

A Chapter of the Italian Immigration in the Romanian Principalities: the Italians of Bucharest (1831-1878)

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“*Moldova și Valahia sunt bucăți de Paradis pentru o mână harnică și înțeleaptă / Moldavia and Wallachia are pieces of Paradise for a hardworking and wise hand*”, and Bucharest “*poate fi comparat cu un diamant de foarte mare preț în montura cea mai rudimentară / may be compared to an extremely precious diamond in the most rudimentary setting*”, the Austrian captain Ștefan Dietrich¹ used to say in 1855. The exotic mixture of Eastern customs, fashions and Western influences are perceived in all the information of the foreign travelers, especially in those of the westerners. The French consul Eugène Pujade wrote: Bucharest

“*este orașul contrastelor, se văd aici palate sau cel puțin case de locuit și cocioabe îngrozitoare... bărbați eleganți și femei elegante îmbrăcate după ultima modă a Parisului și țărani înveșmântați ca dacii de acum două mii de ani... Viața orientală ce se duce și cea europeană, care o înlocuiește, merg cot la cot, se succed ca într-o panoramă / is the city of contrasts, one might see here palaces or at least inhabitable homes, as well as horrible shanties... stylish men and elegant women dressed up in latest Parisian fashion style and peasants clothed as Dacians used to clothe two thousand years ago... The fading Eastern life and the replacing European one complete one another as in a panorama*”²

Apart from the social contrasts, the travelers are also amazed by the diversity of the ethnic groups. Benjamin Barker, agent of the Biblical Society, was impressed by the motley population of the Wallachian capital, during his 1834 visit:

“*Populația Bucureștiului... este alcătuită din munteni, moldoveni, bulgari, greci, armeni, evrei, germani, unguri, ruși, români transilvăneni, câțiva francezi și italieni și mulți țigani / The Bucharest population... is made up of Wallachians, Moldavians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Germans, Hungarians, Russians, Transylvanian Romanians, some Frenchmen and Italians, and many Gypsies*”³

¹ Apud C. C. Giurescu, *Istoria Bucureștilor*, Bucharest, 1979, p. 125.

² *Ibidem*.

³ See the translation of Benjamin Barker's voyage in *Călători străini despre țările române în secolul al XIX-lea* [hereafter: *Călători străini*], new series, III: 1831-1840, Bucharest, 2006, p. 205.

The number of the inhabitants of Bucharest varied in the voyage information depending on how well the travelers were informed. If Charles de Bois le Comte provided a number of 72,595 inhabitants for Bucharest in 1834, based on the results of the 1831 census, of whom 1795 were foreigners (1,226 Austrians, 236 Russians, 158 Prussians, 94 Englishmen, 80 Frenchmen)⁴, Benjamin Barker⁵ and Auguste Labatut⁶ considered that the capital had 80,000 inhabitants, and Charles B. Elliot argued that Bucharest had around 100,000 inhabitants⁷ in the fourth decade of the 19th century.

The foreign population that lived in Bucharest may be quantified by census registrations⁸. The organic regulation stipulated the organization of censuses every seven years, an essential practice for the institutional development of a modern state, prepared for the evaluation and surveillance of its own demographic potential. The abovementioned fundamental law strictly regulated *Chipul facerii sau a înscrierii catagrafiei*⁹. It was the beginning of the “statistic fervor” period, such as M. Wastergaard¹⁰ called it in a moment of inspiration.

As early as 1807, Bucharest was organized from an administrative point of view into five colors or “*vopseluri / dyes*” controlled by commissars or heralds, and corresponding to the old small rural districts. In 1831 there was a new territorial redistribution of these five dyes, each being administered by a commissar under the direct subordination of the great *aga*, in a period when the town had 78 streets. The five “dyes” were: *the red dye (the small rural district of Târgul din Năuntru)*, in the center of the town; *the blue dye (the small rural district of Broșteni)*, in the southern part; *the yellow dye (the small rural district of Podul Mogoșoaiei)*, in the northern part; *the black dye (the small rural district of Târgul de Afară)*, in the east; *the green dye (the small rural district of Gorgani)*, in the west¹¹. During the same year, there were 1795 inhabitants under foreign jurisdiction (which did not necessarily mean that they had the nationality of that jurisdiction), and they were distributed on colors as follows: 761 in the red one (119 Russians, 509 Austrians, 48 Prussians, 43 Britons, 41 Frenchmen, 1 Greek); 137 in the yellow one (103 Austrians, 19 Russians, 9 Prussians, 5 Frenchmen, 1 Britons); 109 in the black one (78 Austrians, 21 Russians,

⁴ See the translation of Bois le Comte memoir in *Călători străini*, p. 101.

⁵ See the translation of Benjamin Barker in *Călători străini*, p. 205.

⁶ See the translation of Auguste Labatut in *Călători străini*, p. 701.

⁷ See the translation of Charles B. Elliot’s relationship in *Călători străini*, p. 364.

⁸ The Romanian historiography mentions the aggregate taxes and imposts of the 17th century Treasury (lost forever), the 18th century inventories and those dating from the first half of the 19th century.

⁹ See *Regulamentele organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei* (ed. by Paul Negulescu and George Alexianu), Bucharest, 1944, p. 194-195.

¹⁰ See Ion Donat and G. Retegan, *La Valachie en 1838 (D’après une source statistique inédite)*, “Revue Roumaine d’Histoire”, 5, 1965, p. 926.

¹¹ See Florian Georgescu, *Aspecte privind împărțirea administrativă și evoluția demografică din Bucureștii anilor (1831-1848)*, “Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie”, III, 1965, p. 54.

6 Prussians, 4 Britons); 195 in the blue one (142 Austrians, 20 Russians, 12 Britons, 13 Prussians, 8 Frenchmen); 289 in the green one (212 Austrians, 28 Russians, 24 Prussians, 16 Britons, 9 Frenchmen)¹². Even if the above mentioned figures outdistance our study by 2 years, we considered it necessary to present them in order to have a general view on the foreign Bucharest subjects, starting with the Russian occupation.

One of the most important censuses, elaborated according to the organic regulations standards, is the one dating from 1838, to which many studies have been dedicated¹³. It is an extremely important document, not only for outdistancing by eight years a similar study made in France, just like Georgeta Filitti mentioned, but also for its many headings that might provide us an accurate ensemble of the Wallachian society, if published unabridged. The census headings were: item number, surname and first name, nationality, age, marital status, rank, profession, traveler/resident, child bearing, handicaps, protection, animals raised: horses, oxen, buffalos, pigs, dogs. Of course, just like any other census, it has limits due to those who drew up the registers—for example the one from the red dye was the most thorough in Bucharest, trying to fill in all the headings, but we cannot say the same thing about those who drew up the records for Brăila, as they left completely empty headings etc. In his 1838 study dedicated to censuses, Mihai Chiriță identified the number of foreign families: Serbians-1280 families, Greeks-663, Gypsies-285, Armenians-190, Germans-173, Jews-171, Albanians-137, Russians-55, Hungarians-37, Frenchmen-16, Poles-5, Italians-5, Bugarians-5, and other 18 different nationalities (Catholics-Papists, Saxons, Baptized, Muslims, Evangelists, Lutherans, Turks, A-Romanians), calculating a 33,9 percentage, meaning a third of the capital population¹⁴. A detailed analysis of the yellow dye was made by Georgeta Filitti, who studied the ethnic group of the inhabitants of the 18 streets and found the following statistic data: Gypsies-1115, Serbians (actually Bulgarians)-870, Armenians-743, Greeks-384, Germans-159, Hungarians-142, Albanians-141, Jews-27, Hungarians-24, 6 Frenchmen, 2 Prussians, 2 Italians (in the Sf. Vineri and in Popa Cosma streets)¹⁵.

The 1859 census, which did not follow a similar pattern in both principalities although Al. Ioan Cuza was their ruler at that time, confirmed a population of

¹² *Ibidem*, annexes I-V, p. 77-81; see also *Uricariu sau Colecțiunile de diferite acte care pot servi la Istoria Românilor* (ed. by Theodor Codrescu), XVI-XVII, Iași, 1891 [hereafter, *Uricariu*], p. 176-177.

¹³ I. Donat and G. Retegan, *op. cit.*; G. Retegan, *Primul recensământ modern al populației și agriculturii Țării românești: 1838*, “*Revista Statistică*”, 4 and 5/1964, p. 157-171; Mihai Chiriță, *Obșteasca catagrafie de la 1838*, “*Studii și Materiale de Istorie Modernă*”, XVI, 2000-2001, p. 133-144; Georgeta Filitti, *Observații pe marginea Catagrafiei din 1838 (Vopseaua Galbenă, București) I*, “*Revista Arhivelor*”, 1-2, 2003, p. 103-121.

¹⁴ See M. Chiriță, *op. cit.*, p. 137-138.

¹⁵ See G. Filitti, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

2,400,741 inhabitants¹⁶ in Wallachia. The forms for Wallachia did not have a heading concerning the structure of the population according to nationality, just like it had been done for Moldavia. The inhabitants were divided according to religion and protections. The most numerous were the Austrian subjects – 17,686, followed by: Greeks – 4,768, Turks – 1,949, Prussians – 1,512, Russians – 1,243, Britons – 1,070, Frenchmen – 530, Italians – 108, etc¹⁷. Bucharest had 121,734 inhabitants¹⁸.

What was the situation of the Italians in Bucharest between 1837 and 1876? We will try to answer this question corroborating several archival sources from the *Arhiva Istorică a Ministerului Afacerilor Externe* [Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – AIMAE], *Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale* [the Central Historical National Archives – ANIC], *Arhivele Istorice ale Municipiului București* [the Historical Archives of Bucharest Municipality – AIMB], published documents, the press of that time etc.

We tried to draw tables for the Italians from Bucharest based on the information found in the archival documents, and also to answer the following questions: their number, the year of their arrival in Bucharest, the place of origin, marital status, age, profession, observations. There have been over 100 Italians in Bucharest for the studied period. We cannot provide a precise number because we have not used all the sources, for example we did not have access to the reports of the Italian consuls from the capital, dating from the period between 1859 and 1876, these documents being found only in the Italian archives. Therefore, the numbers are provisional; the only certitude is that it is larger than the one known up to present. From the point of view of security, most of them had Sardinian citizenship-22 until 1859 (we emphasize the fact that security is not specified in all the cases), then the Austrian one-6, French-4, British-1. As there has been no Sardinian consulate in Bucharest until 1859, the problems of the Italians were given to the British consulate. In this regard, on the 12th/24th of October 1850, Carlo Berzolese was writing to Ioan Marcu, Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest:

*“J’ai l’honneur d’accuser réception de la note dont vous avez bien voulu m’honorer en date du 5 courant no 4195 relative à la vérification des titres de séjour des sujets étrangers établis à Bucarest et comme les intérêts des sujets sardes établis à Bucarest sont confiés à l’honorable Consulat général de Sa Majesté Britannique, j’ai écrit par ce même courrier à Monsieur le gérant de ce Consulat général pour qu’il se charge de remplir à cette circonstance les formalités arrêtées par l’Autorité locale à l’instar des autres étrangers ressortissants des divers consulats généraux établis à Bucarest”*¹⁹.

¹⁶ Grigore Chiriță, *Societatea din Principatele Unite în perioada constituirii statului național (1856-1866)*, Bucharest, 2004, p. 24.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

¹⁸ V. Mateescu, *Populația orașului București în secolele XIX-XX*, “Revista statistică”, 8, 1959, no 9, p. 57-61.

¹⁹ AIMAE, vol. 51, p. 73.

Many of the Italians who arrived in Bucharest were aged between 20 and 40, most of them being already married and a few widowers or single. We know for sure that two of those registered in the tables were born in Bucharest, namely the case of the Gianelloni brothers, Roberto and Giacomo. Many of them were coming from the north-eastern provinces of the peninsula, from the towns Genoa, Alessandria, Turin from Savoy, a few were coming from Venice, Ancona, Florence, Rome. Their professions were: cereal trade – in 1857, 54 such merchants in Bucharest were asking for the withdrawal of the free pass payment, to which are added other 12 mentioned in other documents –, followed by the liberal professions (teachers, doctors, clerks, architects, painters, musicians, actors), handicraftsmen (bakers, wig makers, jewelers), and from the second half roads and railways contractors.

After the Treaty of Adrianople, there was an important upsurge of the principalities' trade, and the foreign travelers become aware of this fact. Jean Alexandre Vaillant was one of the most informed foreigners who had lived in Wallachia for almost 12 years. He was the author of *La Romanie*, one of the most complex accounts on the Romanian society in the transition period to modernity. He described the trade development as follows:

“Comerțul se face în Principate de către negustorii en-gros, lipscanii, mărchitanii, toți germani sau ardeleni, armeni sau greci, ruși sau evrei. Negustorii en-gros exportă cereale, piei, animale, lânături, miere și vin; importă zahăr englezesc, cafea, vinuri din Insule, articole de fierărie și fier din Germania; lipscanii importă din Leipzig toate mărfurile din Franța, Anglia, Austria și Germania: postavuri, mătăsuri, muselin, pânzeturi, stofe din India, sticlă, cristale, bijuterii și în general toate articolele de noutate și de lux, argintărie și caroserii (pentru trăsuri) din Viena, parfumuri și mănuși din Franța, mobile din Pesta și ceai englezesc. Mărchitanii, împreună cu librarii, fierarii, cușitarii, cazangiii, lucrătorii care fac lăzi, importă din Rusia unelte din fontă și aramă galbenă, porțelan obișnuit, valize, blănuri, piei, ceai, articole de birou, echipamente militare, toate acestea neprelucrate precum și frângerii, lumânări, săpun și vele de Odesa. Armenii și grecii, care fac în general comerț de coloniale, cafea, zahăr, rom, tămâie, importă: uleiuri, orez, măsline, fructe, pește sărat, icre negre și tutun din Turcia; stofe din India, Persia și Damasc, săpun din Candia și Adrianopole, pantofi orientali; metale și culori pentru pictură. București și Iași sunt cele două mari antrepozite ale acestui comerț, și toate produsele le sunt aduse prin porturile Galați și Brăila, prin diversele scări ale Dunării și prin trecătorile Vulcan, Turnu Roșu, Brașov, Mamornița și Prisăcani / In the Principalities, the trade is made by engross merchants, lipscani, chapmen, all of them Germans or Transylvanians, Armenians or Greeks, Russians or Jews. The engross merchants export cereal, leather, animals, wool, honey and wine; they import English sugar, coffee, wines from the Islands, iron items and iron from Germany, the lipscani import from Leipzig all the merchandise from France, England, Austria and Germany: clothes, silk,

muslin, linen, materials from India, glassware, crystals, jewelry, and usually all the newest and luxurious articles, silverware and bodies (for coaches) from Vienna, perfumes and gloves from France, furniture from Pest and English tea. Chapmen, together with booksellers, ironsmiths, knife smiths, boiler makers, box makers, import from Russia cast iron and yellow copper tools, common china, suitcases, fur coats, leather, tea, office items, military equipments, all in raw condition, as well as ropes, candles, soap and Odessa sails. Armenians and Greeks, who usually trade colonial products, coffee, sugar, rum, incense, import: oils, rice, olives, fruit, salty fish, caviar and tobacco from Turkey; materials from India, Persia and Damascus, soap from Candia and Adrianople, oriental shoes, metals and painting dyes. Bucharest and Iași are the two large warehouses for this trade, and all the products are brought via Galați and Brăila harbors, through the various Danube stairs and the passages of Vulcan, Turmu Roșu, Brașov, Mamornița, and Prisăceni²⁰

Next we will present some of the most representative figures of the Italian merchants in Bucharest, as they are illustrated in the Romanian archives. The documentary materials reveal some personalities like Giuseppe Canevaro, who left Galați and arrived in Bucharest in 1842. He had done business with the Pedemontes in the Danubian harbor, especially with Giovanni Batista. On April 9/21, 1843, Canevaro wrote to the Sardinian consulate in Galați about his belongings left in the town, which were to be sold by one of his negotiators²¹. We should also note the fact that the Italian merchant was under British protection right from the moment of the settlement in the capital. The famous Gerolamo Monolo²² is mentioned as early as 1838, his dancing room being well-known by the Bucharest high life. The Italian had a famous restaurant and a room for theatrical performances²³. It is here that the first Romanian play was performed in Romanian in 1834. Momolo's room

“se afla pe locul lui Iordache Slătineanu, în colțul pe care îl face actuala stradă Edgar Quinet cu strada Academiei...Clădirea avea ziduri de paiantă cu moloz și era căptușită cu scânduri. Sala lunguiață și cu tavanul jos, avea un rând de loji, despărțite între ele cu un stâlp de lemn, pe care era așezată o lampă. Teatrul

²⁰ See Jean Alexandre Vaillant, *La Roumanie ou Histoire, Langue, Littérature, Orographie, Statistique des Roumains*, III, Paris, 1844, p. 61.

²¹ Canevaro to the Sardinian consulate in Galați, in ANIC, Italian microfilms collection, reel 5, c. 1178: “Il sottoscritto Giuseppe Canevaro, re suddito, ho l'onore di esporre a questo consolato, che finno dall'agosto dell'anno 1841 parti per stabilire una casa di commercio tuttora esistente in Bucarest sotto la dita di G.Canevaro e Cie, che lascia qui, prima della sua partenza, diverse oggetti a mani di questo signor Costantino”.

²² ANIC, *Catagrafii* [Inventories] content, *Catagrafia din 1838* [The 1838 Inventory], red color no 82, p. 440-441. See a beautiful incursion in the world of old balls in Adrian Silvan Ionescu, *Balurile din secolul al XIX-lea*, Bucharest, 1997.

²³ Ramiro Ortiz, *Per la Storia della Cultura italiana in Rumania. Studi e ricerche*, Bucharest, 1916, p. 129.

Momolo avea 15 rânduri de bănci de lemn, învelite în chembrică, formând cele trei staluri. În fund era galeria pe șapte trepte cu lavițe goale de lemn. Lângă scenă era loja domnească, îmbrăcată cu roșu, iar peste drum de această lojă, față în față erau trei canapele, în care lua loc Curtea / was located on Iordache Slătineanu's land, at the corner of the current Edgar Quinet Street and Academiei Street... The building had half-timber plaster walls and it was planked. The oblong low-ceiling room had a row of boxes, separated by a wooden pole with a lamp. The Momolo theatre had 15 rows of benches, covered with cambric, which formed the three stalls. In the back there was the gallery on seven steps with empty wooden benches. Near the stage there was the princely box, covered with red, and across this box there were three benches where the Court used to sit”²⁴

In the 1850's, Giovanni Flore, the confectioner, delighted the upper crust with genuine Neapolitan ice-cream²⁵, and Comorelli, one of his fellow countrymen, had a more modest confectionery in the Romanian passage²⁶. We have also some undiscovered information on Domenico Bernato, the leech merchant, accused of smuggling. The leech trade was attentively supervised by the Romanian state, and Ami Boué wrote in 1840:

“Lipitorile din Țara Românească se exportă prin Orșova, unde există, ca la Semlin și Aleksinaș, pe frontiera sârbo-turcă, agenți întotdeauna gata să le trimită mai departe pentru a evita carantina / Leeches are exported from Wallachia via Orșova, where there are agents, just like in Slemín and Aleksinaș, always ready to send them further away, in order to avoid quarantine”²⁷

It seems like Italians were attracted to this type of trade. In 1843, Alexis du Valon wrote that he had met such a merchant in Cernavodă, and in 1844 there was the outbreak of the Domenico Bernato case, in a time when the leech trade was forbidden. Another case kept in the archives is that of Lazzaro Serafimi, owner of a cafeteria located in Fălcoianu's houses, near the *Brâncovenesc* hospital. After being accused of allowing gambling in his building, the owner was arrested and searched by the police, in November 1859, without informing the consular authorities. Lazzaro Serafimi was a British inhabitant under foreign jurisdiction and he made protests at the English consulate in the capital. His witnesses were Mayer, British vice-consul in Giurgiu, and the English merchant Grant, who lived in Bucharest²⁸. In 1853, more than 50 Italian grain merchants were asking the minister of internal affairs to exempt

²⁴ Ioan Massof, *Istoria teatrului Național din București 1877-1937*, Bucharest, 1938, p. 285-286.

²⁵ See C. C. Giurescu, *Istoria Bucureștilor*, p. 276; Ulysse de Marsillac, *Bucureștiul în veacul al XIX-lea*. Bucharest, 1999, p. 130.

²⁶ C. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

²⁷ See the narration of his travel in *Călători străini*, p. 886.

²⁸ AIMAE, vol. 60, p. 251-254.

them from the payment of the free pass, so that their freedom of movement and business is not burdened:

“Consulatul general al Italiei mi-a scris ieri o notă cu nr. 81 în sprijinul aici alăturatei petiții a unui număr însemnat de grânari italieni care se plâng că fiind siliți a face mereu în interesul comerțului lor excursiuni din capitală afară și viceversa sunt la fiecare voiaj nevoiți a cere de la poliție bilete de ieșire din oraș. Repetirea îndesită a acestei formalități în privința acestor negocianți, fiind foarte împiedicătoare atât pentru dâșii cât și pentru comerț și acești oameni fiind cunoscuți de onorabili și natura comerțului lor fiind negreșit avantaioasă pantru producțiunea patriei noastre, vin a mă ruga, domnule ministru, să binevoiți a da cât mai neamânat prefecturii poliției instrucțiunile necesare pentru a se libera tuturor grânarilor în genere fără distincțiune de naționalitate bilete de voie din capitală pe tot timpul ce ei petrec în țara noastră pentru comerțul lor / The general consulate of Italy wrote me a note registered under no 81 yesterday to support the enclosed petition by several Italian grain merchants who complain that they always have to ask the police for tickets to go out of town, because of their frequent trade travels out from and back to the capital. The frequent repetition of this formality regarding these negotiators being very hindering for them, as well as for the trade, and these people being known as honorable people and the nature of their trade being undoubtedly favorable for the production in our country, I kindly ask you, Minister, to give the necessary instructions to the police prefecture as soon as possible, so that they issue free passes to all the grain merchants, without nationality distinctions, for all the time they are spending in our country for their trade”²⁹

We have also information on other Italian merchants, such as: Giovanni Sonna, whose fortune would be taken care of after his death by Cervetto Antonio, the Sardinian consul of Galați.

Apart from merchants, there were also Italian handicraftsmen in Bucharest. As early as 1834, Charles de Bois le Comte wrote:

“Fertilitatea puțin obișnuită a solului Țării Românești și așezarea ei prielnică exportului răsplătind din plin și sigur munca, lasă puțină mână de lucru disponibilă pentru fabrici și fac exploatarea agricolă mai rentabilă decât industria manufacturieră. Cu toate acestea Țara Românească nu e cu totul lipsită de resurse din acest punct de vedere. Există o industrie casnică, producând în fiecare gospodărie cele necesare acesteia / The unusual richness of the Wallachian soil and the site favorable to exportation that totally and unquestionably rewards the work, leave less working hand available for factories and render the agricultural exploitation more profitable than the

²⁹ ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne-Afaceri italieni* [Ministry of Internal Affairs-Italian Business], file 237/1863, p. 29.

manufacturing industry. Nevertheless, from this point of view, Wallachia is not completely left without resources. There is a domestic industry that produces all that is needed inside the household”.

The same traveler provided statistics for 1831, according to which there were 1617 workshops and small factories in Wallachia³⁰. 134 of these were potteries, 131 hay deposits, 70 tanneries, 9 wool factories, 22 headcloths, 553 distillers etc³¹. In the same inventory, there were mentioned 100 manufactures in Bucharest, among which: three candle workshops, 8 oil workshops, 1 stocking workshop, 1 for head clothes, 3 for hats, 64 for buckets, 5 for silk and wool, 2 for soap³². Altogether, there were 1802 craftsmen grouped in corporations. From the second half of the 19th century, there is an increase in the number of industrial establishments. Apart from the water mills, there are also the steam mills-the famous mill of Asan of 1853-the breweries and sugar factories, the Filaret gas factory, the CFR Workshop etc³³. In 1863 there were: 29 bakeries, 50 gas and oil workshops, 5 tanneries, 5 breweries, 4 vinegar factories etc³⁴. The number of the Italian handicraftsmen from Bucharest is relatively small as compared to other professions. Let us remind here the bakers Simon Andrenovici, G. Panezzi, G. Coralli, the house painter Martini-all of them mentioned in the 1838 census; the carpenter Oliva Francesco, son of the wood carver Filippo, born in Odessa, who was 22 years old in 1846, considered as able for the military service in Piedmont³⁵, Zanchi Giovanni-jeweler and Giuseppe Ausenio, wig maker³⁶. It is a remarkable fact that in 1855 there lived in Bucharest the widow Tabanelli with her son, who had a milliner workshop in Galați in 1842. For the year 1857, Vilarozi was mentioned, silk worms keeper, brought to build a school of this type in Pantelimon³⁷. The document signed by 15 Italian brick makers settled in Bucharest in 1857 is a special one. In 1879, they were asking for naturalization and land reform, according to the rural law from 1864. We should remind the fact that, after the independence war, newly-married couples were put in possession of land, and the Italians thought that they could receive land if they were Romanian citizens³⁸.

In 1860 it was the beginning of the carved stone pavement in Bucharest, while at the beginning of the eighth decade the first horse tram line was introduced³⁹.

³⁰ See the relating of Bois le Comte's report in *Călători străini*, III, new series, p. 107.

³¹ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria comerțului românesc, epoca mai nouă*, Bucharest, 1925, p. 154.

³² See *Uricariu*, p. 176-177.

³³ C. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

³⁴ See D. Mihalache, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

³⁵ *Documente privitoare la legaturile economice dintre Principatele Romane si Regatul Sardiniei*, (ed. by Dimitrie Bodin), Bucuresti, 1941 [hereafter, Bodin, *Documente*], p. 178.

³⁶ ANIC, Italian microfilms collection, reel no 7, c. 748.

³⁷ A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Câteva documente din 1860*, "Studii italiene. Roma", IV, 1937, p. 163.

³⁸ ANIC, *Ministerul de Interne-Afaceri italiene*, file 68/1879, p. 8.

³⁹ C. C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

Italian firms with tradition in this type of labor have been hired for the improvement of the street pavement. The 1868 contract was concluded between D. A. Cantacuzino and the entrepreneurs company Giacomo Fassoti, Giovanni Fedelis, G. Buffa, Nicola Giacomo⁴⁰. The pay lists of the Italian workers from the same period have also been kept. It is interesting that they were better paid than the native ones. We can provide the names of the Italians who had probably come to Bucharest for the short term, and who were engaged in these labors, from the presence lists: Carlo Demartin, Carlo Savoi, Giovanni Paganini, Gelicutti Giacomo, Giovanni Klaus, Angelo Caravagio, Giorgino Morandini, Giovanni Viggelio, Giovanni Croato, Giuseppe Carolini, Giacomo Carolini⁴¹. The affluence of Italians in Bucharest increased during the reign of Al. Ioan Cuza. In 1860 there entered the capital 107 Italians, compared to 6355 Austrians, 1971 Turks, 303 Prussians, 238 Frenchmen, 186 Greeks, 134 Serbians, 119 Russians, 93 Britons, 14 Belgians, 14 Dutchmen⁴². In 1861 there entered 224 Italians, compared to 8024 Austrians, 2289 Turks, 319 Frenchmen, 310 Prussians, 168 Greeks, 125 Russians etc. The greater affluence of Italians was in the months of June-112, May-46, which shows that they had probably come for seasonal work in the town, most likely for the road construction⁴³.

The Italians were also owners of great hotels in Bucharest. Captain Wilhelm Derblich reminded that in 1855 the owner of “*Hôtel d’Europe*” was an Italian, and in 1858 the hotel owned by Giovanni Fieschi opened on Șelari Street. Built on a place bought three years before, the hotel had, with the exception of apartments, a restaurant and a café, where one could read “*cele mai bune ziare franceze, române, germane, grece și italiene / the best French, Romanian, German, Greek and Italian newspapers*”⁴⁴.

The Italian, diplomatic language of the Middle Ages, was used in the principalities by the cultural elite of the country. There were teachers in Bucharest, and even private academies where Italian could be learned. As early as 1820, the Swiss François Recordon had such a private school where students used to learn French, German, Italian, and Latin⁴⁵. Italian was spoken both at the Court and in the homes of common people. In 1827, Charles Colville Frankland spoke with the ruler Grigore Ghica “in Italian and French”⁴⁶, and the painter Miklós Barabás wrote that

⁴⁰ National Library, Kogălniceanu content, file 619, p. 398-401.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² ANIC, *fond Ministerul de Interne* [Ministry of Internal Affairs content], file 631/1862, p. 83-84.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 82-83.

⁴⁴ Maria Magdalena Ioniță, *Casa și familia Capșa în România modernă (1852-1950)*, Bucharest, 2000, p. 16; see also Cristina Năstăsache, *Romanian-italian interferences in the Second half of the 19th century*, “*Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia*”, 2 (2002), p. 182.

⁴⁵ Gheorghe Pârnuță, *Istoria învățămîntului și culturii din orașul București*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 115.

⁴⁶ See the relating of his travel in *Călători străini*, new series, II, p. 280; see also George Potra, *Bucureștii văzuți de călători străini (secolele XVI-XIX)*, Bucharest, 1982, p. 145-146.

the members of the Raimondi family used to speak Greek, French, Italian, Hungarian⁴⁷.

One of the most important academies founded by Italians was that of Luigi Gianelloni. Most likely, Gianelloni arrived in the country in 1825, and in 1835 he founded an academy for young boys⁴⁸. At the beginning he had 23 students, and the headquarters were in the Golescu houses on Mogoșoaiei⁴⁹ Bridge. The authorization that the Italian had received on January 22, 1837 from the Ephors of the Wallachian Schools for the opening of the academy was kept, or:

“L’Euphorie de l’Instruction Publique autorise Monsieur Louis Janelloni d’établir un pensionnat conformément à la demande qu’il a adressée à cet égard à l’Euphorie sous no 648”. And he continues, emphasizing the fact that the main objectives of this educational institution had to be: *“les principaux efforts doivent avoir pour objet d’inspirer à leur élèves la vénération des choses saintes, le respect des lois et des autorités établis, l’amour de l’ordre et de la patrie, et de faire des hommes d’honneur et de probité avant d’en faire des savants”*⁵⁰

During the fifth decade, Gianelloni’s academy distinguished by seriousness. The archives keep several certificates signed by parents who were satisfied with the Italian’s services. For the year 1844, the certificate was signed, among others, by colonel Ioan Voinescu, *clucer* Simion Marcovici, *paharnic* Samurçaș, *paharnic* Nicolae Bobescu, *serdar* Bujoreanu, *serdar* Dobre Cogălniceanu, *medelnicer* Alexandru Mavrodin, *căminar* Mihail Darvary, *clucer* E. Berendei, *serdar* Constantin Krețulescu, *stolnic* E. Bîlciurescu, *vistierunic* Andrei Dașcov, *pitar* Constantin Angelescu⁵¹. In 1846, the certificate was signed by high noblemen: *ban* George Filipescu, *ban* Teodor Văcărescu, George Golescu, *logofăt* Constantin Cantacuzino, Grigore Grădișteanu, *logofăt* Constantin Bălăceanu, Alecu Vilara, *mare logofăt* and minister of justice, *logofăt* Constantin Herescu, prince Constantin Suțu etc⁵². The importance of the academy was also emphasized by the participation of several personalities with high positions in the state at the end of the school year celebrations. In 1843 the attendants to the celebrations: Ilarion, bishop of Argeș, *marele clucer* Petrache Poenaru and *paharnic* Simion Marcovici, and in 1844: the Russian general consul, Dașcov, *marele logofăt* Ioan Filipescu; in 1845 there were

⁴⁷ See the relating of his travel in *Călători străini*, new series, III, p. 55.

⁴⁸ ANIC, *fond Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice* [Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction content], file 20/1849, p. 23. In 1853, Gianelloni wrote to Mr. Barbu Știrbei that he had arrived in the country 28 years before and that he had been running an academy for young boys for 18 years.

⁴⁹ V. A. Urechia, *Istoria școalelor de la 1800-1864*, t. I, Bucharest, 1892, p. 240.

⁵⁰ AIMB, *fond Arhiepiscopia romano-catolică a Bucureștilor* [Bucharest Roman Catholic Archbishopric content], file 85/ 1837, p. 4.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 16.

present at the prize awarding: Emanoil Florescu, Daşcov, Robert Colquhoun, *culcer* Petreche Poenaru. In 1847, as a consequence of the great fire that devastated the capital, the academy board decided to decrease the taxes and renovated the building. It seems that starting from 1842 the academy functioned in the houses of lieutenant Păucescu from Sfinții Apostoli⁵³. Gianelloni had several conflicts with him, and they ended up to the Capital's police station. Lieutenant Păucescu breeched the terms of the renting contract, according to which the building should have been renovated, therefore Gianelloni reacted promptly⁵⁴. In 1853 he moved the headquarters on Beilicului bridge (Şerban Vodă)⁵⁵. During the revolution of 1848, Gianelloni found his refuge, together with his family, in the parish house of the Catholic Church in Bucharest⁵⁶. On March 30, 1849, Gianelloni wrote to General Duhamel, in order to receive the prolongation of the state subvention:

“chef d’une institution que je dirige depuis nombre d’années dans cette capitale j’ai obtenu du gouvernement local à différentes époques des certificats qui sont foi de la conduite irréprochable que j’ai tenue des services que j’ai rendus au pays et du droits que j’ai acquis... En plaçant sous les yeux de Votre Excellence les titres dont je suis muni et qui attestent mes longs services, j’ose Vous supplier de daigner les prendre en considération et d’user de Sa puissante influence pour qu’il soit accordé à mon établissement une subvention annuelle convenable et en rapport avec ces mêmes services.”⁵⁷

Only a few months later, he wrote an impressive letter to the ruler Barbu Ştirbei, in which he presented all the services he had brought to the capital education and the fact that he was not subsidized by the state, that he had no stipendiary students and that he had not managed to make a fortune during all those education years. He was asking for a life indemnity, by virtue of his titles recognized by the suzerain and protective powers and the dissolving of the debts created during the troubled years 1846-1849. He concluded by saying that it was painful for him not to be able to ensure the minimum for existence for his sons, after so many years of work⁵⁸. In 1851, the Ephors of School decided that all the leaders of academies send their students at the national College, so that they follow the courses of the gymnasium school. He forced the private academies to use the same textbooks as in public schools, and to follow the same curriculum. At least once a month, each student had to be controlled by an inspector⁵⁹. Gianelloni accepted the new stipulations. He wrote about this to the Ephors of Schools, informing them that he

⁵³ G. Potra, *Din Bucureştii de ieri*, II, Bucharest, 1990, p. 42-45.

⁵⁴ AIMB, *Agia oraşului Bucureşti* [Bucharest police station], file 1311/1842, p. 19, 32.

⁵⁵ Gh. Pârnuţă, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

⁵⁶ AIMB, *fond Arhiepiscopia romano-catolică a Bucureştilor*, file 125/1848, p. 1.

⁵⁷ ANIC, *fond Ministerul Cultelor şi Instrucţiunii Publice*, file 20/1849, p. 5.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 20-21.

⁵⁹ Gh. Pârnuţă, *op. cit.*, p. 195-196.

had established the taxes for boarders at 36 francs per year, for day pupils at 18 francs, and that all his students were to be sent to Sf. Sava College⁶⁰. The lists of the prize-winning pupils of the Gianelloni academy were kept for the years 1852 and 1853⁶¹. Gianelloni died in Paris⁶² in 1856, leaving his elder son, Roberto, at the leadership of the academy. In 1858⁶³, the latter one seemed to want to give up his Sardinian citizenship, but he would finally lead the academy created by his father. In 1861, the academy still existed, and among its teachers there were: F. Allunenu, D. Tomescu, M. Jacumy, B. Pisone, A. Fottescu, Marsillac, Cernătescu, Iordache Papu⁶⁴. Toma Brătianu, Alexandru Vilara, the two sons of Van Saanen: Gustav and Robert, Librecht's sons, all of them would be students in Roberto Gianelloni's academy between 1863 and 1865. It is remarkable the fact that he received subventions from the government, from the funds of the submitted monasteries⁶⁵. As a picturesque fact, the other son of Luigi Gianelloni, Giacomo, who was a British subject, was involved in a romantic affair with Zinca Uescu. In 1855, the girl left her parents and went to Gianelloni's house from the Lucaci Street, the black dye⁶⁶.

Other academies for young boys were those led by Stefano Coliva in 1843, and Gerolamo Abbeatici in 1846. The latter was also the author of an Italian language textbook. We should mention that there appeared several such textbooks at that time, one of them being the one signed by Dimitrie Iarcu from Colțea School, which was published in 1846. The author's argument was very interesting: "the Italian language managed to become respected in Europe and all over the civilized world", and the merchant "has to learn it because there are many terms that come from it"⁶⁷.

The academies for young girls were numerous at that time as well. The most famous were led by: Caroline Vaillant, Maria Masența, Elise d'Angelo, Marie Caine, Margareta Veinster. There was also Saint Mary Catholic institute, which had 140 students both catholic and orthodox in 1864, and where the Italian teacher was Emilia Branzii⁶⁸. In the school year 1862-1863, Emilia Luzzatto opened another

⁶⁰ ANIC, *fond Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice*, file 289/1851, p. 12.

⁶¹ Prize-winning pupils in 1852: Husein Bey, Joseph Tall, Athanasie Demetrius, Nicoale Bobescu, Panaiotu Agy; in 1853: Carol Dgianoglu, Dimitrie Dragnavitch, A. Vreta, Nicolae Bălulescu, George Dgianoglu, Jean Bodyros, Jean Cristovici, Jean Mihăilescu, see NABB, Roman Catholic Archbishopric content, file 85/1837, p. 22.

⁶² ANIC, Italian microfilms collection, reel 93, c. 244.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, c. 279.

⁶⁴ ANIC, *fond Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice*, dos. 785/1862, p. 16.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, dos. 525/1863, p. 3, 4, 5.

⁶⁶ AIMB, *Agia orașului București*, dos. 456/1856, f. 7.

⁶⁷ Alexandru Marcu, *Un manual de conversație în limba italiană din 1846*, "Roma. Studii italiene", IV, 1937, p. 165-166.

⁶⁸ Gh. Pănuță, *op. cit.*, p. 157. We should mention that in 1865, Saint Mary School, founded at the initiative of Monsignor Angelo Parsi from Bucharest, was asking for a subvention from the Romanian state, as the Bavarian and Austrian protectors didn't send funds anymore. See ANIC, *fond Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice*, file 193/1865, p. 16-17.

academy for young girls. In December 1864, Emilia Luzzatto asked to Mrs. Elena Cuza to give her 6-7 stipendiary students. Dimitrie Bolintineanu, who was minister of cults and education, answered her that her demand could be satisfied. Thus, there were recorded as stipendiary students of the state: the daughters of Tufianu and Luca Ghiță, the last clerk of St. Visarion Street, the daughter of Iosif Simion, clerk, the daughter of Ecaterina Csida, widower, the daughter of Nicoale Avramovici, sub-surgeon at the state prison⁶⁹. Except for those, the academy received another five, three of them being mentioned in documents: Smaranda Caramzulea, Adelaida Deitman, and Elena Urlățeanu⁷⁰. Between 1866 and 1867, the Luzzatto academy receives 9 students and also subventions from the state for them⁷¹.

Among the Italian teachers who taught at the gymnasiums in Bucharest, there was also Orazio Spinazzola. Neapolitan, law graduate, compromised during the 1848 revolutions, he had to exile himself to Greece “*a cărei limbă și literatură veche și modernă a învățat-o cu drag / whose old and modern literature and language he happily learnt*”⁷². After a short stop over in Constantinople, where he taught Greek and Latin philology, he settled in Bucharest, where he became a teacher at Sf. Sava Gymnasium. He was author of several Italian language textbooks: *Abecedariulu italianu*, *Grammatica limbei italiene*, *Floarea literaturii italiene*, all of them published in 1862, and *Lezioni di letteratura italiana*, published in 1871⁷³. In 1865, he suggested the foundation of an Italian language and literature department at the Faculty of letters in Bucharest, in parallel with a Romanian language department in Turin⁷⁴.

In the winter of 1869, Gian Luigi Frollo came to Bucharest, where he had obtained an Italian teacher job after a contest at “Matei Basarab”. He distinguished in the academic world by his implication in the polemics regarding the Romanian orthography. In the first years of the eighth decade, he published: *Limba națională și limbile străine în Școalele României*, *O nouă încercare de soluționare a problemului ortografic*. Thus, he gained the admiration of Titu Maiorescu, Aron Densușianu, but especially that of Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, who would become a faithful supporter of his linguistic actions⁷⁵. In 1875, Aron Densușianu asked him to participate in the action started by teacher Giovanni Papanti from Livorno, which was intended to translate the 9th tale of Boccaccio’s “Decameron” in 700 languages and Neo-Latin dialects. He encouraged him to do the translation in Macedo-Romanian, and thus to

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, file 159/1864, p. 1-24.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 92.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 136, 146.

⁷² Dimitrie Bodin, *Știri despre Orazio Spinazzola*, “Roma. Studii Italiene”, V, 1938, p. 43.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 44-45.

⁷⁴ Alice Marcu, *Pentru istoricul catedrei de italiană de la Universitatea din București (1856)*, “Roma. Studii italiene”, IV, 1937, p. 146-147.

⁷⁵ C. H. Niculescu, *Gian Luigi Frollo*, “Roma. Studii italiene”, IV, 1937, p. 96-97.

complete the projected album⁷⁶. In 1877 died Ullyse de Marsillac, teacher of French language and literature at the Faculty of Letters. In 1878, after a contest, the job would be taken by Frollo, who was heartily supported by B. P. Hasdeu⁷⁷. The department would be the History of the Neo-Latin Literatures. At Frollo's death, the historian Ion Bogdan said:

*“Frollo s-a identificat mult cu noua sa patrie, înălțat prin meritele sale personale la catedra de la Universitatea din București, el i-a învățat pe studenți încă de la începutul activității sale didactice să iubească istoria și să aibă cea mai mare încredere în viitorul poporului român. Acesta este spiritul în care a lucrat, pe parcursul a mai mult de douăzeci de ani, cu o deosebită râvnă și o punctualitate exemplară. Corectitudinea, independența caracterului, acestea sunt calitățile deosebite ale lui Frollo, ce-l fac să rămână în amintirea celor care l-au cunoscut / Frollo identified a lot with his new homeland, he grew by his own merits at the department of the University of Bucharest, and he taught students, from the very beginning of his didactic career, how to love history and to have great confidence in the future of the Romanian people. This was his working spirit, for more than twenty years, with great ardor and exemplary punctuality. Uprightness, independence of character, these were Frollo's exceptional qualities, which made him remain in the memory of those who knew him.”*⁷⁸

Apart from Frollo and Spinazolla, Clelia Bruzzesi, teacher at the Central School, was also remarkable, and Marco Antonio Canini was also teacher of Italian for a short time. After the 1848 Revolution in Venice, he exiled himself in Constantinople, where he knew Romualdo Tecco, Omer pasha, György Klapka, and the countess of Belgioisio. The first of Canini's stays in the Principalities was the one from 1857 – 1859. He arrived in Bucharest in November 1857, he was a friend of Vasile Boerescu and G. Valentineanu, and he made himself known by the translation of the librettos of Verdi's operas. In 1858 he projected the foundation of a philological, scientific and commercial institute. Scarlat Kretzulescu, Ioan Lenș, Vasile Porumbaru, Gheorghe Magheru, Ștefan and Nicolae Golescu helped him with this initiative. In January 1859 he witnessed the election of Al. Ioan Cuza on the Moldavian throne, and gave him poetry about that occasion: *Inno alla Romania*. Canini also elaborated: *“Buletinul răzbelului din Italia”*, which was published between May 27/June 8 and 7/19 July 1859, with an ambitious program exposed in the first issue. Italy, from which Romania received the name and language in Antiquity, became “the heart of the modern civilization”. The editor's intention was to render the evolution of the French-Sardinian-Austrian war, on the basis of the

⁷⁶ Romanian Academy Library [hereafter, RAL], correspondence G. L. Frollo, S 8 (2)/CCCXXVIII.

⁷⁷ C. H. Niculescu, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁷⁸ Ion Bogdan, *Commemorazione funebre Gian Luigi Frollo*, 1899, LAR, Big archive 1830.

information from the Italian, French, German and English newspapers, not only for satisfying the readers' curiosity, but also for didactic reasons:

“România să fie gata nu numai a asculta istoria, dar și pentru a o face... de a o face în mod demn de străbunii și de frații lor francezi și italieni / Romania must be ready not only to pay attention to the history, but also to make it... to make it with dignity towards its ancestors and French and Italian brothers”⁷⁹.

An important space in the publication was occupied by the military information taken from “*Indépendance Belge*”, “Daily News”, “Morning Post”. There was news about the Magenta victory, the organization of the Sardinian army, the war preparations in France, the bloody battle of Solferino⁸⁰. The unity of the Neo-Latin languages, which became an obvious cultural reality, was in Canini's opinion one possible political-military alliance, with the purpose of defeating the common enemies:

“Nici o națiune din Europa nu e mai interesată în triumful alianței italo-franceze ca națiunea română; precum Austria apasă o mare parte din frumoasa Italie, apasă și o parte din frumoasa Românie / No European nation is more interested in the victory of the Italian-French alliance than the Romanian nation; Austria puts pressure not only on a large part of beautiful Italy, but also on a part of beautiful Romania.”⁸¹

Another temporary publication elaborated by Canini was “*Libertatea și înfrățirea popoarelor*”. In the first issue of July 9/21 1859, there was an article *Omul de la 2 Decembrie*, in which Napoleon III was accused of treason, after signing the peace treaty of Villafranca, according to which Venice continued to be a possession of the Austrian Empire. “*Napoleon cel Mic a mințit înaintea Italiei, înaintea lumii, înaintea lui Dumnezeu / Napoleon the Little lied to Italy, to the world, to God*”, he betrayed France, Italy, Poland and Romania, “*vechiul carbonar din 1832 a devenit mântuitorul Austriei, amicul lui Franz Iosef / the old 1832 carbonaro became the savior of Austria and Franz Josef's friend*”. The tragic destiny of Venice was expressed by the words:

“nenorociți italieni, dar mai cu seamă nenorociți venețieni! Ați văzut câteodată un om care stă să se înece și zărește o scândură și vrea să se apuce de dânsa, când deodată îi e smulsă din mâini? Astfel sunt sârmanii venețieni... Venețienii așteptau pe un alt Napoleon să repare crimele Franței de la 1797... Nenorocita Veneție, amăgită și trădată de două ori! / poor Italians, and especially poor Venetians! Have you ever seen a man drowning, who sees a board and wants to

⁷⁹ “Buletinul războiului din Italia”, no 1, May 27/ June 8, 1859.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, June 7/19, June 10/22, 13725 June 1859.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, May 29/June 9 1859.

grab it, but suddenly it is taken away from him? Such are poor Venetians... Venetians were waiting for another Napoleon to fix the crimes of France since 1797... Poor Venice, disappointed and betrayed twice!”

The article stirred the reaction of the French consul, Louis Béclard, who, on July 10/22 asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to firmly intervene against the Italian⁸². At his turn, Nicolae Kretzulescu, minister of internal affairs, intervened promptly, and on July 11/23 he was writing to the minister of foreign affairs:

*“Mai înainte de a primi adresa dumneavoastră cu nr. 1901, subscrisul, informându-mă cu indignațiune de vinovata cutezare a italianului M. A. Canini cu publicarea unui articol injurios asupra Maiestății sale Împăratul Napoleon..., luase-mi cuvenitele măsuri spre a nu rămânea asemenea faptă fără cuvenita sa pedeapsă și în urma comunicațiunii ce mi s-a făcut prin sus-citata dumneavoastră adresă, văzînd că susnumitul a dat la lumină fără autorizația guvernului gazeta intitulată Libertatea și Înfrățirea popoarelor, în care s-a publicat zisul articol, pe dată am dat ordin domnului Prefect al Poliției capitalei pentru oprirea acelei gazete, iar avînd în vedere îndoita culpă în care a căzut acel Canini și mai ales acele injurii ce au fost primite cu indignațiune de toți românii, abuzînd astfel de ospitalitatea ce a găsit în această țară, știind că acel italian a intrat în pămînt românesc fără pașaport și nici nu a găsi de cuviință, nici aici să reguleze după rînduielele așezate pentru străini prin poliție șederea lui în țară, apoi după unele ca acestea acel Canini, neputîndu-se considera decât ca vagabond, subscrisul a dat ordin poliției ca să scoată peste frontieră pe asemenea om, ce n-a știut să facă decât cea mai urăcioasă întrebuițare de ospitalitatea ce i s-a dat aici / Before receiving your address no 1901, the subscriber, learning with indignation about the blameworthy audacity of the Italian M. A. Canini, who published an injurious article about His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon..., I took the necessary measures in order not to let such deed unpunished, and after the communication that I received by means of your above-mentioned address, seeing that the above-named published the newspaper called *Libertatea și Înfrățirea popoarelor* without the government’s authorization, where he published the above-mentioned article, I gave immediate order to the Police Prefect of the capital, so that he should stop the publication of that newspaper, and taking into consideration the double mistake that Canini had made and especially those injuries received with indignation by all Romanians, thus abusing of the hospitality he has found in this country, knowing that that Italian entered the Romanian land without passport and did not find it suitable to settle according to the system established for strangers by the police, after all this Canini being considered nothing but a vagabond, the subscriber gave order to the police to banish such a man who did nothing else but use in the most unpleasant way the hospitality that was given to him here”⁸³.*

⁸² AIMAE, file 111, p. 228.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 230.

Canini tried once again to go to the Principalities in 1862, but he had to quit. Without giving up the friendships he had made here, he would maintain a rich correspondence with Vasile Boerescu. We find out from these letters about his intention to found a society in Turin, *Societatea Filarmonică*, through which personalities of the Italian culture could donate books for the Romanian National Library⁸⁴.

The teachers teaching music in Bucharest held a particular position. One of Ioan Cămpineanu's intimates was the music teacher Bongiani⁸⁵. In September 1849, Ludovic Guglielmi presented to the ruler Barbu Știrbei a project for the foundation of the National Philharmonic School. He was a composer, he had worked in Naples as a student of the Royal School of this city, and then he had had concerts in Milan, Vienna, and Paris⁸⁶. Benedetti Franchetti took over Guglielmo's project and founded a Philharmonic. In 1852, Franchetti, former fighter in Garibaldi's troops, came to Bucharest in order to lead the opera choir⁸⁷. In 1873, Ettore Carini, former component of Milan *La Scala*⁸⁸, became double bass teacher at the Conservatory, and Vaschelli taught music at Iulia Malanotti's academy. Cosimo Constanza and Margherita Tizzoni, singer at the Italian opera, also gave vocal music private lessons⁸⁹.

The Romanian state appealed to Italian specialists in different fields, in order to reorganize the cultural institutions. One of them was Carlo Ferrerati, naturalist and museographer. The directors of the universities in Turin and Genoa sent natural history objects to Bucharest⁹⁰. According to Benzi's recommendations⁹¹, Ferrerati became director of Bucharest National Museum, during 1860-1864. Ulysse de Marsillac appreciated the museographer's work as follows:

*“Să spunem înainte de toate, căci așa este drept, că excelenta stare în care se găsește astăzi Muzeul de Istorie Naturală din București este, în mare parte, opera domnului Ferrerati, fostul director al muzeului / First of all, it is a right thing to say that the current excellent condition of Bucharest Natural History Museum is very much Mr. Ferrerati's work, former director of the museum”*⁹².

⁸⁴ Canini to Vasile Boerescu, Turin, February 16, 1874, National Library, Saint Georges content, p. CXXVII, file 3.

⁸⁵ D. Rosetti, *Dicționarul contemporanilor*, Bucharest, 1898, p. 34.

⁸⁶ Gh. Pârnușă, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁸⁷ Ulysse de Marsillac, *Bucureștiul în veacul al XIX-lea*, Bucharest, 1999, p. 143.

⁸⁸ D. Rosetti, *Dicționarul contemporanilor*, p. 43.

⁸⁹ Gh. Pârnușă, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁹⁰ Strambio to Nicolae Kretzulescu, Bucharest, October 9/21 1859, MFA, Historical archive content, vol. 261, p. 6.

⁹¹ LAR, Ioan Bălăceanu correspondence, S 11(1)/CCCXLIII.

⁹² U. de Marsillac, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

After resigning from the director position, Ferrerati became dragoman of the Italian Agency and general Consulate⁹³. In the agronomic field, Ugo Calindri was called from Ancona⁹⁴. He did not stay in Wallachia for a long time because of some misunderstandings with the clerks, and he went back to his country⁹⁵.

Apart from Canini we could also mention G. Gargiulo and Enrico Croce as publicists, who tried to support in different ways the Romanian culture and cause before the European cabinets. The former was a music teacher, who studied in Academies of Rome and Milan. For a period of time he was a teacher at Bucharest Conservatory. In 1866 he was in Iași, applying for a music teacher job. Having no success, he came back to Bucharest, where he published the weekly newspaper of musical culture “*Eco musicale di Romania, ziar de muzică, belle-arte, teatru și varietăți*”⁹⁶, together with the poet N. Ținc, from 1896 to 1871. The periodical contained articles dedicated to the Romanian musical institutions: the Belle-Arte School⁹⁷, Bucharest School of Music⁹⁸, the Philharmonic Society⁹⁹, portraits of the singers: Malibran¹⁰⁰, the tenor Rubini¹⁰¹, of the composers: Carl Maria von Weber¹⁰², Cimarosa¹⁰³, Beethoven¹⁰⁴, Bellini¹⁰⁵. Every issue had chronicles of the Italian opera performances, at that time led by Benedetto Franchetti. The name of Enrico Croce, one of the most important Italian publicists, contributor to “*Revista Europeană*”, director of the newspaper “*Lombardia*”, was related to the publication in Bucharest of the biweekly “*La voce di Romania, primo diario italo-romeno in Romania*”, from October 31, 1878 to January 30, 1879. After traveling in Romania, Enrico Croce became a devoted supporter of Romanian independence in the Italian press. In this sense, he wrote to C. A. Rosetti:

*“Je suis enthousiaste de votre belle Roumanie, Monsieur Rosetti. J’ai cherché à plusieurs reprises d’entrer en correspondance avec vos hommes d’état et vos journalistes en leur offrant la publicité de mon journal pour tacher que la Roumanie est un peu mieux connu en Italie”*¹⁰⁶

⁹³ ANIC, *fond Ministerul de Interne*, file 59/1870, p. 151.

⁹⁴ Bodin, *Documente*, p. 277.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 281.

⁹⁶ Claudiu Isopescu, *La stampa periodica romeno-italiana in Romania e in Italia*, Rome, 1937, p. 22.

⁹⁷ “*Eco Musicale*”, no 2/1870.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, no 24/1870.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, no 3/1869.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, no 10/1869.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, no 11/1869.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, no 14/1870.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, no 23/1870.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, no 27/1870.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, no 33/1870.

¹⁰⁶ See the letter published by Alexandru Marcu in “*Roma*”, no 4, 1927, p. 32-35.

In the article program of the periodical “*La voce d’Italia*”, the editor’s generous and ambitious objectives were presented as follows: the desire to win over the Italian public opinion, in favor of the Romanian cause, to increase the awareness of the existence of a Latin space that fought with dignity for independence. In the 2nd issue, of October 22/November 3, 1878—the last one of the collection BAR—the articles are remarkable by their diversity. Under the title *Liga greco-latină*, there was the first appearance of the editorial that underlined the importance of Romanians and Greeks in the geopolitical strategy of Eastern Europe, considering them to be a very important barrier against pan-Slavism. There were presented information on the activity of the commission for the delimitation of the Dobrudja frontier between Bulgaria and Romania. In 1877, Luigi Cazzavillan came to Bucharest, being one of the most prolific Italian journalists settled in Romania. Born in 1852, he was involved as a young man in the battle for the liberation of Italy, participating in 1866 in the Austrian-Italian-Prussian war. During the French-Prussian conflict, he fought by the side of Garibaldi at Dijon, and was promoted sub-lieutenant. Then he became a clerk at the General Office of the railways in Turin. In 1876 he founded the Italian legion in order to fight in Serbia against the Turks. In 1877 he arrived in Romania, where he became war correspondent of the “*Secolo*” newspaper from Milan. Supported by C. A. Rosetti, he became a drawer at the Ministry of Public Works, and then an employer at the General Office of the railways. He became an Italian teacher at Sfântul Sava and Matei Basarab. After 1880 he began his career as a publicist¹⁰⁷.

Another important category was that of doctors. In 1831 Pietro Ferrari was mentioned, who had his doctor’s degree in medicine at Padua and who was decorated by Russia in 1833¹⁰⁸. In 1838 he was 63 years old and an Austrian subject¹⁰⁹. The 1838 inventory mentioned several doctors: Adolfo Pregli¹¹⁰, the surgeon Francesco Nisate, aged 35, single, Austrian subject¹¹¹. In 1844, the doctor Claudio Agostini suggested to Mavru a program for the control of the venereal diseases¹¹², and Eduard Vignali, who had had his doctor’s degree in medicine at Modena in 1853, began to practice medicine in Bucharest in 1863¹¹³. Several doctors arrived in the principalities on the occasion of the Crimean War. Thus, Volfrino Marini was a battalion doctor in the army, and then we would have a private consulting room in Bosel Passage. In 1872 he was a doctor of the blue dye, and in 1876 of the yellow dye¹¹⁴. In 1877 Eduard Caponi was in Bucharest as well, participating in the 1866

¹⁰⁷ Claudiu Isopescu, *op. cit.*, p. 28-32; Almanac of the Magazine “*Lumea ilustrată*”, 1898, p. 124.

¹⁰⁸ V. A. Urechia, *Istoria școalelor de la 1800-1864*, p. 255.

¹⁰⁹ ANIC, *fond Catagrafii*, Bucharest, 82/1838, p. 305.

¹¹⁰ ANIC, *fond Catagrafii*, Bucharest, 83/1838, position 1764.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, 82/1838, p. 238.

¹¹² Victor Gomoiu, *Repertoriu de medici, farmaciști, veterinari, din ținuturile românești. Adaos*, Bucharest, 1941, p. 9.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 454.

¹¹⁴ V. Gomoiu, *Repertoriu de medici, farmaciști, veterinari, din ținuturile românești*, I: *Before 1870*, Brăila, p. 267-268.

campaign in the northern part of Italy¹¹⁵. A remarkable figure among the pharmacists from Bucharest was Josif Raimondi, an Austrian subject who arrived here as early as 1800, and was owner of the “*La Speranza*” pharmacy. In 1833 he distinguished in the prevention of the cholera epidemic¹¹⁶. The 1838 census mentioned another Italian who was a pharmacist, a certain Giovanni aged 50, bachelor and inhabitant of the blue dye, in the Radu Vodă Street¹¹⁷.

The censuses data show the reality. Edifices were being built in Bucharest. The number of carpenters, painters, joiners, stone cutters, potters and brick makers was increasing. We have already mentioned the example of the 15 families, most of them Italian brick makers, who wanted to be naturalized. Apart from artisans, there were also “*arhitectoni*” [architects] and foreign engineers, brought by the municipalities in order to raise public edifices, or by private individuals¹¹⁸. The Italian architects known for their particular achievements also contributed to the building of several Bucharest constructions. From 1855 to 1874, G. Bonomelli would be part of the technical service of Bucharest town-hall and would build several private houses¹¹⁹. Other architects were Giulini¹²⁰ and Bolzano, who was mentioned as early as 1847, as a general director for bridges and roads¹²¹.

The Italian theatre of Bucharest was frequented by the elite. As early as the end of the 18th century, troupes of Italian artists performed throughout the principalities. In 1833 there was an initiative for the foundation of an Italian theatre, when Honore Costa and Claude Bongianini addressed a petition to Pavel Kiselev. In this petition they mentioned the fact that the village *vornic* Mihail Cornescu was ready to build a theatre on a land that belonged to him. There was supposed to be a troupe of 14 actors and 24 musicians. Although the petition was not approved, the two petitioners still remained in the principalities. Costa would be consultant of the town-hall in examining the foreign artists, and Bongianini would teach in the Philharmonic School¹²². The Italian opera was founded in 1843, when V. Sansoni concluded a contract with Bucharest town-hall and received a subvention of 600 imperial ducats. He had to present two new operas per month. The first representation was on September 15, 1844, with *Norma*. It should be mentioned that nearly all the repertoire of the foreign troupes was made of Italian operas. In the “*Curierul Românesc*” it was mentioned that:

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, Appendage, p. 29.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, I, p. 353.

¹¹⁷ ANIC, *fond Catagrafii*, Bucharest, 85/1838, p. 107.

¹¹⁸ Ionel Zănescu, *Meșteri și arhitecți constructori în Bucureștii primei jumătăți a veacului al XIX-lea*, “*Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie*”, XII, 1997, p. 82.

¹¹⁹ Cezara Mucenic, *Bucureștii, un veac de arhitectură civilă. Secolul XIX*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 56.

¹²⁰ I. Zănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

¹²¹ Gh. T. Marinescu, *Documente privitoare la Brăila*, I, Brăila, 1929, p. 56.

¹²² Ion Horea Rădulescu, *Contribuții la istoria operei italiene din București*, “*Studii italiene. Roma*”, IV, 1937, p. 38-40.

“*Limba italiană o socotesc ca o nouă arie și un frumos început pentru cultivarea limbei noastre și opera italiană ca o adevărată însuflețire a gustului celui întreg asupra muzicei. Numai teatrul italian poate să ne fie un bun model și adevărat învățător pentru un teatru național / I consider the Italian language to be a new aria and a beautiful beginning for the cultivation of our language, and the Italian opera to be a true liveliness of the entire taste for music. It is only the Italian theatre that can be a good model and a true teacher for a national theatre*”¹²³.

The opera had representations four times a week. At that time, the one responsible for bringing the troupes was Benedetto Franchetti. Thus, the inhabitants of Bucharest could listen to the famous singers: Ponti dell’Armi, Patierno, Milesi, Sparapani, Bertollazzi¹²⁴. Before Franchetti, Harieta Karl Philippidieu¹²⁵ and Ulise Crețeanu¹²⁶ were the ones responsible for the destiny of the Italian theatre. After 1858, Vasile Hiotu was responsible for the destiny of the Italian opera for some time¹²⁷.

Among the Italian sculptors settled in Bucharest, we should mention Filippo Oliva from San Remo, former military, who was already in the capital in 1846¹²⁸. Unfortunately, he died six years later, when he was coming back from Livorno, where he had bought some marble¹²⁹. One of his eight children, Pietro, would follow his father’s profession.

The archives also kept some cases of Italians who infringed the country’s laws, and the Romanian authorities had to take measures against them. One of them was Mariano Cedrowski, who arrived in Bucharest in 1852 and lived at the hotel for some time. Because he had no money to pay for the hotel services, the owner took his free pass that he had received at his arrival in the capital and notified the police about the existence of the Sardinian subject. As his passport was expired and he had no free pass, Cedrowski did not go to the police, but he took refuge in the house of a Jew that he knew. After a while he was confined by the police, and thus an incident was started, in which there were involved the general consulate of Great Britain-the Sardinian subject from the capital being under his jurisdiction-, the Romanian authorities, the representative of Sardinian agency in Constantinople, Miglioratti, the minister of foreign affairs of the Sublime Porte, Aali pasha. The correspondence between the above-mentioned personalities in March-May 1852 was numerous, and it shows once again the efforts of the Romanian authorities to supervise the foreigners who breached the law in what passports were concerned. It is an example

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 50-51.

¹²⁴ U. de Marsillac, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

¹²⁵ AIMB, *fond Primăria orașului București* [Bucharest Townhall content], file 9/1847, p. 1.

¹²⁶ AIMB, *fond Primăria orașului București*, file 116/1854, p. 2.

¹²⁷ A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Câteva documente din 1860 privind legăturile noastre cu Italia*, “Studii italiene. Roma”, VII, 1940, p. 163.

¹²⁸ Bodin, *Documente*, p. 179.

¹²⁹ ANIC, Italian microfilms collection, reel 4, c. 816.

that demonstrates the pressure that was made by the foreign consulates on the Romanian authorities, in order to protect the interests of the foreign subjects, in the detriment of the internal legislation. Another case was that of Giuseppe Guazio. In May 1862, he was arrested because he had no passport. By the note dating from May 6th, 1862, the Italian Agency in Bucharest protested, showing that the Italian had been illegally confined, without mentioning the fact that he had no passport¹³⁰. However, Corlătescu, the prefect of Prahova district, wrote in a telegram dating from May 19:

*“Giuseppe Guazio nu a fost arestat și nici nu este arestat. Găsit fără pașaport a dat garanția să aducă în șase zile / Giuseppe Guazio has not been and isn't currently arrested. He was found without passport but he guaranteed bringing it within six days.”*¹³¹

The documents also prove the collaboration between the Romanian and Italian authorities for the apprehension of several delinquents. In 1862, the Italian agency in Bucharest was asking for the help of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in order to apprehend Ludovic Raimondi,

*“supus italian, care a fugit de la Pisa cu mai multe obiecte de valoare furate de la marchizul Tanari, prefectul zisului oraș și că se asigură că furul ar fi luat drumul Turciei și că ar fi probabil ca el să vie a se refugia în principate, poate cu hârtii false și sub un pseudonim / Italian subject, who had run away from Pisa with several valuable objects stolen from marquis Tanari, the prefect of the so-called town and they were sure that the thief had gone to Turkey and he would probably come to take refuge in the principalities, perhaps with false papers and a pseudonym”*¹³².

There were also those about it was known that they had come to the principalities, but their trace had been lost. We should remind only two of these numerous cases. In 1860, a certain Jean Veitzeker from Genoa was hunted by the police. He was married to a Piedmont woman and was a Sardinian subject. During the Crimean War, he had settled in Bucharest where he taught French and Italian¹³³. In 1866, Comelli Antonio, a mason settled in Bucharest, was being looked for by his wife¹³⁴.

¹³⁰ ANIC, *fond Ministerul de Interne*, file 461 / 1862, p. 5.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 2. There was also a description of the thief: age 27, medium stature, blue eyes, scar at the back of the head, brown hair, and the stolen object were: a pin and a brilliant brooch, three golden bracelets and one with black enamel with diamond stars, another one with pearls, 100 francs.

¹³³ AIMAE, file 77, p. 118-119.

¹³⁴ ANIC, *fond Ministerul de Interne*, file 237/1863, p. 2.

The archivist documents from the period we analyzed prove the permanent or temporary settlement of the Italians, most of them natives of the north-western parts of the peninsula. In the last quarter of the century, as the last researches have shown¹³⁵, the geographical area where the Italians would come from would be the north-eastern region, and their number at the edge of the 19th and 20th centuries would be increasing, this period being considered by specialists the peak of “the great emigration”. We tried to demonstrate that from 1831 to 1878 the Italians settled in Bucharest had different professions. If during the first decades there predominated the liberal professions-teachers, doctors, chemists, publicists, artists-since 1860 there were mentioned especially merchants, small enterprisers, but mostly architects, constructors, workers involved in town-planning activities, roads and railways construction. This idea is happily expressed at the beginning of the 20th century by one of the Italians whose family had been settled in Romania decades before:

“În orice muncă dificilă, în orice lucru unde se întâlnea lupta titanică a umanității pentru progres: căi ferate, construcții grandioase, instalații electrice complicate, de la tunelul de la Simplon până la digurile egiptene, de la reșterea orașelor elvețiene și germane până la cultura pământului în La Plata, muncitorul italian, robust, ferm, neobosit ne apare ca un campion al muncii / In any hard work, in any thing where one could see the titanic effort of humanity for progress: railways, great buildings, complicated electrical installations, from the Simplon tunnel to the Egyptian dams, from the reconstruction of the Swiss and German cities to the land culture in La Plata, the Italian worker, vigorous, firm, assiduous, appears as a champion of work.”¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Dinu Rudolf, *Appunti per una storia dell'emigrazione italiana in Romania nel periodo 1878-1914: il Veneto come il principale serbatoio di piccole comunità in movimento*, in *Dall'Adriatico al Mar Nero: veneziani e romeni tracciati di storie comuni* (ed. by Grigore Arbore Popescu), Rome, 2003; Antonio Ricci, *Gli italiani in Romania: migranti tra Ottocento e Novecento*, “Anuarul Institutului Italo-Român”, 2004, p. 206-225.

¹³⁶ I. Barberis, *Despre relațiunile între România și Italia*, “Revista Ateneului”, 1907, no 2, p. 15.