organisation was more advanced, it was the autochthonous who were assimilated. Whenever the policy promoted a separate development of ethnically different communities and their social segregation, limiting contacts up to suppressing them altogether, ethnic enclaves would emerge, being often perpetuated to these days. Such situations have engendered current tensions and conflicts (e.g., in the former Yugoslavia, in the Caucasus, the east of Ukraine), or multi-ethnic states, largely in Africa and Asia, where the ratio between centripetal forces (that contribute to state cohesion around the central authority) and centrifugal forces (which tend to political fragmentation through self-determination of the ethnic communities that form the respective state) is similar (FALL 2010). In many cases, abrogation of ethnic-enclave-formation policies has resulted in their absorption and next in their disappearance through back-migrations to the country of origin (FAUSER & NIJENHUIS 2016). In time, the ethnic composition of a territory has been affected, which is visible to this day in its cultural heritage, a particularly relevant

element in understanding the identity specificities of the respective territory, specificities, which Europe's regional identity is currently based on (TENNEY et al.2016).

In a similar situation are also the German communities in Romania who, over time, had enjoyed territorial and societal autonomy, forming parallel ethnic, confessional and political societies that helped them resist collective assimilation. The political events deprived them of autonomy and, moreover, the economic and social disparities between their country of origin and of adoption has led in recent times to massive migrations to their land of origin. So, these communities no longer exist.

Transylvania in the comprehensive sense [Transilvania] as well as in the narrower sense of the historical principality [Ardeal] stands out as a territory of multi-ethnic cohabitation, the outcome of specific historical events, which fragmented the Romanian ethnic bloc, especially its peripheries (GIURESCU 1938, 1967; ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ 2001), through massive colonisations of allochthonous populations (Germans in the South and North, Hungarians in the East), loyal to the 12th–14th centuries Hungarian political authorities. These colonisations were aimed at defending the frontiers of the Hungarian state (ANTONISCH & SZALKAI 2014). The Second World War (1939–1945) marked the beginning of massive ethnic departures (war-determined migrations), mostly of German ethnics,¹⁾ which got momentum in the post-war years with the support of the Communist political authorities, but largely after 1990, when migratory fluxes were liberalised, being stimulated also by the economic gaps between the German-speaking countries and Romania (DAWIDSON 2005; BAKKÆR-SIMONSEN 2016).

In view of the above, the present paper is not intended to make a detailed, historically-documented presentation of German colonisation in Transylvania as part of colonisations in Eastern Europe, the authors' intention being rather to offer an analysis model of the relationships between political decisions and ethnic migration fluxes, as well as the cultural heritage ethnic communities had generated and which has contributed to creating a specific regional identity as part of a common European identity.

The historical component of research is based largely on German and Transylvanian Saxon as well as Romanian and Anglo-American documents and bibliographical sources. The demographic component relies on the processing of official data, the present heritage is based on, the authors' field observations and enquiries.

2 The German population in Romania. A general outline. The Transylvanian Saxons, a component part of the German minority in Romania

According to official statistics,²⁾ the current number of Germans in Romania amounts to 36,042 persons, that is, 0.19% of the total population; they rank fourth among Roma-

¹⁾ Apart from German nationals, also the Jews used to leave, and others as well, but in smaller numbers, e.g., Hungarians, Serbs and even Romanians.

²⁾ Census of Population and Housing, October 20, 2011.

nia's ethnic minorities.³⁾ The counties [județ] with the largest German communities lie in the intra-Carpathian regions: Timiș (8,504 persons; 1.3% of the overall population), Satu Mare (5,006 persons; 1.5% of the overall population) and Sibiu (4,244 persons; 1.1% of the overall population).

Throughout the 20th century, this ethnic group kept steadily decreasing, from 745,421 persons in 1930 (4.1% of Romania's population; 8.9% of Bucovina's; 7.9% of Transylvania's; 3% of Bessarabia's and 2.8% of Dobrogea's population⁴⁾ to only 384,708 in 1956; 119,436 in 1992 and no more than 59,764 Germans in 2002 (Table 1), this minority having simply remained a memory for many rural communities in Banat and Transylvania (SCHREIBER 1993).

Census year	No. Germans (persons)	Share of Germans (%)	Dynamic of the German minority (pers.)	Observations
1930	745,421*	4.1		
1948	343,913	2.2	- 404,508	Migrations and victims, a consequence of World War II
1956	384,708	2.2	+ 40,795	Growth through natural increase, anti-emigration policies and the return of Germans from forced labour in the Soviet Union
1966	382,595	2.0	- 2,113	
1977	359,109	1.66	- 23,486	German ethnics 'sold' by the Romanian state (1967–1989). Massive emigrations as legislative constraints were lifted (1990–2002)
1992	119,436	0.52	- 239,673	
2002	59,764**	0.27	- 51,537	Economic and family migrations of reunification
2011	36,042	0.19	- 23,722	

* Including Bessarabia, Bucovina and the Cadrilater (southern part of Dobrogea, currently belonging to Bulgaria), territories lost in 1940

** Out of 14,200 Transylvanian Saxons and 29,950 Swabians

Source: Population censuses in 1930, 1948, 1956, 1966, 1977, 1992, 2002 and 2011. Data calculated and interpreted by the authors

Tab. 1: The evolution of the German minority in Romania throughout the 20th century

Germans in Romania do not form a unitary ethnic group, they rather constitute nine independent communities, distinctively different from one another both in terms of place

³⁾ After Hungarians/Szeklers (1,227,623 persons, 6.5%), Gypsies (621,573 persons, 3.29%) and Ukrainians (50,920 persons, 0.2%)

⁴⁾ According to the General Population Census of December 29, 1930, the first after Bessarabia, Bucovina and Transylvania had become part of Romania (1918)

of origin and the region and period of settlement on the present territory of Romania. Thus, one may distinguish them as follows (see also Fig. 1):

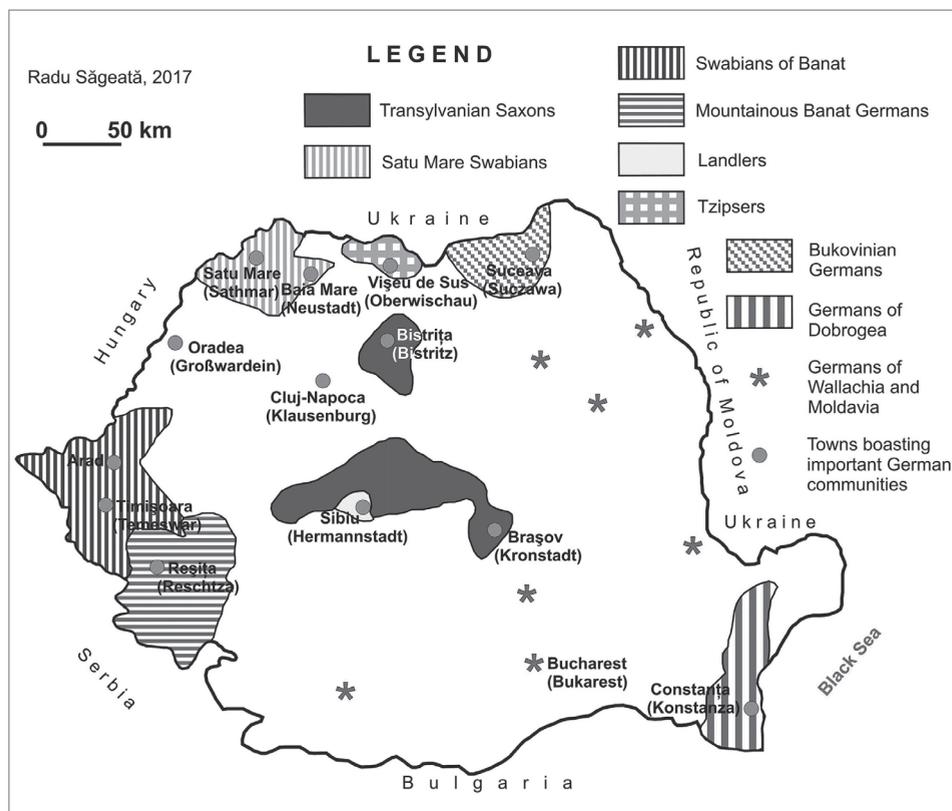


Fig. 1: German settlement regions in Romania

- The Transylvanian Saxons (*Siebenbürger Sachsen*) represent the largest and best-known group, found in two areas: One in the south of Transylvania (between the towns of Orăștie/Broos/Szászváros⁵⁾ and Brașov/Brassó/Kronstadt) and the other in the north of the province (between the towns of Bistrița/Bistritz/Beszterce and Reghin/Sächsisch-Reen/Szászrégen).
- The Satu Mare Swabians (*Sathmarschwaben*) form a compact ethnic community, which lives on the present territory of the Satu Mare and Maramureș counties.
- The Swabians of the Banat (*Banater Schwaben*) represent a compact ethnic community, which lives on the present territory of the Timiș and Arad counties.

⁵⁾ We mention in the text (not on maps) consequently all components of an officially bi- or multilingual name divided by slashes. If a German name is not official today, it is indicated in Italics and brackets.

- The Mountainous Banat Germans (*Banater Berglanddeutsche*) populate the south of the Banat mountainous area, on the present territory of Caraș-Severin County.
- The Landlers (*Landler*), an old traditional community, which lives in the city of Sibiu/Hermannstadt and its surroundings.
- The Tzipsers (*Zipser*) are found in the historical Maramureș zone, their main occupation is the processing of wood.
- The Bucovinian Germans (*Buchenlanddeutsche*) are an evidence of the Austrian rule over Bucovina (1775–1918). They had constituted a massive presence in the inter-war urban centres, such as Gura Humorului/Gura Humora (being the majority population in 1930), Suceava/Suczawa/Szucsáva, Rădăuți/Radautz, Vatra Dornei/Dorna Watra/Dornavátra and Černivci (in the Ukrainian part of Bucovina).
- The Germans of Dobrogea (*Dobrudschadeutsche*) are present in the central and southern parts of Dobrogea (the result of a three-stage colonisation between 1840 and 1891).
- The Germans of Wallachia [Țara Românească] and Moldavia [Moldova] (*Deutsche Süd- und Ostrumäniens, Altreichdeutsche*) are diffusely spread over the large extra-Carpathian cities (Bucharest [București], Ploiești, Craiova, Galați, Bacău, Iași, and Piatra Neamț).

It follows, therefore, that the Saxons represent an important part of the German population. In view of their share and cultural influence in/on the Romanian population, they are one of the best-represented allochthonous ethnic communities in Transylvania. Besides their great influence in shaping the multi-ethnic specificity of this historical region, they have also contributed to cultivating good neighbourhood relations and respect for interethnic tolerance, relations that underlie the building of present-day Europe. At the same time, the Saxons' specific architecture, which has made an important contribution to the cultural heritage of Europe and the World, provides Transylvania with the potential of one of Romania's most attractive tourist zones.

The name *Saxons* (*Saxones*) is documented as early as 1206, when the Hungarian King Andrew II granted some privileges and a legal status to the Saxon villagers (Latin: *primi hospites regni*) of Cricău, Ighiu/Grabendorf/Magyarigen and Romos/Rumes/Romosz. Since the royal chancellery used the name *Saxon*, all Transylvanian (in the narrower, historical sense) Germans were designated by it (VOGEL 2002). When the colonisations began, the name *Saxon* designated only poor miners in Hungary, Serbia and Bosnia, but most documents refer to them as *Flandrenses*, *Saxones* and *Theutonici* (LOTH 1971).

3 Germans settling the present territory of Romania. The ethnic flux

The first German colonisations, originating from the river basins of Rhine [Rhein] and Mosel, had been initiated by King Géza II (1141–1162) for defending the southern borders of the Hungarian Kingdom in Transylvania. In the 13th century, besides the Hungarian Crown, an important part in settling Germans in the south of historical Tran-

sylvania had the Order of the Teutonic Knights (NICOLLE 2007),⁶⁾ the Igrış Cistercian Monastery of Banat⁷⁾ and its subsidiary at Cârța/Kerz/Cerc in the region of Făgăraș/Fogarasch/Fogaras.

The Germans of historical Transylvania (later designated by the name *Saxons*) occupied three areas: The first and the largest was in the south of historical Transylvania, the Sibiu/Hermannstadt region (*Altland*),⁸⁾ colonised almost concomitantly (until mid-12th century) with the Sebeș/Mühlbach/Szászsebes-Orăștie/Broos/Szászváros zone (*Unterswald*), subsequently extending northward on the interfluvies between the two Târnave rivers (*Weinland*), the Hârtibaciu and the Târnava Mare (*Waldland*), as well as in the Seacăș Land (*Zekeschgebiet*).⁹⁾ The second area was in Bârsa Land [Țara Bârsei] (Brașov Depression) – *Burzenland*, colonised since 1211 by the Teutonic Knights who settled there. The third area, the Bistrița/Bistritz/Beszterce Region (*Nösnerland*), and the area around the town of Reghin/Sächsisch-Reen/Szászrégen (*Reener Ländchen*) were at the northern boundary of historical Transylvania – a zone marked by successive massive arrivals of colonists in the 12th and 13th centuries¹⁰⁾ (Fig. 2).

These areas were granted autonomy by the Hungarian King Andrew II (ca. 1175–1235), the population preserving its language and customs. Its administrative organisation consisted of ten seats: Sebeș/Mühlbach/Szászsebes, Sighișoara/Schäßburg/Segesvár, Cincu/Groß-Schenk/Nagysink, Miercurea Ciuc/Szeklerburg/Csíkszereda, Rupea/Reps/Köhalom, Nocrich/Leschkirch/Újegyhas, Orăștie/Broos/Szászváros, Mediaș/Mediasch/Medgyes and Șeica attested by the Andreanum Diploma (1224). The towns set up at the time – Sibiu/Hermannstadt 1191, Orăștie/Broos/Szászváros 1224, Brașov/Brassò/Kronstadt 1234, and Sebeș/Mühlbach/Szászsebes 1245, would later grow into gravitation centres of settlement systems in Saxon-inhabited territories. Several villages, Viscri/Deutsch-Weißkirch/Szászfehéregyháza 1185, Csnădioara/Michelsberg/Kisdísznód 1204, Mănărade (*Donnersmarkt*) 1205, Bărcuț/Bekokten, Felmer (*Felmer*), Seliștat/Seligstadt/Boldogváros, Șoars/Scharosch/Sáros, Lovnic (*Leblang*) and Noiștat (*Neustadt*) 1206, Ungra/Galt/Ugra 1211, Cârța/Kerz/Cerc and Cristian/Großbau/Kereszténysziget 1223, Drăușeni/Draas/Homoróddaróc 1224, Albești/Fehéregyháza (*Weißkirch*) 1231 and Șercaia/Schirkanyen/Sárkány 1235 (SUCIU 1969) were documented in the same period. Concomitantly, in 1228, the first Saxon settlement cores were recorded in Northern Transylvania: Reghin/Sächsisch-Reen/Szászrégen, Batoș/Botsch/

⁶⁾ The Order of the Teutonic Knights settled in Bârsa Land [Țara Bârsei] (Brașov Depression) in 1211 after the defeat of the Christian forces involved in the crusades to help King Andrew II defend the eastern borders of the Christian powers against Cuman incursions and strengthen the position of the Catholic Church in a zone with a majority of Orthodox population (ASOCIAȚIA ȘTIINȚIFICĂ PENTRU ENCICLOPEDIA ROMÂNIEI 1938, p. 103).

⁷⁾ Igrış Monastery, founded in 1179 by monks of the Cistercian Order (Pontigny, France) on the present territory of Sânpetru Mare Commune, Timiș County, which at that time was part of the Hungarian Kingdom. The monastery library was the first library documented on Romanian territory. In 1202, the Igrış monks set up their first subsidiary abbey, the Cistercian Abbey of Cârța/Kerz/Cerc, Făgăraș Land.

⁸⁾ *Altland* = the Olt Country

⁹⁾ Area occupied by colonists coming along the Mureș Valley and which was to form the *Royal Land* (Pământul Crăiesc, Königsboden) under the direct jurisdiction of the King.

¹⁰⁾ In the area colonised by those coming along the Someș Valley, most villages were bound to the lay nobility or to the clergy.

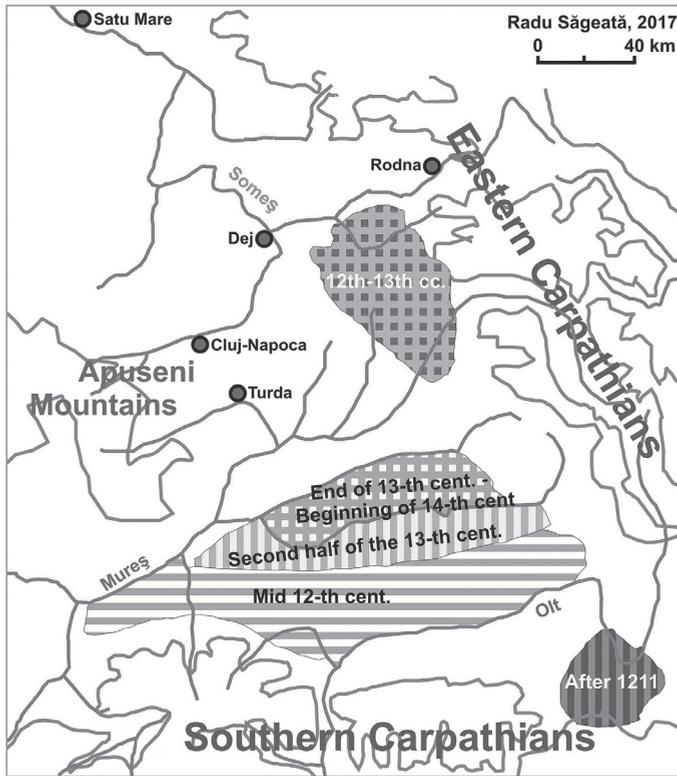


Fig. 2: German population settling in historical Transylvania

Bátos and Budacu de Jos (*Budak*), a territory that formed the Bistrița District (*Bistritzer Distrikt*), which would be granted similar privileges (in 1366) as those obtained by the Seven Saxon Seats (KRONER 2009). According to H. ROTH (2003), a lot of settlements in eastern historical Transylvania were set up by the Szeklers (*Viscri/Deutsch-Weißkirch/Szászfehéregyháza, Saschiz/Keisd/Szászkésd, Sighișoara/Schäßburg/Segesvár, etc.*) and refounded by the Saxons.

In 1241, with the great Tatar invasion of Transylvania that fully destroyed numerous villages, the first Saxon colonisation phase came to an end (NÄGLER 1981, p. 198). The destructions caused by the invaders made King Béla IV (1235–1270) take new economic, administrative and political measures to rehabilitate the devastated territories. These measures also made new groups of German colonists to be brought to Transylvania to increase the density of habitation and ensure that the land is better used. The new moves of colonists (especially of newly-arrived miners from Central Europe) enjoyed new royal privileges, a policy continued by the King's successors, too. Thus, King Andrew III (1290–1301) issued a document (1291) granting privileges to the colonist miners settled at Dej/Desch/Dés, Turda/Thorenburg/Torda and Rimetea/Eisenburg/Torockó (ZIMMERMANN & WERNER 1892). In 1315, King Carol Robert of Anjou (1301/08–1342) granted the Sax-

ons from Mediaş/Mediasch/Medgyes and Şeica the Sibian Right (*Hermannstädter Recht*), a document dated 1318, which exempted the Saxons of Mediaş/Mediasch/Medgyes, Şeica Mare/Marktschelken/Nagyselyk and Şeica Mică/Kleinschelken/Kisselyk from military service. These measures led to new waves of immigration, hence new settlements came into being; according to documents, over 200 villages were established at the northern and southern boundaries of historical Transylvania (Figs. 3 & 4).

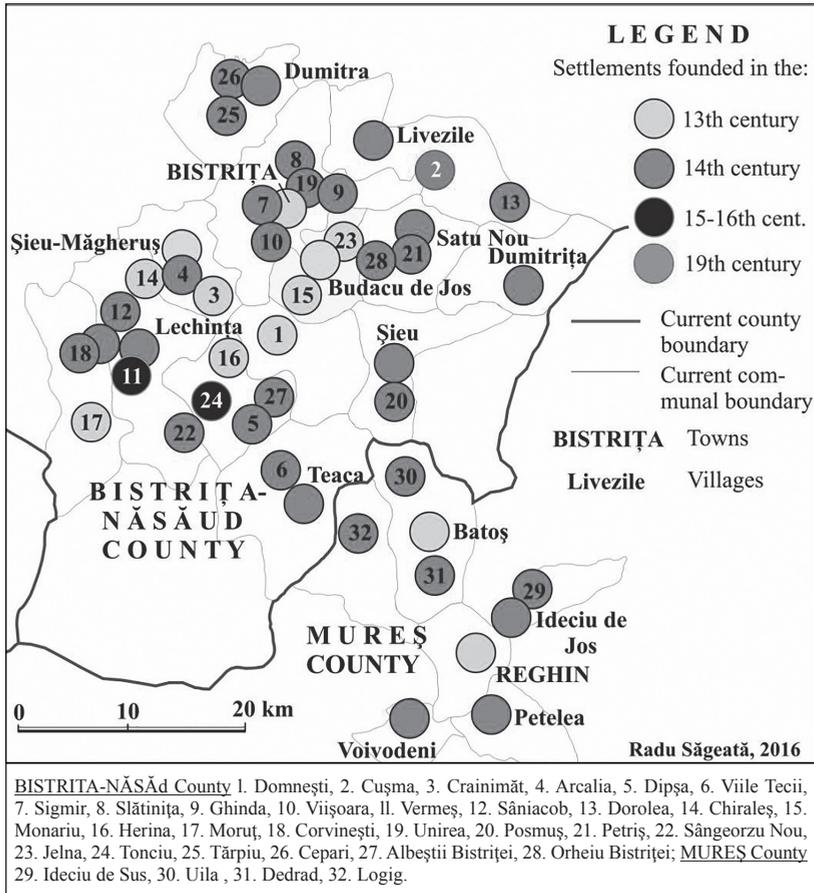


Fig. 4: Settlements founded by the Saxons in northern historical Transylvania

If at the end of the 13th century (1299) the settlement system in the Saxon-colonised territories numbered only 68 urban and rural centres, the next century registered 159 settlements, totalling some 95% of the settlements in which the Saxon dialect was in use (NÄGLER 1981; SUCIU 1969). At the end of the 15th century the Saxon settlement system acquired its final form, except for two villages attested later (Tonciu/Tacs 1589, and Cușma 1805), both in the Bistrița District.

4 The Saxons and their organisation in the Middle Ages. The Saxon Seats

The last waves of Saxon-German colonists to historical Transylvania came generally after 1300, settled on the territories encompassed by the two Târnavé rivers. These last waves completed the picture of the Saxon presence in historical Transylvania, a minority which, besides the Hungarian (Szekler), settled at the eastern border of this province and would contribute to outlining the multi-ethnic specificity of this historical region.

Viewed as “free and guests” (*liberi et hospites*), since the time of King Coloman I (1095–1116) (KÖTZSCHKE & EBERT 1936, p. 95), these privileged nations lived side by side with the Romanians, constituting for over seven centuries distinctive societies in terms of nationality, social, political and confessional status. They represented a model of cohabitation with the majority Romanian autochthons, introducing a performant economic and organisational system. It was the Saxons who brought an innovative land reform to Transylvania in the early Middle Ages (larger barns, improved scythes and a crop-rotation system). They also introduced handicraft and trade, the region growing ever more prosperous. They also initiated the first compulsory education system in Europe (1412) at the school set up in Criş/Deutsch-Kreuz/Szászkeresztúr (presently Braşov County) (AKERROYD 2006, p. 19). The Samuel von Brukenthal National College in Sibiu/Hermannstadt is documented since 1380.

Being aware that good inter-ethnic co-habitation relies on an equitable system of social and economic rights, Emperor Joseph II of Habsburg contributed decisively to the cultural and social-political emancipation of the Transylvanian Romanians, accepting the Transylvanian School Movement (*Şcoala Ardeleană*) in Blaj/Blasendorf/Balászfalva (18th century). On his visit to Transylvania, the Emperor would salute the Romanians with the words “*Salvae Parva Romuli Nepos*” (‘hail to the poor nephews of Rome’), words that have lasted to this day in the name of four north-Transylvanian villages: *Salva*, *Parva*, *Romuli* and *Nepos* (currently Bistriţa-Năsăud County).

Thus, in the first half of the 14th century, documents speak of the Seven Seats (*Sieben Stühle*) in Sibiu Province formed of a “Main Seat” (*Hauptstuhl*) in Sibiu/Hermannstadt (also *Cybininum*)¹¹⁾, and of “Secondary Seats” (*Nebenstühle*) at Orăştie/Broos/Szászváros, Sebeş/Mühlbach/Szászsebes, Miercurea Sibiului/Reußmarkt/Szerdahely (also *Ruzmargt*), Nocrich/Leschkirch/Újegyház (also *Leuskyrch*), Cincu Mare/Groß-Schenk/Nagysink (also *Schenk*) and Rupea/Reps/Kőhalom (MÜLLER 1941). Many other seats would attach themselves to: The independent Seat of Sighişoara/Schäßburg/Segesvár (*castrum Sches*, later *Schäßburg*),¹²⁾ followed in the early 14th century by the Two Seats (*Zwei Stühle*) – Mediasch/Mediasch/Medgyes and Şeica, the Sibirian Right (*Hermannstädter Recht*) having already been in effect on their territory. In the 14th century, Braşov and Bistriţa Districts did already exist, but they were not subordinated to any seat (NÄGLER 1981, pp. 277–278).

¹¹⁾ In 1453, the Seats of Tâlmăciu and Sălişte were incorporated into the Seat of Sibiu/Hermannstadt, as subsidiaries (*Filialstuhl*).

¹²⁾ Although eight seats by now, yet this territorial unit preserved the same name: *Seven Seats* (NÄGLER 1981).

The term *seat* derives from Seat of Law (Lat. *sedes judiciaria*), a Romanian traditional institution founded by the Saxons and the Szeklers on their arrival in these territories (GÖCKENJAN 1972; NISTOR 2000). Every county (Lat. *comitatus*, Rom. *comitat*) in the Kingdom of Hungary and in the Principality of Transylvania had judicial power in both civil and criminal cases, the *Sedes Judiciaria Comitatus* Court holding competence in this respect.

The Saxon seats were headed by a royal judge (*judex regius*)¹³ nominated from among the ranks of the nobility (the *greavs*), next in line were the judges of the seats, elected from among the inhabitants, and the village judges. They had their own estates that formed part of the administrative territory of the seats (Fig. 5). The tasks of the seat officials were to collect and distribute the royal taxes, they also solved financial and administrative problems, and mobilised the army. Since the Saxon Seats did not constitute a compact territory, many of their villages were part of the noblemen's lands and of the counties populated by a majority of Romanian ethnics (in the Secașe Plateau, between the two Târnavă rivers, in the north of historical Transylvania, etc.) (NÄGLER 1997).

The Seats did not form a unitary territory in any way, some Saxon settlements falling into the administration of the *comitate*. Villages situated on Royal Land (*Fundus Regius*) enjoyed rural privileges, the local leaders (*greavs*) acting simply as administrators; other villages lay on the estates of the nobility, some even feudally dependent. They had fewer, or no privileges at all, the *greavs* self-assuming a decision-making role (GÜNDISCH 1998, 2001).

In 1486, King Matheus Corvinus reconfirmed the Andream Diploma, extending its effects to all the regions inhabited by Saxons on Royal Land. In this way, a Saxon University (*Sächsische Nationsuniversität*) was founded in 1487, a first administrative institution that was decided at a meeting of the representatives of the Seven Seats, of the Two Seats and of the Bistrița and Brașov Districts. The institution had competence over all the territories where Saxons lived on Royal Land (WAGNER 2000).¹⁴

While in the first centuries following colonisation, the administrative power belonged to the noblemen and the *greavs*, after the 14th century the situation would change, the village patrician rising to leadership. He would take in servitude numerous villages from outside the territories initially administered, establishing his own domains, similar to the cities of northern Italy. Hence, the emergence of subsidiary seats: Of Tâlmăciu and of Săliște, which administered a majority of Romanian communities.

In parallel, there was also an ecclesiastic administration of the Dean's Office of Sibiu/Hermannstadt, which encompassed most of Sibiu Province villages, and was in its turn, organised by the Dean's Offices, including fewer villages than seats and districts had. Most of these Offices were subordinated to the Episcopal Office of Transylvania (NÄGLER 1981, p. 282).

Despite the territorial reforms made in the Hungarian Kingdom, the Saxons' administrative system proved to be more viable, continuing in time without substantial changes, so that in the early 19th century (1810) records speak of the Seat of Sibiu/Hermannstadt, which incorporated the subsidiary Seats of Tâlmăciu and Săliște, as well as estates belong-

¹³ The Universitas Saxorum (Germ. *Sächsische Nationsuniversität*), i.e. *Fundus regius* (Rom. *Pământul Crăiesc*) was headed by a *judex regius*.

¹⁴ It was led by a royal judge (later leader – *comite* – of the Saxons), sited in Sibiu/Hermannstadt.

ing to the judges: Sighișoara/Schäßburg/Segesvár, Sebeș/Mühlbach/Szászsebes, Cincu Mare/Groß-Schenk/Nagysink, Miercurea Sibiului/Reußmarkt/Szerdahely, Rupea/Reps/Kőhalom, Nocrich/Leschkirch/Újegyház, Orăștie/Broos/Szászváros and Mediaș/Mediasch/Medgyes, the Districts of Brașov (including Bârsa Land and Bran Domain) and of Bistrița (with two small rural districts – Romanian *plasă* – Bistrița and Rodna) (WAGNER 1977). Compared to the 14th century, only Șeica Seat was no longer found there (Fig. 5), it has been englobed into Mediaș Seat.

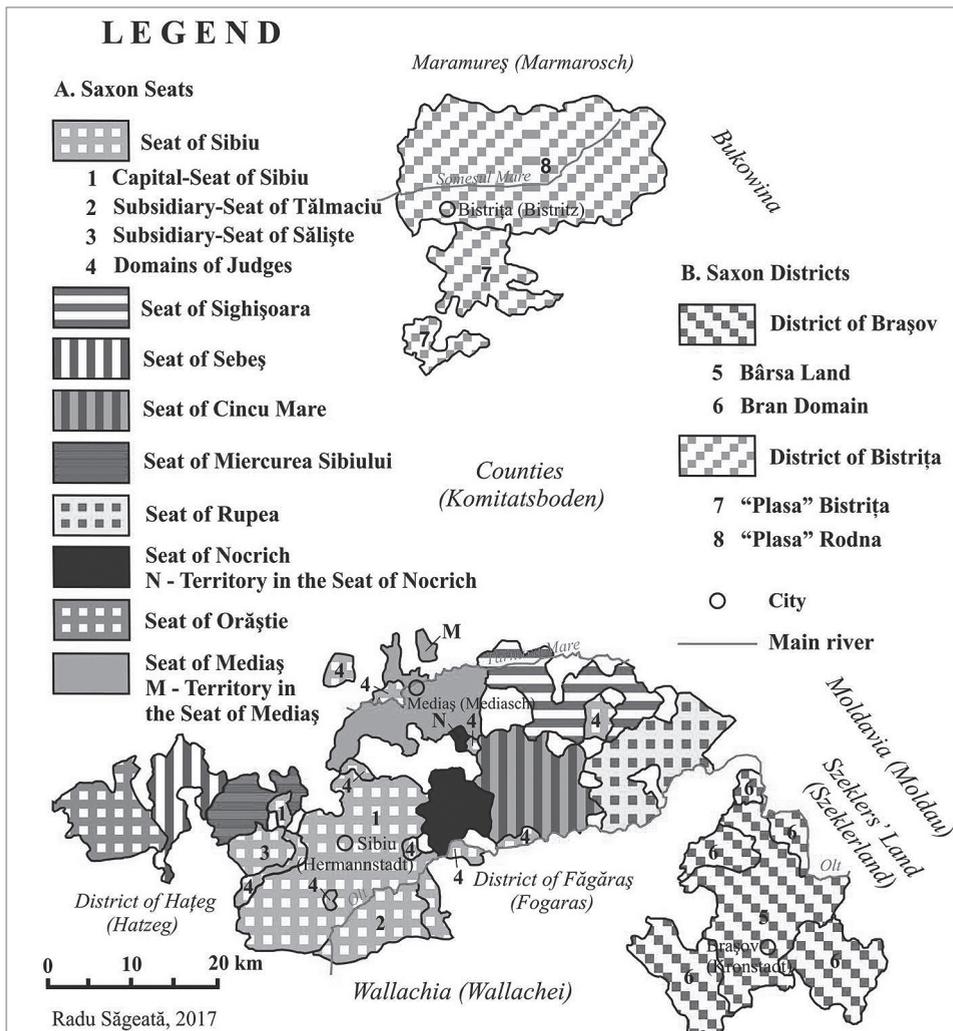


Fig. 5: The administrative system in the territories received and possessed by the Transylvanian Saxons (1810)

The Saxon Seats continued to exist until 1867, when, right after the Dual Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had been established, the Budapest authorities decided to abolish them, englobing them into the comitats (*vármegyék*):¹⁵ Sibiu (*Szeben*), Târnava Mare (*Nagy-Kükülő*), Târnava Mică (*Kis-Kükülő*), Alba de Jos (*Alsó-Fehér*), Braşov (*Brassó*) and Bistriţa-Năsăud (*Beszterce-Naszód*), respectively. At the same time, the Saxon University was closed, which resulted in the Saxons' losing their autonomy (1876). The main representative Saxon institution remained the Lutheran Church, which took over, among others, the administration of the Saxons' learning system (SETON-WATSON 1925).

After the Romanian administration was installed (December 1, 1918), these territories were turned into counties, yet their territorial pattern was not changed even after the administrative reform of 1925.¹⁶ Education for the Saxons continued to be in the charge of the Lutheran Church until 1940, when the German Ethnic Group in Romania would take over this assignment. When Communism came to rule the country (1945), the whole education system, including the German-speaking schools, was governed by the Romanian State.

5 The Transylvanian Saxons in the first half of the 20th century

After the Austro-Hungarian dual state came to power (1867) and the Hungarian part imposed a policy of Magyarisation, the Saxons, losing their privileged status decided on disengagement from the Budapest administration, supporting the unification of Transylvania with the Romanian Kingdom. As a result, the 1930 census registered a historical maximum of German population in this country, i.e. 745,421 persons (4.13% of the total population at that date), this ethnic community ranking second (after the Hungarians) among the nationalities of the Romanian Kingdom. The Transylvanian Saxons represented about onethird of the German communities in Romania, next in line coming the Germans of Banat (ca. 30% of all) (Table 2).

They were more numerous especially in the counties of Târnava Mare and Sibiu (23.2% and 22.5%, respectively of all the Saxons) and Braşov (13.16%). A share between 9% and 3% had the counties of Târnava Mică, Năsăud, Sălaj, Mureş, Făgăraş, Hunedoara and Alba. At the other end of the spectrum (insignificant proportions of under 0.4%) were the counties of Ciuc, Odorhei and Trei Scaune ('Three Seats'), dominated by Szeklers, as well as Someş and Turda with a majority Romanian population (BUZA 1999).¹⁷

On the local level, villages continued to be dominated by Saxon ethnics, especially in the small districts (Rom. *plasa*) Bran and Săcele (Braşov County); Arpaşu de Jos, Şercaia and Făgăraş (Făgăraş County); Agnita, Mediaş, Rupea and Sighişoara (Târnava Mare

¹⁵ This territorial structure was confirmed also by the Hungarian administrative reform of 1876.

¹⁶ This sanctioned some changes in county names: *Năsăud* instead of *Bistriţa-Năsăud* (name resumed in 1968) and *Alba* instead of *Alba de Jos* (Lower Alba).

¹⁷ According to census data (Dec. 29, 1930), the distribution of Saxons by county looked as follows: 58,810 in Târnava Mare; 56,999 in Sibiu; 33,348 in Braşov; 24,011 in Târnava Mică; 20,785 in Năsăud; 16,010 in Sălaj; 11,283 in Mureş; 10,750 in Făgăraş; 8,282 in Hunedoara; 7,583 in Alba; 781 in Trei Scaune; 742 in Turda; 464 in Odorhei; 439 in Ciuc, and 351 in Someş.

Historical province	No. of Germans (persons)	German minority share in the total German minority in Romania (%)
Banat	223,167	29.94
Bessarabia	81,089	10.88
Bukovina	75,533	10.13
Crişana-Maramureş	67,259	9.03
Dobrogea	12,581	1.68
Moldavia	8,098	1.08
Muntenia (Wallachia)	20,826	2.79
Oltenia	3,442	0.46
Transylvania	253,426	34.01
Total	745,421	100

Source: CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF STATISTICS 1930

Tab. 2: Territorial distribution of the German minority in Romania in 1930

County); Blaj, Diciosânmartin and Dumbrăveni (Târnava Mică County); Miercurea Sibiului, Ocna Sibiului, Sălişte and Sibiu (Sibiu County), Sebeş and Vinţu de Jos (Alba County), respectively. In some of them, but largely in some small villages, Saxons represented an absolute majority: Csnădioara/Michelsberg/Kisdiszód (99.8% of the total), Seleuş/Großallisch/Nagyszöllös (98.4%), Vulcan/Wolkersdorf/Zsilyvajdevulkán (94.8%), Cund (94.7%), Filitelnic/Felldorf/Fületelke (91.6%), Laslău Mic (90.5%), Măgheruş, Senereuş, Domald, Metiş/Martinsdorf/Mártonfalva, Roandola, Motiş/Mortesdorf/Mártontelke, Şona, Ormeniş, Turnişor/Neppendorf/Kistorony and Marpod/Márpod (with an over 80% Saxon population in each of them). Important Saxon communities lived moreover in big cities: Sibiu/Hermannstadt (43.8% of the total population), Sighişoara/Schäßburg/Segesvár (40.2%), Mediaş/Mediasch/Medgyes (38.5%), Bistriţa/Bistritz/Beszterce (31.6%), Reghin/Sächsisch-Reen/Szászrégen (23.9%), Braşov/Brassó/Kronstadt (22%) (Figs. 6 & 7). Although they amounted to only 1.37% of Romania's population, yet Saxon investments in industry represented one third (1934) of the Romanian state's budget (GRUIA 2012).

All in all, the Transylvanian Saxon population's evolution was already recording a downward trend. The American Mirage, a phenomenon that got momentum mainly after 1850, extended also to Transylvania (then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) next to the Romanian Kingdom, and to Communist Romania after 1945. German emigration to the United States began in 1880, and continued in three big waves (KLOOS-ILEA 2014): 1886–1914, i.e. until the outbreak of World War I, emigrants settling mostly in Ohio and Pennsylvania;¹⁸⁾ 1918–1948, highest numbers between 1922 and 1930; and after 1949,¹⁹⁾

¹⁸⁾ In 1905, the US Immigration Bureau registered 7,261 Austro-Hungarian citizens originating from historical Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina (KLOOS-ILEA 2014).

¹⁹⁾ After 1944, Saxons could no longer emigrate to the United States, being considered enemies. Some Saxon refugees, who had settled mainly in Austria, migrated to the United States and Canada between 1948 and 1955.

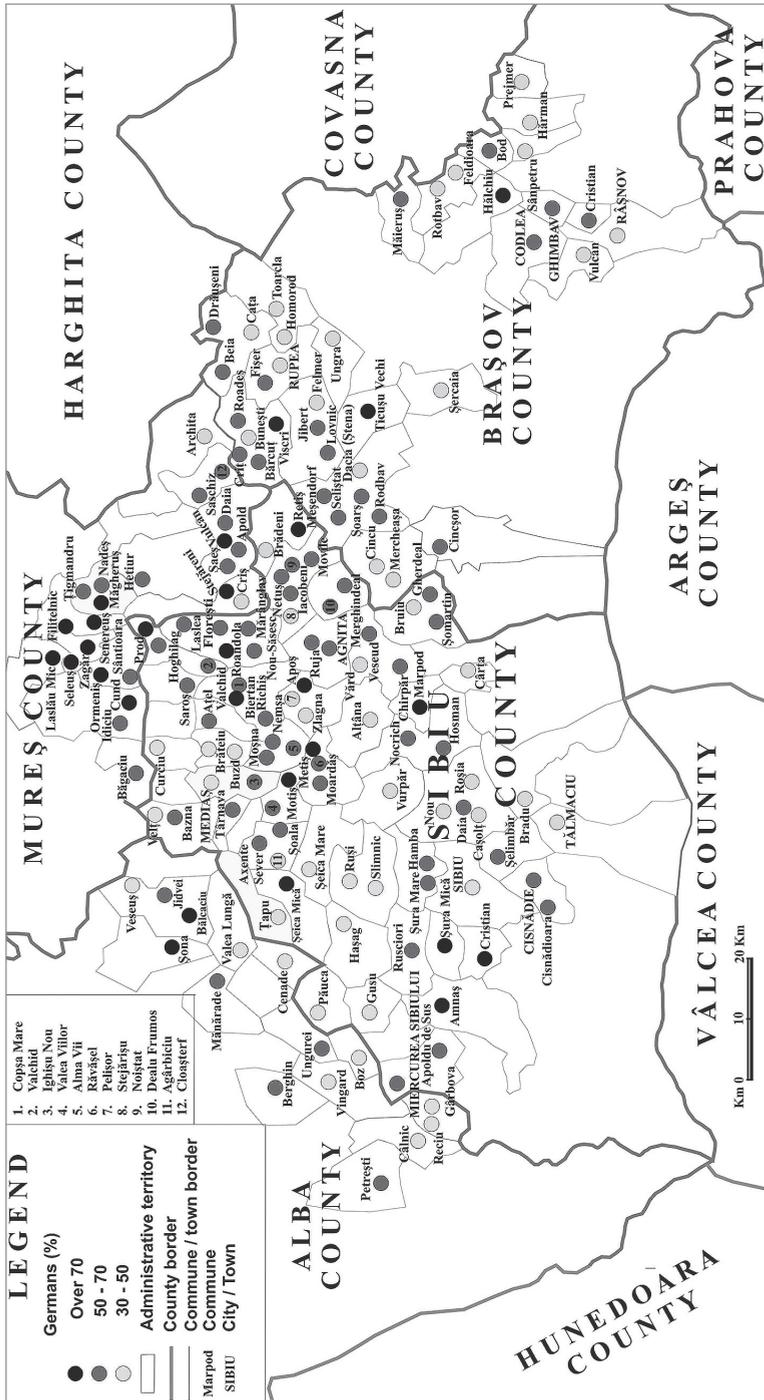


Fig. 6: Saxon-populated settlement in southern Transylvania (1930)

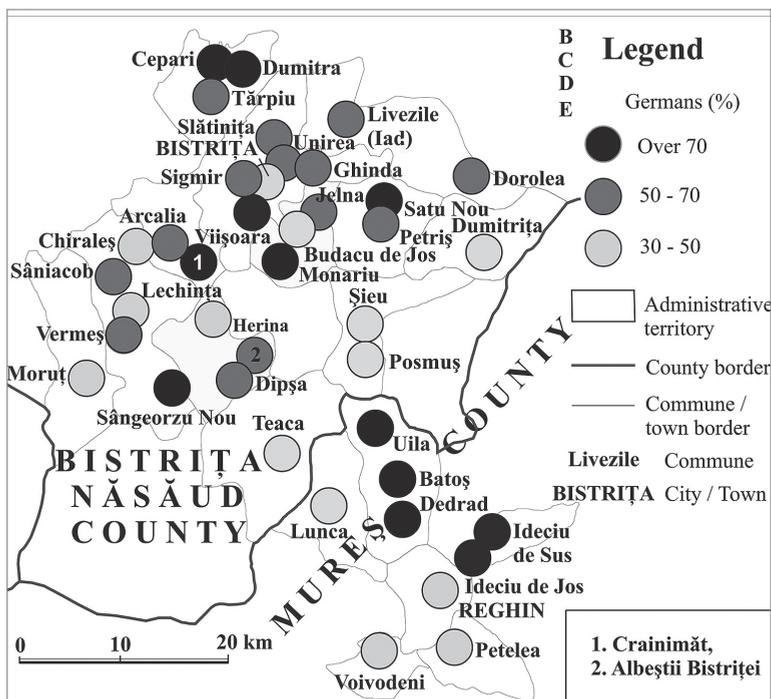


Fig. 7: Saxon-populated settlements in northern historical Transylvania (1930)

the peak of departures being 1955. Subsequently, the number of Saxon migrants to the United States would considerably decline, emigration flows choosing Germany and Austria.

6 The ethnic reflux. Saxon emigration and ethnic structural change

The massive decline of Saxon communities, a part of the German minority in Romania, began with the Second World War. The catastrophic downfall of the Nazi regime and the effects of the War shattered the German minority in this country. The Germans of Bessarabia and Bucovina were the victims of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Treaty (June 26, 1940), Hitler including the two territories in a secret protocol whereby they fell into the Soviet sphere of influence. Before the Soviet troops marched in, a large part of German nationals was relocated to other Reich-owned regions (*Heim-ins-Reich-Bewegung*): Danzig [Gdańsk],²⁰⁾ Wartheland [okręg Warcki]²¹⁾ and Upper Silesia [Górny Śląsk], smaller groups being sent to the Protectorate of Bohemia [Čechy] and Moravia [Morava] (*Protektorat Böh-*

²⁰⁾ In the former Eastern Prussia (*Ostpreussen*), now Gdańsk zone in Poland

²¹⁾ A territory on Poland's western border, currently Kalisz area

men und Mähren), the Sudeten Region (*Sudetenland*) and Lorena – Luxembourg under the Heim-ins-Reich Program, as a result of population transfers. Later, the Berlin Government, through the intermediacy of Bucharest, would deport a total of 241,630 Germans from Southern Bucovina, Dobrogea, Moldova and Wallachia (BÖHM 2003; MILATA 2007).

Furthermore, the German communities of the intra-Carpathian territories were affected by the Second Vienna Dictate (*Zweiter Wiener Schiedsspruch*), whereby northern Transylvania was (re)annexed by Hungary. In this way, it was for the first time in history that the Saxon-inhabited territories were divided, being included into two distinct states. In the wake of these territorial exchanges and of deportations, the number of Germans in Romania would fall in a few years' time by over one third. The expansion of military operations and the growing deficit of German soldiers led to the February 1942 and May 1943 accords between Germany, Hungary and Romania, allies at the time, stipulating that the Transylvanian German ethnics, fit for military service, should be enrolled into the Nazi military structures. Resulting from these accords, 63,000 Saxons and Swabians would enroll voluntarily in the Waffen-SS units, a few thousands serving in the special intervention units of the SS Security Service (*SD-Sonderkommandos*), in units on the watch at concentration camps (*KZ-Wachkompanien*), some of them being assigned to the extermination camps of Auschwitz [Oświęcim] and Lublin, in particular (MILATA 2007). About 15% of the German ethnics from Romania, who had served in the German Army, died in war, and only a few thousands who survived came back to Romania. The many thousands of Germans who served in the Romanian Army even after 1943, and sometimes until 1945, still did not escape discrimination (expropriations, deportations).

The Germans' exodus from Romania continued after August 23, 1944, when the country was occupied by the Soviet troops. The Germans, considered "the vanguard of fascism and of Germany's expansionist tendency",²²⁾ had to run away from the advancing Red Army troops, some 100,000 being evacuated to Germany.²³⁾ The Saxons of the Năsăud Land [Țara Năsăudului], the Swabians of Sathmar [Satu Mare] and Banat were the communities most affected by these departures (RUS 2007). Those who remained were victims of persecutions and discriminations by the Romanian Communist authorities, most of them being deported to the Soviet Union and the Bărăgan Plain [Bărăgan] (Romania), and enrolled in forced labour detachments (ȘANDRU 1995).

Deportations were a two-stage process. In the first stage, forced-labour convoys were sent to the former Soviet Union by Order 031/January 13, 1945,²⁴⁾ which read that "men of German origin, aged 17-45 and women aged 18-30 are to be deported to the USSR as war reparations for the 1940–1945 period" (cited by ȚIMONEA 2016). It was only in 1949 that those who survived hard, exhaustive labour could return to their places of origin. The second stage saw deportations to the Bărăgan Plain (June 18–22, 1951) of 40,320 people²⁵⁾ from the 258 settlements situated close to the border with former Yugoslavia (the present

²²⁾ According to Ioan Pop, the Communist prefect of Bistrița County in his speech of June 1945 (cited by RUS 2007)

²³⁾ The Saxons from northern historical Transylvania (*Nösnerland*), who resided in the area, which was occupied to Hungary in 1940, are also included (RUS 2007)

²⁴⁾ Four months before the armistice was signed (May 9, 1945)

²⁵⁾ According to official statistics of the time

counties of Timiș, Caraș-Severin and Mehedinți), when former Romanian-Yugoslav relations worsened after the Stalin-Tito relationship had degraded. At that time, Romania was a faithful ally of Moscow, Russian troops being stationed on its territory. Deportations targeted “elements of high risk”:²⁶⁾ Romanians (32.77%), Germans (25.68%), Bessarabians and Bucovinians (22.99%), Serbs, Macedonians (Aromunians), etc.²⁷⁾ (VULTUR 1997). They could return only after 1956, when relations between Romania and Yugoslavia had improved. According to estimates, after World War II the number of Saxon and Swabian deportees from Transylvania and Banat to the USSR topped 50,000 nearly 10,000 of them dying in Russian camps (ȚIMONEA 2016).

While 1940 estimates indicated the existence of some 275,000 Saxons and 215,000 Swabians, within 1945–1946 over 70,000 German ethnics from Romania were deported to forced labour in the USSR, 20% of them never ever coming back. By order of the Soviet Military Command in Bucharest, the agreement referred to men and women aged 17–45 and 18–30, respectively; very few of the deportees ever had any connection with the Anti-Soviet War (CIOROIANU 2004).

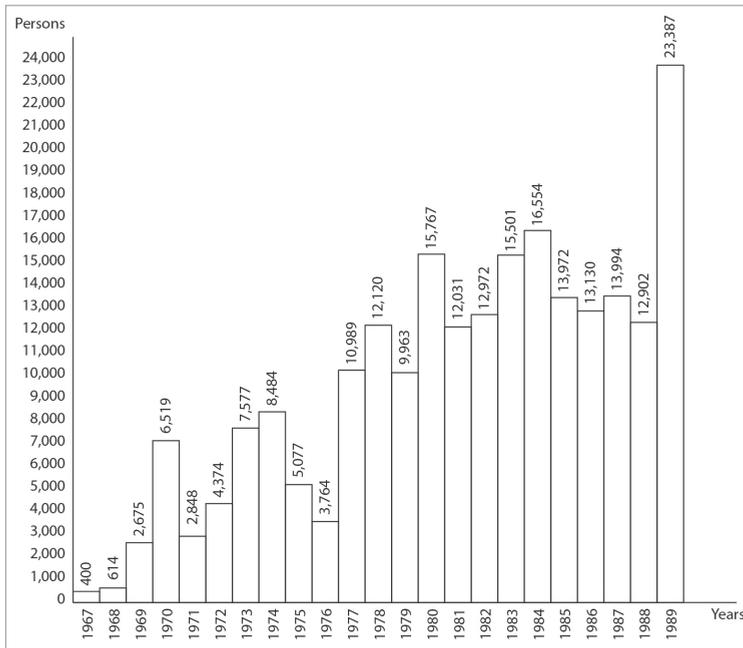
The exodus of German population from Romania continued also under the Ceaușescu-led Communist regime, which developed a policy of ‘selling’ the German and Jewish minorities. The former started being ‘sold’ after 1967, when diplomatic relations between Romania and the German Federal Republic were being resumed, but mass sales began only in 1977 (Ceaușescu-Schmidt Agreement). Under a diplomatic accord, the German state agreed to pay a tax for each German citizen who received an emigration visa²⁸⁾ (SIMILEANU & SĂGEATĂ 2009, p. 206). The exchange agreement enabled 225,614 German nationals (descendants of the former colonised Saxons and Swabians) to leave Romania between 1967 and 1989 (Fig. 8). They received German citizenship, being considered Germans from abroad (*Auslandsdeutsche*).

After 1989, as migratory flows were liberalised, the Germans’ departure got momentum for reasons of family reunification, or a better life (MĂRCULEȚ & MĂRCULEȚ 2009). Official data indicate an explosive emigration of German nationals in the first year following the fall of the Communist regime (60,072 departures in 1990 compared to 23,387 in 1989). Subsequently, numbers began decreasing constantly: 15,587 (1991), 8,852 (1992), 5,945 (1993), 4,065 (1994), 2,906 (1995), 2,315 (1996), etc. The 1992 census data registered only 119,462 German ethnics in Romania, that is, ca. 16% of those recorded in 1930. Ten years after the 2002 census, the German community in this country halved again (59,764 persons), with only 36,042 persons remaining after another decade, basically 4.8% of those registered in 1930 (Fig. 9). At the same time, their share in the total population of Romania fell from 4.44% (1930) to 2.2% (1956), 0.52% (1992), 0.27% (2002) and 0.18% (2011).

²⁶⁾ According to the Decision of the Council of Ministers No 1 154 of October 26, 1950 and No 344 of March 15, 1951

²⁷⁾ Data on deported family heads. Source: „The deportation of people from Banat to the Bărăgan Plain. A historical perspective” [Deportarea bănațenilor în Bărăgan (1951) din perspectivă istorică] in “Vestul. Tribună a demnității bănațene” Newspaper, 2011

²⁸⁾ The German Federal Republic encouraged the Germans’ migration or repatriation, given the economic and ideological competition of the German Democratic Republic; the Bucharest Communist government considered, without any moral grounds, that as long as education and medical assistance were theoretically free, the State had to recover these investments.



Source: SIGHET MEMORIAL 2008

Fig. 8: The number of ethnic Germans departed from Romania 1967–1989

Once arrived in Germany, the Transylvanian Saxons settled in Northrhine-Westphalia [Nordrhein-Westfalen] (in the late 1940s and the early 1950s), Bavaria [Bayern], Baden-Württemberg and Hessen (since 1970); those who left for Austria chose mainly Upper Austria [Oberösterreich]. Important Saxon communities preferred to leave for the United States (especially to the states of Pennsylvania and Ohio), Canada (mostly to Kitchener in Ontario Province), Australia, South Africa and Argentina. Many would return in summer to spend their holidays in Romania, and visit the places they had left, which won them the name of “Summer Saxons” (*Sommersachsen*) (POLEDNA 2001). There, they would look after their ancestors’ graves, so one may actually speak of “funerary tourism”, as well (RADOSLAV in CIOROIANU 2004, p. 11).

The evolution of the German community in Romania is by no means an exception in Central Europe, but part of a wider context. For example, the German minority of former Czechoslovakia decreased dramatically, from 3,323,000 persons in 1930 to only 53,000 persons in 1991 (i.e. from 22.3% to 0.2% of the total population). A similar trend is obvious in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, or in the former Yugoslavia (Table 3).²⁹⁾ Unlike the other former Socialist countries, where Germans were expelled from, the Germans from Romania left of their own free will.

²⁹⁾ It needs, however, to be remarked that the state territory of all these countries shifted between 1930 and 1991.

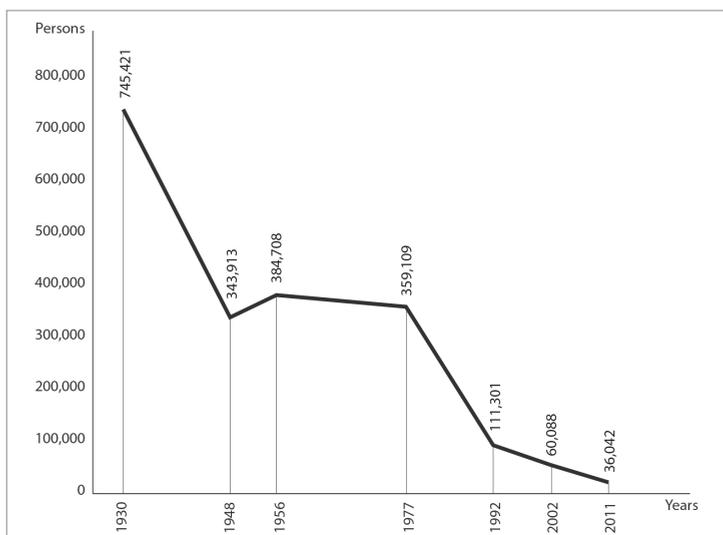


Fig. 9: The evolution of the German minority in Romania recorded by the main population censuses (1930–2011)

State	Total, 1930	%, 1930	Total, 1991	%, 1991
Czechoslovakia (former)	3,323,000	22.3	53,000	0.2
Poland	741,000	2.3	400,000	1.0
Romania	745,421	4.13	119,462*	0.52
Hungary	478,000	5.5	22,000	0.2
Yugoslavia (former)	500,000	3.6	9,000	0.01
Bulgaria	4,000	0.1	1,000	0.025

* 1992 Census. Source: lom_krejci_part_c.qxd7/26/2005.part C, The Search for National Interests, The Nations in Central Europe, p. 268

Tab. 3: The evolution of German minorities in some Central European countries

7 Conclusions

With 4.8% in the 1930 records, the number of Germans in Romania has ever since been steadily decreasing. The Saxons continue to represent over 50% of the overall number of Germans, slightly more than 1% of the total population of Sibiu/Hermannstadt.³⁰ Sibiu County hosts the largest community of Transylvanian Saxons (4,244 persons, 1.08% of the total population), next come the counties of Braşov (2,923 persons, 0.53%) and Mureş

³⁰ Versus 69% per total in 1850 (8,790 persons), or 45% in 1930 (numerical increase up to 22,045 persons)

(1,478 persons, 0.27%).³¹⁾ Villages in which larger Saxon communities (over 100 persons) still live are Laslea (245 persons, 7.3% of the total population) and Biertan/Birthälm/Berethalom (112 persons, 4.3% of the total population). In other villages, the post-1989 numerical fall was dramatic, indeed, e.g., Viscri/Deutsch-Weißkirch/Szászfehéregyháza, founded by Saxons in 1145, had 667 German ethnics in 1786, 790 in 1910, 735 in 1966, 623 in 1987, but only 38 in 1995 and no more than 29 in 2004.³²⁾

Despite it, the Saxon communities made a noteworthy contribution to the Romanian and international cultural heritage. The urban architecture with early Gothic influences, as well as the fortified churches, create a specific physiognomy of the cultural landscape in Saxon-inhabited areas. The mediaeval historical centre of Sibiu/Hermannstadt hosts 42 tourist sites (grouped on ca 100 ha) of national and international importance. Sighișoara/Schäßburg/Segesvár, the only town in Europe with a mediaeval citadel (built in the 12th-15th centuries) still inhabited today, is included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. Other historical centres (Braşov/Brassó/Kronstadt, Bistriţa/Bistritz/Beszterce and Mediaş/Mediasch/Medgyes), or smaller towns (e.g., Sebeş/Mühlbach/Szászsebes, Cisnădie/Heltau/Nagydisznód and Miercurea Sibiului/Reußmarkt/Szerdahely) bear strong signs of the Western Romanic style brought by the Saxon colonists to Transylvania.

A second major component of the Saxons' architectural style in Transylvania are the fortified churches, representing one of the densest mediaeval fortified systems in Europe (ANGHEL 1973; GRECU et al. 2000), numbering over 300 churches in the past (FABINI 2008). Beginning with the 13th century, they were fortified, having a defensive role until 1788, the year of the last Ottoman incursion into Transylvania. These churches are of three types (OPRESCU 1957): With fortified enclosures (at Biertan/Birthälm/Berethalom, Prejmer/Tartlau/Prázmár, Codlea/Zeiden/Feketehalom, Hărman, and Sânzieni/Kézdiszentlélek); fortified churches (at Saschiz/Keisd/Szászkésd, Sântimbru, Şeica Mare/Marktschelken/Nagyselyk, Cloaşterf, Netuş/Neithausen/Netus, Şura Mare/Großscheuern/Nagycsúr, and Seliştat/Seligstadt/Boldogváros) and stronghold-churches (e.g., at Valea Viilor/Wurmloch/Nagybaromlak, Dealul Frumos, and Dârjiu/Ders/Székelydersz). The *Kirchenburgen in Siebenbürgen* map (2008) indicates 156 structures of this type grouped by six zones: *Kokelgebiet*, around the Târnava Mare River; *Harbach und Alttal*, north of the Olt River (except for Cârţa/Kerz/Cerc); *Repser Ländchen*, in the Rupea/Reps/Köhalom – Viscri/Deutsch-Weißkirch/Szászfehéregyháza area; *Burzenland* [Țara Bârsei]; *Unterswald und Umgebung von Hermannstadt*, west of Sibiu/Hermannstadt and *Nordsiebenbürgen*, in the Bistriţa/Bistritz/Beszterce zone; five such sites (the churches at Cricău, Şard/Schard/Sárd and Ighiu/Grabendorf/Magyarigen, Alba County, Bran Castle and the Szekler fortified church at Dârjiu/Ders/Székelydersz³³⁾ lay outside these zones.

Moreover, it is the Saxons among the national minorities of Romania, who (referred to their population number), have given most personalities to science, culture, policy and sports and played in time a determinant role in strengthening Romanian-German relations.

³¹⁾ According to 2011 census data

³²⁾ Source: The “Nemţii Noştri”, a supplement of “Jurnalul Național” daily, April 26, 2004, p. 17

³³⁾ This is the only Szekler fortified church out of the six fortified Transylvanian churches found on the UNESCO World Heritage List, the other five (at Biertan/Birthan, Călnic, Prejmer/Tratlau, Saschiz, Valea Viilor and Viscri/Deutsch-Weißkirch) are Saxon churches.

Here are some outstanding names: Hermann Oberth (physicist); Franz Binder (explorer); Erich Bergel, Carl Filtsch and Wilhelm Georg Berger (musicians); Hermann Fabini (architect); Stephan Ludwig Roth and Ernst Wagner (historians); Franz Friedrich Fronius (biologist and ethnologist); Josef Haltrich (ethnographer); Horst Klusch (chemist); Erwin Wittstock, Hans Berger and Oscar Pastior (writers); Hans Otto Roth and Christian Tell (politicians); Hans Mattis Teutsch (painter), etc. The most famous Saxons were Johannes Honterus, humanist, and Samuel von Brukenthal, politician, and Klaus Johannis now, the President of Romania. "There are few domains which had not listed brilliant German names." (TĂRZIU in CIOROIANU 2004, p. 27) Besides, the Saxons "are the people most obsessed with history in the world, having written over 6,000 history works, when at their inter-war demographic peak was of 200,000 individuals." (GRUIA 2012, p. 32) In addition, the economic importance of this community is also worth recalling: "Although representing only 1.37% of the country's population, their investments in industry amounted to one-third of the Romanian state's budget in 1934." (GRUIA 2012, p. 51)

At present, the German community in Romania is going to disappear (GHEROGHIU 2015). In Bucharest, the country's capital, there live some 2,400 German nationals (compared to 16,000 in 1920) (LIEBHARDT 2006). This community was and still is a model of civilisation for the area to which, more than eight centuries ago, they had come as 'guests'. That is why attempts are being made to preserve the German spirit by promoting education in the German language, concluding accords and partnerships with towns and institutions from the German-speaking countries.

Some Transylvanian towns (Sibiu/Hermannstadt, Braşov/Brassó/Kronstadt, Sighişoara/Schäßburg/Segesvár, Cislădie/Heltau/Nagydisznód and Sebeş/Mühlbach/Szászsebes) are twin-towns of German and Austrian ones.³⁴⁾ The Saxons had been active participants in the partnership established between their local administrations to maintain cultural and economic relationships with the territories they had lived on as 'guests' for so long time and places they had come from, eventually returning there as part of a comprehensive process of European integration. In this way, the Sibiu/Hermannstadt area has become the fief of German investors in Romania, over 50% of Sibiu County's active population being employed in one of the firms belonging to the German Economic Club Transylvania.³⁵⁾

In Bucharest, there are over 20 German kindergartens, one high-school, and several faculties with German language sections; however, 95% of the pupils and students are Romanian nationals. Transylvanian schools, teaching in German are found in Sibiu/Hermannstadt, Braşov/Brassó/Kronstadt, Râşnov, Victori/Victoriastadt/Viktóriaváros, Codlea/Zeiden/Feketehalom, Sebeş/Mühlbach/Szászsebes, in Deva/Diemrich/Déva and Hunedoara/Eisenmarkt/Vajdahunyad, as well as in the communes of Petreşti and Jidvei (Alba County); Alţâna, Vurpăr, Apoldu de Sus, Mălâncrav and Nou Săsesc (Sibiu County). In 2014/2015, new German-language sections were set up at Drăguş and Cristian/Neustadt/Keresztény-

³⁴⁾ Sibiu/Hermannstadt with the German towns of Landshut and Marburg/Lahn, and with the Austrian towns of Klagenfurt am Wörthersee; Sighişoara/Schäßburg with the German Dinkelsbühl in Bavaria; Braşov/Brassó/Kronstadt with the Austrian Linz; Cislădie/Heltau with the German Wernigerode and Vilshofen an der Donau; Bistriţa/Bistritz with Herzogenrath, and Sebeş/Mühlbach with Büdingen (both in Germany)

³⁵⁾ Source: Laura Baciu, *Tribuna*, 25.10.2011 – www.tribuna.ro/stiri/actualitate/clubul-oramenilor-de-afaceri-germani-s-a-mutat-in-centrul-de-afaceri-71044.html (accessed in Aug., 2016)

falva (Braşov County), and in Blaj/Blasendorf/Balázsfalva (Alba County). Similar schools have also the counties of Timiș (5), Arad (5), Satu Mare (3), Maramureș and Caraș-Severin (2 in each), Bihor and Sălaj (one in each),³⁶⁾ as well as Bucharest.³⁷⁾

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³⁶⁾ Source: DEMOCRATIC FORUM OF GERMANS IN ROMANIA, Accessed in Aug., 2016

³⁷⁾ Source: Idem

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