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CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF “ȘTEFAN CEL MARE” NATIONAL COLLEGE FROM SUCEAVA (1860-1990)

Cenzura cărților în cadrul bibliotecii Colegiului Național „Ștefan cel Mare” din Suceava (1860-1990)

Abstract: *This paper aims at presenting the acts of book and document censorship within the library of «Griechisch-orientalische kaiserlich-königliche Obergymnasium in Suczawa», the first high school from southern Bukowina, founded by imperial decree on the 30th of June 1860, in which German was the tuition language, today known as Colegiul Național “Ștefan cel Mare” from Suceava. This study is based on original archive documents, previous studies on the topic and documents from the school library. Relying on historical research approaches, the phenomenon of book censorship is analysed during all political regimes that succeeded in the nearly 160 years of existence of the school library. The paper points to the restrictions imposed during the Austrian rule (1860-1918), the cleansing and even total destruction of the most valuable books belonging to the Romanian heritage during the totalitarian regimes after the Great Union of 1918, the reorganisation of the special collections, the restriction of the public accessibility to certain titles. This paper, alongside previous ones on the same topic, is meant to contribute to the understanding of the complex phenomenon of censorship in Romanian libraries.*

Keywords: *Bukowina, secondary education, Romanian books, cultural policy, Habsburg, interwar, Communist.*

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Introduction

The censorship of the written word emerged at the same time as Gutenberg's invention and has manifested itself in different forms throughout the centuries, varying according to the political regime in power. After the Second World War, and especially after the abolition of the monarchy on the 30th of December 1947, censorship in Romania reached a peak with its full impact still being unknown.

The library of the first high school in southern Bukowina – “Griechisch-orientalische kaiserlich-königliche Obergymnasium in

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Suczawa”, today Colegiul Național “Ștefan cel Mare” [“Ștefan cel Mare” National College], founded by imperial decree on the 30th of June 1860 – faced the phenomenon of censorship during its almost 160 years of existence.

As far as we are concerned, although all libraries in Romania were checked and verified after 1944 evidence regarding the cleansing of these cultural establishments is still relatively slim 30 years after the fall of the communist regime. The bulk of published works refers to organisational data or “censorship of literary works, and more rarely to that of the press or other forms of public events”.¹

The issue of eliminating books from loan sections was tackled by Liliana Corboca in a paper entitled *Controlling Books. Censorship of Literature in Romania during the Communist Regime* (2014, București: Cartea Românească), and in the monography *Cleansing of Books in Romania* (2010, București: Tritonic); the same author published unusual evidence, representative for the process of book publishing cleansing between 1944-1964. In 2000, Paul Caravia published *Forbidden thinking. Censored written works. Romania 1945-1989* (București: Editura Enciclopedică). Studies related to the process of cleansing libraries were presented by Ionuț Costea, István Kiraly and Doru Radosav in *Secret Fund. Fond “S” special – Contributions to the History of Library Secret Funds in Romania. Case study. Central University Library “Lucian Blaga” Cluj-Napoca* (1995, Cluj-Napoca: Dacia) and by Carmen Bădură in the paper *Censorship in the Libraries from Iasi during the Communist Regime. Case Study – Books in the Secret Fund of the County Library “Gheorghe Asachi” Iasi and the Central University Library “Mihai Eminescu” from Iasi* (2015, Iași: Historia Universitatis Iassensis VI, 243-275). In 2013 Roxana Băluță received her Ph.D. with a paper entitled *Censorship in the Central University Libraries in Romania during the Communist Regime* at the University “Babeș-Bolyai” from Cluj-Napoca.

Restrictions imposed on the Library during the Habsburg rule (1860-1918)

The policy of book purchase for the libraries from the secondary schools in the Austrian Empire was very strictly controlled by the government from Vienna. Decree nr. 315 from the 12th of July 1875, followed by decision no. 13456 from the 3rd of January 1882 forbade books which could have degraded respect for religion, attachment towards the dynasty, patriotic feelings and respect for state institutions. The purchase of books was made with approval from the teaching staff, according to the needs put forward by each of the school teachers, according to article 55

¹ M. Petcu (coord.), *O cronologie a cenzurii în România [A chronology of censorship in Romania]*, Tritonic, București, 206, p. 7.

from the organisational plan of education in the Austrian Empire, enforced on the 15th of September 1849 and implemented between 1851-1857.² “Trustworthy” students were exceptionally allowed to access books from the teachers’ library, only with the permission of the headteacher³, and the students’ readings were established during conferences of the teaching staff and had to be periodically assessed by the teachers, “in written form as well”.⁴ Book purchases and donations were supposed to be published in the school’s yearly book. Beginning with 1875, all the secondary schools from the Austrian educational system were obliged to publish the source of the purchase as well, according to ministerial decision nr. 8710 from the 9th of June.⁵

The library of the first high school from southern Bukowina – The Greek-Oriental Upper Secondary Gymnasium from Suceava – was organised and run between 1860-1866 by the first school principal, dr. Josef Marek, teacher of classical studies. It was Dr. Marek who made the first book purchase in 1860, by “telegraph order” from Vienna, as in Suceava there “was no library” and in Cernăuți all the “necessary teaching materials” were out of stock on the 16th of September.⁶

At the conference of the teaching staff which took place between the 18th and 30th of October 1860, the list of necessary teaching books for the first year of academic activity of the new establishment was submitted for approval. Drawn up by headteacher Marek together with the school teachers, the list of 48 book titles necessary for the study of the subjects in the curriculum was to be approved by the Court in Vienna.⁷

For the study of the Romanian language, the first Romanian teacher, catechist Constantin Andrievici, asked for 71 titles of Romanian books: 16 of them were from the “religious, church domain”, 9 titles

² E. Popovici, *Din istoricul Liceului Ștefan cel Mare din Suceava. 1860-1935* [From the History of Ștefan cel Mare High school from Suceava, 1860-1935], Societatea Școala Română, Suceava, 1935, p. 25.

³ Consiliul școlar al țării Bucovina (1806, 1896), *Legi disciplinare pentru Școalele Medii ale Bucovinei* [Disciplinary Rules for Middle Schools in Bukowina], Cernăuți, Tipografia universității R. Eckhardt, 1918, 8 [original] from Suceava County Service of National Archives, *Liceul ”Ștefan cel Mare” Suceava* Collection [further on: SJAN, LSCM], dos. 1/1922, f. 312.

⁴ Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht in Wien, ”Erllass des Ministers für Cultus und Unterricht vom 3. Jänner 1883, Z. 13456 ex 1882” [Decree of the Minister of Cults and Teaching Service] in *Verordnungsblatt für den Dienstbereich des Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht. Jahrgang 1883* [Orders of the Ministry of Cults and Teaching Service. Year 1883], Verlag des k. k. Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht, Wien, 1883, p. 6.

⁵ F. Grassauer, *Handbuch für österreichische Universitäts- und Studien-Bibliotheken sowie für Volks-, Mittelschul- und Bezirks-Lehrerbibliotheken* [Handbook for Austrian Universities and Study Libraries As Well As for Public Libraries, Secondary School Libraries and District Teacher Libraries], Verlag von Carl Graeser, Wien, 1883, p. 18.

⁶ E. Popovici, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁷ F. Grassauer, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

belonged to the domain of “morality, especially for young learners”, 9 were “secular history” titles, 4 “geographical” ones, 15 titles were volumes of poetry, 3 philosophical ones, 4 of “physics and natural history” and 7 “linguistics and grammar books”.⁸ Of those submitted only 4 titles were accepted: *Lexicon* by Baritiu, *Lexicon* by I. Eliade, *German-Romanian Grammar* by V. Ianoviciu, *Grammar* by Munteanu. As the Gerold's Sohn bookshop from Vienna had none of the requested Romanian titles and Winiarz bookshop from Cernăuți only had one, headteacher Marek asked teacher Andrievici for another list of book titles for the study of Romanian, and this time it was drafted in German.⁹ The new, ampler catalogue, drawn up by Constantin Andrievici in Romanian, and put forward during the conference of the teaching staff that took place between January 28th and February 9th 1861, comprised 124 titles of Romanian books, listed under two headings: 54 books aimed at “promoting the study of Romanian during the four years of lower gymnasium” and 70 “meant to widen the knowledge of Romanian language and literature at the upper gymnasium classes”.¹⁰ Besides fables, ballads and poetry by Alecsandri, Văcărescu, Asachi, Bolintineanu or Anton Pann, on Constantin Andrievici's list one can find Lexicons and grammar books by Ianovici, Munteanu and Bellissimus alongside the request for purchasing Kogălniceanu's *Yearly Books, The History of Țara Românească and Moldova*, illustrated with portraits of Moldavian and Romanian rulers in two volumes.¹¹

Because of the existing situation, the library with Romanian books for the students of the gymnasium from Suceava was housed in Constantin Andrievici's own home.¹² His initiative benefitted from the support he got from authors and printing houses from the Romanian Principates in the form of “books and publishings for the Romanian schools and libraries from Bukowina”, in the wake of the appeal launched by the Romanian government in 1861.¹³ The book collection in Romanian was clandestine at first, being very popular among “the studious youth” on Sundays and on religious holidays. Having been promoted to the position of professor of morale and dogma at the Greek-Oriental Theological Institute from

⁸ C. Morariu, *Biografi'a lui Constantin Morariu Andrieviciu, fostu profesoru ord[inariu] de teologi'a morala la institutululu teologicu din Cernautiu scrisa de Unu adêncu stimatoriu a dênsului [Constantin Morariu Andrievici's biography, former teacher of theological dogma at the Theological Institute from Cernautiu compiled by one of his admirers]*, Tipografi'a "Aurora" P. A. Todoranu, Gherl'a, 1889, pp. 16-20.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 27-35.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 25.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 37.

¹³ I. Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei [The History of Bukowina]*, Humanitas, București, 1991, p. 149.

Cernăuți in 1869¹⁴, Constantin Andrievicei left “113 titles, mainly in Romanian, in 199 volumes” for keepsaking to the religion teacher Ion Beldean. He had collected the books while a “catechist of the gymnasium for Romanian students”. In 1872, on leaving the school, teacher Beldean donated the books to the school library.¹⁵

The lack of Romanian teaching books led to another major issue that the teachers had to deal with until the 1918 Union. A high school that had been set up with tuition in Romanian, according to the imperial decision from the 20th of July 1859, for the majoritary Romanian population from Bukowina and financially backed by the Church Fund,¹⁶ the Greek-Oriental Upper Gymnasium from Suceava was for 21 years a classical high school with tuition in German. Only religion and Romanian language, which “was compulsory to all students”, were taught in Romanian.¹⁷

Statistic tables of the students published in the school’s yearly books show a decline in the number of Romanian students enrolled in the high school from Suceava up to 1881. In 1881, the first class taught in Romanian was set up by ministerial decree issued on the 7th of June 1881 and imperial decision dated February the 4th 1882.¹⁸ The postponement of organising Romanian classes at the high school from Suceava for two decades was explained as resulting from the “lack of well written textbooks”¹⁹ as well as lack of Romanian speaking teachers. To ensure the maintenance of the classes in Romanian, teachers Ștefan Ștefureac, Samuil Isopescu and Animpodist Dașchievici wrote textbooks in Romanian after the Austrian curriculum. “Due to unfavourable censorship, which was officially expressed”, the teaching board approved the following textbooks only for the year 1896/97: Tacitus – *Latin Grammar*, Neagoe – *The Grammar of Romanian*, Bou – *Course of Grammar Exercises for Latin*, asking the headteacher “in no uncertain terms” to put forward concrete proposals for the teaching of those subjects.²⁰

¹⁴ E. Popovici, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁵ J. Limberger, “Schulnachrichten” in *Programm des griech.-orient. Ober-Gymnasiums in Suczawa für das Schuljahr 1872. Herausgegeben von dem Director des Gymnasiums Joh. Limberger [Programme of the Greek-orient. Upper Gymnasium in Suczawa for the School Year 1872. Edited by the Gymnasium Principal Joh. Limberger]*, Buchdruckerei des Rudolf Eckhardt, Czernowitz, 1872, p. 71.

¹⁶ E. Popovici, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22, 24-48.

¹⁷ V. Burduhos, “Raportul directorului” in *Anuarul Liceului ”Ștefan cel Mare” Suceava publicat la finele anului școlar 1936/37 de Vasile Burduhos, directorul liceului [Yearly Book of ”Ștefan cel Mare” High school from Suceava, published at the end of the 1936/37 school year by Vasile Burduhos, school principal]*, Tipografia Hermann Beiner, Suceava, 1938, p. 25.

¹⁸ E. Popovici, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 94.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 95-96.

Set up only for the lower high school classes, the forms in which tuition was in Romanian were doomed to disappear. In order to carry on these classes to the upper courses, Romanian teachers had to write or to translate textbooks into Romanian. The validation commission established by the education ministry within the Educational Council of Bukowina was entitled, beginning with 1903, to grant approvals for school textbooks meant for the classes that had tuition in Romanian. The manuscripts of the teaching materials, however, were supposed to obtain the final approval only from The Ministry of Education and Cults from Vienna. In this respect, here is what teacher Eusebie Popovici wrote down:

“Many manuscripts remained unprinted, as they were not ready prior to the ministerial approval [...] This happened to Reading Books for the lower course classes, published between 1910-1913 by Eusebie Popovici, who had been urged to prepare them by the validation commission, which granted him approval as well. In 1914, the ministry from Vienna refused to give these books final approval and only disclosed the reason to the teaching staff, on grounds that these books only promote readings from the history of the Romanians, totally overlooking the history of the governing Austrian fatherland. Another fault found with these books was that they comprised too much from N. Iorga’s writings, a “staunch and outspoken adversary of Austria”. These books may well have been removed from tuition, unless the events and turmoil of war had not weakened the government’s surveillance.”²¹

Romanian textbooks written by Eusebie Popovici for forms VII-VIII also remained in manuscript form, although they had received favourable approval (1913) from the validation commission. The ministry of education from Vienna returned them to the author (1915) to be completed with patriotic readings [Austrian ones] “which by no means could be omitted” and which were unknown to Romanian speakers.²²

Organising classes with tuition in Romanian at the upper classes of high school meant the victory of the Romanian school principals and teachers and mainly the victory of the students from grade VIII in 1906, whose form each was Ion I. Nistor, a historian, teacher at the gymnasium between 1904-1907. The class was assessed in German by the school inspector who had come for this purpose from Cernăuți. Among the graduates of this class it is noteworthy mentioning Ioan Bilețchi, who was to become the principal of “Dragoș Vodă” high school from Câmpulung Moldovenesc in the interwar period, Ion Grămadă – the hero from Cireșoaia, Dimitrie Marmeliuc – a voluntary in the Romanian army,

²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 97-98.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 99.

wounded in the battles of Mărășești, Alexandru (Leca) Morariu – a university professor and publisher.²³

Censorship of the library in the interwar era

The war had definitely borne a brunt on the book collection for the students at the gymnasium from Suceava. The removal of the books which "favoured in content the Austrians", done during the Russian occupation of 1916-1918, reduced the number of books to 584 titles – 67 Romanian and 517 German. When the Russians left there was almost "no library" for students and it was "in no order whatsoever".²⁴ Reorganised from scratch after the war for the opening of the 1918-1919 school year,²⁵ the School Council of the Country within The Administration of Bukowina requested through order nr. 4203/1919 from the 21st of January 1920 a new revision of the library, as it had been founded "according to the demands of the Austrian rule". All the books that did not correspond "from a patriotic, moral and religious perspective" and all the history and geography books "written in order to promote the idea of an Austrian state and with a view to raising our youth for this state" had to be eliminated. The report and the subsequent inventory signed by the school principal and the members of the validation commission, alongside explanations for each title, were to be submitted to the Council by the 1st of July 1920. The same procedure was applied for the purchase of new titles, and the books which were not "fully consistent with the above mentioned requirements" were not to be on purchase before the end of the checking.²⁶

The issue of school textbooks that existed at the beginning of the 1918-1919 school year had not been solved by the next academic interval.²⁷ For the united Romanian countries, textbooks for all the school subjects had been multiplied, comprising "essential changes resulting from the union". Textbooks which "did not infringe on the reality of the political

²³ S. Repta, "Schulnachrichten" in *Jahres-Bericht des gr.-or. Ober-Gymnasiums in Suczawa, veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1905-1906* [Annual report of the Gr. Or. Upper Gymnasium in Suczawa, published at the end of the 1905-1906 school year], Buchdruckerei Hermann Beiner, Suczawa, 1906, pp. 1-2, 33.

²⁴ V. Burduhos, "Raport asupra anului școlar 1921-1922" in *Anuarul Liceului ort. or. "Ștefan cel Mare" în Suceava publicat la finele anului școlar 1921-1922 de Vasile Burduhos, director* [The Yearly Book ort. or. "Ștefan cel Mare" High school in Suceava published at the end of the 1921/22 school year by principal Vasile Burduhos], Tipografia "Școala Română", Suceava, p. 32.

²⁵ Idem, *Proces-verbal nr. 6/18.12.1922* [Minutes] [manuscript] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 3/1922, ff. 12-13.

²⁶ Consiliul Școlar al Țării, *Adresa nr. 4203/1919 din 21.01.1920, către direcțiunile tuturor școlaelor secundare* [Address to all the school boards from secondary schools] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1920, f. 53.

²⁷ V. Burduhos, *Proces verbal nr. 4/3.02.1919* [Minutes] [manuscript] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 3/1919, f. 4.

union” ran out of stock, as did those reprints which comprised ”special references to the national war”; the ones which did not comply were removed, and the ones that were to be printed were to be drafted ”according to the unitary analytical curriculum”.²⁸

Teaching history and geography encountered difficulties because of the lack of maps, ”mainly for the Romanian territories”.²⁹ On November 28th 1920 The School Council of the Country from the Administration of Bukowina sent order nr. 13077/1920 which banned the history and geography textbooks that had been printed before the war. These textbooks had to be ”adapted to the new realities”.³⁰ History and geography were taught according to a modified curriculum, in compliance with the secret state order for education, nr. 32 from the 17th of December 1918.³¹ The teachers of those subjects had to acquaint themselves as quickly as possible with the textbooks being sent from the Old Kingdom, written by Clinciu-Dimitrescu, Aguletti, Iorga, Mehedinți-Durcă, Zaharescu and others. The geology of Austro-Hungaria was replaced with the geology of the Romanian countries.³²

A further revision of the books in stock was made in December 1922. Books with ”inappropriate content” were withdrawn and handed to the teacher by the librarian, to be read during the holiday. Approval for the books which had been eliminated was to be noted by each teacher in the inventory of the students’ library, under signature.³³ By June 30th 1923 not all the books that had been taken away from the students’ library ”to be censored” had been returned.³⁴ A volume of short stories entitled *A Woman’s Soul* written by A. Braniște had been withdrawn from the students library, being deemed ”inappropriate on the reading list for

²⁸ Secretariatul de Serviciu pentru Instrucțiunea Publică, *Adresa nr. 551/3.05.1919, tuturor Direcțiilor școalelor secundare și asimilate din țară* [Address to all the secondary school boards in the country] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1919, ff. 15-22.

²⁹ V. Burduhos, *Proces verbal nr. 4/3.02.1919* [Minutes] [manuscript] SJAN, LSCM, dos. 3/1919, f. 4.

³⁰ Consiliul Școlar al Țării, *Adresa nr. 13077/28.11.1920, către Direcțiunile tuturor școalelor secundare și asimilate publice și particulare* [Address to all the secondary school boards from public and private secondary schools] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1920, f. 550.

³¹ V. Burduhos, *Proces verbal nr. 4/3.02.1919* [Minutes] [manuscript] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 3/1919, f. 4.

³² Consiliul Școlar al Țării, *Adresa nr. 2787/28.05.1919 către Direcțiunile tuturor școalelor secundare publice și particulare* [Address to all the school boards from public and private secondary schools] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1919, f. 274.

³³ V. Burduhos, *Proces-verbal nr. 6/18.12.1922* [Minutes] [manuscript] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 3/1922, ff. 12-13.

³⁴ Idem, *Proces-verbal nr. 23/30.06.1923* [Minutes] [manuscript] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 3/1922, f. 48.

students", according to the order issued by the Regional Inspectorate XIV from Cernăuți nr. 25327 dated the December 8th 1927.³⁵

The change in political regime which occurred on September 5th 1940 afflicted libraries, too. Forbidding access to books by writers with Jewish background marked the debut of the cleansing of public libraries under the Antonescu regime. On October 12th 1940 the ministry put a ban on the purchase of books published by Jewish publishing houses, such as Socec or Alcalay. The purchases were to be made only through the School Committee from Romanian book shops or bookshoppers.³⁶ In compliance with another order from the ministry, issued on October 18th 1940, Christian students could buy school textbooks and stationery only from Christian bookshops, Romanian publishing houses could not sell textbooks to Jewish bookshops and Christian authors of school textbooks could not sign contracts with Jewish publishing houses.³⁷

During this period of time book purchases were mostly made from The Publishing House of Graphical Arts and „Cartea Românească” Bookshop in București,³⁸ from „Bucovina” Publishing House in București, run by scholar Ilie E. Torouțiu, and from „Casa Școalelor” Publishing House. The book entitled *The History of Modern Philosophy. Homage to I. Petrovici*, published by The Romanian Society of Philosophy, purchased on February 22nd 1941,³⁹ was removed in 1961.

As libraries were supposed to "contain only books that are useful for study and literature books", The Directorate for Teaching and Cults from Cernăuți required that all libraries be carefully checked and that all books with political content be eliminated, as stated in order nr. 129191/B/1942 issued by The Ministry for National Culture, made public on the 24th of July 1942.⁴⁰ Riddance of geography books for 3 grade by N. Pandelescu, because of their inappropriate content in the given period of time (the map of Romania included Northern Transylvania, territory lost to Hungary by the Vienna

³⁵ Inspectoratul XIV Regional Cernăuți, *Adresa nr. 25327/8.12.1927, tuturor direcțiilor școalelor secundare* [Address to all the boards of secondary schools] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1927, f. 1017.

³⁶ Direcția Învățământului Secundar, *Adresa nr. 190.948/B/octombrie 1940* [Address] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1940, f. 667.

³⁷ Idem, *Adresa nr. 196.080/B din octombrie 1940* [Address] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1940, f. 686.

³⁸ Editura Cartea Românească București, *Adresa nr. 72504/3.04.1941, către Direcțiunea Liceului "Ștefan cel Mare" Suceava* [Address to the board of "Ștefan cel Mare" High School Suceava] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 3/1941, f. 227.

³⁹ Idem, *Adresa nr. 306/22.02.1941, către Direcțiunea Liceului de Băieți "Ștefan cel Mare" Suceava* [Address to the board of "Ștefan cel Mare" Boys' High School Suceava] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 3/1941, f. 118.

⁴⁰ M. Ieșan, *Adresa Directoratului Învățământului și Cultelor Cernăuți nr. 26407/24.07.1942* [Address of the Department of Education and Cults Cernăuți] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 28/1942, f. 24.

Dictate of 30th of August 1940 and the Quadrilateral ceded to Bulgaria by the Treaty of Craiova from 7th of September 1940⁴¹⁾ and compulsory subscription to Monitorul Oficial were both ordered by the ministry on the 9th of November 1942.⁴²

Inventory and a quick, initial sorting of the books in the main library and the class libraries were to be made between November 24th and December 1st 1942, in compliance with order nr. 42928/1942 issued by the Directorate for Teaching and Cults in Cernăuți. All the works published by Jewish authors as well as the "frivolous ones, those unuseful or damaging" by other authors had to be removed. The same was applied to translations from foreign languages. Valuable reference books by any author could be kept, such as *The Crestomathy* by Gasteer, *The Dictionary of the Romanian Language* by Candrea and Adamescu. The books that were ultimately removed had a separate inventory and were kept at the disposal of the ministry, as the libraries were to be checked by representatives of the Office. They were checked on class criteria, the books being carefully selected at the form teacher's and class teachers' recommendation. Book donations which had not yet been revised by the form teacher were not allowed. The office drew up a list of compulsory books for each class library and the high school was supposed to send, for a permanent exhibition, the latest issue of the school's magazine in order to "support those good and useful ones".⁴³ Lists nr. 1a and 1b received from the mayor of Suceava on the 11th of December 1942 contained "names of some Jewish authors" whose works "were totally forbidden", libraries being expected to remove them from their inventory.⁴⁴

Here is the situation of the libraries of the "Ștefan cel Mare" Boys' High School in Suceava on the 31st of March 1943, according to report nr. 3534/1943 put forward by principal Ienceanu: the teachers' library had 10,324 volumes and there were no volumes removed; class libraries had 3,426 volumes out of which 3 volumes were removed, 3,423 volumes remaining on the date of the report.⁴⁵ Thusly, at the end of the school year

⁴¹ *Geografia României pentru clasa a III-a primară [The Geography of Romania for the Third Grade]*, Ministerul Culturii Naționale și al Cultelor, Editura Casei Școalelor și a Culturii Poporului, București, 1941, passim.

⁴² I. Vișan, *Adresa Directoratului Învățământului și Cultelor Cernăuți nr. 41023/5.11.1942 [Address from the Department of Education and Cults Cernăuți]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 24/1942, f. 63.

⁴³ Idem, *Adresa Directoratul Învățământului și Cultelor Cernăuți nr. 42928/19.11.1942 [Address from the Department of Education and Cults Cernăuți]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 24/1942, f. 133.

⁴⁴ Primăria Orașului Suceava, *Adresa nr. 9219/11.12.1942, către Liceul "Ștefan cel Mare" Suceava [Address to "Ștefan cel Mare" High School Suceava]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 24/1942, f. 205.

⁴⁵ V. Ienceanu, *Situația bibliotecilor liceului de băieți până la data de 31 martie 1943 [Situation of the libraries from the boys' high school up to the 31st of March 1943]* [record]

an increase of over 1,000 volumes was recorded for both teachers' and students libraries.⁴⁶

Financially, the 1943-1944 school year could not be reported as the school had been evacuated at the end of March 1944. On leaving the school premises the teaching staff had left behind a "thoroughly" renovated building with funds from The Government of Bukowina, a rich and recently renewed mobile inventory with a "powerful radio transmitter with speakers, amplifiers and microphone", a valuable library from which only 100 volumes had been removed and three carriages of wood, fuel for the winter.⁴⁷ Returning alone from Slatina, Olt county, on the 6th of January 1945, principal Vasile Ienceanu found the building intact, with little loss as to teaching materials and furniture; the library losses were to be assessed later on.⁴⁸

Library cleansing between 1945-1947

The acceptance of the truce offered by The Soviet Union, Great Britain and The USA on the 23rd of August and the signing of the Truce Convention of the United Nations on the 12th of September 1944 meant that Romania entered under Soviet domination. The cleansings initiated by the new regime dealt a tremendous blow to libraries as well.

On the 17th of January 1945 all the maps in which "Basarabia and Northern Bukowina are shown within Romanian territory" were handed to the Suceava Police Headquarters following order nr. 1920/1944 issued by the Central Military Censorship in București.⁴⁹ Student libraries were reorganised according to class, form teachers having to revise the German books and remove those which "in content do not comply with the country's political orientation".⁵⁰ On the 10th of February 1945 principal Vasile Ienceanu transmitted to the administrative head inspector from Suceava

from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 2/1943, f. 171; Idem (1943b), *Adresa nr. 3534/31.03.1943 către Directoratul Învățământului Cernăuți* [Address to the Department of Education Cernăuți] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 2/1943, f. 183.

⁴⁶ Idem, *Proces-verbal nr. 1/5.07.1943* [Minutes] [record] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 32/1943, f. 3.

⁴⁷ M. Cărăușu, *Proces-verbal nr. 13/2.12.1945* [Minutes] [record] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 6/1945, f. 8.

⁴⁸ Idem, *Dare de seamă asupra activității desfășurate la Liceul "Ștefan cel Mare" Suceava în cursul anului școlar 1944-1945* [Report on the activities held at "Ștefan cel Mare" highschool in Suceava in the 1944-1945 school year] [record] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 6/1945, ff. 2-3; V. Ienceanu, *Raportul General nr. 1699 din mai 1946 asupra mersului Școlii în anul școlar 1944-1945* [Overall Report on the School's activity in the 1944-1945 school year] [record] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 6/1945, f. 32.

⁴⁹ N. Ieremie, *Adresa Poliției de Reședință Suceava nr. 725/17.01.1945 către Liceul de băieți "Ștefan cel Mare" Suceava* [Address of the Suceava Police Headquarters to the Boys' High school] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 16/1944, f. 65.

⁵⁰ V. Ienceanu, *Proces-verbal nr. 2/10.02.1945* [Minutes] [record] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1944, f. 6.

that he had checked the teachers' and the students' libraries and had eliminated "the books which in their content are harmful to our relationship with the United Nations [...] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, München: Franz Eher Publishing House; Hanns Gosch, *Wahn Europa*, 1934, Hamburg-Berlin-Leipzig: Fackelreiter Publishing House".⁵¹

On the 17th of February the Office for truce within the Prefecture of Suceava County drew attention to the fact that "all clerks who had been in Basarabia and had received books in any form from the deposits and libraries from Basarabia before July 1941 were expected to bring these books to the Prefecture before the 20th of February 1945".⁵²

On the 29th of March 1945 "high school principal Vasile Ienceanu was arrested and detained for three months, the grounds for which this had been done being disclosed neither to him nor to the school".⁵³ He was replaced by Aurel Buleandra who, at the meeting held on the 13th of April 1945, announced the teaching staff that "all the materials with fascist content had been long before removed, a fact that is going to be confirmed by the commission named by the Prefecture for the checking and verification of libraries".⁵⁴

The cleansing of the high school libraries continued throughout the year. The Office for the Application of the Truce within Suceava Prefecture sent out on the 24th of August 1945 the leaflet containing the publications withdrawn before the 1st of August 1945, "so that the necessary measures be taken for strict compliance".⁵⁵ On the 28th of August 1945 Suceava Townhall asked that "all the books, magazines, maps or various graphical or plastic reproductions which are at odds with the good relationships between Romania and The United Nations be removed", in compliance with the decisions from art. 3, 4 and 5 from Law Nr. 364/945 published in the Law

⁵¹ Idem, *Adresa nr. 907/10.02.1945, către Domnul Inspector General Administrativ Suceava [Address to the Head Administrative Inspector]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 16/1944, f. 121.

⁵² Prefectura Județului Suceava, *Adresa Biroului Armistițiului nr. 2229/17.02.1945, tuturor serviciilor publice [Address from the Truce Biureau to all the public services]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1945, f. 19.

⁵³ M. Cărăușu, *Dare de seamă asupra activității desfășurate la Liceul "Ștefan cel Mare" Suceava în cursul anului școlar 1944-1945 [Report on the activities held at "Ștefan cel Mare" Highschool in the 1944-1945 school year]* [record] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 6/1945, ff. 2-3.

⁵⁴ A. Buleandră, *Proces-verbal nr. 5/13.04.1945 [Minutes]* [record] from SJAN, LSCM], dos. 1/1944, ff. 10-12.

⁵⁵ Prefectura Județului Suceava, *Adresa Biroului pentru aplicarea Armistițiului nr. 373/24.08.1945 către Liceul "Ștefan cel Mare" Suceava [Address from the Truce Enforcement Biureau to "Ștefan cel Mare" High School]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1945, f. 19.

Journal Nr. 102 dated the 4th of May 1945.⁵⁶ Article nr. 4 of the law stipulated that the loan library, public libraries as well as the public institutions which deposited or possessed in any form or under any title publishings that were mentioned in article nr. 2 would have to immediately withdraw them and deposit them in special rooms. Article nr. 5 mentioned that "as the lists will be published by the commission in the Law Journal [...] the public institutions where such publishings can be found will hand in the aforementioned publishings to the Prefecture of the county within 30 days from the publishing of the list". According to article nr. 8, sanctions for the librarians who broke article nr. 7 consisted of 1-3 years correction imprisonment or a fine ranging from 50,000 to 100,000 lei.⁵⁷

The teachers' library was checked according to lists nr. 9-13 comprising forbidden titles, by order nr. 112000/August 23rd 1945 of The Ministry for Home Office, The Office for Documentation and Administrative Studies. On the 29th of October 1945 librarian Reveca Slevoca gave notice to the school board and to Suceava Police that some books were going to be removed from "Ștefan cel Mare" High School teachers' library: Teofil Sidorovici, *Brazda nouă [A New Furrow]* [București: Tiparul Oltenia, 1939]; Ilie Popescu-Teiușan, *Spre o nouă educație a tineretului. Pedagogia comunităților de muncă [For a New Education of the Youth. Pedagogy of work communities]* [second issue, Craiova: Scrisul Românesc Publishing House, 1943]; captain pilot Oprea Gh. Petre, *Pagini din istoricul aviației [Pages from the History of Aviation]* [Craiova: Ramuri Publishing House].⁵⁸

The elimination process of "the books with a harmful effect on the good relationships between Romania and the United Nations" was closely monitored by the Regional School Inspectorate from Suceava. In request nr. 16124 sent to the school board on the 15th of November 1945 the Inspectorate demanded the school library statistics, mentioning five previous requests "in which there was reference to the 6 book lists". The school was also to ask the Prefecture for subsequently published lists, "in

⁵⁶ G. Doroftei, *Adresa Primăriei orașului Suceava nr. 5242/23.08.1945 către Liceul „Ștefan cel Mare”* [Address from the Town Hall of Suceava to "Ștefan cel Mare" High School] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 39/1945, f. 16.

⁵⁷ Ministerul Propagandei, "Decret-Lege nr. 364 din 2 mai 1945 pentru retragerea unor anumite publicațiuni periodice și neperiodice, reproduceri grafice și plastice, filme, discuri, medalii și insigne metalice" [Decree for the withdrawal of certain periodical and non-periodical publishings, graphical and artistic reproductions, films, records, medals and metal badges], *Monitorul Oficial al României: Partea I-a 4 May, CXIII (102)*, pp. 3701-3702.

⁵⁸ R. Slevoca, *Înștiințare de retragere din circulație a cărților identificate conform listei nr. 9-13* [Notification for the withdrawal from use of books identified according to list nr. 9-13] [manuscript] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 39/1945, f. 391.

addition to the 6 lists of books”.⁵⁹ In his address nr. 677 from the 28th of November, Principal Mihai Cărăușu informed the superior authorities that “the high school has a teachers’ library and a students’ library, organised on classes [...] the teachers’ library having been endowed with 50 books from the School House stock in the 1943-1944 school year”; the teachers’ library had “an inventory catalogue on position and a catalogue with files (for the most commonly accessed sections)” and the forbidden publishings had been removed in compliance with the regulations.⁶⁰

As to the school library, “head teachers had responsibility that the book cleansing be done thoroughly, according to existing regulations”, as specified in the order issued by The Ministry for National Education nr. 227018 dated the 14th of September 1945.⁶¹ The regulations sent by the ministry alongside this order forbade the introduction of foreign books or magazines of any kind, as well as the exchange, selling or purchase of books without the parents’ consent.⁶²

The high school’s libraries were checked once again in September 1946, in compliance with order nr. 315143/1946 issued by the Ministry of National Education which was transmitted within order nr. 16959/1946 from Suceava’s Regional School Inspectorate. For this, the councilor of the Suceava region from the Ministry of Information sent to high school, alongside address nr. 198, two copies of the publications that had been removed.⁶³ Minutes drafted on October 16th 1946 mentioned that 76 old textbooks had been taken from the students and burned: 18 Romanian textbooks, 30 history textbooks and 28 geography textbooks.⁶⁴ 96 periodical and non-periodical publishings were withdrawn, according to

⁵⁹ N. Ițcuș, *Adresa Inspectoratului școlar regional Suceava nr. 16124/15.11.1945, tuturor școlărilor secundare din regiune* [Address of the Regional School Inspectorate Suceava to all the secondary schools in the region] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 39/1945, f. 598.

⁶⁰ M. Cărăușu, *Adresa nr. 677/28.09.1945 către Inspectoratul Școlar al Regiunii Suceava* [Address to the Regional School Inspectorate Suceava] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 39/1945, f. 599.

⁶¹ S. Voitec, *Ordinul Ministerului Educației Naționale nr. 227018/1945 cuprinzând dispozițiunile pentru anul școlar 1945/1946* [Order Issued by the Ministry of National Education comprising the regulations for the 1945/1946 school year] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 39/1945, ff. 59, 61.

⁶² M. Cărăușu, *Proces-verbal nr. 26/30.10.1945* [Minutes] [record] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 8/1945, f. 74.

⁶³ I. Grămadă, *Adresa Ministerului Informațiilor nr. 198/25.09.1946, către Direcțiunea Liceului ”Ștefan cel Mare” Suceava* [Address from the Ministry of Information to the board of ”Ștefan cel Mare” High School] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1946, ff. 246-247.

⁶⁴ A. Grigorovici, *Tabel nominal de elevii Liceului ”Ștefan cel Mare” ce au predate manualele vechi* [Table containing the names of the students from ”Ștefan cel Mare” High School who handed in the old textbooks] [manuscript] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1946, ff. 139-143.

table nr. 1 (Annex) drafted by the high school commission president, principal Mihai Cărăușu, and other commission members, namely dr. Alexandru Bocănețu, Teodor Alaci and dr. Alois Grigorovici.⁶⁵

On the 10th of October 1946 principal Mihai Cărăușu informed the teaching staff that "political, geographical or historical maps which were outdated" were going to be removed from the inventory of the teaching materials and that the cleansed books were to "be burned based on a minutes document". The remaining books were to be "extensively used" by students.⁶⁶ On the 16th of November 1946 the School Inspectorate issued order nr. 19790 urging "immediate destruction of all books cleansed from the public school libraries", complying with telegraphed order nr. 353125 from minister Voitec;⁶⁷ cleansing was confirmed on the 19th of November by the school librarian.⁶⁸ On the 29th of November 1946 the school Inspectorate sent out, "for information and strict compliance", ministry order nr. 366.533/November 23rd 1946 regarding "the destruction of the teaching textbooks approved for the previous school year" [1945-1946] unless they had received approval for the 1946-1947 school year.⁶⁹

By order nr. 12120/January 21st 1947 the Department for secondary education within The Ministry of National Education demanded that "principals check the school libraries again, and that form teachers urge students to remove from their own bookcases the forbidden books and maps in compliance with the regulations of the Allied Control Commission".⁷⁰

Library cleansing after 1948

The debut of the 1947-1948 school year was made under a new regime. Supplying new textbooks, "singular and free", in due time, without

⁶⁵ M. Cărăușu, *Tabloul publicațiilor periodice și neperiodice retrase [Table of withdrawn periodical and nonperiodical publishings]* [manuscript] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1946, ff. 144-145.

⁶⁶ Ministerul Educației Naționale, *Ordinul nr. 311.100/A/946 [Order]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1946, ff. 173-174.

⁶⁷ I. Rotariu, *Adresa Inspectoratului școlar Regional Suceava nr. 19790/16.11.1946, tuturor școlilor de grad secundar și gimnaziilor unice și inspectoratelor școlare județene [Address from the Regional School Inspectorate Suceava to all the secondary schools and middle schools and county school inspectorates]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 2/1946, f. 416.

⁶⁸ R. Slevoca, *Referat din 19 noiembrie 1946, încheiat la Biblioteca Liceului „Ștefan cel Mare” Suceava [Report drafted at the Library of Ștefan cel Mare” High School]* [manuscript] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 2/1946, f. 414.

⁶⁹ I. Rotariu, *Adresa Inspectoratului școlar regional Suceava nr. 20725/29.11.1946, tuturor școlărilor de grad secundar și gimnaziilor unice [Address of the Regional School Inspectorate Suceava to all the secondary and middle schools]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 2/1946, f. 320.

⁷⁰ Direcțiunea Învățământului Secundar, *Adresa nr. 12120/21.01.1947, către Inspectoratul Școlar Regional Suceava [Address to the Regional School Inspectorate Suceava]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 4/1946.

charges for the "studious youth deprived of financial means", riddance of maps which were "unsuitable or overused" and of paintings which "stifle the atmosphere", the introduction of singular textbooks for Romanian history and geography as well as exerting control over students' private reading were organisational regulations for the new school year; they were transmitted to all teachers by the Ministry of National Education through order 228.569/1947. One important measure regarded the school library and class libraries, which were to be checked and "completed with writings printed mainly in democratic publishing houses". It was simultaneously demanded that "pedagogical and documentary libraries for the teaching staff be set up".⁷¹

On the 30th of September 1947, through address nr. 1689/1947, the Culture Department within the Ministry of Information București demanded the title and the author's name for all the volumes that existed in the high school library. On grounds of too little time given the large number of volumes in the library, principal Alexandru Obadă sent an overall report to the ministry.⁷² The singular textbooks necessary for the high school students were ordered on the 24th of November 1947. The table forwarded to the School Inspectorate by principal Alexandru Obadă in compliance with order nr. 10908/November 20th 1947 comprised textbooks for the following subjects: *History* for classes I-III and V-VII (215 volumes), *Geography* for classes III-IV and VIII (68 volumes), *Russian language* ALRUS for classes V-VIII (67 volumes), *Political Economics* for the VII grade by Zaharescu (59 volumes), *Sociology* for the VIIth grade by Stahl-Voinea (39) volumes, *Law* for the IIIrd grade by de Broșteanu-Orescu (65 volumes) and *Law* for the VIIIth grade by Zaharescu (24 volumes).⁷³

After King Michael's forced abdication on the 30th of December 1947, all high school teachers had to take a new oath before the 2nd of January 1948.⁷⁴ Classes resumed on the 8th of January and during the first two lessons the students were briefed on the "abdication of the former king

⁷¹ S. Voitec, *Circulara Ministerul Educației Naționale nr. 228.569/1947 [Memorandum from the Ministry of National Education]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 3/1947, ff. 356-360.

⁷² A. Obadă, *Adresa nr. 242/14.10.1947, către Ministerul Informațiilor [Address to the Ministry of Information]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 3/1947, ff. 243-244.

⁷³ Idem, *Adresa nr. 474/27.11.1947, către Inspectoratul Școlar Regional Suceava, [Address to the Regional School Inspectorate Suceava]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 3/1947, ff. 33-35.

⁷⁴ N. Ițcuș, *Adresa Inspectoratului Școlar Regional Suceava nr. 21175/2.01.1948, tuturor școlărilor de grad secundar din regiune [Address of the Regional School Inspectorate Suceava to all the secondary schools in the region]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 4/1947, f. 414.

and the triumph of the Popular Republic of Romania".⁷⁵ The portraits of the royal family were removed from classes and burned, a minutes document being drafted for the proceeding. The high school was renamed as The Boys' Theoretical High School Nr. 1, the name "Ștefan cel Mare" being replaced with a number. The "Romanian People's Republic" was thusly introduced.

The cleansing of the high school's library was initiated on the basis of the Ministry of Education's order nr. 327552/1947. Regulations from governing bodies in this domain followed quickly. Books that made "total reference to a member of the former royal dynasty" were to be withdrawn from the library and kept in the principal's office.⁷⁶ On the 3rd of January 1948 the portraits and paintings of the royal family were destroyed in compliance with order 327552/1947 issued by the Ministry of National Education: "Mihai I" (20 paintings), "Queen-Mother Elena" (17 paintings), "Carol I" (5 paintings), "Ferdinand I" (5 paintings), "The Royal Family" (5 paintings).⁷⁷ After a new checking of the books from the students' library and the teachers' library, the books which mentioned the former royal dynasty were removed on the 8th of January 1948 and sent for safekeeping in the principal's office. The form teachers, the other teachers and the school librarian, Reveca Slevoca, were instructed to remove "wherever the case may be, from different books, the portraits of the former royal family members or poems dedicated to this family, etc."⁷⁸ Minutes regarding the "burning of the royal paintings and the removal of the texts with dynastic content from books and textbooks" were forwarded to the Suceava Regional School Inspectorate on the 21st of January 1948 by principal Obadă, in response to the Inspectorate's order nr. 21175/January 2nd 1948.⁷⁹ Books "about the Peace treaty", the minutes and the catalogue of the removed books were sent to the Culture Council of Suceava County headquarters in

⁷⁵ A. Obadă, *Adresa nr. 737/12.01.1948, către Inspectoratul Școlar Regional Suceava [Address to the Regional School Inspectorate Suceava]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 4/1947, f. 377.

⁷⁶ N. Ițcuș, *Adresa Inspectoratului Școlar Regional Suceava nr. 21175/2.01.1948, tuturor școalelor de grad secundar din regiune [Address of the Regional School Inspectorate Suceava to all the secondary schools in the region]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 4/1947, f. 414.

⁷⁷ A. Obadă, *Proces verbal din 3 ianuarie 1948 [Minutes]* [record] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 4/1947, f. 416.

⁷⁸ Idem, *Proces verbal din 8 februarie 1948 [Minutes]* [record] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 4/1947, f. 417.

⁷⁹ Idem, *Adresa nr. 716/21.01.1948, către Inspectoratul Școlar Regional Suceava, [Address to the Regional School Inspectorate Suceava]* [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 4/1947, f. 415.

compliance with mandatory order nr. 692 February 28th 1948.⁸⁰ All the portraits of the former royal family were blackened out in textbooks, as requested by the Ministry of Education's order nr. 20713/ March 15th 1948, forwarded by the Regional School Inspectorate Suceava with order nr. 4039/1948.⁸¹ On the 5th of October 1948 principal Alexandru Obadă and librarian (and teacher) Reveca Slevoca handed over to the Suceava County Cultural Council the volume *Carmen Sylva. Prima Regină a României* [*Carmen Sylva. The First Romanian Queen*] by Lucreția Carandino-Platamona [București: "Universul" Magazine Publishing House, 1936] in compliance with order nr. 21117/April 5th 1948. The book, which had been lent on the 16th of November 1946 to student Groznovschi from the Vth grade at the Girls' Theoretical High School, was taken to Czechoslovakia and returned when the student came back to take her high school entrance exams.⁸²

The introduction of communist censorship in libraries, through decision nr. 1542 of the Ministerial Council, published in Monitorul Oficial [the Official Bulletin] nr. 20/December 29th 1951, had far reaching consequences. The removal of valuable books belonging to Romanian cultural heritage restricted readers' access to information. The cleansing of books deemed as "legionary, fascist, chauvine, nazi" or which contained fragments "harmful for the good relationship between Romania and The United Nations"⁸³ was made based on the lists published in the Official Gazettes from 1948, the brochures "Publishings removed by the 1st of August 1945", "Publishings forbidden by the 1st of May [or the 1st of November] 1948",⁸⁴ as well as the lists and orders issued by censorship directors along the years.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Consilieratul Cultural al Județului Suceava, *Adresa nr. 692/28.02.1948 către biblioteca Liceului "Ștefan cel Mare" Suceava* [Address to the Library of the Boy's High School "Ștefan cel Mare" Suceava] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 5/1947, f. 672.

⁸¹ N. Ițcuș, *Adresa Inspectoratului Școlar Regional Suceava nr. 4039/15.03.1948, tuturor școlilor de grad secundar* [Address of the Regional School Inspectorate Suceava to all the secondary schools in the region] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 5/1947, f. 532.

⁸² A. Obadă, *Adresa din 5 octombrie 1948, către Consilieratul Cultural Județean Suceava* [Address to the County Culture Department Suceava] [correspondence] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1948, f. 177.

⁸³ Ministerul Propagandei, "Decret-Lege nr. 364 din 2 mai 1945 pentru retragerea unor anumite publicațiuni periodice și neperiodice..." [Decree for the withdrawal of certain periodical and non-periodical publishings...] in *Monitorul Oficial al României: Partea I-a 4 May, CXIII (102)*, pp. 3701-3702.

⁸⁴ P. Caravia, *Gândirea interzisă: scrieri cenzurate: România 1945-1989* [Forbidden thinking. Censored written works. Romania 1945-1989], Editura Enciclopedică, București, pp. 13-14.

⁸⁵ M. Regneală, "Legislația românească de bibliotecă în perioada 1948-1989" [Romanian Library Legislation between 1948-1989] in *Studii de Biblioteconomie și Știința Informării* / 3, pp. 116-123; lisr.ro/3.html [16.06.2019].

”The assessment” of the literary inheritance from the Stalinist era (1948-1964) required a new inventory and a reorganisation of the school library. Special collections, built in the basement walls of the heritage building during the war, were brought to light in those times in order to be saved. These events took place in the summer of 1960, under the leadership of retired teacher Brătianu, librarian teacher Filomela Ianovici (1957-1977) and voluntary students from the upper classes of the school.⁸⁶ The collections, gathered under a *documentary fund* heading [Fund ”D”⁸⁷] were immediately checked and censored. Minutes nr. 3/April 28th 1961 mentioned 16 books that were cleansed from the documentary fund in compliance with instructions nr. 3406/October 13th 1960: Dumbravă Bucura, *Ceasuri sfinte [Holy Hours]*, București, 1921; Petrovici Ion, *Raite prin țară [Wanderings throughout the Country]*, București, 1944; Eminescu Mihail, *Poezii [Poems]*, București, 1937; *Istoria filosofiei moderne. Omagiu prof. Ion Petrovici [History of Modern Philosophy. Homage to prof. Ion Petrovici]*, 1-4, București, 1937-1939; Titu Maiorescu, *Discursuri parlamentare [Parliamentary Speeches]*, 2, București 1897; Ion Petrovici, *Alexandru Philippide în evoluția culturii românești—discurs [Alexandru Philippide and the Evolution of Romanian Culture—a speech]*, București, 1935; Gala Galaction, *Răboji pe bradul verde [Etching on the Green Fir Tree]*, Iași, 1920; Gheorghe Cantacuzino-Grănicerul, *Un caz de arivism feroce [A case of Ferocious Avarition]*, 1924; Aurel Morariu, *La zece ani de la izbucnirea marelui război [Ten Years after the Outburst Of the Great War]*, Cernăuți, 1924; Titu Maiorescu, *Discursuri parlamentare [Parliamentary Speeches]*, 3, București, 1899; Coudenhove-Kalergi Richard Nikolaus, *Judenhass*, Wien, 1937; Hodann Max, *Sowjetunion gestern, heute, morgen: mit 70 Photographien*, Berlin, 1931.

Book censorship continued in the school library by wiping away the marks left by recent events, after the death of Stalin on the 5th of March 1953. 1,945 volumes were withdrawn from current use, their value rising to 6,425.67 lei (between 1957-1977), according to alphabetically ordered catalogues (published or close-circuit ones) and the instructions of the State Committee for Culture and Art – Education and Culture Department. Here are some of the titles mentioned: *Cântece și poezii despre Stalin [Songs and Poems about Stalin]*, 1948; *Periodizarea istoriei U.R.S.S. în lumina învățaturii tovarășului Stalin [Chronology of the History of the USSR in the Light of the Teachings of Comrade Stalin]*, 1952; *Pe drumul belșugului*

⁸⁶ M. Ignat, ”Gânduri după jumătate de veac” in *Când amintirea începe să vorbească... [Musings after Half a Century]. When Memories Start Speaking...*, ed. Rodica Belța, Ed. Mușatinii, Suceava, 2010, p. 377.

⁸⁷ Although at odds with the aims of socialist education imposed by the new political regime, the books and periodicals included in the documentary fund, indispensable for scientific research, could be accessed only with unavoidable justifications and approvals.

[On the Road of Welfare] by Eusebiu Camilar, 1953; *Bădița Stalin [Mister Stalin]* by Otilia Cazimir, 1950; *Sindicatetele din Rusia prereroluționară [Unions in Pre-revolutionary Russia]* by Ștender, 1948; *Lenin, marele organizator al statului sovietic [Lenin, the Great Organiser]* by Vișinski, 1945, *Vom transforma pământul [We Shall Change the Earth]* by Vasiliev, 1956; *Momente din istoria P.C.R. [Moments in the History of the Romanian Communist Party]*, 1966; *Materialismul istoric [Historical Materialism]*, 1967; *Capitalismul ca sistem mondial [Capitalism as a World System]* by Silviu Brucan, 1968; *Microsociologia, o utopie reacționară [Microsociology, a Reactionary Utopy]* by Bahitov, 1959; *Principalele forme și mijloace ale agitației politice de masă [The Main Forms and Means of Mass Political Turmoil]*, 1960 and so on.

Book purchases were politically determined. Besides works by classical Romanian and foreign writers, during this period of time the school library was enlarged with many technical books and obviously with political books, which were mandatory. Compared to the interwar period and even with the Austro-Hungarian occupation, donations were virtually non-existent, as there were only 25 volumes at the value of 346.61 lei.

The events from December 1989 did not put an end to censorship. On the revolutionary background book cleansing went on, 1,758 volumes with a value of 8,259.61 lei being removed on grounds that their "content was outdated" and that "their political content was of no interest any longer". Up to 1995 the following were destroyed: the manifesto, the statute, the programme, and the principles' code of the Romanian Communist Party; the articles and speeches of Gheorghiu-Dej, Hrușcirov, Chivu Stoica, Maurer; political reports, orders, state visits, the work of the Ceaușescu couple.

Conclusions

An instrument of control for those in power, the institution of censorship was preventively introduced by the government in Vienna to counterbalance the development of the national feeling within the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian empire. The printed word and the library were targeted – a cultural establishment that could stock and spread information deemed dangerous for the safety of the empire. It was forbidden for the first Romanian high school in southern Bukowina – founded in 1860 for the majoritary Romanian population and financially supported by the Orthodox Church Fund – to purchase Romanian books printed in the Romanian Principates, and the approvals for textbooks conceived in Romanian after the Austrian curriculum were not granted or came with delay. Thus, the library with Romanian books was illegally initiated in Suceava, and the classes in Romanian were opened only 21 years *after* the founding of the high school. Having been set up only for the lower course, classes with tuition in Romanian were doomed to disappear from the very

beginning. Their survival was due to the perseverance and excellent scientific preparation of the Romanian teachers and students.

Censorship continued in the following historical periods as well, the library being revised repeatedly: the removal of the books with "biased Austrian content" during the Russian occupation (1916-1918), the elimination of those that did not correspond "from a patriotic, religious and moral" perspective and the geography and history books "written to uphold the idea of the Austrian state and the education of our youth for this state" (1920); the interdiction of supplying the school with books and stationery published in Jewish publishing houses (1940); the ban on books by Jewish writers and those with "frivolous, unuseful content" written by other authors (1942); the revision of the German books and the removal of those which "in content do not comply with the country's political orientation", the withdrawal from public use of books, magazines, maps in which "Basarabia and northern Bukowina are shown within the borders of Romania", as well as various graphical or fine reproductions that "reflect badly on the good relationships between Romania and the United Nations" (1945); the burning of the royal paintings and the removal of "text with dynastic content from books and handbooks" (1948). Book cleansing was made following the guidelines published between 1945-1948, the lists and orders issued by censorship headmasters. Censorship was present all through the communist period, and in 1953 it went on to wipe away the traces of the recent past of political leaders. It did not stop in 1989 when, given the euphoria resulted from the historic event, the books with "outdated content" and "political publishings of no interest anylonger" were eliminated.

We owe the salvation of the special collections from Colegiul Național "Ștefan cel Mare" Suceava's library to interim headteacher Aurel Buleandra, senior teacher of PE, who in 1944 decided to „bury” the books and to headteachers Mihai Cărăușu (1945-1947), Alexandru Obadă (1947-1951, 1955-1967), Nicodim Ițcuș (1951-1953) and Ilie Rotaru (1953-1955), who did not rush to „unearth” them in order to allow for the fury of the cleansing started by the new regime to calm down.

ANNEX

Table 1. Periodical and non-periodical publishings withdrawn in the 1946-1947 school year from the Library of "Ștefan cel Mare" High School in Suceava⁸⁸

Nr. crt.	Title of the removed publishing	Nr. of withdrawn volumes
1.	<i>Revista Miorița [Miorița Magazine]</i> [Literary magazine of the guardians from Cernăuți, fortnightly, under the leadership of a committee, "Viața Strejărească" Publishing House from Cernăuți, first issue on the 15 th of September 1938], Nr. 1-2/1940 (18 vol.) and Nr. 5-7/1940 (16 vol.)	34
2.	<i>Revista Tineretului [Tineretului Magazine]</i> [issues in 1943 in București, published by O.E.T.R. The Office of Education of the Romanian Youth founded in 1934 in București] Nr. 8 (7 vol.), Nr. 7 (7 vol.), Nr. 6 (3 vol.), Nr. 5 (4 vol.), Nr. 4 (2 vol.), Nr. 3 (5 vol.), Nr. 2 (5 vol.), Nr. 1 (1 vol.)	34
3.	<i>Buletinul Straja Țării [The Bulletin of the Country's Guard]</i> , nr.1/1940	8
4.	Leonte Dumitrescu, <i>S-au desrobit Hotare Sfinte: versuri [Borders Have Been Freed Holy: poems]</i> [București: Institutul de Arte Grafice al Muncei]	1
5.	Leonte Dumitrescu, <i>Cântarea biruinții [The Song of Triumph]</i> , București, 1942	1
6.	<i>Der jugend gute Brücher [The Youth Good Breaks]</i> , VI th grade	1
7.	<i>Unseren Jungen [Our Boy]</i> , VI th grade	1
8.	Ioan N. Țuțuianu, <i>Din mijloacele folosite de Ungaria pentru desnaționalizarea Românilor din Ardeal [From the Means used in Hungary for the uprooting of the Romanians in Ardeal]</i> , București, 1937	1
9.	I. C. Delaturda, <i>Război și civilizație [War and Civilisation]</i> [1922/29, Cluj: The Institute of Graphic Arts Ardealul]	2
10.	<i>Revista De Strajă [Magazine On Guard]</i> [magazine of "The Country's Guard" for the youth, București, 1938], Nr. 1/1939 (3 vol.), Nr. 11-12/1938 (1 vol.)	4
11.	<i>Revista Străjerul [Magazine The Guardian]</i> , May-July-August issues/1937	3
12.	Teofil Gh. Sidorovici, <i>Carol II. Din culmea unui deceniu de glorioasă domnie [Carol II. From the Height of a Decade of</i>	3

⁸⁸ M. Cărăușu, *Tabloul publicațiilor periodice și neperiodice retrase [Table of withdrawn periodical and nonperiodical publishings]* [manuscript] from SJAN, LSCM, dos. 1/1946, ff. 144-145.

	<i>Glorious Reign</i>], București, 1939	
13.	C. I. Bondescu, <i>Manual de limba germană cl. IV [Textbook for German for the IVth grade]</i> [București: Cultura Românească]	1
14.	C. I. Bondescu, Emil Flavian, <i>Manual de limba germană pentru cl. VI de băieți și fete [Textbook for German for the VIth grade boys and girls]</i> [București: Cultura Românească]	1
15.	I. Găvănescul, <i>Curs de pedagogie. Didactica generală. Principii de educația inteligenței [Pedagogy Course. General Didactics. Principles of training the intelligence]</i> , București: Editura Librăriei și Tipografiei Steinberg & Fiul, 1923	1
TOTAL =		96