

MUZEUL DE ISTORIE GALAȚI

DANUBIUS
XXIX



GALAȚI
2011

MUZEUL DE ISTORIE GALAȚI

DANUBIUS
XXIX

Editura Muzeului de Istorie Galați
2011

COLEGIUL ȘTIINȚIFIC:

Mihalache BRUDIU (Galați); Anne-Marie CASSOLY (Strasbourg); Virgil CIOCÂLTAN (București); Ion T. DRAGOMIR (Galați); Constantin FROSIN (Galați); Viaceslav KUSHNIR (Odessa); Florin MARINESCU (Atena); Mihai MAXIM (Istanbul); Nikolai MIHĂILUȚĂ (Odessa); Silviu MILOIU (Târgoviște); Crișan MUȘETEANU (București); Ioan OPRÎȘ (București); Dan RĂPĂ-BUICLIU (Galați); Martin RILL (Ulm); Ion SANDU (Iași); Silviu SANIE (Iași); Victor SPINEI (Iași); Marian STROIA (București); Mihai-Dimitrie STURDZA (Paris); Elena TÎRZIMAN (București); Ion ȘIȘCANU (Cahul); Taras VINSTKOVSKII (Odessa)

RESPONSABILI ANTERIORI AI REVISTEI:

Ion T. DRAGOMIR, Ștefan STANCIU

COLEGIUL DE REDACȚIE:

Cristian-Dragoș CĂLDĂRARU - redactor responsabil
George ENACHE - redactor șef
Ovidiu NEDU - secretar științific
Virgil NISTRU-ȚIGĂNUȘ, Eugen DRĂGOI, Elena-Ingrid BAHAMAT,
Decebal NEDU – redactori

Traduceri și corectura textelor în limbi străine:

Ovidiu NEDU, Cornelia BUJOR, Igor NICULCEA, Raluca SARĂU

Machetă grafică și Desktop Publishing:

Liliana - Carmen PALADE

RECENZORI INVITAȚI PENTRU NR. XXIX/2011:

lect. dr. Ovidiu COTOI (Galați); prof. dr. Lucrețiu MIHĂILESCU-BĂRLIBA (Iași); prof. dr. Octavian BOUNEGRU (Iași); cercet. șt. princ. I Ileana CĂZAN (București); lect. dr. Constantin I. STAN (Galați); cercet. șt. princ. Elena ȘIȘCANU (Chișinău); lect. dr. Silviu LUPAȘCU (Galați); prof. dr. Marian COJOC (Constanța); cercet. dr. Silviu B. MOLDOVAN (București); lect. dr. Gabriel-Dorin PANDELE (Galați); lect. dr. Lucia SAVA (Cahul)

I.S.S.N. 1220 - 5052

CUPRINS/CONTENT

ARHEOLOGIE. ISTORIE ANTICĂ/ ARCHAEOLOGY. ANCIENT HISTORY

**Costel Ilie, Mircea Nicu, Adrian Adamescu, Paul Ciobotaru,
Daniela Alecsa**

The Preventive Research from Negrileşti – School Yard Site, 2011 Campaign
Situl „Negrileşti-Curtea şcolii”. Cercetare preventivă 2011.....7

Paul Ciobotaru

*Historical and Archaeological Realities on the Valley of the Siret River (IVth
Century BC - 1st Century AD)*
Realităţi istorico-arheologice pe Valea Siretului (secolele IV a. Chr. - I p. Chr.)..19

Aurel Vîlcu, Costel Ilie

Golden Staters from the Collections of the History Museum of Galaţi
Stateri de aur din colecţiile Muzeului de Istorie din Galaţi.....59

Decebal Nedu

Q. Fabius Rullianus and the Etruscan War from 311-308 B.C.
Q. Fabius Rullianus şi războiul etrusc din 311-308 a. Chr.....75

Andreea Barboş

*Limitations of the Involvement of Women in the Roman Public Life, during the
Republic*
*Limitarea implicării femeilor în viaţa publică romană în timpul
Republicii.....83*

ISTORIE MEDIEVALĂ/ MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Nicolae Bacalbaşa

Stănileşti 1711 – obiectiv şi subiectiv
Stănileşti 1711 – Objective and Subjective.....93

Danubius, XXIX, Galaţi, 2011, p. 1-358.

ISTORIE MODERNĂ/ MODERN HISTORY

Maria Magdalena Tuluș

Demographic and Ethnic Aspects in the View of the Foreigners That Travelled to the Harbours of the Danube (1801-1853)

Aspecte demografice și etnice din perspectiva călătorilor străini, în porturile dunărene (1801-1853).....103

Paul Păltănea

V. A. Urechia, convorbiri cu felibrii

V.A. Urechia. Conversations with the Felibres123

Pr. Eugen Drăgoi

Biserica „Adormirea Maicii Domnului“ din Roșcani, Județul Galați. Câteva mărturii și documente inedite

The Church “The Dormition of the Theotokos” from Roșcani, Galați County. Some Unpublished Documentary Testimonies.....145

Constantin Ardeleanu

Some Information Regarding the Prisons of Galați (Galatz) at the Middle of the XIXth Century

Câteva informații privind închisorile din Galați la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea.....157

Elena-Ingrid Bahamat

Views on the Costs of Life in Galați, at the End of the XIXth Century and the Beginning of the XXth

Considerații asupra costului vieții în orașul Galați la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea.....163

Daniela Bușă

Investments of Foreign Capital in the Romanian Economy at the Beginning of the XXth Century

Investiții străine de capital în economia României la începutul secolului XX.....197

Mariana-Delia Pohrib

<i>Actul constitutiv și Statutele Comunității Bulgare din Galați (1930)</i> <i>The Constitutive Act and the Statutes of the Bulgarian Community from Galați (1930)</i>	211
---	-----

ISTORIE CONTEMPORANĂ/ CONTEMPORARY HISTORY**Florian Banu**

<i>The Imprint of the Securitate on the Destiny of a Man of Culture - Nicolae Carandino (1905 - 1996)</i> <i>Amprenta Securității asupra destinului unui om de cultură – Nicolae Carandino (1905-1996)</i>	229
---	-----

Liviu Țăranu

<i>Coordinates of the Economic Strategy in Communist Romania (1953-1989)</i> <i>Coordonate ale strategiei economice în România comunistă (1953-1989)</i>	247
---	-----

George Enache

<i>Romania's Relations with the International Terror Movements in the 1970s-1980s</i> <i>Relațiile României cu mișcarea teroristă internațională în anii '70-'80</i>	257
---	-----

ISTORIA CULTURII/ CULTURAL HISTORY**Ludmila Chiciuc**

<i>Notes Regarding the Historical Perspectives of Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu</i> <i>Note privind concepția istorică a lui Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu</i>	281
---	-----

Ovidiu Nedu

<i>O scriere budhistă fundamentală: Vasubandhu, VIJÑAPTIMĀTRATĀSIDDHI. VIMŚIKĀKĀRIKĀ cu VIMŚIKĀKĀRIKĀVṚTTI (Stabilirea existenței unice a idețiilor. Tratatul în 20 de versete, cu Comentariul la Tratatul în 20 de versete)</i> <i>A Buddhist Major Work: Vasubandhu, VIJÑAPTIMĀTRATĀSIDDHI. VIMŚIKĀKĀRIKĀ with VIMŚIKĀKĀRIKĀVṚTTI (The Establishment of the Sole Existence of Representations. The Treatise in 20 Verses, with the Commentary on the Treatise in 20 Verses)</i>	287
--	-----

Marius Mitrof

Architecture and Private Space. The Mansion from Ghidigeni
*Arhitectură și spațiu privat. Ansamblul conacului de la Ghidigeni.....*313

Viorica Pisică

Mihail Kogălniceanu's Monument in Galați
*Monumentul de la Galați al lui Mihail Kogălniceanu.....*337

RESTAURARE/RESTORATION**Corneliu Moraru**

The Restoration of a Polish Cavalry Sword from the Middle of the XVIIth Century
*Restaurarea unei spade poloneze de cavalerie de la mijlocul secolului al XVII-lea.....*345

IN MEMORIAM**Virgil Nistru Țigănuș**

Pavană pentru un spirit de veghe. Istoricul Mihai Cojocaru (1929-2011)
*An Eulogy for an Awake Spirit. The Historian Mihai Cojocaru (1929-2011).....*353

ABREVIERI/ABBREVIATION LIST.....357

*Costel ILIE**, *Mircea NICU***, *Adrian ADAMESCU****,
*Paul CIOBOTARU*****, *Daniela ALECSA******

THE PREVENTIVE RESEARCH FROM NEGRILEȘTI – SCHOOL YARD SITE, 2011 CAMPAIGN

-Abstract-

The archaeological research at Negrilești - School Yard Site continued in 2011 as well through the study of three units, SM1 magisterial section (70m/2m) and Boxes 1 (2m/2) and 2 (6m/4m).

The research of these units revealed three dwellings specific to Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture, two habitation complexes from the modern age, 26 holes dating to the Bronze Age, the Post-Roman age (4th century AD) and the modern age; a hearth, as well as several material remnants from the 18th-19th centuries (cellar, water duct, ceramics, metal, glass).

The research carried out in Negrilești - School Yard site in 2011 confirms once more the continuous human habitation in different historical periods and, especially, in the 4th-5th centuries, Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov - type discoveries being extremely numerous.

Keywords: archaeological research, Negrilești - School Yard Site, Galați County, archaeological complexes, Bronze Age, Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture

SITUL „NEGRILEȘTI-CURTEA ȘCOLII” . CERCETARE PREVENTIVĂ 2011

-Rezumat-

Cercetările arheologice au continuat în situl Negrilești, jud. Galați și în anul 2011, prin studierea celor trei unități de săpătură practicate, secțiunea magistrală SM 1(70m/2m), și casele Cas. 1(2m/2m), Cas.2(6m/4m).

Cercetarea acestor unități de săpătură a permis punerea în evidență a trei locuințe specifice culturii Sântana de Mureș-Černjachov, a două complexe

* History Museum of Galați, costelilie@gmail.com.

** Tecuci Mixed Museum.

*** History Museum of Galați, nutu_adamescu@yahoo.com.

**** Tecuci Mixed Museum, paulciobotaru2008@yahoo.com.

***** Tecuci Mixed Museum.

de locuire din epoca modernă, a 26 de gropi datate în epoca bronzului, postromană (secolul IVp. Chr.) și modernă; o vatră, precum și a unor resturi materiale din perioada secolelor XVIII-XIX (beci, conductă de aducțiune a apei, ceramică, metal, sticlă).

Cercetarea efectuată în situl Negrilești-Curtea Școlii, în anul 2011, confirmă încă odată continua locuire umană în diferite perioade istorice și îndeosebi în perioada secolelor IV-V, descoperirile de tip Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov, fiind extrem de numeroase.

Cuvinte cheie: cercetări arheologice, situl Negrilești-Curtea Școlii, județ Galați, complexe arheologice, epoca bronzului, cultura Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov

The archaeological research at Negrilești - School Yard Site continued in 2011 as well, by tracing several research units by the school buildings and the sports ground. The choice of this area was made due to the intentions of Negrilești Hall, Galați County, to rearrange the land afferent to the middle school. As the targeted area has around 4000 m, the research campaign of 2011 was focused on revealing the archaeological value of a 170 sqm area.

1. Research units, stratigraphy

Given the amplitude of the rearrangement works to be carried out in the following years by the local authorities in Negrilești school yard, we decided to perform a magisterial section on the East-West direction, starting from 18.5 m from the South-Western corner of the Western building of the school. For a better framing of the research we went on to grid the site perimeter in 50mx50m sectors. The area researched this year is located in sectors B5 and B6, in the South-Eastern part of the site. The research was aimed at the stratigraphic check of the land by tracing a 70 m line, on the East-West direction and two cases.

I.1. SM1 section

Localised 18.5 m west from the South-Western corner of the Western building of the school, in the South-Eastern part of the site, the section is E-W oriented, its sizes being of 70/2 m.

The aim of performing this section was to determine the living density among the research units of the previous years, in points "Heating station" (Sc1-Sc5)¹ and "School Yard" (S3-S6)². The section was divided in 2mx2m panes,

¹ Ilie Costel, Nicu Mircea, Adamescu Adrian, Ciobotaru Paul, "Negrilești - School Yard" *Preventive Archaeological Research Report*, in Chronicle of the Archaeological Researches of Romania, Campaign 2009, CiMeC, 2010; Idem, "Negrilești - School Yard" *Preventive Archaeological Research Report*, in Chronicle of the Archaeological Researches of Romania, Campaign 2010, CiMeC, 2011.

numbered from East to West. The highest density of archaeological complexes was found in the Eastern part of the section, panes 1-9. In this part of the section, most of the archaeological traces date to the 4th century A.D., some ceramics from the 7th-19th century and, isolatedly, from the Bronze Age.

In panes 15-30, there are habitation areas specific to Sântana de Mureş-Černjachov culture, as well as three arrangements and archaeological material from the modern ages.

This section revealed two habitations specific to Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture, 25 holes dating to the Bronze Age, 4th century A.D., modern age, a hearth, as well as some material remnants from the 18th-19th centuries (cellar, water duct, ceramics, metal, glass). We also sampled ceramic fragments from the Bronze Age, traces of habitation specific to Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture, consisting in ceramic fragments, processed bone and metal objects, as well as materials from then modern age, ceramics, pipes, metal and glass objects.

The stratigraphy of this section is the following: the living soil is overlapped by a habitation level from the Bronze Age, with ceramic material specific to Noua culture, followed by a consistent habitation level belonging to Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture, after which, here and there, ceramic fragments specific to 8th-9th centuries, over which the cultural layer specific to the modern era and the vegetal layer.

I.2. Box 1

It was opened past pane 17 of SM1, perpendicular on its Southern side, N-S orientation and 2x2m sizes.

The box was opened for revealing the continuity of dwelling L2 which appeared in the section, past pane 17. From the same box, we took ceramic fragments specific to Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture, concentrated on the Northern side of the box, area in which the Southern limit of L2 is located. The stratigraphy is similar to the one in SM1.

I.3 Box 2

It was opened on the Northern side of SM1, past panes 5-7, N-S orientation and 6x4 m sizes.

The box was opened for revealing the continuity of dwelling L1 which appeared in the section SM1, in panes 5-7. It was divided in six panes, numbered from South to North, with Arabic numbers (1, 2, 3) and from East to West with letters (A, B).

In the box we could notice the continuity of the dwelling L1 in panes 1A, 1B, 2A, 2B, overlapped by another, L3, which appeared at - 0.45 m - 0.75 m. Dwelling L3 was provided with a hearth laid on a layer of pebbles and pounded earth.

² Mircea Nicu, Costel Ilie, *Preventive Archaeological Research Report. Negrileşti – School Yard Archaeological Site*, in *Chronicle of the Archaeological Researches of Romania*, Campaign 2008, CiMeC 2009.

In pane 3B, we found a part of a modern arrangement: a fragment of a brick wall, a layer of lime and clay. In pane 3B, at -0.90 m, the contour of an oven could be seen. It was not further investigated during this campaign due to lack of money and time. Panes 3A and 3B were preserved in view of resuming researches the next year.

We also identified two holes in the box, Gr.25 on the Eastern side of L3 and Gr.26 on the Western side, in pane 2B.

This box revealed ceramic fragments, metal and bone objects, specific to Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture and from the modern age.

II. Archaeological complexes

On the researched surface, we came across several areas with agglomeration of archaeological material, ceramics, pieces of adobe, brick, glass, metal, generically named "complex" (Cpl. 1-10), as well as structures used as heating sources or water adduction elements. Among the 10 identified complexes, 4 proved to be dwellings, 2 from the 4th century A.D. and 2 from the modern age. The other 6 complexes represent arrangements from the above-mentioned periods, whose shape, sizes and utility we have not determined so far.

II. 1. Dwellings

Dwelling 1 (L1) was found in SM1, in panes 5-7, between - 0.90 and - 1.40 m. It is a hollowed, rectangular dwelling, of NW-SE orientation and measures 2.90 m x 2.40 m. A box was opened (box 2) for determining its sizes. The ceramic material is specific to Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture.

Dwelling 2 (L2) appeared in SM1, panes 16-17, at - 0.50 m. In order to capture the entire dwelling Box 1 was opened. The shape could not be determined, the identified sizes being 2 x 2.60 m. It probably continues to the North of SM1. The ceramic material is specific to Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture.

Dwelling 3 (L3) was identified in Box 2, at - 0.75 m. Rectangular in shape, measuring 2.90 m x 2.50 m, the dwelling is of NW-SE orientation. On the Western side, a hearth and numerous ceramic fragments were identified, specific to the 4th century A.D.

Dwelling 4 (L4) was found in SM1, panes 14-15, at - 0.25 m. It has NW-SE orientation and measures 2.60 m x 0.80 m. The discovered material is from the modern age and consists and ceramic fragments, broken brick, pipes and a bronze ear ring.

Dwelling 5 (L5) was found in SM1, panes 22-25, at - 0.20 m. It has NW-SE orientation, the identified sizes being 7 m x 2.20 m. The discovered material is from the modern age and consists and ceramic fragments, broken brick, pipes. The dwelling had been fitted with a cellar, which deepened down to -2.90 m. On the cellar bottom, we identified the traces of some pillar holes which were supporting the floor.

II.2. Holes

The most numerous category of archaeological complexes is represented by holes of various shapes and sizes, one dating to the Bronze Age, nine to the 4th century AD, four to the modern age and twelve lacked inventory.

Hole 1 was found at - 0.50 m, in pane 8. It is a circular hole, 1.05 m in diameter and ends at - 0.65 m. The sampled material consists in ceramic and bone fragments, cinder, brick remains, a fragmentary vase and a nail, all specific to the modern age.

Hole 2, circular in shape and 0.80 m in diameter, was found at - 0.55 m, in pane 2. In this hole, we only found charcoal traces. The hole, which appeared at the level of Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture, ends at - 1.50 m.

Hole 3 appeared at - 0.60 m, in pane 22, it is circular in shape and 0.70 m in diameter and deepens down to - 0.80 m. It contained no archaeological material.

Hole 4 was identified in pane 16, at - 1.10 m, it is bell shaped and ends at - 2.35 m. The hole measures 0.70 m in the upper part and 1.40 at the bottom. The material contained by this hole comprised burning traces and ceramic fragments specific to Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture.

Hole 5, circular in shape and 1.35 m in diameter, was identified in panes 13-14, at the depth of - 1.10 m. The hole ends at - 2.20 m and contains bone material, charcoal and ceramic fragments dating to 4th century AD.

Hole 6, circular in shape and 1.10 m in diameter, appeared at - 1.00 m and ended at - 1.85 m. The sampled material consisted in adobe, grey and tile-coloured ceramics, bone fragments, a bone tube, specific to the 4th century AD: We also found charcoal pieces, soldering fragments and a snail agglomeration was identified adobe the hole.

Hole 7 was identified at - 0.60 m, it goes down to - 1.20 m and measures 1.45 m in diameter. It contained several ceramic fragments specific to the 4th century AD.

Hole 8, circular and measuring 0.90 m in diameter, appeared at - 0.80 m and ended at - 1.20 m. It lacked inventory.

Hole 9, rectangular in shape, measuring 0.80 m x 0.70 m, appeared at - 1.10 m and ended at - 1.50 m. This hole too lacked material.

Hole 10, rectangular in shape, measuring 1.70 x 1.50 m, appeared as a great spot of black earth between - 1.10 m and - 1.27 m, without inventory.

Hole 11 appeared at the depth of - 1.60 m and ended at - 1.90 m. The circular hole, measuring 1.50 m in diameter, had no inventory.

Hole 12, rectangular in shape and measuring 0.70 m x 0.70 m, was identified at - 65 m and - 1.85 m and contained ceramic fragments specific to the Bronze Age.

Hole 13, identified between - 1.40 m and - 1.50 m, circular in shape and 0.80 m in diameter, was devoid of archaeological material.

Hole 14, identified between - 1.45 m and - 1.65 m, circular in shape and measuring 0.70 m x 0.40 m, was devoid of archaeological material.

Hole 15, identified between - 1.65 m and - 1.95 m, circular in shape and measuring 1.30 m in diameter, was devoid of archaeological material.

Hole 16, identified between - 1.80 m and - 2.20 m, oval in shape and measuring 0.80 m x 1.40 m, was devoid of archaeological material.

Hole 17, oval in shape, measuring 0.95 m x 2 m, half under the Southern profile, appeared at - 1.85 m and went down to - 2.55 m. None fragments were taken from this hole, among which a dog skeleton, as well as ceramic fragments specific to the Bronze Age.

Hole 18, identified between -0.60 m and - 1.60 m, circular in shape and measuring 1.10 m in diameter, was devoid of archaeological material.

Hole 19, identified between - 1.84 m and - 2.90 m, bell-shaped and measuring 1.90 m in diameter, contained archaeological material consisting in brick mixed with lime, charcoal, rotten wood and modern ceramic fragments.

Hole 20, identified between - 1.40 m and - 2.80 m, of slightly elongated circular shape, measuring 1.05 m x 1.27 m, contained no archaeological material.

Hole 21, identified between - 1.80 m and - 2.05 m, probably circular in shape (it was found in the Southern profile, only about 30 cm entering the section), measuring 0.30 m x 1.60 m, contained no archaeological material.

Hole 22 was identified in dwelling L5, between - 2.50 m and - 2.65 m. Circular in shape and -0.60 m in diameter, the hole contained brick fragments and several seashells.

Hole 23 was identified in dwelling L5, between - 2.24 m and - 2.75 m. Circular in shape and -0.95 m in diameter, the hole contained charcoal traces, adobe, ceramic fragments, bones, specific to the modern age.

Hole 24 was identified in dwelling L5, between - 2.45 m and - 2.90 m. It has an irregular rectangular shape and measures up to 0.80 m x 0.90 m. It contained broken bricks, ceramic fragments, bones, glass, charcoal traces specific to the modern age.

Hole 25, which pertained to dwelling 3 of Box 2, was identified at the depth of - 2.00 m, it ends at - 2.60 m and measures 1.60 m in diameter and is circular in shape. The hole contains ceramic fragments specific to Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture.

Hole 26 appeared in the Western profile of Cs2, being partially studied and contained ceramic material specific to Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture.

II. 3. Hearth

It appeared in Box 2, at - 0.45 m, on the Western side of L3, measuring 0.80 m x 0.70 m. It has a 1.5 cm crust, being placed on a layer of small and medium rocks, above pounded earth. Around it, numerous ceramic fragments were found, specific to Sântana de Mureş - Černjachov culture.

II.4. Water duct

It appeared in SM1, at - 0.35 m. The duct, made of tiles with the length of 0.30 m and diameter of 0.10 m, was placed directly on the ground, with NNE-SSW orientation. The duct found this year, dating to the modern age, is different from the one identified in the previous campaigns of 2008-2009³, as it is not protected by bricks and the tiles have a smaller diameter.

III. Archaeological material

As in the previous campaigns, the archaeological material covers, in different proportions, the Bronze Age, Post-Roman age (Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture), 17th-10th centuries AD and the beginning of the modern age. The discovery of the respective materials in various points confirms human habitation on a rather wide area on this border of Bârlad River, in different periods.

According to the archaeological material, specific to Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture, this territory was intensively inhabited during the Post-Roman age, as was the entire basin of Bârlad River.

The ceramics belonging to Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture discovered in Negrileşti, as well as the entire archaeological material from this historical period finds analogies in many of the stations researched within the scope of this culture.

At Negrileşti, we find both hand-made and wheel-thrown ceramics, with various subtypes in terms of the paste used, the techniques the shape of the vases and their ornamentation.

The hand-made ceramics is generally obtained of rough paste, including ground ceramics, chalk and pebbles, tile-coloured or grey tile-coloured, incompletely burnt. From this category, we have found this year ceramic fragments coming from cups and pots decorated with simple and alveolar bands.⁴

Regarding the wheel-thrown ceramics, according to the used pasta and the processing techniques, we identify three sub-types: coarse-grained ceramics with sand, chalk and pebbles in its composition, grey and tile-coloured; medium paste

³ *Ibidem*; "Negrileşti - School Yard" Preventive Archaeological Research Report, in Chronicle of the Archaeological Researches of Romania, Campaign 2009, CiMeC, 2010.

⁴ Stela Țau, Mircea Nicu, *Necropola din secolul al IV-lea e. n. de la Barcea (jud. Galați) (Barcea Necropolis (Galați County) dating to the 4th century AD)*, in Archaeological Materials and Researches, Bucharest, 1983, p. 423, fig. 4; *Idem*, *Săpăturile arheologice din necropola birituală din secolul al IV-lea e. n. de la Barcea, jud. Galați (Archaeological Excavations from Barcea, Galați County Bi-Ritual Necropolis of the 4th century AD)*, în Archaeological Materials and Researches, Bucharest, 1986, p. 173, fig. 1; Octavian Liviu Șovan, *Necropola de tip Sântana de Mureș-Černjachov de la Mihălășeni (județul Botolani) (Sântana de Mureș-Černjachov-type Necropolis from Mihălășeni (Botoșani County))*, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, Târgoviște, 2005, pp. 165-166; Vasile Palade, *Așezarea și necropola de la Bârlad – Valea Seacă. Secolele III-IV (Bârlad - Valea Seacă Establishment and Necropolis. The 3rd-4th centuries*, Arc Publishing House, 2000, Bucharest, 2004, pp. 182-188.

ceramics, grey coloured, with engobe, with pebbles and chalk in its composition; fine paste ceramics, tile and grey coloured, polished. The first subtype includes large vases and pots, with incised and waving incised lines.⁵ The second subtype includes different shapes of pots, large vases, bowls and cups.⁶ The last subtype comprises jugs, cups, pans with three handles, bowls, with polished lines.⁷

Next to the locally manufactured ceramics we encounter imported medium and fine paste ceramics, yellowish and red in colour, with traces of red paint; specific shapes: amphorae, jugs and pots.⁸

Both the habitation level dating to the Post-Roman age and the surface of the researched dwellings produces archaeological materials made of metal⁹ (fibula, mirror fragment), bone¹⁰ (comb fragment) or brunt umber, whorls¹¹ and weights¹².

The campaign of 2011 also resulted in a rich faunistic material, notable especially through the presence of a dog skeleton discovered in hole 17.

The archaeological material specific to the modern age is made of a varied range of enamelled and unenamelled ceramics, faience, porcelain, glass and metal.

The research carried out in Negrilești - School Yard site in 2011 confirms once more the continuous human habitation in different historical periods and, especially, in the 4th-5th centuries, Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov - type discoveries being extremely numerous. We hope that future campaigns will clarify the limits of the different habitats occupied by human communities in various historical periods, as well numerous other aspects regarding the economy, the society and the relationship with the environment.

⁵ Vasile Palade, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-176; Octavian Liviu Șovan, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203; Stela Țau, Mircea Nicu, *Săpăturile arheologice din necropola birituală din secolul al IV-lea e. n. de la Barcea, jud. Galați (Archaeological Excavations from Barcea, Galați County Bi-Ritual Necropolis of the 4th century AD)*, p. 175, fig. 3; Idem, *Necropola din secolul al IV-lea e. n. de la Barcea (jud. Galați) (Barcea Necropolis (Galați County) dating to the 4th century AD)*, p. 424, fig. 5.

⁶ Stela Țau, Mircea Nicu, *Săpăturile arheologice din necropola birituală din secolul al IV-lea e. n. de la Barcea, jud. Galați*, p. 175, fig. 6; Idem, *Necropola din secolul al IV-lea e. n. de la Barcea (jud. Galați)*, p. 425, fig. 6.

⁷ Vasile Palade, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-174; Octavian Liviu Șovan, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-201; Stela Țau, Mircea Nicu, *Săpăturile arheologice din necropola birituală din secolul al IV-lea e. n. de la Barcea, jud. Galați*, p. 174, fig. 2; Idem, *Necropola din secolul al IV-lea e. n. de la Barcea (jud. Galați)*, p. 426, fig. 7.

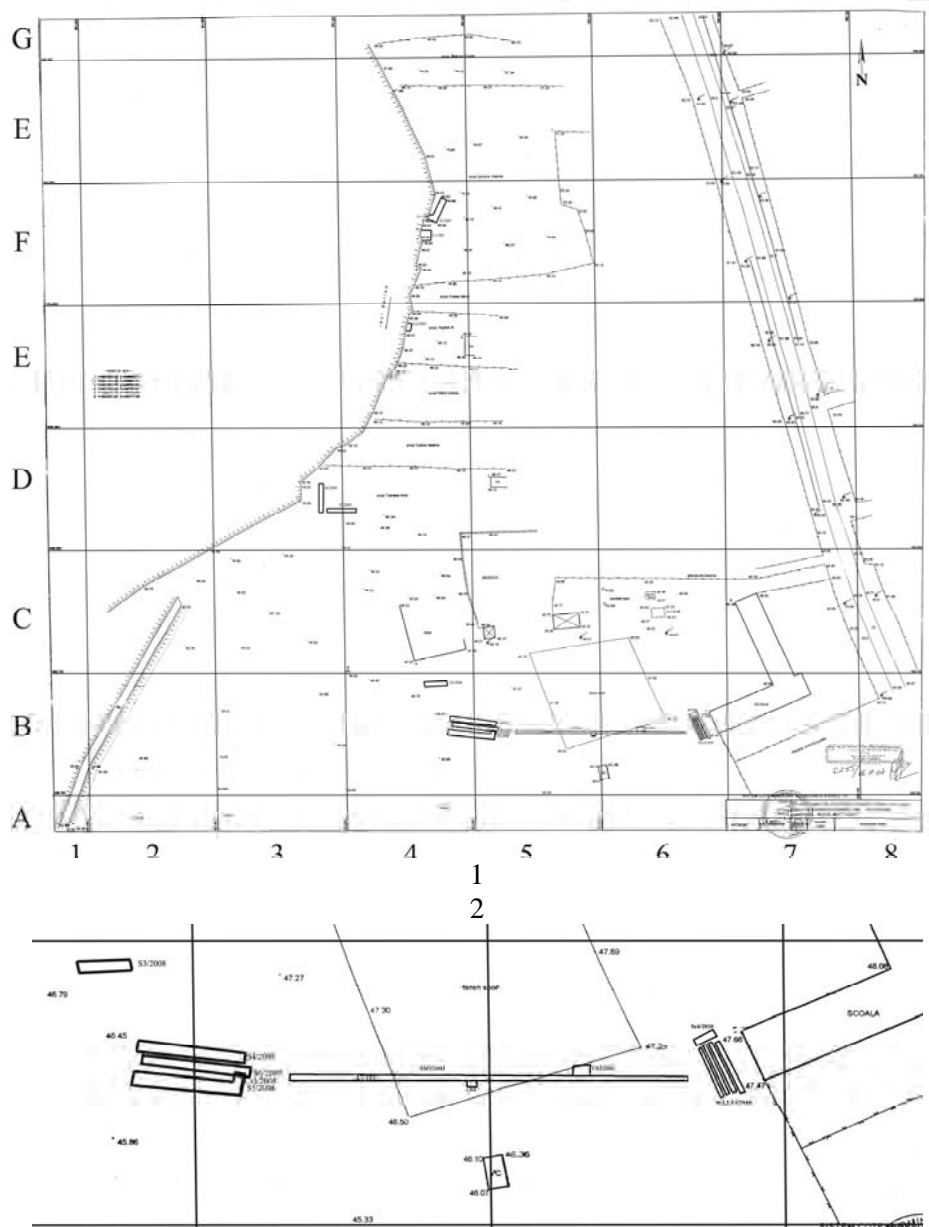
⁸ Vasile Palade, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-178; Octavian Liviu Șovan, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204; Stela Țau, Mircea Nicu, *Necropola din secolul al IV-lea e. n. de la Barcea (jud. Galați)*, pp. 426-427, fig. 7-8; Idem, *Săpăturile arheologice din necropola birituală din secolul al IV-lea e. n. de la Barcea, jud. Galați*, p. 176, fig. 4.

⁹ Octavian Liviu Șovan, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-154; Vasile Palade, *op. cit.*, pp. 210, 215-218.

¹⁰ Octavian Liviu Șovan, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-156; Vasile Palade, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-209; Stela Țau, Mircea Nicu, *Necropola din secolul al IV-lea e. n. de la Barcea (jud. Galați)*, p. 421, fig. 1.

¹¹ Octavian Liviu Șovan, *op. cit.*, p. 163

¹² Vasile Palade, *op. cit.*, p. 219.



Negrilești - School Yard Site

1. Topographic plan

2. Sectors B5 și B6, with section SM1 and the sections under research between 2008-2010



Negrilești - School Yard Site
Archaeological preventive research, 2011. Some glimpses of the works.



Negrilești - School Yard Site
Ceramics, Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture, IV-th century A.D.



Negrilești - School Yard Site
Whorls, clay, bone and metal objects, IV-th century A.D.

*Paul CIOBOTARU**

***HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL REALITIES ON
THE VALLEY OF THE SIRET RIVER
(IVth CENTURY BC - Ist CENTURY AD)***

-Abstract-

The data regarding the territories inhabited by the Getae in the IVth - IIIrd centuries BC are scarce. The lack of ancient literary sources is due either to the lack of interest shown in this region by the historians of the time, or to the fact that the main sources written in the IVth -IInd centuries BC were not preserved or the fragments that made it to this day are not enough for fully rebuilding the history of this area. At the end of the Vth century and the beginning of the VIth century BC, new settlements appear along the main water streams, due to the demographic increase and to the exploitation of natural and material resources. Valuable information regarding the settlements on Siret Valley are also provided by the papyrologic and cartographic sources which, corroborated with the archaeological discoveries, led to the identification of the great Getae settlements.

Hunt papyrus contains the text of a military document from the reign of Emperor Trajan; it mentions that arrays from Cohors I Hispanorum veterana quingenaria were sent at Piroboridava and Buridava for actions and defence. Analysing the text, it was concluded that both Piroboridava and Buridava belonged - at the time of writing the papyrus - to Moesia Inferior. Its dating - the key to the interpretation of the entire document - still remains uncertain. Fink's attempt to date the pridian to 99 AD is also supported by the results of the archaeological research performed in Wallachia and Moldova.

The geographical information regarding Moldova from the time of the Getae generally come from the writings of the Alexandrine geographer Ptolemy. He mentions several names of Getic settlements (Zargidava, Tamasidava and Piroboridava) located near Hierasos River, identified with Siret River. Comparing Ptolemy's text with the archaeological discoveries, we can state that the three davae spread on the left bank of Siret and can be dated to the 1st century AD. The discovery of the settlements of Poiana, Brad and Răcătău confers authority to Ptolemy's text and invalidates, at the same time, his geographical coordinates regarding their position.

The systematic research of certain Getic settlements, identified ever since the XIXth century or discovered in the second half of the XXth century, revealed important data regarding the spread and lifestyle of the Getic tribes on the extra-Carpathian territory. The oldest Getic citadels of Moldova, fitted

* Tecuci Mixed Museum, paulciobotaru2008@yahoo.com.

with fortification elements specific to the epoch, date to the first half of the 1st millennium BC. In the last two centuries before the Common Era, we find the development of certain intensely inhabited settlements, named *dava* by the Getae and *polis* by the Greeks. Fortified with ramparts, palisades and trenches, in the old tradition of the Bronze Age and of the first Iron Age, they would flourish under Burebista and Decebalus. The configuration of the land on which they were placed would offer a good natural defence to those citadels. Generally, they occupied a cape, being shielded by steep slopes on three sides; in spite of these, the entire citadel or only its vulnerable parts were protected by certain elements of fortification. These fortified heights of Moldova (Image 2) were refuges where people sought shelter in times of strife. The tools discovered in these citadels, the metallurgy traces and the ceramics kilns represent conclusive proofs that these citadels were also small craftsmen centres with workshops populated by the local artisans. The citadels from Poiana, Brad and even Bărboși were true economic centres, aspect also due to the fact that they were located on Siret Valley.

Apart from the great settlements, adjacent necropolises were also found. Thus, we encounter the tumular necropolises of Poiana, Brad and Răcătău, the plain necropolises from Șendreni? and Cândești, as well as the isolated tombs discovered by chance at Galați, Răcătău and Brad. Many of these tombs belong to Greek rulers, to the rich or to those holding important positions.

Keywords: Hunt Papyrus, Ptolemy, fortified settlements, imports, Piroboridava, Bărboși, Zargidava, Tamasiidava

REALITĂȚI ISTORICO-ARHEOLOGICE PE VALEA SIRETULUI (SECOLELE IV A. CHR. - I P. CHR.)

-Rezumat-

Informațiile privitoare la teritoriile locuite de către geți în secolele IV-III a. Chr. sunt foarte puține. Lipsa izvoarelor antice se datorează fie lipsei de interes față de această zonă de către istoricii vremii, fie faptului că principalele izvoare redactate în secolele IV-II a. Chr. nu s-au păstrat ori fragmentele care au ajuns până la noi sunt insuficiente pentru a reface total istoria acestei zone. La sfârșitul secolului al V – lea și începutul secolului al IV – lea a. Chr., de-a lungul marilor cursuri de apă, apar noi așezări, datorită creșterii demografice și exploatarea resurselor naturale și materiale. Informații importante referitoare la așezările de pe Valea Siretului, ne sunt oferite de sursele papirologice și cartografice care, corelate cu descoperirile arheologice, au condus la identificarea principalelor așezări getice.

Papirusul Hunt conține textul unui act militar, din timpul împăratului Traian, în care se menționează că trupe auxiliare din Cohors I Hispanorum veterana quingenaria au fost trimise pentru acțiuni și pază la Piroboridava și Buridava. Prin analiza textului pridianumului s-a concluzionat că atât

Piroboridava cât și Buridava, la data redactării actului, făceau parte din Moesia Inferior. Datarea acestuia, cheia interpretării întregului document, rămâne incertă încă, încercarea lui R. O. Fink de a data pridianumul în anul 99 p. Chr. este întărită și de către cercetările arheologice din Moldova și Muntenia.

Informațiile geografice referitoare la Moldova, din perioada geților, provin în general din textul geografului alexandrin Ptolemeu. El menționează câteva nume de așezări getice (Zargidava, Tamasidava și Piroboridava) din apropierea râului Hierasus, identificat cu Siret. Comparând textul ptolemaic cu descoperirile arheologice, putem afirma că cele trei davae se întind cu siguranță pe malul stâng al Siretului și că pot fi atestate arheologic în secolul I p. Chr. Descoperirea așezărilor de la Poiana, Brad și Răcătău acordă autoritate textului ptolemaic dar, în același timp, infirmă coordonatele sale geografice privitoare la poziționarea lor.

Cercetarea sistematică a unor așezări getice a adus date importante privind răspândirea și felul de viață al triburilor getice de pe teritoriul extracarpatic. Cele mai vechi cetăți getice din Moldova, prevăzute cu elemente de fortificații proprii epocii, își au începuturile încă din prima jumătate a mileniului I a. Chr. În ultimele două secole înaintea erei creștine, se constată dezvoltarea unor așezări intens locuite, denumite de geți dava și greci polis. Fortificate cu valuri de pământ, palisade și șanțuri, după vechea tradiție din epoca bronzului și prima epocă a fierului, ele vor cunoaște în vremea lui Burebista și Decebal o mare înflorire. Configurația terenului pe care erau amplasate, oferea acestor cetăți o foarte bună apărare naturală. În general, ele ocupă un promontoriu, fiind apărate din trei părți de pante abrupte; cu toate acestea s-a dovedit că întreaga cetate sau numai părțile ei vulnerabile erau apărate de anumite elemente de fortificație. Aceste înălțimi fortificate din Moldova au fost locuri de refugiu, unde se putea adăposti populația în vremuri de grea încercare. Uneltele descoperite în aceste cetăți, urmele de metalurgie și cuptoarele de ars ceramica, reprezintă dovezi concludente că ele erau și mici centre meșteșugărești, cu ateliere, în care activau meșteri locali. Cetățile de la Poiana, Brad și chiar Bărboși, au fost adevărate centre economice, aspect datorat și faptului că erau situate pe Valea Siretului.

Pe lângă marile așezări au fost identificate și necropolele adiacente acestora. Astfel, avem necropolele tumulare de la Poiana, Brad și Răcătău, necropolele plane de la Șendreni? și Căndești precum și morminte izolate descoperite întâmplător la Galați, Răcătău și Brad. Multe din aceste morminte aparțin unor căpetenii getice, unor persoane mai bogate sau cu oarecare funcții.

Cuvinte cheie: papyrusul Hunt, Ptolemeu, așezări fortificate, importuri, Piroboridava, Bărboși, Zargidava, Tamasidava

The data regarding the territories inhabited by the Getae in the IVth - IIIrd centuries BC are scarce. In 1926, V. Pârvan analyses the literary sources in *Getica* and the subsequent special studies and synthesis works could not change V. Pârvan's interpretations, but only nuance the opinions expressed by him in 1926. The lack of ancient literary sources is due either to the lack of interest shown in this region by the historians of the time, or to the fact that the main sources written in the IVth - IInd centuries BC were not preserved or the fragments that made it to this day are not enough for fully rebuilding the history of this area¹.

At the end of the Vth century and the beginning of the VIth century BC, new settlements appear along the main water streams, due to the demographic increase and to the exploitation of natural and material resources. The progress, concretized through the political organisation, is better known through the information regarding the wars fought by the Getae, with superior powers, politically and militarily speaking. Valuable information regarding the settlements on Siret Valley are also provided by the papyrologic and cartographic sources which, corroborated with the archaeological discoveries, led to the identification of the great Getae settlements.

1. Papyrologic and cartographic sources

Hunt Papyrus or British Museum 2851

Brought from Egypt, it is in the British Museum collections and was published for the first time by A. S. Hunt² in 1925 and then by other researchers³. Short critical considerations regarding the information provided by British Museum 2851 were also advanced by C. Daicoviciu⁴. The papyrus contains the text of a military document from the reign of Emperor Trajan; it is a yearly report,

¹Al. Vulpe, *Istoria și civilizația spațiului carpato-dunărean între mijlocul secolului al VII – lea și începutul secolului al III – lea a. Chr. (History and Civilisation of the Carpatho-Danubian Region between the middle of the VIIth century and the beginning of the IIIrd century BC)*, in *Istoria Românilor (Romanians' History)*, vol. I, Encyclopaedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001, p. 454.

²A. S. Hunt, *Register of a Cohort in Moesia*, in vol. *Raccolta di Scritti in Onore di Giacomo Lumbroso*, Milano, 1925, pp. 265-272.

³Wilcken, in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, VIII, 1927, pp. 94-95 apud R. Vulpe, *Muntenia și Moldova de Jos în timpul lui Traian, în lumina unei noi lecturi a Papirului Hunt (Wallachia and Moldova during Traian, in the Light of a New Reading of Hunt Papyrus)*, in *StCl.*, II, 1960, pp. 337-357; R. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, p. 337, note 2; *New Palaeographical Society*, series 2, II, pl. 186 apud R. O. Fink, *Hunt's Pridianum: British Museum Papyrus 2851*, in *JRS*, vol. 48, no. 1/2, 1958, p. 102, note 1; G. Cantacuzène, *Un papirus latin relatif à la défense du Bas-Danube*, in *RHSEE*, V, 1928, pp. 38-74 and in *Aegyptos*, IX, 1928, pp. 63-96 apud R. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, p. 337, note 4.

⁴C. Daicoviciu, *Dacica: În jurul unor probleme din Dacia romană (On Several Issues Regarding Roman Dacia)*, in *AISC*, II, p. 251, note 1.

pridianum, regarding the division of an auxiliary troop: *cohors I Hispanorum veterana quingenaria (equitata)*, which belonged to the army of Moesia Inferior. Arrays from this cohort were sent to the North of the Danube, as well as at Piroboridava and Buridava.

In 1958, the American researcher Robert O. Fink⁵ makes another analysis of the papyrus, accompanied as well by good photographs of the document, making it possible to check the author's transcription. The section in col. II, lines 24-37 is significant both in terms of the topographic data and in terms of the historical information it contains. The title "*intra provinciam*" in line 24 refers, according to R. Vulpe⁶, to what follows within the text and not to what was previously said, as C. Daicoviciu had stated in 1935⁷. Therefore, the places mentioned in lines 27-28 – *Piroboridava* and *Buridava* – belonged, at the time of writing the papyrus, to Moesia Inferior, information strengthened by the reference to Haemus Mountains *intra provinciam*⁸.

Regarding document dating, according to Hunt and Cantacuzino, it is the period between 110 and 117, and C. Daicoviciu inclines to date it to the Daco-Roman wars⁹. Another dating was advanced by R. O. Fink who, re-examining line 30, col. I, found that the document can be dated to 99 AD. This date is strengthened by a military diploma of August 14, 99¹⁰ which mentions *cohors I Hispanorum veterana* as part of the army of Moesia Inferior, information also supported by the text of the papyrus, as, under the title *intra provinciam*, there are elements regarding this province¹¹. The former dating to 99 AD implies the occupation of the plain south of Dacia by the Roman army and its inclusion in Moesia Inferior before the first Daco-Roman war. The Roman actions carried out to the left of the Danube, from the beginning of Trajan's reign can be accounted for by the fact that the extra-Carpathian regions of Dacia ceased to belong to Decebalus in 89 AD, following the peace entered with Domitian¹². R. Syme¹³ objects to R. O. Fink dating the papyrus to 99 AD, trying to show that A. Caecilius Faustinus, whose name appears in col. I, line 30, is not mentioned in the *pridian* of cohort I Hispanorum veterana in his capacity of consul suffectus since 99 but inclines towards the year 105 AD when he was the governor of Moesia Inferior¹⁴. Regarding the arrays of cohort I Hispanorum veterana sent to the left of the Danube (a *praesidium* at Piroboridava and a *vexillatio* at Buridava), R. Syme considers that

⁵R. O. Fink, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-116.

⁶R. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

⁷C. Daicoviciu, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

⁸R. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

⁹*Ibidem*, p. 338.

¹⁰CIL, XVI, 44.

¹¹R. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

¹²*Ibidem*, p. 345.

¹³V. Syme, *The Lower Danube under Trajan*, în JRS, XLIX, 1959, pp. 26-33; Idem, *The Lower Danube under Trajan*, în Danubian Papers, Bucharest, 1971, pp. 123-124.

¹⁴CIL, XVI, 50.

a Roman expedition in this part could have taken place in 103 or, rather, in 106, rejecting the idea that Piroboridava belonged to Moesia Inferior before the Daco-Roman wars¹⁵. R. Vulpe, based on the results of the excavations carried out at Poiana, notices the lack of certain habitation proofs from the time of Trajan, concluding that the settlement here would have ceased to exist following Domitian's Dacian war¹⁶. The role of the *praesidium* from Piroboridava was to supervise the road between the Danube mouths and Transylvania through Siret Valley and Oituz Pass, the natural path of Decebalus' connections with the East¹⁷.

Hunt Papyrus acquired an important position among the ancient sources regarding the history of Romania. The clarifications made by R.O. Fink, as well as R. Syme's critical observations, increase its value, opening new perspectives on the beginning of the Roman governance in the East of Dacia¹⁸. In spite of these, the date - the key to the interpretation of the entire document - still remains uncertain. Fink's attempt to date the papyrus to 99 AD is also supported by the results of the archaeological research performed in Wallachia and the South of Moldova.

Ptolemy, *Geographia*

The geographical information regarding Moldova from the time of the Getae generally come from the writings of the Alexandrine geographer Ptolemy. He mentions several names of Getic settlements - Zargidava, Tamasidava and Piroboridava - located near *Hierasos* River, identified with Siret River. In writing his geography, Ptolemy followed the example of Marinus of Tyr (first half of the 2nd century AD), in fact both of them completing the work *Forma Orbis*, written upon Augustus' request, and which represents the official source of information regarding the ancient world.

Ptolemy's text, regarding the geography of Moldova, was subject to many exhaustive critiques and it can only be further clarified by comparing it with the archaeological sources and the results of the researches. Moldova is one of the most systematically researched areas, Siret and Prut, together with their tributary streams, benefitting from the archaeologists' particular attention. At a closer look, we notice that there is a difference between the flow of Siret as resulting from the location of the three settlements mentioned on its bank and the one today. *Ad literam*, according to Ptolemy's information, Siret River flowed from NE to SW, fact which made some researchers believe that the ancient geographer had mistaken the Siret for the Prut¹⁹. According to Ptolemy's specification that Siret represents the Eastern border of Dacia and that the three settlements belong to the Transdanubian territories annexed to Moesia Inferior, it results that they were

¹⁵V. Syme, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-133.

¹⁶R. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

¹⁷*Ibidem*, p. 353.

¹⁸*Ibidem*.

¹⁹Al. Vulpe, *Ptolemy and the ancient geography of Moldavia*, în *StCl.*, VI, 1964, p. 234 and note 3.

placed in the left bank of Siret²⁰. We should also mention that the three settlements are situated along Siret Valley which, although not the only favourable to a trade route, represents, due to its position, the main course which branches forth, along its tributaries, in at least two passes to Transylvania²¹. These are the reasons which made R. Vulpe identify Piroboridava with the Getic settlement from Poiana, near the influx of Trotuş into Siret²². The publishing of Hunt Papyrus in 1925 confirms the existence of Piroboridava which, on the date of the pridian (99, 105, 110-117), belonged to Moesia Inferior (*intra provinciam*). We must not forget that the information presented by Ptolemy refer to the 1st century AD, before the conquest of Dacia by the Romans.

Regarding the region we refer to, there are testimonies that life continued here in the IInd-IIIrd centuries AD, under Roman domination, with the difference that the settlements were located on a more accessible land, commercial needs prevailing over the military defence²³. For the same period, all the settlements were placed on the right bank, exactly opposite if we think of the situation of the 1st century AD. The discovery of the settlements of Poiana, Brad and Răcăţau confers authority to Ptolemy's text, and, invalidates at the same time his geographical coordinates regarding their position (Image 1). The description of the territory of Dacia, including the mention of the settlements, which have Roman names, was made at the beginning of the 2nd century AD²⁴, and the author – either Marinus or Ptolemy – did not check the situation in detail.

In spite of these, Ptolemy's *Geographia* remains an important source which, corroborated with the archaeological discoveries, allows us to identify the settlements mentioned therein.

2. Fortifications and unfortified settlements

The systematic research of certain Getic settlements, identified ever since the XIXth century or discovered in the second half of the XXth century, revealed important data regarding the spread and lifestyle of the Getic tribes on the extra-Carpathian territory and led to the delineation of many problems from the history of Moldova. Some of them were seen as real surprises in terms of their defence system, unknown so far to the material culture of this period, in Moldova²⁵. A first result was the enrichment of the archaeological literature and, on the other hand, an increase in the museum collection with materials from all historical periods.

²⁰As a consequence of Earth's rotation, the Siret corrodes its right bank, therefore, its left bank is taller and steeper and, consequently, more favourable for human settlements as it ensures natural defence, especially in the 1st century BC and 1st century AD when such banks were widely preferred. (Al. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-235)

²¹Al. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

²²*Ibidem*, p. 258.

²³*Ibidem*, p. 239.

²⁴*Ibidem*, p. 241.

²⁵V. Căpitanu, V. Ursachi, *O nouă cetăţuie dacică pe Valea Siretului (A New Citadel on Siret Valley)*, in *Carpica*, II, 1969, p. 93.

The oldest Getic citadels of Moldova, fitted with fortification elements specific to the epoch, date to the first half of the 1st millennium BC.²⁶ In the last two centuries before the Common Era, we find the development of certain intensely inhabited settlements²⁷, named *dava* by the Getae and *polis* by the Greeks. Fortified with ramparts, palisades and trenches, in the old tradition of the Bronze Age and of the first Iron Age²⁸, they would flourish under Burebista and Decebalus. N. Gostar admits that these natural fortifications, on high places, reinforced with walls and palisades, are true *óre enteteichisména* (mountains consolidated by walls). The phrase belongs to the Greek historian Dio Cassius²⁹, who refers to the Dacian citadels of Moldova, except for the one at Bărboși³⁰. The configuration of the land on which they were placed would offer a good natural defence to those citadels. Generally, they occupied a cape, being shielded by steep slopes on three sides; in spite of these, the entire citadel or only its vulnerable parts were protected by certain elements of fortification. The natural defence, doubled by an artificial one, designed and made by man's hand, increased the defensive capacity of the citadel, turning it into a hardly accessible fortress³¹.

These fortified heights of Moldova (Image 2) were refuges where people sought shelter in times of strife. Outside the space of citadels, civilian settlements were found, like the one of Bărboși. In this case, the fortified height fulfilled the role of an *acropolis*, according to the Greek terminology, or *arx*, according to the Roman terminology. Due to the function of refuge, these citadels could become in time the residencies of rulers, being seen as military centres, places of support and defence in times of war. Others could become political centres, where the leader of several tribes east of the Carpathians would settle down. The citadel of Bărboși could stand in the way of any potential entries from south of Danube towards Siret Valley, region crossed by the most used communication way in the Moldova of those days. Still regarding Bărboși, the sanctuary discovered at Tirighina may prove the existence of a religious centre of the Dacians east of the Carpathians³².

The tools discovered in these citadels, the metallurgy traces and the ceramics kilns represent conclusive proofs that these citadels were also small craftsmen centres with workshops populated by the local artisans. The citadels from Poiana, Brad and even Bărboși were true economic centres, aspect also due to the fact that they were located on Siret Valley.

²⁶C. Buzdugan, *Fortificații geto-dacice în Moldova (Geto-Dacian Fortifications in Moldova)*, in *Carpica*, XV, 1983, p. 125.

²⁷V. Bobi, *Civilizația geto-dacilor de la curbura Carpaților (sec. VI î. Chr. – II d. Chr.) (Civilisation of the Geto-Dacians in the Carpathian Curvature (VIth century BC - IInd century AD)*, Thracologica Library, XXIX, Bucharest, 1999, p. 69.

²⁸C. Buzdugan, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

²⁹Dio Cassius, LXVIII, 14.

³⁰N. Gostar, *Cetăți dacice din Moldova (Dacian Citadels of Moldova)*, Meridiane Publishing House, Bucharest, 1969, p. 35.

³¹C. Buzdugan, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

³²N. Gostar, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

Bărboși

In the south of the territory, between the Carpathians and the Prut, in the area of confluence of two large geographical regions, the Moldavian Plateau and the Romanian Plain, the existing archaeological vestiges surpass the average of the entire province. The area near to the Siret flowing into the Danube played an important part in the relationships between the Getic tribes and between them and the neighbouring people. The Getic settlement of Bărboși is located here. The geographical position of the settlement determined its characteristics and functions, being considered an ideal warehouse for the Greek, and then Roman, commodities³³. Vasile Pârvan believed that an ancient Geto-Greek factory was in Bărboși³⁴ where the Romans lay the ends of the bridge for the commercial route following Siret and Troțuș Valley, towards Transylvania³⁵, and, on another occasion, he states: “the factory... from the confluence of Siret and Danube, at Barboși, west of Galați... is an exclusive Histrian foundation”³⁶.

The function of Geto-Greek commercial centre is cited by Professor Gheorghe Ștefan³⁷ who places it south of Tirighina, on the location of the current station and civilian dwellings³⁸ and which seems to have been occupied by the Greek and turned into an *emporium*³⁹. Other appreciations of the same author are reproduced in the study on a possible Roman name of the settlement of Bărboși⁴⁰.

Height Tirighina is located over Barboși station, near Siret, 1 km away from its flow into the Danube. Tirighina Cape, 44 m high in relation to Siret Meadow, reigns over the surroundings. The southern and eastern sides are inaccessible, while the western slope is milder. The research of the cape surroundings led to the discovery of testimonies (ceramics, burns, etc) of a Getic habitation. The citadel on the cape constituted the acropolis of a rather large settlement⁴¹. Nicolae Gostar has the merit of having established, following the research carried out in Barboși, the

³³S. Sanie, *Cetățuia geto-dacică de la Barboși (Barboși Geto-Dacian Citadel) (I)*, in AM, XI, 1987, p. 103.

³⁴V. Pârvan, *Castrul de la Poiana și drumul roman prin Moldova de Jos (Poiana Castrum and the Roman Road Across Lower Moldova)*, in AARMSI, XXXVI, Bucharest, 1913, p. 117.

³⁵V. Pârvan, *Getica. O protoistorie a Daciei (Getica. A Protohistory of Dacia)*, Cultura Națională Publishing House, Bucharest, 1926, p. 119; Idem, *Începuturile vieții romane la gurile Dunării (The Beginnings of the Roman Life at the Danube Mouth)*, Cultura Națională, Bucharest, 1923, pp. 42-46.

³⁶V. Pârvan, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

³⁷Professor Gheorghe Ștefan carries out archaeological excavations on Tirighina hill between 1935 and 1936.

³⁸Gh. Ștefan, *Nouvelles découvertes dans le “Castellum” romain de Barboși (Près de Galați)*, in Dacia, V-VI, 1935-1936, p. 341.

³⁹Gh. Ștefan, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁴⁰Gh. Ștefan, *Dinogetia – A problem of ancient topography*, in Dacia N. S., II, 1958, pp. 318-319.

⁴¹S. Sanie, *Cetățuia geto-dacică de la Barboși (II)* in AM, XII, 1988, p. 65.

presence of the Getic citadel on Tirighina, the existence of two habitation levels, as well as several elements of fortification⁴².

In the archaeological campaign of 1980, carried out south of the *castellum*, two habitation levels were revealed in the Getic settlement, with material dating to the 2nd century BC and 1st century AD.⁴³ Resuming researches north-east of the citadel, between 1980 and 1985, the obtained results led to determining the stratigraphy, the fortification and certain habitation complexes⁴⁴. The last excavations documented the existence of the third Getic level⁴⁵.

The position of the cape determined the adopted system of fortifications. On the northern side, the most vulnerable in the case of an attack, a deep and wide trench was dug, probably in the Getic epoch⁴⁶. The elements of fortification were signalled following the researches carried out in 1964, 1981-1983. Thus in the south-eastern corner, several traces of pillars of variable diameters were found, indicating that the stone wall was preceded by a palisade, situation characteristic of other areas of the cape. The palisade dates to the second stage of Getic habitation, when Tirighina height was turned into a citadel⁴⁷. According to the stratigraphic situation resulted following the campaigns of 1982 and 1983, the palisade had been raised during the first level of Getic habitation and then consolidated in the second stage of the citadel⁴⁸. The height of the rampart, which can be determined today in the North-Eastern area, was of 2.50 m approximately and the width was of 6 m.⁴⁹ If the fortification system is the one that defines the type of the settlement, the Getic habitation on Tirighina height, with trench and palisade, falls within the group of fortified settlements, characterised by the permanent habitation of a part of the settlement population which extends outside the fortified space as well. It is the type of settlement encountered on Siret Valley and in most of the *davae* from the mountains and, more rarely, from the Wallachian Plain⁵⁰.

The Roman conquest brings this settlement to an end, at the same time with or, probably, earlier than the other citadels and settlements on the territory of Moldova⁵¹. Another opinion regarding the end of the citadel links it to the action of

⁴²N. Gostar, *Săpăturile și sondajele de la Șendreni-Barboși (r. Galați) (Excavations and Surveys at Șendreni-Barboși)*, in MCA, VIII, 1962, p. 508.

⁴³S. Sanie, *Cetățuia geto-dacică de la Barboși (I)*, p. 105.

⁴⁴N. Gostar, *Cetății dacice din Moldova*, p. 32.

⁴⁵S. Sanie, *Cetățuia geto-dacică de la Barboși (II)*, p. 105.

⁴⁶*Ibidem*, p. 109.

⁴⁷N. Gostar, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁴⁸*Ibidem*, p. 110.

⁴⁹*Ibidem*.

⁵⁰I. Glodariu, *Sistemul defensiv al statului dac și întinderea provinciei Dacia (The Defensive System of Dacia and the Extent of Dacia Province)*, in ActaMN, XIX, 1982, pp. 23-24; N. Gostar, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁵¹S. Sanie, I. T. Dragomir, *Continuitatea locuirii dacice în castrul de la Bărboși-Galați (The Continuity of the Dacian Habitation in Bărboși-Galați Castrum)*, in Danubius, IV, 1970, p. 136.

the governor of Moesia, Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Aelianus⁵², north of the Danube, resulting in the forced displacement of the 100,000 Transdanubians, south of the Danube, between 62 and 66 AD⁵³.

Cândești

At the confluence of Recea and Râmna Rivers, established as citadel at the beginning of the Iron Age, towards the end of the Vth century BC, the perimeter of the Hallstattian citadel is reduced by the new rampart which delineates the settlement⁵⁴. The second system of defence contains two essential elements: the rampart and the adjacent trench. In the IIIrd century BC, a new reorganisation of the settlement takes place, transforming the two small capes, Nacu and Coasta Nacului, into the central nucleus⁵⁵. Extremely interesting are the discoveries made on Coasta Banului, where the open settlement was located, and on the two terraces, adjacent to the citadel, which contain habitation traces from the IVth-IIIrd and IIIrd-IInd centuries BC. The habitation traces from these periods are more pronounced on Nacu terrace, proving that the citadel and the adjacent terraces constituted again favourable areas for an intense habitation⁵⁶. At the beginning of the 2nd century BC, the Getae people the citadel which they turn into a real fortress (at the beginning of the 1st century BC), by arranging the defensive system (a trench which surrounds the cape). During the 2nd century BC, the settlement of La Tène culture is built, time when Nacului Citadel becomes the central point of the great station of Cândești (Image 3), which will survive until the beginning of the 2nd century AD.⁵⁷ However, it will not disappear altogether; life will follow its course in the citadel and on the surrounding terraces, the signalled habitation traces proving that at least part of the population remained in the old hearth⁵⁸.

The rich material⁵⁹ discovered in the habitation complexes attests a fast developing economic life, and the numerous fragments of amphorae, dalian cups,

⁵²CIL, XIV, 3608 (=ILS, 986).

⁵³N. Gostar, *Cetățile dacice din Moldova și cucerirea romană la nordul Dunării de Jos (Dacian Citadels of Moldova and the Roman Conquest North of the Lower Danube)*, in *Apulum*, V, 1964, p. 145; N. Gostar, *Cetăți dacice din Moldova (Dacian Citadels of Moldova)*, p. 37.

⁵⁴V. Bobi, *Civilizația geto-dacilor de la curbură Carpaților (sec. VI î. Chr. – II d. Chr.)*, p. 71.

⁵⁵*Ibidem*.

⁵⁶M. Florescu, *Câteva observații referitoare la tipurile de așezare aparținând culturii Monteoru în lumina cercetărilor din zona sud-vestică a Moldovei (Several Remarks regarding the Types of Settlements Belonging to Monteoru Culture in the light of the Research Carried Out in the South-West of Moldova)*, in *Danubius*, IV, 1970, p. 32.

⁵⁷V. Bobi, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁵⁸M. Florescu, *op. cit.*, p. 32; V. Bobi, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁵⁹A. E. Apostu, *Inventarul arheologic al localităților județului Vrancea (II) (Archaeological Inventory of the Localities in Vrancea County)*, in *Cronica Vrancei (Vrancea Chronicle)*, V, 2006, pp. 10-18.

etc, prove the existence, in the 2nd-1st centuries BC, of the tight trade relationships with the Greek colonies.

Poiana (Piroboridava)

Poiana citadel is located to the north-west of Poiana village, Galați County, on a terrace beak left of Siret, higher than water level, separated from it by a natural ravine where an entrenchment was later arranged⁶⁰. The position of the settlement offers a good view of Siret Valley, between Adjud and Mărășești, Trotuș Valley, Odobești Hill and Vrancea Mountains, representing an important strategic point for this region⁶¹. The settlement starts to be investigated in 1926⁶², through systematic excavations which continued, with interruptions, until 1990 (Image 4).

The reduced area of the settlement led to an intense habitation; the citadel, based on the particular discoveries made here, was identified in 1931 with the ancient Piroboridava⁶³, pre-urban formation mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy. In 1927, Radu and Ecaterina Vulpe mention four archaeological levels which include successive settlements starting with the Bronze Age until the 2nd century AD.⁶⁴ The fourth level included, mostly, cinder and debris, being characterised by intense habitation and abundance in ceramics. The discovered materials date to the 4th-2nd centuries BC and have analogies in the davae from Răcătău and Brad, as well as in the settlements from Căndești⁶⁵, Bărboasa⁶⁶ and Găiceana⁶⁷. The fifth level has two shades of clay and dates to the beginning of the Ist century BC⁶⁸. Poiana citadel was fortified naturally, due to the steep slopes which border almost two thirds of its area, and artificially as well.

⁶⁰ Poiana Citadel is signalled for the first time by Spiru Haret in 1892 and 1899 (Annals of the Romanian Academy, *Dezbateri (Debates)*, vol. XV, p. 16 and vol. XXII, p. 26) apud R. Vulpe, S. Teodor, *Piroboridava. Așezarea geto-dacică de la Poiana (Piroboridava. Poiana Geto-Dacian Settlement)*, Thracologica Library, XXIX, 2003, p. 108, note 1; V. Pârvan, *Castrul de la Poiana și drumul roman prin Moldova de Jos (Poiana Castrum and the Roman Road Across Lower Moldova)*, pp. 93-130.

⁶¹R. Vulpe, S. Teodor, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁶²R. și Ec. Vulpe, *Les fouilles de Poiana. Campagne de 1927*, in *Dacia*, 3-4, 1932, pp. 153-351.

⁶³R. Vulpe, *Piroboridava. Considerațiuni arheologice și istorice asupra cetății de la Poiana în Moldova de Jos (Archaeological and Historical Considerations on Poiana Citadel in Lower Moldova)*, Bucharest, MXMXXXI, 1931, p. 3; R. Vulpe, *La civilisations dace et ses problèmes a la lumière des dernières fouilles de Poiana, en Base Moldavie*, in *Dacia N. S.*, 1, 1957, pp. 143-164.

⁶⁴R. and Ec. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-351; R. Vulpe, S. Teodor, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁶⁵A. C. Florescu, *Aspecte ale civilizației traco-getice în zona de curbură a Carpaților Răsăriteni (Aspects of the Traco-Getic Civilisation in the Curvature Region of the Eastern Carpathians)*, in *SAA*, 1, 1983, pp. 72-93.

⁶⁶M. Florescu, V. Căpitanu, *Cercetări arheologice de suprafață în jud. Bacău (Surface Archaeological Research in Bacău County)*, in *AM*, 6, 1969, p. 251.

⁶⁷*Ibidem*, p. 156.

⁶⁸R. Vulpe, S. Teodor, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

At the beginning of the 1st century BC, the station on the citadel was fitted with a defence system comprising a trench and rampart on the eastern side⁶⁹. The rampart was built of a compact clay nucleus, over which a palisade was arranged, its traces being noticeable in several spots. In some places, one could also notice traces of wooden pillars which came from a palisade meant to strengthen the defence system⁷⁰. At the same time, by deepening and enlarging a ravine from the north-east and south of the settlement, a trench was arranged, 6 m deep and 10 m wide. The fortification of the settlement had the purpose of protecting this important centre against close enemies as well as against the threat coming from the south when the expansion of the Roman Empire had already reached the Danube⁷¹. These defensive elements are similar to the ones from the contemporary settlements of Brad and Răcătău or from Căndești and Fitionești, Vrancea County, which represent the closest analogies to the defence system of Poiana⁷².

The presence of five habitation levels from Poiana does not point to an absolute life continuity as previously thought. However, we could notice that, every time it was peopled, it was then deserted, due to various reasons. Desertion periods could be identified between the first and the second level when, for two-three centuries, the citadel was not inhabited; as well as between Basarabi level and the middle of the Vth century BC when this place is deserted. In the stratigraphic profile, we can see many destructions and fires, followed by immediate levelling and arrangement, hearth and dwelling rebuilding, as it offered numerous strategic and economic benefits.

Next to other reinforced and intensely inhabited settlements, Poiana was considered a *dava*, evolved centre with a pronounced quasi-urban character. The proofs that could lead to tracing a religious or administrative centre here are insufficient; however, the existence of a commercial emporium is fully documented. Its position is strategic, being placed near the most direct road towards north and west, through Trotuș River, towards the Dacian settlements of Transylvania. Located at the crossroads of natural routes, merchants could carry an activity which imposed Poiana centre through its prosperity in all the economic fields⁷³.

Brăhăsești

On the middle terrace, at the confluence of Zeletin and Berheci, to the south of the hill on which Cosițeni and Corcioveni villages are located, a Getic citadel was identified⁷⁴ (Image 5). The hill on which the citadel is placed was subject to

⁶⁹*Ibidem*, p. 103.

⁷⁰*Ibidem*, p. 40.

⁷¹*Ibidem*, p. 106.

⁷²V. Ursachi, *Fortificații dacice pe Valea Siretului (Dacian Fortifications on Siret Valley)*, in *Carpica*, XVIII-XIX, 1986-1987, pp. 31-51.

⁷³R. Vulpe, S. Teodor, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁷⁴M. Brudiu, P. Păltănea, *Cetatea daco-getică de la Brăhăsești (jud. Galați). Contribuții la istoria dacilor din sudul Moldovei (Brăhăsești Daco-Getic Citadel (Galați County))*.

several offset works in 1965, 1966 and 1967. From the observations made on site, we could notice that the bridge of the terrace is surrounded by a stripe of burnt soldering, with a width varying between 2 and 4 m and a thickness of 0.60 – 0.90 m. It represents the trace of the former palisade, built from wooden pillars and earth and hay mixture, and destroyed by a powerful fire⁷⁵. After the tillage, we noticed that the band of the palisade was burnt only on the northern, eastern and southern sides, the western side being free of burn marks. On the north-eastern side, the versant is steeper and access to the palisade was easier. Due to this reason, there where the land did not offer optimal conditions for defence, an over sizing of the palisade was performed. In order to identify the fortification system, a perpendicular section was executed on the south-eastern side of the citadel and inside the precinct, near the palisade, we found a buried silver lens, continued by an area of red waste which represents the trace of the palisade on the outside of which two entrenchments are placed⁷⁶.

The construction technique of the palisade, as seen in the south-eastern sector is the following: in the middle, there was a series of poles, with knitted canes in-between. Between the poles and the canes, wet earth was beaten, without hay, and on the outside an earth and hay soldering was applied⁷⁷. The first entrenchment is placed 1.20 m away from the palisade, in the shape of a widely open flare, having been dug in a sandy-clayish alluvial layer, 1.50 m deep. Two meters outside the first trench, we find the second trench, smaller than the first⁷⁸. The ceramic material found here is mostly local and imported to a smaller extent (Greek amphorae).

The archaeological material discovered at Brăhăşeşti is identical to the one of Poiana which can be dated to the IVth-IIIrd centuries BC⁷⁹. Three other settlements were found on the territory of the same locality, dating to the same period, at “Budăi” about 1 km from Cosiţeni, at “Pârâul Hanului” and at “Gropile Tătărăşti”, 1 km south of the locality in Berheci basin⁸⁰. A topographic characteristic common to the three settlements is their placement on dominating capes, near water sources. The presence of Greek products and, especially, of the citadels on the bank of Siret, as well as of the citadel of Brăhăşeşti, denotes an advanced stage of social-political organisation and a high economic potential of the Getae from this part of Moldova. These are clues to the fact that the Getae from the

Contributions to the History of the Dacians from the South of Moldova), in AM, VII, 1972, p. 228; R. Vulpe and collaborators, *Şantierul Poiana (Poiana Site)*, in SCIV, 3, 1952, p. 213.

⁷⁵ M. Brudiu, P. Păltănea, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 230.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 230-232.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 237.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*.

south of Moldova had come into contact with the elements of the Greek civilisation, resulting in the acceleration of the process of social restructuring⁸¹.

The appearance of Brăhăşeşti citadel should be linked to the invasion of the Scythians at the middle of the IVth century BC, and we do not know whether its disappearance was caused by this invasion or by other circumstances⁸².

Mănăstioara-Fitioneşti

The citadel is located near the confluence of Zăbrăuţi and Zăbrăucior, in the point “Măriuţa Petre”⁸³. At the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 1st century BC, the citadel becomes the central nucleus of the station, being fortified by a large trench which destroyed the fortification elements from previous periods⁸⁴. The fortification was achieved by digging, at the foot of the slope, around the hill, a trench with very steep, almost vertical, walls, and sharp angled bottom⁸⁵ (Image 6). Under Burebista, like the other contemporary settlements, this one too underwent works meant to turn it into a fortified, indestructible centre.⁸⁶ Sporadically inhabited during the Getic period (IVth century BC), it passes through a period of prosperity between the 1st century BC and the Ist century AD.⁸⁷

Although less rich than Cîndeşti settlement, we found at Mănăstioara too fragments of amphorae, wheel-thrown ceramics, etc⁸⁸. At the beginning of the 1st century AD, the intense habitation ceases, without being definitely interrupted however⁸⁹.

Răcătău (Tamasidava)

The Getic settlement of Răcătău is mentioned for the first time in Alexandru Odobescu’s Questionnaire to Teachers of 1873; we find out here that “there is a citadel with entrenchment in Pânceşti, where ceramic fragments and ancient coins were found”⁹⁰. Located on the left terrace of Siret, in “Cetăţuie” point, Răcătău⁹¹

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 238.

⁸² *Ibidem*.

⁸³ V. Bobi, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

⁸⁴ M. Florescu, *Câteva observații referitoare la tipurile de așezare aparținând culturii Monteoru în lumina cercetărilor din zona sud-vestică a Moldovei (Several Remarks regarding the Types of Settlements Belonging to Monteoru Culture in the light of the Research Carried Out in the South-West of Moldova)*, p. 32.

⁸⁵ V. Bobi, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁸⁶ M. Florescu, A. Florescu, *Observații recente cu privire la sistemul de fortificație al stațiunii de la Mănăstioara-Fitionești (Recent Remarks Regarding the Fortification System of Mănăstioara-Fitionești)*, in MCA, XV, 1983, p. 130.

⁸⁷ V. Bobi, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁸⁸ A. E. Apostu, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-33.

⁸⁹ Habitation traces were identified dating to the IInd and even the IIIrd-IVth centuries BC on one of the terraces adjacent to the citadel.

⁹⁰ Al. Odobescu, *Chestionarul către învățători din anul 1873*, p. 481 (Manuscript, Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania) apud V. Căpitanu, *Principalele rezultate ale săpăturilor arheologice în așezarea geto-dacică de la Răcătău (Județul*

settlement is located about 3 km away from Pâncești village and 4 km away from Răcătău village. The Siret formed here, as on its entire left bank, a high terrace which offered proper dwelling conditions. Like in the other Getic stations located on Siret, we find here a civilian settlement and an acropolis which was protected naturally by the steep bank of the terrace, the accessible side being fortified with an entrenchment which separated the acropolis from the rest of the settlement⁹². Therefore, the settlement benefitted from an excellent location, with a great view of Siret Valley - from this point one could see, with the naked eye, to the south up to Poiana and to the north up to Bacău (Image 7).

About 1 km away from Getic citadel, to the east, in "Movilița" point, we find the Getic tumular necropolis of the settlement, out of which three tumuli were studied which appear to belong to the local population⁹³.

The systematic investigation of the settlement began in 1968⁹⁴, and it was possible ever since the first year to stratigraphically delineate the different periods when the plateau was inhabited. The material culture layer, measuring 1.80 m approximately, represents three historical ages: Bronze Age (Monteoru culture), the First Iron Age (Hallstatt) and the Getic Epoch (1st century BC - 2nd century AD)⁹⁵. Like in Poiana, we encounter here too five habitation levels which belong to the Geto-Dacian period. The first level pertains to the IVth-IIIrd centuries BC, dating determined by a fragment from a Heracleea Pontica-type stamped amphora. The second level belongs to the IIIrd-IInd centuries BC, Cos amphora, Greek fine ceramics, a fragmentary oenochoe, a black varnish plate and fragments of Megarian cups being found in the soil layer. The third Dacian level belongs to the 2nd-1st centuries BC, imported ceramics and Roman coins being identified in the layer next to the autochthonous ceramics. The last habitation level belongs to the 1st-2nd centuries AD.⁹⁶ Similarly to the Getic citadels investigated so far, stratigraphy at Răcătău is very complicated, due to the intense habitation, as well to the large number of holes which conferred an irregular aspect to the layer⁹⁷. However, the discoveries point to life continuity between the 2nd - 1st centuries BC

Bacău) (*The Main Results of the Archaeological Excavations Carried Out at Răcătău (Bacău County)*), in Carpica, VIII, 1976, p. 50.

⁹¹V. Căpitanu, *Cercetarea arheologică din cetatea geto-dacă de la Răcătău, jud. Bacău (The Archaeological Research of Răcătău Geto-Dacian Citadel, Bacău County)*, in MCA, XVI, 1986, pp. 109-120.

⁹²V. Căpitanu, V. Ursachi, *O nouă cetățuie dacică pe Valea Siretului*, p. 93.

⁹³V. Căpitanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

⁹⁴The research group included specialists from Bacău History Museum and Roman History Museum.

⁹⁵V. Căpitanu, V. Ursachi, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

⁹⁶V. Căpitanu, *Cercetări arheologice în așezarea geto-dacă de la Răcătău (jud. Bacău) (The Archaeological Research of Răcătău Geto-Dacian Citadel, Bacău County)*, in MCA, XV, 1983, p. 201.

⁹⁷*Ibidem*, p. 96.

and the 1st century AD, fact proved by the richness of the material and by the thickness of the layer from this epoch⁹⁸.

The research revealed a first fortification belonging to the Bronze Age which consists in a 5.20 m wide entrenchment which divided the plateau in halves, a rampart and a wooden palisade⁹⁹. The rampart was coated with chalk and rolling stones which made it stronger. Towards the trench, a wooden palisade was built, which employed, apart from poles vertically driven in the ground, a series of large wooden beams, placed horizontally for forming the outer and inner perimeter in which earth was beaten¹⁰⁰. A second trench was added, deeper and larger, V-shaped, which separates the civilian settlement from the acropolis¹⁰¹. The latter was discovered by the Getae, upon building the fortification of the 1st century BC for enlarging the surface of the acropolis and for building a new, bigger entrenchment to the North-West of the plateau entry¹⁰². The need for the fortification of the 1st century BC is determined by the stage of development of the settlement. The 16 m depth and the 48 maximum opening made access to the acropolis almost impossible. In the area of the entrenchment, on the edge of the acropolis, a simple wood and earth palisade was built, probably meant to protect the dwellings alongside the acropolis¹⁰³.

On the basis of the ceramic material, entirely similar to the one from Bîtea Doamnei¹⁰⁴, Poiana¹⁰⁵, Grădiştea Muncelului, Brad¹⁰⁶ and Bărboşi¹⁰⁷, Răcăţău citadel can be chronologically placed between the IVth and the IInd centuries AD. The richness of the material found here, the intensity of habitation and its fortification can prove the high degree of development of the Getic society and the economic, commercial and military importance of this citadel in the context of the time, situating it next to the largest settlements of Moldova¹⁰⁸. At Răcăţău, as at

⁹⁸V. Căpitanu, V. Ursachi, *Descoperiri geto-dacice în judeţul Bacău (Geto-Dacian Discoveries in Bacău County)*, in *Crisia*, II, 1972, p. 100.

⁹⁹V. Ursachi, *Fortificaţii dacice pe Valea Siretului (Fortifications on Siret Valley)*, p. 41.

¹⁰⁰*Ibidem*.

¹⁰¹V. Căpitanu, V. Ursachi, *O nouă cetăţuie dacică pe Valea Siretului*, p. 97.

¹⁰²V. Ursachi, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁰³*Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁴N. Gostar, *Cetăţile dacice din Moldova şi cucerirea romană la nordul Dunării de Jos*, pp. 9-22.

¹⁰⁵R. and Ec. Vulpe, *Les fouilles de Poiana. Campagne de 1927*, pp. 253-351; Vulpe and collab., *Activitatea şantierului arheologic Poiana-Tecuci*, in *SCIV*, II, 1 1951, pp. 177-216; R. Vulpe, *La civilisations dace et ses problèmes a la limière des dernières fouilles de Poiana, en Base Moldavie*, pp. 143-164.

¹⁰⁶V. Ursachi, *Contribuţii la problema aşezărilor dacice de pe Valea Siretului (Contributions to the Issue of Dacian Settlements on Siret Valley)*, communication presented at the third session of museums, December, 1966; Idem, *Cercetări arheologice efectuate de Muzeul de istorie din Roman (Archaeological Researches Carried Out by Roman History Museum)*, in *Carpica*, I, 1968, pp. 171-184.

¹⁰⁷N. Gostar, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-35.

¹⁰⁸V. Căpitanu, V. Ursachi, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

Brad, the richness of the discoveries reflects a continual evolution at all of the La Tène habitation levels, covering three centuries of existence of the two citadels¹⁰⁹.

The large amount of imported ceramics found here indicated commercial relationships with the exterior, defining it as a commercial station¹¹⁰, where Greek and Roman merchants sold their goods which then, continued their way to the other neighbouring Getic settlements, and the presence of coins and even of monetary treasuries proves an intense commercial activity¹¹¹ also tied to the commercial road on the Siret Valley, from Dinogetia up to Transylvania. It seems that Răcățäu was a very active commercial centre, on its market mostly ceramic products being sold. Regarding the ancient name of this settlement, specialised literature up to the middle of the XIXth century tried to localise the *davae* mentioned by Ptolemy for Moldova, based on geographical and dimensional criteria. Until the discovery and research of Răcățäu settlement, Tamasidava was localised at Brad, as there is no other citadel between Poiana and Brad; on documenting the existence of an oppidum at Răcățäu, a new interpretation of the localisations was taken into account. Thus, Răcățäu citadel was identified with Tamasidava and Brad citadel with Zargidava¹¹².

At the beginning of the 2nd century AD, Răcățäu citadel is deserted, this fact being linked to the conquest of Dacia by the Romans.

Brad (Zargidava)

Brad village belongs to Negri locality, Bacău County, on the western side of the Central Moldavian Plateau¹¹³. Known as Icusești Hills, this area is bordered to the west by *La Cioate* crest or *Ralet* hill, over 250 m high, being bounded to the north by the valley of Drăgești brook, to the south by Ursoaia brook and to the west by the valley of the largest river of Moldova, the Siret¹¹⁴.

Brad, typical meadow settlements, is sheltered by a terrace of the left bank of Siret, 25 km upstream Bacău town. The Getic citadel of Brad is located in the south-western part of the homonym village, on the left terrace of Siret¹¹⁵. Here, the terrace, over 35 m above Siret, enters deeply the meadow of this river, forming a plateau with a good view of the surrounding land. From the peak of this terrace, one could control a good part of the Siret Valley, constituting a favourable place

¹⁰⁹*Ibidem*, p. 100.

¹¹⁰I. Glodariu, *Relațiile comerciale ale Daciei cu lumea elenistică și romană (sec. II î.e.n. – I e.n.) (The Commercial Relations of Dacia with the Greek and Roman World (IInd century BC - Ist century BC)*, Dacia Publishing House, Cluj, 1974, p. 121, nota 314.

¹¹¹*Ibidem*, p. 109.

¹¹²*Ibidem*, p. 101.

¹¹³V. Băcăoanu and collaborators, *Podișul Moldovei (Moldavian Plateau)*, Bucharest 1980, p. 246, fig. 42.

¹¹⁴V. Ursachi, *Zargidava. Cetatea dacică de la Brad (Zargidava. Brad Dacian Citadel)*, Thracologica Library, X, Bucharest, 1995, p. 9.

¹¹⁵V. Ursachi, *Cercetări arheologice efectuate de Muzeul de istorie din Roman*, p. 171.

for the development of a military, commercial or administrative settlement¹¹⁶. To the east, the plateau is segmented by an artificial ditch meant to defend the main part of the settlement. Thus, two distinct areas are outlined, the fortified and the open one; on the hill which borders the terrace the tumular necropolis is located. According to these three main components of Brad citadel, the research activity was carried out in three distinct points: the acropolis¹¹⁷, the open settlement and the tumular necropolis. The separation of the acropolis from the rest of the terrace was achieved since the Bronze Age, by means of an entrenchment, greatly widened in the Getic epoch, with a maximum opening of 56 m and a depth of 10 m¹¹⁸.

IN 1962, Alexandru Vulpe from the Archaeology Institute of Bucharest and Vasile Ursachi from Roman History Museum, on the occasion of a surface research on Siret Valley, come across Brad settlement¹¹⁹. Although interventions had been made on the soil of the terrace occupied by the agricultural farm or by the botanical garden of the school established by Ion Ionescu de la Brad and the ditches dug for the foundations of buildings affected the older layers of the archaeological station, the station had not been signalled until that date.

The systematic research of the station begins in 1963¹²⁰, by digging up two sections (S I and S II), practiced in the main region of the necropolis; the next year, Mihalache Brudiu¹²¹ joins the group and continues the research in the said sections. Starting with 1965, the excavation works were led by V. Ursachi, twenty nine sections being executed until 1984, both on the acropolis and in the open settlement, and three tumuli were dug up in the tumular necropolis. A total area of 4500 sqm was researched, revealing data regarding the organisation of the settlement, the fortification system, occupations, etc.¹²² (Image 8). In the two distinct parts of the station, the acropolis and the open settlement, the stratigraphic situation is different, both in terms of intensity and in terms of the habitation periods. On the acropolis, the material culture layer is about 3 m thick and includes several epochs: the Neolithic Age, the transition period from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age, the First Iron Age, the Getic Period and the Age of Feudalism¹²³. Because of the large entrenchment built in the Dacian period, overlapping the one from the Bronze Age, we cannot know whether one or several entrenchment existed here in the Bronze Age. Chronologically, the oldest culture layer from the Getic period belongs to the IVth century BC, and the most recent dates to the

¹¹⁶V. Ursachi, *Zargidava. Cetatea dacică de la Brad*, p. 17.

¹¹⁷The name of acropolis is used with the meaning of higher position in relation to the surrounding ground and, mostly, as dominant part within a fortified settlement.

¹¹⁸V. Ursachi, *Contribuții la problema așezărilor dacice de pe valea Siretului*, in *MemAntiq*, I, 1969, p. 105.

¹¹⁹V. Ursachi, *Zargidava. Cetatea dacică de la Brad*, p. 11.

¹²⁰The research group was made of specialists from the Archaeology Institute of Bucharest and Roman History Museum: Al. Vulpe, manager, V. Eftimie, M. Ursachi and V. Ursachi.

¹²¹From Roman History Museum.

¹²²V. Ursachi, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹²³V. Ursachi, *Contribuții la problema așezărilor dacice de pe valea Siretului*, p. 106.

beginning of the 2nd century AD, when the end of the settlement is noticed¹²⁴. After the end of the Getic habitation, no other material vestiges were found on this plateau, except for several ceramic fragments which do not make up an archaeological layer, but mere isolated discoveries¹²⁵.

Between the XVIth and the XVIIIth centuries, the acropolis plateau was used as necropolis, over medieval graves being found¹²⁶. Out of the 20 sections practiced in the main area of the settlement, 12 were meant to identify defensive elements. From the middle of the 1st century BC, the settlement acquires a new and stronger fortification, consisting in an entrenchment and a wooden construction¹²⁷. This entrenchment begins on the crest of Monteoru rampart, destroying the older fortification; it is trapezoid-shaped and has a maximum opening of 56 m and depth of 10 m. The large sizes of the entrenchment did not require another fortification element (a rampart), as they would have reduced its area. The rampart is replaced by a simple palisade¹²⁸ which, built on the trench margin, defended the dwellings immediately behind it. It seems that the fortification of Brad settlement with ramparts and entrenchments was achieved due to the Bastarnae who were threatening Moldova¹²⁹.

In the acropolis entrance area, a wooden construction was found, with the role of a gate and constituting at the same time a reinforcement of the entrenchment escarp¹³⁰. The large width of this construction, that is, 9 m, points to the fact that we are talking of a fortification strengthening action¹³¹. The Getic entrenchment has three phases, namely: the first phase corresponds to the construction of the entrenchment, the second phase corresponds to the wooden construction and, finally, the third phase corresponds to a multistep ground layer¹³². The materials discovered in the entrenchment, the starting level of the entrenchment and the wooden palisade date this fortification to the middle of the 1st century BC.¹³³

We can conclude that the Getic fortification of Brad appeared at the middle of the 1st century BC; then, at the beginning of the 1st century AD interest in it started to fade until its complete abandon¹³⁴. The importance of the settlement decreases and it becomes more of an administrative, artisanal or even political

¹²⁴*Ibidem*, p. 107.

¹²⁵V. Ursachi, *Cercetări arheologice efectuate de Muzeul de istorie din Roman*, p. 177.

¹²⁶*Ibidem*, p. 184.

¹²⁷V. Ursachi, *Zargidava. Cetatea dacică de la Brad*, p. 99.

¹²⁸A sort of double wooden fence with beaten earth in-between, 0.60 – 0.80 m thick.

¹²⁹N. Gostar, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹³⁰V. Ursachi, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

¹³¹*Idem*, *Noi elemente de fortificații în așezarea dacică de la Brad, jud. Bacău (New Fortification Elements in the Dacian Settlement of Brad)*, MCA, Tulcea, 1980, p. 179.

¹³²V. Ursachi, *Zargidava. Cetatea dacică de la Brad*, 102.

¹³³The ceramics characteristic to this period, the fibula dating to the middle of the 1st century BC, a silver coin issued in 48 BC, discovered on the bottom of the trench etc.

¹³⁴V. Ursachi, *Cercetări arheologice efectuate de Muzeul de istorie din Roman*, p. 177.

centre, with a great influence on the surrounding settlements¹³⁵. Brad citadel is abandoned at the beginning of the 2nd century AD, probably in relation to the conquest of Dacia by Trajan¹³⁶. The results of the research carried out here allow us to identify Brad citadel with Tamasidava¹³⁷, mentioned by Ptolemy in the 2nd century AD. However, as another Dacian citadel was discovered in 1968 at Răcățău, Bacău County - between Bradu and Poiana – similar with the two, Bradu citadel was identified with Zargidava, and the one of Răcățău with Tamasidava¹³⁸.

Moreover, they prove the high degree of development of the human society on the territory of Moldova in the 1st century BC - 1st century AD, period which corresponds to the Dacia ruled by Burebista and Decebalus, territory which encompassed Bradu citadel as well¹³⁹.

Grădiștea

It is situated on an erosion telltale, named *Movila Crestată*¹⁴⁰, to the left of Buzău River, 4 km downstream of Grădiștea. Triangle-shaped¹⁴¹, Grădiștea settlement is located on a cape, 14-17 m high in relation to Buzău meadow (Image 9). During the researches, many huts, surface dwellings and households were discovered on one level with three stages of successive habitation¹⁴².

The researches carried out so far led to the identification of an artificial fortification system, although this aspect was analysed by sectioning the northern, eastern and southern margins of the settlement¹⁴³. The density of the habitation complexes and the thickness of the archaeological layer are different on the surface of the cape. Thus, in the centre and in the north-western part, the archaeological layer is thinner and the habitation complexes are scarcer, while on the SE, SW and NE sides, the archaeological layer is thicker and the habitation complexes are more

¹³⁵V. Ursachi, *Contribuții la problema așezărilor dacice de pe valea Siretului*, p. 112.

¹³⁶*Ibidem*, p. 118.

¹³⁷Al. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-246; N. Gostar, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹³⁸V. Ursachi, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

¹³⁹*Ibidem*, p. 112.

¹⁴⁰The Getic settlement was identified in 1970 by N. Harțușche and Fl. Anastasiu who, in 1971, carry out the first researches. Systematic researches were performed in 1978-1993 and 1995, the research group being made of: V. Sîrbu, Fl. Anastasiu (1978-1979, 1981) and S. Pandrea (1990).

¹⁴¹F. Anastasiu, V. Sîrbu, *Așezarea geto-dacă de la Grădiștea (jud. Brăila). Cercetările arheologice din 1978 (Grădiștea Geto-Dacian Settlement (Brăila County). The Archaeological Researches of 1978)*, in Istros, I, 1980, p. 157.

¹⁴²N. Conovici, *Așezări fortificate și centre tribale geto-dacice din Muntenia (sec. IV î. e. n. – I e. n.) (Fortified Settlements and Geto-Dacian Tribal Centres of Wallachia (IVth century BC - Ist century AD)*, in Istros, IV, 1985, p. 79.

¹⁴³V. Sîrbu, *Dava getică de la Grădiștea, județul Brăila I (Grădiștea Getic Dava, Brăila County)*, Istros Publishing House, Brăila, 1996, p. 4.

numerous¹⁴⁴. The habitation complexes and their inventory dates to the 2nd-1st centuries BC.¹⁴⁵

Given the richness of the material discovered here, this settlement is the most important in Brăila County, being a political centre of the Getae from the east of the Wallachian Plain¹⁴⁶. Attempts were made, based on Ptolemy's coordinates¹⁴⁷, to identify this citadel with the ancient Zusidava, which seems to have been located in the north-east of Wallachia¹⁴⁸.

Nănești - Vrancea

In "Gorgan" point, on the right bank of Siret, 1 km away from Nănești locality and 2 km away from the confluence of Siret and Putna, there is a 2 ha cape. It is surrounded by an oval rampart, wider to the east. The rampart is flattened due to the agricultural works, but it is visible enough and presents trench traces on the outside¹⁴⁹ (Image 11).

The surface research led to the identification of numerous habitation traces from different historical periods. Handmade and wheel-thrown ceramic fragments from the late Hallstatt were found, as well many pieces of corroded amphorae¹⁵⁰ (Research: 1970-1980).

Odobești – Vrancea

The archaeological station of Odobești, "Sarba" point, where the Getic citadel is also located, is situated on the upper terrace of the left bank of Milcov River, about 3 km away from Odobești town, towards the TV antenna relay. The Getic citadel is well fortified, both naturally and artificially, with a massive, half-circle rampart which closes the steep sides of the terrace with two entrenchments¹⁵¹ (Image 10).

Fragments of Greek amphorae were also found¹⁵² (4th-1st centuries BC) (Research: V. Bobi, A. Paragină, 1980-1982-1990).

¹⁴⁴*Ibidem*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁵*Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁶N. Conovici, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁷Ptolemy, III, 8, 4.

¹⁴⁸F. Anastasiu, V. Sîrbu, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

¹⁴⁹V. Bobi, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁵⁰*Ibidem*, p. 59

¹⁵¹The vulnerable area of the citadel, opposite Milcov River, was coated with rolling stones. Next came the first entrenchment, towards the inside, followed by a massive rampart; it might have had a palisade as well, but no traces were found in the researched area. V. Bobi considers that this first entrenchment could be used, if need be, as means of retreat. The second entrenchment, which comes after the rampart, is wider and deeper.

¹⁵²V. Bobi, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

Palanca, Urechești – Vrancea

The citadel of Palanca, Urechești, “*Titir*” point, is located to the north of Palanca village, about 500 m from the office of Vineyard farm no. 1, on the left upper terrace of Oreavu brook. This rich archaeological station has the shape of a citadel with entrenchment and rampart and is surrounded by steep slopes. The cape has almost 2000 sqm. The habitation levels are disturbed by the secular trees and, in certain spots, soil erosion washed away the layer of Getic culture and the Bronze Age layer (Monteoru culture). Archaeological vestiges belonging to Gumelnița culture, Stoicani-Aldeni aspect, Monteoru IC3, IC2, La Tène and Roman amphora¹⁵³ were collected (Image 12) (Research: V. Bobi, 1971-1972-1973).

3. Necropolises and isolated tombs.**Răcățâu tumular necropolis**

During the campaign of 1981, next to the other researches objectives, the tumular necropolis was also considered which, at present, is located on the territory of Pânțești locality, Bacău County, about 1 km away from the Getic citadel on the bank of Siret, to the east.

Tumulus 1

It was researched in 1969¹⁵⁴ and has the following sizes: 0.90 height and 26 m diameter. Under the heap, a rectangular hole was found (3.80 x 2.50 m), near a funeral pyre. On the bottom of the hole, as well as in the filling earth, we found burnt bones, cinder, charcoals, pieces of hearth and animal bones. The inventory consisted of Getic and imported ceramics, iron objects, rungs from a coat of mail and a gold foil¹⁵⁵.

Tumulus 2

It was researched in 1979 and had a 1.30 m height and 30 m diameter. In the tumulus coating, an inhumation tomb was found, with the head oriented towards the east. According to the rite, ritual and funerary inventory, the tomb was attributed to the Sarmatians and can be dated to the beginning of the 2nd century AD.¹⁵⁶ The hole (3.70 x 2 m), for which the tumulus was made, belongs to an incineration grade, on its bottom being burnt bones and fragments of autochthonous and imported ceramics. In the tumulus coating, we could see the traces of its profanation by the Sarmatians at the beginning of the 2nd century AD. On the ancient tread level, simple hearths were found, arranged on the occasion of the incineration. To the south-west, we found an arched small stove (1.12 x 0.75 m), its flooring being burnt down to - 0.20 m. The funeral pyre was identified in the north-western part of the hole (3.50 x 3.45 m)¹⁵⁷.

¹⁵³*Ibidem*, pp. 61, 71.

¹⁵⁴The research group comprised specialists from Bacău History Museum and Roman History Museum.

¹⁵⁵V. Căpitanu, *Raport privind cercetările arheologice de la Răcățâu, jud. Bacău (Report on the Archaeological Researches of Răcățâu, Bacău County)*, in MCA, XIII, 1979, p. 119.

¹⁵⁶*Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁷*Ibidem*.

Tumulus 3

It was researched in 1981, being located 40 m north of tumulus no. 2 and measures 1.45 (height) and 20 m (diameter). The hole (4.40 x 3.40 m), is rectangular and was found at -1.64 m. To the east, 1.20 m away from the hole, we can see the funeral pyre (1.90 x 1.80 m). On the bottom of the hole, a sort of "pedestal" was arranged, dug in the live ground around the hole bottom, 0.10 m high. A small hole was dug to the east of the pedestal, in which some burnt bones and cinder were deposited. As inventory, we found two buttons and an iron dagger. Highly corroded ceramic fragments were found in the tumulus coating, coming from Dacian vases and Roman amphorae¹⁵⁸.

Given the rite, the funerary ritual and the modest inventory, characteristic of tumular necropolises which pertain to the *davae* on the Siret River, the incineration tombs from Răcățâu can be dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, having belonged to Getic rulers¹⁵⁹.

Brad, Bacău County tumular necropolis

The researches carried out in Brad, Negri locality, Bacău County, begun in 1963, included, apart from the acropolis and the open settlement, the tumular necropolis as well m¹⁶⁰. Before 1969, several flattened tumuli could still be seen in this valley¹⁶¹, but due to agricultural works and vineyards, not even one can be seen today.

Given their placement, four groups of tumuli could be distinguished: the first group included four tumuli, the second group had three tumuli, the third group had three also and the last group had two tumuli¹⁶². The research of the necropolis began by digging up three tumuli from the first group, namely, the largest of them.

Tumulus 1 measured 26 m in diameter and 1.30 m in height, being much flattened due to the agricultural works performed until then¹⁶³. Digging was carried out simultaneously on the four quarters of the tumulus, separated by two crossing profiles, of NS and EW orientation. The first tomb appeared in the centre of the heap, at - 1.10 m, the rectangular-shaped hole being SSW-NNE oriented and measuring 4.20 x 2 m¹⁶⁴, dug in clay. Another incineration tomb and a hole with incinerated remains were also found. The inventory of the main tomb contained a bronze ring and a fragment of a grinding stone. The inventory of the incineration tomb included a wheel-thrown grey cup¹⁶⁵.

Tumulus 2 was researched by the same method as the previous one. It measured 18 m in diameter and 0.90 m in height. In the centre of the heap, at -1.05

¹⁵⁸*Ibidem*, p. 120.

¹⁵⁹*Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁰V. Ursachi, *Zargidava. Cetatea dacică de la Brad*, p. 253.

¹⁶¹In 1969 12 tumuli were identified, out of which only 3 were researched.

¹⁶²V. Ursachi, *Zargidava. Cetatea dacică de la Brad*, pp. 253-254.

¹⁶³*Ibidem*, p. 254.

¹⁶⁴*Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁵*Ibidem*.

m, a 2 x 1.60 m tom was found, without inventory. As the colour of the filling earth was rather close to the living soil, we assume that the burial had a symbolic character¹⁶⁶.

Tumulus 3 was the largest, 27 m in diameter and 1.50 in height. Three tombs were discovered on the surface of the tumulus (fig. 31), out of which an incineration tomb (SSE-NNW oriented) and two inhumation toms (an adult and a child).

The tumular necropolis was dated on the basis of the inventory and the funerary rites and rituals, as well as by comparison with the similar discoveries in the other settlements located on Siret Valley. Studying all of these aspects, we arrived at the conclusion that it can be dated to the 1st century BC - 1st century AD.¹⁶⁷

We can assume that the tumular tombs belonged to a group of richer, more important people¹⁶⁸.

Poiana, Galați County tumular necropolis

Near the Getic settlement of Poiana, we encounter a group of about 20 tumuli. Out of them, only three, which were threatened by destruction, were partially researched. The researched tumuli are placed 1 km away from the settlement, near Siret Frame, being dug in 1928, 1931 and 1936.

Tumulus 1, known as “*Movila Hârtoș*”, was researched in 1931 and 1936. It was disturbed due to various installations of geodesic signals and contained the remains of a rich incineration tomb from the 1st century AD.¹⁶⁹ In the southern sector of the tumulus, a layer of burnt earth was found, with a circular surface of 5 m diameter. In the centre of the tumulus, there was a heap of cinder and burnt bones. The inventory consisted of a Nauheim fibula, a Roman fibula, an iron knife, many glass fragments, glass pearls, silver rings, small gold leaves, a bronze mirror and many ceramic fragments coming from an amphora, from several tazzas, as well as other grey paste vases. According to the inventory, it was concluded that the tomb belonged to a tomb¹⁷⁰.

Tumulus 2 or “*Movila cu Pietre*” was placed exactly on the edge of Siret ravine and was partially researched in 1928. Vastly destroyed during the war, it contained a continuous layer of gravel and river boulders and traces of wooden

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 255.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 263.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 267.

¹⁶⁹ R. Vulpe and collaborators, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹⁷⁰ Al. Vulpe, *La nécropole tumulaire gète de Popești.*, in *Thraco-Dacica*, I, 1976, p. 208; D. Spânu, *The Spoon-Bow Fibula Retrieved from the Giurgiu Customs. Observations on the Spoon-Bow Fibulae from the Lower Danube Area*, in B. Tănăsescu, *Treasure Lost, Treasure Regained*, Patrimoniu Series, no. 1, Giurgiu, 2009, pp. 88-90.

beams¹⁷¹. One single tomb was discovered dated to the second half of the 1st century BC due to a late La Tène fibula¹⁷².

Tumulus 3, also named “*Movila cu Spini*”, is located between “*Movila Hârtop*” and “*Movila cu Pietre*”. It was dug by the locals in the past, with unknown results. The systematic results led to the discovery of several intact parts of the tumulus. A layer of burnt earth was identified on a layer of stones and covered with cinder. The inventory consisted of fragments of imported amphorae, a grey paste cover, iron arrowheads. No burnt bones were found. The tomb dates, probably, to the 1st century BC - 1st century AD¹⁷³.

Şendreni Necropolis?

In 1965, Brăila Museum added to its collections 48 glass vases and 4 bronze pieces, donated by the pharmacist Paul Bălcănescu. From the information provided by the collector, it appeared that the above had been discovered between 1900 and 1927 on the estate of Serfioti family, at Şendreni¹⁷⁴. Furthermore, these pieces were found in inhumation tombs which belonged to a necropolis which should be linked to the Roman complex of Bărboşi¹⁷⁵. The Roman necropolis of Bărboşi occupied the area at the foot of the western slope of the cape on which the castellum was built¹⁷⁶. Tumular toms were also found north and east of the castellum, as well as within the circular curve of the southern Roman rampart.¹⁷⁷

It is hard to determine whether a necropolis or only isolated tombs existed in Şendreni¹⁷⁸. If we take into account the large number of objects found here, we can assume that the number of tombs was also high, forming a necropolis, which cannot be separated from the complex of the Roman habitation of Bărboşi¹⁷⁹.

Cândeşti, Dumbrăveni – Vrancea

The archaeological researches carried out in the necropolis from the Bronze Age led to the identification of more than 1000 inhumation tombs. Many of them, both inhumation and incineration tombs, belong to the Getic population which lived in the settlement close to the necropolis, about 300 m to the north-east.

¹⁷¹Al. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁷²Al. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁷³R. Vulpe and collaborators, *op. cit.*, p. 209; Al. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁷⁴N. Harţuche, O. Bounegru, *Sticlăria romană de la Şendreni, jud. Galaţi (The Roman Glassware of Şendreni, Galaţi County)*, in Istros, II-III, 1981-1983, p. 197.

¹⁷⁵*Ibidem.*

¹⁷⁶S. Sanie, *Civilizația romană la est de Carpați și romanitatea pe teritoriul Moldovei (sec. II î. e. n. – III e. n.) (The Roman Civilisation East of the Carpathians and Romanity on the Territory of Moldova (IInd century BC - IIIrd century AD)*, Junimea Publishing House, Iași, 1981, p. 81.

¹⁷⁷We can classify here the arbitrary discoveries of tombs in the centre of Galaţi, from Dunărea neighbourhood, as well as those of Şendreni.

¹⁷⁸N. Harţuche, O. Bounegru, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

¹⁷⁹*Ibidem.*

Tomb 71, discovered in 1971, belongs to a child, inhumed in supine position. It was found at - 0.60 m depth, and north-south oriented. Its inventory included: a cup (La Tène III), a small fine ceramics bowl, “Samian” A product, bearing an “S” ornament, a silver fibula, two bronze fibulae, a fragment of a silver pendant, a bracelet made of 8 silver pendants, and 8 pearls around the neck. The tomb inventory is eclectic - next to autochthonous elements, we find Roman or Sarmatian pieces, and can be dated to the first half of the 1st century AD¹⁸⁰.

Isolated tombs

1. In 1899¹⁸¹ a Greek amphora, dating to the IVth-IIIrd centuries BC was discovered near the public garden on Galați¹⁸², used as funerary urn of Getic incineration¹⁸³.

2. In 1964¹⁸⁴ two Greek amphorae were discovered dating to the IVth-IIIrd centuries BC and a Getic vase, specific to the Second Iron Age, which contained burnt human bones and cincer¹⁸⁵.

3. In 1973, on Republicii Street, a Greek amphora was discovered, containing burnt bones and which had been used as funerary urn¹⁸⁶. The discoveries of 1899 and 1973 determined archaeologist M. Brudiu to conclude that a Getic necropolis dating to the IVth century BC might exist in the region of “Portul Roșu” football ground.¹⁸⁷

4. South-east of Răcățâu village, in the yard of Gheorghe Bugaciu, in the place once called “Dealul Mazilului”, a bronze kettle was found during the agricultural works, at 0.35-0.40 m depth. Making a survey on site, V. Căpitanu found an incineration tomb¹⁸⁸. The hole of the tomb could not be seen because it

¹⁸⁰V. Bobi, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Idem, *Mormântul 71 descoperit în necropola de la Cârdești – Vrancea (Tomb 71 Discovered in Cârdești-Vrancea Necropolis)*, in Vrancea. Studies and communications, V-VII (1982-1984)1987, p. 333.

¹⁸¹M. Brudiu, *Descoperiri arheologice în județul Galați (Archaeological Discoveries in Galați County)*, in Danubius, XIII-XIV, 1992, p. 7.

¹⁸²It was discovered in the garden of Van Tijn, 2 m deep, being donated in the same year to “V. A. Urechia” Museum from “V. Alecsandri” High School of Galați by the student Ioan Nicolini. At present, the amphora belongs to the collections of Galați History Museum.

¹⁸³I. T. Dragomir, *Descoperiri arheologice pe actualul teritoriu al Galațiului din cele mai vechi timpuri și până la întemeierea orașului (Archaeological Discoveries on the Present Territory of Galați from the Oldest of Times to the Foundation of the Town)*, in Danubius, I, 1967, pp. 182-183 și nota 18.

¹⁸⁴The vases belong to the collections of Galați History Museum, being donated by Marola Nicolae and were discovered on the occasion of the drainage works carried on June 8, 1964 by the bridge team of Section L. 14 C.F.R. Galați, on the route of Galați - Bârlad railway, on the lower terrace of Brateș lake, at km10+800, near Tulucești station.

¹⁸⁵I. T. Dragomir, *op. cit.*, p. 183 and note 22.

¹⁸⁶M. Brudiu, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁸⁷*Ibidem*.

¹⁸⁸Al. Vulpe, V. Căpitanu, *Une tombe isolée de l'époque de Latène à Răcățâu*, in Apulum, IX, 1971, p. 155.

had been disturbed by the agricultural works. Based on the archaeological inventory, the tomb can be dated to the first half of the 1st century AD.¹⁸⁹

5. On the occasion of the diggings performed for an irrigation basin, to the north-east of the open settlement of Brad, an incineration tomb was found, with remains deposited in a simple, cylindrical hole. The hole measured 0.50 m in diameter and 0.30 m in depth¹⁹⁰. On the bottom of the hole, we found rather few burnt bones, and the inventory comprised ceramics (cup, kantharos, bowl, plate) and a glass. Studying the inventory, it was determined that it can be dated to the 1st century AD and that it belonged to a Roman¹⁹¹. The statement is also supported by the fact that no other tomb was found around it - it is isolated, outside the settlement, and the inventory is mostly Roman.

6. In the diggings performed so far in the open settlement of Brad, 16 inhumation tombs were found, in cylinder or bell-shaped holes. The tombs were discovered in 8 holes and belonged to children (13 skeletons) and adults (3)¹⁹². Given the stratigraphic situation and the tomb inventories, the inhumation tombs were dated to the 1st century AD.¹⁹³ Specific to the *dava*-type settlements is the performance of the inhumation rite in the dust holes of the open settlements¹⁹⁴.

¹⁸⁹*Ibidem*, p. 164.

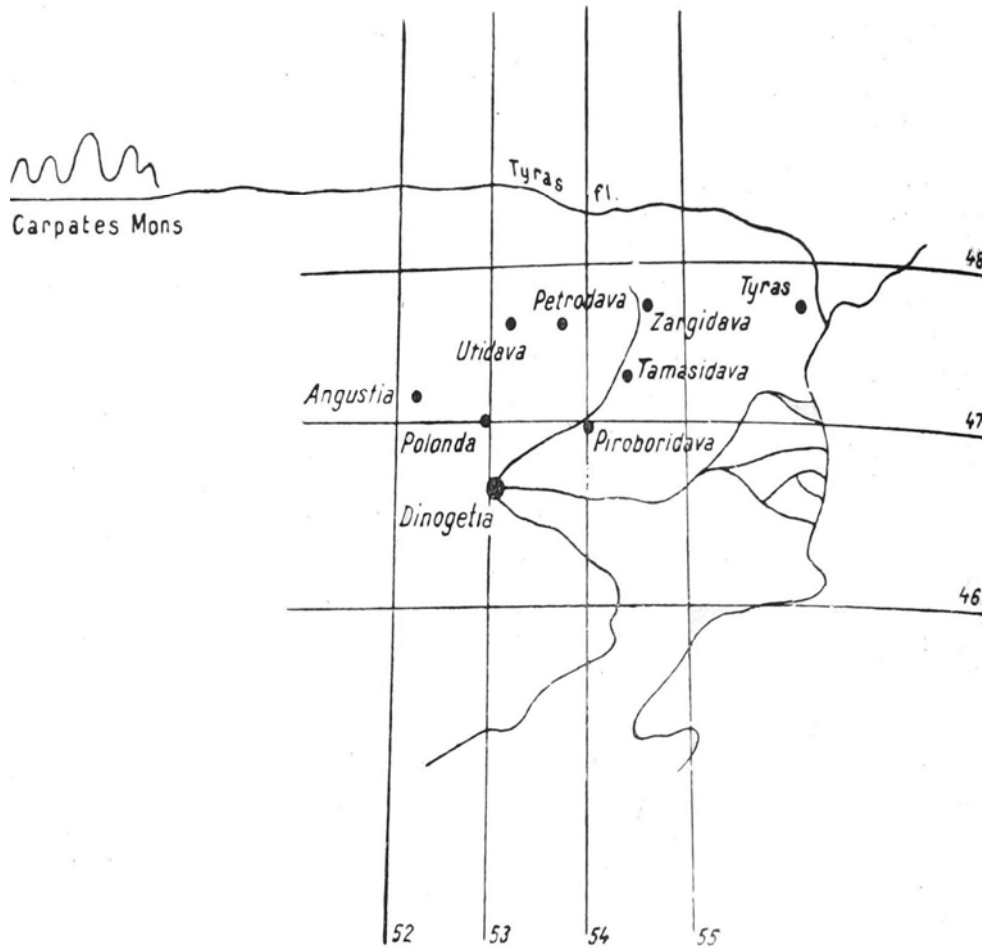
¹⁹⁰V. Ursachi, *Zargidava...*, p. 258.

¹⁹¹*Ibidem*, p. 265.

¹⁹²*Ibidem*, pp. 258-262.

¹⁹³*Ibidem*, pp. 266-267.

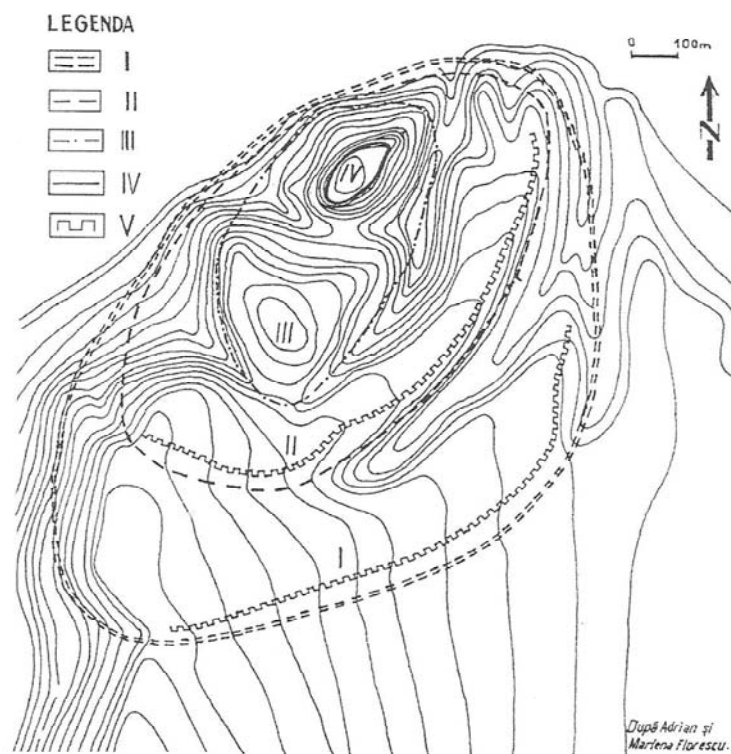
¹⁹⁴*Ibidem*, p. 268.



**Image 1. Moldavia, according to the coordinates given by Ptolemy
(acc. to Al. Vulpe)**



Image 2. The settlements from the valley of the Siret River



**Image 3. Cândești-Vrancea. The terraces from the point “Coasta nacului”.
The delineation of the fortification system that, successively, surrounded
the Hallstattian and Getic citadels.
1-4: the approximated delineation of the defensive trench;
5: traces of a defensive mud wave (acc. to V. Bobi).**

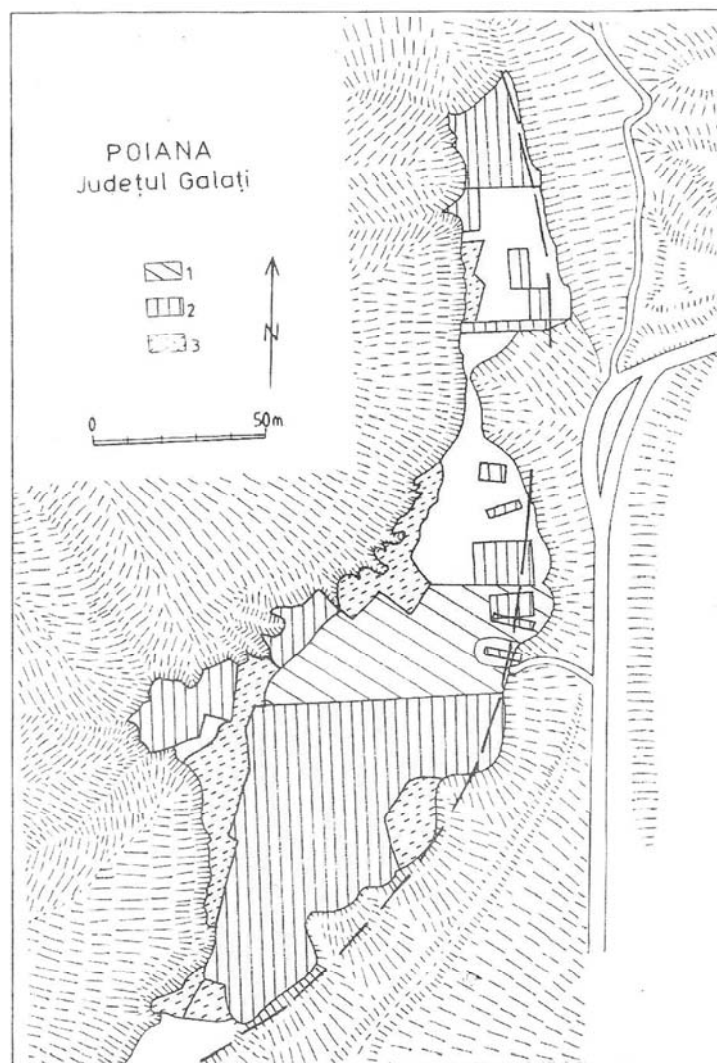


Image 4. The Getic citadel from Poiana. The general plan.
1: researches 1985-1990.
2: researches 1926-1951.
3: unsystematic researches.
(acc. to R. Vulpe and S. Teodor).

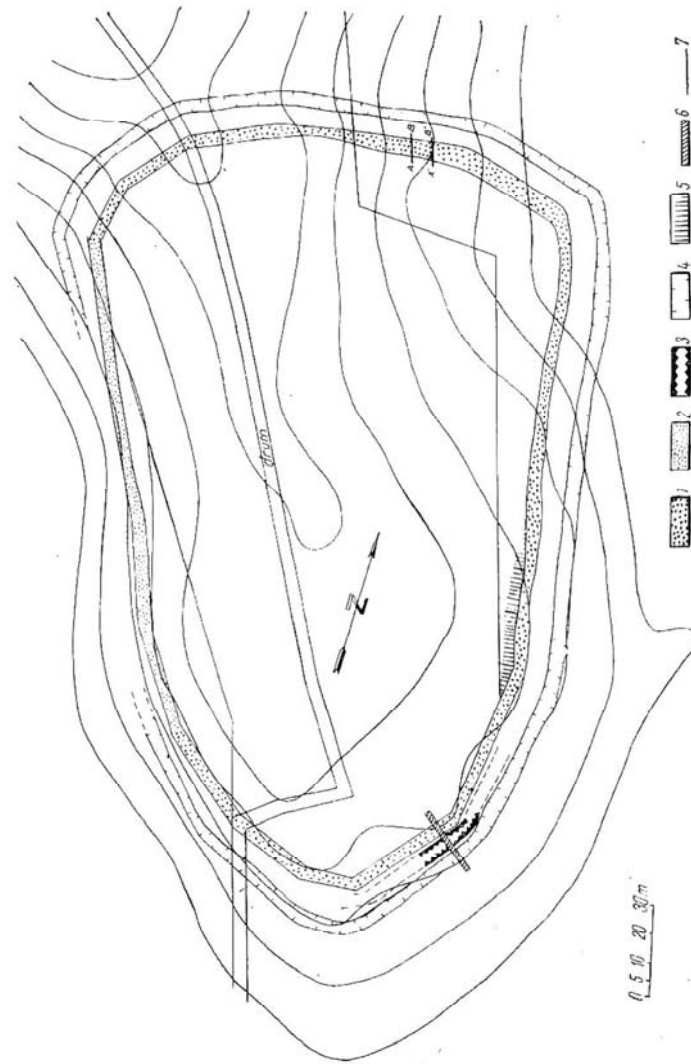
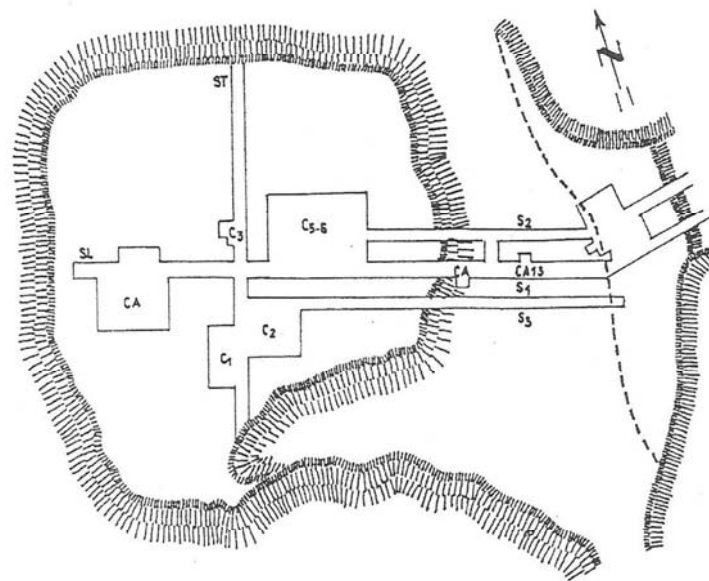


Image 5. The plan of the mud citadel from Brăhășești.
1. the area of the palisade, with burnt soldering; 2. the area of the palisade, with un-burnt soldering; 3. trench I; 4. trench II; 5. traces of green clay, in the ploughed field; 6. section I; 7. the location of the profiles, on the Northern side (acc. to M. Brudiu and P. Pălănea).

**Legend:**

SL: Longitudinal trench

ST: Transversal trench

C: Cassette (box)

S1,2,3 : trenches

--- defensive trenches.

Sc.:1:100

**Image 6. Mănăstioara, Fitionești, Vrancea. The Getic citadel.
General plan of the researches (acc. to V. Bobi).**

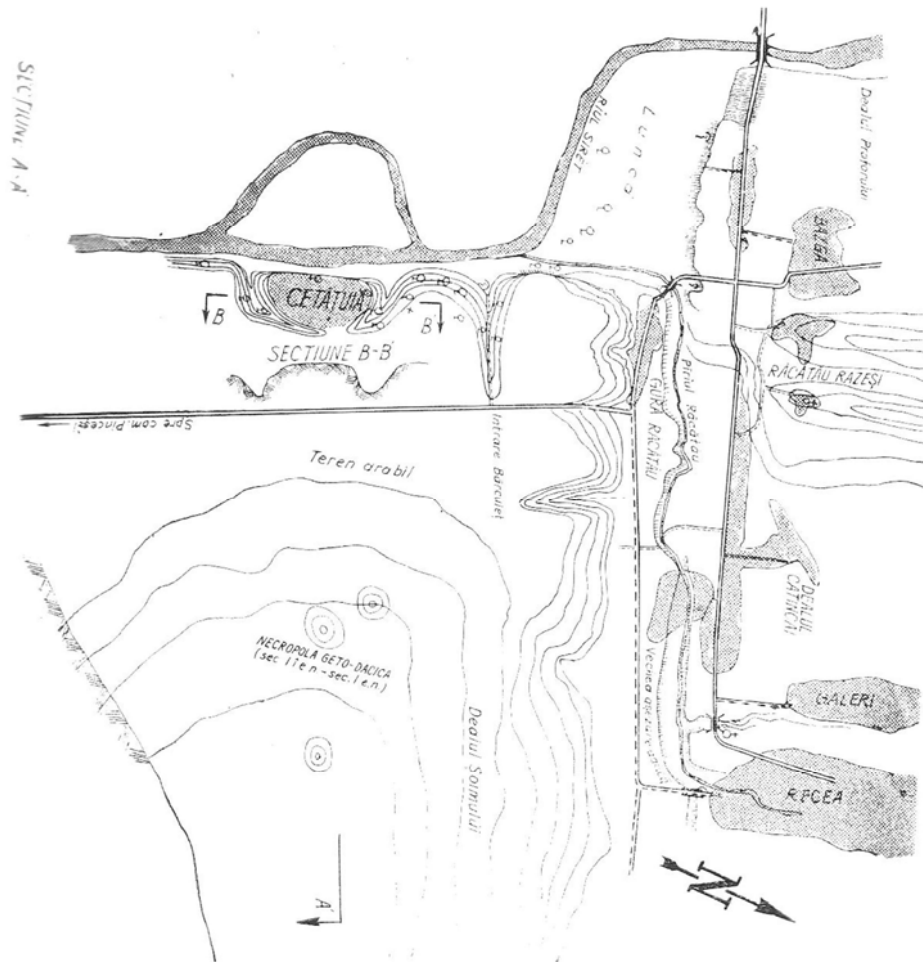


Image 7. Răcătău-Cetățuie. The topographic plan of the Getic citadel

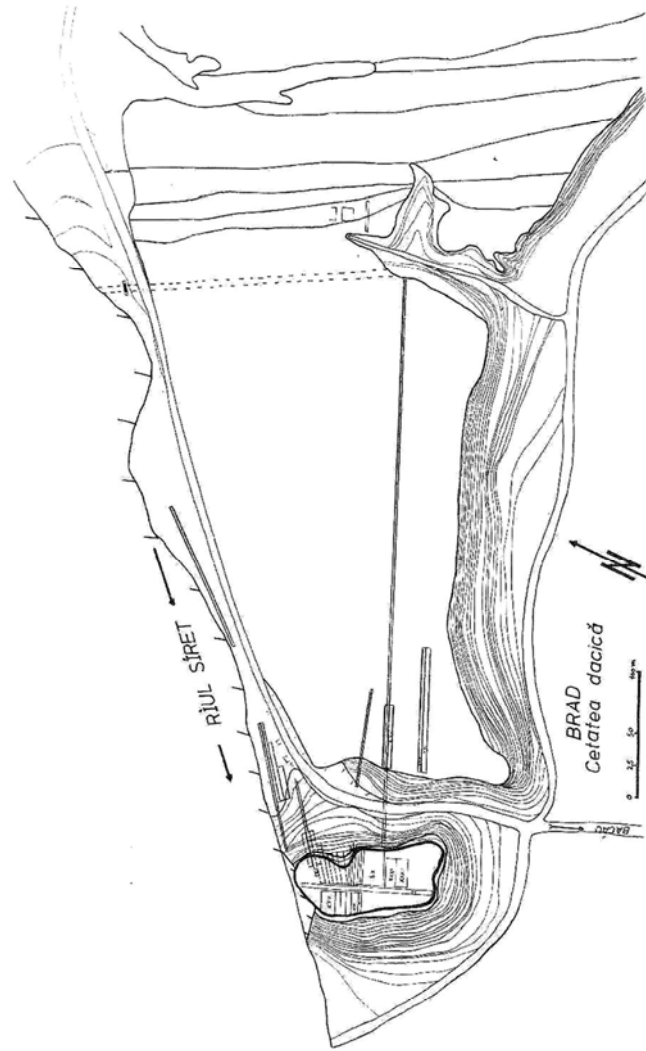


Image 8. Brad. The general plan of the researches (acc. to V. Ursachi).

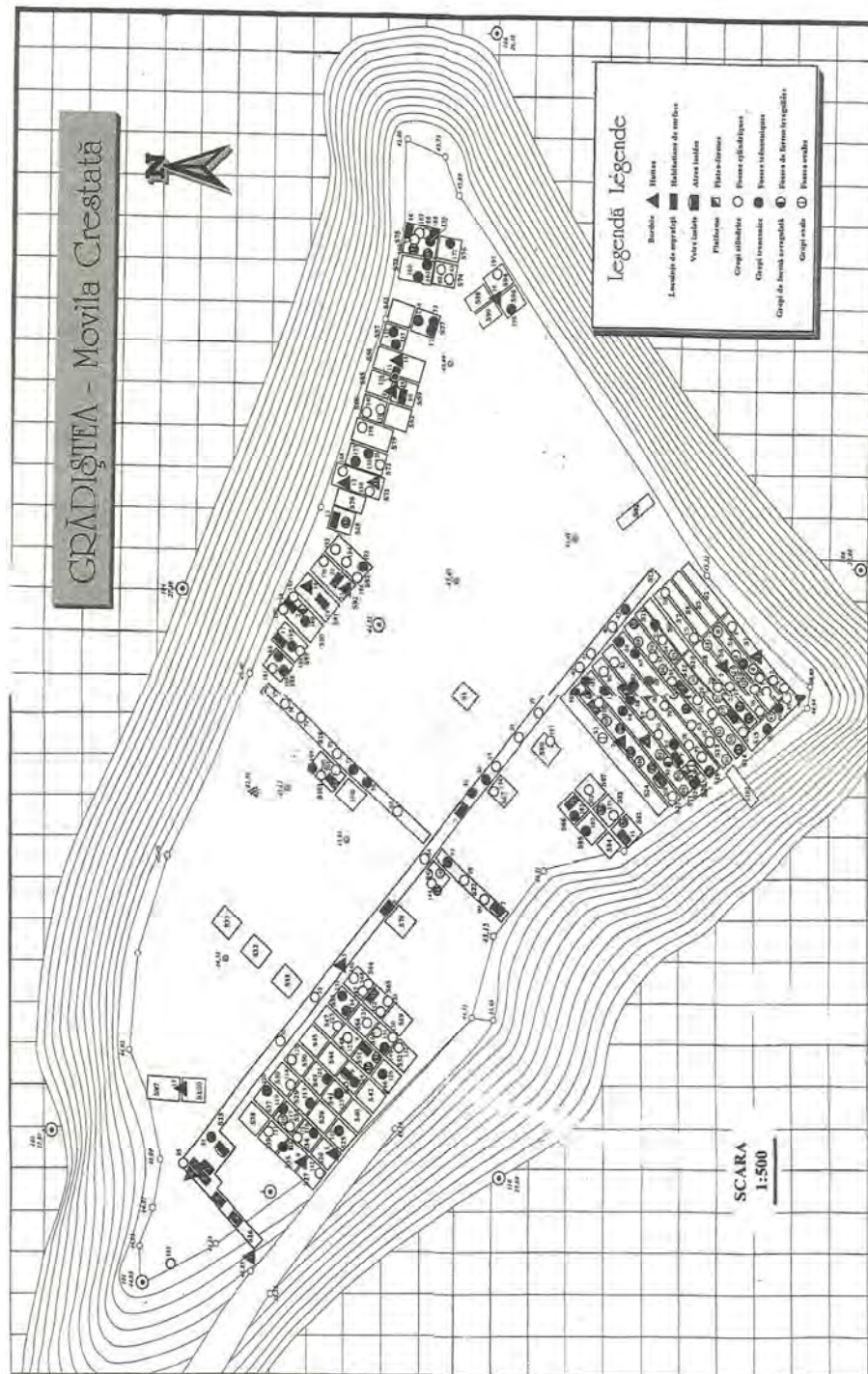


Image 9. The settlement from Grădiștea (acc. to V. Sîrbu).

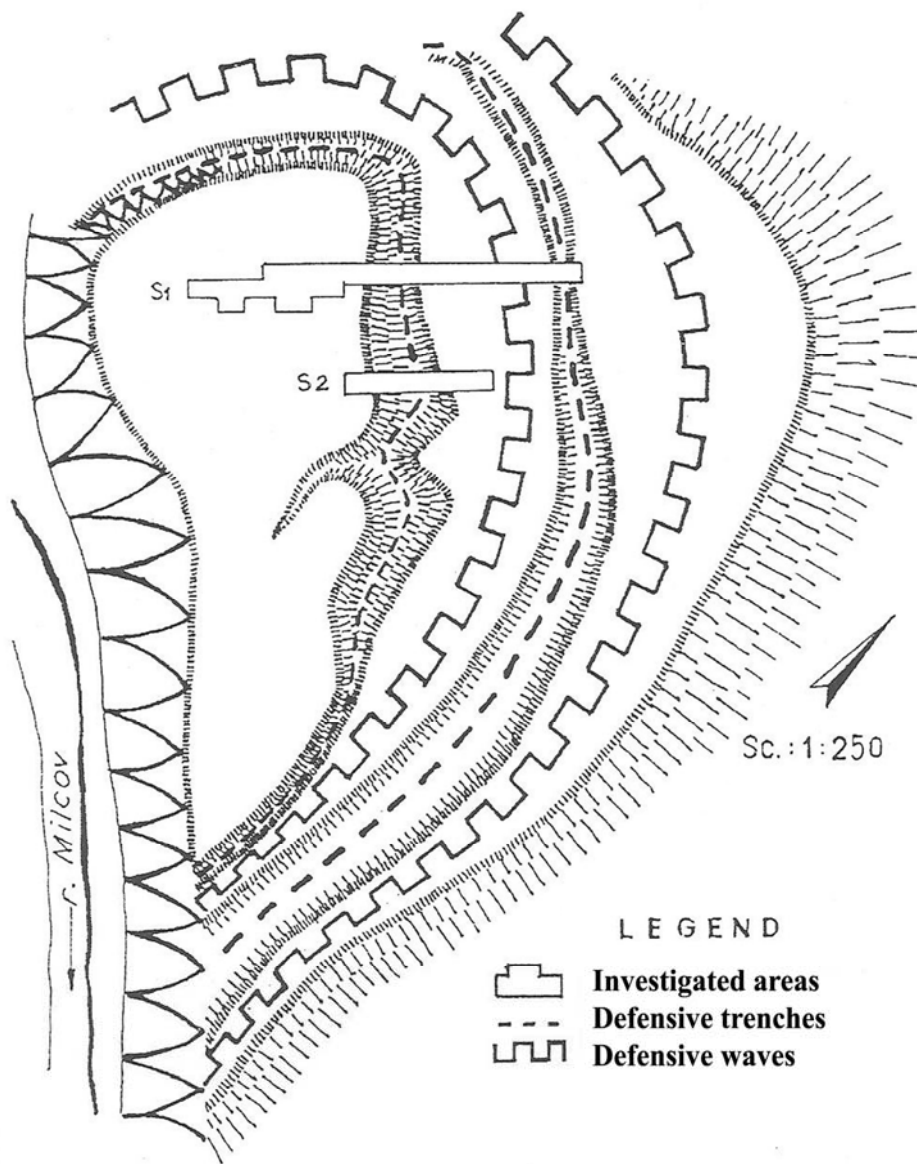


Image 10. Odobești – Vrancea. The plan of the Dacian citadel

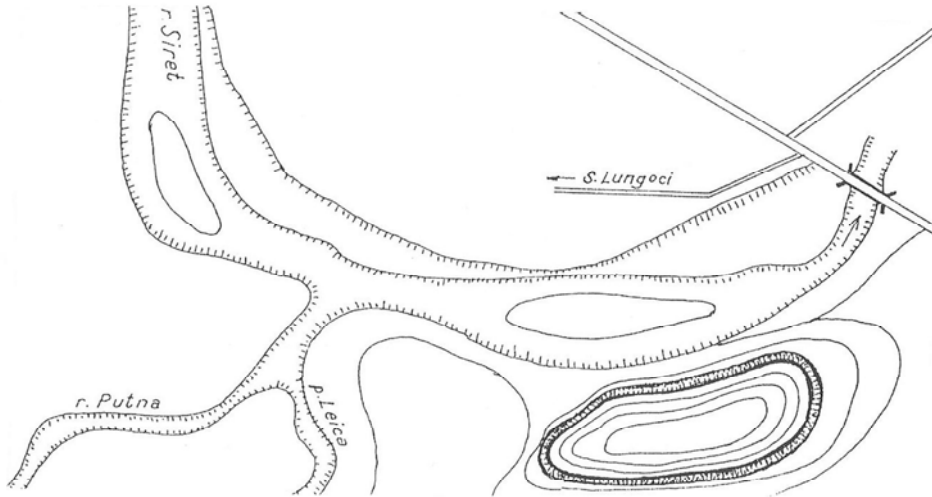


Image 11. Nănești – Vrancea. The mud citadel from the „Gorgani” point (acc. to V. Bobi)

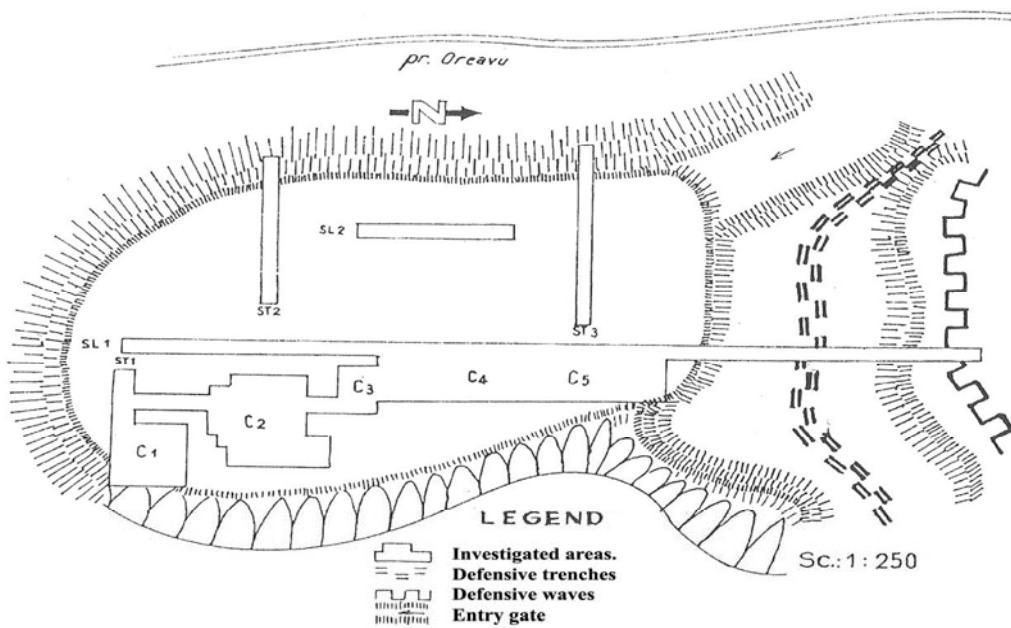


Image 12. Palanca, Urechești commune, Vrancea. The Getic citadel. General plan of the researches (acc. to V. Bobi)

Aurel VÎLCU, Costel ILIE***

GOLDEN STATERS FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE HISTORY MUSEUM OF GALAȚI

-Abstract-

The article presents 20 Staters enclosed in the treasuries found at Dăeni, Tulcea County, and Mărășești, Vrancea County, all preserved in the collections of the History Museum of Galați. Twelve Staters, among which five are of Alexander type, and seven of Lysimachus type, all belonging to the treasury discovered in 1956 at Dăeni, Tulcea County, were published for the first time in 1981, by B. Mitrea (who published only the images of 4 pieces). After investigating the coins, we noticed that six of them originate from some other workshops. We approached the ascription and the chronology of the Staters preserved in the History Museum of Galați referring also to those pieces from the treasury found at Dăeni, that had been published during the previous years. Most probably, the treasury from Dăeni was buried between 255 and 245 B.C.

From the treasury discovered in 1909 in Mărășești, Vrancea County, the History Museum of Galați preserves 8 Staters of Alexander type, handed over to the Museum by the Police of Galați, in 1967. The coins are posthumous Staters issued in Babylon, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Aradus, Abydos, Amphipolis and in an unidentified workshop from the East.

Keywords: numismatics, treasury, Staters, Dăeni, Mărășești

STATERI DE AUR DIN COLECȚIILE MUZEULUI DE ISTORIE DIN GALAȚI

-Rezumat-

Articolul prezintă 20 de stateri din componența tezaurilor descoperite la Dăeni, în județul Tulcea, și la Mărășești, în județul Vrancea, păstrate în colecțiile Muzeului de Istorie din Galați. 12 stateri, dintre care 5 sunt de tip Alexandru iar 7 de tip Lysimach, toate piesele făcând parte din tezaurul descoperit în 1956 la Dăeni, jud. Tulcea, au fost publicați pentru întâia oară în 1981, de B. Mitrea (care a ilustrat doar 4 piese). În urma verificării pieselor, s-a putut observa că șase din ele au fost executate în alte ateliere. Discuția referitoare la atribuirea și la cronologia staterilor păstrați în colecțiilor Muzeului de Istorie din Galați face referire și la acele piese din tezaurul de la

* “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest, aurelvilcu@yahoo.com.

** History Museum of Galați, costelilie@gmail.com.

Dăeni care au fost publicate în anii anteriori. Cel mai probabil, data ascunderii tezaurului de la Dăeni este situată undeva în perioada 255-245 î.Chr.

Din tezaurul descoperit în 1909 la Mărășești, jud. Vrancea, în colecțiile Muzeului de Istorie din Galați se găsesc opt stateri de tip Alexandru, predate Muzeului în 1967, de către fosta Miliție din Galați. Este vorba despre stateri postumi, realizați în Babilon, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Aradus, Abidos, Amphipolis și într-un atelier neidentificat din Est.

Cuvinte cheie: numismatică, tezaur, stater, Dăeni, Mărășești

The History Museum of Galați owns 20 gold staters, Alexander and Lysimachus-type, issued in the IVth-IIIrd centuries BC. The coins were purchased from the former Militia of Galați County in the 60s-70s¹.

A first group of 12 staters which comes from Dăeni treasury was inventoried on June 19, 1957 in the general register of the museum, under positions 3895-3906. From Dăeni treasury, Tulcea County, discovered in 1956, 107 specimens got into the Romanian public collections: at the National Museum of Antiquities (today "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology) - 75 specimens, transferred after 1970 to the History Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania (today the National History Museum of Romania); Numismatic Cabinet of the Romanian Academy Library - 18 specimens, plus the 12 pieces existing at the History Museum of Galați. Two specimens, recovered afterwards, are at present at "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology². Regarding their publication, first of all, 15 pieces were edited from the group of the Numismatic Cabinet of the Romanian Academy Library³. The entire group, made of 18 specimens, was included in a volume dedicated to the collections of gold coins kept at the Romanian Academy Library⁴ and presented again in a recent article⁵. In 1993, two pieces subsequently recovered and kept at "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology were published by G. Poenaru

¹ History Museum of Galați Archive, Payment order 72/20.06.1957; Delivery-reception protocol no. 29450/19.06.1957.

² A. Vilcu, Th. Isvoranu, E. Nicolae, *Les monnaies d'or de l'Institut d'Archéologie de Bucarest*, Wetteren, 2006, p. 7.

³ O. Iliescu, *Tezaurul de stateri de aur de la Dăeni (Dăeni Gold Staters Treasury)*, Expansion of the Collections of the Romanian Academy Library, 8, 1963, p. 326-329, no. 297-311.

⁴ C. Preda, E. Petac, *Les monnaies d'or de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, I. Monnaies grecques et romaines*, Wetteren, 2006.

⁵ E. Petac, *Noi date privind tezaurul de monede de aur din perioada elenistică descoperite în Dobrogea: o nouă cronologie a tezaurului de la Dăeni, jud. Tulcea (New Data Regarding the Gold Coins Treasuries from the Greek Period Discovered in Dobrogea: A New Chronology of Dăeni Treasury, Tulcea County)*, Bulletin of the Romanian Numismatic Society, 98-103 (2004-2009), 2009, p. 9-20.

Bordea and B. Mitrea⁶, and in 2005 the catalogue of all the 75 pieces belonging to the group existing in the National Museum of Antiquities was edited⁷. The 12 staters housed by Galați History Museum we will consider hereinafter, five Alexander-type specimens and seven Lysimachus-type specimens, were edited for the first time by M. Mitrea in 1981, however, only four specimens were illustrated⁸. From the perspective of the issuing workshop, the author provides the following structure for the group of Galați: four Alexander-type staters coined in Callatis and one in Odessa, two Lysimachus-type staters issued in Abydos, four attributed to an unnamed Pontic workshops and one, reservedly, to Byzantion town. After the re-examination of the pieces, in the light of the progresses recorded in the study of gold Macedonian and Macedonian-like coins, the structure of the group kept at Galați, presented by B. Mitrea, undergoes a series of changes in terms of reattribution and dating. The structure of the Alexander-type group of staters is presented as follows: three pieces were issued in Callatis (two Price 914-type and one Price 903-type) and dated by M. Price to years 250-225 BC, a stater issued by Odessos (Price 1135) dating to 280-200 BC and the fifth specimen raises questions as to the issuing workshop. B. Mitrea considers it a Callatian issue, while M. Price's catalogues includes, under no. 4023, a similar specimen in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, under the category of unspecified workshops and dated to 323-300 BC.

If for the Alexander-type staters things are somewhat clearer, the seven Lysimachus pieces cannot be so easily attributed to certain workshops. For a start, we remark two Lysimachus-type staters (no. 6-7 in our catalogue), coined with the same stamps and attributed by B. Mitrea to Abydos workshop, with reference to Thompson, p. 172 no. 69, years 297/6-282/1⁹. The reference is mistaken for the monogram in the study carried out by M. Thompson is relatively similar to the one on the concerned pieces, but not identical. Also, we should mention that the monogram of the said study is associated with a symbol, a griffon head placed to the left, which does not appear on the two staters from Dăeni treasury and, therefore, they can no longer be attributed to Abydos. We notice that the monogram on Dăeni staters is known to M. Thompson, not for staters, but for tetradrachms issued in Pella between 286/5-282/1, unillustrated¹⁰. The accuracy of

⁶ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, B. Mitrea, *Découvertes monétaires en Roumanie: 1992 (XXXVI)*, Dacia, N.S., 37, 1993, p. 311, no. 5.

⁷ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Tezaurul de la Dăeni, jud. Tulcea. Catalogul monedelor din colecția Muzeului Național de Antichități (Dăeni Treasury, Tulcea County. Coins Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities Collection)*, in Numismatics Symposium dedicated to the Centenary of the Romanian Numismatic Society (1903-2003), Chișinău, November 26-28, 2003, Communications, studies and notes, Bucharest, 2005, p. 11-22.

⁸ B. Mitrea, *Contribuții la studiul tezaurului de la Dăeni (Contributions to the Study of Dăeni Treasury)*, Pontica, 14, 1981, p. 171-179.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 178 no. 6-7.

¹⁰ M. Thompson, *The Mints of Lysimachus*, in *Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson*, Oxford, 1967, p. 181, no. 244.

the attribution may be checked on two tetradrachms, illustrated this time, which contain the monogram to the left of the field, associated with another monogram (still to the left). One of these pieces was signalled in the structure of the treasury discovered in Meydancikkale¹¹ and the other counts among the pieces recovered by the Greek authorities in 1992 in Thesprotia¹². If the ascription of the two staters of Dăeni treasury proves to be correct, then the series of Thompson 244-type tetradrachms issued in Pella after 286 BC shall be complete. To these two specimens, another stater is added, coined with different stamps, but with similar monogram, which is still a part of Dăeni treasury, the lot published in 2005, considered to be posthumous initially, issued in the 3rd century in an uncertain mint.¹³ Although incorrectly depicted in the catalogue, one can notice that the monogram is undoubtedly similar to the one on the staters kept at Galați History Museum. However, we draw the attention to the fact that the distribution of monograms on workshops, achieved by M. Thompson, is arguable in some cases, and we do not exclude a re-ascription and chronologic rearrangement of certain staters and tetradrachms.

The ascription of another Lysimachus-type stater of Dăeni treasury (no. 8 in the catalogue) proves to be difficult. B. Mitrea initially attributed it to an unspecified Pontic workshop, the author founding his opinion on the presence of the monogram HP on the issues of certain towns in the region, such as Callatis. Indeed, the monogram HP appears in Callatis, but also in the case of other workshops, such as Lampsacus, Pella or Heraclea, to name a few. Lampsacus mint coins between 297/6 and 282/1 tetradrachms with this monogram, but always accompanied by other monograms or symbols¹⁴. For Heraclea, the monogram is signalled between 288/7 and 282/1, but it is placed in a different position (on the throne) and associated with another symbol¹⁵. The monogram also appears in Callatis¹⁶ and Tomis¹⁷, however, on the series of late staters with trident in exergue and KAA or TO on the throne (two specimens were signalled in Mărășești treasury). For the 3rd century, we find a Lysimachus-type tetradrachm from the treasury discovered in Meydancikkale¹⁸, with a monogram similar to our stater. The editors of the treasury reservedly ascribe the tetradrachm to Byzantion. We notice that the tetradrachm has a spiral under the throne, unlike the stater under discussion; therefore, it could pertain to a different chronologic horizon. In the

¹¹ A. Davesne, G. Le Rider, *Le trésor de Meydancikkale (Cilicie Trachée, 1980)*, Paris, 1989, p. 126, no. 2686.

¹² Y. Touratsoglou, *Two New Hellenistic Hoards from Greece, Athens*, 1995, p. 101, no. 57.

¹³ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *op.cit.*, p. 20, no. 64.

¹⁴ M. Thompson, *op.cit.*, p. 171, no. 44-48.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 178, no. 176 and 178.

¹⁶ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Le trésor de Mărășești. Les statères en or des cites du Pont gauche et le problème des relations avec le monde grec et les populations locales aux IVE-Ier siècles av. n. è.*, Dacia, N. S., 18, 1974, p. 109, no. 83.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 109, no. 88.

¹⁸ A. Davesne, G. Le Rider, *op.cit.*, p. 128, no. 2702.

study carried out by M. Thompson, we find that a series of anthurous tetradrachms, dated to 286/5-282/1 are ascribed to Pella mint, having the same monogram to the left¹⁹ as our stater. Under these circumstances, the stater from Dăeni treasury seems to round off the picture of the issues attributed to Pella workshop, being issued probably at the same time with the tetradrachms. We also notice that other anthurous staters were attributed to Pella workshop, with the monogram HP to the left, but accompanied by another monogram in exergue²⁰, pieces which bear stylistic resemblances with the specimen from Dăeni.

The fourth Lysimachus-type stater discovered at Dăeni (no. 11 in our catalogue), with spiral on the throne, spike in exergue and symbols K and \blacktriangle to the left of the field was attributed by Mitrea²¹ to an unspecified Pontic workshop, however, according to the study made by Seyrig, the stater belongs to the issues circulated by Chalcedon before 235 BC²² or between 260 and 230, according to the dating advanced by Marinescu²³. We draw the attention to the fact that in Dăeni treasury, in the lot published in 2005, there is a piece with spiral on the throne, spike in exergue and the symbol K to the left, coined with the same obverse stamp²⁴. In this case, both pieces come from the same workshop, which could be Chalcedon.

Another Lysimachus-type stater from the group of Galați (no 10. in our catalogue) was attributed by B. Mitrea to an unspecified Pontic workshop²⁵. A tetradrachm with the same monogram to the left of the field, attributed to Byzantion, was signalled in Meydancikkale treasury²⁶, its closure data being before 240 BC. According to Marinescu's work, who reviewed other three similar staters, the piece from Dăeni treasury could be ascribed to Byzantion, dating to 260-245²⁷.

Dăeni treasury also contain a Lysimachus-type stater without symbols or spiral (nr. 9 in our catalogue) considered by B. Mitrea to have been issued by an unspecified Pontic workshop²⁸. As it has no symbol, the only ascription criterion is

¹⁹ M. Thompson, *op.cit.*, p. 181, no. 247.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, no. 240.

²¹ B. Mitrea, *op.cit.*, nr. 12.

²² H. Seyrig, *Monnaies hellénistiques de Byzance et de Calcédoine*, în *Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson*, Oxford, 1967, p. 199.

²³ C. A. Marinescu, *Making and spending money along the Bosphorus: the Lysimachi coinages minted by Byzantium and Chalcedon and their socio-cultural context*, Columbia University, 1996, p. 198, grupa II, anii c. 260-230.





²⁴ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Tezaurul de la Dăeni, jud. Tulcea. Catalogul monedelor din colecția Muzeului Național de Antichități (Dăeni Treasury, Tulcea County. Coins Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities Collection)*, in Numismatics Symposium dedicated to the Centenary of the Romanian Numismatic Society (1903-2003), Chișinău, November 26-28, 2003, Communications, studies and notes, Bucharest, 2005, p. 20, no. 60.

²⁵ B. Mitrea, *op.cit.*, p. 179 no. 11.

²⁶ A. Davesne, G. Le Rider, *op.cit.*, p. 128, no. 2699.

²⁷ C. A. Marinescu, *op.cit.*, p. 50, group II (with spiral), issue 15.

²⁸ B. Mitrea, *op.cit.*, p. 178, no. 9.

the stylistic one. Compared to other specimens, we notice that the stater falls within the category of symbol-less pieces, among the oldest of the Lysimachus-type attributed to Byzantion²⁹ and dating to 260 BC. The last piece from Dăeni treasury, the group of Galați (no. 12 in the catalogue), with monogram to the left of the field and in exergue, was reservedly attributed by B. Mitrea, to Byzantion³⁰. Analysing the lot published in 2005 we notice that staters under no. 52 and 53 are coined with the same obverse and reverse stamps as the piece existing in Galați. The three coins do not have spiral on the throne or spike in exergue, however, given their aspect, they seem to be posthumous issues. In fact, the monogram in exergue () is unknown to the study made by M. Thompson. A relatively similar, but not identical, monogram appears only in the case of a Lysimachus-type stater with spiral on the throne and spike in exergue, attributed to Chalcedon town. The monogram appears, however, in a different position (down left) and is accompanied by a symbol³¹, therefore, a connection with the three pieces from Dăeni appears unlikely. Workshop ascription can be made due to the monogram  on the reverse of the coin, to the left of the field. Checking the material published so far, we found that the only coins where monogram  was attested are the Alexander-type staters issued in Callatis and recorded in M. Price's catalogue under no. 901. Arrived here, we must make a correction: the monogram appears neither in the catalogue section dedicated to Callatis, nor in the index. Undoubtedly, this is the author's omission, for it is clear that the monogram  appears on the reverse of the coin illustrated under no. 901. The attribution of the piece under no. 901 to Callatis is also supported by the connection between the obverse stamp and the specimen illustrated under no. 902, situation mentioned by the author as well. Therefore, we wonder whether the three Lysimachus-type staters from Dăeni treasury, coined with the same stamps, with no spiral or spike, and with the monogram to the left of the field similar to the one on the Alexander-type Callatis staters, marks the passage from Alexander-type to Lysimachus-type issues, as already determined for Istros³². Right now, all the data seem to confirm the ascription of the three pieces to Callatis. We mention that three other pieces similar to the ones from Dăeni were signalled in Pozzi³³ collection, at Numismatica Ars Classica³⁴ and CNG³⁵. If ascription is confirmed, the coinage of Lysimachus-type

²⁹ C. A. Marinescu, *op.cit.*, p. 41, issue 6, no. 10.

³⁰ B. Mitrea, *op.cit.*, p. 178, no. 8.

³¹ C. A. Marinescu, *op.cit.*, p. 225, issue 9, no. 21.

³² E. Petac, *Istros numismatic repertory – from the Alexander the Great staters to the Lysimachus type*, Antiquitas Istro-Pontica. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne offerts à Alexandru Suceveanu, Cluj-Napoca, 2011, p. 569-572.

³³ S. Boutin, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques antiques de l'ancienne collection Pozzi*, 1, Maastricht, 1979, p. 144 nr. 2624 (coined with the same reverse and, probably, obverse die).

³⁴ Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 52 (07.10.2009), coined with the same obverse die, but with different reverse die.

³⁵ Classical Numismatic Group, Triton, IX, 861 (10.01.2006).

stater with the monogram **Α** could be dated to the defeat of Callatis in the war with Byzantion, when the issues of Alexander the Great staters come to an end³⁶, but not later than 246-241 BC, time when the third Syrian war takes place and which, numismatically speaking, marks the appearance of staters with trident in exergue. Regarding the dating of Dăeni treasury, we have already noticed that the absence of staters with trident indicates as hiding moment years 255-245 BC³⁷.

The second group, comprising eight staters, was purchased by Galați Museum in 1961. On the recording date, 02.06.1967, it was specified in the remarks column: "Probably from Focșani. They come from Galați Militia"³⁸. The region where the coins were recovered from, the former Focșani District, today, Vrancea County, makes us believe that the pieces belong to the great Mărășești treasury, discovered in 1909³⁹. An argument for its provenience is also the distribution on workshops of the eighth staters which fall within the group of pieces from Mărășești treasury, published by Gh. Poenaru Bordea in the 70s. Three of the pieces kept at Galați History Museum, coined with obverse die, are Price 3749a Babylon posthumous staters, years 311-305 with MI to the left of the field and monogram to the left, down part of the field. Other two specimens were issued in Aradus (Price 3313), years 328-320 and Abydus (Price 1559), years 310-301. This last piece was reservedly attributed by M. Price to Abydus (?). We mention that M. Thompson, in his works on Lampsacus and Abydus workshops⁴⁰, publishes and dates a coin, (series XIX, years 303/2, no. 370b) coined with the same dies as the piece from Dăeni treasury. The next piece from our group could be attributed to Magnesia ad Maeandrum, a stater with the same symbol located to the left, down part of the coin, but with a different symbol over it, being signalled by M. J. Price⁴¹. The stylistic analysis shows that the specimen published by us would fall into the rich series of posthumous staters issued by Magnesia between 319 and 305. The group of staters kept at Galați History Museum ends with a Price 164-type specimen, issued in Amphipolis between 330 and 320 and another one, Price 3991-type coined in 325-300 in an unspecified workshop from the East. Regarding

³⁶ A. Vilcu, E. Petac, *Political rivalry and military conflicts at Lower Danube during the IIIrd century BC reflected by the gold staters of Alexander the Great type struck at Kallatis*, in press.

³⁷ A. Vilcu, *Rivalités politiques et conflits militaires au Bas-Danube au III^e siècle av. J.-C. reflétés par les émissions en or du trésor découvert à Dăeni, dép. de Tulcea*, communication in the conference *Culture and Civilisation at the Lower Danube. East and West*, Lower Danube Museum, Călărași, October 12-14, 2011.

³⁸ MIGL Archive, Delivery-reception protocol of 17.10.1961.

³⁹ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Le trésor de Mărășești. Les statères en or des cites du Pont gauche et le problème des relations avec le monde grec et les populations locales aux IV^e-I^{er} siècles av. n. è.*, Dacia, N. S., 18, 1974, p. 103-125.

⁴⁰ M. Thompson, *Alexander's drachm mints II: Lampsacus and Abydus*, Numismatic studies, 19, New York, 1991, p. 60, series XIX, years 303/2, no. 370b.

⁴¹ M.J. Price, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus*, Zurich/London, 1991, no. 1972.

Mărășești treasury, C. Moisil's opinion, which places the hiding moment to the 1st century BC, was adopted by most of the researchers concerned with this subject. Recently, the examination of the pieces and of the information regarding the way of recovering the staters discovered in Mărășești revealed that the treasury was hidden between 260 and 240 BC.⁴².

⁴² A. Vilcu, *Sur la diffusion des monnaies grecques en or dans la zone du Bas Danube aux IVe –IIIe siècles av. J.C.*, communication at the International Conference *Recent Studies on Past and Present: New Methods, New Sources or a New Public?*, Romanian Academy, Bucharest, September 25-28, 2011.

COIN CATALOGUE

A. Dăeni Treasury

CALLATIS

Alexander the Great stater

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to the right of the field. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. Monogram Κ to the left.

1. AV ↑ 8.34 g; 19 mm. Inv. 3896.

Price 903, years c.250-c.225 BC

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to the right of the field. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. Monogram Κ to the left of the field and Ν down and to the left.

2. AV ↑ 8.47 g; 18 mm. Inv. 3900.

Price 914, years c.250-c.225 BC

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to the right of the field. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. Monogram Κ to the left of the field and Ν down and to the left.

3. AV ↑ 8.47 g; 18 mm. Inv. 3901.

Price 914, years c.250-c.225 BC

ODESSOS

Alexander the Great stater

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ-ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ[ΟΥ] to the right of the field. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. Monogram Δ left and down and ⊕ right and down.

4. AV ↑ 8.39 g; 19 mm. Inv. 3897.

Price 1135, years c.280-200 BC

UNSPECIFIED WORKSHOP

Alexander the Great stater

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to the right of the field. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. Monogram ΕΧ to the left.

5. AV ↑ 8.48 g; 18 mm. Inv. 3903.

Price 4023, years c.323-300 BC

PELLA

Lysimachus staters

Obverse: The head of divinised Alexander the Great, to the right; Amun's horns are on his diadem.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the right, ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ to the left. Athena Promachos, with Corinthian plumed helm and himation, on the throne, to the left, her arm leaning on the shield next to the throne and holding in her right hand a Nike which crowns King's name; in the background, a transversal spear, leaning against the throne. Monogram to the left of the field.

6. AV ↑ 8.44 g; 19 mm. Inv.3904.

According to Thompson 244, years c. 286/5-282/1 BC

Obverse: The head of divinised Alexander the Great, to the right; Amun's horns are on his diadem.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the right, ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ to the left. Athena Promachos, with Corinthian plumed helm and himation, on the throne, to the left, her arm leaning on the shield next to the throne and holding in her right hand a Nike which crowns King's name; in the background, a transversal spear, leaning against the throne. Monogram to the left of the field.

7. AV ↑ 8.48 g; 19 mm. Inv.3905.

According to Thompson 244, years c. 286/5-282/1 BC.

PELLA ?

Lysimachus stater

Obverse: The head of divinised Alexander the Great, to the right; Amun's horns are on his diadem.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the right, ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ to the left. Athena Promachos, with Corinthian plumed helm and himation, on the throne, to the left, her arm leaning on the shield next to the throne and holding in her right hand a Nike which crowns King's name; in the background, a transversal spear, leaning against the throne. Monogram ΗΡ to the left.

8. AV ↑ 8.48 g; 18 mm. Inv. 3899.

According to Thompson, p. 18, no. 247, years c. 286/5-282/1 BC

BYZANTION**Lysimachus stater**

Obverse: The head of divinised Alexander the Great, to the right; Amun's horns are on his diadem.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the right, ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ to the left. Athena Promachos, with Corinthian plumed helm and himation, on the throne, to the left, her arm leaning on the shield next to the throne and holding in her right hand a Nike which crowns King's name; in the background, a transversal spear, leaning against the throne. No monogram.

9. AV ↑ 8.56 g; 20 mm. Inv. 3898.

Marinescu, p. 41, issue 6, no. 10, years c. 260 BC

Obverse: The head of divinised Alexander the Great, to the right; Amun's horns are on his diadem.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the right, ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ to the left. Athena Promachos, with Corinthian plumed helm and himation, on the throne, to the left, her arm leaning on the shield next to the throne and holding in her right hand a Nike which crowns King's name; in the background, a transversal spear, leaning against the throne. Monogram **ΞΕ** to the left.

10. AV ↑ 8.41 g; 18 mm. Inv. 3895.

Marinescu, p. 51, group II, issue 15, years c. 260-245 BC; Meydancikkale, p. 128, no. 2699, tetradrachm, Byzantion, ante 240 BC

CHALCEDON ?**Lysimachus stater**

Obverse: The head of divinised Alexander the Great, to the right; Amun's horns are on his diadem.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the right, ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ to the left. Athena Promachos, with Corinthian plumed helm and himation, on the throne, to the left, her arm leaning on the shield next to the throne and holding in her right hand a Nike which crowns King's name; in the background, a transversal spear, leaning against the throne. Spike in exergue and spiral on the throne. Symbols K and **⚡** to the left.

11. AV ↑ 8.52 g; 19 mm. Inv. 3906.

Seyrig p. 199, before 235 BC; Marinescu, p. 198, group II, years c. 260-230.

CALLATIS ?**Lysimachus stater**

Obverse: The head of divinised Alexander the Great, to the right; Amun's horns are on his diadem.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the right, ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ to the left. Athena Promachos, with Corinthian plumed helm and himation, on the throne, to the left, her arm leaning on the shield next to the throne and holding in her right hand a Nike which crowns King's name; in the background, a transversal spear, leaning against the throne. Monogram **Α** to the left of the field. Monogram **Κ** in exergue.

12. AV ↑ 8.54 g; 18 mm. Inv. 3902.

B. Mărășești Treasury

AMPHIPOLIS

Alexander the Great stater

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to the right. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. Lighting to the left of the field.

13. AV ← 8.46 g; 18 mm. Inv. 7188/2.

Price 164, years c. 330-c. 320 BC

MAGNESIA AD MAEANDRUM ?

Alexander the Great stater

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to the right. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. Monograms **Μ** and **Α** to the left of the field.

14. AV ↑ 8.52 g; 18 mm. Inv. 7188/3.

According to Price 1972, years c. 319-c 305 BC

ABYDUS

Alexander the Great stater

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to the right. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. Monogram **Μ** to the left of the field and symbol left and down.

15. AV ↑ 8.49 g; 18mm. Inv. 7188/4.

Price 1559, years c.310-c.301 BC

ARADOS

Alexander the Great stater

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the left, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to the right. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. Monogram $\hat{\alpha}$ left and down.

16. AV \swarrow 8.45 g; 18 mm. Inv. 7189/3.

Price 3313, years c. 328-c. 320 BC.

BABYLON

Alexander the Great stater

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to the left, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to the right. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. Symbol MI to the left of the field and monogram $\alpha\beta$ within the crown, left and down.

17. AV \rightarrow 8.49 g; 17 mm. Inv. 7189/1.

Price 3749a, years c. 311-c.305 BC

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ] to the left, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ[ΟΥ] to the right. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. Symbol MI to the left of the field and monogram $\alpha\beta$ within the crown, left and down.

18. AV \downarrow 8.40 g; 17 mm. Inv. 7189/2.

Price 3749a, years c. 311-c.305 BC

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ] to the left, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ[ΟΥ] to the right. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. Symbol MI to the left of the field and monogram $\alpha\beta$ within the crown, left and down.

19. AV \downarrow 8.51 g; 17 mm. Inv. 7189/4.

Price 3749a, years c. 311-c.305 BC

UNSPECIFIED EASTERN WORKSHOP

Alexander the Great stater

Obverse: Athena's head with plumed helm to the right.

Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to the right. Winged Nike, standing, towards the left, draped in chiton and himation, holding a laurel crown in the right hand and stylis in the left hand. No symbols.

13. AV \downarrow 8.48 g; 18 mm. Inv. 7188/1.

Price 3991, c. 325-c. 300 BC

A. The Treasury from Dăeni



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12

B. The Treasury from Mărășești



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20

*Decebal NEDU**

Q. FABIUS RULLIANUS AND THE ETRUSCAN WAR FROM 311-308 B.C.

-Abstract-

Even if some of the episodes of the Etruscan war from 311-308 B.C. may be uncertain, the general lines of the conflict can be traced in the narrations of Livy and Diodorus. Between 311 and 310 B.C. the Roman and the Etruscan troops fought undecisively in the proximity of the colony of Sutrium. In 309 B.C., Q. Fabius Rullianus made use of a brilliant strategy, which, in the end, brought the Roman victory. A Roman division remained near Sutrium, threatening the South of Etruria. The strongest Roman army, under the command of Q. Fabius Rullianus, marched to Umbria, succeeding to arrive in Northern Etruria, through a flank manoeuvre. By this strategy, the Roman commander managed to divide the enemy troops, thus weakening them. Fabius Rullianus' plan had remarkable results. In the same year, 309 B.C., the Etruscan armies were defeated at Sutrium and, in a decisive battle, near Perugia. After that battle, Arretium, Cortona and Perugia signed a truce for 30 years. In 308 B.C., some other Etruscan cities, which were under arms, gave up. Tarquinii concluded a truce for 40 years, while some other cities received a separate act, valid for only one year.

Keywords: Arretium, Cortona, Etruria, Perugia, Rome, Sutrium, Q. Fabius Rullianus

Q. FABIUS RULLIANUS ȘI RĂZBOIUL ETRUSC DIN 311-308 a.Chr.

-Rezumat-

Chiar dacă unele episoade ale războiului etrusc din 311-308 a.Chr. sunt incerte, evoluția generală a evenimentelor poate fi reconstituită pe baza relatărilor lui Titus Livius și Diodor. Între anii 311-310 a.Chr., trupele romane au înfruntat armatele etrusce în apropierea coloniei Sutrium, dar niciuna dintre ciocniri nu s-a dovedit decisivă. În 309 a.Chr., strategia inspirată aplicată de Q. Fabius Rullianus a deschis romanilor calea spre victorie. O divizie romană a rămas la Sutrium, de unde amenința sudul Etruriei. Sub conducerea lui Q. Fabius Rullianus, cea mai puternică armată romană a mărșăluit prin Umbria, reușind să ajungă, printr-o deplasare în flanc, în partea nordică a Etruriei. Manevra comandantului roman a divizat și a slăbit

* "Dunărea de Jos" University, Galați, decebalnedu@aim.com.

trupele inamicului. În același an 309 a.Chr., armatele etrusce au fost înfrânte la Sutrium și în bătălia decisivă de la Perugia. La scurt timp, cetățile Arretium, Cortona și Perugia au încheiat cu Roma un armistițiu valabil pentru 30 de ani. Alte orașe etrusce aflate sub arme au pus capăt ostilităților în 308 a.Chr. Tarquinii a semnat un armistițiu pentru 40 de ani, în timp ce alți combatanți au primit un tratat asemănător, valabil însă doar pe un singur an.

Cuvinte cheie: Arretium, Cortona, Etruria, Perugia, Roma, Sutrium, Q. Fabius Rullianus

In a famous work about the Roman army, F. Adcock praised in the following words the Roman victories on the battlefield: "Where initiative usually was needed was in the decision when to accept the battle, a choice which Roman methods sought to keep within the control of Roman generals"¹. It is tempting to verify this general statement of the British scholar through a concrete situation, namely through the Etruscan war from 311-308 B.C.

According to Livy 9.29.1-2, rumors about the Etruscan preparations for war spread in Rome as early as from 312 B.C. In order to get information about the military events happened during the next three years, we have to corroborate Livy's account with the narration of Diodorus Siculus. It is a very difficult task, because the two traditions present discordant details in many points.

According to Livy, the evolution of the events is the following: in 311 B.C. the Etruscans, except those from Arretium, besieged the Latin colony of Sutrium (9.32.1-2), but the consul Q. Aemilius Barbula interfered and crushed the Etruscan army (9.32.4-12); in 310 B.C., the consul Q. Fabius Rullianus defeated a huge Etruscan army at Sutrium (9.35); later on, his brother crossed the Ciminian Forest and signed an alliance with the city of Camerinum, from Umbria (9.36.7). After Fabius' troops crossed the Ciminian Forest, a mixed Etruscan-Umbrian army advanced towards Sutrium (9.37.1-2) where it was crushed by the Romans and lost 60.000 of its soldiers (9.37.9-10). Subsequent to this victory, Arretium, Perugia and Cortona asked for peace and accepted a truce for 30 years (9.37.12). In 309 B.C., Q. Fabius Rullianus defeated another numerous Etruscan army at the Vadimon Lake (9.39.5-11) and the rest of it was crushed at Perugia (9.40.18-20); in 308 B.C., Tarquinii gave to Rome a large amount of cereals and signed an armistice for 40 years (9.41.5-6). After the consul P. Decius Mus occupied some fortresses in the land of Volsinii, some other Etruscan cities signed a truce for one year, taking the obligation to pay the soldiers during all this time and to give two tunics to each Roman legionnaire (9.41.7). After these diplomatic settlements, the Umbrians and some Etruscans rebelled against Rome, recruiting a very numerous army (9.41.14). In order to defeat them, the Roman army led by Decius Mus had to be helped by Q.

¹ F. Adcock, *The Roman Art of War under the Republic*, London 1940, 106.

Fabius, arrived from Samnium; the Umbrians surrendered and the city of Ocriculum signed a treaty with Rome (9.41.20).

Diodorus' account is more concise and reduces the number of the victorious battles: in 310-309 B.C. the Etruscans besieged Sutrium, but the consuls interfered and defeated them (20.35.1); one of the magistrates, C. Marcius, entered the operations field from South and Q. Fabius Rullianus marched with his army through Umbria and reached Northern Etruria, plundering the country (20.35.2); he defeated the Etruscans near Perugia (20.35.3) and then he signed truces with Arretium, Cortona and Perugia (20.35.5); in 308 B.C., the Romans, coming from the Umbrian territory, invaded Etruria and occupied the fortress of Caerium. In this context, Tarquinii signed an armistice for 40 years and the other Etruscans accepted truces for one year (20.44.9).

J. Beloch and M. Sordi denied the veracity of most of the events depicted by the two texts, considering those narrations to be only duplicates of some events which took place during the Etruscan wars from 296-294 B.C. and 284-280 B.C. According to the two scholars, the laborious narrations about the years 311-308 B.C. were fully imagined in order to put *gens Fabia* in a favourable light, through the war actions coordinated by Q. Fabius Rullianus². In M. Sordi's opinion, the Etruscans attempted only once to occupy Sutrium, but the conflict was mediated by the aristocracy of Clusium, which entertained friendly relations with the Fabii³. The skepticism of the two scientists doesn't allow any attempt to reconstruct the course of the events in a coherent way. We believe that the moderate position held by C. Delplace, W. Harris and G. Bradley is the most appropriate attitude we could have towards the two accounts: there is a historically true core in the depiction of the Etruscan war, which may be accepted, after we remove the patriotic and pro-Fabian additions of the Roman annalists⁴.

² J. Beloch, *Römische Geschichte bis zum Beginn der punischen Kriege*, Berlin 1926, 412-459; M. Sordi, *Roma e i Sanniti nel IV secolo a.C.*, Rome 1960, 95-97.

³ M. Sordi, *op. cit.* 98, with a confused chronology.

⁴ C. Delplace, *L'intervention étrusque dans les dernières années de la deuxième guerre samnite (312-308)*, *Latomus* 26 (1967) 454-466; W. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Oxford 1971, 60: "It can be seen then that we do not have as much reason to suspect the annalistic basis of Livy's account as many have supposed. Victories were exaggerated and sometimes invented; enemies were multiplied; the order of events was often confused; all manner of literary decoration was added; and a few bad mistakes, like the double battle of Vadimon, entered the tradition. Yet the record of agreements with other states and of military conflicts with other states seems in outline to be quite strong"; G. Bradley, *Ancient Umbria. State, Culture and Identity in Central Italy from the Iron Age to the Augustan Era*, Oxford 2000, 105-106: "There was certainly some sort of contemporary documentary basis to the annalistic tradition for the late fourth century onwards, which probably consisted primarily of the *Annales Maximi*. Other sources of information, such as family histories and oral tradition, were also available, although the precise extent to which they were used by early annalists is unsure. It is now established with some certainty that means helped to preserve accurate reports of major events during the Roman conquest, such as military victories, defeats, and treaties, and consistent records of magistrates and priesthoods. In my

It is certain that many elements of the Livian account are annalistic improvisations aiming at praising the illustrious representative of the *gens Fabia*, Q. Fabius Rullianus, and at highlighting the warlike and the patriotic spirit of the Roman people. Probably, Fabius did not cross the Ciminian Forest in 310 B.C. but, helped by the city of Camerinum, he invaded the Upper Etruria a year later passing through Umbria. Also, regarding the narration of the events from 309 B.C., the Livian tradition probably doubles the battle of the Vadimon Lake, from 283 B.C.⁵. The revolt of some Etruscans against Rome in 308 B.C., narrated by Livy, cannot be a real event, because peace had already been settled in Etruria⁶.

Due to the lack of sources, the real evolution of the military events from Etruria can be only hypothetically tracked. However, we believe that it would be useful to depict the general lines of the hostilities, no matter what the risks are.

Regarding the continuation of the hostilities in 310 B.C., it could be said that the campaign of the consul Q. Aemilius Barbula at Sutrium, against the Etruscans which sieged the colony in 311 B.C., did not end with a Roman victory, as Livy 9.32.5-12 records. Probably, the confrontation did not have a winner or the Roman army suffered a failure, which allowed the Etruscan troops to continue the siege (figure 1)⁷.

In 310 B.C., Q. Fabius Rullianus took the command of the operations from Sutrium and managed to reject the troops besieging the city. In our opinion, although Livy 9.35 ascribes him a victory against a huge Etruscan army, his actions were limited to that military operation.⁸ Probably, during that time, the Romans negotiated an alliance with the city of Camerinum from Umbria⁹, frightened of the raids of the Senones¹⁰. This treaty proved its utility when the colony of Sutrium

opinion this makes it difficult to sustain the sort of sceptical approach to the text of Livy that was taken by Beloch".

⁵ J. Beloch, *op. cit.* 424-425; G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani II – La Conquista del primato in Italia*, Torino 1960, 314-316; W. Harris, *op. cit.* 56; the battle is deemed as real by T. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome. Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 B.C.)*, London 1995, 373; Th. Mommsen, *Istoria romană I*, Bucharest 1987, 218 placed the confrontation from Vadimon in 310 B.C. and the battle of Perugia in the next year; C. Delplace, *op. cit.* 462 rejected the Livian account.

⁶ C. Delplace, *op. cit.* 465.

⁷ See *ibidem* 455; W. Harris, *op. cit.* 50, 58-59: the campaign of Q. Aemilius Barbula was a success for the Romans.

⁸ Diodorus 20.35.1 claims that both consuls were engaged in the operations at Sutrium, but probably C. Marcius acted in Samnium.

⁹ Livy 9.36.7; M. Sordi, *op. cit.* 96-97, J. Heurgon, *The Rise of Rome to 264 B.C.*, London 1973, 208: Roma allied with the Etruscans from Clusium, not with the city of Camerinum from Umbria (Livy 10.25.11: formerly Clusium was named Camars – the record is at the basis of the hypothesis); against, see C. Delplace, *op. cit.* 459, G. Bradley, *op. cit.* 108; J. Beloch, *op. cit.* 443 placed the treaty in 295 B.C.

¹⁰ G. de Sanctis, *op. cit.* 318; W. Harris, *op. cit.* 56; G. Bradley, *op. cit.* 108-109.

was no longer under siege¹¹. These seem to be the only successes of the Roman legions in 310 B.C. (figure 2).

During 309 B.C., the Romans were smart enough to maintain Q. Fabius Rullianus at the command of the Etruscan battlefield¹². According to Livy and Diodorus, Fabius Rullianus planned the actions from 309 B.C., aiming at dividing the Etruscan forces. As it seems from Livy 9.37.1-10, a part of the Roman army remained at Sutrium, threatening the Southern region of Etruria. According to Diodorus Siculus, during that time, the most important division of the Romans was moved by Q. Fabius Rullianus to Umbria, through a flank manoeuvre, reaching the North of the Etruscan territory¹³. After the legions systematically plundered the region, the Etruscans had to fight against the enemy near Perugia, only with a part of their army¹⁴. The other Etruscan army seems to have been kept in the South of Etruria or in the region of the Latin colony of Sutrium, due to the troops left behind by Q. Fabius Rullianus. On both battlefields the Romans won, but the most important victory was the success obtained near Perugia. After this Roman victory, the Etruscan cities of Arretium, Perugia and Cortona signed a truce for 30 years with Rome (figure 3)¹⁵.

From a military point of view, the Etruscan campaign from 309 B.C. proved to be a success, due to the excellent strategy of Q. Fabius Rullianus, which succeeded to divide the enemy's forces.

The way opened by him towards the middle of Etruria, through Umbria, also suggested the itineraries for the future campaigns. The other Etruscans engaged in the conflict resisted only until 308 B.C., when P. Decius Mus came with an army from Umbria¹⁶ and closed the Northern battlefield of Rome (figure 4). Tarquinii gave up and signed a truce for 40 years, while other cities, whose names are not mentioned by the sources, accepted a similar act, but valid only for

¹¹ Livy 9.36.8: the people of Camerinum were ready to help the Romans with troops and provisions (see also Frontinus 1.2.2); Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 46 mentions the treaty by the sequence *aequissimus foedus*; alliance accepted by F. Adcock, *The Conquest of Central Italy*, CAH VII, 1928, 605, H. Scullard, *A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C.*, London 1951, 113, G. de Sanctis, *op. cit.* 314-316, W. Harris, *op. cit.* 99; J. Beloch, *op. cit.* 443 placed the treaty in 295 B.C.

¹² Cf. T. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic I – 509-100 B.C.*, New York 1951, 164.

¹³ Livy 9.36.14: Q. Fabius Rullianus reached the middle of the Etruscan territory crossing the Ciminian Forest; the account is suspect and probably relies on a text favourable to *gens Fabia* (see also Florus 1.12, Frontinus 1.2.2); the outrunning of "the Ciminian barrier" by Rullianus is credible for Th. Mommsen, *op. cit.* 218, T. Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, New York 1914, 50, G. de Sanctis, *op. cit.* 314-316, A. Piganiol, *La conquête romaine*, Paris 1967, 189, H. Scullard, *Etruscan Cities and Rome*, New York 1967, 272.

¹⁴ Diodorus 20.35.2-3; cf. *Fasti triumphales*, year 309: triumph celebrated by Q. Fabius Rullianus against the Etruscans.

¹⁵ Livy 9.37.12; Diodorus 20.35.5; J. Beloch, *op. cit.* 413 considered the truces from 309 B.C. duplicates of the agreements signed in 293 B.C.

¹⁶ Diodorus 20.44.9.

one year. As the price for their peace, "the other Etruscans" from the narration of Livy sponsored the Roman soldiers for one year and offered to each of them two tunics¹⁷. During the same year, the Roman diplomacy obtained another success in Umbria, where it negotiated an alliance with Ocriculum, which was afraid of a possible invasion of the Gauls¹⁸. Signing this agreement, Rome managed to secure the route by the upper course of the Tiber and the valley of Nerva, to Perugia and to the other Etruscan cities from the Northern Etruria¹⁹.

The campaigns from 311-308 B.C. did not find a permanent solution to the Etruscan problem. Having two other battlefields opened against the Samnite League, Rome had to make compromises and sign truces with the Etruscans, thus only postponing the final fight²⁰. From a military point of view, probably the Etruscan war drew Rome's attention to the complications involved by the opening of another battlefield in the central and the Northern area of the Italic peninsula. If there had not been peace in the Samnite region, a dangerous coalition might have been constituted by the forces from the South of Italy together with those of the Gauls and of the Etruscans, which could have compromised the benefits of the expansion from the second half of the IVth century B.C.

¹⁷ Livy 9.41.5-7; Diodorus 20.44.9.

¹⁸ Livy 9.41.20; it seems that the historian from Patavium recorded only the preliminary stage of the negotiations, materialized then in a treaty of alliance; Ocriculum wanted a firm engagement of Rome against the Gauls (G. de Sanctis, *op. cit.* 318) and the Romans needed an ally in the upper area of the Tiber; J. Beloch, *op. cit.* 424 sqq. placed the agreement in 295 B.C., through the events connected with the campaign of Sentinum; W. Harris, *op. cit.* 57-59 rejected the hypothesis of J. Beloch.

¹⁹ The strategical importance of the communications on the superior valley of Tiber: G. Bradley, *op. cit.* 111-114. It seems that Rome's implication in Umbria caused hostile reactions of some communities, which allied with the tribes of the Marsi and the Paeligni in a revolt against the Roman domination in the central area of Italy (Livy 9.41.14: the Umbrians' attack, 9.41.4: the revolt of the Marsi and the Paeligni).

²⁰ W. Harris, *op. cit.* 59-60, and 61: "No new permanent political arrangements with any other state were made as a result of the war, apart from those made in Umbria with Camerinum and Ocriculum. The one-year *indutiae* showed that Rome intended to make war on states well outside her previous area of influence when the occasion arose; when it arose would be determined by the more pressing needs of the Samnite war".

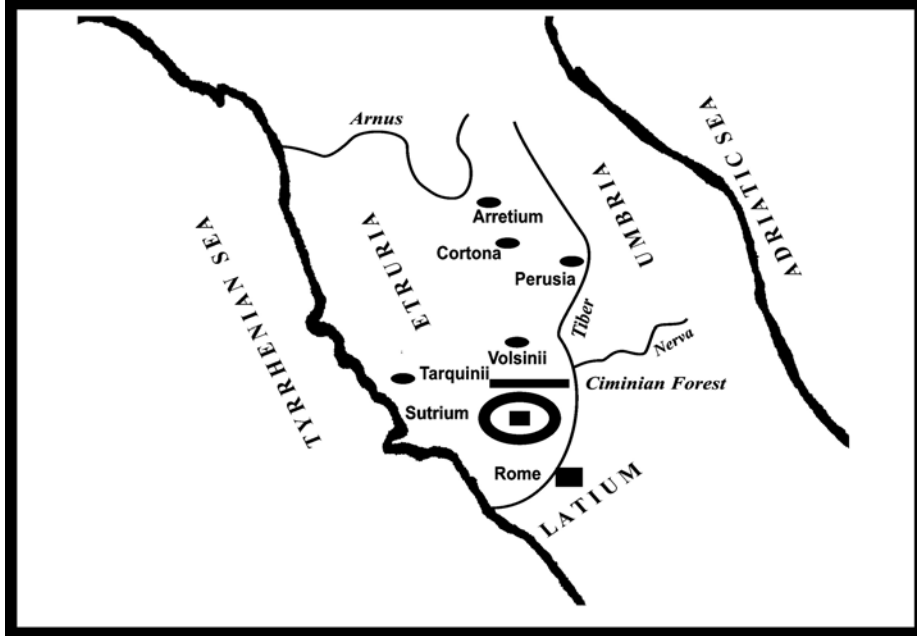


figure 1: the military operations in 311 B.C.

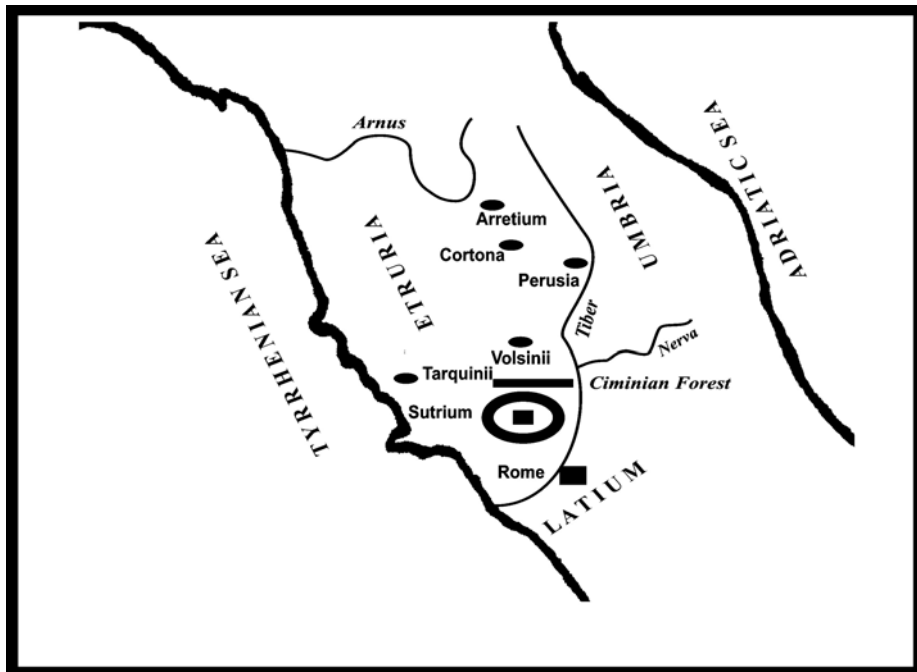


figure 2: the military operations in 310 B.C.

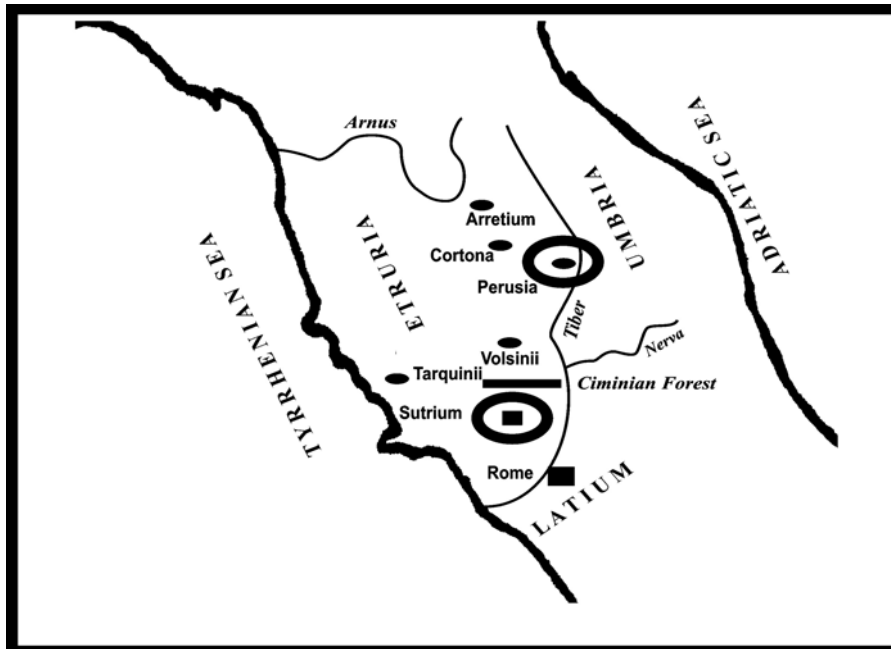


figure 3: the military operations in 309 B.C.

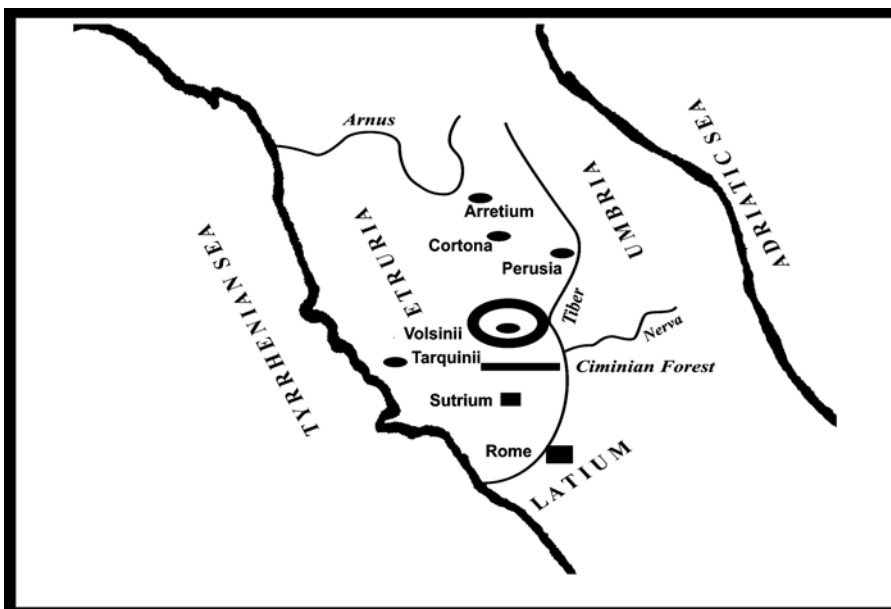


figure 4: the military operations in 308 B.C.

Andreea BARBOȘ*

LIMITATIONS OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF WOMEN IN THE ROMAN PUBLIC LIFE, DURING THE REPUBLIC

-Abstract-

During the Republican period, Roman women, irrespective of the social category to which they belonged, could involve in the public life only within some definite confines. They had the right of *intercessio*, they could actively participate in the religious proceedings of some particular cults and they could defend themselves in the court. The Roman laws deprived women of *potestas* upon their children; moreover, women were not allowed to sue anyone on behalf of their children or to represent their children in the court. The judiciary writings justified all these limitations not through an alleged lack of discerning capacities of the women, but through an appeal to tradition. During the Republic, the women that acted in the Roman public life were frequently accused of abusively occupying positions reserved only to men, such as lawyer or banker.

Keywords: Cornelia, *intercessio*, *ius trium liberorum*, Lucretia, *potestas*, Tanaquil, Tullia, Turia, Volumnia

LIMITAREA IMPLICĂRII FEMEILOR ÎN VIAȚA PUBLICĂ ROMANĂ ÎN TIMPUL REPUBLICII

-Rezumat-

Femeile romane din perioada republicană, indiferent de categoria socială din care făceau parte, nu aveau dreptul de a se implica în viața publică decât în anumite limite. Astfel, aveau dreptul la *intercessio*, puteau participa activ la viața religioasă în cadrul unor culte speciale și se puteau apăra în cadrul proceselor. Legile romane le lipseau pe femei de *potestas* asupra copiilor și chiar le interziceau acestora să deschidă procese sau să îi reprezinte în instanțele judecătorești. Limitările, conform textelor juridice, nu erau justificate prin lipsa de discernământ a femeilor, ci prin trimiterea la tradiție. Femeile care s-au făcut remarcate în viața publică romană în perioada republicană au fost deseori blamate pentru însușirea unor calități specifice bărbaților, precum poziția de avocat sau cea de bancher.

Cuvinte cheie: Cornelia, *intercessio*, *ius trium liberorum*, Lucretia, *potestas*, Tanaquil, Tullia, Turia, Volumnia

* "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, barbos.andreea@yahoo.com.

Roman society, as most communities before the middle of the XXth century, excluded women from public life. Women, irrespective of the social category to which they belonged, were not allowed to participate in public gatherings or to candidate for public offices, except for some sacerdotal ones¹. Neither had they the right to participate in the process of Comitia Curiata, in order to pass on the traditions of their families², but the women from the upper classes were allowed to sponsor the erection or the renovation of the public edifices and, consequently, to be honoured with the title of Patrons of the provincial towns where they carried their activity³.

From the very beginning of the city, Roman women could get involved in public life through their right to *intercessio*. The historians from Antiquity showed appreciation the right of the women to involve in the public life, for the welfare of the city, and such actions were usually praised. The first woman that got involved in public affairs in order to appease a conflict between Romans and their neighbors was Hersilia, the wife of the legendary hero, Romulus. She brilliantly managed the conflict stirred between Romans and Sabinians, as a result of the kidnapping of the virgins by the Romans⁴. According to Livy, in 489 BC, another episode in which women showed their loyalty towards Rome took place. Veturia, Gaius Marcius Coriolanus's wife, and Volumnia, his mother, successfully struggled to make Coriolanus refrain from attacking Rome with his army made of Volscians. According to Livy's records, the embassies sent by the Senate didn't succeed in their attempt to make Coriolanus change his plan; even the priests proved to be unsuccessful in their similar attempt. Since the two women were accompanied by a great number of matrons, Livy acknowledges his ignorance regarding the way the women acted, with the approval of the Senate or only out of their fear⁵.

Even without making use of their right to *intercessio*, women could disclose any plan that could represent a threat to the city. Such a situation occurred in 186 BC, when Hispala Fecenia, a freedwoman, cut off the conspiracy of the Bacchantes. In 63 BC, another woman, Fulvia, acted similarly, informing Cicero about Catilina's conspiracy. The action planned by Catilina was deemed as a threat to the majesty of the Roman people and those involved in it were sentenced to

¹ Bauman, R. A., *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome*, London, 1994, p. 1; Gardner, J. F., *Being a Roman Citizen*, London, 1993, p. 85.

² Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 5.19

³ Evans Grubbs, J., *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire. A Sourcebook on marriage, divorce and widowhood*, London, 2002, p. 9.

⁴ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 1.13; Plutarch, *Quaestiones romanae* 14-16; Paraschiv, M., *Femeia în Roma antică*, second edition, Iași 2003, p. 37.

⁵ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 2.40.

death⁶. The text of the jurist Papinianus endorses the fact that, in such situations, women could testify to the magistrates⁷.

The exclusion of the women from public life and their deprivation of *potestas*⁸ within the family didn't receive any explanation in the juridical texts before the II-nd century AD⁹, but we can consider that the weakness and fragility ascribed to them by Roman mentality might have been one of the causes¹⁰. H. S. Maine accounted for the lack of authority of the woman within the family through an attempt to avoid "a domestic conflict between the husband and his father's wife"¹¹. Unfortunately, the attempts to explain the legal status of the women made by the jurist Paul were also limited to an appeal to the tradition, without invoking any deeper reason. Hence, he stated that "traditionally, the civil functions have not been any of the attributions of the women; thus is the situation at present and, to the best of our knowledge, thus has it been always so far"¹². For Romans, tradition was the most important legislative authority, being accepted as such and not standing in need of any explanation. The jurist Ulpianus, although without making any reference to tradition or to social conventions, endorses the exclusion of the women from all public functions in a chapter of his work, *Digesta*, chapter whose title is *De diversis regulis iuris antiqui*¹³.

By the nature of their occupation, the jurists paid much attention to the ways a Roman woman was to deal with the courts. Normally, all women were allowed to participate in the civilian or penal trials, but only within the confines of several regulations. Women were not allowed to occupy the position of a judge. The jurist Paul accounted for this situation by making appeal to the Roman tradition, without invoking an alleged lack of the discerning capacity, in case of women: "some people were not allowed to be judges by the law, others, by their own nature, others, by tradition ... Slaves and women were prohibited from the office of judge by tradition, not on account of falling short of the capacity of judging, but due to the fact that things had been settled in such a way that women were excluded from the civil functions"¹⁴. From the text just quoted we can notice that women belonged to the same category as the slaves; this situation led to debates regarding their statute of Roman citizens¹⁵. In the view of the Romans, their society consisted of *patres et quirites*; therefore, women, even if Roman citizens, were also excluded from the constitution of the society, according to this

⁶ Evans Grubbs, J., *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁷ Papinianus, *Digesta* 48.4.8.

⁸ Gardner, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 88.

¹⁰ Clark, G., *Roman Women*, in "Greece and Rome" 28(1981)2, p. 207.

¹¹ Maine, H. S., *Ancient Law*, New York, 1986, p. 123-124.

¹² Paul, *Digesta* 16.1.1; Launspach, Ch. W. L., *State and Family in Early Rome*, New Jersey, 2005, p. 243.

¹³ Ulpianus, *Digesta* 50.17.2; Bauman, R. A., *op. cit.*, p. 1.

¹⁴ Paul, *Digesta* 5.1.12.2.

¹⁵ Bauman, R. A., *op. cit.*, p. 2; Paraschiv, M., *op. cit.*, p. 73.

way of defining society¹⁶. Unless they were directly involved, women were not allowed to make accusations¹⁷, to defend the interest of other persons in a trial, not even of their own children¹⁸, since all these acts passed as *virilia officia*¹⁹. Nevertheless, they could be called as witnesses²⁰. The jurist Paul, after examining the text of *Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*, concluded that only those women which had been condemned for adultery didn't have the right to give their testimony in a trial²¹. The conclusion of the jurist rested on the fact that the law of Augustus mentioned such a prohibition only in case of the women belonging to this category, all other women being accepted in courts²². The interdiction to act on behalf of another person was issued by a Pretor, during the last decades of the Republic. It was issued in the context of the active involvement in trials of a woman, Carfania or Afrania, the wife of the senator Valerius Maximus, who intended to profess as a lawyer. "Contrary to the modesty specific to her sex"²³, she got involved in the trials of other people, harassing the magistrates in the *Forum*²⁴. Unfortunately, we don't have more information about this woman and even her name cannot be certainly known. Nevertheless, Valerius Maximus testifies of a woman, C. Afrania, who put many persons to trial and who used to appear and defend herself personally, behind the Pretor²⁵. The text suggests that Afrania was not involved in the trials of other persons and, therefore, she was not the one who prompted the issue of the above mentioned edict. Lacking any other source, we can conclude that there were two different women, bearing similar names.

In spite of all these limitations, Roman women could defend themselves in trials and were allowed to put their offenders to trial, in case they were unmarried or widows²⁶. The right to put a person to trial was conditioned by having the approval of their tutor²⁷. They also could appoint a *procurator* to represent them, hence being exempted of the need to appear in front of the judges²⁸. In case of married women, their husbands had to deal with such problems, since the offences brought to a matron passed as offences brought to their husbands²⁹. Nevertheless, if

¹⁶ Treggiari, S., *Social Status and Social Legislation*, in A. K. Bowman, E. Champlin, A. Lintott (eds.) "The Cambridge Ancient History", second edition, vol. 10, Cambridge, 1996, p. 875.

¹⁷ Gardner, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 86, 100.

¹⁸ Evans Grubbs, J., *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁹ Ulpianus, *Digesta* 50.17.2, 3.1.1.5; Frier, B. W., McGinn, Th. A. J., *A Casebook on Roman Family Law*, Oxford, 2004, p. 460; Evans Grubbs, J., *op. cit.*, p. 60.

²⁰ Frier B. W., McGinn, Th. A. J., *op. cit.*, p. 459.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 459.

²² Paul, *Digesta* 22.5.18.

²³ Ulpianus, *Digesta* 3.1.1.5; Gardner, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 101.

²⁴ Evans Grubbs, J., *op. cit.*, p. 61.

²⁵ Valerius Maximus 8.3.2.

²⁶ Evans Grubbs, J., *op. cit.*, p. 270, 65.

²⁷ Gardner, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 100.

²⁸ Evans Grubbs, J., *op. cit.*, p. 60.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 62.

in a family no man was in capacity to take action against an offender, on behalf of the children or of wife's parents (who were not able to defend themselves by reason of age or poor health), the woman was entitled to do it for them³⁰. Such a situation is presented in the famous inscription dedicated to the memory of Turia. Turia's husband expressed his praises for his deceased wife who, full of resolution, had struggled, along with her sister, to punish the assassination of their parents. The actions of the two women were justified on account of their natural piety, under the circumstances that, although they were married, both Vespillo and Turia's brother in law were not in Rome (in 49 BC, the first one was in Macedonia and the other one in Africa)³¹.

Seemingly, the presence of the matrons in the courts raised serious problems during the Republic. Valerius Maximus remarked that the dignity of a married woman would be affected if she were brought to court and were touched, and, therefore, ancient Romans prohibited this thing³².

The jurist Ulpianus informs us that the dignity of a Roman matron could have been affected during a public apparition in at least three other ways: by being ambushed (*appellare*), by being surveyed (*adsectari*) or by the kidnapping of their guardian (*comite abducere*). Apart from these, the use of a licentious language (*turpia verba*) can also be mentioned. In order to avoid such situations, Ulpianus recommended that women should dress according to their statute. In case their attire had been similar to that of the slaves or prostitutes, a person harassing them wouldn't have been liable to a very severe punishment³³. As mentioned above, taking action against the offender of a woman was the task of a man from her family. When going out in the public, Roman matrons had to be carefully prepared, so that not to prejudice the image of their husbands. If a woman displayed a decent attitude and a decent attire in public, then her participation to the public life was to be praised³⁴.

In trials, women had the legal right to invoke mitigating circumstances. For the Romans, ignorance regarding the laws represented a serious offence, but women, along with young people under 25, soldiers and farmers had the right to defend themselves invoking their want of knowledge of the laws. The jurists accounted for this exception based on the weakness of the women (*sexus infirmitas*), their ignorance regarding the laws not being considered as an offence³⁵.

By the end of the Republic, some women administrated their fortune by themselves, assisted by a tutor; after 18 BC, through *ius trium liberorum*, they were granted full independence. Nevertheless, women were prohibited from performing the function of a banker or to undertake the financial responsibility of a different

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 66; Frier, B. W., McGinn, Th. A. J., *op. cit.*, p. 458.

³¹ *ILS* 8393 = *CIL* 1527, r. 1.3-9.

³² Valerius Maximus 2.1.5.

³³ Ulpianus, *Digesta* 47.10.15.15; Gardner, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 105.

³⁴ Mihaș Bohilșea, F., *Istoria familiei romane*, Bucharest, 2010, p. 102, 105.

³⁵ Paul, *Digesta* 22.6.9; Gardner, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 85.

person³⁶. The jurist Callistratus stated that women couldn't perform the function of a banker, since this occupation was specific to men³⁷, but that women could give loans³⁸. Probably, this aspect was also regulated by the power of tradition, without calling into question the intellectual capacity of women or their ability to manage a business. Her business activity being restricted to the area of her personal fortune, a woman was not allowed to take loans on behalf of her husband and also she was not allowed to carry any transaction on his behalf³⁹. Neither could a woman warrant for someone's loan.

If judicially women had the right to express themselves, they were totally excluded from the political activity. They could express their political preferences, but were not allowed to participate in the popular assemblies or to vote. Nevertheless, in spite of this situation, some women managed to exert a hidden control upon the political activity manipulating, from beyond, their husbands or lovers.

We can find a first example of such a situation during the royal period, when the Etruscan Tanaquil, the wife of the king Tarquinius Priscus, succeeded in appointing her favourite, Servius Tullius, as king of Rome, instead of her own sons⁴⁰. In spite of the power she thus enjoyed, she didn't succeed in imposing herself as a political leader and, although the appointment of Servius Tullius to the throne was among the most fortunate ones, ancient historians criticized Tanaquil's intrusion in politics⁴¹. Tullia, Servius Tullius's daughter and the wife of Aruns Tarquinius (the son of Tarquinius Priscus) was considered as the evil genius of the royal house. She insistently urged her brother-in-law, Lucius Tarquinius, to take over the power from her own father⁴². Consequently, her sister, Tullia, and her husband, Aruns, were killed. After the death of their partners, the two married with the approval of the king himself. Subsequently, Tullia started to urge Lucius to kill her father and take over the throne of Rome⁴³. Apart from planning this murder, Tullia committed two other heinous deeds. She acclaimed her husband king, although in the *Forum* there were many men⁴⁴, and, when she left, her chariot trod on the corpse of her father, both deeds being considered as sacrileges⁴⁵.

At times, the change of the kings took place as a result of the conspiracies planned by powerful women; moreover, the acts of two other women, who were not involved in politics, led to important changes in the Roman constitutional system. According to the legend, Lucretia, Tarquinius Collatinus's wife, was raped

³⁶ Gardner, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 97.

³⁷ Callistratus, *Digesta* 2.13.12.

³⁸ Evans Grubbs, J., *op. cit.*, p. 270; Gardner, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 86.

³⁹ Mihaș Bohîlțea, F., *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁴⁰ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 1.41.26.

⁴¹ Smethurst, S. E., *Women in Livy's "History"*, in "Greece and Rome" 19(1950)56, p. 81.

⁴² Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 1.47.6.

⁴³ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 1.47.23.

⁴⁴ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 1.48.15.

⁴⁵ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 1.48.19.

by Sextus Tarquinius, under the threat of killing her and placing a naked slave in her bed, to stand as a proof for her alleged adultery. Livy relates that, after the event, Lucretia gathered the men from the family and reported the events to them. Then, she asked them to vindicate her tainted honour and death⁴⁶. The suicide of Lucretia evinced the special role played by the woman in a family, as bearer of the most cherished virtues, *pudicitia* and *castitas*, that every woman was supposed to possess⁴⁷. Moreover, the legend relates that the revenge of Lucretia had another consequence: the kings were chased away and the Republic was installed⁴⁸.

According to the Etruscan version of the legend, Lucretia was not a chaste and honest matron. On the contrary, the reason she committed suicide was either that Sextus Tarquinius, in spite of her struggle to seduce him, hadn't fallen for her, either that Sextus Tarquinius had left her. P. Small considers that this version is more plausible and that the Romans forged the story in order to justify, through it, the act of chasing away of the Etruscans from the throne⁴⁹.

Another event, similar to the one from the year 506 BC, took place at the middle of the Vth century BC, when the death of one woman led to the end of the decemvirate⁵⁰. During those times, Rome was ruled by ten men, having all equal powers and being elected for the elaboration of a legal code, known by the name of *Leges XII Tabularum*. The end of the decemvirate was brought by the tragedy of Verginia, the daughter of a centurion, Lucius Verginius, engaged to a former tribune of the Plebs, Lucius Icilius⁵¹. Titus Livy reports that Appius Claudius Crassus, one of the decemvirs, fell in love with the young woman. Not succeeding in getting her by promises and bribe, he made use of violence. In the absence of her father and being helped by a client, Marcus Claudius, Appius Claudius declared Verginia slave and took her in his custody⁵². To prove his declaration, he brought Verginia to the court, which, on that day, was presided by Appius Claudius, and there Marcus Claudius claimed that Verginius had stolen his slave⁵³.

Appius Claudius pronounced his sentence in the presence of Verginius; then, after the court denied the paternity of Verginius towards his daughter, Verginius asked the permission of the decimvir to take Verginia and her nurse to the altar of the goddess Venus Cloacina to swear that Verginia belonged to him. Appius Claudius agreed with this request and, before the altar, Verginius stabbed

⁴⁶ Small, J. P., *The Death of Lucretia*, in "American Journal of Archaeology" 80(1976)4, p. 356.

⁴⁷ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 1.58.10.

⁴⁸ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 1.58; Culham Ph., *Women in the Roman Republic*, in H. I. Flower (ed.), "The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic", Cambridge, 2004, p. 139.

⁴⁹ Small, J. P., *op. cit.*, p. 359-360.

⁵⁰ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 3.44.1; Milnor, K., *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus. Inventing private Life*, Oxford, 2005, p. 157.

⁵¹ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 3.44.4-5.

⁵² Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 3.44.8.

⁵³ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 3.44.17-19.

his daughter with a knife. By doing so, Verginius considered that he released his own daughter from slavery and, at the same time, he prophesized the fall of Appius Claudius⁵⁴.

Through the depiction of these crucial events from the history of Rome, Titus Livy intended to evince the importance of chastity for Roman women. This virtue was considered as fundamental for maintaining the stability of the state and its loss accounted for many of the misfortunes that Rome encountered along its history.

In the IVth century BC, the Plebs still hadn't got the right to accede to the highest magistrature. Titus Livy relates that the issue, in 367 BC, of the Licinio-Sextian Law was determined by jealousy. One of the daughters of Fabius Ambustius married a Patrician, while the other one married one of the Plebs. The one which, through her marriage, joined the social class of the Plebs couldn't cope with the idea that her family could never enjoy the honours received by her sister. Her father and her brother promised her to find a way to balance the situation⁵⁵. After great struggles, the two men succeeded in bestowing to the Plebs the right to be elected as consuls, right granted to them by the Licino-Sextian Law, and, subsequently, in 361 BC, Ambustius's son-in-law became a consul⁵⁶.

Cornelia, the daughter of Publius Scipio Africanus and Aemilia, was the first Roman woman to be honoured by the erection of a statue depicting her, at the Gate of Metellus. On its stand, it was engraved: "Cornelia, Africanus's daughter, mother of the Grachi"⁵⁷. As we can see from the inscription, Cornelia was married to Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who was a consul in 177 BC, and gave birth to Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, the two tribunes of the Plebs, and to Sempronia. After her husband's death in 153 BC, Cornelia denied the marriage proposal coming from Ptolemaios VIII, dedicating her life to the education of her children⁵⁸. This woman, of a very good education, always manifested a vivid interest in the political activities carried by her sons, in their offices as tribunes of the Plebs⁵⁹, although, in 123 BC, through a letter addressed to Gaius Gracchus, she expressed her discontent regarding the political unrest that he might have stirred. In the same letter, she also expressed her regrets regarding Gaius's decision to candidate for the office of tribune of the Plebs⁶⁰.

⁵⁴ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 3.44.9-11; Culham Ph., *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁵⁵ Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 6.34.

⁵⁶ Smethurst, S. E., *op. cit.*, p. 82-83; Robbins, R., *Outlines of Ancient and Modern History on a New Plan: Embracing biographical Notices Illustrious persons, and General Views of the Geography, Population, Politics, Religion, Military and Naval affairs, Arts, Literature, Manners, Customs and Society of Ancient and Modern Nations*, vol. I, Hartford, 1837, p. 89.

⁵⁷ *CIL* VI, 31610.

⁵⁸ Bauman, R. A., *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁵⁹ Adcock, F. E., *Women in Roman Life and Letters*, in "Greece and Rome" 14 (1945) 40, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Cornelius Nepos 1.1-2.

After the assassination of her two sons, Cornelia claimed that the temples where Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus had been murdered should become their graves. Plutarch reports that, out of love for the two tribunes, the Roman people consecrated the places where they were killed, erected statues for them and honoured them by sacrifices, as if they were some gods⁶¹.

These women, from the early or middle Republican period, were followed by some other women, much more powerful and much more active on the political scene. In the last century of the Roman Republic, women as Fulvia, the wife of Marcus Antonius, or Octavia, the sister of the future Augustus, dominated the political life of Rome, either by direct involvement and even by taking the lead of a military conflict, either by diplomacy.

Bibliography

- Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*
- Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe condita*
- Plutarch, *Quaestiones romanae*
- *Digesta*
- Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*
- *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
- *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
- Cornelius Nepos
- Plutarch, *Caius Gracchus*

Adcock, F. E. (1945), *Women in Roman Life and Letters*, in "Greece and Rome" 14.40, p. 1-11.

Bauman, R. A., (1994), *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome*, London.

Clark, G. (1981), *Roman Women*, in "Greece and Rome", 28.2, p. 193-212.

Culham, Ph. (2004), *Women in the Roman Republic*, in "The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic", H. I. Flower (ed.), Cambridge.

Evans Grubbs, J. (2002), *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire. A Sourcebook on marriage, divorce and widowhood*, London.

Frier, B. W., McGinn, Th. A. J. (2004), *A Casebook on Roman Family Law*, Oxford.

Gardner, J. F. (1993), *Being a Roman Citizen*, Routledge, London.

Launspach, Ch. W. L. (2005), *State and Family in Early Rome*, New Jersey.

Maine, H. S. (1986), *Ancient Law*, New York.

Mihuț Bohîlțea, F. (2010), *Istoria familiei romane*, Bucharest.

Milnor, K. (2005), *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus. Inventing private Life*, Oxford.

Paraschiv, M. (2003), *Femeia în Roma antică*, second edition, Iași.

⁶¹ Plutarch, *Caius Gracchus* 18.2.

Robins, R. (1837), *Outlines of ancient and modern History on a new plan: Embracing biographical notices of Illustrious persons, and General Views of the Geography, Population, Politics, Religion, Military and Naval affairs, Arts, Literature, Manners, Customs and Society of Ancient and Modern Nations*, vol. I, Hartford.

Small, J. P. (1976), *The Death of Lucretia*, in "American Journal of Archaeology" 80.4, p. 349-360.

Smethurst, S. E. (1950), *Women in Livy's "History"*, in "Greece and Rome" 19.56, p. 80-87.

Treggiari, S. (1996), *Social Status and Social Legislation*, in "The Cambridge Ancient History", A. K. Bowman, E. Champlin, A. Lintott (eds.), second edition, vol. 10, Cambridge, p. 873-904.

*Nicolae BACALBAȘA**

STĂNILEȘTI 1711 – OBIECTIV ȘI SUBIECTIV

-Rezumat-

Articolul discută despre circumstanțele internaționale ale bătăliei de la Stănilești, din 1711, și despre consecințele acesteia. Autorul accentuează nu doar asupra condițiilor politice ale evenimentului, ci și asupra personalității celor implicați în desfășurarea faptelor, scoțând în evidență importanța înclinațiilor și ambițiilor personale în luarea deciziilor politice. De fapt, studiul reprezintă o analiză psihologică a personalităților care au avut un rol decisiv în desfășurarea evenimentului, evidențiind surprinzătorul fapt că, în ciuda caracterului lor aparent nesemnificativ, aceste elemente au avut o foarte mare importanță în derularea faptelor.

Cuvinte cheie: Stănilești, Rusia, Imperiul Otoman, Țările Române, Petru cel Mare, Carol al XII-lea

STĂNILEȘTI 1711 – OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE

-Abstract-

The article deals with the international circumstances surrounding the battle from Stănilești, from 1711, and with its consequences. The author underlines not only the political conditions of the event, but also the personalities of those involved in the deployment of the facts, stressing the importance of the personal ambitions and inclinations in the taking of political decisions. In fact, the study represents a psychological analysis of the personalities that played a crucial role in that event, revealing several surprising facts that, in spite of their seemingly minor character, had a decisive importance for the deployment of facts.

Keywords: Stănilești, Russia, Ottoman Empire, Romanian Principalities, Peter the Great, Carol XII

Înfrângerea lui Petru cel Mare al Rusiei la Stănilești a însemnat o cotitură în istoria Țărilor Române.

* "Dunărea de Jos" University, Galați.

Introducerea de către puterea suzerană a domniilor fanariote în locul celor autohtone a reprezentat o pagină dureroasă și un pas în pierderea progresivă a identității și spre destructurare națională.

Implicarea Moldovei și Țării Românești în schimbarea echilibrului de forțe din Europa a fost o opțiune nefericită prin prematuritatea acesteia.

Campania de la Stănilești este împletirea unor evenimente istorice implicând echilibrul militar și diplomatic al întregii Europe cu particularități psihologice și comportamentale ale principalilor actori care se manifestă paradoxal și la limita patologicului.

Cel mai important dintre protagoniști este Piotr Alekseievici Romanov (Petru I cel Mare), țar al Rusiei, care a transformat un imperiu continental într-o putere maritimă, a dotat imperiul cu o armată permanentă rezultată din conscripție, a subordonat economia și organizarea socială nevoilor militare.

Petru a continuat brutal și nemilos politica predecesorilor săi.

Nu a transformat radical Rusia ci, conform definiției contemporanului lui Pușkin, prințul Veazemski, „a ridicat-o, ca pe un armăsar, în două picioare”. La Petersburg, statuia lui Falconet, comandată de Ecaterina a II-a, îl prezintă de altfel pe un armăsar ridicat pe picioarele din spate!

Trasul prea tare de dârlogi, cu iobăgia pe care a introdus-o și care va dura până în 1861, va dinamita, din păcate, dinastia.

Paradoxal, Petru cumula o voință ieșită din comun, cu o fire violentă, inconstantă, era un epileptic totodată organizat (Ecaterina a II-a susținea că de câte ori încerca o reformă constata că o gândise și tatonase înainte Petru) cât și agitat și haotic.

Profund religios, avea înrădăcinată responsabilitatea față de țară, pentru care a sacrificat prin execuție chiar și pe propriul său fiu (1718).

Particular țarului era marea sa reziliență – era apt să se refacă psihic după înfrângerii grave și să reia totul cu energie.

Era conștient de dota sa demografică, știa că are de unde cheltui. După catastrofala înfrângere de la Narva din 1700 declara: „Știu că suedezii ne vor învinge încă multă vreme, însă până la urmă tot ei ne vor învăța să luptăm”.

Petru învăța și investea, fiind dispus să verse în acest scop oricât din sângele țării.

În patografiile șefilor de stat, Petru este fără îndoială o piesă de excepție.

Soarta avea să îl ciocnească cu o altă personalitate ieșită din comun și situată la limita patologicului, regele Carol al XII-lea al Suediei.

La începutul secolului al XVII-lea, Suedia era prima putere a Europei de Nord.

Suedia reușise să-și impună autoritatea în zonă înfruntându-și vecinii: Danemarca, Polonia, Rusia, Țările de Jos.

Era o țară de numai un milion și jumătate de locuitori (Rusia avea 10-12 milioane). Pe acest fond conflictual, în 1697, rege al Suediei devine Carol al XII-lea.

Avea cincisprezece ani și jumătate când devine rege, călcând peste voința testamentară a tatălui care dorea un consiliu de regență până la împlinirea vârstei de optsprezece ani.

Voltaire îl considera „poate cel mai extraordinar om pe care l-a dat Pământul”.

Era luteran, ascetic, nu consuma alcool (Petru făcea beții ce durau câte o săptămână), purta haine de postav albastru cu nasturi de aramă și cizme, vâna urși fără arme de foc, excelent cavalerist. Își consuma timpul instruindu-și permanent trupele în cele mai dure condiții.

Vorbea perfect latina, franceza, germana.

S-a încoronat singur, precedându-l pe Napoleon în gestul său.

Napoleon l-a scurtcircuitat pe Papă, Carol pe arhiepiscopul de Upsala. Doar că regele Carol a făcut-o primul.

Modelele sale în viață – Cezar și Alexandru Macedon.

Un psihic la limită, un egolatu în ciuda modestiei comportamentale, mai mult un sclav al Eu-lui decât al Statului.

Regele adolescent poseda Suedia, Finlanda și mare parte a teritoriilor actualelor țări baltice, un imperiu privit ca o amenințare de Danemarca, Polonia și Rusia, care credeau că a sosit momentul să pună capăt supremației suedeze.

Pentru Rusia, rivalul său suedez era o „creație artificială, rezultată prin cuceriri, perdeaua care ascundea Rusia de restul Europei” (S. Soloviov).

Cele trei state s-au aliat, atacând Suedia.

Toți au fost înfrânți pe rând, Suedia utilizându-și cu succes și flota.

Suedezi bat o medalie comemorativă: La picioarele lui Hercule sunt înălțuiți un polonez, un rus și un danez.

Rusia a atacat în 1700 și a suferit o înfrângere zdrobitoare la Narva. Carol al XII-lea nu a atacat însă Rusia propriu-zisă și nu a ocupat Moscova. În anii următori, Rusia a făcut unele cuceriri pe litoralul baltic, dar în iarna lui 1707 Carol, cu aproximativ 40.000 oameni, decide să atace Rusia pentru a lichida disputa privind ținuturile baltice. Se va înfrunța acum însă cu o armată total diferită, deoarece, într-un timp scurt, Petru cel Mare a reușit să transforme radical armata rusă.

La Narva era mai mult o hoardă, o mulțime pestriță înarmată mai ales cu arcuri și săgeți. Pentru a schimba această realitate, Petru și-a adus un corp de ofițeri germane care au instruit dur trupa. Din 1705 a apărut o lege a recrutărilor (după model suedez!). Era înrolat un individ la 20 familii de țărani.

Între 1701-1709 au fost înrolați 138.000 oameni.

În 1701 a fost înființată o școală de artilerie, în 1707 o școală de chirurgie. Petru știa să-și învețe lecțiile scump plătite.

Pentru suedezi, campania din 1707 este dezastruoasă, căci Petru aplică fără milă tactica pământului pârjolit. Fără resurse, Carol se îndreaptă spre Ucraina sperând să găsească provizii și aliați.

Va găsi o Ucraină trecută prin foc, pământ sterp.

Era o iarnă ieșită din comun, iar armata suedeză este extrem de afectată. În epocă se spunea că suedezii au trei medici buni: rachiul, usturoiul și moartea.

Hatmanul cazacilor, Mazepa, trece de partea sa, dar numai puțini dintre tovarășii săi îl urmează.

Regele conta pe 40.000 de cazaci, va primi 2000.

Capitala cazacilor lui Mazepa, Baturin, este rasă de ruși de pe suprafața pământului în 1708. Tătarii din Crimeea refuză să i se alăture lui Carol, căci Petru și-a construit o flotă pe Don, care îi amenința. În plus, turcii au interzis vasalilor lor tătari să se implice.

Disperarea îl face pe Carol să atace Poltava, bază de aprovizionare a rușilor, dar fortăreața va fi apărată de armata rusă, având de două ori mai multe trupe (și hrănite!). Carol conduce atacul culcat pe o targă având o plagă împușcată la călcâi. Rușii au o artilerie eficientă, Carol nu are tunuri (72 tunuri contra 4) și nici muniție.

Carol fuge la Cetatea Albă, în Basarabia, spre a cere ajutor tătar. Va rămâne cinci ani pe teritoriu turc.

Între Petru și Carol se juca o partidă personală, cu miză ce o depășea pe cea politică.

De la Narva începând, Petru a vrut să negocieze o pace pe care nu a primit-o.

Carol i-a respins toate ofertele: „Voi trata cu țarul la Moscova”.

Petru i-ar fi răspuns: „Fratele meu, Carol, pretinde mereu că ar fi marele Alexandru, mă mândresc că nu va întâlni în mine un Darius”.

Victoria lui Petru este zdrobitoare: un mareșal, zece generali, primul ministru suedez sunt prizonieri.

Dar Carol a scăpat (deși rănit) ca prin urechile acului. O victorie de amploarea celei de la Poltava a transformat Rusia în țintă. Rupea echilibrul european. Era prea puternică.

Carol al XII-lea este un manipulator. Timp de cinci ani cât se va afla în Turcia, va complota. Este când oaspete, când prizonier al sultanului Ahmed al III-lea, se va bucura de favorurile bunicii acestuia, va îmbrobodi mari viziri și pașale.

Carol este blocat în Turcia, deși vrea să se întoarcă în Suedia, de controlul rus și polonez asupra drumurilor de uscat, de ciuma din Ungaria și de frica pericolelor călătoriei pe mare.

Este un om bogat, la Poltava și-a salvat tezaurul.

Contractează un împrumut important de la Compania engleză a Levantului, a fraților Cook. De la Mazepa, care s-a sinucis prin otrăvire (corpul său suferind un periplu complicat care a implicat și Galațiul), a moștenit câteva butoiașe cu monezi de aur.

Ambasadorul rus, contele Piotr Tolstoi, nu dispune decât de 20.000 de ducați și câteva blănuri de zibelină.

La Stambul totul este de vânzare.

Turcii reacționează la cererea Rusiei de a-l expulza pe Carol prin cereri diplomatice inacceptabile, urmate de declararea războiului, la 21 noiembrie 1710.

Nu este atât efectul intrigilor lui Carol, cât o necesitate geopolitică.

Cele trei țări învecinate Rusiei, Suedia, Polonia și Turcia, alcătuiesc un cordon sanitar în beneficiul Franței (cele trei puncte ale sistemului Richelieu).

Franța este vechiul aliat al Turciei, prin Turcia Ludovic al XIV-lea controlând Austria.

Campania lui Petru în nord ar fi fost de mult oprită de către puterile europene, dacă acestea nu ar fi fost încurcate de războiul pentru moștenirea tronului spaniol.

Franța a eșuat în acest război.

Era un motiv în plus să-l sprijine pe Carol al XII-lea și, implicit, pe turci, căci, din motive religioase, Rusia era dușmanul natural al Turciei mahomedane.

Pe 25 februarie 1711, în Catedrala Adormirii Maicii Domnului, în prezența țarului, popoul rus i s-a adus la cunoștință începerea războiului cu turcii.

Țarul Petru era bolnav de scorbut, deprimat, în corespondența sa folosește chiar cuvântul „disperat”.

Era obligat din cauza războiului nordic să lupte pe două fronturi. Recurge la o stratagemă: mizează pe răscoala creștinilor din Imperiul Otoman.

Este exact greșeala lui Carol al XII-lea, care a mizat excesiv pe nemulțumirile din sudul Rusiei.

Colonelul sârb Miloradovici este trimis să-i răscoale pe muntenegreni. Este convins să adere la planurile rusești domnul Moldovei – Dimitrie Cantemir. Țara Românească a promis și ea sprijin.

Pentru a beneficia de aceste ipotetice forțe, rușii trebuiau să intre în cușcă, care putea fi și s-a dovedit a fi o cursă: să pătrundă pe teritoriul Imperiului Otoman.

O dată pătrunși pe teritoriul Țărilor Române domnitorii se asociau rușilor și se considera că sârbii și bulgarii se vor răscula.

Petru a trimis pe mareșalul Seremetiev să blocheze trecerea turcilor peste Dunăre, în nord, pe la Isaccea.

Demersul a eșuat, trupele turcești au reușit să debarce. Normală ar fi fost abandonarea campaniei. Numai că Dimitrie Cantemir trecuse deja public de partea rușilor și urma să fie protejat.

Practic este singura forță din ansamblul larg care fusese estimat. Dar această forță era de două-cinci mii de călăreți înarmați cu arcuri și sulite. Aproape nimic.

Toți generalii străini (numeroși în armata rusă) au susținut apărarea pe fortificații, la malul Nistrului.

Rușii, posibil îmbătați de succesul Poltavei, au cerut înaintarea în numele onoarei naționale.

Din păcate onoarea națională este un concept militar păgubos.

Între cei ce împingeau o armată în deșertul sterp al Bugeacului basarabean (lăcustele distruseră totul), erau contele Golovkin și evreul creștinat, diplomatul Șafirov.

Armata decimată de foame și sete a campat pe malul Prutului pentru a serba aniversarea victoriei de la Poltava.

La ruși, a aniversa înseamnă beție generală prelungită.

Moldova fusese pustiită de invazia lăcustelor, Brâncoveanu, în Țara Românească, promisese aprovizionarea (primise și 300 pungi de aur în acest scop din partea rușilor), dar era prudent și nu se putea conta pe el. Cel ce trecuse din Țara Românească la ruși, fosta sa pupilă și rudă apropiată, șeful armatei, spătarul Toma Cancacuzino, urmărea să îi ia domnia, trădându-l în fapt, astfel încât, pentru ruși, Țara Românească devenise un viespar.

Rușii trimit, pentru a rezolva aceste probleme, întreaga cavalerie, 12.000 de oameni și câteva mii de moldoveni și munteni la Brăila. O decizie dezastruoasă. Deși acest corp comandat de generalul Rönne va cucerii Brăila, el va fi despărțit în momentul decisiv de infanteria rusă.

Mai mult, Petru a lăsat diverse garnizoane în Soroca și Iași, diminuându-și și mai mult trupele.

Salutar din punct de vedere istoric era prezența în tabăra militară rusă a soției lui Petru, cea de a doua, amanta cu care făcuse 5 copii din care doi trăiau, Ecaterina.

Căsătoria a avut loc pe 19 februarie 1711.

Prezența sa a schimbat istoria Rusiei și posibil istoria Țărilor Române. Ecaterina a fost un cadou pentru Petru în timpul războiului nordic. Era o țărănuță poloneză analfabetă, din Livonia aflată sub stăpânire suedeză, o orfană ajunsă fată în casă la un pastor, măritată de acesta cu un trompetist suedez.

Va vorbi rusa cu un puternic accent german.

O blondă scundă, îndesată, excelentă gospodină, trecută prin toate vâltoarele vieții, un caracter puternic.

Luterana Marta Skavronski se botează ortodoxă și devine Ecaterina. Cu timpul, din amantă și menajeră a lui Petru, devine sftenic și reazemul său psihologic.

A ținut să participe la campania de la Stănilești.

La Stănilești, 38.000 de militari ruși sunt înconjurați de o armată turcă și tătară de cinci ori mai numeroasă, dispusă pe ambele maluri ale Prutului.

O situație disperată, fără ieșire. Rușii nu mai aveau provizii, erau permanent atacați cu arme de foc și arme albe.

Oastea rusă era complet încercuită, practic fără cavalerie, fără provizii, cu o putere de foc ineficientă și cu mari dificultăți de aprovizionare cu apă (Mihai Maxim).

Țarul a încercat o fugă prin străpungerea liniilor inamice ghidat de un cazac. Riscant, cu șanse puține.

Țarina pe care drumul său încâlcit pe cărările vieții a învățat-o multe, inteligentă, cunoscătoare a oamenilor, a plusat.

A trimis marelui vizir caseta sa de bijuterii. Mult mai târziu, se va lansa sloganul publicitar: „A Diamond is Forever.” Dar la Stănilești diamantele țarinei au făcut minuni. Ca și talentul intermediarului, nelipsitul Șafirov.

Sigur a contat și nemulțumirea ienicerilor, care pierduseră 7000 de oameni.

Se știa și despre detașamentul generalului Rönne, care cucerise Brăila și periclita comunicațiile. Vizirul se temea și de o eventuală intervenție austriacă.

Țarului i s-a cerut să cedeze Azovul, să distrugă Taganrogul și flota și să nu se mai amestece în Polonia. Carol al XII-lea urma să se întoarcă acasă. Cuceririle baltice ale țarului rămâneau neafectate.

Este uluitor cum Petru a repetat în oglindă toate erorile în lanț săvârșite de Carol al XII-lea.

Dr. Cabanes, într-o patografie a capetelor încoronate, îl definea pe Petru: „Un barbar în care se agită forțe și instincte primitive. Fiind în același timp tragic și bufon are în el și din Ludovic al XI-lea și din Falstaf”.

Petru a recunoscut că a fost ca o vrabie în mâna turcilor. Numai că turcii nu au închis palma.

Dacă soarta nu ar fi reunit pe marele vizir Mehmet Baltagi cu o aventurieră dură devenită împărăteasa Rusiei, soarta Europei și a Țărilor Române ar fi fost poate alta.

Petru, în jurnalul său oficial, a văzut în cele întâmplate justiția divină: „Justiția divină exercitându-și drepturile a făcut un adevărat miracol cu această ocazie, salvându-ne de un pericol inevitabil”.

Rămâne o enigmă cum a greșit Dimitrie Cantemir, expert în creșterea și descreșterea Imperiului Otoman, „momentul și oportunitatea” trecerii de partea Rusiei.

Sigur că Imperiul Otoman se afla în declin, sigur că asediul Vienei din 1683 a fost dezastruos pentru turci, sigur că turcii erau presați de austrieci, polonezi și venețieni.

Numai că, pentru un expert, Cantemir a greșit.

Pacea cu turcii s-a încheiat abia în 1713, după ce turcii au declarat de trei ori război fără să miște trupe, iar Petru nu a respectat niciodată clauzele privind Polonia.

Marele păcălit al campaniei de la Stănilești este Carol al XII-lea care va sosi în tabăra turcească reproșând marelui vizir că nu a anihilat armata rusă și nu l-a capturat pe Petru.

Cu diamantele în pungă, vizirul i-a replicat:

„Noi ne-am luptat cu rușii. Dacă vreți s-o faceți, faceți-o cu oamenii voștri. Noi nu vom rupe o pace încheiată”.

Rușii s-au retras spre nord urmând cursul Prutului.

Ce s-a ales din principalii actori ai dramei Stănilești 1711?

După războiul cu rușii, Sultanul face tot ce poate pentru a scăpa de turbulentul rege suedez stabilit la Bender.

Îi oferă bani, escortă, cadouri somptuoase numai să plece.

Carol nu vrea însă și este ajutat.

Reședința sa este înconjurată de 10.000 de turci, el apărând-o cu 40 de oameni. Este scos prin incendiere, dar tratat cu respect și mutat la Demiotica.

Va părăsi Turcia în 1714 mânat de reluarea războaielor în nord.

Grăbit, părăsește convoiul oficial și călărește 16 zile până la malul Balticii.

Va muri într-o seară friguroasă, în Norvegia, pe buza tranșeei, lovit în cap fie de un glonț rătăcit fie de un glonț venit de la unul din suedezii obosiți de permanenta sa agitație belicoasă.

Avea 36 de ani. A trăit cu patru ani mai mult decât modelul său, Alexandru Macedon.

Petru cel Mare (titlul de “cel Mare” ca și cel de împărat al Rusiei i-au fost conferite la înfrângerea definitivă a Suediei, prin pacea de la Nystadt) va muri la 53 de ani, victimă a stricturilor uretrale și a infecției urinare (unii au susținut că suferea de ciroză).

Ultimii ani i-au fost umbriți de corupția nemăsurată a colaboratorilor și de infidelitatea conjugală a celei pe care, din servitoare, a făcut-o împărăteasă. Nu și-a desemnat la moarte succesorul.

Ecaterina, a cărei relație adulterină a fost descoperită, a fost obligată să trăiască cu capul tăiat al amantului introdus într-un bol cu alcool în dormitor.

A supraviețuit episodului și a fost și doi ani împărăteasă după moartea lui Petru. Va muri la 45 de ani, detașată de opera reformatoare a lui Petru.

Petru a fost în război timp de 28 de ani, între 1695-1723.

Carol al Suediei, din 1700, când declanșează campaniile sale militare până la moartea sa, 18 ani mai târziu, nu a mai călcat niciodată în capitala sa.

Marele avantaj al Țărilor Române după aceste evenimente ar fi fost tratatul ruso-moldav din 13 aprilie 1711 (exista o versiune moldavă și una rusă), devenit public după intrarea rușilor în Moldova. Acesta ar fi temeiul juridic al apartenenței Basarabiei la România (G. Brătianu).

Totuși, după Mihai Maxim, dacă Petru nu ar fi fost înfrânt la Stănilești, dinamica expansiunii rusești în sud ar fi fost mai rapidă și, cu toate tratatele, Moldova, dacă nu ambele țări române, ar fi fost fagocitate de către Imperiul Rus în expansiune, precum pata de ulei.

De la Stănilești a fost deschisă „problema orientală”, Petru colonizând în sudul Rusiei creștini fugari din întreaga peninsulă Balcanică (între altele, pe Dimitrie Cantemir și pe Toma Cantacuzino, devenit general rus) și intervenind pe toate căile în viața creștinilor ortodocși din afara granițelor imperiului.

Evenimentele de acum 300 de ani au influențat profund viitorul țărilor române, efectele lor făcându-se simțite până în ziua de astăzi.

Bibliografie:

Brătianu, G.I. , *La Bassarabie. Droits nationaux et historiques*, Bucharest, Institut d’Histoire Universelle N. Iorga, 1943.

Cândea, Ionel , *Brăila 1711. Documente și studii*, Ed. Istros, Brăila, 2011.

Demory, Jean-Caude, „Six mois de gloire pour l’Alexandre du nord”, *Historia*, 1990, 528, 51-59.

Iorga, Nicolae, Carol XII, Petru cel Mare și țările noastre.”, *Anal. Acad. Rom. Hist*, seria 2-a, 1910.

Marshall, William, *Petru cel Mare*, Artemis, București, 2002.

- Maxim, Mihai, *Brăila 1711. Noi documente otomane*, Ed. Istros, Brăila
2011.
- de Saint-Pierre, Michel, *La drame des Romanov*, Robert Laffont, Paris,
1967.
- Soloviev, Serghei, *Ctenia i rascazâ po istorii Rosii*, Pravda, Moscova,
1989.
- Swift, John, *Petru cel Mare*, Ed. All, București, 2003.
- Troyat, Henry, *Pierre le Grand*, Flammarion, Paris, 1979.

*Maria Magdalena TULUȘ**

**DEMOGRAPHIC AND ETHNIC ASPECTS IN THE VIEW OF
THE FOREIGNERS THAT TRAVELLED TO THE
HARBOURS OF THE DANUBE (1801-1853)**

-Abstract-

The testimonies of foreign travellers hold an important place for the researcher who means to reconstitute the history of the Romanian Principalities. The offered image is that of a society which oscillates between tradition and novelty, between medievalism and modernity, both in terms of ideas and morals. Their testimonies regarding the Romanian territory, focused especially on the first decades of the 19th century contain elements which analyse the historical, geographical and economic environment.

A large part of the visitors of the Romanian territory come into contact with the realities of the Principalities through the intermediary of the Danubian towns, the Danube offering the most favourable way of transport for people and commodities, while land transport was ensured only by diligences, extremely hard and depending on the weather.

The demographical and ethnic aspects specific to Danubian towns in the first half of the 19th century appeared in the narrations of some foreign travellers who had passed through the Romanian space. Their descriptions had been influenced by their profession, by certain personal hobbies, by the purposes that had driven them to cross the Principalities.

Population growth did not bring ethnic homogenisation, on the contrary, many foreigners settled here, creating significant communities of Greeks, Jews, Bulgarians, Armenians, Italians, Habsburg vassals, English etc. The contacts between these ethnic groups influenced the daily life of these harbour towns.

Keywords: Danube, demography, ethnicity, traveller, Brăila, Galați

**ASPECTE DEMOGRAFICE ȘI ETNICE DIN PERSPECTIVA
CĂLĂTORILOR STRĂINI, ÎN PORTURILE DUNĂRENE (1801-1853)**

-Rezumat-

În secolul al XIX-lea mărturiile călătorilor străini ocupă un loc important pentru cercetătorul care își propune să reconstituie istoria Principatelor române. Imaginea oferită de către aceștia este aceea a unei

* History Museum of Galați, tulusmagda@yahoo.com.

societăți care oscilează între tradiție și înnoire, între medievalitate și modernitate, atât în planul ideilor, cât și al moravurilor. Mărturiile lăsate de acești călători privind spațiul românesc, cu referire mai ales la primele decenii ale secolului al XIX-lea, conțin elemente ce analizează cadrul istoric, geografic și economic. O mare parte dintre vizitatorii spațiului românesc iau contact cu realitățile existente în Principate prin intermediul orașelor dunărene, Dunărea oferind cea mai lesnicioasă cale de transport a persoanelor și mărfurilor, pe când deplasarea pe uscat se făcea numai prin intermediul poștalioanelor, fiind deosebit de anevoioasă și depinzând destul de mult de condițiile climaterice.

Aspectele demografice și etnice caracteristice orașelor dunărene în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea au apărut în relatările unor călători străini ce au trecut prin spațiul românesc. Descrierile lor au fost influențate de profesiunea avută, de anumite pasiuni personale, de scopurile ce i-au determinat să traverseze Principatele.

Creșterea populației nu a adus cu sine omogenizare etnică, din contră, peste românii majoritari s-au așezat și au format importante comunități: grecii, evreii, bulgarii, armenii, italienii, supușii habsburgici, englezii etc. Contactele înregistrate între aceste etnii au influențat în mod decisiv viața cotidiană din aceste orașe porturi.

Cuvinte cheie: Dunărea, demografie, etnic, călător, Brăila, Galați

Known first and foremost as a century of national reawakening and independence, the 19th century can also be considered the age of modernisation and of extension of the geographical, territorial, ethnic, religious, cultural knowledge, aspects determined as well by the increase in the number of travels and means of transport. In this age, when information and ideas circulate fast, people have become more and more curious regarding new realities and places, therefore, travel description become more numerous and complex. They represent inexhaustible and priceless sources which complete and supplement information, adding value and savour at the same time¹.

The testimonies of foreign travellers hold an important place for the researcher who means to reconstitute the history of the Romanian Principalities. The offered image is that of a society which oscillates between tradition and

¹ Paul Cernovodeanu (collection coordinator), Daniela Bușă (coordinator), Cristina Feneșan, Adriana Gheorghe, Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, Marian Stroia, Lucia Taftă, Raluca Tomi, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea, Serie nouă (Foreign Travellers on the Romanian Countries in the 19th century, New Series)*, vol. III (1831-1840), Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006 (hereinafter, *Călători străini. Serie nouă. III*), p. 5; Irina Gavrilă (coordinator), "Celălalt autentic" *Lumea românească în literatura de călătorie (1800-1850) ("The Authentic other" The Romanian World in Travel Literature)*, Oscar Print Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010, p. 13.

novelty, between medievalism and modernity, both in terms of ideas and morals². Their testimonies regarding the Romanian territory, focused especially on the first decades of the XIXth century contain elements which analyse the historical, geographical and economic environment. We cannot, however, remember the “unavoidably subjective and fragmentary” tendency of those who entered the Principalities, generated by “the spontaneity of direct contact and detachment”, but which cannot affect “the preservation of the intact value of relevant sources”³ for the descriptions of the foreign travellers from the 19th century. A large part of the visitors of the Romanian territory come into contact with the realities of the Principalities through the intermediary of the Danubian towns, the Danube offering the most favourable way of transport for people and commodities, while land transport was ensured only by diligences, extremely hard and depending on the weather.

Our demarche is based on the ethnic and demographic aspects and is supported by the analysis of statistics, catagographies and data provided by several foreign travellers, data which are fantasist sometimes, even ironical. The demographical and ethnic aspects specific to Danubian towns in the first half of the 19th century appeared in the narrations of some foreign travellers who had passed through the Romanian space. Their descriptions had been influenced by their profession, by certain personal hobbies, by the purposes that had driven them to cross the Principalities.

Demographic and ethnic information have been provided to us by the following foreign travellers: William Witman⁴, Minas Băjășkian⁵; William

² Daniela Bușă, *Divorțul în relatările călătorilor străini din prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea (Divorce in the Narrations of the Foreign Travellers from the first half of the 9th century)* in Irina Gavrilă, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

³ Paul Cernovodeanu, *Imaginea celuilalt: tipologia imaginii societății românești în viziunea călătorilor străini (sec. XVIII-prima jumătate a sec. XIX) (The Other: The Typology of the Romanian Society in the Vision of Foreign Travellers (18th century – first half of the 19th century))*, in “*Orașul românesc și lumea rurală. Realități locale și percepții europene la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea*” (*The Romanian Town and the Rural World. Local Realities and European Perceptions at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century*), Ileana Căzan and Daniela Bușă (coordinators), Istros Publishing House, Brăila, 2004, p. 34.

⁴ William Wittman, surgeon of the British military mission. He travels to the Principalities and on the Danube in 1801, narrating about the beauty of the harbour – town Brăila. He is impressed by the situation of the peasants from Dobrogea and Bărăgan, forced to run away in times of war. In his historical and literary demarche, the military surgeon was noticing the active commercial traffic of the two harbours – Brăila and Galați, earnestly confessing his joy at finding himself on a Christian land. Paul Cernovodeanu, Georgeta Filitti, Beatrice Marinescu, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, Marian Stroia (coordinator), See his biography in *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea, Serie nouă (Foreign Travellers on the Romanian Countries in the 19th century, New Series)*, vol. I (1801-1821), Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2004 (hereinafter, *Călători străini. Serie nouă. I*), pp. 128-129.

Wilkinson⁶; Feodor Karaczay⁷; captain Radisitz⁸; Feodor Feodorovici Berg⁹; Charles Lagau¹⁰; Carol Guébhart¹¹; Louis Felix de Beaujour¹²; Adrien Louis

⁵ The Armenian traveller Minas Băjășkian visited Galați and Brăila in 1808. Although schematic, his notes are extremely important for the reconstitution of the history of the Armenians from these Danubian towns during this period. See his biography in *Ibidem*, p. 452.

⁶ William Wilkinson, British diplomatic representative in the Principalities (1814-1818), travelled several times to the Romanian provinces. He publishes a first monograph in English, dedicated exclusively to the Principalities. See his biography in *Ibidem*, pp. 607-609.

⁷ Count Feodor Karaczay de Valyeszaka, of Croatian origin, activated in the Austrian army, after which he entered into the service of Prussia. He seems to have visited Moldova and Bucovina twice: in 1814 or 1815 and in 1817. See his biography in *Ibidem*, p. 751-752.

⁸ Austrian of Croatian origin, Captain Radisitz made, upon the request of the Headquarters of the Imperial Army a full description of the Danube Principalities, using as source the protocols of the Austrian topography officers, drawn up after the war which took place between 1787 and 1791, which he adapted to the realities of 1822, year in which he completes his description of the Principalities. We mention that Radisitz did not visit the Danube Principalities, therefore he will not be considered a foreign traveller through the Romanian territory, in the full acceptance of the word, however the geographical, economic, social, administrative and cultural details included in his memoir are extremely interesting. See his biography in Daniela Bușă (coordinator), Paul Cernovodeanu, Cristina Feneșan, Georgeta Filitti, Adriana Gheorghe, Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, Marian Stroia, Lucia Taftă, Raluca Tomi, *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea, Serie nouă (Foreign Travellers on the Romanian Countries in the 19th century, New Series)*, vol. II (1822-1830), Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2005 (hereinafter, *Călători străini. Serie nouă. II*), p. 69.

⁹ Feodor Feodorovici Berg, officer in the Headquarters of the Russian Second Army of Operations, carried out a secrete information mission regarding the Russian-Turk border and the North Pontic coast in the summer of 1826, mission which resulted in the work: *Câteva informații despre malul drept al Dunării culese în anul 1826 (Several Information on the Right Bank of the Danube, gathered in 1826)*, work which appeared in the following year. See his biography in *Ibidem*, pp.146-147.

¹⁰ Charles Lagau, French diplomat, consul general in Danzig until 1826, and from 1834 on in Tunis. Between 1826 and 1834 he became consul of France in Iași. He depicted the realities of Moldova during the reign of Ioniță Sandu Sturdza, drawing up an impressive report on the State institutions (Royal Council, Courts, Army, Church), on national revenue and not only. See his biography in *Ibidem*, pp. 328-328.

¹¹ Carol Guébhart (1792-?), traveller which arrived in Moldova in 1842. See Paul Păltănea, *O nouă descriere a Moldovei de botanistul Charles Guébhart (A New Description of Moldova by the Botanist Charles Guébhart)*, in "Cercetări istorice" (Historical Researches), IX-X, 1978-1979, pp. 597-601.

¹² French diplomat and publicist, consul in Greece, Sweden, Smyrna. He visited the Balkans in 1817; his observations were published in 1829 and were focused on the Ottoman defence system along the Danube. See his biography in *Ibidem*, p. 400.

Cochelet¹³; J. Hagemeister¹⁴; Charles de Bois-le-Comte¹⁵; Edouard Antoine Thouvenel¹⁶; Andrew A. Bonar și Robert Mc. Cheyne¹⁷; Ioachim Vuici¹⁸; French count Duclos¹⁹; Charles Terry²⁰; A. Sabatier²¹; Joseph Mislin²²; Paul Kornbach²³;

¹³ Adrien Louis Cochelet, diplomat and senator, consul of France in Lisbon, in the Principalities, in Egypt. He is the author of the work “*Itinerarii în Principatele Valahiei și Moldovei. Extrase dintr-un jurnal de călătorie făcut în 1834-1835*” (*Itineraries in the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldova. Excerpts from a Travel Journal written in 1834-1835*), published in Paris, in 1835. His narration impresses through the accuracy of locality names, morals of the political elite, discrepancy between the luxury of the high society and pitiful state of the peasants. See his biography in *Călători străini. Serie nouă. III*, p. 226.

¹⁴ See J. Hagemeister, *Memoire sur le commerce des ports de la Nouvelle-Russie, de la Moldavie et de la Valachie, Odessa, 1835*.

¹⁵ Charles de Bois-le-Comte, diplomat. In 1834 he carried out an information mission in South-Eastern Europe, upon the request of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. His global presentation of the Romanian society is rather objective and based on credible information. See his biography in *Călători străini. Serie nouă. III*, p. 95.

¹⁶ Edouard Antoine Thouvenel (1818-1866), one of the most important diplomats of France in the 19th century, ardent supporter of the union of the Romanian Principalities. His travel of 1838 allows him to visit towns: Craiova, București, Brăila, Galați. He focused in his narration on the Danube harbours, mainly in order to sensitize the French government regarding the economic potential in full development of the Danube and Black Sea mouths. See his biography in *Ibidem*, p. 812-813.

¹⁷ Clerics who carried out a travel to the Orient in 1839, as missionaries. On their return, they passed through Sulina, Tulcea and spent several days in Galați, in quarantine. See their biographies in *Călători străini. Serie nouă. III*, p. 781

¹⁸ The Serb-Slovenian Joachim Vuici, playwright and good organiser of the Serbian theatre, travels along the Danube in 1940 up to Crimea. See his biography in *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea, Serie nouă (Foreign Travellers on the Romanian Countries in the 19th century, New Series)*, vol. IV (1841-1846), Paul Cernovodeanu (collection coordinator), Daniela Bușă (volume coordinator), Adriana Gheorghe, Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, Bogdan Popa, Marian Stroia, Raluca Tomi, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2007 (hereinafter, *Călători străini. Serie nouă. IV*), p. 172.

¹⁹ Consul of France in Moldova around 1840.

²⁰ Charles Terry, member of the Royal Society, stood out for his work on New Zealand. Between 1842 and 1849 he passed through India, Egypt, Ottoman Empire, Russia and Poland. Short, concise, but relevant, the information regarding Romanians refer to Galați, Brăila, Iași. He is particularly concerned by the economic and social aspect of the Romanian society. See his biography in *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea, Serie nouă (Foreign Travellers on the Romanian Countries in the 19th century, New Series)*, vol. V (1847-1851), Daniela Bușă (volume coordinator), Venera Achim, Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, Bogdan Popa, Nicoleta Roman, Marian Stroia, Raluca Tomi, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009 (hereinafter, *Călători străini. Serie nouă. V*), p. 120.

²¹ A. Sabatier, member of the French military mission, together with Captain E. Desaint, mission sent in Wallachia upon the request of the revolutionary government of 1848. He spent two months here and wrote *Memoriu despre principatele Țării Românești și Moldovei*

James Henry Skeene²⁴; Francesco Nardi²⁵; Laurence Oliphant²⁶; Jacques de Perthes²⁷; George W. Frederick Howard count of Carlisle²⁸; Theophile S.

(*Memoir on the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldova*). See his biography in *Ibidem*, pp. 286-287.

²² Joseph Mislin, prelate, teacher and writer, the Swiss settled in Wien in 1836. He made a travel to Constantinople, the crossing of the Romanian territory, on the Danube, taking him five days. See his biography in *Ibidem*, pp. 302-303.

²³ Paul Körnbach, teacher and owner of a public school. He spends several years in Moldova, being the author of a well-documented work. See his biography in *Ibidem*, p. 536.

²⁴ James Henry (Skene) Skeene (1812-1886) is one of the rare elite British travellers to have arrived on our lands. Married to the daughter of a former Phanariot dignitary of the Romanian Principalities, Skeene was endowed with a wide culture, proving to be a keen judge of the realities of the Romanian territory where he travelled between 1850 and 1851. See his biography in *Ibidem*, pp. 593-595.

²⁵ Francesco Nardi (1808-1877), Venetian prelate and professor at the University of Padua, he travelled to the Romanian territory in 1852. He described Galați and Brăila and navigation on the Danube through Sulina. See his biography *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea, Serie nouă (Foreign Travellers on the Romanian Countries in the 19th century, New Series)*, vol. VI (1852-1856), Daniela Bușă (coordinator), Venera Achim, Constantin Ardeleanu, Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, Bogdan Popa, Nicoleta Roman, Marian Stroia, Raluca Tomi, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010 (hereinafter, *Călători străini. Serie nouă. VI*), p. 17; See also Nicolae Iorga, *Încă un călător în țările noastre (Yet Another Traveller in our Countries)*, in "Revista istorică" (Historical Magazine), XVIII, 1932, pp. 14-19.

²⁶ Laurence Oliphant (1829-1888) took part in various diplomatic missions, as Secretary of Lord Elgin. For a while he was correspondent to "The Times" and the semi-official reporter of the Foreign Office, when he travelled in several countries of Europe, Asia and America. He visited Moldova twice, in 1852 and 1863. See his biography in *Călători străini. Serie nouă. VI*, pp. 27-28.

²⁷ Jacques Boucher de Crèvecœur de Perthes (1788-1868), French geologist and archaeologist, in 1853, upon his return from Constantinople, he travelled on the Danube from Sulina to Wien. The Romanian territory was observed mostly from onboard the ship, however, his scientific training and knowledge as customs officer provided consistency to his remarks, interesting in terms of the Crimean War. He was impressed by the Danube Delta, he described the uniforms of the soldiers defending border posts, he referred to the military discipline. See his biography in *Ibidem*, p. 57; Also see Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călătorii (Romanians' History Through Travels)*, Bucharest, vol. III, 1928, pp. 278-283; Idem, *Călători străini din vremea revoluției de la 1848, războiului Crimeii și epocii premergătoare Unirii (Foreign Travellers from the Revolution of 1848, the Crimean War and the Period preceding the Union)*, in "Biblioteca Bucureștilor" (Bucharest Library), 2, no. 8, 1992, pp. 2-4.

²⁸ George William Frederick Howard, Count of Carlisle (1802-1864), member of an important English Aristocrat family and of the Chamber of Lords, he was not only a politician, but a highly appreciated pamphleteer, literate and traveller as well. He passed through the Romanian Principalities in 1853, arriving at Giurgiu, Brăila and Galați. See his biography in *Călători străini. Serie nouă. VI*, pp. 73-74; Also see Nicolae Iorga, *Un lord*

Lavallee²⁹. Qualitatively and quantitatively unequal, the information provided by these travel descriptions are very diverse. For instance, ethnically speaking, Captain Radisitz and Charles de Bois-le-Comte are concerned by the ethnic structure of Galați and Brăila, Feodor Feodorovici Berg, Louis Felix de Beaujour, Adrien Louis Cochelet focus mostly on the increase in the number of English, while Adolphe Laurent Joanne³⁰ makes a detailed description of the gypsies. Another source regarding the demography and the ethnical aspect of the Danubian towns was constituted by the catagaphies drawn up between 1820 and 1853.

Before going into the detailed analysis of the foreign travellers' testimonies, we must specify that the demographical information provided by them constitute only a rough guide, the estimations regarding the number of people cannot have an accurate scientific value, because they are not calculated on the basis of accurate records. The first testimonies from the beginning of the 19th century regarding the demographic and ethnic aspects of the Danubian towns are found in the narrations of the English physician, William Wittman³¹, who travelled on the Danube in 1800. The active commercial traffic noticed by him in the largest Romanian harbours – Brăila and Galați – had direct consequences on the demography, that is, it caused the displacement of a significant number of people from the rural environment who moved into the two towns, as well as the settlement of several foreigners, directly or indirectly interested by the commercial activity carried out here. In 1808, the Armenian Minas Băjășkian was appreciating that Brăila's population comprised several ethnical groups, out of which the Armenians had twenty houses built in this town, while in Galați there were thirty Armenian houses³².

In William Wilkinson's view, Galați harbour was seemingly blooming, its market being always supplied with own products (construction wood, masts and staves, wheat), and was estimating that, in 1809, the total number of the inhabitants of fixed aboard could not be over 6,000³³. In 1817, Feodor Karaksay was indicating for this town from South Moldova a real figure – 5,000 inhabitants³⁴, however, he

locotenent al Irlandei pe la români (A Lord Lieutenant of Ireland among the Romanians), in "Revista istorică" (Historical Magazine), XXVIII, 1942, pp. 21-23.

²⁹ Théophile-Sébastien Lavallée, historian, geographer and military statistician, received in 1853 the mission to inspect and prepare a report on the Lower Danube. See his biography in *Călători străini. Serie nouă. VI*, p. 131.

³⁰ Adolphe Laurent Joanne, traveller, literate and geographer, one of the founder of the known publication "L'Illustration", where he held the position of Deputy Director. He visited several countries of Europe. Between 1846 and 1849 he made a longer trip, occasion on which he visited the territory inhabited by the Romanians. He provides a mixture of personal information and length quotes from Alexis de Valon, Saint Marc Girardin, Stanislas Bellanger, Alexandre Vaillant. See his biography in *Călători străini. Serie nouă. V*, p. 17-18.

³¹ *Călători străini. Serie nouă. I*, p. 134.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 468

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 623

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 767

exaggerates in the case of Brăila with regard to the number of its inhabitants – 30,000³⁵, although this figure is also found in the relations of the Austrian Captain, Radisitz, several years later³⁶. It is true that the population of Brăila was in continual growth and that many Austrian vassals were in town, however, according to the catagraphy of 1820³⁷, we consider that the figure of 15,000 inhabitants is closer to the reality for Brăila³⁸, figure which also appears in another catagraphy of 1828. In the case of Galați, up to 1829, things are much clearer, the travellers oscillating between 5,000 and 8,000, figure we consider to be real.³⁹

Other Danubian towns are also described by these foreign travellers. In 1826, the Russian traveller, Feodor Feodorovici Berg was describing the borough from Dobrogea: Tulcea, Isaccea and Măcin. He was mentioning that in the garrison from Tulcea there were almost 1,000 soldiers, and the town had 335 houses; for Isaccea, he was indicating 1,200 soldiers and 380 houses; for Măcin, he only mentioned 130 houses. Ethnically speaking, the Turk boroughs on the Danube border were not too different, their population being made of Turks, Tatars, Romanians (less numerous than the first ethnic groups), Lipovans and Cossacks, with the exception of Brăila, whose population comprised Romanians, Turks and Greeks⁴⁰.

The Treaty from Adrianople (September 2/14, 1829), ending another Russo-Turkish war, stipulated, among others, that the border between the Ottoman Empire and Wallachia got back on the Danube thalweg. Consequently, Brăila, after an interruption of 289 years, re-entered under Romanian governing and administration. The information regarding the people remained in town, immediately after the retreat of the Ottoman garrison from Brăila, are provided by

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 778

³⁶ *Călători străini. Serie nouă. II*, p. 83.

³⁷ Gh. Ungureanu, *Catagrafia locuitorilor Moldovei din anul 1820 (Catagraphy of the Inhabitants of Moldova in 1820)*, in *Din istoria statisticii românești. Culegere de articole (From the History of Romanian Statistics. Collection of Articles)*, Statistics Central Directorate, Bucharest, 1969, p. 132. The catagraphy no longer exists, however, a series of information came indirectly to us through those who had seen it.

³⁸ Gh. Mihăilescu, *Populația Brăilei. Studiu de demografie dinamică și statistic (The Population of Brăila. Study of Dynamic Demography and Statistics)*, in "Analele Brăilei" (Brăila Annals), IV, no. 2-3, 1932, pp. 108-110. The author considers that the number of 30,000 inhabitants is exaggerated for the town of Brăila before 1828, believing that 15,000 would be more appropriate.

³⁹ In a work published in Weimar in 1819, A.C. Gaspari was indicating for Galați a number of 5,000 inhabitants; botanist Carol (Charles) Guéhart was claiming in 1826 that the town had 7,000 inhabitants; according to the English information, in 1827 the town counted 8,000 people; the French consul Lagan was indicating in a report of 1828 a number of 5,000 inhabitants; in the times of the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829, according to Adrien Balbi, the town had reached 7,000 inhabitants. Apud Paul Păltănea, *Istoria orașului Galați de la origini până la 1918 (The History of Galați from its Origins until 1918)*, Part I, 2nd edition, Partener Publishing House, Galați, 2008, p. 339 and note 8.

⁴⁰ *Călători străini. Serie nouă. II*, p. 148-153.

the documents of the time, next to a series of narrations from the foreign travellers who had visited the Romanian territory in that period. Significant sources for the identification of statistical, ethnic and economic data are represented by the catagraphies and censuses of the time. A census of the inhabitants and incomes of Brăila County dates to 1828, having been carried out by cavalry commander Grigore Tăut, the first high official of the region⁴¹. This census is extremely important because it provides to researchers the most relevant information regarding Brăila at the end of the Ottoman dominance. This is how we find that the population, in June 1828, immediately after the Ottoman retreat, comprised only 521 families, out of which, 46 were foreign families (25 Armenian and 21 Jewish families). After the retreat of the Turks, there were left around 3,000 inhabitants in Brăila, most of them being loiterers, that is, they were coming from the less well-to-do social classes of the town⁴².

From the information we have on Brăila, we appreciate that, in spite of the Turk domination, this harbour preserved its Romanian character, especially ethnically and economically. The Romanian nucleus of the town was permanently reinforced during the new Romanian administration, after 1829, by the settlement of several Romanian peasants coming from the Rayah villages, by the Romanian families transmuted from the bordering counties and from Transylvania, by the merchants and shepherds who had come through Braşov. They were joined by inhabitants refugee from the Balkan territories still under Ottoman domination: Bulgarians⁴³, Greek, Albanians, Macedonians, the town offering them favourable conditions for their enrichment⁴⁴. The nicknames among the craftsmen regarding the ethnic affiliation or origin have later become surnames, remaining to this day. They complete the information we have regarding the constitution of the

⁴¹ Mihai (Mihail) Popescu, *Catagrafia locuitorilor și a venitului din județul Brăila în 1828 (Catagraphy of the Inhabitants and Incomes of Brăila County)*, in "Analele Brăilei" (Brăila Annals), IV, no. 2-3, 1932, pp. 59-82.

⁴² 163 lived in Poarta cea Mare slum, out of which 108 families were from Brăila, the other 55 families being refuged in the villages of the vilayet; 194 families lived in Poarta cea Mică slum; 105 families lived in Ispirlăului slum; in Ulița Târgului, with stores, there were 73 Romanian families, 25 Armenian families and 21 Jews families. See Maria Stoica, *Remodelarea oraşului Brăila în secolul al XIX-lea (Remodelling of Brăila in the 19th century)*, in "Analele Brăilei" (Brăila Annals), New Series, V, no. 5, 2004, p. 26; Eadem, *Brăila. Memoria oraşului. Imaginea unui oraş românesc din secolul al XIX-lea (Brăila. Town Memory. The Image of a Romanian Town in the 19th century)*, Brăila, 2009, p. 10.

⁴³ S. Semilian, *Emigranții și revoluționarii bulgari în Brăila (Bulgarian Emigrants and Revolutionaries in Brăila)* in "Analele Brăilei" (Brăila Annals), New Series, V, no. 5, Brăila, 2004, p. 23. The Bulgarians come to represent 23.69 % of the total population of Brăila, following the data provided by the census of 1838

⁴⁴ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoricul oraşului Brăila. Din cele mai vechi timpuri și până astăzi (History of Brăila. From the Oldest of Times to This Day)*, Scientific Publishing House, Bucharest, 1968, pp. 158-165.

population of Brăila, occupied by the Turks⁴⁵. In 1830, the population of the county, Brăila town included, reached 10,000 inhabitants around (2086 families)⁴⁶.

In Galați, things are much clearer regarding the share of Romanians. All the catagraphies of foreign vassals, made between 1822 and 1848, undoubtedly prove that the population consisted mainly of Romanians, even if there are several opinions, like that of Carol Guéhart, according to whom most of the population of Galați consisted of the foreigners drawn to Moldova by the commercial advantages and the pleasant life they find here. The most numerous and active – according to him – were the Jews, who were practicing any sort of craft, all the professions which easily earned them money. They were followed by the Greek, who were generally ship owners or bargain makers. Then, there came the Italians, merchants or artists; the Germans, the Hungarians and the Russians, generally craftsmen; the English and the French, much fewer⁴⁷.

Apart from the said ethnic groups, the catagraphies of 1824-1825 also mention for Covurlui County 32 Austrian vassals, out of which 24 are merchants in Galați⁴⁸. After the end of the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829, like in the case of Brăila, many Greek and Bulgarians settle in town⁴⁹. It is known at the same time

⁴⁵ Maria Stoica, *Remodelarea orașului Brăila în secolul al XIX-lea (Remodelling of Brăila in the 19th century)*, p. 27. The found nicknames emphasise the ethnic belonging (Cossack – cazacu; sârbu; Greek – grecu, greceanu; ungureanu; Bulgarian – bulgaru; rusu) or the place of origine (gălățean – gălățanu; oltean – olteanu; moldovean – moldoveanu).

⁴⁶ This piece of information is taken from *Catagrafia din 1828 a locuitorilor și veniturii din orașul și județul Brăila (Catagraphy of 1828 of the inhabitants and incomes of Brăila town and county)* published in, “Analele Brăilei” (Brăila Annals), document transcribed by Mihai Popescu (see note 43). In 30 years, between 1828 and 1859, county population increases with 56,000 inhabitants (from 10,000 to 66,490). We are faced with a real phenomenon of county repopulation, almost deserted upon the departure of the Turks. In this process, an important part was played by the phenomenon of people mutation from the rural environment to the urban environment, given that the ones who left on 1828, at once with the Ottoman administration did not come back. The quick repopulation of Brăila is reinforced and confirmed by all the statistics of the following year; it is important to remember the repopulation phenomenon and its speed.

⁴⁷ Paul Păltănea, *Istoria orașului Galați de la origini până la 1918 (History of Galați from its Origins to 1918)*, volume I, 2nd edition, coordinated by Priest Eugen Drăgoi, Partener Publishing House, Galați, 2008, p. 341.

⁴⁸ C. Turcu, *Observări asupra catagrafiei sudiților din Moldova pe anii 1824 și 1825 (Remarks on the Catagraphy of the Foreign Vassals on 1824 and 1825)* in *Îndrumător în Arhivele Statului Iași (Guidebook in the National Archives, Iași)*, II, Bucharest, 1956, p. 131. In Covurlui, its preparation was guided by Vasile Tuduri, following the order of July 22, 1822; Stela Mărieș, *La statistique des sujets étrangers en Moldavie et son importance démographique*, in *Populație și societate (Population and Society)*, Ștefan Pascu (coordinator), IV, Dacia Publishing House, 1980, pp. 191-197.

⁴⁹ Paul Păltănea, *op. cit.*, I, p. 343. In 1833, their number was 145, some were engaged in trade, others were working with their hands. On May 31, 1833, a small group of Greco-Bulgarians (24 people) submits a request to the town hall asking to be allowed to return to their places because “they can procure not even their daily bread... and are facing harsh

that, after the Treaty from Adrianople, in the absence of a Romanian bourgeoisie, the number of Jews settled in the Principalities will increase significantly. Enterprisers and merchants, they place themselves under the protection of the consul, thus obtaining a privileged situation in relation to the other inhabitants. If the so-called retail trade was led by the Jews, wholesale trade was undertaken by the Greek, the Armenians and several European companies⁵⁰. Another numerous ethnic group, but extremely socially disfavoured, was represented by the Gypsies. Speaking of the presence of this ethnic group, in towns, sedentary gypsies lived in boyars' houses, as their servants and employees, on the outskirts, while nomad gypsies lived in temporary shelters in the vicinity of towns⁵¹.

The demographic testimonies of the foreign travellers who had visited the Danubian towns in the days of Adrianople Treaty were extremely different. Thus, travelling to the former Turkish Rayahs in 1829-1830, the French diplomat and publicist Louis Felix de Beaujour was appreciating that Brăila harbour had a population of 5,000-6,000 inhabitants, Galați harbour 20,000 inhabitants and Isaccea harbour, between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants⁵².

Visiting the Danube harbours, between 1832 and 1834, the traveller J. Hagemeister was claiming that Galați counted, in those days, 12,000 people⁵³.

Another French traveller, Consul Adrien Louis Cochelet⁵⁴ was surprised by his reception upon arrival in Brăila in 1824. He is greeted by the Police Captain and the High Official Iancu Slătineanu⁵⁵, the latter bringing to his notice the plans for the development, enlargement and embellishment of the town. If in 1830 the town counted 800 inhabitants (exaggeratedly small sum), the same consul was claiming that, in 1834, Brăila had 6,000 inhabitants and Galați 18,000 inhabitants⁵⁶. Still in 1834, another French man, Charles de Bois-le-Comte, estimated that the population of Brăila reached 6,000 inhabitants in 1829 and after 5 years only it had 60,000 inhabitants, while Galați counted, in the days of his visit 18,000 people. Regarding the ethnic composition, Bois-le-Comte was claiming that most of the population of Galați town consisted of Bulgarians and Greek, Romanians being in

times “. Part of them obtained British and French protection and lived in the Serbian slum around St. Haralambie Church, built in 1840. The settlement of Bulgarians in Galați observed, like in the other towns, *Așezământului din iunie 1830 (Settlement of June 1830)*.

⁵⁰ Gh. Ungureanu, *Catagrafia locuitorilor Moldovei din anul 1831 (Catagraphy of the Inhabitants of Moldova in 1831)*, in *Din istoria statisticii românești. Culegere de articole (From the History of the Romanian Statistics. Collection of Articles)*, p. 134.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*. In Moldova, in 1820 there were around 170,000 gypsies. They were the property of the State or of the boyars and could be sold. The gypsies who were in the State property would pay a yearly tax, while the others were exempt from taxes.

⁵² *Călători străini. Serie nouă. II*, p. 402.

⁵³ J. Hagemeister, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Paul Păltănea, *op. cit.*, I, p. 340.

⁵⁴ *Călători străini. Serie nouă. III*, pp. 232-233.

⁵⁵ Iancu Slătineanu, high official of Brăila (1820-1837), grandson of the High Steward Iordache Gheorghe Filipescu (1765-1855), the last High Steward of Wallachia. He is deemed to have laid the modern foundations of Brăila.

⁵⁶ *Călători străini. Serie nouă. III*, pp. 232-233, 235.

minority⁵⁷. It is possible that his view on the ethnic composition be altered by the high number of foreigners who had settled then in town. We know, for instance, that in 1831 there were almost 200 Austrian vassals, 119 French, 10 Prussians and 80 Russians. The case of the British vassals is probative, their number increasing from 150 in 1834 to 300 in 1845⁵⁸. In the next year, 1835, new data regarding the Danubian towns come from the Austrian vassal, Adolphe Schmidl⁵⁹ and from the English Orientalist, Charles B. Elliot⁶⁰. Schmidl published the first travel guide in German and it has several deficiencies regarding the accuracy of locality names and demographical data. Therefore, Adolphe Schmidl's travel guides are fantasist in many ways. He visited Brăila, approximating it had 25,000 inhabitants. Regarding Chilia (Jeni Kilia), he mentioned it counted 6,000 inhabitants⁶¹.

Charles B. Elliot was describing Brăila as an old fort⁶². Concerning Galați, he was unrealistically claiming that most of the population was Greek, followed by the Jews and the Armenians. "Next to these, in town there are also Austrians, Bulgarians and English"⁶³. In its entirety, his varied and picturesque narration regarding the ethnic layering of Galați, is extremely interesting and reflects the heterogeneity of the Danubian towns lately included in the European commercial circuit.

The English Edmund Spencer⁶⁴ considered in 1836, the year of his visit to Galați, that the town comprised a significant number of Turks "lazily smoking

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 150.

⁵⁸ Paul Păltănea, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 316-318, 342.

⁵⁹ Adolh Schmidl is the author of a travel guide regarding the Habsburg Empire. The work has a bookish character, the personal remarks being mixed with notes from other sources of the time. It seems he had no direct contact with the Romanian Principalities. See his biography in *Călători străini. Serie nouă. III*, p. 243-244.

⁶⁰ Charles B. Elliot, clerk of the Civil Service of Bengal, known Orientalist, he makes a trip through Central Europe, on the Danube, in Crimea, Balkans, Asia Minor and Palestine. During the voyage on the Danube he meets English consular representatives of the Principalities who give him information regarding our people. His narrations are picturesque, but critical as well, especially regarding the social aspect. See his biography in *Ibidem*, pp. 347.

⁶¹ *Ibidem* p. 333-334.

⁶² See also Mihai Popescu, *Raiaua și cetatea Brăilei (Brăila Rayah and Borough)* in "Analele Brăilei" (Brăila Annals), I, no. 2-3, 1929, pp. 6-19 and no. 4-6, 1929, pp. 35- 40; Idem, *Dărâmarea cetății Brăila (The Demolition of Brăila Borough)* in "Analele Brăilei" (Brăila Annals), VI, no. 1, 1934, pp. 21-28. The fort mentioned by the foreign traveller is probably the borough built in 1540 by the Turks, destroyed in 1829. Victory cost Russians a high price: 18,000 people and 3 generals died in combat. To honour the victory, a small monument, decorated with a half-moon cross and the Russian aquilas, was raised by Vladimir de Blaremburg.

⁶³ *Călători străini. Serie nouă. III*, p. 369.

⁶⁴ Edmund Spencer, British traveller, whom we know to have been an officer. He travelled on the Danube in 1836 up to Galați. He describes important settlements along this river: Giurgiu, Hârșova, Galați, the last harbour being appreciated for its commercial activity and dynamism. See his biography in *Ibidem*, p. 572.

cigars on the verandas of cafes". Past the café, the British traveller identifies, according to their outfit, several Jews, Greek and Romanians (Moldavians)⁶⁵.

This great ethnic diversity of the Danubian towns drew the attention, one year later, of the Russian Prince, Anatoli Demidov⁶⁶. In 1837, he notices the great amalgam of ethnic groups: Romanians, Greek, Slavs, Russians, Hungarians, Jews, in considerable numbers, most coming from Poland and Germany, and Gypsies. The Russian prince insists on his description of the gypsies whom he sees as a numerous ethnic group, reaching several hundreds of thousands in the two principalities, and of the Jews. Regarding the latter group, he says that there were 500 Jews in Galați that year, while in Brăila there were 38 Jewish families⁶⁷.

The French traveller Edouard Antoine Thouvenel⁶⁸, future ambassador of Napoleon III in Constantinople arrived in Brăila in 1838. Based on his personal remarks and on the information received from the town subprefect, he approximated the number of inhabitants around the figure of 8,000⁶⁹, most of them Christians. The only one who could not settle in town were the Turks, if they did not declare the reason and duration of their stay, in spite of their right of suzerainty over the principalities⁷⁰.

The voyage carried out in 1839 on the Black Sea and the Danube by the two Scotsmen – Andrew A. Bonar and Robert McKayne – allows them to visit Sulina, Tulcea, Galați and Brăila. The two estimated the population of Galați at 10,000 inhabitants and that of Brăila at 6,000⁷¹.

After 1840, the demographical data provided by the foreign travellers regarding the population of the Danubian towns oscillated in the same way as before. For instance, in 1840, the Serb Ioachim Vuici stated that there 18,000 inhabitants in Galați, living in 3,000 houses⁷². The figure mentioned by the Serb traveller, although smaller than the real one (in the catagraphy of 1845 the

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 576.

⁶⁶ Anatoli Demidov (1812-1870), Russian prince, he carried out expeditions in many European countries. He was a fine and astute observer, careful investigator of the Romanian realities, the tone of his description being characterised by sympathy and real understanding of the situation of the Romanian people. See his biography in *Ibidem*, pp.599-600.

⁶⁷ *Călători străini. Serie nouă. III*, p. 697. In Brăila there are 30 Jewish families who build a very small synagogue, but do not have a Rabin; 8 Jewish families from Wien, settled in the Danube harbour, build a synagogue, fact which leads us to the conclusion that, although few, they succeed in being united.

⁶⁸ *Călători străini. Serie nouă. III*, pp. 812 and 908

⁶⁹ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoricul orașului Brăila din cele mai vechi timpuri până astăzi (History of Brăila Town from the Oldest of Times to This Day)*, Bucharest, 1968, p. 152. A statistics of 1838 indicates a number of 8,695 inhabitants in Brăila.

⁷⁰ *Călători străini. Serie nouă. III*, p. 828.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*. p.783.

⁷² Ștefan Berechet, *Călătoria lui Ioachim Vuici prin Temișana, Muntenia, Moldova și Basarabia în 1840 (The Travel of Ioachim Vuici in Temișana, Wallachia, Moldova and Bessarabia in 1840)*, Bucharest, p. 20.

population of this harbour from the south of Moldova was around 24,000⁷³), although it was closer to the truth than the opinion expressed in 1842 by the Consul of France, Duclos (45,000 inhabitants)⁷⁴. From our perspective, the following travellers overestimated the population of Galați: the Consul of Prussia, J.F. Neigebauer in 1843 (32,000 inhabitants)⁷⁵; the English traveller, Charles Terry⁷⁶ in 1847 (30-40,000 inhabitants); the botanist Carol Guéhart, who raised the number of the inhabitants of Galați in 1848, to almost 45,000 souls⁷⁷; the French Captain A. Sabatier⁷⁸ in the same year (30,000 inhabitants); the Venetian prelate Francesco Nardi⁷⁹ in 1852 (40,000 inhabitants). On the contrary, we encounter travellers who provide incredibly small figures, improbable if compared to those of the above-mentioned travellers, regarding the population of the Moldavian town: in 1848, the Swiss prelate and teacher Joseph Mislin⁸⁰, after a five-day visit to the Principalities, with stops in the main harbours, stated that Galați had only 12,000 inhabitants; in 1850, Paul Körnbach⁸¹ reduced the population to 9,000 souls; while, in 1853, the

⁷³ Leonid Boicu, *Despre structura socială a orașului moldovenesc la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea (On the Social Structure of the Moldavian Town at the Middle of the 19th century)*, in: "Studii" (Studies), year XVI, 1963, no. 2. pp. 286-287; Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu, *Misiuni protestante britanice în Principatele române în prima jumătate a secolului XIX (British Protestant Missions in the Romanian Principalities in the first half of the 19th century)*, in the volume "In honorem Ioan Caproșu", Iași, 2002, pp. 379-380

⁷⁴ Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki Collection, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor (Documents regarding Romanians' History)*, volume XVII, published after the copies of the Romanian Academy by Nerva Hodoș, Bucharest, 1913, p. 950.

⁷⁵ Paul Păltănea, *op. cit.*, I, p. 340.

⁷⁶ *Călători străini. Serie nouă.V*, pp. 120 and 700-701.

⁷⁷ Paul Păltănea, *op. cit.*, I, p. 340.

⁷⁸ *Călători străini. Serie nouă.V*, pp. 286-287; 701.

⁷⁹ Francesco Nardi (1808-1877) Venetian prelate and professor at the University of Padua, he travelled to the Romanian territory in 1852. He described Galați and Brăila and navigation on the Danube through Sulina. Information regarding this traveller in *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea (Foreign Travellers on the Romanian Countries in the 19th century)*, new series, volume VI (1852-1856), Daniela Bușă (coordinator), Venera Achim, Constantin Ardeleanu, Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, Bogdan Popa, Nicoleta Roman, Marian Stroia, Raluca Tomi, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010, pp. 17 and 763; Nicolae Iorga, *Încă un călător în țările noastre, (Yet Another Traveller in our Countries)*, in "Revista istorică" (Historical Magazine), XVIII, 1932, pp. 14-19. (hereinafter, *Călători străini. Serie nouă.VI*).

⁸⁰ His descriptions are varied, from geographical descriptions to demographical and sociological data (population, settlements, health, religion, customs and morals, clothes). Information in: *Călători străini. Serie nouă. V*, pp. 302-303; 701; Nicolae Iorga, *Încă un călător german la noi (Yet Another German Traveller)*, in "Revista istorică" (Historical Magazine), XIX, 1933, nr. 4-6, pp. 115-117.

⁸¹ We do not have other data regarding him apart from those provided by him in the foreword to one of his works – he presents himself as teacher of German, French and Italian language and literature and owner of a public school. He spent several years in Moldova

French geologist and archaeologist Jacques Boucher de Crèvecœur de Perthes⁸² was appreciating that Galați cannot have more than 7,000 inhabitants. We also have appreciations close enough to the demographical reality: in 1850-1851 the English diplomat and military James Henry Skene (Skeene)⁸³ was estimating town population around the figure of 27,000; in 1852 Laurence Oliphant⁸⁴, correspondent to "The Times", was giving the number 30,000 inhabitants⁸⁵; while the next year, 1853, the English aristocrat George William Frederick Howard, Count of Carlisle⁸⁶ was considering a number of 25,000 inhabitants.

Brăila was the second Romanian town to be noticed by the foreign travellers. Its closeness to Galați and the great economic rivalry between the two determined some foreign travellers to compare them. Thus, the English Charles Terry found Brăila less populated, but better-looking in all perspectives. In 1847, he calls Brăila "a change anteroom in which Jews, Turks, Armenians, Greeks and other Europeans make up a hard to equal society"⁸⁷. In exchange, in the autumn of 1852, Galați appears to Francesco Nardi more flourishing than Brăila. The Venetian prelate, following the trip he makes towards Constantinople, on the route Trieste - Wien - Pest - Sulina, notices in the Danubian towns the mixture of ethnic groups and diversity of religions, as well as the beauty of the Romanian landscape⁸⁸. The estimations of the foreign travellers regarding the population of Brăila varied too,

and is the author of a well documented work, in two parts. Information taken from: *Călători străini. Serie nouă. V*, pp. 536 and 703.

⁸² Jacques Boucher de Crèvecœur de Perthes (1788-1868) French geologist and archaeologist, in 1853, upon his return from Constantinople, he travelled on the Danube from Sulina to Wien. The Romanian territory was observed mostly from onboard the ship, however, his scientific training and knowledge as customs officer provided consistency to his remarks, interesting in terms of the Crimean War. He was impressed by the Danube Delta, he described the uniforms of the soldiers defending border posts, he referred to the military discipline. Information regarding this traveller in: *Călători străini. Serie nouă. VI*, pp. 57 and 764; Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călătorii (Romanians' History through Travels)*, Bucharest, 928, vol. III, pp. 278-283. Idem, *Călători străini din vremea revoluției de la 1848, războiului Crimeii și epocii premergătoare Unirii, (Foreign Travellers from the Revolution of 1848, the Crimean War and the Period preceding the Union)*, in "Biblioteca Bucureștilor" (Bucharest Library), (hereinafter BBuc.), 1992, 2, nr. 8, pp. 2-4.

⁸³ Information taken from: *Călători străini. Serie nouă. V*, pp. 593-594 and 704.

⁸⁴ Information taken from: *Călători străini Serie nouă. VI*, pp. 27-28 and 763.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem. VI*, p. 33.

⁸⁶ George William Frederick Howard, Count of Carlisle (1802-1864) member of an important English Aristocrat family and of the Chamber of Lords, he was not only a politician, but a highly appreciated pamphleteer, literate and traveller as well. He passed through the Romanian Principalities in 1853, arriving at Giurgiu, Brăila and Galați. Information in: *Călători străini. Serie nouă. VI*, pp. 73-74 and 764; Nicolae Iorga, *Un lord locotenent al Irlandei pe la români (A Lord Lieutenant of Ireland among the Romanians)*, in "Revista istorică" (Historical Magazine), 1942, tome XXVIII, pp. 21-23.

⁸⁷ *Călători străini. Serie nouă. V*, p. 122.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem. VI*, p. 22.

but not as much as in the case of Galați: 14,000 inhabitants in the opinion of the French Captain A. Sabatier (1848); 16,000 for James Henry Skene (between 1850 and 1851). A special case is that of the French traveller Jacques Boucher de Crèvecœur de Perthes. If in his voyage of 1853 he flagrantly underestimates the population of Galați, in the case of Brăila he does precisely the other way round, stating that the town had around 30,000 inhabitants. For Ismail, one of the largest towns of Bessarabia, he cannot even make up his mind: “some say it had 8,000 inhabitants, others 25,000 and others 30,000”⁸⁹.

We find demographic and ethnic considerations in the writings of other travellers as well. In 1846, the French literate and geographer Adolphe Laurent Joanne⁹⁰, following one of his voyages, lingers upon the ethnic appurtenance of the gypsies encountered on the Romanian territory and in the Danubian towns, appreciating that around 35,000 families of gypsies live in the Romanian Principalities⁹¹.

In September 1853, the Irish liberal politician Sir Patrick O’Brien⁹² arrives in the Principalities and remains here for three months. In the 181 pages of *Jurnalul unei șederi în Principatele Dunărene în toamna și iarna anului 1853* (*Journal of a stay in the Danube Principalities in the autumn and winter of 1853*), O’Brien attempts to describe the conditions of navigation at the Danube mouths, then under the strict control of the Russian authorities. In his journal, he described in detail towns Sulina, Brăila, Galați. About Sulina, he wrote that its population consists of “pilots, fishers, taverns, owners of small ships, several Russian soldiers and one or two Greek priests”⁹³.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*. VI, p. 62.

⁹⁰ Information about this travellers in: *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea* (*Foreign Travellers on the Romanian Countries in the 19th century*), Daniela Bușă (coordinator), Venera Achim, Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, Bogdan Popa, Nicoleta Roman, Marian Stroia, Raluca Tomi, new series, vol. V (1847-1851), Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2009, pp. 8, 17, 699. (hereinafter, *Călători străini. Serie nouă.V.*)

⁹¹ *Ibidem*. V, p. 34. Those belonging to the State were liberated in 1843 in Wallachia and in 1844 in Moldova, while those belonging to monasteries in 1844 in Moldova and in 1847 in Wallachia. In December 1855, the gypsies belonging to boyars were liberated as well, the same phenomenon taking place in 1856 in Wallachia.

⁹² Sir Patrick O’Brien (1823-1895), member of the House of Communes, was interested by the Romanian territory upon the entry of the Russian troops in the Romanian Principalities in the summer of 1853. The Irish politician describes the conditions of navigation at the Danube mouths, controlled in those days by the Tsarist authorities and presents the situation of the quarantine in Wallachia as well as road dangers. Information in: *Călători străini. Serie nouă. VI*, pp.79 and 764; Paul Cernovodeanu, *Călători străini din vremea revoluției de la 1848, războiului Crimeei și epocii Unirii* (*Foreign Travellers from the Revolution of 1848, the Crimean War and the Period preceding the Union*), in “Biblioteca Bucureștilor” (Bucharest Library), year II, nr. 12, 1999, p. 9.

⁹³ *Călători străini. Serie nouă. VI*, p. 80. Greek probably means Orthodox.

Still in 1853, the French historian, geographer and military Théophile-Sébastien Lavallée⁹⁴ successfully fulfilled his mission of drawing up a thorough report on the Danube flow, its banks, relief, and hydrographical network, on the history and local population, the possibilities of crossing the river, the situation of the Turkish and Russian troops present here. In his report, he was stating that Măcin was a town protected by a precinct and two forts with a 3,500 people garrison; Brăila only had commercial importance, being the main harbour of Wallachia; Isaccea was just a borough protected by a citadel, its garrison comprising 1,500 people; so was Tulcea⁹⁵.

Therefore, the estimations advanced by the foreign travellers who visited the Danubian town regarding the population - especially Galați and Brăila - differ a lot. Generally, the figures are exaggerated. In the fourth decade of the 19th century, the population of Galați - according to the testimonies of the foreign travellers - varied between 8,000 (in 1838, according to Edouard Antoine Thouvenel) and 20,000 inhabitants (between 1829 and 1830, according to Louis Felix de Beaujour). In the case of Brăila, the situation is more paradoxical, town population varying between 800 (in 1830, according to the French Adrien Louis Cochelet) and 60,000 inhabitants (1834, Charles de Bois-le-Comte). Things did not change much after 1841, although the number of the foreign travellers who were passing through the Danubian towns increased, as well as their possibilities of information. Between 1841 and 1853, according to their estimations, the population of Galați varied between 7,000 (in 1852, according to Jacques Boucher de Crèvecœur de Perthes) and 45,000 inhabitants (in 1842, in Carol Guébhart's opinion; respectively, in 1844, according to the French Consul Duclos). The population of Brăila was approximated between 14,000 (in 1848, according to A. Sabatier) and 30,000 inhabitants (in 1852, according to Jacques Boucher de Crèvecœur de Perthes).

The demographic exaggerations we encounter in the case of some foreign travellers can and should be attributed to the fact that their first contact with the town was the harbour, in those days this region being the most crowded and coloured (heterogeneous) part of the town. The ethnic diversity, characteristic of the harbour and of the town centre, led many of the travellers to overestimate the foreign ethnic element (Greek, Jews, Armenians) to the detriment of the natives (Romanians), the latter being encountered - due to the specificity of their occupations - mostly in slums and on the town outskirts. Of great interest to the foreigners were the gypsies, an ethnic group impressive through its exoticism. Last but not least, we should not overlook travellers' natural tendency of exaggerating its encounters.

The catagographies and the censuses represent an excellent historical source, able to correct demographic or ethnic exaggerations. The catagrophy of 1831

⁹⁴ Théophile-Sébastien Lavallée (1804-1866) historian, geographer and military statistician, possessing wide knowledge in the field of mathematics and French literature. In 1853 he was sent to investigate the theatre of war and to prepare a report regarding the situation of the Lower Danube. Information in: *Călători străini. Serie nouă.VI*, pp. 131 and 764-765.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem. VI*, pp. 133-135.

indicates a population of 8,606 for Galați⁹⁶. After one year approximately, the catagraphy of June 22, 1832, indicated a number of 2,000 families, 8,047 permanent inhabitants, plus 1,200 non-permanent inhabitants, that is, 9,247 inhabitants in all. Most of the permanent inhabitants belonged to the lower strata (7,535)⁹⁷. The census of 1833 was indicating for Galați a number of 18,000 inhabitants (3,600 families)⁹⁸. A new catagraphy, drawn up in 1845, recorded 4,695 families for the town of the south of Moldova, which represents a total of 24,000 inhabitants. Out of the 4,659 families, 1,430 were foreign vassals, that is, a third of the town population⁹⁹. Next to these declared foreigners, there were other 243 families of Jews and Armenians¹⁰⁰. Between 1840 and 1853, the growth rhythm for the town population remained constant so that in the years of the Union (1859-1860), according to official data, Galați counted 26,050 inhabitants¹⁰¹.

In the case of Brăila, the catagraphy or census carried out in June 1828, immediately after the retreat of the Ottoman administration, was indicating, as previously stated, almost 3,000 souls. It then reaches 4,045 people in 1832¹⁰², almost 10,000 in 1837 (1996 - taxpayers or householders)¹⁰³ and 15,787 people in 1859¹⁰⁴. The catagraphy of 1837 mentions: the appreciable number of Romanians from Transylvania settled in town, as well as in the villages of Brăila County; the Aromanians from Macedonia and Pind Mountains, arrived in town between 1837 and 1840; the Greeks and the Bulgarians, starting with 1828/1829; the Russians (from 1828); the Armenians (from 1831); the Albanese (from 1837); the Turks (from 1838); the Italians (from 1839). Like in Galați, a large part of the foreigners

⁹⁶ Gh. Ungureanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 145- 155.

⁹⁷ Paul Păltănea, *op. cit.*, I, p. 340.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem.* I, p. 15

⁹⁹ Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu, *Misiuni protestante britanice în Principatele române în prima jumătate a secolului XIX (British Protestant Missions in the Romanian Principalities in the first half of the 19th century)*, in the volume "În onoare Ioan Caproșu", Iași, 2002, pp. 379-380.

¹⁰⁰ Paul Păltănea, *op.cit.*, I, p.340.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem.* I, p. 55; Moise N. Pacu, *Cartea Județului Covurlui (The Book of Covurlui County)*, 1891, p. 107. Its author mentions a census of 1859, according to which Galați had 40,105 inhabitants.

¹⁰² Nicolae Mocioiu, *Brăila la 600 de ani. Orașul după 1828 (Brăila on its 600th anniversary. The Town after 1828)*, in "Înainte" (Ahead) (periodical of Brăila), of February 11, 1967, f. 2; See also Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoricul orașului Brăila din cele mai vechi timpuri până astăzi (History of Brăila from the Oldest of Times to This Day)*, Bucharest, 1968, p. 158.

¹⁰³ Ion Vărtosu, *Trei catagrafii pentru Brăila anului 1837 (Three catagraphies for the Brăila of 1837)*, in "Analele Brăilei" (Brăila Annals), XI, 2-3, 1939, p. 17-56; See also C.C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p.158. Five persons were assigned arbitrarily to each family (taxpayer), therefore 1,996 taxpayers would stand for 9,980 people.

¹⁰⁴ Nae A. Vasilescu, *Orașul și județul Brăila odinioară și astăzi. Schițe istorice și administrative (Brăila Town and County in the Past and Today. Historical and Administrative Sketches)*, Brăila, 1906, p. 12

who had settled here became foreign vassals, no less than 405 taxpayers out of a total of 1,996, that is, 20.29%. The leading position was held by the Greek vassals, followed by the English, the Austrians and the Russians¹⁰⁵.

Generally, the foreign travellers overestimated the population of the Danubian towns, without indicating, however, the sources of their information, and they were inclined to analyse the number and the contribution of foreigners in the life and economy of these towns. On the other hand, the demographic data provided by catagraphies or censuses, even if closer to the truth, must be considered critically because their main purpose was that of establishing the exact number of taxpayers, which could make some potential taxpayer try to elude this census action carried out by the local authorities. What is important is that the Danubian towns record a pronounced demographic growth between 1801 and 1835.

On the other hand, in spite of the opinions of the foreign travellers, there is no doubt that, during the concerned period, the Romanians represented the majority in Galați and Brăila, although the population in its entirety was extremely heterogeneous. Gradually, like on the entire Romanian territory, many of the foreigners who settled here were naturalised and today only some surnames still suggest a certain ethnic origin - Rusu, Bulgaru, Cazacu, Grecu etc.

Without any doubt, the Danubian towns, Galați and Brăila especially, underwent the phenomenon of modernisation in the first half of the 19th century. Firstly at a slower pace, then, faster and faster as we get closer to the middle of this century, modernisation permeating all levels - demographic, economic, social, urban, daily, etc.

To a great extent, the beginning of the modernisation process was triggered by the gradual entrance of the Danube market into the European commercial circuit, fact which led to the appearance of new modern capitalist relations. These propelled and supported the adoption of an Occidental model of urban development, even if most of the foreign travellers who crossed the maritime Danube between 1801 and 1853 saw Galați and Brăila as mostly Oriental towns.

Until 1853, when the Crimean war began, Galați and Brăila recorded a pronounced demographic growth, even if the Danubian towns underwent military occupations and wars or devastating pest and cholera epidemics. Population growth did not bring ethnic homogenisation, on the contrary, many foreigners settled here, creating significant communities of Greeks, Jews, Bulgarians, Armenians, Italians, Habsburg vassals, English, etc. The contacts between these ethnic groups influenced the daily life of these harbour towns.

¹⁰⁵ Constantin C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 164-165.

Paul PĂLTĂNEA*

V. A. URECHIA.
CONVORBIRI CU FELIBRII

-Rezumat-

Primele contacte cu lumea felibristă, ca și cele ale lui Vasile Alecsandri, au fost posibile prin existența ideii de fraternitate latină pentru care Urechia milita în Spania încă din septembrie 1858, când propunea, în presa spaniolă, organizarea unei adunări a popoarelor neo-latine. Proiect comunicat Felibrilor tocmai în iunie 1878, cu invitația de a participa la Congresul țărilor latine ce se va organiza la București în septembrie 1879. Propunerea a fost acceptată cu „bucurie”, dar „adunarea” n-a putut avea loc din cauza atitudinii incendiare din țară, provocată de condițiile impuse României la încheierea Tratatului de la Berlin. Contactele epistolare au continuat totuși prin invitațiile făcute de Urechia, care inițiază Albumul macedoromân, un protest împotriva deznaționalizării românilor din Peninsula Balcanică, la care au colaborat cu entuziasm.

Pe baza relațiilor stabilite între ei, în vara anului 1894, Urechia solicită baronului Charles de Tourtoulon, lui Frédéric Mistral, Alphonse Roque-Ferrier, Camille Laforgue și altora sprijinul la întocmirea volumului Voci latine. De la frați la frați, în apărarea personalităților transilvane care denunțaseră oprimarea populației românești.

Eforturile i-au fost răsplătite cu invitarea la „Congresul internațional al limbilor romane”, întrunit la Bordeaux, 5-10 august 1895, urmată de cea din anul următor, când ar fi trebuit să fie prezent la o „expoziție universală” în cadrul căreia vor avea loc și unele „serbări literare”, unde se va putea dezbate și revendicarea de drepturi pentru macedoromâni și transilvăneni.

Continuitatea întâlnirilor cu prietenii felibrieni i-o asigură invitația lui Angelo De Gubernatis la „Congresul Orientaliștilor”, care s-a desfășurat la Roma în perioada 1-12 octombrie 1899, bun prilej de a reveni la susținerea temei favorite: latinitatea românilor, permanență care l-a îndreptățit pe Roque-Ferrier să-l proclame „le Grand Latin de la Roumanie”.

Cuvinte cheie: V.A. Urechia, V. Alecsandri, poezii felibri, latinitate, romanitate, România, macedo-români

* History Museum of Galați.

Textele inedite franceze, transcrise de autor, au fost revăzute de Domnul Profesor Vasile Savin, Galați, căruia îi mulțumim pentru bunăvoință.

V.A. URECHIA. CONVERSATIONS WITH THE FELIBRES

-Abstract-

The first contacts of V.A. Urechia with the Felibre poets were based on the idea of Latin brotherhood, which had been defended by Urechia in Spain even since September 1858, when, in the Spanish media, he formulated the proposal to create an organization reuniting the representatives of the Neolatin peoples. Only in June 1878, he communicated this project of his to the Felibres, inviting them to participate in the "Congress of the Latin Countries", that was supposed to take place in Bucharest, in September 1879. The proposal was joyfully accepted, but the meeting was cancelled due to the tensions that followed the conclusion of the Treaty from Berlin, with its harsh conditions imposed to Romania. Nevertheless, their dialogue continued through letters. Urechia invited the Felibres to participate in a project initiated by him, The Macedo-Romanian Album, a protest against the deprivation of their national identity of the Romanians from the Balkans. They enthusiastically collaborated in this project.

On the basis of the relations established between them, in the Summer of 1894, Urechia asks support from the Baron Charles de Tourtoulon, from Frédéric Mistral, Alphonse Roque-Ferrier, Camille Laforgue and from others, for the composition of the volume Latin Voices. From Brothers to Brothers, written in the defense of those personalities from Transylvania that denounced the persecution of the Romanian population.

His efforts were awarded with an invitation to participate in the "International Congress of Roman Languages", that took place in Bordeaux, between 5 and 10 August 1895, and, in 1896, with another invitation to participate in an "universal exhibition" which would also involve some "literary festivities" where it would be possible to debate about the rights of the Macedo-Romanians and of the Romanians from Transylvania.

V. A. Urechia continues to stay in touch with his Felibre friends through the invitation addressed to him by Angelo de Gubernatis to participate in the "Congress of the Orientalists", that took place in Rome, between 1 and 12 October 1899. On that occasion, he continued his lobby for his long term favorite topic: the Latinity of the Romanians. His permanent interest for this subject made Roque-Ferrier proclaim him „le Grand Latin de la Roumanie”.

Keywords: V.A. Urechia, V. Alecsandri, Felibre poets, Latinity, Romanity, Romania, Macedo-Romanians

Epistolele felibriene pe care le vom comenta le completează pe cele adresate de unii scriitori provensali lui Vasile Alecsandri, bine cunoscute datorită

stăruitoarelor cercetări făcute de Doamna Profesor Universitar dr. Maria Platon.¹ Ele privesc, în primul rând, pe un alt animator al acestor schimburi culturale, neobosit susținător al ideii de fraternitate latină, Vasile Alexandrescu – Urechia. Primele contacte cu lumea felibristă trebuie să le fi stabilit în timpul studiilor făcute la Paris, în anii 1857 – 1858, când era convins de necesitatea realizării confreriei latine. „Românii – scria V. A. Urechia – în septembrie 1858 – au sentimentul situațiunii și al destinului rasei noastre, când ne propunem a lua noi inițiativa formațiunii unei mari adunări de reprezentanți ai popoarelor neo-latine, care să avizeze la modul de a se cunoaște ele și înfrăți mai bine”. Proiectul unei asemenea „adunări”, cu „toată seminția latină”, se va putea pregăti peste un deceniu, în octombrie 1868, când Urechia știa că „din inițiativa domnitorului României” se va face „din bronz Columna Traiană, care se va înălța pe largul dinaintea palatului Academiei”. Intenție neînfăptuită din motive nesemnificate de presă.²

Posibilitățile de cunoaștere ale lumii felibriste³ cresc, pentru V.A. Urechia, după anul 1869, când la Montpellier, din inițiativa baronului Charles de Tourtoulon, Alphonse Roque-Ferris și a altor literați, se creează „La Société des langues romanes”, care editează *Revue des langues romanes*, cercetată, desigur, de la apariție de cărturarul român, căci în 1876 publică în presa românească „toastul” rostit de Octavien Bringuier cu prilejul unui concurs de poezie provençală.⁴

Premiera lui V. Alecsandri, la Montpellier, la 19 mai 1878, a influențat, în mod precumpănitor, creșterea interesului lumii latine pentru istoria și cultura poporului român. Realitate mărturisită imediat de poetul Iacob Negruzzi: „Am

¹ Maria Platon, *Vasile Alecsandri. Poezii Felibri și „Cântecul gîntei latine”*, Iași, 1980, p. 234; Paul Păltănea, „Vasile Alecsandri. Știri noi despre relațiile cu Felibrii”, în *Manuscriptum*, XXI, 1990, 3-4, p. 61-74.

² P. Păltănea, „V.A. Urechia. Interferențe cu lumea spaniolă”, în *Românii în istoria universală*, III,1, Iași, p. 901; *Informațiunile bucureștene*, II, nr. 265, 12 septembrie 1871, p.2.

³ Felibrii au activat din 1854, pentru a reda dialectului vorbit în sudul Franței (Provence) calitatea de limbă literară și poetică.

⁴ *Revista literară și științifică*, 1, 1876, p. 81-82. Pentru „toastul” lui O. Bringuier, vezi Alphonse Roque-Ferris, *Mélanges de critique littéraire et de philologie*, Montpellier, 1892, p. 65, exemplar cu autograf: „À M/onsieur/ Alecsandrescu – Urechia, vice-président du Senat Roumain, membre correspondant du Félibrige Latin, hommage affectueux d’un confrère”, BVAU, cota III 5499. V.A. Urechia, *L’Idée latine chez les Roumains*, Alais, 1900, p. 11. La o ședință a Academiei Române, 27 aprilie 1895, Urechia a amintit, fără a oferi amănunte, de legăturile pe care le avusese, înainte de anul 1878, cu „Felibrii și Societatea limbilor romanice” (AAR.PAD, seria a II-a, tom. XVIII, 1895-1896, p. 30). Probabil ca o continuare a acestor contacte, Mihai Obedenaru îl anunță, de la Constantinopol, pe V. A. Urechia, la 24 octombrie 1879, că „Societatea noastră de la Montpellier”- Felibrii desigur – a propus crearea unui premiu de 500 de franci pentru „cel mai bun memoriu asupra unui subdialect român din Epir sau Macedonia”. (*Macedonia*, VIII, 1933, 1-3, p.35).

câștigat un nou drept la simpatiile marilor popoare de viță latină și poate că acele simpatii răsărite pe câmpul literar vor rodi și pe câmpul politic.”⁵

Urechia avea convingeri asemănătoare, pe care le și pune în practică. Spre sfârșitul lunii mai trimite la Montpellier un mesaj semnat de 22 deputați, prin care le propune Felibrilor să participe, în septembrie 1879, la un *Congres* al țărilor latine, care se va organiza la București. Răspunde, la 8 iunie 1878, baronul de Tourtoulon: „Nous vous remercions avec émotion, nous acceptons avec joie; elle portait les signatures des Messieurs de Quintana pour l’Espagne, De Andreis pour l’Italie, Mistral pour la France de Midi et la mienne. Je tiens à vous dire que votre dépêche a été reçue par les Latins réunis à Montpellier avec les sentiments de la plus vive sympathie et d’un véritable enthousiasme”.⁶ În acest context de schimburi epistolare, Quintana îi expediază lui Urechia, prin decembrie 1878, un exemplar al articolului său, *Chanson latine*, Montpellier, 1878, cu dedicația: „À mon illustre confrère et cher ami V.A. Urechia”⁷, căruia i-a alăturat un portret pentru Alecsandri, pe care trebuia să-l expedieze la Mircești.⁸ Mărturii de afecțiune, care pledează în favoarea unor mai vechi relații. V.A. Urechia nu a reușit să convoace o „Adunare generală” pentru constituirea „Comitetului Congresului latin din septembrie 1879”, din cauza atmosferei incendiare din țară, provocată de condițiile impuse României la încheierea Tratatului de pace de la Berlin, 13 iulie 1878: retrocedarea către Imperiul țarist a celor trei județe din sudul Basarabiei, cațul, Ismail, Bolgrad, și revizuirea articolului 7 din Constituție, pentru a se putea acorda cetățenia română unui număr mai mare de evrei emigrați din țările vecine, „Congresul” nu s-a mai putut organiza.

Correspondența cu baronul Tourtoulon a continuat, totuși, prin intermediul lui A. Roque-Ferrier, secretar la „Société des langues romanes”, care-i comunicase lui Urechia, înainte de 11 aprilie 1879, o invitație, la Montpellier, pentru „Serbările latine” ale acestui an. Tourtoulon a întărit poftirea, declarând, tot acum, că „Societatea” va fi fericită să-l primească pe cel ce era „le digne représentant d’une nation pour laquelle nous éprouvons les plus vives sympathies”. Urechia nu a putut cinsti onoarea ce i se făcuse. La 24 mai era prezent la ședințele Academiei Române.⁹

În programul „Serbărilor” a figurat și un „toast” dedicat „României”, rostit, la 3 septembrie, de Camille Laforgue. „Vous ne vous étonnerez donc pas si je lève mon verre en l’honneur de la Roumanie – déclare vorbitorul – les Roumains, placés aux bords du monde latin, devant les postes du monde barbare, soutinrent

⁵ V. Alecsandri, *Scrisori*, I, Ediția II, Chendi și E. Carcalechi, București, 1904, p. 108-109.

⁶ BAR, *Arhiva V.A. Urechia*, IX bis, f. 294-295; Idem, *Arhiva V. Alecsandri*, II, Imprimare I; *Presa*, nr. 124, 6,7 iunie 1878; *Apărarea națională*, nr. 333, 22 decembrie 1900; M. Platon, *Vasile Alecsandri*, p. 94; P. Păltănea, *Vasile Alecsandri. Știri noi*, p. 62-63.

⁷ Exemplar în colecțiile Bibliotecii „V.A. Urechia” (BVAU), cota III 3629.

⁸ Petre Sergescu, *Scrisori inedite ale lui V. Alecsandri și Obedenaru*, în *Închinare lui Nicolae Iorga*, Cluj, 1931, p. 384-385.

⁹ BAR, S.64 (1)/DCCLXIII; Idem, s. 40 (1)/DCCLXIV; AAR.PAD, seria a II-a, 1880, p. 10.

longtemps l'empire du Trajan les fit entrer. Ils ont défendu plus longtemps encore l'Europe avec l'épée d'Etienne le Grand et de Michel le Brave. Vous savez, mais vous ne savez pas tous, qu'en dehors des montagnes de Roumanie, de ses vallées et de ses plaines, il y a d'autres plaines et d'autres vallées qui nourrissent des hommes de même race, des hommes qui ont une langue, une religion et des habitudes semblables et qui, en dépit des maîtres de leur sol, peuvent dire comme ceux de Bucarest, de Galatz, de Mircești: Nous sommes Roumains!"¹⁰

La București, Urechia a alăturat activității academice preocupări privind reorganizarea vechiului Comitet macedoromân, fiind ales, la 23 septembrie, secretar al „Societății de Cultură Macedo-română”, acum înființată.¹¹

În această nouă calitate, difuzează în țară, la 25 decembrie, o scrisoare prin care anunță tipărirea unui *Album*¹² de protest împotriva deznaționalizării la care erau supuși românii din Peninsula Balcanică. Colaborările trebuia trimise pe adresa secretarului până la 24 ianuarie 1880.¹³ Termen prelungit, apoi, pentru a se putea obține și aportul valoros al unor personalități din lumea europeană latină, printre care se vor afla și numeroși Felibri. Unele din textele promise sosind cu întârziere, *Albumul macedoromân* a apărut cu puțin înainte de 17/29 octombrie 1880, când V.A. Urechia dăruiește un exemplar Bibliotecii Academiei Române.¹⁴ Veniturile realizate din vânzări au fost folosite la întreținerea școlilor din Macedonia.¹⁵

¹⁰ Camille Laforgue, *Brinde de pourtat a la Roumanio, lou III de septembre MDCCCLXXXIX*, Montpellier, 1881. Exemplar tipărit pentru V.A. Urechia. Vezi și Idem, *Discours tengut devant la court d'Amour de la Lauzo, lou XVI de septembre MDCCCLXXX*, Montpellier, 1881. Exemplar cu dedicație: „À Monsieur V. Alexandrescu – Urechia, Ministre de l'Instruction Publique de Roumanie. Respectueux et sympathique hommage de l'auteur”. Exemplare comunicate de colega Valentina Oneț la BVAU, cota III 8240.

¹¹ BVAU, A/CXX; A. Roque-Ferrier, *Mélanges de critique littéraire*, p. 80; *Societatea de Cultură Macedoromână*, București, 1899; Ioan C. Pappa, „Lucrări care trebuiesc ținute minte”, în *25 de ani de luptă în Chestiunea macedoneană*, Galați, 1904, p. 29-30; Petru T. Topa, „Înființarea Societății de Cultură Macedoromână”, în *Revista Macedoromână*, 1930, p. 34; Max Demeter Peyfuss, *Chestiunea aromânească*, Traducere Șerban Tanașoca, București, 1994, p.54; P. Păltănea, „V.A. Urechia omagiat de macedoneni” în *Dominus*, /Galați/, III, nr. 29 iunie, p.14; nr.30, iulie, 2002, p.14.

¹² *Album macedo-român*. Sub direcțiunea lui V.A. Urechia. Stabilimentul pentru artele grafice Socec, Sander et Teclu, 1880, 144 p., cu facsimile, portrete + 22p. cu note muzicale; BRM, IV, p. 662 nr.70053. Relațiile cu „stabilimentul” lui I. V. Socec datau de la începutul anului 1867, 17 ianuarie, când semnează un contract pentru editarea lucrării *Oratorii noștri moderni* (BAR, Arhiva V.A. Urechia, XII, Varia, II/1). La începutul anului 1880, revista *Familia* avea informația, desigur de la V.A. Urechia, că *Albumul macedo-român* va apărea prin grija Societății de Cultură Macedoromână (XVI, 1880, nr.2, 5/18 ianuarie. Vezi și scrisoarea lui V.A. Urechia adresată, înainte de 15/27 mai, lui Iosif Vulcan, redactorul *Familiei* (Ibidem, nr. 16, p. 169. Vezi și P. Păltănea, „Vasile Alexandrescu Urechia către Iosif Vulcan”, în *Dunărea de Jos*, /Galați/, martie 2007, p. 50).

¹³ BAR, Arhiva V.A. Urechia, XVI, Varia III/3.

¹⁴ AAR.PAD, tom. III, 1882, p. 84 – 85. L. Kalustian (*Facsimile*, București, 1975, p. 250, 254 - 255), necunoscând donația lui Urechia și alte informații privind tipărirea *Albumului*, a

Apelul pentru editarea *Albumului macedoromân*, semnat de V.A. Urechia, și expedit pe la jumătatea lui februarie 1880¹⁶, unor fruntași ai Felibrilor, Camille Laforgue, A. Roque-Ferrier, Mistral, avea următoarea motivație istorică: „Au delà du Danube vivent deux millions de mes frères... Épaves de l'ancien Empire romain de l'Occident, les Roumains de la Turquie d'Europe ont pu émerger du sein des flots noire de l'inondation des barbares, grâce à leur vitalité. Au milieu de tant de peuple différents de race, ils ont lutté pendant cinq siècles pour la conservation de leur langue et de leurs moeurs nationales ... Ils sont engagés à cette heure, dans une lutte dont l'issue leur sera fatale, si nous ne leur apportons un prompt secours, ils devront oublier leur langue, ils devront cesser d'appartenir à la race latine”.¹⁷

afirmat că acesta a apărut „probabil” în primăvara anului 1881. La 27 aprilie / 9 mai 1880 V.A. Urechia era „de câteva zile” la Viena, ca să urmărească tipărirea ilustrațiilor. S-a reîntors la București la 1/13 mai (*Familia*, XVI, nr. 32, p. 206; nr. 33, p. 211). La 25 iulie/5 august *Albumul* se tipărise până la litera H și se spera că „la începutul lui septembrie îl vom vedea în vitrinele librăriilor” (Ibidem, nr. 35, p. 361).

¹⁵ Ioan C. Pappa, „Lucruri care trebuiesc ținute minte”, p. 33.

¹⁶ Apelul fusese, sigur, transmis odată cu o scrisoare către Al. Odobescu, atunci prim secretar al Legației române de la Paris, care-i precizează, la 2/14 februarie 1880, în legătură cu viitorul proiect, următoarele: „La *Albumul macedoromân* mă gândesc, și cu toate că mintea-mi/ stearpă nu mi-a deschis, până acum, niciun orizont, mă voi sili să împlu câteva pagini cu searbăda-mi proză. Totodată voi cerca să capăt ceva de la Picot și François Lenormant” (Al. Odobescu, *Opere*, IX. Text stabilit de Filofteia Mihai, Rodica Bichis, Nadia Lovinescu, București, 1983, p. 21). L. Kalustian a susținut, fără a dovedi prin documente, că Trandafir Djuvara (numit în aprilie 1879, la Agenția diplomatică a României de la Paris, *Mes missions diplomatiques, 1887-1925*, Paris, 1930, p. 71) a propus „alcătuirea unui *Album macedoromân* cerându-i, apoi, lui V.A. Urechia „să acorde girul și asistența lui acestei întreprinderi” (*Facsimile*, p. 243-244). Djuvara a trimis, înainte de 20 februarie 1880, un „apel” al cărui conținut nu-l cunoaștem, unor personalități franceze, solicitându-le colaborarea „în favoarea compatrioților noștri macedoromâni”. Ludovic Drapeyron, directorul publicației *Revue de Géographie*, declară despre „apel”: „Simpatizez din toată inima cu opera patriotică și civilizatoare pe care o urmărește Societatea de Cultură Macedoromână” (*Facsimile*, p. 250; Ioan C. Pappa, „Lucruri ce nu trebuiesc uitate”, p. 22). Textele primite le-a pus la dispoziția lui V.A. Urechia, care le-a pus la dispoziția lui V. A. Urechia, care le-a publicat în *Album* (vezi, de pildă, scrisoarea lui H. Martin, *Album*, p. 73). A fost, deci, un colaborator al acestuia (P. Păltănea, *Paris 1882. Premiul internațional „V.A. Urechia”*, în MI, XXX, nr. 445, ianuarie 1996, p.61; Anișoara Popa, *V.A. Urechia istoric*, I, Galați, 2001, p. 198), ca și Al. Odobescu, Mihai Obedenaru, B.P. Hașdeu, prin bunăvoința căruia a primit manuscrisul lui Friedric Max Müller (*B.P. Hașdeu și contemporanii săi români și străini*, Ediție de Al. Săndulescu, București, 1982, p.392). Frédéric Damé, profesor la Colegiul „Sf. Sava”. Mai amintim pe A. Roque-Ferrier, care a avut un rol important în difuzarea „apelului” lui V.A. Urechia, nu semnalează și sprijinul lui T. Djuvara la împlinirea *Albumului Macedoromân* (*Mélanges de critique littéraire*, p. 180-184).

¹⁷ *L'Iou de Pascas, Armanac Roman*, Montpellier, 1883, p. XXIV-XXV; A. Roque-Ferrier, *Mélanges*, p. 181-182. Maria Platon a menționat „apelul” (*op. cit.*, p.118-119) care-i fusese adresat lui Mistral de către Urechia. Textul publicat în *L'Iou de Pascas* i-a fost înaintat lui Camille Laforgue, „grand maître de la Maintenance”. V.A. Urechia a mai expedit „apelul”

Răspunsurile Felibrilor îi sosesc după 3 martie 1880, când Paul Barbe îi scrie că „apelul”, difuzat la Montpellier de M. Obedenaru, atunci secretarul Agenției diplomatice de la Roma, ajungând, „din întâmplare” și la Toulouse, îi oferă versurile „Ode aux Valaques”¹⁸, prin care dorea să-și mărturisească „des sentiments d’amour et d’estime que je professe pour votre nation, soeur ainée ou cadette de la mienne”. Corespondența a continuat, Urechia dăruindu-i câteva lucrări pentru a se perfecționa, notează Barbe la 28 aprilie, „dans l’étude de votre harmonieuse langue que je comprends à merveille, mais dans laquelle je n’ose encore écrire”.¹⁹

Strădania lui Obedenaru îi va fi de folos și lui Albert Arnavielle, care-i expediază lui Urechia, la 14 martie, „ma petite obole poétique ... Je serais très fier si mes faibles vers languedociens, faible expression de mes sentiments pour votre patrie roumaine et pour l’oeuvre de vos écoles, étaient accueillis par vous, ô frères par la race et la langue, avec faveur et sympathie”.²⁰ A Roque-Ferrier i-a înaintat și el, la 19 martie, un prim „pachet” de colaborări, care va fi urmat de un al doilea, pe care-l trimite tocmai la 12 mai.²¹ Stăruințele lui Obedenaru i-au fost și lui de mult folos. Profită de acest prilej pentru a evidenția rostul politic și cultural al românilor în zona balcanică: „Vous êtes les *sidera lucida* de l’Orient et en même les

și altor personalități felibriste, căci A. Roque-Ferrier confirmă, în răspunsul trimis la București, la 12 mai 1880, că a primit „la belle et émouvante circulaire française que vous m’avez fait l’honneur de m’adresser. J’ai envoyé à M/onsieur/ Mistral celle qui était destiné (BVAU, IV/59; AMR, p. 119). Aprecierea lui A. Roque-Ferrier nu a fost singulară. Filologul francez Emile Egger, luând cunoștință de „apel” la 18 martie 1880, l-a considerat, într-o scrisoare către Al. Odobescu, „une belle circulaire ... qui me dénonce la misère de deux millions de Roumains, menacés de perdre leur nationalité (Al. Odobescu, *Opere*, IX, p. 489. Vezi și Maria Parita, „Albumul macedoromân – un act cultural și național”, în *Comunicări și referate de bibliografie*, Constanța, 1992, p. 214-219). Originile „apelului” se pot regăsi în propunerea pe care V.A. Urechia o făcuse, la începutul anului 1870, guvernului ca să mărească subvențiile acordate școlilor românești din Peninsula Balcanică, „din nevoia deșteptării tuturor elementelor românești” (*Informațiunile bucureștene*, I, nr. 64, 18 februarie 1870). Max Demeter Peyfuss nu cunoaște demersurile lui Urechia. Citează însă un ajutor oferit, în 1866, lui Apostol Mărgărit, de către C.A. Rosetti, ministrul Instrucțiunii Publice, care cuprindea și un abonament la *Buletinul Instrucțiunii Publice* editat de V.A. Urechia (*Chestiunea aromânească*, p. 42).

¹⁸ Vezi AMR, p. 16-17.

¹⁹ BAR, S. 20/DCCLXI; BVAU, Ms. II/472. Paul Barbe și-a însoțit prima scrisoare cu două din lucrările sale, publicate anterior, păstrate la Biblioteca „V.A. Urechia”: *Ensay en formo de dialogo sul las lengos en general et lours principales attribucius*, Toulouse, 1873, 130 p., cota III 8177 și I 10622; *Picambri. Poème toulousain en quatre chants*, Paris, Toulouse, Avignon, 1875, 75 p., cota III 164.

²⁰ BVAU, Ms. IV/33; P. Păltănea, „Scrisori felibriste în colecțiile Bibliotecii „V.A. Urechia””, în *100 de ani de la înființarea Bibliotecii „V.A. Urechia”*, Galați, 1991, p. 207. A Roque-Ferrier va mai avea ocazia, după aproape un deceniu de la moartea lui M. Obedenaru (Atena, 1885) să noteze că amintirea acestuia „restera longtemps chère aux félibres et aux romanistes de Languedoc” (*Mélanges*, p. XVII).

²¹ BVAU, Ms. IV/59.

travailleurs d'avant-garde de la pensée la plus grande qui, à mon sens, du moins, ait encore traversé notre âge: la confédération des populations latines dans le respect religieux de leurs individualités natives de leurs droits intérieurs."²²

Felibrii, interesați de neconținutele insistențe ale lui Urechia, l-au declarat, probabil, la începutul lui martie, membru al „Societății de limbi romane”.²³ Sentimente de admirație pentru „opera patriotică” înfăptuită de Urechia, îi împărtășește, la 28 martie, și Albert de Quintana: „Je vous suis très reconnaissant d'avoir pensé à moi, quand, au fond de l'Orient, vous envoyez une voix connue aux frères de l'Occident”. Cuvintele scrise pentru *Album* sunt un înflăcărat îndemn la rezistență: „Frați din Orient! Luptați cu perseverență, apărați, pas cu pas, pământul sfântul, căci pământul patriei este sacru”.²⁴

Eforturile pe care le-a făcut Urechia, susținute cu aceeași însuflețire și de Obedenaru, în lunile februarie, martie și aprilie, pentru a aduce un număr cât mai mare de colaboratori sunt relevante, la 6/18 mai 1880, de Al. Odobescu: „M'am umplut de o nemăsurată mirare pentru activitatea cu totul neobicinuită la noi și pentru multa lăudabilă inițiativă a celui ce-a putut, în câteva săptămâni, să adune un material așa de abundent, așa de variat și de complet în specia sa, ca acela care va compune *Albumul macedoromân*.”²⁵ Aprecieri care-l încurajează atât în căutarea unor noi aderenți la „apelul” făcut lumii latine, cât și în statornicirea unor mai vechi amiciții. Roque-Ferrier îi recomandă, în amintita scrisoare din 12 mai, să-i parvină „apelul” și lui Camille Laforgue, „grand-maître de la Maintenance du Languedoc”, pentru că va putea fi citit, la Montpellier, cu ocazia reuniunii Felibrilor din Languedoc, care va avea loc la 30 mai. Erau speranțe să se poată realiza un „memoriu în favoarea școlilor din Macedonia”, care ar fi putut avea importante ecouri²⁶, dintre care cunoaștem prețuirea lui Laforgue pentru râvna cu care Urechia persevera în câștigarea bătăliei începute. Dovadă dedicația notată, la 26 septembrie 1880, pe extrasul unei publicații: „À Monsieur V. A. Urechia, Ministre de L'Instruction Publique de Royaume de Roumanie. Respectueux et sympathique hommage de l'auteur”.²⁷

Schimbul epistolar cu felibrul Léon de Berluc-Perussis, „majoral du Félibrige”, președintele Academiei din Aix-en-Provence, începe la sugestia lui Roque-Ferrier, care-l încredințează, la 12 mai, că este „de plus, entièrement acquis, aux idées de l'Union latine que nous chercherons à généraliser”. Berluc-Perussis află și el amănunte despre silințele lui Urechia „pour la reconstitution intégrale de

²² *Ibidem*, Ms. IV/58.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ BAR, S. 50/DCCLXII, AMR, p. 119, text în limba spaniolă.

²⁵ Al. Odobescu, *Opere*, IX, p. 51.

²⁶ BVAU, Ms. III/359.

²⁷ Exemplar la BVAU, cota III 8240. Cu Laforgue va ajunge la relații foarte apropiate și permanente, căci în 1901, când acesta își căsătorește fata, îi trimite de la Sinaia o telegramă de felicitare (*Lou Libre nouvel*, Montpellier, 1901, p. XVII. Exemplar cu dedicație, BVAU, cota V 2074. Pentru „dedicații” ale lui Laforgue către V. Alecsandri, vezi Liviu Papuc, *Marginalii junimiste*, Iași, 2003, p. 177-180.

la nationalité Roumaine”, pe care i le laudă în scrisoarea expediată la 10 iunie împreună cu sonetul *A-n-uno jouvo Esculano d'en Macedoni*, semnat cu pseudonimul A. de Gagnaud²⁸, scris în dialect provensal înainte de a fi primit „apelul”. Se oferă, totodată, să transmită invitația lui Urechia „aux quelques notabilités littéraires qui m'honorent de leur amitié”. Își încheie misiva cu rugămintea de a-i transmite o „cuiiincioasă amintire” lui Alecsandri²⁹, pe care-l cunoscuse cu ocazia premierii din 1879. Primind scrisoarea lui Urechia, Alecsandri îi include, în răspunsul lui de la 18 ianuarie 1881, și un fragment dintr-o scrisoare primită de la prietenul provensal: „Les journaux nous apprennent l'apparition de l'*Album macédo-roumain*, qui sera un testament de l'Alliance des sept littératures latines. Un libraire d'Aix qui voudrait faire de son mieux un peu de propagande en faveur de ce livre et de l'idée qu'il représente, me demande le nom de l'éditeur de cet album et le coût du volume franco par la poste”.³⁰

Nu știm în ce chip a fost îndeplinită comunicarea lui Berluca-Perussis, care va căpăta, probabil pe la mijlocul lui februarie, un exemplar al *Albumului*. Însuflețirea câștigată în timpul lecturii o regăsim în scrisoarea pe care i-o adresează, la 2 martie 1881, lui Urechia: „Ce merveilleux recueil dépasse de beaucoup les promesses que vous nous avez faites. C'est un vrai et durable monument que vous venez d'élever, honoré Monsieur, à la gloire de votre noble pays ... Jamais la fraternité latine ne s'était affirmée d'une façon si unanime et si mémorable. Toutes les langues filles de Rome ont apporté leur éloquent salut à votre nation rejeunie ... Un tel élan de l'opinion dans l'Europe occidentale sera, a coup sûr, d'un grand effet moral pour l'achèvement de votre reconstitution nationale.” Multele calități ale *Albumului* îi dau lui L. Berluca-Perussis garanția că este „une oeuvre qui restera comme le témoignage de votre génie créateur, organisateur et persévérant. Je souhaite que le succès de ce livre vous permette d'ouvrir de nombreuses écoles et de nourrir ainsi l'esprit de race chez les jeunes générations qui achèveront un jour l'entreprise nationale que vous avez si bien commencée.”³¹ Cuvintele de admirație ce i-au fost comunicate s-au completat cu acordarea la 22 mai 1881 a titlului de *Soci* – membru – al Societății Felibrilor, alături de V. Alecsandri, M. Obedenaru și Al. Catargi. Vestea i-a fost transmisă, la 6/18 septembrie 1881 de către A. Lieautaud, secretarul organizației din Marsilia.³²

L. de Berluca-Perussis și-a continuat corespondența cu V.A. Urechia, trimițându-i, în același an, la 23 decembrie, câteva publicații provensale, printre

²⁸ AMR, p. 47-48, cu versiunea franceză: *À une jeune écolière latine de la Macédonie*, semnată L. Berluca-Perussis.

²⁹ BVAU, Ms. II/466.

³⁰ V. Alecsandri, *Correspondență*, Ediție Marta Anineanu, /București/, 1961, p. 242; Idem, *Opere*, X, p. 664-665. Maria Platon, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Vezi și P. Păltănea, *Vasile Alecsandri. Știri*, p. 64.

³¹ BAR, S. 30 (1)/DCCLXI.

³² BAR, *Arhiva V.A. Urechia*, IX bis, f. 340-340v. A. de Gagnaud, *Alecsandri*, GAP, 1882, p. 14; *Scrisori către Vasile Alecsandri*. Ediție Marta Anineanu, București, 1978, p. 267-269; P. Păltănea, *Vasile Alecsandri. Știri*, p. 64.

care și o dare de seamă asupra unei reuniuni care avusese loc la Marsilia în ziua încoronării, la București, a lui Carol I ca rege al României, 14 martie 1881. Coincidență care-l îndeamnă pe poetul provensal să creadă că „l'extension et l'union de toutes les branches du tronc latin s'affirmer en même temps au rives de la Méditerranée et vers la Mer Noire. Pour moi, voyant cela, le Danube me semble être un autre Rhône et les Balkans me deviennent chers comme les Alpes”. La o altă adunare, din aceeași vreme, cu studenții Facultății de Drept din Aix en Provence îi mai mărturisește că „votre nom et celui d'Aleksandri y ont été prononcé bien des fois avec une respectueuse admiration”.³³

V. Aleksandri i-a creat lui V.A. Urechia și posibilitatea de a intra în legătură cu William Bonaparte-Wyse, un „felibrist irlandez”. În amintita scrisoare din 18 ianuarie 1881 poetul îl roagă să-i trimită felibristului cărțile și dicționarele de care are nevoie, că să învețe limba română. Mulțumirile adresate lui Urechia pentru „plăcuta scrisoare” și cele trei cărți dăruite³⁴, vor urma la scurtă vreme.³⁵

Cu ocazia unei călătorii pe care o face la Paris, în ultimele luni ale anului 1881 sau începutul celui următor, amintită de baronul Tourtoulon, la 26 aprilie 1882, Urechia l-a întâlnit pe acesta, dar și pe Albert de Quintana.³⁶ Motivul scrisorii din 26 aprilie a fost proiectul unei reviste dedicată confreriei latine³⁷,

³³ BAR, S. 30 (2)/DCCLAXI.

³⁴ Idem, S. 49 (4)/LVIII, V. Aleksandri către V.A. Urechia. Urechia a expediat lucrările: Felix Durot, *Grammaire du Roumain Moderne*, Bucurest, 1877; G.M. Antonescu, *Dictionariulu Român-Francesu și Francesu-Român*, 1874 și *Albumul Macedoromân* (G.F. Tepelea și Ion Climer, „Aleksandri și Felibri”, în *Limbă și literatură*, X, 1965, p.33-34).

³⁵ Pentru răspunsul lui Bonaparte-Wyse, vezi BAR, S. 41/DCLXI; G.F. Tepelea și Ion Climer, *op. cit.*, p. 33-34. Pagini ale lui Bonaparte-Wyse, scrise în dialectul provensal, i-au fost trimise lui Urechia, 23 ianuarie 1883, prin intermediul lui A. Roque-Ferrier (BAR, S. 64 (2)/DCCLIII). Vezi și Paul Mariéton, *Un félibre irlandais W.C. Bonaparte-Wyse*, Lyon, /1882/. Exemplarul oferit lui V.A. Urechia are dedicația: „À V.A. Urechia hommage sympathique. L'historien du félibrige Paul Mariéton” (BVAU, IV 803).

³⁶ BAR, S. 40 (2)/DCCLXIV, fără dată. Pentru scrisoarea din 23 aprilie 1882, Ibidem, S. 40 (3)/DCCLXIV.

³⁷ *Revue de Monde Latin* a apărut la 25 septembrie 1883. Pe coperta primului număr, titlul este în limba română: *Revista lumei latine*. Tot aici și precizarea: Birourile *Revistei lumei latine*, București, Socec et. comp., Calea Victoriei, 171. În anii următori, titlul în limba franceză. Pentru a obține colaborări românești, Tourtoulon a pregătit și o „circulară”. La 5 octombrie 1882 i s-a adresat și lui Bogdan P. Hasdeu (*B.P. Hasdeu și contemporanii săi*, II, p. 283). Unele din greutățile întâmpinate de Tourtoulon în această perioadă sunt comentate de V. Aleksandri și Al. Odobescu, membri ai comitetului de redacție, într-o scrisoare expediată, din Paris, lui Titu Maiorescu la 20 martie/4 aprilie 1883 (I.E. Torouțiu, *Studii și documente literare*, V, București, 1934, p. 46).

Primul volum începe cu o colaborare românească: Carmen Sylva (Regina Elisabeta n.n.), *Furnica*, text în limba franceză (nu se indică numele traducătorului) cu precizarea: „un des contes publiés récemment par Carmen Sylva ... à la fois en allemand et en roumain”. Vezi *Pelesch-Märcheb*, Leipzig, 1882 (BRM, I, nr. 10360) și *Povestirile Peșului*, București, 1882 (Ibidem, nr. 10387, G. Bengescu, *Carmen Sylva. Bibliographie et extraits de ses oeuvres*, Bruxelles, 1904, p. 173, a afirmat că relațiile scriitoarei cu

dezbătut și cu Alecsandri prin corespondență.³⁸ Nădăjduia să se bucure de sfaturile și colaborarea lui Urechia la revistă³⁹, care va întârzia, cu toate promisiunile pe care i le făcuse.⁴⁰ Dorind, totuși, ca „un nume atât de autorizat” să nu lipsească din sumarul revistei „qui a pris sa place parmi les premières de France et a su acquérir une influence sérieuse dans le monde diplomatique”, Tourtoulon îi solicită, la 3 noiembrie 1884, să-i expedieze un text inedit scris românește.⁴¹ Din pricini pe care nu le cunoaștem, fragmente din proza lui V.A. Urechia vor apărea în revistă doar peste câteva luni, în vara anului următor.

Presupunem, neavând informații, să sprijinul cerut lui V.A. Urechia pentru realizarea viitoarei reviste a „lumii latine” i-a fost oferit cu siguranță, pe dată, întrucât Tourtoulon pregătea și o ediție în limba română al cărui „program” urma să fie tipărit la București de editorul Ioan V. Socec. Nu știm dacă V.A. Urechia s-a preocupat de difuzarea lui în măsura eforturilor depuse de Alecsandri.⁴² Neîntrunindu-se un număr suficient de abonați pentru ediția în limba română, aceasta a fost suprimată înainte de de 3 noiembrie 1884, când Tourtoulon îl asigură pe Urechia că ar putea relua tipărirea ediției române numai dacă se asigură plasarea întregului tiraj.⁴³

Felibrii datau de la 11 aprilie 1883). Parte din programul revistei se regăsește și într-un text în limba română, nesemnat, intitulat *Politică și diplomație* (p. 129) în care se analizează situația politică a tuturor țărilor latine.

³⁸ BAR, S. 40 (3)/DCCLIX. La 19 iulie 1882, Alecsandri îi cere fratelui Iancu, stabilit la Paris, să-l țină la curent cu pregătirea statutului revistei inițiat de Tourtoulon (BAR, S. 18 (24)/LXVII).

³⁹ BAR, s. 40 (3)/DCCLXIV.

⁴⁰ Idem, s. 40 (4)/DCCLXIV.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² Ion Ghica a fost, se pare, printre primii căruia Alecsandri îi solicită să sprijine noua revistă felibristă. La 20 august 1882 își îndeamnă prietenul, aflat la Londra, să-l întâlnească pe Tourtoulon, ca să-i comunice opiniile sale cu privire la proiectul baronului. Viitoarea lui colaborare ar fi de mare importanță (BAR, ms. rom., 804, f.39v). Ghica n-a avut, probabil, răgaz să dea urmare sfatului venit de la București, căci de-abia la 19 aprilie îi scrie la Paris lui Iancu Alecsandri, cerându-i amănunte (Idem, ms. rom. 5741, f. 283-285; Perpessicius, *Ion Alecsandri*, în RFR, X, 1943, 2, p. 413-414). Pentru a înmulți numărul abonaților, V. Alecsandri apelează și la sprijinul prietenului Lascăr Rosetti, rugându-l, la 6 decembrie 1882, să înființeze, în „districtul Huși”, un comitet pentru a aduna abonamente (Idem, S.39 (7,8)/LVIII). „Programul” revistei a fost trimis și lui Iacob Negruzzi la 6 martie 1883 (Idem, ms. rom., 808, f.239; V. Alecsandri, *Scrisori*, I, p.133-134). Către toamnă, îl roagă să adune banii abonamentelor făcute și să-i expedieze „cât mai curând” baronului (BAR, ms. rom., 808, f. 252; V. Alecsandri, *Scrisori*, I, p.137). Prietenului de la Tecuci, Al. Papadopol-Calimach i-a pregătit, tot la 6 martie, un „pachet cu programe” ca să le difuzeze pe la gazetele din Bârlad și Galați, rugându-l, totodată, ca să stăruie pentru realizarea unor abonamente (BAR, ms. rom., 814, f.30; V. Alecsandri, *Scrisori*, I, p.166). Aceeași rugămintă i-o va face și lui Ion Ghica la 30 ianuarie 1884 (V. Alecsandri, *Scrisori. Însemnări*, Ediție Marta Anineanu, București, 1964, p.67). Eforturi elogiante peste ani, în 1896, de Albert Quintana (*Revue du Monde Latin*, XV, 1896, p.4-5).

⁴³ BAR, S.40 (4)/DCCLIV.

În entuziasmul manifestat la sosirea lui Alecsandri la Montpellier, 7 mai 1882, Urechia nu este uitat. La banchetul dat în onoarea bardului de la Mircești, a fost rostit, în aceeași zi, un toast și pentru inițiatorul *Albumului macedoromân*. Peste o săptămână, la Forcalquier, A. Roque-Ferrier elogiază și efortul făcut de Urechia pentru organizarea „confederației literare a celor două popoare”⁴⁴, care s-a realizat și prin intermediul „acelui elegant *Album*”, considerat de Frédéric Donnadiu drept un „monument” al acestei solidarități și un „exemplu de fraternitate a popoarelor” prin „les sentiments d’amitié qui n’ont jamais cessé d’exister entre les latins d’Orient et notre France, toujours sympathique aux vaincus des grandes causes”⁴⁵. Convingeri identice exprimă și L. de Berluc-Perussis într-o nouă scrisoare din 15 septembrie 1882, mulțumindu-i lui Urechia pentru un „frumos volum”, trimis cu ceva vreme mai înainte⁴⁶, care i-a creat „une juste et grande idée du mouvement intellectuel de votre noble patrie”. Identificându-i contribuția la această mișcare, mai adaugă: „J’ai salué, au fond de l’âme, vos généreux efforts pour développer dans le jeune royaume roumaine la connaissance des origines nationales et d’amour de la commune patrie latine”. Militantismul constant al personalităților latine pentru cuprinderea românilor în spațiul romanității trebuia răsplătit cu decorații. Alecsandri și Urechia au obținut, pe la sfârșitul lui septembrie 1882, după demersuri începute la sfârșitul anului 1880, de la regele Carol I, decorația „Bene merenti” pentru câțiva vestiți filo-români: Angelo De Gubernatis, Emile Picot, Abdolonyme Ubicini și alții.⁴⁷

Convingerile lui L. Berluc-Perussis despre nestinsa conștiință latină a românilor, existentă, firește, și la alți scriitori provensali, a rodit în mentalitatea felibristă, căci peste un deceniu, în 1892, este inclus în programul „premiilor florale” de la Montpellier și un „Catalog geografic” al localităților din Turcia Europeană, ca și din Grecia, aparținând, în întregime sau în parte, limbii române, macedoromână sau dialectelor lor.⁴⁸

Permanența legăturilor lui Urechia cu unele personalități felibriste este dovedită de prezența, în biblioteca personală a unor lucrări ale acestora, gesturi de omagiere care-i fuseseră închinare și în anii anteriori. L. Berluc-Perussis i-a trimis, probabil, în 1886, *Salut à l’Occitanie imité de Florian Pin*, un exemplar bibliofil, numerotat 99, „en témoignage de gratitude pour sa précieuse collaboration”. A.

⁴⁴ *L’Iou de Pascas*, 1883, p.42.116. Telegrama trimisă, cu această ocazie, este semnată de C. Laforque, W.C. Bonaparte-Wise, G. Azales, L. Roumieux, Fr. Donnadiu, A. Boucherie și A. Roque-Ferrier (BAR, *Arhiva V.A. Urechia*, IX bis, f. 218).

⁴⁵ Frédéric Donnadiu, *Le Félibrige et l’idée latine à Marseille*, Montpellier, 1883, p. 21-22.

⁴⁶ Nu am putut identifica volumul expedit. În anul 1882, V.A. Urechia a tipărit *Opere complete. Discursuri academice*, Ediția a III-a.

⁴⁷ BAR, 30 (3)/DCCLXX; Gh. Adamescu, *Șapte scrisori ale lui V. Alecsandri către d’octorul/ M. Obedenaru*, CL, 56, 1924, mai, p. 345; Marta Anineanu, *Catalogul corespondenței lui Vasile Alecsandri*, 1957, p. 193, nr. 777; *Secolul XX*, III, nr. 745, 10 noiembrie 1901, p. 1, M. Platon, *op. cit.*, p.148.

⁴⁸ *Le Félibrige latin*, III, 1892, p. 158.

Roque-Ferrier îi oferă, în anul următor, *Trois études bibliographiques* cu dedicația: „À Monsieur le sénateur V. Alecsandrescu-Urechia, hommage affectueux de l'auteur”.⁴⁹ Mărturisirea acestei prețurii este relevantă, la 20 decembrie 1890, cu prilejul sărbătorilor de la Montpellier. Acum, A. Roque-Ferrier citește, în versiune franceză, câteva povești din *Legendele române*, publicate de Urechia. Acesta va expedia, în replică, „fraților din Languedoc” o scrisoare în care va elogia contribuția la *Albumul macedo-român* prin care s-au stabilit legături între „jocurile literare din sudul Franței și Orientul român”. Pentru a mijloci pătrunderea mai activă în lumea românească a programului politic al *Albumului macedoromân: romanitatea românilor*, V.A Urechia propune, în Camera Deputaților, un proiect de lege bazat pe o mai veche idee a lui Al. Odobescu, pentru aducerea în țară a unui mularaj a Columnei lui Traian, care urma să fie așezat în „Grădina Episcopiei, în fața Ateneului român”. Proiect nerealizat.⁵⁰

Stăruința lui A. Roque-Ferrier de a-l revedea pe Urechia la Montpellier este dovedită de invitația pe care i-o expediază pentru „Jocurile florale” care aveau să înceapă la 20 decembrie 1891. A trecut, mai întâi, la 30 octombrie 1891, pe la Florența. La Montpellier a fost însoțit de învățătorul macedonean Tașcu Iliescu.⁵¹ Relațiile epistolare au continuat și în anul următor, când Urechia primește volumul lui A. Roque-Ferrier, *Mélanges de critique littéraire et de philologie*.⁵² O nouă invitație pentru „Jocurile florale” de la Avignon i-a expediat-o Felix Gras, la 7 mai 1892. A urmat, la 21 aprilie 1893, cea pentru serbările din „vechiul și gloriosul oraș Carcassone”⁵³, la sud-est de Montpellier. Nu știm dacă a dat curs acestor chemări simultane unei scrisori către A. Roque-Ferrier, de la care va primi un întârziat răspuns, din pricini de boală, pregătit la 9 iunie, în care-i reamintește, de la început, după o rememorare a lui Obedenaru și Alecsandri, că este „le constant instigateur des liens littéraires de la France Méridionale et de la Roumanie”. În această reală calitate trebuia să știe că apăruse, probabil la Montpellier, o „cărțulie anonimă”, *Catehisme d'un bon félibre*, în care se pretinde „que la Roumanie et les autres pays de langue romane dissiminés à travers de l'Europe orientale devient se résigner à disparaître les jours devant les Slaves, les Austro-Germains et les Turcs”. Pentru a

⁴⁹ Exemplare la BVAU, cotele IV 803, III 4126.

⁵⁰ *Familia*, XXIII, 1891, nr. 51, 22 decembrie/3 ianuarie, p. 613; *Le félibrige latin*, I, 1890, p. 139. Virgil Z. Teodorescu, *Contribuția lui V.A. Urechia la ridicarea unor monumente de for public*, în *Buletinul Funației Urechia*, Galați, IV, 1996, nr.6, p.35.

⁵¹ BAR, Arhiva V.A. Urechia, XII, Varia 3/5; BVAU, A/CXIII, f.47-48. *Le Félibrige latin*, II, 1891, p.20; Ibidem, IV, 1894, p. 93; Maria Platon, *op.cit.*, p. 69. Vezi și scrisoarea lui M. Obedenaru către V.A. Urechia expediată din Constantinopol la 13/25 februarie 1880 (*Macedonia*, VII, 1933, 6-7, p.7-8; A. Roque-Ferrier, *La poésie populaire de l'Escriveta en provençal et en macédonroumain*, Montpellier, 1893.

⁵² Vezi nota 4.

⁵³ BVAU, A/CXIX, f. 92-95, 103; *Le Félibrige latin*, IV, 1893, p. 208-209. Cu ocazia invitației din mai 1892, probabil, revista *Le Félibrige latin* i-a oferit reginei Carmen Sylva, dar și lui Alecsandri, Urechia și Obedenaru, portrete realizate de Nahor Ginonviev, „un des peintres les plus jeunes ... et les mieux doués de la ville de Montpellier” (Ibidem, III, 1892, p. 195).

se evita răul ce l-ar putea face acea publicație, îi propune să-i publice scrisoarea în principalele jurnale românești. Încheie cu o știre îmbucurătoare: vechiul proiect din 1879, de a se realiza un curs de limba română și macedoromână la Facultatea de Litere din Montpellier, este pe cale să se înfăptuiască.⁵⁴

Protestul împotriva aberațiilor din *Catehisme d'un bon félibre* făcea parte din schimburile de opinie cu susținătorii unității latine în folosul unei bune cunoașteri a problemelor majore ale luptei de eliberare națională accentuată în ultimele decenii ale secolului. Să ne reamintim că în această perioadă existau păreri, ca cea a lui Ioan Rațiu, mărturisită, la 3 aprilie 1891, lui Vicențiu Babeș, că este „timpul suprem și oportun pentru a publica acel memorial – aluzie la textul redactat de Iuliu Coroianu – ca publicul străin să vadă și să audă chiar de la noi plângerile noastre”.⁵⁵ Punct de vedere admis de Urechia și pentru realizarea căruia va desfășura o amplă acțiune, după ce va fi ales președintele *Ligii pentru unitatea culturală a tuturor românilor*, 16-18 mai 1893. Întemnițarea preotului Vasile Lucaciu, la 27 ianuarie 1893, pentru o presupusă calomniere a guvernului maghiar, produce solidarizarea opiniei publice românești cu „scrisoarea” adresată de Urechia membrilor Ligii chemați „la o propagandă cât mai activă” pentru a protesta față de „regimul de tortură la care este supus Lucaci” și împotriva aceluia proces monstruos intentat reprezentanților culturii românești de peste munți”. Numai așa se va dovedi „că avem în spatele nostru un neam întreg, animat de dorința de a se jertfi fără preget și fără ocol”, pentru întărirea și răspândirea „ideii unității naționale a românilor”.⁵⁶

Pentru o mai mare eficiență a acestui protest, Urechia se adresează, înainte de 23 iunie 1893, printr-un nou apel, întregii lumi latine, îndemnând-o să se alăture „marilor apostoli ai națiunii române”, frunțașii mișcării memorandiste, arestați de guvernul maghiar. „Tout récemment – precizează V.A. Urechia – des centaines de Roumains ont été déferé à justice, c'est-à-dire destinés à être incarcérés, condamnés à la mort sous l'inculpation de haute trahison, pour avoir osé présenter, l'année dernière, une pétition à L'empereur à Vienne demandant humblement justice égale pour les Roumains comme pour les autres nationalités de l'empire. Au nom de l'humanité, au nom de ce sang généreux et noble qui circule dans vos

⁵⁴ BAR, S.64 (3)/DCLXII. Amănunte despre protestul „tinerimii” din țară împotriva *Catehismului* în *Félibrige latin*, III, 1893, p. 208; M. Platon, *op. cit.*, p. 164-165.

⁵⁵ Șerban Polverejan, Nicolae Cordoș, *Mișcarea memorandistă în documente, 1845-1897*, Cluj, 1973, p.45.

⁵⁶ BVAU, A/10 (10), f.20-20v. La „Banchetul românismului” oferit lui Vasile Lucaciu, la sosirea în București, iulie 1892, a tostat și V.A. Urechia (Vasile Netea, *Istoria Memorandumului*, București, 1947, p. 209). Alte amănunte la Valeriu Achim, Aurel Socolan, *Dr. Vasile Lucaciu, luptător pentru drepturile românilor și Unirea Transilvaniei cu România*, Baia Mare, 1965, p.49; Ș. Polverejan, N. Cordoș, *Op. cit.*, p. 79; P. Păltănea, Stelian Mândruț, „Contribuții privind colaborarea dintre V.A. Urechia și românii din Transilvania”, în *ActaMN*, 33, Istorie, II, 1996, p. 91-92; Valentina Oneț, „V.A. Urechia, președinte al Ligii Culturale și atașamentul său față de cauza românilor transilvăneni”, în *ASTRA*, 1861-1991, Sibiu, 1992, p. 167.

veines, comme dans les nôtres, unissez vos voix à celles de toute une nation de frères”.⁵⁷

Adeziunea felibriștilor la această chemare de solidaritate poate fi exemplificată prin inițiativa lui A. Roque-Ferrier, care l-anunță pe Urechia, la 23 iunie 1893, că l-a rugat pe președintele Franței, Sadi Carnot, să solicite „directement S/a/ M/ajesté/ l’Empereur d’Autriche, roi de Hongrie, la grâce du docteur Lucaci, prêtre roumain de la Transylvanie, actuellement incarcéré sous le coup de condamnation capitale pour avoir présenté à Vienne, l’année dernier une pétition à l’Empereur revendiquant le droit qu’ont les Transylvains de parler leur langue”. O scrisoare asemănătoare a trimis-o Ministrului Afacerilor Străine al Spaniei, pentru a fi expediată la Viena și Budapesta.⁵⁸ A urmat invitarea, probabil, la sugestia lui Urechia, a lui George Moroianu, fervent susținător mișcării naționale române, aflat la Paris, ca să conferențieze, la Montpellier, „despre luptele și aspirațiile românilor din Transilvania”, omagiate, de ascultători, prin „cuvinte de iubire”.⁵⁹

Campania de informare a lumii latine din occidentul european asupra împilărilor suferite de românii ce trăiau în spațiul intra-carpatic Urechia a continuat-o și în anul 1894. La 4 aprilie semnează, din partea Ligii Culturale, o nouă chemare prin care dorea „să vedem geniul românismului reîntinerit și voinic la lucru, voim ca el să izbucnească cu tărie la un moment dat; voim să adunăm, pe cât e posibil, toată suflarea românească într-o manifestațiune, pentru ca astfel să se simtă că Golgota Românismului este ținta de ruină a dușmanului, care încearcă să confisce un neam puternic, entuzias și plin de credință în izbânda din urmă”.⁶⁰

Ecourile acestei acțiuni încurajatoare ar putea să fi animat, pe mai departe, dârza solidaritate a lui A. Roque-Ferrier cu brava rezistență a preotului Vasile Lucaciu, lăudată, la 15 mai 1894, lui Urechia: „Nous saluons avec un glorieux respect la lutte que le docteur Lucaciu et ses amis soutiennent contre d’intolérables prétentions ... L’eau passera bien vite! Les rochers et les pierres demeureront

⁵⁷ Maria Platon, *op. cit.*, p. 165; *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, nr. 135, 20 iunie 1893, p.2; S. Polverejan, N. Cordoș, *op. cit.*, p. 80. Pentru un apel din 1 iunie 1893, vezi Ștefan Pascu, C. Gh. Marinescu, *Răsunetul internațional al luptei românilor pentru unitate națională*, Cluj-Napoca, 1980, p. 47. La BVAU (Ms. V 71/61) există un fragment (p.3) dintr-un apel semnat de V.A. Urechia, text tipărit în limba franceză, difuzat după arestarea lui Vasile Lucaciu, și pe care lectorii lui, François Lefebvre, Leconte de Lisle, Emile Zola, Léon de Rosny și alții, au semnat declarații aprobatoare.

⁵⁸ BAR, S.64 (4)/DCLIII.

⁵⁹ G. Moroianu, *Luptele de emancipare ale românilor din Ardeal*, București, 1929, p. 36; *Corespondența lui George Moroianu (1891-1920)*, I, Ediție de Șerban Polverejan, Cluj-Napoca, 1981, p. 260-261, scrisoarea lui V.A. Urechia din 23 noiembrie 1893, *Memorandumul, 1892-1894*, București, 1982, p. 84, cu anul greșit, 1873 (Capitol redactat de Șerban Polverejan).

⁶⁰ BVAU, A/X (10), f. 33-34. O altă „moțiune”, cu un conținut asemănător, a fost votată la „metingul de protestare” din 24 aprilie 1894 (*Ibidem*, f.38).

éternellement”.⁶¹ Cu o altă ocazie, publică un poem, *La Sirventé de Transylvanie*. „À l’honneur du prêtre Lucaciu que les juges hongrois viennent de condamner à cinq ans de prison pour avoir présenté à l’empereur d’Autriche, roi de Hongrie, une supplique, demandant que la langue roumaine de Transylvanie fut, selon le droit antique, parlée librement dans les écoles, les tribunaux et les assemblées de cette contrée”...⁶² Mesaje cu un conținut apropiat, de unire cu luptătorii transilvăneni, a mai primit Urechia și de la ceilalți vechi prieteni. Labert Quintana, Camille Laforgue, Jules Simon și multe alte personalități, organizații culturale cărora le-a fost adresat „căldurosul apel” al Academiei Române, semnat și de Urechia, la 27 mai/8 iunie 1894, prin care sunt rugați „să se intereseze de cauza cea dreaptă a românilor din Transilvania și Ungaria, care e totodată și cauză de cultură generală”.⁶³

Răspunsurile sosite la București au constituit, prin strădania lui Urechia, impresionantul și convingătorul volum *Voci latine. De la frați la frați*, la care lucra de zor la 17 iunie 1894.⁶⁴ A apărut cu puțin înainte de 7 august 1894, când presa românească declară că „însumează întreaga mișcare în favorul nostru, al lumii latine”.⁶⁵ O gazetă germană scria, în zilele următoare, *Voci latine*, prin denunțarea agresivei politice a guvernului maghiar în chestiunea naționalităților, va deveni „vocea Europei întregi”.⁶⁶ Peste un an, la 31 iulie 1895, Tourtoulon, scriindu-i lui Urechia, l-asigură că volumul „est magnifique et fait le plus grand honneur aux auteurs et l’organisateur”.⁶⁷ Părerii care confirmă justetea demersului inițiat de Urechia.

⁶¹ BVAU, Ms. IV/61; *Voci latine. De la frați la frați*, București, 1894, p. 20-21; BMR, IV, p. 669, nr. 70199. Ediția îngrijită de Nedelcu Oprea, Galați, 1993, nu are valoare științifică. V.A. Urechia nu a putut include toate colaborările primite în volumul publicat. Cele rămase urmau să fie incluse într-un al doilea tom „al frumoasei lucrări” (*Transilvania*, XXV, 1894,5, 15 septembrie, p.292), care nu a mai apărut. Unii dintre colaboratorii volumului, Georges Clemenceau, Frédéric Amouretti, și-au publicat în presa franceză, încă din luna mai, textele pe care i le vor trimite lui Urechia (BVAU, A/CXXIV/1, f. 210, 211, 219).

⁶² *Le Félibrige latin*, IV, 1894, p.35-36; *Armanac Mount – pelieirene*, Montpellier, 1894, p.16-17.

⁶³ AAR.PAD, tom. XVII, 1894-1895, p.11-12; Alexandru Porțeanu – „Centenarul marelui proces al Memorandului”, în *Academica*, IV, 1994, nr.8, p.5; Doina N. Rusu, *Istoria Academiei Române între 1866-1996*, București, 1997, p. 110.

⁶⁴ *Corespondența lui George Moroianu*, I, p. 262-263.

⁶⁵ Constantin Marinescu, „V.A. Urechia și unitatea națională a românilor”, în ARSR.MSSI, IV, 1984, tom. IX, p.120.

⁶⁶ Teodor Pavel, *Mișcarea românilor pentru unitatea națională și diplomația Puterilor Centrale*, II, (1894-1914), Timișoara, 1982, p. 60. *Memorandumul, 1892-1894*, p. 84. Vezi și scrisoarea adresată Comitetului Central al Partidului Național Român, la Sibiu, de către profesorii Universității București, prin care se recunoaște că „Tăria voastră e un semn sigur al victoriei apropiate”. Printre semnatari era și V.A. Urechia (*Ibidem*, p. 70-71; Nedelcu Oprea, „Situția românilor din Transilvania în opinia presei franceze din anul 1894”, în *ASTRA. 120 de ani de la înființare*, Sibiu, p. 172-175.

⁶⁷ BVAU, Ms. IV/245.

Scrisoarea lui Tourtoulon, care conținea și unele detalii privitoare la o viitoare colaborare a reginei Carmen Sylva și a lui Urechia la *Revue du Monde Latin*, fusese precedată de o invitație comunicată Academiei Române, la 21 aprilie 1895, pentru participarea la *Congrès international des langues romanes*, organizat la Bordeaux în perioada 5-10 august 1895⁶⁸, pentru a se descoperi „les moyens de faire apprécier et de reprendre la connaissance théorique et pratique des idioms issus de la langue latine”.⁶⁹ A fost desemnat, pentru participare, la 13 mai, V.A. Urechia, care având și calitatea de președinte al grupului interparlamentar, trebuia să fie prezent și la *Congresul interparlamentar* de la Bruxelles, anunțat pentru 12 august.⁷⁰

Academia neputându-i subvenționa călătoria, a plecat cu oarecare întârziere, primind de la regele Carol I un generos stipendiu. A ajuns la Bordeaux la 9 august, după deschiderea Congresului.⁷¹ Alături de Urechia ar fi trebuit să se afle și A.D. Xenopol, reprezentând *Societatea științifică și literară* din Iași, dar din cauza unui deces în familie, nu și-a putut susține comunicarea: *La langue roumaine en péril*, în care demonstrează că românii „sont restés latins dans le fond de leur essence la plus intime, leur langue est un des plus beaux produits du génie latin”, care trebuie apărată de deznaționalizarea maghiară.⁷² Doi profesori din Craiova, Gheorghe I. Bușilă și Mihai Stăureanu, membrii ai Ateneului din localitate, foști studenți ai lui Urechia, au prezentat „memorii asupra limbii române”, demonstrând originea ei latină.⁷³

Comunicarea lui Urechia, primită „cu multă bunăvoință” de către congresiști, a cuprins un istoric al relațiilor avute cu felibrii, completate cu sublinierea aportului adus de personalități românești, Alecsandri, Hașdeu, la susținerea activităților de revigorare a spiritului latin în cultura europeană. Nu au lipsit nici asigurările că acțiunile Triplei Alianțe – Germania, Austro-Ungaria și

⁶⁸ AAR.PAD, seria a II-a, tom. XVIII, 1895-1896, p. 5; *Congrès international des langues romanes ouvert à Bordeaux le Août 1895*, Bordeaux, 1895. Exemplar la BVAU II 10298, p. 22, pentru indicarea lui Urechia pe lista participanților. Alte informații la Nicolae Andrei, Gh. Pârnuță, *Istoria învățământului în Oltenia*, II, 1981, p. 525. Paraschiva Căncea („Présences roumaines aux Congrès scientifiques internationaux du XIX-ème siècle”, în RRH, XIII, 1979, 1, p. 63-82) nu a avut știință de această afirmare internațională a lui V.A. Urechia.

⁶⁹ AAR.PAD, *loc. cit.*, p.31.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 10. *L'Indépendance roumaine*, XIX, nr. 5524, 6/18 august, p.1; nr. 5525, 8/20 august, p.1; nr. 5530, 13/25 august 1895, p.1; P. Păltănea, Stelian Mândruț, *Contribuții*, p. 95. La Bordeaux, V.A. Urechia a declarat că delegația română nu va putea fi prezentă la sesiunea următoare a *Congresului interparlamentar*, dacă ea se va organiza la Budapesta, cum dorea delegația maghiară (*Estafette*, 21 august 1895, BVAU, A/CXXIV/, f. 11; *Tribuna*, XII, nr. 168, 27 iulie/8 august 1895, p. 671).

⁷¹ AAR. PAD, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.

⁷² A fost publicată în *Revue de géographie*, XXVII, 1895, p. 321-329; Al. Zub, *A.D. Xenopol. 1847-1920. Bibliografie*, București, 1973, p. 492-493, nr. 3474.

⁷³ AAR.PAD, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.

Italia – nu vor reuși să slăbească vechea simpatie a românilor pentru Franța. Declarații prin care, nota ziarul sibian *Tribuna*, Urechia „apăra cauza română”.⁷⁴

La încheierea Congresului, organizatorii francezi au recomandat înmulțirea, de către guvernele țărilor neolatine, a schimburilor reciproce de elevi și studenți. Indicația că limba română să fie predată în toate școlile superioare și speciale din Franța și celelalte țări surori, a fost salutăată cu „lungi aclamații”. Adunarea a mai acceptat „cu o adevărată aclamațiune entuziastă”, propunerea lui Urechia ca următorul congres să se întrunească, în 1896, la București.⁷⁵

S-a reîntors în București, după ce a participat la *Congresul interparlamentar* de la Bruxelles, la 16 sau 17 august.⁷⁶ Rezumând, în ședința din 18 august a Academiei, desfășurarea Congresului de la Bordeaux, unul dintre colegi, generalul Ștefan Fălcoianu, a intervenit, declarând că Urechia trebuie felicitat pentru „modul demn și distins cum a reprezentat România”. Recomandare susținută și de Vasile Maniu în ședința din 22 septembrie, când mai argumentează nevoia „de a primi la București viitorul Congres din 1896, căci ni s-a dat ocaziunea de a arăta românilor din Occident latinitatea limbii și a națiunii noastre”.⁷⁷ Insistență care nu l-a convins pe D.A. Sturdza, secretarul general al Academiei, adept al părerii, expusă la 23 septembrie, că propunerea lui Urechia era „prematuroasă”, întrucât nu am fi putut „prezenta lucrări importante și de primă ordine asupra literaturii și istoriei românești”. Țara nefiind în stare „să se pregătească într-un an, pentru a face să dispară acele lipsuri însemnate a căror existență ne împiedecă a primi, în mod serios și demn, un congres de bărbați ai științei.”⁷⁸

Nicolae Ionescu a respins pledoaria lui Sturdza, susținând că trebuie „să ne prezentăm cu ce avem și să ne arătăm latinitatea poporului nostru”. Urechia mai adaugă și el că „nepregătirea materială nu poate fi o împiedicare suficientă pentru primirea Congresului” care va fi realizată „ori cu, ori fără conducerea Academiei”, mai mulți „romaniști iluștri”, Graziedo Assoli, Gaston Paris, De Gubernatis, Quitana, E. Castelar, Tourtoulon, anunțându-l că „vor veni cu plăcere la Congresul de la București”.⁷⁹

Dornic să rămână consecvent invitației făcută la Bordeaux, dar să și anuleze hotărârea lui D. A. Sturdza de a se amâna organizarea Congresului la o dată mai târzie, „când vom fi gata a-i primi cu demnitate”.⁸⁰ Urechia i se adresează, la 5 noiembrie 1895, lui Ion Rațiu, președintele Partidului Național Român din Transilvania, „Veneratul Conducător al Neamului”, enumerându-i „pretextele” lui

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, loc. cit., p. 32. *Tribuna*, XII, nr. 168, 27 iulie/8 august 1895; *Gazeta de Transilvania*, LVIII, nr. 170, 1/13 august 1895, p. 3, comunicate de Dl. Stelian Mândruț, Cluj, căruia îi mulțumim și pe această cale.

⁷⁵ AAR.PAD, loc. cit., p.33-34; *Telegraful român*, XLIII, nr. 84, 29 iulie/1 august 1895; *L'Indépendance roumaine*, XIX, nr. 5521, 3/15 august 1899, p.1.

⁷⁶ La 18 august asista la ședința Academiei Române (AAR.PAD, loc. cit., p. 20-21.

⁷⁷ AAR.PAD, p. 20-21, 34.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 348, 400.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 37.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 36.

Sturdza pentru a întârzia ținerea Congresului. Amintește însă și de cealaltă față a lucrurilor ce-i era prielnică: „În Academie / este / bun curentul în favoarea ținării Congresului latinității în 1896”.⁸¹ Folosindu-se de motivația lui Urechia, Rațiu îi explică lui Sturdza nedorita amânare a Congresului”, cu ajutorul căruia se vor putea paraliza eventualele urmări, contrare intereselor noastre”, ale reuniunii interparlamentare, care-și va rândui ședințele, tot la Budapesta, în 1896. „Surorile noastre adunate la București își încheie Rațiu perorația, vor fi un protest viu împotriva tendințelor de a ni se răpi limba și naționalitatea”.⁸²

Stăruință care nu-l convinge pe D.A. Sturdza, prim-ministru de la 4 octombrie 1895, inițiator al unei politici externe bazată pe principiul că „trebuie să ne abținem de la orice act de agitație față de politica internă a regatului Ungariei”.⁸³ Orientare diplomatică total defavorabilă proiectatei acțiuni a lui Urechia, care nu s-a mai desfășurat.

Va fi găsit Urechia, în lunile septembrie și octombrie, răgaz ca să pregătească răspunsul la scrisoarea din 31 iulie a lui Tourtoulon privitoare la *Revue du Monde Latin*, numărul din septembrie, care conținea „la fin de l'étude si fraîche, si délicates, si exquises de S/a/ m/ajesté/ sur Alecsandri”.⁸⁴ Nous serions bien heureux que S/a/ M/ajesté/ voulût bien nous permettre de publier quelques fois des traductions de ses oeuvres”. Privitor la publicarea unor pagini din *Legende române*, despre care-i ceruse lămuriri, Tourtoulon îi scrie: „Certes oui, la revue sera heureuse de les publier. Bien entendu que la traduction en sera inédite. Celles que vous avez publiées déjà sont fort intéressantes, mais vous en avez certainement d'aussi jolies, qui n'ont pas été encore traduites ou dont la traduction est inédite, envoyez l'en. Nos lecteurs, qui apprécient beaucoup vos lettres et aiment la Roumanie en sont enchantés”.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Dr. Ioan Rațiu și Emilia Rațiu. *Corespondență*, Ediție de Marcel-Dumitru Ciucă și Elena-Teodora Ciucă, București, 1994, p. 368-369. Scrisoarea a fost comentată și de Gheorghe Radu în *Direcția Județeană Bacău a Arhivelor Naționale. Semicentenar*, București, 2001, p. 187-188, fără a se aminti ediția din 1994.

⁸² Dr. Ioan Rațiu și Emilia Rațiu. *Corespondență*, p. 369.

⁸³ N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains*, X, Bucarest, 1945, p. 310-311.

⁸⁴ Carmen Sylva, „Vasile Alecsandri”, în *Revue du Monde Latin*, 1895, Juillet - Août, p. 306-318, 385-397. Gabriel Bodea-Păun (*Carmen Sylva, uimitoarea regină Elisabeta a României, 1843-1916*, 2003, p. 130-142) nu amintește de colaborările literare cu revistele felibrice. Amănunte în *Le Félibrige latin*, III, 1892, p. 213, 222 (versuri omagiale semnate de W.C. Bonaparte-Wyse), 244-247. În acest volum este și un portret al Reginei; IV, 1893, p. 11-12; V, 1894, p. 60-61; *Occitania*, II, 1888, 3-3, p.65. Maria Platon, *op. cit.*, p. 158-159.

⁸⁵ BVAU, Ms. IV/245. Peste câteva luni, la 27 mai 1896, A. Roque-Ferrier îi mulțumește lui Urechia pentru cele două exemplare din *Legende române* (ediția din 1891, BMR, IV, nr. 70144) pe care i le oferise (BAR, S.64 (7)/DCCLXII). Un alt exemplar din aceeași ediție a fost dăruit lui Emil Picot, cu dedicația: „À Monsieur le Professeur E. Picot. Souvenir de l'auteur” (Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Z. Picot, 870. Comunicat de Doamna Monica Breazu. Scrisoare din 27 august 2004). Nu a fost semnalat în Monica Breazu, „Biblioteca unui european: Emile Picot (1844 – 1918)”, în *RRIC*, II, 2005, 2, p. 123-137.

O parte din bogata serie a manifestărilor ce le-ar fi realizat cu ocazia Congresului, le-a împlinit în 1896, cu prilejul unei vizite, la București, a unui însemnat număr de deputați și senatori italieni, copleșiți de onorurile și entuziasmul cu care i-au omagiat frații români. Fraternitate care se va reînnoi la Conferința interparlamentară de la Budapesta, unde delegația română, condusă de Urechia, combate, și cu susținerea celei italiene, tezele antiromânești ale gazdelor.⁸⁶ Perspectiva unei noi colaborări cu Felibrii i-o oferă A. Roque-Ferrier într-o scrisoare expediată la 18 martie. Urechia este anunțat că la Montpellier va fi organizată o „expoziție universală” în cadrul căreia vor avea loc și unele „serbări literare” în care s-ar putea dezbate și revendicarea de drepturi pentru transilvăneni și macedoromâni. Ar reprezenta „Orientul român” împreună cu Vasile Lucaciu, în favoarea căruia trimite și un protest semnat de trei personalități felibrice: Berluc – Perussis, Alphonse Tavan și Charles Brun.⁸⁷ Urechia neputând veni la 1 mai, ziua celebrelor „Jocuri florale”, la Montpellier, Vasile Lucaciu a fost primit „comme l’envoyé de la Roumanie elle-même et comme l’incarnation de ses droits et de ses revendications vis-à-vis de la politique magyare”.⁸⁸ Peste un an, 1897, urma să se dezvelească la Montpellier, la 1 mai, statuia unei eroine din Languedoc, o altă Jeanne d’Arc. Primarul orașului, același care-l primise pe Alecsandri în 1887⁸⁹, l-ar fi dorit prezent. Vasile Lucaciu promisese, probabil, în vizita anterioară, că-l va însoți pe Urechia. A. Roque-Ferrier spera să-i poată aduce invitația la București, în luna octombrie 1896. Neputând îndeplini acest proiect, la 1 mai 1897, când se împlinea un an de la eliberarea lui Lucaciu din temnița maghiară, Lucaciu este salutat și elogiât pentru puterea de a fi rezistat la încercarea asupritorilor de a sfârâma „statornicia condamnaților de la Cluj”.⁹⁰

Vizita lui Urechia s-a întâmplat, probabil, pentru că Felibrii din Montpellier vor trimite, la inaugurarea statuii lui Ștefan cel Mare de la Iași, în urma invitației primite, mesagii de slăvire a vitejiei domnitorului erou. A. Roque-Ferrier, Charles Gros și alți confrăți îi scriu lui Urechia, la 4 noiembrie 1897, cuvintele: „L’héroïsme d’un homme est pour la nation en rempart aussi sûr et aussi durable que la pierre et le bronze”.⁹¹

⁸⁶ BAR, *Arhiva V.A. Urechia*, Imprimare, I, f. 70; V.A. Urechia, *Festivitatea română de la Roma, 12 octombrie 1899*, București, 1899, p. 91. Un exemplar în biblioteca lui E. Picot cu dedicația: „Monsieur le Professeur E. Picot. Souvenir de la part de V.A. Urechia” (Bibliothèque nationale Paris, Z. Picot, 868).

⁸⁷ BAR, S. 64 (5)/DCLVIII.

⁸⁸ Idem, S: 64 (6)/DCCLVIII. Valeriu Achim, Aurel Solocan, *Dr. Vasile Lucaciu nu amintesc această vizită la Montpellier*.

⁸⁹ Amănunte la Maria Platon, *Vasile Alecsandri*, p. 158-159; P. Păltănea, *Vasile Alecsandri. Știri noi*, p. 71.

⁹⁰ BAR, S. 64 (7)/DCCLXIII, *Le Félibrige latin*, VII, 1897, p. XIII-XXII.

⁹¹ BAR, S. 29/DCCLXVI; S. 64 (8)/DCCLXIII. Statuia este opera sculptorului francez Emmanuel Frémiet (N.A. Bogdan, *Orașul Iași. Odinioară și astăzi, Iași*, 1904, p. 194-195.

Continuitatea întâlnirilor cu prietenii felibrieni i-o asigură invitația lui Angelo De Gubernatis, primită cu puțin înainte de 12/24 decembrie 1898⁹², de a participa la Congresul orientaliștilor ce se va desfășura la Roma în perioada 1-12 octombrie 1899. „Je désire mon cher ami – precizează Gubernatis – et j’espère que grâce à votre puissante initiative, viennent se grouper autour de vous un certain nombre de Roumains, éminents amis de l’Italie et de la science pour entraîner vers Rome, l’année prochaine / 1899 n.n./, le plus grand nombre possible de Roumains instruits”.⁹³ Comitetul organizatoric creat i-a propus lui V.A. Urechia să pregătească participarea României la această manifestare internațională. A acceptat însărcinarea, întrucât își putea îndeplini dorința de a desfășura la Roma o „manifestațiune romanică, latină”, ca să dea cuvenitul răspuns conferințelor istoricului maghiar Lipót Ováry, „neoneste și nedocumentate”, susținute în iarna anului 1898 împotriva latinității „originelor națiunii române”. A activat cu obișnuita-i pasiune, obținând, până la 17 martie, acceptul a 30 de personalități.⁹⁴ Acțiune căreia i-a adăugat, în ianuarie 1899, stăruința pentru convocarea, la București, a unui congres în care să se ia atitudine împotriva persecuțiilor cu care statul bulgar îi chinuia pe românii din Macedonia. Inițiativa se datora și discutării, la Congresul orientaliștilor, a „chestiunii macedoromână” de către V.A. Urechia, „delegatul” Societății de Cultură Macedoromână.⁹⁵

Va reveni la susținerea temei „latinitatea românilor”, o permanență a existenței sale, în august 1900, când participă în Franța, la un Congres al Uniunii studenților latini, prezentând comunicarea *L’Idée latine chez les Roumains*. Omagiindu-i, cu acest prilej, pe „eminenții săi colaboratori”, Quintana, Berlucc-Perrussis, Roque-Ferrier, mai adaugă: „Jeunesse Roumaine, saluons ces grands apôtres, saluons leurs disciples, et appelons de tous nos vœux cette fédération des peuples latins, qui seule mouvent la grande race, issue de Rome, aujourd’hui si décriée par ses rivaux! Vive la race latine!”⁹⁶

La împlinirea a 25 de ani de la premierea lui Vasile Alecsandri la Montpellier, în mai 1903, A. Roque-Ferrier dorea să omagieze „Cântarea” devenită comună „tuturor popoarelor care aparțin tulpinii latine”. Serbările s-au deschis la 2

⁹² La această dată, Urechia îl îndeamnă pe transilvăneanul Amos Frâncu să fie prezent la Congres cu o comunicare (P. Păltănea, Stelian Măndruț, *Contribuții*, p. 96, 103-104). La 22 ianuarie 1899 Academia Română a primit, prin intermediul Ministerului Afacerilor Străine, invitația de a participa la Congres (AAR.PAD, XXI, 1898-1899, p. 46). Relațiile lui Urechia cu Angelo De Gubernatis durau de câțiva ani. La 28 martie 1895 a fost ales, la propunerea lui Urechia, membru de onoare al Academiei Române (AAR.PAD, XVII, 1895, p. 236).

⁹³ V.A. Urechia, *Festivitatea română*, p.8. Scrisoarea a citit-o și în plenul Academiei Române la 18 martie 1899 (AAR.PAD, XXI, p. 125). Ștefan Pascu, C. Gh. Marinescu, *Răsunetul internațional*, p. 104-105.

⁹⁴ AAR.PAD, XXI, p. 123, V.A. Urechia, *Festivitatea română*, p. 8, P. Căncea, *Présences roumaines*, p. 80.

⁹⁵ Max Demeter Peyfuss, *Chestiunea aromânească*, p. 72; Ioan C. Pappa, *Lucruri care trebuiesc ținute minte*, p. 41.

⁹⁶ V.A. Urechia, *L’Idée latine*, p. 11-12.

iunie 1901, la Puisserguier, în Languedoc, și aveau să continue, în august, la Béziers. Pentru anii 1902 și 1903 erau hotărâte mari festivități la Montpellier și Nîmes. Întregul program îi este comunicat lui Urechia înainte de 23 iunie 1901, cu rugămintea de a apela la întreaga lume românească să fie prezentă la aceste serbări. „Sper că românii vor fi în număr mare, în 1902 și mai ales în 1903” – scria Roque-Ferrier. „Nu-ți mai spun cât preț punem noi, scumpe și ilustre amice, pe simpatia românilor, pe aceea a junimii universitare și pe aceea a macedonenilor”. Urechia a dat publicității această scrisoare, propunând ca toate societățile culturale, studenții, Ateneul Român, să trimită delegați sau telegrame de adeziune. Totodată face apel la „Domnii Vlahuță, Coșbuc, Macedonschi” să scrie „câte ceva pentru jubileul de 25 ani a încoronării lui V. Alecsandri și spre comemorarea cântului Gintei latine”, pe care să i le expedieze lui Roque-Ferrier.⁹⁷

Tot în acest an, 1901, V.A. Urechia, „l’érudit et vaillant champion du latinisme roumain” – scria *Revue du Monde Latin* a răspuns la un apel de solidarizare lansat de revistă, în care se preciza: „Les Roumains, ces vaillants descendants des colons de Trajan, qui, au prix de lutttes héroïques, se sont maintenus à travers les siècles de rives de Danube et de la Theiss à celles du Dnieper, des gorges des Balkans à celles des Carpathes, où ils forment l’avant-garde inébranlable de notre civilisation, entrent avec nous dans la lutte pour le triomphe de notre idéal de fraternité latine”.⁹⁸ Acestea au fost ultimele acțiuni de înfrățire latină la care a colaborat și V.A. Urechia. La 22 noiembrie 1901 a decedat.

Reală prețuire a atâtor eforturi pe care le făcuse, aproape o jumătate de secol, pentru crearea unui spirit de solidaritate latină, necesar românilor la realizarea unității naționale, o găsim în scrisoarea din 15 mai 1894 a lui Roque-Ferrier, care nu se sfiise să-i declare: „C’est à Vous, Le Grand Latin de Roumanie, à Vous qui avez fait autant qu’Alecsandri, Quintana, Castelar, pour inculquer dans le domaine des âmes et des populations de l’Orient le principe suprême et souverain de la fraternité latine”.

⁹⁷ *Universul*, XIX, 1901, nr. 168, 24 iunie; *Secolul XX*, II, 1901, nr. 681, 22 august. Comunicate de colegul Liviu Papuc, căruia îi mulțumim și pe această cale.

⁹⁸ *Revue du Monde Latin*, janvier - février 1901, p.1.

Pr. Eugen DRĂGOI*

**BISERICA „ADORMIREA MAICII DOMNULUI“
DIN ROȘCANI, JUDEȚUL GALAȚI
CÂTEVA MĂRTURII ȘI DOCUMENTE INEDITE**

-Rezumat-

Satul Roșcani, comuna Băneasa, din județul Galați este o așezare atestată documentar la 1555, dar exista dinainte de domnia lui Ștefan cel Mare (1457-1504).

Cea mai veche biserică din această localitate despre care avem cunoștință până în prezent, datează din secolul al XVIII-lea; avea hramul Adormirea Maicii Domnului. Aceasta ruinându-se la începutul veacului următor, proprietarul moșiei, serdarul Mihalachi Chicuș (1806-1868), ia inițiativa ridicării unei noi biserici, cu același hram, pe ruinele vechiului locaș, a cărei construcție s-a încheiat și s-a sfințit în anul 1827. Ctitorul a donat mai multe cărți de slujbă locașului ridicat de el, cumpărate din tipografia Mănăstirii Neamț (cărțile se păstrează și astăzi, cu dedicația autografă a donatorului), precum și alte obiecte sacre și s-a îngrijit de slujitorii Sfântului Altar.

Studiul de față aduce mărturii inedite despre slujitori necunoscuți de la Roșcani, precum și despre serdarul M. Chicuș, în cele șase documente care se publică pentru prima dată.

Cuvinte cheie: biserică, Roșcani, Galați, Mihalachi Chicuș, Mănăstirea Neamț, carte veche, document, secolul al XIX-lea

**THE CHURCH “THE DORMITION OF THE THEOTOKOS” FROM
ROȘCANI, GALAȚI COUNTY. SOME UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTARY
TESTIMONIES**

-Abstract-

The village Roșcani, Băneasa commune, Galați County, is documentary attested in 1555, but it had existed even before the age of Stephen the Great (1457-1504).

The oldest known church of this village dates back to the XVIII-th century. It had the dedication “The Dormition of the Theotokos”. Since it fell into ruin at the beginning of the XIX-th century, the police commander Mihalachi Chicuș (1806-1868) initiated the construction of a new church, with the same dedication, on the location of the old one. The project was completed

* Galați, editurapartener@yahoo.com.

in 1827, when the new church was also consecrated. Mihalachi Chicuș donated several religious books and some sacred objects to the church erected by him and took care himself of its servants. The books were bought from the print of Neamț Monastery and they have been preserved until today. They bear the autograph dedication of their donor.

The present article brings to light several unpublished documents regarding some unknown servants of the church from Roșiori and also regarding Mihalachi Chicuș. The six enclosed documents are published here for the first time.

Keywords: church, Roșcani, Galați, Mihalachi Chicuș, Neamț Monastery, old books, document, XIX-th century

Situat în nord-estul județului Galați, satul Roșcani aparține de comuna Băneasa și este una din vechile localități ale Moldovei. Arheologii au găsit „în marginea de est a satului Roșcani, pe locul numit «Crucișoara», în poziție joasă, cioburi de ceramică din secolele VI-VII, secolele VIII-IX, precum și din secolele X-XI”¹. Potrivit unui document emis la 30 aprilie 1555 domnitorul moldovean Alexandru Lăpușneanul întărea lui Negrilă Peliș și altor rudeniile ale sale trei sate: „Roșcanii, unde au șezut Rosfir și Moineștii și o săliște din gura Sacăi, toate din trei părți“, cumpărate de la nepoții lui Stan Roșul, pentru care avea „dresuri“ (adică documente domnești) de întăritură mai vechi „de la moșul domniei mele Ștefan vodă“ (referire la Sfântul Voievod Ștefan cel Mare)². Istoricul Paul Păltănea consideră, pe bună dreptate că satul Roșcani este mai vechi decât vremea domniei lui Ștefan cel Mare, mențiunea judeului Rosfir fiind o dovadă în acest sens³.

Documentul din 1555 infirmă tradiția locală potrivit căreia satul Roșcani de lângă Oancea s-ar fi întemeiat de către bejenarii localității omonime de lângă Cahul după pustiirea așezării de către tătari în timpul bătăliei dintre oștile moldovene conduse de domnitorul Ion Vodă cel Cumplit (1572-1574) și trupele turcești și tătărești care s-a dat la sud-est de iezerul Cahul și la Roșcani, în zilele de 10-12 iunie 1574⁴. Bibliografia românească referitoare la bătălia de la Roșcani este destul de bogată. Mai vechile sinteze istorice, fără a face o analiză comparată și

¹ Dan Gh. Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice și numismatice la est de Carpați, în secolele V-XI*, Editura Muzeului Național de Istorie a României, București, 1997, p. 139.

² *Documente privind istoria României*, A, Moldova, veacul XVI, vol. II (1551-1570), București, 1951, p. 84-85, nr. 76; Paul Păltănea, *Peceți ștefaniene la Dunărea de Jos*, Editura Episcopiei Dunării de Jos, Galați, 2004, p. 11.

³ Paul Păltănea, *Repertoriul documentelor istorice referitoare la județul Galați, 1430-1650*, manuscris dactilografiat, 1985-1990, Biblioteca V. A. Urechia, Galați, cota IV/6787.

⁴ Despre bătălia de la Cahul-Roșcani vezi Dinu C. Giurescu, *Ion Vodă cel Viteaz*, ediția a II-a, revăzută și completată, Editura Științifică, București, 1966, p. 165-174; T. Teotoi, I. Toderașcu, *Țările române în secolul al XVI-lea. B. Moldova*, în „Istoria românilor“, editată de Academia Română, vol. IV, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2001, p. 466-471.

atentă a izvoarelor care au narat episodul, consideră eronat că este vorba de localitatea Roșcani, comuna Băneasa, jud. Galați⁵. Istoricii N. Grigoraș, în studiul său dedicat voievodului Ion Vodă cel Cumplit⁶, scrie chiar: „Satul Roșcani, unde s-a concentrat oastea Moldovei, și în apropierea căruia s-a dat lupta supremă cu turcii, este menționat într-un document din 30 aprilie 1555, ca fiind așezat pe dreapta Prutului, iar proprietarii lui dețineau document de întărire încă de la Ștefan cel Mare, ceea ce dovedește că fusese întemeiat înainte de 1457. Bătălia cu turcii nu a putut avea loc lângă iezorul Cahul, o regiune improprie, lipsită de apă, hrană și așezări omenești, cum afirmă Azarie, care a scris de departe, dintr-o chilie de mănăstire”⁷.

Leon Șimanschi reia subiectul patru ani mai târziu de la publicarea studiului de către N. Grigoraș, propunându-și să supună dezbaterii critice „problema localizării episodului final al luptei de lângă lacul Cahul (10-13 iunie 1574) și, implicit, a identificării satului Roșcani, unde s-a produs capitularea oștirii moldovene”⁸. Demonstrația sa științifică arată că bătălia nu putea să aibă loc în dreapta Prutului, scoțând din discuție satul Roșcani, component al comunei Băneasa din jud. Galați⁹.

La 25 noiembrie 1754, a șasea parte din satele Roșcani, Moinești și Sacara era în stăpânirea lui Nicolae Racoviță, pe care o luase de la vărul lui, Ștefan Roset, fost mare vistier¹⁰.

Catagrafia din 5 iunie 1774 înscrie la Roșcani, ocolul Prutului, 20 de case (capi de familie): *Ion, cibotar, Simion Măroi, Nica, Simion Țurcan, Costandin Balmuș, Gligore Balmuș, Andrei Chirilă, Gheorghe Balmuș, Mihăilă Pepele, Gavril Balmuș, Ștefan Tite, Ion Săcan, Ștefan Lazor, Vasile Stasii, Toderașco, bejenar, Ioniță, bejenar, Năstasii Tite, Gavril Stasi, Ștefan Nicula, Costandin, cibotar*¹¹. Șapte decenii mai târziu (iulie 1844) populația se triplase, acum satul având 73 de case¹². Surprinzător însă, nicuna din familiile care alcătuiau satul la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea, nu se regăsesc în cel următor.

⁵ Vezi: *Istoria României*, Editura Academiei, vol. II, București, 1962, p. 918, 1120; *Istoria medie a României*, partea întâi, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică (subcapitol redactat de Gh. Georgescu-Buzău), București, 1966, p. 325.

⁶ N. Grigoraș, *Lupta de eliberare condusă de Ion Vodă cel Viteaz (februarie-iunie 1574)*, în „Cercetări istorice“, V, Iași, 1974, p. 101-130.

⁷ N. Grigoraș, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁸ Leon Șimanschi, „Roșcanii“ o problemă de critică a textelor, în „Anuarul de Istorie și Arheologie «A. D. Xenopol»“, XVI, Iași, 1978, p. 39-58.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 39, 42, 43.

¹⁰ Gheorghe Ghibănescu, *Surete și izvoade*, vol. VII, p. 195-199, apud Paul Păltănea, *Repertoriul documentelor istorice...*

¹¹ P. G. Dmitriev, *Moldova în epoca feudalizmului*, vol. VII, partea a II-a, Editura Știința, Chișinău, 1975, p. 90.

¹² *Arhiva Protopopiatului Galați*, dosar nr. 10/1844, f. 65, 69. Vezi documentul la finele acestui studiu.

În 1816 satul avea numai 14 familii de birnici¹³ iar la 1838 se afla în proprietatea lui Mihalache Chicuş¹⁴.

Fiind o aşezare veche, Roşcanii au avut, fără îndoială şi o biserică. Cea mai veche mărturie despre existenţa unui locaş ortodox datează din anul 1809, întrucât în cataografia bisericilor din Moldova, întocmită în acest an, se înscrie la Roşcani biserica *Adormirea Maicii Domnului*, la care slujeau doi preoţi: „*Cozma, ficior pâr(intelui) Costandin nevolnic (şi) Vasilie*“¹⁵. Nu ştim când a fost construită această biserică, dar întrucât în primele decenii ale secolului al XIX-lea s-a impus ridicarea unui nou locaş, presupunem că exista în veacul al XVIII-lea, sau poate chiar de mai înainte. Pe ruinele vechiului locaş proprietarul moşiei, serdarul Mihalachi Chicuş, ia iniţiativa ridicării unei noi biserici, cu acelaşi hram, a cărei construcţie s-a încheiat şi s-a sfinţit în anul 1827¹⁶. O însemnare făcută o sută de ani mai târziu dă mărturie despre anul sfinţirii bisericii: „*Cânt. I, Sf. V(ovi)denie. Const. I. Goroveu, cântăreţ II, 1927, iunie. S-au făcut Tediomul Sf. locaş acestuia (I) a împlinire(a a) 100 ani de la facire. Spre amintire şi eternă pomenire*“¹⁷. Evenimentul împlinirii unui secol de la zidirea bisericii este consemnat şi pe o placă comemorativă aşezată în tinda bisericii, având săpat următorul text: „*1827-1927. S-a aşezat această placă comemorativă în anul 1927, la aniversarea a una sută de ani de la zidirea acestei Sf. biserici cu hramul Adormirea Maicii Donului, de către Mihail Kicuş, fost proprietar la Roşcani. Din iniţiativa următorilor credincioşi: Prop(ietar) Ionel Gheorghide, pr. paroh Gheorghe Kiorpec, cântăreţ(i) Gheorghe V. Dima, Const. I. Gorovei, epitr(opi) Gheorghe Dragomir, Andrei Iacome, Dumitru Roşculeţ, Mihalache Dima, Ştefan Dobrea, Costache Băleanu*“.

Cinci publicaţii, menţionate aici în ordinea cronologică a apariţiei lor, oferă date diferite pentru zidirea bisericii (de subliniat că ultimele trei fac, evident,

¹³ Corneliu Istrati, *Condica vistieriei Moldovei din anul 1816*, Iaşi, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, Bucureşti, 1979, p. 54.

¹⁴ Dumitru Ciurea, *Organizarea administrativă a statului feudal Moldova (sec. XIV – XVIII)*, în „Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie, Iaşi, 2, 1965, p. 218-219.

¹⁵ Constantin N. Tomescu, *Ştiri catagrafice din Biserica Moldovei*, în „Arhivele Basarabiei“, an. III, nr. 3, iulie-septembrie 1931, p. 194; Idem, *Biserica din principatele române la 1808-1812. Mărturii şi documente*, (ediţie îngrijită şi note de pr. Eugen Drăgoi) Editura Partener, Galaţi, 2010, p. 68. Vezi şi Nicolae Stoicescu, *Repertoriul bibliografic al localităţilor şi monumentelor medievale din Moldova*, Bucureşti, 1974, p. 727.

¹⁶ Moise N. Pacu, *Cartea judeţului Covurlui*, partea a III-a, Galaţi, 1891, p. 107; Corneliu Stoica, Ion T. Dragomir, Mihalache Brudiu, *Muzee şi monumente gălăţene*, Galaţi, 1974, p. 136. Autorii volumului fac şi o descriere a locaşului: „Biserica a fost construită în plan treflat, mai larg spre latura de vest. Tot spre latura de vest este şi un pridvor pentagonal. În exterior biserica este lipsită de turlă, dar în interior se află, pe naos, o cupolă în formă de calotă. Catapeteasma este originală, sculptată în lemn, cu elemente neoclasiche“.

¹⁷ Însemnare pe *Apostol*, Iaşi, 1835, f. 208v, exemplar aflat în depozitul de carte veche al Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos. Pe Constantin Gorovei îl întâlnim cântăreţ al doilea la Roşcani şi în 1932. Cf. *Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos*, fond Dosare parohiale, dosar nr. 203/1931/1935, f. 32.

confuzie între biserica de dinainte de 1809 și cea ridicată de Mihalache Chicuș): 1837¹⁸; 1828-1832¹⁹; ante 1809-1827²⁰; înainte de 1809²¹; înainte de 1809²². Așadar, actuala biserică din Roșcani a fost terminată de construit și a fost sfințită în anul 1827²³.

Despre ctitorul Mihalachi Chicuș nu cunoaștem multe date. Este descendent dintr-o familie de răzeși și vechi mazili moldoveni din ținutul Tutovei, ridicată la rang boieresc în timpul domniei lui Scarlat vodă Callimachi (12 august-3 octombrie 1806; 24 iulie 1807- 1 iunie 1810; 27 august 1812-20 iunie 1819). Tatăl acestuia, Ioan, a avut rangul de sluger²⁴. Mama, Maria (n. 1781), este înhumată în partea de sud a pronaosului bisericii din Roșcani, pe piatra de mormânt (marmură albă) fiind săpat următorul epitaf: „*Supt această piatră s-au înmormântat dumn(eaei), k(iria) k(iria) Maria – maica dumis(ale), spatariului Mihail Kicuș, prop(r)ietar al acestii moșii, Roșcanii – în vrăstă de 75 ani, săvârșită la anul 1856, luna iulii, 29, iar la 21 iulie au primit cinu călugăresc, numindu-să Martfa monahia*”²⁵. Mihalachi Chicuș s-a născut în anul 1806, după cum rezultă din actul său de deces²⁶. Potrivit memoriei locale, în copilărie era „olog” dar s-a vindecat

¹⁸ Econ. Gheorghe Popescu, *Protopopia județului Covurlui. Dare de seamă despre afacerile bisericesti*, București, 1906, p. 132 (întrucât autorul reproduce, practic, datele din lucrarea lui Moise N. Pacu, citată mai sus, credem că este vorba de o greșală de tipar).

¹⁹ *Anuar 1909* (editat de Casa Bisericii), București, 1909, p. 470, 3321 – 179 – 55 (Parohia Vlădești). Se menționează o reparație a bisericii în 1905.

²⁰ Pr. Igor Jechiu, *Valori culturale și de artă în cuprinsul Arhiepiscopiei Tomisului și Dunării de Jos*, în vol. „Arhiepiscopia Tomisului și Dunării de Jos în trecut și astăzi”, Galați, 1981, p. 96-97.

²¹ Pr. Eugen Drăgoi, *Locașurile sfinte din eparhie și slujitorii lor*, în vol. „Arhiepiscopia Tomisului și Dunării de Jos în trecut și astăzi”, Galați, 1981, p. 158. Revenim asupra acestei informații, în studiul de față.

²² *Anuar* (Episcopia Dunării de Jos), Galați, 1996, p. 261.

²³ *Vezi și Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos*, fond Dosare parohiale, dosar nr. 203/1931/1935, f. 12. La f. 42 din același dosar, citim că biserica s-a sfințit în 1836 de un episcop de Roman. În acel an la Roman păstora episcopul Meletie Lefter (iunie 1826-februarie 1844). Dacă luăm în considerare daniile de carte făcute de serdar în august 1836, este posibil să fi avut loc poate o resfințire a bisericii, posibil după pictarea acesteia, dacă nu fusese împodobită cu pictură încă din 1827.

²⁴ Costandin Sion, *Arhondologia Moldovei*, Editura Minerva, București, 1973, p. 121. Dregătorie boierească, având ca îndatorire aprovizionarea curții domnești și a slujitorilor ei cu carne. *Vezi Nicolae Stoicescu, Sfatul domnesc și marii dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV-XVII)*, Editura Academiei R.S.R., București, 1968, p. 291-293.

²⁵ Epitaful al cărui text l-am verificat în ziua de 10 martie 2010, cu ocazia unei deplasări de documentare la biserica din Roșcani, este reprodus, cu unele greșeli de lectură și într-un Ceaslov, Neamț, 1833 [identificarea s-a făcut după BRV, întrucât lipsește foaia de titlu, n.n.], f. 311v care se păstrează în biblioteca parohiei. Tot cu unele erori a fost publicat epitaful respectiv și de Maria Stanciu, *Roșcani, biserica îngenuncheată*, în „Viața liberă”, 19 ianuarie 2007, p. 7.

²⁶ SJANG, fond Colecția registre de stare civilă comunală, Primăria Galați, dosar nr. 86/1868, f. 42.

prin ședere îndelungată la Mănăstirea Neamț, unde s-au făcut rugăciuni pentru el de către viețuitorii obștii²⁷. Mai târziu, va face câteva călătorii la Mănăstirea Neamț de unde cumpără cărți de slujbă pe care le dăruiește ctitoriei sale de pe moșia Roșcani. Conform aceleași tradiții locale (care trebuie primită cu rezerva cuvenită până la o confirmare documentară), constructorii bisericii din Roșcani ar fi fost monahi de la lavra nemțeană, aduși de către serdar la Roșcani²⁸, iar pictorul un călugăr surdo-mut de la Ierusalim²⁹. Era căsătorit cu Smaranda, fiică a comisului Mihalache Străjescu³⁰ și a avut două fete: Maria și Elena. Este înscris cu rangul de spătar, al 10-lea dintre cei 41 de boieri în „Lista de toți boierii orașeni din Galați cu dritul de alegător și de a fi aleși la convocarea Divanului ad-hoc“, întocmită la 11 aprilie 1857³¹. În perioada premergătoare unirii principatelor române, M. Chicuș, împreună cu alți moșieri covurluieni, s-a situat în tabăra antiunioniștilor³². Serdarul a murit la 17 ianuarie 1868³³, dată înscrisă și pe crucea de mormânt (care se păstrează în biserica din Roșcani, pe mormântul monahiei Martfa, de care am amintit mai înainte).

Ctitorul Mihalache Chicuș s-a îngrijit de biserica pe care a ridicat-o, înzestrând-o cu cărți și preocupându-se de slujitorii Sfântului Altar. În acest sens aducem câteva mărturii inedite.

²⁷ Date preluate din tradiția orală de presb. Doinița Palade, în broșura manuscris *Roșcani, scurtă monografie* (2002, *nenumerotat*), pusă la dispoziția noastră de pr. Iulian Palade, actualmente paroh la biserica din Băneasa, jud. Galați, căruia îi mulțumesc și pe această cale. Acest amănunt biografic poate că nu este departe de adevăr, întrucât pe certificatul de deces doctorul Lițica notează cauza morții lui Mihalache Chicuș: „*Au murit de reumatismus*“. Vezi SJANG, fond Colecția registre de stare civilă comunală, Primăria Galați, dosar nr. 86/1868, f. 42.

²⁸ Doinița Palade, *op. cit.*

²⁹ Vezi *Istoricul bisericii „Adormirea Maicii Domnului“ din satul Roșcani, județul Galați*, în *Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos*, fond Inventare parohiale, 1967, Parohia Roșcani (manuscris dactilografiat).

³⁰ Comisul avea în sarcina sa grajdurile domnești, precum și caii oaspeților domnului și aprovizionarea cu fân a acestora. Vezi Nicolae Stoicescu, *Sfatul domnesc...*, p. 293-298. Mihalache Străjescu, proprietar al moșiei Țiglina, a făcut parte, împreună cu Hriste Martopolu din Epitropia înființată la 7 februarie 1837 pentru construirea unei clădiri necesare spitalului din Galați (Paul Păltănea, *Istoria orașului Galați de la origini până la 1918*, ed. a doua, I, Editura Partener, Galați, 2008, p. 447). Antiunionist militant, a fost părtaș la fraudarea alegerilor din 1857 (Idem, II, p. 91).

³¹ *Tezaur documentar gălățean* (ediție de documente întocmită de Cezar Bejan, Alexandru Duță, Stelian Iordache, Viorica Solomon), București, 1988, p. 133, doc. din ținutul Tutovei 88. În Moldova secolelor XV-XVII serdarul asigura paza hotarelor, dar „avea și dreptul de judecată în regiunea dată lui în grijă“. Începând cu mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea serdarii vor deveni ispravnici de ținut. Cf. Nicolae Stoicescu, *Sfatul domnesc*, p. 258-260.

³² Vezi Paul Păltănea, *Istoria orașului Galați...*, 2, p. 84, 86, 91, 96.

³³ SJANG, fond Colecția registre de stare civilă, comuna Galați, dosar nr. 86/1868, f. 42. Certificatul de deces nu amintește rangul boieresc al defunctului; mai mult, ca profesie a decedatului se înscrie *plugar*.

Cu ocazia unei călătorii pe care Mihalache Chicuş o face la Mănăstirea Neamţ, în vara anului 1836, cumpără mai multe cărţi de slujbă, dăruindu-le bisericii pe care o ridicase în Roşcani. Reproducem aici însemnările de danie din cărţile care astăzi se păstrează în depozitul de carte veche al Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos: „*Această Sfântă carte ci să numeşte Apostol este hărăzită Sfintei bisărici din satul Roşcanii cu hramul Adormire(a) Maicii Domnului şi cumpărată de mine. M. Chicuş, sardar. 1836, august*”³⁴. Pe aceeaşi carte (f. 208v) găsim o însemnare similară, mai dezvoltată: „*Aciastă Sfântă carte ci să numeşte Apostol, adică cuprindire faptilor şi epistolile Sf(in)ţ(ilor) Apostoli estei cumpărată de mine din Sfânta Monastire Niamţului pentru Sf(ânta) bisărică din satul Roşcani, pi moşia me, ci este cu hramul Adormire(a) Maicii D(o)mn(u)lui. M. Chicuş sardar. 1836, avgust.*” O însemnare pe forţa al doilea al cărţii *Octoih*, Neamţ, 1836 are următorul conţinut: „*Această Sfântă carte ce să numeşti Octoih este cumpărată de mine din vivlioteca Sf. Monastiri Niamţ pi cari o am hărăzit Sf. bisărici cu hramul Adormire(a) Maicii D(o)mn(nului) din satul Roşcanii, propie(ta)tea mea, ca să fii întru îndi(pl)inire(a) sf(intelor) slujbi şi spre pomeniri părinţilor mei Ioan şi Maria. 1836, avgust. M. Chicuş, sardar*”; tot pe acelaşi exemplar (f. 334) serdarul nota: „*Această Sfântă carte o am cumpărat pentru Sf(ânta) bisărică din satul Roşcanii la anul 1836, avgost. M. Chicuş, sardar.*”

Proprietarul moşiei oferă, la 20 decembrie 1855 un set de Sfinte vase ctitoriei sale, dispunând gravarea pe acestea a textelor votive: „*Acest Sf. potir este afierosit de dumn(e)alui Mihailu Kicăş bisericii cu hramu(l) Adormire(a) Precistii, din satul Roşcanii, ţinut Covurluiului, pe proprietoa (sic!) sa spre pomenire(a) sa şi a robilor lui Dumnezeu: Ioan, Maria, Smaranda, Maria, Elena, cu tot neamul lor. 1855, dechemvrii. 20*”; „*Acestu Sfânt discos este afierosit de dumn(e)alui Mihailu Kicuş bisericii Adormire(a) Precistii, din sat Roşcani, pe proprieta(tea) a dum(i)s(ale), spre veşnica pomenire a robilor lui D(u)mn(ezeu): Ioanu, Maria, cu tot niamul lor, Zmaranda, Maria, Elena. 1855, dechem(brie) 20*”³⁵.

Serdarul Mihalachi a făcut danii şi altor biserici. Potrivit condiţii de venituri şi cheltuieli a bisericii Vovidenia din Galaţi pe anii 1827-1862, între cei care au făcut donaţii acestui locaş în anul 1840 se numără şi „sărdar Mihalache Chicuş” cu 150 de lei³⁶. De altfel, la această biserică a făcut şi alte donaţii, în mai multe rânduri, după cum afirmă episcopul Melchisedec Ştefănescu al Dunării de Jos care, în noiembrie 1865, îl numeşte episcop al bisericii Vovidenia, ierarhul manifestându-

³⁴ *Apostol*, Iaşi, 1835, foaia de titlu, verso.

³⁵ Text înscris după lectura ce am făcut-o personal în ziua de 10 martie 2011, cu ocazia documentării la faţa locului. Cele două texte sunt reproduse, cu unele erori, şi în *Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos*, fond Inventare parohiale, 1967, Parohia Roşcani, Anexa la Lista de inventariere nr. 1 (nenumerotat). De asemenea, inscripţiile de pe cele două sfinte vase au fost copiate, de asemenea cu mici greşeli, şi într-un *Ceaslov*, Mănăstirea Neamţ, 1833 [identificarea s-a făcut după BRV, întrucât lipseşte foaia de titlu, n.n.], f. 309v, 310v, aflat în păstrare în biblioteca parohiei Roşcani.

³⁶ SJANG, Colecţia manuscrise, dosar nr. 31/1827-1862, f. 14v.

și speranța „că și pe viitorime domnia sa nu-și va împuțina zelul întru înfrumusețarea aceluia dumnezeiesc locaș”³⁷.

La 1844 preot în Roșcani era *Ion Munteanu*, care întocmește și trimite la Protopopiatul ținutului Covurlui lista celor 73 capi de familie care alcătuiau enoria bisericii ctitorite de Mihalache Chicuș³⁸. Cu această ocazie, înaintează și „izvodul pentru cărțile bisăricii și câte să află nouă și câte vechi”³⁹. La acea dată (iulie 1844) biserica din Roșcani avea trei cărți vechi: un *Minei*, un *Penticostar* și o *Psaltire*; cinci cărți noi: *Triod*, *Octoih*, *Apostol*, *Liturghie* și o „*Evanghelie bună*“, fără să se facă vreo referire la vechimea acestora din urmă⁴⁰.

În vara anului 1846 serdarul Chicuș solicita mijlocirea protoiereului de Covurlui pe lângă episcopul Romanului pentru eliberarea cărții de mutare a diaconului *Marin Popescu* de la schitul Zimbru, ținutul Covurlui, la biserica Adormirea Precistii din Roșcani, pentru care își dăduse acordul și monahia Agaftiia Banu, stareța schitului⁴¹. Diaconul se învoise cu serdarul să primească pentru slujba lui, „250 lei bani și triii fălci arătură pă fieștecare an”⁴². Prin adresa nr. 531 din 23 iulie 1846 episcopul Romanului trimite Protopopiatului Covurlui cartea de mutare pentru diaconul *Marin Popescu* la Roșcani⁴³.

Tot același serdar cerea, 22 iunie 1846, carte arhierescă pentru statornicirea unui dascăl la bisericuța de pe moșia sa, „spre a nu mai zbură cu lesnire”⁴⁴.

În anul 1853 posesorul moșiei Roșcani făcea o plângere împotriva preotului sachelar *Vasile Podașcă*; nu cunoaștem urmările acestei întâmpinări⁴⁵. Preotul Podașcă slujea la Roșcani și în 1863, împreună cu alt preot, *Gavriil Condurachi*⁴⁶. Acest din urmă preot, autor al unei însemnări pe o carte în anul 1856⁴⁷, era duhovnic, având și el rangul de sachelar.

³⁷ *Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos*, fond Dosare generale, dosar nr. 535/1865, f. 2.

³⁸ *Arhiva Protopopiatului Galați*, dosar nr. 10/1844, f. 65v.

³⁹ *Idem*, f. 69r.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ SJANG, fond Protopopia ținutului Covurlui, dosar nr. 26/1846, f. 14.

⁴² *Ibidem*.

⁴³ *Idem*, f. 15.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, f. 13. Nu se spune numele dascălului.

⁴⁵ *Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos*, fond Dosare generale, dosar nr. 412/1852-1854, f. 235; pr. Eugen Drăgoi, *Documente inedite asupra vieții bisericesti covurluiene, la mijlocul veacului al XIX-lea*, în „Anuar (Episcopia Dunării de Jos)“, Galați, 1996, p. 95.

⁴⁶ *Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos*, fond Dosare generale, dosar nr. 165/1863-1864, f. 26 (Raportul protoiereului nr. 320 din 8 iulie 1863).

⁴⁷ *Vezi Molitfelnic bogat*, Mănăstirea Neamț, 1848, f. 344v (Volum aflat în biblioteca parohiei Roșcani, comuna Băneasa, jud. Galați): „*Acest Molitv(e)nic este cumpărat di (j)os iscălitul...din orașul Eșii cu tre(i)zeci...lei cursul Ieșului la anu' 1856, ghenarii 8, spre a sluji ceale duhovnice(ști). Și ispitindu-să cuneva a-l înstrăina să nu-i ajute Maica Domnului. Roșcani, Gavriilă Condurachi săchilariu și duhovnic*“.

Ne oprim aici cu relatarea unor mărturii despre biserica din Roșcani; adăugăm, la final, șase documente inedite din secolul al XIX-lea, la care ne-am referit mai sus.

DOCUMENTE

1

1844, iulie 15. Catagrafia locuitorilor satului Roșcani, ținutul Covurlui.

Izvodu di catagrafii arătătoare di căți locuitori să află în satul nostru Roșcani, cu numili fiișticăruia și poră(că?) lor.

1. Pavăl Părșoleanu; 2. Dumitru Cojocariu; 3. Andreiu Rotariu; 4. Gavrilă Călin; 5. Ion Moșunoi; 6. Toader Cojocariu; 7. Ion Cojocariu; 8. Ștefan Moșunoi; 9. Gheorghii Fanea; 10. Vasăli Iacomi; 11. Ion Sudriu; 12. Iacomi Ioviți; 13. Mănoli Vintilă; 14. Marin Munteanu; 15. Costandin Murgoci; 16. Lefter Dima; 17. Ion Rusu; 18. Dima Ursachi; 19. Iordachi Corcu; 20. Stoica Marola; 21. Neculaiu Marola; 22. Costandin Marola; 23. Ion Iacomi; 24. Gheorghii Băleanu; 25. Ion Aneculi; 26. Ilii Pruteanu; 27. Grigore Dragomir; 28. Vasăli Dragomir; 29. Ioniță Dragomir; 30. Gavrilă Dragomir; 31. Ursu Pădurariu; 32. Grigoraș Florea; 33. Gheorghii Mistreanu; 34. Sămeon Boboc; 35. Ion Pruteanu; 36. Stămați Purceanu; 37. Ion Stămați; 38. Gheorghii Stămați; 39. Ion Murgoci; 40. Costandin Ta...⁴⁸; 41. Gheorghii Ivan(ciu?)⁴⁹; // 42. Dumitru Huțanu; 43. Costan Huțanu; 44. Neculaiu Vătavu; 45. Gheorghii Roșu; 46. Ion Stanciu; 47. Radu Roșu; 48. Vasăli Roșu; 49. Costandin Pechianu; 50. Lazar Pechianu; 51. Ioniță Barbu; 52. Ion Călugăru; 53. Gheorghii Pădurariu; 54. Ion Olariu; 55. Vasăli Goroveiu; 56. Ion Goroveiu; 57. Dobrea Avel; 58. Toader Mistreanu; 59. Ioviță Barbu; 60. Toader Dogariu; 61. Toader Morariu; 62. Mihai Butunoiu; 63. Anton Călugăru; 64. Anton Vintilă; 65. Neculaiu Huțanu; 66. Iacob Groza; 67. Iftodi Gabor; 68. Avram Mistreanu; 69. Ion Cozianu; 70. Pavăl Simionul; 71. Ursachi Mărgineanu; 72. Ileana văduvă; 73. Safta văduvă.

Eu Radu Roș, pasnic

Eu Iordachi Corcu, vornic

Ion Munteanu, preot. 1844, iulii 15.

Arhiva Protopopiatului Galați, dosar nr. 10/1844, f. 65r-65v. Hârtie albă, 43 x 16 cm. Pecetea în fum a satului.

⁴⁸ Șters.

⁴⁹ Șters.

2

1844, iulie 15. „Izvodul“ cărților vechi și noi ale bisericii din Roșcani, ținutul Covurlui.

Izvodul pentru cărțile bisăricii și câte să află nouă și câte vechi.

- 1 Triod nou
- 1 Ohtoih nou
- 1 Apostol nou
- 1 Liturghie noo
- 1 Ceaslov nou
- 1 Meneiu vechi
- 1 Pinticostariu vechi
- 1 Psaltire veche
- 1 Evanghelie bună.

Arhiva Protopopiatului Galați, dosar nr. 10/1844, f. 69r. Hârtie albă, 43 x 16 cm.

3

1846, iunie 24. Raportul nr. 285 al Protopopiatului Covurlui către episcopul Romanului prin care comunică solicitarea serdarului Mihalache Chicuș, proprietarul moșiei Roșcani, ocolul Prutului, ținutul Covurlui de a se elibera carte de mutare diaconului Marin Popescu de la schitul Zimbru, ținutul Covurlui, la biserica Adormirea Precistii din Roșcani, pentru care și-a dat acceptul și monahia Agaftiia Banu, stareța schitului.

D(umnealui) sârdar Mihalachi Chicuș, proprietarul moșii satului Roșcani, ocolul Prutului, din acest ținut (Covurlui, n.n.), după lipsa și nevoia ce are pântru un diacon la b(iserica) cu hramul Adormirea Precistii din pominitul sat, cîri di a statornici pã d(iaconul) Marin Popăscu ce esti hirotonisit pã b(iserica) Sf(ântul) M(artir) Gheorghî (a) schitului Zimbru, tot din acest ținut, căruia acum eu și monahia Agaftiia Banu, stareța acelu schit, prin a sa hârtie îi dă slobozenie ca să-ș(i) caute loc unde își va putea găsi pântru hrana vieții.

În privirea neagiunșurilor cutează la (a)cel Sf(ânt) schit și fiindcă pominitul d(iacon) di pã învoiala ce are săvârșită cu d(umnea)l(ui) sardar Chicuș să plătești cu 250 lei bani și triii fâlci arătură pã fieștecare an. Cu toată supunerea pã di o parte adică (aduc) la cunoștința Preaos(finției Voastre) iar pi di alta mă rog să i să trimită blagocestiva carte de mutaria diaconului pe numele bisericii satului Roșcani.

Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale Galați, fond Protopopia ținutului Covurlui, dosar nr. 26/1846, f. 14. [Hârtie albastră, 21 x 22 cm].

1865, noiembrie 13. Raportul protoiereului de Covurlui, Ioan Severin către episcopul Melchisedec Ștefănescu al Dunării de Jos, prin care propune înlocuirea epitropului Ilie Carabașu de la biserica Vovidenia din Galați cu Mihalache Chicuș.

Princip(atele) Unite Române
Protoieria județului Covurlui
N(r) 569, Galați, 1865, noiembrie 13

Prea Sfințite Stăpâne,

Biserica cu hramul Vovidenia din orașul Galați, în privirea administrației materiale este în decatențe; aceasta provine numai din cauza epitropului Ilie Carabaș, carele are puțină îngrijire de acest Sf. locaș, cas ce-au făcut ca acea biserică să fie mai de multe ori jefuită de cătră făcătorii de rele, precum acum în seara spre Sf. Dimitrie au fost jefuită de mai multe odoare prețioase, numai din cauză că încuitorile acelei biserici au fost foarte slabe. Și fiindcă contra acestui epitrop mi s-au tânguit și preoții acelei biss(erică) că de mai multe ori au fost insultați fără motive legale.

Aceste urmări, cu supunere le aduc la cunoștința Prea Sfinției Voastre, și vă rog a binevoi înlocuirea dlui Carabaș prin dl Mihail Chicuș, având prin aceasta și biss(erică) un bun // (1v) administratore, carele și în trecut pentru înflorirea acestui locaș n-au cruțat orice sacrificiu din partea sa, ajutând mult această biss(erică) cu asemenea numire.

Binevoii, vă rog, Prea Sfințite Stăpâne, a priimi încredințarea prea osebitei melle stimi și considerațiuni.

Protoiereu icon. I. Severin, secretar V. Bejan⁵⁰.

Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos, fond Dosare generale, dosar nr. 535/1865, f. 1r-v. Original, hârtie albă, 21 x 32 cm.

1865, noiembrie 23. Decret eliberat de episcopul Melchisedec Ștefănescu al Dunării de Jos, pentru Mihalache Chicuș pentru numirea acestuia ca epitrop la biserica Vovidenia din Galați.

Decret de epitropie dlui Mihail Chicuș pentru templul Vovidenia din Galați.
N(r.) 921, 1865, noiembrie 23

⁵⁰ Rezoluția episcopului pe documentul respectiv: „19 noiembrie. Se încuviințează propunerea protoiereului, drept care se va elibera dsalle, dlui Mihail Chicuș, Decret de epitropie. Melchisedec“.

Protoiereul județului Covurlui, prin raportul n(r.) 569, comunică la această episcopie că la biserica cu hramul Intrarea în biserică a Preasfintei Născătoarei de D(umne)zeu [Vovidenia] din orașul Galați este necesitate de un epitrop în locul dlui Ilie Cărăbuș, carele are puțină îngrijire de biserică și totodată au recomandat pentru acest post pe d(umnea)lui dl Mihail Chicuș.

Noi deci, având în vedere expunerile din menționatul raport al protoiereului; considerând totodată frumoasele sentimente creștine a(le) d(omniei)salle, dlui Mihail Chicuș, precum și ofrandele făcute de d(umnea)lui în deosebite rânduri la acea biserică, cu plăcere îl întărim prin aceasta în postul de epitrop la numita biserică, sperând ca și pe viitor, d(omnia) sa nu-și va împușina zelul întru înfrumusețarea acellui d(umne)zeiesc locaș.

Datu-s-au în Episcopia de Ismail, la anul 1865, noemv(rie)⁵¹.

Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos, fond Dosare generale, dosar nr. 535/1865, f. 2r. Ciornă a Decretului, hârtie albă, 21 x 32 cm.

6

1868, ianuarie 18. Certificat de moarte nr. 41 din 18 ianuarie 1868 al lui Mihail Chicuș, domiciliat în Galați.

Act de moarte a dlui Mihail Chicușu, de religie ortodoxă, în etate de șasezeci și doi ani, (de) profesie plugariu, căsătorit cu doamna Smaranda C. Străjescu. Au murit la șasesprezece spre șaptesprezece ale luni ianuaru, pi la orile șapte de dimineață, în această comună (Galați, n.n.) la casa sa din strada Mun(i)cipală cu no. două, qu(a)rtalul al doilea. Marturi au fost dlui Costantin Buhociu, de ani șaptezeci și patru, de profesie plugariu, dom(iciliat) în strada Domnească, amic cu răposatu și dlui Necole Ioan de ani șaptezeci și opt, de profesie liberă, dom. în str. Sf. Vineri, amic cu răposatu. Au murit de reumatismus, dr. Lițica.

Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale Galați, fond Registre de stare civilă comunală, Primăria Galați dosar nr. 86/1868, f. 42. [Hârtie albă, 21 x 32 cm].

⁵¹ Originalul Decretului a fost trimis Protoiereului județului Covurlui cu adresa nr. 922 din 23 noiembrie 1865, „spre a-l înmâna d(omniei) sale, dlui Mihail Chicuș“. Vezi *Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos*, fond Dosare generale, dosar nr. 535/1865, f. 2v.

*Constantin ARDELEANU**

SOME INFORMATION REGARDING THE PRISONS OF GALAȚI AT THE MIDDLE OF THE XIXTH CENTURY

-Abstract-

As few information is known regarding the situation of the prisons from Galați during the period of the Règlements Organiques, this paper brings to the fore two interesting testimonies regarding the condition of the prisoners from Galați: the unpublished reports written by the British vice-consul at Galați, Charles Cunningham, and by doctor Wagner, who accompanied the British official in his visit to the local prison, in March 1845, after the death of a British citizen in the prison of Galați, and the details provided in his travel journal by Benjamin Nicolas Marie Appert, general chief of the French prisons, who visited the Romanian Principalities in 1851.

Keywords: Galați, Moldavia, penitentiary system, prisoners, foreign travellers, British vice-consul

CÂTEVA INFORMAȚII PRIVIND ÎNCHISORILE DIN GALAȚI LA MIJLOCUL SECOLULUI AL XIX-LEA

-Rezumat-

Cum puține informații sunt cunoscute în legătură cu situația penitenciarelor din Galați în perioada regulamentară, acest scurt articol pune în valoare două mărturii interesante despre situația deținuților din Galați: rapoartele inedite redactate de vice-consulul britanic la Galați, Charles Cunningham, și de medicul Wagner, ce l-a însoțit la închisoarea orașului, în martie 1845, după ce un supus britanic a murit acolo; informațiile neutilizate lăsate în jurnalul său de călătorie de francezul Benjamin Nicolas Marie Appert, călător prin spațiul românesc în anul 1851.

Cuvinte cheie: Galați, Moldova, sistem penitenciar, deținuți, călători străini, vice-consul britanic

One of the few aspects which Paul Păltănea virtually ignored in his remarkable history of Galați is that related to the organisation of the prisons from

* "Dunărea de Jos" University, Galați, ardcons@yahoo.com.

the Moldavian port-city¹. Without insisting on the condition of detention facilities throughout the Romanian Principalities during the period of the *Règlements Organiques*, a topic which has been approached in the Romanian historiography², this short paper will refer to the two correctional establishments in Galați, the criminal prison and the city prison, on the basis of two significant contemporary sources: a report sent to his superiors, in March 1845, by the British vice-consul at Galați, Charles Cunningham, dispatch accompanied by the remarks of a Swiss Doctor, Wagner, who accompanied the British official in his visit to the local prison, and the details provided in his travelogue by Benjamin Nicolas Marie Appert, general chief of the French prisons, who visited the Romanian Principalities in the autumn of 1851.

*

The increasing number of commercial vessels calling at the harbour of Galați during the period which followed the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish peace of Adrianople (1829) and the crimes committed by the ever larger community of British subjects who resided permanently or temporarily in Moldavia made vice-consul Cunningham evaluate if the local public prisons offered the detainees minimal living, hygiene and medical conditions³. On 10 March 1845, he visited the city prison, accompanied by chancellor Ion Nicolaidi and a certain doctor Wagner. The establishment, placed in an insalubrious and highly humid area, consisted of a one-storied wooden building. The hut was divided into two equal parts, one for the guards, and the other for the prisoners; under it, there was a dungeon for dangerous criminals. “The room, where the prisoners are had two windows guarded with irons bars, and were without glass, or any substitute to keep out the weather. Sometimes these are covered in with a transparent gut, but then the prison must suffer from want of air”. The detention room (about 17 square meters) was completely inefficient for the large number of prisoners, eight when the visit took place, but sometimes as large as 20 or 30, when the convicts were confined to the dungeon. There were no beds, the healthy inmates and their sick colleagues being held together, without any medical or social assistance. Concerning the food, things were as difficult, as the authorities did not provide any assistance and everything

¹ Paul Păltănea, *Istoria orașului Galați. De la origini până la 1918*, vol. I-II, 2nd edition, edited by Eugen Drăgoi, Editura Partner, Galați, 2008.

² See, for example, Gr. I. Dianu, *Istoria închisorilor din România: studiu comparativ: legi și obiceiuri*, Tipografia Curții Regale F. Göbl Fii, București, 1900; Ovid Stănciulescu, *Cercetări asupra regimului penitenciar român din veacul al XIX-lea*, with an unknown study by Constantin Moroiu, Tipografia Fondul Cărților Funduare, Cluj, 1933; Ioan Chiș, *Istoria penitenciarelor: ieri și azi*, A.N.I., București, 2003.

³ The inspection was requested by the British authorities after an Ionian, British subject, died in the prison of Galatz – The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 78 (Turkey), FO 78/608, 1845, Jassy, Consul Samuel Gardner to the Earl of Aberdeen, 31 March 1845, f. 37.

depended on public charity⁴. The conclusion that the prison was not fit to receive British subjects was thus natural, being also supported by Wagner's report, which referred to the humidity, vicious air and other harmful conditions for the prisoners' lives⁵.

According to Appert (who visited the place accompanied by Doctor Jacob Stanislaus Cihac, the surgeon of the local troops and hospitals, and by the dragoman of the French consulate), in 1851 there were confined in the criminal prison "18 prisoners not yet judged, expecting for several months the conclusion of their trials". The captives slept on the floor, "on reasonable reed mattresses". There were two large underground cells, which were rather useless. The prisoners, of different nationalities, "receive no underwear and no uniform, which explains their state of nudity. They have no courtyard to walk in. A single guard watches over the prisoners, who, though without chains, do not attempt to escape. They are quiet and obedient. Some of them have at the right foot a small round board, which opens up in two parts and which does not allow the foot to come out. This means, used to avoid escapes, is less rough than the chains. At night, when the prisoners are ordered to go to sleep, a piece of wood, also opening up in two and with hollowed round holes the size of the feet making a single piece, is attached to the prisoners during their sleep. In the morning, the guard removes this instrument". The treatment was often harsh, one of the prisoners being beaten until he got mad; he was now "sent to the salt-mines, where the biggest criminals in Moldavia were punished". As for the city prison, Appert considered its room to be good and the program similar to that from the criminal prison. When the guests visited it, there were four prisoners in the city prison, among whom a woman⁶.

These two brief sources underline the difficult status of prisons in Galatz by mid 19th century, in a society where penitentiaries were not regarded as detention, correction or reeducation institutions, but as already a veritable condemnation to the death penalty. The testimonies of these important witnesses prove that the problems of the Moldavian prison system were related to the insufficient room available for the rather large number of prisoners, the defective management of the establishments, without minimal sleeping, heating and food facilities and complete indifference to provide hygienic and medical assistance. Last but not least, the apathy of the public authorities was doubled by the sheer disinterest of those institutions (school, church etc.) which could save those who recoverable from a human and social point of view.

⁴ See *Appendix I*.

⁵ See *Appendix II*.

⁶ Benjamin Nicolas Marie Appert (translation by Raluca Tomi), in *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea*, new series, vol. V, 1847-1851, edited by Daniela Bușă, Editura Academiei Române, București, 2009, pp. 671-672.

Appendix I⁷*Report on the prison of Galatz*

Galatz, 13 March 1845

In the tenth day of the present month of March the undersigned British Vice Consul went to the prison of the town accompanied by his chancellier Mr. John Nicolaidi & Doctor Wagner in order to examine the state of the said prison. Dr. Wagner has made a separate report which is enclosed.

The prison consists of a Log Hut consisting only of a ground Floor. It is twenty eight feet long inside by fourteen feet broad. It is situated in a low damp situation in a very small confined court. This Hut is divided into two equal parts of which the first or outer portion is for the guard and the inner measuring fourteen feet by fourteen is the prison. Under the prison and communicating with the prisoners room by a Hap door ad a rope ladder is a dungeon of about twelve feet deep or the same breadth as the prison and a little longer than the room of the prisoners. It gets a little air from two holes under the prison communicating with the outer air.

The room, where the prisoners are had two windows guarded with irons bars, and were without glass, or any substitute to keep out the weather. Sometimes these are covered in with a transparent gut, but then the prison must suffer from want of air.

In the day aforesaid there were only eight prisoners confined in the prison of whom three were sick. They all lye on the ground without any bed whatsoever, the sick mingled with the other without any distinction. There is no medical aid. No medical man is attached to the prison, and the prisoners have no medical assistance.

From information obtained there are often twenty prisoners confined in this single room and sometimes as many as thirty but in the latter case one half must be put into the dungeon to sleep. The Dungeon is only meant for dangerous criminals. Sometimes back each prisoner was allowed two loaves of a day, but latterly this allowance has been stopped and all the prisoners depend on charity, to obtain which two of the prisoners are sent into the town daily. No firewood is allowed to the prisoners even in the coldest weather but when they can obtain firewood there is no impediment to their making use of it. The prison is quite unfit to receive any person on the part of the British Consulate excepting in Case of the greatest inequity. Dr. Wagner in his report states the prison to be built of Calcareous Stone, but it is of Logs plastered over with clay inside and white washed and there is a Brick Stone in it. From the appearance of the inside Dr. Wagner concluded the prison was built of Stone.

⁷ FO 78/608, f. 38-39.

*Doctor's Wagner Report to Mr. Vice Consul Cunningham*⁸

Invité de vous faire un rapport sur la prison de cette ville de Galatz j'ai l'honneur de vous exposer ce qui suit.

Le local destiné à recevoir les détenus consiste dans un espace de pieds □ 14 anglais plan sur un terrain humide. Au dessous, immédiatement se trouve un souterrain de la même étendue recevant son faible jour par une lucarne du ler de chaussée; ces deux compartiments construit en pierre calcaire et entièrement soustrait de la ventilation son un séjour pernicieux pour les prisonniers. Leur humidité et l'air vicié qui les remplit exerce sur la santé des détenus l'influence la plus fâcheuse. Les inconvénients de la localité sont encore augmentés par l'entassement des détenus dont le nombre s'éleve quelquefois jusqu'a trente et par leur manque des soins les plus indispensables. La communication immédiate de tous les détenus sans égard à la gravité des faites ne peut d'ailleurs répondre aux intentions d'une philanthropie éclairée. Me rapportant aux circonstances ci dessus exposées je dois déclarer que la prison municipale de Galatz n'offre aucune des conditions qu'on exige d'un pareil établissement. Il est dangereux, il est contraire à toute idée d'humanité de lui confier des sujets ou protégés anglais.

Signé le docteur Wagner

⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 39.

*Elena Ingrid BAHAMAT**

**VIEWS ON THE COSTS OF LIFE IN GALAȚI, AT THE END
OF THE XIXTH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING
OF THE XXTH**

-Abstract-

Investigating the history of a human community involves knowing the level of the costs of living. Therefore, in order to acquire a proper understanding of the life in Galați, at the end of the XIXth century, the answers to the following questions are of foremost importance: How did the inhabitants of Galați of those days earn their living and what was their level of living?

For our endeavour, it is important to find out: the professional profile of the inhabitants of the city, the income of the various professional groups, the prices of commodities and of the luxury items. According to these parameters, we can get a glimpse of the level of living and of the costs of living. We don't intend to present comprehensive statistics in this respect, but, for different categories of people, to present an adequate image of the balance between offer and demand on the local market, as an indicator of the cost of life in the Danubian port of Galați, during the age under focus.

It is well known that the level of life of a community is related to the degree of economical and social modernity and to the mentality that underlies its existence. Therefore, it would be interesting to approach our topic starting from several general remarks about the economical and social evolution, both at a national and international level. Hence, we will get an image of the evolution of this aspect at a local level, at the crossing between the XIXth and the XXth century.

Within this context, of foremost importance is the correlation between the level of the income, specific to each professional group, the offer of the local market and the standard of life, imposed by the social statute, by the level of education and by mentalities. Generally speaking, the cost of life in Galați was at the same level with the cost of life at a national scale, with some peculiarities deriving from the specific condition of the local economy.

The documentary sources we availed of in our endeavour proved to be not sufficient for a precise and exhaustive analysis of the cost of life, specific to each professional category. Nevertheless, it was possible to sketch a realist and significant image of the local daily life, during that age.

We can state that the cost of life in the town of Galați, at the end of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth century, ranged along three major levels:

* History Museum of Galați, elingridbah@yahoo.com.

minimal, average and maximum, with a blurred demarcation, with variations in time and according to each social level.

The market of a port of international importance offered more imported commodities, not so easily available in other parts of the country. Whatever was fashionable at an international level easily reached, at least as information, the town of Galați, a Danubian port situated at the meeting point of the Western and Eastern worlds. Being quickly informed, the inhabitants of Galați, according to their degree of openness towards the novel and to their financial capacity, had the possibility to keep the pace with the international fashion. According to the social and professional level, we can clearly distinguish several styles of life.

Keywords: cost, profession, level of living, price, daily life, Galați

CONSIDERAȚII ASUPRA COSTULUI VIEȚII ÎN ORAȘUL GALAȚI LA SFÂRȘITUL SECOLULUI AL XIX-LEA ȘI ÎNCEPUTUL SECOLULUI AL XX-LEA

-Rezumat-

Cercetarea istoriei unei comunitati umane impune si cunoasterea nivelului sau de trai, a costului vietii. De aceea, pentru a înțelege cu adevărat cum se trăia în Galații sfârșitului de secol XIX si începutului de secol XX, sunt esențiale răspunsurile la întrebările: cum își câștigau existența și ce nivel de trai aveau gălățenii epocii.

Important pentru demersul tematic propus este să aflăm: profilul ocupațional al locuitorilor urbei; câștigul material al diferitelor categorii profesionale; prețurile produselor de larg consum și ale celor de lux. În funcție de aceste valori putem înțelege nivelul de trai, sau costul vieții. Nu ne propunem să prezentăm statistici complete în acest sens ci, pe anumite paliere existențiale, să stabilim o raportare cât mai fidelă a ofertei la cererea de pe piața gălățeană, ca barometru al valorii vieții în orașul port dunărean Galați, la vremea respectivă.

Este știut faptul că nivelul de trai al unei comunități este în corelație cu gradul de modernizare al vieții sale economico-sociale, precum și cu mentalitatea ce-i coordonează existența. Din această perspectivă este interesant să abordăm subiectul propus pornind de la câteva considerații generale despre evoluția economico-socială la nivel internațional și național, cu implicații determinante în evoluția acestui domeniu și în plan local, la cumpăna acelor secole.

Apare ca definitorie în acest context tematic corelația dintre câștigul material, conform activității și pregătirii profesionale, oferta de prețuri a pieței locale și, nu în ultimul rând, standardul de viață impus de statutul social, de educație, de mentalitate. În linii generale, costul vieții locale s-a circumscris nivelului național, specificul său a derivat din starea economiei locale, evoluția acesteia fiind barometrul prețului real

Sursele documentare cercetate în acest demers s-au dovedit a fi incomplete, insuficiente pentru o analiză exhaustivă și precisă a costului vieții fiecărei categorii profesionale. Totuși, cele păstrate în timp și accesibile studiului au permis jalonarea științifică a unor repere realiste și ilustrative pentru viața cotidiană locală a epocii.

Considerăm că a existat, pentru gălățenii sfârșitului de secol XIX și începutului de secol XX, un cost al vieții împărțit pe trei nivele: minimal, mediu și maximal, cu limite flexibile între ele, variabile de la un an la altul, de la un deceniu la altul, de la un segment social la altul, de la un individ la altul.

Piața unui port de renume internațional a fost mai ofertantă cu produse de import, mai greu accesibile altor zone ale țării. Ceea ce se lansa pe piața modei, de orice fel, la nivel internațional ajungea, măcar la nivel informativ, destul de repede într-un port danubian situat la confluența civilizațiilor occidentală și orientală. Având acces la informație, în funcție de gradul de receptare a noului și de accesibilitatea financiară, locuitorii de aici se puteau racorda la spiritul modei. A existat o diferențiere clară a stilului de viață pe diverse paliere socio-profesionale.

Cuvinte cheie: cost, ocupație, nivel de trai, preț, viață, Galați

The various aspects of life reflect the level of civilisation, with the inherent ups and downs of each human community. From this point of view, for a full picture of life in Galați at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, it seems of foremost importance to answer to the following questions: how did Galați dwellers earned their living and which was their standard of living?

For this, it is important to find out: the occupational profile of the town dwellers; the material gain of the various occupational categories; the price of consumer goods and of luxury items. According to these values, we can understand the standard of living or the *cost of living*. We do not mean to provide full statistics in this regard but, to establish, on certain existential levels, an as accurate as possible supply and demand report on Galați market, as barometer of the value of life in the harbour town of Galați in those days.

It is known that the standard of living of a community is in correlation with the modernisation degree of its economic and social life, as well as with the mentality which coordinates its existence. It is from this perspective that we wish to approach the proposed subject, starting from several general considerations on the social-economic evolution at international and national level, with determining implications in the evolution of this field and, locally, at the junction of the two centuries.

The above mentioned period was obviously marked by the vivification of industrial development, of the banking system, of transports and communications, generating real mutations at the level of social structures. Economic development, advances in prices, assets, wages, and profits as well, at the same time with the

improvement of the standard of living, recorded at European level, had real repercussions, with specific characteristics in our national space.

On the Romanian territory, this reality was shaped under the principled clashed between the free-trader and protectionist trends, manifested during the last decades of the 19th century.

If free-trade was supporting government's non-interference with the economic life, protectionism was in favour of protecting and promoting indigene economic activities, for limiting the power of foreign competitors on the national market and increasing that of autochthonous manufacturers through government's intervention in the system of customs duties, export bounties, currency restrictions.¹ The principle *through our own powers* was supporting the promotion of national economy, especially through customs, industrial and banking protectionism, established through the legislation adopted to that effect.

The last three decades until World War I should be analysed, according to contemporary historiography, "in terms of the government's effort to encourage and protect a national industry and, also, in terms of the not too favourable internal and external factors: the poverty of autochthonous capital, the lack of technical staff, as well as of qualified workers; foreign competition".²

Clearly important for the development of economy of that time was the stability of currency circulation, the exchange rate being relatively stable until World War I. Conditions were created for ensuring and guaranteeing investments in the main economic areas, the activity of the banking and credit system being supported by the State, by contributing with capital or by guaranteeing financial operations. Until 1914, the National Bank "was the main inland source of Romanian credit and contributed to the mobilisation of the inactive financial capital and to its canalisation towards the productive industrial and commercial units"³, the value of the granted loans being illustrative for the spreading of credits, for the overall economic evolution. This reality was confirming a concrete modernisation which bore the print of a considerable development gap between the national and the international levels in the social-economic life of Romania.

The evolution of the various branches of the national economy inevitable led to the appearance, disappearance or perpetuation of certain occupations among the active population, changing at the same time the configuration of its social structure. At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, the

¹ See Elena Ingrid Bahamat, *Legislația liberală de încurajare a industriei naționale (1881-1887). Legea din 1887 în dezbaterile parlamentare (Liberal Legislation for the Encouragement of National Industry. Law of 1887 in Parliament Debates)*, in "Danubius", No. XXI, Galați, 2003, p.57.

² *Istoria Românilor de la Independență la Marea Unire (1878-1918) (în continuare Istoria Românilor...)*, (*Romanians' History from the Independence to the Great Union, hereinafter: Romanians' History ...*) vol. VII, Tom II, coordinator acad. Gheorghe Platon, Encyclopaedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p.113.

³ Keith Hitchins, *Romania 1866-1947*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 1994, p.219.

Romanian bourgeoisie distinguished itself among the town people, as was the case in Galați as well, gradually replacing the foreign one, predominant among traders and money lenders. What occupational categories did form this distinct, social class of the epoch? Merchants and industrialists, clerks, lawyers, teachers, doctors. There was a gradual layering among the bourgeois, dictated also by the occupational profile of its representatives. Bankers and big industrialists (including important land owners who had invested in industry) made up the high bourgeoisie. The middle bourgeoisie comprised small and middle industrialists, merchants, industry and bank clerks, as well as freelancers. Another occupational segment was represented by public administration clerks, in continual growth. A special part was played during those times by other distinct socio-professional categories, such as the artisans (craftsmen) and the workers. Occupying a clearly defined place among the town dwellers, the working class was representing at the beginning of World War I 10% of the active population of Romania⁴. A specialisation of the active population is noted, the training level being important in this respect.

This was the situation at national level. We consider it was absolutely necessary to adopt this thematic approach so as to be then able to narrow down the analysis to the similar evolution of the local context, believing that any particularity here signalled has its roots in the general framework, in a relationship of effective causality. And we will pursue this fact hereinafter.

We intend to discuss about the local economic life in its capacity of catalyser of the daily life of Galați dwellers, supplier of employments, income sources, consumer goods and luxury items. During this period, we can speak, on the one hand, of a connection to the specific social-economic evolution at the national level and, on the other hand, of the particularities imposed by its local evolution.

The new orientation of the Romanian economy induced major changes at the local level. The position of free harbour contributed to conferring to Galați the image of a commercial town.

Indeed, economic life concentrated around navigation and trade, this activity engaging most of the locals. The dynamism of commercial life in this Danube harbour attracted inhabitants from other regions of the world, traders, merchants, sailors who settled here, either temporarily or definitively. The increasing need of the inhabitants for consumer goods led to the development of the production of autochthonous commodities. After 1878, Galați industry was represented, mostly, by industrial workshops, manufactures and a small number of factories. However, the economic protectionism imposed, after the loss of the Porto Franco privilege by Galați, an accelerated rhythm of development of the autochthonous industry. This state of facts led contemporaries to believe that the decline of trade imposed the orientation of Galați economy towards the industrial production, "which will tend

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp.180-183; Mihai Bărbulescu Dennis Deletant, Keith Hitchins, Șerban Papacostea, Pompiliu Teodor, *Istoria României (History of Romania)*, Encyclopaedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998, pp.400-401.

to transform Galați in an occidental town”⁵. The modernisation and transformation of the manufactories existing in factories, as well as the creation of new ones was achieved due to the customs tariff of 1886 and the law of 1887 for the encouragement of industry. The number of factories will rise and the profile of their production will be diversified, 41 such industrial units benefitting, between 1887 and 1908, from the advantages of protectionist legislation.⁶

During the studied period, in Galați, most of the native and foreign capital was invested in food industry. According to statistics, in 1904, out of 38 great industrial establishments which were in this town, 14 pertained to food industry. However, the development of local industry was not continuous and not always ascending (in 1911, the number of large industrial establishments decreased to 27). The new law for the encouragement of national industry from 1912, which also had in view small and middle industry, will positively stimulate the evolution of industry in Galați at the beginning of the 20th century.⁷

We want to outline the occupational profile of Galați dwellers in order to see the mobility of professional orientation, the flexibility of mentality, related to the transformations caused by the process of modernisation of the Romanian social-economic life at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The two poles of Galați society could be considered the local elite - the large owners (landowners, industrialists, traders, bakers) and the poor - the workers (labourers, jobbers). The representatives of the elite set the pace of an existence dominated by wealth and luxury, while the inhabitants situated at the opposite social pole were barely getting by. Between the two poles, there were social echelons with intermediary standards of living, variable according to the demand of workforce in the main occupational fields, the degree of qualification, or even the professional specialisation and superior training.

The reorientation of the local economy towards industry, in the said context, caused significant mutations among town dwellers. First of all, many of the people involved in the commercial-harbour activity went bankrupt or had to resign. Others continued to develop their activity in this field: various types of traders, sailors, harbour workers, labourers.

If in the case of the sailors from this harbour we can speak of locals or of employees of the foreign navigation agencies, harbour workers, labourers were recruited from the local population or even from the peasants from the neighbouring villages. They unloaded of ships anchored in the harbour, transported the commodities to warehouses, etc. The activity of most of them was seasonal.

⁵ George Codreanu, *Monografia fabricelor din Galați (Galați Factories Monograph)*, Galați, 1908, p.14.

⁶ Paul Păltănea, *Istoria orașului Galați de la origini până la 1918 (The History of Galați Town from its Origins to 1918)*, vol. 2, 2nd edition, Partener Publishing House, Galați, 2008, p.175.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p.184.

We should make a distinction between those who practised wholesale and retail trade, the types of commodities sold on Galați market being related to the evolution of imports through the local harbour. What the local market asked for impose as well the diversity of trade types.

Groceries, fisheries, butcheries, bakeries, confectioneries, liquors or refreshments shops, stores with “everything” belonging to itinerant merchants (who carried out their activity according to some legal regulations) or stalls borrowed in town markets, made it possible to buy food products at all prices. These were joined by merchants of domestic items, clothes and accessories at varied and accessible prices. For personal hygiene, people resorted to drugstores and pharmacies. Likewise, bookshops, and music stores responded to the needs of educational and cultural promotion.

A special trade was practised by the owners of summer gardens, beer houses, inns, cafes and restaurants, as well as by the hotel-keepers who ensured comfort to those passing through town, either for business or for pleasure.

Next to the owners, such commercial activities also engaged the other family members, roundsmen, permanent employees or jobbers.

A noteworthy aspect is that in such a town there was also a trade with luxury goods, mentioned as such even in the advertisements to those shops, deposits or locals.

The statistics of those times and economic scientific works provide interesting data on the inhabitants of Galați who worked in industry. There were the owners, the specialists, the clerks and the workers. In the case of artisan workshops, the craftsmen, the apprentices, the journeymen. Also, there were people migrations from the villages to the town.

The qualification and specialisation of those involved in the artisan and industrial production were linked to the type of the performed activity, to the profile of the concerned unit. The activity of artisan workshops was tightly connected to the demands of the local market, many artisans trading their own products. We speak here of domestic goods, hardware, carpentry, furniture, footwear workshops.

With regard to factory industry, we will mention the productive profile of the factories which operated in Galați during this period, in order to infer thus the employees’ qualification typology.

In 1885, there were breweries (2), brickworks (2), candle (4), carbonated drinks (2), bread and bakery products (26), salami (4), soap (3) factories, tanneries (2), iron or metal foundry (1).⁸

In 1887 there were: candle (9), soap (5), Turkish delight (5) factories, distilleries (6), foundries (2), wood (2), nails (2), plugs (1), pasta (2) factories, oil

⁸ *Tezaur documentar gălățean (Galați Documentary Thesaurus)*, People’s Republic of Romania General Directorate of State Archives, Bucharest, 1988, p.165.

mills (3), soda water (8), lime (2), cans (2), candies (1), shoe cream and tins (2), flour (7), beer (1), gas (1) factories.⁹

Towards the end of the period, the local diversification of the industrial production was more and more accentuated. Out of a total number of 62 factories, there were: naileries (4), chemical products and boiler factories (3), furniture plants (4), tins (2), buttons (3), ropes (2), soap (5), bread (1), pasta (1), macaroni (1), flour (2), corks (2), Turkish delight and halva (5) factories, oil mills (2), breweries (1), liquor (2), champagne (1), soda water (9) factories, brickworks (1), terracotta (1), ultramarine (1), lime (1), wood (1) factories, cereal cleaning plant (1), shipyard (1), military supplies (1), tannery and leathery (1), "Waters' Association" (1), "Air Gas Society" (1), "Tramways Plant" (1).¹⁰

The banking system brings to the fore the banker and bank clerk professions. In Galați, next to *Banca Națională a României (National Bank of Romania)* - Galați Subsidiary (from 1881), subsidiaries of *Banca Românească (Romanian Bank)*, *Banca Comercială Română (Romanian Commercial Bank)*, *Societatea de Economie (Society of Economy)*, *August Dall Orso Bank* - which became a banking society, *Marmorosch Blank Bank*, *Banca de Scont (Discount Bank)*, *Banca Lojii Masonice (Bank of the Masonic Lodge)*.¹¹

The rhythm of urban modernisation imposed an increased demand for staff in this field. The increasing number of private and public buildings (most of them houses and institution offices); the extension and modernisation of communication ways (those in the town and those which connected the town with other destinations); the modernisation of public lighting, water supply and public sanitation determined: an increase in the number of workers involved in this activity, diversification of their qualifications (although many of them still performed unqualified work), training and perfecting a specialised technical staff (technicians, architects, engineers).

The modernisation of intra and inter urban transports led to a decrease in the number of cab drivers, concomitantly with an increase in the number of staff employed in train and tramway circulation.

The progresses of universal science and technique brought here too the benefits of photo techniques. There were photography parlours in Galați which won a certain local, national and international fame. The photographers were the witnesses of the most important events of the public space, in its interference with the private one.

The apparition and the increase in Galați of the number of public institutions represented in the territory led to the distinguishing of clerks among the local occupational categories. The existence of varied institutions determined a wide range of specialisations for clerks. The most important institutions located in Galați were administrative, judicial and military. Their organisation observed the

⁹ *Ibidem*, p.273.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp.310-311.

¹¹ Grigore Lazarovici, Ștefan Stanciu, *Galații, istorie și contemporaneitate (Galați, History and Contemporaneity)*, Galați, 2002, p.81.

enforceable laws. We will list the most important laws for this thematic context: *Law of urban localities*, 1894 (amended in 1900, 1905, 1908); *Law for the judicial organisation*, 1890 (amended in 1891, 1892, 1896, 1907); *Electoral Law*, 1884 (amended in 1903, 1906); *Law for the organisation of the army*, 1868 (amended in 1872, 1874, 1876, 1877, 1882, 1891, 1900, 1908).

As the directly-involved institution in the daily life of Galați dwellers was the Town Hall, we deem it necessary to list the services involved in fulfilling its administrative authority, set through the law of 1894, so that we may also find the typology of the clerks of this institution: Secretariat; Administrative Office; Sanitary Office; Technical Works Office; Accounting Office; Control Service; Registrar's Office; Central Treasury; Legal Department (among the central services); Technical Service; Medical Service; Communal Police; Perceptions Service; Estates Service; Cleaning Service; Gardens' Service; Cemetery Service; Bailiff (among the external services)¹². We should also add public instruction, churches, the firemen department, the cereal market, the telegraphy and telephony service, which pertained to the town hall also.

The existence of independent professions, of specialists - teachers, doctors, attorneys - is also a consequence of a change in mentality. This was the time when more and more attention was paid to the modernisation of the educational system, of upper education. Therefore, there was a need for teachers competent enough to answer to such requirements. The care for personal and public health and hygiene, along modern principles, emphasised the role and the need for a growing number of medical staff, of well-prepared physicians, acquainted with the latest developments of universal medicine.

As the adoption of a legislation in the new European spirit, clear sign of modernisation, was requiring the activity of certain attorneys which would efficiently contribute to its application. A proof of the importance granted to justice and to its observance is represented by the activity carried out in this town by certain institutions such as Covurlui County Court and Galați Court of Appeal. Therefore, a wide number of legal intellectuals carry out their activity in Galați: judges, prosecutors, lawyers. Part of them were dynamic presences in the local public space, getting involve din politics.

A respected category in the Danube town was, next to the civilian population, that of militaries. Corps 3 Army, Navy was located here. Soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers were active presences in public life, respected by the local society.

In the field of domestic activity, servants are distinguished as remunerated workers. Interesting for the mentality of the time is the fact that in 1885 the Town Hall prepared a *Regulation for Servants*, meant to regulate the relationships between servants and masters, considered of public interest. To that effect, an *Office of Servants' Administration* was set up. It kept a clear record of all the servants of both sexes, including deaths and temporary or permanent disablement.

¹² SJANG, *Galați Town Hall Fund*, file 12/1894, l. 22

The register which monitored such information included all the data on the servant's identity, civil status, address, running number and date of his/her manual, valid for one year (for its delivery the holder would pay 1 fee of 3 lei), criminal record. Certificates of good character were requested to these individual and parents' or guardians' consent if they were below 16 years of age.

The term of servant was applied to any "man or woman who against remuneration in money, clothes or natural products provides a domestic service. Such are the nurses, the laundresses, the coachmen, the yard managers, the valets, plough boys, butlers and shops', hotels', public establishments' servants".¹³

The Regulation stipulated both servants' and masters' duties.

Rules were strict and had to be followed by the specified authority. Servants were required to observe the working period agreed with the masters, the accepted exceptions being: the servant's improper state of health, masters' moving out, non-payment of the agreed wage, masters' breach of the good morals. The job could be left with the master's approval or with a 15-day notice. The servant who was leaving his employment had the obligation to bring a substitute, with manual and with good references. Those from another locality requesting such a manual had to submit to the *Office for servants* proofs of their good character. During the employment, the manual was kept by the master whom servants owed respect, loyalty and responsibility. Every 20 days they were granted a 4-hour leave.

Among the master's obligations we mention: recording in the manual the salary and the conditions for the employment of each servant, notes regarding their conduct. Servants had to be treated humanly, any dissatisfactions being notified to the Office. Dismissal was allowed in the case of finding certain vices which affected domestic peace and the development of the work; in case of incapacity or inaptitude in performing the required activity.

We should also mention that the regulation provided sanctions and fines for non-compliance with the provisions of this regulation.¹⁴

Compliance with the said regulation was checked by the authority appointed to that end, periodically and systematically towards the end of the 19th century as well as the beginning of the next century, various decrees and other official publications being a testimony of the fact.

We cannot omit that there were poor people who, due to various reasons, earned their living *in a different manner*. We were speaking, in a previous context, of people who were earning their living through means which affected both the public and the private space: thieves, rogues, beggars, prostitutes. Their number was variable, in keeping with the evolution of the local economy, many of them having been labourers or unemployed workers, merchants or artisans impoverished by the crisis, poor and disorganised families.

Socially speaking, these people were located on the margin of the society which was trying to resist to the spread of this phenomenon. The public opinion

¹³ *Regulation for Servants*, Galați, 1885, pp.12-13.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp.14-23.

asked the authorities to watch over the observance of certain rules of civic behaviour and public morality. This is, for instance, how the local press took a position on such a marginal occupation "...if this evil, public prostitution, is unavoidable, at least rigorous measures should be adopted".¹⁵

There were local regulations setting strict conditions for practising prostitution. Thus, according to the regulation of the end of 19th century, all prostitutes had to be registered in Town Hall records. Part of them lived alone, others in bawdy houses. The established rules, although often violated, denote the authorities' concern for public order and peace.

"Bawdy houses and prostitutes' homes shall not be tolerated:

- a) Near churches, schools, boarding schools, as well as any other public authority or cultural institution.
- b) Near gardens, theatres, barracks-
- c) In hotels, inns, pubs, beer houses, cafes, gardens, restaurants, theatres, singing cafes.

The Communal Administration shall name the streets in town where brothels may be located and where prostitutes can live.

No brothel can be established without the Mayor's authorisation."¹⁶

Such *professions* were a vice of the society which existed in all historical periods.

As a corollary to the above, we could state that in those times the occupational profile of Galați dwellers adapted to the changes that had occurred in the social-economic life, with characteristics specific to an urban living environment. Urban modernisation, as a whole, of Galați harbour town allowed a professional layering in accordance with local requirements.

It is vital, we believe, that in a town which, marked by the free-port regime for decades, concentrated its activity in the field of trade, navigation and harbour activities, we find the following occupational categories, during the last decade of the 19th century: 3295 artisans, 66 manufacturers and industrialists, 3013 traders, 7235 workers (including the ploughmen from town outskirts), 534 independent professions, 3905 servants, 1447 clerks.¹⁷

In the same time, it is only natural that, in keeping with the times, during the first two years of the next century we will find in this town: 70 lawyers, 8 bankers, 4 architects, 40 doctors, 5 dentists, 8 pharmacists, 17 engineers, 19 midwives, 11 hotelkeepers, 14 innkeepers, 7 typography owners, 62 traders, 26 industrialists, 128 coachmen.¹⁸

¹⁵ "Voința Națională" (National Will), Year IV, No. 86, Galați, July 31, 1898, p.1

¹⁶ *Condica de sănătate pentru femeile prostituate (Health Book for Prostitutes)*, Galați, 1900-1901, p.9.

¹⁷ Apud Moise Pacu, *Cartea județului Covurlui: Note geografice, istorice și îndeosebi statistice (Covurlui County Book: Geographical, Historical and mostly Statistical Data)*, 2nd Part, Bucharest, 1891, p.115.

¹⁸ Apud *Indicatorul orașului Galați cuprinzând adresele tuturor autorităților civile și militare, ale caselor mari comerciale și ale tuturor instituțiilor (Index of Galați town*

A proof of the rhythm of change is provided by the variation in the number of these occupational categories, after several years. Thus in 1908, there were 190 traders, 104 lawyers, 41 doctors, 5 veterinarians, 7 dentists, 9 pharmacists, 4 architects, 27 engineers, 23 coachmen, only some of the professions which considerably changed their share.¹⁹

This was a time when people, in order to cope with the changes, had to cross traditionalist mental barriers, to mobilise their capacity to adapt to the new, to qualify and improve in fields of continuous transformation and modernisation.

Everyone has, according to their educational level, profession and material resources, certain needs which provide them with a certain daily comfort, of subsistence, decent or opulent. What people eat, what they wear, where and how they live, how they spend their free time, all these have their catalyser in the material incomes, sources of the expenses they afford to make for themselves and for their families. These are, of course, in keeping with the *fashion*, with the standard of living imposed by the unwritten rules of a civilised behaviour, in line with the social standing of each individual, of every family.

For a real town comfort, the home, its interior arrangements and upkeep (either owned or rented), the food, the clothes, the hygiene, the education, the spare time, all of these required certain material expenses. These expenses were, of course, directly proportional with the income of each.

There were in the Galați of the time owners with substantial incomes obtained from the exploitation of either agricultural or immovable lands, from baking, industrial or commercial activities. These people earned large incomes and afforded an expensive lifestyle.

Then, we will mention the high officials, the managers of private or public companies, of public institutions, who also earned considerable incomes which allowed them to lead an elitist lifestyle.

In order to understand the average existential level, we must refer to the intellectuals (teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers), to public or private clerks with a medium degree of training, to traders and merchants with average incomes.

And, last but not least, we must take into consideration the small craftsmen, the artisans, the workers, the assistants and the apprentices, the jobbers who, proportionate to their low incomes, they only managed to ensure a minimal existence to their mostly numerous families.

We mean to recompose an atmosphere in which time, money, life in its entirety, had a different price, a different cost... For this, we must state that there were ordinary and there were occasional expenses for each person. The ordinary ones included daily food, house upkeep (rent, lighting, water, servants' wages), and

including the addresses of all civilian and military authorities, of large commercial houses and of all institutions), Galați, 190_, pp. 74-104.

¹⁹ Apud Gheorghe Atanasiu, *Guid-anuar al orașului Galați (Guide-Yearbook of Galați Town)*, Galați, 1908, pp.37-51.

the occasional ones referred to clothing, domestic objects, eating out, going to shows, according to the budget.

Also, costs for children's education were somewhere at the border between daily and occasional, gifts for anniversaries and holidays, as well as the organisation of festive meals. Vacations imposed additional costs too.

Each of these costs, either for what was essential or for personal pleasures, as already stated above, had another value, intrinsic and extrinsic, for each person and social category, respectively. We back up this statement with the following explanation: "Predilection for certain types of goods involves the issue of satisfying a certain prestige. It is, obviously, about goods which are desired, as they confer to the owner a certain status or a peace of mind."²⁰

Definitely, those with modest incomes had proportionate expenses. They (and we refer mostly to the workers who earned but a few lei daily) had to ensure, first of all, daily meals, minimal, often insufficient, they lived in insalubrious houses because these were cheaper, in the slums on the outskirts of towns, where sanitation and hygiene conditions were minimal or even inexistent. In such families, most of the food was ensured by what was grown in their gardens or by fishing in the nearby waters. Clothing expenses were rare or occasional. They generally shopped in the stores from their own neighbourhoods, upon tick most of the times, and an outing to the central part of the town was a real adventure.

We will try to set several conclusive benchmarks within the meaning of the above.

We have already seen the occupations of the people living in Galați in those times. We will present hereinafter the wages they earned and then relating them to the prices, we will get a picture of their standard of living.

We cannot overlook that, according to their fortunes, incomes and professions, the inhabitants of Galați paid taxes to the State and to the local authority. Each man, over 21 years of age, paid a personal tax to the State; all urban and rural real estates were subject to a land tax, according to the *Law of land tax*, 1885 (amended in 1903, 1906). Taxes were also paid to the town hall (by bagmen, real estate owners, as well as for various buildings, luxury animals, the delivery of official documents), the maximal percentage of each being determined according to the *Law on the maximum value of communal taxes and contributions*, 1903. Extremely important for the occupational profile of this harbour - town was *Patents' Law* of 1899 (amended in 1905, 1906) which imposed the payment of certain direct and proportional contributions to the people performing independent, commercial or industrial activities.

The people with a gross monthly income over 120 lei were paying a 5% tax of the net income, starting with 1900. This tax had been introduced in 1877 and cancelled in 1891. Its reinstatement was established on January 1, 1900. It was of

²⁰ Dan Basarab Nanu, *Tipologia bunurilor de prestigiu în zona Galați (secolele XVI-XIX) (Typology of Luxury Goods in Galați (16th - 19th centuries))*, in "Danubius," No. XVIII, Galați, 2001, p.93.

5% between 1900 and 1907 and then it decreased to 3%. The workers in State's workshops were exempt from this tax.

We also mention that payrolls also included a column for pension deductions, in amount of 10% of the wage.

Nationally speaking, as stated by the historian Ion Bulei, wages and prices remain rather unchanged during this period, with insignificant variations.²¹ According to the same documentary source, "wages had been lower during the crisis which occurred between 1899 and 1900, especially those of workers and clerks. But, they were restored to the previous level in one decade approximately. And they will remain like this until World War I, when inflation occurs and the equilibrium is lost."²² The same author considered that, on an average income, one would lead a decent life in the Old Kingdom.

We must also mention that this period benefitted from a long financial stability. The currency exchange remained relatively constant from the end of the 19th century until World War I, the Romanian currency being on a par with the French and Belgian franc, and with the Belgian pound; 1 American dollar was the equivalent of 5.18 lei, while the pound sterling was 25.25 lei.²³

We will see below how this reality was reflected in the lifestyle of the inhabitants of Galați, by selectively presenting, on various socio-professional categories, the income-reference points for various standards of living.

We used as documentary guides the payrolls of the various institutions, documents of the local administration, statistics of consumer goods prices and less of luxury goods. Unfortunately, there are not full data for all the occupational categories of those days (especially for the social elite), fact which determined us to fix several reference points for the moments in time relevant for our study.

The interpretation of the data on this topic allow us to state that the situation recorded nationally, from the standpoint of the income/expenditure ratio was valid for Galați town as well.

The materially-favoured socio-professional categories have always had a high standard of living. Unfortunately, we do not have concrete information regarding the estimative earnings of their exponents. We can establish, however, several reference points, as close as possible to the reality, by studying the electoral lists with the persons eligible for the Parliament of Romania (during the last years of that epoch, they included incomes as well, amounting to several thousands lei).

To sum up, the incomes of such people were consistent and they afforded an elitist lifestyle.

We will now refer to the earnings of the professions with medium or minimum remuneration, which represented the vast majority in Galați.

You will find below several types of remuneration, practised for the employees of the town hall, the documentary sources being more numerous and

²¹ Ion Bulei, *op.cit.*, p.9.

²² *Ibidem*, p.10.

²³ *Apud Istoria Românilor...*, p.123.

comprehensive in this area, in comparison with other fields, the private ones as well. The official documents of the institution illustrate that the remuneration of its various clerks depended on the budget of the institution as well.

The variation of the remuneration depended on the field of business, a clear ascension being noticed in the case of technical activities. A testimony of the fact are the material compensations granted to the employees of the Town Hall Technical Service, directly involved in the wide process of urban modernisation.

For the employees of this service, we will present the wages in the first years of the analysed period, at the middle of period, as well as in the last years, and then, according to the prices from the same space of time, we will gain an overall perspective on the income / expenditure ratio.

In 1883, the Technical Service included the following wages: the superintendent engineer and the architect - 300 lei / month, the leader - 120 lei / months, the linemen manager - 100 lei / month, the paver, the gatekeeper, the lineman - 100, 60, 80 lei respectively per month and the servant - 100 lei / month.²⁴

The year 1890 was bringing to the employees of the Technical Service the following wages: the superintendent engineer - 450 lei / month, the architect - 350 lei / month, the lineman - 120 lei/month, a paver - 90 lei / month.²⁵

At the beginning of the 20th century, a considerable variation can be noticed in the wages of this service. Thus, in 1904-1905 they earned: the superintendent engineer - 430 lei / month, the architect - 300 lei / month, the designer - 200 lei / month, the copier - 110 lei/month.²⁶

In 1910, the wages were the following: the superintendent engineer - 550 lei / month, the architect - 300 lei / month, the conductor - 200 lei / month, the designer - 185 lei / month, the secretary - 135 lei / month, the valet - 60 lei / month.²⁷

And, towards the end of the studied period, in 1913 the wages in the Technical Service were the following: the superintendent engineer - 600 lei / month, the conductor - 275 lei / month, the designer - 150 lei / month, the secretary - 150 lei / month, the valet - 60 lei / month. We specify that the position of architect was not recorded in the respective payrolls.²⁸

Analysing comparatively the above mentioned wages, we can state that in this important service for the activity of the Town Hall, the differentiation of the work which implies qualification and even upper training from the unqualified one was reflected by significant wage addition.

In the same time period, other intellectual professions had a relatively constant remuneration with significant variations. A doctor was earning around 200-350 lei / month (attending physicians could earn up to 400 lei / month; a teacher received a wage between 60 and 200 lei / month, according to the years of

²⁴ SJANG, *Galați Town Hall Fund*, file 6/1883, 1.13, 14.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, file 72/1890, 1. 4, 6.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, file 3/1904, 1.131

²⁷ *Ibidem*, file 76/1910, 1.15.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, file 204/1913, 1.3.

service (the headmaster earned 200 lei / month). In 1889, teachers received approximately the same material retribution as in the previous years, the differences being generated from the degrees they received. Practically, the difference between the ordinary wage and the one with degrees amounted up to 100 lei. The same was happening in 1892.²⁹

There were differences in the case of professions which did not require upper training. A paver's wage, for instance, was higher than that of a nurse, midwife, or school servant, along the entire studied period.

Similarly, there were differences between the Town Hall services (which was in charge with the remuneration of the already mentioned professional categories). We chose, for the sake of exemplification, years 1904-1905. At the Registrar's Office, there were the following wages: the copier - 90 lei / month and the office manager - 250 lei / month; at the Legal Department: 1 lawyer - 350 lei / month; and the lawyer for Bădălan - 150 lei / month; at the Sanitary service: the attending physician - 430 lei / month, the quarter physician - 351 lei / month, the harbour's physician - 150 lei / month, the sanitary agent - 120 lei / month, the veterinarian - 351 lei / month; at the Gardens' and Park's Service: the gardener - 200 lei / month, the gardener's help - 95 lei / month; and at the Cemetery's Service, the coachman - between 49 and 50 lei / month.³⁰

A worker's daily remuneration, according to the qualification and to the season (in the case of day labourers) varied between 2 and 8 lei.

Having presented various wages, let us now present the prices of this period.

Bread had a relatively constant price, between 0.20 and 0.30 lei / kg (brown, intermediary, white) during the entire time interval.

Meat, according to the season, had variable prices. Pork cost 0.60 lei / kg in 1887; 0.80 lei/kg in 1888; 0.70-1 lei / kg in 1896; 0.60 and 0.70 lei / kg in 1900, winter (in spring it cost 20 bani more); 0.80 - 0.90 lei / kg in 1903; around 1.20 lei / kg in 1913.

Beef cost: 0.5 lei / kg in 1887; 0.70 lei / kg in 1888; 0.60 - 0.80 lei / kg in 1896. At the beginning of the century it had the same price, while in 1913 it was sold for 1 - 1.2 lei / kg.

Fish market was offerer. Carp cost: 0.70 - 0.80 lei / kg in 1888; 0.80 - 1.20 lei / kg in 1896; 0.50 - 0.70 lei / kg in 1900; 0.70 - 1.60 lei / kg in 1913. Sheatfish cost: 0.50 - 0.60 lei / kg in 1888; 0.40 - 0.60 lei / kg in 1896; 0.40 - 0.60 lei / kg in 1900. Small fist cost 0.30 - 0.60 lei / kg in 1888; 0.13 - 0.25 lei / kg in 1896; 0.30 - 0.40 lei / kg in 1900; 0.60 - 1 lei / kg in 1913.³¹

²⁹ *Ibidem*, file 58/1889, 1.4, 8, 12; file 63/1892, 1. 3, 5, 7; file 47/1888, 1.2, 4; file 10/1892, 1. 3, 7.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, file 3/1904, 1. 131.

³¹ *Ibidem*, file 36/1887, 1.3-5, 11-12, 31-33;26/1888, f.3-6; file 64/1896, 1.26, 34-37(f-v); 30/1900, 1.18-20; 42-43(f-v); 15/1905, 1.1-3(f-v); file 30/1914, 1.35 -38(f-v).

We can say that prices were reasonable and relatively constant, variations depending on the season and, of course, on the crisis years.³²

Taking as reference point the purchasing power for a basic aliment - bread and relating to it the average wages of a qualified and of an unqualified worker, we found that, between 1883 and 1890, the purchasing power of the qualified worker in relation to the one of the unqualified worker was four times higher. In 1900, year of economic crisis, the purchasing power of the qualified worker in relation to the one of the unqualified worker was 1.66 times higher. While at the beginning of the 20th century, the purchasing power would increase relatively constantly, according to the qualification, concomitantly with the increase of wages. Wage increase in 1913 will be of 10% in relation to 1910.

For a better understanding of the standard of living, after having seen the prices of food products, we should also look at the prices of several clothing items. Documentary sources, defective in this respect, provide certain information for the years 1884 and 1913.

In 1884: 35 - 40 lei (a suit); 90 lei (an elegant suit); 10 - 11 lei (a pair of custom-made boots); 4 lei (a shirt); 4 lei (a starched shirt); 2.50 lei (a dungaree shirt); 1.50 lei / m (cloth for dresses) between 0.45 and 0.60 lei / m (usual cotton); 7 - 8 lei (a man's hat).³³

In 1913, the following prices were recorded: 68 lei /a suit); 15 lei (a pair of man's boots); 14 lei (a pair of lady's boots); 1.30 lei (chiffon for shirts); 12 lei / m (fabric for cloths).³⁴

We think it is advisable to list the prices for other categories of functional or ornamental items, even if they are only disparate information. According to their value, we can also infer the degree of accessibility for such purchases.

A "complete bathroom", made of zinc, large, very elegant, with a solid copper equipment for heating water instantly, with air gas, copper tube for the shower, zinc wash basin, 1 piston, usable for hydrotherapy also, with low-consumption cost 700 lei in 1898.³⁵

In 1909, prices at *Helder* shop were the following: pedants from 10 lei upwards; bracelets from 2 lei upwards; broaches, at least 1.5 lei; key-holders, at least 1 leu; cigarette cases, at least 10 lei; necklaces, at least 2 lei; rings, at least 8 lei; buttons, at least 2 lei; crayons, at least 1.5 lei; tie pins, at least 3 lei; watches, at least 6.5 lei; alarm clocks, at least 3.5 lei; tazzas, at least 5.5 lei; tea set, at least 80 lei; trays, at least 30 lei; porcelains, at least 0.5 lei.³⁶

³² We will include in the annexes the complete lists of consumer goods prices for different time periods, for a clearer picture of the offer and demand on Galați market during the studies period.

³³ George Munteanu, *Presa, Politica și Comerțul Gălățean.1858-1900 (Press, Politics and Trade in Galați)*, Part 1, Galați, 1937, p.49.

³⁴ *Statistica prețurilor 1937 (Prices Statistics in 1937)*, Bucharest, 1939, p.158.

³⁵ "Galații", Year XVII, No. 74(4438), Galați, April 3, 1898, p.3

³⁶ Idem, Year XXVIII, No. 204(8024), Galați, September 28, 1909, pp.2-3

The price of a train ticket on the route Bucharest - Galați was: 24.25 lei (first class); 15.95 lei (economy class).³⁷

We should also mention that there was the practice of price reduction and of payment by instalments. We will give several examples.

In the first years of the 20th century, at sales, one would come across the following prices: 10 lei (an elegant jacket); 1.75 lei / m (silk for blouses); 1.50 lei / m (wool, mohair for dresses); 2.45 lei / m (the newest silk for dresses, Louisiana); leather gloves, white or coloured, 2 lei per pair; 0.85 lei (a pair of nylons); 0.65 lei (a pair of cotton stockings); 0.50 lei (a pair of man's socks); 0.30 - 0.50 lei (a pair of children's socks). Such stores with various goods also sold curtains, starting with 0.40 lei per meter; umbrellas - from 3 lei upwards.

At Jan Kauffmann's furniture store, one could buy at factory price or by instalments. And groceries applied reductions at coffee, oil, hog's lard, tins, melted butter, rice, and on Easter, flour for sponge cakes.³⁸

A closing grocery would liquidate its stock at reduced prices, even for the quality products.

We found it interesting to look at prices on the real estate market of Galați, as this is also an essential reference point for what we called the cost of living.

A house could be inherited, bought or rented. The value of lands and of the houses varied according to the region, increasing from the outskirts to the centre.

The purchase of a house varied between 500 and 1645 lei (in 1883); between 500 and 2000 lei (in 1888); between 500 and 7300 lei in the central area even 12000 lei (in 1892). In a year of crisis, such as 1900, the price varied between 400 and 3500 lei, amounting between 300 and 3500 lei (in 1904), between 600 and 6000 lei (in 1907)³⁹, between 600 and 2500 lei (in 1913).

Houses could be rented for 200 lei / year (in 1883), in 1913 amounting to 600 lei / year.⁴⁰

The guests in boarding houses could pay, for instance in 1902, in the central area, 120 lei / month for two rooms and board.⁴¹

Between 1883 and 1913, the price of fire wood varied between 2.20 lei / one hundred kilograms and 1.95 lei / one hundred kilograms.

We can state that the prices of houses and of rents were reasonable, for medium and high incomes.

As Galați was an important harbour and commercial centre, when we speak of the cost of living we must also take into account the costs imposed by the transit

³⁷ *Calendarul lunei elegante (Calendar of the Elegant World)*, Bucharest, 1897, p.39

³⁸ Aurora, Year IV, No.6, July 1903, p.3

³⁹ SJANG, document no. 92, 162, 180; file 69/1892, document no. 704, 706, 714, 728, 744, 785, 853, 863, 869; file 85/1900, document no. 543, 563, 573, 612, 606, 648, 672, 893, 909, 1028, 1038; file 102/1907, document no. 58, 121, 870; file 2/1913, document no. 511, 1001, 3171, 3169, 3191.

⁴⁰ Ibidem; *Statistica prețurilor 1937 (Prices Statistics)*, Bucharest, 1939, p.158.

⁴¹ Library of the Romanian Academy, Correspondence. Rainer Fund, letter 77(41)/MXXVII (1902, September 17. Galați - Grigore Trancu Iași to Marta Trancu), p.3.

of occasional or business travellers. We exemplify the prices practised by the local hotels⁴², with Union Hotel, on Cuza-Vodă Street. Rooms here cost from 1 lei upwards, and furnished rooms, rented on a monthly basis, cost from 20 lei upwards. It was also fitted with a systematic bathroom which no other hotel had in town.

This situation, valid for the end of the 19th century, was seen in the hotels which served meals in their own restaurants. Luring advertisements presented both the menus and rooms prices. For instance, at the inn of Papadopol Hotel on Braşoveni Street, people could serve warm and cold meals, and fine wines could be ordered at home⁴³ (the cost of rooms on its opening in 1894 was from 1 leu upwards).⁴⁴

Still in 1896, at Pavliu Hotel, rooms cost 2 lei, the restaurant offered monthly subscription of 120 lei, lunch cost 2.5 lei, a meal was 3 lei (daily board offered to travellers).

At Imperial (former Royal) Hotel, located on Domnească Street, rooms cost from 2 lei upwards. Its restaurant served meals specific to the Romanian, German and French cuisine.⁴⁵

The variety of consumer goods or luxury good stores is a proof of the relationship between supply and demand on the local market.

We must also mention that such products could be purchased from the public markets (this is where the presented prices come from) as well as from the bagmen who brought fresh goods on one's front door.

Bădălan produced birds, butter, eggs and animals for the town use.⁴⁶

"In Negri Market (New Fair), greeneries, fish, meat, fruit, pasta occupied each a lane, where the Town Hall had built solid and nice stalls. This market is original for it does not have a market house, but is made up of a several identical stalls, lined up on a large enough space, destined for all kinds of goods, around a free space which makes up the market itself. Every morning, and especially on holidays, one will see there everything that one could imagine. Here is where the poor can find clothes, footwear, housekeeping objects and food: fish and roe, tins and vegetables, wines and salami, groceries and sweets, fabrics and pots, birds, butter, eggs."⁴⁷

In the old market, meat was also sold at the beginning of the 20th century at the following prices: boiled ham - 2.40 lei / kg; the other specialties, between 1.20

⁴² For the sake of conformity, we mention the famous hotels that existed at the time in Galaţi: *Bristol*, *Imperial*, *Metropol*, *Continental* (on Domnească Street); *Concordia* (on Sf. Nicolae Street); *Papadopol*, *Splendid*, *Sofia*, *Englitera* (on Braşoveni Street); *Moldavia* (on Fraternităţii Street); *Central* (on Egalităţii Street); *Union* (on Cuza –Vodă Street).

⁴³ "Galaţii", Year XVI, No. 4090, Galaţi, January 30, 1897, p.4.

⁴⁴ "Liberalul Gălăţean" (Galaţi Liberalist), Year I, No. 48, Galaţi, November 5, 1894, p.3.

⁴⁵ "Voinţa Galaţilor" (Galaţi Will), Year III, No. 48, Galaţi, April 29, 1898, p.4.

⁴⁶ Gheorghe Christescu, *Farmecul Dunării şi Galaţii (The Charm of Danube and of Galaţi)*, "Moldova" Company Publishing House, Galaţi, 1909, p.103.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p.125.

and 2.40 lei / kg. Upon request, certain operations could be performed at the customer's place (salting and smoking).⁴⁸

In 1900, the Galați Town Council was considering the creation of 4 annual fairs, as there were in Roman, Bârlad, Tecuci, Brăila, Huși, Vaslui. We do not know, however, what was decided.⁴⁹ What we do know for sure is that there were 4 great annual fairs, recorded as such in the first years of the 20th century on the days of: February 2, March 15, May 21, August 6 and October 14.

The commercial area was that of Brașoveni, Mare and Tecuci Streets. The groceries located on Brăilei and Tecuci Streets, were marking the area of this type of trade.⁵⁰ And in the central area, especially on Domnească Street, there were the luxury shops. From the content of advertisements and from the yearbooks of the time we find the type of products traded by such shops.

Galați dwellers benefitted from the activity of workshops which sold their own goods as well as from various shops trading: groceries, delicatessen, clothes, footwear, jewellery, watches, furniture, housekeeping objects and various ornaments, stationery and books, musical boxes and instruments, photo cameras, toys. One could find items for all ages, at low or high prices, according to the quality.

In this town, the existence of stalls continued, "important segment in the market economy, habitual of large towns with warehouses and intensive trading activity, where the manufacturer meets wholesalers and retailers directly."⁵¹

Goods were produced either locally, nationally or were imported. And since we are analysing the life of a harbour - town of vital importance of the Romanian imports of the time, the offer of a great variety of imported goods on the local market is inherent. Given that, as already stated, the national industrial production was not too well developed, we can infer that there was also a generous offer in terms of the prices.

We will now refer to the advertisements, eloquent for the meaning of the local trade.

In 1903, in Galați, there was a "splendid carpenter's shop for luxury furniture", at the junction of Grădina Veche and Culturii Street. The elite of the town could decorate their homes to the minute, also resorting to the "Modern Tapestry" which was executing "the most beautiful and artistic tapestries, decorations and packages".⁵² On Mavromol Street, there was a shop selling a varied range of furniture items, manufactured here as well. This shop supplied complete sets, bought used furniture and sold at average prices, even in instalments.⁵³

⁴⁸ "Tribuna Liberală" (Liberal Tribune), Year V, No. 1261, Galați, January 1, 1905, p.3.

⁴⁹ SJANG, *Galați Town Hall* fund, file 13/1900, l.172.

⁵⁰ "Galații", Year III, No. 816, Galați, September 3, 1885, p.4.

⁵¹ Grigore Lazarovici, Ștefan Stanciu, *op.cit.*, p.7.

⁵² "Ecoul" (Echo), Year I, No.10, Galați, March 20, 1905, p.3.

⁵³ "Voința Națională" (National Will), Year III, No. 52, Galați, May 8, 1898, p.4

The workshop of the Young Romanian Artisans Company was performing smithery, carpentry, wheeling, shoemaking, tapestry activities.⁵⁴

On Tecuci Street, there was a shop for gallantry, inlaying, glassware, porcelain, lamps, plate, iron and bronze beds, transparent chairs, curtain rods, the newest types of stoves.⁵⁵

There were also stores selling domestic goods: bulbs, Auer lamps, lighters (for men and for women), air gas lamps, ironing machines (without fire and charcoal), with incandescent light, knife sharpeners, scissors, axes (like Brenning store, on Domnească Street)⁵⁶. And on Mavromol Street, there was an electricity workshop, with qualified employees who could change candelabra on oil for air gas and electricity.⁵⁷

An advertisement from the press of the end of the 19th century was providing indications regarding the 5-year activity of a bleachery (a woman's property, Caterina Wodal), located on Braşoveni Street, Galaţi, shaped upon the German and French model: "any men's and women's clothing, fabric and silk dresses, mantles, frocks, ties, shoes for balls, all kinds of gloves and any leather objects."⁵⁸ Thus we can find that modernisation had reached this field also - housewives could escape from washing clothes at home, if they afforded it financially.

There was also a systematic wash house at the time, the *Romanian Wash House*, which washed any type of laundry, according to the advertisement.

At the beginning of the 20th century, washing machines were sold at Max fisher's store. Similarly, sewing machines, velocipedes, gramophones were sold at the junction of Mavromol and Antachi Streets.

From *Buciumul Român (Romanian Alpenhorn)* Typography one could buy ZEISS photo cameras, with the necessary accessories and one could also get free use lessons.

On Strada Mare (Main Street), there was Cerchez Brothers' deposit of manufacture and gallantry goods, with toys, quality perfumes, at convenient prices, according to the advertisement (which has no concrete indications however).⁵⁹

On Domnească Street, there was G. Nicolau's lingerie store where the following type of products were traded: Indian chiffon, Holland linen, cloth for sheets, tablecloths, napkins, men's shirts, collars, cuffs, women's lingerie, stockings, carpets (for walls, halls, mats), embroideries, towels, lace, oilcloth, curtains, Holland sets for tea (for six, twelve or twenty-four people), atlases, cloth for furniture covers, quilts, wool blankets, aprons.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ "Meseriaşul român" (Romanian Artisan), Year I, No.7, Galaţi, June 25, 1884, p.4

⁵⁵ "Voinţa Naţională" (National Will), Year IV, No.102, Galaţi, September 3, 1898, p.4

⁵⁶ "Galaţi", Year XVI, No. 4090, Galaţi, January 30, 1897, p.3.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*

⁵⁹ "Liberalul gălăţean" (Galaţi Liberalist), Year II, No.18, Galaţi, January 24, 1895, p.4.

⁶⁰ "Voinţa Galaţilor" (Galaţi Will), Year II, No. 5, Galaţi, July 30, 1897, p.4.

Other gallantry and manufacture stores were located on Tecuci Street (Isidor Vaserberg) or Mavromol Street (*La trei pesci de aur*-Herman Botoșeneanu).⁶¹

On Brașoveni Street, at *Zoller and Akermann* they sold candies, mint cigarettes, malt candies, all luxury bonbons, at moderate prices.⁶²

A children's toys store was on Domnească Street and another one, located on the Main Street, was selling next to toys, gallantry and perfumery items. Another mixed shop, *La Myosotis*, was selling: perfumes, hygiene products, paints, photography items.⁶³

On Tecuci Street there was also a shop with footwear brought from Sankt Petersburg: rubber boots and snow shoes.⁶⁴ On Brașoveni Street, a tailor shop for women was manufacturing mostly dresses at moderate prices.⁶⁵

One of the most famous luxury goods shops was *S.Schapiro - Horology, Jewellery and Silverware*, on Domnească Street. Here one could find brilliants, diamonds, sapphires, rubies, emeralds, pearls and turquoises, in special meshes. They manufactured and repaired jewels and watches, offering a 2-year warranty.⁶⁶ Also, we must mention *Helder* shop, still on Domnească Street, an *arbiter elegantiarum* in matters of jewellery and horology.

At the beginning of the 20th century, on the Main Street there still was a workshop for watches, barometers and photo cameras repairs.⁶⁷

From Zurich elegant watches were brought at 100 lei for men and 75 lei for women and Spielkistein music boxes (with watch mechanism, 28 airs; polished wood, 30 tons) in Porto Franco regime, at the price of 20 lei.⁶⁸

On Domnească Street there was also Friedmann brothers' repair shop for horology and jewellery.⁶⁹

Bookshops were selling toys, postcard albums, frames, fantasy articles for the Christmas tree.⁷⁰

In the category of occasional costs incurred by the inhabitants of Galați we can also include the items sold at *La mănăușa de aur* (*At the golden glove*) store, on Domnească Street. Here one could also find various items for travels: gloves, bandages, saddles, leather of cloth bags. It is clear that such items were targeted at the people who afforded to travel.

For leisure, the public space brought other types of costs: tickets to various shows, balls, trips, outings at various restaurants. These were, of course, in accordance with the budget of each.

⁶¹ "Galații", Year XVI, No. 4107, Galați, February 14, 1897, p.3.

⁶² "Clopotul", Year I, No. 3, Galați, March 2, 1897, p.4

⁶³ "Galații", Year XXVII, No. 8024, Galați, September 12, 1909, p.3.

⁶⁴ "Tribuna Liberală" (Liberal Tribune), Year VI No. 1262, Galați, January 4, 1905, p.3.

⁶⁵ "Voința Galașilor" (Galați Will), Year II, No.18, Galați, August 29, 1897, p.4.

⁶⁶ "Galații", Year XVI, No. 4090, Galați, January 30, 1897, p.3.

⁶⁷ Idem, Year XXIX, No. 103, Galați, May 13, 1910, p.3.

⁶⁸ Idem, Year XVI, No. 4090, Galați, January 30, 1897, p.3.

⁶⁹ "Voința Națională" (National Will), Year III, No. 52, Galați, May 8, 1898, p.4.

⁷⁰ "Tribuna Liberală" (Liberal Tribune), Year VI, No. 1412, Galați, December 3, 1905, p.3.

The simultaneous presentation of several categories of wages and prices - reference point for the usual and necessary daily costs - allow us to understand the amount left for any possible occasional costs, previously mentioned. It varied, being consistent in the case of the inhabitants whose income allowed them to spend more on pleasure and personal comfort.

We have monitored the supply and demand on Galați market, trying to understand which was the cost of living in this harbour - town. We must also mention that, in the context of the modernisation occurring in all the areas of life, the authorities were concerned by supplying the material needs of the less favoured social categories.

We will present below the way in which the local authorities got involved in solving the citizens' material problems.

The girls raised by the Town Hall would receive dowry and material support for the wedding. At the end of the 19th century such a young woman would receive, upon marriage, on behalf of the Town Hall, a trousseau and furniture in value of 300 lei and 100 lei cash (for which 30 lei were paid at the financial administration).⁷¹

Also, the poor could also receive lifelong pensions from the Town Hall. A proof of this fact is a document signed by the neighbours of a former clerk of the local administration who were asking for some sort of support for him, arguing with his state of health and lack of material means: "he lived with no medicines, no bread and in extreme poverty, in danger of dying due to lack of means."⁷²

In a document of the Town Hall from 1911, it was mentioned that there was a local custom "inherited from old times" of giving fixed monthly allowances to the poor from a budgetary fund of the Commune. The beneficiaries were checked by a communal councillor and the allowances were established according to the needs of each, proportionate with the existing funds. In that year for instance, 10,000 lei were given monthly to 71 persons (between 5 and 20 lei each)⁷³.

To these funds, we should also add the donations made by the rich as were the 500 lei donated to that effect by late Sigismund Mendl's wife.⁷⁴

Relives were offered on holidays also. On Christmas, the Mayor ordered the distribution of 800 lei to the poor families registered as such on the basis of supporting documents.⁷⁵

For obtaining a free treatment at Techirghiol Baths, the parent of a sick child would receive from the Town Hall a certificate regarding his income.⁷⁶

For free treatments in balneary resorts, poverty documents had to be issued by the Town Hall to orphans, widows, poor students, various clerks. Apart from the poverty document and the free treatments, sometimes the upkeep of these people

⁷¹ SJANG, *Galați Town Hall Fund*, file 75/1898, 1.1, 6.

⁷² *Ibidem*, file 56/1890, 1. 20.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, file 42/1911, 1. 20(f-v)-21.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, 1. 22.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, file 56/1890, 1. 33

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, file 46/1909, 1. 3.

was also ensured, by the local authorities or through other collateral resources. The most often mentioned resorts were Lacu Sărat (Salty Lake), Techirghiol, Govora.⁷⁷

Therefore, we could speak of a real involvement of the local authorities in solving certain issues which were affecting the standard of living of the inhabitants of Galați.

In the context of helping the inhabitants of Galați who either regularly or occasionally needed financial support, we must mention the existence of charitable and mutual benefit societies (constituted by various professional categories), with an extremely important role in raising funds for the people in need, for benefits in case of sickness or death. This was a measure of the civil and charitable spirit in a society marled by major transformations.

Generally speaking, the cost of living was circumscribed to the national level, its specificity deriving from the situation of the local economy, its evolution being the barometer of the real price.

The market of an internationally-renown harbour was more offering with import products, less accessible to other regions of the country. What was in fashion at the international level would quickly reach, informatively at least, a Danube harbour situated at the confluence of the Western and Eastern civilisations. Having access to information, according to the degree of novelty reception and of financial accessibility, inhabitants here could connect to the fashion spirit.

There was a clear differentiation of the lifestyle on various socio-professional levels. Cheap, accessible or expensive were the terms that defined the purchasing power determined by income, price, need and fashion.

It is also obvious that there is a clear correlation between the material gain, according to the activity and to the professional training, the price quotation of the local market and, last but not least, the standard of living imposed by the social status, by education, mentality.

In conclusion, the cost of living for the inhabitants of Galați during the studied period was divided on three levels: minimal, medium and maximal, separated by flexible boundaries, variable from year to year, from decade to decade, from a social segment to another, from one person to another.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, 14, 6, 10, 13.

No. curent	ARTICOLELE	PREȚURI					
		CEL MAI MIC		MIDLOCIU		CEL MAI MARE	
		Lei	B.	Lei	B.	Lei	B.
36	Lapte de vacă litru	20		18		21	
37	" " " " " " " " " " " "	80		80		80	
38	Unt topit kilogramul	4.00		3.50		3.00	
39	" netopit "	2.50		3.00		3.50	
40	Prânză de ôie "	1.00		1.10		1.20	
41	" " " vacă "	80		1.00		1.20	
42	Cașcaval "	1.20		1.60		2.10	
43	Zahăr kilogramul	90		90		1.00	
44	Cafea "	2.80		3.20		4.00	
45	Orez "	30		40		60	
46	Măslina "	60		80		1.20	
47	Unt-de-lemn de mâncare litru	1.30		1.40		2.00	
48	" " " " " " " " " " " "	1.00		1.10		1.20	
49	Cartofi kilogramul	05		07		10	
50	Fasole { verde "						
	{ uscată "	25		30		35	
51	Bob { verde "						
	{ uscat "	30		40		50	
52	Lințe "	30		40		50	
53	Mazăre { verde "						
	{ uscată "	30		40		50	
54	Ceapă { verde sută						
	{ uscată kilogramul	85		75		90	
55	Castraveți sută	3.00		4.00		5.00	
56	Varză (ourechii) "	4.00		5.00		6.00	
57	Usturoi { verde "						
	{ uscat "	60		80		1.00	
58	Ardeiă "	15		20		30	
59	Praz "	15		20		25	
60	Țelină "	3.00		4.00		5.00	
61	Moreovi "	3.00		3.50		4.00	
62	Prune kilogramul						
63	Prune uscate "	30		35		40	
64	Mere "	40		50		60	
65	Pere "	50		60		80	
66	Struguri (pómă) "	40		60		0.80	
67	Pepeni (harbuzi) unul						
68	Nuc sută	25		30		40	
69	Miere kilogramul	1.30		1.40		1.60	
70	Săpun ordinar kilogramul	60		80		1.00	
71	Var kilogramul	05		07		10	
72	Fân sută kilogramul	5		6		7	
73	Paie "	3		3.50		4	
74	Orz "	6.00		6.50		7.00	
75	Ovăz "	7.50		8.00		8.50	

No. curent	ARTICOLELE	PREȚUL					
		CEL MAI MIC		MIDLOCIU		CEL MAI MARE	
		Lei	B.	Lei	B.	Lei	B.
76	Lemne de foc { 100 de kilograme stânjenul sterul carul	2	20	2	30	2	40
			90		100		120
		6		10		12	
77	Cărbuni de lemn (mangal) kilogramul	8	50	10		11	
78	Coks 100 kilogr.	2	80	3	00	3	50
79	Păcură litru		15		20		25
80	Petrolu (gaz pentru lampi) { ordinar " " " " " " (mai bun " " " " " "		25		30		35
			30		35		40
81	Luminări de seș kilogramul		1		10		120
82	Ceră galbenă		5		6		8
83	Luminări de ceră { galbenă albă		2		3		3
			50		00		50
84	Luminări de stearină funtul		80		1		120

No. curent	CĂȘTIGUL ZILNIC AL UNOR MUNCITORI	P L A T A					
		CEA MAI MICĂ		MIDLOCIE		CEA MAI MARE	
		Lei	B.	Lei	B.	Lei	B.
1	Cât câștigă pe o zi de lucru un zidar		5		6		7
2	Cât câștigă pe o zi de lucru un lemnar (dulgher)		5		6		7
3	Cât câștigă pe o zi de lucru un salahor		2		2		3

*Atest exactitatea cifrelor din prezentul
tabelou. Agent de J. J. J.*

Annex 2.

Prețul principalelor articole de consumație și întrebuințare generală în comunele urbane

În luna *Julie* 1940.

No. curent	ARTICOLELE	PREȚUL					
		CEL MAI MIC		MÎNȘCĂ		CEL MAI MARE	
		Lei	B.	Lei	B.	Lei	B.
1	Pâine albă { Calitatea I-a . kilogramul		20		25		30
2	" " " " " II-a . " "				20		25
3	Carne de vacă kilogramul				60		70
4	" " vițel " "		70		80		90
5	" " ôie " "				50		60
6	" " miel " "						60
7	" " porc (măscure) " "						60
8	Pastramă kilogramul	1 20		1 30		1 40	
9	Slănină " "	1 20		1 30		1 40	
10	Cerviș kilogramul	1 20		1 30		1 40	
11	Grăsime de vacă " "	60		70		80	
12	" " porc (untură) " "	1 40		1 50		1 60	
13	Găină " "	90		1 00		1 10	
14	Puiul " "	40		x		50	
15	Gâsca " "	1 50		x		2 00	
16	Rața " "	90		x		1 00	
17	Curcanul " "	6 4		x		7 4	
18	Oul " "	14		x		15	
19	Șalău (suduc) kilogramul	50		x		60	
20	Viză, nisetru, cegă " "	1 00		x		1 50	
21	Morun { prospăt " "	1 50		1 80		2 00	
	sărat " "	1 70		1 80		2 20	
22	Știucă { prospăt " "	20		x		30	
	sărat " "	30		x		40	
23	Crap { prospăt " "	30		x		40	
	sărat " "	40		x		50	
24	Somn { prospăt " "	30		x		40	
	sărat " "	30		x		40	
25	Pește mărunt " "	10		x		15	
26	Icre de crap " "	2 00		x		2 20	
27	Raci bucata			x		x	
28	Făină de grâu { bună kilogramul	40		x		50	
	ordinară " "	25		30		40	
29	Mălaiu (făină de păpușoiu) " "	12		x		15	
30	Vin vechiu { mai bun litru	60		x		80	
	ordinar " "	30		40		50	
31	Vin nou " "	30		x		40	
32	Oțet " "	30		40		50	
33	Rachiu de bucate (basamac) " "	80		1 20		1 60	
34	Rachiu de prune (țuică) " "	1 20		1 40		1 60	
25	Bere { din localitate " "	80		x		90	
	" adușă din alte localități din țară " "	1 00		x		1 20	

No. curent	ARTICOLELE	PREȚUL					
		CEL MAI MIC		MIDIU		CEL MAI MARE	
		Lei	B.	Lei	B.	Lei	B.
36	Lapte de vacă litru		15	x			30
37	" " ôie "		20	x			30
38	Unt topit kilogramul		3 10.		3 20.		3 50.
39	" netopit "		2 20.		2 50.		3 00.
40	Brânză de ôie "		70		80.		1 00.
41	" " vacă "		50		60.		80.
42	Cașcaval "		80		x		1 00.
43	Zahăr kilogramul		1 10.		1 15.		1 20.
44	Cafea "		1 50.		1 80.		2 00.
45	Orez "		25		30.		40.
46	Măsline "		40		60.		80.
47	Unt-de-lemn de mâncare . . . litru		1 10.		1 20.		1 40.
48	" ordinar "		1 00.		1 10.		1 20.
49	Cartofi kilogramul		08		x		10.
50	Fasole { verde "		15		x		20.
			20.		x		25.
51	Bob { verde "		10.		x		15.
			30.		40.		50.
52	Linte "		30		x		40.
53	Mazăre { verde "		20		x		30.
			40.		x		50.
54	Coapă { verde suta		60		x		80.
			10.		x		15.
55	Castraveți suta		80		1 00.		1 50.
56	Varză (curechiu) "		30		x		40.
57	Usturoi { verde "		40		90.		1 00.
			1 00.		1 20.		1 40.
58	Ardei <i>sucată</i>		1 00.		x		1 20.
59	Praz "				x		x
60	Țelină "		1 50.		x		2 00.
61	Morcovi "		1 50.		x		2 00.
62	Prune <i>chib</i>		7 50.		x		8 00.
63	Prune uscate "		25		x		30.
64	Mere "		7 50.		x		8 00.
65	Pere "		8 00.		x		9 00.
66	Struguri (pómă) "		26 x		31 x		38 x
67	Pepeni (harbuži) unul		20		30		40.
68	Nuci suta		25		30.		40.
69	Miere kilogramul		1 20.		1 40.		1 50.
70	Săpun ordinar kilogramul		40		60.		80.
71	Var kilogramul		05		07.		08.
72	Fân kilogramul		08		15.		06.
73	Paie "		03.				04.
74	Orz "		10.		x		12.
75	Ovăz "		10.		x		12.

No. curent	ARTICOLELE	PREȚUL					
		CEL MAI MIC		MIDLOCU		CEL MAI MARE	
		Lei	B.	Lei	B.	Lei	B.
76	Lemne de foc { 100 de kilograme. stânjenu sterul carul	1 34	x			1 40	
		44 00		55 00		65 00	
		x		x		x	
		3 00		4 00		5 00	
77	Cărbuni de lemn (mangal) . . kilogramul	08		x		10	
78	Coks 100 kilogr.	4 20		x		4 50	
79	Păcură litru	55		x		60	
80	Petrolu (gaz pentru lămpi) { ordinar mai bun	40		45		50	
		50		x		60	
81	Luminări de seă kilogramul	1 20		x		1 30	
82	Căra galbenă "	4 00		x		4 50	
83	Luminări de căra { galbenă albă	2 40		x		2 40	
		2 40		x		2 20	
84	Luminări de stearină funtul	50		60		1 00	

No. curent	CĂȘTIGUL DIZNIC AL UNOR MUNCITORI	PLATA					
		CEA MAI MICĂ		MIDLOCU		CE MAI MARE	
		Lei	B.	Lei	B.	Lei	B.
1	Cât câștigă pe o zi de lucru un zidar . .	4	x			5	x
2	Cât câștigă pe o zi de lucru un lemnar . (dulgher)	4	x			5	x
3	Cât câștigă pe o zi de lucru un salahor .	2	x			2 50	

Se certifica de noi esactitatea cifelor.
 Insp. Controlor *[Signature]*

The prices of the main commodities available in the markets of Galați, in 1900
 D.J.A.N.G., Galați Town Hall Fund, file. 30/1900, l. 42-43, f-v.

Annex 3.

LUNA Mois	Mălai Maïs Kg.	PAINÉ.—PAİN Kg.			CARNE. VIANDE Kg.			PASĂRI.—VOLAILLES Bucata. — La pièce							
		Jimblă 1-cre qualité	Pâine 2-eme qualité	Pâine neagră bis	de vacă de bœuf	de porc	de oaie de mouton	GAIŢA Poulet		RĂŢA Canard		GASCA Oie		CUCCAN Dindon	
								de la	până la	de la	până la	de la	până la	de la	până la
LEI.—FRANCS															
FĂLTICENI															
Januarie	0.20	—	0.30	0.25	0.70	1.—	0.60	1.50	2.—	1.60	2.—	3.—	4.—	5.—	7.—
Februarie	0.20	—	0.30	0.25	0.70	1.20	0.60	1.50	2.50	1.60	2.50	2.50	3.50	4.50	7.—
Martie	0.20	—	0.30	0.25	0.70	1.20	0.60	1.40	2.—	1.50	2.—	3.80	5.—	5.80	7.—
Aprilie	0.18	—	0.30	0.25	0.70	1.20	0.65	1.50	2.50	1.60	2.50	3.50	5.—	5.—	9.—
Mai	0.20	—	0.32	0.27	0.80	1.20	0.70	2.—	3.—	1.50	2.50	3.—	5.—	6.—	8.—
Iunie	0.20	—	0.32	0.28	0.80	1.20	0.70	2.00	3.00	1.50	2.50	3.—	5.00	6.—	8.—
Iulie	0.20	—	0.32	0.28	0.80	1.00	0.70	2.00	2.50	1.50	2.50	3.—	5.00	6.—	8.—
August	0.18	—	0.32	0.28	0.80	1.00	0.70	1.50	3.00	1.20	2.00	3.—	4.50	4.—	6.—
Septembrie	0.20	—	0.30	0.25	0.80	1.20	0.70	1.50	3.00	1.50	2.50	2.50	4.00	3.—	8.—
Octombrie	0.20	—	0.30	0.25	0.70	1.00	0.70	1.50	2.50	1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	3.—	6.—
Noembrie	—	—	0.30	0.25	0.70	1.20	0.60	1.20	2.50	1.80	2.50	2.50	4.00	4.—	7.—
Decembrie	0.20	—	0.30	0.25	0.70	1.00	0.60	1.25	2.00	1.30	2.00	2.50	4.00	5.50	7.—
Prețul mijlociu Prix moyen	0.19 ⁵	—	0.30 ⁵	0.25 ⁵	0.74 ¹	1.16 ⁵	0.65 ⁵	2.05 ⁵	—	1.87 ⁵	—	3.66 ⁵	—	6.07 ⁵	—
Anul 1912	0.18 ⁵	—	0.30	0.25	0.77 ⁵	1.11 ⁵	0.64	2.13 ⁷	—	2.37 ⁹	—	3.83 ⁷	—	5.85 ⁴	—
FOCŞANI															
Januarie	0.16	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.—	1.10	0.80	1.90	2.50	2.50	3.—	5.50	6.50	8.—	8.—
Februarie	0.15	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.—	1.10	—	2.30	3.50	2.20	2.75	4.—	5.—	6.—	7.50
Martie	0.11	0.35	0.30	0.25	1.—	1.20	—	2.50	3.—	3.—	3.—	4.—	4.—	8.—	8.—
Aprilie	0.16	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.20	1.20	—	2.—	3.—	2.—	2.50	3.50	5.—	8.50	10.—
Mai	0.17	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.20	1.20	—	2.—	2.50	2.—	2.25	3.50	4.50	8.—	10.—
Iunie	0.18	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.20	1.30	—	1.80	3.00	2.00	2.50	6.—	8.—	10.—	12.—
Iulie	0.18	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.20	1.20	—	2.00	3.20	2.—	2.50	6.—	8.—	10.—	12.—
August	0.17 ⁵	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.10	1.20	—	1.50	2.50	1.50	2.50	5.—	6.—	12.—	14.—
Septembrie	0.20	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.20	1.20	0.90	2.00	2.75	2.15	2.50	3.50	4.—	9.—	10.—
Octombrie	0.15	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.20	1.20	1.00	1.60	2.50	1.60	2.50	3.—	4.—	7.—	10.—
Noembrie	0.15	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.10	1.20	—	2.50	3.—	2.40	3.—	4.25	5.—	9.—	10.—
Decembrie	0.14	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.00	1.20	—	2.—	3.—	2.00	2.50	4.—	6.—	7.—	10.—
Prețul mijlociu Prix moyen	0.16	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.11 ⁵	1.19 ¹	0.93 ⁵	2.43 ⁵	—	2.36 ⁵	—	4.95 ⁵	—	9.33 ⁵	—
Anul 1912	0.15 ⁵	0.35	0.28 ⁵	0.21 ⁵	1.11 ⁵	1.20	0.95	2.11 ⁵	—	1.93 ¹	—	3.99 ⁷	—	7.18 ⁷	—
GAI AŢI															
Januarie	0.25	0.30	0.25	0.20	1.10	1.20	—	2.—	2.50	2.—	2.50	3.—	4.—	7.50	10.—
Februarie	0.15	0.30	0.25	0.20	1.—	1.20	—	2.50	4.—	3.—	4.—	4.—	6.—	6.—	7.50
Martie	0.25	0.35	0.30	0.25	1.10	1.20	—	2.50	4.—	2.50	4.—	4.—	6.—	6.—	7.50
Aprilie	0.15	0.35	0.30	0.25	1.10	—	—	2.—	2.50	3.—	4.—	4.—	6.—	5.—	7.50
Mai	0.25	0.35	0.30	0.25	1.10	—	1.10	2.—	2.50	3.—	4.—	4.—	6.—	5.50	7.50
Iunie	0.30	0.35	0.30	0.25	1.20	—	—	2.00	2.50	3.00	4.00	4.00	6.00	6.00	7.50
Iulie	0.30	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.20	—	—	2.00	2.50	3.00	4.00	4.00	6.00	6.00	7.50
August	0.25	0.35	0.30	0.20	1.20	1.40	1.00	1.60	2.25	2.00	3.50	3.00	5.00	5.00	7.50
Septembrie	0.25	0.35	0.30	0.25	1.20	1.40	1.00	1.75	2.50	2.00	3.50	3.00	5.00	5.00	7.50
Octombrie	0.25	0.35	0.25	0.20	1.20	1.30	1.00	1.75	2.25	1.75	2.25	3.00	4.00	4.00	9.00
Noembrie	0.25	0.35	0.25	0.20	1.10	1.30	1.00	1.75	2.25	1.75	2.25	3.00	4.00	7.00	9.00
Decembrie	0.25	0.35	0.25	0.20	1.00	1.20	0.90	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.50	3.00	5.00	7.00	10.00
Prețul mijlociu Prix moyen	0.24 ²	0.31 ¹	0.27 ⁵	0.22 ⁵	1.12 ⁵	1.27 ⁵	1.00	2.36 ⁵	—	2.89 ⁵	—	4.37 ⁵	—	7.12 ⁵	—
Anul 1912	0.20 ⁵	0.30 ⁵	0.25 ⁵	0.20 ⁵	1.10 ⁵	1.26 ⁵	0.72 ⁵	2.41 ⁵	—	2.36 ⁵	—	3.68 ⁵	—	8.10	—

LUNA Mois	P E S T E . - P O I S S O N S													
	Morun Grand esturgeon Kgr.		Somn Sifure Kgr.		Crap proaspăt Carpe fraîche Kgr.		Știucă proaspătă Brochet frais Kgr.		Lin proaspăt lanche fraîche Kgr.		Caracudă proaspătă Caranin frais Kgr.		Albiturk Fresin Kgr.	
	de la	pină la	de la	pină la	de la	pină la	de la	pină la	de la	pină la	de la	pină la	de la	pină la
LEI - FRANCS														
FĂLTICENI														
Ianuarie	---	---	---	---	1.40	1.70	1.20	1.30	---	---	---	---	0.60	0.80
Februarie	---	---	---	---	1.60	1.80	1.30	1.50	---	---	0.70	0.90	---	---
Martie	---	---	---	---	1.50	1.60	1.30	1.40	---	---	0.80	1.---	---	---
Aprilie	---	---	---	---	1.60	1.80	1.20	1.40	1.---	1.30	1.---	1.20	---	---
Mai	---	---	---	---	1.50	2.---	1.20	1.40	1.20	1.80	0.70	1.---	---	---
Iunie	---	---	---	---	1.50	1.60	1.---	1.40	1.---	1.20	0.70	1.---	---	---
Iulie	---	---	---	---	1.20	1.40	---	---	1.---	1.20	---	---	---	---
August	---	---	---	---	1.40	1.80	1.20	1.40	1.20	1.40	---	---	---	---
Septembrie	---	---	---	---	1.40	1.40	1.20	1.20	1.20	1.20	1.20	1.20	---	---
Octombrie	---	---	---	---	1.80	1.80	1.20	1.20	1.40	1.40	1.20	1.20	---	---
Noembrie	---	---	---	---	1.20	1.60	1.---	1.20	1.---	1.40	0.80	1.---	---	---
Decembrie	---	---	---	---	1.20	1.60	1.---	1.60	1.---	1.60	0.80	1.---	---	---
Prețul mijlociu prix moyen	---	---	---	---	1.62 ^s	---	1.24 ^s	---	1.25 ^s	---	1.02 ^s	---	---	0.70
Anul 1912	---	---	---	---	1.51	---	1.26 ^s	---	1.40	---	0.73 ^s	---	---	1.06 ^s
FOCȘANI														
Ianuarie	---	---	---	---	1.40	1.80	2.---	2.---	2.---	2.---	1.60	1.60	---	---
Februarie	---	---	---	---	1.80	2.50	2.50	2.---	0.80	1.80	1.60	2.---	---	---
Martie	---	---	---	---	1.20	1.60	1.---	1.---	0.80	1.40	0.80	0.80	---	---
Aprilie	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.20	1.50	---	---	---	---	---	---
Mai	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Iunie	---	---	---	---	1.40	2.---	1.10	1.50	1.---	1.50	1.---	1.20	---	---
Iulie	---	---	---	---	1.50	2.---	1.20	1.50	1.20	1.60	1.20	1.50	---	---
August	---	---	---	---	1.20	1.20	1.---	1.---	1.---	1.---	0.90	1.---	---	---
Septembrie	---	---	---	---	1.40	1.70	1.20	1.50	1.20	1.50	1.10	1.40	---	---
Octombrie	---	---	---	---	1.---	1.20	0.80	1.---	0.80	1.---	0.60	1.---	---	---
Noembrie	---	---	---	---	1.30	1.40	1.10	1.20	1.---	1.20	1.---	1.20	---	---
Decembrie	---	---	---	---	0.80	1.20	0.60	1.---	0.70	1.---	0.60	1.---	---	---
Prețul mijlociu prix moyen	---	---	---	---	1.18 ^s	---	1.26 ^s	---	1.25 ^s	---	1.15 ^s	---	---	---
Anul 1912	---	---	---	---	1.11 ^s	---	1.07 ^s	---	1.07 ^s	---	1.00	---	---	---
GALATI														
Ianuarie	---	---	---	---	1.60	1.60	1.20	1.20	---	---	1.20	1.20	---	---
Februarie	---	---	---	---	1.---	1.40	0.50	0.80	1.20	1.40	0.90	1.20	---	---
Martie	---	---	---	---	0.90	1.50	0.50	0.70	0.80	1.---	0.60	0.80	---	---
Aprilie	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.70	1.10	---	---	---	---	---	---
Mai	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.70	1.20	---	---	---	---	---	---
Iunie	---	---	---	---	0.70	1.---	---	---	0.70	0.90	0.60	0.80	---	---
Iulie	---	---	---	---	0.80	1.---	0.50	0.60	0.50	0.70	0.50	0.70	---	---
August	---	---	---	---	0.80	1.40	0.50	1.---	0.60	0.70	0.50	0.70	---	---
Septembrie	---	---	---	---	1.10	1.40	0.60	1.---	0.60	0.80	0.50	0.70	---	---
Octombrie	---	---	---	---	0.80	1.20	0.60	1.---	0.60	1.---	0.60	0.80	---	---
Noembrie	---	---	---	---	0.80	1.20	0.60	1.---	0.60	1.---	0.60	0.80	---	---
Decembrie	---	---	---	---	1.---	1.40	0.70	1.---	0.80	1.20	0.60	1.---	---	---
Prețul mijlociu prix moyen	---	---	---	---	1.13	---	0.81 ^s	---	0.83 ^s	---	0.76 ^s	---	---	---
Anul 1912	---	---	---	---	1.30	---	0.85 ^s	---	0.97 ^s	---	0.80	---	---	---

LUNA Mois	Struguri	Fân uscat	Fân presat	Pae	Sapun	Petrol	Lemne de foc				Var
	Roşini	Fân eşchit	Fân presat	Pastile	de rufe	lampant	Bois à Bruler		Ko-ka	Chaux	
	Kg.	Kg.	Kg.	Kg.	Kg.	Litre	Car	Fag	100 Kg.	100 Kg.	Kg.
LEI - FRANCS											
PĂLTICENI											
Januarie	—	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.80	—	2.10	2.30	7.—	0.07 ⁷	
Februarie	—	0.08	0.08	0.04	0.90	0.20	2.—	2.30	7.—	—	
Martie	—	0.08	0.08	0.05	0.90	0.25	2.20	2.30	7.—	—	
Aprilie	—	0.07	0.07	0.04	0.90	0.25	1.90	2.10	6.50	—	
Mai	—	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.90	0.25	2.10	2.30	—	—	
Iunie	—	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.90	0.20	2.10	2.50	6.50	—	
Iulie	—	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.90	0.20	2.10	2.30	6.50	—	
August	0.80	0.05	0.05	0.02	1.—	0.20	2.10	2.50	6.50	—	
Septembrie	0.80	0.04	0.04	0.02	1.—	0.25	2.80	2.80	7.—	—	
Octombrie	0.80	0.06	0.05	0.02	0.90	0.20	3.—	3.—	7.—	—	
Noembrie	—	0.07	0.08	0.03	1.—	0.25	3.—	3.—	7.50	—	
Decembrie	—	0.08	0.09	0.05	1.—	0.25	3.—	2.80	7.—	—	
Preţul mijlociu	0.80	0.06	0.06 ²	0.03 ⁵	0.92 ⁵	0.22 ⁷	2.36 ⁶	2.50	6.86 ⁵	0.07 ⁶	
Preţul mediu	0.80	0.06	0.06 ²	0.03 ⁵	0.92 ⁵	0.22 ⁷	2.36 ⁶	2.50	6.86 ⁵	0.07 ⁶	
Annul 1912	0.75	—	—	—	0.89 ¹	0.18 ³	2.21 ⁶	2.64 ¹	6.41 ¹	0.07 ⁷	
FOCŞANI											
Januarie	—	0.10	—	0.04	0.70	0.20	3.60	3.60	8.—	—	
Februarie	—	0.10	—	0.08	0.90	0.20	3.40	3.40	9.—	—	
Martie	—	—	0.12	0.09	0.80	0.20	3.40	3.20	7.—	—	
Aprilie	—	—	0.09	—	0.90	0.25	3.60	3.60	9.—	—	
Mai	—	—	0.12	—	0.90	0.25	3.70	3.70	9.—	—	
Iunie	—	—	0.12	—	1.—	0.25	4.30	4.30	10.—	—	
Iulie	1.60	—	0.12	—	1.—	0.25	4.40	4.40	10.—	—	
August	1.40	—	0.10	—	1.—	0.25	4.—	3.80	7.50	—	
Septembrie	0.70	—	0.09	0.09	1.—	0.25	4.20	4.20	10.—	—	
Octombrie	0.80	0.10	—	0.09	1.—	0.25	4.20	4.—	9.60	—	
Noembrie	1.40	0.10	—	—	1.—	0.25	4.30	4.30	9.50	—	
Decembrie	—	—	0.12	—	1.—	0.20	4.40	4.40	7.50	—	
Preţul mijlociu	0.98	0.10	0.11	0.07 ⁸	0.93 ³	0.23 ³	3.70 ¹	3.90 ⁸	8.84 ¹	—	
Preţul mediu	0.98	0.10	0.11	0.07 ⁸	0.93 ³	0.23 ³	3.70 ¹	3.90 ⁸	8.84 ¹	—	
Annul 1912	0.66	—	—	—	0.89 ¹	0.25	3.53 ³	3.45 ⁸	7.75	0.10	
GALAŢI											
Januarie	—	0.08	—	0.03	0.80	0.30	3.80	3.80	6.—	—	
Februarie	—	0.12	—	0.05	0.60	0.30	3.40	3.50	6.—	—	
Martie	—	0.12	—	0.05	0.60	0.30	3.30	3.40	4.80	—	
Aprilie	—	—	0.12	0.05	0.70	0.30	3.40	3.20	5.60	—	
Mai	—	—	0.12	0.05	0.80	0.30	3.40	3.20	5.60	—	
Iunie	—	—	0.15	0.07 ⁸	0.60	0.30	3.40	3.20	6.—	—	
Iulie	0.80	—	0.18	0.08	0.70	0.30	3.40	3.20	6.—	—	
August	0.60	—	0.15	0.08	0.80	0.25	3.60	3.60	6.—	—	
Septembrie	0.60	—	0.15	0.08	0.90	0.25	3.60	3.60	6.—	—	
Octombrie	—	—	0.20	—	0.80	0.25	3.60	3.60	5.90	—	
Noembrie	—	—	0.20	0.12	0.80	0.25	3.60	3.60	5.90	—	
Decembrie	—	—	0.20	0.12	0.80	0.25	3.60	3.60	5.90	—	
Preţul mijlociu	0.66 ⁶	0.10 ⁶	0.16 ³	0.07 ¹	0.74 ¹	0.27 ⁸	3.51 ⁶	3.45 ⁸	5.86 ⁸	—	
Preţul mediu	0.66 ⁶	0.10 ⁶	0.16 ³	0.07 ¹	0.74 ¹	0.27 ⁸	3.51 ⁶	3.45 ⁸	5.86 ⁸	—	
Annul 1912	0.97 ⁵	—	—	—	0.85 ⁸	0.2 ⁴	3.30	3.42 ⁵	5.14 ¹	0.10	

The prices of the main commodities available in the markets of Galaţi, in 1914
D.J.A.N.G., Galaţi Town Hall Fund, file. 30/1914, l. 35-37, f-v.

*Daniela BUȘĂ**

**INVESTMENTS OF FOREIGN CAPITAL IN THE
ROMANIAN ECONOMY AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE XXth CENTURY**

-Abstract-

Taking its stand on statistic data, the study analyses the type, the amount and the economic impact of the investments of foreign capital in Romania, at the beginning of the XXth century. Foreign capital played an important role in the development of the modern economical relations in Romania, but, since the major objective pursued by the investors was their own profit, the area of the these investments was drastically limited to those fields engendering a certain and fast profit. The exploitation of the mineral resources (especially oil) and the projects of development of the infrastructure, having the Romanian state as a partner, were particularly preferred. On the other side, the industry lacked noticeable investments and, therefore, it remained at a backward stage of development.

The analysis of the flow of foreign capital to Romania also represents an aid to a proper understanding of the geopolitical interests involving Romania around the time of the WWI.

Keywords: Romania, foreign investments, capital, XXth century

**INVESTIȚII STRĂINE DE CAPITAL ÎN ECONOMIA ROMÂNIEI
LA ÎNCEPUTUL SECOLULUI XX**

-Rezumat-

Studiul își propune să analizeze, pornind de la date statistice, natura, volumul și impactul economic al investițiilor străine de capital în România la începutul secolului XX. Capitalul străin a jucat un rol important în dezvoltarea relațiilor economice moderne în România, însă obiectivul fundamental urmărit de investitori (profitul) a limitat drastic aria acestor investiții în zone în care câștigul era rapid și sigur. O importanță deosebită a fost acordată activității de extragere a resurselor minerale (în special petrolul) și proiectelor de dezvoltare de infrastructură, în care statul român era partener. În acest timp, industria prelucrătoare, lipsită de investiții semnificative, a rămas la un stadiu rudimentar.

* “Nicolae Iorga” Institute of History, Bucharest, busadanielavictoria@yahoo.com.

În același timp, analiza fluxurilor de capital străin contribuie la înțelegerea intereselor geopolitice care au acționat asupra României în preajma primului război mondial.

Cuvinte cheie: România, investiții străine, capital, secolul XX

The orientation and quantum of western investments in the countries of South-eastern Europe, Romania implicitly, emphasises the overlap of economic and political interests, and the substantial advantages obtained by the creditor. The control over the Danube and its mouths, over the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea, the Straits, the routes to the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor, the replacement of the decomposing Ottoman political factor, due to the economic force and, consequently, the division of the area, the conquest of the capital market, investments in all the profitable economic sectors of South-eastern countries, the exploitation of their natural resources and the inclusion of the area within the range of raw materials suppliers and retail markets, all of these caused the South-East of Europe to be particularly attractive to Western investors.

At the beginning of the XXth century, the foreign finances were holding a determinant position in the foreign State loans of Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and the Ottoman Empire and in credit institutions. It was still the foreign capital that financed the construction of ways and means of transport, bridges, public interest buildings, as well as the exploitation of the various ground and underground resources. This last investment allowed the procurement of significant profits as the rate of interest amounted to 8-12%, being superior to State loans (5-7%) and double or triple as compared to the one practiced in the similar investments of Western-European countries¹.

The volume of investments differed depending on the creditor, the liquid assets of the market from the country of origin, the perspective upon investment profitability, the interest in one field or another and, last but not least, the place attributed to the debtor in the overall politics of the crediting country. This explains why, both in its own country and in South-eastern Europe, German finances directed most of its investments to industry, exploitation of underground resources, oil especially, to commercial and railways companies (construction and exploitation), public utilities, while French finances for instance, fond of certain, immediate and secure profits, involved mostly in foreign State loans, considering other investments unprofitable and unwise.

In Romania, foreign capital, with a symbolic presence before the independence, turned, during the last decade of the XIXth century, towards extractive industry (oil), raw material processing (wood, ores), metallurgical, food

¹ Victor Axenciuc, *Penetrația capitalului străin în România până la primul război mondial* in "Revista de istorie", t. 34, no. 5, 1981, p. 825.

(sugar), chemical industry. Its pervasion was linked to the economic policy of governments, to customs fees and, accordingly, to the need of State development and modernisation. The nationality of the foreign capital and its share in relation to the Romanian capital were two controversial aspects, largely debated by historians and economists. Therefore, according to the calculations of Vintilă Brătianu, near the beginning of World War I, in the Romanian industry, foreign investments represented 96% as compared to 4% national capital². Very close are the estimations of Octav Constantinescu and Nicolae Xenopol, i.e. 92.4%, respectively 94.5% foreign capital and 3.2%, respectively 5.5% Romanian capital³. Other authors lower the share of foreign capital to 80.2%⁴ or even less, 69%⁵.

The lack of official statistics, the low interest of governors and of most economists at the time in quantity and value related studies of foreign investments, certain gaps in the national legislation, correlated with the indifference of authorities towards the transaction of large shares which could pass from one company to another without a thorough evaluation, delayed at times or unrecorded by the new owner, led to discrepancies in the data regarding the value and the nationality of the foreign capital invested in the Romanian industry in general and in particular branches as well. Thus, according to Gh. M. Dobrovici, out of the 725 companies which existed in 1914, with a capital of 823 174 846 lei, only 43 companies with a capital of 244 438 055 lei belonged entirely to foreign finances⁶. For the same date, the estimation of G.D. Cioriceanu and D.St. Emilian, the latter, former Manager of the Industry Directorate from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, are a lot superior, that is, 515 million lei, respectively 511 million lei foreign capital out of 740 million lei in all, respectively, 636 million lei, which means that over 2/3 of the capital invested in the great industry was coming from abroad⁷.

Analysing these data, Victor Axenciuc considers them unreal. He reproaches to his predecessors the calculation methodology which took into consideration only some companies and only the capital invested in shares, inferior to the one effectively used in exploitation. Remaking the calculation, according to the

² Vintilă Brătianu, *Politica de stat a petrolului în urma noii Constituții și a legii minelor*, Bucharest, p. 6.

³ Octav Constantinescu, *Contribuția capitalului străin la industria petroliferă românească*, Bucharest, 1937, p.125; Nicolas Xenopol, *La richesse de la Roumanie*, Bucharest, 1916, p. 147.

⁴ D. St. Emilian, *Capitalul în industria din România* in "Analele statistice și economice", no. 3, 1918, pp. 5; Tudor Savin, *Capitalul străin în România*, Bucharest, 1947, p. 34; N.N. Constantinescu, V. Axenciuc, *Capitalismul monopolist în România*, Bucharest, 1962, p. 214; V. Axenciuc, *Penetrația capitalului monopolist străin în economia României în Progresul economic în România 1877-1977*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 148.

⁵ Georges D. Cioriceanu, *La Roumanie économique et ses rapports avec l'étranger de 1860 à 1915*, Paris, 1918, p. 367.

⁶ Gh. M. Dobrovici, *Istoricul dezvoltării economice și financiare a României și împrumuturile contractate 1823-1933*, Bucharest, 1934, p. 273.

⁷ Georges D. Cioriceanu, *op.cit.*, p. 367; D. St. Emilian, *op.cit.*, p. 5-6.

statistics of 1913, he finds the figure of 1 307 million lei for the total assets invested in industry, out of which, applying the 80.5% percentage given by. D. St. Emilian for foreign capital, he obtains a value of 1 045 million lei for it, that is, over twice the estimations of the former Manager⁸.

Table 1
Foreign capital investments in the Romanian industry of 1913⁹

<i>Branch</i>	<i>Foreign capital</i> in million lei	Share of foreign capital in the entire capital of the branch
Oil industry	379.4	94.0
Wood industry	45.0	69.6
Sugar industry	34.5	94.0
Gas, electricity, water	21.9	95.5
Metallurgic industry	9.0	74.0
Food industry	8.9	31.0
Paper and cellulose industry	6.5	46.0
Transports	5.0	27.0
Textile industry	4.3	21.9
Construction materials industry	2.6	27.0
Chemical industry	2.3	72.0
TOTAL	520.2	81.7

Given the data above, we may state that foreign finances focused its investments on the extractive and raw materials processing industries. In chemical industry, metallurgy, sugar industry and electricity, foreign companies owned between 72% and 95% of the capital, while the Romanian capital was placed in paper and cellulose, food and textile industry. The same conclusions may be inferred from the information supplied by Gh. M. Dobrovici, although the data are different. Thus, out of the 43 foreign companies authorised to operate in 1914, 24 were oil companies with a total capital of 116 881 255 lei, 2 were forest companies with a capital of 10 350 000 lei, one in each of the following: chemical industry (48 600 000 lei), metallurgical (13 125 000 lei), sugar industry (9 000 000 lei), constructions materials - concrete (5 250 000 lei), coal extraction (5 250 000 lei), a

⁸ V. Axenciuc, *Penetrația capitalului monopolist străin în economia României*, p. 148.

⁹ Table elaborated by V. Axenciuc based on the data communicated by D. St. Emilian, *op. cit.*, p. 5 and descendingly ordered by us.

brewery (4 000 000 lei) and 11 in various other fields of business (31 951 800 lei)¹⁰.

The largest part of the foreign capital invested in the public limited companies of the great industry belonged to the English-Dutch finances (38.3%), followed by the German-Austrian-Hungarian (36.6%), French-Belgian (18.6%), American (4.8%) and Italian (1.4%)¹¹. In point of value and percentage, the German capital held the first place with total investments of 120 820 175 lei, that is, 23.5%, followed by the Dutch capital with 97 901 246 lei (19.5%) and, closely after, the English capital with 96 922 938 lei (18.9%).

Table 2
The provenience of the foreign capital from the anonymous companies of the great industry in 1914¹²

<i>Capital provenience</i>	<i>Value – in lei</i>	Percentage
German	120 820 175	23.5
Dutch	97 901 246	19.5
English	96 922 938	18.9
Austro-Hungarian	65 539 525	12.8
Belgian	57 945 327	11.3
French	37 765 000	7.3
American	25 000 000	4.9
Italian	7 550 000	1.4

In the two decades from the end of the XIXth century until World War I, oil imposed in the entire world as the most important power generator for engines in general, particularly for explosion engines, and the most important and cheap lighting source. Easier to exploit and to transport, requiring a smaller storage place and less polluting than coal, known for its black and heavy smoke released in burning, oil rapidly pervaded the daily life of the society, becoming indispensable in no time. As a consequence, world production grew extremely fast from 67 000 tons in 1860, when the extraction area was limited to the North-American State, Pennsylvania, and a small area from Caucasus, to 22.3 million tons in 1900, afterwards recording values higher and higher each year: 44 million tons in 1910, 51 million tons in 1913¹³. Some producer countries (USA) used their own ores as an advantage in the fight for economic and political influence. Others (Great Britain, Germany, Holland) carried out a continual and unceasing action for

¹⁰ Gh.M. Dobrovici, *op.cit.*, p. 273.

¹¹ V. Axenciuc, *op.cit.*, p. 149.

¹² Table drawn up on the data published by V. Alimănișteanu, *Participarea băncilor la industrie*, București, 1915, p. 5; D. St. Emilian, *L'industrie en Roumanie*, Bucarest, 1919, p. 6; A. Popovici, *Formarea capitalului în România*, Iași, 1935, p. 85; N.N. Constantinescu, V. Axenciuc, *op.cit.*, p. 214.

¹³ Rene Sedillot, *Istoria petrolului*, Bucharest, 1979, p. 140.

acquiring or leasing oil fields in underdeveloped countries. As a consequence, the fight in the field of oil extraction, processing and trade acquired shape ever since the end of the XIXth century, involving the English, the American and the Dutch finances in this dispute, at the beginning of the XXth century the German investors becoming interested as well.

In Romania, the first company with foreign capital was set up by the English Jackson Brown in 1864 - *Valachian Petroleum Co. Ltd* - with a capital of 4 million francs¹⁴. Until the middle of the last decade of the XIXth century, 9/10 of the oil industry was held by Romanians¹⁵. It was only after the Mines Law of 1895 which allowed free exploitation that international trusts turned up¹⁶. The share of the foreign capital considerably increased between 1895 and 1903 and spectacularly between 1904 and 1915. In point of value, foreign investments multiplied almost by 4, that is, from 20 million lei gold in 1895¹⁷ to 82.6 million lei gold in 1905 and by 5 in the next year: 175.6 million lei gold in 1906, 222.2 million lei gold in 1908, 404.7 million lei gold in 1915¹⁸. More and more public liability companies appeared, and the exploitation area extended. In 1912, 62 public liability companies with a capital of 265 million lei were exploiting 2500 ha out of the 20 000 ha oil fields¹⁹. In 1914, the number of the former grew to 96, and the capital to 403.6 million lei, that is 92% of the total. At that date, the Romanian capital was representing 7-8% according to some specialists²⁰, 5.5% according to others²¹ or even 3.2%²².

¹⁴ V. Toroceanu, *Capitalul investit în industria petrolului în Industria petrolului în România în 1908*, Bucharest, 1910, p. 283.

¹⁵ Cf. V. Alimănișteanu, *Patruzeci de ani în industria petrolului 1866-1906* in "Convorbiri literare", no. 3-5, 1906, p. 447 apud Gh. Buzatu, *România și trusturile petroliere internaționale până în 1929*, Iași, 1981, p. 33.

¹⁶ The Law of 1895 established for underground riches: gold, silver, iron, coal, etc, that if the owner was not willing to exploit them, the State had the right to do the same, paying a lease, 4% for the net income and compensation for damages. An exception to the above was represented by the areas which contained bituminous substances in the underground (petrol, asphalt, mineral wax). Their owners could sell, assign or lease them provided that they observed mining policy, relations between workers and lessees and mining taxes.

¹⁷ A. Ianculescu, *La Roumanie nouvelle et ses richesses minière*, Paris, 1928 apud A. Popovici, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ According to Nicolas Xenopol, *op.cit.*, p. 146 ; V. Toroceanu, *op.cit.*, p. 187, tabel I; Gh. Buzatu, *O istorie a petrolului românesc*, p. 27.

¹⁹ Gh.M. Dobrovici, *op.cit.*, p. 244.

²⁰ See D. Kastrîș, *Les capitaux étrangers dans la finance roumaine*, Paris, 1921, p. 49 and N. Arcadian, *Industrializarea României*, ediția II, București, 1936, p. 135. The former uses for calculation the figures advanced by the publication of Marmorosch Blank Bank, *Les forces economique*, that is, 93.2% foreign capital and 6.8% Romanian capital, and the latter the figures provided by D. St. Emilian, *op. cit.* See also Tudor Savin, *op.cit.*, p. 42

²¹ Nicolas Xenopol, *op.cit.*, p. 147.

²² According to O. Constantinescu, *op.cit.*, p. 125. Starting again from the figures provided in "Le Moniteur du petrol roumaine", the author estimates for the year 1916 a coefficient of

The importance of the new source of energy, its wide use, and especially the huge benefits resulted from its exploitation, transport, distribution and commercialisation lead to harsh and blunt clashes, rivalries and disputes among investors. Any blow was permissible on market and backstage as well. Manufacturers, transporters, distributors grew rich or wasted their fortune equally fast. All these are reflected in the participation of foreign capital. Until the beginning of the XXth century, the largest part of the capital invested in oil extraction and processing was English, from 1905 on the primacy being taken over by the German with 64.32%, followed by the English-Dutch (8.75%), American (3.32%), French-Belgian (4.31%), Italian (4.98). At the time, the national capital was representing 14.32%²³.

In 1914, nine countries had invested in oil industry in Romania: Germany, Great Britain, Holland, France, USA, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Sweden. Although, in point of value and percentage, the figures advanced by three analysts of the epoch regarding the participation of foreign capital in this branch of the Romanian economy do not coincide, they allow ranking, however, in the same way at all the authors²⁴.

Table 3
The provenience of foreign capital in oil industry in 1914²⁵

Countries	Values in million lei gold			Percentages		
	N. Xenopol	D. Kastrîş	G.M. Dobrovici	N. Xenopol	D. Kastrîş	G.M. Dobrovici
Germany	160	110	110	35.0	27.22	27.34
Great Britain	115	96	95	25.2	23.76	23.64
Holland	60	80	98	10.1	19.80	24.25
France	10	10	20	10	2.47	5.07
Italy	45	4	7	2.2	0.99	1.85
Belgium	10	12	14	2.2	2.97	3.56
U.S.A.	25	25	25	5.5	6.18	6.19
Austria-Hungary	6	8	-	1.3	1.98	-

92.4% (467 million lei gold) for foreign capital, 4.4% (23 million lei gold) for mixed capital and 3.2% (17 million lei gold) for the Romanian one. He appreciates the share of the latter within the mixed capital at 75%. In this case, the coefficient for foreign capital amounts to 93.5%, and for national capital to 6.36%. The estimations are close to the ones proposed by N. Xenopol.

²³ See Gh. Răvaş, *Din istoria petrolului*, Bucharest, 1955, p.87; N.N. Constantinescu, V. Axenciuc, *op.cit.*, p. 211; Axente Sever Bocu, *Din istoria industriei româneşti. Petrolul*, Bucharest, 1981, p. 9.

²⁴ See Vintilă Brătianu, *op.cit.*; O. Constantinescu, *op.cit.*; N. Xenopol, *op.cit.*; T. Savin, *op.cit.*; D. Kastrîş, *op.cit.*

²⁵ Drawn up on the basis of the data provided by N. Xenopol, *op.cit.*, p.147, D. Kastrîş, *op.cit.*, p. 49 and G.M. Dobrovici, *op.cit.*, p. 244. The figures provided by Dobrovici stand on *Statistica minieră a României pe anul 1913-1914* and D.St. Emilian, *op. cit.*, p.7.

Romania	25	-	33	5.5	-	8.10
----------------	----	---	----	-----	---	------

We must mention that other works, some older, other fairly recent²⁶ found their analysis, with slight corrections, on the figures provided by Xenopol or Kastrîş.

At the same time with the ratification of the Mining Law, the first public liability companies appear on the Romanian market. Thus, in September 1895, taking advantage from the difficulties experienced by *Offenheim und Singer*, a company from Wien, shareholder, along with small Romanian and English investors in *Societatea Română pentru industria și comerțul petrolului* (*Romanian Company for Oil Industry and Trade*), the Hungarian Bank for Industry and Trade of Budapest bought the Austrians' shares, laying the foundations of *Steaua română* (*Romanian Star*), public limited company²⁷. The initial subscribed capital (Hungarian, English and Austrian) amounted to 2.4 million lei gold. In 1897, the company obtained the assignment of 305 ha on Prahova Valley, rich in oil. From 1903, *Deutsche Bank* became the main shareholder, after taking over the Hungarian participation and purchasing English shares in 1898. In such circumstances, the share of the company grew fast as well.

In 1904, *Steaua română* owned two leased lands in area of 13 239 ha. Two years later, it had works in progress in three of the four counties rich in oil fields (Prahova, Dâmbovița, Buzău) and production amounted to over 275 000 tons²⁸. It became shortly one of the greatest oil extraction and processing companies in Romania. In 1909, based on an agreement with *Romanian Oil Trading Co Ltd* (with the office in London), it ensured the retail of its oil products on the Western European market. In 1915, it had a nominal capital of 120 million lei, paid-up, along with *Deutsche Bank* and other leading representatives of the German finances: *National Bank für Deutschland*, *Bank für Handel und Industrie*, *Berliner Handelsgesellschaft*, *Mitteldeutsche Credit Bank*. These were joined by an Austrian company, *Wiener Bankverein*. *Steaua Română* had subsidiaries for oil commercialisation in: London, Sofia, Genoa, Smyrna, etc²⁹.

In 1903, in the oil industry there were other 12 Romanian companies with a capital of 12.8 million lei, 2 Austro-Hungarian with a capital of 18.8 million lei, 6 Dutch with 14.8 million lei, 4 English with 6.1 million lei, 2 Belgian with 4.8 million lei and one French with 300,000 lei³⁰.

²⁶ See to that end Gh. Buzatu, *România și trusturile petroliere internaționale până în 1929*, p. 38; N.N. Constantinescu, V. Axenciuc, *op.cit.*, p. 213.

²⁷ See *Istoricul Societății „Steaua română”* I-II in “*Moniteur du pétrol roumain*”, year XIX, no. 20 of October 20, 1920 and no. 22 of November 15, 1920, p. 664-667, respectively p. 746-749.

²⁸ See “*Biruința*”, Ploiești, November 14/26, 1907.

²⁹ Marcel Bibiri-Sturia, *Creșterea influenței economice germane în România*, Bucharest, 1915, p. 33. See also “*Moniteur du pétrol roumain*”, February 1/14, 1915, p.76; V. Alimănișteanu, *op.cit.*, p. 34 and 64-70.

³⁰ V. Torocceanu, *op.cit.*, p. 286, table II; Gh. Buzatu, *O istorie a petrolului românesc*, p. 26.

From this year on, the Romanian oil industry benefitted from an infusion of foreign capital. Renowned banks from the great capital cities of the world and famous oil trusts were disputing extraction, refining, transport and commercialisation of the Romanian oil. In their rivalry, they only took into account the profits that could be obtained from the new acquisitions. This is how we can explain the divergences between *Deutsche Bank* and *Diskonto Gesellschaft* which could not be settled, not even with the intervention of the governors in Berlin. Each created a company, *Deutsche Petroleum Aktiengesellschaft* (1904), respectively *Allgemeine Petroleum Industrie A.G.* (1905), continuing confrontation through their intermediary.

From these two, *Diskonto Gesellschaft* held in Romania the strongest position, participating in ore exploitation and oil refining at Gura Ocnitei and Buştenari. In 1903, together with S. Bleichröder, they subscribed the largest part of the capital of *Telega Oil Co. Ltd.* (5 575 000 lei), and in 1905, they created, with the contribution of French and Romanian capital, the companies *Buştenari*, with a capital of 1 820 000 lei, *Vega Refinery* (Ploieşti), with a capital of 3 750 000 lei and *Creditul petrolifer (Oil Credit)*, with a capital of 3 million lei, raised by other 2 million lei through the participation of Marmorosch Blank Bank. The former were concerned with the extraction and processing of the raw material, while the latter with the commercialisation of the obtained products. Their presence on the Romanian market was felt from the very beginning, *Buştenari* for instance, coming to hold the second position after *Steaua Română* with regard to the oil production (132 227 t)³¹. In 1907, *Telega Oil* and *Buştenari* merge, giving birth to a new company, *Concordia*, with a capital of 12 500 000 lei³².

Other foreign capital companies were: *Alianţa* (1908), *Carpathia* (1913), subsidiary of *A.G. für Petrol Industrie Nürnberg* (1913), *Danubiul* (1914). At the end of 1914, the German finances were participating in all to 14 companies with 16 434 220 lei nominal capital, which meant 31.41% of the total foreign investments in Romania³³.

Ever since the beginning of the XXth century, the American finances, represented by *Standard Oil Trust*, embarked too upon this fight for obtaining new oil fields,³⁴. This, together with the German group around *Diskonto Gesellschaft* Bank, presented the Romanian State with an offer for the assignment of several lands. The American trust was interested in the assignment of the main transport duct which was to connect the extraction perimeters in Dâmboviţa and Prahova Counties with Constanţa Port, while the German Group was interested in the

³¹ See "Biruinţa", November 14/26, 1907.

³² V. Alimănişteanu, *op.cit.*, p. 64, Annexe II. For details regarding the participation of Diskonto-Gesellschaft Group.

³³ Marcel Bibiri Sturia, *op.cit.*, p. 34.

³⁴ For more details regarding the interests and intentions of the American trust, see Eng. Stelian Ionescu, *Asupra concesiunii "Standard Oil Company" în România*, Bucharest, 1900.

exploitation and commercialisation of oil products. The first investor had capital and experience, the second, special relations with the government and the politicians from Bucharest. Together, taking advantage from the crisis Romania was going through, characterised mainly by the urgent need for liquidities, offered in October 1900 a 10 million advance in exchange for the assignment for a 50-year period of 15 000 ha oil fields and monopoly over the ducts³⁵.

During the negotiations carried out in November, there were misunderstandings between the two foreign partners. Considering that it had offered too much to the German group, thus facilitating a future privileged position for it, the representatives of *Standard Oil* made another offer, in their own name, by which *Diskonto* was becoming, from associate, a simple intermediary. As a consequence, the German group withdrew. In these circumstances, the Romanian government put an end to the negotiations with *Standard Oil* on November 25/December 8, 1900. Two days later, on November 27 / December 10, 1900, *Diskonto* made its own offer, giving 8 million lei to the Romanian State in exchange for the exclusive assignment of the 15 000 ha. Not only that the proposal was not accepted, but it stirred a negative response from the public opinion³⁶.

The issue of oil field assignment was addressed again in 1903 when the German group attempted to recommence negotiations starting from the offer of 1900. Reality was different now, the financial crisis was no longer present and therefore, the German proposals could not constitute a basis for discussions. They were rejected. Another attempt to make such proposal was made during the following years, when the diplomacy from Wilhelmstrasse wanted to turn this affair in the Germans' favour. Worried by "the turn took by the oil issue in our country", the Chancellor of Germany was pointing out, in the spring of 1905, that "if significant German interests were overlooked, he would be forced to apply the inevitable political consequences regarding the attitude of the imperial government towards Romania"³⁷. He was alluding to the support granted to the government of Bucharest for the recognition of Aromanians' rights.

Standard Oil did not give up the fight either, but it changed its tactics. Its pressures on foreign markets for having rejected the Romanian oil, corroborated with the spectacular decline in the price of American oil, determined, on the one hand, its coalition with the group of German banks gathered around *Diskonto* and its association with the English-French group, Nobel-Rothschild, with which it set up the international company, *Europäische Petroleum Union*, and, on the other hand, the pervasion of the American trust on the Romanian market. In 1904, *Standard Oil* succeeded in laying the foundations of *Româno-Americana* (*Romanian-American*) company. In 1914, it held 5% of the capital invested in oil

³⁵ For details regarding the negotiations, see Gh. Buzatu, *op.cit.*, p. 32-37; Gh. Răvas, *op.cit.*, p. 41-45; Robert Păiușan, *Problematica unei crize timpurii a datoriei externe*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 145.

³⁶ Robert Păiușan, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

³⁷ Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, fund 21, vol. 22, f. 18, report, Berlin May 30 / June 12. 1905, A. Beldiman to Iacob Lahovary.

industry, 18% of production and 23% of refining³⁸. In 1907, the conflict between Germans and Americans in Romania comes to an end, by signing an agreement through which the German party was undertaking to refrain from any action that might affect American interests.

The English-Dutch capital was added to the German and American one. Present on the Romanian market ever since the XIXth century, English capital acquires strength and competitiveness by uniting its interests with the Dutch capital. Together, they contributed to the establishment of the companies *Astra Română* in 1910, which belonged to *Royal Dutch Shell* trust, and *Romanian Consolidated Oil Fields Ltd* in 1912. The former appeared through the merger of the companies: *Astra*, set up in 1908 by the Dutch Group *Geconsolideerde Hollandische-Petroleum Co*, which held oil field grants in Moreni area and *Regatul Român (Romanian Kingdom)*, the production of which amounted to 112 000 tons in 1906³⁹. The second was formed by *Romanian Oilfields Ltd*, *British Romanian Oil Co Ltd* (set up in 1910), *Central Romanian Petroleum Co* (set up in 1909) and the one established by R. von Sykle (1906). In 1914, *Astra Română* held 11.5% of the capital invested in oil industry, 25% of production and 40% of refining⁴⁰.

Until the beginning of the XXth century, the French presence was insignificant and consisted in minor participations to the companies with German, English, Dutch or Belgian capital. The first company, *Aquila Franco-Română*, was incorporated in 1904. It was exploiting lands on Prahova Valley and owned a refinery in Ploiești with a production of 200 000 tons in 1914⁴¹. It was followed by *Columbia* in 1905, *Alfa* and *Galia* in 1906, controlled by Rothschild House from Paris, *Franco-Română (French-Romanian)* in 1907. The strongest of them was *Columbia* which held, ever since 1912-1913, shares quoted on Paris stock exchange and investments of Paris banks, *Banque des Paris et des Pays Bas* and *Omnium International*. In 1913, their production represented 18% of the entire Romania production⁴².

The French capital contributed in a smaller proportion to the establishment of other companies: in 1905 *Société des pétroles roumains* and *Gallo-Româna*, in 1906 - *Luteția*, in 1907 - *L'Etoile franco-roumaine*, in 1908 - *Odette*, in 1909 - *Carré*, *Wenger et Co.* (subsequently turned into *Vulcănești*) and *Predeal-Teleajen*. In 1910, *Societatea Română (Romanian Company)* was beginning its activity, exploiting the ores from Ploiești and rejoicing in the interest of a group of investors, among which the consul of France in Bucharest⁴³.

At the beginning of the XXth century, oil extraction, processing, transport and commercialisation were making up the industrial branch with the greatest perspectives and benefits. In 1913, 13 companies were making 97.9% of the

³⁸ Gh. M. Dobrovici, *op.cit.*, p. 245

³⁹ See "Biruința", November 14/26, 1907.

⁴⁰ G. M. Dobrovici, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Balkan Compas, teil I, Rumänien, 1914-1915, Wien, 1914, p. 247.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 236-237.

⁴³ Georges Cioriceanu, *op.cit.*, p. 130.

production, out of which 27.4% in *Steaua Română* and *Concordia*, followed by *Astra Română* with 25%, *Columbia* and *Româno-Americană*, the last with 18.8%. French companies, *Columbia* (4th position), *Alfa* (9th position), *Acvila Franco-Română* (12th position), made up 15.4% of the total production, the Dutch ones, *Orion* and *Internaționala*, 6.6% and the British ones, *Romanian Consolidated Oilfields Ltd*, *Trajan Romanian Oil Co.* and *Anglo-Romanian Petroleum*, 5.5%. Together, French, Anglo-Dutch, English and Dutch companies made up 52.5%, exceeding German companies⁴⁴. Just before World War I, oil extraction and processing was dominated by German, Anglo-Dutch and American companies. For instance, from the total production of crude oil of 1 783 947 tons obtained in 1914, the companies *Steaua Română* and *Concordia*, both with German capital, were contributing with 450 360 tons, *Astra-Română* (mainly Dutch capital) with 466 605 tons, and *Româno-Americana* with 420 531 tons⁴⁵, that is around 2/3. Things were the same with regard to refining. At the same date, the German companies were processing 489 423 tons, *Astra Română* 421 631 tons and *Româno-Americana* 384 550 tons⁴⁶.

At the end of 1913, the capital invested in 73 companies amounted to 476 923 136 lei. Deducting the capital of *Distribuția* company involved in the retail of oil products on the Romanian market, we obtain 475 926 136 lei out of which 32.7% was represented by the nominal capital of the companies with German participation, 29.1% of the English ones (41.7% if we add the Dutch capital). Together, English, French and Dutch companies held 56% of the nominal capital of the companies from the oil industry⁴⁷.

In conclusion, we consider that the share and the provenience of investments from the Romanian oil industry, illustrate not only the particular importance attributed to this new source of energy worldwide, but the economic dependence of Romania on the great financial groups from Western Europe. The great richness of the ores triggered rivalries between the exponents of foreign finances, especially since in the eve of World War I, our country was the fourth producer in the world, after USA, Russia and Mexico, and the second in Europe⁴⁸. These realities increased not only the interest of Germany, Great Britain and France in Romania, but of Russia as well, the third component of Entente Cordiale, for the strategic position in a potential conflict with the Central Powers. The dispute between the different representatives of the foreign finances for the extraction, processing, transport and commercialisation of Romanian oil had become one for separating Romania from the Central Powers and drawing it towards Entente Cordiale. Crude oil had become a political weapon as well.

⁴⁴ Gh. N. Căzan, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, *România și Tripla Alianță 1878-1914*, Bucharest, 1979, p. 308.

⁴⁵ Acc. to Nicolas Xenopol, *op. cit.*, p. 203

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p.204.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*

⁴⁸ Acc. to "Moniteur du petrol roumain", no. 6, February 20 / March 5, 1914, p. 284.

With modest values and shares, foreign investments were present in other sectors of the Romanian economy and society. Generally, they were oriented towards the exploitation of underground riches, industrialisation of agricultural products, financing of public lighting, construction of railways and modernisation of harbours.

The economic dependence of Romania on the German finances is emphasised not only by its massive participation in the foreign State loans and oil industry, but by the investments in lighting and urban transport. The famous electricity companies *Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft* (A.E.G.) from Berlin, *Elektrizitäts-Aktiengesellschaft vormals W. Lahmeyer* and *Siemens-Schuckert* opened up subsidiaries and companies. Consequently, between 1900 and 1914, almost the entire production, the transport and the distribution of electric power belonged to German capital (except for a French company, *Société du gaz et d'électricité de Bucarest*). Electric lighting of Iași, Brăila, Dorohoi, Roman, Tecuci, Bucharest, as well the central heating of the main buildings in the capital city was assigned to it. The German capital founded the powerful company *Electrica*, with the well-known *Câmpina* plant, and was controlling urban transport in Iași and Brăila.

Ever since the end of the last century, the French finances made its presence in other branches of industry as well. Thus, in 1898, *B. Courant et Comp.* was setting up the paper mill from Cosmești, sold in 1903 to the French Th. Raux, with whom it also had in common the forest exploitations from Slatina and Cosmești. In 1900, *Dupont, Lachaume, Meillassoux et Co.* from Paris was establishing in Ripiceni the sixth sugar works in country. The French capital had invested over 5 million lei in sugar industry⁴⁹, which represented the seventh part of the total foreign investments in this branch and was present in the metallurgic industry through the intermediary of *Metalurgia română (Romanian Metallurgy)*, in urban lighting through *Compagnie d'éclairage de Galatz* and even in agriculture through *Societatea pentru îmbunătățirea și dezvoltarea sericulturii (Company for the improvement and development of sericulture)*⁵⁰.

The investments of Austrian finances in forest exploitation and of Belgian finances in sugar industry (mills from Roman and Sascut) round up the picture of the foreign finances present in the Romanian economy. The first was holding supremacy in forest industry (42 157 025 lei out of 65 736 470 lei in all) and in paper and cellulose industry, and the second in sugar industry (25 500 000 lei out of 39 042 000 lei in all)⁵¹.

Theoretically, the high value of foreign investments in Romania allowed it a variety of investments, more or less profitable: State loans, construction of railways, stations, bridges, silages, harbours, roads, river and sea means of transport, industrial investments, setting up banks, commercial companies,

⁴⁹ N. Arcadian, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁵⁰ See *Balkan Compass*, pp. 164 and 327.

⁵¹ N. Arcadian, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

insurance companies, communal public services (lighting, public transport, water and gas supply).

Among these, the investments of the foreign finances in production, services and infrastructure were modest and not so varied. Most of them were carried out after 1900 in branches and services which guaranteed sure and immediate gains to the creditor, as well as the control over certain raw materials, especially over power resources: extractive industry (oil, ores), urban lighting and construction of communication ways. At the same time, the participation of the foreign finances decisively contributed to the creation of national capital, to the modernisation of the society through the development of the production of material goods, to the creation of banks and to the consolidation of their activity, to the affirmation of our country and its integration in the European economic system.

*Mariana-Delia POHRIB**

ACTUL CONSTITUTIV ȘI STATUTELE COMUNITĂȚII BULGARE DIN GALAȚI (1930)

-Rezumat-

Comunitatea bulgară, alături de alte comunități locale, și-a adus contribuția, este adevărat într-o măsură mai mică, dar nu de neglijat, în conturarea vieții economice, sociale, politice, culturale și religioase a orașului Galați, oraș port situat în zonă de frontieră. Articolul își propune o prezentare succintă a Statutelor Comunității Bulgare din Galați, adoptate în anul 1930, reglementări care aveau să guverneze viața comunității în prima jumătate a secolului al XX-lea.

Argumentul principal care a stat la baza realizării studiului a pornit de la premisa că, deși comunitatea bulgară nu are o istorie tumultuoasă, ca în cazul altor comunități, totuși simpla atestare documentară la Galați, îi conferă dreptul legitim de a fi consemnată de istoriografie.

Cuvinte cheie: Galați, comunitate bulgară, minoritate etnică, statut, Sfântul Pantelimon

THE CONSTITUTIVE ACT AND THE STATUTES OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNITY FROM GALAȚI (1930)

-Abstract-

The Bulgarian community, along with other local communities, brought its contribution, not to a high extent, but still not to a neglectable one, to the formation of the economic, social, political, cultural and religious life of the town of Galați, a port situated in a border area. The article briefly presents the Statutes of the Bulgarian Community from Galați, adopted in 1930, regulations ruling the life of the community during the first half of the XX-th century.

Although the Bulgarian community from Galați doesn't have a troubled history, like other minority communities, still, its mere documentary attestation in Galați grants it the right to be consigned by historiography.

Keywords: Galați, Bulgarian community, ethnic minority, statute, Saint Pantelimon

* History Museum of Galați, pohribdelia@yahoo.com.

Comunitatea bulgară, alături de alte comunități locale, și-a adus contribuția, este adevărat într-o măsură mai mică, dar nu de neglijat, în conturarea vieții economice, sociale, politice, culturale și religioase a orașului Galați, oraș port situat în zonă de frontieră. Articolul își propune o prezentare succintă a Statutelor Comunității Bulgare din Galați, adoptate în anul 1930, reglementări care aveau să guverneze viața comunității în prima jumătate a secolului al XX-lea.

Actul constitutiv și Statutele Comunității Bulgare din Galați (1930) au fost identificate cu ocazia cercetării la Serviciul Județean Galați al Arhivelor Naționale a unui dosar din cadrul fondului arhivistic *Tribunalul Județului Covurlui*¹, ce cuprinde documentația care a stat la baza înscrierii Comunității Bulgare din Galați ca persoană juridică, în conformitate cu prevederile *Legii pentru persoanele juridice (Asociațiuni și Fundațiuni)* din anul 1924.²

Conform articolului 2 din legea menționată, persoanele juridice de drept privat existente la data promulgării actului normativ aveau obligativitatea ca în termen de 6 luni să comunice grefei tribunalului, în circumscripția pe raza căreia funcționa, titlurile în temeiul cărora au dobândit personalitatea juridică, statutele sau actele constitutive, urmând ca organizația să fie înscrisă în registrul persoanelor juridice. Acesta este contextul legislativ și istoric care a dus la autentificarea Actului constitutiv și Statutelor Comunității Bulgare din Galați.

Înainte de prezentarea propriu-zisă a prevederilor *Statutelor*, considerăm că se impune o trecere în revistă a contextului istoric existent în cea de-a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea și prima jumătate a secolului al XX-lea, care a avut ca finalitate constituirea din perspectivă juridică a bulgarilor din Galați într-o Comunitate.

Orașul Galați s-a bucurat de-a lungul timpului de o atenție deosebită din partea autorităților, fiind considerat până la Marea Unire *cel dintâi port al țării*, de unde și importanța economică și strategică. Deosebita însemnătate politică și economică a orașului Galați la Dunărea de Jos era, printre altele, confirmată de numărul mare al consulatelor străine, unele înființate spre sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea, dar marea majoritate în prima jumătate a secolului următor. Istoricul Moise N. Pacu consemnează la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea, mai precis în 1891,

¹ Serviciul Județean Galați al Arhivelor Naționale (în continuare SJANG), fond *Tribunalul Județului Covurlui. Secția I-a Acte Autentice*, dosar 13/1943, f. 557-563, actul autentificat la nr. 3326/1930.

²“Monitorul Oficial”, nr. 27 din 6 februarie 1924, sau C. Hamangiu, *Legi noi de unificare 1922-1926*, vol. XI-XII, p. 244. În legătură cu *Regulamentul pentru aplicarea legii persoanelor juridice*, vezi “Monitorul Oficial”, nr. 87 din 18 aprilie 1924, sau C. Hamangiu, *Legi noi de unificare 1922-1926*, vol. XI-XII, p. 261.

nu mai puțin de 15 consulate la Galați, cel mai mare număr de consulate existente la acea dată într-un oraș românesc.³

Într-un *Tablou de numărul populației aflată în orașul Galați cu arătarea cvartalelor*, datat 27 iulie 1866, regăsim în cvartalul al III-lea recenzată str. Bulgară, cu un număr de 110 case și 130 familii.⁴

Conform Recensământului din anul 1881, populația orașului Galați număra 40.022 suflete, dintre care bulgari și sârbi 569 (321 bărbați și 248 femei)⁵, reprezentând procentual 1,42% din totalul locuitorilor, pentru ca 10 ani mai târziu să fie înregistrați 59.141 locuitori, dintre care 848 bulgari (1,43%).⁶ Deși procentul

³ Moise N. Pacu, *Cartea Județului Covurlui*, București, 1891, p. 390. Aveau deschise la Galați consulate următoarele țări: Austro-Ungaria, Franța, Anglia, Germania, Italia, Rusia, Turcia, Belgia, Grecia, Suedo-Norvegia, Olanda, Spania, Danemarca, Elveția, Statelor Unite ale Americii de Nord, vezi Moise N. Pacu, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

⁴ *Tezaur documentar gălățean*, București 1988, p. 182, sau SJANG, fond *Primăria orașului Galați*, dosar 107/1865-1866, f. 34-36, concept. Moise Pacu apreciază, în anul 1891, lungimea străzii Bulgare la 280 metri, în integralitate pavați, vezi Moise Pacu, *op. cit.*, p. 102. În anul 1900 au loc lucrări de amenajare, mai exact de canalizare, a acestei străzi, întrucât rețeaua de canalizare era subdimensionată și în mod frecvent aveau loc inundații ale proprietăților, SJANG, fond *Primăria orașului Galați*, dosar 106/1900, f. 1.

⁵ Pentru a ne face o imagine asupra întinderii orașului, a structurii populației, a profesiunilor și a altor elemente legate de viața economică, socială și culturală, vom înșirui câteva din datele centralizate cu prilejul recensământului din anul 1881: „Populațiunea stabilă a orașului Galați este de 40.022, împărțită după sexe 20.580 bărbați și 19.442 femei, dintre care supuși români 12.683 bărbați și 12.868 femei, italieni 83 bărbați și 63 femei, francezi 106 bărbați și 109 femei, austro-ungari 3.695 bărbați 3.600 femei, germani 261 bărbați 236 femei, ruși 236 bărbați 343 femei, turci 310 bărbați 210 femei, greci 2.682 bărbați 1.741 femei, englezi 38 bărbați 28 femei, bulgari, sârbi, 321 bărbați, 248 femei, alte protecțiuni 57 bărbați 28 femei... După religii se împart: ortodocși 28.010 bărbați și femei, 2.804 catolici, 593 protestanți, 8.260 evrei, 254 armeni, 9 lipoveni, 9 mahomedani... Cei ce știu carte sunt 7.834 bărbați și 2.634 femei...

Orașul Galați posedă 2 străzi cu piatră cubică, 41 cu piatră de Putna, 12 cu piatră de carieră, 3 cu macadam, 114 nepavate, sub care trece canalul sunt 11 străzi... Zidirile orașului Galați sunt 5.016 case de zid cu un rând, 641 cu 2, 14 cu 3, 6 case cu un rând de piatră, 1 cu 2 rânduri, 443 case cu 1 rând de lemn, 2 cu 2 rânduri și 249 bordeie. În timpul recensământului erau în construcție 77 case...

Trăsurile se împart în 235 trăsurile, 1.017 ghiociuri și 687 care. Edificiile cultelor sunt 18 biserici ortodoxe, 1 catolică, 2 lipovene, 12 sinagogi, 1 protestantă. Stabilimentele publice sunt 5 ale Statului, 6 ale Comunei și 2 ale județului.

Fabrici sunt: 2 fierăstraie, 4 pentru lumânări, 3 de macaroane, 2 mașini și fierărie, 17 alte fabrici, 5 mori cu aburi 2 cu 2 cai și 24 de vânt” (SJANG, *fond Primăria orașului Galați*, dosar 15/1880, f. 25-26).

⁶ Moise N. Pacu, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Conform autorului, populația Galațiului era împărțită după naționalitate astfel: români 34.765, greci 4.196, bulgari 848, ruși 830, sârbi 129, lipoveni 36, armeni 355, nemți 2.068, englezi 80, francezi 160, italieni 385, olandezi 26, polonezi 228, unguri 1.835, evrei 13.085 și turci 115. După religie erau: 40.723 ortodocși, 265 gregoriani (armeni), 36 lipoveni, 4.418 catolici, 499 protestanți, 13.087 israeliți și 115 mahomedani.

rămâne neschimbat pe parcursul unui deceniu, de remarcat faptul că, la primul recensământ la care am făcut referire, bulgarii și sârbii au fost recenzați la comun, pe când la al doilea separat, ceea ce ne îndreptățește să afirmăm că, totuși, numărul acestora a înregistrat o ușoară creștere.

În luna octombrie 1924, conform unei situații întocmite de Prefectura județului Covurlui, în orașul Galați erau recenzați 3.237 cetățeni străini, după cum urmează: 1.000 greci, 386 italieni, 356 polonezi, 260 ruși, 209 iugoslavi, 187 germani, 177 cehoslovaci, 135 austrieci, 115 turci, 105 unguri, 95 francezi, 17 bulgari și 502 de alte naționalități.⁷

Revenind la subiectul articolului, reproducem alăturat integral Statutele Comunității Bulgare din Galați (1930):

Actul constitutiv și Statutele Comunității Bulgare din Galați (1930)

Capitolul I

Art. 1. Între subsemnații:

1) Ivan Manovici, proprietar, domiciliat în Galați, str. Sf. Vineri nr. 35, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

2) Avram Stoica, domiciliat în Galați, str. Traian nr. 56, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

3) Ștefan Dimitriu, domiciliat în Galați, Piața Moruzi nr. 1, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

4) Iordan Ivanov, domiciliat în Galați, B-dul Tache Ionescu, Fabrica „Talpa”, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

5) Georgică Jecu, domiciliat în Galați, str. Română nr. 78, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

6) Mihăilă Anghelof, domiciliat în Galați, Piața Moruzi nr. 15, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

7) Petru Stoianof, domiciliat în Galați, comerciant, str. Hagi Stoian nr. 10, de naționalitate română;

8) Nicu Gheorghiu, domiciliat în Galați, str. Berthelot nr. 61, fabricant de site, de naționalitate română;

9) Anghel Ivanov, domiciliat în Galați, str. Traian nr. 94, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

10) Ionel Stoianof, domiciliat în Galați, str. Columb nr. 31, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

⁷ Gh. N. Munteanu Bârlad, *Galații cu 35 vederi în text. Harta ținutului și Planul Orașului*, Ed. Societatea de Editură Științifică – Culturală Galați, 1925, p. 11.

11) Petru Petrescu, domiciliat în Galați, str. Brăilei nr. 10, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

12) Chiril Stoica, domiciliat în Galați, str. Căramidăriei nr. 11 nr. 35, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

13) Vasile Cojocar, coafor, domiciliat în Galați, str. Cazărmii nr. 35, de naționalitate română;

14) Alexander Ivanof, domiciliat în Galați, str. Vasile Alecsandri nr. 16, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

15) Dumitru Beldescu, domiciliat în Galați, str. Stelei nr. 11, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

16) Alex Tabai, domiciliat în Galați, str. Pantelimon nr. 11, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

17) Anghel Savof, domiciliat în Galați, str. Română nr. 114, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

18) Iordan Stoianoff, domiciliat în Galați, str. Portului nr. 30, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

19) Petru Stoica, domiciliat în Galați, str. Timișană nr. 55, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

20) Petrică Hristu, domiciliat în Galați, str. Brăilei nr. 52, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

21) Șt. Tiribegea, domiciliat în Galați, str. a V-a nr. 66, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

Membri ai Comunității Bulgare din orașul Galați și Județul Covrului constituim o asociație, care va fi administrată și controlată în conformitate cu prezentul act constitutiv și statutele adoptate în întregime de către subsemnații, și cu dispozițiunile Legii pentru persoanele juridice din anul 1924.

Art. 2. Denumirea asociației este „Comunitatea Bulgară din Galați”.

Art. 3. Scopul asociației. Asociația are ca obiect organizarea Comunității în scopul:

- a) de a conserva și dezvolta cultul religios între membrii săi;
- b) de a educa și cultiva elementele tinere ale populației bulgare din orașul Galați și județul Covrului;
- c) de a îngriji de buna și regulată funcționare a școlii și a Bisericii;
- d) de a angaja întregul corp didactic și religios, precum și orice alt personal necesar, pentru bunul mers al Comunității;
- e) va putea primi în numele Comunității și al Epitropiei orice fel de legate sau donații făcute pe orice cale.

Art. 4. Sediul. Sediul Asociației este în orașul Galați, str. General Berthelot nr. 61. Asociația nu are sucursală.

Art. 5. Durata asociației este nelimitată.

Capitolul II
Patrimoniul

Art. 6. Patrimoniul asociației se compune din următoarele bunuri:

a) Biserica⁸ și Școala Comunității Bulgare⁹ din Galați, str. Berthelot nr. 61, împreună cu întregul mobilier compus și din icoane, cărți, odăjdii și alte obiecte sfinte bisericesti;

⁸ Biserica Bulgară, cu hramul „Sf. Pantelimon”, a cărei construcție a fost demarată în anul 1861, a fost sfințită în ianuarie 1887. Ridicarea bisericii a fost făcută de către comunitatea bulgară din Galați și a fost administrată de un comitet de epitropi ales de această comunitate, vezi Moise N. Pacu, *op. cit.*, p. 132-133. La 11 septembrie 1860, comisul Iordache Antachi și Efstati Atanasiu, delegați ai comunității bulgare din oraș, cer Primăriei îngăduința de a începe zidirea Bisericii „Sf. Pantelimon”, pe baza planurilor întocmite de ing. Mancioti, având strâns tot „materialul trebuitor”, vezi *Tezaur documentar...*, p. 163, sau SJANG, fond *Primăria orașului Galați*, dosar 43/1860-1861, f. 1. Terenul pe care era amplasată Biserica era delimitat, la răsărit și apus, de străzile General Berthelot și str. Pantelimon (denumită astfel după hramul bisericii), SJANG, fond *Primăria orașului Galați*, dosar 143/1939, f. 8. Biserica Bulgară, alături de Biserica Comunității Elene, Biserica Catolică, Biserica Lipovenească, Biserica Protestantă, Biserica Calvină, Biserica Armeană și Geamia Turcească se întreține singură, fără a primi subvenții de la Stat, vezi SJANG, fond *Primăria orașului Galați*, dosar 80/1898, f. 5 v.

Arhitectural, biserica este construită în formă de cruce dimensiunile fiind monumentale. Numai turla mareață, construită din lemn, are o deschidere de 7 m. și o înălțime de 15 m. ulterior, în anul 1910 s-a început construirea unei clopotnițe, dar, din cauza tasării terenului, scopul inițial a fost abandonat, rămânând în urma celui proiect pridvorul de azi al bisericii. În anul 1937, pictorul Gh. Th. Donev din Galați pictează icoana Pantocrator (Informațiile ne-au fost puse la dispoziție prin amabilitatea preotului paroh al Bisericii „Sf. Pantelimon”, *Gheorghe Dumitru*, căruia îi mulțumim și pe această cale).

Primul slujitor în această biserică a fost Cuviosul Arhimandrit Maxim Raicovici, născut în orașul Dreanovo, județul Târnovo (Bulgaria) în anul 1806 și decedat la 25 februarie 1874. Primul comitet de epitropi care a lucrat alături de el a fost compus din 3 persoane: Antachi Iurdachiuv, Pantelimon Avramov și Mihail Avramovici, toți din Sviștov (Bulgaria), vezi Teodor Iordache, *Albumul Galașilor*, Tipografia Bucovina, Galați, 1935-1936, p. 35-36.

La începutul secolului al XX-lea (1900-1902), preoții bisericilor ortodoxe din Galați efectuau, conform unei planificări, serviciul religios la cimitirul din localitate (câte o lună), însă în cadrul acestor planificări nu regăsim pe preotul Bisericii Bulgare, vezi SJANG, fond *Primăria orașului Galați*, dosar 194/190, f. 2.

La data de 21 ianuarie 1928, epitropii Bisericii Bulgare cu hramul „Sf. Pantelimon”, și anume: Ștefan Dimitriu, I. Manovici, M. Angheloff, I. Ivanof și Gheorghe Jecu își asumă răspunderea în legătură cu angajarea preotului Nicola P. Popoff, pentru a îndeplini serviciul religios în cadrul lăcașului de cult pentru o perioadă de cinci ani, de la 1 ianuarie 1928 la 1 ianuarie 1933, vezi SJANG, *Tribunalul județului Covrului. Acte autentice*, dosar 2/1928, f. 196, actul autentificat la nr. 204 din 21 ianuarie 1928.

Ca eveniment istoriografic, consemnăm faptul că, probabil în urma unor reparații, la data de 24 octombrie 1937, a avut loc sfințirea Bisericii Bulgare cu hramul „Sf. Pantelimon”, din Galați. Slujba a fost săvârșită de un sobor de preoți compus din: Părintele Protoiereu Stoica, delegatul Sf. Episcopii al Dunărei de jos, Părintele Econom Dr. I.C. Beldie, Preot Em.

- b) imobilul din Galați, Piața Nouă nr. 45, donația Petre Stoianof Raicof;
- c) casa din str. Berthelot nr. 61, cu toate construcțiile existente;
- d) din veniturile ordinare și extraordinare ale Bisericii, Școlii și a bunurilor imobile;
- e) din contribuția lunară sau anuală a membrilor săi;
- f) din eventualele donații sau legate lăsate în acest scop;
- g) din diferitele serbări sau baluri ce eventual se pot organiza.

Capitolul III Organizarea

Art. 7. Organele de administrație și control sunt:

- a) Adunarea Generală;
- b) Comitetul de Epitropi;
- c) Cenzorii.

Adunarea Generală

Art. 8. Organul suprem al asociației este Adunarea Generală, care regulat constituită reprezintă universalitatea membrilor asociației.

Art. 9. Toți membrii majori ai asociației de ambele sexe, care contribuie lunar, au dreptul fiecare la un vot în Adunarea Generală. Soțul și soția au ambii dreptul numai la un singur vot.

Art. 10. Adunarea Generală ordinară se întrunește o dată pe an, cel mai târziu până la 28 februarie, iar Adunarea Generală extraordinară va avea loc ori de câte ori se va hotărî de către Comitetul de Epitropi sau numai de Președintele acestui Comitet sau ori când se va cere în scris și motivat Comitetului de Epitropi, de cel puțin o cincime din numărul asociațiilor.

Art. 11. Convocarea Adunării Generale, fie ordinară, fie extraordinară, se va face cu 15 zile cel puțin mai înainte de data fixată printr-o înștiințare, fie individuală, fie pe calea publicației într-o gazetă locală. Înștiințarea va trebui să cuprindă și ordinea de zi.

Art. 12. Este nulă orice rezoluție asupra unei chestiuni necuprinsă în ordinea de zi.

Doicu și alți preoți distinși din Galați și Brăila, în „Acțiunea”, 24 octombrie 1937, anul VIII, nr. 2219, p. 3.

Catedrala Episcopală fiind afectată de cutremurele din 1977 și 1986, slujbele arhieresti s-au oficiat în această biserică în răstimpul 15 august 1989 - 16 aprilie 1993, vezi Paul Păltănea, *Istoria orașului Galați de la origini până la 1918*, vol. II, 1995, p. 191.

⁹ Din păcate, nu avem informații referitoare la localul în care a funcționat Școala Comunității Bulgare și la numărul de elevi școlarizați. Totuși, un document datat 1939 ne oferă informația că această școală era una primară și funcționa în cadrul casei parohiale de pe lângă Biserica Bulgară, ceea ce ne îndreptățește să afirmăm că numărul elevilor era redus, vezi SJANG, fond *Primăria orașului Galați*, dosar 143/1939, f. 2-8.

Art. 13. Adunarea Generală este regulat constituită când numărul membrilor întruniți formează cel puțin jumătate plus unul din totalul membrilor asociației.

Art. 14. Dacă în ziua hotărâtă nu se întrunește numărul membrilor prin art. precedent, ședința se amână pentru a șaptea zi, când se va putea lucra cu oricare ar fi numărul membrilor prezenți.

Art. 15. Deciziile Adunării Generale se iau cu majoritate absolută a membrilor prezenți și se constată printr-un proces-verbal semnat de președinte, secretar și doi membri numiți ca verificatori de președinte din sânul Adunării Generale. În caz de paritate de voturi, votul președintelui este preponderent.

Art. 16. Adunarea Generală se deschide de către președintele Comitetului de Epitropi, în lipsa lui de către vicepreședinte, iar în lipsa acestuia de către un membru epitrop, care va lua conducerea ședinței.

Art. 17. Adunarea Generală se pronunță asupra oricărei chestiuni supusă ei de către Comitetul de Epitropi.

De competența ei socială sunt următoarele chestiuni:

a) a decide asupra cotizațiilor individuale la care vor fi supuși membrii asociației;

b) a decide asupra taxelor convenite asociației pentru botezuri, cununii și înmormântări;

c) a decide asupra formelor de convocare ale Adunării Generale;

d) a decide asupra modului de votare.

e) a decide asupra cuantumului și majorității cu care se vor lua hotărârile;

f) a decide asupra admiterii și excluderii membrilor asociației;

g) a examina și aproba dările de seamă ale Comitetului de Epitropi și ale cenzorilor;

h) a examina, a aproba și modifica bilanțul anual, bugetul pe anul viitor, precum și a descărca Comitetul de Epitropi și pe cenzori de gestiunea lor;

i) a alege Comitetul de Epitropi, de cenzori și supleanții lor;

j) a controla activitatea și gestiunea Comitetului de Epitropi și a cenzorilor și de a revoca individual sau colectiv mandatele membrilor comitetului și ale cenzorilor, când prin culpa și actele lor ar periclita interesul asociației;

k) a modifica statutele și a decide dizolvarea și lichidarea asociației, a decide asupra tuturor actelor care nu sunt atribuite prin statutele de față membrilor Comitetului Epitropal sau cenzorilor.

Comitetul de Epitropi

Art. 18. Comitetul de Epitropi se alege de către Adunarea Generală și se compune din minim 7 și maxim 11 membri aleși din sânul asociației.

Art. 19. Membrii Comitetului de Epitropi se aleg pe termen de patru ani, cu dreptul de a putea fi realeși. Membrul care a fost ales în locul vacant, funcționează în termenul predecesorului său. Membrii Comitetului trebuie să aibă etate de cel puțin 31 ani împliniți, iar majoritatea lor să fie cetățeni români.

Art. 20. Primul comitet de epitropi a fost ales în adunarea generală ținută în ziua de 11 mai 1926, în persoana domnilor:

1. Ivan Manivici, președinte;
2. Avram Stoica, vicepreședinte;
3. Ștefan Dimitriu, casier general;

4. Iordan Ivanov, Mihail Anghelov, Georgică Jecu ca membri, iar ca secretar al Comitetului de Epitropi pentru partea culturală va fi directorul Școlii, iar pentru cea religioasă preotul Bisericii.

Mandatul acestora expiră la împlinirea a patru ani de la data autentificării prezentului act constitutiv și statute.

Art. 21. Comitetul de Epitropi administrează conform prezentelor statute și are cele mai întinse puteri în privința conducerii intereselor și afacerilor asociației.

Art. 22. Principalele atribuțiuni ale Comitetul de Epitropi sunt:

a) a pune în executare dispozițiunile statutelor și deciziile luate în Adunarea Generală;

b) a administra averea mobilă și imobilă a asociației și a plasa spre fructificare, în condițiile cele mai avantajoase, patrimoniul constituit în bani;

c) a accepta noi membri și a primi demisiile;

d) a supune spre verificare și aprobare darea de seamă, a stabili conturile și a prezenta Adunării Generale ordinare bilanțul încheiat la 31 decembrie anul expirat, împreună cu raportul cenzorilor;

e) a convoca adunările generale ordinare și extraordinare, fixând ordinea de zi;

f) a face propuneri Adunării Generale pentru modificarea statutelor, dizolvarea și lichidarea asociației, precum și orice ale propuneri folositoare asociației;

g) a declara ca nemaiputând face parte în calitatea de membri cu dreptul de vot pe acei ce au rămas în restanță cu plata cotizației mai mult de șase luni;

h) președintele, iar în lipsa acestuia vicepreședintele, și secretarul vor semna toată corespondența și actele curente. În lipsa secretarului va putea desemna un membru al comitetului;

i) a supune Adunării Generale ordinare spre aprobare bugetul asociației, care se va întocmi pe capitole și articole distincte sumelor pentru personal, material și cheltuieli diverse;

j) a ține seamă de aprobarea și ordonanțarea cheltuielilor, de destinația alocațiilor bugetare;

k) a prezenta Ministerului, sub autoritatea și controlul căruia se găsește asociația, câte un exemplar de pe buget și bilanțul general;

l) a se pronunța asupra oricărei chestiuni care nu cade în competența Adunării Generale.

Art. 23. Capitalul plasat nu va putea fi atins decât în cazuri excepționale, ca în acele prevăzute de statut, și numai după deliberarea Adunării Generale. Retragera fondurilor trebuie făcută de către o comisie compusă din trei membri

din comitet, din care va face parte președintele, ori în lipsa acestuia vicepreședintele.

Art. 24. Comitetul va numi, dintre membrii, săi un președinte și un vicepreședinte.

Art. 25. Comitetul de Epitropi poate delega puterile sale pe timp mărginit unuia sau mai multor membrii epitropi și poate da însărcinări speciale pentru anumite cazuri.

Art. 26. Orice deciziune a Comitetul de Epitropi se va consemna în registrul de procese verbale și se semnează de toți membrii care au luat parte la ședință.

Art. 27. Comitetul se întrunește ori de câte ori va fi trebuință.

Art. 28. Comitetul se convoacă din inițiativa președintelui, vicepreședintelui sau locțiitorului său.

Art. 29. Pentru ca Comitetul să poată ține ședințe, trebuie să fie prezenți cel puțin jumătate plus unul din membrii săi.

Art. 30. Membrii Comitetului nu contractează nicio obligație personală prin faptul executării mandatului lor, însă sunt personal și solidar răspunzători pentru daunele provenite din culpa lor, atât față de terți, cât și față de persoana juridică însăși.

Art. 31. Adunarea Generală alege din sânul său pe termen de un an o comisie de cenzori, care se compune din trei cenzori și trei supleanți.

Art. 32. Cenzorii supraveghează toate operațiunile și contabilitatea asociației, verifică conturile, examinează dările de seamă și bilanțul. Ei sunt în drept a cere prezentarea registrelor și actelor justificative și a verifica casa. Ei sunt datori, cel puțin o dată pe an, să verifice inventarul întreg al asociației și să constate dacă corespunde cu registrele.

Art. 33. Rezultatul cenzorilor va fi consemnat în registrul de procese verbale, care, împreună cu darea de seamă, vor fi prezentate Adunării Generale.

Art. 34. Primul comitet de cenzori ales în ședința Adunării Generale din 11 mai 1926 în persoana domnilor:

1. Ionel Stoianof, domiciliat în str. Columb nr. 31, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

2. Iordănel Stoianof, domiciliat în str. Poșta Veche nr. 45, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

3. Petru Petrescu, domiciliat în str. Brăilei nr. 10 nr. 45, comerciant, de naționalitate română.

Ca cenzori supleanți, au fost aleși:

1. Anghel Ivanov, domiciliat în str. Traian nr. 94 nr. 45, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

2. Petru Stoica, domiciliat în str. Timișană nr. 55, comerciant, de naționalitate română;

3. Petru Petrescu, domiciliat în str. Bethelot nr. 61, comerciant, de naționalitate română.

Capitolul IV
Inventar, bilanț, anul social

Art. 35. Anul social începe la 1 ianuarie și se sfârșește la 31 decembrie.

Art. 36. La finele fiecărui an, Comitetul de Epitropi face un inventar amănunțit de activul și pasivul asociației.

Art. 37. Comitetul este dator să prezinte cenzorilor bilanțul exercițiului, împreună cu actele justificative, cel puțin cu 15 zile înainte de ziua hotărâtă pentru Adunarea Generală ordinară.

Capitolul V
Dizolvarea, lichidarea

Art. 38. Asociația va putea fi dizolvată prin decizia Adunării Generale convocată pentru acest scop, în conformitate cu art. 10 din statute, prin lege sau prin justiție.

Art. 39. Deciziile pentru dizolvarea asociației trebuie să întrunească cel puțin două treimi din numărul total al asociațiilor prezenți și absenți. Același număr se va cere și pentru transformarea scopului social.

Art. 40. Dacă se hotărăște dizolvarea, Adunarea Generală numește un comitet compus din cel puțin trei, și cel mult cinci, lichidatori aleși din sânul asociației. Membrii Comitetului de Epitropi sau cenzori pot fi aleși lichidatori.

Art. 41. Lichidatorii sunt obligați a îndeplini toate formalitățile cerute de legea persoanelor juridice din anul 1924 pentru înscriere și publicarea lichidării asociației.

Art. 42. Îndată după intrarea în funcțiune, lichidatorii sunt obligați ca, în unire cu organele Comitetului de Epitropi, să facă inventarul și bilanțul averii din care se constată exact situația activului și pasivului.

Art.43. Inventarul și bilanțul vor fi semnate de lichidatori și reprezentanții administrației în lichidare.

Art. 44. Odată cu numirea lichidatorilor, încetează mandatul organelor de administrație.

Art. 45. Administrația va indica și încredința lichidatorilor registrele și actele asociației.

Art. 46. Asociația nu încetează a avea ființă decât la terminarea lichidării.

Art. 47. Lichidatorii sunt obligați să continue afacerile în curs, să încaseze creanțele, să plătească pe creditori, și dacă pentru aceasta numerarul este insuficient, se transformă și restul în bani, procedând nai întâi prin licitație publică la vânzarea averii mobile.

Art. 48. Lichidatorii pot face operațiunile noi necesare lichidării afacerilor în curs.

Art. 49. Adunarea Generală va continua a avea dreptul de control asupra mersului lichidării.

Art. 50. Patrimoniul net al asociației rămas prin lichidare va primi destinația indicată de hotărârea Adunării Generale luate înainte de dizolvare.

Capitolul VI Dispoziții finale

Art. 51. Asociația, prin Comitetul de Epitropi, va cere Tribunalului Galați, în conformitatea cu legea persoanelor juridice din anul 1924, să obțină personalitatea juridică.

Art. 52. Asociația își pierde personalitatea juridică în cazurile prevăzute de art. 53 din legea persoanelor juridice din anul 1924.

Art. 53. Asociația va fi reprezentată în justiție de către președintele sau vicepreședintele Comitetului de Epitropi, împreună cu unul din membri.

Art. 54. Adunarea Generală este în drept a acționa Comitetul de epitropi înaintea instanțelor judecătorești prin o delegație aleasă cu majoritate absolută de voturi.

Art. 55. Pentru chestiunile ce nu vor fi prevăzute în prezentul statut, se aplică dispozițiile legii pentru persoanele juridice din anul 1924.

Capitolul VII Dispoziții secundare

Art. 56. Subsemnații, membrii fondatori, dăm mandat expres domnului Ivan Manovici, președinte activ al asociației noastre, ca pentru noi, și în numele nostru, să facă toate demersurile și formalitățile necesare pentru constituirea legală a acestei asociații și obținerea personalității juridice, putând semna pentru noi și în numele nostru oriunde trebuința va cere, reprezentându-ne în fața tribunalului, a instanțelor de apel și recurs respective, pentru obținerea de persoană juridică, putând a renunța la apel și recurs, a cere investirea cu titlu executori, a primi acest titlu și acere executarea lui, a face publicațiile necesare, aridica acte, a cere înscrierea asociației în registrul de persoane juridice, în scurt a face orice ar fi necesar pentru obținerea constituirii legale a asociației noastre, conform legilor în vigoare.

De asemenea, mandatarul nostru va putea face orice modificări, ce eventual ar fi cerute de autoritățile în drept, în prezentul act constitutiv și statute. Domnia sa are dreptul de a da procură și a fi asistat de avocați unde trebuința va cere, putându-se substitui în toate drepturile ce ni s-ar conferi nouă.

Făcut în Galați, astăzi, 1 septembrie 1930.

*

Aproape două decenii mai târziu de la autentificarea Statutelor Comunității Bulgare, în anul 1949, Ambasada Republicii Populare Bulgaria se adresează Ministerului Afacerilor Externe din România solicitând unele explicații în legătură

cu regimul și administrația unor biserici din Brăila și Galați, ocazie cu care, la data de 16 decembrie 1949, primește următorul răspuns: „Guvernul Republicii Populare Române este de acord ca biserica din Galați să fie monument istoric bulgar, iar parohia, deși se află sub jurisdicția Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, să fie deservită de un preot bulgar, numit de Sfântul Sinod al Bisericii Ortodoxe Bulgare”.¹⁰

Situația financiară a Comunității la nivelul anului 1951 era destul de precară, fapt care rezultă dintr-un proces-verbal datat 17 iunie 1951, dată la care reprezentanții Comunității Bulgare hotărăsc scoaterea la vânzare a imobilului situat în Galați, str. Buna Vestire nr. 17, proprietate care fusese donată la 20 martie 1946 de către Minca Gheorghiu. Suma obținută din vânzarea imobilului urma să fie utilizată în stingerea unor datorii fiscale/impozite ale comunității, respectiv la realizarea unor „amenajamente și îmbunătățiri” la Biserica „Sf. Pantelimon” din str. Bălcescu nr. 65.¹¹ În urma demersurilor întreprinse pe lângă autoritățile române este eliberată autorizația de înstrăinare a imobilului.

În anul 1953, Comunitatea Bulgară „Sfântul Pantelimon” din Galați, era reprezentată de Canaev Gheorghe, președinte, și Miloșov Chirilă, vicepreședinte,¹² care administrau un patrimoniu extrem de sărac, o evidență realizată șase ani mai târziu consemnând ca proprietăți două imobile situate pe str. N. Bălcescu nr. 65 și 65 A (Biserica Bulgară și casa parohială), la care se mai adăuga un imobil situat în Piața 30 Decembrie nr. 45¹³, imobil care a fost afectat de detaliile de sistematizare din anul 1964, când în zonă a fost construit un complex comercial¹⁴.

Argumentul principal care a stat la baza realizării prezentului studiu a pornit de la premisa că, deși comunitatea bulgară nu a avut o istorie tumultuoasă, ca în cazul altor comunități, totuși simpla atestare documentară, prezență și continuitate la Galați, îi conferă dreptul legitim de a fi consemnată de istoriografie.

¹⁰ SJANG, *Tribunalul județului Covrului. Acte autentice*, dosar 8/1951, f. 338, actul autentificat la nr. 662 din 31 iulie 1951.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, dosar 8/1951, f. 340, actul autentificat la nr. 662 din 31 iulie 1951. Printre semnatarii procesului-verbal regăsim pe: Gheorghe Canef (președinte), Vasilica Lungu (secretar), Chiril Miloșov, Ivan D. Hristu (casier), Ducef Duțu (controlor), Lazăr Demirof, Ivan Stoianof, Simion Moloșov, Pantelei Stoianof, Mihail Coef, Ducef Dimitrie, Anastasie Tanasof, Agafie Stopica, Rada Andreeva, Mara Mioșov, Ivanof Hristo, Rașcof Gheorghe, preot Petcof Nedelcu, Ivanof Ivanș și Azmanof Boris.

¹² SJANG, *Tribunalul orașului Galați. Dosare Judecătorești*, dosar 23/1953.

¹³ SJANG, *Sfat Popular Regional Galați. Oficiul Juridic*, dosar 3/1959, f. 287.

¹⁴ Imobilul din Piața 30 Decembrie nr. 45 a fost donat, la 11 noiembrie 1924, Comunității Bulgare printr-un testament de către Petre Stoianov, nuda proprietate revenind Legației Bulgare iar uzufructul Parohiei Bulgare. Imobilul, extrem de sărăcăcios, a fost expropriat în vederea demolării în baza Decretului Consiliului de Stat al R.P.R. nr. 305 din 9 iunie 1964, vezi SJANG, *Sfat Popular Regional Galați. Oficiul Juridic*, dosar 86/164, f. 1, 3, 36.



Foto 1. 1936, Galați. Biserica Bulgară cu hramul „Sf. Pantelimon”.
Teodor Iordache, *Albumul Galașilor*, Tipografia Bucovina, Galați, 1935-1936, p. 36.

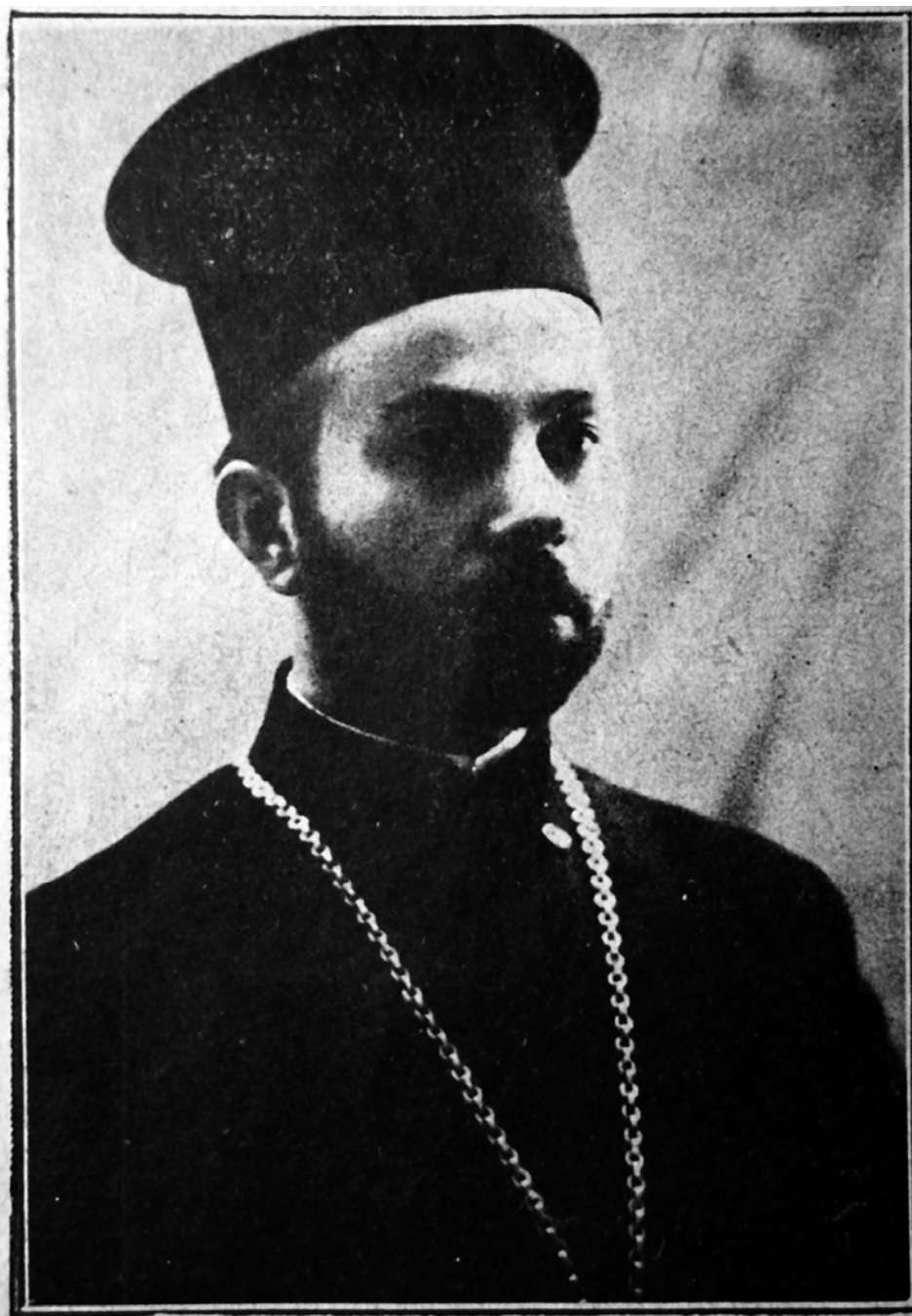


Foto 2. 1936, Galați. Preotul econom Nicolai P. Popov. originar din Bazargic județul Caliacra.

Teodor Iordache, *Albumul Galaților*, Tipografia Bucovina, Galați, 1935-1936, p. 36.



Foto 3. 1939, Galați. Biserica Bulgară cu hramul „Sf. Pantelimon”, situată pe str. Berthelot nr. 61. În stânga imaginii casa parohială; în fața bisericii, preotul paroh din acel an, econom Nicolai P. Popov.

S.J.A.N. Galați, fond *Primăria orașului Galați*, dosar 143/1939, f. 1.



Foto 4. 1964, Galați. Fotografia imobilului proprietatea Comunității Bulgare din Galați, situat în Piața 30 Decembrie nr. 45¹⁵, imobil care a fost afectat de detaliile de sistematizare din anul 1964, când în zonă a fost construit un complex comercial.

S.J.A.N. Galați, *Sfat Popular Regional Galați. Oficiul Juridic*, dosar 86/164, f. 36.

¹⁵ S.J.A.N. Galați, *Sfat Popular Regional Galați. Oficiul Juridic*, dosar 3/1959, f. 287.



Foto 5, 6. 1943, Galați. Antetul și ștampila utilizate de Comunitatea Bulgară „Sf. Pantelimon” din Galați pe înscrisurile oficiale.
S.J.A.N. Galați, fond *Primăria orașului Galați*, dosar 143/1939, f. 2.

*Florian BANU**

***THE IMPRINT OF THE SECURITATE ON THE DESTINY
OF A MAN OF CULTURE - NICOLAE CARANDINO (1905 -
1996)***

-Abstract-

The study aims at reconstituting the way in which a bright journalist and man of culture, Nicolae Carandino, entered and remained in the attention of the political police for over forty years, practically until the fall of communism in Romania.

The used data were collected from the documents included in the surveillance files concerning Carandino along the years, as well as from memoirs.

We have depicted the main moments of his “evolution” as victim of the regime, from 1945-1947, we have followed Carandino’s destiny along his imprisonment years and, especially, during the eight years of home arrest, hybrid form of detention, in which the bars that separate the victim from the free world are no longer visible.

In the end, we have crayoned the life of this distinguished man of culture during his “blank” arrest, as he called his existence after his release from house arrest, emphasising his strength in resisting to all the pressures exercised over him along the time.

Keywords: Nicolae Carandino, Romania Communism, the Securitate, the National Peasants’ Party

**AMPRENTA SECURITĂȚII ASUPRA DESTINULUI UNUI OM DE
CULTURĂ – NICOLAE CARANDINO (1905-1996)**

-Rezumat-

Studiul își propune să reconstituie modul în care un strălucit ziarist și om de cultură, Nicolae Carandino, a intrat și s-a menținut în atenția poliției politice timp de peste patruzeci de ani, practic până la prăbușirea regimului comunist din România.

* National Council for the Study of the Archives of the Security, Bucharest, florianbanu@yahoo.com.

Informațiile utilizate au fost extrase din documentele reunite în cadrul dosarelor de urmărire ce i-au fost întocmite lui Carandino de-a lungul vremii, precum și din lucrări cu caracter memorialistic.

Am redat principalele momente ale „evoluției” sale în postura de victimă a regimului începând cu anii 1945-1947, am urmărit destinul lui Carandino pe parcursul anilor de pușcărie și, mai ales, pe perioada celor opt ani de domiciliu obligatoriu, formă hibridă de detenție, în care grațiile ce despart victima de lumea liberă nu mai sunt vizibile.

În final, am creionat existența distinsului om de cultură în timpul arestării „în alb”, cum numea acesta existența sa după eliberarea din domiciliu forțat, reliefând tăria cu care a știut să reziste tuturor presiunilor exercitate asupra sa de-a lungul timpului.

Cuvinte cheie: Nicolae Carandino, România, comunism, Securitate, Partidul Național Țărănesc

“Under dictatorships, our bright intellectuals took a proper resistance test. In the best case, they were content to stoop, according to the ancient laws, unless they hurried to howl, next to the wolves, against fancy honours and dinging silver coins. There were, of course, some honourable exceptions too, the more honourable as they were so few (...)”¹. These words, although of a remarkable actuality, were written almost 60 years ago by such an exception coming from the intellectuals of the time: Nicolae Carandino.

Born in Brăila, on July 20, 1905, his real name was Carandino Nicolas Haralambos. Bachelor of Laws in Bucharest (1926), lawyer and journalist. Reserve lieutenant, contingent 1927, Regiment 3, Artillery, France. He took doctoral studies for three years in Paris. He stood out as an opinion journalist in the inter-war period, signing with numerous pseudonyms: Ajax, Ali Baba, Antipater, N. Grecu etc.

According to his own testimony, he joined the National Peasants’ Party (P.N.Ț.) “ever since 1930”². Working in the company of illustrious journalists, such as N.D. Cocea, Ion Vinea, Em. Socor, Felix Aderca, Tudor Teodorescu-Braniște, Nicolae Carandino proved to measure up to them. He becomes known especially during the time he wrote at “Facla” Daily³, managed by Ion Vinea,

¹ Nicolae Carandino, *Rolul intelectualilor*, in “Dreptatea”, March 23, 1946, *apud* “Subteranele memoriei. Pagini din rezistența culturii în România. 1944-1954” (Memory Undergrounds. Pages from the Resistance of Culture in Romania. 1944-1945), introductory study and anthology by Vasile Igna, Bucharest, 2001, p. 246.

² Archive of the National Council for the Study of Security Archives (ACNSAS), Informative fund, file no. 3619, vol. 3, l. 12; in the lawsuit, the year 1933 appears as the moment of affiliation to the National Peasants’ Party.

³ Eugen Ionesco, former literary reviewer at “Facla” around the end of the 30s, was remembering in the 80s that “in those days, Facla was the leftist possible newspaper in

shortly becoming the editor in chief of this newspaper. He was also collaborator or editor at “Credința” (Faith), “Lumea românească” (Romanian World), “Reporter”, “Azi” (Today), “Floarea de foc” (Fire Flower), “Dimineața” (Morning), “Curentul” (Trend)⁴.

The instauration of the dictatorial regimes from 1938 on led to the suppression of the free press, therefore Nicolae Carandino abandons political press and finds refuge in the activity of theatre reviewer for publications like “Rampa” (Footlights) (1941), “Bis” (1942-1946) or the weekly magazine “Curentul Familiei” (Family Trend).

Nicolae Carandino’s activity, due to its clearly democratic and anti-totalitarian character was brought to the attention of the State’s special services ever since the beginning of the 40s. Although we did not find informative notes or other documents from that time, they are mentioned in the documents prepared between 1945 and 1946 by most of the components of the repressive system of the time: Safety, Detectives’ Corps (C.D.), Special Information Service (S.S.I.), Capital City Police Prefecture (P.P.C.)⁵. Carandino’s supervision during the war is also proven by his internment in Tg. Jiu camp on December 12, 1942, for three months, for “Anglo-American propaganda”⁶. The fall of Antonescu’s regime and

Romania. Ion Vinea and N. Carandino and even myself, we were the target of the “intelligence” which at the time was 90% right or extreme right. Carandino was the most closely supervised and the bravest of us. And also, he was the best prepared, ideologically speaking. This is why he had such an excellent morale” – Eugène Ionesco, *Carandino*, in “Mele”, 1980, *apud* “Subteranele memoriei. Pagini din rezistența culturii în România. 1944-1954”, introductory study and anthology by Vasile Igna, Bucharest, 2001, p. 235.

⁴ Mircea Zăciu, Marian Papahagi, Aurel Sasu (coord.), *Dicționarul scriitorilor români* (*Dictionary of Romanian Writers*), vol. I, Bucharest, 1995, p. 482.

⁵ According to Detectives’ Corps’ note no. 5149 / August 31, 1946, Nicolae Carandino was known at P.P.C. from file A 16098/945 as leader of the National Peasants’ Party, in the C.D. archives in file no. 192 it was specified that “he attended the Swiss Legation, making contact with the minister Renee”, in file no. 355 he was remarked as “writer at *Dreptatea*”, and file no. 254 recorded one of Carandino’s conversations with Constantin Titel Petrescu, whom he accused of lack of tact for the situation reverse at the P.S.D. congress; in the archives of the Safety, he was known as collaborator at “Cuvântul Liber” (Free Words) and “Azi”; in S.S.I. archives, file no. 16885, he was remarked as collaborator to left-wing newspapers “Cuvântul Liber”, and “Lumea românească”. We should not overlook the words used to characterise Carandino in this last file: “old Communist agitator”, his articles contain only Communist ideas, he defended Ana Pauker before the Court”, “fanatic anglophile”, “personal friend of Emil Socor, Pavel Pavel and Marcel Pauker” - ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3619, vol. 3, l. 13-14.

⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 1; according to other sources, camp internment was made for “slandering Antonescu’s regime” or for “having circulated alarming and propagandist news in leftist newspapers, in favour of the Anglo-American-Soviets” – *Ibidem*, l. 14-15; a “Personal Record” drawn up by the Directorate of Safety Police, undated, states the following: “interned as per order no. 30.073/942 of the Minister of Home Affairs for spreading fake news regarding the war, saying that the victory will belong to the Anglo-Saxons and USSR

the restoration of the Constitution of 1923 provided Carandino with the brief illusion of going back to normality. Soviet interferences and the ascension of the Communist Party to the political power showed to the left-wing man that the fight for the instauration of democracy was far from being over and a new period of persecution was on its way. During this time, his name is closely connected with the one of "Dreptatea" (Justice) Daily, the newspaper edited by P.N.Ț. - Maniu⁷. The issue of the second series of "Dreptatea" between August 27, 1944 and March 6, 1945, as well as of the third series, between February 5, 1946 and July 17, 1947 occurred with the significant contribution of Nicolae Carandino, called upon to this effect by Iuliu Maniu himself, who appreciated him greatly. He was, for a short while, from the end of 1944 until the beginning of 1945, director of the National Theatre, then, General Director of theatres and operas.

Obviously, Carandino's activity in P.N.Ț. - Maniu and his incisive articles in "Dreptatea" could not pass unnoticed by the communists and, consequently, by the subordinate secret services. The earliest testimony of the fact that Nicolae Carandino was perceived as an opponent of the new regime is a note from the beginning of July 1945, according to which Carandino allegedly elaborated in the office of "Bis" magazine from *Curentul* Palace, P.N.Ț. manifestos. Based on this note, the Directorate of Safety Police from the Capital City Police Prefecture ordered the checking of Nicolae Carandino and of Florian Gheorghe and Teodor Scarlat as well, alleged co-authors of the said manifestos.

After the manifestation of November 8, 1945, Nicolae Carandino's monitoring got more intense. He was even asked on December 1, 1945 to give a statement regarding his nonparticipation in the events of November 8⁸. Although in an investigations' report drawn up by Constable Pavel Constantin from the 2nd Brigade of Safety Police on December 30, 1945, it was mentioned that "no particular political activity was noticed concerning the above said individual", Nicolae Carandino was still proposed to remain "in our observation".

The investigations carried out by the services specialised in political police at the beginning of 1946 revealed in Nicolae Carandino's past new reasons to catalogue him as an enemy of the new order. Thus, an informative note of February 6, 1946 stated the following:

will beat the German armies" - *Idem*, 3641, l. 7; he was released from the camp on March 8, 1943 - *Ibidem*, l. 344.

⁷ Nicolae Carandino was claiming in his memoirs that he was contacted on August 24, 1944 by Virgil Solomon and Radu Cioculescu, sent by Iuliu Maniu with the "order" to edit "Dreptatea" the next day. On the frontispiece, the name of the former publisher, Ionel Livianu, was to be kept – according to Nicolae Carandino, *De la o zi la alta. Memorii (From One Day to the Next. Memoirs)*, Bucharest, 1992, p. 252 (henceforward, N. Carandino, *Nopți albe...*).

⁸ ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3641, l. 12.

“Regarding the unmasking campaign initiated against hooligan N. Carandino by “Era Nouă” (New Era) Newspaper on January 18, 1946, we find from the national peasants’ circles the following additional details:

Under Antonescu’s dictatorship, N. Carandino acted as an informant for Mihai Antonescu’s office, providing secret reports concerning left-wing journalists, through Mircea Grigorescu, ministerial councillor at the Propaganda and publisher of “Ecou” (Echo), democratic diversion newspaper. At the same time, he was working for Iuliu Maniu, being an informant of the Swiss Legation and an agent between the leader of P.N.Ț. and Renee de Weeck, former minister of the confederation. N. Carandino was officially writing in “Curentul” pro-German and anti-Semite articles. Also, in “Curentul Familiei” he was making propaganda in favour of Nazi films”⁹.

These pieces of information, unconfirmed by other sources, are mechanically adopted by other reports and fully motivate the intensification of the supervision and control measures directed against N. Carandino.

On August 18, 1946, Constable Iordan Ștefan from the 2nd Safety Brigade carried out a search at the home of the publisher of “Dreptatea” Newspaper, N. Carandino, “suspected that he owned materials which concern national order and security”. Following the search, a volume entitled “Europe - Totalitarian State”, published by Theodor Vlădescu in 1941 in Bucharest¹⁰, is confiscated. Not enough for arresting the “enemy of the people”, but, in the opinion of the political police, relevant enough for the danger represented by Carandino.

The pursuit and the search were meant, of course, to undermine Carandino’s morale, since the elections of autumn 1946 were close (Carandino came forward for P.N.Ț. in Bucharest, on the 31st position¹¹, after having been co-opted in September 1946 as member in the permanent delegation of P.N.Ț.)¹². Significant in this respect is a new search carried out at his home on October 30, 1946, search which had a “negative result”¹³.

In 1947, he is signalled as “one of the outstanding members of P.N.Ț., who is part of the Permanent Delegation, based on his capacity of publisher of “Dreptatea” Newspaper. Benefitting from the trust of Maniu and Mihai Popovici, he is entrusted with the duty to lead the press of the party, his direct superior being Maniu. In this capacity, Carandino gives to “Dreptatea”, as well as to the entire party press a tone of excessive vehemence against the democratic regime, of instigation to race hatred and enmity against USSR”¹⁴. Also, pursuit bodies

⁹ *Ibidem*, l. 10.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, l. 21.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, l. 45.

¹² Referring to police supervision, intensified after November 1946, Carandino was noting in his memoirs: “it was not a new situation, I had been chased by more or less undercover agents my entire life. This time however, it was too much.” – N. Carandino, *Nopti albe...*, p. 291.

¹³ ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3641, l. 32.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 329.

mentioned that he “entertained close relationships with Anglo-American journalists, whom he supplied with the information they needed. He printed in the editorial office of “Dreptatea” various articles or communications of P.N.Ț., banned by censorship, and which he distributed”.

Because of the aggravation of the internal situation, the democratic parties sent several outstanding representatives in the Occident for continuing there the fight against Communism. Nicolae Carandino was also included in such a group at Iuliu Maniu’s proposal. Informed one day before the planned departure, Carandino accepts Maniu’s proposal and becomes thus the victim of a trap set by the secret services: Tămădău episode. Arrested on July 14, 1947 on the aerodrome from Tămădău, Carandino will appear in court, between October 29 and November 11, 1947, next to the leaders of the National Peasants’ Party, with Iuliu Maniu at the top.

From arrest to trial, Carandino knew the torture of enquiries. They were carried out with a persistence proportional with the stake: compromising the image of P.N.Ț. leaders and dissolving this party¹⁵. Investigations were performed both by “new people” (Mișu Dulgheru, Vladimir Mazuru), imposed by the communist party in the safety system, as well as by its old specialists, accustomed with investigations.

Eloquent for the strategies used in investigations are the “Indications” written at the beginning of August 1947, probably by one of the experienced interrogators of the Safety. Without going into any more details, we only wish to specify that the arrestees had to be interrogate “at least 12 hours a day”, and specifications are also given regarding the “organisation of an agency in the arrestees’ cells, whose members had to be well trained, aware of their role and giving no clues to the interrogated ones”¹⁶. In this manner, the arrestees were practically interrogated 24 hours out of 24. Nicolae Carandino was interrogated by interrogator Ileana Doru. During the investigation, “characterisations” of the arrestees were drawn up, accompanied by the lists of questions to be addressed to them and by the questions to be avoided. In order to reconstitute the way in which they were studied as well as the investigators’ “class” optics, we include below several excerpts from “Nicolae Carandino’s characterisation”:

“Brought up in a boarding school, he spends his faculty years in Bucharest and, like all the bourgeois, he goes to Paris to continue his studies. (...) In country, he tries to practice law, but gives it up for journalism. Embracing this profession, he knocks on all doors for an as quick as possible ascension (...) August 23, with its inherent disorders, creates the climate favourable for his quick ascension, and he moves to the centre of the reactionary activity of P.N.Ț., succeeding to become an

¹⁵ The National Peasants’ Party had already been dissolved by the Deputies’ Assembly with 294 votes for and only one vote against on July 29, 1947 – according to the Debates of the Deputies’ Assembly, no. 64, p. 1449-1455

¹⁶ Marcel Dumitru Ciucă, *Procesul lui Iuliu Maniu. Documentele procesului conducătorilor Partidului Național Țărănesc (Lawsuit of Iuliu Maniu. Documents regarding the Lawsuit of the Leader of the National Peasants’ Party)*, vol. I Investigation, Bucharest, 2001, p. 79

element appreciated by Maniu and propitious to his plans (...) Character: endowed with a remarkable intelligence, he has no scruples on the way towards his goal, to rising. Extremely lecherous. He parades with his fight for democracy. In the lawsuit: he tries to adopt a firm line of intransigence in matters of “purely western democracy” and of unfailing fighter. The thesis he adopted during this trial and which he prepares to defend in court is based on the fact that no one indicated him as part of the plot and, therefore, he knows nothing of this or of the entire illegal activity of P.N.Ț”¹⁷.

Carandino was judged, next to the other members of “Maniu’s lot” by the Military Court of Bucharest, 1st Section, which, by judgment no. 1988/947 sentenced him to 6 years of hard labour¹⁸. Upon the expiry of the punishment, the General Prosecutor of People’s Republic of Romania submitted an application for correction¹⁹ which was approved by the Supreme Court, Military College and, by Decision no. 133/955 of September 21, 1955, the case was referred for retrial, strictly with respect to the amount of the sanction²⁰.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 114

¹⁸ “Nicolae Carandino, from Bucharest, 16 Spiru Haret Street, indicted for plot and attempt to fraudulently cross the border, provided and sanctioned by art. 227 par. 1, 2 and 3 CP, corroborated with art. 184 par. 1 and art. 207 CP, by art. 579 CJM, al corroborated with art. 101 item 1 CP with I.D. 856 of 938, 1108 of 938 and art. 482 CJM.

Without one dissentient voice, in application of art. 227, par. 1, 2 and 3, corroborated with art. 184 par. 1 C.P., N. Carandino is sentenced to 6 years of hard labour and 2 years of civic degradation for treason.

Applying art. 579 CJM, he is sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment for the attempt to fraudulently cross the border.

As per art. 101, item. 1 CP, convict N. Carandino will execute the hardest punishment, that is 6 years of hard labour and 2 years of civic degradation. Under art. 193 CP, his fortune is confiscated. As per art. 326 CJM, he is obliged to pay 1000 lei, legal charges” - ACNSAS, Informative, fie no. 3641, l. 331.

¹⁹ In the “Request for correction”, the General Prosecutor of Romania People’s Republic, Alexa Augustin, was specifying that “although the first instance accused Penescu Nicolae and Carandino Nicolae, outstanding members of the National Peasants’ Party, of a leading role in the plot of March 1945 - July 1947 against the State, guided by the co-accused, Iuliu Maniu and Ion Mihalache, with the purpose of violently overthrowing the democratic government of our country (...), he applied too mild punishments in comparison with the gravity and social danger represented by the perpetrated crimes as well as by the criminals themselves”. In conclusion, Alexa Augustin was requesting “the retrial of the case so that proper punishments be applied” - Marcel Dumitru Ciucă, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 415.

²⁰ Decision no. 133/1955 of the High Court of People’s Republic of Romania, Military College, states: “N. Penescu and N. Carandino were the main pillars of Maniu’s plot, as well as its executors, as determined during the trial, therefore, the Court considers that the request for correction is well-founded and, consequently, approves it.” – *Ibidem*, p. 418.

The cause is judged again and the Military Court, through judgement no. 591 of May 31, 1956 sentences him to 8 years and 6 months of hard labour, with computation of the prevention of July 14, 1947²¹.

He spent the first part of his imprisonment in Galați Main Penitentiary, together with the other convicted leaders of the National Peasants' Party. As signalled in his memoirs, "they were lined up in the cell to the left of the corridor: Iuliu Maniu, Ion Mihalache, me, Radu Niculescu-Buzești, col. Stoica, Camil Petrescu, Piky Pogoneanu and Ilie Lazăr"²². He was subject to the scrutiny of cell agency during his detention as well. A synthesis of the informative material provided by this agency (collected in the personal file of the prisoner), made on March 8, 1948, revealed that Nicolae Carandino blamed Iuliu Maniu and Ion Mihalache for the failure of Tămădău evasion. Regarding his political future, it transpired that, after his release, he would withdraw completely from politics, focusing on the cultural issues he regrets to have left"²³.

In Galați prison, attempts were made to gain him over to the Securitate. Here is how he describes this episode: "What did they want from me?" First of all, to become an "agent", good for everything, in prisons, in trials and, who knows? even in "freedom". After the force demonstration, they would list the advantages (...) Promises were concrete and in line with the prison life I knew - an additional ladle of mash, a pair of socks and, mostly, silence, a lot of silence. Instead of being tortured, I was invited to give a hand to the "discovery and punishment of criminals"²⁴.

After four years of detention in Galați, he was transferred in the penitentiary of Sighet, along with other leaders of the Peasants' Party. He was imprisoned in the same cell with Iuliu Maniu, during the latter's last days and he witnessed his very last words, uttered on February 5, 1953: "Clara, she was such a beautiful woman". He remained in Sighet until the expiry of his punishment. During all this time, he was periodically re-interrogated by the Securitate regarding various issues²⁵.

His years of imprisonment can also be depicted from the confessions Nicolae Carandino made to some people he thought to be of trust during the time of house arrest, imposed after his release from prison. These confessions would quickly get to the Securitate, through the diligence of several more than zealous informants.

²¹ ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3641, l. 306; the text of judgment no. 591/1956 in Marcel Dumitru Ciucă, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 418-427.

²² N. Carandino, *Nopți albe...*, p. 312.

²³ ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3641, l. 333.

²⁴ N. Carandino, *Nopți albe...*, p. 323

²⁵ See the Romanian Information Service, *The White Book of the Security*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1994, doc. 118 "Nicolae Carandino's statement regarding the decision of the National Peasants' Party to refrain from attacking Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu in press, during the electoral campaign of 1946" – April 20, 1951; doc. 188 – "Nicolae Carandino's statement regarding his relationship with Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, with the historical parties and with the circles of the Royal Palace" - November 3, 1953.

Thus, an informative note of September 13, 1960, signed by “Lawyer Mihail”, specifies:

“He spent 9 years in prison. During the first two years, he shared the cell with Buzești [Radu Niculescu Buzești, brother of Grigore Niculescu Buzești, n.ns. F.B.] and two other politicians, all four with a high general and professional education. They would hold conferences in turn, each in his field of education (...). The other seven years he spent alone, under all possible restrictions, with no bed during the day and teased 2-3 times each night. As he spoke French, German, Italian and Greek, he would scribble on the cell walls, with a nail, lyrics, epigrams, maxims, in all languages. As he was also a good mathematician, he would solve all kinds of problems still on the wall.

He was followed by policemen-orderlies, but they did nothing to him. When officers came in inspection, he stood still like a statue, with his arms folded on his chest and they retreated backwards for fear that he might have a fit of folly and attack them, they thought he was not sane. (...)

He says that, after 9 years of imprisonment, his morale is admirable, and, after recovering physically, he feels as if he were 30 again. Although he is 55 years old, he claims that his vision is as clear as 10-15 years ago. (...) In prison, his cell was next to the one of Buzești, and during all these 4 years he kept in touch with Buzești using Morse alphabet, with a nail. Buzești asked him about theatre and philosophy and he asked Buzești about mathematics. The source characterises him as highly intelligent, endowed with a general education one does not come across too often. Very refined and likeable”²⁶.

Upon his release from the penitentiary, on June 8, 1956, Decision no. 640/956 of the Ministry of Home Affairs assigned him to house arrest for 60 months in Bumbăcari locality, Călmățui district. On June 29, 1956²⁷, Carandino was already in Bumbăcari, as proven by the medical certificate attesting that he “was suffering from myocarditis and, probably, a pulmonary fibrosis of tuberculous nature with fever and a permanent cough”²⁸. In September 1960, following the dissolution of Bumbăcari (as home arrest place), he was transferred, still under house arrest, to Rubla, Brăila district, and upon expiry, his home arrest was extended for other 36 months²⁹, through Decision no. 16.163 / May 30, 1961 of the Ministry of Home Affairs³⁰.

²⁶ ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3641, l. 150.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, l. 306.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, l. 327.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, l. 24; In January 1961, when house arrest was coming to an end, Carandino confided to some close friends: “I was arrested 14 years ago as a simple and insignificant journalist. In prison, I was aggrandized and I was subject to the same treatment as ministers, isolated and closely supervised. For these reasons, I am sure that, although my house arrest comes to an end in a few months, they will not let me go and will extend it by 24 months at least” - ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3641, l. 140; His predictions came true.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, l. 379.

During this time, based on the data from displacement file no. 1638, Galați Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Home Affairs decided, on November 1, 1958, to open an individual surveillance file on the name of Nicolae Carandino, with the purpose of finding “the suspect relations of the individuals under house arrest, as well as with other enemies from abroad, also the hostile activity they carry out; to support this activity by irrefutable proofs”³¹.

The informative surveillance was carried out mostly by surrounding Carandino by a variable number of informants, recruited, most of them, from his companions.

Relevant for the Kafkaesque environment in which the deportees lived their lives and for the incredible degradation that can affect the human being is a conversation that Nicolae Carandino carried on February 12, 1961 with two close acquaintances, deported just like him: Golici Mihail³² and Glogojeanu (Glugojeanu) Radu. This conversation is recorded in two informative notes. The first specifies that “talking about the streets in Brăila, whether Carandino knew them or not, he (Carandino) said the following: “I knew Brăila very well until the flood””. The second mentions Carandino’s answer like this: “I knew very well old Brăila, that after the *flood* (that is, after August 23, 1944), I do not know anymore”. The first note is signed “Grigorescu Radu”, *recte* Glogojeanu Radu³³. The second was signed by “Lawyer Mihail”, *recte* Mihail Golici! Comments are needless.

We should also mention that much of the information regarding Carandino was obtained by the Securitate from his brother-in-law, Lică Crăciunescu, director at Brăila Subsidiary of the French Society of Danube Navigation and agent of the 5th Directorate of the Securitate³⁴.

In fact, Nicolae Carandino, in spite of the experience he acquired during his lengthy detention, still fell in the trap of people of good faith, his confidence in people never being completely annihilated. This explains why he had “hostile” talks with his close acquaintances, although he was aware of the fact that the Securitate recruited its informants from those under house arrest³⁵. Thus, an

³¹ *Ibidem*, l. 5.

³² Former cavalry colonel, participant in the Eastern campaign.

³³ About this, another informant was noting on February 17, 1961: “... he claims he was a lawyer at the Patriarchy of Bucharest. Not so intelligent, as insidious and bold. Extremely curious. He looks for connections (...) Among those under house arrest, rumour has it that he is one of the informants of the Security. Very dangerous due to the tendentious and provocative manner he uses in conversations. Even if he were an informant, he is capable of being double-faced, serving also certain political interests against the regime” - ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3641, l. 234.

³⁴ N. Carandino’s case seems to support a claim made by a prisoner, victim of the delations himself: “In this country, if things continue in this manner, out of three persons, one is a former informant, another is a current informant and the third is a future informant. I add a fourth - the permanent victim” – Nicolae Călinescu, *Preambul pentru camera de tortură (Preamble for the Torture Chamber)*, Timișoara, 1994, p. 190.

³⁵ From an informative note of September 17, 1958, it transpires that Nicolae Carandino pointed to a group of friends that “today, when one talks to somebody, one must be wide-

informative note written by informant “Panaitescu Virgil” on October 10, 1960, relates the following words of Carandino: “I made the acquaintance of several people under house arrest, but I will not get friends with them until I am convinced what sort of people they are, for some of them might be Securitate informants”³⁶. Therefore, his confidence in friendship, as a reference value for humans, and the conviction that people can be known, were intact for Carandino, in spite of everything he had seen, heard and suffered in the hell of prisons.

Apart from these convictions, he kept his optimism and humour, priceless weapons in the fight against the oppressive system. Relevant for this aspect is the way in which Carandino was telling to one of the Securitate informants, in 1961, that “when he was under house arrest in Bumbăcari, a child gave him a very, very plastic definition of elections. The child asked Carandino if he voted and he told to the child that he did not even know how to vote. The child told him: “they give you a piece of paper, you go into some sort of closet, and then you go out”³⁷.

The Securitate continued to assiduously monitor Carandino in the subsequent period as well, his file growing thicker and thicker with the informative notes that caught even the least significant gestures and attitudes that could be interpreted as “hostile” to the regime. In order to outline the image that the Securitate had formed of Carandino after four years of surveillance, we will give below an excerpt from a synthesis drawn up by Brăila District Securitate Service on November 21, 1962:

“Being surveyed in informative purposes, it results that he entertained the closest relations with other people under house arrest, former members of the Peasants’ Party, whom he visits, sometimes making negative comments regarding certain aspects of the internal and external politics. These are:

- Solomon Virgil, aged 68, former member in the Central Committee of P.N.Ț. Maniu and Iuliu Maniu’s Deputy Secretary, monitored by individual file;
- Anca Victor, aged 64, member of P.N.Ț. from 1918 (!), with an intense activity within this party, she was part of “King Mihai I National Release Committee”, sentenced to 10 years of hard labour, monitored by individual file;
- Dragoș Gheorghe, aged 63, former leader of the Youth Peasants’ Party of Transylvania, at present agent of our bodies;
- Coposu Cornel, aged 48, former Deputy Secretary General and Personal Secretary of Iuliu Maniu; he carried out a sentence of 15 years of hard labour for the activity performed within P.N.Ț., recently assigned under home arrest;

awake and must know how to change the subject immediately when somebody else comes along, for there are cases when even the best friends betray” - ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3641, l. 286.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, l. 135.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, l. 126.

- Ivasiuc Alexandru, aged 30, former leader of an organisation contrary to the regime during the events of Hungary, agent of our bodies;
- Radu Florescu, aged 58, former landlord and clerk in the USA Legation of Bucharest, convicted for the distribution of banned publications, monitored by individual file.

The relationship between them and Nicolae Carandino consisted in mutual visits and complete trust in one another and, therefore, they expressed freely their political views in the conversations they had. The most frequent talks relate to the political past of each of them, emphasising especially the personal qualities of Iuliu Maniu, greatly eulogized by each³⁸.

Following the close scrutiny that he was subject to for four years, the Securitate bodies got to the conclusion that “the said Carandino Nicolae, should he be determined to actively collaborate with our bodies in order to inform us regarding things in the locality, we could engage him in another sort of collaboration, that is: to write a series of articles regarding certain aspects of his personal - private activity and political affairs, aspects which have always been present in the old politicians. (...) To that effect, several contacts were made, finding that the said Carandino would be adequate and, especially, useful for publishing certain data in periodicals”³⁹.

Indeed, as revealed by other documents, in the spring and summer of 1962, the 2nd Office of Brăila District Service, led by first lieutenant Bălan Ion, in collaboration with the 2nd Service of Galați Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Home Affairs, led by captain Dumitriu Andrei, contacted several times Nicolae Carandino “in view of the recruitment”.

A real psychological war ensued between Nicolae Carandino and the Securitate officers. Unassuming the risk of a direct refusal of the recruitment proposals, Carandino preferred to entertain an ambiguous situation, maintaining himself in expectation. In a “Report on the personal acquaintance of the said Nicolae Carandino”, of February 14, 1962 (“personal acquaintance” was a mandatory stage in the recruitment process), Captain Dumitriu Andrei was appreciating that “during the talks, the said individual seemed to be intelligent, with a lot of discernment and logics and with vast knowledge” and that “he was adequate for being recruited and used by our authorities”⁴⁰.

On June 15, 1962, Carandino was contacted again, being brought to Galați by Colonel Eugen Vistig himself, the chief of Galați Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Home Affairs. According to the “Report note” drawn up after this event, Carandino adopted a “very realistic position”. In fact, Carandino expressed his discontentment and wonder at the fact that after 15 years of imprisonment and

³⁸ *Ibidem*, l. 25.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, l. 26.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, l. 406-407.

house arrest he was still punished for having expressed his will to be useful to the society as artistic councillor in a theatre.

Speculating on Carandino's natural crave for freedom and for a normal life, the Securitate officer asked him "whether he could be of use in other fields, such as literature for instance". At that moment, guessing what was expected of him, Carandino "placed himself on a position of partial refusal, trying to avoid the issue. As his interlocutor insisted, he tried to explain that, being isolated from life for 15 years, he was unacquainted with the achievements of the regime and, moreover, the fact that he was under house arrest was yet another impediment for he would not have the moral strength to write about a regime who still repressed him"⁴¹.

For an even clearer picture of the way in which the Securitate lured its victims and in order to understand the way in which many of them gave in to the temptation of a "pact with the devil", accepting collaboration, we will give below an excerpt of the said document:

"Having got there, realising his wish to no longer be under house arrest, we built upon it, telling him that, at his age, he still had many years ahead of him and, if he understood the issues we were to talk about, he would have nothing but advantages and he would be able to go back to being a respected man, washing away his past through work and achievements.

Carandino N., interested by the subject, inquired what he would be asked to write; we explained our intentions to him and he said that it would be hard for him for he was not too well advised in the matter.

Aware of his inner struggle, we closed the subject and told him to think about it and if he indeed wanted to get out of the situation he was in, he should accept what we asked of him"⁴².

Interesting enough are the conclusions to these talks also: "he is troubled by his situation (house arrest) and very interested to get out of it. He still has wrong ideas but, eventually, out of his wish to solve his personal situation, he will accept our proposals. We should keep on contacting him, insisting on materially motivating him"⁴³.

As seen above, on November 21, 1962, that is four months after the discussion with Colonel Vistig, Carandino still does not answer to the luring mermaid song of the Securitate. Very skilful, Carandino knew how to keep up the hopes of the Securitate in a future collaboration. In the same period, he accepted to write a series of statements about Foca Rode Andrei, Radu Florescu, Dionisie Trifa (Bishop Viorel Trifa's father), priest Butnariu, Radu Glogojeanu, Pavel Pavel. None of these contains incriminating facts regarding the above, and his statements stereotypically begin with the phrase: "asked by the Securitate authorities about... I declare the following" or "upon the inquiry of the Securitate authorities, I give the following answer..."

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, l. 416.

⁴² *Ibidem*, l. 417.

⁴³ *Ibidem*.

Without accepting to collaborate with the Securitate, Carandino succeeded in creating a credible image in the eyes of the Securitate officers⁴⁴, so that on August 13, 1963, Colonel Vistig Eugen signed the “Decision for closing individual file no. 1433 regarding Carandino Nicolae and its classification”. In the chapter “detailed motivation of file closure”, it is specified: “he was contacted by the 1st Directorate in order to be used”. There is no clue to the fact that Nicolae Carandino accepted collaboration. On the contrary, Nicolae Carandino remained under home arrest until June 1964 although the extension of the house arrest period expired in May 1964.

After the release, as most of the political prisoners, Nicolae Carandino remains in the attention of the Securitate⁴⁵. Informative notes signal ever since the beginning of 1965, that “he played bridge in the home of Mocanu Gheorghe and had a hostile attitude towards our socialist regime”. Also, the Security was informed that Nicolae Carandino “was interested in gaining over young people whom he would tell about the years spent under this regime, as he claimed”⁴⁶.

Based on such information, on September 14, 1966, the 3rd Directorate of the Securitate Department opens a “verification file” meant to determine whether “Carandino N. performs a hostile activity along the lines of the former P.N.Ț. or of another kind” and “with which other former prisoners for P.N.Ț. activity he still keeps in touch and for what purpose”⁴⁷. A first “Plan of measures”, with the same date, for solving such objectives, surrounded Carandino by three informants, from his entourage, the monitoring of his correspondence for 6 months and Carandino’s trailing for “identifying all the individuals that served as his connections.”

After 7 months of checks (three informants were used, the secret control of correspondence, investigation and I.T.L. measures), the Securitate “established” that the suspect “maintains periodical contacts with Coposu Cornel, former Deputy Secretary General of P.N.Ț., monitored by us by individual file, and Buteanu Aurel, former Secretary General of P.N.Ț. Youth Organisation for Transylvania and Banat, monitored by Banat Directorate of the Ministry of Home Affairs”. Furthermore, he “regularly corresponds with Schineanu Lazăr, former social democrat, at present fugitive, settled in Rome”. Also, “on several occasions, Carandino Nicolae manifested a hostile attitude towards party and country leaders (...) stating that the laws regarding the divorce and pregnancy interruptions are

⁴⁴ On an informative note from the beginning of 1963, an annotation was found, dating from February 8, 1963, according to which Marshal Grigoraș, chief of Service 3 of the 2nd Directorate allegedly claimed that “Carandino is almost recruited” - ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3619, vol. 1, l. 128.

⁴⁵ According to Florian Banu, *Grațierile din 1962-1964: punct de inflexiune sau continuitate în politica partidului comunist? (The reprieves from 1962-1964: inflexion or continuity points in the policy of the Communist Party?)*, in “Dosarele Istoriei” (History Files), no. 2(102)/2005, (CNSAS Bulletin, no. 10), pp. 58-61.

⁴⁶ ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3619, vol. 1, l. 5.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, l. 4-6.

antisocial laws”⁴⁸. As a consequence, on May 20, 1967, the 3rd Directorate, Service 2, adopts the “Decision for changing the examination file into an informative - individual file”. The conspiratorial name attributed to Carandino was “the Greek”.

This passage to a superior form of surveillance gave rise to a new avalanche of supervision measures. Without going into any more details, we will only point to the episode in which Nicolae Carandino, who had supported the publishing in Romania of a novel written by Luigi Pretti, at that time Minister of Finances in Italy, received the negative answer of the Securitate regarding a journey to Italy where he had been invited by Pretti. This “blank arrest” as Carandino calls it, is illustrative for the new register of the repression.

The individual surveillance file was closed on July 1, 1969, therefore, after more than two years of supervision and harassments. The closure of the file was motivated by the fact that “the said individual does not perform hostile activity at present”. The surveillance exercised by the Securitate did not disappear entirely, it only decreased in intensity, the “Greek” being still monitored “within the scope of the issue represented by “Bourgeois Parties”.

On November 18, 1971, the 1st Directorate of the State Security Council started the informative surveillance of Nicolae Carandino because he “entertained suspect relations with former P.N.Ț. leaders and, together, they comment hostilely the policy of our party and of our country”⁴⁹.

On January 1, 1971, the individual surveillance file of the “Greek” was transferred to the Security of Bucharest City, Service 130, and surveillance continued. We should notice that the Securitate had refined its methods so that, without loosening surveillance, it managed to create to its victims the illusion of a certain freedom. N. Carandino took advantage of this situation for putting into practice his literary projects and managed to publish a series of original works: *De la Electra la Dama cu Camelii* (1971), *Autori, piese și spectacole* (1973), *Actori de ieri și de azi* (1973), *Radiografii teatrale* (1976).

From 1977 on, the main concern of the Securitate was Carandino’s activity of writing his memoirs. A first volume⁵⁰, entitled *De la o zi la alta. Memorii* (*From One Day to the Next. Memoirs*), referring to the years up to 1940, was published in 1979 by Cartea Românească Publishing House (not in 1978 and not by “Eminescu” Publishing House as erroneously recorded in the documents of the Securitate).

Then, Carandino started to work on a second volume, which he temporarily entitled *Întâmplări de ieri, gânduri de azi. Atitudini și constrângeri* (*Events from Yesterday, Thoughts from Today. Attitudes and Constraints*). This volume was

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, I. 3.

⁴⁹ ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3728, vol. 1, I. 2.

⁵⁰ According to a note made by the Security on October 8, 1973, at that time Carandino had already written 36 pages of the work, meaning to add other 140 pages approximately “as he decided that this volume would comprise 25 sheets, that is, 500 pages” - *idem*, vol. 5, I. 195.

referring to the years 1944-1964 and included the description of his prison days, but also “slandering references to certain political events that had occurred in the country during that period”. The Securitate intervened by “specific means” so that the volume, submitted to various publishing houses, was rejected due to its “inadequate content”.

Apart from the typed manuscript, Carandino had recorded the content of his memoirs on eight tapes, tapes which circulated in his circle of friends, everything under the close scrutiny of the Securitate.

In 1981, Carandino was contacted by Dan (Dean) Milhovan, editor in chief at “Dreptatea” Newspaper, published in USA, whom he entrusted with an excerpt of this second volume, comprising a portrait of Iuliu Maniu. This excerpt was subsequently published overseas, accentuating the worries of the Securitate. However, apart from surrounding him with informants and installing phone calls and correspondence intercepting means, the Securitate remained in expectation. Barely on March 8, 1984, following the elaboration of a “Stage note in individual surveillance file - the Greek”, a house search was approved (with the cover of the police authorities) for confiscating the typed copies of the memoirs volume, as well as the audio tapes⁵¹. The “informative interrogation” of N. Carandino and of his “main connections” - Vojen Victor Ion, Coposu Corneliu, Kalustian Leon, Hîncu Diamandescu Radu - was approved.

After the search of April 3 and after Carandino’s interrogation, the Securitate authorities established that the distribution of these memoirs “entertains among the people with political and criminal record (as well as among others) an atmosphere hostile to the regime of our country”. Consequently, measures were proposed for “dissolving the entourage” by “warning the said Carandino Nicolaos Haralambos, Ionescu Alexandru, Kalustian Leon and Hîncu Diamantescu Radu”.

Carandino’s warning took place at the Security Inspectorate of Bucharest City on July 12, 1984. The effects of this “warning” can be seen in a “Analysis note in individual surveillance file, the Greek” of December 20, 1984: “The Greek stopped his relationships with the people from his entourage who were warned by our bodies in the dissolution process of this entourage, except for Kalustian Leon whom he still meets once in while at “Athenee Palace” or at “Writers’ House”. (...) His health condition worsened suddenly and, although he spent August and September at Bran, to rest, no improvement has been noticed so far. This is mainly due to the fact that none of his writings are accepted for publication, not even the theatre reviews. To our sources, he claims that this situation is caused by our Securitate bodies who hares him”⁵².

Another note from November 23, 1985 reveals that N. Carandino had resumed his work at a third volume of memoirs and was meeting Pisoschi Ștefan, Kalustian Leon, Octavian Ghibu and Vasile Cameniță, all in the records of the Securitate. Consequently, measures for intensifying supervision are adopted by

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, 1. 3.

⁵² ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3728, vol. 1, 1. 70.

introducing the operative technique at “Athenee Palace” and at N. Carandino’s sister place, maintaining the “S” measures (intercepting letters) and pursuit during his travels outside the capital city. Moreover, the “Greek” had to be contacted periodically for “positive influencing”⁵³.

These measures did not have the expected results so that, apart from collecting many informative notes and materials obtained through the operative technique, the Securitate failed in its attempt to discourage Carandino. Using the technique of alternating the stick with the carrot, the Securitate even gave its approval to the publication of another work of Carandino: *Teatrul așa cum l-am văzut* (*Theatre Seen by Me*) (1986). The effect was not as intended.

In a note of the Securitate from May 27, 1987, we find some information regarding the efforts made by Carandino to find a way to publish his memoirs. It appears from this note that “the writer Stelian Tănase has at home tape recordings of the personal journal of the said N. Carandino, former leader of the National Peasants’ Party and close friend of Iuliu Maniu. Recently, five such tapes were given to a source of our unit who listened to them. It appears that they comprise memoirs of N. Carandino from 1944-1964, with a particular stress on years 1945-1947 when he was editor in chief at the official gazette of the National Peasants’ Party, “Dreptatea”, after 1947 when he was in prison and under house arrest in a village from Bărăgan”⁵⁴.

As Stelian Tănase was already in the attention of the Securitate for his “relations with foreign diplomats accredited in Bucharest with whose help he meant to publish abroad works which had not been published in country”⁵⁵, Carandino and Stelian Tănase will be the main characters in several of the Securitate documents from that period, with the code names “Grecul” (the Greek) and “Ștefan” (“Stelică”).

The main concern of the Securitate regarding the connection between these two was to prevent them from sending abroad Carandino’s memoirs, recorded on tapes, especially since a version of these memoirs had already appeared at a publishing house of the Romanians from the diaspora⁵⁶. The pursuit was relentless, the authorities resorting to surveillance, correspondence censorship, intercepting

⁵³ *Ibidem*, l. 72-73.

⁵⁴ Stelian Tănase, *Acasă se vorbește în șoaptă. Dosar & Jurnal din anii târzii ai dictaturii* (*At Home, We Whisper. File and Journal from the Late Years of the Dictatorship*), Bucharest, 2002, p. 22.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

⁵⁶ According to a Security note, a copy of the memoirs version which had been collected by the Security in 1983 had come into the possession of Milhovan Dean, American citizen of Romanian origin, owner of “Dreptatea” Publishing House from New York. In September 1986, Dean visited Carandino in Bucharest to ask for his consent to publish the manuscript in USA. For fear of repercussions, Carandino refused at first. Then, Dean informed the author that he had obtained the agreement of the “Romanian competent forums” and on February 16, 1987, he communicated to him that the volume appeared under the title “File de istorie” (History Pages” - ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no. 3728, vol. 1, l. 273.

not only phone calls, but also the talks they had in public places, such as Capșa beerhouse⁵⁷.

Carandino's pursuit continued with the same intensity in the last years of the regime as well. We found an analysis note written on November 8, 1989, just before the generalised fall of the system.

In order to underline the ridicule of the situation and the aberrant activity of the Securitate, we will exemplify with several excerpts from this note: "the target, due to his old age, 84 years, and due to certain affections, is immobilized in bed. (...) Therefore, he is visited sometimes by friends who inquire about his health; some of them, during their short visits, try to update him and to discuss with him issues of international politics. The target does not engage in such discussions, claiming that nothing interests him anymore"⁵⁸.

Any sane person would think that this "case" should be closed, but the Securitate had its own reasoning: "Given the informative-operative situation of this case, we will continue to act for the purpose of:

- knowing which people visit him and the nature of the talks they have on such occasions;
- preventing the unwilling engagement of the target in activities hostile to People's Republic of Romania;
- preventing the alienation of the patrimony assets he had in his home;
- We will continue to use the complex "S", I.T.I. and operative technique means for being informed about the concerns of the target, as well as of the people who inquire about him"⁵⁹.

The last decade of Nicolae Carandino's pursuit underline the generalised paranoia of the system, the Securitate making no exception to this. His life became normal again only upon the fall of communism in Romania. Even though he collided with this system ever since its instauration, Nicolae Carandino had the strength and the chance to outlive it⁶⁰.

Nicolae Carandino's destiny, as revealed by the documents written or gathered by the political police, is an exemplary one, one of a true man of culture, and especially one of a remarkably upright person.

We deem that, in this deep moral crisis that affects the contemporary society, faced with a lack of authentic role models, such a personality provides young generations with a first class model.

⁵⁷ See the stenograph of the conversation carried at Capșa by Stelian Tănase and N. Carandino on November 5, 1987, in Stelian Tănase, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Note regarding the installation of the "IDEB means" at Capșa in - ACNSAS, Informative fund, file no.3728, vol. 1, l. 212.

⁵⁸ ACNSAS, Documentary fund, file no. 117, vol. 5, l. 48.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem.*

⁶⁰ Nicolae Carandino died on February 16, 1996.

Liviu ȚĂRANU*

**COORDINATES OF THE ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN
COMMUNIST ROMANIA (1953-1989)**

-Abstract-

The entire economic policy practiced by the Romanian Workers' Party / Romanian Communist Party between 1948 and 1989 is treated with indifference at present, historians relegating this topic to a secondary plane. In spite of this, the economic strategies, their application and results must be known in order to understand the entire social, cultural and material complexity of Communism.

Our study approaches one of the aspects of this issue, precisely the financial policies practised by the leaders of Romania during Communism. The impact of these policies is massive, both on the internal social environment and on the foreign relations of Romania, with the western world especially.

Keywords: economic strategy, Communism, credits, foreign debt crisis.

**COORDONATE ALE STRATEGIEI ECONOMICE ÎN ROMÂNIA
COMUNISTĂ (1953-1989)**

-Rezumat-

Întreaga politică economică practică de PMR/PCR în perioada 1948-1989 este în prezent tratată cu indiferență, istoricii lăsând acest subiect într-un plan secund. În pofida acestui lucru, strategiile economice, aplicarea și rezultatele lor trebuie cunoscute pentru a înțelege întregul complex social, cultural și material existent în comunism.

Studiul nostru tratează una din laturile acestei probleme și anume politicile financiare pe care le-au dus cei care au condus România în comunism. Impactul acestor politici este unul masiv atât asupra mediului social intern cât și din punct de vedere al relațiilor externe ale României, îndeosebi cu lumea occidentală.

Cuvinte cheie: strategie economică, comunism, credite, criza datoriei externe

* National Council for the Study of the Archives of the Security, Bucharest, liviutaranu@yahoo.com.

In spite of today's criticism regarding the economic policies of the Communist regime, we must state that the program of the Communists who led Romania after 1945 was founded on the idea of economic progress. This economic process was based, essentially, on industrialisation. From this point of view and according to the rhythm of this process which, eventually, led to an economic growth, we can identify three significant stages in the development of the Romanian economy, corresponding with the time period between 1948 and 1965: the first stage, comprised between 1948 and 1953 stands out through a rather accentuated rate of industrial growth, in relation to the years 1945-1948; it is the time when great masses of people are mobilised on large industrial yards; the second stage, 1953-1957 is characterised by a decrease of the investments in industry and a greater attention paid to agriculture where substantial investments are made; the economy fluctuates strongly, however, during these years; the second stage, 1957-1965, is marked by the massive and continuous growth of investments in industry which leads to annual growth rates of the gross domestic product of 15% approximately, fact which placed Romania immediately after Japan.

The used economic model was the Soviet one, implemented with the support of Soviet councillors.

At the beginning of the 50s, Romania was facing serious social and economic problems. With a population of around 14.3 millions, out of which almost three quarters were engaged in agriculture or forestry, and 9-10% in industry, the social tensions caused by the low standard of living could burst at all tides¹. The gigantic projects of the new governors and the official propaganda caused a great enthusiasm among the masses of young people mobilised for the construction of new industrial objectives, for rebuilding and modernising the infrastructure, as well as for the extractive industry². However, manpower was mostly unqualified, illiteracy was preponderant and the lack of engineers, technicians, specialists caused serious problems to the beginning of these works. The crisis of competent personnel was characteristic of all the fields, as the old technical elite, scarce as it was, was assigned to unqualified labour, in the best case, this if they were not in prisons or camps.

The lack of professionalism in all the economic structures of the party and of the State led to numerous changes of plans, the consequences being reflected in massive economic losses due to the stock production, poor quality of the products,

¹ John Michael Montias, *Economic Development in Communist Romania*, Cambridge, 1967, p. 32.

² The level of investments in People's Republic of Romania increased in 1953 by more than 325% as compared to 1949 (20.4 billions lei). The main three branches which recorded growth were: oil industry, ferrous metallurgy and cement industry (Central Historical National Archives, Central Committee fund of the Romanian Communist Party, Chancellery, file no. 31/1954, l. 26).

low productivity of the workers whose lack of material incentive and lack of training created a vicious mechanism which blocked the socialist economy from the first part of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej regime.

Moreover, the beginning of the 50s is characterised by the euphoria of large buildings; scores of huge yards are opened, without taking into account financing possibilities for their achievement and the lack of equipment will soon lead to the stop of works. After 1953, the difficulties encountered forced the authorities to become more realistic and to orient the investments towards the branches which had a solid base of raw materials in country. The front of constructions is narrowed down, the number of large new yards is reduced and investments concentrate, first and foremost, on finishing the already opened yards. Also, the proper attention is paid to the investments in the branches which ensured the production for export.³

The passage to another form of economic policy begins to be felt ever since 1953. Whether it was a coincidence or not, it is now that the first negotiations begin for the dissolution of SovRoms, and Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej makes the first political statements regarding some new relationships between the countries of the block and the Soviet Union. The passage to a new economic policy had been heatedly debated in the Political Office on August 3, 1953, when Miron Constantinescu admitted the serious mistakes they had made: “indeed, C.S.P. [State Committee for Planning] and, first of all, me, as I am responsible for the activity of C.S.P., we played a great part in the mistakes of the economic policy. C.S.P. erred in its proposals regarding the proportions between the investments in heavy industry and the investments in consumer goods industry, in its proposals regarding the proportions between investments and the internal revenue. Also, C.S.P. was mistaken in the planning activity, its attitude being often unprincipled with regard to the different proposals made by several ministries, and often resorting to compromise solutions. The control over the enforcement of the plan was insufficient; it lacked continuity and, sometimes, competence.”⁴

In the same meeting of the Political Office, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej emphasised the mistakes that had been made and proposed measures: “in this criticism of our mistakes, we must underline that, first of all, the volume of the investments, in relation to the national income, was much and unjustifiably pumped up, as the conditions of our economic development did not ask for such an effort, as there is the Soviet Union, and there are the popular democratic countries, with whom we maintain strong relations of mutual help. Secondly, we must show that this inflated volume of the investments was unjustly distributed to the branches of the national economy, thus causing the disproportionate, unscientific development of the heavy industry, of the automotive industry particularly. The other sectors benefitted from a series of achievements, but below what could and what should have been achieved if the economy had been guided towards the

³ Central Historical National Archives, Central Committee fund of the Romanian Communist Party, Chancellery, file no. 31/1954, l. 28.

⁴ *Idem*, file no 43/1953, l. 4.

proportional development of its branches. Also, the achievements of the other sectors were flawed for almost all the attention was focused on the heavy industry. Agriculture was neglected, although it is very important even for the development of industry itself and so were the millions of individual peasants' households which hold an important share in providing supplied to people and industry [...]. Thirdly, what aggravated even more the situation of the economy were the defence duties which grew incessantly, engaging large parts of the national budget in a non-productive sector, without taking into consideration the power of the national economy. Should we had not taken measures on time, we could have run into extremely dangerous economic phenomena. Our duty is now to continue to ensure the development of heavy industry, which will hold the leading position in relation to the other sectors, but allotting to it a percentage of investments in line with the real possibilities of the economy and to ensure a normal, gradual growth rhythm of this sector [...] Essentially, we must apply to the economic policy the measures characteristic of N.E.P.”⁵

Approaching this segment, Gheorghiu-Dej was certain that one could already speak of a new economic policy: “therefore, can we speak of a new course of our economic policy? Of course we can. How must we understand this new course? With the meaning of mending our economic policy, correcting investments by means of measures able to orient our activity towards a proportionate development of all the economic branches, focusing - that is, our financial, material means, our staff - on the agriculture, in order to increase the agricultural production.”⁶

Among the first results of this new policy was the appointment in May 1954 as Vice-Presidents of C.S.P. of the best specialists of the regime: Al. Bârlădeanu, former Minister of Foreign Trade, Gh. Gaston-Marin, former Minister of Electric Power Constantin Atanasiu, Emil Miteșcu, Bucur Șchiopu, Roman Moldovan, Serghei Bulgacov, Ion Velea, Cornel Mănescu, Marin Bercovici. In December 1955, Alexandru Bârlădeanu was appointed President of C.S.P. and since May 1956, Gh. Gaston-Marin⁷, intelligent of the mechanisms of planned economy, was the President of C.S.P. for almost ten years.

⁵ *Ibidem*, l. 5.

⁶ *Ibidem*, l. 50

⁷ Born in 1918, in Pădureni, Arad County, Gheorghe Gaston Marin studied between 1929 and 1937 at Petroșani Public High School; between 1937 and 1938 he studied Mathematics and Physics in Sorbonne; 1938-1940 he graduated the Polytechnic Institute of Grenoble, being awarded the diploma of electrical engineer; 1940-1944 assistant at Grenoble Polytechnics. He spoke six languages: Romanian, Hungarian, French, English, Russian and German. He occupied several positions: 1945-1948 Councillor at the Ministers' Council Presidency; 1948-1949 Secretary General and Deputy Minister at the Minister of National Economy; 1949-1954 Minister of Electric Power and Electrotechnical Industry; 1954-1965 President of C.S.P.; 1962-1969 Vice-President of the Ministers' Council; 1969-1982 President of the State Committee on Prices (Florica Dobre (coordinator), *Members of the Central Committee, Romanian Communist Party. (1945 – 1989). Dictionary*, Bucharest, Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 2004, p. 367).

These changes, both in terms of the people and of the working conception, led to the revival of the economy, to its equilibration and to the increase of the share of industry in the gross domestic product. Practically, the next decade - 1953-1963 - was marked, notwithstanding the contrary opinions of several current researchers, by a real and massive economic growth, quantitatively⁸, but mostly qualitatively, growth based on the internal resources of the country, on the modernisation of agriculture and on the creation of a new industry, based on the newest technologies bought for large sums of money from the Occident - from the Northern countries for the wood industry, from U.S.A., German Federal Republic, France and Great Britain for the chemical industry and ferrous metallurgy, from Italy and Austria for the light and food industry⁹.

The Polish model of contracting long-term credits in the Occident for the modernisation of their own industry represented, from 1963 on, the only solution for the leaders from Bucharest for maintaining the rhythm of the industrial growth of investments in this economic branch. The First Secretary of the Romanian

⁸ For instance, between 1960 and 1962, the industrial production grew by 55%, the annual growth rhythm being of 15.8% as compared to the predicted 13%. The most important growths were achieved in the basic branches: ferrous metallurgy, automotive, chemical industry. 62 enterprises and over 120 sections were put into service and many other existing enterprises were extended, reequipped and modernised, (Central Historical National Archives, Central Committee fund of the Romanian Communist Party, Chancellery, file no. 22/1962, l. 5).

⁹ What we should notice is that, after starting to buy from the West certain industrial equipments of the latest generation, in several cases, promptly signalled by the Security, these were deteriorated by the Romanian workers. In an informative note of February 3, 1961, addressed to Al. Drăghici, it was related that on January 11, 1961, the West-German specialist, Peuker Wilhelm, who performed several works in the plastics factories of Bucharest and Orăștie, accompanied by the West-German specialists Eisenbart Otto and Schneiders Helmut from U.F.S. Săvinești and one source of the security bodies, made the following statement: "I am convinced that the equipment delivered from the German Federal Republic to the plastics enterprises will not last for more than 6 months due to the lack of interest manifested by the Romanian workers towards such equipment. For instance, in Orăștie, highly technical equipment, sent from the German Federal Republic, is completely rusted. It had been delivered from the German Federal Republic in a special package, used for sea transport, but upon arrival in Orăștie, the workers unloaded it in the forest near the factory, stole the original package and covered it with inappropriate tarpaulin, fact which caused serious damage. Thus, all the power panels rusted. The bulbs and the resistors were stolen. We would never have thought that in a country like Romania, where workers should take care of the machines as they do of their own belongings, people could manifest such a total lack of interest. They simply trifle with equipment which represents the expression of the latest technique, even in Western countries. When we brought these facts to the notice of the management of Orăștie factory, we could see the indifference on their faces. All of these make me think that the causes should be sought precisely in the current system of Romania (*White Book of the Security*, vol. III, document no. 97, p. 281)

Workers' Party, Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej was expressing, realistically enough, the new situation of Romania and the need for change in the development strategy:

"For maintaining our own rhythm and for not resorting, any more, solely to the national income, we will have to resort to credits. We will have to see to the raising of the standard of living as well, but we cannot do this right now. We will not achieve what we have proposed, but we will achieve the economic development rhythm, we will create a strong basis for raising the standard of living as well. Raising the standard of living will constitute the object of a special study. Let us consider things realistically. We cannot reduce the rhythm, said the First Secretary of Romanian Workers' Party, but then, we must give up the position we had so far [December 1963] and which I believe was a just one. For we have said: we shall live up to our means. We will search, in every way, to use our own means, to be indebted to no one, to gain fame on the market. This is what they say nowadays on the market about us: Romanians do not really want credits.

We should not go and beg for credits, but use the current state of facts. [...] Therefore, let us not deceive people's trust. We must not focus our means on toys, but on things to be actually felt by workers when we think of the standard of living. We should act so that people feel it. We should put it on the carpet.

Of course, I am taking into consideration that all of these must be done in connection with work productivity, we will not treat them sentimentally, but according to the economic rules and laws. [...] So, if we want to maintain a high growth rhythm of the production forces, we must resort to long-term credits. We definitely must do it. I am speaking of credits for investment goods, not for sports encouragement, not for out and home trips, but for those investment goods which create export goods to pay our obligations."

Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej was suggesting, given the difficult situation of CMEA, that an undeclared but more and more fierce competition was led between the popular democratic countries, especially in the field of industrial development: "In this regard, we have talked to our companions about this travel we have made, we had time, we talked before and after, and it feels like something is telling us: you are late, hurry up."

The conclusion of the leader of the Romanian Workers' Party was final and was founded on a series of contacts which the Romanian authorities had especially with the American officials. "We must make a frame design, Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej was claiming, we must establish a program which would be comprised in the future plan, an all-encompassing program related to this policy. I am not bowing to the dollar, however, we will have to evaluate things on the long run and it is possible to make around one billion dollars, over one billion dollars yearly for several countries which can offer modern equipment to us, this would be very good. Our import balance amounts to 120 million dollars per year."¹⁰

¹⁰ Central Historical National Archives, Central Committee fund of the Romanian Communist Party, Chancellery, file no. 59/1963, leaves 14-16.

All these statements must be related to a certain fact - in August 1963, Mircea Malița, Deputy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania, had a series of meetings and discussions with officials from the State Department regarding the economic relations between Romania and U.S.A.

The Romanian representative carried five talks of major interest with the American Officials from the State Department and from various economic agencies of the American government. Essentially, M. Malița talked about what was of interest to the Romanian State - equipment, machines, patents, licences. The fields of interest for a tight collaboration between the two countries were: chemistry, petrol, cellulose, paper, rubber, radio and television.

The fact that the Romanian delegate was received with a lot of interest at different levels of the American administration proves that the leaders from Washington were looking for an improvement of the relationships with some of the countries of the Communist block. In fact, Mircea Malița made certain proposals, immediately accepted by the American authorities regarding the visit of a large delegation of the Romanian government - delegation led by Gh. Gaston Marin, President of C.S.P. - which was illustrating the strong tendency of strengthening economic relationships.¹¹

Based on the results of the travel to U.S.A. carried out by the Deputy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Malița, and given his reception, subsequently, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cornel Mănescu, First Secretary of the Romanian Workers' Party, in one of the meetings of the Political Office in the winter of 1963, was arriving to the conclusion that: "at present, there is an extremely favourable combination of circumstances. If we analyse the phenomena that have occurred in the world, especially in the developed countries, we will notice a slowdown in the investments rate growth, a hindrance, a decrease, a lack of growth, the market has become narrower and narrower. This is why everyone wants us. They even started to calculate our investment goods themselves. And this, because they have liquid assets. The capital is a devil of a business. This is why Marx and Engels paid so much attention to it. It must circulate, it must bear fruit. Of course, capitalist countries do not feel at ease to give this capital to socialist countries, to communist countries, but they have no choice. They think: where should I send it, should I throw it in Africa, in Asia, there is some sort of bottomless sack there, something like an abstractionist painter. Where should they put it? For what it's worth, the Communists have some sort of stability. And here some might not get any.

I am not saying that we will surely get it, but big capitalist banks tend to contact us. And we need banking capital.

Therefore, the Political Office should allow our economists to prepare a draft program for the investments to be later included in the five-year plan, investment goods for the chemical industry, for the wood industry, for agriculture. And to

¹¹ Mioara Anton, *Ieșirea din cerc. Politica Externă a regimului Gheorghiu-Dej (Leaving the Circle. The Foreign Policy of Gheorghiu-Dej Regime)*, National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, Bucharest, 2007, p. 163.

export from these products not only what we want. Let's not do what Hrușcirov said regarding our corn export: why do you export corn and not pork? But corn can be sold anywhere. There are food industry products which interest the French, the English, the Belgians [...]. What is interesting is that developed capitalist countries are willing to grant credit to us and they do not impose any political conditions.”

Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej's successor, Nicolae Ceaușescu continued and amplified this economic strategy. In the 70s, the resort to the financial resources of Western banks acquired major proportions. The impact on the external equilibrium of the country on average and long term was an unhappy one. In the international context of the time, marked by two oil crisis, the current account of Romania deteriorated greatly, especially in 1978 (-759 mil. dollars), reaching in 1980 a deficit of 2,420 mil. dollars. Although both import and export recorded considerable growths between 1976 and 1980, the differences between import and export became greater and greater, to the latter's detriment. The government from Bucharest proceeded to large imports of machines, modern equipments and tools, manufactured in the Occident, supported with foreign credits, from BIRD or from other Western banks. Therefore, the external debt grew rapidly.¹²

The greatest part of the credit for development were contracted on average and long term, however, part of the credits contracted between 1976 and 1978 became due in 1980-1981. Due to the large sums that had to be paid to the Western creditors, which could not be met with the current returns from the Romanian exports, the Romanian State, reached in the spring of 1981 payment delays in amount of 1,143 million USD.

Apart from these delays in the payment of credits, the “oil invoice” which had to be paid by Romania for the crude oil imported at a price raised by the oil crisis of 1979 and contracting short-term credits (which raised from 4% to 22% in 1980), all of these contributed to what the economists called “the foreign debt crisis”. The triggering factor was linked to the foreign context as well: Poland, an important country of the Communist block, ceases payments in 1980. The result was not waited for too long: Western banks became very cautious in their relationship with the countries of the CMEA, practically cutting their access to financing.

Although, the leaders of Romania were advised to discuss with all the Western creditors regarding the re-scheduling of the foreign debt, justly in order to prevent a possible insolvency, Nicolae Ceaușescu refused or postponed any dialogue on this topic. The inevitable happened in the autumn of 1981, and the Romanian State had to begin negotiations with FMI and with the crediting Western banks.

¹² N.N. Constantinescu (coordinator), *Istoria economică a României (Economic History of Romania). 1939-1989*, vol. II, Economic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2000, p. 375. [Chapter 12 prepared by Gheorghe Stroe, *Băncile, circulația monetară și creditul în perioada 1948-1989 (Banks, Currency and Credit between 1948 and 1989)*].

Unfortunately, the call for urgently paying all the short-term debts (perceived as an interference with the internal affairs) annoyed Nicolae Ceaușescu who decided that Romania will fully pay its foreign debt. The result was positive in terms of the decrease of the external debt and of Romania's credibility on the financial markets, but for the Romanian economy this decision was a deathblow. The importation of raw materials and modern technologies especially was reduced drastically, leading to a decrease in the quality of industrial products, as well as to a flawed operation of most of the Romanian enterprises. These were joined by the abrupt decrease in the standard of living, as many of the consumer goods that should have been available on the internal market were exported.

In order to shorten the period for the payment of the external debt, Nicolae Ceaușescu decided to sell on the Western market 80 tons of gold from the Treasury of the Romanian National Bank. This amount was to be redeemed after the liquidation of the external debt. In the first part of the year 1987, the gold was already sold and more than a billion USD were received, immediately used for the payment of the external credits, to which 7-11% interests were paid.

Although in the following years the currency reserve could have ensured the redemption of the sold gold, until December 1989 only 21 tons of the sold gold were redeemed.

Gheorghe Stroe, former Director of the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade and Vice-President of C.S.P. at that time, was qualifying the act of selling the gold from the treasury as an "error", such measures being used only in case of calamities or war. This mistake was doubled, in the opinion of the same economist, by the second decision through which the sold gold was only partially redeemed.

In 1987-1988, extravagant amounts were paid in the account of the foreign debt: 356 millions USD in 1987, 4,252 millions USD in 1988 and 1,790 millions USD in 1989.

On March 31, 1989, the foreign debt was fully reimbursed. At the end of 1989, the bank accounts of Romania had liquid assets in sum of 1.8 billion USD and had to receive debts in amount of 2.9 billion USD from several developing countries. In December 1989, Romania had no foreign debts.

Was this of any good to us? Unfortunately not.

The anticipated payment of the entire foreign debt was one of the least inspired economic decisions before December 1989. It was, according to Adrian Vasilescu, a breach of the banking rules, drastically sanctioned by the representatives of the international financial market.

For 15 years Romania was removed from the international circuit of capital. The consequences of this financial quarantine were felt for a long time and the economy of Romania became even more closed than it had been so far. The "debtor's euphoria" of the 70s was followed by the fever of the anticipated payment of all the foreign debts by desperate means, including even massive sales of food products and gold. This weakened both the economy and the population.

And what ensued was by no means encouraging. The reserve gathered in 1989 of 1.8 billion dollars was exhausted in only several months in 1990 when a

new reversal occurred in the commercial balance of Romania: exports decreased and imports grew massively. And the exchange store was left almost empty again. In the summer of 1992, Romania was again on the brink of insolvency.¹³

To sum up, we believe that the two moments presented above (the ones from August 1953 and December 1963) represent real marks of the change in the economic strategy of Romania after eliminating the Muscovite wing of the Romanian Workers' Party. It is clear that the economic program of Romania after 1965 did not undergo changes in substance, but in amplitude only. The lack of equilibrium between investments, short-term debts, the development of industries based on raw materials imported at extravagant prices, the decision to fully pay the foreign debt in a record time, the drastic reduction of the people's consumption, etc. are the "merits" of Nicolae Ceaușescu's and of his team of technocrats.

The historical analysis of the economic policy of the Communist regime of 1948-1989, given the complicated situations Romania is facing today, can contribute to the solution of certain current problems of this country. History remains *Magistra Vitae*.

¹³ Adrian Vasilescu, *Valuta din „cămara” Băncii Naționale (The Currency from the “Storehouse” of the National Bank)* (V), in "Ziarul Financiar" (Financial Newspaper), year XI, no. 2668/23.06.2009.

George ENACHE*

ROMANIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL TERROR MOVEMENTS IN THE 1970s-1980s

-Abstract-

The article offers a new analysis of the data regarding the connections between the former organization, the Securitate, and the international terror movements, especially the group led by the famous Carlos the "Jackal". These connections are analysed in the context of the international relations from the last period of the Cold War and of the internal and external politics carried by the regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu.

From a documentary perspective, our study reveals that the amount of certain information regarding the relations of the Communist Romania with the international terror movements is extremely scarce. Mostly, we have purely propagandistic works or works promoting rumours lacking any solid proof. Nevertheless, based on our actual documentary situation and on an analysis of the historical context, historical logic allows us to state that, undoubtedly, the Securitate deployed terrorist acts, targeting especially the Romanian emigrants that opposed Communism. Most of these acts were carried by agents of the Securitate and not by members of the international terror movements. The certain proofs regarding the collaboration between the Romanian secret services and the terror movements are very scarce and, undoubtedly, this alleged collaboration was highlighted by an external propaganda aiming at compromising Nicolae Ceaușescu, who, until the middle of the 80s, enjoyed a positive image in the Western World.

Keywords: Romania, Communism, the Securitate, terror movements, Carlos the „Jackal”, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Ion Mihai Pacepa

RELAȚIILE ROMÂNIEI CU MIȘCAREA TERORISTĂ INTERNAȚIONALĂ ÎN ANII '70-'80

-Rezumat-

Scopul articolului este de a reevalua informația existentă în ceea ce privește legăturile stabilite între fosta Securitate și organizațiile teroriste internaționale, în special gruparea condusă de cunoscutul Carlos „Șacalul” și analiza acestor contacte în contextul relațiilor internaționale din perioada de sfârșit a Războiului Rece și al politicii interne și externe dusă de regimul Nicolae Ceaușescu.

* "Dunărea de Jos" University, Galați, geo.enache@gmail.com.

Din punct de vedere documentar, analiza noastră relevă cantitatea extrem de redusă de informație sigură în ceea ce privește problema relațiilor României comuniste cu mișcarea teroristă, locul fiind ocupat de multe lucrări cu caracter pur propagandistic sau care vehiculează legende nedemonstrate. În stadiul actual de documentare, pe baza analizei contextului istoric și al urmării logicii istorice, se poate afirma fără îndoială că Securitatea a întreprins acțiuni cu caracter terorist, ținta fiind în special emigrația română anticomunistă. Majoritatea acestor acțiuni au fost realizate de agenți ai Securității și mai puțin de reprezentanți ai unor grupări teroriste internaționale. Dovezile sigure despre colaborarea dintre serviciile secrete românești și organizațiile teroriste sunt foarte puține și, în mod sigur, aceasta colaborare a fost exagerată de o propagandă externă interesată să compromită pe Nicolae Ceaușescu, care, până la jumătatea anilor 80, beneficiase de o imagine favorabilă în Occident.

Cuvinte cheie: România, comunism, Securitate, organizație teroristă, Carlos „Șacalul”, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Ion Mihai Pacepa

As it is known, the invasion of Iraq, the landing and the death sentence of Saddam Hussein happened because the United States told the world that it has “reliable information” that the Iraqi dictator was producing huge amounts of mass destruction weapons, which will be used for terrorist goals because of the “proven” ties with Al Qaeda. After Iraq was “liberated”, no trace of weapons of mass destruction was found out. The legitimate questions raised by public opinion were replicated with the argument that the invasion was anyway necessary because Saddam Hussein was a dictator who ought to be eliminated for the good of his people.

Clearly, Saddam Hussein was a bloody dictator and his downfall, even produced in conditions that we know, was a relief for the Iraqi people but for a historian concerned to reconstruct the facts as they were, there are two different things. The first thing is very clear that Saddam Hussein did not possess in the last years of his reign weapons of mass destruction. The second fact is that the United States has been very effective in using the theme of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction to totally discredit, in terms of propaganda, the Iraqi regime.

From this case, the legitimate but impossible to answer question arises: how much is reality and how much propaganda is in the contemporary terrorist phenomenon? The only clear answer is that terrorism has become a world obsession, which one can use very effectively. Hence the sometimes contrasting answers that people give when they relate to terrorism. Some see the octopus of conspiracy everywhere; others, on the contrary, launch charges against governments for using terrorism as a pretext to impose unprecedented control over humanity and to achieve obscure political goals. Obviously, not necessarily

obscure interests animate some of the actions, but pure ignorance of the intentions of others, which often results in unfortunate gesture.

Finally, the person concerned to find “the truth” encounters the difficulties in finding information sources. Terrorists do not really leave any traces while the states take their work in this field in secret. When finally there are some documents, it is hard to say whether they reflect the facts or are part of a stock manipulation plan. Often, the historian of contemporary terrorist phenomenon bases his research on oral testimony, on his own intuitions, very hard to prove and easy to refute, and that’s why opinions are so diverse and divergent.

We started from Saddam Hussein’s case because is closer in many respects to that of the Romanian Communist dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu. The latter, for nearly two decades, was the spoiled child of the West, who considered him a “dissident” in the Soviet camp, hoping for a long time that it will produce a first hole in it. For this reason, the Ceaușescu regime has received financial and logistical support, and his person has acknowledged, through symbolic gestures, wide international recognition.

The lack of any significant changes in his country, the onset in Eastern Europe of large protest movements, the emergence of a true dialogue partner in the person of Michael Gorbachev were responsible for the West gradually losing interest in the Romanian dictator who, by 1987, was already isolated internationally.

On the one hand, Ceaușescu hated Gorbachev’s “perestroika”, and he was not however a friend of Moscow, from which he bounded noisily in 1968, during the Prague Spring. On the other hand, the American pressure regarding human rights, “softer” during the presidency of Jimmy Carter and more radical at the time of Ronald Reagan, made him give up the last “privilege” that he still possessed from the U.S., i.e. the most-favored nation clause. In the last years of his reign, Romania has remained almost completely isolated internationally, with borders closed, in a state of crazy and impossible autarchy that did nothing but lead to rapid and dramatic decline in living standards, the collapse of the economy, facts that could not be compensated with an increase in the dementia control over society.

All these things were due to Ceaușescu’s obsession to be considered a world-class leader and his small Romania a state “with a distinct voice in the international system.” Ceaușescu did not like the Soviets and tried posting them but at the same time he hated the Western powers. He thought he was clever enough to play a game in which, as it ultimately turned out, Romania had the most to suffer.

Therefore, no one can deny the unfortunate role that Ceaușescu played in Romania’s history¹. The question is of concrete facts. What actually did and did not do Ceaușescu? How he really was and what were his intentions? One possible

¹ In Romania comprehensive studies regarding the rule of Ceaușescu are still wanted. In the Western world, the following works convey good information regarding Nicolae Ceaușescu and his politics: Thomas Kunze, *Nicolae Ceausescu. Eine Biographie* (Berlin, Ch. Links Verlag, 2000); Vladimir Tismăneanu, *Stalinism for All Seasons. A Political History of Romanian Communism* (University of California Press, 2003).

answer was given to the West and to the Romanians who listened to Radio Free Europe by the book "Red Horizons", published in 1987². It was signed by one of the most illustrious defectors from the communist camp: Ion Mihai Pacepa, former Deputy Head of the Foreign Intelligence of communist Romania.

After a long highly profitable career in Romanian espionage on 23 July 1978 he left Romania with destination West Germany, knocking the door of the American Embassy in Bonn to seek political asylum. With the agreement of President Carter, Pacepa was transported to the United States, where he received political asylum³.

The one who monitors the facts can see that the West's first shock sprang due more from the surprise that someone of such high rank in a Communist regime crossed the other side. The real storm was in Bucharest, where leaders had obviously to dramatically rethink the whole strategy of Romanian intelligence, the losses by withdrawing many "residents" in the West being very high⁴.

The reasons why Pacepa defected are still unclear. According to his own testimony, after he took an active part in all sorts of crimes of the regime, he had a thrill of conscience and "chose freedom", as the expression went at the time.⁵ The Securitate internal investigation that followed the flight of Pacepa showed serious problems in the organization of the work of the Foreign Intelligence Directorate and a high degree of corruption. The investigation documents, even when produced by the communist political police seeking to stigmatize Pacepa are, however, clear in showing that Pacepa, who had wide powers in economic espionage and negotiation of contracts with foreign business of the Romanian state⁶, used his position to raise a huge fortune for a state like communist Romania. In addition, the growing problems caused by the poor organization work of Romanian intelligence had made his position, as well as of his boss, Nicolae Doicaru, become extremely

² Ion Mihai Pacepa, *Red horizons: Chronicles of a Communist spy chief* (Washington D.C. and New York, Regnery Gateway, 1987). We used the first romanian translation: Ion Mihai Pacepa, *Orizonturi roșii. Memoriile unui șef al spionajului comunist*, trans. Radu G. Toader (New York, Editura ziarului „Universul”, 1988).

³ Mihai Pelin, *Culisele spionajului românesc (D.I.E. - 1955-1980)* (București, Editura Evenimentul Românesc, 1997), 239-247.

⁴ Liviu Țăranu, „Câteva considerații pe marginea defecțiunii generalului Ion Mihai Pacepa”, in Cosmin Budeancă, Florentin Olteanu (editors), *Stat și viață privată în regimurile comuniste* (Iași, Editura Polirom, 2009), 369-385.

⁵ There is a scene in *Red Horizons* absolutely ridiculous which describes how the hardened Securitate man during the day turns praying before Christ every night! The whole scene, as described, has nothing to do with the current spiritual traditions of Romania and it is most likely a fictional construction of a Westerner with some theological knowledge (probably of Catholic confession).

⁶ With no confidence in the institutions empowered to negotiate foreign contracts, Ceaușescu gave broad powers in this area to various structures of the Securitate, which generated a huge corruption phenomenon in the information-repressive structures. See Pelin, 1997, 238, 247-253, 299-301.

vulnerable⁷. To escape the forthcoming disgrace, Pacepa preferred to flee to the West.

Finally, the question of whether Pacepa was not recruited as American spy was asked. Some documents affirm that in 1978, he was already for 15 years an American spy⁸. Knowing whether or not Pacepa was an American spy would help clarify many issues.

The echoes of Pacepa's fleeing were off pretty quickly. His name returned somewhat in attention in 1984, when a French magazine published under his signature a series of articles dealing with various economic espionage actions of Romanian Securitate of his field of competence, many of them being pure fantasy⁹.

Again follows a long period of silence, before the "bomb" called "The Red Horizons" fell in 1987, of which we must say from the outset that it looks as a simple and pure propaganda construct of U.S. intelligence, beginning the final assault against the Romanian dictator, who was stubbornly opposed to the changes taking place in Europe. Obviously, the book starts from certain facts and concrete gestures, there are some pieces of truth, but everything is so mixed with fancy things and everything is so distorted that for a historian interested in the facts actually occurring, it is unusable.

Instead, as an instrument of propaganda, it turned out great. The text is a typical product of the doctrine of Ronald Reagan, who announced "The Freedom Crusade" and the starting of an uncompromising struggle against the "evil empire" (USSR and its satellites) and against an extremely harmful by-product of it: terrorism¹⁰.

As it is known, terrorism had acknowledged a resurgence in the 70s through the actions of European extremist groups, recruited especially from among the far left groups and through the actions of various groups involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is beyond doubt that the communist bloc states have supported leftist extremists and the various Arab terrorist groups, the phenomenon acknowledging in the early 80s a significant increase. But in President Reagan's propaganda, the terrorist phenomenon takes apocalyptic dimensions, becoming a major threat to the world. He dramatically changed the policy of his Democrat predecessor, Jimmy Carter, to try through diplomacy, based on the Helsinki Accords of 1975, to persuade the communist states to implement human rights. Carter was ready to recognize Yasser Arafat and the PLO as dialogue partners and to conclude a lasting peace in the Middle East. For Reagan, there was no

⁷ Ibid., 237-238.

⁸ Ibid., 337.

⁹ Ibid., 254-255.

¹⁰ See Gil Troy, *The Reagan Revolution. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2009); Paul Kengor, *The Crusader. Ronald Reagan and the Fall of Communism* (HarperCollins, 2006); David C. Mills, *The First War on Terrorism. Counter-Terrorism Policy during the Reagan Administration* (Rowman&Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003); Robert M. Collins, *Transforming America: Politics and Culture in the Reagan Years* (Columbia University Press, 2007).

compromise with the Communists and he restored Arafat to the condition of a terrorist.

All these things are seen in full in “Red Horizons”. First, one can notice the criticism and irony against President Carter, attributed to Ceaușescu, but actually meant to show how wrong President Reagan’s predecessor was in his foreign policy. Second, it built a portrait of the communist dictator of Romania consisting of all the negative stereotypes that American experts had on hand.

First, Ceaușescu’s image constructed in the West, namely the dissident in the communist bloc had to be demolished. The “Red Horizons” is trying to show that, in fact, Ceaușescu has always been a faithful servant of Moscow, and his anti-Soviet attitude was intended only to mislead¹¹. Then Ceaușescu and Romania become the center of a vast terrorist conspiracy, which includes hurry-scurry links with the PLO, Libya and Muammar Ghadaffi and the famous Carlos the “Jackal”, another myth or scare of the Cold War¹².

Another level of discourse of “Red Horizons” consists of Ceaușescu’s “wickedness” of economic spying of the US, which was likely to arouse indignation of average American¹³. Also, a chapter is devoted to the “persecution” of the Hungarian minority in Romania¹⁴. The problem of Hungarians in Romania has played an important role in the propaganda which preceded the overthrow of the Ceaușescu regime in December 1989. It began in the late `70s, when Hungarian emigration in the West began a violent campaign against Romania, accusing it of violating the rights of the important Hungarian minority (1.5 million Hungarians living in Romania)¹⁵. Gradually, these demarches were joined by the Hungarian Communist State although Romania and Hungary were virtually on the same side in the communist camp. Historical divergences have passed even the “fraternal” Soviet surveillance, and the two neighbors countered each other, sometimes violently, for almost a decade. If in his last years Ceaușescu chose to isolate and virtually close Romania, the Hungarian leaders, on the contrary, in the context of

¹¹ Pacea, 1988, 45-46.

¹² Ibid., 19-44, 74-97. In fact, Ceaușescu had closed ties with the Arab world for economic reasons. The area was less developed enough to become a good market for Romanian industrial products that were often rejected by the Western markets and, in addition, from there Ceaușescu hoped to take the oil needed by the too large Romanian petrochemical industry. With links to the Arab world, including the PLO, Ceaușescu maintained good relations with Israel, at least for the fact that from there flew a lot of money from the sale of Romanian Jews. This was responsible for the fact that Ceaușescu had played an important role in the Israeli-Palestinian mediation attempts during President Carter. Obviously, the facts were distorted by communist propaganda and the opportunity was seized by Ceaușescu to imagine again a great world leader. In contrast, “Red Horizons” is doing everything to deem Ceaușescu and the entire program at Camp David ridiculous.

¹³ Ibid., 45-58, 223-232.

¹⁴ Ibid., 118-119.

¹⁵ A short history of romanian-hungarian relationships during communist era at Dennis Deletant, *Ceaușescu și Securitatea. Constrângere și disidență în România anilor 1965-1989*, traducere de Georgeta Ciocâltea (București, Editura Humanitas, 1998), 116-153.

Perestroika, undertook a slow rapprochement with the West, culminating in 1989 with the opening of borders to East Germans and the opening of a Radio Free Europe office in Budapest. Also, Hungarian leaders agreed to become part of the plan to oust the old Romanian dictator – who refused to accept the history change – from power, a plan accepted by both the US and the USSR. One of the roles of Budapest was the printing of the book “Red Horizons” in Romanian and Hungarian and its distribution in Romania, which was one of the means to cause a riot¹⁶.

In fact, all the above were designed to completely dismantle Ceaușescu’s external image and make him a lonely person. Favorite of the West, he turned into “Dracula of Carpathians.” The Romanians who suffered from hunger and cold were not interested in that. For them the image of a sordid tyrant, thirsty for power, wealthy and bloody, of Idi Amin and Bokassa’s kind, who parties over the body of his country was built.

As we argued, the book “Red Horizons” had a tremendous impact (it was read in series to Radio Free Europe) contributing to that state of mind necessary to overthrow the communist dictator but in essence it is as “true” as the story 60,000 dead during the revolution of 1989. But for some, this book is the real truth and all other documents must confirm the words in it. If, for example, a particular fact is documented by the Securitate archives, the documents are to blame.

In the book, inter alia, it is suggested that Ceaușescu, vengeful and bloodthirsty, would have asked Pacea to assassinate several opponents in exile. In this respect, Pacea was required to contact Carlos “the Jackal” to carry out the killings¹⁷.

Who pays attention to the narrative structure of “Red Horizons” will notice some oddities. First, there is no precise data. Although at first impression is that the book covers virtually the last year before Pacea’s flight, the lack of a clear time reference makes it possible to place the discussion of events that happened (or did not happen) eventually that Pacea could not have witnessed or could not know them. Back in 1978 took place innumerable events that predict many things that happened up to the 1987. This time game allows attributing General’s authority to alleged or invented facts.

¹⁶ http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ion_Mihai_Pacea (accessed on June, 10, 2011). About the presence of Budapest in the days of revolution see: Institutul Revoluției Române din Decembrie 1989, *Caietele Revoluției*, no.2 (2005), <http://www.irrd.ro/caiete/Caiete2.pdf> (accessed on June, 10, 2011). In 2005 „Jurnalul Național” published several articles dedicated to the external „conspiracies” that played a role in the overthrowing of Ceaușescu. An important role was ascribed to Budapest. The adepts of the theory of the „internal revolution”, that claim that Ceaușescu was overthrown exclusively as a result of a popular rebellion firmly responded to these articles. The position stated by „Jurnalul Național” and its criticism can be found in Marius Mioc, *Revoluția din 1989 și minciunile din „Jurnalul Național”. Mitul agențiilor străine. Mitul Securității atotputernice* (Timișoara, Editura Marineasa, 2005).

¹⁷ Pacea, 1988, 95-97, 151-152, 233-234, 247-249, 311-312.

September 11, 1978 marks the famous assassination of Bulgarian dissident Georgi Markov. Then follows the attempt to kill Pope John Paul II (May 13, 1981). Let us bring into question the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (late 1979), the Iran hostage crisis and the departing of Jimmy Carter the White House (January 1981). These are events that define a whole new geopolitical context of starting a new phase of the Cold War¹⁸, in which at least in the period 1979-1981, terrorism played (or seemed to play an important role). In this framework it is fairer to judge the alleged murder assaults and attempts of 1981 organized by the Romanian security organization in collaboration with Carlos the Jackal group and not to a state of nerves of Nicolae Ceaușescu, who then gave the orders to Pacea. Everything points to the fact that if there was some truth in the story of the terrorist activities of Securitate, they occurred after Pacea's fleeing.

Therefore, everything that relates to terrorism in the "Red Horizons" cannot be considered. But still, if we refer to other sources, can we say with certainty that Romania had ties to communist or terrorist organizations or engaged itself in state terrorism?

Works of the Cold War anticommunist propaganda insisted on the ubiquitous Soviet-bloc intelligence agencies in the "free world" and their actions against members of the exile, by acts that have been assimilated to terrorism. Among the most active services were the Soviet secret service, the Stasi, the German and Romanian security agencies¹⁹. If in the case of Soviet Union, with its world interests and power, the intelligence operations, even if not at the alleged level, were well ahead in the top of hostile actions by communist states against the "free world", other services must be considered with greater caution. In general, the actions of Eastern Europe secret services were much more limited and often were held together and coordinated by the USSR, they were often a veil of Moscow in achieving its goals. The attempt to assassinate Pope John Paul II in which the Bulgarian secret service was put forward by Moscow is one example.

The Romanian Security Directorate for Foreign Intelligence (known as DIE) was created, as all repressive institution, under the direction and control of Soviet advisers. Before 1964, when the Romanian communist leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej get going all Soviet advisers, including those in the Security, DIE's actions were monitored and supported by Moscow²⁰. In the field of espionage, for example, even the famous "Caraman" network although held by Romanian intelligence, was linked by many threads of the Soviet intelligence services²¹.

The Soviet secret services actually trained the Romanian Securitate on how to conduct an action which, in general, was equated to terrorist acts: kidnapping

¹⁸ Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, ninth edition (Pearson Longman, 2009); Martin Mc Cauley, *Russia, America and the Cold War: 1949-1991* (Longman, 2008).

¹⁹ Mihai Pelin, *Operațiunile „Melita” și „Eterul”, Istoria Europei Libere prin documente de Securitate* (București, Editura Albatros, 1999), 6-7.

²⁰ Pelin, 1997, 13.

²¹ Pierre Accoce, Daniel Pouget, *Rețeaua Caraman - Cei treisprezece români care au zguduit NATO* (București, Editura Compania, 1999).

uncomfortable enemies in the West. In fact, the first kidnapping of a Romanian exile leader was made even by the KGB. It was the priest Victor Leu, who managed to flee to the West where it created a bishopric for Romanian exiles. He was ordained a bishop under the name of Vasile, carrying out a quite intense activity on the anti-communist front. The documents are not clear, but a separation from the British agency coordinating the European activities on combating anti-Communism and an attempt to get closer to Americans caused Vasile Leu's abandonment and eventually his surrender in the Soviet sector of Austria on 16 August 1952. Later, Vasile Leu was taken to Moscow, and then to Bucharest, the KGB and the Securitate him on his work in exile²².

On 14 February 1955, the Romanian Legation in Bern (Switzerland), was occupied by a group of "anti-Communist fighters" (five in number), led by Oliviu Beldeanu. The aim was to draw attention of the free world on the situation in Romania and find in the legation archives documents showing that it was a center of espionage under Moscow. The attack, carried out with weapons, resulted in the killing of driver Aurel Șețu, accused, without proof, of actually being undercover Securitate officer. Undoubtedly, the Romanian diplomatic missions in the West were filled by officials of Security (especially of DIE), but where the concrete Șețu case is concerned, there is not the slightest evidence of this in the Securitate archives and the documents in the embassy building did not contain anything compromising to the communist regime in Romania.

According to testimonies, the attackers sought to avoid loss of life and to emphasize the symbolism of their gesture but the attack of the diplomatic mission of a state and the death of a person was enough for them to be considered terrorists and the Romanian authorities took full advantage of this by triggering a very strong propaganda campaign. Șețu was buried with national funerals and the Securitate developed the exile Legionnaires conspiracy theory, which argued that exile Legionnaires would seek to stimulate in Romania, among those who stayed home, acts of terror. Everything relied on the fact that some members of the group of attackers were supporters of Legionnaires, although Beldeanu was a member of the National Peasant Party. This theory in fact served to strengthen internal repression, to which in November other innocent victims fell prey. Finally, the Beldeanu group surrendered to Swiss authorities, who sentenced them to custodial sentences of between one and four months and four years in prison²³.

This incident only served to stimulate the interest of communist Romania for the development of activities abroad to counter anti-exile actions. One of the main objectives was considered the kidnapping of people undesirable to the regime. Given the fact that Austria had been evacuated by the troops of occupation, the attention turned to Berlin, the ideal place where in a small space the two

²² George Enache, Adrian Nicolae Petcu, *Patriarhul Justinian și Biserica Ortodoxă Română în anii 1948-1964* (Galați, Editura Partener, 2009), 185.

²³ Pelin, 1997, 13-19.

military blocs confronted. In organizing these kidnappings, the Securitate was supported by the Stasi.

The first kidnapped person was Aurel Decei. He had worked up to the taking over of the Foreign Ministry by the Communist leaders in the Romanian embassy in Ankara. Refusing to return home, Professor Decei joined the Romanian exile, supporting and collaborating actively with the Romanian National Council and Radio Free Europe. Extremely intelligent, multilingual, with links to some intelligence services, Aurel Decei managed to get crucial information about the Romanian realities and become a first-hand vector in the anticommunist propaganda.

Decei became a priority for the Securitate, which decided his kidnapping. The plan, carefully organized, was to attract Aurel Decei to East Berlin with the support of a Securitate agent, a Greek born in Romania, Gheorghe Kehayoglu, resident in West Berlin. The operation, which was fully successful, took place on 19 December 1957²⁴.

The success of this operation led the Securitate to try the capture of Oliviu Beldeanu who at the end of 1957 had been released from the Swiss prisons. Overall, the plan was the same, Kehayoglu playing again the bait role in an action that took place on 31 August 1958. The only problem of the operation was that, when cornered, Beldeanu tried to use the weapon he had on him, but he was wounded by shots of captors. After the wounds have healed, he was brought to Romania where he was sentenced to death and executed²⁵.

The third famous case is that of Traian Puiu, who became in 1954 secretary of the Legionary Movement in exile. The Communist authorities have always had a fad with the Legion, which was used as a pretext to trigger severe repressive actions but at the same time, was considered a real danger. A very determined person, good organizer, convinced anti-Communist, Traian Puiu represented a real threat to the regime. Puiu settled in 1956 in Vienna. His abduction required a more complicated action, the infiltration and the gradual formation of a circle of "friends". In 1959, during a meeting with these "friends", Traian Puiu was sedated and taken on a Romanian barge anchored in the port of Vienna, being transported later in Romania²⁶.

Puiu's kidnapping in 1959 coincides with the peak of internal repression in communist Romania and at the same time, the policy pursued by Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej of distancing from Moscow, but not from the values of communism. This policy, continued by Nicolae Ceaușescu, will have a great echo among the country's inhabitants and among those in exile, given the very deep anti-Soviet feelings of Romanians. It is believed that this was only a first step, which will eventually lead to a liberalization of the regime. Combined with the

²⁴ See Ioan Opriș, *Aurel Decei sau destinul disperării* (București, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 2004).

²⁵ Cristian Troncotă, *Istoria serviciilor secrete românești: de la Cuza la Ceaușescu* (București, Editura „Ion Cristoiu”, 1999), 461.

²⁶ <http://miscarea.net/puiu-traian.htm> (accessed on June, 11, 2011).

opening to the west of the communist regime in Romania, these actions put muted somewhat the harsh criticism of over a decade. Meanwhile, many who had been critical of the communist regime adopted a more moderate standing and were actually willing to collaboration “in the interest of the Romanian people”.

Obviously, there were people who kept firmly their anti-Communist beliefs and Radio Free Europe continued to criticize the realities of communist Romania. To offset this post, the regime initiated the operation “Melita” [The Swingle], which insisted on counter-propaganda and on actions meant to discredit the main vectors of criticism of the regime in Romania.

The effects of this operation were extremely modest, as the historian Mihai Pelin analysis which dealt in particular the Security actions against Radio Free Europe proves. Among the reasons of this failure can be counted the bureaucracy, the lack of a clear strategy, the lack of interest since DIE dealt at that time more with international economic agreements, which considerably rounded the heads of Securitate’s income. Analyzing the documents related to investigation into the case Pacepa’s defection, Mihai Pelin shows how bad the service had organized the Romanian foreign activity, while the leaders of DIE drew fantasy reports about spectacular actions and infiltrations at the highest levels²⁷.

All these problems were not so obvious when the Ceaușescu regime was well seen abroad, but after 1975 the situation started to change. The Helsinki Agreements of 1975 have regenerated the spirit of freedom in Eastern Europe, one of the major manifestations of which is the Charter 77, the principles of which were joined by Romanian intellectuals. The most important supporter of Charter 77 values was the writer Paul Goma, a former political prisoner, who had become a supporter of Ceaușescu's gesture of courage after 1968 when the latter opposed entry of the Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia²⁸.

Disappointed by Ceaușescu’s tendency to establish a regime inspired by Asian despotism, Goma will harshly criticize the Communist dictator, who would arrest him and eventually confronted with Western pressures will expel him from Romania. Goma was supported in its efforts by Monica Lovinescu, an illustrious figure of the Romanian exile, one of the voices to be heard on Radio Free Europe. In the new context created Lovinescu will be attacked and brutally beaten by two unknown individuals in front of her house in Paris in 1977. Later it was claimed, without documentary evidence, that the attackers were Palestinians employed by Ceaușescu to frighten Lovinescu, thus becoming part of Ceaușescu’s Romania legend about the links with international terrorism²⁹.

Beyond these allegations, it is clear that 1977 marks a change in the policy of the communist regime towards the Romanian exile and others who were challenging its practices. The new U.S. president, Jimmy Carter, while accepting

²⁷ Pelin, 1997, 219-222.

²⁸ Mariana Sipoș, *Destinul unui disident: Paul Goma* (București, Editura Universal Dalsi, 2005).

²⁹ <http://www.romanialibera.ro/index.php?section=articol&screen=print&id=123062&page=0&order=0&redactie=0> (accessed on June, 11, 2011).

the East-West collaboration, insisted heavily on the idea of human rights in the communist camp, which he tried to impose not by force and secret agents, but by media, by NGOs, by putting this issue high on the public agenda³⁰.

Such a kind of political action came to meet Goma, Lovinescu or the editors of Radio Free Europe's expectations. Instead, it crashed heavily on Ceaușescu, who witnessed himself faced with a wave of unprecedented public criticism. In the new context, broke out also the heavy criticism of Hungarian emigration on the Hungarian minority in Romania's lack of rights. DIE, headed by Nicolae Doicaru and Ion Mihai Pacepa, failed miserably in dealing with these phenomena³¹. If we accept that Pacepa was already CIA agent, these failures can also have another explanation than incompetence and disinterest. These failures have undoubtedly contributed to lower Pacepa's prestige and explain his escape.

Undoubtedly, from the perspective of the regime in Bucharest, a new strategy was needed, in which violent measures were not excluded. The attack against Monica Lovinescu occurred while Pacepa was still in office, but, strangely, it is not mentioned in the "Red Horizons". Instead, it presented a whole story about some more than dubious links of Ceaușescu's Romania with international terrorist organizations³².

In the years of detente between the two military blocs, many extreme leftist groups of "freedom fighters" gradually turned undertook terrorist tendencies, true "legions of desperate people" hoping through acts of terror to trigger the revolution that the Kremlin seemed to have forgotten. Increased Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the development of Arab terrorism was a real godsend for European terrorist groups, who initiated contacts with the Palestinian "brothers". As the communist bloc placed in the great majority on the Arabs behalf, while the Americans were pro-Israel, this conflict of essentially national-political character became one of ideological nature (Capitalism vs. Communism).

In these circumstances, the states of the Communist camp were "blessed" with a number of terrorist groups of extreme left, Arab or European, which could be useful, but could also represent a threat. Documents show very clearly that, indeed, these groups were given refuge within communist states, were offered logistical support, but they were closely monitored because they were composed of unpredictable and uncontrollable men, giving raise even to the fear that they may engage in terrorist attacks even within communist states³³. In general, the communist secret agencies employed significantly less than expected their services, preferring other strategies and other tools more easily coordinated and controlled.

³⁰ Jimmy Carter, *Keeping Faith. Memoirs of a President* (University of Arkansas Press, 1995).

³¹ Pelin, 1997, 226-228.

³² See above.

³³ See Richard M. Cummings, *Cold War Radio. The Dangerous History of American Broadcasting in Europe, 1950-1989* (Mc Farland&Company, Inc., Publishers, 2009), Appendix A, Kindle edition.

However, links between Communist states and detestable characters, such as Carlos the “Jackal” have been a great propaganda opportunity for the West.

In the years following Pacepa’s flight among the opponents of the Ceaușescu regime in exile a series of attacks with bombs hidden in packages, surprise attacks by unknown persons, suspicious deaths (radiation?) and alleged road accidents attempts took place. To all this is added the bombing of Radio Free Europe in Munich, which is believed to have been achieved at Securitate’s instigation. However, the instrument by which most of these things would have been produced would be Carlos “the Jackal”.

The best known and publicized events are:

In early February 1981, three parcel bombs were sent on behalf of three known members of the exile. Explosive devices were disguised as a book, *Memoirs* of Nikita Khrushchev, in Spanish. They were to detonate at the opening of the package. Shipments were not large, and were meant not for killing the victims, but leaving them with sequelae and intimidating the opposing party.

The first victim was Nicolae Penescu (1897-1982), a prominent member of the National Peasant Party, leader of the Romanian National Council in exile, who on 3 February 1981 at his home in Paris received the package that, once opened, caused neck, chest, face, and hands injuries and affected his hearing³⁴.

The second victim was the above-mentioned dissident Paul Goma (b. 1935). After expulsion from Romania, he had settled in Paris and continued to criticize harshly the Ceaușescu regime. He received the package on the same day as Nicolae Penescu, but something seemed suspicious and he called the authorities, who defused the bomb.³⁵

Finally, the third victim was Șerban Orescu (b. 1925), a member of the National Liberal Party, who went to West Germany in 1978 where he became chairman of the Democratic Club of Romanians in Germany. He received the package at his home in Cologne on February 4, 1981. The package seemed suspicious and he tried to take it out, but it exploded in his hand, injuring him.³⁶

Another case that made waves is that of Emil Georgescu. He was a member of the Communist Party of Romania and a former prosecutor and lawyer during the communist regime. He fled to Germany in 1973 and became a permanent employee of Radio Free Europe in October 1976. That same month, Emil Georgescu claimed that a car crash attempt was arranged in order to eliminate him. On 28 July 1981, at 8 am, Emil Georgescu left his apartment in Munich. In the underground garage, he was accosted by a French person who asked if he was Emil Georgescu. He began to cry out, but the unknown drew a knife and stabbed Georgescu 25 times with a short knife with a blade. Hearing the shouts, his wife

³⁴ Ștefan Bosomitu, Dan Drăghia, Andrei Muraru, ”Securitatea și atentatele cu colete-capcană împotriva lui Nicolae Penescu, Paul Goma și Șerban Orescu (3-4 februarie 1981)”, in Cosmin Budeancă, Florentin Olteanu (editors), *Stat și viață privată în regimurile comuniste* (Iași, Editura Polirom, 2009), 395.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

came down to the garage Georgescu. The assailant fled to a car with the engine running expecting him. Admitted to hospital, Emil Georgescu was able to return to the microphone Free Europe after almost a year of convalescence. On February 1, 1985 he died of cancer³⁷.

Besides Emil Georgescu, the “suspicious” deaths of several directors of the Romanian section of Radio Free Europe have been widely discussed. Thus, Preda Bunescu, director during 1963-1965, then deputy director, was found dead in his home in 1976, the official cause of death being heart attack. Other directors of the Romanian section, Noel Bernard (director between 1955-1958, 1965-1981), Michael Cismărescu (alias Radu Gorun, director between 1981-1983) and Vlad Georgescu (1983-1988) all died of cancer³⁸. In “Red Horizons” the existence of a portable radiation for generating cancer obtained from the Soviets is mentioned, nicknamed “Radu”³⁹. The same book claims that Ceaușescu had ordered Pacepa to handle the physical liquidation of Noel Bernard and Emil Georgescu⁴⁰. The two statements allowed to speak that “cancer epidemic” in the Romanian section of Radio Free Europe radio station was not random, but actually the work of “Radu”.

Finally, on 21 February 1981, a bomb exploded at the headquarters of Radio Free Europe in Munich, producing numerous property damage and affecting some members of the Czechoslovak section of Radio. The investigation that followed, the bomb was placed by a terrorist team consisting of Johannes Weinrich, of the German terrorist group “Revolutionary Celss”, a close associate of Carlos the “Jackal”, Bruno Breguet, member of the Swiss terrorist group Prima Linea, Jose Maria Larretxea member ETA and another unidentified person, also a member of ETA⁴¹. At the moment it was not know who had ordered the attack, but in the mid 80s began to circulate rumors that, in fact, it was the Securitate ordering Carlos the “Jackal” the execution of this operation.

We have no doubt that the Romanian Securitate executed terrorist actions and political assassinations. What we discuss below is not at all a negation that essentially the Romanian Securitate had a criminal character, but is an effort to clarify some things that are unproven (we might say propaganda legend) but became common places in the collective mentality. One of them is the link between Carlos the “Jackal” and Securitate.

Sadistic and cowardly terrorist, with propensity to murder defenseless people, Carlos “the Jackal” is himself a myth of the last years of the Cold War. About him thousands of books have been written, but unfortunately most of them

³⁷ Cummings, chapter „Code name Iago: The Murder Attempts on Emil Georgescu”, Kindle edition.

³⁸ Ibid., chapter „Revenge of the Chief Arhitect: Ceausescu’s War against Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty”, Kindle edition; <http://www.scrivube.com/jurnalism/EUROPA-LIBERA-Asasinate-la-com1012461112.php> (accessed on June, 12, 2011).

³⁹ Pacepa, 1988, 119.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 312.

⁴¹ Cummings, chapter “Carlos the Jackal and the Bombing of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty”, Kindle edition.

are worthless scrap history, which tries to exploit financially the story with intelligence and blood. For the first time, the link between Carlos the “Jackal” and the communist regime in Bucharest is made public by “Red Horizons”, stating that the links with Carlos and the orders to liquidate some opposition members dated already before the departure of Pacepa⁴². Again, we have no evidence that “Pacepa” (i.e. the one who wrote the book) did not invent this scenario to give credibility to rumors that have reached the ears of Western intelligence services later. The affirmations of “Pacepa” in the book are so serious that it is incomprehensible how the West did not react at all between 1978-1987. Did Pacepa keep quiet all this time? It is hard to believe.

In fact, during 1979-1984, when most of these terrorist acts were undertaken, the intelligence and public opinion in the West were quite serene and rather detached on the subject. Preda Bunescu, Noel Bernard and Radu Gorun’s deaths were at least formally considered as deaths due to natural causes⁴³. The attack against Emil Georgescu was accepted as a mafia-style settlement of accounts⁴⁴, and for the murder of another immigrant, Cornel Chiriac, by a certain Mario Groppa, the court ruled that the motive was money⁴⁵.

Attempts were made to solve this contradiction somehow. One of the most interesting solutions are in an interview which Ioana Măgură Bernard, Noel Bernard’s wife, has given in 2008 to Andrei Bădin, investigative journalist, but prone to sensationalism and various “theories of conspiracy.” He had launched with great fanfare a “professional” campaign of finding the “truth” about the crimes made among exile Romanians by the Securitate, actually a convenient way to publish several sensational articles, while the few true professionals in the same period began to analyze the facts. Asked about the situation at Radio Free Europe and the attacks staged by the Securitate, Ms. Bernard said that all “suspicious” allegations are absolutely true and in all cases was the hand of Securitate. She explains the silence and denial of these things from U.S. intelligence in that they did not want to arouse panic among the radio employees, although knowing of all crimes, thus making the game of the Securitate. Another reason was, according to Ms. Bernard that, if it admitted the murders, the U.S. authorities would have to pay large damages to families, which was not intended (!). Here’s how the scenario of “Red Horizons” was over. The interview title was “Free Europe was torpedoed by employers” and one of the conclusions was that “the American leadership did play the Securitate game”⁴⁶.

Another current of those thirsty for the sensational is the relationship leading to absurd heights between Securitate and Carlos. For them, all the early

⁴² Pacepa, 1988, 95-96.

⁴³ <http://www.jurnalul.ro/special/special/europa-libera-a-fost-torpilata-de-patroni-114815.html> (accessed on June, 12, 2011).

⁴⁴ Pelin, 1999, 161-163, 239-242.

⁴⁵ <http://www.jurnalul.ro/special/special/europa-libera-a-fost-torpilata-de-patroni-114815.html> (accessed on June, 12, 2011).

⁴⁶ Ibid.

80's attacks are the work of this group. One of the journalists who used extremely well the myths of Pacepa and Carlos in their advantage was Sorin Roșca Stănescu, who published in 1999 the three volumes entitled *The Black Book of Security*, which supposedly were written by Pacepa and were meant, based on new documents, to confirm what was said in "Red Horizons". In fact, this appearance is a mixture of pseudo-memories and diverse information arising after the partial opening of the Archives, however, better written than "Red Horizons", but has a specific purpose: the discrediting of Ion Iliescu, former President of Romania in the period 1990-1996, who emerged as the most likely winner in the 2000 presidential elections⁴⁷.

Beyond these fables, which are nevertheless successful by their flavor of cheap "noir"book, there are also serious researches on that. Thus, the last director of the Romanian section of Radio Free Europe station, Nestor Rateș, initiated a systematic research of the Securitate files devoted to "Free Europe". Together with the documents already published by Mihai Pelin (meanwhile deceased), which speaks only of compromise actions, he found a truly spectacular document, dated 18/08/1980, which includes an action plan to address Noel Bernard. In this document, among the common measures of compromising the RFE staff, it is openly discussed about taking much tougher measures for paralysis through attacks of radio activity and the use of violence against the most active contributors:

„III. In order to paralyze the radio's activity and neutralize some of its employees, we will act as follows:

1. Informative penetrations into the objective:

Attempt to reactivate former informant Manole, a technician with RFE. He may be useful for some special measures. Deadline: 30. Oct. 1980

Training collaborator Danciu from Romania, electronic engineer, in order to send him abroad. He will infiltrate RFE with the mission to destroy the radio's facilities and buildings. Deadline: 15 Feb. 81

Informant Barta Geza's reactivation (Germany), mechanic, who repairs cars for some RFE employees; his mission will be to manipulate the cars so that they may become susceptible to making accidents. Deadline: 31 Dec. 1980

2. By using informants: Riva, Protopopescu, Kraus, Barta Geza and others we will analyze the radio's buildings and facilities, its security system, its vulnerable places in order to find the appropriate means to damage and destroy the buildings and facilities by detonating explosives and committing arson. On the other hand, we will select the persons apt to perform these special actions. By Dec. 31, 1980 we will have tabled the proposals concerning the operation.

3. Identification of the employees' homes, examination of possibilities to break into them in order to place containers with explosives, letters and bogus parcels which would cause explosions. For each case there will be a special variant of action. Permanent task.

⁴⁷ Ion Mihai Pacepa, *Cartea neagră a Securității*, vol. I-III, (București, Editura Omega SRL, 1999).

4. Identification of the garages where RFE employees park their cars or have their cars repaired. The aim: placing explosives or manipulating the cars so that they may cause serious accidents. Permanent task

5. Identification of restaurants and brothels frequented by RFE employees, where we could frame a scandal during which RFE employees may get molested. Permanent task

In order to achieve our goals, new measures may be added to the present plan in the process of its implementation.

A monthly analysis by management will assess the stage of the plans implementation and the tasks to be undertaken in the future⁴⁸.

Also, the text speaks of taking radical measures in respect of Noel Bernard, the deadline for establishing the plan being March 19, 1981⁴⁹. This information, combined with death on the Romanian section of Radio Free Europe Director (December 23, 1981) have rekindled suspicions of a possible assassination by radiation, but so far there is absolutely no documents to prove the existence of such a device.

Also, the timing of the action plan drawn up in terms of organizing attacks at the Free Europe largely overlaps with the calendar of alleged attack of Carlos group in February 1981 but it should be noted that in this document, the only one issued by the Securitate speaking openly of attacks and crimes against exile, there is no reference to the involvement of Carlos in these plans, but it is preferred checked agents, directly coordinated by the Securitate, the usual way any secret service acts. There are still no documents to prove why the Securitate has changed its plan and resorted to terrorist services. Therefore, this document is not a confirmation of the relationship between Carlos and Romanian Securitate.

In the absence of evidence from the Securitate archives, historians have resorted to finding documents in other archives, such as those of the STASI and Hungarian secret service. Among the institutions dealing with the history of communism in Romania the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes has a distinct profile, its aim being to achieve not solely a simple historical vision of the communist past, but to attempt to identify and establish personal guilt, trying to prosecute based on material gathered the persons guilty of crimes during the communist years. Obviously, the actions of Securitate in the West and those responsible for these actions could not be omitted. In the research of Securitate actions related to the RFE, a valuable support has proved to be Richard Cummings, responsible for security at RFE headquarters in Munich, from autumn 1980. He had started some research on the past of RFE when he established contact with IICCR researchers, who gave him incentives to insist on the situation of the Romanian section of the radio. Finally, in 2009 he published a book called "Cold War Radio", three chapters of which are devoted to the Romanian case, plus some related consistent documentation appendices.

⁴⁸ Cummings, Appendix B, Kindle edition.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

The book is written rigorously, honestly, scientifically, trying to present the facts as shown by documents, showing the limits of the documents he uses. Concerning the Romanian case, although he often reminds allegations of “Red Horizons”, they are often mentioned under for the benefit of inventory, without being given much credibility. First, in Cummings’s narrative, it is clear that the first contact of the Security with “Carlos” took place in 1979, so after Pacea left⁵⁰. In fact, Carlos was not until 1978 set in Eastern Europe, having its headquarters between 1978 and 1985 in Budapest. Besides, it clearly results that intelligence with which Carlos worked most were STASI and Hungarian secret service⁵¹.

The contact with Carlos was revealed by Sergiu Nica, a former security officer, who in 1990 storied how in 1979 in Budapest Carlos was contacted with two major objectives. The first objective was to determine Carlos’s attitude towards Romania and persuade him not to engage in terrorist activities in Romania. The second objective was to initiate a discussion to see if it can be used for the “neutralization” of Pacea. In exchange for such a benevolent attitude, Carlos was to receive “support”, which essentially in Nica’s report, was the right of sanctuary⁵². Over time, various information and rumors led to the ascension of this support to dozens of fake passports and tons of explosives⁵³.

Also according to Nica’s testimony, between 1981 and 1982, Carlos met several times with Nicolae Pleșiță, head of the Foreign Intelligence Center, a structure that replaced DIE after the running Pacea, the discussions focusing essentially on the avoidance of terror attacks in Romania. Carlos’s visits to Romania have been relatively few and short, but he preferred, up to expulsion from Eastern Europe in 1985, to live in Budapest⁵⁴.

The first contact with Carlos was at the initiative of Tudor Postelnicu, Head of Securitate. Between the lines, can be inferred that the contact occurred because Postelnicu, who was not a great intelligence, had heard of the fame of the legendary terrorist and sent his subordinate hoping that “the Jackal” will be certainly able to go to America and liquidate Pacea⁵⁵. It seems that after the first discussion, the plan to use the “Jackal” to assassinate Pacea was abandoned, the Romanian Securitate men understanding on the real hypostasis of the terrorist – a star.

In such circumstances it is hard to believe that the Securitate would have entrusted him the mission to attack Radio Free Europe. Yet, documents provided by the Hungarian authorities in 1990 to German prosecutors investigating the case of the Munich attack leave no doubt on the fact that everything was achieved at the Romanian authorities’ instigation. The developments, as shown in these documents

⁵⁰ Cummings, chapter “Carlos the Jackal and the Bombing of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty”, Kindle edition.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

from October 1980 to the bomb detonation in February 1981, are well presented in Cummings's book, so we will not insist on them⁵⁶.

Cummings uses these materials in good faith and it is very possible that things have happened as he presents them. But, without excluding his scenario at all, we want to see if another evolution of events is possible.

First, if it is true that the Hungarians have intercepted phone conversations of Carlos with Bucharest where it was openly spoken about the attack and other murders, then this would do nothing but demonstrate that the Romanian Securitate agents were actually amateurish and the Hungarian secret services if they knew and did not take any action to prevent this happening can be considered accomplice. Then, the documents handed to the German authorities in 1990 were only transcripts. Just a year later, in a dialogue with representatives of RFE, the Hungarian authorities indicated that there was no record of any calls of the group of Carlos to be available all the bands being deleted⁵⁷. Moreover, in a document reproduced by Cummings, the Hungarians say no more and no less that the fact that they possess no evidence that terrorists led by Carlos had put the bomb at RFE⁵⁸. Even less is the involvement of Romanian Securitate documented. Even today, when discussing based on real evidence, the attack in February 1981 remains a great unknown.

However, a STASI document of 1981 shows that at a meeting of the East German and Hungarian secret services, a Hungarian officer revealed to German colleagues that the Romanian Securitate stood behind Carlos's attack on the RFE⁵⁹. May the Hungarian officer have lied? If so, why? Is there any reason for the Hungarian secret services to construct a fiction of this kind against Romania? We do not know if it was, but at that time the Hungarians had a reason: the persecuting of the Hungarian minority in Romania by the Ceaușescu regime.

We have already talked about the Hungarian exile reactions to this issue. Unlike the Romanians, where, due to the Securitate, there was a fierce antagonism between Romanians "inside" and "outside", the coordination between the Communists in Budapest and anticommunists in exile was closer than people may think. It is possible, although there is no evidence on that, certain transcripts to have been fabricated in order to criminalize Bucharest and the discussion of the Hungarian officers with STASI to be used in order to spread this information throughout the world, which would have seriously affected the prestige of Ceaușescu. Later, when the Hungarian leaders adhered to Gorbachev's perestroika, close the bonds with the West and the Hungarian secret services were actively involved in ousting Ceaușescu from power, this story was very useful to Budapest in order to be forgotten that fact that it was for years the center command of Carlos. Then in 1990, when tough inter-ethnic conflicts between the Romanian and Hungarian population took place, the offering of (possibly) fabricated transcripts

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., „Hungarian investigation”.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., Appendix E, Kindle edition.

made in the early '80s may have been a form of pressure on Romania. The closing of the subject since 1991 comes as a result of an improvement in relations between the two countries. Again, we have no proof of this, but the scenario presented is perfectly compatible with a secret service missions.

If for the attack on RFE, the Securitate collaboration with Carlos has a documentary basis, where attacks on various people are concerned, it is not supported on any serious evidence. Researching the case of trap packages of 3-4 February 1981, three researchers from IICCR, although they found it difficult to give up the "Carlos" seduction, lead the discussion to an extremely interesting issue. First, they determine the cause for which these people have received these explosive packages: they had used the Madrid conference, organized by the OSCE, during 1980-1983, to denounce the absence of human rights in Romania⁶⁰. Packages sent from an address in Madrid were a symbolic link with the conference, but were meant to suggest, and that they had been sent by the very strong Romanian legionnaires of Madrid.

In the Romanian exile, the legionnaires were often in opposition, even conflict, with the rest of the Diaspora. Even within the in the RFE there were visible differences of opinion between former Legionnaires and people of Hebrew origin, such as Bernard Noel⁶¹. This was intended to be exploited by the Securitate, as shown in the action plan of August 1980 regarding Noel Bernard. The Securitate used the Legionnaire danger both internally and externally in order to confuse and manipulate, doing even crimes that were attributed to the Legionnaires. This specific work style was used by the Securitate even after 1990. Thus, in 1991 Ioan Petru Culianu, a professor of history of religions at Chicago, and opponent of the communist regime and those in power after 1989, was mysteriously assassinated. The killer was not found, but the idea that was floated heavy was that the Legionaries had assassinated him. It is possible that this crime is the work of former Securitate members⁶². Earlier in 1990, during the miners' riots that blooded the city of Bucharest, the population was instigated against protesters in the University Square by saying that they will mount a coup and that the Guard would have raised the Legion flag in downtown Bucharest. Out of the blue, the public television began running materials on interwar Legion crimes.

In terms of radiation caused cancer, here there is, as I said, no evidence. But this idea is firmly rooted in the collective mentality of Romania. The Romanians are convinced that Ceaușescu's predecessor, Gheorghiu Dej, was irradiated by the Soviets because he had taken them out of Romania⁶³. On the other hand, some of those involved in the revolution, as General Stefan Gușă, who had refused in December 1989 the entry of Soviet troops in Romania, died shortly after galloping cancer. Also, "random" car or helicopter accidents solved many

⁶⁰ Bosomitu, 396.

⁶¹ Pelin, 1999, 217-223.

⁶² Ted Anton, *Eros, magie și asasinarea profesorului Culianu* (Iași, Editura Polirom, 2005).

⁶³ Pacea, 1999, II, 108-114.

unpleasant situations. No doubt, these methods were practiced Security before 1989.

If the Legion's danger was an "internal" theme, a product of the Securitate, the theme of foreign terrorists who helped Ceaușescu is undoubtedly an external product of those forces in the late 80's decided to end a dictatorship that Romanians could not endure and West no longer tolerated. Carlos is just the pretext for a fantastic story about Palestinian and Libyan terrorists who had fought for Ceaușescu in December 1989, but none was found.

Attempting to build an alternative story to the ones already told, it sounds like this: after Pacepa's fleeing, the DEI was completely reformed and transformed into CIE. At the head of this institution and of Securitate came new people, not very capable, but loyal to Ceaușescu. The corruption and the use of repressive apparatus to achieve personal interests continued, but that does not imply that the Securitate has not yet possess capable people and resources to achieve some objectives.

Externally, the Ceaușescu regime was facing a new wave of struggle on behalf of human rights in such criticism terms which have been inconceivable before 1975, a criticism which worsened after Jimmy Carter's coming to the White House. One of the major vectors of these critics was Radio Free Europe, against which the old "Melița" operation had had no effect. Therefore, a new operation was staged called "The Ether" [*Eterul*] which insisted on actions of counter-propaganda, sabotage and discredit⁶⁴. However, there are clear indications that, at least in the period 1979-1984, with a peak in 1981, the Securitate undertook also terrorist operations by various means, which tried to discourage the anti-Communist exile.

To compensate for the loss of prestige abroad and to be closer to U.S. President, Ceaușescu will be involved in the peace process in the Middle East, using the excellent relations that Romania had with Israel, Egypt and the PLO, the results of his interventions being real and not insignificant⁶⁵. In this context the contacting of Carlos took place, the main aim being that he would not conduct terrorist activities in Romania targeting Israeli objectives. Such an attack would have severely limited Ceaușescu's role of mediator in a peace process very important to him. The discussion about the assassination of Pacepa was only the beginning of flirtation and quickly abandoned after the Romanian side cleared for themselves the real possibilities of the terrorist. As stated above, most data lead to the idea that the RFE bomb was placed by Carlos at Securitate instigation, but there are still questions marks in this regard. In the Securitate archives, Carlos's file is one of surveillance [dosar de urmărire], his arrivals in Romania being closely

⁶⁴ Cummings, Appendix I, Kindle edition; Pelin, 1999, 203-207.

⁶⁵http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Presidency_of_Jimmy_Carter#ArabIsraeli_Conflict.2FCamp_David_Accords

monitored. This period witnesses the establishment of a counterterrorism unit (USLA)⁶⁶.

Over all, Carlos's connection to the Romanians is poor compared to those established with other communist countries, one of the strongest reasons being Romania's relations with Israel. On the other hand, Romania was eager to act apart from Moscow, although internally a neo-Stalinist regime was taking form. Because of that Brezhnev's Soviet Union would not take into account the bravados of his Bucharest's counterpart, although being disturbed. As the documents published by Cummings rightly put it, Carlos's situation was discussed after 1981 by all intelligence services in the east, except for the Romanian one⁶⁷. The terrorist will eventually be removed from the European area by Gorbachev's perestroika and the Eastern states, which, except for Romania, accepted faster or harder to pass the reforms and opening to the east, preferred to wash their hands off the legacy of Carlos and transferred it to the most hated regime then in Europe: the Ceaușescu regime.

Despite the words of Pacepa, Ceaușescu's anti-Soviet attitude was very real. During the '80s there was an "anti-KGB" unit, designed to seek Soviet spies in Romania, within USLA⁶⁸. In December 1989, a proven Soviet agent, retired General Nicolae Militaru, who briefly took command of the Romanian army, created an incident in which most of the USLA troops were destroyed⁶⁹.

Until Gorbachev's accession to power, Ceaușescu was still tolerated by the West. After 1985, the dictator's role was virtually over. Romania was internationally isolated, helplessly seeing how the two superpowers, former enemies, shook hands, through their representatives Gorbachev and Reagan. In these circumstances, the Securitate was no longer able to promote the interests of Ceaușescu, at least abroad. Therefore, after 1985, the Securitate outside operations decreased significantly, the only way to maintain the establishment being domestic terror that reaches incredible levels⁷⁰.

As we argued, in 1987, when "Red Horizons" were published, Ceaușescu was a political corpse for the West, trying to survive stubbornly when all the communist system collapsed. As it is claimed based "on sources", in 1989, at Malta, the USSR and the U.S. decided to help ousting the last dictator in Europe, who was tried, convicted and executed not for his real deeds, very serious in any case, but for 60,000 dead of the revolution and for the "terrorist" foreigners brought in to fight against their own people. Thus, in December 1989 other propaganda proved more effective than their own propaganda.

⁶⁶ This unit was created at December, 15, 1977. See Teodor Filip, *Secretele USLA* (Craiova, Editura Obiectiv).

⁶⁷ Cummings, Appendix E, Kindle edition.

⁶⁸ Bosomitu, 391.

⁶⁹ <http://www.jurnalul.ro/stiri/observator/stanculescu-despre-cazul-trosca-militaru-i-a-platit-polita-571844.html> (accessed on June, 13, 2011).

⁷⁰ Pelin, 1999, 415-429.

Above all, it remains to find out how the Securitate had organized the various external terrorist activities during the communist period. Despite different assumptions, it is doubtful that there was a specialized unit to carry out activities of kidnapping, assassination and attempts⁷¹. Now we know that the Securitate has certainly employed such acts, with or without the support of terrorists “professionals” such as the famous Carlos.

⁷¹ It was claimed that several divisions of the Securitate, such as U.M. 0544, organized terrorist acts. But things are not yet settled in this respect.

Ludmila CHICIUC*

NOTES REGARDING THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF BOGDAN PETRICEICU HASDEU

-Abstract-

The views of Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu on the methodology and philosophy of history were shaped under the influence of the advanced ideas of the European culture and philosophy. As he himself stated, he was “interested by rules, standards, totality”.

In the field of historical methodology, B.P. Hasdeu opted for a “thorough scientific method”. The successive stages that the historian must follow - data collection, partial interpretation (that is, grouping and comparing them) and building the edifice (that is, drawing the conclusions).

B. P. Hasdeu’s conception blends together the old, preponderantly providentially, explanation with the scientific, positivist one. Hasdeu admitted the objective existence of historical factors: natural or social, but considered that their action is limited by the intervention of the Providence. In spite of these, Hasdeu considered that man played an important part in history, emphasising that “neither the divinity, nor nature can annihilate... man’s free will”.

B. P. Hasdeu considered that the influence of land on a people was very important, and therefore he formulated a unique historical law - the law of posthumous territorial influence, stating that a territory can influence a people even long after it leaves that particular territory. B. P. Hasdeu concludes that a nation is formed by the interaction between a land and a people (race).

Keywords: Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, encyclopaedist, historiography, philosophy, scientific method, territory, nation

NOTE PRIVIND CONCEPȚIA ISTORICĂ A LUI BOGDAN PETRICEICU HASDEU

-Rezumat-

Vederile lui Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu în domeniul metodologiei istoriei și cele privitoare la filosofia istoriei s-au format sub influența ideilor avansate din cultura și filosofia europeană. După cum el însuși a afirmat, îl „preocupă regula, norma, totalitatea”.

În domeniul metodologiei istoriei B. P. Hasdeu a optat pentru „o metodă științifică riguroasă”. Fazele succesive pe care trebuie să le urmeze

* „B.P. Hasdeu” State University of Cahul, Republic of Moldova.

istoricul – culegerea datelor, deslușirea în parte (adică gruparea și compararea lor) și clădirea edificiului (adică extragerea concluziilor din acestea).

B. P. Hasdeu este teoreticianul în a cărui concepție se întâlnesc vechea explicație preponderent providențială cu cea eminamente științifică, de sorginte pozitivistă. Hasdeu admitea existența obiectivă a factorilor istorici: naturali sau sociali, dar considera că acțiunea lor este limitată de intervenția Providenței. Cu toate acestea Hasdeu atribuia un rol deosebit în istorie, omului, subliniind că „nici acțiunea divinității, nici cea a naturii nu pot anula ... liberul arbitru al omului”.

B. P. Hasdeu considera foarte importantă acțiunea pământului asupra unui neam, încât a formulat și o lege istorică inedită în domeniu – legea influenței teritoriale postume, susținând că teritoriul poate influența o națiune chiar după ce aceasta de mult îl părăsise. B. P. Hasdeu concluzionează că o națiune se formează prin interacțiunea dintre un pământ și un neam (gintă).

Cuvinte cheie: Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, enciclopedist, istoriografie, filosofie, metodă științifică, teritoriu, națiune

Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, justly considered “the summit of Romanian encyclopaedism”, was also a great philosopher of history.

His theoretical works include a wide variety of issues from the philosophy of history, among which: the ontological definition of history, the relationship between nature and society, the natural and social factors of historical evolution, the issue of progress in history, the constitution and consolidation of history as science, research methods in history, historical writing, historical truth and history objectivity, the role of personality and of masses in history, and many other issues.

Manifesting an exceptional analytical and systematising spirit, “the most erudite Romanian of the XIXth century”¹, as seen by Mircea Eliade, managed to cover in his works all the compartments of methodology and philosophy of history. His views on methodology and philosophy of history were shaped under the influence of the advanced ideas of the European culture and philosophy, especially the conceptions of G. Vico, F. Bacon and G. Hegel, but he expressed himself his predilection for the philosophy of history, specifying that he is “interested by rules, standards, totality”.

We will focus on the most expressive ideas and conceptions of this distinguished Romanian scholar, trying to systematise them on fields.

In the field of history methodology, B.P. Hasdeu opted for a “thorough scientific method”. B.P. Hasdeu’s contemporary historiography was characterised by methodological failures and critical spirit, as noted by the thinker around 1856: “Romanian history is full of stories and gaps”. Therefore, ever since 1860, in

¹ Mircea Eliade, *Despre Eminescu și Hasdeu (About Eminescu and Hasdeu)*. Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 1987, p. 94.

Foreword to *Foița de istorie și literatură (History and Literature Paper)*, he will launch his famous theory of the methodological triad: "There are three successive and irremovable operations in the writing of history: data collection, their partial interpretation and, finally, building the edifice". It is known that the golden rule of modern historiography was formulated by the German theoretician Leopold von Ranke like this: accuracy, penetration, exposition. This rule appears at Hasdeu also, as seen, in more or less similar contents, by pointing to the successive stages that the historian must follow - data collection, partial interpretation (that is, grouping and comparing them) and building the edifice (that is, drawing the conclusions).

In his subsequent studies, B. P. Hasdeu will state and magnify the initial methodological conception. Thus, in 1871, in an article, "Vladislavu Basarabu", inserted in "Columna lui Traian" (Trajan's Column) Magazine, speaking of the conjunction of criticism methods and divination in history research, B.P. Hasdeu was claiming: "Criticism consists in the mutual purification of wells. Divination re-establishes the logical solidarity between rhapsodic deeds. Without criticism, history is a lie; without divination, history is a fragment; without both criticism and divination, history is impossible"².

In the Preface to *Istoria critică a Românilor (Critical History of the Romanians) (1873-1875)*, the erudite history theoretician was laying down the basic principles of the scientific method used in history research, among which he mentioned: inflexibly serving historical truth, founding statements "only on data synchronic with the events" and on several sources, supporting facts by several evidences, giving priority to eye witnesses, paying attention only to the information which is close, both in time and place, to the narrated event, contesting any authority besides the historical truth, using the source in text and context (also, knowing the language of the original document), closely observing the accepted rules of quotation, as well as the need to take into account interdisciplinary relations, etc.

In the same *Critical History of the Romanians*, B.P. Hasdeu was insisting on the complex and multi-lateral study of historical deeds, indicating four types of historical sources, "wells": "tests, natural science, philology and political economics", without which, "one cannot be a historian in the XIXth century". The scholar confirmed through his own experience the truth of these ideas, gathering a wide documentary material on the past of our people from foreign archives, by making exhausting travels to Poland, Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, Bavaria, Italy, the Balkan countries, Switzerland, France, England and, thus, facilitating the study of the Romanians' history. He often advised his daughter, Iulia Hasdeu, to focus on the study of sources by gathering the necessary documentary materials for her doctoral thesis entitled "The Unwritten Philosophy and Literature of the Romanian People - Theodicy, Metaphysics, Logics, Psychology, Ethics".

² Apud Adrian Pop, *O fenomenologie a gândirii istorice românești. Teoria și filosofia istoriei de la Hasdeu și Xenopol la Iorga și Blaga (A Phenomenology of the Romanian Historical Thought. Theory and Philosophy of History from Hasdeu and Xenopol to Iorga and Blaga)*, Bucharest, ALL Educational Publishing House, 1999, p. 20.

In B.P. Hasdeu's view, a primordial requirement of the research method in history is the need to research with "the torch in criticism in your hand", criticism having the role of "unburying truth". About the critical attitude and doubt, as indispensable elements of research, the erudite thinker was writing in *Sic Cogito*: "I was sceptic in every area of my knowledge... working... through my own research, a new path..."³

Continuing the list of B.P. Hasdeu's merits in the field of history methodology, we must underline the thinker's emphasising the necessary correlation between analysis and synthesis. As pointed by the contemporary historian and analyst, Adrian Pop, B.P. Hasdeu was stressing the superiority of analysis⁴. What he called the analytical method, that is, the "minute breakdown into smaller and smaller elements" was seen as "the only way able to build the historical edifice on a solid, wide and deep foundation". In his vision - "once all the elements of the skeleton are defined, it is then easier to recompose it by synthesis".

Hasdeu places the monographic study among the historical syntheses of the highest value. And this because, first and foremost, the monographic study has a general - historiographic importance, as "the history of a nation or country ... is the most truthful universal history" and, secondly, it has a specific importance because regional monographs check the role of geographical conditions or land factor in determining people's actions. This thesis had a special status in the European tradition regarding geopolitics and the philosophy of history⁵.

Another topic of history methodology, approached in Hasdeu's work regards the aesthetics of historical writing. In the context of the debates at the junction of the 19th and 20th centuries regarding the issue of considering history either art or science and the historian either artist or scientist, B. P. Hasdeu was the first in the Romanian historiography who tried to solve this dilemma dialectically, noting that: "The historian is a worker and an artist at the same time"⁶ and he saw history as both art and science, "these two areas of knowledge contemplating each other".

In the field of history epistemology, Hasdeu, influenced by Vico's cyclic theory, by Darwin's evolutionism, but by the biblical precepts as well, stands out, first of all, by defining *history as reality*. Like his Western predecessors, B.P. Hasdeu perceives the history of humanity as a continuous cycle of births, growths, developments, weaknesses, disappearances and rebirths of peoples in time and space on a forever growing spiral. In his view, "The entire humanity forms one only individuality which passes through the three ages: divine (childhood), heroic (manhood), human (old age)." Thus, the Romanian scholar accepts, ultimately,

³ B. P. Hasdeu, *Sic Cogito*, Craiova: Scrisul românesc, 1991, p. 23

⁴ Adrian Pop, *O fenomenologie a gândirii istorice românești. Teoria și filosofia istoriei de la Hasdeu și Xenopol la Iorga și Blaga. (A Phenomenology of the Romanian Historical Thought. Theory and Philosophy of History from Hasdeu and Xenopol to Iorga and Blaga)*, Bucharest, ALL Educational Publishing House, 1999, p. 21

⁵ Ibidem, p. 22

⁶ B. P. Hasdeu, *Scrieri (Writings)*. Chișinău, "Știința" Editorial-Polygraphic Enterprise – Bucharest, Romanian Cultural Foundation Publishing House, 1997, vol.2, p.199

Vico's theory of the "historical cycle", claiming him too that the society evolves according to "its organic and specific laws which no one has to fabricate".

Regarding the definition of history as knowledge, we find in B.P. Hasdeu's creation, an enormous diversity of appreciations. The illustrious thinker, considered history, for instance, as "the most supra-ordinary part in the positive classification of sciences", "the hardest of all the sciences", its object being the "narration of past times".

The issue of theorising the finality and functions that history can and must assume are another subject of history epistemology, approached in the philosophical and historical work of the Romanian scholar.

We know that, most of the theoreticians who referred to the cognitive side of the finality of the study of history, conceived it along the lines of establishing an organic comprehensive explicative connection between past, present and future, meaning that by knowing the past, we understand better the present and we can responsibly prefigure the future. The same idea we encounter at B.P. Hasdeu, formulated as follows: "the life giving role of history is not only that of clarifying an ancient situation, of re-establishing a past image, but, mostly, that of preventing and preparing a possible future regeneration of a nation."

Regarding B.P. Hasdeu's attention to the educative side of the finality of the study of history, we will not attempt to illustrate it by means of a concrete expression, but we will only point to a simple fact, which cannot be doubted, precisely: considering the past an inexhaustible source of lessons and examples for the present and for the future, which is attested by the entire historical work of the scholar.

Special, even original, is the implication of the illustrious thinker in the field of history ontology.

Until reaching today's ontological concept of history, which excludes the intervention in history of a unique determining factor or the simple and direct causality of historical facts, the philosophy of history witnesses a series of successive proposals for the identification of factors and forces which govern historical evolution. Romanian historiography made no exception to this.

The contemporary historian and analyst Adrian Pop notes that B. P. Hasdeu's conception joins the old, preponderantly providentially, explanation with the signally scientific, positivist one. Indeed, Hasdeu was admitting the objective existence of historical factors: natural (earth, climate, local accidents) or social (race, institutions, great people), but considered that their action is limited by the intervention of the Providence. In spite of these, Hasdeu considered that man played an important part in history, emphasising that "neither the divinity, nor nature can annihilate... man's free will".

B. P. Hasdeu considered that the influence of land on a people was very important, stable, decisive, and therefore he formulated a unique historical law - *the law of posthumous territorial influence*, its essence being that a territory can influence a people even long after it leaves that particular territory (influence which can still affect a people after scores of centuries, even at great distances). Building

up Herder's ideas regarding people's spirit, B. P. Hasdeu concludes that a nation is formed by the interaction between a land and a people (race): each land having its special idea in the universality of lands and each people having a special idea in the universality of peoples. Therefore, when a nation settles down on a land, the connection between these specialities gives rise to a nation. In his opinion, great ideas, "limit" or "restrict" the action of nature, and the Providence, which is above everything, ensures the existence of a "supra-direction" in history.

In B. P. Hasdeu's theory of history we discover other analogies with the ideas of Western predecessors. For instance, when dealing with the issue of social and historical evolution and when explaining the role of personality in history, we notice a strong inspiration from Hegel's philosophy of history.

If Hegel was finding that the "simple abstract change which takes place in history means a progress towards the better, and the more complete", that "in nature everything is repeated", Hasdeu concludes that "only monotony is not in conformity with the dignity of history".

Very similar are the visions of these two titans of the modern thought in revealing the role of personality in history. Hegel calls historical personalities the "heroes of an epoch", "great people of history... whose own goals include that substantiality which is the will of the universal spirit, those people who think and understand what is necessary and actual". B. P. Hasdeu, in accord with Hegel, appreciated the great personalities as "representative powers", "plenipotentiary exponents" of the society and of the epoch, "instruments of the century, of the nation, of the mankind".

These, and many other examples which were not included here above, fully demonstrate that B. P. Hasdeu's historical theory is naturally inscribed in the area of the requisitions of European philosophy and culture. The Romanian encyclopaedist scholar had an infinite trust in the force of science and sought to complete this science, both through its general theory, researching and unveiling significant issues of methodology and philosophy of history, founded on optimism, continual interest in scientific truth, trust in the progress of human spirit, etc., as well through his works of national history.

Ovidiu NEDU*

**O SCRIERE BUDHISTĂ FUNDAMENTALĂ
VASUBANDHU, VIJŃAPTIMĀTRATĀSIDDHI.
VIMŚIKĀKĀRIKĀ CU VIMŚIKĀKĀRIKĀVṚTTI
(STABILIREA EXISTENȚEI UNICE A IDEAȚIILOR.
TRATATUL ÎN 20 DE VERSETE, CU COMENTARIUL LA
TRATATUL ÎN 20 DE VERSETE)**

-Rezumat-

Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi este una dintre scrierile majore ale lui Vasubandhu, fondatorul școlii Vijñānavāda, din budhismul Mahāyāna, și constă din două tratate: Viṃśikākārikā și Triṃśikākārikā. Primul dintre cele două tratate este mai degrabă interesat în a expune și a contracara obiecțiile ce i se aduc doctrinei idealiste, pe când cel de-al doilea expune această doctrină într-un mod asertiv.

Tratatul în 20 de versete reprezintă partea de polemică a lucrării Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi. Deși titlul lucrării este Tratatul în 20 de versete, în realitate, numărul versetelor este de 22. În general, Vasubandhu oferă interpretări în termeni idealști ale unor situații ce par a implica existența unor entități externe, obiective. Lucrarea este concepută sub forma unui dialog între Vasubandhu și un oponent virtual, adept al filosofiei realiste. Filosofia realistă avută în vedere este în general atomismul școlii Vaiśeṣika, foarte influent în India la acea vreme; astfel se explică interesul ridicat al lui Vasubandhu în a respinge teoria atomistă.

Deși lucrarea este predominant polemică, uneori Vasubandhu își expune propriile sale teorii idealiste ca alternativă la teoriile realiste respinse.

Cele 22 de versete ale lucrării au fost comentate de Vasubandhu însuși; comentariul, numit Viṃśikākārikāvṛtti, este tradus laolaltă cu versetele.

Cuvinte cheie: budhism, Vijñānavāda, Vasubandhu, idealism, conștiință, ideație

* History Museum of Galați, ovidiushunya@yahoo.co.in.

**A BUDDHIST MAJOR WORK. VASUBANDHU,
VIJÑAPTIMĀTRATĀSIDDHI. VIMŚIKĀKĀRIKĀ WITH
VIMŚIKĀKĀRIKĀVṚTTI
(THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOLE EXISTENCE OF
REPRESENTATIONS. THE TREATISE IN 20 VERSES, WITH THE
COMMENTARY ON THE TREATISE IN 20 VERSES)**

-Abstract-

Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi is one of the major works of Vasubandhu, the founder of Vijñānavāda school of Mahāyāna buddhism. The text was put into written around the IV-th century, A.D. and consists of two treatises: Viṃśikārikā (The Treatise in 20 Verses) and Triṃśikārikā (The Treatise in 30 Verses).

The Treatise in 20 verses is an apologetical text, dealing mostly with the objections that could be raised against the idealist ontology promoted by it and which are refuted in the text, while The Treatise in 30 Verses represents an exposition of the idealist doctrine itself. Throughout the The Treatise in 20 Verses, Vasubandhu offers idealist interpretations to situations that seem to involve the existence of some external, objective entities. All such situations are dealt with in terms pertaining only to consciousness and representation.

The work is written as a dialogue between Vasubandhu and a virtual opponent, supporting the realistic philosophy. The realist system of philosophy considered by Vasubandhu is the atomist school, Vaiśeṣika, very influential in India, during that age. This wide recognition enjoyed by Vaiśeṣika explains Vasubandhu's particular interest in rejecting the atomist theory. Although the work is mostly polemic, sporadically, Vasubandhu also exposes his own idealist theories, as alternatives to the refuted realist interpretations.

The very brief Treatise in 20 verses was commented by Vasubandhu himself, at large, in the work Viṃśikārikāvṛtti. The translation of the commentary is given along with the translation of the verses.

Keywords: buddhism, Vijñānavāda, Vasubandhu, idealism, consciousness, representation

Prezenta traducere a fost efectuată după ediția sanscrită a lui Sylvan Levi *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi*, Champion, Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris, 1925. În realizarea ei au fost de asemenea consultate traducerile lui Sylvan Levi, *Materiaux pour l'étude du système Vijñapti-mātra*, Champion, Bibliotheque de l' Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris, 1923, cea a lui S. Anacker din *Seven Works of Vasubandhu. The Buddhist Psychological Doctor*, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1998, pag. 161-175, cea a lui Thomas A. Kochumuttom, *A Buddhist Doctrine of Experience. A New Translation and Interpretation of the Works of Vasubandhu the*

Yogācārin, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1999, pag. 164-196, cea a lui Fernando Tola și Carmen, *Being as Consciousness. Yogacara Philosophy of Buddhism*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 2004 și cea a lui Thomas E. Wood, *Mind Only: A Philosophical and Doctrinal Analysis of the Vijñānavāda*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1999.

Textul sanskrit al versetelor reproduce ediția lui Tripathi, Ramshankar. (1992) *Vijnaptimatratasiddhi prakarana dvayam*. Varanasi: Sampurnananda Sanskrit University; ediția sa nu diferă de cele ale lui Levi (1925) și Anacker (1998).

Notele la traducere prezintă explicații pe larg ale ideilor din text.

Vasubandhu

Viṃśikārikā. Tratatul în 20 de versete

*vijñaptimātramevaitadasadarthāvabhāsanāt/
yathā taimirikasyāsatkeśacandrādidarśanam||1||*

1. Acestea sunt doar ideație (*vijñaptimātra*) deoarece reprezintă apariție (*avabhāsa*) a unor obiecte (*artha*) ireale (*asat*), asemenea vederii (*darśana*) părului, a Lunii și a altor [obiecte] ireale de către cel cu vederea afectată.

*yadi vijñaptirānarthā niyamo deśakālayoḥ /
santānasyāniyamaśca yuktā kṛtyakriyā na ca||2||*

2. Dacă ideației nu îi sunt atașate (*yukta*) obiecte (*artha*) nu ar mai fi logică (*yukta*) nicio determinație (*niyama*) spațio-temporală (*deśakāla*), nici determinația (*niyama*) seriilor personale (*santāna*) și nici efectuarea unei acțiuni (*kriyā*).

*deśādiuniyamah siddhah svapnavat pretavat punah/
santānāniyamah sarvaiḥ pūyanadyādidarśane||3||*

3. Determinația (*niyama*) spațială și celelalte [determinații] se stabilesc ca în cazul visului (*svapna*), iar determinația (*niyama*) seriilor personale (*santāna*) [se stabilește] ca în cazul celor morți (*preta*), [adică] prin vederea (*darśana*) unui râu de puroi și a altora de către toți [cei morți].

*svapnopaghātavat kṛtyakriyā narakavat punah/
sarvaṃ narakapālādidarśane taiśca bādhane||4||*

4. Efectuarea unei acțiuni (*kriyā*) este asemănătoare influențării (*upaghāta*) din vis (*svapna*) și asemănătoare iadului (*naraka*). Toți văd paznicii iadului (*narakapāla*) și altele și sunt chinuți de către acestea.

*tiraścāṃ sambhavaḥ svarge yathā na narake tathā/
na pretānāṃ yatastajjaṃ duḥkhaṃ nānubhavanti te||5||*

5. Morții (*preta*) [având particularități de "paznici ai iadului"] nu [se pot naște] în iad (*naraka*) așa cum iau naștere (*sambhava*) animalele (*tiryāṅc*) în paradis (*svarga*) deoarece ei nu experimentează (*anubhū*) suferința (*duḥkha*) produsă acolo (*tajja*).

*yadi tatkarmabhistatra bhūtānāṃ sambhavastathā/
iṣyate pariṇāmaśca kiṃ vijñānasya neṣyate||6||*

6. Dacă se acceptă producerea (*sambhava*) unor entități (*bhūta*) ca rezultate (*pariṇāma*) ale karmei, atunci de ce să nu se accepte [producerea] unor idei (*vijñāna*) [drept rezultate]?

*karmaṇo vāsanā'nyatra phalamanyatra kalpyate/
tatraiva neṣyate yatra vāsanā kiṃ nu kāraṇam||7||*

7. Se susține că întipăririle (*vāsanā*) karmice se află undeva iar efectele (*phala*) [lor] în altă parte și nu se acceptă că [efectele] pot fi tot acolo unde sunt și întipăririle. Care este cauza (*kāraṇa*)?

*rūpādyaṅyanāstīvaṃ tadvineyajanam prati/
abhiprāyavaśāduktamupapādukasattvavat||8||*

8. Asemenea ființelor (*sattva*) instantaneu generate (*upapāduka*), se vorbește despre existența (*astīva*) formelor (*rūpa*), a domeniilor simțurilor (*āyatana*) și a celorlalte sub determinarea (*vaśa*) unei intenții (*abhiprāya*) [secundare], în vederea instruirii (*vineya*) oamenilor (*jana*).

*yataḥ svabījād vijñaptiryadābhāsā pravartate/
dvidhāyatanaṭvena te tasyā munirabravīt||9||*

9. Ideea (*vijñapti*) [provine] din propriul său germene (*svabīja*) și produce aparițiile (*ābhāsa*). Ascetul (*muni*) a vorbit despre acestea ca fiind cele două domenii ale simțurilor (*āyatana*).

*tathā pudgalanairātmyapraveśo hi hyanyathā punaḥ/
deśanā dharmanairātmyapraveśaḥ kalpitātmanā||10||*

10. Astfel [se realizează] comprehensiunea (*praveśa*) lipsei de sine (*nairātmya*) a persoanei (*pudgala*). Iar predicându-se (*deśana*) în alt mod, [se realizează] comprehensiunea (*praveśa*) lipsei de sine (*nairātmya*) a obiectelor

(*dharmā*). [Această lipsă a sinelui] este cu referință la sinele imaginat (*kalpita ātman*).

*na tadekaṃ na cānekaṃ viśayaḥ paramāṇuśaḥ/
na ca te saṃhatā yasmāt paramāṇurna sidhyati||11||*

11. Obiectul simțurilor (*viśaya*) nu poate fi unitatea (*eka*), nici multiplicitatea (*aneka*) atomilor (*paramāṇu*), nici un conglomerat (*saṃhata*) al acestor [atomi]. De aceea, atomul (*paramāṇu*) nu poate fi demonstrat [ca fiind obiectul].

*ṣaṭkena yugapadyogāt paramāṇoḥ ṣaḍaṃśatā/
ṣaṅṅāṃ samānadeśatvāt piṇḍaḥ syādanumātrakaḥ||12||*

12. În urma uniunii (*yoga*) simultane (*yugapad*) a șase [atomi], atomul (*paramāṇu*) [rezultat] va avea șase părți (*aṃśa*).

Dacă [toți] șase ar avea aceeași localizare (*deśatva*), conglomeratul (*piṇḍa*) [rezultat] ar fi doar [de mărimea] unui atom.

*paramāṇorasam̐yoge tatsaṅghāte'sti kasya saḥ/
na cānavayavatvena tatsam̐yogo na sidhyati||13||*

13. În cazul în care nu atomii (*paramāṇu*) se unesc, cum să aibă loc [uniunea] conglomeratelor (*saṅghāta*)?

Nu [doar] datorită lipsei de părți (*anavayava*) uniunea (*sam̐yoga*) acestor [conglomerate] nu poate fi stabilită.

*digbhāgabhedo yasyāsti tasyaikatvaṃ na yujyate/
chāyāvṛtī katham vā'nyo na piṇḍaścenna tasya te||14||*

14. Unitatea (*ekatva*) a ceea ce este separat (*bheda*) în părți spațiale (*digbhāga*) nu se susține.

Cum [se produc] umbra (*chāyā*) și blocajul (*āvṛtti*)?

Dacă aglomerația (*piṇḍa*) [de atomi] nu este ceva diferit (*anya*) de aceștia, ea nu poate fi [obiectul] aceloră [care discută despre ea].

*ekatve na kramēnetiryugapanna grahāgrahau/
vicchinnānekavṛtīśca sūkṣmānīkṣā ca no bhavet||15||*

15. În cazul unității (*ekatva*) [obiectului], nu ar mai exista mersul (*iti*) pas cu pas, nici perceperea (*graha*) [unui obiect] și non-perceperea simultană [a altuia], nici acțiunea (*vṛtti*) a ceea ce este divers (*vicchinna*) și multiplu (*aneka*) și nici cele subtile (*sūkṣma*) nu ar mai fi invizibile (*anīkṣā*) pentru noi.

*pratyakṣabuddhiḥ svapnādau yathā sā ca yadā tadā/
na so'rtho drśyate tasya pratyakṣatvaṃ kathaṃ matam||16||*

16.Cunoașterea (*buddhi*) ce constituie evidența senzorială (*pratyakṣa*) are loc ca în vis (*svapna*) și în celelalte. Atunci când ea are loc, obiectul (*artha*) nu mai este văzut. Cum mai poate fi conceput (*mata*) caracterul ei de evidență senzorială (*pratyakṣatva*)?

*uktaṃ yathā tadābhāsā vijñaptiḥ smaraṇaṃ tataḥ/
svapne dr̥gviśayābhāvaṃ nāprabuddho'vagacchati||17||*

17.S-a spus (*ukta*) cum [ia naștere] ideația (*vijñapti*) celor care se manifestă (*ābhāsa*). Pornind de la aceasta [se produce] amintirea (*smaraṇa*).

Cel care nu este trezit (*prabuddha*) nu înțelege non-existența (*abhāva*) obiectelor (*viśaya*) văzute în vis (*svapna*).

*anyonyādhipatitvena vijñaptinīyamo mithaḥ/
middhenopahataṃ cittam svapne tenāsamaṃ phalam||18||*

18.Regularitatea (*niyama*) [aparițiilor] ideațiilor (*vijñapti*) are loc prin faptul că [ele] se guvernează (*adhipatitva*) reciproc (*mitha*) una pe alta (*anyonya*). În vis (*svapna*), conștiința (*citta*) este afectată (*upahata*) de oboseală (*middha*) și datorită acestui fapt, efectele (*phala*) [lor] nu sunt identice (*sama*) [cu cele din starea de veghe].

*marāṇaṃ paravijñaptiviśeṣād vikriyā yathā/
smṛtilopādikā'nyeṣāṃ piśācādimanovaśāt||19||*

19.Moartea (*marāṇa*) reprezintă o alterație (*vikriyā*) datorată anumitor ideații (*vijñapti*) ale altora, așa cum, datorită influenței mentale (*manovaśa*) a demonilor Pișăca și a celorlalți asupra altora, au loc pierderea memoriei (*smṛti*) și altele.

*kathaṃ vā daṇḍakāraṇyaśūnyatvamṛṣikopataḥ/
manodaṇḍo mahāvadyaḥ kathaṃ vā tena sidhyati||20||*

20.Cum [altfel] ar fi avut loc vidarea [de orice formă de viață] a pădurii Daṇḍaka datorită furiei (*kopa*) Rșilor? Cum [altfel] să se demonstreze faptul că agresiunea mentală (*manodaṇḍa*) constituie o mare vină (*āvadya*)?

*paracittavidāṃ jñānamayathārthaṃ kathaṃ yathā/
svacittajñānamajñānād yathā buddhasya gocaraḥ||21||*

21. Cum poate fi cunoașterea (*jñāna*) acelora care cunosc conștiința altora (*paracittavid*) conformă cu obiectul (*artha*)? Este asemenea (*yathā*) cunoașterii (*jñāna*) propriei conștiințe (*svacitta*) și asemenea domeniului (*gocara*) celor iluminați (*buddha*), datorită faptului că [acestea] reprezintă non-cunoaștere (*ajñāna*).

*vijñaptimātratāsiddhiḥ svaśaktisadrśī mayā |
krteyaṃ sarvathā sā tu na cintyā buddhagocarah||22||*

22. Demonstrația (*siddhi*) unicității idețiilor (*vijñaptimātratā*) a fost făcută de către mine, cu propriile mele puteri (*svaśakti*). Aceasta însă nu poate fi gândită (*cintya*) sub toate aspectele (*sarvathā*), ea fiind domeniul de investigație (*gocara*) al celor iluminați (*buddha*).

*viṃśatikā vijñaptimātratāsiddhiḥ / kṛtiriyamācāryavasubandhoḥ |
[Acesta a fost] Tratatul în 20 de versete (Viṃśatikā) al [lucrării] Stabilirea
existenței unice a idețiilor (Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi). Acesta a fost
elaborat (kṛti) de maestrul (ācārya) Vasubandhu.*

Vasubandhu

Viṃśikārikāvṛtti

Comentariul la Tratatul în 20 de versete

În Mahāyāna se stabilește că cele aparținând celor trei domenii (*traidhātuka*) reprezintă doar ideție (*vijñaptimātra*).¹

“- O, Jīnaputrā, cele aparținând celor trei domenii sunt doar conștiință (*cittamātra*).“ - astfel [se afirmă], conform Sūtelor. "Conștiință" (*citta*), "minte" (*manas*) și "ideție" (*vijñapti*)- acestea sunt sinonime (*paryāya*).² Aici, prin "conștiință" (*citta*), se înțeleg și cele asociate (*samprayoga*) [ei].³ "Doar" (*mātra*) [este folosit] cu scopul (*artha*) de a respinge [existența] obiectelor (*artha*).

1. Acestea sunt doar ideție (*vijñaptimātra*) deoarece reprezintă apariție (*avabhāsana*) a unor obiecte (*artha*) ireale (*asat*), asemenea vederii (*darśana*) părului, a Lunii și a altor [obiecte] ireale de către cel cu vederea afectată.

¹ Cosmologia budhistă identifică trei registre distincte, trei "planuri", trei "domenii" (*dhātu*), la nivelul fenomenalului: domeniul dorinței (*kāmadhātu*), domeniul formei (*rūpadhātu*) și domeniul absenței formei (*arūpadhātu*).

² Într-o folosire mai riguroasă, în Vijñānavāda, termenul "*manas*" ("minte") nu este sinonim cu "*citta*" ("conștiință") și cu "*vijñapti*" ("ideție"), ci desemnează acea ipostază a conștiinței care este responsabilă de experiența eronată a identificării cu sinele individual (*ātman*).

³ Adică stările ei determinate.

Aici, se ridică [obiecția]:

2. Dacă ideației nu îi sunt atașate (*yukta*) obiecte (*artha*) nu ar mai fi logică (*yukta*) nicio determinație (*niyama*) spațio-temporală (*deśakāla*), nici determinația (*niyama*) seriilor personale (*santāna*)⁴ și nici efectuarea unei acțiuni (*kriyā*).

Ce se spune? Dacă ideația (*vijñapti*) formelor (*rūpa*) și a celorlalte se produce în lipsa unui obiect (*artha*) [corespunzător] formelor și celorlalte, și nu datorită unui obiect (*artha*) [corespunzător] formelor și celorlalte, atunci de ce se produce doar într-un anumit loc (*deśa*), și nu peste tot? Și chiar și în același loc, [de ce] se produce doar la un moment dat (*kāla*), și nu întotdeauna?

[Și de ce] ia naștere în toate seriile personale (*santāna*) stabilite în același loc (*deśa*) și în același timp (*kāla*), și nu doar într-una? Așa cum apariția părului și a celorlalte [ia naștere] doar în seriile personale (*santāna*) ale celor cu vederea slăbită, nu și a celorlalți.

De ce părul și celelalte iluzii (*bhrama*) văzute de către cel cu vederea slăbită nu realizează funcțiile (*kriyā*) [caracteristice] părului și celorlalte, și nu [se întâmplă] ca și cele [văzute] de alții să nu realizeze acele [funcții]? Orașul ceresc (*gandharvanagara*), datorită irealității (*asattva*) [sale], nu realizează funcțiile caracteristice unui oraș, dar nu [se întâmplă] ca și celelalte [orașe] să nu realizeze acele [funcții].

De aceea, în cazul irealității (*asat*) [obiectului], în cazul apariției (*ābhāsana*) a ceea ce este non-existent (*abhāvana*), determinația (*niyama*) spațio-temporală (*deśakāla*), determinația (*niyama*) seriilor personale (*santāna*) și efectuarea unei acțiuni (*kriyā*) nu s-ar mai susține. Însă cu siguranță că nu [este adevărat] că nu se mai susțin deoarece:

3. Determinația (*niyama*) spațială și celelalte [determinații] se stabilesc ca în cazul visului (*svapna*).

Ca în cazul visului [înseamnă] asemenea celor din vis.

Cum adică?

În vis (*svapna*), fără a exista un obiect (*artha*) [corespunzător] se văd albine, delicii, femei, bărbați și altele doar într-un anumit loc (*deśa*), și nu peste tot. Și chiar și în același loc (*deśa*), se văd doar la un moment dat (*kāla*), și nu tot

⁴ "Serie [personală]" (*santāna*) se referă la persoană, la ființa umană. Un individ uman reprezintă, conform budhismului, doar o serie (*santāna*) de factori (*dharma*) discreți, lipsiți de orice principiu de unitate. Unitatea personală reprezintă doar o iluzie, o construcție fictivă a imaginației.

timpul. Astfel, determinația spațio-temporală este stabilită chiar și în lipsa unui obiect (*artha*) [corespunzător].⁵

Iar determinația (*niyama*) seriilor personale (*santāna*) [se stabilește] ca în cazul celor morți (*preta*).⁶

⁵ Argumentul afirmă că existența unei regularități a experienței nu depinde în mod necesar de existența unui obiect stabil care să fie experimentat și care să ofere o anumită regularitate experienței. Succesiunea idețiilor poate fi regulată și în mod intern, fără a fi necesar un obiect extern care să o impună pe aceasta. Experiența visurilor, care are o anumită regularitate, stă ca o dovadă în acest sens. Idealismul propus de Vijñānavāda înlocuiește preținsele legi externe ale obiectelor cu legi interne ce regulează modul de manifestare al conștiinței.

⁶ "Determinația (*niyama*) seriilor personale (*santāna*)" se referă la faptul că există o anumită regularitate în experiențele a mai multor indivizi. Existența unei astfel de regularități trans-individuale pare a sugera existența unui "obiect" autonom, trans-subiectiv, care ar fi responsabil de similaritatea experiențelor diverșilor indivizi prin faptul că ar constitui obiectul experimentat în comun de aceștia. Tocmai aceasta este și poziția susținută de ontologia realistă a simțului comun: realitatea unei lumi exterioare, obiective, care ar fi experimentată în comun de un număr mai mare de indivizi și care, prin aceasta, ar da seama de existența unei anumite regularități a experiențelor individuale.

Lumea comună, universul fizic, obiectiv, material, al ontologiei realiste sunt înlocuite în Vijñānavāda de „condiția [apărută] ca urmare a maturizării (*vipāka*) reziduurilor karmice similare (*tulyakarma*)”. Există, în bună măsură, un nucleu comun al tuturor experiențelor individuale ale ființelor umane, dar acesta se datorează similarității (*tulyatva*) întipăririlor karmice de la nivelul fiecăreia dintre aceste ființe, similaritate care determină un anumit grad de similaritate al experiențelor acestor ființe. Toate ființele umane au dobândit condiția de ființă umană datorită existenței unui tip specific de întipărire karmice la nivelul conștiinței lor și astfel se explică existența unei similarități la nivelul experiențelor ființelor aflate într-un același plan (*dhātu*) al existenței. Această similaritate a experiențelor individuale nu se aplică tuturor ființelor, ci doar celor ce împărtășesc un anumit nucleu comun de reziduuri karmice. Locuitorii iadului (*nāraka*, *preta*) sau ființele paradisiace (*deva*) au parte de alte tipuri de experiențe nu datorită unei eventuale localizări distincte a lor, într-un alt domeniu spațial obiectiv, ci datorită existenței unui alt tip de întipărire karmice la nivelul conștiinței lor. Lumea (*loka*), planul (*dhātu*) de existență al fiecărei ființe, nu este altceva decât o anumită componentă a retribuției sale karmice, componentă care însă nu are un caracter personal, ci este împărtășită laolaltă cu alte conștiințe individuale.

Conform Vijñānavādei, conținutul idețiilor experimentate de o anumită ființă, de o anumită ipostază a conștiinței, este determinat de tendințele sale karmice; această karma poate fi atât comună (*sādhāraṇa*) tuturor ipostazelor conștiinței, tuturor ființelor (sau, cel puțin, pentru mai multe dintre ele), cât și non-comună (*asādhāraṇa*), personală, individuală. Pe baza acestei distincții între karma comună și cea individuală, Vijñānavāda poate da seama cu ușurință atât de existența unui obiect al experienței comune, împărtășit, cât și de existența unor experiențe personale, individuale.

Demonstrația (*siddha*) se desfășoară ca [în cazul] celor morți (*preta*), adică asemenea [cazului] celor morți. Cum se realizează demonstrația la fel ca [în cazul celor morți]?

Prin vederea (*darśana*) unui râu de puroi și a altora de către toți [cei morți].

Un râu de puroi este un râu plin de puroi. Asemenea unui vas cu unt topit. Toți morții (*preta*) aflați în [aceeași] situație (*avasthā*) [rezultată în urma] maturizării (*vipāka*) unei karme similare (*tulyakarma*) văd un râu plin de puroi și nu doar unul [dintre ei]. Așa cum [văd] [un râu] plin de puroi, [tot așa] se percepe și [un râu] plin de urină, fecale și altele, oameni purtând bețe și săbii, paznici și altele. Astfel, determinația (*niyama*) seriilor personale (*santāna*) este stabilită în cazul în care [toate] acestea sunt doar ideație (*viññapti*), în cazul non-existenței (*asatya*) unui obiect (*artha*) [corespunzător].

4.Efectuarea unei acțiuni (*kriyā*) este asemănătoare influențării (*upaghāta*) din vis (*svapna*).

Demonstrația (*siddha*) trebuie cunoscută astfel. Influențarea (*upaghāta*) în vis (*svapna*) este asemănătoare cazului în care există indiciile (*lakṣaṇa*) unei emisii spermatice într-o altă situație decât contactul dintre două [persoane]. Astfel, până acum, printr-un exemplu (*dṛṣṭānta*) sau prin altul, demonstrația quadruplă a determinației (*niyama*) spațio-temporale și a celorlalte [a fost realizată].

Și asemănătoare iadului (*naraka*).

Demonstrația (*siddha*) trebuie cunoscută astfel. Asemănător iadului (*naraka*) înseamnă asemenea celor din iad. Cum se demonstrează?

Toți văd paznicii iadului (*naraka*) și altele și sunt chinuți de către acestea.⁷

Astfel, în iad (*naraka*), toți văd paznicii iadului și celelalte [lucruri] caracteristice iadului, toți văd câini, păsări, arme, munți care se apropie și se îndepărtează, toți percep [aceste] reprezentări și altele [la fel], și nu doar unii [dintre ei]. Deoarece se află sub determinația (*ādhipatya*) maturizării (*vipāka*) propriilor [întipăriri] karmice (*karma*), care sunt asemănătoare (*samāna*), s-a stabilit chinuirea (*bādhana*) lor de către aceste [entități ale iadului], deși paznicii iadului și celelalte nu sunt reale. Astfel, demonstrația (*siddha*) quadruplă a tuturor

⁷ Se reia argumentul cum că experiențele specifice iadului nu reprezintă experimentarea unei situații reale, această interpretare presupunând numeroase absurdități, ci doar actualizarea anumitor reziduuri karmice.

acestora, a determinației (*niyama*) spațio-temporale și a celorlalte, [a fost realizată] și pe altă cale.

Care este cauza (*kāraṇa*) pentru care paznicii iadului, câinii și păsările nu sunt acceptate ca fiind realități (*sattva*)?

Datorită imposibilității (*ayoga*). Aceste entități caracteristice iadului (*nāraka*) nu pot fi acceptate [ca fiind reale] deoarece [ele] nu experimentează suferința (*duḥkha*) [din iad]. Deoarece s-ar chinui și pe ele însele, nu ar mai exista diferențiere (*vyavasthā*) între cei osândiți iadului (*naraka*) și paznicii iadului. Dacă s-ar chinui reciproc, având același aspect (*ākṛti*), aceleași dimensiuni (*pramāṇa*), aceeași forță (*bala*), [ei] nu ar mai fi atât de înspăimântați. Cum i-ar mai putea chinui pe alții când [ei înșiși] ar trebui să suporte durerile (*duḥkha*) arderii (*dāha*) pe un pământ ce constă din fier încins? Cum ar mai exista în iad (*naraka*) cei care nu sunt osândiți iadului?

Însă cum de există animale în paradis (*svarga*)? La fel, în iad (*naraka*), pot exista animale, morți (*preta*), având particularități (*viśeṣa*) de "paznici ai iadului" și altele?

5. Morții (*preta*) [având particularități de "paznici ai iadului"] nu [se pot naște] în iad (*naraka*) așa cum iau naștere (*sambhava*) animalele (*tīryaṅc*) în paradis (*svarga*) deoarece ei nu experimentează (*anubhū*) suferința (*duḥkha*) produsă acolo (*tajja*).

Acele animale care există în paradis (*svarga*), acelea au făcut ca lumea (*loka*) să se bucure de fericire (*sukha*) și, prin astfel de acțiuni (*karma*), au ajuns acolo, [în paradis], și experimentează fericirea ce ia naștere acolo. Însă paznicii iadului și ceilalți nu experimentează suferința (*duḥkha*) iadului. De aceea, apariția (*sambhava*) animalelor [în iad] nu s-ar susține și nici cea a morților (*preta*) [având caracteristici de "paznici ai iadului"]. În acest caz, datorită karmei [lor], osândiților iadului (*naraka*) le apar anumite entități (*bhūta*) [care au] anumite culori (*varṇa*), forme (*ākṛti*), dimensiuni (*pramāṇa*) și o anumită forță (*bala*) și care dobândesc denumirile (*saṃjñā*) de "paznici ai iadului" (*narakaṇā*) etc. Acestea se transformă în moduri diverse și se arată agitându-și mâinile și săvârșind alte fapte (*kriyā*) cu scopul (*artha*) de a produce frică (*bhaya*). Tot astfel, munți cu aspect (*ākṛti*) de oi se apropie și se îndepărtează, vârfurile copacilor din pădurea Śālmali se coboară și se ridică.

[Obiecție]: Nu este [adevărat] că acestea nu există.

6. Dacă se acceptă producerea (*sambhava*) unor entități (*bhūta*) ca rezultate (*pariṇāma*)⁸ ale karmei, atunci de ce să nu se accepte [producerea] unor ideții (*viñāna*) [drept rezultate]?⁹

⁸ "Pariṇāma" – literal, "transformare".

⁹ O anumită trăsătură a ontologiei Vijñānavāda stă la baza unui alt argument, chiar mai constrângător decât cele precedente, în favoarea non-implicării niciunui „obiect” în procesul experienței. Cauzele manifestării experienței, conform filosofiei Vijñānavāda, sunt

De ce nu se acceptă o astfel de transformare (*pariṇāma*) în ideaii (*viṅṅāpti*) datorită karmei? De ce se concepe [o transformare] în entități (*bhūta*)? Și, de asemenea,

7. Se susține că întipăririle (*vāsanā*) karmice se află undeva iar efectele (*phala*) [lor] în altă parte și nu se acceptă că [efectele] pot fi tot acolo unde sunt și întipăririle. Care este cauza (*kāraṇa*)?

Se consideră că acele [întipăriri] karmice prin care iau naștere (*sambhava*) ființele iadului (*nāraka*) și alte entități (*bhūta*) asemănătoare, și transformările (*pariṇāma*) acestor întipăriri (*vāsanā*) karmice sunt stabilite (*saṃniviṣṭa*) în seria conștiinței (*viṅṅānasamṭāna*), și nu în altă parte. Să nu se accepte atunci că acolo unde se află întipăririle (*vāsanā*), tot acolo se află și efectul (*phala*) lor, [care nu este decât] o transformare (*pariṇāma*) corespunzătoare a conștiinței (*viṅṅāna*)? Din ce cauză (*kāraṇa*) se concepe efectul (*phala*) întipăririlor ca fiind undeva unde întipăririle nu există?

[Obiecție]: Scrierile canonice (*āgama*) sunt cauza (*kāraṇa*). Dacă apariția (*pratibhasa*) formelor (*rūpa*) și a celorlalte ar fi [doar] conștiință (*viṅṅāna*) și nu [ar exista] un obiect corespunzător formelor și celorlalte, [atunci] existența (*astitva*) formelor și a celorlalte și existența domeniilor simțurilor (*āyatana*) nu ar fi fost afirmate de către cel divin (*bhagavat*).

Aceasta nu este cauza deoarece:

8. Asemenea ființelor (*sattva*) instantaneu generate (*upapāduka*)¹⁰, se vorbește despre existența (*astitva*) formelor (*rūpa*), a domeniilor simțurilor (*āyatana*) și a celorlalte sub determinația (*vaśa*) unei intenții (*abhiprāya*) [secundare], în vederea instruirii (*vineya*) oamenilor (*jana*).¹¹

condiția afectată de ignoranță a conștiinței, activitatea sa volitivă, reziduurile karmice ce se acumulează la nivelul conștiinței datorită implicării sale în experiență. Cauzele manifestării obiectelor sunt de găsit la nivelul conștiinței, iar aceasta face cât se poate de firesc ca însăși manifestarea obiectelor să fie un proces ce are loc în conștiință. Dacă obiectele ar exista în afara conștiinței, aceasta ar echivala cu o situație în care cauza și efectul ar ține de planuri diferite ale existenței, ori aceasta ridică probleme importante în legătură cu modul în care s-ar putea realiza conexiunea lor. Astfel că explicația karmică a manifestării face ca echivalarea a ceea ce, în mod obișnuit, este considerat drept „obiect” cu o manifestare a conștiinței să nu fie doar de preferat interpretării sale ca ceva de natură materială, distinctă de conștiință, dar chiar să constituie o necesitate.

¹⁰ Ființele generate instantaneu (*upapāduka sattva*) reprezintă, conform cosmologiei budhiste, ființe care se nasc având toate organele lor într-o stare matură. Zeii și ființele celeste există sub această formă pe parcursul existenței intermediare (*antarbhāva*) dintre două reîncarnări. Vasubandhu neagă realitatea lor, considerându-le ca pe niște simple "postulate" cu rol în explicitarea conținutului seriei conștiinței.

¹¹ Faptul că Buddha face apel la un "neadevăr" în expunerea propriei doctrine nu doar că nu intră în niciun conflict cu mesajul budhist, dar chiar, din contră, este în deplină consonanță

Tot așa, s-a afirmat de către cel divin că ființe (*sattva*) generate instantaneu (*upapāduka*) chiar există. [A afirmat aceasta] determinat fiind de intenția (*abhiprāyavaśa*) de a arăta că seria (*santati*) conștiinței (*citta*) nu se întrerupe în viitor (*āyati*).

"Aici nu există nici ființe (*satva*), nici sine (*ātman*), ci doar factori (*dharma*) cauzați (*sahetuka*)."¹²

Datorită acestei afirmații (*vacana*), cele spuse (*ukta*) de către cel divin (*bhagavat*) referitor la existența (*astitva*) formelor (*rūpa*) și a celorlalte, la existența domeniilor simțurilor (*āyatana*), au fost rostite cu intenția de a-i instrui pe

cu statutul pe care budhismul îl atribuie propriei sale doctrine. Mahāyāna insistă asupra faptului că doctrina pe care înșiși autorii săi o propovăduiesc nu are o valoare de natură cognitivă, ci doar una de natură soteriologică. Doctrina budhistă nu comunică niciun fel de adevăr; ea este totuși benefică prin aceea că anihilează credința eronată în realitatea iluzorie pe care o instituie construcția conceptuală și, prin aceasta, face posibilă eliberarea. Caracterul benefic al doctrinei nu constă atât dintr-o eventuală încărcătură cognitivă a sa, ci strict din funcția sa instrumentală. Mahāyāna transferă problema adevărului religios din sfera cognitivului în sfera existențială; doctrina nu vizează atât relevarea unor adevăruri, cât, mai degrabă, anihilarea anumitor erori ce tulbură și înlănțuie ființa umană. Doctrina religioasă nu este atât o doctrină despre absolut, cât, mai degrabă, un instrument prin care se accede la absolut; acest instrument se prezintă sub forma unui sistem teoretic al cărui conținut depinde de natura ființei umane, de tipul de înlănțuire al acesteia.

Eficacitatea doctrinei ține mai mult de domeniul psihologic decât de cel cognitiv; nu este avută în vedere producerea unei noi reprezentări asupra manifestării ei, mai degrabă, schimbarea atitudinii față de manifestare. Doctrina urmărește doar anihilarea atitudinii reificatoare pe care o induce discriminarea conceptuală și pe baza căreia se constituie înlănțuirea.

În felul acesta statutul doctrinei devine în foarte mare măsură similar statutului unui remediu destinat să înlăture un anumit neajuns, unui medicament destinat vindecării unei anumite boli. Bineînțeles că un astfel de statut implică un nivel foarte ridicat de relativitate al doctrinei; așa cum nu există un remediu universal, ci doar remedii necesare în diferite cazuri particulare, tot astfel nu există o doctrină universal valabilă, o doctrină absolută, ci doar diferite forme particulare de doctrină. Doctrina Mahāyānei nu se pretinde a fi un adevăr absolut, o cale absolută, ci doar un instrument particular ce contracarează eroarea interpretării în mod substanțial a construcției conceptuale, eliminând astfel obstrucțiile ce împiedică relevarea directă a realității ultime.

Actul predicării doctrinei budhiste (*dharma*) nu reprezintă atât o expunere a adevărului – iar aceasta deoarece un adevăr comunicabil nici nu există – cât, mai degrabă, constituie un demers de înlăturare a erorilor particulare la care aderă ființele înlănțuite. Actul predicării doctrinei devine prin aceasta doar un aspect al activității salvatoare a unui Bodhisattva, care își găsește justificarea nu în numele unui eventual „adevăr” care trebuie exprimat, ci în erorile care țin ființele înlănțuite și pe care, din compasiune, un Bodhisattva încearcă să le elimine prin predicarea sa.

Astfel că nu există nimic repugnant spiritului religios al budhismului în faptul că Buddha a făcut apel în predicarea sa la concepte absolut fictive.

¹² Pasajul reprezintă un citat din *Majjhima-nikāya*, I.138.

oameni (*jana*) în ceea ce privește învățămintele (*deśanā*) [sale]. Care este intenția (*abhiprāya*) aici?

9. Ideeația (*viññapti*) [provine] din propriul său germene (*svabīja*) și produce aparițiile (*ābhāsa*). Ascetul (*muni*) a vorbit despre acestea ca fiind cele două domenii ale simțurilor (*āyatana*).¹³

Ce se spune? Ideeațiile (*viññapti*) iau naștere sub aparența (*pratibhāsā*) formelor (*rūpa*) din propriul lor germene (*bīja*), datorită faptului că circumstanțele (*viśeṣa*) au devenit cele potrivite (*prāpta*) [pentru aceasta]. Cel divin (*bhagavat*) a vorbit în mod repetat despre acest germene (*bīja*) și această apariție (*pratibhāsā*) ca fiind domeniul (*āyatana*) ochiului (*cakṣus*) și cel al formelor (*rūpa*), corespunzătoare anumitor ideații. Și tot la fel, până la [acele] ideații ce iau naștere sub aparența celor tangibile (*spraṣṭavya*), din propriul lor germene, datorită faptului că circumstanțele au devenit cele potrivite [pentru aceasta]. Cel divin a vorbit în mod repetat despre acest germene și această apariție ca fiind domeniul corpului (*kāya*) și al celor tangibile (*spraṣṭavya*), corespunzătoare anumitor ideații. Acesta a fost scopul (*abhiprāya*) [lui]. Însă care sunt calitățile (*guṇa*) faptului că a predicat având acest scop?

10. Astfel [se realizează] comprehensiunea (*praveśa*) lipsei de sine (*nairātmya*) a persoanei (*pudgala*).¹⁴

¹³ Conform filosofilor realiști (școala Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika), în orice act de percepție sunt implicate trei elemente: conștiința senzorială respectivă, organul senzorial corespunzător (*indriya*) și obiectul specific al experienței (*viśaya*). De exemplu, în cazul unei percepții vizuale, ar fi implicate conștiința vizuală (*cakṣurviññāna*), ochiul (*cakṣus*) și domeniul formelor (*rūpa*). Conform ontologiei realiste, doar conștiința vizuală ar avea un caracter subiectiv, celelalte două elemente fiind de o natură obiectivă.

Vijñānavāda reinterpretează procesul percepției arătând cum nu doar conștiința vizuală, ci, în egală măsură, simțurile (*indriya*) și domeniul obiectelor (*viśaya*) reprezintă elemente de ordin ideatic. Simțurile, conform autorilor Vijñānavāda, constituie „specializări” ale conștiinței, capacități (*śakti*) ale acesteia de a manifesta un anumit tip de ideație. Ochiul nu este atât o zonă de contact între obiectele exterioare ce posedă formă și conștiință, cât, mai degrabă, capacitatea, funcția conștiinței de a manifesta senzații vizuale. De asemenea, domeniul obiectului (*viśaya*) nu reprezintă nimic mai mult decât ideație (*viññapti*), decât conștiință (*viññāna*). Conform ontologiei Vijñānavāda, condițiile producerii unei anumite percepții țin în exclusivitate de conștiință, mai exact de maturizarea (*vipāka*) întipăririlor karmice (*vāsanā*) ce sunt capabile de a da naștere percepției respective. Aceste întipăriri (*vāsanā*), acești germeni (*bīja*), sunt produse de experiențele anterioare și astfel în tot acest proces doar elemente intrinseci conștiinței sunt implicate.

¹⁴ Pentru budhism, persoana, individul, nu reprezintă altceva decât o serie (*santāna*) de factori (*dharmā*) discreți, lipsiți de orice principiu de unitate substanțială. În ceea ce privește experiențele personale, individuale, nu este implicat niciun "individ", nicio "persoană", unitatea personală care le este atribuită lor în mod curent fiind doar o iluzie. Experiențele personale constituie un set de experiențe discrete, unite laolaltă într-un sine

Predicându-se în acest mod se înțelege lipsa de sine (*nairātmya*) a persoanei (*pudgala*). Datorită dualității (*dvaya*), conștiința (*vijñāna*) se manifestă în șase moduri. “Nu există cineva care vede (*draṣṭr*) și, la fel, nu există nici cineva care gândește (*mantr*)”- cunoscând astfel, cei care sunt instruiți arătându-li-se lipsa de sine a persoanei, chiar înțeleg lipsa de sine a persoanei.

Iar predicându-se (*darśana*) în alt mod, [se realizează] comprehensiunea (*praveśa*) lipsei de sine (*nairātmya*) a obiectelor (*dharma*).¹⁵

Arătând în această altă manieră [existența] unică a idețiilor (*vijñaptimātra*), cum poate fi înțeleasă lipsa de sine (*nairātmya*) a obiectelor (*dharma*)? S-a cunoscut că această [lume], care se produce ca o manifestare (*pratibhāsa*) a formelor (*rūpa*) și a celorlalte obiecte (*dharma*), este doar ideție (*vijñaptimātra*) și că nu există niciun factor (*dharma*) caracterizat de formă (*rūpa*) și de celelalte.

Dacă obiectele (*dharma*) nu există în niciun mod, atunci nici idețiile (*vijñapti*) nu există. Cum mai poate fi stabilită [existența lor] în acest caz? Cu siguranță, nu [este adevărat] că obiectele (*dharma*) nu există în niciun fel; este vorba doar de înțelegerea (*praveśa*) lipsei de sine (*nairātmya*) a obiectelor (*dharma*). De asemenea,

[Această lipsă a sinelui] este cu referință la sinele imaginat (*kalpita ātman*).¹⁶

iluzoriu printr-un act eronat al imaginației. Altfel spus, există doar experiențe individuale, însă nu și un individ.

¹⁵ Vijñānavāda nu respinge registrul manifestării sub oricare dintre formele sale, ci doar interpretarea categorială a acestui registru. Conform școlii, registrul manifestării este constituit dintr-un flux causal amorf, holist (*pratīyasamutpāda*), căruia Vijñānavāda îi atribuie o natură ideatică (*vijñapti*). Acest registru este considerat drept realitate, iar terminologia specifică a Vijñānavādei îl desemnează ca "natura dependentă" (*paratantrasvabhāva*). Ireală este doar interpretarea sa în mod categorial, interpretare ce instituie registrul iluzoriu al obiectelor determinate și autonome, al obiectelor având o natură proprie (*svabhāva*), al obiectelor având identitate individuală (*ātman*).

Vijñānavāda respinge doar realitatea acestor obiecte determinate categorial, a obiectelor având un sine propriu (*ātman*); altfel, în ceea ce privește registrul manifestării, fluxul causal având o natură ideatică este considerat drept real.

¹⁶ Ceea ce Vijñānavāda respinge este natura concepută (*parikalpitasvabhāva*) a manifestării, sinele determinat categorial (*ātman*). Multiplele înfățișări ale obiectelor determinate categorial sunt toate calificate drept "irealitate". Însă ceea ce rămâne o dată ce această iluzie a fost negată este considerat a fi real. Conform Vijñānavādei, realitate constituie atât absolutul, natura desăvârșită ("acel sine incomunicabil care constituie domeniul celor iluminați"), cât și fluxul causal având o natură ideatică (*vijñapti*) manifestat de absolut, natura dependentă.

Lipsa lor de sine (*nairātmya*) [se afirmă] cu referire la acel sine (*ātman*) imaginat (*kalpita*) care este conceput de către cei puerili (*bāla*) ca fiind natura proprie (*svabhāva*) a obiectelor (*dharma*), ca fiind cel perceput (*grahya*), cel care percepe (*grāhaka*) etc., și nu cu referire la acel sine incomunicabil (*anabhilāpya*) care constituie domeniul (*viśaya*) celor iluminați (*buddha*). În felul acesta, deoarece [existența] doar ca idee (*viññaptimātra*) înseamnă realizarea (*praveśa*) lipsei de sine (*nairātmya*), cu referire la [acel] sine (*ātman*) imaginat (*parikalpita*) prin alte (*antara*) idei (*viññapti*), prin stabilirea [existenței] doar ca idee se realizează lipsa de sine (*nairātmya*) a tuturor obiectelor (*dharma*), dar nu și respingerea (*apavāda*) existenței (*astitva*) lor.

Altfel, dacă ar exista un obiect (*artha*) [constituit] din alte idei (*viññapti*), corespunzător ideii (*viññapti*), [existența] doar ca idee (*viññaptimātratva*) nu ar mai fi stabilită, datorită faptului că ideile ar fi însoțite de obiect.

Cum trebuie înțeles [faptul] că existența (*astitva*) domeniilor simțurilor (*āyatana*), a formelor (*rūpa*) și a celorlalte a fost afirmată de către cel divin (*bhagavat*) cu o intenție (*abhiprāya*) [secundară], însă niciunul dintre obiectele (*viśaya*) ideilor (*viññapti*) formelor și ale celorlalte nu este existent (*sat*). Deoarece:

11. Obiectul simțurilor (*viśaya*) nu poate fi unitatea (*eka*), nici multiplicitatea (*aneka*) atomilor (*paramāṇu*), nici un conglomerat (*saṃhata*) al acestor [atomi]. De aceea, atomul (*paramāṇu*) nu poate fi demonstrat [ca fiind obiectul].¹⁷

Ce se spune aici? Acel domeniu (*āyatana*) al formelor (*rūpa*) și al celorlalte poate fi obiectul (*viśaya*) unic al ideilor formelor și al celorlalte. Acesta poate fi o unitate (*eka*), așa cum este concepută de către Vaiśeṣika, adică drept o formă compusă (*avayavirūpa*). Sau poate fi o multitudine (*aneka*) de atomi (*paramāṇu*). Sau poate fi un conglomerat (*saṃhata*) de atomi.

Unitatea (*eka*) nu este obiectul datorită non-percepției (*grahana*) vreunde a unei forme compuse care să fie altceva decât constituenții (*avayavin*) [săi].

Nu este nici o multitudine deoarece atomii nu pot fi percepuți unul câte unul.

Nici acele conglomerate nu sunt obiectul deoarece atomul nu poate fi stabilit ca fiind substanța (*dravya*) unică.¹⁸ De ce nu este demonstrat? Deoarece:

¹⁷ Versetele 11-15 sunt dedicate respingerii filosofiei realiste propuse de Vaiśeṣika, realismul acestei școli făcând apel la conceptul de "atom" (*paramāṇu*) pentru a explica modul în care se constituie realitatea obiectivă. Vasubandhu va scoate în evidență câteva dintre problemele pe care le ridică fiecare modalitate de a considera obiectul ca fiind constituit din atomi.

¹⁸ Diferența dintre "conglomerat" (*saṃghāta*) și "multiplicitate" (*aneka*) este aceea că un conglomerat presupune o anumită unitate a unor părți constituente. Conglomeratul ar

12.În urma uniunii (*yoga*) simultane (*yugapad*) a șase [atomi], atomul (*paramāṇu*) [rezultat] va avea șase părți (*aṃśa*).

În cazul uniunii (*yoga*) simultane a șase atomi [veniți] din șase direcții (*diś*) se obține un atom cu șase părți (*aṃśa*) datorită imposibilității (*asambhava*) ca locul (*deśa*) unui [atom] să aparțină și altuia.¹⁹

Dacă [toți] șase ar avea aceeași localizare (*deśatva*), conglomeratul (*piṇḍa*) [rezultat] ar fi doar [de mărimea] unui atom.

Acum, [în cazul în care se susține] că locul unuia dintre atomi, tot acela este și [locul] [tuturor] șase. Prin aceasta, datorită faptului că toți au aceeași localizare (*deśatva*), întreaga aglomerație ar fi doar [de mărimea] unui atom (*paramāṇu*) și, deoarece toate ar fi [astfel] excluse [vederii], nicio aglomerație nu ar mai fi vizibilă (*drśya*).

Datorită faptului că sunt lipsiți de părți constituente (*avayava*), atomii nu se unesc.

"Să nu fie acceptată această greșeală (*doṣa*)! Conglomeratele (*saṃhata*) sunt acelea care se unesc reciproc (*paraspara*)."- astfel [afirmă școala] Vaibhāṣika din Kāśmīr. Trebuie să se pună întrebarea : "Conglomeratul de atomi nu este un obiect (*artha*) diferit [de atomi]?"²⁰

13.În cazul în care nu atomii (*paramāṇu*) se unesc, cum să aibă loc [uniunea] conglomeratelor (*saṃghāta*)?

[Cuvântul] "uniunea" (*saṃyoga*) [trebuie] suplimentat.

Nu [doar] datorită lipsei de părți (*anavayava*) uniunea (*saṃyoga*) acestor conglomerate nu poate fi stabilită.

Astfel, [nici] conglomeratele (*saṃghāta*) nu se unesc unele cu altele. În acest caz nu trebuie să se afirme că uniunea (*saṃyoga*) atomilor nu poate fi stabilită datorită lipsei [lor] de părți (*avayava*) deoarece uniunea conglomeratelor, chiar și în

reprezenta astfel un atom constituit din alți atomi. Dificultățile implicate de afirmarea existenței unei astfel de entități sunt scoase în evidență de Vasubandhu.

¹⁹ În acest caz, problema ar fi aceea de a mai găsi un element care să dea seama de unitatea conglomeratului.

²⁰ O posibilă încercare de salvare a teoriei atomiste ar putea susține că nu atomii sunt aceia ce se unesc pentru a da naștere obiectelor complexe, ci conglomeratele (*saṃghāta*). O astfel de teorie, pe care Vasubandhu o atribuie școlii Vaibhāṣika, ar evita, cel puțin în aparență, dificultățile pe care le ridică modalitatea de unire a atomilor prin simplul fapt că aceste "conglomerate", fiind diferite de atomi, nu ar împărtăși proprietățile acestora. În continuare, Vasubandhu va respinge această teorie.

cazul în care ar avea părți, nu poate fi admisă.²¹ De aceea, atomul (*paramāṇu*) nu poate fi stabilit ca fiind substanța (*dravya*) unitară (*eka*). Atât dacă se acceptă [posibilitatea] uniunii atomilor, cât și dacă nu se acceptă.

14. Unitatea (*ekatva*) a ceea ce este separat (*bheda*) în părți spațiale (*digbhāga*) nu se susține.²²

Astfel, în cazul în care atomul este separat în părți spațiale (*digbhāga*), [începând] de la o parte orientată în față și până la una orientată în jos, cum se va mai susține unitatea (*ekatva*) unui atom compus din astfel [de părți]?

Cum [se produc] umbra (*chāyā*) și blocajul (*āvṛtti*)?

Dacă fiecare dintre atomi nu ar mai fi separat în părți spațiale (*digbhāga*), cum mai poate apărea umbră (*chāyā*) într-o parte, iar în alta dogoare (*tapas*), la răsăritul Soarelui (*āditya*)? Nu ar exista părți (*pradeśa*) diferite ale [atomului] dacă nu ar fi dogoare în altă parte.

Cum ar avea loc blocarea (*āvaraṇa*) unui atom de către un altul dacă separația în părți spațiale nu ar fi acceptată deoarece astfel, niciun atom nu ar avea părți diferite unde să aibă loc ciocnirea (*pratighāta*) unui [atom] de către un altul care vine.

În cazul în care ciocnirea ar fi non-existentă (*asat*), datorită aceleiași localizări (*deśatva*) a tuturor [atomilor], întregul conglomerat (*saṃghāta*) ar fi doar [de mărimea] unui atom – astfel se afirmă.

[Obiecție]: Însă de ce să nu se accepte că umbra (*chāyā*) și blocajul (*āvṛtti*) țin de conglomerat (*piṇḍa*) și nu de atomi?

Însă atunci conglomeratul ar fi acceptat ca fiind ceva diferit de atomii înșiși.

[Obiecție]: Celor care acceptă [aceasta] li se spune că nu [este așa].

Dacă aglomerația (*piṇḍa*) [de atomi] nu este ceva diferit (*anya*) de aceștia, ea nu poate fi [obiectul] aceloră [care discută despre ea].²³

²¹ Cazul în care conglomeratele (*saṃghāta*) sau atomii (*paramāṇu*) ar avea părți va fi examinat ulterior.

²² Vasubandhu arată mai întâi că este absurd să se susțină unitatea a ceva ce are părți, pentru ca apoi el să arate că, pentru a explica anumite experiențe, teoria atomistă trebuie să accepte că atomii au părți. Concluzia implicită a argumentului este non-validitatea teoriei atomiste.

²³ Ideea este aceea că apelul la "conglomerate" (*saṃghāta*, *piṇḍa*) ar putea rezolva problemele apărute anterior doar în situația în care conglomeratele ar putea fi acceptate ca fiind diferite de atomii înșiși. Însă nici măcar aceia care încearcă să dea seama de existența unei realități "obiective" prin apelul la aceste "conglomerate" nu sunt dispuși să accepte un astfel de statut al conglomeratelor.

Dacă nu se acceptă că conglomeratul este altceva decât atomii, atunci nu se poate stabili (*siddha*) că [umbra și blocajul] țin de acest [conglomerat].

Atom (*paramānu*) sau conglomerat (*saṃghāta*) – acestea reprezintă construcții ale imaginației (*parikalpa*).

Dacă atributele (*lakṣaṇa*) cum ar fi forma (*rūpa*) și celelalte nu sunt respinse, care mai este atunci eroarea (*anaya*) [comisă] de către gândire (*cintā*)? Ce este acela ale cărui atribute (*lakṣaṇa*) sunt faptul de a fi obiect (*viśaya*) al vederii (*caḥsus*) sau al celorlalte [simțuri], faptul de a fi albastru sau de alte [culori]? Aceasta trebuie să se decidă. Ceea ce se acceptă că este obiect al vederii sau al celorlalte [simțuri], că este albastru, galben sau de alte [culori], este acela o substanță (*dravya*) unică (*eka*) sau multiplă (*aneka*)? Și de aici, ce [rezultă]? Neajunsurile (*doṣa*) [substanței] multiple au fost deja afirmate.

15.În cazul unității (*ekatva*) [obiectului], nu ar mai exista mersul (*iti*) pas cu pas, nici perceperea (*graha*) [unui obiect] și non-perceperea simultană [a altuia], nici acțiunea (*vṛtti*) a ceea ce este divers (*vicchinna*) și multiplu (*aneka*) și nici cele subtile (*sūkṣma*) nu ar mai fi invizibile (*anīkṣā*) pentru noi.²⁴

Dacă concepem obiectul (*viśaya*) vederii (*caḥsus*) drept o substanță unică, lipsită de discontinuitate (*avicchinna*) și non-multiplă (*nāneka*), nu ar mai exista deplasarea (*gamana*) pas cu pas pe pământ (*pṛthivī*), datorită faptului că s-ar merge peste tot printr-un singur pas. Nu ar fi [posibilă] perceperea (*grahaṇa*) părții (*bhāga*) din față [a unui obiect] și, simultan, non-perceperea părții [sale] din spate, deoarece perceperea și non-perceperea unui același [obiect] nu se admit. Nu ar exista manifestarea (*vṛtti*) discontinuității (*vicchinna*) și a multiplicității (*aneka*), în cazul unui elefant, al unui cal sau al altora aflate în diverse locuri, deoarece acolo unde există unitate (*eka*), cum se pot accepta tot acolo diferențele (*apara*) și separația (*viccheda*)? Cum mai putem găsi unitatea (*eka*) și cum putem să nu mai găsim două [obiecte distincte] dacă percepem vidul (*śūnya*) din spațiul intermediar (*antārala*) [dintre mai multe obiecte]?

Ființele (*jantu*) subtile (*sūkṣma*) din apă nu ar mai fi invizibile (*anīkṣaṇa*), [ele fiind] de același fel ca și cele grosiere (*sthūla*) dacă diferențierea (*antaratva*) substanțelor este concepută doar datorită diferențelor (*bheda*) de atribute (*lakṣaṇa*) și nu altfel. De aceea, [conglomeratele] de atomi trebuie să se conceapă, în mod necesar, ca diferențiate (*bheda*).²⁵ Unitatea (*eka*) nu poate fi stabilită. Aceasta nefiind stabilită, iar formele (*rūpa*) și celelalte nefiind [nici ele] stabilite drept obiecte (*viśaya*) ale vederii (*caḥsus*) și ale celorlalte [reprezentări senzoriale], [existența] unică a ideaiilor (*vijñaptimātra*) este astfel stabilită (*siddha*).

²⁴ Vasubandhu reia argumentele împotriva conceperii obiectului extern drept o unitate; și în comentariul la versetul 11 s-au adus niște obiecții împotriva acestui mod de a considera obiectul.

²⁵ Însă anterior s-a arătat că și această interpretare este problematică.

Sub determinația mijloacelor legitime de cunoaștere (*pramāṇa*) se stabilește existența (*astitva*) sau non-existența tuturor, iar evidența senzorială (*pratyakṣa*) este mijlocul legitim de cunoaștere cel mai autoritar. În cazul non-existenței (*asat*) obiectelor (*artha*), cum mai poate apărea acea cunoaștere (*buddhi*) care este evidența senzorială?

16. Cunoașterea (*buddhi*) ce constituie evidența senzorială (*pratyakṣa*) are loc ca în vis (*svapna*) și în celelalte.

Astfel, s-a făcut cunoscut mai înainte că [reprezentarea se produce] și în absența obiectului (*artha*).

Atunci când ea are loc, obiectul (*artha*) nu mai este văzut. Cum mai poate fi conceput (*mata*) caracterul ei de evidență senzorială (*pratyakṣatva*)?

Când cunoașterea care este evidența senzorială (*pratyakṣa*) apare – “Aceasta este evidența mea senzorială.”, atunci obiectul (*artha*) nu mai este văzut deoarece discriminarea (*pariccheda*) [este realizată] doar de către conștiința mentală (*manovijñāna*), după ce conștiința vizuală (*caḥsurvijñāna*) a încetat. Deci, cum mai poate fi ea acceptată drept evidență senzorială (*pratyakṣatva*) a ceva? Datorită particularității (*viśeṣa*) că toate obiectele (*viśaya*) sunt momentane (*kṣanika*), formele, gusturile și celelalte încetează.²⁶

[Obiecție]: Conștiința mentală (*manovijñāna*) nu își amintește ceea ce nu a experimentat (*anubhūta*). În mod necesar, obiectul (*artha*) trebuie să fi fost experimentat [anterior] pentru ca vederea (*darśana*) lui [să se producă]. Astfel este concepută evidența senzorială (*pratyakṣa*) a obiectelor (*viśaya*), a formelor (*rūpa*) și a celorlalte. Amintirea (*smaraṇa*) obiectelor (*artha*) experimentate nu este stabilită deoarece,

²⁶ Fenomenologia Vijñānavādei identifică două etape distincte în producerea unei cunoașteri perceptuale, a unei reprezentări perceptuale având o formă conceptuală; acestea sunt etapa percepției brute, realizată la nivelul uneia dintre cele cinci conștiințe senzoriale, și, ulterior acesteia, etapa ce constă în punerea acestui material perceptual brut într-o formă conceptuală, într-o formă categorială, operație care se realizează la nivelul conștiinței mentale (*manovijñāna*). Aceste etape nu sunt simultane, ci succesive.

În contextul teoriei momentaneității (*kṣanikavāda*), unanim acceptată în budhism, și pe baza fenomenologiei percepției susținute de Vijñānavāda, se poate formula un argument în favoarea non-existenței unui obiect al cunoașterii perceptuale. Deoarece orice obiect poate exista doar pentru un moment (*kṣaṇa*), aceasta înseamnă că el poate fi existent cel mult în clipa în care este experimentat într-o formă brută la nivelul conștiinței senzoriale; însă el nu se poate menține în existență până în clipa în care, la nivelul conștiinței mentale, ia naștere reprezentarea sa perceptuală, și astfel cunoașterea perceptuală este întotdeauna, în mod necesar, lipsită de obiect.

17.S-a spus (*ukta*) cum [ia naștere] ideația (*vijñapti*) celor care se manifestă (*ābhāsā*).

Chiar și în lipsa (*vina*) obiectului (*artha*), manifestarea (*ābhāsā*) obiectelor, ideația (*vijñapti*) [lor], conștiința vizuală (*cakṣurvijñāna*) și celelalte [conștiințe] iau naștere așa cum a fost afirmat [mai înainte].

Pornind de la aceasta [se produce] amintirea (*smaraṇa*).

Pornind de la această ideație (*vijñapti*) se produce conștiința mentală (*manovijñāna*) căreia îi este asociată amintirea (*smṛti*) și care constă în manifestarea (*pratibhāsa*) formelor și a celorlalte discriminări (*vikalpika*). Astfel, pe baza apariției (*utpāda*) amintirii nu poate fi stabilită experimentarea (*anubhava*) obiectului [amintit].²⁷

[Obiecție]: Dacă, asemenea obiectelor non-existente (*abhūta*) [a căror] ideație (*vijñapti*) [ia naștere] în vis (*svapna*), tot așa ar fi și obiectele în starea de veghe (*jāgrata*), atunci non-existența acestei lumi (*loka*) s-ar înțelege de la sine. Însă nu este așa. De aceea, percepțiile (*upalabdhi*) obiectelor nu sunt ca în vis, adică toate lipsite de obiecte (*nirarthika*).

Aceasta nu poate fi stabilită drept cunoaștere [adevărată] deoarece

Cel care nu este trezit (*prabuddha*) nu înțelege non-existența (*abhāva*) obiectelor (*viśaya*) văzute în vis (*svapna*).

Lumea (*loka*) este adormită (*prasupta*) în latența (*nidrā*) întipăririlor conștiinței (*vāsanā*) și în practicarea (*abhyāsa*) unor discriminări (*vikalpa*) ireale (*vitatha*). La fel ca în cazul visului (*svapna*), se văd obiecte (*artha*) non-existente (*abhūta*) iar cel care nu este trezit (*prabuddha*) nu înțelege în mod corect non-existența lor.²⁸ Însă atunci când [lumea] este trezită datorită obținerii cunoașterii (*jñāna*) transcendente (*lokottara*), [cunoaștere] lipsită de reprezentări

²⁷ Experiența amintirii este lipsită de un obiect corespunzător la nivelul condiției prezente. Însă ea necesită existența unei experiențe anterioare, pe baza căreia să se poată produce. Vasubandhu arată că simpla existență a unei experiențe, care poate fi o experiență lipsită de un obiect corespunzător, este suficientă pentru a face posibilă experiența amintirii. Astfel că experiența amintirii nu implică în niciun fel existența vreunui obiect.

²⁸ Vijñānavāda, ca de altfel și alte curente religioase, consideră că există o diferență între realitatea autentică și experiența umană obișnuită; fiind distinctă de realitatea autentică, experiența umană poate fi asemuită unui vis (*svapna*).

Vijñānavāda preia metafizica Mahāyānei timpurii și astfel consideră condiția umană ca nefiind altceva decât o ipostază afectată de ignoranță (*ajñāna*) a realității ultime (*dharmatā, dharmadhātu*). Vijñānavāda interpretează experiența ignorantă specifică condiției umane în termeni idealști. Astfel că, în cazul ființei umane, puritatea realității ultime este afectată de prezența experienței conștiinței (*citta, vijñāna*), de prezența întipăririlor (*vāsanā*) ce există la nivelul acestei conștiințe și care predispon ființa umană la a opera discriminări categoriale fictive.

(*nirvikalpa*)²⁹, [care este] contracarantul (*pratipakṣa*) acelei [stări de somn], atunci este obținută cunoașterea mundană (*laukika*) pură (*śuddha*), obținută ulterior acestei [iluminări] (*tatprṣṭhalabdha*), îndreptată către toate (*sammukhin*), și astfel se înțelege în mod corect non-existența obiectelor.³⁰ Aceste [situații] sunt identice (*samāna*).³¹ Dacă ființelor (*satva*), ideățiile (*viññapti*) manifestării (*pratibhāsā*) obiectelor (*artha*) le apar doar datorită unor anumite transformări (*pariñāma*) în propriile lor serii personale (*svasantāna*), și nu datorită unor anumitor obiecte, atunci cum se mai stabilește, în cazul ființelor, regularitatea (*niyama*) [aparității] ideățiilor (*viññapti*) datorate contactului cu prieteni păcătoși (*pāpa*) sau virtuoși (*kalyāṇa*) sau datorate ascultării unor doctrine (*dharma*) adevărate (*sat*) sau false (*asat*), în condițiile în care se arată că acest contact (*saṃparka*) cu cele adevărate sau false nu există?

18. Regularitatea (*niyama*) [aparității] ideățiilor (*viññapti*) are loc prin faptul că [ele] se guvernează (*adhipatitva*) reciproc (*mitha*) una pe alta (*anyonya*).³²

Prin faptul că ideățiile tuturor ființelor (*sattva*) se guvernează reciproc una pe cealaltă, există o regularitate (*niyama*) a [aparității] ideățiilor, [care sunt] ca și cum ar fi legate (*yoga*). "Reciproc" (*mitha*) [înseamnă] una pe cealaltă (*anyonya*). Deci, datorită anumitor ideății ale unei serii personale (*santāna*) iau naștere într-o altă serie personală anumite ideății, și nu datorită unui anumit obiect (*artha*).

Dacă ideățiile (*viññapti*) sunt în starea de veghe (*jāgrata*) tot la fel cum sunt în vis, adică lipsite de obiecte, de ce efectele (*phala*) viitoare (*āyati*), dezirabile

²⁹ Adică datorită obținerii cunoașterii realității autentice, a realității ultime.

³⁰ "Cunoașterea obținută ulterior acestei [iluminări]" (*tatprṣṭhalabdhajñāna*) sau "cunoașterea mundană pură" (*śuddhalaukikajñāna*) se referă la atotcunoașterea (*sarvajñā*), la experiența atotcuprinzătoare ce caracterizează condiția iluminată. Această cunoaștere este nu doar universală, ci, în egală măsură, lipsită de eroare, și astfel, la nivelul său, manifestarea se arată ca simplă apariție, ca simplu fenomen având o natură ideatică și fiind lipsit de substanțialitate proprie, și nu ca o multitudine de obiecte determinate. Obiectul determinat constituie ficțiune pură și astfel experiența sa nu se regăsește la nivelul acestui tip de cunoaștere.

³¹ Adică situația condiției umane obișnuite și a iluminării (*prabuddha*), pe de o parte, și cea a somnului și a trezirii, pe de altă parte.

³² Chiar și în absența unui obiect, Viññānavāda dă seama de existența unei anumite regularități în succesiunea ideățiilor prin invocarea unor legi de succesiune ale acestora, legi ce nu fac apel la nimic altceva decât la ideății. Vezi versetele 2 și 3!

Susținând existența unei anumite regularități în succesiunea ideățiilor, susținând că anumite ideății determină apariția altor ideății, Viññānavāda reușește să dea seama și de existența unei anumite legi morale, de existența legilor karmice. Chiar dacă atât în faptele (*karma*) indivizilor, în atitudinile lor volitive (*cetanā*), cât și în experiențele pe care aceștia le dobândesc ca urmare a retribuției karmice (*karmavipāka*), nu este implicat niciun obiect, totuși, relația de determinația dintre acestea este posibilă deoarece, după cum am arătat, există o anumită regularitate internă a succesiunii experiențelor ideatice.

(iṣṭa) sau indezirabile (aniṣṭa), ale comportamentului corect (kuśala) sau incorect, nu sunt identice (tulya) în cazul [faptelor] din somn (supta) sau din starea de veghe? Deoarece:

În vis (svapna), conștiința (citta) este afectată (upahata) de oboseală (middha) și, datorită acestui fapt, efectele (phala) [lor] nu sunt identice (sama) [cu cele din starea de veghe].³³

Aceasta este cauza (kāraṇa), și nu existența (bhāva) unor obiecte (artha) reale (sat).

Dacă această [lume] este doar idee, atunci nimeni nu are nici corp (kāya), nici voce (vāc). Cum are loc atunci moartea (maraṇa) mieilor și a celorlalte care sunt uciși de către păstori sau de către alții? Cum le poate fi atribuită păstorilor și celorlalți vina (āvadya) de a fi luat viața (prāṇa) în cazul în care această faptă (kṛta) sau moartea nu există?

19. Moartea (maraṇa) reprezintă o alterație (vikriyā) datorată anumitor ideii (vijñapti) ale altora, așa cum, datorită influenței mentale (manovaśa) a demonilor Pișăca și a celorlalți asupra altora, au loc pierderea memoriei (smṛti) și altele.³⁴

Așa cum sub influența mentală a demonilor Pișăca și a celorlalți asupra altora apar modificări (vikāra) ca pierderea memoriei (smṛti), vederea (darśana) unor vise (svapna), posesiunile demoniace³⁵, așa cum sub influența puterilor mentale supranaturale (ṛddhi) și datorită controlului [exercitat] de către nobilul (arya) Mahākātyāyana, Sāraṇa a avut vise, așa cum datorită agresiunii (pradoṣa) mentale a Rșilor din pădure, Vemacitra a fost înfrânt, tot așa, datorită unei anumite

³³ Doar starea particulară a conștiinței determină încărcătura karmică a unei anumite atitudini, voliții, fapte; niciun element exterior conștiinței nu este implicat în acestea.

³⁴ Prin apelul la conceptul de "conștiința-depozit" (ālayavijñāna), prin apelul la conștiința fenomenală universală în care toate experiențele sunt "strânse laolaltă" (saṃ-graha) și în care toate experiențele interacționează în mod cauzal, Vijñānavāda poate da socoteală și de posibilitatea experiențelor trans-individuale. După cum am arătat, există o anumită regularitate în succesiunea experiențelor ideatice, acestea guvernându-se, determinându-se una pe alta. În plus, această relație de determinație nu se produce în mod strict la un nivel individual; ea are loc la nivelul conștiinței-depozit, conștiința universală, trans-individuală. Astfel devine posibilă relaționarea inter-personală a experiențelor, astfel devine posibil ca o anumită experiență a unui individ (intenția, actul de a ucide) să determine o anumită experiență la nivelul unui alt individ (moartea acestuia).

³⁵ Vasubandhu face apel la câteva episoade din mitologia budhistă, în care se recunoaște în mod explicit că, sub determinația anumitor ideii subiective experimentate de o anumită persoană, pot avea loc anumite experiențe la nivelul unei alte persoane. Sugestia sa este că, așa cum este acceptată posibilitatea unor astfel de experiențe, tot așa ar putea fi acceptată și posibilitatea ca în toate relațiile inter-personale să fie implicate în mod exclusiv elemente de natură experienței, elemente de natură ideatică.

determinații (*adhipati*) a unor ideaii, iau naștere anumite alterații (*vikriyā*) vătămătoare (*virodhin*) ale organelor (*indriya*) vitale ale altora și, în acest mod, apare într-o serie personală (*santati*) continuă (*sabhāga*) o întrerupere (*viccheda*) denumită "moarte" (*marāṇa*) – astfel trebuie să se cunoască.

20. Cum [altfel] ar fi avut loc vidarea [de orice formă de viață] a pădurii Daṇḍaka datorită furiei (*kopa*) Rșilor³⁶?

[Obiecție]: Și totuși, dacă nu se acceptă că moartea (*marāṇa*) ființelor (*satva*) se datorează unui anumit control (*adhipati*) [exercitat] de către alte ideaii (*vijñapti*)?

Însă Upāli, un stăpân al unei case (*grhpati*) a fost întrebat de către cel divin (*bhagavat*) referitor la stabilirea caracterului de fapt blamabil (*āvadyatva*) al agresiunii mentale (*manodaṇḍa*):

“O, stăpânule al unei case, de către cine s-a auzit că au fost vidate (*śūnya*) și purificate (*medhya*) [de orice formă de viață] pădurile Daṇḍaka, Mātaṅga și Kaliṅga?”

El, [Upāli], a spus astfel:

“O, Gautama, din cele auzite de mine, de către agresiunea mentală (*manah pradoṣa*) a Rșilor.”

Cum [altfel] să se demonstreze faptul că agresiunea mentală (*manodaṇḍa*) constituie o mare vină (*āvadya*)?

[Obiecție] :Însă dacă se concepe astfel? Acele ființe (*sattva*) care locuiau [în acele păduri] au fost distruse de [ființe] non-umane (*amānuṣa*) care locuiau împreună [cu ele] și nu au fost ucise de către agresiunea mentală a Rșilor. În cazul în care aceasta este realitatea (*sat*), prin aceste fapte, cum mai poate fi stabilit faptul că agresiunea mentală (*manodaṇḍa*) [reprezintă] cea mai mare vină (*āvadya*), [mai mare] decât agresiunea verbală sau corporală?

Însă se stabilește [acest lucru] datorită faptului că moartea (*marāṇa*) atâtor ființe (*sattva*) [are loc] doar prin acea agresiune mentală.

Dacă [toate] acestea sunt doar ideaii (*vijñapti*), cei care cunosc conștiința altora (*paracittavid*) chiar cunosc conștiința altora? Și ce [rezultă] de aici? Dacă nu cunosc, cum mai pot fi cunoscători ai conștiinței altora?

21. Cum poate fi cunoașterea (*jñāna*) acelor care cunosc conștiința altora (*paracittavid*) conformă cu obiectul (*artha*)?³⁷ Este asemenea (*yathā*) cunoașterii (*jñāna*) propriei conștiințe (*svacitta*).

³⁶ Ființe mitice din mitologia hindusă, adoptate și în mitologia budhistă.

³⁷ Obiecția nu vizează atât stabilirea faptului că poate exista un obiect al cunoașterii, cât, mai degrabă, urmărește să evidențieze o situație problematică, care necesită anumite lămuriri, din doctrina Vijñānavādei, școală care consideră că obiectul cunoașterii este exclusiv de tip ideatic (*vijñapti*).

Cum de această [cunoaștere] nu este conformă (*yathā*) cu un obiect (*artha*)?

Și este asemenea domeniului (*gocara*) celor iluminați (*buddha*), datorită faptului că [acestea] reprezintă non-cunoaștere (*ajñāna*).

Este ca în cazul domeniului (*gocara*) celor iluminați (*buddha*), care există prin intermediul acelu sine (*ātman*) incomunicabil (*nirabhilāpya*). Astfel, ambele aceste [tipuri de cunoaștere], deoarece reprezintă non-cunoaștere (*ajñāna*), nu sunt conforme cu obiectul, datorită faptului că [acesta reprezintă] apariție (*pratibhāsā*) lipsită de realitate (*vitatha*), deoarece [în cazul obiectului] nu a fost abandonată (*aprahīnatva*) discriminarea (*vikalpa*) dintre obiectul percepției (*grāhya*) și subiectul percepției (*grāhaka*).

[Teoria] unicității ideaiilor (*viññaptimātratā*) are fundamente (*gādhā*) profunde (*gāmbhīrya*) și o infinitate (*ananta*) de porțiuni (*prabheda*) problematice (*viniścaya*).

22. Demonstrația (*siddhi*) unicității ideaiilor (*viññaptimātratā*) a fost făcută de către mine, cu propriile mele puteri (*svasakti*). Aceasta însă nu poate fi gândită (*cintya*) sub toate aspectele (*sarvathā*).

Cei asemenea mie nu o pot gândi sub toate aspectele (*sarvaprakāra*) datorită faptului că nu constituie un domeniu (*viśaya*) al logicii (*tarka*). Atunci, cui aparține acest domeniu (*gocara*), sub toate aspectele? – astfel s-a spus.

Ea este domeniul de investigație (*gocara*) al celor iluminați (*buddha*).

Acest domeniu aparține, sub toate aspectele, celor divini (*bhagavat*) care au atins iluminarea (*buddha*) deoarece, [pentru ei] nu există nici un obstacol

Budhismul acceptă existența unor ființe având capacitatea de a cunoaște ceea ce se petrece în conștiința altora; obiecția vizează tocmai faptul că este oarecum problematic să se considere că obiectul acestei cunoașteri, adică conștiințele altora, constituie doar ideaiie (*viññapti*). Replica lui Vasubandhu la această obiecție este aceea că, deși în cazul acestui tip de cunoaștere sunt implicate elemente ce nu au o natură ideatică, totuși aceasta nu compromite teza idealistă a Vijñānavādei, întrucât aceste elemente nu constituie "obiecte" propriu-zise. Cunoașterea conștiinței altora este similară cunoașterii propriei conștiințe, asemenea auto-reflexivității pe care o experimentează orice individ. În acest caz, deși este implicat și un anumit element ce este altceva decât ideaiie, totuși, aceasta nu compromite cu nimic idealismul deoarece acest element nu poate fi considerat drept un "obiect". Vasubandhu menționează și cazul cunoașterii absolute, caz în care, de asemenea, este implicat un element de natură non-ideatică, însă fără ca aceasta să implice existența unui "obiect" al acelei cunoașteri. Vasubandhu chiar exclude aceste cazuri mai speciale ale cunoașterii din categoria "cunoașterii" (*jñāna*), el calificându-le pe acestea drept "non-cunoaștere" (*ajñāna*).

(*vighāta*) în calea cunoașterii (*jñāna*) a tot ceea ce este cognoscibil (*jñeya*), a tuturor aspectelor (*ākāra*).

[Acesta a fost] *Tratatul în 20 de versete (Viṃśatikā)* al [lucrării] *Stabilirea existenței unice a ideărilor (Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi)*. Acesta a fost elaborat (*kṛti*) de maestrul (*ācārya*) Vasubandhu.

*Marius MITROF**

**ARCHITECTURE AND PRIVATE SPACE.
THE MANSION FROM GHIDIGENI**

-Abstract-

Descending from an old family of archons from Chios Isle, Greece, Chrissoveloni family, through its representative, Zannis, arrived in Galați and settled here in 1848, laying down the bases of a cereal meter in the harbour. It was the starting point for the expansion of business in the Romanian space. Shortly after this establishment, the company was setting up agencies in Brăila and Bucharest.

Businesses were successfully continued by Nicolas Z. Chrissoveloni, one of Zannis' sons, who enlarges the family fortune by purchasing wide estates in Romania, Greece and Macedonia, Melnues-Monfort Castle near Paris, etc.

In 1879, he bought from Dimitrie Mavrocordat, a renowned boyar of those days, Ghidigeni and Ciorăști estate, being lured by its forests and soils favourable to cereal crops and vineyards, by its pastures and by the presence of Bârlad River and of a brandy distiller.

Nicolae Chrissoveloni built in Ghidigeni a school, functional to this day, the village church, the mansion and its annexes on the banks of Bârlad. Around 1887, these had already been built.

He turned the brandy distiller into a modern alcohol plant which also comprised yeast and potash plant, mechanic workshops and a garage rail (connected to Tecuci-Bârlad railway).

The mansion, a true palace, and its annexes, built by Nicolae Chrissoveloni, betrayed the influence of the Romantic architecture characteristic of the 19th century. The garden in front of the mansion, full of roses, was arranged in the French fashion, hosting rare species of ornamental bushes brought from abroad.

Two water basins were adorning the mansion entrance, ensuring a fresh atmosphere in hot summer days, and outlining at the same time the residency status of the building.

The bowling track and two tennis courts, out of which one was covered, were probably built after the beginning of the 20th century. It is certain that the covered tennis court was the only one of this kind in Romania for "you cannot play tennis in winter, but at Ghidigeni you can".

Built on two levels, in the style of French academism, the architecture of the palace reminds of the Greek origin of the owner. This building, although with simple volumes of the wall elevation, impressed through the vertical rhythm ensured by the high, prismatic roofs suggesting medieval towers if the

* Galați County Directorate for Culture and National Patrimony.

alert articulation of the decorative plastics did not partially dissolve their severity.

Jean Chrissoveloni, one of the three children born from Nicolas Chrissoveloni's marriage with Callirhoe Economo from Trieste, proved himself not only an eccentric, but a pragmatic man as well, managing to develop family business through his friendships with the Romanian highlife.

His eccentricity was obvious not only in the numerous events, but also in his bringing marble from Greece for building a family vault just like the temple of Goddess Nike on the Acropolis.

Jean Chrissoveloni's family and his sister Elena, married to principle Suțu, then to the French diplomat Paul Morand, were extremely hospitable hosts, receiving at Ghidigeni mansion Queen Maria and her daughters, King Ferdinand, Queen Maria's husband and other personalities of the Romanian history, before and during the war: Gafencu, Argetoianu, Negroponte, Balș, Ghica, etc.

During World War I, the mansion was turned into a hospital in which Jean's wife, Sybille and Queen Maria's daughters were working as volunteers. Here, Jean Chrissoveloni set up and managed Queen Maria Society of Ambulances.

After the war, in 1920, Jean Chrissoveloni set up in Bucharest, Chrissoveloni Bank, bringing as social share the alcohol plant from Ghidigeni. He died in 1926, family business being taken over by a wardship made of his wife, Sybille and prince Dimitrie Ghica, because his son, Nicky was not of age yet.

Nicky Chrissoveloni, together with his family, knew all the unfortunate events of the first half of the 20th century: the international crisis, World War II, confiscation of the fortune by the Communists, Communist prison. In 1960, he managed to leave, together with his family, in Greece. He died, far from his native country, in 1971, and was buried on a small island, Glyvada, near Athens.

Ghidigeni mansion, in seemingly perfect symbiosis with its owner, underwent the same hardships as Nicky Chrissoveloni. Burnt down by a fire in 1936-1937, it was rebuilt afterwards without preserving the same superb roof. In 1948 it was nationalised, turned into an agricultural establishment, then into a school for children with special needs. It suffered numerous transformations, both the palace and the annexes, and its state of degradation advanced continuously.

In 2004, Chrissoveloni's heirs, come into the possession of the mansion, trying to stop the degradation phenomenon and to save it from collapse.

The remarkable architecture, as well the personalities that had once passed its threshold, constituted strong arguments for qualifying the mansion and the family vault historical monuments in 1992.

Keywords: Chrissoveloni, biography, Ghidigeni, Galați, Greek family, agriculture, mansion, highlife

ARHITECTURĂ ȘI SPAȚIU PRIVAT. ANSAMBLUL CONACULUI DE LA GHIDIGENI

-Rezumat-

Scoborâtoare dintr-o veche familie de arhoniți din insula Chios din Grecia, familia Chrissoveloni, prin reprezentantul său Zannis, a ajuns și s-a stabilit în Galați în anul 1848, când au pus bazele unui contor de cereale în port. A fost punctul de plecare al expansiunii afacerilor în spațiul românesc. La puțin timp de la înființare, firma instala agenții la Brăila și București.

Afacerile sunt continuate cu succes de Nicolas Z. Chrissoveloni, unul dintre fiii lui Zannis, care va spori averea familiei prin achiziția unor moșii întinse în România, Grecia și Macedonia, castelul Melnues-Monfort de lângă Paris etc.

În anul 1879, va cumpăra de la Dimitrie Mavrocordat, un boier de seamă din acea perioadă, moșia Ghidigeni și Ciorăștii cu toate trupurile ei, atras fiind de pădurile, de solul propice pentru cultivarea cerealelor și a viței de vie, de pășuni, dar și de existența unei ape curgătoare, râul Bârlad și a unei velnițe de rachiu.

Nicolae Chrissoveloni a construit pe moșia de la Ghidigeni, o școală, funcțională și astăzi, biserica din sat, conacul și anexele sale de pe malul Bârladului. În jurul anului 1887, acestea erau deja construite.

Velnița de rachiu a dezvoltat-o într-o modernă fabrică de spirt care conținea și o fabrică de drojdie și potasă, atelier mecanic și o linie de garaj (o linie de cale ferată care era legată de drumul de fier Tecuci-Bârlad).

Conacul, un adevărat palat, și anexele sale, construite de Nicolae Chrissoveloni, vădea influența asupra comanditarului a arhitecturii de factură romantică existentă în secolul al XIX-lea. Grădina din fața conacului, plină de trandafiri, a fost amenajată după moda franceză, unde erau plantate specii rare de arbori ornamentali aduși din străinătate.

Două bazine cu apă înfrumusețau intrarea în conac, asigurând o atmosferă răcoroasă în zilele pline de arșiță ale verii, punctând totodată, ținuta rezidențială a imobilului.

Pista de popice și cele două terenuri de tenis, din care unul acoperit, au fost construite probabil după începutul secolului al XX-lea. Cert este că terenul de tenis acoperit era singurul din România în acea perioadă astfel încât „Iarna nu se putea juca tenis, pe când la Ghidigeni puteai să joci.”

Construit pe două nivele, în stilul academismului francez, arhitectura palatului amintește și de originea elenă a proprietarului. Acest edificiu, deși cu o volumetrie simplă a elevației zidurilor, reușea să impresioneze printr-un ritm vertical asigurat de acoperișurile prismate, înalte și mansardate sugerând bastioane medievale dacă articularea alertă a plasticii decorative a fațadelor nu ar dizolva parțial severitatea acestora.

Jean Chrissoveloni, unul din cei trei copii rezultați din căsătoria lui Nicolas Chrissoveloni cu Callirhoe Economo din Trieste, s-a dovedit nu numai

un tip excentric , ci și pragmatic, care a reușit să dezvolte afacerile familiei prin întreținerea unor prietenii din high-lifeul României.

Excentritatea lui s-a manifestat nu numai prin numeroasele evenimente, ci și prin aducerea de marmură din Grecia pentru a construi un cavou familiei întocmai ca templul zeiței Nike de pe Acropole.

Familia lui Jean Chrissoveloni și sora sa Elena care a fost căsătorită cu principele Suțu și apoi cu diplomatul francez Paul Morand, au fost gazde extrem de ospitaliere la conacul Ghidigeni pentru regina Maria și fiicele sale, pentru regele Ferdinand, soțul reginei Maria, pentru alte personalități ale istoriei României ante și interbelice : Gafencu, Argetoianu, Negroponte, Balș, Ghica, etc.

În timpul Primului Război Mondial, conacul devenise spital în care soția lui Jean, Sybille și fetele reginei Maria lucrau ca voluntare. Tot aici, Jean Chrissoveloni a finanțat și a fost președintele Societății de Ambulanțe Regina Maria.

După război, în 1920, Jean Chrissoveloni a înființat la București, Banca Chrissoveloni, aducând ca aport social fabrica de spirit de la Ghidigeni. A murit în 1926, afacerile familiei fiind preluate de o tutelă compusă din soția lui, Sybille și principele Dimitrie Ghica, deoarece fiul său, Nicky, nu era încă major.

Nicky Chrissoveloni împreună cu familia sa, au cunoscut toate evenimentele nefaste ale primei jumătăți de secol XX: criza mondială, cel de al doilea război mondial, confiscarea averii de către comuniști, închisoarea comunistă. În 1960 a reușit să plece , împreună cu familia sa, în Grecia. S-a stins departe de țara natală, în anul 1972 și a fost îngropat pe o insulă mică, Glyvada, în apropiere de Atena.

Conacul de la Ghidigeni aflat parcă într-o simbioză perfectă cu proprietarul său a cunoscut aceleași încercări prin care a trecut Nicky Chrissoveloni. Distrus de un incendiu în 1936-1937, a fost refăcut fără a mai avea acel acoperiș impozant. În 1948 a fost naționalizat , transformat într-o gospodărie agricolă de stat, apoi a devenit cîmin-școală pentru copii cu nevoi speciale. A suferit numeroase transformări constructive, atât la corpul palatului, cât și la anexe, iar starea de degradare a avansat continuu.

În 2004, moștenitorii familiei Chrissoveloni au intrat din nou în proprietatea conacului, astăzi încercând să stopeze fenomenul de degradare și să-l salveze de la colaps.

Arhitectura deosebită, dar și personalitățile care i-au trecut pragul, au constituit argumente puternice pentru clasarea conacului și a cavoului familiei ca monumente istorice în anul 1992.

Cuvinte cheie: Chrissoveloni, biografie, Ghidigeni, Galați, familie greci, agricultură, conac, elită.

To the North of Galați County, at the border with Vaslui County, Ghidigeni locality is closer to Bârlad (Vaslui County) and Tecuci (Galați County) Cities (22 km, 25 km, respectively) than the county capital city - Galați - which is located at 109 km approximately.

In the *Great Geographical Dictionary*, edition of 1899, Lahovary was writing about Ghidigeni that it was a rural locality and village of Tutova County; he was placing Corod on the left border of Bârlad River and to the South, the county capital city.

It had, in those days (1898), “563 inhabitants and 146 houses. There are 850 inhabitants in the entire locality, out of which 149 taxpayers, 270 houses. It has an alcohol plant.

15 people are engaged in trade.

It has a railway station, a rural post office for Corod Pereschiv region, a primary school for boys, a church.”¹

After 1965, at the same time with the new administrative-territorial reorganisation of Romania, Ghidigeni locality had become part of Galați County.

At present, the locality has 6,527 inhabitants², 2,049 households and 1,902 dwellings. It comprises eight villages: Ghidigeni, Gefu, Gârbovăț, Tăplău, Tălpigi, Slobozia-Corni, Gura Gârbovățului, Gara Ghidigeni (former Nichișel), on an area of 7,151 ha.

The relief is dominated by Tecuci Plain, a sub-hilly plain of terraces which belong to the Romanian Plain, the altitude varying between 43 meters in the South and 149 meters (Movila with Salcie point, SE)³. The locality is crossed by Bârlad River which overflows its banks when it rains heavily.

Being located on the lower reach of Bârlad, it includes its terraces and meadow, as well as the terraced foothill of Cosmești din Deal, between Siret and Bârlad.

The ash, oak, poplar and acacia forests, agricultural lands shelter a rich and attractive hunting fund⁴.

The climate is specific to the temperate continental region, with arid summers and cold winters, with strong blizzards.

The lands favourable to agriculture, grazing, vineyards, the forests and the rivers attracted the wealthy boyars who come into the possession of the land.

¹ *Marele Dicționar Geografic al României (Great Dictionary of Romania)*, by General Iacob Lahovary, vol. II, Bucharest, 1899, pp. 521-522

² Galați County Council, *The stable population of Galați County on cities, towns, localities and sexes on July 1, 2009*, <http://www.cjgalati.ro>.

³ Sorin Geacu, *Județul Galați, Dicționar de geografie fizică (Galați County, Dictionary of Physical Geography)*, CD PRESS Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007, p.120.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p.121.

One of them was Dimitrie Mavrocordat, a distinguished boyar of the latter half of the 19th century, who had his residence in Iași.

On October 25, 1876, Dimitrie Mavrocordat was seeking to lease “Ghidigeni estate and Cioresții with all its annexes”⁵. “Competition” or auction for leasing the estate had to take place on May 1, 1877, in Bârlad town, Talpău Hotel⁶. We do not know whether he succeeded in leasing Ghidigeni estate, however we do know that in 1879, he was selling Ghidigeni-Ciorăștii estate to Nicolae Chrissoveloni, banker⁷.

The Chrissovelonis come from a family of archons from Chios Isle, its first documentary attestation being still controversial (16th or 18th century)⁸. In 1821, when the Turks were trying to smother the rebellions of the Greek for independence, Zanni Manolis Chrissoveloni, one of the family members, flees from the isle that was to be burnt and arrives in Athens⁹.

Business savvy, as his entire family, Zanni Manolis Chrissoveloni opened in 1830, in Constantinople, Z. M. Chrissoveloni Fils et Cie Company. At the middle of the 19th century, he settled, for a short while in Constanța¹⁰ and then, due to the business relations established between the Romanian countries, especially regarding cereal trade on the Danube, he set up a cereal meter in Galați, under the name of “Chrissoveloni Fils, maison d’exportation et de banquet”. It was the starting point for the expansion of business in the Romanian space. Shortly after this establishment, the company was setting up agencies in Brăila and Bucharest.

In 1881, when Romania was becoming a Kingdom, the company merged with another old export house and bank, A. Kalergi, changing its name in Chrissoveloni Fils et Cie. Businesses were successfully continued by Nicolas Z.

⁵ “Vocea Covurluiului” Newspaper, October 25, 1876, V. A. Urechia Galați Library Documentary Fund.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ In the donation deed, authenticated by Ilfov Court, Notary Section, under no. 3527/1906, by which Callirhoe N. Chrissoveloni, is donating a series of goods to his son, Zanni N. Chrissoveloni, it is specified that Ghidigenii-Ciorăștii and Cărligii was bought under the document authenticated by Covurlui Court, section I, under no.38/ 1879. The copy of this document was provided to us by Mr. John Chrissoveloni.

⁸ According to Sybille Manu-Chrissoveloni, born on June 15, 1942, in Bucharest, the filiation of Chrissoveloni family goes down to 15th-16th century (Ștefan Petre Kirson, *Toamna și primăvara unui destin: bancherii Chrissoveloni*, in “Magazin Istoric” (Historical Magazine, no. 9/402, 2000), according to other genealogies, the attestation of the family starts with Zanni Chrissoveloni, in 1740 (http://www.genealogy.si/srd_indeks/C.txt).

⁹ Ștefan Petre Kirson, *Toamna și primăvara unui destin: bancherii Chrissoveloni (The Autumn and Spring of a Destiny: Chrissoveloni Bankers)*, in “Magazin Istoric” (Historical Magazine), no. 9/402, 2000.

¹⁰ National Archives of Romania, *Arhive personale și familiale, Repertoriu arhivistic (Personal and Family Archives, Archive Repertoire)*, Vol.1, Bucharest, 2001, p. 171.

Chrissoveloni, one of Zannis' sons, who changes again the name of the company in "N. Chrissoveloni, banquier".¹¹

Nicolae Chrissoveloni was a member of the consultative committee for the establishment of a warehouse in Galați¹² and, deeply attached to his adoptive country, he contributed to the subscription of the sums necessary for purchasing weapons for the Romanian army in the War of Independence¹³.

We do not know the exact year when he moved to Bucharest, on Lipscani Street¹⁴, what we do know is that in 1883, they owned a property in Galați¹⁵, neighbouring to the East the land on which the National Bank of Romania, Galați Subsidiary, would be built. It is here that were born: Elena (1879-1975) and Zanni (1880-1926), two of the three children of Nicolae and Callirhoe Chrissoveloni, former *Economista din Trieste*¹⁶. The third child was Demeter, who held important positions, for in 1908, N.Z. Chrissoveloni associates his two sons, Jean and Dumitru (the Romanian names of Zanni and Demeter), turning the company into a partnership firm named "N. Chrissoveloni", Bankers, Partnership Firm¹⁷.

They alienated the property in Galați, because on the date of the donation made by Nicolae Chrissoveloni's wife to her son, Zannis, in 1906, it no longer appears among the real estates of the family¹⁸. However, Chrissoveloni family did not leave entirely the town on the Danube border where they had started their business and ascension, also owning a nailery which Zanni Chrissoveloni brought in as share capital upon the establishment of Chrissoveloni Bank in 1920¹⁹.

At the same time with the fame of the company led by Nicolae Chrissoveloni, family fortune increases as well, as it they purchase wide estates in Romania, Greece and Macedonia, Ghidigeni mansion, Melnues-Monfort Castle near Paris, etc.

Let us go back to Ghidigeni estate which Nicolae Chrissoveloni brought in 1879 from Dimitrie Mavrocordat. Near the Greek communities of Galați and Brăila, near the Danube harbours, the inspiration to buy Ghidigeni estate will prove of great importance during World War I when the royal family, the Parliament and the Government of Romania move their headquarters to Moldova.

¹¹ Ștefan Petre Kirson, op. cit., p.51.

¹² Galați Documentary Treasury, p.202.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 213.

¹⁴ Donation deed authenticated by Ilfov County, Notary Section, under no. 3527/1906.

¹⁵ Bill of sale entered by sisters Cantacazi and the National Bank of Romania, authenticated by Covurlui Court on October 29, 1883.

¹⁶ Ștefan Petre Kirson, *Pe aripile amintirilor (On the Wings of Memories)*, Publishing House of the Historical Magazine Cultural Foundation, Bucharest, 2005, p.72.

¹⁷ Memorandum of association of Chrissoveloni Bank, Romanian Public Limited Company, authenticated by Ilfov County, Notary Section, under no. 10582 of April 30, 1920.

¹⁸ According to the Donation deed authenticated by Ilfov County, Notary Section, under no. 3527/1906.

¹⁹ Memorandum of association of Chrissoveloni Bank, Romanian Public Limited Company, authenticated by Ilfov County, Notary Section, under no. 10582 of April 30, 1920.

Nicolae Chrissoveloni built in Ghidigeni a school²⁰, functional to this day, the village church, the mansion and its annexes on the banks of Bârlad. Around 1887, these had already been built.

He turned the brandy distiller into a modern alcohol plant which also comprised a yeast and potash plant, mechanic workshops and a garage rail²¹ (connected to Tecuci-Bârlad railway).

The aerial photograph, dating to the year 1930 approximately shows that the mansion, a true palace, and its annexes, built by Nicolae Chrissoveloni, betrayed the influence of the Romantic architecture characteristic of the 19th century (Photo 1). The garden in front of the mansion, full of roses, was arranged in the French fashion, being cared for by a gardener specialised in floral arrangements. It hosted rare species of ornamental bushes brought from abroad.

Two water basins were adorning the mansion entrance, ensuring a fresh atmosphere in hot summer days, and outlining at the same time the residency status of the building (Photo 2). "One meter, one meter and a half deep (...) You would freshen up during the summer, instead of taking a shower, you got into that shallow water, swam a little, and felt invigorated (...)" was saying Maria Georgeta Caterina Chrissoveloni²², Nicky Chrissoveloni's wife, Zanne N. Chrissoveloni's son.

The bowling track and two tennis courts, out of which one was covered, were probably built after the beginning of the 20th century. It is certain that the covered tennis court was the only one of this kind in Romania²³ for "you cannot play tennis in winter, but at Ghidigeni you can"²⁴. The building in which the tennis court was located had been built precisely for this purpose. It was tall, long, with two registers. On the lower register, there was a series of half-circle windows, and on the upper register, a series of large, tall, arched windows ensured the proper lighting to the tennis players (Photo 3).

Built on two levels, in the style of French academism, the architecture of the palace reminds of the Greek origin of the owner. This building, although with simple volumes of the wall elevation, impressed through the vertical rhythm ensured by the high, prismatic roofs suggesting medieval towers if the alert articulation of the decorative plastics did not partially dissolve their severity (Photo 4).

The edifice, initially consisting of a single building, made of stone, brick, and wood and covered with slate, has, at its origins, a rectangular planimetry, developed on two levels. The ground floor housed the parlours and the living rooms, and the upper floor, the bedrooms.

²⁰ Petru Condrea, *Dicționar geografic al județului Tutova (Geographic Dictionary of Tutova County)*, Socecu&Teclu Graphic Establishment, Bucharest, 1887, p.42.

²¹ According to the Memorandum of association of Chrissoveloni Bank, Romanian Public Limited Company, authenticated by Ilfov County, Notary Section, under no. 10582 of April 30, 1920.

²² Ștefan Petre Kirson, op. cit., p.54.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

The balanced plane of the building opens up generous spaces to the lights of the surrounding garden. The Southern façade, looking onto the two water basins of the garden, is guided in a pyramidal composition which accelerates, towards the centre, the feeling of verticality.

The idea of verticality is obvious in all of the details: empty-full alternation, height of the window opening, of doors, both arched on the ground floor, then, upstairs, straight window openings with ornamented framings, and the straight attic windows which, although small, offered an oversized image due to the size of the arched eyelets, bigger than the windows. Over the attic windows, there were ox-eye clerestories.

The Eastern side of the palace had in those days a terrace covered with glass, intercalated between Doric columns. This terrace looked onto the garden and part of the village (Photo 5). On this side also, there was another way of access into the building, achieved through an octagonal construction with decorative elements.

In 1906, Jean N. Chrissoveloni, received Ghidigeni and Ciorăştii, under the donation deed made by his mother, Callirhoe Chrissoveloni, next to other goods and estates, with the obligation to pay to his sister, Elena²⁵, the sum of two millions lei, “which my husband gave as dowry upon her marriage with Captain Dim. C. Soutzu”²⁶.

Jean Chrissoveloni (1880-1926), banker in training and structure, set up Chrissoveloni Bank, Joint-Stock Company, in 1920, being its President until 1926 when he dies from an incurable disease. Intelligent, cultivated and educated in the finest schools of Paris, Jean Chrissoveloni was an eccentric banker, with clear artistic affinities. He was one of the “wealthy boys” of Galaţi, women-lovers²⁷, town gallants, as “play boys” were called in those days²⁸.

Jean Chrissoveloni proved his affinity for the British Empire, for he “was nursing the interests of England” in Romania²⁹. He married Sybille Youell³⁰, an English woman who, due to her origin, tied a close friendship with Princess Maria of Romania. Princess Maria was the godmother of Nicolae Chrissoveloni, Nicky, the only son of Jean and Sybille Chrissoveloni Youell, born in 1909. What we

²⁵ Elena Chrissoveloni (1879-1975), married to Prince Dimitrie C. Suţu and divorced in 1923, married again, in 1927, the French writer and diplomat Paul Morand.

²⁶ According to the Donation deed authenticated by Ilfov County, Notary Section, under no. 3527/1906.

²⁷ Ştefan Petre Kirson, *Pe aripile amintirilor (On the Wings of Memories)*, Publishing House of the Historical Magazine Cultural Foundation, Bucharest, 2005, p.69.

²⁸ Crişan V. Muşţeanu, *Lumea copilăriei mele (World of My Childhood)*, Alma Publishing House, Galaţi, 2001, p.88.

²⁹ Gh. Jurgea-Negrileşti, *Troica amintirilor sub patru regi (Troika of Memories under Four Kings)*, 2nd edition, Cartea Românească Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007, p.131.

³⁰ Sybille Youell was the second of the four daughters of Edward P. Youell, ship and company owner in Brăila and Galaţi (According to Henry Poole, *An unexpected survival*, 2004 - article sent by the author to John Chrissoveloni).

should notice is the tradition through which the first boy received the grandfather's name.

After receiving Ghidigeni estate, Jean Chrissoveloni built, annexed to the palace, a new building with ground floor and one floor, developed S-N, in relation to the palace. There was an annex which stood out through its gallery of columns with round arches, on the Eastern façade (Photo 6), ensuring access to the beautiful panorama of the family forest and Bârlad River, on which stood the palace hydroelectric power plant.

In this annex, situated behind the house, there were the offices of the estate and alcohol plant management³¹.

His eccentricity was also obvious in his building a family vault in Ghidigeni just like the temple of Goddess Nike on the Acropolis³² (Photo 7). It was built in the forest, on the other side of Bârlad. "When you saw this well outlined and harmoniously built temple, with its Greek columns, you thought it was a piece of the Acropolis"³³.

The railway ensured the access of the family friends to the mansion. Therefore, everything had to be very well organised. The Romanian Railways were informed of the number of people going to Ghidigeni so that the train would stop two minutes in Nichișel (the current Ghidigeni station). From here, the guests were taken over by a track car of the alcohol plant, with seats (Photo 8), by which they arrived either to the mansion park and went on foot to the palace, or at the alcohol plant where carriages were waiting for them³⁴.

Queen Maria would often find refuge at Ghidigeni estate, together with the princesses³⁵, enjoying the pleasant accommodation offered by Elena Chrissoveloni, Jean's sister.

Grigore Gafencu was, next to Dimitrie Ghica, Balș, Negropontes and other personalities, a habitual friend of Chrissoveloni family.

They would play tennis, bowling, they would swim, ride and take walks. Hunting at Ghidigeni was minutely organised by Jean Chrissoveloni. Pheasants were bred in farms and let loose in the forest one week before the hunt³⁶.

In the days of World War I, during his refuge in Moldova, King Ferdinand would often go to Ghidigeni, to Chrissoveloni's mansion, where, according to Argetoianu, "the king indulged in lecherous parties with the three Bastache sisters

³¹ Ștefan Petre Kirson, op.cit., p.115.

³² According to the testimony of Sybille Manu-Chrissoveloni, the eldest daughter of Georgeta and Niculae Chrissoveloni, the temple seems to have been brought piece by piece from Greece in order to become the family vault (Stelian Țurlea, *Fă-ți patul și dormi (Make Your Bed and Go to Sleep)*, PRO Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997, p.23.).

³³ Ștefan Petre Kirson, op.cit., p.115.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p.66.

³⁵ Pamfil Șeicaru, *Istoria partidelor național, țărănesc și național țărănesc (History of the National, Peasants' and National Peasants' Parties)*, vol. II, EVF, Bucharest, 2000, p.123.

³⁶ Ștefan Petre Kirson, *Pe aripile amintirilor (On the Wings of Memories)*, Publishing House of the Historical Magazine Cultural Foundation, Bucharest, 2005, p.50.

who, under the cover of charity sisters, exploited their temper". People made "love" like there was no tomorrow, "men and ladies tangling at night in rooms and in beds". For these manifestations, C. Argetoianu found an explanation: "When all moral laws are reversed, when people chase to kill one another, when epidemics, misery and all sorts of privations exasperate the nerves and waken the vices, when sex promiscuity, imposed by the circumstances, overthrows the material barriers raised by the comfort of peaceful civilisations, when life and tomorrow seem mere ephemeral illusions - it is only natural that moral criteria become altered"³⁷.

In the same period, Jean Chrissoveloni allowed his mansion be turned into a hospital where Queen Maria was an almost permanent presence. Still here, Jean Chrissoveloni set up and managed Queen Maria Society of Ambulances³⁸ (Photo 9).

A relevant episode for the fate of the war took place in Ghidigeni mansion. We reproduce several passages from Victor Antonescu's journal: "Fearing that my presence in Iași would be discovered, Mr. de St. Aulaire asked banker Ion³⁹ Chrissoveloni, whose pro-allied feelings were authentic, to harbour at Ghidigeni a certain person whose name could not be made known, neither to him, nor to his family and employees. The name of the mysterious guest was to be communicated to him by Mr. St. Aulaire himself, once the secrecy was no longer required. At 11 at night, I left the house of the Minister of France in a car, accompanied by the French lieutenant, du Sartel.

During my stay at Ghidigeni, the King dismissed Marghiloman government and replaced it with a government presided by General Coandă (October 24 / November 6, 1918), the army being mobilised as discreetly as possible until it was possible to publicly decree it (October 28 / November 10, 1918)⁴⁰.

Victor Antonescu, appointed again envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Paris, left immediately to take up his position. His return was eulogized by the press of Paris. It was justly qualified, as "L'Excelsion" of December 11, 1918 was titling - *A heroic mission*⁴¹.

³⁷ Ion Scurtu, *Istoria românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866-1947) (The History of Romanians under the Four Kings)*, Tipo Moldova Publishing House, Iași, 2010, p.58.

³⁸ Maria Cantacuzino-Enescu, *Umbre și lumini. Amintirile unei prințese moldave (Shadows and Lights. The Memories of a Moldavian Princess)*, Aristarc Publishing House, Bacău, 2006.

³⁹ The Greek names Zanni, Demeter, Nicolas gradually turned into Jean or Ion, Dimitrie or Dumitru, Nicolae.

⁴⁰ The original journal is kept in the Historical Archive of the National Library, *Saint-Georges* Fund, package C/4. V. Antonescu.

⁴¹ After two days, Colonel Rosetti handed to Antonescu, apart from the said letter, other three letters, addressed to Queen Maria, to Ion I.C. Brătianu and to Barbu Știrbei, urging them to join the battle decisively... when it is rung up, but not before". (General Radu Rosetti, *Marturisiri (Confessions) (1914-1919)*, Bucharest, Modelism Publishing House, 1997, p. 268.).

After the war, there came Brătianu's expropriation. Jean Chrissoveloni, from the ten thousand arable hectares of Ghidigeni was left with five hundred!⁴²

Jean Chrissoveloni died in 1926 and was buried in the marble vault he had built, next to his father, Nicolae, who had passed away in 1913, and his cousin, Stryge Chrissoveloni.

His son, Nicky was only 17 years old and therefore, until his coming of age, a wardship was established for the management of the fortune, comprised of his mother, Sybille Chrissoveloni and a friend of the family, Prince Dimitrie Ghica⁴³.

After his coming of age, Nicky Chrissoveloni would manage the entire fortune of his family, including the Bank of Bucharest. He had become a charming man, an excellent dancer, a man with an impeccable education and a fairness one would only see at the English gentlemen.

In 1940, he was the honorary consul of Finland, representing the Finish Consulate in Romania⁴⁴.

In 1941, he married Georgette Lakeman-Economu, born in 1912, the daughter of Georges Lakeman-Economu and Elena Colibășeanu, Mazar Pașa's granddaughter, on her father's side⁴⁵. They had four children: Sybille (1942), John (1943), Elena (1946) and Irina (1951).

Nicky Chrissoveloni, together with his family, knew all the unfortunate events of the first half of the 20th century: the international crisis, World War II, confiscation of the fortune by the Communists, Communist prison. In 1960, he managed to leave, together with his family, in Greece. He died, far from his native country, in 1971, and was buried on a small island, Glyfada, near Athens.

Ghidigeni mansion, in seemingly perfect symbiosis with its owner, underwent the same hardships as Nicky Chrissoveloni.

Nicky Chrissoveloni managed to protect family reputation, succeeding, after the crisis of 1929-1933, with desperate financial efforts which involved his own fortune, to save Chrissoveloni Bank from bankruptcy, bank whose fame had gone beyond the Romanian borders. In 1935, he succeeded in stabilising the position of the bank on the market, however, in 1936 a fire which occurred at Ghidigeni, due, it seems, to some welding works undertaken at the mansion roof, damaged its roof entirely.

The episode of the fire is retold by Nicky Chrissoveloni's wife, Mrs Georgeta N. Chrissoveloni: "When the mansion caught fire, most of the furniture burnt. I must say that the villagers acted remarkably for they took out and saved the

⁴² Gh. Jurgea-Negrilești, op.cit., p.124.

⁴³ Ștefan Petre Kirson, *Toamna și primăvara unui destin: bancherii Chrissoveloni (The Autumn and Spring of a Destiny: Chrissoveloni Bankers)*, in "Magazin Istoric" (Historical Magazine), no.9/402, 2000, p.51.

⁴⁴ Ștefan Petre Kirson, *Pe aripile amintirilor (On the Wings of Memories)*, Publishing House of the Historical Magazine Cultural Foundation, Bucharest, 2005, p.89.

⁴⁵ Mazar Pașa, on his real name, Stephen Bartlett Lakeman (1823 – July 1897), British officer, he fought in the Crimean War (1853 – 1856), under the guidance of the Ottoman officers. He receives the rank of Pasha for his remarkable deeds.

things inside the mansion (...)”⁴⁶. The damage to the goods inside the house was minor. The dishware, the silverware, everything was saved by the villagers. “Only an ash-tray and six tennis balls were missing”⁴⁷.

The roof could not be rebuilt at its monumental sizes because all the liquidities were used for saving Chrissoveloni Bank, however, Nicky Chrissoveloni, helped by one of his close friends, architect Balș, managed to build a smaller roof without affecting too much the elegance of the architectural style of the mansion, rebuilding the façades as well (Photo 10).

Owing to the photographs provided by Nicky Chrissoveloni’s children, we can enter the palace, recreating the elegant air of the time when its threshold was passed by Queen Maria and King Ferdinand, their Royal Highnesses, Gafencu, Ghica, Paul Morand, Argetoianu, Negropontes and many other distinguished personalities of Romania in the first half of the 20th century.

The rooms had marble floors, parquet and the marble fireplaces, the furniture, the huge candelabra showed the high social appurtenance and commissioner’s the taste for luxury (Photo 11, 12, 13, 14). The hallway clerestory was made of wrought iron and was adorned with vegetal patterns. In the hallway, there were pillars decorated with a floral band. They continued into a broken arch which framed the illuminator on the ceiling. We do not know whether the fireplaces had a functional or a purely decorative role, however, the mansion had underfloor heating, in those days being the only one in the South of Moldova with such a heating system. The access to the rooms was ensured either by arched voids, or by straight voids, the tall doors bearing geometrical patterns on the wooden panels. The ceilings differed from room to room. In some rooms, the ceiling was compartmentalized and surrounded by an ovae and tonguelets moulding, specific to the Erechtheion of Athens, or adorned with purely decorative moulding which limits and frames the assembly, in other rooms, the ceiling was simple.

The wooden furniture was tastefully displayed in each room and the parquet was covered by hand-woven carpets.

Each room was furnished according to its destination, in line with the specificity of the epoch and the owner’s taste. In the entry hall, where the large fireplace was located, the low or high back armchairs and couches, covered in leather or fabric, were lined next to the wall. In front of the fireplace, on a hand-woven carpet, there was a solid wooden table⁴⁸. Lighting was ensured in the hall by shell-shaped wall fittings. On the fireplace, there were various brass objects, of Greek specificity. A child bust placed in a corner and an ornamental plan embellished the room. In one of the ground floor parlours, strongly lit by the tall arched windows, the same warm atmosphere welcomes us, while hand-woven carpets, wooden chairs with curved backs, armchairs and couches with generous

⁴⁶ Ștefan Petre Kirson, op.cit., p.66.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ From our talks with Mr. John Chrissoveloni, it appears that this table is in Greece today, in the house of one of his sisters.

cushions, covered in cloth, invite people to rest. Flower vases on tables or chests and ornamental plants gladdened the eye and offered moments of comfort.

The terrace, covered in glass, was the place where the owners and his guests could talk peacefully at a cup of coffee or tea or at a game of cards, comfortably seated on willow chairs, admiring the garden landscape, irrespective of the weather.

We can easily imagine the conversations carried at a cup of tea, in rooms which the visitor felt honoured to see, to assist at a theatrical representation or film projection, as the mansion also housed an entertainment room.

After the instauration of the Communist regime in Romania, in March 1945, Ghidigeni mansion, alcohol plant and forest of are nationalised. The agricultural establishment will function in the mansion, then a school for children with special needs.

Chrissoveloni family vault did not remain untouched. Built by Jean Chrissoveloni with marble brought piece by piece from Greece, faithful copy of temple of goddess Athena Nike on the Acropolis⁴⁹, it was profaned and the coffins containing the relic of Nicolae Chrissoveloni, the one who bought Ghidigeni estate, Stryge Chrissoveloni, his nephew and Jean Chrissoveloni, the one who built the vault, were taken out and thrown away⁵⁰.

The distinction and taste conferred to the entire mansion jangled with the interventions performed by its various beneficiaries after 1948.

The performance of several, entirely uninspired works, brought substantial changes to mansion volumetry and rooms. The underfloor heating was removed, the voids for heat emanation were covered, the terrace was divided and the gaps between the Doric columns were built up, the doors between certain rooms were also built up, other access voids were made, etc. The lack of care for the garden turned it, from a French garden, into a simple orchard invaded by bushes and weeds. The famous covered tennis court was also changed and turned into the dining hall of the school.

The remarkable architecture, as well the personalities that had once passed its threshold, constituted strong arguments for qualifying the mansion and the family vault historical monuments in 1992.

The mansion and its annexes, architectural and historical monuments each of them, were included in the List of Historical Monuments with the code GL-II-a-B-03082, and the vault with the code GL-II-m-B-03083.

⁴⁹ Radu Negrea, Ștefan Petre Kirson, *Banca Chrissoveloni, Societate Anonimă Română, București 1920-1948: documente: actul constitutiv, statutul, procese-verbale ale consiliului de administrație, bilanțuri generale anuale și semestriale (Chrissoveloni Bank, Romanian Public Limited Company, Bucharest 1920-1948: documents. Memorandum of Association, Articles, Minutes of the Managing Board, Yearly and Semestrial Balance Sheets)*, Vol. I, Collection *Civilizația bancară românească (Romanian Banking Civilisation)*, Publishing House of the Historical Magazine Cultural Foundation, 2001, pp. 398-399.

⁵⁰ Ștefan Petre Kirson, *op.cit.*, p.114.

In 1994, upon the initiative and with the funding of the American Foundation “Feed the Children”, a project was ordered for the repair and functional arrangement of the Northern house. The project was carried out by the company S.C. PionProiect S.R.L. of Bucharest, after having received approval no. 39 of March 16, 1994 from the National Committee of Historical Monuments.

After 1989, Nicky Chrissoveloni’s son, John comes back to Romania and resumes business traditions, also coming into the possession of a part of the properties confiscated by the Communists. In 2004, Chrissovelonis’ heirs received Ghidigeni mansion and the forest⁵¹.

Today the mansion is close to collapse. The rooms, with fallen ceilings due to water infiltration, with dismantled masonry on wide areas due to the same infiltrations, require a thorough intervention, especially at the level of the roof, the drain slope must be enlarged and the cover replaced. Chrissovelonis’ heirs have already started the project for the recovery of the roof, having received approval no. 2 of the Local Committee of Historical Monuments.

Bibliography:

Memorandum of the association of Chrissoveloni Bank, Romanian Public Limited Company, authenticated by Ilfov County, Notary Section, under no. 10582 of April 30, 1920.

Donation deed authenticated by Ilfov County, Notary Section, under no. 3527/1906.

Bill of sale authenticated by Covurlui Court on October 29, 1883.

National Archives of Romania, *Arhive personale și familiale, Repertoriu arhivistic (Personal and Family Archives, Archive Repertoire)*, Vol.1, Bucharest, 2001.

Historical Archive of the National Library, *Saint-Georges* Fund, package C/4. V. Antonescu

Cantacuzino-Enescu, Maria, *Umbre și lumini. Amintirile unei prințese moldave, (Shadows and Lights. The Memories of a Moldavian Princess)*, Aristarc Publishing House, Bacău, 2006.

Condrea, Petru, *Dicționar geografic al județului Tutova (Geographic Dictionary of Tutova County)*, Socecu&Teclu Graphic Establishment, Bucharest, 1887

Decision 89 of 2004 of Galați County Council

Jurcea-Negrilești ,Gh., *Troica amintirilor sub patru regi (Troika of Memories under Four Kings)*, 2nd edition, Cartea Românească Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007.

Kirson, Ștefan Petre, *Pe aripile amintirilor (On the Wings of Memories)*, Publishing House of the Historical Magazine Cultural Foundation, Bucharest, 2005.

⁵¹ Decision 89 of 2004 of Galați County Council.

Kirson, Ștefan Petre, Toamna și primăvara unui destin: bancherii Chrissoveloni (The Autumn and Spring of a Destiny: Chrissoveloni Bankers), in "Magazin Istoric" (Historical Magazine), no. 9/402, 2000.

Geacu, Sorin, *Județul Galați, Dicționar de geografie fizică, Galați County, Dictionary of Physical Geography*, CD PRESS Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007.

Lahovary, Iacob, *Marele Dicționar Geografic al României (Great Dictionary of Romania)*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1899.

Mușeteanu, Crișan V., *Lumea copilăriei mele, (World of My Childhood)*, Alma Publishing House, Galați, 2001.

Negrea, Radu , Ștefan Petre Kirson, *Banca Chrissoveloni, Societate Anonimă Română, București 1920-1948: documente : actul constitutiv, statutul, procese-verbale ale consiliului de administrație, bilanțuri generale anuale și semestriale (Chrissoveloni Bank, Romanian Public Limited Company, Bucharest 1920-1948: documents. Memorandum of Association, Articles, Minutes of the Managing Board, Yearly and Semestrial Balance Sheets)*, Vol. I, Collection *Civilizația bancară românească (Romanian Banking Civilisation)*, Publishing House of the Historical Magazine Cultural Foundation, 2001.

Generalul Radu Rosetti, *Marturisiri (Confessions) (1914-1919)*, Bucharest, Modelism Publishing House, 1997.

Romania aristocratic houses and families of, Romanian Cultural Institute, 2008.

Scurtu, Ion, *Istoria românilor în timpul celor patru regi (1866-1947) (The History of Romanians under the Four Kings)*, Tipo Moldova Publishing House, Iași, 2010.

Șeicaru, Pamfil, *Istoria partidelor național, țărănesc și național țărănesc, (History of the National, Peasants' and National Peasants' Parties)*, vol. II, EVF, Bucharest, 2000.

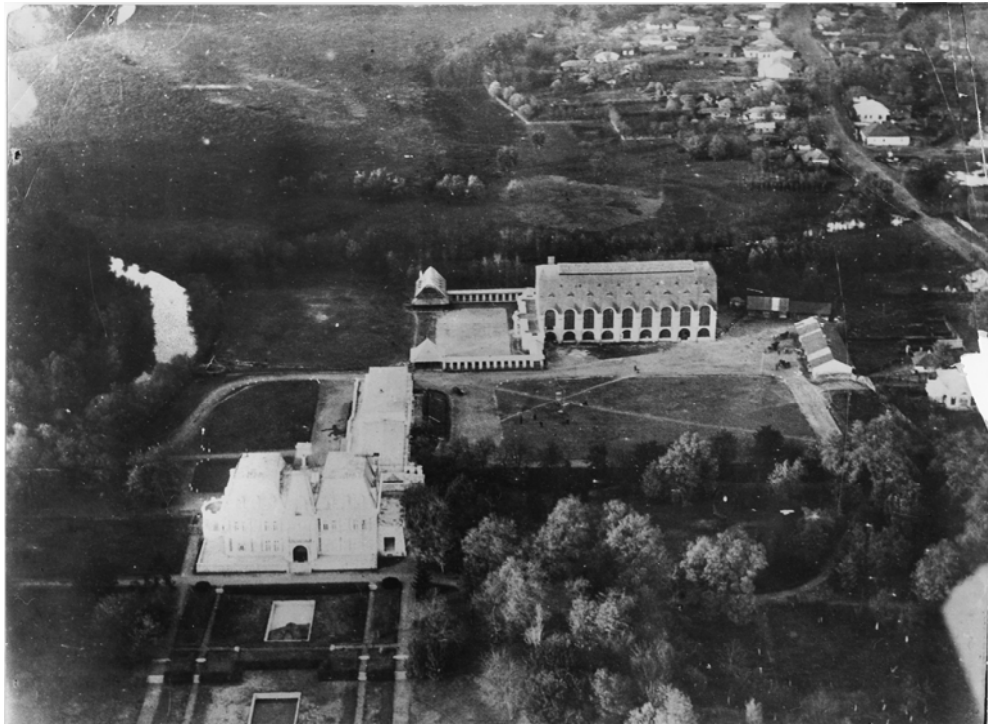
Galați Documentary Treasury, 1988.

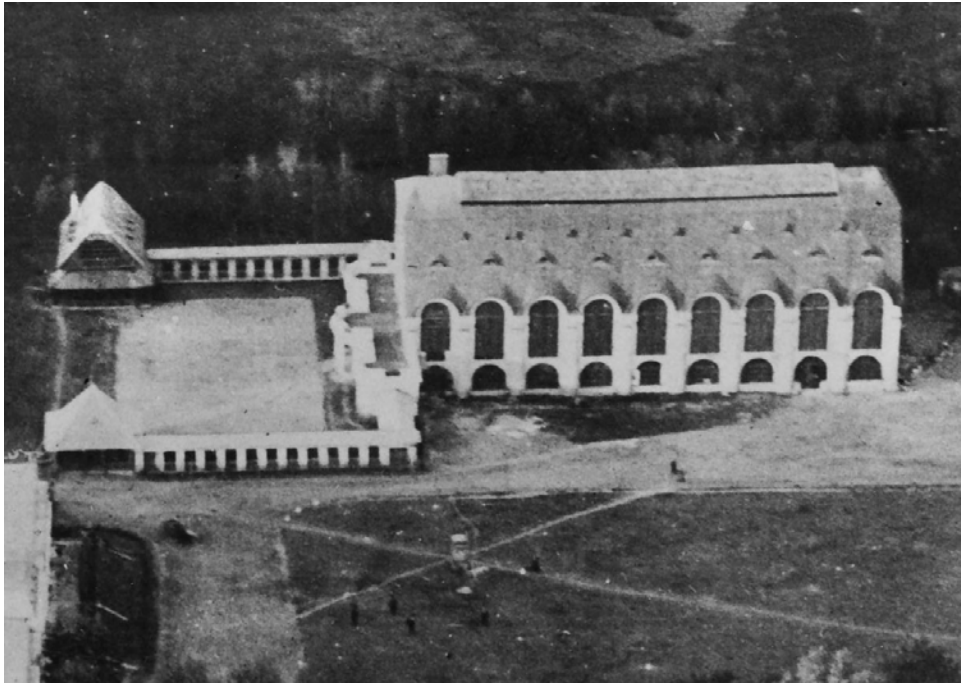
Țurlea, Stelian, *Fă-ți patul și dormi (Make Your Bed and Go to Sleep)*, PRO Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997.

"Vocea Covurluiului" (Covurlui Voice), October 25, 1876.

Galați County Council, The stable population of Galați County on cities, towns and localities and genders on July 1, 2009, <http://www.cjgalati.ro>.

The Mansion from Ghidigeni (photos prior to 1916)









Mr. Shon

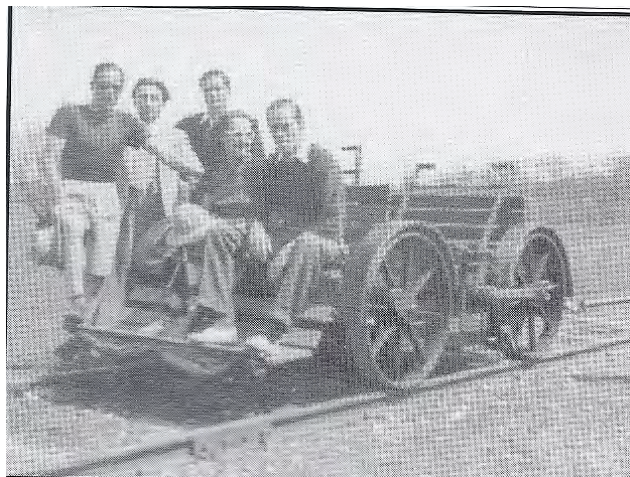


Mr. Shon
BARLAD

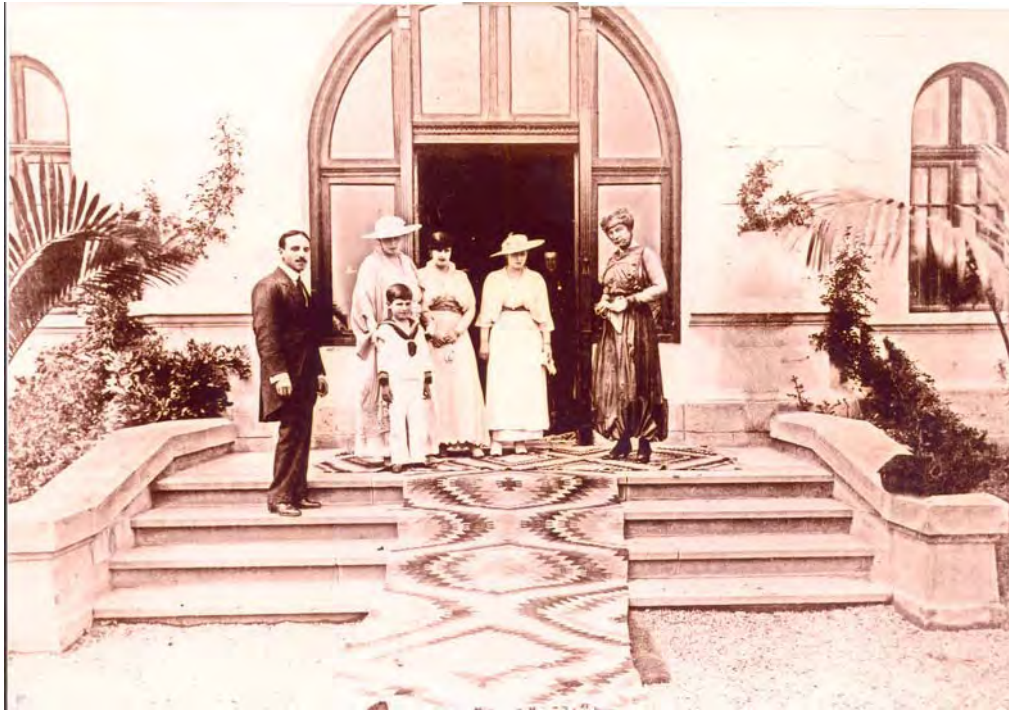




Family Vault of the Chrissovelonis



Some members of the Chrissoveloni family



The Hospital from Ghidigeni, 1916

From the left to the right

**Jean Chrissoveloni, Queen Maria with Nicky Chrissoveloni (7 years old)
whose godmother she was, 2 ladies-in-waiting and Sybille Chrissoveloni**

Viorica PISICĂ*

MIHAIL KOGĂLNICEANU'S MONUMENT IN GALAȚI

-Abstract-

The first bust of Mihail Kogălniceanu ever erected was placed in Galați, in 1893, only two years after the death of the great Romanian politician. Along time, it underwent a series of changes of location and even small modifications, all of them briefly presented by the present study. Nevertheless, the article focuses on the moments from 1893, surrounding the placement of the bust in Galați. The bust was gifted to the Townhall of Galați by the great man of culture and politician, V.A. Urechia.

Keywords: Mihail Kogălniceanu, bust, V.A. Urechia, urban art, Galați

MONUMENTUL DE LA GALAȚI AL LUI MIHAIL KOGĂLNICEANU

-Rezumat-

Primul bust al lui Mihail Kogălniceanu ridicat vreodată este cel din Galați, inaugurat în 1893, la doar doi ani de la moartea marelui politician român. De-a lungul timpului, monumentul a suferit o serie de modificări, atât în privința locației cât și a aspectului, toate acestea fiind expuse, pe scurt, în studiul de față. Totuși, articolul accentuează asupra evenimentelor din 1893, care au constituit contextul ridicării bustului în Galați. Monumentul a fost dăruit Primăriei Galați de către marele politician și om de cultură, V.A. Urechia.

Cuvinte cheie: Mihail Kogălniceanu, bust, V.A. Urechia, artă urbană, Galați

On October 24, 1893, Mihail Kogălniceanu's bust is uncovered in Galați, the first in Romania, two years after his death.

On September 11, 1893, the scholar and Covurlui senator, Vasile Alexandrescu Urechia, addresses himself to the Mayor of Galați town, bringing a eulogy to the great Romanian men: Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Mihail Kogălniceanu and Costache Negri and offers him Mihail Kogălniceanu's bronze bust and a

* History Museum of Galați.

granite pedestal from Sinaia, asking for the authorisation to place it in the Municipal Park.¹

In the offer-letter, he states: "I have decided to build a statue in Galați for each of these men".²

The offer is accepted and on October 1, 1893, Mayor V.G. Poenaru authorises the placement of Mihail Kogălniceanu's bust in the Municipal Park.

On October 11, 1893, the Communal Council is summoned: it accepts V. A. Urechia's offer, approves the placement authorisation issued by the Mayor and decides to set up a committee, made of the following councillors: Dr. D. Vitzu, Romulus Scriban and Mayor Poenaru, who would be charged with organising the inauguration ceremony on October 24.³ This committee prints and distributes the program of the event and sends invitations to Mihail Kogălniceanu's family, to the Romanian Academy, to Universities, local authorities and press.

The ceremony begins with the blessing of Parthenie, Bishop of the Lower Danube. Then, Senator V. A. Urechia presents the monument foundation documents which he entrusts to the Mayor. In his speech, the Mayor expresses his thanks and accepts the monument.⁴

The ceremony was also attended by Vasile Kogălniceanu, on behalf of the family, the Chancellors of the Universities of Iași and Bucharest, colonel Casimir, on behalf of the Romanian Academy, the authorities, the press and a large public.⁵

The event was reviewed in the press which appeared in many towns of the country.⁶

Mihail Kogălniceanu's bronze bust is the work of sculptor W. Hegel and it was cast at the School of Arts and Jobs⁷ of Bucharest; it is 60 cm tall and was initially mounted on a 180 cm high granite pedestal brought from Sinaia.

There are two inscriptions on the pedestal. On the front: "To Mihail Kogălniceanu, September 6, 1871 - June 21, 1891". On the back: "Senator V. A. Urechia gives this monument to Galați City in October 1893".

The authorities of the town, after World War II, moved Mihail Kogălniceanu's monument (pedestal and bust) in a park on Basarabiei Street, near

¹ Galați County Service of the National Archives, Galați Town Hall Fund, File 18/1893, leaf 1

² *Ibidem*.

³ *Ibidem*, leaf 1 verso.

⁴ *Ibidem*, leaf 6.

⁵ Paul Păltănea, *Legăturile lui M. Kogălniceanu cu orașul Galați (M. Kogălniceanu's Connections with Galați Town)*, in "Studii și articole de istorie" (History Studies and Articles), XII, 1968, p. 105.

⁶ Paul Păltănea, *Istoria orașului Galați de la origini până la 1918 (History of Galați Town from its Origins to 1918)*, Porto-Franco Publishing House, Galați, 1995, Part II, p. 311.

⁷ George Oprescu, *Sculptura românească (Romanian Sculpture)*, Meridiane Publishing House, 1965

the former Court of Justice. On this occasion, two marble plaques were mounted, bearing the same inscriptions.

Due to the authorities' neglect, the monument got into a pathetic, unacceptable state. At the beginning of the 80s, the History Museum recovered the bust and kept it for several years, then placed it in front of the Faculty of Mechanics.

For re-establishing the truth and recognising the merits of the author of this cultural edifice, we are hopeful that the original inscriptions shall be written on the pedestal of Mihail Kogălniceanu's monument.



Image 1. Mihail Kogălniceanu's bust



Image 4. Inscriptions incised on the pedestal



Image 5. Inscriptions on the face of the monument, written on the marble plaque



Image 6. Inscriptions on the back of the monument, written on the marble plaque

Corneliu MORARU*

**THE RESTORATION OF A POLISH CAVALRY SWORD,
FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE XVIIth CENTURY**

-Abstract-

This article describes the restoration process a Polish cavalry sword from the middle of the XVII-the century, belonging to the patrimony of the National Military Museum, Bucharest. It underlines the restoration operations and the conservation of the object.

Keywords: restoration, sword, metal, blade, chemical treatment.

**RESTAURAREA UNEI SPADE POLONEZE DE CAVALERIE DE LA
MIJLOCUL SECOLULUI AL XVII-LEA**

-Rezumat-

Articolul descrie procesul de restaurare a unei spade de cavalerie poloneze datând de la mijlocul secolului al XVII-lea, aparținând patrimoniului Muzeului Național Militar, București. Se scot în evidență operațiunile de restaurare și de conservare aplicate obiectului.

Cuvinte cheie: restaurare, spadă, metal, lamă, tratament chimic.

Introduction

Due to objective factors, weapons have evolved, meaning that models more easy to handle have appeared. The heavy medieval sword was gradually abandoned in favour of swords which were, at the same time, weapons, marks of the social rank and clothing accessories for the noblemen's outfit. Towards the middle of the 17th century, this trend is at its peak with the Spanish rapiers, greatly appreciated for the noblemen's town outfits due to their low weight and artistic ornamentation. In spite of these, on the battle field, since the military equipment still contained certain protection metallic elements (helmets, breastplates, arm guards), the cavalymen especially continue to use heavier swords which conferred greater force to strikes. No longer resembling to the weapons from the previous centuries, the cavalry swords of the 17th century stand out for their impressive allure. As sword play on horseback presupposed mostly cutting strikes, the mounting of the

* History Museum of Galați.

guard is simpler than in contemporary town weapons, maintaining, however, a high degree of complexity.

The sword concerned by the present study (belonging to the collections of the National Military Museum, Bucharest, inventory no. 25.733) fully illustrates these trends. The mounting is completed by a heart-shaped shell and by a ring (characteristic of Polish cavalry swords especially) which ensures a better hold. Weapon for the nobles, its guard is engraved. On the blade one could see inscriptions which place the sword in 1653, during the reign of Jan Kazimierz (1648-1688), King of Poland (historical data provided by Prof. Ioan I. Scafeș, expert in archaeological and historical-documentary goods):

Generally, a sword consists of a beaded blade, a hilt and a guard.

The hilt: it is made of bone or wood, covered in corned leather and shrouded in steel or brass wire, reinforced at the edge with two metallic bracelets. The body of the hilt has various shapes and, generally, it is made of metal.

The guard: each century had its own way of shaping the guard, the essential element in dating the weapon. Until the 14th century, the guard was simple, with crossed branches. After the 14th century, one could see the tendency to join the guard branches in order to protect the fingers. A new element appears in the 16th-17th centuries, the lateral ring, horizontally placed on the blade, which will give rise to the complex guards, with several arms or branches. The disc shape of the guard disappears starting with the 15th century. Guard branches may be multiplied, curled, interrupted, the main skeleton remaining the same. The different schools of sword play will influence differentiations in the shape of guards. The French have the tendency of using the sword without the guard, the Germans try to use the thumb as point of support, the Italians place the finger under the guard branches, while the Spaniards place two fingers in the vertical ring. As we are approaching the 18th century, sword shapes become elongated, hilts and hilt ends become thinner and semi-rings disappear.

The blade: swords with long and thin blade, of triangular section, are for thrusting, while those with wide blade are for cutting. Swords with engraved and emblem and slogan decorated blades, dating from the Middle Ages especially, were used in executions. The thin blade, over 1.50 m long, belongs to the cavalry sword of the 14th century, used in battles on horseback and in infantry. The two-edged long and thin blade is specific to the rapier; it appears during the times of Charles V, at the same time with the sword play school. The Toledo, Seville and Solingen blade rapiers were famous. The rapier was used both in duels and in parades. It is the predecessor of the modern epee. Officers' swords have decorated blades, finer guards, decorated with the country blazon, the regiment initials and the sovereign's cipher.

In the 18th century, the sword is part of the civilians' ceremony suit and it is different from the fighting sword.

Description of the restored object

The total length of the object is 1,100 mm and the maximum width is 34 mm.

The sword consists of: button, hilt end, hilt, guard made of horizontal and vertical rings and blade.

The octagonal button: fixed by riveting blade extremity ($L \approx 10$ mm, $\varnothing \approx 14$ mm).

The head of the octagonal hilt: squat pear-shaped, incised with floral motifs, guard fixing element ($L \approx$ mm, $\varnothing \approx 45$ mm).

The hilt: short, fanned out with wire, fixed with interknit marginal rings ($L \approx 82$ mm, $\varnothing \approx 27$ mm).

The guard: made of four rings. The horizontal ring of the guard is stretched towards the extremity, curving towards the blade. It is richly ornamented. The other lateral ring intermingles with the coupling arch, it stretches and curves towards the head of the hilt in which it is fixed. The third ring is attached to the head of the hilt with a screw and arches towards the base of the hilt, forming a heart-shaped plain ring, engraved on the outside with an eagle with open wings and open beak, left side, surrounded by floral motifs. The ring for the thumb is situated on the inside and its middle is incised by a floral rosette.

The blade: straight, thin towards the tip, with a median arch rib, double-edged, with a blunt part between the cutting edges and the guard, bearing the workshop mark. On the opposite side of the blade, we can notice engraved inscriptions which place the sword in the year 1653, during the reign of Jan Kazimierz (1648-1688), King of Poland.

Test report:

Micro-chemical analysis, for determining the pH of the washing water (3 tests)

Blade	Guard	Umbo
pH ₁ =6,2	pH ₁ =6,3	pH ₁ =6,3
pH ₂ =6,3	pH ₂ =6,2	pH ₂ =6,4
pH ₃ =6,3	pH ₃ =6,3	pH ₃ =6,3

Test performed by Engineer Cârnu Doina and Colonel Neacșu Ion.

The restoration technological process is as follows and contains the stages below:

Disjoining the sword in its components (blade, guard, hilt and squat-shaped button) by unscrewing the guard and adjusting the rivet head on the blade extremity;

Degreasing the sword with thinning agent for removing dust, dirt and mineral fat traces and with acetone for removing the yellowed varnish film on all the component parts;

Washing the component parts under a jet of water, plus 1‰ non-ionic Romopal-type detergent;

Disjoining the metallic wire fanning out the wooden hilt;

Separate immersion of the component parts in repeated baths with 15% sodium citrate;

The next stage was washing it under a jet of water for removing the solution in which the parts had been immersed and the corrosion products resulted following the attack;

Successive mechanical brushes with steel wool, fibreglass bar and metallic cutters for removing point corrosion products deposited in deeper craters (on the blade), until the complete removal of the existing corrosion products;

The abundant washing under a jet of water of all the component parts;

Neutralisation of the bath by immersing the parts in distilled water;

Drying the parts in acetone and ethylic alcohol, followed by free drying on filter paper;

Rebuilding the metallic fanning on the sword hilt;

Conserving the parts by applying a film of colourless varnish and free drying on filter paper;

Mounting the component parts by assembling them and rebuilding the rivet head for fixing the guard;

Additional conservation with silicone oil;

Taking photos at the end.

Note: During the restoration process, the deformations on the sides of the blades shall be preserved, as they emphasise the use of the sword in combat.

Bibliography:

Mourey, W., *Conservarea antichităților metalice – de la săpătură la muzeu*, Editura Tehnică, București, 1998.

Plenderleith, H.J., Werner, A.E.A., *The Conservation of Antiquities of Works of Art: Treatment, Repair and Restoration*, Oxford University Press, 1971.



Image 1) Overall view of the object (prior to restoration)



Image 2) Prior to restoration. Guard and button details

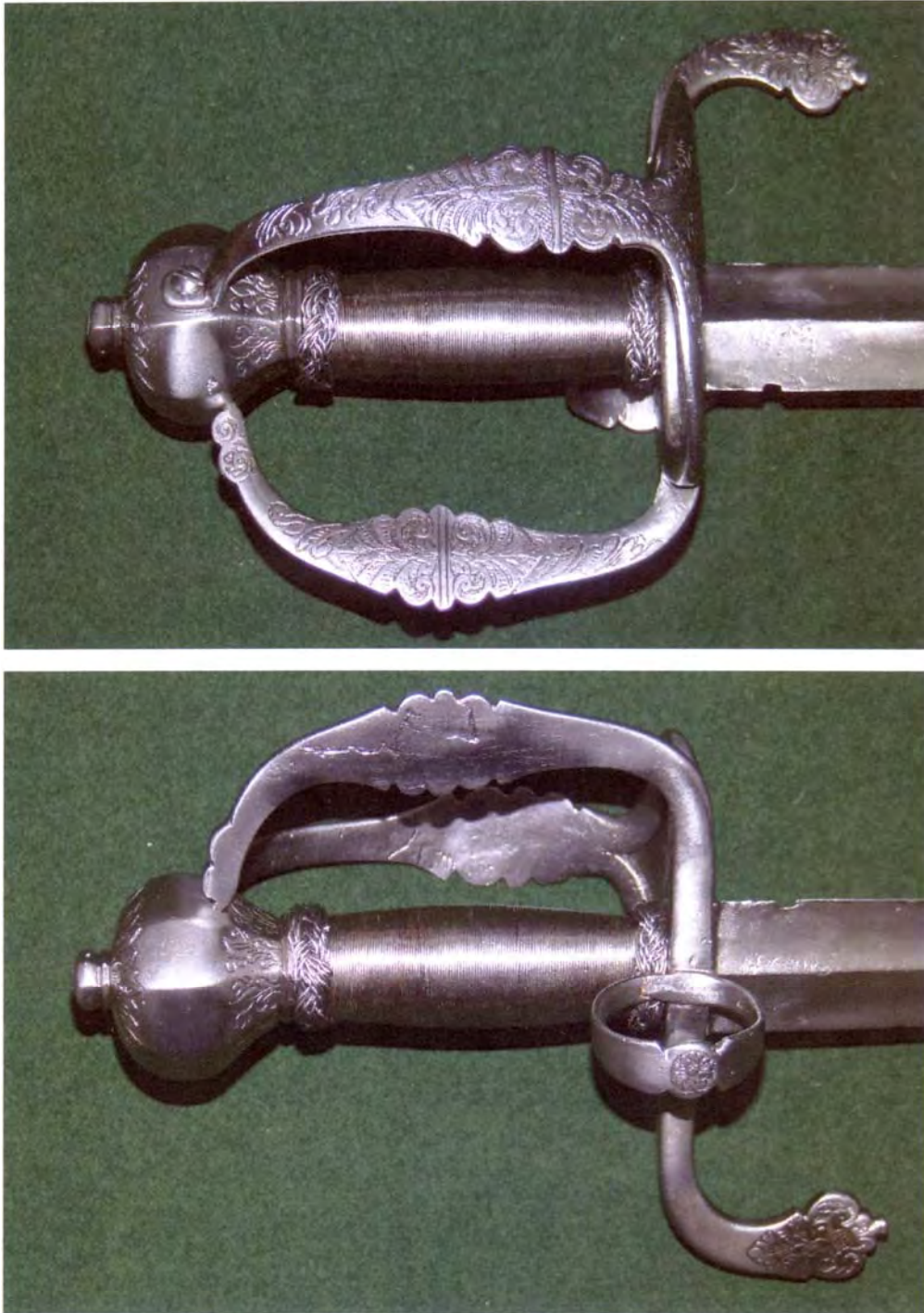


Image 3) Prior to restoration. Blade and guard details

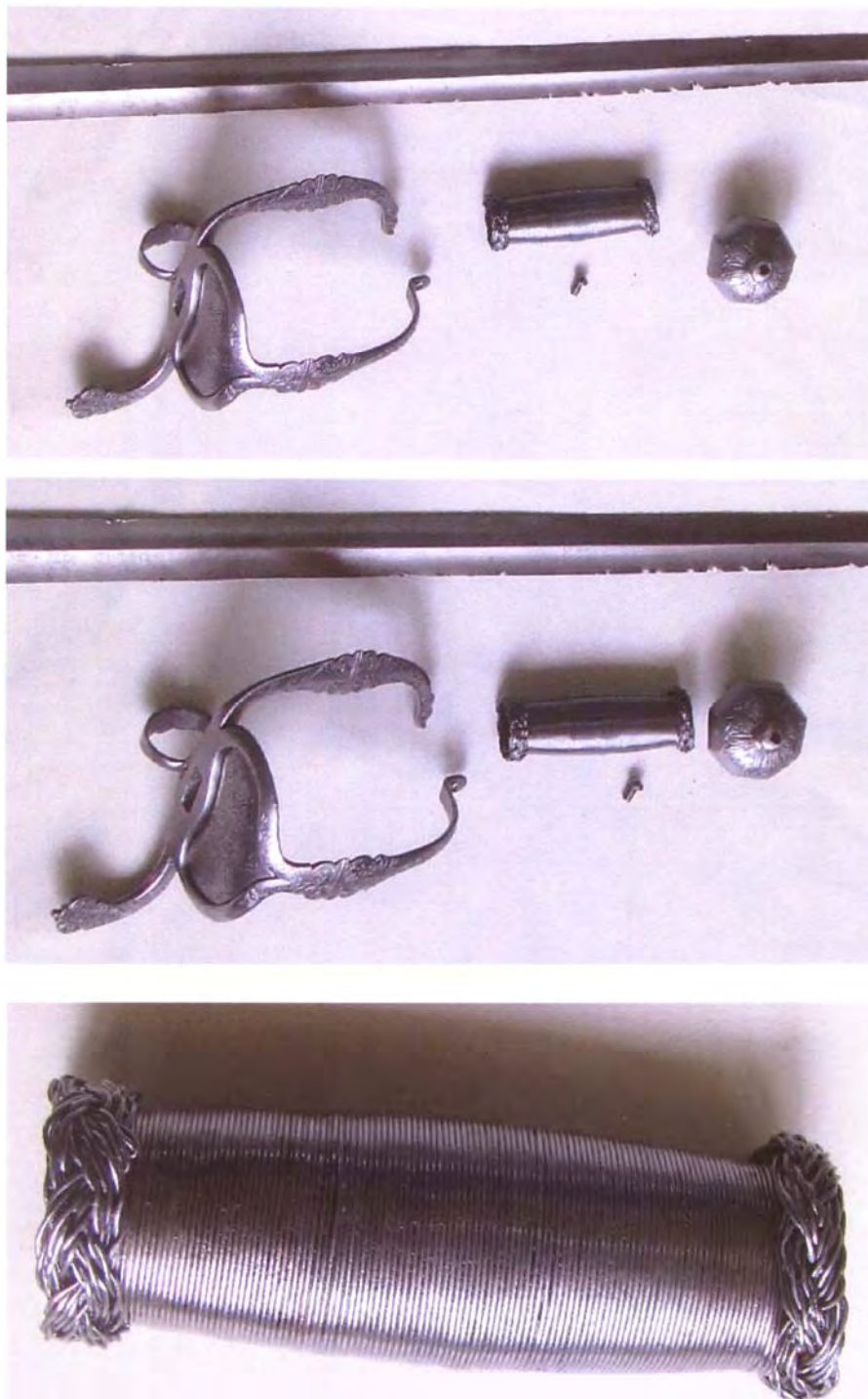


Image 4) Pictures from the restoration process



Image 5) Blade details, during the restoration



Image 6) Blade details, after the restoration



Image 7) The object, after the restoration

*Virgil Nistru ȚIGĂNUȘ**

**PAVANĂ PENTRU UN SPIRIT DE VEGHE.
ISTORICUL MIHAI COJOCARU (1929-2011)**

-Rezumat-

Profesorul de istorie Mihai Cojocaru a reprezentat o conștiință vie, un martor al adevărilor românești de pe ambele maluri ale Prutului. În cărțile sale (*Sacrificiul uman, Cetatea lui Dumnezeu, Probleme de istorie contemporană, Politică și Adevăr*), în mulțimea de lecții și prelegeri ale domnului Profesor Mihai Cojocaru (născut în regiunea Hotinului) se evidențiază o întinsă cultură, eterne valori creștine, lupta tăcută a românilor împotriva minciunii, se reface menirea speranței, a credinței și a prețuirii valorilor spirituale.

Cuvinte cheie: Mihai Cojocaru, profesor, istorie, biografie, spiritualitate

**AN EULOGY FOR AN AWAKE SPIRIT. THE HISTORIAN MIHAI
COJOCARU (1929-2011)**

-Abstract-

The history teacher Mihai Cojocaru, born in the region of Hotin, represented a living witness of the Romanian realities from both banks of the Prut River. In his books (*The Human Sacrifice, God's Kingdom, Problems of Contemporary History, Politics and Truth*) and in the great number of courses and lectures held by him, we can take notice of his vast culture, of some immortal Christian values and of the silent fight of the Romanians, against lie. We can also find reflections on the role of hope, faith and Romanian spirituality.

Keywords: Mihai Cojocaru, teacher, history, biography, spirituality

Admitem că orice ideogramă a morții reprezintă o mărturie a conștiinței viului. Coborât în mormânt, precum mulți dintre străluciții contemporani, magistrul Mihai Cojocaru rămâne, alături de alți istorici, un spirit de veghe al destinului românesc – indiferent de bolboroseala granițelor și de tulburările hormonale ale marilor diriguitori. La sugestia matematician Radu Scarlet (chemat și el prea curând în veșnicile elizee), am slujit la organizarea componentelor cărții de debut

* "Dunarea de Jos" University, Galați.

a Profesorului Mihai Cojocaru – *Sacrificiul uman* (1996). Am scris o postfață, *Seminția lui Cain și irepetabila jertfă Cristică*, în care, reflectând asupra platonicianului „tărâm al ideilor veșnice”, recunoșteam: este atât de protejat de informație tratatul despre *sacrificiul uman* încât lectorului nu-i rămâne decât să refacă, prin intuiție, traseul ideilor. Am propus un exercițiu de memorie culturală – anume de a reflecta asupra registrului tragic (secund) dintr-un text vechi românesc: *palia de la Orăștie* (1582). Traducătorii (Ștefan din Caransebeș, Efreim – din Sebeș, Peștișel – din Lugoj și Archirie – din Hunedoara), ajutați de tipografi Șerban și Mărian, au selectat, spre catehizarea românilor, două mirabile întâmplări: *Bătia* (nașterea din Logos) și *Ishodul* (asfințitul în ispită), cea dintâi moarte (care o prefațează pe aceea împlinită de Cain). Sacrificiul ilustrează (dar nu numai ca termen de dicționar) o categorie morală de o nobilă dăruire de sine. Sigiliul său de sânge inocent a căzut peste înscrisul inocent al jertfei lui Abel. La moartea Profesorului Cojocaru, ale cărui zile din urmă s-au cuprins de mari dezamăgiri, continuăm a crede că seminția lui Cain (a supraviețuirii răului) nu poate fi mai puternică decât pilduitoarea jertfă creștină.

În lungi și plăcute conversații (iluminate de răsăritul Doinei eminesciene), în dialogurile cu studenții și seminariștii, Domnul Profesor își chema auditoriul la slujirea *Adevărului fără adjective*. Devoțiunea față de istoria națională avea noblețe clasică și generozitatea proprie înaltelor cunoștințe. Venea din părțile Hotinului (Trebisăuți), era contemporan cu fiii părintelui Emilian Baconschi, Anatol și Leon (din Cofa). Primele încercări și suferințe le-a cunoscut la 11 ani, în 1940, la invazia sovietică. La 15 ani era elev la Seminarul din Chișinău, apoi s-a refugiat dincoace de Prut. Un director slugarnic de la „Normala” din Caransebeș l-a predat sovieticilor; l-au primit bine profesorii de la Seminarul gălățean, apoi cei din Liceul „Vasile Alecsandri” (absolvit în 1949). La Universitate, i-a ascultat pe arheologul Ion Nistor, Al. Elian, Andrei Oțetea. A fost dascălul de elită al Galațiului și a preluat o deviză înălțătoare de la înaintași: „Nu slăbiți credința!”. Apropiat de Patriarhul Teoctist, de Mitropoliții Nestor și Antonie, de Arhipăstorul Antim și de I.P.S.Dr. Casian al Dunării de Jos, Profesorul Mihai Cojocaru a sporit patrimoniul de carte istorică. „Sacru, arăta Mircea Eliade, este un element în structura conștiinței și nu un stadiu în istoria acestei conștiințe.” Teza a fost susținută și de Profesorul Cojocaru într-o sinteză asupra simbolului augustinian al transcendenței: *Cetatea lui Dumnezeu. Existență și veșnicie* (2006). Cetatea lui Dumnezeu reprezintă un labirint construit din mistere (pe care liber-cugetătorii de ieri și, mai ales, cei de astăzi, înverziții de necredință) nu le văd. Văd însă (și la TV) „operele” zarafilor adevărului, „codurile” anticreștine (inventate în debaralele demonice), „noile vestiri” (de acum 17 veacuri) despre vechi trădări. O carte de relevanță spirituală, scrisă de Profesorul Mihai Cojocaru, conturează arhitectura sufletească ce reunește simbolul dezmărginirii Cetății lui Dumnezeu (prorocită și slăvită în Psalmii Vechiului Testament, mărturisită de Hristos, tâlcuită de Apostolul neamurilor și descrisă, acum 16 secole, de către Fericitul Augustin, doctor al bisericii latine). Susținute științific de o impresionantă bibliografie, cele 14 capitole ale cărții (secvența „Cetatea la români” are șase diviziuni) cuprind o istorie a ideii

de Providență (din care nu sunt excluse utopiile anticilor care, cum spune Domnul Profesor Cojocaru, „puneau la îndoială existența Divinității”). Matricea originii și descendenței divine (în Vechiul Testament, termenul „cetate” apare de 1090 de ori) a fost gândită de filosoful precreștin Platon, interesat de „zidirea lăuntrică a omului”, de poetul Vergilius care, în a IV-a Eglogă, privind printre coloanele eterice ale „Eneidei”, întrezărea ivirea binecuvântată a Pruncului Mântuitor, de Psalmistul David (în Psalmii 45 și 121). Prorocii Iezechiel și Iisaia, rostind „Domnul este acolo”, au clădit numele Ierusalimului pământesc și ceresc. Autorul lucrării ne reamintește: „adevărata Cetate a lui Dumnezeu este în ceruri și pentru aceasta ea trebuie să fie pregătită încă de aici, de pe pământ, ca forță spirituală”. Sf. Ciprian îl aseamăna pe adevăratul creștin cu „o cetate ce trebuie să fie permanent pregătită de apărare”. Fericitul Augustin (care separa „viața internă” a conștiinței de „vremelnicele bucurii”), apoi împăratul Iustinian cel Drept (cel ce a înălțat sub lumină cerească „Sfânta Sofia”), teologii nesmintiți din Renaștere și Iluminism, credincioșii îmbunătățiți, drept-măritorii creștini români de pretutindeni reprezintă – în timpuri – adevărați pelerini ai Credinței. Și totuși, din Constituția Europei postmoderne lipsește recunoașterea contribuției creatoare a creștinismului.

Relevantă și emoționantă este dezbaterea Profesorului Mihai Cojocaru în jurul Cetății sacre a românilor. Seriile de discipoli ai renumitului magistru par să se strângă într-un amfiteatru mărginit de vechile noastre hotare. Paginile „românești” ale cărții se concentrează asupra luptei de rezistență la asaltul feluritelor ispite și sminteli (a căror principală însușire este aceea că *n-au vârstă!*): cultul fără de Icoane, fără de Sf. Cruce, fără Sf. Biserică. URSS-ul bisericesc nu poate fi uitat, desigur.

Știam că „omul merge continuu deasupra unei prăpăstii”, ne-am convins că viața este „o luptă disperată cu Diavolul”... Încă mai bine știm că nu suntem singuri: „Cu noi este Dumnezeu, înțelegeți...” Așa ne vorbea Profesorul ajuns la vârsta Patriarhilor, omul care a plămădit, în ceasuri lungi de reflecție, încă o măsură de cuvinte ziditoare.

Coborând în Cetate, Mihai Cojocaru s-a interesat de ameliorarea informațiilor despre marile evenimente ale României contemporane. Pe unele dintre acestea le-a trăit, așa cum am arătat, în mod nemijlocit. În lucrarea *Unele probleme de istorie contemporană* (2008) – anticipând atmosfera (apăsătoare pentru suflet) din ultima sa carte (2011), referitoare la singurătatea cărturarului, la exilul în propria patrie, istoricul abordează, din perspectiva prezentului (atât de imprevizibil), problematica vecinătăților românești, statutul și organicitatea etnică a locuitorilor de dincolo de Nistru, politica de pace din România interbelică, tratativele (mereu dramatice!) cu marile, neliniștitele „puteri”. În anii din urmă, când Prințul și-a mai pierdut din „zestrea” de sârmă ghimpată (suplinită însă de apostila verzuie „prosovietică”), mulți domni s-au îndemnat să pronunțe numele „Basarabia” fără să se ostenească a trece „podul” decorat cu vorbe din ce în ce mai goale și cu flori tot mai ofilite. După părerea noastră (care am construit, într-o echipă de universitari de la „Dunărea de Jos”, prima promoție de licențiați după exigența programelor naționale), acest străvechi pământ ștefanian nu echivalează

cu retorica sibilinică a unor „autorități”, cu lungimea și lărgimea cramelor, cu „limba specifică, moldovinească” înzestrată cu alterarea sunetelor. Pentru ea, alături de Profesorul Mihai Cojocaru (fiu credincios și înțelept al Orheilor) depun mărturie curată bătrânii (câți mai sunt), supraviețuitorii gulagurilor, înfometărilor, tâlhăriilor roșii, spălărilor de creiere. „Basarabia, sublinia un tânăr intelectual, este provincia românească în care a avut loc cel mai mare genocid european: a treia parte din locuitori au fost decimați de comuniștii ruși ...” Profesorul Mihai Cojocaru a realizat o lucrare de tip sistematic, alcătuită din eseuri de sine stătătoare focalizate în sintagma „Politică și adevăr”. Într-o anume împrejurare, în anii „sovietici”, am avut șansa să rămân câteva clipe lângă apele Nistrului, cele din *Doina* lui Eminescu. Dintre niște brusturi a apărut un ins scund, mongoloid, cu priviri oblice și (presupun) rătăcite, purtând o armă cu tambur în poziție de atac. Își găsisse „adversarul”! În urmă cu aproape un veac, în 1917, românii transnistreni (ne spune Profesorul Cojocaru) se adresau soldaților „roșii” cu semeție înțeleaptă. Ei le cereau fraților „din țară” o atitudine explicită, de luptă: „Dacă ne veți uita, noi vom săpa malul Nistrului și vom îndrepta apa dincolo de pământul nostru, căci mai bine să-și schimbe râul mersul – decât să rămânem noi despărțiți unii de alții”. Fraza aceasta ar trebui memorată de multă lume. Domnul Profesor acuză „judecata la două capete” făcută de puterile postbelice: „acuzațiile (de la Nürnberg) se limitau numai la crimele naziștilor germani, nu și la cele ale comuniștilor ruși ...”

Una dintre ilustrațiile din cărților Domnului Profesor Mihai Cojocaru reprezintă un grup de copii care se roagă în fața icoanei Mântuitorului pentru salvarea Patriei. Unul dintre acei copii a avut, sunt sigur, spiritul definit de Arhanghelul Mihail în ființa lui Mihai Cojocaru.

Timpul de față supraviețuiește (inclusiv neînsemnatelor noastre destine) în pofida „invaziilor de non-valori, cvasi-adevăruri, amoralități, sperjururi, apostazii”.

Viața și cărțile, prelegerile și atmosfera unică a Domnului Profesor alcătuiesc, în pofida morții (care, spun poezii, vrea să ne ia totul!) o prezență a valorilor de profunzime ale neamului nostru.

ABREVIERI

AARMSI - Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, București

AAR.PAD - Analele Academiei Române. Partea administrativă și dezbateri

ACNSAS - Arhiva Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității

ActaMN - Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca

AISC - Anuarul Institutului de studii clasice, Cluj - Napoca

AM - Arheologia Moldovei, Iași

ARSR.MSSI - Academia RSR, Memoriile secției de științe istorice

BAR - Biblioteca Academiei Române

BRM - Bibliografia românească modernă

BRV - Bibliografia românească veche

BVAU - Biblioteca „V. A. Urechia” Galați

CIL - Corpus inscriptionum latinarum, Berlin

CiMeC - Institutul de Memorie Culturală

FO – Foreign Office

ILS - H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, I-V, Berlin

JRS - Journal of Roman Studies, Londra

MCA - Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București

RHSEE - Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes, București

RRIC - Revista română de istorie a cărții

SAA - Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași

SCIV - Studii și cercetări de istorie veche, București

SJANG - Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale Galați

StCl - Studii Clasice, București

NORME DE EDITARE A REVISTEI *DANUBIUS*

Revista noastră, fondată în anul 1967, publică studii, articole, note, dezbateri, recenzii și note bibliografice care privesc istoria universală, națională, locală. Cei care doresc să publice în revista noastră sunt invitați să trimită textul pe adresa de e-mail **revistadanubius@gmail.com**. Textele vor fi redactate în format DIN A4, utilizând editorul Microsoft Word, cu fontul Times New Roman, mărime 12 pt. text și 10 pt. note, obligatoriu așezate în subsol. În cazul în care textele conțin pasaje din limbi și scrieri vechi – greacă, chirilică etc. – autorii trebuie să trimită și fonturile utilizate. Studiile și articolele vor fi însoțite de o listă de 5-10 cuvinte-cheie, un abstract de maxim jumătate de pagină și un rezumat de o pagină, în limbile engleză și română. Pentru a putea fi incluse în tomul pe anul respectiv, articolele trebuie trimise Colegiului de Redacție nu mai târziu de data de 1 iunie. Redacția își rezervă dreptul de a planifica apariția textelor în raport cu propriile exigențe și priorități. Astfel, colaboratorii sunt rugați să anunțe Redacția în privința oricărei modificări a intențiilor de publicare a textelor în *Danubius*. Articolele vor fi supuse în prealabil unui proces de peer-review, care poate fi consultat pe www.revistadanubius.ro.

EDITING NORMS FOR *DANUBIUS*

Our review, founded in 1967, publishes studies, articles, notes, debates, reviews and bibliographical notes regarding world, national and local history. The colleagues who want to publish in our review are invited to send the electronic version of the text to **revistadanubius@gmail.com**. The texts must be typed in DIN A4 format, using the editor Microsoft Word, font TIMES NEW ROMAN, size 12 for the text proper and 10 for the notes, which must be placed in the page footer. If the texts contain excerpts in old languages – Greek, Cyrillic, etc. – the author must also send the specified fonts. The studies and articles will be accompanied by a list of 5-10 key-words, by an abstract of maximum half a page and by a summary of around one page, in English and Romanian. In order to be included in the current issue, the papers must be sent no later than June 1. The Editorial Board reserves the right to schedule the publication of the texts according to its own exigencies and priorities. Thus, the collaborators are asked to announce the Editorial Board of any modification in their intention to publish the texts in the *Danubius*. Prior to their publication, all articles will undergo a peer-reviewing process; details on this process can be found at www.revistadanubius.ro.

DANUBIUS

Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galați
Orice corespondență se va trimite pe adresa:

MUZEUL DE ISTORIE

Str. Mr. Iancu Fotea, nr. 2

800017 Galați - ROMÂNIA

Tel. (40) 236-41.42.28

Fax. (40) 236-46.07.97

www.revistadanubius.ro

E-mail: revistadanubius@gmail.com