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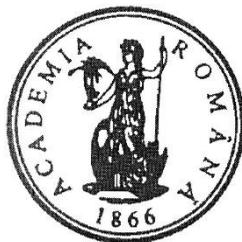
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IDENTITY LANDMARK: ARCHEOLOGY, ARCHITECTURE, TRADITIONAL CULTURE AND SOCIAL BIOGRAPHY

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SETTLEMENTS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE IRON AGE IN OLTENIA*

Simona LAZĂR**

Abstract: First Iron Age it seems that we assist at the disappearing of vast settlements, with several levels of habitation. This fact could be explained although the climatic changes happened on the whole continent. Achieving a symbiosis between the climatic conditions, the specific of rural economy, intercommunity or distant changes, the necessity of creating some fortification systems and the existence of some power centers, some religious practices thus it is defined the character of the habitat of the discussed period.

There are few known examples of settlements in Oltenia, that have more levels of habitation and these are usually in the areas privileged with access at natural resources like the Danube's river meadow. The hallstadian settlement from Ghidici was the only one in which two levels of dwelling belonging to the First Iron Age could be observed.

Keywords: First Iron Age, Oltenia, hallstadian settlement, the fortified settlements.

The material culture of Early Hallstatt in Oltenia is characterized in the first stage of the ceramic decorated with grooves; could be dated, in absolute chronology, in the 12th–11th centuries B. C. The second stage, with printed and incised ceramics, correlates with the dating of the Insula Banului group and the Gornea-Kalakača between the 10th–9th centuries B. C., a period that could constitute the second phase of early Hallstatt and which could be followed in this area by ceramic type Basarabi.

Starting with the 12th century B.C., the fashion of the grooved vessels is extending, being present both in Oltenia and in the most part of the Carpathian – Danube space. As regarding its origin, the opinions are divided: some researchers consider the phenomenon as having western origin, the

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grooved pottery entering on the Danube's course in Banat and Oltenia¹; others think that the changing of decoration was more likely a change of fashion. It seems that the apparition of the new pottery ornamenting technique doesn't necessary lead to an ethnic contribution; anyway, the determinations of such a change or innovation are for now hard to be perceived.

The phenomenon regarding the apparition of the grooved pottery can be actually positioned in the evolution of the material culture, specific for the Late Bronze. The generalization of the grooved decoration on the ceramics from the fine category is conventionally considered to represent the beginning of the Iron Age, the Vârtoș culture².

The defining traits for what we call here the Vârtoș culture were established on the ceramic material in the tumuli from the eponym locality³ and of the ceramic fragments discovered in the sites from around them. It is about a black ceramics, wellpolished and quite properly burned, connected with a certain forms repertoire, such is the large bitruncated vessel (many of them functioned as urns), decorated with oblique grooves and wide at the body, the porringer with the edge bended to the inside, decorated with grooves, the double vessel (salt cellar type), the pedestalled vessel (cup), both decorated inside with grooves, sometimes disposed in garlands, etc. or the "oven" vessel (*Backwanne* and *Pyraunos*). The decoration was generally realized either with oblique grooves, placed on the body, or with narrow grooves, disposed in horizontal stripes or grouped in multiple arcades at the exterior and/or interior of the vessel. Along with the groove, we meet some incised girdles and stripes, filled with pricks and prominences-holdings, wide or sharp.

The first mentions about the materials from Vârtoș have been made in an article from 1922, by C.S. Nicolăescu Ploșor⁴, where were presented the researches made around the localities Vârtoș and Ploșor, Dolj County, where had been discovered several tumular tombs and "dwellings".

Later, Dumitru Berciu was referring to the discoveries from Vârtoș and Ploșor, presenting them first as "settlements" and then as "tumular tombs" around them. The author related that in a settlement (Fig. VI) was dug a mound with "a hut, of which oval plan, with the two diameters of 4.75 and 3.70 m (...). The entrance was on the eastern side and the floor of the hut was built directly on the

¹ I. Chicideanu, *Die Frühthrakische Kultur. Zur Bronzezeit in Sudwest Rumänien*, in "Dacia", NS, 30, 1986, 1–2, pp. 40–47.

² The term "Vârtoș culture", extended in order to include all the ceramic materials decorated with grooves and realized in the technique mentioned before, might seem inappropriate for a modern approach of the notion of *archaeological culture*. We have shortly discussed in a paper that appeared not long ago. This name too, and all the names given in the traditional archaeology to the cultures defined only by the pottery realized through forms, technique and specific decorative motifs, represent only a convention that we use here. The meaning Vârtoș "culture" can be considered similar to that of Gáva "culture".

³ D. Berciu, *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*, Craiova, 1939, p. 239 next.

⁴ S. Lazăr, *Sfârșitul epocii bronzului și începutul epocii fierului în sud-vestul României*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, 2011, p. 49.

loess, being beaten and in some places besmeared with clay. On the edges had been identified traces of poles that might have constituted the frame of this modest hut (...)"'. "To the north was the hearth of beaten earth, with the diameter of 0.50×0.40 m, having the edges a few raised". In such a hut had been found "ceramic fragment for the household use, animal bones, fragmentary net weights, grinding mill stones"⁵ and "an eared bronze needle"⁶.

During the Iron Age is observed, as a habitat's characteristic, the existence of some small and short period habitations. Most of the sites mentioned as settlements, are presented actually under the form of familiar establishment groups situated at considerable distances one from another. There are few known examples of settlements in Oltenia, from the Early Bronze or the Late Hallstatt period, that have more levels of habitation and these are usually in the areas privileged with access at natural resources like the Danube's river meadow.

A stratigraphic situation can be seen in the south of Oltenia, at Ghidici⁷, Dolj County. At six km south from the village Ghidici, between the dunes of sand and the Danube, is the point "Balta Țarovei I" where there had been dug several dwellings (Fig. I). Six of them belonged to the settlement Gârla Mare (the Bronze Age), two of them were considered the Bistreț-Ișalnița type (the Bronze Age) and four were attributed to the Iron Age: three dwellings of Vârtop type and the dwellings no. 12 to the Basarabi culture.

The best kept of the hallshtatian dwellings was proved to be dwelling number 7 (Fig. II) with the dimensions of 9×10 m, that appeared at the dimension of 0.90–1.20 m. Its outline of a rectangular form was given by an adobe belt 1–1.25 m wide, representing the traces of the walls collapsed apparently after a fire. This way we could clearly delimitate the form, the dimension and the N–S orientation of the dwelling that had the entrance towards south. The floor made from sand was slightly leaned from north to south, the level difference being of 0,30 m. The fireplace had a circular form, the diameter of 1m and it was approximate in the middle of the dwelling, it was approximate 0,20 m higher then the floor and it had an edge of 6 cm. Around the firehouse were 2 groups of broken pots and in the western and eastern corners were 20 big pyramidal shaped clay weights, together with numerous clay balls, ceramic fragments and a lot of coal.

⁵ D. Berciu, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–145.

⁶ *Ibidem*, fig. 181/1.

⁷ M. Nica, *Locuințele de tip Gârla Mare și Hallsattiene descoperite în așezările de la Ghidici*, in "Thraco-Dacica", no. 12, 1987, pp. 16–38; Idem, *Câteva date despre necropola și locuințele din așezările hallstattiene timpurii de la Ghidici, punctul "Balta Țarova" – județul Dolj*, in "Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracă", vol. 1, Bucharest, 1995, pp. 236; M. Nica, S. Lazăr, *Locuințele Hallstattiene descoperite la Ghidici*, in "Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracă", vol. 2, București, 1997, pp. 87–112; S. Lazăr, *Contribuții la repertoriul arheologic al jud. Dolj*, in "Arhivele Olteniei", SN, no. 14, 1999, pp. 19–37; Idem, *Sfârșitul epocii bronzului și începutul epocii fierului în sud-vestul României*, Editura Universitaria, Craiova, 2011, pp. 225–228.

The dwelling number 8 (Fig. III) had a rectangular form, north-south orientated and with the dimensions of 7.50×4 m. Close to the west wall the shoe horse shaped oven of 0.80×0.80 was placed, its arch was preserved on a 0.02 m height. Nearby 3 grindings and few Vârtoş type ceramic fragments were found.

The dwelling number 10 (Fig. IV) is similar in shape and dimension with number 7 dwelling but it has a very poor inventory.

At less then 200 m from the previously described dwellings, in a place called Balta Țarova II, a new hallshtatian dwelling (Fig. V) have been dogged out. The floor was preserved only on a $2,60 \times 2$ m surface and had the aspect of a seriously cracked fireplace crust, the rest being destroyed by the natural causes that disturbed the sand dune. The fireplace, taking into account the burn traces, was probably round and it was conserved on a $1 \times 1,50$ m surface. In the settlement was found pottery, spindle-whorls, a bronze 8.5 cm long knife and a bronze unadorned needle.

Pottery similar was also discovered at Călugăreni, Gorj County, Portărești, Ghidici, Știubei Dolj County, but also in many other sites.

At Călugăreni, Gorj County⁸, were discovered black ceramic fragments that, through the manufacturing technique and the decorative motifs, have analogies with the Vârtoş-Susani type materials. Among the forms we can mention – large vessel with truncated neck, wide edge, turned-up and sometimes grinded. The decoration is made of narrow grooves disposed in horizontal stripes under the edge or in garlands on the neck and short, wide grooves, placed obliquely on the body. Another form is the porringer with the edge arched to the inside, decorated with oblique grooved without decoration. Among the common use pottery we cite the vessels with thick sides and straight opening, decorated with alveolated girdles.

The First Iron Age (Hallstatt), highly represented by the Valley of Danube and the Oltenian Plain, was certificated in the studied region. Traces of dwelling from this region were been discovered at Bistret, Plosca, Galiciuica and in the lakes area at Bistret, Carna, Nasta, Nedeia (where were made hydrotechnical works), where were identified traces of Hallstattian settlements. Also, in the perimeter of the localities Basarabi, Carna, Hunia, Bistret, Booveni (commune Dranic) were discovered fragments of Hallstattian grooved pottery, specific for this period. Grooved ceramics of Vârtoş type was discovered in about 70 localities in the studied area⁹.

The second stage of the Early Hallstatt in the north of the Danube is characterized through the diffusing of some new influences from the Balkans,

⁸ I. Chicideanu, P. Gherghe, *Săpăturile arheologice de la Călugăreni (jud. Gorj)*, in "Materiale și cercetări arheologice", Sesiunea XV de rapoarte, Braşov (1981), Bucharest, 1983, pp. 103–107; S. Lazăr, *Cultura Vârtoş în Oltenia*, Craiova, Fundația Scrisul Românesc Publishing, 2005.

⁹ S. Lazăr, *Sfârșitul epocii bronzului și începutul epocii fierului în sud-vestul României*, Craiova, Editura Publishing, 2011, pp. 61–62.

arrived from the Marița's basin, from the area of Pšeničevo and Čepina cultural groups. In the Danube area, in Dobrogea and in Moldova, they appear in discoveries with imprinted ceramics, of Babadag and Cozia – Brad type and in our studied area through and Insula Banului type pottery. For this phenomenon that took place sometimes in the 10th century, once with the late period of the proto – geometric, we have in this space few points related to a definite chronology: the pyxis – shaped vessel from Babadag and the fibulae from Brad that we have analyzed in the chapter dedicated to the chronology and that corresponds with the above dating. These influences are evident in the south of Transylvania at Tilișca¹⁰, Brașov – “Pățicel”¹¹, etc.

For Oltenia and Banat we have no certain landmarks regarding the absolute chronology, but are obvious the similarities between the Insula Banului type pottery and the south Danube imprinted pottery. On the other side, the Gornea – Kalakača type pottery is different by that of Insula Banului type, through the style in which are rendered the imprinted motifs. The Gornea – Kalakača type pottery was identified especially in the inferior basins of Drava and Sava, in Srem, but also in the Morava basin end in Banat¹². These two cultural groups have a spreading area that isn't superposed but partially; the Gornea – Kalakača type discoveries from Serbia are classified according to the indications from the specialized literature. The Insula Banului type pottery is present especially in the Timok basin, but it quite frequently present in the Great Morava basin too. The Gornea – Kalakača type ceramics was lately also sporadically attested in the south – west of Oltenia¹³. The chronological connection between them is not yet known enough. The only almost clear situation is that from Gornea, Caraș – Severin County, on the Danube and where, after the researches made in four neighboring settlements, situated in a small area of only few square kilometers, could be made some stratigraphic observations too¹⁴.

On the Insula Banului¹⁵ archaeological excavations have found more dwellings (Figs. VII–IX), which show successive reconstructions, with which pits were found. The dwellings, almost all deep in the ground, were round, oval or rectangular with rounded corners, and after digging the authors, “the circular shape

¹⁰ N. Lupu, *Tilișca. Așezările arheologice de pe Cățânaș*, Bucharest, 1989, pp. 57 next, sketch 4/2,7.

¹¹ A.D. Alexandrescu, I. Pop, *Sondajele de la Brașov Pățicel*, in “Materiale”, no. 9, 1970, pp. 160–165.

¹² M. Gumă, *Câteva observații asupra grupului Bosut*, in “SCIVA”, tom 32, no. 1, 1981, pp. 43–66; M. Jevtić, *Keramika strarijeg gvozdenog doba na centralno Balkanskom području*, Beograd, 1983.

¹³ G. Crăciunescu, *La culture Basarabi dans le sud-ouest de l'Oltenie*, in “Der Basarabi-Komplex in Mittel-und Südost Europa”. Kolloquium in Drobeta-Turnu Severin 1996, București, 1996, pp. 79–92, sketch 8 (map); Idem, *Date noi cu privire la geneza și evoluția culturii Verbicioara*, in “Drobeta”, no. 7, 1996, pp. 79 and next.

¹⁴ M. Gumă, *Civilizația primei epoci a fierului în sud-vestul României*, 1993, pp. 169–203, fig. 7.

¹⁵ S. Morintz, P. Roman, *Un grup hallstattian timpuriu în sud-vestul României – Insula Banului*, in “SCIV”, tom 20, no. 3, 1969, pp. 393–423.

of the quarries of the dwellings represents a newer stage in relation to the rectangular shape”. The dwellings date back to the 9th century B. C.

The iron flanged axe appeared in sector B of the settlement on Insula Banului, where ceramics predominates. Bronze bracelet with semi – circular section, bold-coated, embossed with W – shaped engraved lines, was found in section A, which contains ceramics, especially the printer and incised. So, we can reconsider the internal chronology of of the settlement from Insula Banului¹⁶.

In the First Iron Age it seems that we assist at the disappearing of vast settlements, with several levels of habitation. This fact could be explained although the climatic changes happened on the whole continent. There are few known examples of settlements in Oltenia, that have more levels of habitation and these are usually in the areas privileged with access at natural resources like the Danube’s river meadow.

In the same period, we find fortresses strengthened with a defence vallum as those in Transylvania¹⁷ or that from Popești, jud. Giurgiu¹⁸. In Oltenia such fortresses were researched at Portărești, Dolj district¹⁹, Măru, Gorj district and Grădiștea, Vâlcea district²⁰. They are all situated on a higher relief, on circular surfaces with the diameter between 80 and 170 m and are defended with an earth vallum, that from Portărești also having a ditch. Excepting that from Măru, which had two levels of dwelling (Verbicioara și Vârtop), the other two have only one level, from the Early Hallstatt period. About the Portărești settlement, (better researched), we know that it had a layer of culture thick of 0.30 – 0.40m, fact that doesn’t necessarily stands for an intense dwelling.

The other Hallstattiene fortresses mentioned in the archaeological literature a long time ago (Galicea Mare, Galiciuica, Dobridor, Ghercești, from Dolj district)²¹ and Dobrești²², weren’t dogged or researched previously, and the few information

¹⁶ S. Morintz, P. Roman, *op. cit.*, pp. 393–423; B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur Regionalen und Chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, Bonn, 1976, pp. 151 next; A. Vulpe, *Die Kurzschwerter, Dolche und Streitmesser der Hallstattzeit in Rumänien*, PBF, Abteilung 6, Band 9, München, C.H. Becksche Publishing House, 1990, pp. 104–105.

¹⁷ V. Vasiliev, *Fortifications de refuge et etablissement fortifie du premier age du fer en Transylvanie*, Bucharest, 1995.

¹⁸ A. Vulpe, *50 years of systematic archaeological excavations at the pre – and protohistoric site at Popești*, in “Dacia”, NS, no. 48–49, 2004–2005, p. 19; N. Palincaș, *Social Status and Gender Relations in Late Bronze Age Popești. A Plea for the Introduction of New Approaches in Romanian Archaeology*, “Dacia”, NS, no. 48–49, 2004–2005, pp. 44 and the next.

¹⁹ C. M. Tăulea, *Cercetări în așezarea hallstattiană timpurie de la Portărești, jud. Dolj*, in “Thraco-Dacica”, no. 3, 1982, p. 126 and the next.

²⁰ F. Marinescu, *Cercetări din cetatea Hallstattiană de la Grădiștea, județul Vâlcea*, in “Studii și Materiale de Istorie Militară”, 1981–1982, p. 47 and the next.

²¹ D. Berci, *op. cit.*, p. 143; Idem, *Șantierul arheologic de la Verbicioara Dolj*, in “SCIV”, no. 1, 1950, p. 106.

²² S. Lazăr, *Sfârșitul epocii bronzului și începutul epocii fierului în sud-vestul României*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, 2011, p. 128.

initially known, having the character of some shallow researches, doesn't give us sufficient data to analyze.

At Portărești, Dolj district, was dogged a settlement containing pottery very similar with the Vârtop type. The settlement occupies an approximate round shape plateau with the diameter of almost 170 m. It is defended by an earth made vallum wide of 7.50 – 8 m and a ditch. Although in the moment of the diggings the earth vallum was flat, the archaeologist estimates that his height was 2.50 m up to the ancient stepping level and 4,50 m up to the bottom of the ditch. The vallum was made from a basis of calcareous earth, well rammed, having above, along it, three rows of stones and grit stones pieces, covered with clay containing calcareous fragments. In the exterior part, the vallum descends towards the funnel shaped ditch, wide of 17 m and deep of 1.93 m up to the ancient yard.

The dwellings were found in the north part of the plateau. Besides the pottery, there have been discovered a fragment of a bronze bracelet and two needles, one fragmentary and the other with the head rolled (the Rollennadel type). The last one determined the authors of the digging to date the settlement in the A Hallstatt period.

About the role of the fortified settlements some specification must be made. In the past was accentuated their defensive role and was neglected another function – that representing the social prestige. Such a function was presumed to have the fortification from Popești, Giurgiu district, as A. Vulpe said²³. The apparition of the defended fortresses at the end of the 2nd millennium, wide across the Central and South – West Europe, was interpreted as a tendency of emphasising for the chief of the community²⁴. The function of representing social prestige also has some objects²⁵ discovered in the settlements. “Les produits en bronze étaient devenus abondants, fonctionnellement et stylistiquement très varié. Il n'est pas indifférent de souligner que les outils métallique, qui avaient alors pris une place importante dans tous les secteurs de la productions, ne pouvaient être fabriqués sans le concours des élites; ce qui pourrait induire un début de contrôle partiel sur l'économie de subsistance de la part d'une instance supra – locale. Au début de l'Age du fer, la forme de pouvoir politique ne change pas très sensiblement... Des armes et des parures en fer, du sel en grosses quantités, des salaisons et des textiles de luxe font maintenant partie de biens de prestige en circulation”²⁶.

²³ A. Vulpe, *op. cit.*, p. 19; N. Palincaș, *Social Status and Gender Relation in Late Bronze Age Popești. A Plea for the Introduction of New Approaches in Romanian Archaeology*, in “Dacia”, no. 48–49, 2004–2005, p. 44 and the next.

²⁴ P. Burn, *La genèse de l'état: les apports de l'archéologie*, in “Les princes de la protohistoire et l'émergence de l'état”, 1999, p. 35.

²⁵ In the same manner were interpreted some ritual deposits such as the bronze hoard, specially put at the entrance of the Kronach fortress, from the Superior Franconia. Quoted by P. Schauer, *Stand und Aufgaben der Urnenfelderforschung in Süddeutschland*, in “Beiträge zur Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen, Monographien”, RGZM, Bd. 35, Bonn 1995, p. 165, fig. 41.

²⁶ P. Burn, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

The fact that they don't have only a defensive role against the invaders is suggested also by the anthropological studies. M. Eliade emphasised that "the defensive systems of the settlements and the fortresses had a magic character at first: these systems made of ditches, labyrinths, defensive vallum, were conceived to stop rather the entrance of the demons and of the death's souls than the human invasions ... the walls of the fortresses were assigned through rituals to serve as a bound against the demon, disease or death. As a matter of fact, in the symbolic thought, the human – enemy is naturally compared with the Demon and with Death. Because the result of any kind of attack, either demonic or military is the same: the destruction, the annihilation, the death"²⁷.

The archaeological documents from the present stage of the researches, with all the lacks, allow us to observe that, in the same time with the existence of a "spreading" habitat, similar to that of the communities that have as the main mean of existence the grazing, are now present the reinforced fortresses that, along with the proliferation of some fatuous habits (the tumuli from Susani and Lăpuș), denote the existence of some leaders, interested in the affirmation and the maintaining of the social prestige.

It is obviously that the analysis of the dwelling space must be done in tight connection with the funerary space, taking into account the totality of the economical practices regarding the capitalisation of the natural and environmental adapting resources, but also the valorisation of some symbolic practices.

Even though we can only imagine the entire mythical structure which could have represented the basis of the human settlement that, through the archeologically observed traces, could offer information related to the social and economic structure of communities. Achieving a symbiosis between the climatic conditions, the specific of rural economy, intercommunity or distant changes, the necessity of creating some fortification systems and the existence of some power centers, some religious practices thus it is defined the character of the habitat of the discussed period.

CONCLUSIONS

The Prehistoric settlements can be found in different places but in most of the cases on rivers courses near springs with drinking water especially on lower or middle terraces. Both the demographic development and the sedentary character of the communities, first of all in places adjusted to human life and then in placements permitting the co-inhabitation of many coherent groups.

But, it is actually hard to say the period of dwelling from a settlement, especially in our studied period. Unlike the houses made of unburned bricks from

²⁷ M. Eliade, *Sacrul și profanul*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing, 2000, p. 40; Idem, *Tratatul de istorie a religiilor*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing, 1992, p. 341.

the Neolithic tells that most of the times had been rebuilt during a generation, the houses with the oak girder walls can last for many generations. The thick well – preserved oak or beech tree girders were frequently reused as a building material for a new house, fact noticed from the ethnographic point of view in the areas where the wood was the only or the main building material, including in the Carpathian – Danube area. It is very probable that the situation to be the same for the dwellings in the hill and mountain zones from the end of the Bronze Age and, of course, in the case of the habitat from the Vârtope type grooved pottery.

If we approach this information through the cultural transformations sustained by the processual archaeology, then the situation might be very different from the interpretations many times presented by the historicist conceptions, such as the moving of some communities, their migration, etc. It is understandable that such types of dwellings built from wood, although had a long duration (sometimes several centuries), are hard to be archaeologically found and the period of time that we discuss can attest the presence in this territory of a complex activity of those communities. This is the explanation for the situation that in the actual stage of information the attesting of some dwelling type constructions is due especially to the digging of a deep foundation (the case of the hut) or the fireplaces and the cremated deposits.

The material culture elements, in our case, the ceramic vessels, belong to the social practice system. As manifestations of some symbolic practices, they are the bearers of certain significations for which's understanding it is important to analyze the statute of this ceramics in the funerary space but also in the inhabited place²⁸ and the relations that exist between the two fields.

In the Late Bronze period and especially in the First Iron Age it seems that we assist at the disappearing of vast settlements, with several levels of habitation. This fact could be explained although the climatic changes happened on the whole continent. Based on the palinological, pedological and archeozoological researches, made especially in the areas close to the Carpatho – Danubian zone, has been observed the installation of a period of cold and gradually dryer climate²⁹. A. Vulpe presumed that this climate conditions favoured the growth of the pastoral activities, phenomenon with direct implications on the type of the habitat³⁰.

The settlements dated in the Late Bronze, respectively the beginning of the Iron Age (what in Central Europe corresponds to the UFZ period) have, most of them, as we have already mentioned, a single layer of culture that apparently leads to the assumption that they had been dwelled for a short period of time. This situation is met at the Danube and around the ponds or small – islands near the

²⁸ M. Eliade, *Sacrul și profanul*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing, 2000, p. 93.

²⁹ M. Tomescu, *Holocenul, date cronologice și climatice*, in “Cercetări arheologice MNIR”, 11, pp. 235–270; A. Vulpe, *Problema scitică în România*, in “Identitate națională și spirit European”, 2003, pp. 122–123.

³⁰ A. Vulpe, *op. cit.* pp. 123–124.

river, where are Gârla Mare and Bistreț Ișalnița type settlements and in the hilly and piedmont area where is a level of dwelling is again “thin” from the stratigraphic point of view.

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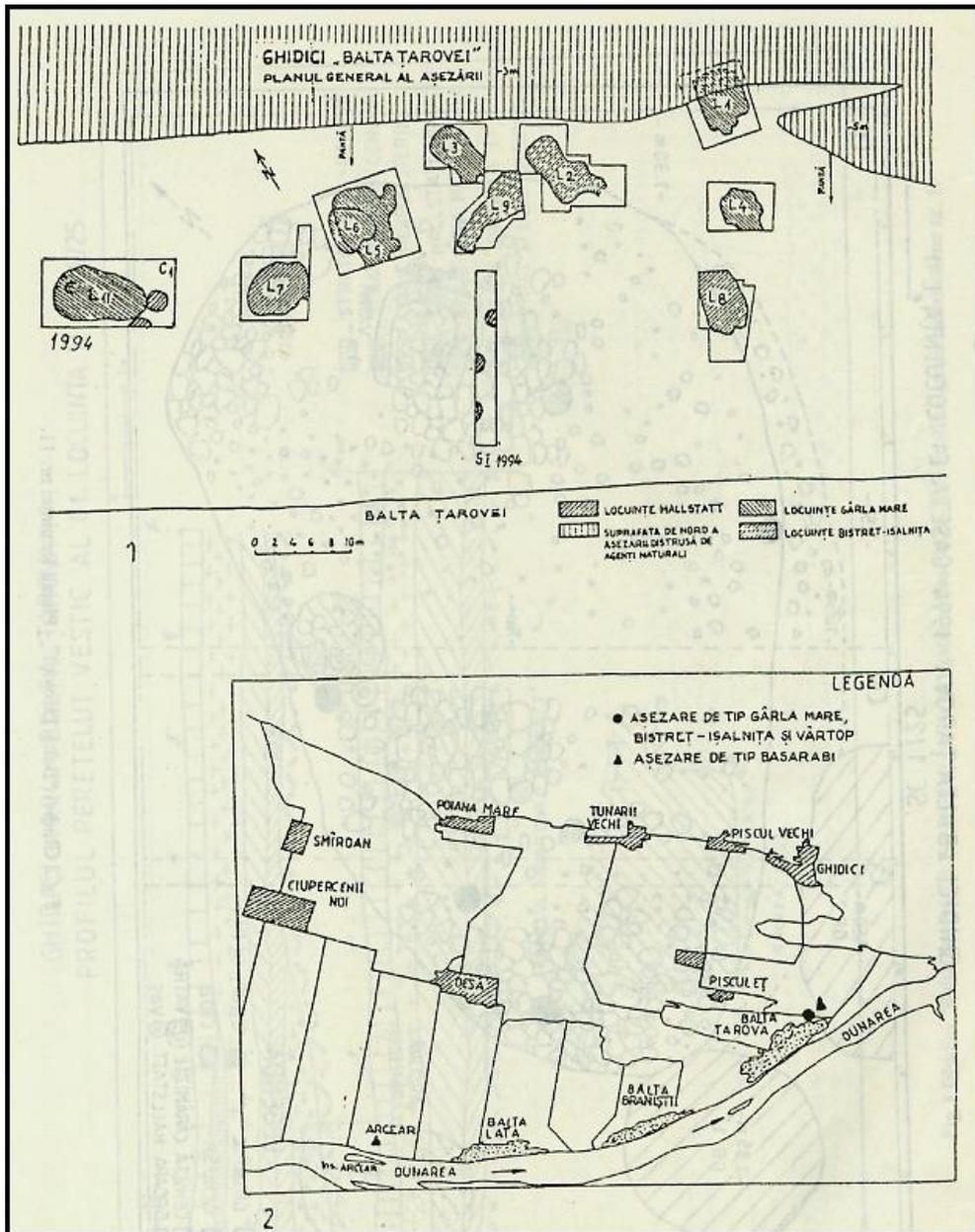


Fig. I. The settlement is at Ghidici, excavation plan..

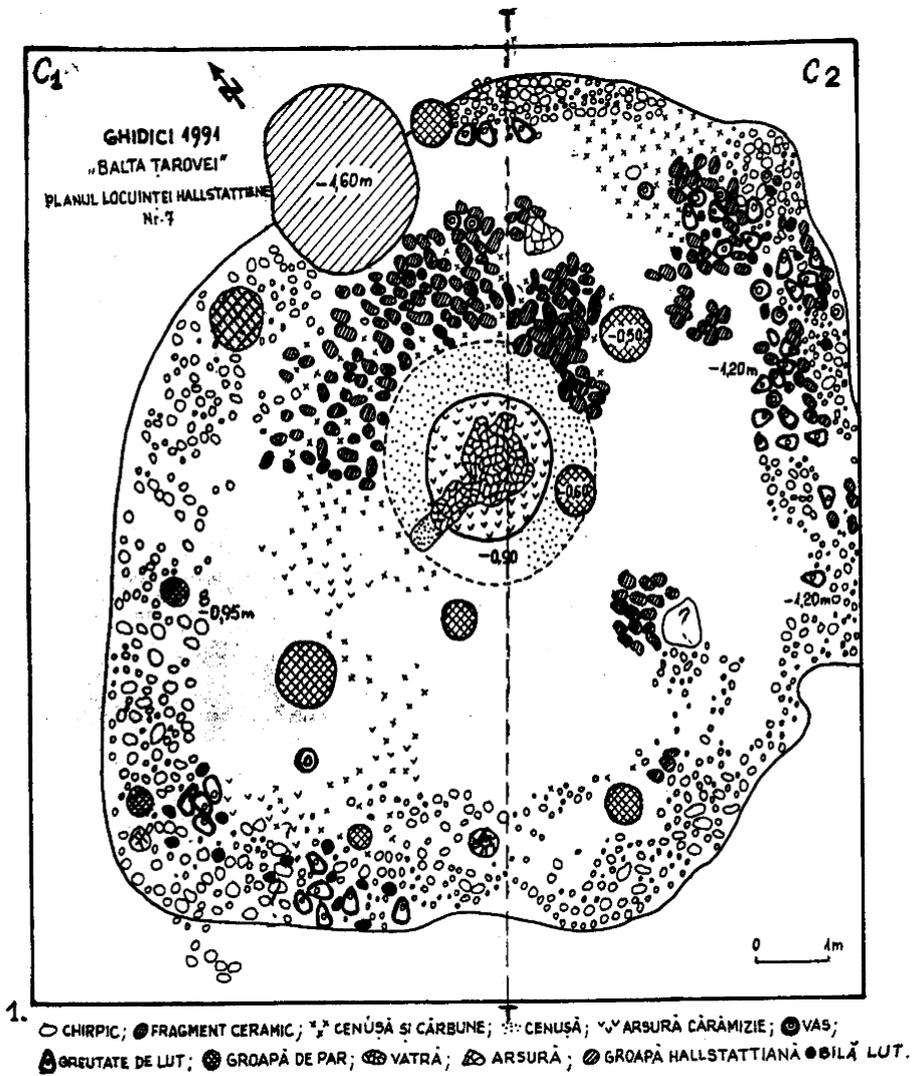


Fig. II. Settlement Ghidici – The Iron Age dwelling no. 7
(personal excavation).

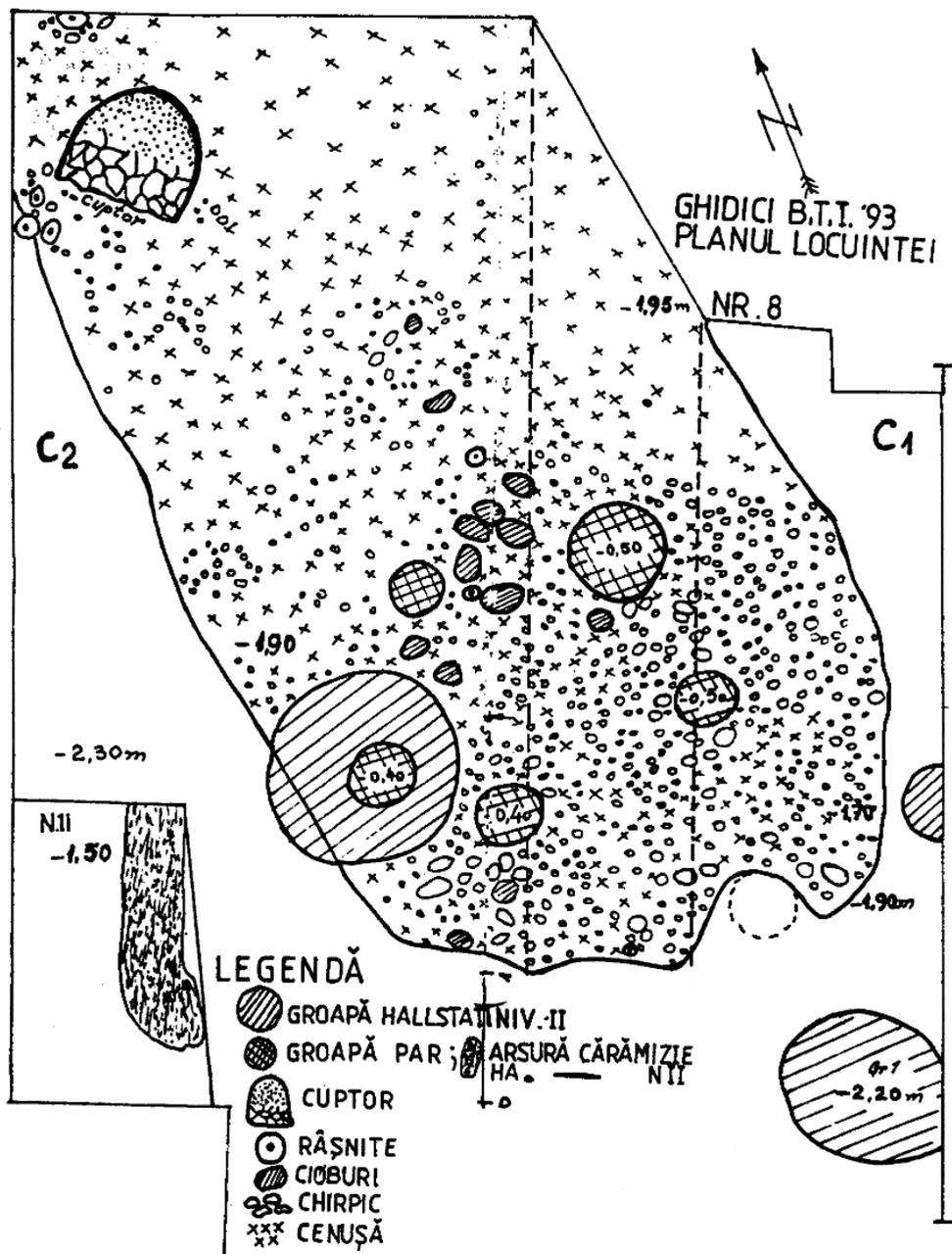


Fig. III. Settlement Ghidici – The Iron Age dwelling no. 8 (personal excavation).

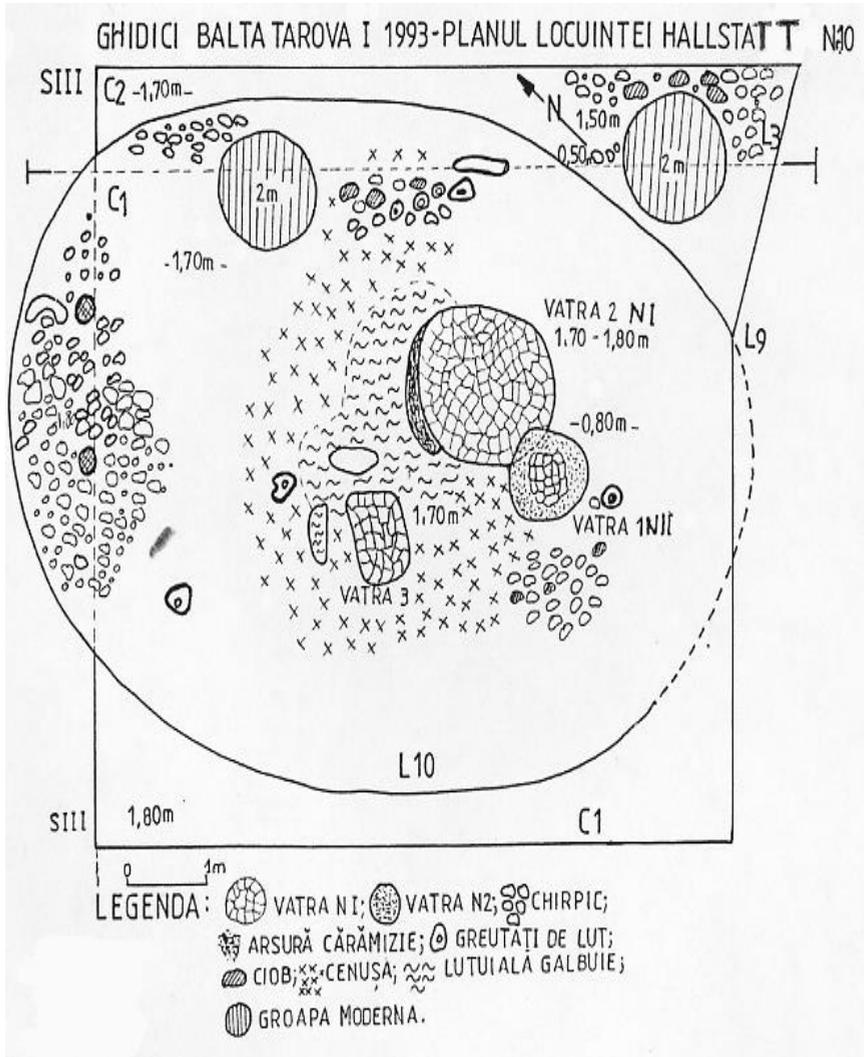


Fig. IV. Settlement Ghidici – The Iron Age dwelling no. 10 (personal excavation).

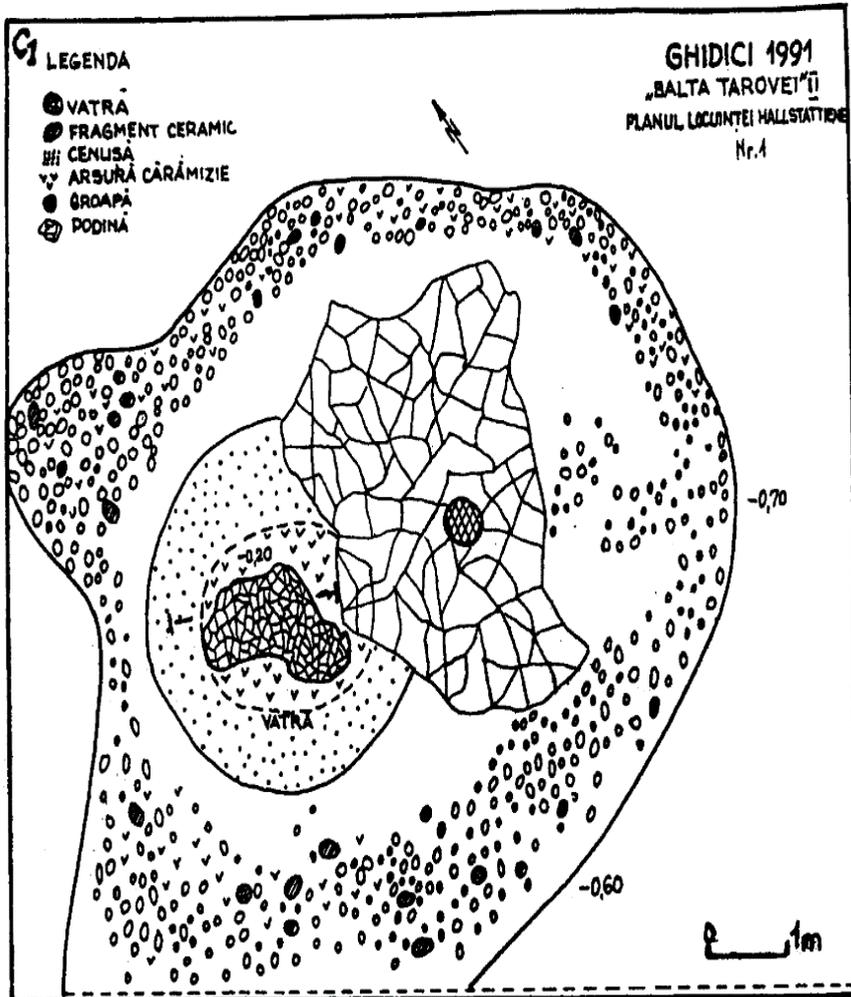


Fig. V. Settlement Ghidici, Balta Tarova II –
 The Iron Age dwelling no. 1 (personal excavation).

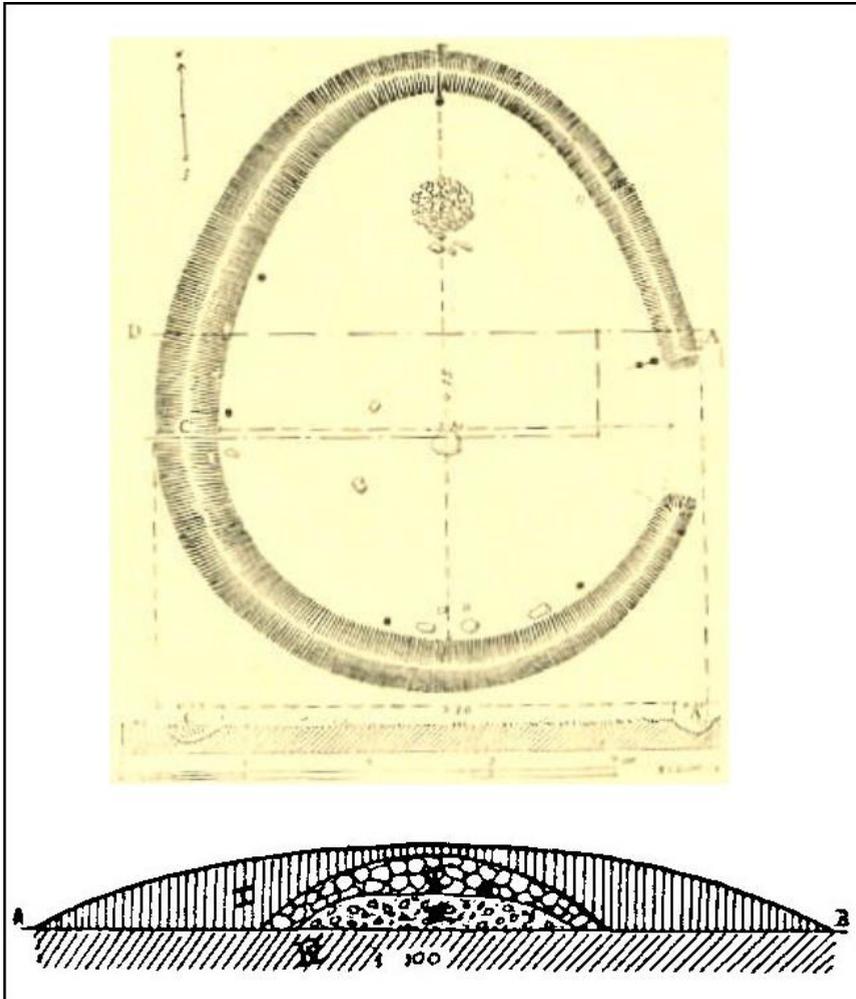


Fig. VI. Vârtop – The Iron Age dwelling (after D. Berciu).

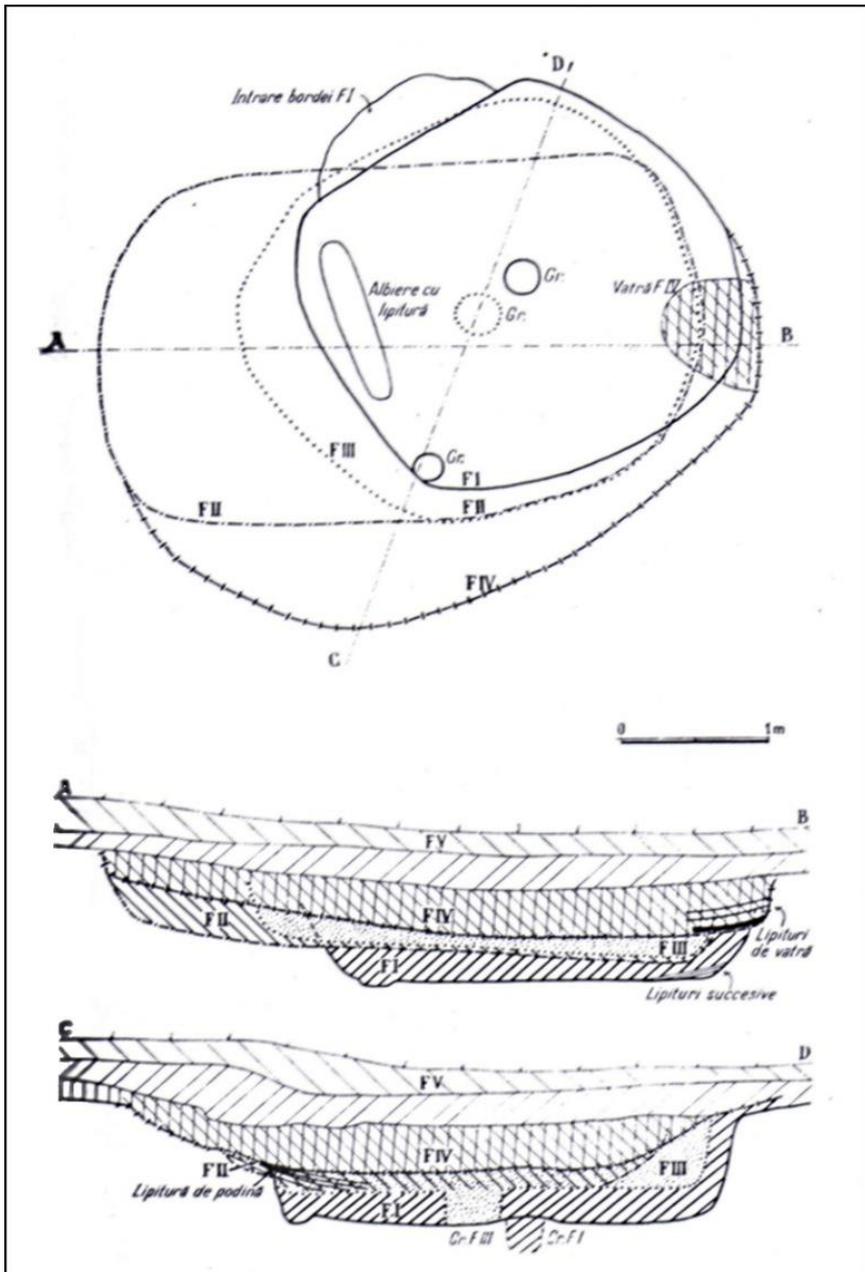


Fig.VII. Insula Banului, The Iron Age dwelling - sector A
(after S. Morintz, P. Roman).

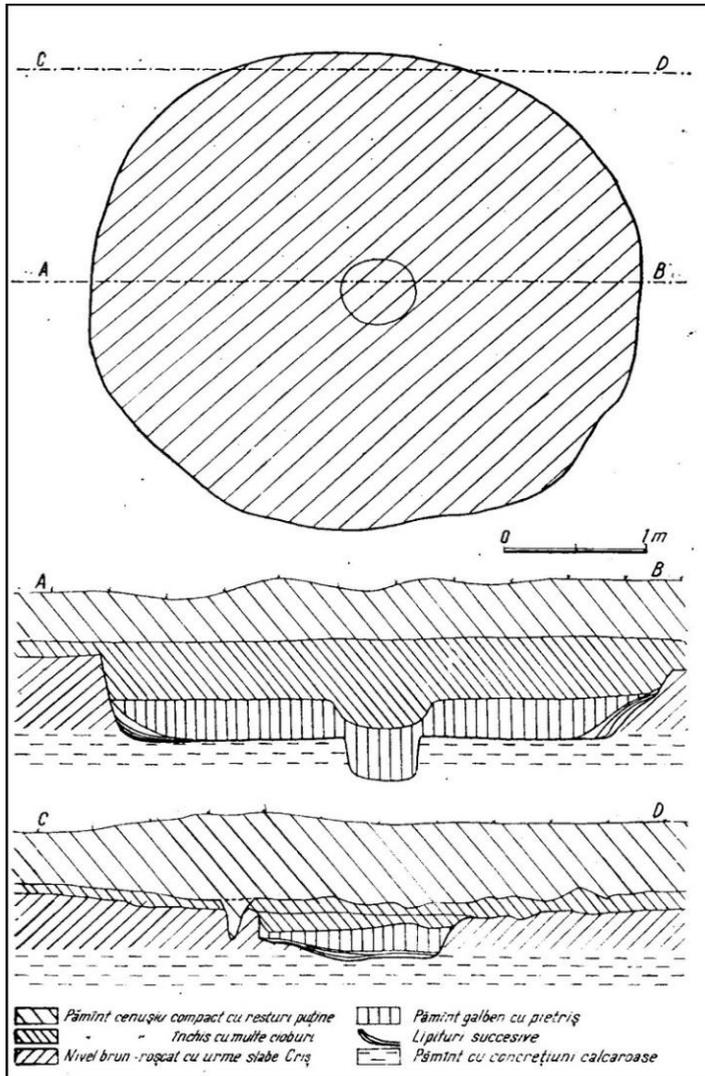


Fig. VIII. Insula Banului, The Iron Age dwelling – sector B (after S. Morintz, P. Roman).

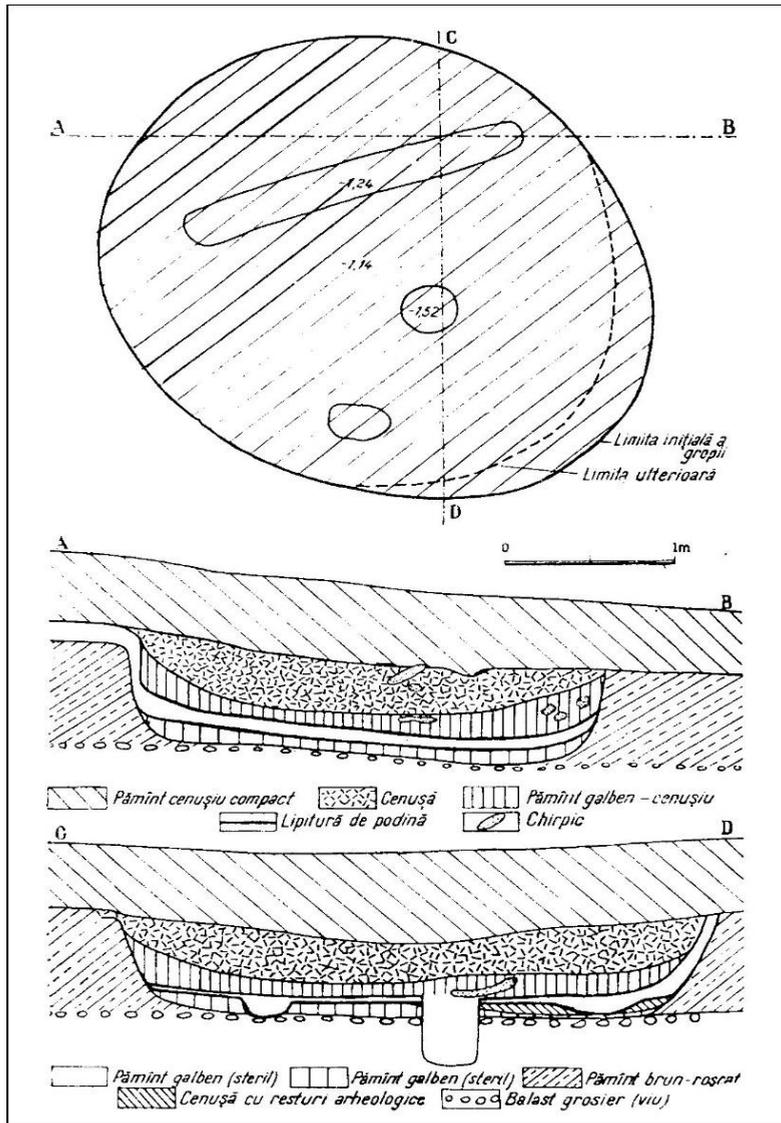


Fig. IX. Insula Banului, The Iron Age dwelling – sector B (after S. Morintz, P. Roman).

DACIAN HAND-MADE POTTERY DISCOVERED IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE OF REȘCA-ROMULA

Mircea NEGRU*

Abstract: The native pottery in Roman and Former Roman provinces is still a less studied subject. Even when the fragments of indigenous pottery vessels are sometimes discovered, they are not so spectacular to be published in time as the other archaeological artefacts from Roman and Late Roman Period. This article highlights the existence and relevance of a small lot of Dacian pottery fort to understanding of late of 3rd century AD and 4th century AD in Roman and then former Roman Province of Dacia.

Keywords: Roman, Romula, Dacian, hand-made pottery, archaeological artefacts.

INTRODUCTION

Pottery of local pre-Roman tradition is a constant presence found in most European provinces of the Roman Empire. We can mention here the pottery of pre-Roman tradition discovered in *Moesia Inferior*¹, *Moesia Superior*², *Pannonia*³, *Noricum*⁴, *Gallia Belgica*⁵, *Britannia*⁶ and in other Roman provinces.

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¹ D. Ohcearov, *Trako-rimski nekropol Tărgoviște*, *Arheologia*, 7, 1965, 1, pp. 34–37; C. Scorpan, *Contribuții arheologice la problemele etnice ale Dobrogei antice. Carpii în Scythia Minor*, *Pontice*, I, 1968, pp. 341–364; C. Scorpan, *Prezența și continuitatea getică în Tomis și Callatis*, *SCIVA*, 21, 1970, 1, pp. 65–95; M. Babeș, *Necropola daco-romană de la Enisala*, *SCIVA*, 22, 1971, 1, pp. 19–45; C. Scorpan, *La continuité de la population et des traditions gètes les conditions de la romanization de la Scythie Minor*, *Pontica*, VI, 1973, pp. 137–151; B. Sultov, *Centres antiques de poteries en Mésie Inférieure*, *Actes du II-e Congrès International de Thracologie*, Bucharest, 1980, 2, pp. 379–388; A. Opaïț, *Considerații preliminare asupra ceramicii romane timpurii de la Troesmis*, *Peuce*, VIII, 1980, pp. 328–366; G. Kabakciewa, *Keramikversorgung in den Militärstützpunkten an der unteren Donau im 1 Jh n. Ch. und die Politik Roms*, *RCRFACTA*, 35, 1997, pp. 33–40.

² Gordana Jeremic, *Saldivm, Roman and Early Byzantine Fortification*, Belgrade, 2009, pp. 56–59; S. Nikolic-Dgeorgevic, *Anticka keramika Singidunuma*, *Singidunum* 2, 2000, pp. 79–80, type II/34; N. Jevremovic, *Keramika juznog i zapadnog bedema lokaliteta Diana–Karatas*, *Djerdapske sveske* IV, 1986, p. 50, T. VI, type II/7 and II/9. 14.

³ E. Bónis, *Die kaiserzeitliche Keramik von Pannonien*, *Diss.Pann.*, Ser. II, 20, Budapest, 1942, pls. 1–15; O. Brukner, *Rimska keremika u Jugoslovenskom delu provincije Dolnje Pannonije*,

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In the province of Dacia, hand-made Dacian pottery was discovered in the fortifications and civil settlements, in rural settlements and necropolises, and less frequently in Roman cities⁷. Among the discoveries of this type in the urban environment of the province of Dacia, we mention those from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Napoca, Porolissum, Tibiscum and Romula*⁸. Often, however, they were discovered in contexts archeologically widely dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD, which include the period after the abandonment of the province of Dacia.

That is why each discovery is worth mentioning in order to have a more accurate picture of the production and distribution of this local pottery in the province of Dacia, but also in the period after the middle of the third century AD and in the 4th century AD.

In this article we present a batch of fragments of Dacian ceramic vessels, modelled by hand, discovered in the archaeological site of Reșca-Romula, during the archaeological campaigns of 2013, 2017, 2019, in the points Central Fortification and School-Land of Sport (Figure 1).

The Central Fortification is located in the central area of the archaeological site of Reșca-Romula, it being one of the three Roman fortifications identified and designed by the Austrian captain Fernando de Marsigli between 1689–1691⁹. Scientific archaeological research in this area of the archaeological site was initiated by the engineer Pamfil Polonic in 1900, when a Roman building with *thermae*¹⁰ was discovered. They were resumed in 1965 under the coordination of Professor Dumitru Tudor¹¹, and from 1978 to 1992 they were led by Dr. Cristian

Beograd, 1981, pls. 2–5; O. Brukner, in O. Brukner, V. Dautova-Rusevljan, P. Milosović, *Poceti romanizacije u Jugoistocinomu delu provincije Pannonije*, Novi Sad, 1987, pp. 40–41, pl. 12.

⁴ E. Schindler-Kaudelka, *Tonnenförmige Kochtöpfe vom Magdalensberg*, RCRFActa, 35, 1997, pp. 116–125; S. Zabežlicky-Scheffenecker, *Dreifußschüsseln mit Töpfermarken vom Magdalensberg*, RCRFActa, 1997, pp. 127–132; V. V. Perko, *The Roman tiles factory at Vransko near Celeia (Noricum). Part two: Ceramic finds*, RCRFActa, 35, 1997, pp. 165–172.

⁵ X. Deru, L. Grasset, *The Roman pottery workshop in the Saint-Remi district (Reims, Marne). Preliminary report*, RCRFActa, 35, 1997, pp. 151–156.

⁶ I. A. Richmond, *Roman Britain*, London, 1966, pp. 129–131; Salway, *Roman Britain*, London, 1981, pp. 642–643; G. Jobey, *The settlement at Doubstead and Romano – British settlement on the coastal plain between Tyne and Forth*, ArchAeliana, Fifth series, 10, 1982, pp. 1–23; V. Swan, *Pottery in Roman Britain*, Fourth edition, Aylesbury, 198, p. 7; V. Swan, *The Roman pottery of Yorkshire and the North-East: A selective historical guide*, RCRF, XXth International Congress 1996, York and Newcastle, 1996, pp. 81–85; P. Tyers, *Roman pottery in Britain*, First edition, London, 1996, pp. 63–64.

⁷ M. Negru, *The Native Pottery of Roman Dacia*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 1097, 2003, Oxford, UK.

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 106–113.

⁹ C. Mărgărit Tăulea, *Romula-Malva*, Bucharest, 1994, p. 8.

¹⁰ D. Tudor, *Oltenia romană*, Ed. IV, Bucharest, 1978, p. 180.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 176–187.

Vlădescu¹². In 2009 a cross-section was initiated within this sector of the archaeological site. This was continued in 2011, and since 2013, research has gained momentum, which has led to the collection of new information on this important area of the archaeological site.¹³

In the years 2018–2019, in the School point, in the southwestern part of the archaeological site, preventive archaeological researches were carried out, on a site where a Sports Field was to be built.

CATALOGUE OF DISCOVERIES (FIGS. 2–3)

1. Pot

Typology. Negru 2003, type II.1, Pl. no. 9, 10 / Popilian 1976, type 1, Pl. LXXV: 956 (modelled on the wheel)

Description. Ovoid body. Fragment from the top. The lip is slightly arched on the outside. There is an alveolar embossed belt above the shoulder. Dimensions: DVM = 102 mm, RH = 80 mm, Gr. P. = 7–8 mm.

Coarse paste with frequent sand and rare mica. Uneven burning. Blackish colour. Outside blackish colour slip. Blackish secondary burning inside and out.

The archaeological context. Romula, 2013, Central Fortification. Section S 2, sq. 7, 2.00–2.40 m. SI 798.

Remarks. In the pit of the brick wall of the fortification.

Chronology. The second half of the third century AD and the first half of the 4th century AD.

Analogies. Similar vessels were discovered in the Roman camp at Ilișua¹⁴, and in the civil settlement of the Roman camp at Stolniceni-Buridava¹⁵. They were dated to Stolniceni-Buridava at the beginning of the 3rd century AD, and to Ilișua, in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD. A similar vessel, modelled on the wheel, was discovered in the necropolis of Locusteni, where it was dated in the second century and in the first half of the third century AD¹⁶. It was modelled from coarse grey paste.

¹² C. Vlădescu 1986, *Fortificațiile din Dacia Inferior*, 34–40.

¹³ M. Negru, C. Schuster, *Istoricul cercetărilor arheologice*, in M. Negru, C. Schuster (eds.), *Romula. Seria Rapoarte arheologice. I, Raport privind cercetările arheologice sistematice din anul 2015*, Târgoviște, 2016, p. 11.

¹⁴ D. Protase, C. Gaiu, G. Marinescu, *Castrul roman de la Ilișua*, Bistrița, 1997, p. 55, pl. 61:2.

¹⁵ D. Tudor, *Depozitul de vase dacice și romane de la Stolniceni*, SCIVA, 18, 1967, 4, p. 656, fig. 2:4.

¹⁶ Gh. Popilian, *Ceramica romană din Oltenia*, Craiova, 1976, p. 137, 221, pl. LXXIV:956; Gh. Popilian, *Traditions autochtones dans la céramique provinciale romaine de la Dacie Méridionale*, Thraco-Dacica, I, 1976, p. 285, fig. 2:10; Gh. Popilian, *Necropola daco-romană de la Locusteni*, Craiova, 1980, p. 14, pl. 2 M, 11, 1

Similar vessels in shape were discovered in archaeological sites from the late Geto-Dacian La Tene to Răcătău¹⁷, Sfântu Gheorghe¹⁸, Hărman¹⁹, Brad-Zargidava²⁰, Upper Tisza Region²¹.

In the Upper Tisza area, similar vessels continued to be produced in the 2nd–4th centuries AD²².

2. Pot

Typology. Negru 2003, type VII 3.2. no. 72–73 / Popilian 1976, type 1a, Pl. LXXIV: 945

Description. Ovoid body. Fragment from the top. The lip is arched outwards. Dimensions: DVM = 140 mm, RH = 75 mm, VWT = 7–9 mm.

Coarse paste, with frequent sand and rare mica. Uneven burning. Blackish colour on the inside, reddish-yellow on the outside. Careless, uneven modelling. Fingerprints inside. Reddish-yellow slip on the inside and outside. Secondary burning on the top and mouth of the vessel.

The archaeological context. Romula, 2013, Central Fortification. Section S 4, sq. 21, 0.70–0.75 m. SI 604.

Remarks. The pit is subsequent to the glass processing workshop, respectively to the building no. 1/2015, which belonged to a level in which a coin was found from Philip the Arab (248 AD)²³.

Chronology. The second half of the third century AD and the first half of the 4th century AD.

Analogies. Similar vessels were discovered in the Roman camp at Enoșești-Acidava²⁴ and the civil settlement of the Roman camp from Stolniceni-Buridava²⁵, respectively within the rural necropolis of Locusteni²⁶. They were dated to

¹⁷ V. Căpitanu, *Așezarea geto-dacă de la Răcătău*, Carpica, VIII, 1976, p. 63, figs. 14:8; 21:6.

¹⁸ I. H. Crișan, *Ceramica daco-getică. Cu privire specială la Transilvania*, Bucharest, p. 163, pl. 77:8.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 111, pl. 32:2.

²⁰ V. Căpitanu, *Așezarea geto-dacă de la Răcătău*, Carpica, VIII, 1976, pl. 51:6.

²¹ V. Kotigorosko, *Ținuturile Tisei superioare în veacurile III î.e.n. – IV e.n. (perioada La Tene și romană)*, Bucharest, 1995, p. 235, fig. 116:30–31.

²² I. Stanciu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea epocii romane în bazinul mijlociu și inferior al râului Someș*, *Ephemeris Napocensis*, 5, 1995, fig. 37:27; V. Kotigorosko, *Ținuturile Tisei superioare în veacurile III î.e.n. – IV e.n. (perioada La Tene și romană)*, Bucharest, 1995, p. 136, fig. 113:6.

²³ M. Negru, L. Amon, P. Gherghe, A. Streinu, M. Streinu, T. Hila, G. Mihai, A. Diaconu, *Raport tehnic privind cercetările arheologice din anul 2015*, in Mircea Negru, Cristian Schuster (eds.), *Romula. Seria Rapoarte arheologice. I., Raport privind cercetările arheologice sistematice din anul 2015*, Târgoviște, 2016, p. 17.

²⁴ M. Negru, I. Ciucă, *Ceramica dacică lucrată cu mâna descoperită în așezarea civilă a castrului roman de la Enoșești-Acidava*, AO, SN, 12, 1997, p. 24, pl. 1:3.

²⁵ D. Tudor, *op. cit.*, p. 656, fig. 2:1.

²⁶ Gh. Popilian, *Ceramica romană din Oltenia*, Craiova, 1976, pp. 135–136, 220, tip 1, Pl. LXXIV:945, 947.

the beginning of the 3rd century AD at Stolniceni-Buridava, in the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century at Locusteni, respectively in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD. within the Roman camp from Enoșești-Acidava.

A similar vessel was discovered at Moigrad-*Porolissum*, where it was dated to the 1st century BC. – 1st century AD.²⁷.

3. Pot

Typology. Negru 2003, type VIII.1., No. 78 / Popilian 1976, type 1a, Pl. LXIV, 944

Description. Ovoid body. Fragment from the top. The long lip is obliquely turned outwards. Dimensions: DVM = 152 mm, RH = 60 mm, VWT = 5–7 mm.

Semi-coarse paste with frequently sifted sand and rare mica. Uneven burning. Blackish colour. Black slip on the outside. Blackish secondary burning on the outside and inside on the lip.

The archaeological context. Romula, 2013, Central Fortification. Section S 12, sq. 1, 1.30–1.70 m. SI 6601.

Remarks. The fragment of the vessel was discovered in the dismantling pit of a Roman wall.

Chronology. The second half of the third century and the first half of the fourth century AD.

Analogies. A similar vessel was discovered in the Roman camp at Boroșneul Mare, where it was dated in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD²⁸.

Similar vessels were discovered in late Geto-Dacian La Tene at the sites of Pecica-Ziridava²⁹, Martfű³⁰ and Răcățău³¹, and in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD, in the area of the Free Dacians from the east of the Carpathians to Ruptura³².

4. Pot

Typology. Negru 2003, type VI.3.3., No. 56, 60 / Popilian 1976, type 1d, Pl. LXIV: 947

Description. Ovoid body. Marked neck, long lip is slightly arched on the outside. Dimensions: DVM = 140 mm, RH = 53 mm, VWT = 7–8 mm.

Semi-coarse paste with frequently sifted sand and rare mica. Uneven burning. Blackish colour. Black slip on the outside. Blackish secondary burning on the outside and inside on the lip.

Archaeological context. Romula, 2013, Central Fortification. Section S 3, sq. 18, 0.80–1.00 m, SI 541.

²⁷ I. H. Crișan, *Ceramica daco-getică. Cu privire specială la Transilvania*, Bucharest, 1969, p. 163, pl. 74:4.

²⁸ Z. Székely, *Les Daces et les Romains aux IIe-IVe siècles dans le Sud-Est de la Transylvanie*, Actes du II-e Congrès International de Thracologie, Bucharest, 1980, 2, p. 360, fig. 1.

²⁹ I. H. Crișan, *Ceramica daco-getică. Cu privire specială la Transilvania*, Bucharest, 1969, p. 163, pl. 78:1.

³⁰ Z. Visy, *Die Daker am Gebiet von Ungarn*, A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged, 1970, p. 8, pl. 2:6.

³¹ V. Căpitanu, *Așezarea geto-dacă de la Răcățău*, Carpica, VIII, 1976, p. 62, fig. 19:3.

³² Gh. Bichir, *Cultura carpică*, Bucharest, 1973, p. 67, pl. 47:1.

Remarks. Material discovered in relation to the adobe dwelling in section S4 / 2013, sq. 1–3, researched in the 2018 campaign (CFC 5/2018).

Chronology. The second half of the third century – the first half of the fourth century AD.

Analogies. Similar vessels were discovered in the civilian settlement of the Enoșești-Acidava camp³³, the cemetery from Locusteni³⁴. These vessels have been dated in 2nd–3rd centuries AD at Enoșești-Acidava, respectively in the second century and the beginning of the third century AD at Locusteni.

5. Pot

Typology. Negru 2003, type IV.1.1., No. 23–27 / Popilian 1976, type 1c, Pl. LXIV: 946

Description. Bulging body. Fragment from the top. The lip is turned obliquely to the outside. Under the lip the vessel is decorated with a band of horizontal lines and one of wavy lines, below it.

Dimensions: DVM = 160 mm, RH = 53 mm, VWT = 6–7 mm.

Coarse paste, with frequent sand and rare mica. Uneven burning. Blackish on the inside, reddish-yellow on the outside. Careless, uneven modelling. Fingerprints inside. Reddish-yellow slip on the inside and outside. Secondary burning on the outside on the top.

The archaeological context. Romula, 2013, Central Fortification. Section S 3, sq. 18, 0.80–1.00 m, SI 5328, Material discovered in relation to the adobe dwelling in the section in 2018, sq. 1–3, researched in the 2018 campaign (CFC 5/2018).

Chronology. The second half of the third century – the first half of the fourth century AD.

Analogies in the Roman camps from Buciumi³⁵, Ilișua³⁶, Olteni³⁷, the rural cemetery from Sopor de Câmpie³⁸. These vessels were dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD at Buciumi, Ilișua and the rural cemetery from Sopor de

³³ C. Preda, A. Grosu, *Cercetările arheologice din așezarea civilă a castrului roman de la Enoșești-Acidava*, AO, SN, 8, 1993, p. 50, pl. 8:1.

³⁴ Gh. Popilian, *Ceramica romană din Oltenia*, Craiova, 1976, p. 221, pl. 74, nr. 952; Gh. Popilian, *Traditions autochtones dans la céramique provinciale romaine de la Dacie Méridionale*, Thraco-Dacia, I, 1976, p. 285, fig. 3:2; Gh. Popilian, *Necropola daco-romană de la Locusteni*, Craiova, 1980, pp. 19, 20, pl. 8, M 47, 1; p. 42, pl. 28, M 196, 1.

³⁵ N. Gudea, *Ceramica dacică din castrul roman de la Buciumi*, SCIVA, 21, 1970, 2, p. 305, fig. 1:2; 5:6; E. Chirilă, N. Gudea, V. Lucăcel, C. Pop, *Das Römerlager von Buciumi*, Cluj, 1972, p. 54, figs. 47:4 and 48:5.

³⁶ D. Protase, C. Gaiu, G. Marinescu, *Castrul roman de la Ilișua*, Bistrița, 1997, p. 55, pl. 60:3; pl. 59:3; D. Protase, G. Marinescu, C. Gaiu, *Cercetările arheologice din castrul roman de la Ilișua (Județul Bistrița-Năsăud)*, Materiale 15, 1981, pp. 290–291, fig. 4; D. Protase, C. Gaiu, G. Marinescu, *Castrul roman de la Ilișua*, Bistrița, 1997, p. 55, pl. 60:4.

³⁷ Z. K. Székely, *Ceramica dacică din castrul roman de la Olteni*, Cumidava, 15–19, 1990–1994, p. 19, pl. 1:2.

³⁸ D. Protase, *Sopor de Câmpie. Un cimitir dacic din epoca romană*, Bucharest, 1976, p. 35, pls. 20:8; 43:2; 43:3.

Câmpie, respectively in the middle of the 3rd century AD in another archaeological context from Ilișua³⁹ and Olteni⁴⁰.

Similar vessels were discovered at the site of Slimnic in Late La Tène⁴¹, respectively in the II–III centuries AD to the Free Dacians from the east of the Carpathians to Poiana-Dulcești⁴², and in the area of the Upper Tisza in the 2nd–4th centuries AD⁴³.

6. Pot.

Typology. Negru 2003, tip VI.3.4. nr. 65

Description. Dimensions: DVM = 132 mm, RH = 102 mm, VWT = 5–6 mm. Semi-coarse paste with frequently sifted sand and rare mica. Uneven burning. Blackish colour. Black slip on the outside.

Coarse paste, with frequent sand and rare mica. Uneven burning. Blackish on the inside, reddish-yellow on the outside.

Archaeological context. Romula, 2019, School Point – the Field of Sports, S 8, Cx 26, 1.30 m. SI 15691-15694.

Remarks. In combination with a Roman-style bowl of fine grey paste with blackish paint on the outside and inside and a handle from a Roman-style mug holder of common reddish-coloured paste.

Chronology. The second half of the third century AD.

Analogies.

A similar vessel was discovered in the Roman necropolis at Locusteni in the 2nd century AD⁴⁴. A similar vessel was discovered at Telița-Amza, in Lower Moesia, where it was dated to the 1st-2nd centuries AD⁴⁵.

The vessel also has analogies in the late Geto-Dacian La Tene at Ocnita-Buridava⁴⁶ and Széttendre⁴⁷.

³⁹ D. Protase, G. Marinescu, C. Gaiu, *Cercetările arheologice din castrul roman de la Ilișua (Județul Bistrița-Năsăud)*, Materiale 15, 1981, pp. 290–291, fig. 4; D. Protase, C. Gaiu, G. Marinescu, *Castrul roman de la Ilișua*, Bistrița, 1997, p. 55, pl. 60:4.

⁴⁰ Z. K. Székely, *Ceramica dacică din castrul roman de la Olteni*, Cumidava, 15–19, 1990–1994, p. 19, pl. 1:2.

⁴¹ I. H. Crișan, *Ceramica daco-getică. Cu privire specială la Transilvania*, Bucharest, 1969, p. 163, pl. 72:1.

⁴² Gh. Bichir, *Cultura carpică*, Bucharest, 1973, p. 67, pl. 43:3.

⁴³ V. Kotigorosko, *Ținuturile Tisei superioare în veacurile III î.e.n. – IV e.n. (perioada La Tene și romană)*, Bucharest, 1995, p. 135, fig. 114:10.

⁴⁴ Gh. Popilian, *Necropola daco-romană de la Locusteni*, Craiova, 1980, p. 17, pl. 5, M 26, 1.

⁴⁵ V. Baumann, *Așezări rurale antice în zona gurilor Dunării. Contribuții arheologice la cunoașterea habitatului rural (sec. I–IV p. Chr.)*, Tulcea, 1995, p. 95, pl. 54:7.

⁴⁶ D. Berciu, *Buridava dacică*, Bucharest, 1981, fig. 7:3.

⁴⁷ Z. Visy, *Die Daker am Gebiet von Ungarn*, A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged, 1970, pl. 5:9.

7. Pot.

Typology. Negru 2003, type IV.1.1., No. 25–27

Description. Dimensions: DVM = 150 mm, RH = 52 mm, VWT = 8–11 mm.
Coarse paste, with frequent sand and rare mica. Uneven burning. Blackish on the inside, reddish-yellow on the outside.

Archaeological context. Romula, 2019, School Point – the Field of Sports, S 8, Cx 26, 1.30 m. SI 15695.

Remarks. In combination with a Roman-style bowl of fine grey paste with blackish paint on the outside and inside and a handle from a Roman-style mug holder of common reddish-coloured paste.

Chronology. The second half of the third century AD.

Analogies.

Similar vessels were discovered in the rural necropolis of Sopor de Câmpie⁴⁸, respectively in the Roman camps at Ilișua⁴⁹ and Olteni⁵⁰. With the exception of the vessel from Olteni, dated to the middle of the 3rd century AD, all the others were widely dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD.

Similar vessels were discovered in the middle of the Free Dacians at Poiana-Dulcești⁵¹, where they were dated in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD, respectively in the Upper Tisza region, where they were dated in the 2nd–4th centuries AD⁵².

In the late Geto-Dacian La tène a similar vessel was discovered in the rural settlement of Slimnic, where it was given in the 1st century BC – 1st century AD⁵³.

8. The taper cup (Dacian)

Typology. Negru 2003, type XII.1.2.2., No. 129–137 / Popilian 1976, type 1, Pl. LXIV: 937

Description. Taper conical body with flared upper part. Decorated with notched belts arranged obliquely on the body of the vessel. Dimensions: DVM = 140 mm, RH = 75 mm, VWT = 10–12 mm.

Coarse paste with frequent sand and rare mica. Uniform burning. Blackish colour. Black exterior slip. Blackish secondary burning inside and outside.

Archaeological context. Romula, 2013, Central Fortification. Section S 1, sq. 6, 1.30–1.55 m. SI 292

⁴⁸ D. Protase, *Sopor de Câmpie. Un cimitir dacic din epoca romană*, Bucharest, 1976, p. 32, pls. 19:6 and 43:3.

⁴⁹ D. Protase, G. Marinescu, C. Gaiu, *Cercetările arheologice din castrul roman de la Ilișua (Județul Bistrița-Năsăud)*, Materiale 15, 1981, pp. 290–291, fig. 4; D. Protase, C. Gaiu, G. Marinescu, *Castrul roman de la Ilișua*, Bistrița, 1997, p. 55, pl. 60:4.

⁵⁰ Z. K. Székely, *Ceramica dacică din castrul roman de la Olteni*, Cumidava, 15–19, 1990–1994, p. 19, pl. 1:2.

⁵¹ Gh. Bichir, *Cultura carpică*, Bucharest, 1973, p. 67, pl. 43:3.

⁵² V. Kotigorosko, *Ținuturile Tisei superioare în veacurile III î.e.n.– IV e.n. (perioada La Tène și romană)*, Bucharest, 1995, p. 135, fig. 114:10.

⁵³ I. H. Crișan, *Ceramica daco-getică. Cu privire specială la Transilvania*, Bucharest, 1969, p. 163, pl. 72:1.

Remarks. In the filling of the pit from which a late novel was dismantled that had affected *murus cespitici* from the first phase of the fortification, continuing in Section S12.

Chronology. The second half of the 3rd century – 4th century AD.

Analogies. Similar vessels were discovered in the Roman camp at Micia⁵⁴, Brețcu⁵⁵, Olteni⁵⁶, the civil settlement from Stolniceni-Buridava⁵⁷, the rural settlement of Obreja⁵⁸, rural necropolis from Locusteni⁵⁹, the rural cemetery from Scornicești⁶⁰. These cups were dated to the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century AD at Locusteni, 2nd–3rd centuries AD at Micia, Olteni, Brețcu, Obreja, the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century AD at Stolniceni-Buridava, the second half of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century AD at Scornicești.

These similar shapes cups were discovered in contexts from the 2nd–3rd centuries AD in Moesia Inferior in the Roman camp from Barboși⁶¹ and in the ceramic center from Hotnița⁶², in the middle of the Free Dacians from Muntenia in the settlement from Bucharest-Militari *Câmpul Boja*⁶³, respectively in the Carpathian one in the settlement from Poiana-Dulcești⁶⁴ and in the necropolis from Văleni⁶⁵.

The taper cups, also called Dacian type, have their origin in the Geto-Dacian La Tène, being extremely widespread in the late phase of the Geto-Dacian civilization in the Middle and Lower Danube region⁶⁶.

⁵⁴ O. Floca, *Pagus Miciensis*, Sargetia, 5, 1968, pp. 52–53, fig. 1.

⁵⁵ N. Gudea, *Castrul roman de la Brețcu*, ActaMP, IV, 1980, p. 314, fig. 41:3.

⁵⁶ Z. Székely, *Date referitoare la cucerirea sud-estului Transilvaniei de către romani și persistența elementului dacic*, Cumidava, IV, 1970, p. 53 fig. 1:3.

⁵⁷ Gh. Petre-Govora, *Cuptor de ars vase la Stolniceni*, SCIVA, 19, 1968, 1, p. 147, fig. 2:4.

⁵⁸ D. Protase, *Așezarea și cimitirul daco-roman de la Obreja (Transilvania)*, ActaMN, 8, 1971, p. 137, fig. 6:5.

⁵⁹ Gh. Popilian, *Traditions autochtones dans la céramique provinciale romaine de la Dacie Méridionale*, Thraco-Dacica, I, 1976, p. 220, pl. 74, no. 937; p. 285, fig. 2:1; Gh. Popilian, *Necropola daco-romană de la Locusteni*, Craiova, 1980, p. 42, pl. 28, M 196, 2; pp. 15–16, pl. 4, M 17, 2; p. 29, pl. 16, M 108, 2.

⁶⁰ Gh. Bichir, *Cercetări arheologice la Scornicești*, Thraco-Dacica, VII, 1–2, 1986, p. 117, pl. 3:2, 4.

⁶¹ S. Sanie, I. T. Dragomir, *Aspects de la cohabitation des Daces et des Romains dans le Midi romain de la Moldavie*, Actes du II-e International Congrès de Thracologie, Bucharest, 1980, 2, p. 343, fig. 6:3.

⁶² B. Sultov, *Centres antiques de poteries en Mésie Inférieure*, Actes du II-e Congrès International de Thracologie, Bucharest, 1980, 2, p. 384, fig. 11d, modelată la roată.

⁶³ M. Negru, *Așezarea din secolul al III-lea p.Chr.*, în M. Negru, C. F. Schuster, D. Moise, *Militari-Câmpul Boja. Un sit arheologic pe teritoriul Bucureștilor*, Bucharest, 2000, p. 72, pl. 92:2.

⁶⁴ Gh. Bichir, *Cultura carpică*, Bucharest, 1973, pls. 38:1; 39:4.

⁶⁵ Ion Ionita, Vasile Ursachi, *Văleni o mare necropola a dacilor liberi*, 1988, pp. 68–69, fig. 53:47.

⁶⁶ M. Negru, *The Native Pottery of Roman Dacia*, pp. 20–22.

VESSEL BASES

9. Pot.

Description. Fragment at the bottom, Flat base. DVB = 99 mm, RH = 89 mm, VWT = 6–7 mm.

Coarse paste, with frequent sand and rare mica. Uneven burning. Blackish on the inside, reddish-yellow on the outside. Careless, uneven modelling. Fingerprints inside. Reddish-yellow slip on the inside and outside. Secondary burning inside and outside of the base and bottom.

The archaeological context. Romula, 2013, Central Fortification. Section S 3, sq. 18, 0.80–1.00 m, SI 538.

Remarks. Archaeological material discovered in relation to a dwelling identified in 2018 in section S 4, sq. 1–2⁶⁷.

Chronology. The second half of the third century – the first half of the fourth century AD.

10. Pot

Description. Fragment at the bottom, Flat base. DVB = 120 mm, RH = 64 mm, VWT = 6–8 mm.

Coarse paste, with frequent sand and rare mica. Uneven burning. Blackish colour on the inside, reddish-yellow on the outside. Careless, uneven modelling. Fingerprints inside. Reddish-yellow slip on the inside and outside. Secondary burning on the outside on the base and bottom.

The archaeological context. Romula, 2017, S14, C5, 1.39–1.49 m, in relation with the dwelling CFC 6/2018 (?). SI 5454.

Remarks. The filling of the pit includes fragments of Roman bricks and burnt adobe, specific to a late Roman settlement.

Chronology. The second half of the third century and the first half of the fourth century AD.

11. Pot

Description. Fragment at the bottom, Flat base. Dimensions. DVB = 112 mm, RH = 21 mm, VWT = 14–16 mm. Coarse paste, with frequent sand and rare mica. Uneven burning. Blackish colour on the inside, reddish-yellow on the outside. Careless, uneven modelling. Fingerprints inside. Reddish-yellow slip on the inside and outside. Secondary burning inside and outside the base and bottom.

The archaeological context. Romula, 2017, S 14, c, B 5, 1.23 m / 1.38 m, in relation to the CFC 6/2018 Building (?). SI 7269.

⁶⁷ M. Negru, C. E. Ștefan, C. F. Schuster, F. Munteanu, G. Mihai, S. Popovici, R. Munteanu, T. Isvoranu, 60. *Reșca, Dobrosloveni, Jud. Olt. Punct: Romula*, in “Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, Campania 2018”, A LIII-a Sesiune Națională de Rapoarte Arheologice, Bucharest-Sibiu, 2019, p. 165.

Remarks. The filling of the pit includes fragments of burnt Roman and adobe bricks, specific to a late or post-Roman Roman settlement.

Chronology. The second half of the third century and the first half of the fourth century AD.

12. The taper cup

Description. Fragment of the bottom of a vessel. Flat base. Dimensions: DVB = 66 mm, RH = 42 mm, VWT = 14–16 mm. Uneven burning. Blackish colour on the inside, reddish-yellow on the outside. Reddish-yellow slip on the inside and outside. Secondary combustion inside.

The archaeological context. Romula, 2013, S 4, sq. 30, 0,70 m. SI 1095.

Remarks. Probably a taper cup, given its small size and strong blackish burning inside.

Chronology. The second half of the third century AD and the 4th century AD.

CONCLUSIONS

TYPES OF POTS AND PASTE

The repertoire of Dacian pottery forms presented in this article is poor, consisting of fragments from the top or bottom of some pots, respectively fragments from taper cups (Dacian).

The fragments of Dacian ceramic vessels presented can be framed in two types of paste, depending on its composition, the frequency of added sand and pebbles.

Type 1. Coarse paste, with frequent sand and rare mica. Uneven burning. Blackish colour on the inside, reddish-yellow on the outside. Reddish-yellow slip on the inside and outside. Careless, uneven modelling. Fingerprints can sometimes be seen inside (SI 5454, 7269, 538, 604, 5328).

Secondary burning on the outside on the base and the lower part (5454) or the upper part (SI 5328) on the inside and outside the base and the lower part (SI 7269, 538), the upper part and the mouth of the vessel (SI 604).

Type 2.1. Coarse paste with frequent sand and rare mica. Uniform burning. Blackish colour. Black exterior slip (SI 798, 292, 15691–15694). Blackish secondary burning inside and outside.

Type 2.2. Coarse paste with frequently sifted sand and rare mica. Uniform burning. Blackish colour. Black slip on the outside. Blackish secondary burning on the outside and inside on the lip (SI 541, 6601, 15695).

LOCATION AND CONTEXTS OF DISCOVERIES

Fragments of hand-shaped Dacian ceramic vessels discovered at the Central Fortification point can be related to the remains of some post-Roman dwellings identified in sections S 3/2013 (CFC 5/2018), respectively S 14/2017 (CFC 6/2018). Affectation of the site in the modern era, imposes these reservations. Other ceramic fragments were discovered in a post-Roman level, disturbed in the modern era, identified in sections S 1/2013 and S 2/2013, respectively in section S 4/2013.

The fragments of Dacian vessels from the School-the Field of Sports point, discovered in 2019, in a cylindrical pit (Cx 26/2019) add to these discoveries within the Central Fortification.

CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE DISCOVERIES

In the middle of the 3rd century AD, the province of Dacia Malvensis was repeatedly devastated by the attacks of the Goths and their allies. The abandonment of the *limes transalutanus* and the retreat on the *limes alutanus*, brought Romula back to the border of the Roman Empire, so exposed to these attacks.

In 248 AD, Emperor Philip the Arab came to this probably devastated city, which he rebuilt, surrounded by a brick enclosure wall, and named it *colonia sua*⁶⁸. But the attacks of the Goths and their allies on the provinces of Dacia Malvensis and Lower Moesia continued even after his departure⁶⁹.

In the conditions of the security crisis, a part of the population of the northern Danube province preferred to retreat to the south of the Danube. If *de jure* it is considered that Dacia was abandoned during the reign of Emperor Aurelian⁷⁰, *de facto*, it was lost earlier, probably during the reign of Emperor Galienus⁷¹. Discussions on this issue are old and still ongoing, with no common ground⁷².

At Romula, part of the Roman population continued to live after the middle of the third century AD, as evidenced by two Roman tombs, discovered in the *berm*

⁶⁸ IDR II 324 = CIL III 8031 = ILS 510.

⁶⁹ D. Tudor, *Oltenia romană*, Ed. IV, Bucharest, 1978, p. 194.

⁷⁰ Eutropius, *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*, IX, 15, 1; Rufius Festus, *Breviarum rerum gestarum populi romani*, VIII; Iordanes, *De gestis Romanorum*, 217.

⁷¹ Sextus Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 33, 3; Eutropius, *op. cit.*, IX, 7 – IX, 8, 2; Rufius Festus, *op. cit.*, 8, 2; Iordanes, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

⁷² D. Tudor, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–40; Doina Benea, *Dacia în timpul lui Aurelianus*, *Banatica*, 13, 1995, p. 149–170; C.C. Petolescu, *Scurtă istorie a Daciei romane*, 1995, pp. 124–126; D. Ruscu, *L'abandon de la Dacie romaine dans les sources littéraires*, I Acta Musei Napocensis, 35, I, 1998, pp. 235–254.

of the Wall of Philip the Arab, which can be dated to the second half of the third century AD⁷³.

The prolonged military crisis irreversibly affected the Roman city. The production of Roman pottery in the northern quarter ceased in the middle of the third century AD⁷⁴, and as a new aspect, it seems, the hand-shaped Dacian pottery appeared. Ceramic vessels identical in shape and paste were also discovered in Enoșești-Acidava⁷⁵, an archaeological site located at approx. 30 km north of Reșca-Romula, which already indicates a similar regional evolution, the revitalization of indigenous traditions in pottery.

The fragments of ceramic vessels presented belong to a late Roman or post-Roman horizon, which begins in the middle of the third century AD and continues in the fourth century AD, constituting a last phase of the presence of Dacian pottery in this region.

Abbreviations

<i>DVM</i>	= diameter of the vessel mouth
<i>DVB</i>	= diameter of the vessel base
<i>RH</i>	= retained height
<i>VWT</i>	= vessel wall thickness
<i>SI</i>	= Site inventory
<i>CFC</i>	= Central Fortification Complex
<i>S</i>	= section
<i>sq.</i>	= square

⁷³ M. Negru, G. Mihai, *Raport privind cercetările arheologice de la Romula. Campania din anul 2008*, in "Argesis. Studii și comunicări. Seria Istorie", XVII, 2008, pp. 43–50.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 50.

⁷⁵ M. Negru, I. Ciucă, *op. cit.*, p. 24, pl. 1:3.



Fig. 1. Reșca-Romula. A. Central Fortification Point. B. School Point – The field of Sports.

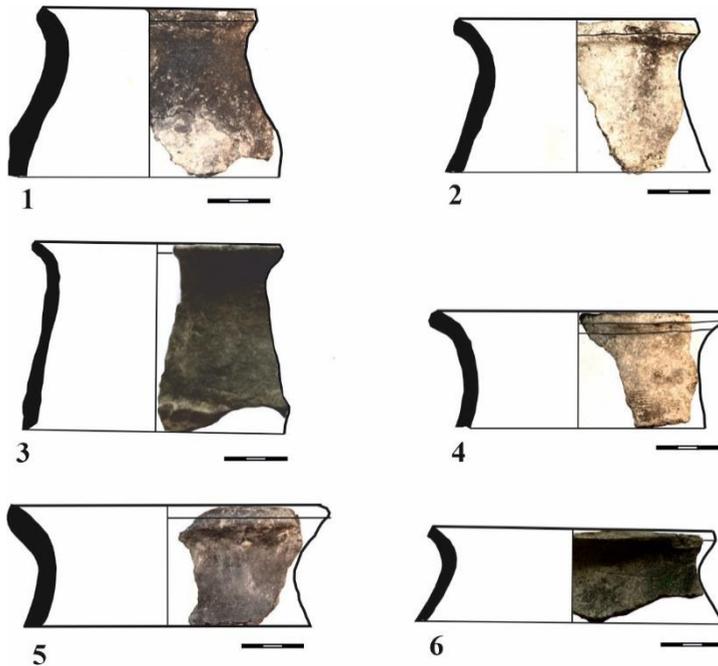


Fig. 2. Fragments of hand-made Dacian ceramic vessels (cat. No. 1–6).

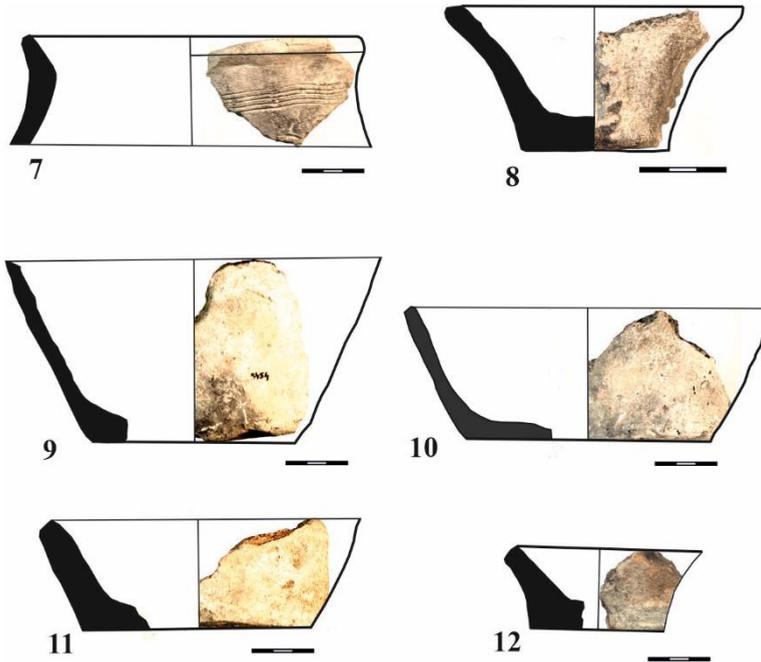


Fig. 3. Fragments of hand-made Dacian ceramic vessels (cat. No. 7–12).

CIONEA'S BUILDING FROM RADOMIR, DOLJ COUNTY*

Ileana CIOAREC**

Abstract: At the end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th a great number of Macedo-Romanians established to Craiova and its surroundings, playing an important role into the economic and the cultural development of this town. Among these we encounter Stoian Hagi Țolea's family, natives from Macedonia, dealing with livestock trading in particular large cattle in Austria and Ottoman Empire. From those sales Stoian Hagi Țolea raised significant amounts of money that allowed him to buy several estates within Oltenia, predominantly Romanași county. Among the estates bought-in it is also Radomir, purchased by friars from Boanta monastery in 1780. Stoian Hagi Țolea is conneded to a highly important architectural monument from Radomir – a building that unfortunately it is no longer preserved today. It was a square shape (5.50×5.50m) with a height of 6m till the roof and two floors (downstairs and a floor). It served as permanent home. In 1948, after Clemeța Cionea's arrest, the building was nationalized and become into State's property. Not being used the building decayed. This process gradually increased. In 1960, the local authorities with consent of the county have disposed the demolishing.

Keyword: Cionea's building, Stoian Hagi Țolea, architectural monument, downstairs, ground floor.

Among the South-Danube merchants who have carried out intensive trade of the North-Danube the Macedo-Romanians particularly stood out.

In the 17th century, they got involved in trading activities to varying degrees comparing earlier century, according to historian Constantin C. Giurescu¹, to link up the Occident with the Orient. Until that time they confined their activity only with Italian states, especially with Venice. In the 18th century it was noted a shift in guiding their trading activities. They have forsaken trading with Venice due to expensive taxes on goods directing their businesses towards other countries from Europe: Hungary, Austria, Germany and Romanian Principalities².

* The article is a part of the theme plan *Culele – construcții ale elitelor nobiliare din sudul României (secolele XVIII-XIX)*.

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¹ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor*, vol. III, *De la moartea lui Mihai Viteazul până la sfârșitul epocii fanariote (1601–1821)*, Bucharest, Al Educational Publishing, House, 2003, p. 307.

² Neagu Djuvara (coord.), *Aromânii. Istorie. Limbă. Destin*, Bucharest, Fundatia Culturală Română Publishing House, 1996, pp. 96–97.

At the end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th a great number of Macedo-Romanians established to Oltenia and its surroundings, playing an important role into the economic and the cultural development of this area. Among these we encounter Stoian Hagi Țolea's family, natives from Macedonia, dealing with livestock trading in particular large cattle in Austria and Ottoman Empire. From those sales Stoian Hagi Țolea Raised significant amounts of money that allowed him to buy several estates within Oltenia, predominantly Romanași county. Among the estates bought-in it is also Radomir, purchased by friars from Boanta monastery in 1780³. For the best use of the estate, the new owner turned to putting in into tithe, those who worked on it had to give the owner 10% from what they attained⁴. After the death of Stoian Hagi Țolea the estates passed to his son Malciu Hagi Țolea, the founder of the church from Radomir. He is mentioned as the owner of the estate and in 1831⁵. In 1835 at Malciu Țolea's request there was marked the frontier of Radomir estate⁶. After Malciu Hagi Țolea's death before 1845⁷ the estate passed to his wife Malcioaica and their two sons. It remained into Țolea's property until 1887 when it was sold by Malciu's sons to Anastasie Gh. Cionea⁸. After Anastasie Gh. Cionea's death, the estate returned to his wife Lucreția Cionea (known as Manini), born Mirică. By its exploiting were handling Casnetti and Vasile Mirică, the father in law of the deceased⁹. According to the decree law no. 3097 from 29th of December 1918, Radomir estate was expropriated from "reforming the communal establishment"¹⁰. At 4th of June 1925, Lucreția Cionea divided equally the estate to her daughters Constanța (Tancy) and Clementa (Mancy). Mancy Cionea's share got into Vrăbiescu family possessions, once she married George Vrăbiescu. The event took place on 25th of July 1925 at Marincu Palace in Calafat¹¹.

George Vrăbiescu handled the exploiting of this farm for five years, until 1930 when he divorced Clementa (Mancy) Cionea¹². From their marriage results Simona Maria, born on March 7, 1927, in Bucharest. After divorce the estate

³ Ștefan Ricman, Vasile Enescu, Fr. Iosif, Paul Constant, *Contribuții la monografia județului Romanași*, Craiova, 1928, pp. 461–462.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ Ion Donat, Dinică Ciobotea, Ion Pătroi, *Catagrafia Obștească a Țării Românești din 1831*, Craiova, Helios Publishing House, 1999, p. 63.

⁶ Veselina Urcu, *Câteva însemnări despre satul românățean Radomir*, in "Memoria Oltului și Romanașilor", year VII, no. 1(17), 2018, p. 66.

⁷ *Ibidem*; Paul Emanoil Barbu, *Revoluția de la 1848 în județul Romanași*, Caracal, Hofman Publishing House, 2016, pp. 294–324.

⁸ Veselina Urcu, *op. cit.*, p. 66; Paul Rezeanu, *Craiova – Orașul celor o mie de milionari – Istoria Craiovei între 1800–2000*, Craiova, Info Publishing House, 2017, p. 162.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ Simona M. Vrăbiescu-Kleckner, *Pe urmele mele în două lumi: România-SUA*, vol. 1, Bucharest, Curtea Veche Publishing House, 2013, p. 138.

¹¹ Paul Rezeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

¹² Simona M. Vrăbiescu-Kleckner, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

returned to Clementa Cionea. For exploiting it, the new owner turned to the young agronomist Johann Schobel, a Saxon from Mediaş¹³. On his advice Clementa introduced new techniques in exploiting the estate and she bought the most modern types of tractors and combines, obtaining better and better crops. In 1939, Clementa Cionea remarried Alexandru Radian, ministry of propaganda. Thus, the new owner became Alexandru Radian. He was in charge only a short period of time, because in the summer of 1944, he died in Vienna following surgery¹⁴. When he died, Radomir estate returned to Clementa Cionea. She kept it until April 2, 1948 when she was arrested by communist¹⁵. After her arrest the estate got into the State property.

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Connecting to Stoian Hagi Ţolea is related a highly important architectural monument from Radomir – a building that unfortunately it is no longer preserved today, “situated in the region most hanuted by invaders from the South the Danube”. It was built the end of the 18th century. In the first years of the 19th century when Oltenia becomes land of prey, robbery and arson of the Turksm Stoian Hagi Ţolea's descendants have reinforced it¹⁶. Following the local tradition, the building was profoundly affected by the bands of robbers. Among the villagers barricaded inside, and the Turks there were fierce battles that lasted two days¹⁷.

The date of the construction it is not known precisely because there are not enough documents to draw up the family history for Stoian Hagi Ţolea. It is possible that the beginning of the building to be previously mentioned. This results also from comparing the other data that according to authors so far were considered as special accomplishments in the 18th century, when under the rule of Phanariotes lord were abolished the traditional soldiery structures. They represented means of standoff/defence against Turks set out for robbery in Oltenia. Hagi Ţolea family kept the building until 1887. That year the two sons of Malciu Ţolea sold the building with Anastasie Cionea's estate¹⁸. After his death in 1906, the building and the estate passed to his wife Lucreția Mirică¹⁹.

In June 1925 alongside the estate between Lucretia and his two daughters Constanța and Clementa, the building passed to the latter. In July 1925, the

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ Paul Rezeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

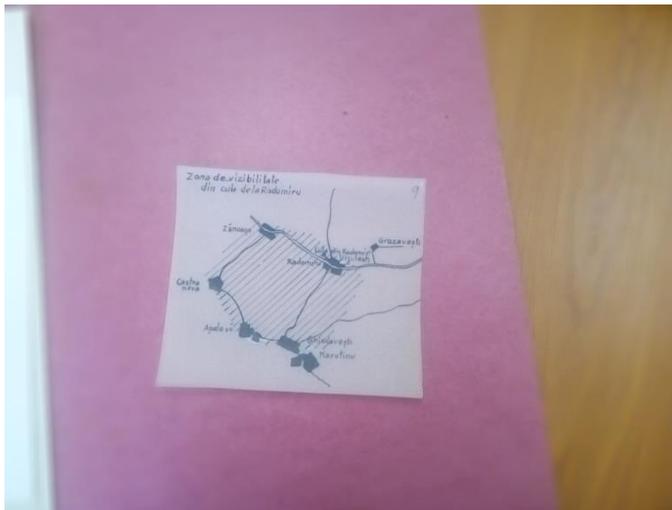
¹⁶ ANSJ Dolj, Historical Monuments Committee, file 12, f. 1.

¹⁷ Iancu Atanasescu, Valeriu Grama, *Culele din Oltenia*, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc Publishing House, 1974, p. 130; Iancu Atanasescu, Pavel Popescu, *Culele din Oltenia, cu evoluția lor până în anul 2010*, Craiova, National Heritage Craiova Collection, 2012, pp. 215–216.

¹⁸ Paul Rezeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

building and the estate passed to George Vrăbiescu. After five years, in 1930, the building passed to Clemeņa Cionea. In 1939, Clemeņa remarried to Alexandru Radian. In 1940, Clemeņa Cionea and Alexandru Radian noticing the decay of the building and the unfit circumstances to live in, they appealed to the architect G. M. Cantacuzino to restore it. He had the task “to improve the existing housing with the convenience of a civilized world, meaning to make plans to include electric light, running water, modernizing bathroom, phone lines”²⁰. Removing Alexandru (Alec) Radian as prime minister and his sudden death in 1944 have led not to finalise the restoring process. In 1947, Clemeņa Cionea requested from the Committee of Historical Monuments that this girdle building to be started as historic landmark under the legislation for preserving historical monuments from 27 June 1919. As a result the building was certified as historical monument by Royal Decree no 410 from March 10, 1947, signed by king Mihai and published in the Official Monitor, nr. 71/March 26, 1947²¹. At 2nd of April 1948, up about with Clemeņa Cionea’s arrest, the building was nationalized and passed into the State’s property. In 1960 the city council of Dioști, in accordance with Dolj County Council instead of restoring has disposed the demolition, seriously damaging historical national heritage. There by Oltenia lost according to historic Radu Crețeanu “an original valuable monument, that also was the most southern from Oltenia”²².



The vision area of Radomir building
(ANSJ Dolj, Historical Monuments Committee, file 12, f. 7).

²⁰ Simona M. Vrăbiescu-Kleckner, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

²¹ Official Monitor, nr. 71 from March 26, 1947, p. 2271.

²² Radu Crețeanu, Sarmiza Crețeanu, *Culele din România*, Bucharest, Meridiane Publishing House, 1969, p. 40.

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The former monument “Cionea’s Building” fits into a category of edifices met only within the area that spans Oltenia and Easdtern Olt in Argeş, Teleorman and Olt counties. It set up a particular means from the standoff/defence of Stoian Hagi Țolea family against the Turks who often attacked Oltenia²³.

As the other building from Oltenia, the “Cionea’s Building” from Radomir had a shaped adequated for defence, having two pinnacles through they could shoot with a rifle or a gun against besiegers, located downstairs²⁴.

It was a square shape (5.50×5.50m) with a height of 6m till the roof and two floors (downstairs and a floor). The building was made of brick, external walls of 1 m thick, surrounded by two rows of walls of enclosure, with ramps on them. At first it was covered with Turkish roofing tiles. Later in the XXth century, Alexandru Radian, one the last owners, replaced the roof, placing leaded tin²⁵. Reffering to the roof, Simona Vrăbiescu-Kleckner, the daughter of George Vrăbiescu and Clementa Vrăbiescu, born Cionea, claim that “it was pointy, provided for a tall chimney, covered with shingle”²⁶.



Radomir building (restoration)
(Ilie Constantinescu, *Monografia județului Romanați*, Craiova, 1943).

²³ ANSJ Dolj, Historical Monuments Committee, file 12, f.; Anca Ceașescu, *An arhitectural variety specific to Oltenia. The kula*, in “Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane “C.S. Nicolăescu-Ploșor”, XII/2011, Craiova, Aius Publishing, p. 63.

²⁴ ANSJ Dolj, Historical Monuments Committee, file 12, f. 1; Simona M. Vrăbiescu-Kleckner, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

²⁵ *Ibidem*; Iancu Atanasescu, Valeriu Grama, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Iancu Atanasescu, Pavel Popescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–216.

²⁶ Simona M. Vrăbiescu-Kleckner, *op. cit.*, p. 140.



The design of Radomir building (front elevation) (ANSJ Dolj, Historical Monuments Committee, file 12, f. 8).

Entering was through the floor, on sliding scale, that immediately repositioned to coping, by some pulleys maneuvered from inside. In 1940, Alexandru Radian broke the western wall and opened an access door from outside, turning on of the rooms from downstairs into an entree²⁷.

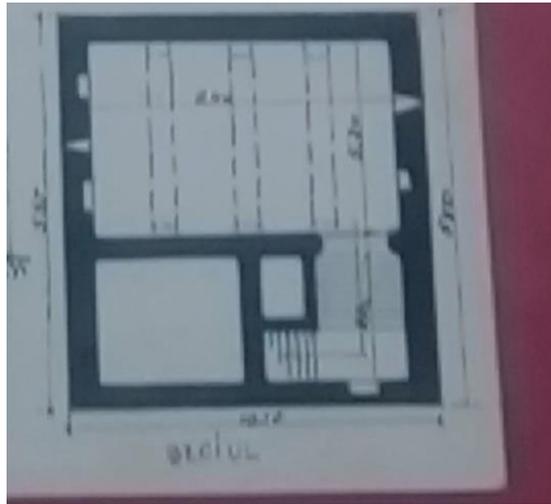
The basement was roomy, rectangular, arched with a semi-cylinder, supported on three bows double scull walling worked on patterns. It set on the ground three meters under and it was completely unlit²⁸.

The acces to the basement was indoors from downstairs on a large scale of solid wood oak closed by a trapdoor. Radu Crețeanu said about the basement that it was the deepest met in such a building in Oltenia²⁹. Another basement built underground it is found at Vlădaia, Mehedinți County.

²⁷ Iancu Atanasescu, Valeriu Grama, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Iancu Atanasescu, Pavel Popescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–216.

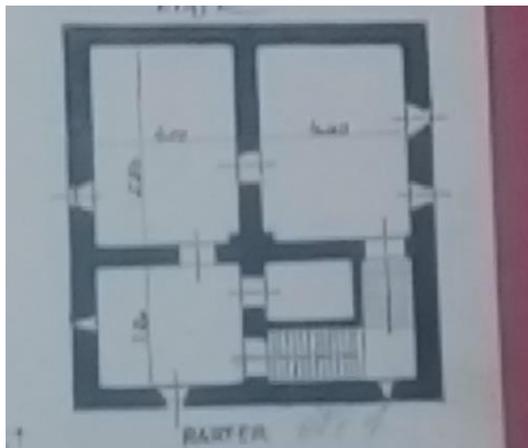
²⁸ ANSJ Dolj, Historical Monuments Committee, file 12, f. 2; Iancu Atanasescu, Valeriu Grama, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

²⁹ Radu Crețeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 40.



The basement plan from Cionea's building (restoration)
(ANSJ Dolj, Historical Monuments Committee, file 12, f. 8).

At the ground floor there were two spacious rooms, enlightened by many small windows. There it was also the staircase.



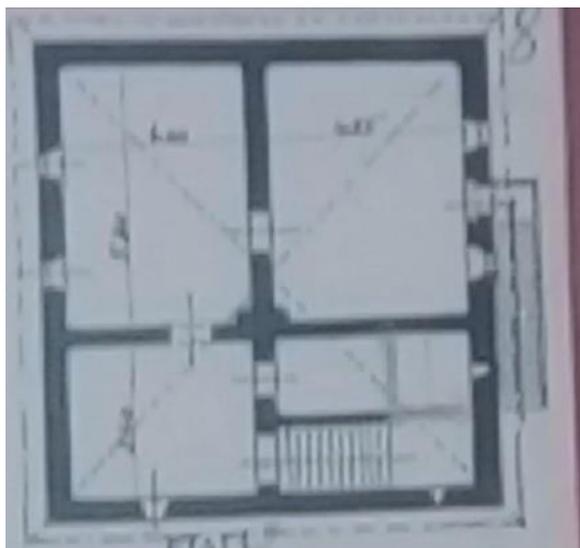
The ground floor plan from Cionea's building (restoration)
(ANSJ Dolj, Historical Monuments Committee, file 12, f. 8).

Upstairs there were two large rooms, a hallway and a bathroom. The bathroom was water supplied from nearby wells³⁰. The rooms as those from the

³⁰ Simona M. Vrăbiescu-Kleckner, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

ground floor there were roofed with massive oak beams, ostensibly crafted with beaded edge nicely decorated. There it was also the staircase into the building³¹.

The floor access was through a massive stair of wooden oak, carved with axe and solid embedded into the masonry mass that lined it. Later the stairs were padded with fir boards. The stair was protected by two large wooden doors horizontally placed at the last step, closed with the help of an iron bar and a big lock³². The rooms from upstairs were enlightened by small windows through which in the period of the attacks was supervised the entire area³³. By contrast with other buildings from Oltenia, Cionea's building from Radomir didn't have porch³⁴.



The floor plan of Radomir building (restoration)
(ANSJ Dolj, Historical Monuments Committee, file 12, f. 8).

It served as permanent home. The heating was by stoves disposed downstairs and a latrine equipped with sewer drain flushed beneath the basement stairs³⁵.

In 1948, after Clementa Cionea's arrest, the building was nationalized and passed into State's property. Not being used the building decayed. This process gradually increased. In 1960, the local authorities with consent of the county have disposed the demolishing and thus disappeared original, valuable monuments, considered to be the most southern building from Oltenia.

³¹ ANSJ Dolj, Historical Monuments Committee, file 12, f. 2.

³² *Ibidem*, f. 3.

³³ Iancu Atanasescu, Valeriu Grama, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

³⁴ ANSJ Dolj, Historical Monuments Committee, file 12, f. 3.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

SYMBOLS AND DECORATIVE MOTIFS IN THE POPULAR ARCHITECTURE FROM OLTENIA

Anca CEAUȘESCU*

Abstract: Since the first stages of its existence, the dwelling has been awarded with specific signs and symbols that are based on the belief of the archaic and traditional communities on space. In the décor of the traditional architecture from Oltenia, there are met ornamental motifs that belong to the sphere of geometry, along with cosmomorphic, vegetal, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic stylised motifs. Found on certain architectural elements (porch poles, gate posts, window frames, gates, doors, etc.), they go beyond the aesthetical area and gain magical-religious significations, belonging to a traditional mentality and conception, whose roots descend far-back in history.

Keywords: traditional architecture, Oltenia, decorative motifs, symbol, traditional mentality.

Within the Romanian traditional culture, the rural architecture occupies an important position, having a special contribution to the understanding of the material culture. The adapting of the surrounding environment, the great variety of types and forms, their highly artistic value, the well-defined and logical constructive techniques, the rational and functional distributions of the plans, the matching of the proportions, the balanced distribution of the decorations and the harmonisation of the colours are, according to Grigore Ionescu, fundamental characteristics of the traditional architecture creations, from our country¹.

In Oltenia, the existence of some physical and geographical, social and historical, cultural, economic particularities, along with factors related to the customs and the traditions from a certain place, have led to the shaping of a specific architectonic profile, despite some “periods of contact” and cultural-political relations. In this space, there was born one of the most innovative traditional architecture

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¹ Grigore Ionescu, *Arhitectura populară în România*, Bucharest, Meridiane Publishing, 1981, pp. 44, 89; Idem, *Arhitectura românească: Tipologii, creații, creatori*, Bucharest, Technical Publishing, 1986, p. 25.

form our country, and not only. In the field regions from the south of the area, there have co-existed, along the centuries, two types of dwellings: the hut² and the house, built above the ground. Both of them have had a specific evolution in time and space, encompassing a wide range of forms, under the influence of the continuously increasing similar requests of the population, on addressing the shelter and the carrying out of the household activities.

The art of building, using the local raw material (clay or wood), developed along the time by the Romanian peasant, who has been both the architect and the builder of his own dwelling, in permanent complementarity with the old spiritual culture elements, are evidences that attest the existence of a specific architectonic profile. As in any other Romanian land, in this region too, the traditional architecture is similar to a dictionary that includes the elements of the constructing logics imagined by the traditional craftsman, creator of abstract forms and plastic creations, tightly connected to the local relief, climate and building material conditions.

It is well-known that the traditional man is a *homo religiosus*. He lives in an “open” cosmos, his entire existence is defined by the sacred and the profane, the two “modalities of being in the world”³, as Mircea Eliade called them. His dwelling becomes a microcosmos, and, in the same time, a sacred space: “The house has become, for the Romanians, *the microcosmic centre of his magical-mythical spiritual activity*, in which it is reflected *the order of the entire macro-cosmos*. It is the sacred place in which the autochthonous people were born, similarly to their forefathers, in which they lives, meeting difficulties, having aspirations, dreams, carrying out the customs, the traditions of his kin, and where, finally, they will meet their end”⁴. Thus, for the Romanian peasant, the house has represented not only a permanent residence of the family, something purely material that belonged to an economic order, but the spiritual centre of his living.

Since the first moments of existence, the dwelling has been attributed with complex symbols that were based on this specific concept on addressing the space. Thus, it was resorted to the initial decoration of some architectural elements, as the door, the eaves, and, later, they were extended to the entire exterior surface of the house. The manner in which the traditional craftsman was regarding the beauty and the way in which the decorative motifs were distributed is connected to a certain regard on the reality, nonetheless, a certain mentality, which goes way-beyond the aesthetical area. The presence of specific motifs such the fir-tree, astral signs, the

² For the hut-dwelling, also see: C. S. Nicolăescu Plopșor, *Bordeiul în Oltenia*, in “BSRRG”, vol. XLI, Bucharest, 1922; Gheorghe Focșa, *Elemente decorative la bordeiele din sudul regiunii Craiova*, Bucharest, 1956; Nicolae Nițu, *Originea și răspândirea geografică a bordeiului*, in “Arhivele Olteniei”, New Series, no. 7/1992; Anca Ceaușescu, *Vechi tipuri de locuință pe teritoriul Olteniei*, in “Arhivele Olteniei”, New Series, no. 24/2010, pp. 315–326.

³ Mircea Eliade, *Sacral și profanul*, 3rd edition (translation from French by Brândușa Prepcianu), Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing, 2005, p. 15.

⁴ Romulus Vulcănescu, *Mitologie română*, Bucharest, Academy Publishing, 1985, p. 452.

house snake, stylised horse heads is not a coincidence in the traditional décor of the dwelling, they were symbols for the solar spirits that would protect the household, symbolic elements that do not have a useful character, but only an aesthetical, spiritual one. Thus, the building craftsmanship concretised “the taste for beauty of the people from an area, developing, in time, an interesting dialogue with the local mythology, a dialogue after which the sacred symbols receive, implicitly, aesthetic valences. The value hierarchy of the old symbols merged into a syncretism that belongs to a cosmical traditional Christianity”⁵.

The magical customs and practices that are related to the building of the house, starting with the choosing of the dwelling place, the sacrifice of a fowl, the burying of its head under the foundation of the house, to ensure the durability of the construction, to the hanging of a small fir-tree, or green branches, on the rafters, when the roof was risen, represent proofs of a spiritual universe that mediated, partially, the making of the architectural décor, in the period of beginning⁶.

Along with a plan, the decoration of the house offers a clear image both on the unity, and the diversity, of the architecture, on the territory of our country. The decoration of some constructive elements of the house (the porch poles especially, the beams, the window frames etc.), for artistical purposes and, in some cases, magical, are of a considerable age on the territory of our country, whose roots can be found deep into history. The discoveries of metallic tools that were used for decorating the wood in feudalism, along with the up-to-present preservation of certain ornaments with pre-Christian significations (solar rosettes, horse heads) and their placement only in certain places from the house architecture, constitute proofs for the old age and the continuity of this preoccupation⁷.

The decorating of the traditional houses from Oltenia carries the print of a rigorousness and interior order feature, accentuating the character of the local people, and, in the same time, it displays a type of elegance, evidenced by the mythological signification of the depicted changes. The decorative motifs are exhibited through proper decoration techniques, the most important being the carving and the notching of the porch and console poles, the fretwork technique, and when the wood was plastered, the main role being played by the patterned stucco, the moulding and the polychromy⁸. The variety and the positioning of the elements evidence both the architecture, and the representation of some archaic symbols on certain magical practices, customs and ancestral beliefs.

⁵ Mihai Camilar, Maria Camilar, *Simboluri sacre în universul casei tradiționale din Bucovina*, available at <http://ianus.inoe.ro/M%20Camilar.htm> (accessed on July 15, 2020).

⁶ Ștefan Enache, Teodor Pleșa, *Zona etnografică Dolj*, Bucharest, Sport-Turism Publishing, 1982, p. 79.

⁷ Gheorghe Iordache, *Ocupații tradiționale pe teritoriul României*, vol. 4, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc Publishing, 1996, p. 94.

⁸ Andrei Pănoiu, *Din arhitectura lemnului*, Bucharest, Tehnical Publishing, 1977, p. 155; Ștefan Enache, Teodor Pleșa, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

What needs to be remembered as essential, is the fact that, in the life of the traditional societies, the symbol had a fundamental role, designating, most of the times, the overall vision on the existence itself. As Mircea Eliade underlines, “the symbol, the myth, the image, are related to the substance of the spiritual life, we can disguise, mutilate, but never root them out”⁹. Many times, the symbol is the expression of an image and a manner of seeing the man and the world. In the archaic cultures, these, along with the signs, are integrated within a sacred order, with magical functions and powers. Thus, as the great historian of religions, Mircea Eliade, says: “the sacred means...reality”¹⁰; and the man can live only in a sacred, pure, world, this desire expressing, nonetheless, the wish to belong to an objective reality, because only such a sacred world “participates to the being, and exists undeniably”¹¹.

The man of the archaic and traditional cultures surrounded himself with symbols, mainly to assure his openness towards the community, which denotes, nevertheless, his openness towards the Meaning. Through the symbol, seen as an “autonomous modality of knowledge”¹², the message is conveyed, the symbol “reveals certain aspects of the reality – the most profound ones – that reject any other manner of knowledge”¹³, considering only the substance of the spiritual life.

Rather often, the reality can be expressed and interpreted through the symbol. It also bears significations owing to the fact that it belongs to a system of models that values the human relation with the Universe, it has an intrinsic value, especially when it expresses, through itself, a symbolic image. The symbols are present in all the ages and the human communities, but they differ from one group to the other. We can meet symbols, insignificant for a certain society, but bearing meaning and value for another, due to the fact that they “exist only in the plan of the subject, but they are based on the plan of the object”¹⁴. Thus, the interpretation can carry personal forms, different from one individual to another, the genesis of the symbols having the mark of the straightforwardly manifested individuality, through the attitude concerning the relations with the surrounding world.

On addressing the traditional architecture, the decorative motifs that we frequently find on different architectural elements (porch poles, window frames, gates, doors etc.) exceed the aesthetic area and gain meanings, if they are approached as systems of symbols. These symbols were part of the magical-religious universe of the Romanian peasant. Thus, the Romanian traditional ornaments can be regarded as “an essential key in interpreting and understanding not only the

⁹ Mircea Eliade, *Imagini și simboluri*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing, 1994, pp. 13–14.

¹⁰ Idem, *Sacrul ...*, p. 14.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

¹² Mircea Eliade, *Imagini ...*, p. 12.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

¹⁴ Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *Dicționar de simboluri. Mituri, vise, obiceiuri, gesturi, forme, figuri, culori, numere*, vol. I (A-D), Bucharest, Artemis Publishing, 1993, p. 46 and next.

Romanian traditional art, but our entire traditional culture, offering a rich and suggestive material, capable of decoding mentalities and conceptions of the traditional spirit, whose origins are lost in immemorable times, and that has been preserved until today as a veritable alphabet of written signs”¹⁵. The ornament, as a component that concentrates the beauty of an architectural piece, a utilitarian object, or a simple decoration, is determinant in the functional-aesthetical relation, and the associations of motifs and ornaments express the vision of the individual on the world, along with a communication manner¹⁶, because the ornament is both sign and language. A communication in which the language of beauty is one of the most general, through content, and the most particularizing, through expression and form¹⁷.

The ornament display of the traditional architecture from Oltenia is rich, encompassing both motifs met on the entire territory of our country, a consequence of the national traditional cultural unity, and motifs proper for this region. Similarly to other genres of the traditional art, in the decoration of the peasant architecture, there are met ornaments that belong to the sphere of the geometric, constituting the oldest decorative manners (such the circle, the dot, straight, broken or curved lines, the rhombus, the triangle etc.), along with cosmomorphic, vegetal, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic stylised motifs. Among these motifs, some have a greater share, determined by their frequency, along with the importance the traditional craftsmen gave to them, through tradition. In this category, there can be included the solar signs, the life-tree, the symbol of the horse. As Paul Petrescu and Georgeta Stoica note, “Related to the ancient cult of the sun, that of the dentrolation (tree cult), to a complex of beliefs involved in the eternal endeavour of the man to survive in a «hostile» nature, the plastic representation of these old «ideologies» have remained in the Romanian popular art...a kind of archaeological witnesses of some disappeared creeds”¹⁸.

If, initially, some of the ornamental motifs were not simple decorative forms, but they had magical-religious significations, being transmitters of messages, once with the passing of the time, they have been subjected to the process of desacralisation, evolving, unfortunately, only into insignificant decorative motifs.

In the traditional architectural ensemble from Oltenia, a special interest is given to the *cosmogonic* ornamental motifs, met both in the case of the huts and the surface-built dwellings. The geometric, curvilinear or rectilinear representations of

¹⁵ Georgeta Stoica, Paul Petrescu, *Dicționar de artă populară*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing, 1997, p. 50, apud Andra Jacob, *Comunicarea prin simboluri în arhitectura populară românească*, in “Sociologie românească”, vol. VII, no. 3, 2009, p. 122.

¹⁶ Delia Suiogan, *Arta populară – formă de comunicare*, in “Memoria ethnologica”, no. 26–27, January-June 2008 (Year VIII), p. 48.

¹⁷ Paul Petrescu, Georgeta Stoica, *Arta populară românească*, Bucharest, Meridiane Publishing, 1981, p. 6.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 118–119.

the Sun have a great frequency, with origins in the far past, in a form of art developed since the Neolithic.

The Sun is an archetypal symbol met in the cultures from the entire world. Since ancient times, it has been regarded as a heavenly body on which the life of the man himself depend, being perceived by him as a sacred symbol. The Cult of the Sun, considered the spring of life and death, has always been in the centre of the solar myths, and heliolatry is a basic component of the uranic religions.

For some people, the Sun represents a manifestation of the divinity, on the territory of our country the divinisation of the Sun being deeply rooted, if we are to consider the wide spreading, on the territory of the Roman Dacia, of cult that worshiped the solar god Mithra – *Dies Natalis Solis invincti*. In the Christian culture, the Sun is a symbol of Christ, of God.

In the Romanian spirituality, the Sun has had multiple valences. Being a purifying and apotropaic role symbol, the Sun used to have the mission to defend the house and the space against the malefic forces. In this manner, it is explained its presence in the décor of the porch poles and gates, considered thresholds between *the inside* and *the outside*, between the interior, which had to be guarded, and the exterior world. The sun gives life, light and warmth, in traditional concept, but it is also harmful, through the intense heat that it generates. Moreover, this star is eternal, and, yet, “it comes to life every morning and dies at dusk, that is why, it is the symbol of the resurrection, of the eternal returning of life, experiencing the temporary death”¹⁹. It is preponderantly depicted through symbols that denotes unity, perpetuation, continuity, infinite.

Along with the classical representation of the Sun, the rosette, the decoration panoply of the houses from Oltenia includes other astral signs too, such as: the circle, the solar wheel, the dot, the circle cross, the whirl (the wind-mill), the rhombus. The solar circle and the solar wheel, with the derived elements of each, form the substrate for all the other solar symbols²⁰. The circle, in the opinion of the specialists, portrays the homogeneity, the perfection, “the concentric circles representing the stages of a being, the created hierarchies”²¹. With all its above-mentioned forms, the circle is the symbol of the supreme divinity and the force, being associated, most often, to the masculine side; it is, in the same time, a symbol of resurrection and life. For most peoples, the circle is considered a symbol for protection, being endowed with the magical power of defending. Consequently, a magical furrow is ploughed to surround a house or a village, in case of menace, or the circular shape is preferred for some dwellings or settlements. Although it has a

¹⁹ Ivan Evseev, *Dicționar de simboluri și arhetipuri culturale*, Timișoara, Amarcord Publishing, 1994, p. 171.

²⁰ Romulus Vulcănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 371; v. and P. Petrescu, *Imaginea soarelui în arta populară*, in “Studii și cercetări de istoria artei”, year X, no. 1, 1963, p. 114.

²¹ Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. I (A-D), p. 294.

pagan origin, descending far-back in history, the motif of the circle was also taken by the Christian symbolistic.

Stylised forms of the Sun, the rosettes, appear frequently in the traditional architecture, having a distinct number of arms, closed in several concentric circles. The most frequent is the six-arm rosette, “a symbol rooted in the religious background, more precisely in the biblical theme of the world Genesis that took place in six days, a fact that generates the six essential dimensions which, according to Clement of Alexandria, represent the four cardinal points, the zenith and the nadir”²². Nonetheless, there appear rosettes with more than six arms (eight, nine or eighteen), and when the number of arms is bigger, and it is shaped in a curvilinear form, it is formed the motif of the wind-mill (or the whirl).

In the traditional architecture from Oltenia, the solar symbol is widely-spread, being sculpted on the porch poles²³, the gate posts, the gates, door frames, beams, or it is carved on the side-ways poles that are placed one side and another, before the entrance in the huts. The entering in the household yard is protected by a various-type solar rosette, the gates from Gorj area being decorated with such signs, along with the cable mouldings. Solar signs adorn the entrances of the huts from the south of Oltenia: circles enclosed in rhombuses, great X-s, concentric rhombuses whose shapes are prevalent on the cable mouldings in relief. In the north of Otenia, until almost the present days, it was preserved the decoration of the porch pole’s front side with solar rosettes, considering that they defend the house from the evil influence. Furthermore, different solar symbols are also found inside the house, on the fireplace, the furniture items, the pottery or the fabrics. Moreover, they are also present in the religious architecture, on the door and window frames.

A significant share depicts, in the traditional architectural décor from Oltenia, the *vegetal* ornamental motifs, made either in a stylised manner, sometimes in geometrical symbols, or in a figurative depiction.

²² Marius Constantin Nistor, *Ornamente și motive în arta decorării lemnului*, p. 328, available at https://www.academia.edu/11108889/NISTOR_Ornamente_%C5%9Fi_motive_%C3%AEn_arta_decor%C4%83rii_lemnului (accessed on 23.07.2020).

²³ The porch is an architectural element present at all the old houses, placed either around the house, as a belt, or only on one or two sides fie. It is not only an element that protects the exterior walls, but it also has a protection magical-symbolic role. The porch poles, an expression for the aspiration towards the heights, were invested with the role of sky pillars. They were made of different varieties of wood, carved with a hatchet and ornamented with geometrical motifs (circles, cubes, rhombuses, girdles in relief etc.), to which there were attached notched and chiselled grooves. On the poles from the north of Oltenia, there were clearly evidenced the elements of the classical column (base, trunk and capital). The trunk of the poles was squared and decorated with a variety of geometrical shapes (locally called, apples, crosses, wheels, cat’s ladder, snakes, dents), cylindrical or biconical, with vertical or swirled grooves, twistedly moulded lengthwise. (Gheorghe Iordache, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–99). Due to the zig-zag ornaments, solar symbols, in cross, the porch poles gain a protective role, of passing from one space to another, similar to the threshold, the door or the windows.

Different trees, the fir-tree, the fir-tree branches, leaves or flower pots, are all vegetal symbols, constituting variants of the same theme – *the tree of life*. Symbol of the connection between the sky and the earth, the tree of life is that *axis mundi* that ensures the connection between the man and the divinity, between this-side world and the-other-side world. The tree is one of the oldest symbols of the humanity, signifying the life in its continuous evolution, in the ascension towards the sky. Having the roots deeply thrust into the ground and the branches reaching the sky, “the tree enables the communication between the three levels of the Cosmos: the underground one, through the roots that ravish the abyss in which they are piercing; the surface of the earth, through its trunk and lower branches; the firmament, through the top branches that are attracted by the sky-light”²⁴.

Represented through different varieties, which are considered sacred (the fir-tree or the oak, for the Romanians, the olive-tree if Egypt, the linden-tree in the western Europe, the oak for the Celts), *the tree of life* symbolises, altogether, “the never-ending youth and the deathless life”²⁵. In association with other ornamental motifs, such as “the water wave”, *the tree of life* represents “the connection between the terrestrial life and the endless horizon of the water”, and the association with the *solar motif* shows “the continuity of life drained through the fir-tree top that points towards the cosmic horizon...”²⁶.

In the Romanian traditional art, the symbol of the tree is present through the image of the Hellenistic imprinting, of the Greek kantharos, transformed into a flower pot, or in the local Thraco-Dacian variant, as a fir-tree.

Present in the construction rites since the erasing of the roof rafters and the finishing of the house, as a small fir-tree, or as green branches, *the tree of life* is met, either made in relief or in the plaster, on the house walls, on the porch poles or on the gates. Moreover, in the field area from the south of Oltenia, there are frequently met “vegetal motifs as well – stylized plants or flowers, and trees in pots. In the 20th century, the decorated parts started to be coloured in blue or brick-red”²⁷. The tree of life decorates the furniture items too, respectively the cupboards form the hut-dwellings, but, especially the dowry-trunks, where it has a high frequency, directly related to the functionality of the piece, by the nuptial symbol, the fir-tree being, in the same time, the tree of the wedding²⁸.

Another category of decorative motifs, in the traditional architecture, is that of the zoomorphic representations. It ought to be mentioned, firstly, the

²⁴ Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. I (A-D), pp. 124–125.

²⁵ Nicolae Dunăre, *Ornamentica tradițională comparată*, Bucharest, Meridiane Publishing, 1979, p. 112.

²⁶ Marius Constantin Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

²⁷ Georgeta Stoica, Paul Petrescu, *Dicționar de artă populară*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing, 1997, p. 50, apud Andra Jacob, *Comunicarea prin simboluri ...*, p. 125.

²⁸ Viorica Tăulea, *Mobilierul țărănesc din Oltenia*, Bucharest, Sport-Turism Publishing, 1989, p. 50.

representation of *the snake*, a motif that is used quite often. A totalizer archetypal symbol, in the archaic conceptions and representations of the universe, the snake “is related to the four elements of the nature: it lives in the ground or in the water; its venom has the properties of the celestial fire or the chthonian one, and its fantastic hypostasis of winged snake (dragon) is related to the element of the air. In the mythologies of the world, it appears as a polymorphous symbol, carrying the forces of the nature, and it is considered a primordial animal, embodying of the first matter and the chaos”²⁹.

The representation of the snake in the Romanian traditional architecture seems to originate from the belief in *the house snake*, as protector of the dwelling, which lives under the threshold, under the foundation, or in the walls. According to the traditional beliefs, the house snake must not be killed, because its killing triggers, as a punishment, the death of a family member: “A snake is...in all the houses. Where there is a snake, there is luck, everything goes well and there is no harm, no charm works. God forbids to kill it, because one of the owners dies. That is called a house snake”³⁰.

A sacred animal in almost all the religions of the world, the snake left a powerful mark in the collective memory. As a guarantor of the prosperity, the lasting of the household and protective spirit of the family, “The house snake appears as an iconic image in the peasant ornaments, having the role of an apothropaic element”³¹. Specifically owing to this role, of house protector, the motif of the snake is met sculpted on the gate posts, the porch poles, at the houses from Gorj area, inside the huts, on the door pillars or a large beam from the guest room, and also on the dowry trunks and the cupboard-tables, where it is depicted in associations with cosmogonic and anthropomorphic motifs. It is met on the house walls too, where it is moulded in the plaster, or it is painted. In Oltenia, the enamelled clay snakes are placed on the entrance thresholds or on the floor³². The motif of the snake is also used on the cross of the last owner of a house, as a mark of funerary veneration, which could signify, according to some ethnologists, that the tomb to be also defended by the house snake³³.

The horse represents a decorative motif from the same category, a fundamental archetype of the collective memory. “Its symbolism reaches the two poles – upper and lower – of the cosmos... In the down-side world, the chthonian

²⁹ Ivan Evseev, *Dicționar de magie, demonologie și mitologie românească*, Timișoara, Amarcord Publishing, 1997, pp. 402–403.

³⁰ Ion Ghinoiu, *Comoara satelor. Calendar popular*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 2005, p. 198.

³¹ Ivan Evseev, *Dicționar de magie, ...*, p. 405.

³² Romulus Antonescu, *Dicționar de simboluri și credințe tradiționale românești*, p. 649, available at <http://cimec.ro/Etnografie/Antonescu-dictionar/Antonescu-Romulus-Dictionar-Simboluri-Credinte-Traditionale-Romanesti.pdf>. (accessed on July 21, 2020).

³³ Romulus Vulcănescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 524–525.

one, it appears as an avatar or as a friend of the three constitutive elements, the fire, the earth and the water, and of the world. But it is also present in the upper-side world, the unranian one, associated with its three constitutive elements, the air, the fire and the water – the last two seen, this instance, in their celestial acceptance – and with the sun”³⁴.

In the Romanian traditional culture, there have been preserved pre-Christian beliefs and superstitions, connected to another local cult of the horse. A symbol for greatness, the horse is awarded with an apotropaic function, being attributed with the role of household protector. This way, it is explained the horse-head shape carvings at the porch extremities of the transversal beams in the eastern and southern part of the Carpathians³⁵. Moreover, the same ornamental motif appears in the architecture of the partially-buried dwellings from the south of Oltenia, being represented, preponderantly, as two horse-heads, carved in wood, placed on each side of the hut entrance³⁶.

The horse is a symbol for heroism and virility, representing, in the same time, a psychopomp in the Romanian Book of the Dead, as leader of the solus, towards the other world. Nonetheless, the horse, along with other symbols, is a bipolar one, is the bearer, at the same time, of the life and the death.

In the traditional house décor, sometimes, *the bird* appears as well, “an archetypal symbol of the elevation, of the aspiration for reaching the absolute values of the heaven, and a constant and universal metaphor for the soul”³⁷. A mediator between heaven and earth, the bird symbolises the rebirth, the resurrection, the renewing of the human being. In the traditional ornament, it is present since Prehistory, when it appears as an ornamental motif, on pottery³⁸. This symbol can be represented, in the perimeter of the houses from Oltenia, at the cornices that cover the shingle.

The motif of the rope, similar to the solar motif, is an ancient symbol, characteristic for the Romanian architecture, part of a complex symbolic, in which it can be glimpsed the mystery of a spirituality, whose origins are lost in history. The cord, the twine, the rope, are generally related to the symbolic of the ascension, similar to the symbol of the tree and the stair. As an ornamental motif, it appears frequently on the constructive elements of the dwellings (porch poles, window frames, interior beams), on the gate posts, or even the gates, as well as in the religious architecture. This reason, alone or in association with other symbols,

³⁴ Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. I (A-D), p. 235.

³⁵ Gheorghe Iordache, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

³⁶ Gheorghe Focșa, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–22.

³⁷ Ivan Evseev, *Dicționar de simboluri și arhetipuri culturale*, Timișoara, Amarcord Publishing, 1994, pp. 128–129.

³⁸ Simona Lazăr, *Simboluri ornitorfe în cultura Basarabi*, in “Arhivele Olteniei”, NS, 18, 2004, pp. 7–18; Idem, *Motive zoomorfe și ornitorfe pe ceramica culturii Basarabi*, in “Oltenia. Studii și comunicări”, XV, 2004.

has the role of house and church protector, by stopping the veil spirits. Knotted, the rope symbolises any type of connection, and it has secret or magical virtues³⁹. At the Central America civilisations, the rope is the divine symbol, “the ropes suspended in the sky symbolise, in the Maya and Mexican arts, the divine seed that descends from the firmament to fertilise the land”⁴⁰.

Rather seldom, in the traditional architecture, there appear *anthropomorphic* motifs, symbols of the man that protects the house and the entire household. As Marius C. Nistor says, “The anthropomorphised occurrence of the man, within a geometrical representation of a sculpture, does not disturb the discipline of the sacred motivation, but it rather shows the attempt of the artist to introduce the human being in that sacred background. Furthermore, ...the depicting of the man motif, in the traditional art works, makes the representation of the human being to be often confused with the unique existence, the supreme creator”⁴¹.

In Oltenia, the anthropomorphic figures are met on the gate posts from Dolj-the anthropomorphic posts, on the parapets that enclose the house porches, and in the decorative ensemble of the hut entrances from Oltenia.

Thus, the traditional craftsman has decorated the dwelling, since its construction, with complex symbols that have magical-religious significations, which belong to an ancient mentality. In the building craftsmanship there have been merged, along the centuries, the taste for beauty and the beliefs of the traditional man on space and time. Thus, the house, as both shelter and dwelling place, belonging to the material culture, has received magical features as well, through the decoration of certain architectural elements with symbolic representations with apotropaic role, in this manner belonging to the shaping of the spiritual culture, in the specified community.

³⁹ Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. I (A-D), p. 340.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem.*

⁴¹ Marius Constantin Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

CONSECRATED TRADITIONAL CURES AND TREATMENTS FROM OLTENIA USING MEDICINAL WINE REMEDIES*

Loredana-Maria ILIN-GROZOIU**

Abstract: The present study, based on the information provided by the performers from Oltenia, resulted from our personal field research, intends the identification of some particularities specific for the traditional medicine, by using wine as a remedy in treating most of the diseases.

In the introductory part, there was accentuated the special importance that the viticultural products have in the human life, which, through the wide variety of the substances they contain, have been utilised in diets and therapies for thousands of years. In the investigation part, the wine is described and recommended, along with the vineyard products, simple or mixed, as remedies used in the prophylaxis and the treatment of the diseases, as it results from the field information. The traditional experience of the dwellers from the investigated area, in the domain of the traditional medicine, can bring some contributions to the acknowledging of the wine-making culture and civilisation.

Keywords: traditional remedies, wine remedies, Oltenia, the prevention and the treatment of the illnesses, nutritious qualities.

The present study contains information on the healing virtues, the effects of the wine on the human body, in an endeavour to capture the traditional medical experience of the dwellers from Oltenia, when fighting against some diseases. The naturist therapies reflect the preoccupations of the people related to the knowledge and the usage of the land resources, the awareness over their consumption, the grasping of the mysteries behind the prolongation of the living, for the man in sufferance.

Since immemorial times, the wine and the vineyard products have been used as aliments, and also as therapies for a healthy body with the help of food and diet.

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According to the archaeological researches and the historical discoveries, the vine was cultivated 7000-9000 years ago in the southern area of the Caspian Sea¹.

The doctors from Babylon and the renowned doctor of the Ancient Greece, Hippocrates, were recommending the grapes, the must of grapes and the wine in the treatment of the different internal and external diseases. The ancient Greeks were using the ashes obtained after burning the vine cords for the preparation of the must and wine².

In our country, the viticulture has been an important branch in agriculture, the vine being cultivated, as it is confirmed by the archaeological discoveries, since the Prehistory. The vine related products (the grapes, the natural juice, the must and the wine) have been known as basic elements for the daily nurture. The first written evidence on the Getae-Dacian vineyards belongs to Strabo, who gives us the information that the Getae owned a lot of them³. In his turn, Herodotus mentions that the Getae-Dacians were utilising the wine for performing certain rituals⁴.

Mentions of the wine in the Romanian space appeared in the first texts written in Slavonic, Greek, Latin, along with the ones in Romanian. The oldest drawn up text in which there are certain references to the sacred wine used in the Christian cult is *The Passions of the Martyrs Epictetus and Astion*⁵. This narrative text contains three sequences depicting the Christian living, in which Epictetus, Astion and the bishop Evangelus advise the Christians to receive the Sacraments⁶. There ought to be considered the fact that three of the Christian Sacraments include the presence of wine.

The Romans, in order to preserve the different varieties of wines, and to make them resistant to degradation, used the method of treating it with solid of dissolution salt, invented by the ancient Greeks of Kos. This wine preserving method was used for keeping almost unchanged the oenological characteristics, in order to accelerate the antioxidant activity, to impede intoxication, and also for therapeutic and curative reasons. Nonetheless, for preserving the wines, in the Greek-Latin Antiquity, there were other methods, which included the treating of the wine with resins, ashes, and, furthermore, with tar.

A description of the method that involves the adding of a specific quantity of salt water into the wine, is made by the ancient author Cato, who, besides the special value conferred by the age, it is also important for it offers fascinating

¹ Valentina Iarovi, *Vița – de – vie în cultura moldovenilor*, in “Buletin Științific. Revistă de Etnografie, Științele Naturii și Muzeologie”, Științele Naturii magazine, vol. 7(20), new series, Chișinău, 2007, p. 208.

² *Ibidem*, p. 215.

³ Vasile Pârvan, *Getica*, Bucharest, 1926, p. 137.

⁴ Răzvan Voncu, *O istorie literară a vinului în România*, Bucharest, Curtea Veche Publishing, 2013, p. 9.

⁵ See Nestor Vornicescu, *Una dintre primele scrieri ale literaturii române vechi. “Pătimirea martirilor Epictet și Astion”*, Craiova, Oltenia Metropolitan Church Publishing, 1990, pp. 6–18.

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 15–16.

information on the oenology: “There should be taken water from the open sea, when the sea is calm, the wind is not blowing, seventy days before harvesting the grapes, from a place where the fresh water does not reach. After taking it from the sea, it is poured into a barrel: it should not be filled up, but five quadrants less. Put a lid on it, leaving a space for breathing. After thirty days, pour it gently in another clean barrel: leave the precipitate on the bottom of the first barrel. After twenty days, pour it into another barrel: it ought to be left like this until the grapes are picked... Then, take the above-mentioned sea water: pour ten quadrants of sea water into a fifty quadrants barrel. Subsequently, separate the berries from the clusters of different grapes and put them into the barrel, until it is filled: press the berries with the hand until they are soaked in the sea water; after the barrel has been filled up, put a lid on and leave a space for breathing. After three days, take the grapes out of the barrel and tread them; keep that wine into washed, clean and dry barrels”⁷.

Pliny the Elder was underlining the temporal dimension when gathering the sea water, used in preparing the wine: “It should be taken from the high sea and preserved since the spring equinox, or at least, at night, on solstice when the Aquilon blows, or it should be boiled, if it is taken around the harvesting time”⁸.

Although the grapes were representing the raw material used for obtaining viticultural products, the ancient peoples used to make wine “from the plants that grow in their gardens too: from asparagus roots, from thyme, marjoram, celery or wormwood seeds, wild mint, rue, catmint, wild thyme and horehound: there are put two bunches of them in a cauldron with the sixth part of some reduced must and a hemin of sea water”⁹.

The sea water had a great influence, usually positive, on the quality of wine, which was also depending on a lot of other factors, among which the nature of the vine variety. Nonetheless, there were exceptions, when, by adding sea water, the wine was harmful for the human body: “The Ephesus wine is not healthy, because it is mixed with sea water and sweet juice”¹⁰.

The ancient wine, treated with sea water was used in the treatment for different diseases. For example, Athenaeus was recommending it for calming the stomach pain and spasms, for facilitating food residue elimination¹¹.

For the Romans, the grapes represented a basic nutriment, being consumed with bread. In order to be kept fresh as long as possible, the Romans used to

⁷ Cato, *De agricultura (Cartea despre cultivarea pământului)*, bilingual text, translation from Latin, introduction, notes and index by Ioana Costa, Bucharest, University of Bucharest Publishing House, 2010, p. 112.

⁸ Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*, volume III, “Botanica”, Book XIV, 25, translation by O. Gordon, supervised edition, preface, notes, annexes and index by Ioana Costa, Iași, 2002.

⁹ *Ibidem*, Book XIV, 19.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 9.

¹¹ Bernard Moinier, Marius Alexianu, *Sare și vinuri în antichitatea greco-romană*, in “Tyragetia”, vol. V, nr. 1/2011, p. 286.

preserve them through different methods, some of them being practiced and met in many Romanian settlements nowadays as well¹².

In the Middle Ages, the Romanian wine was exported from Muntenia and Moldova in Transylvania, and the Central Europe markets¹³. The foreign travellers who passed through the Romanian regions noticed the abundance of vineyards and the quality of the wine produced in Principalities. Nevertheless, the notes of David Frolich (1629–1639) mention not only the superior quality of the Transylvanian wine, but also its harmful effects for the human body, due to the fact that it used to be treated with a food preserver called sulphur dioxide: “The wine, which is produced abundantly, is better than the Romanian, French, Austrian, Moravian wine, but of a poorer quality than the Roman or the Hungarian one: it contains more tartar and more sulphur, and, for this reason it causes arthritis in arms and legs. Healthier and stronger wines are made at Alba Iulia, Deva, Aiud, Biertan, Feneş and Mediaş”¹⁴.

Proving obvious interest, the Syrian traveller Paul de Alep was remarking the fact that, at the monasteries, the sacral wine used in the Christian cult was preserved in a barrel “made by a holly person”: “In the cellar of Tismana monastery, there is an enormous barrel, whose length is of twenty-six spans and width of nine spans. It contains three thousand *vedre* (1 *vadră* = 2.5gallons) of wine, each *vadră* measuring 12 *ocale* (1 *oca* = approx. 3lbs) (...). The monks fill it up with wine, using some long funnels, connected to top of the container and reaching the external side. The wine is kept for a whole year, for blessing causes, the barrel being made by a holly person, by hand, from a type wood that grows only around the monastery, called the yew-tree”¹⁵.

In the writings of Petru Bogdan Baksic, while passing through Iași in 1641, there can be found a piece of information referring to the fact that the Romanian wine is also known as an export product: “The wine is expensive, because it is made in small quantities, in three or four places from the country, and people come all the way from Poland to buy it. The wines are a bit tart”¹⁶.

Dimitrie Cantemir makes some observations and describes the oeno-gastronomic customs of the Romanians: “Their greatest delight is to celebrate in feasts, sometimes from six in the evening to three at night, other times until dawn, and to drink until they throw up. Yet, they do not use to party every day, but only on holidays and when it is a bad weather, in the winter, when the frost makes

¹² Nicolae Lașcu, *Cum trăiau românii*, Bucharest, Editura Științifică Publishing, 1965, p. 227.

¹³ Răzvan Voncu, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁴ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. V, supervised by Maria Holban, M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing, 1973, p. 46.

¹⁵ *Idem*, vol. VI, part I, bio-bibliographical study and translation by M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing, 1976, p. 199.

¹⁶ *Idem*, vol. V, supervised by Maria Holban, M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing, 1973, pp. 232–233.

people stay inside and warm their hearts with wine”¹⁷. Moreover, the scholar prince provides another interesting piece of information. The local people drink with moderation, do not consume wine excessively, only a small glass, before meals¹⁸. It is noticeable that our forefathers knew the prophylactic and therapeutic effect of the wine drunk with restraint, as an old saying goes: *an old wine, drunk in moderation, does not nurture, but heals*.

A traveller in Transylvania between 1656 and 1658, Conrad Jacob Hildebrandtis amazed that the wine is a poor quality one, and its consumption generates certain health problems: “The wine is very limy and unhealthy, a fact proved by the dwellers’ crooked fingers and arms”¹⁹.

Valuable information on the curative effect of the wine is found in the notes of Anton Maria Del Chiaro: “Most of Transylvania is provided from Wallachia with the best wine and red wines, which have delicate taste and are healthy for the stomach”²⁰. Brâncoveanu’s secretary is impressed with a custom the dwellers from Wallachia have, that of sharing, on holidays, the same drinking goblet: “If it is a holiday, they wish each other to be healthy and meet again the following year, and then the house owner, after crossing himself, drinks the first glass of wine. The Wallachians do not ask for drinks, they wait the host to offer them the drink in the same glass, which is passed on; the foreigner, who is used to other hygiene rules, gets used to this with difficulty”²¹.

At the beginning of the 19th century, count P.H. Vixtghenștein would cultivate, in the south-western part of Dniester river, varieties of table grapes with curative properties. In the hospital built on his estate, the war invalids from 1812 were treated with these grapes²².

In the 19th century, the treatment with grapes was also common in Italy, France, Germany, Russia, along with many other countries²³.

In Oltenia, the wine is a part of the ethnoiatry recipe, being often used, along with healing plants, apicultural products, brandy, vinegar, water baths, acupuncture, for prophylactic and therapeutic purposes.

Some traditional therapeutic remedies are based on a mixture of wine and different parts of the curing plants: “When one has lung problems, few roots of chopped common comfrey or marsh-mallow are macerate din litre of white wine, for a week, in a glass jar. The mixture is stirred once a day, using a wooden spoon. It is then strained and one should drink a small glass of the liquid, twice a day,

¹⁷ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei*, translation from Latin by Petre Pandrea, Chișinău, Litera Internațional Publishing, 2003, p. 176.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. V, ..., p. 554.

²⁰ Anton Maria Del Chiaro, *Revoluțiile Valahiei*, (after the text re-edited by Nicolae Iorga), in Romanian by S. Cris-Cristian, Iași, 1929, p. 7.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

²² Sofroni Carpov, *Elixir din struguri*, Chișinău, Cartea Moldovenească Publishing, 1989, p. 33.

²³ *Ibidem*.

before meals. The cure is a month long. It is repeated once in three months”²⁴; it prevents and treats skin cancer, hepatic diseases and corns: “Three spoons of common celandine powder are macerated in a litre of wine. It is filtered and preserved in a tightly closed bottle. It should be administrated as a small glass drunk in the morning, for about two months. It should be made a pause for a month and the treatment is started again”²⁵; it ameliorates the cold symptoms and it heals cough: “A handful of basil flowers are macerated in a litre of wine, from the evening to the morning. It is filtered and preserved in corked bottles. A small glass of it should be drunk after each meal”²⁶; “Two handfuls of wormwood are macerated in a litre of wine, for two days. It is strained through a double-folded gauze. There should be administrated two spoons of it before the meals”²⁷; it reduces the cholesterol and induces sleep: “A handful of rosemary or linden flowers is macerated in a litre of wine, in a lid-fasten glass jar, for a few days. A small glass of it should be drunk three times a day, after meals”²⁸.

The wine combined with vegetables has important therapeutic qualities: “To eliminate the kidney stones, two finely chopped stalks of leek are macerated in a litre of wine for a week. It is stirred once a day, with a wooden spoon. It is strained through a double-folded gauze. There should be administrated two spoons of it each morning. The cure lasts for a month. It is repeated few months after”²⁹; it calms the sore throat and the cough: “When you have a bad cough, there are boiled two handfuls of finely chopped wild garlic in a litre of wine. It is strained and poured in tightly fastened bottles. A small glass of it should be drunk each morning and evening”³⁰; “In a glass jar, for two weeks, there is macerated a half of kilo of finely chopped onion and two hundred grams of honey in a litre of wine. A small glass of it is drunk three times a day”³¹; it calms down the pain caused by rheumatism and spondylosis: “Two black radishes with the peel on are grated and macerated in a litre of white wine, in a glass jar, for ten days. A small glass of it is drunk in the morning, after each meal. The cure lasts for three weeks”³²; a cure against anaemia and asthma: “Few grated horseradish roots are macerated in a litre of red wine for a week. It is filtered, bottled and a spoon of it is administrated three times a day, after meals. The cure lasts for a month. After a pause, the treatment is repeated”³³; adjuvant in digestive and renal diseases: “Two handful of lovage and parsley are macerated in a litre of wine for two weeks. A small glass of it is drunk

²⁴ Informer Iuliana Ghiță, 62 years old, locality of Podeni, Vâlcea County, 2020.

²⁵ Informer Eugenia Raicea, 84 years old, locality of Drânic, Dolj County, 2020.

²⁶ Informer Paraschiva Nisipașu, 76 years old, locality of Maglavit, Dolj County, 2020.

²⁷ Informer Dochia Capotă, 86 years old, locality of Ciungetu, Vâlcea County, 2020.

²⁸ Informer Lenuța Păun, 82 years old, locality of Gubandru, Olt County, 2020.

²⁹ Informer Elena Mihai, 75 years old, locality of Nedeia, Dolj County, 2020.

³⁰ Informer Viorica Sârbu, 82 years old, locality of Lunca, Gorj County, 2020.

³¹ Informer Gheorghe Diaconu, 82 years old, locality of Bocea, Vâlcea County, 2020.

³² Informer Ana Ungureanu, 71 years old, locality of Gubandru, Olt County, 2020.

³³ Informer Rozica Ristea, 81 years old, locality of Bechet, Dolj County, 2020.

three times a day before meals³⁴; it fights fatigue and stress: “Two grated celeries and 100g of honey are macerated in a litre of wine for a few days. A small glass of it is drunk before each meal. The cure lasts for a month³⁵; it reduces the risk for heart diseases and ischemic cardiomyopathy: “If one has heart problems, a handful of parsley, its root included, is boiled in a litre of white wine, 100g of honey are added to it. The mixture is brought to a boil for a few times. It is strained and two spoons of it are administrated two times a day. The cure lasts for three weeks. It is repeated after a month³⁶; “Few smashed garlic cloves are macerated in a quarter of litre of white wine for a few days. A teaspoon of it is administrated empty stomach for a month³⁷.

Some mixtures for regaining a good health and curing diseases, include wine, honey, therapeutic plants and fruits. “When you lack appetite, a kilo of honey is macerated with a litre of wine. It is stirred with a wooden spoon once a day. It is filtered and preserved in corked bottles. Two spoons of it are administrated twice a day, after meals. The cure lasts for a month. It is repeated after three months³⁸; it improves the gastrointestinal tract functions, it calms the nervous system and it diminishes stress: “A handful of dried mint leaves and a half of kilo of honey are macerated in a litre of white wine for two weeks. Two spoons of it are administrated for three weeks, before each meal. The cure is repeated after a month³⁹; it fights depression, insomnia and headaches: “A kilo of crashed wild berries is macerated in a litre of red wine for ten days, in a glass jar. After it is strained through a gauze or fine strainer, there are added 250g of honey. A small glass of it is drunk twice a day, before meals. The cure lasts for two months. It is repeated after three months⁴⁰; it cures the cold: “When one has a cold, it should be drunk a mug of red wine, boiled with honey and pepper⁴¹.

Grape juice has an antioxidant, diuretic, depurative effect, it fights cancer and it is full with vitamins: “Black grapes are squeezed and a glass of the juice is drunk before meals⁴²; it fights gastritis, it stimulates digestion, it protects the heart and it stimulates the liver function, it heals and prevents headaches and it is recommended for the respiratory duct.

Grape must has vitaminizing properties, it helps detox the body: “Three glass of must are drunk after meals⁴³; it prevents and treats heart, stomach, kidney diseases, anaemia, rheumatic pains, it diminishes headaches, and it is recommended in fatigue.

³⁴ Informer Maria Ștefan, 64 years old, locality of Spinu, Vâlcea County, 2020.

³⁵ Informer Elena Toma, 87 years old, locality of Silea, Vâlcea County, 2020.

³⁶ Informer Victorița Ruță, 76 years old, locality of Ghizdăvești, Dolj County, 2020.

³⁷ Informer Elisabeta Dumitrașcu, 82 years old, locality of Bulzești, Dolj County, 2020.

³⁸ Informer Anastasia Antonie, 82 years old, locality of Prundeni, Vâlcea County, 2020.

³⁹ Informer Emilia Pătrână, 62 years old, locality of Gângiova, Dolj County, 2020.

⁴⁰ Informer Ana Ungureanu, locality of Gubandru, Olt County, 2020.

⁴¹ Informer Viorica Sârbu, locality of Lunca, Gorj County, 2020.

⁴² Informer Porumbița Popescu, 92 years old, locality of Bulzești, Dolj County, 2020.

⁴³ Informer Iuliana Ghiță, 62 years old, locality of Podeni, Vâlcea County, 2020.

Vine leaves infusion cicatrizes wounds, and vine sap is used for treating eye diseases⁴⁴.

Natural remedies for treating bone diseases are also the mixtures of wine and wheat bran: “When you suffer from rheumatism and your bones ache, in a clay pot, there is mixed a litre of white wine, a bowl of wheat bran, a finely chopped cabbage, and everything is boiled until softening. When the porridge is lukewarm, it is applied on the sore spot, in a folded piece of gauze”⁴⁵.

Some cures offered by the traditional medicine are based on the quality of wine, to which there are added fruits: “When you suffer from anaemia, 250g of dried unsmoked prunes and 100g of honey are macerated in a litre of red wine. It is filtered and poured in bottles. Three spoons of it are consumed before meals. The cure lasts for three weeks. After a pause, the treatment is repeated”⁴⁶; it treats atherosclerosis: “One kilo of blueberries is boiled in a litre of red wine. A cup of it is drunk each morning, after meals, for a month”⁴⁷, diabetes, anaemia and renal diseases: “Half of kilo of pears is boiled in a litre of wine. It is strained through a multiple folded piece of gauze, and it is kept in corked bottles. Two teaspoons of it are administrated before the meals. The cure lasts for a month”⁴⁸.

Through the fermentation of the white or red wine, it is obtained the wine vinegar, which normalises digestion and helps maintain the normal body weight, or the acceleration of weight loss process, the high antioxidant content helps neutralise the free radicals, prevents heart diseases, helps decrease the cholesterol level to normal values. In wine vinegar, there are macerated different herbs, fruits or spices⁴⁹.

In the ethnographic space of Oltenia, as on the entire space crossed by the Carpathians and the Danube, the medicinal wine that is used in almost all the diseases, carries a special importance in keeping and restabilising an individual's health, its prophylactic effect and therapeutic properties being renowned for thousands of years. The form of treatment based on wine remedies unravels specific features of the traditional medicine from the research area, the preservation and the perpetuation of the traditional medical knowledge being noticeable.

⁴⁴ Informer Eugenia Mitrică, 84 years old, locality of Drănic, Dolj County, 2020.

⁴⁵ Informer Evghenia Antonie, 85 years old, locality of Prundeni, Vâlcea County, 2020.

⁴⁶ Informer Polina Grădinaru, 80 years old, locality of Argetoia, Dolj County, 2020.

⁴⁷ Informer Ghița Onete, 54 years old, locality of Spinu, Vâlcea County, 2020.

⁴⁸ Informer Elena Barnea, 80 years old, locality of Gârlești, Dolj County, 2020.

⁴⁹ See: Loredana-Maria Ilin-Grozoiu, *Terapeutici arhaice și actuale legate de întrebuințarea oțetului. O cercetare expresă din spațiul etnografic oltenesc*, in “Memoria Ethnologica”, year XVII, no. 74–75/2020, pp. 56–69.

SOCIAL BIOGRAPHY ABOUT THE COMMUNIST PERIOD – FAMILY, PROPERTY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Gabriela BOANGIU*

Abstract: Life histories or social biographies, sometimes called “small histories”, fascinate not only from an aesthetic or slightly nostalgic perspective, as sometimes happens with memorialistic writings, but by the richness of the approaches it makes possible in the social sciences. As it is the “lived history”, the descent to the talking individual who becomes the main actant in a broader socio-cultural and historical context, the characteristics of the account of the living phenomenon should be highlighted when recording and registering some of its marks. Archiving inevitably involves the “freezing” of the lived fact, which is why the researcher is asked to pay particular attention in the “living” preservation of life's stories, taking into account the dynamics of the “open” document. The study presents several social biographies of respondents who lived the early period of the communist regime, political changes, nationalization, collectivization, deportations, serious issues of quotas, a dynamic of state politics, but also of mentalities.

Keywords: social biography, communism, collective memory, ethnological document, property.

INTRODUCTION

Life histories or social biographies, sometimes called “small histories”, fascinate not only from an aesthetic or slightly nostalgic perspective, as sometimes happens with memorialistic writings, but by the richness of the approaches it makes possible in the social sciences. As it is the “lived history”, the descent to the talking individual who becomes the main actant in a broader socio-cultural and historical context, the characteristics of the account of the living phenomenon should be highlighted at the time of recording and registering of some of its marks. Archiving inevitably involves the “freezing” of the lived fact, which is why the researcher is asked to pay particular attention in the “living” preservation of life's stories, taking into account the dynamics of the “open” document.

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SOCIAL BIOGRAPHY – ETHNOLOGICAL “OPEN” DOCUMENT

First of all, what do we call an “open” document? It concerns the process nature of the phenomena investigated and the need to set up documents that can allow for a return over time, or subsequent interpretations of the collections of documents drawn up, so as not to lack certain details on the respondent's biography, socio-cultural context, recording context, etc. The absence of such details would vitiate the document irretrievably, and such situations are blessed in the early stages of folklore. These observations must also be attached to the implicit requirement of any contemporary study of folklore, namely to establish their own collection of documents necessary to explore the research theme addressed: “the folklorist must be an experienced fieldworker, whose starting point in building up a study would be his own collection”¹. At the same time, “collecting should not stop at the literal transcript of the text, but should consider the close relationship between the text and the individuals and should record the general atmosphere in which the text is transmitted”².

Hence, in fact, the exploratory nature of the collection of life's stories/social biographies, because it must respond to a research intention, a research question-hypothesis of the researcher's work, which is why “a story of life means above all exploring a field of possibilities: the details, the account of the concrete facts of life, the complexity of the emotional involvements that follow the perception of its increments and make it open to meaning, meanings”³. The researcher is in a position to tatonar, to explore life experiences, to “provoke” even attitudes towards certain events “forgotten” sometimes by the interviewed. Between the two – researcher and interviewee, a spontaneous relationship must be established, even if the intention of implicit research of the folklorist can place it in the area of the artificial, the created, the experiential. The nature of human relations fosters the establishment of a dialogue in which the researcher must have the ability to reveal himself as little as possible in order to avoid producing “desired answers”, while provoking revelations from the subject of research, already become a dialogue partner and not just a source of information.

Life stories/life histories/social biographies are always revealed as a document, an “open document” due to the process nature of the research, correlated with the dynamics of phenomena. The exploratory nature of the document highlights the fact that this is not only a stage in research, as has sometimes been mentioned⁴, nor the purpose of the research, such abstract distinctions placing

¹ Linda Degh, *Story-telling in a Hungarian Peasant Community*, translated by Emily M. Schossberger, Indiana University Press, Bloomington/ London, 1969, p. 53.

² *Ibidem*.

³ Smaranda Vultur, *Memoria salvată – Evreii din Banat, ieri și azi*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2002, p. 9.

⁴ Ioana R. Frunteletă, *Narațiunile personale în etnologia războiului*, Bucharest, Ager Publishing, 2004, p. 18: “the ethnological document does not aim at the purpose of ethnology, but at the necessary stage of the constitution of the object, the cornerstone of the interpretive edifice”.

themselves in the sphere of some didactic aspects, because the ethnological document is also interrogation, and construction, and creation.

Moreover, a viable ethnological document is the one that allows new openings, new approaches, new starting points, new interrogations. In this respect, Ricœur emphasized: “in epistemological terms, the autonomy of history from memory is affirmed with the greatest force at the level of explanation/understanding. (...) there is no document without question, no question without draft explanation. The document becomes evidence precisely in relation to the explanation”⁵.

Although Ricœur refers to the historical document, extrapolation can also be done in the field of folklore, taking into account the characteristics of archiving and “historization” of socio-cultural facts. Thus, he stated that “nothing is in itself the document, even if any residue of the past is potentially trace. For the historian, the document is not simply given, as the idea of the left trace might suggest. He's wanted and found. Furthermore, it is circumscribed and, in this respect, constituted, established as a document, by interrogation”⁶.

The author also makes direct reference to oral history documents/social biographies, highlighting that “the same characterization of the document through the interrogation that applies to him applies to a category of unwritten testimonies, recorded oral testimonies that the microhistory and the history of the present time use a lot. They play a considerable role in the conflict between the memory of survivors and the history already written. Those oral testimonies do not constitute documents until they are recorded; they then leave the oral sphere to enter the sphere of writing, thus removing the role of testimony from the current conversation. It can then be said that the memory is archived, documented. Its object has ceased to be a memory in the proper sense of the word, i.e. it is no longer in a relationship of continuity and closeness with a present of consciousness”⁷.

Although the boundary between qualitative and quantitative studies is very strict, it is necessary to use cumulatively several techniques and methods of investigation in terms of achieving viable results. Qualitative methods are characterized by a great freedom in addressing both the topics and the interviewees.

Characterized by fluidity, improvisation, qualitative studies are carried out in an open horizon, but not without organization. This is why it is much better in a spontaneous context, which leads to the active involvement of the interviewees in the dialogue, in a climate which, although aimed at recording, must preserve and foster the conduct of a natural dialogue situation.

This attitude will also favour the openness, the spontaneous orientation of the theme addressed to ramifications not initially taken into account, but which prove

⁵ Paul Ricœur, *Memoria, istoria, uitarea*, Timișoara, Amarcord Publishing, 2001, pp. 221–222.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 216.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 216–217.

fecund along the way. The rigour, the predetermined structuring of questionnaires, field surveys – quantitative methods, come to complete in an extensive, sometimes statistical manner, the elements observed at the level of small communities, but a viable organization of them cannot be achieved without a qualitative, indicative pilot study.

Methodological, sociological super-rationalization specific to quantitative methods is sometimes far too rigid in the surprise of aspects of socio-cultural detail of particular cases, even atypical compared to the general situation, thus losing relevant information. The role of qualitative studies, including the method of using life history is very often used, is one of major importance especially in such “small” cases, but relevant to the whole community. We can consider as fecund such a orientation of the method of using life stories/life historys/social biographies on the relevant case, on “talking characters”, whereby the community, social structures can be investigated as a reflection of particular situations, in the “fact (of life) lived” under the conditions of our investigation – the status of the property and the dynamics of mentalities in the post-communist period.

At the same time, the possibilities of manipulation in directions without scientific basis of oral history documents/social biography must be mentioned, “enthusiasm for *the stories of life* leads to some exaggerations, whether they are regarded as an object or as a method of study. From an ethnological, anthropological or narrative point of view, relativity and fragmentarism induced by the absolutization of an individual perspective can lead to interpretations of no scientific value”⁸.

Setting up the collection of oral history/social biographies requires double, methodological and at the same time deontological attention. In this respect, the methodological requirements intersect with those of professional ethics. They can be easily correlated with the objectivity-subjectivity binoma, and the creation of any ethnological document must relate to this issue. Thus, 'taking into account the context variables that give the uniqueness of each performance in oral cultures, we must accept that ethnological documents are partially fictitious productions, the result of the integration of the meaning transmitted by the creator (interpreter) into the grid with subjective cracks of the researcher's competence and objectives. Up to a point, even the most quantifiable scientific objects suffer from relativity, because they are developed mentally aspiring to the optimal state of knowledge, but do not undeniably achieve the ultimate truth”⁹.

A possible definition of the ethnological document is found in the work of Ioana Ruxandra Fruntelată, *Personal Narratives in the Ethnology of War*: “the ethnological document should be an act by which a fact of popular culture is found or a written or printed text or other testimony serving to the knowledge of a real

⁸ Ioana R. Fruntelată, *Narațiunile personale în etnologia războiului*, Bucharest, Ager Publishing, 2004, p. 8.

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 12–13.

fact of popular culture, current or past. Simplifying, we could say that the **ethnological document** is an inscribed by which ethnological value is attributed to a fact of reality. Talking about *oral documents* is inappropriate, because, as we have seen, the meaning of the word document implies a fixation on a material medium (paper, tape, film, CD-Rom, the latter three more accurately recording the oral element) which ensures the controllable character and the quality of tangible evidence of the documents. In order to become an ethnological document, the fact of nonmaterial folk culture must be *textualized*, i.e. drawn into an archival scriptural or audio-visual *statement*, with an *inner coherence, clear boundaries and a spatial fixation to ensure its permanence over time*¹⁰, according also to the opinions of Nicolae Constantinescu¹¹.

The alteration of the “authenticity” of the material subject to registration/archiving is inevitable, with the researcher having a number of tasks designed to counteract this situation, more “in the case of elements studied marginally in the history of the discipline up to him, the ethnologist becomes, through his scientific prestige, an authenticator of the ethnological document”¹², because “the objects of ethnology are not given as such, before the research”¹³.

The configuration of a scientifically viable document should take into account the detailed completion of *a context file and a storytelling file*, designed to provide sufficient details to limit the possibilities of unscientific handling of the document. Clarity of the definition of the context of data collection, respect for the confidentiality of data, for the identity of the interviewee and ensuring the confidentiality of his answers meet ethical requirements specific to ethnological research, while allowing a broad theoretical approach, ensuring the “reading” of the document as nuanced as possible, thus avoiding manipulations of any kind of the document.

An important aspect of the deontology of ethnological research, in particular related to the study of life histories, is the question of the approach to meaning that the interviewees attach to their own oral biography. Numerous documents relating to the ethics of research have been published, of which we will mention three ethical codes specific to folklore: one relating to copyright (*Draft Treaty for the Protection of Expressions of Folklore against Illicit Exploitation and Other Prejudicial Actions*), another governing the preservation of folklore documents, in the process of their creation and use (*Recommendations on the Safeguarding of Culture and Folklore, 1989*) and a third that refers to the behaviour of the professional folklorist (*A Statement of Ethics for the American Folklore Society, 1988*). However, the particular conditions that may lead to the conduct of research

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 13–14.

¹¹ Constantinescu Nicolae, *Lectura textului folcloric*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing, p. 56
apud Ioana Ruxandra Fruntelată, *cit. work*, p. 14.

¹² Ioana R. Fruntelată, *cit. work*, p. 14.

¹³ Jean Copans, *Introducere în etnologie și antropologie*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 1999, p. 36
apud Ioana Ruxandra Fruntelată, *cit. work*, p. 14.

can create unusual situations, in which the researcher must find ethical ways to respond to these inevitable challenges of field work, “there is no substitute for continuous and alert observation, for judging and making decisions on ethical issues as they arise in the daily work of the scientist”¹⁴.

Another aspect that must find formulations within the deontology of ethnological research is the one raised by the narrator's confrontation with his own life, the reliving of certain moments, sometimes dramatic, which requires a careful and tactful methodological approach.

In terms of both methodological and ethical aspects of the configuration of collections of oral history or social biography, we consider it viable to develop and deepen the conceptualization of the “open document” during the course of our research, due to its fecund valences that it highlights. We will present below some social biographies of respondents who lived the early period of the communist regime, political changes, nationalisation, collectivization, deportations, serious issues of quotas, a dynamic of state politics, but also of mentalities.

... “They gave a lot of meals to get rid of the land, to see it confiscated, I think, that it was something other than to give it to the collective, that's how you would have had some rights”...

A.

1. Name and surname: Georgeta Ștefănescu
2. Age: 70 years old in 2013
3. Date of birth: April 13, 1943
4. Employer: “Flacăra” Newspaper
5. Retired.

“When I was born, it was in the middle of World War II, I was born on Tuesday. We were at war and people were feeling it. But some Germans came over us there, parents of my father had build a very beautiful new house, double-decker, it was one of the most beautiful houses in the village of Moțaței and some Germans came and occupied it as they occupied everything, but they were extraordinarily nice and kind to the family, they did not destroy anything, with the ladies of the house they behaved very nice, they left and left a very good impression in their passage. They'd have been tired of the war because they were close to finishing. And there were children in the village, because they hadn't taken us elsewhere. During the bombing everyone from Bucharest came to Moțaței, there was food, anyway, in the country you found a polenta, a fish, birds and all this were easy to find.

My mother was a woman locked in herself, never, while I nagged her, she didn't know what time she gave birth to me, she always told me something else.

¹⁴ Lauri Honko, *Toward the Ethics of Textualisation* în “FF Network for the Folklore Fellows”, November, 2000, Publisher: The Folklore Fellows by courtesy of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters and the Kalevala Institute, *apud* Ioana Ruxandra Frunteletă, *cit. work*, pp. 15–16.

I didn't know my mother went to school at a boarding school, I didn't know she knew German, French. She was locked in her inner self without externalizing herself, perhaps because of the hard times we were going through, and she was afraid to confess these things. My father... I was extraordinary close to him, he was the God of my life, literally, until he died. From the time I was born to his death, he was the God of my life. My father was a man of extraordinary generosity, he had an extraordinary bass voice, they wanted to take him to the Opera House, and here's another whole story, and his father – who was mayor of the village – didn't let him. Pache Ștefănescu was the name of my father's father. Beautiful both of them, as tall as the door. Grandfather after father is not very present in my memory, he died in '44-'45. But about my grandmother from my father, I have many memories. When I came home – it was very rare to stay together because on summer holidays we used to go to the camps. She went to bed around 9 o'clock in the evening, and at about two o'clock in the morning she came to the door of my room – I was writing, reading, feeling at ease. *Let's have a cup of happy coffee!* was her exhortation. My grandma, all her life, had a gift for telling stories, I remember the evening sittings we used to make when we picked the corn, when we picked the vineyards... It was crazy, all the kids were coming, she was telling all the legends of the earth, the children were enveloping themselves in the smoke of the fire that was burning there, oh, and my grandma was able to tell stories for two weeks, not a week, all the community was listening to her with a gaping mouth, her telling all kind of stories, where she made up so many stories... with the Turks, with the war with the Turks... she was convincing them, telling them where the Turks have been, where they have trained... Well, my mother never got along with my grandmother, didn't like her, but she didn't trample on her, the two of them had no affinities at all. I, on the other hand, had affinities with her father, my great-grandfather, who was a merchant. All these old-fashioned stories you can bring back to life like this, like stars, they are so beautiful.

My mother was a fighter beyond measure, with a fabulous energy and endurance almost.

My father was taken to prison because he had been in the Peasant Party and we were in the category of kulaks, they had taken him and we did not know where he was taken, and those who took them did not have 4 school classes, they came to my mother in the evening, punched the table with their fists and ordered her to bring 2,700 by the next day, and I don't know how many pounds of milk. As in my mother's words, because she was also screaming at them, that Even if I dried the wells and still couldn't bring so much water, not milk. Her sister, Agrippina, had come to help her, because she knew that my father was in prison, and we had all that land they didn't want to take in the collective. I understood that the two of them gave a few meals to get rid of the land, because we were kulaks according to I don't know what decree, I was too young. They gave a lot of meals to get rid of it, they had 100 pogoane, so 50 ha, with a pond, with everything, well, they wanted the land to be confiscated, I think, that it was something else than to give it to the

collective, that that's how you had some rights. Eventually they gave the land to the CAP (agricultural cooperative), because my father came and talked to the new mayor, the poor man, and they gave me a certificate that I was a CAP member, I was a student.

Oh, what happened to me during high school and my bachelor studies, even in my sleep I had to know how many hectares I had, I would have said 3 ha and a half, which belonged to my grandmother, they could beat me, I only knew these. So my mother was a fighter, she would take us to the field, without forcing us to work, well, I – nosy and such a big heart, I was working on the picking of the inn and I would get up and say *My back hurts!* I was such a moggy, I was in kindergarten, in the first class, and I worked in the fields there. I got close to my mother after my father died, but my father was my God, even though my mother carried all that weight, I saw her go loaded after him everywhere, she met him on the train when he was arrested, she went to Bucharest to talk to all these generals in Ciocâltei so she could retrieve him from only God knew where he was in, in those prisons, no files were made. So she was a fighter, I understood why she locked herself in like that, she was always afraid that others would hurt us if too many things came out. And now, after the land was given to the owners, after the revolution, she said for a year that she didn't take an ounce of land, not to hurt Dana, my niece, she was too scared. She was an injured woman, locked herself in. My father was different, my father knew I was writing poetry and listening to them. I was very small, a midget, and I followed him in his walks, when he walked with his hands behind his back, I imitated him too and I was always behind him. And he told very beautiful stories, he had inherited his grandmother.

When I was in the 5th grade, we moved to Băilești. They hadn't taken our vines yet, that's where I went and I felt free.

In '59-'60 I finished high school. They rejected my file for college and I went to Timișoara. There I was assigned as a substitute teacher in education in Domașnea-Cornea, a very rich and beautiful commune. Two years I stayed here was great. There was no collectivization here. My sister graduated from college and was given a studio apartment. Then I went to college in Bucharest where I had my sister, there were no more problems with the file.

I wish the young people to manifest as people, to manifest their kindness, to drive away their anger; we had it too, but it was not so, we danced awkwardly, and we freed ourselves, the closure in themselves leads to selfishness, as it passes time settles down, and they are beautiful and must manifest in beauty and goodness.

... “What I can remember is the fear, the fear that reigned in the family”...

B.

1. Name and surname: MBP
2. Age: 73 years old in 2013
3. Date of birth: 1940
4. Retired.

I was a child when regimes changed. What I can remember is the fear, the fear that reigned in the family. The first thing, the first confrontation was when the Russians came into my grandparents' house in the country, and how I perceived with my child's mind how it suddenly got dark because they pulled everything out of the closet, everything, and it was my grandfather's office by the window. Even though the windows were big, like it was in a house of householders. And it's like I see my grandfather in bed and I started crying because a Russian slapped him. But why? They were looking for jewelry and, in fact, they found them, because someone told them that Grandpa had put them somewhere near the cauldron, he had put them in beehives, in one of the beehives. They already knew there was going to be a search because they'd been notified. At the command in Strehaiia where the Russian troops were, there was a translator, a Bessarabian engineer, engineer Gruief, then I was a classmate in primary school with one of the three Gruief girls, Tamara was her name, and the engineer's wife had been a teacher. I hadn't been to kindergarten or school, I guess it was after '44, after '45, and this Gruief engineer, the translator, sent word to my father's brother, the doctor from Strehaiia, who he knew, that there would be a search to our grandfather's house. Dad was in captivity at the time, and nothing was known about him. I came in the summer of 1946, so at that time it was not known if he was still alive or not. So these were my first images that stuck in my mind that the house was suddenly getting dark. Later, when I came home, I knew that my grandfather was putting a row of thick clothes aside, and then I understood why, that if he was arrested, he would have thick clothes there. I later realized this, and then I found out from the stories that my grandmother made some cloth bags full of breadcrumbs, cut the bread and dried it for when he had to run away or if he was arrested.

But as how I perceived this change ... I was in kindergarten, on the wall was the picture of the King with the Queen Mother having some pearls... of course we, the children, were enchanted by those pearls of the Queen. And then, in first grade, we saw other paintings, with other characters we didn't know, we kids weren't interested in. Although we felt it was dark, our childhood went on.

At the King's abdication, my father came and told us: *The King has abdicated! That had to happen too!* Another sequence was when a policeman came and told my father that the belts were broken at the mill, something happened at the mill, and my father said: *Good thing this is gone too!* So they couldn't wait to get rid of everything they had. Then came the dismissal of my father, who was a magistrate, he was an adviser to the Court of Appeal and I didn't feel it as something serious ... People didn't even think it was something serious ... Of course they were worried, but they still thought it was temporary, that something could happen and everything returned to normal, they could not imagine that some totally unprepared people could lead a country, even though the occupier was here and was a good example. ... yet people hoped. However, my father did not take his robe from the Court and someone brought it to him, and he also had a meal with his friends, the act was quite reckless, now I realize, but then I did not take it into

account either. And then I saw that my father was quite jovial ... *Oh ... let me tell you a joke ... You know officers are no longer allowed to smoke ... Why is that? ... Well, they're straws and they're on fire ...*

Then began the material hardships that I felt, so little, and a slight ostracization from society, even against me, as a child, at school... I was a little enemy. Oh, something else I remember, we were told to stop saying "Good morning!" when we came to school, and say "Long live the Romanian People's Republic!" and we were at the entrance, there was Mrs. Gruief, engineer Gruief's wife, and I say: "Long live the Romanian People's Republic!", and Mrs. Gruief says *Leave it, dear, that she lives without you saying it!*

I was at an uncle's and they had some friends visiting, there was also the veterinarian Basica, I remember him because he later died in the canal, and... *Well, you guys, did you learn anything at that kindergarten? Sing us something!* And I and my cousin, Viorel, who was younger than me but very talented, he played the accordion without taking lessons, but he had talent, and we started singing "Long live the King!", Because that's what we knew, and Dr. Basica said *It's out of date, but it's good!* So that's what's left in my child's mind.

Then, in '49 or '50, Grandma got sick, and that winter my grandfather went to Baia de Aramă, to Pades, where they were coming from, where grandma was coming from – she died a year or two later; and one of the reasons was to get out of the authorities' sights, because he was afraid of an arrest. And when they kicked him out of the magistrate's office, my father handed over the hunting gun. He realized he was undesirable. And that he could always get a set up.

Then I asked him in his last years of life: *Father, when did you realize the Communists weren't going to leave? ... By '48, after the king's departure, there was no hope...* And in the '76s when my father died, I asked him how we could escape communism? And my father said *Only if something happens inside Russia...* And, in fact, so it was.

A tragic moment in my life as a child was the arrest of my maternal grandparents, who had raised me after my mother's death, my mother died in '42 when my father was away at war, came to the funeral, and then returned in the summer of '46 from captivity. One morning my father got a note from a pharmacist, my godmother, that she saw grandpa in a truck with a sun hat on his head, and he realized there was something. My father went home, made a small family council, Suzana was there also, our housekeeper, a Sibian. And we went; my uncle was still at the hospital, so it was then with the principal's home built into the hospital. And they talked, and I think I understand they're going to be taken to the big train station, two miles away, and I ran, and Suzana, the cleaning lady, was running after me, and I don't know how I got in, I was a child, I don't know if I snuck in, I got a soldier in front of me at the entrance to the platform, I don't know how I found them. I think that's what I forgot, I guess I've never remembered the search, my struggle to find them, the despair, I didn't remember it, but I saw them

in that wagon of animals, they were sitting on the left and I saw a woman and a young man and an animal, a cow or a horse, so together.

I found them, I started crying, sure, they were crying too, and then they searched, Grandma was very tidy, very organized and she found a handkerchief to wipe away my tears, a handkerchief that had playing cards printed on – the acorn, the clover, the drum... It's like I see them... it's as if I see them ... the colors remained in my mind ... the image, and they gave me some more memories that were close to me: the outline of the hands taken every year on my birthday, to see how much I grew up, and probably the photos I have, they gave me then ... I loved them very much. In the summer we sometimes came to them, but we were not allowed to enter in our grandparents' house. These are the memories of a child at that time ... In the sixth grade I was not made UTM-ist (member of UTM/ Union of Young Workers – our note), me and the miller's daughter, they made us stand up because we're enemy elements, we didn't deserve to be UTM-ist, I felt guilty; then it was possible later, in high school; anyway, I was a child, they created a feeling of guilt in me, they were masters at inducing guilt ...

When my grandparents arrived in Bărgan they were given a number of houses, they sat in plain field and then some terrible rains began, they had a tarpaulin made of tent cloth as shelter from the rain, then they began to dig a kerb, they and a woman from Banat, and they lived in this kerb where from the ceiling, from the walls grew wheat and barley. They came back after five years, they wouldn't let them come back, to settle in their household, they didn't even go into the house. After six months they were allowed to enter and with what they had, they went on with their lives as best they could. This was the gift that the Communists gave to a teacher, school inspector, invalid from the First World War, former member of the Romanian Parliament and who left with the tongue of death to be written on his cross: *I am proud to have given a piece of my body to Greater Romania*. And so it says on his cross. There were many like him. A, and what was said in the family: that his luck was that they took him to Bărgan, because otherwise, he would have been put in jail.

Another special moment was the meeting between father and his brother when my father returned from captivity. They were very close; they lived in the same village, as we, their children, still are. Nothing was known about my father, soldiers started coming from Russia, first came the Tudor Vladimirescu Division, who were considered axe tails, and so it was. And when we found out someone had come... we asked if he knew him. I knew he was alive because he sent a letter through a comrade, Puric – someone from the family of Dan Puric, the actor, this Puric was from Padeș in Baia de Aramă... “a comrade who has the good fortune to see the country before me and I, if I never see you again, to know that I'm dying thinking of you”... I have the letter. It was written in the summer of '45, we were in the summer of '46. And my uncle had just come down to the North Station, he was going to buy instruments for the hospital. And he sees a big group, he realizes they're from Russia, because they were cut, they were shaved, their clothes... Then

he approaches a bank and says: *Do you happen... to know....* and says my father's name. And the others answered that he just got up from the bench. He went to him, but did not recognize him, fortunately he was recognized by my father, who had changed a lot, had lost a lot of weight, was another man. But he did not come then, because they kept him in quarantine for about two weeks, and when he came home, he ate very little to recover.

Everyone paid, some more, some less ...

... “The poor man, he had turned yellow, what was his fault that those old clocks sang like that...*Deșteaptă-te, române! (Wake up, Romanians!)*”

C.

5. Name and surname: Vergiliu S.

6. Age: 79 years old in 2014

7. Date of birth: October 26, 1935.

8. Retired.

I completed my studies along the way, went to a vocational school, went to the die-cutters school for four years, until 1953. And I finished high school along the way. I worked from 1953 to 1954 at “Electroputere” as a die-cutter. When it was that big snow, some people talk about it. I was working overtime, willingly, not because I had to, and I was going to high school at night. I had already passed the 9th grade when I arrived at a railway near the Barbu Drugă Biscuits Factory on the Calea București Street. There was a railway, which led to Jiu station, going to Calafat. I made it to Jiu Station, but from there I couldn't walk because it was a metter-and-a-half snow and I went back to work, sleeping on iron, tin tables. It was hard.

We had our neighbor Marinescu Petre as highly qualified specialist. I went to school under his guidance for about six months. I then decided, together with a colleague, to go to college in mining topography. We gave all the differences: topography, mineralogy, mining geometry and mining technical drawing, how to make an armature, we had good teachers, we finished two years, they gave us some certificates but we were not engineers even if we finished three years. I finished with “very good” grading as the grading was back then, I only had one good average, at Romanian Language. Then I came here to Craiova and they gave me distribution to the Agricultural Directorate and placed me in Craiova District. The first time they sent us to a land registry, to do what they do today with the cadastre. This country will do well if this cadastral part succeeds. It's a great thing in our century. The first cadastre was made by the Austrians on the lands they occupied. And another cadastre was made in Bărăgan and I don't know if in Dobrogea also. The first cadastre was made by the Austrians on some maps called *zincuri*, in 1812. I worked on them. And here it was not called cadastre, it was called *land records*. That is, taking the plots as they were well outlined, you began to nominate it on the plots and mention the owner, but well established, with the Agricultural Register,

because at that time quotas and taxes were paid. It was during the communist era, in 1955, when I came from Petroșani. What happened? To be honest, I didn't like the mine very much, because I practiced there. And we moved on to this land record. It was done before moving on to collectivization, it had already begun. The first collectivization had begun in 1949 in Dobrogea. Who doesn't know what collectivization is and what agriculture Dobrogea had done and what it is now... I also came here, to Craiova. And I did it for the first time at Studina, in a village called Studenița. Plotted like this, with the owners... How it was done... the owners and then, the way of use, which had to remain intangible, that's why it is sought not to put wheat all over the country because then you have no one to sell. In 1956, in November, until the counter-revolution in Budapest took place, quotas were given, they ended with quotas and only taxes were given and collectivization was carried out. And collectivization has begun. I went too, but not to too many, I went to Bratovoiești where... They took this plot... comrade, we'll make a collective here... and they identified it, and not being this land record, that is, this parcelation to know whose it is and how it is, they took it from one end. They had come to the laughter of the world, thus, changing the land from the commune to the commune, they had reached Roșiori, because you gave them the land, but where you gave it was woe, disaster.

I also went to Bratovoiești, to Puțuri, which belongs to Castranova. It was called Cacaletți, but then it was called Castranova, because it is towards Celaru in that part, above, you can see somewhere a pier, where there was a Roman camp, from there appeared Castra Nova, Cetatea Nouă (the New Fortress). Then we were assigned to make land records in the Bucharest region. In our place it was the Craiova region, in Bucharest, it was the Bucharest region, in Ploiești it was the Prahova region... I was assigned to the Bucharest region, I only had about 700 ha in Turbați commune, that's what it's called, it's on the bank of Snagov. And then they moved us to a commune, Fierbinți, and there we had a territory, I don't know how much it was, because I know that I didn't rush to take up a large area, so I could finish it by winter. And it was Fierbinți commune, it had three territories, I took Fierbinții de Jos. I lived in a house with a family, I finished my work. I came to Craiova because I had to go to the army, in 1956, in the fall. And this was my journey. I also worked in Rojiște, but on small areas, 50–100 ha, in Predești, in Pleșoi and I also worked in Podari, in the spring of 1956.

In 1957 I went to Bratovoiești, they sent me to a merger. And at that merger I had a colleague, an agronomist, Vasile... Vasilescu... it was said that he would have some problems, he was from Moldova, from Bucovina. And I was telling you that they would end up by sending them to Roșiori with the land. And a mad mayor drew his pistol to calm the people, or they would fight with the one who gave them the land. And there was a scandal. And then the first secretary, his name was Stroe, from Craiova district, he said: *Go and move your parents to the collective!* And I went to the countryside, to me, to Frățila, the commune where I was born, and it used to belong to Vâlcea. All the communes were from the Oltenia region. And I

went... I have the certificate at home, which says that my father went to the collective because there was no CAP in the area. Then they made it, but they'd better not do it anymore, because it was a disaster. And that guy didn't really think there was no CAP in the area, and having a problem with my family, it was starting to bother me to go from side to side, I said it was better to go back to the factory, it was hard, I had to sleep in the town hall, I couldn't find food, I ate at other people's home... They once sent me to a dispute between two neighbors in Pleșoi and we managed to reconcile them. And they invited us to dinner, it was the end of the year, but we had to work. And as we sat at the table, and a clock began to sing *Deșteaptă-te, române!* (Wake up, Romanians!). The poor people were frightened, the party activist was a teacher from Livezi, he was a good man and he said to him: *Well, man, shut him up because he sang enough to us,* 'cause then it was forbidden to sing «Trăiască regele» (Long live the king), «Deșteaptă-te, române!» (Wake up, Romanians!)... Ceaușescu let them go... And that was about it, poor man, he had turned yellow, what was his fault that those old clocks sang like that...

When I was born, my mother and father were homeless; I was born in October 1935, just as they were making a room in the house. My father was a farmer, although his parents wanted the best for him, he had worked as a shoemaker for 4 years in Craiova, but if he did not like his job... And then the "cobilitarii" (yoke men, men carrying the "cobilita") who came to Craiova were fashionable, they made money, it's true. They brought vegetables to the ladies on order... it was like that at that time... They brought in big baskets, and with the yoke ("cobilita"= wood carrying device worn on shoulders)... I have it at home in the country, my dad's "cobilita", I don't have baskets, but I still have the "cobilita". They sold yogurt in vans. And with that they made their home. Then in '39, after I was born... it was very good. I have some photos where you don't say they're peasants. The war started in '39, at the same time my sister, who is in Bucharest, was born. So the hard work began. My father was taken to the war and he came in '44, I think, from the war. In '40 or '41 there was a drought and no cereals were made, and my grandfather was a forester on an estate of the Pazu boyars, but their name was Giurăscu. I found Ion Pazu there, deputy of Dolj in 1896, but their family name was Giurăscu, and I remember, the castle was still there, but it was ruined. And I remember that his name, Ion Pazu, was written on the stables, where the hay barn was, but their real name was Giurăscu. He had only one daughter. In 1916 the girl married an officer, who died in the war. And she had no children. And she remarried a general, that's how I remember my father telling me, the general was from Severin, with whom she had a child, but on top of that, that's what happens when the dust is picked, her child died and then her husband died. So she was left alone. And summer was coming. In the winter she lived in the city, she lived with a girl, a governess she called Fraila ... in German meant *young lady*, and she had brought her to teach her German, French... which was fashionable then. And she stayed by her side. And when the estates were nationalized, in March or April 1949; on July 11, 1948 was the nationalization of the industry and in 1949

were also nationalized the estates of the boyars. Although the agrarian reform law of 1945 stated that those who have 50 ha should not have their land taken away, they also confiscated their fortunes, I know that they gave only about 2,500 square meters to those who they had been at war.

By the way, let's make an accolade, my father went to war in 1939 and came in the fall of '44. They had reached Czechoslovakia and then returned. That was their strategy for them, to win the war with Berlin and Germany. And they came back, and I remember, I was a kid, in second grade, my sister was little. He returned from war... he was walking, from Craiova, he had reached Motoci, that's the name, from Motoci there was a road, it was Gaia, Mijlociu and my father was coming to us. And some women on a hill there shouted that Grigore of Barbu was coming. When my father entered the yard, he was bearded, with a mustache and was 35 years old at the time, because he was born in 1909. I say what he said, I don't care, he was a gendarme, he was taken in a regiment... and made the army as a gendarme in term, i.e.obligatory, in Bessarabia. And he learned a lot from the Bessarabians. First of all, in terms of the household, they are very worthy people, but they like to drink. And they took him; there was a unit in Domnești, near Ploiești. And from there they took him and he returned there when the front broke. When someone said it was hard, he said, how hard? I came from Moldova, I crossed the Prut through the water, otherwise they bombed us, because the bridge had been bombed. And we crossed the Prut through the water, luckily we didn't drown. And we came from there on foot, to Ploiești, with the pistol in our backs, with cartridges in it so we could defend ourselves; we were coming in a mess. Then they grouped them again, in Ploiești, in the regiment and the Russians took them through Hungary, then to the Tatra Mountains.... He told me about the Tatra Mountains, he was an infantryman, they were walking. Then he returned to Ploiești and when he returned, they saw him older, he looked older, no longer having any military records, which had been destroyed, they asked him how old he was and he said 54 and so they sent him home. And he came home, and then a few more years passed before he managed to get his military record.

And what he was telling about when he was at war, he was telling, but people can't believe it. My grandfather spent his time on Ion Pazu's estate, because he was a forester. And this boyar had a conscience, and this was a good man, I did not hear from anyone, not even from my father who was a child, to slap anyone. He was good, because there was another bad boyar in the area. And it was a drought and we ran out of corn, because corn was the main food, polenta. And the barley was made. Well, in my yard, I threshed the barley with the oxen, the legs and the sticks, I beat and made barley bread, you guessed it ... it doesn't come out, the rye still works, but no barley bread comes out, no. It's bad, with thorns, it doesn't wind well, it's black as the earth, well, and yet we ate it and grew up big, strong, because I also have a strong sister, so we did well. How did we eat? What did we eat? My grandmother came from a commune, Damian, that's what she said, close to Murta, she was the daughter of a priest, that's what I heard, I didn't research, I was there,

visiting some cousins, that's how my father called them. Well, there were 14 children, and she left home to become a maid, a cook, my grandmother was a perfect cook, short and a little fat, strong woman, she also had six children, and she made us "grandma's butter". She made us soup from wolfberry, from sorrel ... and sour it with wax cherry ("corcodușe"), with sour grape ("agurida")... you see, that's what we lived with ... The pig was for Christmas, and then it was over. I would pick pears, make vinegar from those red horns, which my mother would put in bottles or jugs to sour and very good vinegar would come out. And we ate horns in the winter or all the pears or forest apples –because there wasn't even an area where the fruit trees would do well – we took fruits and put them in the wheat and ate them in the winter without any problems.

The holidays were beautiful in the village. Let's take them in succession. "Lăsata Secului" was special when we were fasting from the food before Easter. Some went up one hill, some went up another hill. And some were with the bugles; my grandfather was a gornist in World War I. And the boys with the bugle were shouting at the girls, some on one side, others on the other, 'cause the children were many, my ancestors were Paul, Radu, Marincea, Maria... and these five brothers had 42 children. So they made childrens, no joke, as God gave them. When I was younger, I used to walk with them in the hills. At the end of "Lăsata Secului", the grandchildren would come, go to their godfather, to the old man, with the "plocon", and there would be parties. And then there were "Păresimile". We were not eating sweet. My grandma was old, they were poor, but they didn't eat sweet. And I remember, I don't know what it was, but there were the jars of honey, and it used to be the "uleiurile" – that's how they called the hives, and when they took the honey, the bee family would be destroyed, and they couldn't afford to ruin the hives. And it was beautiful then, that my grandma made bread on the hob, "azima", and put honey on it, and I ate until my belly cracked...

And then came Easter. Easter was beautiful! We had Easter for three days. We have two churches in this commune, former Frățila commune ... when it was Easter, the priest came, because there was only one priest, he came here at night and in the morning to the other church. And I was eating Easter bread, eggs were clashing, and eggs were being laid over the graves, and that seemed great to me, if someone gave me an egg it was a big deal ... I had eggs, but those ones were different. And this was Easter Day, and the next day, Monday, we had a feast at the church, and we had alms there, so the world went with baskets, jugs of wine, damigens, bottles of brandy, and they were having a party ... the priest was sanctifying all that alms and the people were having a party there with their relatives because they each had separate tables, some were sitting on the grass, if they had larger families. And it was 10–12 o'clock, and then it was "hora". When people were let go on the islaz, they made "hora". Tuesday alm was made at the other church, we went to the "hora", because the people belonging to the other church came to us too. Another celebration was "Înălțarea" (Ascension). People would go with food ... "găteală"... that's what they said back then, prepared food,

they'd go and lay out some meals and make alms. I'd go with my grandmother, we'd meet other cousins, and then the “hora” was made, the “hora” of Ascension.

Another celebration was on the occasion of Saints Constantine and Elena, the holidays were respected. People went to church, the ones which had these names celebrated... And they were giving charity. Then came Sts. Peter and Paul, on June 29th it seems to me that it is, and those who had these names, gave drink, went to church. And the next one was St. Ilie, who waseagerly awaited. First of all, we were going to the fair, to Oteteliș. It was a big family of Otetelișeanu boyars, it is written about them in *Bijuterii de familie* (Family Jewelry) by Petre Dumitriu or something, the title may be another, but the author is this. That's why he stayed in conflict with the Vârvoreanu and the Otetelișeanu family. He wrote about them in Ceaușescu's time. He also wrote the novel *Drum fără pulbere* (Road without Dust), the canal, where was a massacre, and the canal was not invented by Gheorghiu Dej. Dej did bad things, not like Ceaușescu, he put intellectuals in prison. Even if the Russians told him, he shouldn't have. People of great value died in prison. And it seems to me that the Danube-Black Sea Canal was designed by the Germans, by the royal family, because the Danube connected Europe to the Black Sea and connected Western and South-Eastern Europe. And Dej started doing it; he did it with the detainees. All they had was a dig and a shovel; you couldn't work just like that. Maybe it was, maybe it wasn't an extermination point.

In 1948 I was 13 years old, in Craiova, when, on June 11, the means of production, factories and enterprises were nationalized, but there were still small craft workshops – shoemaking, tailoring, taverns, private individuals who repaired bicycles, watches, etc. Well, I was there when the nationalization was done, because I was an apprentice of Brătășanu, and the state took everything from them. We remained disciples of Brătășanu, but also on our own, then in 1949 we went to the Vocational School, because vocational schools were set up, they were called *work reserves*.

NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN ASPECTS OF HISTORY, DIPLOMACY AND POLITICS

LOUIS BARTHOUS – ON A DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO SECURE AN “ORIENTAL AGREEMENT” (1934)

Marusia CÎRSTEA*

Abstract: The article is founded on a number of unpublished documents and it highlights the fact that the French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou had a plan of negotiation for an “*Oriental Agreement*”, based on the principle of collective security. To accomplish this goal, in 1934 Barthou went on a tour of several countries in Eastern Europe (Poland and Czechoslovakia in April, Romania and Yugoslavia in June). Through these – summit – meetings, Barthou hoped to prepare a rapprochement between The Soviet Union, Poland and the Little Agreement, which, together with the Balkan Agreement, was meant “*to constitute a new policy of Central and Oriental Europe, guaranteeing peace in Eastern Europe*”.

Keywords: Oriental Agreement, Romania, France, Louis Barthou, Nicolae Titulescu.

In the fourth decade of the last century – following the emergence from the global economic crisis – the European balance of power underwent important changes: the establishment of the Nazi regime in Germany (30th January 1933); the ascent of revisionist and revanchist forces in several European countries; the involvement of the Soviet Union in the continental security arrangements; the disagreements between Paris and London as regards the priorities of European security; the weaknesses of the League of Nations, which failed to prevent the march to war; the conclusion of agreements between countries that wanted the increasing danger of Nazi Germany to be reduced and pursued the preservation of the territorial *status-quo* (“*The Eastern Agreement*”, “*The Balkan Pact*”, “*The Little Entente*” et al.)¹.

During this period, the French diplomats and politicians seemed to be the most fervent supporters of the plan to conserve the borders established in the Treaties of Versailles and Sevres. Through the insistence of politicians like Louis

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¹ *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VIII, *România Întregită (1918–1940)*, Ioan Scurtu (coordinator), Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing, 2003, pp. 481–493; Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *Istoria relațiilor internaționale. 1919–1947*, vol. I, translated by Anca Airinei, Bucharest, Social and Political Sciences Publishing, 2006, pp. 131–133; Marusia Cîrstea, Gheorghe Buzatu, *Europa în balanța forțelor*, vol. I (1919–1939), Bucharest, Mica Valahie Publishing, 2007, pp. 45–50.

Barthou, the French tenaciously pursued the conclusion of treaties whose “objective was to tie up Germany by associating her in the defence of the Oriental frontiers which she will recognize *de facto* [...] offering Hitler an additional chance to turn a principle in his favour”². A diplomatic document in 1934 highlighted the following idea: “France is the powerful defender of treaties, the protector of small countries, the only nation capable to guarantee the current order in Europe provided she preserves her military strength intact”³.

In 1934, Jean-Louis Barthou was the French Foreign Minister, whose actions pursued the preservation of the post-war *status-quo* and the provision of collective security in Europe. Born on 25th August 1862 in a family of republicans, he occupied in time several political functions (starting with 1894 he worked for a variety of ministers, holding portfolios in the Ministry of Public Works, National Defence, during 1913–191 he was the president of the Council; in February 1934 he was the Foreign Minister “*due to his vast experience and his profound patriotism*”)⁴.

In his new quality – of Foreign Minister – Louis Barthou had a plan which he hoped would diminish the growing danger represented by Nazi Germany. His intention was to negotiate an ‘*Oriental Agreement*’, founded on the principle of collective security. To secure this objective, Louis Barthou undertook to enlarge the scope of European alliances as a means to safeguard peace and security – central to these preoccupations was, of course, France’s security. On 30th March 1934, Barthou was in possession of a scheme – put together by the Political Direction – which envisaged a pact of agreement in Oriental Europe. The document proposed a “regional pact of mutual assistance, that would include Poland, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic countries and Germany”⁵. On the 2nd June 1934, Barthou presented to the Soviet commissar for Foreign Affairs, Maksim Litvinov, his “*scheme*” which comprised a cluster of three treaties: 1 – “The Oriental Pact” (a kind of “Oriental Locarno”), which envisaged a reciprocal guarantee between the above mentioned neighbouring countries as well as immediate military support in case of an aggression; 2 – a Franco-Soviet pact of mutual assistance (by which France promised, within the limits of the Locarno treaties, to provide assistance to the Soviet Union with a view to guaranteeing its Western borders, while the Soviets promised to provide assistance to France); the third document represented a

² Jean-Michel Gaillard, Anthony Rowley, *Istoria continentului european. De la 1850 până la sfârșitul secolului al XX-lea*, translated by Em. Galaicu-Păun, Chișinău, Cartier Publishing, 2001, p. 314.

³ Viorica Moisuc, *Premisele izolării politice a României. 1919–1940*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing, 1991, p. 281; Georgiana-Margareta Scurtu, *Din istoria diplomației europene. Relațiile României cu Franța (1935–1938)*, Bucharest, Cartea Universitară Publishing, 2006, p. 27.

⁴ Viorica Moisuc, *Louis Barthou (1862–1934)*, in *Diplomați iluștri*, vol. V, Bucharest, Politică Publishing, 1986, pp. 308–313.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 342.

“warrant” that “the agreements between the respective countries shall be based on Articles 15 and 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations”⁶.

This planned “*Oriental Agreement*” was applauded by the “English politicians”, though it was stated that “England shall not, under any circumstances, undertake additional commitments after the ones she has already entered”⁷. During the 13th of July meeting in the House of Commons, Sir John Simon – secretary of state with the Foreign Office – “provided explanations about his conversations with Barthou” and emphasised that “the drafted Oriental Agreement, being an instrument of mutual guarantee of the borders between the parties and not the formation of a new political group meant to oppose one which already exists, the British government agrees to lend this project all the moral its support”⁸. Then Sir John Simon insisted on the fact that “this moral support does not entail any kind of new commitments for Great Britain apart from the ones that already exist as a result of the treaties which are effective. It is not less true, however, that the British endeavours in Berlin and Warsaw to secure their cooperation in the Oriental Agreement had more powerful repercussions that the simply platonic support advertised to the English public opinion”⁹.

The ‘wait-and-see’ strategy of the British politicians in the case of the Oriental Agreement was also analysed by C.M. Laptew (the Romanian chargé d’affaires in the London Legation) who conveyed the following on 2nd August: “The English political circles are watching with interest the ongoing debates for the conclusion of an *Oriental Locarno*. The prevailing idea is that Great Britain should facilitate the conclusion of this pact but not, under any circumstances, undertake new commitments. In London it is considered that Germany would now have the best occasion to obtain equal rights by joining this pact and thus proving the earnestness of its good intentions. London political circles realize too well the difficulties that forestall this pact. The Memel and Vilna matters make negotiations difficult. However, the general mood is rather optimistic, in spite of the reserve displayed by Germany and Poland. With all the distrust that Great Britain manifests toward Moscow’s political initiatives, the success of Mr. Litvinov’s diplomacy is acknowledged in London. The Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs managed to secure the support of the British government in the form of intercessions made in Berlin, Rome and Warsaw “in the attempt to conclude the Oriental Agreement”¹⁰.

⁶ Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Constantin Vlad, *Istoria diplomației. Secolul XX*, Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing, 2014, p. 108.

⁷ The Archives of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, Bucharest (hereinafter: AMAE), fond 71/Anglia, vol. 3/1934, f. 174; Ion Pătroi, Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu, *România și Anglia în anii '30*, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc Publishing, 1997, pp. 71–72.

⁸ AMAE, fond 71/Anglia, vol. 3/1934, f. 175.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ Idem, fond 71/România, vol. 45/1934, f. 91; Idem, fond Londra, vol. 71/1934, unpagued.

The same Laptew reported on 22nd August that – according to information he had obtained from an official source – “the matter of the conclusion of the Oriental Agreement continues to be dubious. In any case, in London it is believed that it is no longer possible to conclude a pact in accordance with the initial provisions conceived by France and that, in order for Poland to participate in this pact, France will be forced to make certain concessions, such as not asking Poland, and by implication Germany, when one of these countries should remain neutral in case of an aggression, to permit the transit or foreign troops across their respective territories. London also thinks that if in the end Poland should decline participation in the Oriental Agreement, France will attempt a tripartite Agreement with Russia and Czechoslovakia, in order to avoid the conclusion of a Franco-Russian Agreement that would be more of an alliance, which, as it is known, would not please either Great Britain or Italy”¹¹.

The countries of the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente “expressed their full adherence to France’s constructive initiatives of concluding an ‘Oriental Agreement’”¹².

To accomplish his new objective – of concluding the “*Oriental Agreement*” – in 1934 Louis Barthou visited several countries in Eastern Europe – Poland and Czechoslovakia in April; Romania and Yugoslavia in June; but his endeavours were characterized by Winston Churchill as an attempt to “forge again the balance of forces which existed before the [First] World War”¹³. The French press also emphasised that “Mr. Barthou’s visit to Poland had a larger purpose, to prepare a rapprochement between the Soviets, Poland and the Little Entente which, together with the Balkan Entente, may constitute a new policy for Central and Oriental Europe, guaranteeing peace in the East of Europe”¹⁴.

In Romania, Louis Barthou commences his diplomatic mission in the morning of 20th June, “the main theme of his visit being [...] safeguarding Romania’s borders and resisting any revision of the Treaty of Trianon”¹⁵. His first stop on Romanian territory was in the train station in Cluj, where – as reported in *Gazeta Ilustrată*¹⁶ (June-July 1934 issue) – “a few thousand people, intellectuals and peasants from the area, dressed in beautiful traditional outfits” welcomed him whole-heartedly. On the same day he arrived in Bucharest, where he was invited “to a great banquet and reception at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs”. In his

¹¹ Idem, fond Londra, vol. 71/1934, unpaget; Idem, fond 71/România, vol. 45/1934, f. 98.

¹² Em. Bold, I. Ciupercă, *Europa în derivă (1918–1940). Din istoria relațiilor internaționale*, second edition, Iași, Casa Editorială Demiurg Plus, 2010, p. 87.

¹³ Sorin Cristescu, *Relații politico-diplomatice și militare europene*, Bucharest, Romania of Tomorrow Foundation Publishing, 2007, p. 90.

¹⁴ Andrei Nicolescu, Lenuța Nicolescu, Ion Pătroiu, Alesandru Duțu, Alexandru Oșca, *Atașaii militari transmit... (1930–1940)*, vol. V, Bucharest, 2009, p. 97.

¹⁵ The National Archives, Richmond, Kew, U.K. (hereinafter: TNA), fond Foreign Office 371/Roumania, vol. 18446/1934, f. 49.

¹⁶ For details, see http://documente.bcuccluj.ro/web/bibdigit/periodice/gazetaillustrata/1934/BCUCLUJ_FP_279699_1934_003_006_007.pdf

welcome speech, Nicolae Titulescu described the warm friendship that connects Romania and France and emphasised the need for security that would guarantee peace in Europe¹⁷. “Today, when our countries’ foreign policy pursues common goals – underscored Titulescu – we have reached that stage in our friendship where it is no longer necessary to speak in order to understand each other, or take counsel in order to act unitedly. In broad daylight, our countries have found their equilibrium. And Romania has nothing to hide and can publicly state the reasons that connect her unwaveringly to France. We love France for having built her international relations upon the equality of all nations and the rule according to which no country’s interests can be disposed of without the respective country’s volition. We love France because she organises her entire foreign action upon a scrupulous respect of international commitments, which lends clarity and stability to the rapports between peoples, in the absence of which we could not conceive organised life [...] Our shared notions of peace, justice and international cooperation are the most solid guarantees of this future [...] As far as peace is concerned, France and the Little Entente are avid for it, because their history has experienced a sequence of chapters involving the horrors of war. Yet, our countries know that peace is only a futile word unless it is built upon the sole foundation that can sustain a lasting peace, and that is security”¹⁸.

In his own speech, Louis Barthou emphasised the support that France gave to Romania’s resistance to the revision of treaties and highlighted the following: “Your territory belongs to you. Anyone wishing to seize a square centimetre of it will encounter your resistance. However, citizens of Romania, your resistance will not be isolated; you will have the voice, the help and the heart of France at your side [...] *Revision* is equal to abdication or treason, which no Romanian citizen would ever permit [...] We are soldiers of peace, but not peace secured with the price of an abdication. We desire a peace that maintains the rights we have won legitimately. Who will answer the call? France and Romania! We are the soldiers of the liberty of humankind, that humankind whose symbols, guarantees and defenders are our countries”¹⁹.

At the same time, after thanking for “the warm welcome” which the entire country gave him, he also eulogised Mr. Titulescu’s recent political decisions which resulted in the creation of an area of peace, stretching from Prague to Angora. He is here to communicate France’s message of friendship and encouragement, and the presence in Bucharest of three foreign ministers of the Little Entente [Nicolae Titulescu, Edvard Beneš, Bogoliub Jeftić – a.n.] makes his visit more than mere ‘politesse,’ transforming it into ‘politique”²⁰.

¹⁷ TNA, fond Foreign Office 371/Roumania, vol. 18446/1934, f. 30.

¹⁸ Nicolae Titulescu, *Documente diplomatice*, Bucharest, Pedagogic Publishing, 1967, doc. 319, pp. 562–563.

¹⁹ TNA, fond Foreign Office 371/Roumania, vol. 18446/1934, f. 54.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 31.

In Bucharest Louis Barthou was also invited to attend a solemn meeting of the Romanian Academy – with the participation of the great historian Nicolae Iorga, who announced that the eminent French politician was made a ‘membre d’honneur’ of this institution. King Carol II then accompanied the illustrious guest “on a visit to the Carol Foundation, where he was appointed an honorary member of the Royal Society of Geography”²¹.

In the summer of 1934, referring to his visits in East-European capitals, Louis Barthou issues a press release in which he emphasised the following: “Successful voyages do not have a history. Such are the voyages I made to Romania and Yugoslavia... It is obvious that adherence to treaties represents the condition and guarantee of enduring peace... The revisionist policy is not only unfair and contrary to the desires of the nations, it is also fraught with peril and carries inside it the seeds of war. By opposing revisionism in the memorable session of the Romanian Parliament, I articulated the traditional policy of France”²².

In the summer and the autumn of 1934, Louis Barthou further pursued his policy of consolidating French alliances and to this purpose he invited King Alexander I of Yugoslavia to France. On 9th October, the sovereign arrived in Marseille, where he was received by Louis Barthou. A few seconds later, the two were assassinated. After the assassination of Barthou and Alexander I, the member states of the Little Entente, reunited in Belgrade on 19th October 1934, expressed their profound indignation and concern for the terrorist act, pointing to foreign (German) involvement in the domestic affairs of other states²³. Diplomatic endeavours – aimed at concluding an *Oriental Agreement* – continued in 1935, when several treaties of non-aggression were signed between France, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, achievements in which the great Romanian diplomat Nicolae Titulescu also played a part. He wanted a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union, which would have been part of a series of such agreements in Eastern Europe.

Appendices

- 1 -

21st June, 1934

Telegram (en clair) from Sir G. Clerk (Paris)

Press today makes a great feature of Monsieur Barthou’s visit to Bucharest and, as in the case of his visit to Poland emphasizes the immense enthusiasm with which he has everywhere been received.

²¹ *Ibidem*, f. 68.

²² Apud Geneviève Tabouis, *20 de ani de tensiune diplomatică*, Bucharest, Politică Publishing, 1965, p. 199.

²³ Em. Bold, I. Ciupercă, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

It is observed that both Messieurs Beneš and Jevtitch were at Bucharest the very day on which Monsieur Barthou arrived in the capital, which must be read as an indication of the present solidarity of the Little Entente and the strength of its ties with France. Monsieur Barthou's speech at the banquet given to him last night by Monsieur Titulescu is warmly praised as showing how essentially pacific are the aims of both France and the Little Entente. The visit will afford a further proof, it is maintained, that France is not pursuing a policy of encirclement and that she is looking for no political supremacy since she has made it clear that neither she nor her friends will reject any overture honestly made to her, and the wider the scope of the various pacts now in being or in contemplation the better is the prospect of European peace.

TNA, fond Foreign Office 371/Roumania, vol. 18446/1934, f. 26.

- 2 -

British Legation
Bucharest, June 22nd, 1934

Confidential
Mr. Palairt to Sir John Simon

Sir,

Shortly after the French Minister for Foreign Affairs had crossed the Roumanian frontier on the morning of June 20th, it became clear that the main theme of his visit was to be the maintenance of Romania within her present borders and resistance to any form of revision of the Treaty of Trianon. At the station of Cluj, where he was received by the major and by all the notabilities (civil, military and ecclesiastical) of the town, Monsieur Barthou said that his first words spoken on Roumanian soil, as the Foreign Minister of France, should be a greeting to the unity of Roumania which had been definitely conquered. Romania was, he said, a guarantee of peace and stability, not only in the Balkans, but in the whole of Europe.

You will already have received, Sir, the text of the speeches exchanged at the evening's banquet between Monsieur Titulescu and Monsieur Barthou which I had the honour to transmit to you. You will have observed that the former made use of the following words: "Nous voulons la paix et nous la voulons juste. Mais nous sommes heureux de constater que pour la France comme pour nous la justice a une limite qui s'appelle l'ordre, et que la France ne considère pas comme un commandement de la justice, la résurrection des injustices abolies." Monsieur Barthou's reply to this phrase took the following form: "Egalement respectueux de l'indépendance et de la dignité des autres nations, nos deux pays, qui tiennent pour

fixées à jamais les limites que le droit leur a assignées, ne sauraient admettre même l'idée d'une atteinte portée à leur patrimoine. Le secret de notre amitié et de notre alliance n'est pas ailleurs." And, at the end of his speech, he made a point of proclaiming that his visit represented not a "politesse", but a "politique".

In his interviews with the Roumanian press, Monsieur Barthou was even more explicit on the question of the intangibility of the frontiers of Roumania and the inviolability of the Treaty of Trianon, and revision of which he qualified as an "abdication." The interview given by him in this sense to the *Adevărul* seems to have caused surprise in Hungary.

Yesterday's meeting of Parliament represented the "fortissimo" in this crescendo of anti-revisionist fervour. It must, I think, have surprised even those who were prepared for a spectacular outburst of enthusiasm. The Chamber of Deputies and all its galleries were crowded, and all the heads of missions were present in the diplomatic box. Monsieur Barthou's entry with Monsieur Titulescu was, naturally, hailed with prolonged applause, and it was some time before the President of the Senate was able to deliver his address of welcome, which was followed by that of the President of the Chamber. Monsieur Titulescu, who, on rising to speak, was acclaimed almost as enthusiastically as Monsieur Barthou himself, then delivered a most eloquent address, recalling the historic events of which the Chamber had been the scene in the past and reviewing Franco-Romanian relations in connection with the war. I shall have the honour to forward to you the French text of this and of other speeches (for they were all spoken in the French language), but a brief résumé of his Excellency's declarations will not be out of place here. Peace, he said, had not brought with it the tranquillity for which Roumania had hoped. Hardly had the Treaty of Trianon been signed, when voices were heard claiming, on the grounds of justice, the amputation of Romania's national patrimony – not in the name of right, but in the name of appearances created by centuries of foreign oppression. For a thousand years their blood-brothers had been kept under the yoke, and now only seven years had passed since the signature of the instruments restoring them to Roumania, and already it was proclaimed that treaties were not eternal. "This time," he cried, "we have the right to answer." Turning to Monsieur Barthou, Monsieur Titulescu continued: "Monsieur le Président, in the name of the Roumanian nation I must proclaim in your presence and in the face of the world that if anyone imagines that he should be asked to yield one square metre of the national territory we now possess, the invariable answer of the Roumanians will be: No, No, Never!". These words were received with frenzied applause, the whole assembly rising to its feet and cheering for several minutes. Monsieur Titulescu then referred to Monsieur Barthou's declarations, immediately upon entering the country, that Roumania must live for ever within her present frontiers, and also to the words which I have quoted from the latter's speech at the banquet on the 20th June. He expressed his profound satisfaction at the prospect of hearing the voice of France, personified by her Minister for Foreign Affairs, proclaim from that tribune the sacred, definite and

intangible character of Romania’s national unity, and ended by declaring that, between those who made a dogma of the intangibility of Romania’s frontiers and those who made a dogma of the progressive and systematic mutilation of Roumania, the latter had no choice.

I do not propose to summarize the speeches by leaders of all the different political parties which followed. To do so would prolong this dispatch unduly; it is sufficient to say that one and all were eulogies of France in general and of Monsieur Barthou in particular, and that all expressed sentiments of undying gratitude and affection towards their great “Latin sister”. I shall forward to you the French text of these speeches, which will no doubt be published in the *Indépendance Romaine*. To the foreign onlooker the varying receptions accorded by the audience to the different speakers was of considerable interest. Monsieur Constantin Brătianu, the leader of Liberals, was, of course, received with enthusiasm, though his delivery was far from inspiring. Monsieur Mihalache, who spoke on behalf of the National Peasants, who also given a cordial reception; but Monsieur Argetoianu was received with hisses (no doubt on account of his share in the recent attempt to put Marshal Averescu in power) and Monsieur Cuza, of anti-Semitic notoriety, with open ridicule. Monsieur George Brătianu and Monsieur Goga were allowed to ascend the tribune in complete silence.

At the close of these speeches, Monsieur Tătărescu, the President of the Council, came forward amidst cordial applause and, after a most eloquent testimony to the glories of France and the merits of Monsieur Barthou, declared that Roumania only wished to preserve and defend what was hers by right. “We consider as closed the era of historic injustice; we consider peace to be the supreme good, war to be the supreme offence. We are, and we wish to remain, the soldiers of peace”. His Excellency closed his speech by proposing the following motion: “The Senate and Chamber united proclaim Louis Barthou a citizen of honour of Romania”. This motion was put to the Houses by the President of the Senate and passed by acclamation amidst scenes of almost delirious enthusiasm, only interrupted to allow Monsieur Barthou himself to speak.

The French Foreign Minister was, amongst the many speakers of the afternoon, the only one who did not read his speech. He spoke without notes of any kind, though not, it is to be supposed, without careful premeditation. I will not dwell on the more personal parts of his speech in which he referred to his own career and convictions. He passed from them to emphasize the historical intimacy between the two countries and his appreciation of the extraordinary cordiality and affection with which he had been received as the messenger of France. He then referred to his interview with King Carol, with whom he had that day taken luncheon. The King had, he said, expressed to him his deep sympathy for France. As the first citizen of his country, His Majesty had told him that there was no one more attached than himself to the friendship and alliance with France. This statement was received with prolonged applause. It was nothing, however, to the applause which followed Monsieur Barthou’s affirmations of French support of

Romania's resistance to treaty revision. His friend, Monsieur Titulescu had, he said, pronounced words in that assembly which had been greeted with unanimous acclamations. He then went on to declare as follows: "Your territory is yours. Whoever wishes to take a square centimetre of it (this intensification of Monsieur Titulescu's phrase was no doubt deliberate) will meet with your resistance. But, fellow-citizens of Roumania, your resistance will not be alone; you will have the voice, the help and the heart of France". After the deafening ovations produced by these words, Monsieur Barthou went on to say that the word "revision" meant abdication or treason which no Roumanian citizen could ever admit. He concluded his speech with a final affirmation of the solidarity existing between the two countries. "We are soldiers of peace; we desire peace, but not one bringing with it the risk of any abdication. We desire a peace which maintains the rights legitimately conquered. Who goes there? France and Roumania! We are the soldiers of liberty and do not mean to lose that liberty. We are the soldiers of humanity, of that humanity of which our countries are the symbol, the guarantee and the defence".

The Parliamentary ceremony was immediately followed by a reception in the library given by the President of the Chamber. I had the opportunity of speaking to Monsieur Titulescu for a moment in the crowd and of congratulating him on the eloquence of his speech. It had, I observed, been an historic meeting, to which he replied, in English, "It was very necessary". I hope later, when Monsieur Barthou has gone and Monsieur Titulescu has more leisure, to ascertain from him the meaning of his words. I cannot believe that Monsieur Goemboes' recent utterances, provocative as they may have been, should have necessitated this astonishingly public and vehement manifestation of Franco-Romanian resistance to treaty revision. Possibly the two Governments may be in possession of some information in regard to the Mussolini-Hitler interview which needs in their opinion an immediate and decisive retort. In any case, Monsieur Titulescu may be regarded as having scored another and very complete victory for his policy. It has indeed at once been recognized as such by the Roumanian press. He has obtained a public declaration that France will support Roumania against revisionism: he has succeeded in tightening the bonds between his country and France to such a degree that any attempt to undo them seems doomed to failure; while Monsieur Barthou's interview with King Carol and his public announcement of the King's attachment to France and the French alliance has committed His Majesty to a line of policy from which it will be very difficult for him to escape. After yesterday's scenes, any pro-German or pro-Italian tendencies on his part will antagonize public opinion more than ever. The publicity given to the King's interview with the representative of the "Petit Parisien" is another link in the chain. Monsieur Titulescu's position has been immensely strengthened.

As if the scene in Parliament were not enough, Monsieur Barthou, immediately after leaving the Chamber of Deputies, addressed the Roumanian nation on the wireless. He thanked his "beloved fellow-citizens" for the honour conferred upon him and for the welcome given him by the whole county. No

intrigues and no force could break the alliance between France and Roumania. France, he said, had by the Treaty of Versailles recovered in Alsace and Lorraine the territories belonging to her. Roumania’s territorial claims had also been satisfied by binding treaties. Neither she nor France would yield an inch of their soil. His words were, he said, not those of a mere traveller, but represented the unanimous view of the French Government. He was the messenger of France to Roumania, and on his return would be the messenger of Roumania to France, and would affirm the indissoluble character of the links binding the two countries to each other.

There would, it would seem, be little left to say on the subject of French solidarity with and support from Roumania. I will reserve for a later despatch, when I shall be in possession of fuller information, the examination of the question why it had to be said just now with such vehemence and precision. This despatch merely records, I fear at considerable length, the methods chosen to proclaim the solidarity. They have certainly been impressive, and the proceedings in the Chamber evoked in my mind memories of war-time manifestations and enthusiasms. All my colleagues were, I think, surprised at the scenes which they witnessed; and the Hungarian Minister must have been painfully impressed by the intensity of feeling shown. The German Minister left the diplomatic box, I am told, in the course of the proceedings.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty’s Minister at Budapest. The reaction in Hungary to the proceedings here will no doubt be immediate.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Michael Palairet

TNA, fond Foreign Office 371/Roumania, vol. 18446/1934, ff. 49–57.

- 3 -

British Legation
Bucharest, June 24th, 1934

Confidential

Mr. Palairet to Sir John Simon

Sir,

The Franco-Roumanian symphony performed with so much *éclat* at Bucharest in the course of the last few days, closed yesterday morning with the departure from the capital of Monsieur Barthou, apparently unaffected by the incessant and fatiguing activities which have engaged him during his visit here. His final act was to give an interview in the train, after leaving Bucharest, to a

correspondent at the *Universul*. In my telegram No. 69 of today I have had the honour to report the most important feature of this interview, but the rest of His Excellency's remarks is worthy of a summary. After paying a tribute of admiration and gratitude to Roumania in general and to Monsieur Titulescu in particular, Monsieur Barthou went on to say that in the whole course of his long parliamentary career he had never taken part in a sitting to equal last Thursday's meeting of the Roumanian Parliament. It had, he said, been difficult for him to speak in reply to such a reception as had been given him. He had not prepared his speech, nor had he known what previous speakers would say; but after witnessing the complete unity of all parties in their sentiments for France, his emotion had been overpowering. "France shall know all this from me, and I assure you that Roumania may count on the friendship and support of France". A perfect harmony of views prevailed between the two countries, and Monsieur Titulescu and himself were always in perfect agreement; examples of this were the French Note of the 17th April and the French resolution at the Disarmament Conference on which their views were identical. It was clear to the world that France exercised no sort of tutelage over the *Little Entente*, and that their relations were founded on a real community of views (Monsieur Barthou has emphasized in other interviews the fact that he and Monsieur Titulescu departed from the usual practice and did not exchange beforehand the texts of their speeches at Wednesday's banquet). His visits to Roumania and Yugoslavia were manifestations of the solidarity existing between France and her allies. After paying a respectful and grateful homage to King Carol and to his loyal friendship for France, which His Majesty was to visit, at, he hoped, no distant date, Monsieur Barthou replied to questions on his approaching visit to London, which, he observed, he was undertaking on the invitation of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. A series of important questions – disarmament, control of armaments, guarantees, and the return of Germany to the League – would be discussed and, he hoped, solved. He had asked that the programme should be communicated to him on his return to Paris, in order to save time. (Monsieur Barthou made the same remark in conversation with me. He also expressed his regret at there having been any misunderstanding between you, Sir, and himself, and his satisfaction that that misunderstanding had been removed). The situation in Europe was, he said, so grave – he would not say tragic – that an understanding between France and England was necessary. When asked to explain why he took so grave a view of the European situation, Monsieur Barthou at first took refuge in generalities. Europe was, he said, in a state of confusion. Every country had internal and economical difficulties, and the countries who ought to be in agreement with each other failed to achieve that agreement. He knew, he said, that Herr Hitler had said that he did not want war – sincerely, as he personally believed – but, in order to maintain his situation in Germany, he needed a convention which would increase his strength and prestige. This would not, however, prevent an agreement with Germany, and if Herr Hitler's prestige could be made to harmonize with the interests of Europe, France was ready to sign a convention with her. France had, he said, serious

reasons for believing that Germany had armed far more than she admitted, and he had told Herr Ribbentrop in March that Germany’s peaceful words were in contradiction with her warlike activities. All these considerations had led him to remark that the European situation was serious. Fortunately, however, there were also reasons for optimism. The Balkan Pact had created a strong factor in the cause of peace and had been warmly welcomed as such by France. The latter was continuing the conversations begun last year with Russia. Their sole object was peace; they were not an attempt to encircle Germany, for the latter had been invited to take part on the same basis as Poland and Czechoslovakia. He also believed that a Mediterranean Pact would be in the interests of peace – which was the object of all the pacts being signed or projected. That was why he did not believe in the imminence of war. Neither France nor her allies wished for war. If every country had the same sincerity as they, there would be every chance of the peace of Europe remaining undisturbed. He was more anxious in respect of Asia, but he refused to be a prophet of ill, and conversations which he had had at Geneva had left him hopeful on the subject.

As I reported in my above-mentioned telegram, Monsieur Barthou referred one more to the question of revision. When asked if he had read in the newspapers the statements made in Budapest as to French leanings towards revisionism, Monsieur Barthou interrupted his interlocutor to say that when he was travelling he refrained from reading newspapers in order to preserve his entire “liberté d’esprit”, but that, since what had been said in the Hungarian Senate was now brought to his notice, he must give it a formal denial. France was not revisionist, and the Hungarian Prime Minister had mistaken a few isolated opinions for that of France and her Government. The speeches by Monsieur Beneš and Monsieur Titulescu on the subject had, he said, the approval of French public opinion: “Revision means war, and I repeat with all my force that France desires peace”. (These last words really summarize the results of Monsieur Barthou’s visit here). No one knew whither demands for revision might lead, and the policy of maintenance of the treaties was the only safeguard against dangerous adventures. He welcomed the renewal of diplomatic relations with Russia, and concluded the interview with a defence of democracy against dictatorships and a compliment to the beauty of Roumanian women.

At the risk of wearying you, Sir, with the subject, I feel obliged to give you some idea of the intensive programme to which Monsieur Barthou was subjected during his stay here. At his age, he must have found it exhausting, yet he appears to have preserved his energy, good humour and vivacity throughout. I cannot say that he made an agreeable impression on me, and I thought the tone of his speech in the Roumanian Parliament needlessly violent and provocative. It seemed to me in particular most unfortunate to compare that assembly to the French Parliament which acclaimed a Government for rejecting proposals “unworthy of France” and accepting a war which had been forced upon her. His repetition of the cry of 1914 – “Toute la France pour toute la guerre!” – provoked the enthusiastic applause of the

excited assembly, but seemed to the foreign onlooker singularly out of place. One might have supposed that the Hungarian armies were already massing for the invasion of Transylvania, whereas Roumania has never been more secure than now against attack from any side. These are, however, aspects of the visit which must be discussed with Monsieur Titulescu. He has gone away for the week-end, the rest on the shores of the Black Sea after his strenuous week in Bucharest; but on his return I shall seek an interview with him.

The French Minister for Foreign Affairs crossed the Roumanian frontier at Oradea Mare early in the morning of the 20th June, and reached Bucharest that evening. He drove straight from the station to write his name at the Palace, and was entertained that evening at the banquet and reception at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on which I have already reported. Next day he was received in audience by King Carol and remained to luncheon at the Palace. In the afternoon Monsieur Barthou laid a wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and then attended the meeting of the Roumanian Parliament. Immediately afterwards he delivered the address by wireless to which I have also referred in that despatch. On the 22nd June he attended a large reception given by the French colony in Bucharest, which was followed by a meeting at the French Legation with representatives of the foreign and Roumanian press. Luncheon was given in his honour at the Military Club by the President of the Council. This was followed by a solemn session of the Roumanian Academy, attended by Monsieur Iorga, who announced that Monsieur Barthou had been made a “membre d’honneur” of that institution. The King himself then conducted His Excellency to visit the “Fondation Carol”, where he was made honorary member of the Royal Society of Geography and was presented with two gold medals of King Carol I and King Ferdinand and a Roumanian Bible of the 17th century. He then visited the Brătianu library, which was shown to him by Madame Eliza Brătianu, the widow of its founder Monsieur Ion Brătianu. In the evening there was a large dinner at the French Legation. It was attended by King Carol, who thus made his first appearance at any foreign Legation since his assumption of the crown; and the subsequent reception, to which large numbers were invited, was honoured by His Majesty’s presence until a very late hour – somewhat to the despair of Monsieur Barthou, who murmured to me that His Majesty must have forgotten the time. As, however, I had noticed that King looking at his watch some time before he left, I concluded that he deliberately stayed so late as a compliment to his French hosts. In an interview with a number of French journalists here His Majesty has again affirmed the friendship and affection for France felt by himself and his people.

I do not propose to report the speeches which were exchanged at most of these functions, nor do I feel it necessary to describe in detail the outbursts of the press. All are variations on the same theme – the close friendship between the two countries and the agreeable prospect of unqualified French support in resisting treaty revision. The newspapers also dwell with satisfaction on the unanimity shown in the “home front”, which they trust is an augury for a greater stability in internal affairs than has been the rule in the past.

Besides the activities mentioned above, Monsieur Barthou found time to visit the widow of Monsieur Duca and to see most of the political notabilities here. He had two interviews with Monsieur Maniu, whom he decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour – a distinction which was also conferred on the President of the Council and on Monsieur Vaida-Voevod. Monsieur Barthou himself received at King Carol’s hands the Grand Cordon of the Order of Faithful Service and that of Cultural Merit Class A. He also carried away with him a Roumanian passport given him by Monsieur Titulescu as a tangible proof of his acquisition of Roumanian citizenship.

The French Minister, who met his chief when he entered Roumania at Oradea Mare, accompanied him yesterday as far as Orșova. At Craiova Monsieur Barthou repeated his assurances as to France’s support. “We shall struggle together for the maintenance of the treaties and of the present frontiers, which are and remain definitive. They consecrate the end of the injustice of centuries and no one will venture to touch them. Whatever may be said elsewhere, you may be sure of the support of France in maintaining your territorial integrity”. France and Roumania are, he declared, and will remain, eternally united.

Before embarking at Orșova His Excellency sent a telegram to Monsieur Titulescu, begging him to convey to the Roumanian Government and Parliament his profound gratitude for his unforgettable reception, which had strengthened his faith in the brotherly and indissoluble friendship between the two countries.

I am sending a copy of this dispatch to His Majesty’s Minister at Budapest.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Michael Palairet

TNA, fond Foreign Office 371/Roumania, vol. 18446/1934, ff. 63–70.

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British Legation
Bucharest, July 3rd, 1934

Confidential

Mr. Palairet to Sir John Simon

Sir,

I was unable to discuss Monsieur Barthou’s visit with Monsieur Titulescu until the 30th June, when he received me at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs after his return from a few days’ rest on the shores of the Black Sea.

I began by asking His Excellency for an explanation of the words which he had used when speaking to me on June 21st of the scene in the Roumanian

Parliament which had just taken place. Why had he described it as “very necessary?” Was it because of the revisionist declarations recently made by various Hungarian statesmen; or had something transpired at the meeting in Venice between Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler which had alarmed France and her allies, and had seemed to them to require an immediate answer? Monsieur Titulescu at once rejected both these suggestions. He did not mind what the Hungarians said (he has certainly never been inclined to attribute an exaggerated importance to their revisionist propaganda), and neither France nor the *Little Entente* were in any way perturbed by the Venice meeting, to which they attributed no great significance. Indeed, it seemed to them to be a meeting of two sick men. Mussolini was perhaps not in such difficulties as Hitler, but everyone knew that his financial situation was extremely precarious. He seemed anxious to make friends with France at the moment, and had urged Monsieur Barthou to come to Rome (which he would almost certainly do). Indeed, Monsieur Titulescu said, the *Duce* had told the French Ambassador in Rome that he had chosen Venice for his meeting with Herr Hitler in order to reserve for Monsieur Barthou the glories of a reception in Rome itself. France had, Monsieur Titulescu told me, now great hopes of reaching a friendly understanding with Italy. The recent article in the Fascist press, deprecating too much emphasis on revisionism, was, he thought, significant.

Monsieur Titulescu told me that the real reason for Monsieur Barthou’s excessively plain speaking was the danger to which Roumania had been so lately exposed of an entire change of foreign policy by her Sovereign. Such a possibility was regarded with dismay at Paris, and Monsieur Barthou’s visit had therefore been made the occasion of the most emphatic affirmation of Franco-Roumanian solidarity, in which King Carol had been obliged to join. He was now, His Excellency observed, absolutely committed to a policy of close agreement with France, not only by his own declarations, but also, and chiefly, as a result of the unanimous welcome given to Monsieur Barthou by all the Roumanian parties.

Monsieur Titulescu told me that even so lately as just before Monsieur Barthou’s visit His Majesty had been by no means so forthcoming. He had invited himself to dinner at the French Legation, but had at first declined to fall in with the French Minister’s suggestion that he should dine there during Monsieur Barthou’s visit, and had suggested to the Marquis d’Ormesson that the dinner should take place after the French Foreign Minister had left. Monsieur Titulescu had, however, insisted that this would be a grave affront to France; the King gave way, and he attended the dinner and reception held at the French Legation on the 22nd June, and, indeed, made a point of remaining there until very late.

Monsieur Barthou’s visit seems to have united the Roumanian parties on internal and not only on external affairs. Much excitement has been caused by a recent meeting between Monsieur Maniu and Monsieur Brătianu, the head of the Liberal party. Monsieur Titulescu tells me that the reason for this rapprochement is that they have decided to go together to the King and tell him that he must send Madame Lupescu away; but they have apparently decided not to do this until the

autumn, by which time, Monsieur Titulescu remarked, the King would have heard about it and would be prepared to counter the attack.

His Excellency told me that he hoped to arrange that King Carol should visit Paris in the autumn. Nothing had been settled, and His Majesty is, I gather, not very enthusiastic about this visit; but Monsieur Titulescu is determined that it shall take place, and I should imagine that he will probably have his way.

I enquired whether there was any prospect of a French loan as one of the results of Monsieur Barthou’s visit. Monsieur Titulescu replied in the negative, adding that there might be some arrangement made whereby France would take Roumanian petrol. Monsieur Tătărescu’s approaching visit to Paris as Minister of War (not as President of the Council) is, he told me, connected with the supply of armaments to Roumania, and he is to be accompanied by General Antonescu, the Acting Chief of the Staff; but it is announced that the Minister of Finance, Monsieur Slăvescu, will be in Paris at the same time, so that it seems likely that financial affairs will be discussed during the visit. I hear that while Monsieur Barthou was here a large number of payments to French firms were authorized by the National Bank.

In speaking of the political situation in Europe in general, Monsieur Titulescu said that France was in a strong position just now and felt sure of herself. She was sincerely anxious to reach an understanding with Germany, but she was convinced that plain speaking was a necessary preliminary to any such understanding. This had been a secondary reason for Monsieur Barthou’s dogmatic assertions at Bucharest. I may be mistaken, but I gained the impression that Monsieur Barthou had followed Monsieur Titulescu’s lead farther than he had expected. Monsieur Titulescu is naturally pleased at securing the full and public support of France, but I cannot help wondering whether he wished to find his country quite so closely bound to France as she has been as a result of the Bucharest celebrations.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Michael Palairet

ASPECTS REGARDING ROMANIA'S FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY DURING THE PERIOD 1941–1943

Cezar AVRAM*

Abstract: This material captures the politico-military relations between Romania and Italy during the period 1941–1943, a brief presentation of the Romanian diplomacy at that time.

Pendulating between the hypothesis of creating a barrier against Russian Slavism through a union with Italy and the fall of the fascist dictatorship, the Romanian-Italian relations bore the stamp of those troubled times, when mutual distrust and pursuit of one's own interests were obvious.

With immeasurable losses, Romania, allied with Germany until 23 August 1944, continued the total war, this time against the former ally – Germany.

Keywords: world war, diplomacy, diplomatic representation, fascism, dictatorship.

The Great Conflagration of 1939–1945 determined internal evolutions and foreign policy actions for Romania. The problem of Romanian oil, the collapse of Greater Romania and, later, the evolution of the war amplified and radicalized public protests, especially against territorial concessions¹.

The dictatorial regime of that period, in Romania, was characterized by the concentration in the hands of the head of state of the entire leadership of the country, with very high responsibilities in the legislative, executive and diplomatic fields. The head of state and the President of the Council of Ministers, who later became Marshal of Romania, was the sole legislator of the state and also dealt with the enforcement of the laws; he was the head of the government and of the administrative apparatus, he decided on the directions of state policy, the ministers working under his direct guidance. The general kept the monarchical institution under control, as he had full powers and was not accountable to any forum².

In 1922–1943, there was a large movement in Italy to militarize society and turn it into a fascist one. Mussolini's fascist state was intended to be a corporate

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¹ For more details, see Ioan Scurtu, Gheorghe Buzatu, *Istoria românilor în secolul XX (1918–1948)*, Bucharest, Paideea Publishing, 1999, pp. 365–401.

² For more details, see Cezar Avram, Roxana Radu, *Regimuri politice comparate. Fascism, nazism, stalinism*, Craiova, Aius Publishing, 2008, pp. 126–128.

state in which the class struggle was replaced by talks between the employer and the employees, the freedom of trade unions was suppressed and the strike banned. Mussolini's imperial ambitions led to an alliance with Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany and later led to the entry into World War II. Italy's foreign policy was subordinated to Mussolini's ambitions. He was amazed by the force of Germany and adopted, after 1937, the Nazi model, emphasizing the process of fascistizing spirits and culture³.

Both during and after neutrality, Romania pursued an active policy, initiating actions in order to maintain the territorial statu-quo, and then actions to liberate Bukovina and Bessarabia, lands that had been occupied by the USSR. Antonescu, the head of state and "administrator of the German power", wanting to defend Romanian interests, considering that he could not count on Berlin, started from the first year of Romania's entry into the war, to test the reactions of Rome. The opportunity was given by the dispute with Hungary regarding the brutal treatment applied to the Romanian population in the territory lost by the Vienna Award of 1940. The reciprocal transfer of populations between Budapest and Bucharest failed, the Romanian government, through Antonescu's voice, heard on the occasion of his visit to Rome, called for the sending of some Italian-German "joint commissions" to verify violations of the Vienna agreements concluded in order to protect ethnic minorities in the two countries⁴. Between 13 and 18 October 1940, the former foreign minister, M. Manoilescu, on a mission in Rome, tried to find out the intentions of the Italian government, also trying to prepare the visit of the Romanian head of state. He met Ciano, the Italian foreign minister, and the Romanian politician proposed the establishment of a "permanent control commission" in each territorial department in which representatives of ethnic minorities were to be present. Ciano, cautious, replied that he would take a decision after the conclusion of the investigations initiated by the Italian-German commission on the "alleged" violations of the rights of minorities. Manoilescu, in his report, expressed the opinion that Ciano's "promise" had referred to the future territorial conquests in the territories of Yugoslavia and the USSR. The Italian Minister was also skeptical about the proposal put forward by Manoilescu in respect of the possibility of a regime of complete autonomy for the Romanians who became Hungarian citizens⁵.

On 15 October 1940, at a meeting with Marshal Badoglio, Manoilescu obtained a vague promise of support for the full autonomy of that part of Transylvania ceded to the Hungarians. A series of personalities met in the exploratory journey of the diplomat M. Manoilescu were impressed, but without definite commitments to the news regarding the Hungarian excesses on the Romanian population in Transylvania. The diplomat Rocco, Pavolini, the minister of popular culture and

³ *Ibidem*, pp. 106–110.

⁴ Caroli Giuliano, *I rapporti italo-romeni nel 1940: la visita di Antonescu o Roma*, in "Revista di studi politici internazionali", XLV, 1978, 3, p. 374.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 375.

propaganda, as well as Ricci, the minister of corporation, were reluctant to commit to supporting the observance of the Vienna⁶ agreements on the observance of the rights of Romanian ethnics in the territory annexed by Hungary. The Romanian diplomat tried to obtain more substantial assurances at his meeting with Mussolini, on 18 October, to whom he explained the absurdity of the provisions of the Vienna Award and the real situation of the Romanians. He managed to obtain Mussolini's approval on sending experts to Romania and expanding the Italian-German joint commission by co-opting a Romanian and a Hungarian delegate. He also obtained Mussolini's promise to act for the return of the Romanian intellectuals expelled from Northern Transylvania by the Hungarian authority in Budapest, as well as the promise to support the appointment of permanent commissioners in each district with ethnic minorities⁷.

Manoilescu's mission proved to be a semi-failure because the details of the Romanian-Hungarian relations were not clarified. The mood that prevailed among the Romanian leaders in the autumn of 1940 determined Antonescu to choose first the visit to Rome and then to Berlin. Rome had been the first to send the invitation to Antonescu. At the same time, in Italy, due to a strong Hungarian propaganda and the cordial relations between Ciano and the Hungarian aristocracy, a diplomatic intervention was needed at the level of the head of state. Antonescu hoped to give Romania a better image abroad. To this end, the exchange of diplomatic personnel in the Berlin, Rome and Vatican Legations was considered to be a firmer and more determined attitude of Bucharest.

The conversations with the ministers of Germany and Italy, as well as the documentary materials on Italian-Romanian political, economic and cultural relations prepared the action plan. Prince Sturza, on the eve of Ion Antonescu's departure for Rome, drew up a precise plan in order to obtain from the Axis Powers the establishment of a stable control commission in each territorial department in the region ceded by the Ribentrop-Molotov Pact. Sturza provided for the Romanians expelled by the Hungarians who had to "return to their homes" the adoption of the regime of national autonomy proposed by Manoilescu in Rome. On the Italian side, there was a resistance to the wishes of the Romanians, considering that they intended to obtain the annulment of the Vienna decisions. Ghigi, Italy's minister in Bucharest, who would accompany Ion Antonescu to Rome, tried to persuade the marshal not to bring to Mussolini's attention the issue of the remedies and of "the injustices arising from arbitration" so as not to create difficulties with the German ally.

The conversations between Mussolini, Antonescu, Ciano and Sturza in November 1940 reveal the interest of both states in Transylvania. At the end of 1940, the objectives of the Romanian state were for the Romanian minority, which

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 376.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 377.

had become the most numerous ethnic component of Hungary, to obtain a status similar to what Berlin had provided for the German minority. The powers of the Axis in Antonescu's plans had to agree, not only "to satisfy the prestige reasons of an allied nation, but also to meet its political interest"⁸.

Italy was reserved about the marshal's wishes, refusing to submit in the first phase the Report of the Italian-German Commission of Investigation of the ceded territories. Ciano, the Italian foreign minister, had warned Count Roggeri to do whatever was possible to mitigate "the expressive terms of the Report of the Investigation Commission concerning the Hungarian Theses"⁹. As for the discussions on the Romanian-Soviet relations, there was a greater interest of the Italian side. The Slavic problem and that of the communist anarchy had become priority interests in the reorganization of the New Europe, projected in Berlin and Rome. The penetration of the Red Army, reaching as far as Galați, threatened the fortified region of the Delta, disturbing even Bulgaria. The Russian claims to establish a condominium on the Maritime Danube, for the navigation of military ships on the lower reaches of the river, displeased Antonescu. The marshal, a General Staff military man, realized that in the event of a conflict, the evacuation of the whole Moldova was necessary. Antonescu's support also included the oil situation because the distances of 100 km from the Russian border and 60 km from the new border with Hungary allowed the Soviet armies, in case of a war, to occupy the oil area. Although Mussolini accepted the expansionist nature of the Kremlin, he did not agree to substantially change the relations with Moscow.

Antonescu, in the relations with Italy and Germany, advocated the rights of the Romanians living in the Balkan Peninsula. The issue of the Romanians in Macedonia was of particular interest to Bucharest. The Romanian government wanted to obtain a special regime of autonomy that would allow "freedom of cultural, economic and spiritual development". In his relations with Italy, Antonescu also appealed to common Latinity, which made Mussolini malleable. He even proposed the arrival of a Romanian cultural personality in Rome to see the achievements of the Italian fascist regime in the legislative, administrative, corporate field, etc. Professor Onicescu, a member of the Romanian delegation, wrote in a note sent to Bucharest that Pavolini, the Minister of Popular Culture and Italian Propaganda, had been won over by the idea of setting up the "Italian-Romanian Friendship Association", which would include Professor Bertoni, a well-known researcher of Romanian history and culture¹⁰. Mussolini and Antonescu also examined other problems concerning economic issues as well as Romania's military efficiency in the event of its entry into the war. Vatican diplomacy also played an important part in the Romanian-Italian relations. The Holy See, well informed about the political situation in Europe, showed interest in the Romanian

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 381.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 392–395.

issues. On 16 November 1940, Antonescu was received in audience by Pope Pius XII. On this occasion, Antonescu was assured of the Vatican's intention to improve the conditions of the Romanians in the ceded territories. The Vatican's interests were also motivated by the possible damage that the Catholics would have suffered if Transylvania had remained the centre of tensions and conflicts. Marquis Pacelli repeatedly hinted that a greater freedom granted to the Catholic religion in Romania would have resulted in an effective Vatican effort in favour of the Romanian government as far as Transylvania was concerned¹¹.

In the spring of 1941, the Romanian government discussed both with Vishinsky, through Gafencu, trying to obtain a more benevolent attitude of Moscow, and with Germany, through the Romanian minister in Berlin, Raoul Bossy¹².

The year 1941 symbolized a new page in the history of the second great world conflagration. The entry of the USA and the USSR into the camp of the states fighting against the Axis, with their immense material and human potential, determined the entry of hostilities "into their world phase"¹³. The period of Romania's neutrality (6 September 1939 – 28 May 1940), rich in mutually conditioned internal and external events, was followed by Romania's need to fight with the Axis against the Great Allies, despite its traditional diplomacy and the feelings of the majority of the Romanian people¹⁴.

Between 1941 and 1943, the relations between Romania and Italy did not reach the magnitude expected by the politicians in Bucharest, especially by General Ion Antonescu and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mihai Antonescu. Romania joined Germany against the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, in order to liberate the territories lost in the summer of 1940. Mihai Antonescu, after accusing Rome of pursuing a duplicitous policy, tried with the new Italian minister in Bucharest, Renato Bova Scoppa, to create a new framework for bilateral relations. Renato Bova Scoppa arrived in Bucharest on 1 July 1941 and presented his credentials on 5 July 1941¹⁵.

As for Italy, it entered World War II completely unprepared, Mussolini himself being aware of Italy's lack of military training, but convinced that the war would end quickly and that England would have the fate of France. His concern was to sit at the table of peace negotiations on the part of the victors, which did not happen¹⁶. Mussolini's attitude was pro-German, although he had no "sympathy"

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 400.

¹² For more see *Istoria românilor, vol. IX. România în anii 1940–1947*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing, 2008, pp. 208–214; Florin Constantiniu, Ilie Schipor, *Trecerea Nistrului, 1941. O decizie controversată*, Bucharest, 1995, pp. 106–108.

¹³ Apud J. B. Duroselle, *Histoire diplomatique de 1919 à nos jours*, Vth ed., Paris, Dalloz, 1971, pp. 294–295.

¹⁴ For more see Gh. Buzatu, *România și războiul mondial din 1939–1945*, Iași, Centrul de Istorie și Civilizație Europeană, 1995, p. 6.

¹⁵ V. Fl. Dobrinescu, I. Pătroiu, Gh. Nicolescu, *Relații politico-diplomatice și militare româno-italiene (1914–1947)*, Craiova, Intact Publishing, 1999, p. 313.

¹⁶ Giuliano Proccaci, *Istoria italienilor*, Bucharest, Politic Publishing, 1975, p. 474.

for the fuhrer. Mussolini believed that Italy should wage a war parallel to that waged by Germany, by its own forces and objectives. The failures on the Western Alpine front and the semi-failures in East Africa demonstrated the lack of military training of the Italians¹⁷.

The occupation of Romania by the Germans in October 1940 displeased Mussolini and caused him to begin his aggression against Greece, an aggression that ended in a resounding defeat¹⁸. On 11 November 1940, the British aircraft caused heavy losses to the Italian fleet anchored within the port of Taranto¹⁹. At the same time, the Italian failure in Ethiopia reduced Mussolini's enthusiasm.

In 1941 a new phase of the war began, placing Italy in a position of political and military subordination to Germany. The victorious intervention of the Germans in Greece and Yugoslavia put an end to the old Italian aspirations for hegemony in the Balkans. The sending of a German expeditionary force to Libya and the victorious offensive to Sollum meant a recognition of Italy's subordination to Germany. The last act of enslavement to Germany was the sending of an Italian expeditionary force to the USSR.

Shortly after his arrival in Bucharest, Renato Bova Scoppa met Mihai Antonescu, at which point the Italian minister acknowledged that Italy must have a new position vis-à-vis Romania, justifying that Italy did not perform the Vienna arbitration alone. The Italian diplomat informed Mihai Antonescu that, with the mandate from Galeazzo, Ciano would have a new orientation which would reveal Italy's interest in Romania²⁰.

On the day of Romania's entry into the war against the Soviet Union, on 22 June 1941, Renato Bova Scoppa met Mihai Antonescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, discussing the arrival of the Italian troops in Romania and the reorganization of the Italian-Romanian Society in Bucharest, considering that only a diplomatic action program would promote relations between the two countries²¹. On 1 August 1941, Renato Bova Scoppa announced the head of diplomacy in Bucharest, Mihai Antonescu, that the Duke had received the memorandum sent by General Ion Antonescu, the main point being that Romania did not give up Transylvania. At the same time, Scoppa stated that the Duke was thinking of a Latin solidarity in the Balkans and that the Hungarian policy towards Romania was a challenge. On 1 September 1941, Mihai Antonescu addressed the head of the Romanian Legation in Rome, Vasile Grigorcea, emphasizing that everything had remained at a declarative level and recommending a more insistent diplomatic activity²².

¹⁷ For more see Jaques de Lauay, *Mari decizii ale celui de-al doilea război mondial*, vol. II, Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing, 1988, p. 96.

¹⁸ The Italian mountain infantry perished by the thousands due to the resistance of the Greek soldiers and the cold in the mountains.

¹⁹ V. Fl. Dobrinescu, I. Pătroi, Gh. Nicolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 315.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 316.

²² *I documenti diplomatici italiani*, Nano serie: 1939–1943, vol. VII (24 aprile – 11 dicembre 1941), doc 610, p. 621.

With the departure of Renato Bova Scoppa to Rome, Mihai Antonescu sent through him, to Ciano, a diplomatic note entitled “Memorandum on the treatment applied by Hungary to the Romanian population in the territories ceded by the Vienna arbitration” which highlighted the atrocities of the Hungarians in Northwestern Romania²³. This memorandum stated that 1,400,000 Romanians could not live in the conditions existing in the Hungarian regions, that the new border established in Vienna put a dagger in the very heart of the Romanian land, that no Romanian government could ever accept as final the current Transylvanian border for historical, political, economic, demographic reasons and for reasons of honour²⁴. The memorandum also stressed Romania's importance in Balkan politics and the fact that Rome showed “no warm sign of friendship”.

Following the telegrams between the Italian Foreign Minister and the Minister in Bucharest, Renato Bova Scoppa, (from 7 November 1941 and 8 November 1941), Ciano thanked Mihai Antonescu for the invitation of the Romanian Government, subject to specification of the date by the Italian side, appreciating the support for the moral and material reconstruction under the guidance of Marshal Antonescu²⁵. In the second telegram, Renato Bova Scoppa informed Ciano that Ion Antonescu had been notified of his visit²⁶. Regarding the Russian issue, Mihai Antonescu asked Vasile Grigorcea to find out the Italian point of view on it, emphasizing that the Romanian people should not become a Balkan people. Mihai Antonescu insisted on the Slavic problem that he linked to Italian interests in the Balkans and the need for Romanian-Italian cooperation. The same issues were addressed by Mihai Antonescu at the meeting with the Italian chargé d'affaires Formentini.

At the meetings on 13 and 25 September 1941, Renato Bova Scoppa stressed the need for economic relations, which were difficult, and mentioned the importance of supporting the Italian Expeditionary Force, troops on their way to Russia²⁷. Also in September 1941, Mihai Antonescu reproached the Consultation for its pro-Hungarian policy and the fact that the relations with Romania were not deepened, not even in Balkan politics. The Romanian diplomat, Mihai Antonescu, considered that Transylvania must be entirely ruled by Romanians and attacked the Hungarian policy.

Renato Bova Scoppa announced Mihai Antonescu, on 8 October 1941, about the future visit to Bucharest of Minister Riccardi, this being considered an opportunity to improve the relations between Italy and Romania, especially in the economic and financial field²⁸. The restoration of the northwestern border would be done, in Mihai Antonescu's opinion, with or without the support of the Axis

²³ *Ibidem*, doc. 723, p. 749.

²⁴ *Ibidem*

²⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 726, p. 750.

²⁶ V. Fl. Dobrinescu, I. Pătroiu, Gh. Nicolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 318.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 319.

countries. Mihai Antonescu decided to set up a peace office for the defence of the Romanian territorial rights. On 27 October 1941, the Italian diplomat, Bova Scoppa, returned to Rome and informed M. Antonescu that the Italian Foreign Minister, G. Ciano, wanted a three-way discussion (Marshal Ion Antonescu, Mihai Antonescu and himself), but without approaching economic issues²⁹. On 29 October and 1 November 1941, Minister Riccardi and Renato Bova Scoppa had meetings where the two considered “the Romanian-Hungarian border established by the Vienna arbitration a mistake and a strategic threat”³⁰. However, articles appeared in the Italian press showing sympathy for Hungary. The economic-financial relations and military cooperation were much better than the political-diplomatic relations.

Until the engagement of the two states in the war, one should note the proposal made by Mihai Antonescu, in May 1941, to the Italian chargé d'affaires, Formentini, with regard to the opening of a Romanian corridor through the Timok Valley to the great border of Greater Albania so as to establish a new Latin barrier. On this, Formentini wrote to Ciano, on 13 June 1941, about the historical necessity of creating by any means a union with Italy in order to establish a barrier against the Slavism represented by Russia³¹.

In another telegram, addressed by Formentini to Ciano, it was stressed that Antonescu was for the Axis and that this policy of intimate collaboration with Italy had to be carried out, because Hungary represented the interests of Moscow. Hungary was not considered a safe country to rely on³².

Another telegram sent from Bucharest, on 12 December 1941, by Renato Bova Scoppa, to the Italian Foreign Minister, contained the communications of Marshal Antonescu to the Duke. Thus, it was stated that the Marshal would do all he could to contribute to the common victory. By the end of the month, he hoped to send 30,000 tons of oil to the Italian fleet. At the same time, Germany could build a warehouse in Romania of 50 thousand tons of coal, sending, on average, 3-4 trains of this fuel per day and 60 thousand tons of fuel oil per month. The sacrifices that Romania made were also taken into account³³.

Another telegram sent by the Minister in Bucharest, Bova Scoppa, to Minister Ciano, from Bucharest (15 January 1942) reproduced the words of Mihai Antonescu, who expressed the opinion that his efforts had been in vain, because Italy did not want to consider Romania an essential element in tomorrow's politics. The head of the Romanian state wanted to be clearly shown the position of Italy. At the same time, he blamed Count Ciano for his visit to Budapest³⁴.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 320.

³⁰ *I documenti diplomatici italiani*, Nano serie: 1939-1943, vol. VII (24 aprile – 11 dicembre 1941), doc. 254, p. 246.

³¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 255, p. 247.

³² *Ibidem*, vol. VIII (12 dicembre 1941 – 20 luglio 1942), doc. 4, p. 2.

³³ *Ibidem*, doc. 156, p. 149.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 166, p. 169.

The telegram sent by Ciano from Budapest to the Italian diplomat in Bucharest, Bova Scoppa (17 January 1942) showed that he had informed the Romanian side of the purpose of this visit to Hungary. The relations of cordiality and friendship that Italy had always had with Hungary as well as the non-existence of any argument regarding the Romanian-Hungarian relations could not deteriorate the relations with Romania³⁵.

On 28 February 1942, the Italian Foreign Minister informed Bova Scoppa, by a telegram sent from Rome, of his visit to Bucharest on 5 April³⁶. On 28 August 1942, Ciano was assured by the President of the Council of Ministers, Ion Antonescu, that there would be no obstacle in the export of crude oil to Italy, ie the export of 5 thousand tons of crude oil was allowed for August, of which 3,500 tons were shipped out³⁷.

On 2 September 1942, Bova Scoppa informed Ciano that Mihai Antonescu, speaking of the military situation, had informed him that Ion Antonescu was “tortured” by the fact that the Russians had shown very good combativeness. The unassailable offensive activity in the north was the symptom that devastated the leader's soul towards a certain preoccupation. Antonescu, however, assured him that he had faith that they would win³⁸.

In another telegram, dated 18 November 1942, sent from Bucharest, Renato Bova Scoppa informed Ciano that Mihai Antonescu considered the current war not only a military fact, as there was a sensitive political front in Europe, but also an economic front. If in the military field the situation was characterized by an inevitable alternation of victories, politically there was a need for initiatives. The Romanian minister considered the alliance a fidelity and not a slavery, wondering “whether we want to continue like this and for how long”³⁹.

On 25 November 1942, Mihai Antonescu, summarizing the situation on the front, pointed out the reason for the withdrawal of the Romanian divisions, although General Gheorghe had managed to defeat the Soviet columns three times. Antonescu, due to the losses, demanded an increase of the materials necessary for the Romanian army to urgently replace the destroyed ones⁴⁰.

On 9 December 1942, Scoppa informed Ciano that the Chief of the General Staff, Șteflea, had presented the situation, specifying that the state of the front in the sector occupied by the German and Romanian troops was still confusing because the Russians continued to attack by force, endangering our strategic positions. It was mentioned that in one day, the Italians lost 80,000 people⁴¹.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 321, p. 355.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, vol. IX (21 luglio 1942 – 6 febbraio 1943), doc. 81, p. 94.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 100, p. 109.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. 320, p. 318.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 345, p. 341.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. 386, p. 383.

⁴¹ D. F. Fleming, *Storia della guerra fredda 1917–1960*, Rizzoli Editore, p. 179.

The government of Marshal Badoglio, after the fall of Mussolini on 25 June 1943, tried to save the monarchy and take Italy out of the war. They managed to obtain an armistice with the Allies on 3 September 1943. The Germans released Mussolini and occupied much of Italy. In the years of the second great world conflagration, diplomacy had both failures and some successes, playing an important part in the moments of confrontation, but also of affirmation of the nations. According to the statements of the diplomat Nicolae Titulescu, “when the voice of the diplomats is no longer heard, the voice of the cannons comes into action” and “when diplomacy returns to its function, the armed confrontation ceases”⁴².

Romania’s international status between 1941 and 1944 was that of a satellite state within the Axis. Numerous and eloquent documents highlight the deterioration of Romania’s international status immediately after 23 August 1944.

⁴² Apud Dumitru Mazilu, *Diplomație europeană*, Bucharest, Lumina Lex Publishing, 2008, p. 6.

REINTRODUCTION OF THE MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM IN ROMANIA: THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND THE EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES FROM 1989 TO 1996

Dorin Cosmin VASILE*

Abstract: After the 1989 Revolution, the term “transition” was associated almost immediately with the term “reform”. The transition required a long series of reforms consisting in the abolition of existing institutions and realities during the communist regime and their replacement with new ones necessary for the establishment of democracy. Unquestionably, a difficult task for the governors and therefore the indigenous political class. Romanian politicians had to consider what reforms were absolutely indispensable for achieving the transition to a genuine democracy and a real market economy, but they also had to follow the order in which these reforms were to be introduced, the expected effects, to justify them to the population in order to obtain its consent – by vote – in order to implement them. Romanians voted for reforms according to promises, and then rejected governments according to results. The role of political parties in the democratic game is very important. To underline this, we have analyzed, on the one hand, the legislative framework under which political parties were established and operate in Romania, as well as the route taken by the main political parties between December 1989 and 1996, which led to certain results from the 1996 elections, as in all election campaigns carried out till present.

Keywords: political party, elections, cleavage, doctrine, voters, electoral campaigns.

LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT AND FUNCTIONING OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN POST-DECEMBRIST ROMANIA

Since the first days of freedom following the Revolution of December 1989, Romania has embarked on a difficult process of democratization and institutional modernization, facing the difficulties of connecting to the values, principles and practices of liberal democracies¹.

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¹ Valentin Naumescu, *Sisteme politice comparate. Elemente de bază*, Cluj-Napoca, Casa Cărții de Știință Publishing, 2003, p. 144.

Political pluralism was laid down in the National Salvation Front (FSN) Council's Communiqué to the Country on 22 December 1989, which established a pluralistic democratic system of government.

Decree-Law No.2/27 December 1989 provided for the abolition of the power structures of the former dictatorship, throwing into anachronism the Constitutions in force during the communist regime, the form of republican government, as well as the position of President of Romania.

The return to the democratic system, after a disruption of more than four decades, was legally enshrined in the adoption of Decree-Law No. 8/1989 which provided, in Article 1: "In Romania the formation of political parties is free, with the exception of fascist parties or those which propagate concepts contrary to the state order and the rule of law. No other restriction on the grounds of race, nationality, religion, degree of culture, sex or political belief may prevent the formation and functioning of political parties".

In their activity, political parties were obliged to respect sovereignty, independence and national integrity, democracy, "in order to ensure citizens' freedoms and rights and affirm the dignity of the Romanian nation". In order to be set up, a party needed at least 251 members, and in order to register it had to prove the statutes of organization and operation, its political programme, its headquarters and the financial means at its disposal². According to the Decree-Law No. 8/1989, the military cadres and civilian personnel of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior, judges, prosecutors and diplomats, as well as the operative personnel of the Romanian Radio-Television, could not be members of a party. The Romanian Communist Party was outlawed, and the most unpopular measures and normative acts of Ceaușescu's period were annulled or repealed.

Following intense and even violent political confrontations, on 9 February 1990 the Provisional Council of the National Union (CPUN) was established, a body with legislative powers that would operate until the parliamentary and presidential elections on 20 May. CPUN has taken over the functions and prerogatives of the FSN Council³. The CPUN consisted of 241 members, including 105 representatives of newly created political parties and formations, 106 representatives of the FSN Council, 27 representatives of national minority unions and 3 representatives of the Association of Former Political Prisoners, following that the delegates of the parties that would later be formed to participate only as an observer.

The new legislative body – the CPUN – adopted, on 18 March 1990, the Decree-Law No. 92/1990 on the election of the Parliament and the President of Romania, which stated that: "Political power in Romania belongs to the people and

² Article 3 of the Decree-Law No. 8 of 31 December 1989 on the registration and functioning of political parties and public organizations in Romania.

³ Decree-Law No. 81/1989 on the Provisional Council of National Union, published in Official Gazette No. 27 of 10 February 1990, Part I.

is exercised according to the principles of democracy, freedom and ensuring human dignity, inviolability and inalienability of fundamental human rights”.

Article 2 of the same normative act stipulated that: “Romania’s governance is carried out on the basis of the pluralistic democratic system, as well as the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers”. This provision of the law established the principle of separation of powers in the state as opposed to the dictatorial regime when in the “inside” of power the balance between the three functions (legislative, executive, judicial) no longer existed and mutual control established between powers (for “power to stop power”) no longer worked (balance or “balance system” disappeared). By hypertrophy of one of the terms of the equation, legislative power/executive power (usually of the latter) was reached an authoritarian political regime established and maintained by coercion, under the conditions of the existence of a head of state who aimed at personalizing his own power and establishing a totalitarian system⁴. Thus, it reverted to multi-partyism after almost half a century of monopartyism characteristic to the totalitarian political regime.

In the literature it has even been stated that the provisional period – the provisional government of Petre Roman – was characterized by a “«toomultipartyism», amplified by the manifest appetite of the old and new political formations to face more or less political”⁵.

In art. 11 of the Decree-law no. 92/1990 regarding the election of the Parliament and the President of Romania provided: “The candidacies for the Parliament and the presidency of Romania are proposed by parties or other political formations, constituted according to the law”. The winner of the presidential competition between the candidates proposed by the parties had to follow the rule of partisan neutrality, fulfilling a dual function – to ensure the functioning of state institutions and to ensure compliance with the timetable for drafting the future Constitution⁶.

The change of the political regime, the abandonment of communist doctrine, the transformation of the institutional and legal framework for the exercise of dictatorial power into a democratic one took place in successive stages, carried out quickly and crowned with the adoption of the Constitution of 1991. The Romanian legislature promoted a new conception on the guarantee and defense of citizens’ rights and freedoms, as well as on Romania’s alignment with international standards in the field of fundamental rights and form of government. Thus, the

⁴ Avram Cezar, *Regimuri politice comparate. Autoritarismul și totalitarismul secolului XX*, Craiova, MJM Publishing, 2002, p. 25; Cezar Avram, Roxana Radu, *Terror, Manipulation and Demagogy – the Way to Absolute Power*, in “Revista de Științe Politice. Revue de Sciences Politiques”, nr. 8/2005, pp. 7–30.

⁵ Ioan Scurtu (coord.), *Structuri politice în Europa Centrală și de Sud-Est (1918–2001)*, first volume, Bucharest, Romanian Cultural Foundation Publishing, 2003, p. 285.

⁶ Under the new legal order established in December 1989, with the agreement of the Prime Minister and the Presidents of the Chambers, the President could dissolve the Constituent Assembly if it did not fulfil within 9 months its task of adopting the Constitution.

Basic Law, adopted in 1991 and revised in 2003, presents the Romanian state as a unitary state, with a semi-presidential democratic regime⁷.

Article 8 of the Basic Law enshrined the principle of pluralism in constitutional terms, stipulating that political parties are constituted and operate under the law⁸.

In 1996 the Law of Political Parties No. 27/1996, which was replaced – in 2003 – by a new law regulating the legal framework for the establishment, organisation and functioning of political parties: Law No. 14/2003.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM

The transition to the multi-party system was clearly essential to the establishment of democracy. The democratic regime established after December 1989 is based on the principle of political pluralism, known as multi-partyism. Political parties are the intermediate bodies between the population and the governors. The political class is the source of specialists, decision-makers and expertise in the political, social, etc. field. However, classical political institutions and political parties do not have the whole monopoly of leadership or the monopoly of public opinion⁹. It is the electoral body that has important decision-making tasks at central and local level.

In post-decembrist Romania, a real “inflation” of political parties has emerged, driven by the sincere desire of some Romanians to overcome as quickly as possible the phase of the single-partyism of the community and the intention of others to assert themselves on the political scene, taking advantage of the small number of members required by law to form a political party¹⁰. Thus, the historical parties – the National Liberal Party and the National Peasant Party, the Social Democratic Party of Romania – re-emerged on the political scene.

⁷ Mihaela Bărbieru, *Accuracy Data of the Presidential Voting Outcomes to an Inferential Bias of the New Romanian Electoral Code and Electronic Vote (2014)* in “Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques”, nr. 45/2015, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, p. 137.

⁸ Political pluralism was originally foreseen in the CFSN's Communiqué to the Country of 22 December 1989, which established a pluralistic democratic system of government. In April 1996, Parliament adopted the Law on Political Parties (Law No 27/1996), which created the democratic legal framework for the establishment and functioning of political parties. The law provided that associations established according to its stipulations, those acting to respect national sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity, respect for the principles of constitutional democracy and the rule of law, can function as political parties. See Cristian Ionescu, *Regimul politic în România*, Bucharest, All Beck Publishing, 2002, pp. 110–112.

⁹ Avram Cezar, Roxana Radu, *Regimuri politice contemporane: Democrațiile*, Craiova, Aius Publishing, 2007, p. 234.

¹⁰ Ioan Scurtu (coord.), *Structuri politice în Europa Centrală și de Sud-Est (1918–2001)*, vol. I, Bucharest, Romanian Cultural Foundation Publishing, 2003, p. 283.

In post-decembrist Romanian political life political parties were considered the legitimate representatives of the social body liberated by the “political monopoly of the Communist Party”¹¹, being endowed with a “natural capacity for representation”¹².

Perceived as extremely useful tools that respond to a function of “public utility”¹³, a multitude of political parties appeared “like mushrooms after rain” during January 1990: The Romanian Ecological Movement, the Romanian Democratic Socialist Party, the Democratic-Christian Union, the Democratic Party, the Romanian Ecologist Party, the Democratic Unity Party, the Progressive Party, the National Democratic Party, the Liberal Party (Freedom Party) of Romania, the Ecologist-Humanist Party of Romania, the Party of Democratic Unity of Moldova, The Socialist-Liberal Party, the Party of Romanian People, The Free Democratic Party, the Romanian Social-Democratic-Christian Party, the Romanian Freedom and Democracy Party, the Romanian Agrarian Democratic Party, the Republican Party etc.

A moment full of political and highly controversial change was the transformation of the National Salvation Front (FSN) into a political party. On February 6, 1990, Ion Iliescu was appointed president of the new political party. The controversy was caused by the fact that it was the FSN that had taken political power in the state on 22 December 1989, forming its governing structures in all the counties of the country, in enterprises and institutions, which clearly benefited it over other parties. According to the platform-programme, the FSN was the expression of “the national consensus achieved with a view to overthrowing the dictatorship and advancing Romania into the era of freedom”. The Front declared itself to be “a centre-left movement aimed at the working people, the broadest social categories, a orientation that brings it closer to the values and objectives of European social democracy”. The officially stated objective of the FSN was to create “a rule of law, based on justice and social equity, on the rule of law”. In the economic field, the focus was on decentralisation, privatisation, liberalisation, profitability, the introduction of market mechanisms, in parallel with social protection measures and social-political stability. As far as property was concerned, the FSN advocated for the mixed market economy, for the coexistence of public and private property.

After the transformation of the FSN into a political party, the composition of the FSN Council changed according to the principle of parity (half of the number of members of the Council at the time, to which were added, in the same

¹¹ Alexandra Ionescu, *Consolidarea partidelor politice și reforma instituțională a autorității publice în Europa Centrală și Orientală. Pluripartism și pluralism politic în postcomunismul românesc*, in “Studia Politica: Romanian Political Science Review”, vol. 13, no.1/2013, p. 114.

¹² Daniel Barbu, *Republica absentă. Politică și societate în România postcomunistă*, second edition, Bucharest, Nemira Publishing, 2004, p. 170.

¹³ Ingrid van Biezen, *Political Parties as Public Utilities*, in “Party Politics”, vol. X, no. 6, 2004, pp. 701–722.

proportion, representatives of political formations and national minority organisations co-opted in the Council).

Although won the elections of 20 May 1990, the FSN was on the verge of collapse. The National Convention of the FSN of 16–17 March 1991 was the time of the first attempt to settle the party on a doctrinal basis. According to the motion “A future for Romania”, the FSN was defined as a “centre-left party that was inspired by the values of modern European social democracy”. As a social basis and as political representation, the FSN represented a total “catch-all-party” (or “attrape-tout”) that had received massive electoral support on the basis of social-democratic promises¹⁴.

The FSN Convention of 27–29 March 1992 was the moment when the differences in leaders’ vision led to the division of the FSN. Supporters of the “Future – Today” motion won as a result of the vote, and Petre Roman became president of the FSN. The group of those who lost elections inside the FSN broke away and formed a new party, the Democratic Front of National Salvation (FDSN). At the first National Conference of the new party, held on 27–28 June 1992, it was decided to support Ion Iliescu for the presidential elections. In the parliamentary elections of 27 September 1992, the FDSN, newly established after the FSN split, won first place, and Ion Iliescu became president of Romania with 61.5% of the votes.

Proponents of the “Future-Today” motion, although they managed to impose themselves inside the FSN, lost the 1992 parliamentary elections. Petre Roman’s main concern was to change the name of the party the opposition had accused of neo-communism, releasing the slogan “FSN=PCR”. On 28 May 1993, the FSN merged with a tiny party – the Democratic Party, resulting in the Democratic Party-FSN. Subsequently, the second part of the name was dropped, retaining only the title of Democratic Party (PD).

One year after its founding, the FDSN reaffirmed its social democratic orientation, at the National Conference on 9–10 July 1993, when it changed its name to the Party of Social Democracy of Romania (PDSR). At the same time, the absorption was achieved by merging with the Social Solidarity Party, the Republican Party, the Cooperative Party and the Democratic Socialist Party of Romania.

Another objective pursued by Petre Roman was to join the Socialist International, for which the PD concluded a cooperation agreement with the PSDR thus constituting, on 27 April 1995, the Social Democratic Union (USD) with a view to presenting the two parties on joint lists in local and general elections. In September 1996, at the UN headquarters in New York, the PD and PSDR were officially received in the Socialist International.

Between 1992 and 1996, the PD was a very dynamic parliamentary party, constantly challenging the work of the executive and initiating numerous motions

¹⁴ George Voicu, *Pluripartidismul, o teorie a democrației*, Bucharest, All Publishing, 1998, p. 220.

of censure. With the help of young cadres, the PD has totally changed its image, defining itself as a “modern social democratic party”, determined to “reform”, open to broad and forward-looking collaborations, including with its former political opponents¹⁵.

In the 1992–1996 legislature, being at the country’s government, the PDSR underwent a severe process of erosion and lost the elections in the autumn of 1996.

Another party plagued by change and infighting was the one created in July 1990, the National Liberal Party – Young Wing, which changed its name on 26 May 1993 to the Liberal Party 1993 (PL’93). Some of the members of the new party later joined the CDR, leaving the party without a parliamentary group in October 1994. Between 1994 and 1996, PL’93 underwent other changes, which further weakened the liberal pole.

The Civic Alliance Party (PAC) is another party that has suffered numerous seizures. The first president of the Convention, Nicolae Manolescu, had not received support in the race for the Romanian presidency, Emil Constantinescu being the favorite, which is why Manolescu refused his party to join, post-election, with the joint forum of the opposition. However, the members of the PAC acted individually, joining parties that were part of the CDR, and that party remained, in June 1993, without a parliamentary group in the Chamber of Deputies.

An important political force of the opposition was the National Liberal Party (PNL), the continuation of the former PNL established in 1875. He underwent a first transformation when, under the leadership of Radu Câmpeanu, he left CDR (15 April 1992) and proposed King Michael I (on 18 July 1992) to the post of President of Romania. This step was sanctioned by the electorate, with the PNL no longer meeting the number of votes needed to enter Parliament. Thus occurred the spectacular fall of the PNL in the preferences of the electorate, losing its place as the main opposition party it had occupied in 1990. Radu Câmpeanu did not take responsibility for this failure, although most politicians blamed him for this. As a result, in December 1993, the Permanent Delegation of the PNL decided to exclude Radu Câmpeanu from the party.

In February 1993 the PNL Congress was convened, occasion with which was elected as party president Mircea Ionescu-Quintus.

Radu Câmpeanu’s reply was no longer expected. In February 1994, he initiated an extraordinary PNL Congress, with his followers electing him as party president. Thus began the confrontation with the grouping of the same name led by Quintus, the conflict over the name of the two political formations being cut into justice: the party led by Mircea Ionescu-Quintus continued to be called the PNL, while the other faction was to be called the National Liberal-Câmpeanu Party (PNL-C).

In August 1994 it was decided to rank the component parties according to the representation in the territory and to nominate the alliance’s president as the sole

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 295.

candidate for president. PSDR, PL'93 and PAC refused to sign this act, leaving the CDR in February 1995 and March 1995 respectively.

In November 1994, the PNL entered the CDR, the great opposition coalition, where it played a minor role, accepting all the initiatives and directions imposed by the new "head of line"¹⁶ – PNȚCD, a party that received 100 eligible seats on the electoral lists (55.5%) of the total, in accordance with the agreement of 13 August 1996.

On 23 November 1995, the Convention presented a programme platform entitled "Contract with Romania" by which the CDR promised that, within 200 days of taking power, it would impose a set of laws whereby the lives of Romanians, especially young people and pensioners, would improve significantly.

As the election approaches, the number of coalitions for electoral purposes has increased. On 7 April 1996, the USD and the PAC signed a protocol of cooperation in local elections, with the signatories committing themselves to act together to conduct the elections in a civilized, fair manner and for electoral victory.

The Greater Romania Party was established in June 1991 as a promoter of national doctrine, and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania was created in January 1990. The UDMR is not a political party per se, but an organization comprising a set of bodies of a political, socio-professional, cultural, scientific nature, etc.

LEFT-RIGHT CLEAVAGE IN POST-DECEMBRIST ROMANIA

Post-decembrist Romanian political life, in search of normality, has evolved in the spirit of alleviating contradictions, in the spirit of consensual models and improving political cleavages. Post-decembrist Romanian political life, in search of normality, has evolved in the spirit of alleviating contradictions, in the spirit of consensual models and improving political cleavages. Analyzing the paradigm built by Stein Rokkan (using as a starting point and processing a thesis formulated by Giovanni Sartori), as well as the model built by Arendt Lijphart, which is based on the four traditional binomas, namely: right-left (socio-economic), centre-periphery, church-state (attitude towards ethical issues such as divorce, abortion, homosexuality, etc.), rural-urban, we must point out that these cleavages have a distorted image in the Romanian reality, they must be redefined as they continue to evolve.

Due to four decades of Soviet import socialism with negative political, social, economic and mental consequences, Daniel Seiler believes that "exit from the communist system is not done by a simple pen trait. This involves a revolution as

¹⁶ Scurtu Ioan (coord.), *Structuri politice în Europa Centrală și de Sud-Est (1918–2001)*, first volume, Bucharest, Romanian Cultural Foundation Publishing, 2003, p. 294.

profound as the one that gave rise to the previous regime. It is not enough to establish democratic institutions to establish democracy. It must go from a culture of passivity, of obedience, to a culture of citizenship”¹⁷. Returning to the question of the origin of political parties in this part of Europe, Seiler adopts the idea of Jean Charlot who completed Rokkan’s paradigm by including a fifth cleavage, namely that made up of the state – civil society, the result of the international revolution produced on the territorial-cultural axis. Starting from this, Seiler has developed the typology of political parties, for Central Europe, with four families of antagonistic parties: totalitarian parties – democratic parties, resulting from the above cleavage, and social parties – liberal parties, resulting from the cleavage between minimalists and maximalists, both cleavages being consequences of the international revolution. If the description of the latter does not raise particular problems, the opposition between totalitarian and democratic parties is not as clear and predictable as it seems at first glance. “The party system translates both the reaffirmation of the ante-communist remnants and the conflicts born of the collapse of communism”¹⁸.

The right-left cleavage was not very relevant at the dawn of Romanian democracy except in the plan of slogans. The problem was posed at the level of ideologies assumed by newly created political parties or formations as well as in the plan of supposed historical legitimacy or generated by the mass movement of December 1989 legitimacy. At the same time, the intellectualist currents of the different orientations have imagined scenarios of decommunization of the country centered on the theory of guilt and past responsibility. This dichotomy was defined as the cleavage of neo-communists – democrats, the political reality quickly going through the stages from the reorganization of the party of “workers” to a pluralistic democracy, so that society was redivided between the followers of conciliation (forgetting communist history) and the followers of memory, the latter calling vindicatively for the antanting of a genuine process of communism. The result of this dichotomy was the appearance on the political scene of an impressive number of parties.

Originally born as a social-political movement of national consensus, amplified by the country’s first governing body – FSN Council on the adhesion system, the National Salvation Front breaks off phased as a result of ideological dilemmas and as a different reflection of the social, conscientious and emotional convulsions of an early democracy, in which the followers of memory, as exponents of civil society, are fighting a total battle in the sense of democratic foundation and institutionalization.

Parallel to this solution of the FSN, political life is crossed by ephemerals due to opportunists and by a reconsideration, reorganization, relaunch of the “interwar” parties who, before seeking electoral support on ideological grounds, claim a historical legitimacy.

¹⁷ Daniel Seiler, *Partidele politice din Europa*, Iași, Institutul European, 1999, p. 56.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

In the 1996 campaign, civil society led by self-proclaimed anti-communist groups achieved a consensus in the “mirror”, embodied in the CDR, and the right-left adversity is listed paroxysmal, without correspondence in the political “topography”.

The right-left cleavage rather refers to systems of opinions, attitudes and values. This system of representation includes cognitive, evaluative and affective components. The content of these structured assemblies of attitudes is clearly neither monolithic nor definitive. For example, one can speak of the fact that the CDR governments had a left-wing component.

The bottlenecks of the functioning of institutions and bodies during the CDR governments due to the PDSR-PSD’s own helplessness and their manifest opposition as the country’s first political party, but a minority in comparison with the ruling coalition, led to the electoral amendment of Romanian politicianism in 2000 and the considerable narrowing of the number of parties with parliamentary representation.

The theory of social consensus is not new. It is expressed in France by the need for solidarity, by the imperative maintained only as a desire to establish a just and brotherly society. The principle of solidarity was stated in 1902 by Alexandre Millerand: “We consider it the duty of the Republic to establish a public service of social solidarity, which differs essentially from charity by recognizing the interests a right and providing the legal means for this right to prevail”. The theory of social solidarity has probably become the post-integration political preserve, when the economic marginalization of poor regions and nations generated the “compassion” of rich societies (former colonial powers: Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands or developed democracies/economic powers: Germany, Sweden, Finland, Denmark).

In the name of this social solidarity, each new government of Romania favoured other categories and social groups. Ion Iliescu gave back the land seized by the communists following the collectivization of Romania, the PDSR favoured the tenants of nationalized housing, allowing them to buy the dwellings, while, four years later, the CDR favoured the former owners, adopting legislation that would return their buildings, etc. Despite the fact that society was going through a prolonged economic and social crisis, there was a continuous redistribution of wealth and access to power and social prestige in Romania, and some social categories always had the prospect of a better life. Thus, in Romania there was continuously a population mass (25–40%) convinced that she will live better in the immediate future. The prosperity of the population has in no way been a priority on the political agenda of post-communism, but the mirage of its promise has always fascinated the Romanian electorate. For 30 years this “chain of weaknesses” has continued to renew over time, every four years, according to the formula: promises – vote – disappointment – other promises – no vote/absenteeism – disappointment.

Governments so far have demonstrated that Romanian society has a real cleavage between maximalists – minimalists, i.e. between followers of the theories of economic shock changes and those of step-by-step economic changes. Economic

transformations have benefited more or less from transparency, from public awareness. Post-decembrist governments acted in the light of assistant liberalism, namely the restriction of state participation in economic management, correlated with semi-populist social protection measures. These measures are requested by an overwhelming majority of the population who accuse the state of no longer performing all the paternalistic functions of the communist state. It should be noted that most Romanians still share values passed down through the paths of communist socialization and summarily reassessed in the “eternal” transition period after 1989. We can say, in conclusion, that Romanian society is facing “an inherited mass political culture, the result of the impact between an amorphous society and Leninist-Stalinist ideology of the totalitarian type”¹⁹.

Rapid social, political, technical and informational changes have disrupted the life of the common man, each seeking his own stability and have shaped the youth differently. Youth has found a fundamental value at large and has overcome the paternalistic barriers of previous generations, but has so far not preferred active political participation.

In fact, the two secondary cleavages mentioned above, namely the followers of memory against the followers of oblivion and the followers of shock theories against staged changes, have become out of date in the face of the earth-shattering prospect of economic crises.

It is obvious that “party systems cannot ensure, by themselves, the guarantees of democracy”²⁰ in a society even if not exactly “recently liberated by a long-term totalitarianism”²¹, Romania’s future is still in question. The solution may appear to the generation that spent their childhood and much of their youth in communism, and which bans, violations of freedom of expression and lack of all kinds left with a bitter taste, but also to the young people who put freedom and individualism in the foreground, provided they are educated. The final answer lies, in the end, in education, information and culture, the only “weapons” with which we can fight against the marginalization of Romania in Europe.

¹⁹ Cristian Părvulescu, *Cultură și comportament politic în tranziția post-comunistă. Cazul românesc*, in *Cultură politică și democrație*, Libertatea Press and Publishing House, Panciova, 2005, pp. 16–23.

²⁰ George Voicu, *Pluripartidismul. O teorie a democrației*, Bucharest, All Publishing, 1998, p. 313.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

CRITERIA FOR POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND MASS INFLUENCE IN THE INTERNET AGE *

Mihaela BĂRBIERU**

Abstract: For many of us, online communication is no longer a difficult process to understand, but on the contrary, it is the key to success both on personal and in business level. Almost nothing can be done without using the internet, the online environment being the tool that distinguishes between profit and loss, between the winner and the loser. Obviously, political life cannot function effectively at the moment without the widespread use of the Internet. Internet communication is generated by a multitude of actions and processes through which a series of messages are transmitted, which then take various forms. The advantage of such communication is the efficiency and easy way in which messages are transmitted to a large mass of voters.

In this study, the author examines how the Internet influences the political communication of today's times, as well as the propagation power of political messages it has on the masses of voters.

Keywords: political communication, internet, influence, political message, voters.

If in the early 1990s the Internet was not known to the general public, it subsequently experienced an extremely rapid evolution, managing to become indispensable in all fields of activity. Although there were many technical difficulties, as this segment developed and began to be used by more and more people, the distances between them decreased and communication became easier. Over time, the movement of political communication in the online environment became increasingly evident and the classical form in the public square was less and less used, from rallies and from TV, but without giving up on this variant entirely. We do not rule out the possibility that in the near future or further away

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election campaigns and political message transmitted in traditional forms will be abandoned, and online will become the only or most widely used form of political communication.

Tuman defines political communication as “the discursive process through which political information is distributed” and considers that “awareness, ignorance, manipulation, consensus, disagreement, action or passivity” is promoted¹. In other words, the author refers to the interaction between politicians/candidates and voters, and social media brings to our attention the technical possibilities and online variants that enable individuals to create content and disseminate opinions, information and experiences².

Mass communication is a complex phenomenon, especially today when it can be achieved much more easily than in past decades. Over time, it has experienced various classifications and definition attempts, from targeting wide audiences through publicly transmitted messages, to electronic or mechanical multiplication with the addressability of relatively large audiences, but with limited feedback possibilities. Some of the specialists consider it to have the status of industrially produced goods and content personally and privately consumed by a particular public. Others, a sum between institutions and techniques, with modern distribution of content and heterogeneous, wide and dispersed audiences. Whatever the form of defining or classifying mass communication, it cannot be lacking in the political space.

Among the specialists in the field, the notion of mass communication is synonymous with that of media. Yves Lavoine considers that the media refers at the same time to – a technique or set of techniques, a set of messages created by these techniques and all the organisations that produce or deal with these messages³. What should be remembered is the concept of broadcasting a message to multiple receivers at once, the media being the tool that ensures the fastest transmission, across large geographical areas and to growing groups of individuals.

As expected, mass communication has successfully adopted, in addition to traditional media types, new trends or *new media*, which combine all the elements: texts, graphics, sounds, moving images, synthesis images, technological facilities, in a word – *multimedia*. Thus, online systems (e-mail, websites, social media networks) were born, with an ability to reach very large audiences through the speed of transmission. The forms of interpersonal communication, with the transmission of messages manufactured by specialists, but also by private individuals, were generated. The basic principles of mass communication are also preserved online – communicators, channel, public, content.

¹ Apud Sorin Tudor, *Politica 2.0.08. Politica marketingului politic*, Bucharest, Tritonic Publishing, 2008, p. 29.

² Tudor Sălcudeanu, Paul Aparaschivei, Florența Toader, *Bloguri, Facebook și politică*, Bucharest, Tritonic Publishing, 2009. p. 9.

³ Mihai Coman, *Introducere în sistemul mass – media*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 1999, p. 19.

After analysing the statistical data, we find that worldwide, the number of internet users has greatly increased, from 90,000 to 304 million, from 1993 to 2000⁴. The appearance of the Internet has irreversibly altered the way political communication manifests itself and has linked it to technology in all its aspects. If in the past journalists and politicians could convey the political message in controllable forms, today their power to influence and manipulate the masses is diminished, the direction being largely given by social networks. The political message is personalized, distributed and debated in virtual influence groups⁵, online political communication having multiple advantages in the opinion of specialists in the field⁶. Moreover, the digital revolution seems spectacular if we compare its evolution with other media. Thus, to reach 50 million users, radio took 38 years, television took 13 years, while the internet took only 4 years. Analyzing the evolution of the years 2000–2007 we see the increase of internet users in Europe to 315 million, in the USA to 233 million, and in Asia to more than 700 million users⁷. The evolution of the digital market for the period 2008–2013 shows us 2.9 billion internet users⁸, almost 3 billion in 2015⁹, to exceed 4 billion users in early 2018, according to information in the Global Digital study published in January and conducted by We Are Social and Hootsuite. The study also states that 2017 saw an increase of almost 250 million internauts, with 200 million people purchasing a mobile device and half of mobile devices in use worldwide being intelligent¹⁰.

John Bennet, data and communication expert, editor and writer of cross-platform content, in the material “*23 Amazing Statistics on the Internet and Social Media in 2020*”, updated on 1 August 2020, gives us an insight into the internet and social media worldwide, from which we learn that “This year has been an explosive one for the social media world. With all the online regulations, the revolutions of Twitter hashtags and the Facebook privacy scandals, the internet has given us a great theatre”¹¹. From the first

⁴ Călin Sinescu, *Internetul și comunicarea politică*, p. 1, available at http://cogito.ucdc.ro/nr_1/9%20-%20Calin%20Sinescu%20-%20INTERNETUL%20SI%20COMUNICAREA%20POLITICA.pdf, accessed at July 3, 2020.

⁵ Tasește Tănase, *Comunicarea politică prin social media și reacțiile publicului online*, Bucharest, University Publishing House, 2014, p. 7.

⁶ Philip J. Maarek, *Communication & marketing de l’homme politique*, Litec, Paris, 2007, p. 269.

⁷ Călin Sinescu, *Internetul și comunicarea politică*, p. 1, available at http://cogito.ucdc.ro/nr_1/9%20-%20Calin%20Sinescu%20-%20INTERNETUL%20SI%20COMUNICAREA%20POLITICA.pdf, accessed at July 7, 2020.

⁸ *2,9 miliarde de utilizatori de Internet. Studiu: evoluția pieței digitale mondiale din 2008 până în 2013*, available at <https://www.retail-fmcg.ro/esential/2-9-miliarde-de-utilizatori-de-internet-studiu-evolutia-pieteii-digitale-mondiale-din-2008-pana-in-2013.html>, accessed at July 15, 2020.

⁹ *ANCOM: Aproape 3 miliarde de utilizatori de internet în întreaga lume*, available at <https://www.bursa.ro/ancom-aproape-3-miliarde-de-utilizatori-de-internet-in-intreaga-lume-20819626>, accessed at July 3, 2020.

¹⁰ *Numărul de utilizatori de internet din lume a depășit pragul de 4 miliarde*, available at <https://www.go4it.ro/content/video/numarul-de-utilizatori-de-internet-din-lume-a-depasit-pragul-de-4-miliarde-16963938/>, accessed at July 12, 2020.

¹¹ John Bennet, *23 Statistici uimitoare despre Internet și social-media în 2020*, available at <https://ro.wizcase.com/blog/statistici-uimitoare-despre-internet-si-social-media/>, accessed at July 21, 2020.

statistic published by him, we learn that “the GDP of countries seems to be strongly correlated with the spread of the Internet, with the richest countries having a greater penetration of the Internet and vice versa. The difference between the number of internet users in North Korea and Qatar is 98.4% (Despite its size and population, North Korea has internet access for only 0.06% citizens, while Qatar and the United Arab Emirates have 99% of its citizens)”, for the following statistics to reveal the trends of continents or certain countries, by comparison – “Over the past 18 years, Africa has seen a remarkable increase of almost 10,000%, while North America has seen an increase of 219%”, “Internet use is most prevalent in North America, as well as in North and Western Europe, with penetration of over 90%, remaining low in Central and East Africa by less than 20%”, “Users in Thailand spend more time online per day than anywhere else in the world. They average up to 9 hours and 38 minutes spent online each day, while the American average is much more modest, just 6 hours and 30 minutes of web browsing”¹². The most used browser is Chrome, Google is the favorite search engine, with 90.61% of users, and Facebook is still the most popular social media platform, with over 1 billion frequently active users. “Facebook has over 2 billion monthly users, over 1 billion of whom access the site very regularly. YouTube has just over 1.5 billion users accessing content, making it the second most popular platform”¹³.

From these few data presented we see how the Internet soon became an important tool for mass communication, and electoral communication would not have deviated from this principle. In the new context, political parties address the electoral message directly to voters, without having to go through the journalistic filter. The broadcast is fast, the volume of messages transmitted is high, the transmission costs are low, and the visibility of small parties, deficient on the media, is high. This tool allows effective communication between parties and citizens, despite the fact that not all countries of the world have high speed or even internet access¹⁴.

Another advantage is permanent access to the content of the political message, requiring only a device – computer, laptop, tablet or phone – that the user can also use for active participation in the debate and interactive feedback. The rules by which information is generated are missing, and a user can also be a consumer and content creator at the same time. The consequence was the decline of the traditional press, but with exponential increase in views for the press that has gone online and understood that this is the only way to keep readers’ attention.

In recent years we are experiencing a strong development of social networks, especially Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. In the political sphere they have started to be used more and more intensively by both citizens and political institutions (politicians, parties, political communities, etc.). The use of these relatively new tools by political institutions has generated political communication

¹² *Ibidem.*

¹³ *Ibidem.*

¹⁴ See North Korea, according to Bennet's statistics.

based on social media and its inclusion in the basic strategy for election campaigns. Without considering that we are exaggerating, we see that social media has become over time, but especially in the last election years, increasingly important in creating real support for candidates in obtaining mandates. Thus, political communication has evolved and forced politicians to modernise and open themselves to the new techniques and tools that have brought them much closer to the electorate and in a direct connection with them. Voters, as internet users, have become decision-makers¹⁵ in the traditional politician-voter relationship. At the same time, social media has been found to have made its mark on political discourse as a result of the increasing use of social networks and their potential to increase political participation. By spreading information (Twitter) and using pages or groups (Facebook), in addition to political discussions between the electorate and candidates, it was also possible to collect the necessary data and information in political analyses or election campaigns.

Since 2008 we can say that new media has become an important engine of political communication and the influence of the masses. As television had been for Kennedy in 1960, thus becoming a trailblazer in this segment, so the Internet for Obama in 2008 was seen as the one that paved the way for online election campaigns. To win the presidential election he bet on *Facebook* pages, *YouTube* channels and personal websites, managing to combine in his campaign strategy the two directions – traditional and new media – in an innovative way for that time, proving the winning formula¹⁶. This is the year in which mentalities have been changed in political communication, techniques in election campaigns and people, if we refer to the change in attitude that politicians have had towards voters. Social media has become a very serious strategic point for election campaigns in the coming period, especially since a simple online discussion can become a discussion pursued by the whole planet.

After this moment, the need for politicians to be present on social media and their growing need to communicate their political ideas online become increasingly evident. At the same time, new media has enabled the identification of community problems and a better knowledge of the candidate by the electorate¹⁷. As in other fields of activity, in politics online marketing together with offline (traditional) marketing is currently the success in election campaigns, combining actions for the new generation and actions for the old generation. Classic campaigns are no longer

¹⁵ Jose van Dijck, *Users like you? Theorizing agency in user-generated content*, in “Media, Culture & Society”, vol. 31(1), 2009, pp. 41–58, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0163443708098245>, accessed at July 3, 2020.

¹⁶ Mihaela Bărbieru, *The implications of social media in political communication. A new form of electoral campaign*, in “Revista Universitară de Sociologie”, Year XI, no. 1(21), Craiova, Beladi Publishing House, 2015, pp. 44–46.

¹⁷ Stefan Stieglitz, Linh Dang-Xuan, *Social media and political communication: a social media analytics framework*, in “Social Network Analysis and Mining”, 3, pp. 1277–1291, available at <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs13278-012-0079-3>, accessed at July 15, 2020.

enough to attract all voters to the polls, just as online campaigns can't yet attract the entire electoral pool. We believe that in the not-too-distant future the greater share in political action will belong to the online environment and social media as a result of the growing number of internet users, but without being able to say whether the traditional form will disappear entirely.

As i have already specified, new-type politicians interact directly with voters, which is why they have had to be more human in their eyes. They have become less rigid, more transparent, more open and more flexible. The electorate has changed by becoming more demanding and attentive to everything around it, implicitly and to political life, more connected and open to interaction and debate. Thus, pressure criticism was generated, which did not infrequently become effective action. Politicians are increasingly willing to have generous exposure online and also provide private life information, aware that voters are avid for new things in their private lives, not just politics. As a conclusion, it is not infrequently that candidates have consciously exposed their families or passions, pets or excursions online, in a word, pretty much everything they thought could arouse the interest of the interns.

Through online access, and election messages have changed, with internet policy generating a more personalized form, with targeted addressability, at a more dynamic pace, in which everything can undergo major changes from day to day. Thus, attention-grabbing has become everyone's concern, aware that it is the reforeth that internet consumers read political information. Obviously, all kinds of bombastic titles began to appear, but also the famous, from now on, fake news spread mostly by journalists, taken over and shared by others, without any prior documentation. Messages are both general and niche, designed to the moment, with the loyalty of the target audience being much more important than unilateral messages. In addition to the advantages mentioned for social networks, we also mention the ease with which search engines are used, news communicated immediately, even in real time, the rapid fight against negative news that appears about the candidate or the party, the possibility to get in touch with various specialists, in other conditions being quite difficult.

2012 was important for Romania through the two rounds of elections, local and parliamentary, and through the dynamics of the political scene generated by changes in the party system, in the political system, by the premieres or changes of situation¹⁸. Social media has been used in both campaigns and in the referendum between them for both promotion and attacks against political opponents. It was also used to gather the supporters, organize rallies or avoid awkward debates, and Facebook became a political tool, basically an arena for the political struggle in which all the virtual supporters of the two camps could be involved¹⁹.

¹⁸ Mihaela Bărbieru, *Alegerile administrației locale din anul 2012. Rezultatele și validarea lor în județul Dolj*, in "Arhivele Olteniei", Serie nouă, nr. 27/2013, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, p. 219.

¹⁹ Monica Pătruț, *Candidates in the presidential elections in Romania (2014): the use of social media in political marketing*, in "Studies and Scientific Researches. Economics Edition", no. 21/2015, p. 130.

If 2012 is for our country the year in which the online environment became effervescent in the political context (election campaigns, political communication, political messages, attacks, etc.), it is 2014 that gives us the surprise of electing the president in a determined online variant. Social media was the great novelty of the political moment, with its major influence in overturning the situation between the two rounds, but also by the clear effect produced for the future. Since then, no political party or candidate has allowed itself to bypass online or neglect its huge potential. It became extremely clear to all politicians that online influenced things so much that a candidate who neither his own party gave him a chance to win, with a campaign staff, not very numerous, but well prepared in the virtual segment, managed to turn the situation in his favor and become president. Iohannis's well-structured campaign on social media focused on quality and diverse materials, on the coherence between the message and the candidate's image, between the needs of the electorate and the message, on establishing a target audience in urban areas between the ages of 18 and 35. Clichés were avoided and effective messages were sent to the target group²⁰. Although the candidate had serious communication skills, all these online strategies, to which we add the actions of the diaspora by transmitting in real time the grievances of the polling stations on social media²¹, all this turned Iohannis from the loser into the big winner of the election. Subsequently, following electoral or context analyses carried out by both sociologists and politicians, journalists or mere internauts, the conclusion was unanimous – in the 2014 presidential elections the decisive role was played not by the candidates, but by social media.

In 2016, in local elections, candidates lined up with the online trend. Facebook has become the main social media platform through which they communicated, with broadcasters losing their primacy both locally and nationally. Candidates initiated direct communication with voters, with TV appearances greatly diminished. Compared to the previous campaign, being on social media has become a necessity for all candidates in 2016, so we can say that it is the time when online becomes an important part of the strategy of campaign and political communication for the Romanian political environment. Voters are much more active, lacking in restraint in asking questions to any candidate or making proposals for community development, and the most accessed posts are those with political programs, which result in greater interest, compared to previous years, for the community and opportunities for development or increased living conditions. Basically, what happened in 2014 in the presidential election has made its irreversible mark on subsequent elections.

²⁰ Mihaela Bărbieru, *Accuracy Data of the Presidential Voting Outcomes to an Inferential Bias of the New Romanian Electoral Code and Electronic Vote (2014)*, in "Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques", nr. 45/2015, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing House, pp. 135–147.

²¹ An impressive number of images of Romanian citizens abroad standing in endless queues to exercise their right to vote in the first ballot were posted on Facebook in real time. Images of embassy doors closing in front of those who hadn't got to vote created a great deal of excitement online. The images were commented on and shared in Facebook, then picked up by the media.

It was realized that social media has a great capacity to influence the masses, and the Internet has become absolutely indispensable not only for the entire political class, but also for voters.

In the 2020 election year, the internet is a space where political practices have become commonplace, especially since the pandemic triggered by Cofid 19 forces parties to show up more online. Online election campaigns are constantly improved, political communication is no longer unknown to either elected or voters, the conditions for informing citizens are greatly improved, there are states where the electorate has never experienced better information during election campaigns than now. Obviously, the influence of the masses is also part of the same parameters of the online strategic evolution. Note that the Internet is a tool with multiple possibilities of exploitation not yet fully discovered and which is put both at the service of the citizen and in the service of the state.

Through political competition in online the electoral spectrum has been exceeded, the voter being seen as a consumer of political offers, and the polls being directed only on problems, not on solutions to the problems raised. However, the online environment retains a smaller sense that the population matters to politicians only every four years, as happens in traditional environments. Politicians are more easily targeted at masses or individuals and in times when there is no electoral competition. Online communities are stronger and more numerous now than in previous years, and politicians can communicate, transmit election messages and interact with their voters throughout their term of office, not just during election campaigns. We can say that a participatory democracy can develop through online means, in which promoters are political parties in constant contact with voters. As an open space, where everyone knows each other, the Internet contributes greatly to communication and interaction, as well as to the emergence of political ideas or bussines. Nor should we forget the electoral behaviour of voters who, through internet consumption, have changed. This type of electorate is more educated, more active, more demanding, up-to-date with news, learned with remote work, with online press, with interpersonal communication through messages. Thus, it is mandatory for politicians to adapt their political messages according to the requirements of this kind of electorate. The present generates a future in which online political competition and online election campaigns will gain more and more ground in the face of traditional methods and will exceed the exclusive electoral spectrum.

As a natural evolution of things, electronic voting has also become a necessity in the context of the evolution of the Internet. In 2002, the European Commission recommended the electronic voting system to the European states through the CyberVote programme, which was tested in the same year in France for the local council, and in 2003 in Germany at the University of Bremen. Other countries that tested electronic voting were Australia, Sweden, Austria, Canada, Japan, Estonia, Switzerland and Norway. A real success was achieved by Estonia

in 2011, when it was used by 24% of voters²². For now, due to numerous suspicions of fraud, this voting system is not widely used, with many of the states that have tested it by having already given up, such as Germany, which banned it in its entirety in 2009, Ireland, which introduced it in 2002 and subsequently gave it up, the United Kingdom, which tried it in certain local elections but did not generalize it, as well as other states that tested it without approving it by law²³. France and the Netherlands have given up for security reasons in 2017 and Switzerland in 2019²⁴. The exception to the rule makes Estonia, which uses it in its entirety, even with the possibility for the voter to change its option. Although it is a thorny issue for now, raising the suspicion of fraud, there are more and more technological developments in recent times for the completion of this electronic voting system and the internet voting system. We believe that these problems will be overcome in the not too distant future so that electronic voting and internet voting can be implemented on a macro scale. We also believe that such an approach is all the more necessary today if we refer to the health crisis triggered by Covid 19.

Doing a retrospective analysis of political campaigns, political communication and politics in general, we believe that conceptual changes have taken place in the way they are approached in the context of the emergence of the Internet in our lives. There has been, and continues to be, a progressive integration of the Internet into political systems by joining it with other media channels, but not completely replacing them to this point. We also believe that there has been a kind of revolution by changing relations between the elected and the electors, if we take into account the possibility of all citizens to take an active part in the political life of states. The political message is disseminated and debated incomparably more than traditional methods, and social media users are also vectors of political communication and influencing the masses, not just consumers.

Undoubtedly, the future places social media as the main channel of political communication, and candidates who do not use it will cancel out all their chances in political or electoral competition and become invisible to the masses. The electoral strategy will be built exclusively around this means of communication and influencing the masses.

²² D. Chilea, *Votul electronic, o necesitate în epoca tehnologiei digitale*, in “Expert electoral”, nr. 4(8)/2014, pp. 33–38; A. Trechsel, M. Alvarez, *Internet Voting in Estonia*, in “Voting Technology Project”, 2008, available at http://vote.caltech.edu/sites/default/files/vtp_wp60.pdf, accessed at July 12, 2020.

²³ D. Chilea, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

²⁴ *Votul electronic nu este încă o soluție*, available at <https://www.apti.ro/votul-electronic-nu-e-inca-o-solutie>, accessed at July 12, 2020.

THE “RENAULT” BUSINESS AND THE VISIT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN TRADE FROM FRANCE, CHARLES DE CHAMBRUN (1966)

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Abstract: Because the representatives of the “Renault” and “Volkswagen” companies did not show any interest, in the period 1973–1976, for a collaboration in the direction expected by the authorities from Bucharest, Nicolae Ceaușescu agreed on the prime minister Manea Mănescu signing a contract and several industrial and financial collaboration agreements, with the purpose of producing, at Craiova, under French licence, the models “Citroën Visa Spécial” and “Citroën Visa Club” (called in Romania, “Oltcit Special” and “Oltcit Club”).

Meanwhile, the collaboration of Romania with “Renault” National Administration continued according to the intentions expressed by the prime minister Raymond Barre and Manea Mănescu in Paris (the 17th of December 1976), and the Romanian-French agreement concluded in the summer of 1978 (Bucharest, the 12th of June 1978), having the purpose to certify the continuation of “Dacia 1300” production, along with certain subsets, electric engines, dashboard instruments and components for the machines used in the car industry from Romania.

Keywords: fields, authority, car manufacturing industry, Renault company, development.

In the last decade, were written, both in Romania and abroad, several studies and analyses that refer to the success registered by “Renault” French company, on addressing “Dacia Logan”, “Dacia MCV”, “Dacia Sandero” and “Dacia Duster” car makes. First produced at the Colibași plant, they had, since the beginning, a low selling price, as compared to other makes of renowned companies.

Due to a special interest manifested for understanding the manner in which “Dacia” products reached the commercial success during the period 2004–2014, we are to present, further on, the beginning of the cooperation between the authorities from Romania and the “Renault” company.

At the beginning of the ‘60s, the authorities from Bucharest analysed the possibility to start the mass production, in Romania, of an average class car, (approx. 40,000–50,000 cars a year). In other states from Europe, the production

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levels, reached in the first decade, were 693,672 (Italy, 1961), 32,000 (Yugoslavia, 1962), 64,325 (Czechoslovakia, 1962), 78,000 (Czechoslovakia, 1965), over 200,000 (USSR, 1965), 25,000 (Poland, 1965) and 36,000 cars made a year (D.R.G., 1965)¹.

The research on the car characteristics, expected by the Romanian authorities, ended on the 7th of December 1965, and the calls to tender were sent to some renowned companies in this field: “Renault”, “Peugeot”, “FIAT”, “Volkswagen” and “British Motor Corporation” (that was producing, among others, “Austin Mini Morris Mark I”, “Austin 1100” and “Morris 1100”). Moreover, other projects appeared too, preceded by “Alfa Romeo”, “Leyland Motor Corporation Limited” (that launched in London the model “Triumph 1300”, in October 1965) and “Ford” (model “Ford Taunus 12M”)².

The French companies initially presented the “Renault 10” and “Renault 16” models, respectively “Peugeot 204”, while the Italian brands proposed the models “FIAT 1100 D” and “Alfa Romeo Giulia 1300”.

After a thorough research, Nicolae Ceaușescu agreed on the offer for producing “Renault 12”, starting with the first semester of 1969. The contract between the two parties was signed at Bucharest, on the 6th of September 1966, and the Romanian version of the model was renamed “Dacia 1300”. Ten days later, the Ministry Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopted the Decision no. 2004, in which was mentioned the name of the company that they were to cooperate with, the place for the positioning of the plant (next to “Vasile Tudose” machine parts factory), and the number of vehicles that were to be made at Colibași: 55,000 cars a year, from which 11,000 had to be vans, inspired by the standard model.

This decision came as a surprise for both the Italians and Mr. Cornel Burtică (the Romanian ambassador to Rome). The ministry of the External Affairs, Mr. Corneliu Mănescu, paid an official visit in Italy (5th–7th of September 1966) and discussed, among other topics, with the “Alfa Romeo” company representatives, about their offer: the licensed production, in Romania, of “Alfa Romeo Giulia 1300” model, and the delivering of a bus production line. In the same time, Corneliu Mănescu communicated to the Italian company representatives that the

¹ Valentina Fava, *Motor vehicles vs. dollars: selling socialist cars in neutral markets. Some evidence from the Škoda Auto case*, European University Institute, Max Weber Programme, Italy, EUI Working Paper MWP, No. 36/2007, p. 7; Idem, *COMECON Integration and the Automobile Industry: the Czechoslovak Case*, European University Institute, Max Weber Programme, Italy, EUI Working Paper MWP, No. 18/2008, pp. 12; 20; Marko Miljković, *Western Technology in a Socialist Factory: The Formative Phase of the Yugoslav Automobile Industry, 1955–1962*, Budapest, Hungary, Central European University, 2013, pp. 78–79; 96; Valentin Vasile, “Sub imperiul ispitei”. *Autoturismul, românii și Securitatea în anii '70–'80*, in “Caietele CNSAS”, year VI, no. 1–2 (11–12)/2013, Bucharest, CNSAS Press, 2014, p. 259.

² Valentin Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 260; Nicolae Macovei, *Povestea unui succes. 50 de ani de la producerea primului autoturism Dacia*, in “Magazin istoric”, year LI – new series, no. 9 (618), September 2018, p. 38.

final decision had not been adopted yet by the Romanian authorities³. This affirmation was an unpleasant surprise for the hosts, considering the circumstances that “Renault” and “Industrialimport” Romanian company announced that they had signed a contract for producing the new car models in Romania, even during the official visit of Corneliu Mănescu in Italy.

The price accepted by the Romanian authorities and “Renault” company for the entire business was of approximately 35 million French francs (42,525,000 lei Western currency) and it was including the importing, by Romania, of some complete collections of subsets and spare parts for setting “Renault 8” (from 1968) and “Renault 12” (from 1969) models, the import of 8,000 cars from France (offering, for example, “Renault 10” and Renault 16”), and the export of chemical and industrial products of 18 million dollars value – this export covering 40% of the complete subset import value, and car parts, along with the value of the vehicles that were delivered by France in Romania, in the period 1966–1976⁴.

The Romanian authorities accepted to pay 20% of the licence value, after they had received it from “Renault”, and 80% from the sum for the licence was paid in installments, until 1976. Meanwhile, the complete collections of subsets, along with the vehicles sent to Romania, were paid in a percent of 10%, the moment they were received, the rest in four years (that credit having an interest of 5.75%). On addressing the equipment and the outfit delivered by “Renault”, the Romanian party agreed on paying 20% of their value, when they would be checked and signed for in the country, and 80% would be paid as a credit, in 8 years, with an interest of 6% a year⁵.

According to the contract signed on the 6th of September 1966, the French party delivered to Colibași plant, in 1968, a line for manufacturing the gear boxes, used for “Renault Estafette” vans. The Romanian authorities set it in work in the same year, for delivering 75,000 gears and spare parts for “Estafette” (especially front-rear axles), in the period 1969–1972 – the total value of the products supplied by Romania being of approximately 35.5 million francs⁶. In the same time, the authorities from Bucharest observed that the price the French were purchasing the gear boxes for “Estafette”, made at Colibași, was lower than the expected one.

Consequently, Nicolae Ceaușescu and Ilie Verdeț mentioned that aspect during their official visit in France (the 15th–17th of June 1970). The two Romanian politicians insisted, during the discussions with Georges Pompidou, and respectively the Prime-Minister Jacques Chaban-Delmas, for reducing the French customs taxes

³ Rodica Chelaru, *Culpe care nu se uită. Convorbiri cu Cornel Burtică*, Bucharest, Curtea Veche Publishing, 2001, pp. 73–74.

⁴ Valentin Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ Central Historical National Archives (further cited as: A.N.I.C.), *collection of C.C. within R.C.P. – Chancellery*, file no. 218/1968, f. 58. “Renault Estafette” was renamed “Dacia D6” in Romania. This car was using a 1289 cm³ engine (54 CP) fitted on “Dacia 1300” model too, and it was dedicated to goods transportation.

for the Romanian products made within the French-Romanian cooperation agreements and gave as example the possible reduction of the taxes for the gear boxes made at Colibași for “Estafette” cars. The French president affirmed that the problem the Romanian guests were noticing had to be analysed and solved by the French company that was involved in the project⁷.

After an evaluation of the economic efficiency obtained by Colibași plant, Nicolae Ceaușescu tried to develop the Romanian automobile industry and, during the year of 1973, the authorities from Bucharest proposed to “Renault” company the setting in Romania of a mixt production and commercialisation company, for some car models that consumed less fuel⁸.

A year later, the representatives of the French company carried out negotiations with the Romanian party, for the shared production of “Renault 5” model, which had three variants of motorisation: 900, 1100 and 1297 cm³. It was expected to be done in a proportion of 70% in Romania, the rest of the subsets and parts being imported from France. Because the project was considered very expensive by the authorities from Bucharest, the negotiations between the two parts failed⁹.

In parallel, it was attempted a collaboration with “Volkswagenwerk AG”, without a favourable result, and during the meeting between Nicolae Ceaușescu and Kurt Biedenkopf, the general secretary of the Christian-Democrat Union (Bucharest, the 27th of June 1974), the president of Romania expressing his regret for the fact that “*the «Volkswagen» collaboration in a mixt Romanian-German company has not been yet materialised (A/N)*”¹⁰. Basically, it was the second failed attempt of the government from Bucharest to conclude a collaboration contract with the west-German company.

Later, Romania started to export “Dacia 1300” automobiles in D.R.G. and, in November 1979, it was reached the level of 35,000 items made at Colibași plant, for the east-German market. The Eastern Berlin authorities were importing, at that time, different cars from USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Sweden and Italy¹¹.

⁷ Paul Grecu, *Vizita președintelui României în Franța (15–17 iunie 1970)*, in Nicolae Ecobescu (coord.), *România: Supraviețuire și afirmare prin diplomație în anii Războiului Rece. Comunicări, articole, studii*, vol. 3, Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing, 2014, pp. 461–462. Unfortunately, the title of this study contains an error: Nicolae Ceaușescu was not a president of Romania in June 1970, but a president of the State Council of The Social Republic of Romania.

⁸ A.N.I.C., *collection of C.C. within R.C.P. – Chancellery*, file no. 194/1973 (vol. I), f. 137.

⁹ Valentin Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 264. According to the documents drafted by “Renault” company representatives, Romania had to pay, for a collection of “Renault 5 subsets, a price that was over the one previously established for a “Renault 12” vehicle.

¹⁰ Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) Daily Reports, *Daily Report*. Eastern Europe, FBIS-EEU-74-128 on 1974-07-02. Romania (Further Details) [Page H7].

¹¹ Idem, *Daily Report*. Eastern Europe, FBIS-EEU-79-228 on 1979-11-26. Reportage on activities of foreign congress delegates, Romania, (SED Delegation at Car Plant) [Page H14].

In 1976, the maximum capacity of production from Colibași was of 58,000 automobiles a year, and during his visit in France (the 15th–17th of December 1976), Manea Mănescu invited all the “Renault” company engineers to participate at “Dacia” car production development, while the specialists from “Thomson-CSF” French company were encouraged to take part in the project of equipment endowment of the second Romanian television channel¹².

On addressing the reliability issues, registered at the Romanian cars, and denounced by the customers, they were present in all the car models, made in Romania. For example, as regarding “Dacia” and “Aro”, there was registered malfunctioning in the electric systems and the engine sealing components, the gears, fuel pumps and other pieces. Moreover, the clients were complaining about the suspicious noise coming from the engines and gears, the exfoliating paint, the different coachwork elements that were oxidising, and the storage batteries that were discharging too fast¹³.

Regarding the initial qualities of the automobiles delivered by the plant from Colibași, nowadays, it is known the fact that the assembling of “Dacia 1300” cars (the standard model, with an engine of 1108 cm³ and 46 HP) had the following evolution, from the quantitative point of view: 2,030 (in 1968), 12,375 (1969), 12,122 (1970) and 11,019 cars (1971). Moreover, until 1972, and including, there were also sold approximately 6,400 automobiles of the same type in Romania (probably imported directly from France), and there were set up few dozens of “Dacia 1100 S” cars, which had a more powerful engine (1360cm³ and 65 HP) and two pairs of headlights. The same model was distributed to some sectors of the Internal Affairs Minister, and some sports clubs.

In the period August – December 1969, at Colibași, there were set up 203 “Dacia 1300” cars, and none of them was exported. In the next year, there were sold, abroad, the first four cars “Renault 12” model (from 4,128 made in Romania, in 1970) and 5,405 “M-416” off-road vehicles. Until mid of 1972, on “Dacia 1300” model, there were fitted up engines imported from France (Type 810–02) and Solex EISA single-body carburettors. Then, they were fitted up with engines produced in Romania (Type 810–99) and carburettors made at the “Carfil”, plant from Brașov (under the licence of “Weber” Italian company).

The political meetings had an important role in the dialogue between the authorities from Bucharest and “Renault” company leadership. Nicolae Ceaușescu and Ion Gheorghe Maurer understood from the beginning that the success in that business could not be obtained without the major support of the political authorities

¹² Idem, *Daily Report*. Eastern Europe, FBIS-EEU-76-245 on 1976-12-20. Romania (Manescu, Barre and Paris talks, sign documents) [Page H2]; Idem, *Daily Report*. Western Europe, FBIS-WEU-76-246 on 1976-12-21. France (Manescu discusses contracts with French Companies) [Page K1]; Idem, *Daily Report*. Eastern Europe, FBIS-EEU-78-114 on 1978-06-13. Romania (Long-term agreement with Renault signed) [Page H9].

¹³ Valentin Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

from Paris. Thus, after the concluding of the collaboration contract for the manufacturing, in Romania, of "Renault 12" model, the Romanian authorities prepared for the visit in Romania, of the secretary of state for the external commerce of France, Charles de Chambrun. At the end of it, the French guest was welcomed by Nicolae Ceaușescu and Ion Gheorghe Maurer, and the shorthand record of the reunion is going to be presented entirely, further on.

ANNEX

September 26 1966, Bucharest.

Shorthand record of the discussions on the occasion Nicolae Ceaușescu and Ion Gheorghe Maurer received the visit of the secretary of state for external trade from France, Charles de Chambrun.

THE SHORTHAND RECORD

of the discussions on the occasion Nicolae Ceaușescu and Ion Gheorghe Maurer received the visit of the secretary of state for external trade from France, Charles de Chambrun, on the 26th of September 1966

The discussions were also attended by comrades: Gheorghe Cioară, member of C.C. within R.C.P. (Romanian Communist Party), the minister of external trade and Andrei Păcuraru, member of C.C. within R.C.P., chief of Affairs Department of C.C. within R.C.P. Jean Louis Pons, the ambassador of France at Bucharest was present.

The discussions started at 9.00 a.m. and lasted for 30 minutes.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: I am very impressed that you have been available to receive my visit this morning, before my depart.

I need to tell you that this short visit of mine in Romania interested me a lot, and impressed me equally.

Cmrd. Nicolae Ceaușescu: Allow me to express our satisfaction for the visit of mister minister in our country, and for the results this visit has generated.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: I took the liberty to address, on my government behalf, an invitation to mister minister Cioară, for visiting France. During the discussions that we had here, I have analysed a series of issues, which I think could be usefully approached in Paris. I wish to put forward a bill of programme in the future 15 days. Nonetheless, you can rest assured that my government wants to extend the relations with Romania, in all the fields: technical, economic and cultural.

Cmrd. Nicolae Ceaușescu: We consider that the relations between our countries, so far, have been auspicious: I am referring to the economic, cultural, scientific and political relations. And these certainly represent circumstances for the future development. The wish is present on the Romanian side too, and, being a common desire of Romania and France, I am confident that there is nothing to impede the further development.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: I have been profoundly impressed by the sincerity expressed in my discussions with mister minister Cioară, in which he explained to me both

the strengths and the weaknesses in your programmes. This is something that will make his stay in France extremely useful.

Cmr. I.Gh. Maurer: It is true, and, in this manner, there will be found a means of collaboration, adequate to the necessities.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: As far as we are concerned, we will do our best, because the increase of these exchanges is extraordinary, the Romanian exports increased considerably in France.

Cmr. I.Gh. Maurer: We need to provide you with the means for payments.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: Maybe we have a small advantage compared to you: with the help of electronics, we can easily see the development of the commercial exchanges; I told mister minister Cioară that the numbers doubled.

Cmr. Nicolae Ceaușescu: This is indeed an advantage, but it also needs to help us in the collaboration between us; we also want to be able to calculate the amount of the imports and exports in France.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: We can provide you with these numbers easily.

Cmr. I.Gh. Maurer: You also have the advantage of the electrotechnical industry that is developing rapidly.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: I thought that, during the visit project that I am going to present to mister minister Cioară, I should include the visiting of an electronic calculation centre.

Cmr. I.Gh. Maurer: Electronics is one of our weaknesses and we are thinking we should take measures to change it.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: There ought to be chosen certain fields where the applications prove to be more useful.

Cmr. I.Gh. Maurer: This situation is met in almost all the fields; there is no need for too much extension.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: I have been thinking about how mister minister Cioară will have the possibility to visit an electronic research centre, where we carry out experiments, with really good results.

Cmr. Nicolae Ceaușescu: This is a field where we are left behind, but we intend to advance faster, to catch up.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: I think the future research is not greatly influenced by this delay; it is more important to understand which are the unexploited sectors.

Cmr. I.Gh. Maurer: Indeed, this aspect weighs a lot.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: Mister president Maurer speaks French excellently. I am glad to see many Romanians who speak French.

Cmr. I.Gh. Maurer: The Romanians were educated in the French culture. For me, the French language is the second mother tongue.

Cmr. Nicolae Ceaușescu: Have you managed to visit anything in Romania?

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: Yesterday I visited Brașov. On Saturday I visited the petrochemical complex from Brazi, where I could see your achievement so far, and where I was informed on the future perspectives.

My visit in Romania gave me the possibility to create a general impression on your country. Few of my family members had told me how beautiful the Carpathian region is. I am now convinced of it.

Cmr. I.Gh. Maurer: Unfortunately, you missed luck when hunting.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: I reckon the first battue was too long and the game was agitated.

Cmrđ. I.Gh. Maurer: When you return, you will be more successful. I do not think there are many regions as rich in game as ours.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: I think there are a lot of wild boars; I saw many wild boar trails.

One of my biggest desires was to go to the Danube Delta.

Cmrđ. I.Gh. Maurer: You need to come towards the end of November, that time is a good hunting season.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: Although the situation was not favourable at hunting, yet, the experience was extremely pleasant; the region is stunning.

Cmrđ. I.Gh. Maurer: Actually, it is one of the places that are abundant in game. When you come back, we shall give it a try once more.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: I think my unsuccess is due to the first battue; it was too long.

I heard a bear passing before my shooting spot, but because the leaves did not fall, it hid easily.

Cmrđ. I.Gh. Maurer: As a matter of fact, the ideal season for bear hunting is towards the end of October. The forest is defoliated then and it is more difficult for the bear to hide.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: The imperatives of commerce do not allow us to choose the most convenient moment for hunting.

Cmrđ. Nicolae Ceaușescu: This sometimes happens when you hunt.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: It is nonetheless the charm of the chase.

Cmrđ. Nicolae Ceaușescu: To go and hunt nothing!

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: I was impressed by the trophy from “Cerbul Carpatin”.

Cmrđ. I.Gh. Maurer: Mr. Ceaușescu has many such trophies in his panoply.

Cmrđ. Nicolae Ceaușescu: This is a game appropriate for the younger hunters, for stags one needs to climb higher.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: Which is the procedure for hunting stags, to stay on watch?

Cmrđ. I.Gh. Maurer: You stay on watch and wait for them to come.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: A sport that has gained a lot of interest, in France, is crossbow shooting; it presents the advantage that one can shoot without making any noise. It is difficult to organise a hunting in which the game to be chased by horse riders, because the roads are getting busier and busier. I do not think there are more than 5–6 teams in France that practice it.

Horse-riding is also a sport that has become widespread in France. After the war, almost 10–15 years, this sport enjoyed a smaller attention, but now, it has started to regain the interest of the people for it. In my department, I have organised few competitions to attract more tourists.

Cmrđ. Nicolae Ceaușescu: Yet, one can hunt well in Romania. But it is also room for a better organisation.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: Nevertheless, I think that the first battue was too long.

Mr. Jean Louis Pons: There were two successive mountain sides and the animals crossed the line of the beaters easily. There were trails, a proof that shows that there is good game.

Cmrđ. I.Gh. Maurer: In two days of hunting, we shot 40 wild boars and a bear.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: I noticed that there are a lot of mushrooms in the places where we hunted. I told mister minister Cioară which are the main markets for selling the mushrooms, especially considering that their import is free. Do not think that it is an

insignificant aspect: there is a variety of mushroom, which I saw in your region, that is preferred on the Marseille market. Last year, in my department, there were obtained 1,5 million dollars from selling mushrooms.

Cmrđ. I.Gh. Maurer: Generally, the berries are extremely popular.

Dl. Charles de Chambrun: As a saying goes that the big rivers are made of the smaller streams, the same way, this source of income should not be neglected.

Cmrđ. Nicolae Ceaușescu: But we cannot pay “Renault” with mushrooms!

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: Yet, 1,5 million dollars is not a neglectable amount of money.

Cmrđ. Nicolae Ceaușescu: Just fancy comrade Cioară, to sell in France 1,5 million-dollar worth mushrooms in France.

Cmrđ. Gheorghe Cioară: Mister minister has got me into trouble.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: Maybe it would not be a bad idea to send a specialist, who would be able to identify the varieties of demanded mushrooms.

I started to organise mushroom picking in my department, because, essentially, it is a rural department and I had to find complementary activities. Besides the forest-grown mushrooms, we also harvest a vegetal moss, from which there is made a fixating agent for perfumes. It allowed us the opening of a perfume factory.

I think we should look for using all the possibilities. A complementary activity, for which people work 10–15 days a year, is an excellent option.

Cmrđ. I.Gh. Maurer: And if we won few millions of dollars from harvesting the berries, it would be very good.

Mr. Charles de Chambrun: One of my collaborators, who was still-hunting, noticed a mushroom that is very rare, and which the French adore. It is called “leg-of-lamb”, because it has the shape of a sheep leg.

Yet, do not worry, I not would wait mister minister Cioară in France to talk only about the issue on the mushrooms! (laughter)

Central Historical National Archives, *collection of C.C. within R.C.P. – External Affairs Department*, file no. 120/1966, ff. 2–8.

NATIONAL-HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS ON POLITICAL-JURIDICAL STATUS OF THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES DURING 1683–1880

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Abstract: The failure of the second siege the Ottoman Empire Army carried against Vienna, in 1683 (the first was in the time of the Sultan Suleyman Kanuni –The Magnificent, in 1529), was the moment the Ottoman Empire was on defensive positions until 1878, the time for the Romanian independence.

The article points out the main opinions on the international status, as they appear in the national historiography.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Russian Empire, Habsburg Empire, Romanian Principalities, national historiography.

I. PRELIMINARIES

Status changes in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century

The Romanian Modern Age history can be defined as a merge between two fundamental manifestations, the programmatic action and the revolutionary one, to which were added the wars of European and international importance. It is noticeable that in all these types of actions, the diplomacy and the political speech had a determinant role. In 1856, it is ended up the long period of the foreign military occupations in the Romanian Principalities, Moldova and Wallachia. The revolutions from 1821, 1848–1849, the uprising of the frontier guards during the foreign occupation from the Crimean War period, showed that the Principalities needed modernisation. The Tsarist Russia was intending to introduce a series of reforms that would allow the possible annexation of the Principalities, while the Romanian progressists, involved in the revolutionary European current wanted the emancipation of the Principalities. After the Congress of Paris Congress from the 30th of March 1856, the Romanian Principalities were entering under the collective

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guarantee of the Great European Powers, concluding the Tsarist Protectorate, and keeping the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire¹.

Firstly, in the second half of the 18th century, the external status of the Principalities changed, through the elimination of the Ottoman economic monopoly and the emerging of the interest shown by Russia for the Principalities. Russia, on its way towards the straits, needed to be able to control the situation from the Principalities. To fight against the Ottomans in the Caucasus was more difficult from the military point of view and much more complicated, on addressing the war expenses.

The historian Daniela Bușă notes down: *“If analysing the international status of the Principalities and excluding the interest Russia was showing for the area (the control of them and the expansion towards the Lower Danube and the Straits), its protectorate brought the Romanian Principalities the beginning point for re-establishing the full autonomy, many times infringed by the Porte during the 18th century. Thus, between 1774–1821, there were reconfirmed the former provisions that were guaranteeing the autonomy as: the interdiction of the Ottoman subjects to enter the Principalities without a special firman, to own properties, the ones obtained abusively being mandatorily returned, the restriction of the Ottoman traders to enter the northern Danube region, the regulating on addressing the sentencing in the cases that involved Ottoman and Romanian subjects, the establishing of the ruling period for 7 years, and, extremely important, the conditioning to have the agreement of the suzerain and the protective powers for the earlier dethronement. Far from representing new regulations, they were nonetheless acknowledging the observing of the autonomy for the Principalities, which “were receiving the European recognition, especially through the fact that Russia was instituted as its guarantor”².*

Undoubtedly, the 1848 moment, which was continuing the desiderates from 1821, was the milestone in changing the status of the Romanian Principalities. Europe saw the fight of a people that wanted to have a unite country, not the isolated fight of some related ethnic groups. The fact that the nephew of Napoleon I, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, was leading France as a president impelled by the revolutionary context, and then as an emperor, Napoleon III, made that the former Italian or Romanian revolutionary men to find sympathy in his plans, due to the fact that he paid attention to the memoires and the campaigns carried out by the exiled Romanian forty-eighters. These people’s exile managed the bringing forward of the Romanian issue on the agenda of the great chancellery.

Balta Liman Convention from 1849 provisioned that the rulers, who were chosen for seven years, to be appointed high officials of the Ottoman Empire,

¹ Romanian Academy, *Istoria Românilor*, Volume VII, Book I, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing, 2003, pp. 228–229.

² For details, see <https://identitateinter.wordpress.com/istorie-si-relatii-internationale/consideratii-privind-statutul-juridic-al-principatelor-romane/>, accessed on July 4 2020.

which was not tolerated by the Romanians, especially by the exiled forty-eighters. Thus, the Principalities were, in 1849, under an abusively extended suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire and a harsh Protectorate of Russia.

When Russia attacked the Ottoman Empire in 1853, England, France and Austria decided to support the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and, at Paris, in 1856, the Romanian issue became a European one, that is, the Union of the Principalities was an applying plan.

The academician Dan Berindei notes that: *“Since the summer of 1856, at Craiova, there were meetings taken place ‘almost every day’. The welcoming of the European commissaries also offered the opportunity of organising great manifestations. At Bacău, France’s commissary was welcomed by 3,000 people, who ‘were crowding’ into his carriage, unharnessed the horses and then pulled the carriage using ‘scarves in the colours of the national flag of the Union’”*³.

The compromise from Osborne between England and France from 1858, the Convention from the same year, represented the signal for the continuation of the Romanian fight for the Union of the Principalities. England and France were aware of the fact that Russia would become closer to the Ottoman Empire again, that the German nations might have an influence in Europe, therefore, the emerging of a new state located at the Danube mouths could have been seen as a “successful recipe”, a reiteration of the anterior support of England for Belgium and Holland, meaning that the Rhine mouths could not have been French or German. Thus, the Danube mouths were to be international, Russia was to be removed, and the international status should have been somehow supported by the future buffer-state of the United Principalities of Wallachia and Moldova.

The Romanian forty-eighters understood what they were expected. Later on, they knew how to present the already materialised situation to Europe.

Thus, the diplomacy, the merging between the revolutionary sympathies and the manner in which the Romanian forty-eighters approached the idea of the Union, from the perspective of some veritable states people, represented the key for the success of the double election, in January 1859, of the ruler Alexandru Ioan Cuza⁴.

The historian Iulian Oncescu notes that: *“Following its course, with a sinuous trajectory, with its stages and resorts, the French policy that was aiming at, since 1856, the Union of the Romanian Principalities as a target in the south-eastern Europe, was therefore being registered, in January 1859, the expected success, through exclusively diplomatic means. The gratitude of the Romanians, officially formulated by Cuza, was real and solid, and Napoleon III was its first personal*

³ See more, Florin Nacu, *Împlinirea dezideratului revoluționar pașoptist în timpul domniei lui Alexandru Ioan Cuza*, Opera Omnia Collection, Cartea de Istorie, Iași, Tipo Moldova Publishing, 2015.

⁴ See more, Florin Nacu, *European influences in reforming social structures of modern Romania*, in “Sociology, Education Sciences, International Relations”, Conference GIDNI 2, “ARHIPELAG XXI” Press, 2015, pp. 274–278.

beneficiary. France was “our great friend”, “the protector of the Principalities”, as it was affirmed at Iași at some point, and such a relation, became, inevitably, for the Romanians, the solid ground for the difficulties inherently expected after the recently accomplished Union.

There can be noticed that France, which gave a decisive support to the Romanian cause, in 1856–1859, even if, on the way, there were also registered some halts, also made use of the secret plans of the emperor Napoleon III, who interfered personally for solving the Romanian issue. In reality, as one of the most important and well-informed historian on the Romanian-French relations from the Union period said, “the facts are way more complicated than they are depicted in the diplomatic documents”⁵.

II. THE STATUS OF THE PRINCIPALITIES BETWEEN 1856 AND 1880

Consequently, the period 1856–1859 was the last opportunity for accomplishing the Union. The Paris Convention from 1858 represented the constitutional base for the Union, the ground for the international status of the Romanian Principalities, which were to become united. England and France wanted to have a close relation with the political elite from Bucharest, in order to have control over the disputes between the Ottomans and the Russians, which were to start in the next 21 years. England and France knew that neither Russia, nor Prussia were going to stand still, wishing to expand their territories on the account of Austria, and they were even familiar with the situation that, at some point, Germany was going to push towards a bigger war, due to the ambitions expressed by Otto von Bismarck.

In the period of 1857–1859, in the Principalities, there were two tendencies manifesting, a unionist and a loyalist one, specific for the liberals and respectively to the conservatives. The first were representing the forty-eight elite who reached its maturity, the others, the conservative majority, in accordance to the legislation based on the qualification. Between these two groups, there were the peasants, the main economic producers and performers of the military service, lacking political rights, but having great fiscal obligations. Europe, as in the case of Greece before, was considering that only a foreign prince was going to be able to ensure the modernisation of the Principalities, which were going to have a formal union. Yet, through memoirs, speeches, diplomatic actions, the Romanian liberal elite managed to impose itself and present Europe with a “fait accompli”, represented by the double election of the ruler Alexandru Ioan Cuza, in both Moldova and Wallachia.

⁵ For details, see [https://www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/politica-orientala-a-lui-
napoleon-al-iii-lea-si-destinul-romaniei-
moderne?fb_comment_id=909293852529218_909379559187314](https://www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/politica-orientala-a-lui-napoleon-al-iii-lea-si-destinul-romaniei-moderne?fb_comment_id=909293852529218_909379559187314), accessed on July 6 2020.

The academician Dan Berindei notes that: *“The foreign military occupation and the regime, set up through the agreement between the Russian and the Ottoman Empires, could not erase from the collective memory of the revolutionary days. To that, it was added the restless activity of the revolutionary leaders, exiled abroad, the urges received through their correspondence or publications, along with the actions of the people involved in the revolution, who had suffered, most of them, from the internal rigors. Very significant was the international transformation that occurred in the summer of 1853, not only after the breaking of the Crimean War, but especially after the South-East Europe and the Low Danube regions had been included in the circle of interests of the great western powers. If they had not manifested opposition against the repressive actions of Russia in 1848, this time, they interfered with the arms, and manifested their undoubtful desire to include, in the following period, the Principalities, in their direct area of interest. It was not by chance that a correspondent of “The Augsburg Gazette” was writing, in 1856, that “The rapid change that has occurred among the public opinion from the Principalities, since the beginning of the oriental crisis, might look extraordinary, if not inexplicable, to a stranger to the situation”⁶.*

Undoubtedly, the double election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza was a registered mark of the forty-eighters’ diplomacy, who passed the exam of transforming themselves from revolutionaries into state people.

Dumitru Brătianu was writing that: *“The cry that announces the Union of the Principalities! The sovereignty of the Romanian state! Let it pierce the mountains, pass through our fields, valleys and hills, and fill the air, let it reach the most remote places on earth, for the whole world to find that the Union is the breath of the Romanian people, is the voice of Romania itself”.*

On the 24th of January 1862, that is, three years after the double election, there could be mentioned the name of Romania, as a modern, unitary state, yet without the national independence. It was obtained 15 years later, when the international context allowed it, although certain actions had also been seen during the ruling of Alexandru Ioan Cuza. His dethroning was done through an action as a compromise between the liberals and the conservatives, which was intending the fulfilment of the decisions from 1857, of bringing a foreign prince. Although the age of Cuza was one of the great accomplishments, although his dethroning was sometimes perceived as a great injustice, the reasons that imposed this measure can lean the balance of accepting it as part of the history, more than the lack-of-honour manner, in which it was done. Alexandru Ioan Cuza had assumed the authoritarian governing on the 2nd/14th of May 1864, excluding the parliamentary debate, which was natural only during a transitional period⁷.

⁶ For details, see <https://www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/propaganda-pentru-unire-inainte-de-adunatile-ad-hoc>, accessed on July 6 2020.

⁷ Vladimir Osiac, *Istoria modernă a României*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, 1999, p. 147.

The Romanian political class had to fight for the consolidation of the Union. The adversaries of the Union became the opposition of Ruler Cuza, only that he had understood that the interest of the country was to not encourage the former forty-eighters. Napoleon III supported Cuza, on the acknowledgement of his double election and the Union, including the Ottomans and the Austrians, during his life period. Cuza knew that, in 1857, it was decided that the ruling of the principalities to be taken over by a foreign ruler, and that the forty-eighters would not hesitate to change him, at the right moment.

Knowing that he had a limited mandate, he tried to dedicate his time to the great reforms, but he also undermined his position, especially after he tested the alliance with the Italian, Polish revolutionaries, after supporting the crossing of the armies bought from Russia, by the Serbians.

Consequently, the abdication of Alexandru Ioan Cuza and the arrival of Prince Carol must be regarded as a necessary measure for the continuation of the Union.

Napoleon III, due to the success generated by the Italian support, to the fights between the German and Austrian fights, decided to support the acknowledgement of the Prince Carol ruling by the Sultan, who, having the advantage that he was part of leading dynasty from Germany, had to be received with respect by the sultan, who needed the German capital and the technicians from Prussia.

The transition period assumed by the Ad-interim Rulers from the 11th/23rd of February 1866 to the 10th/22nd of May 1866 led, due to Napoleon III mediation, to the enthronement of Prince Carol of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen. He would promulgate the Constitution of modern Romania in July 1866, a new electoral law and would be proclaimed king on the 14th of March 1881, after he had obtained the acknowledgement of the Romanian independence in 1878-1880, after he had led the Romanian Army in the Russian-Turkish war, in 1877–1878⁸.

King Carol I assumed his role as a mediator and arbiter for the Romanian political class. The liberal and conservative political currents represented the foreground of the political life from Bucharest. The liberals owned the leadership of the forty-eight fight, along with the struggle for bringing Prince Carol in Romania, but neither did the conservatives owned less, trying to get themselves closer to the power zone, due to the deterioration of the French-German relations, in the interval 1866-1870, culminating with the defeating of the Napoleon III and the proclaiming of the German Empire.

“After his return at Bucharest, Carol I would address the Sultan a thanking letter for the “the honours and the consideration” he enjoyed during his stay at Constantinople. It was a resourceful attitude, which would show its outcome really fast. Towards the end of November 1866, G. Știrbey, the Romanian Foreign Affairs minister would bring from the Ottoman capital a letter sent by the Great Vizier, in which there were included the latter concessions of the suzerain Court: the right to

⁸ Anastasie Iordache, *Originile conservatorismului politic din România*, Bucharest, Political Publishing, 1987, p. 8.

institute a Romanian military award, the small coinage that was to be introduced would not bear the sign of the Turkish Empire, the right to have a Romanian trade agent at Varna, the founding of an international postal service, the concluding of a convention on the reciprocal extradition of those accused of murder. Thus, the journey to Constantinople would prove fruitful, the new regime from Bucharest obtaining the long-awaited acknowledgement, without the influence of the guarantor Powers, expressed for one or another course of events”.

III. THE NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY ON THE PRINCIPALITIES AND THEIR INTERNATIONAL STATUS

It is a known fact that the Habsburg Empire did not give its agreement on the Union, because it had in its possession both Romanian and Italian territories, and the Italian, Romanian and German unification disagreed with its interests and could lead to a loss of territories. Thus, the fact that Vienna wanted to falsify the consultation result from 1857, on the union of the Principalities.

When referring to the proving of the falsification from 1857, the academician Dan Berindei states that: *“When the attempt to falsify the election in Moldova occurred, it was resorted to the protest-petitions signed by thousands of people, the instructions of the unionist movement being that it had to be obtained “a general protest against the elections”. It was significant that the peasants also took part to this action. The protests were showing an obvious patriotic involvement. At one of these protests, the people were talking about “the national feeling that at least the present moment shall be positioned above all”. The unionist propaganda and agitation, manifested in different manners and coordinated by the leadership of the movement for the Union in Principalities, contributed efficiently to the mobilisation of the entire society and the transformation of the people’s will into an unstoppable force, to which few adversaries would resist, the inside ones, and at all the outside ones! Before Europe, the Romanians showed a behaviour that impressed and attracted praise. The propaganda actions contributed, skilfully guided, to the gathering and the expressing of positive energies, which determined an unprecedented mobilisation of the nation. The union of the Principalities appears as a result of this socio-political process”.*

Thus, the Union from 1859 changed the international status of the Principalities, who were under Ottoman suzerainty, but the collective guarantee of the European Powers. The fact that the Developing Statute of the 1858 Convention, elaborated by Cuza in 1864 was acknowledged as “an additional act of the Convention”, in 1864–1865, was another diplomatic triumph. The justification of the Great Powers was that the United Principalities had changed their situation dramatically, in 1864, due to the events, compared to the reference year of 1857. Even if the Statute was issued as a consequence of the coupe d’état, its legitimacy assured the success in the historic events that were presenting the Principalities as international law subjects.

The academician Victor Spinei states that: *“The act of the Principality Union represents a crucial moment in the destiny of the Romanian people, and without this milestone in our historic transformation, the Great Union would not have been possible. The succeeding of the internal and external events, which had as common point the union of the Principalities – thoroughly investigated by a long line of historians, scholars and politicians, periodically evoked in treaties and at festive manifestations –, is generally known not only by the specialists, but also by the general public that shows interest in history. His consistent approach is due to the great synthesis works dedicated to the Romanian past, wrote by A.D. Xenopol, Nicolae Iorga, C.C. Giurescu, and the collaborators to the treaties coordinated by the Romanian Academy, and in the ample monographs written by Dan Berindei, Gheorghe Platon, Leonid Boicu, and other prestigious scholars”*⁹.

It can be evidenced the fact that the accomplishment of the Union and the later evolution of it were directly supported by both England and France, while their interests were respected. During the 22 years that passed between the Peace Congresses of Paris 1856 and Berlin 1878, France collapsed, to become a remarkable presence on the European stage at the end of the 19th century only, when it is laid the foundation for the alliances that would lead to the breaking out of World War I.

Through the position Carol I had at Bucharest, Romania had to depend on Germany in its external policy. Germany wanted to keep Russia away from France, thus, Romania had to cease the Southern Bessarabia, receiving Dobruja at Berlin, in 1878. The idea of the rights on Bessarabia could not be officially stated, because Germany wanted to deal with Russia tactfully.

Historian Iulian Oncescu writes that: *“Generally, of all the great powers, firstly France, and then England, had a direct influence on the evolution of the complicated negotiations that led to the Romanian-Ottoman bilateral arrangement. Although France, officially, had, during the year of 1866, a sinuous attitude on the issue of the union and the foreign prince, it offered, also due to its refined secret diplomacy, both the chance and the efficient solutions that led to success after the effort carried out by the Romanian political elite, that of showing the fact accompli to Europe, once more.*

Moreover, France was still interested in the Black Sea region and the Lower Danube, a fact indicated by both the conditions imposed to Russia in 1856, and the activity carried out by the representatives of France in the European Commission of the Danube, whose presidency it had. Nonetheless, the collective guarantee was preserved after 1866 too, the collective tutelary instance that the Romanians had to take into consideration furthermore.

The instauration of the foreign hereditary monarchy on the Romanian throne was, obviously, possible not only due to the role played by the internal political

⁹ For details, see https://acad.ro/academica2002/rev2018/pag_acad2018_nr327_328_ian_feb.pdf, accessed at 9 July 2020.

factors, but the external ones too. Once more, the external circumstances were favourable for the actors of the action from the 11th of February 1866, and some European powers, as in the case of France, offered their support, discretion and suggested the necessary limits. Yet, the relation of this power with the new Romania, resulted after the events of 1866, was in its beginning, and a new French policy was shaping on the horizon”.

Basically, once with the acknowledgement of the double election, the idea of independence arose both in the plans of Cuza (“since this day forward, you have a country to love and defend, since now you own a part of the Country’s body”, as he declared in the Proclamation to the Land Reform in 1864).

The academician Dan Berindei noted: *“The union of the Principalities – supported and accepted by most of the political powers – represented the birth certificate of Romania. The result owed not to the gathering of two thirds of the Romanian population, but their European joining and the modernisation of the state. Half of century later, they were to become citizens of Great Romania. Romania displays as an entity who has a new international status confirmed. The attention of Cuza and Carol on the military factor underlined the care for independence and the wish for recognition, respectively, the will of a culture that would embrace the entire nation, elements that defined the context and the popular support. All of us have to contribute to the balanced process of Romania in Europe, which means efforts, along with the involvement of the partners too. What happened 140 years ago, is a model of how to act presently”.*

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Years of 1875 and 1880, represented the moment the two political forces emerged, the National Liberal Party and the Conservative Party. If the first was structured as a Party, the second one was based on a network of clubs, founded around some conservative personalities, as Manolache Kostache Epureanu¹⁰.

Despite their differences of approach, the both parties faced dissidences, political migration of some conservatives towards the liberals and inversely, during the liberal governing (1866–1871), the conservative one (1871–1876) and liberal again (1876–1888). There was even an attempt of a boyar family, Văcărescu, to obtain the kinship with the royal family, by initiating a love story between Elena Văcărescu and the heir Prince Ferdinand, an attempt harshly reprehended by King Carol I, who discovered the involvement of Queen Elisabeta, of Elena Bibescu, daughter of M.K.Epureanu.

After 1888, gradually, the great forty-eighters left the political and life stage. The loyal conservatives also disappeared, their place being taken by progressive-view characters, called Junimea (approx. “the Youth”).

¹⁰ *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VII, book II, p. 138.

MEASURES TO REDUCE/ELIMINATE THE CONCUBINAGE IN THE OLT COUNTY (1938–1940)*

Diana-Mihaela PĂUNOIU**

Abstract: In this article are analysed the steps taken by the authorities of the monarchic dictatorship regime of King Carol II to reduce and, even, eliminate the concubinage in the Olt County (*ținut*), with the purpose of reaffirmation of the Christian family in the Romanian society, as defining element of national identity, but also to transpose in practice the concept of family as defined by the Constitution from 1938.

Keywords: family, concubinage, organized marriages, King Carol II, Olt County (*ținut*).

The monarchic authority regime, established during the night of February 10/11, 1938, brought, besides the substantial political changes, also a series of socio-cultural changes. The protagonists of the new regime were, at least at the theoretical and propagandistic level, the followers of the reinstating the Romanian traditional values, dropping them into desuetude being considered one of the main reason of the “morale crisis” of the Romanian society in the decade before the second World War¹.

In this context, between the ideological directives/leading ideas of the National Renaissance Front, political organisation established on December 16th, 1938, was also recorded “the respect of the family as social cell”, starting from premise that the: “Individual alone cannot support itself in reality. He constitutes a heresy. The individual can only be conceived as a social element part firstly in the family. Protecting the family is therefore a purpose”².

Sustaining the idea of Christian family, in the Constitution of “King Carol II”, promulgated on February 27, 1938, was written the compulsoriness of religious

* Some paragraphs and ideas of this text can be found in an older study, named *Orthodox Church and “revalorisation” of the family during King Carol II (1938–1940): Olt County*, in “Mehedinți – istorie, cultură și societate”, vol. 5, Drobeta Turnu Severin, Didahia Publishing House, 2012, pp. 920–927.

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¹ *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VIII, *România întregită (1918–1940)*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 2003, pp. 385–390; Cf. *Biserica și problemele sociale. Conferințe*, f. I., Tipografia Cărilor Bisericești, 1933, pp. 21–40.

² Armand Călinescu, *Noul regim: cuvântări 1938–1939*, 2nd Edition, Bucharest, DoMinor Publishing House, 2003, p. 99.

marriage. In this regard, article 20 from the new fundamental law stated the following: “The civil status papers falls under the civil law. Drawing these papers will have to always precede the religious blessing, mandatory for all cults”³. This compulsoriness was not stated in the Constitution from 1923⁴.

Protection of the family constituted an important objective for the laic authorities and also for ecclesiastic ones. In Olt County (*ținut*), that materialized under various forms, of which we mention: establishments of canteens destined to provide meals for children from families with reduced material possibilities; campaigns for education of population, especially in rural areas, with the purpose of raising the quality of life, through awareness of local communities regarding the need to pay a higher importance to personal health and, special the children; organisation of a celebration dedicated to mothers with many children; attempt to solve the problem of concubinage, etc.

For example, “Mother’s Day” was organized, in 1939, by Guardian of the Country, in cooperation with all local authorities, targeting the mothers with at least eight living children, raised in their parents’ home. The purpose of this holiday was to make propaganda to increase the birth rate and prevent the infant mortality⁵, considering that: “wise measures will have to be taken to achieve an incentive towards the care of the Kingd’s children, seeking thru every mean to highlight the good mothers and stimulate them to care for the food of the children and supervise their raising”⁶. The awards given, in the Olt County (*ținut*), on the occasion of “Mother’s Day”, consisted in clothing products for children⁷. Although it did not represented a long term solution to the problems that families with many children were facing, the organisation of this holiday had the role to make the families aware of the importance that had to be given to the health of children and pregnant women⁸.

³ *Constituțiunea Regele Carol [al]II [lea]. Promulgată prin Înalt Decret Regal Nr. 1045 din 27 Februarie 1938. Publicată în “Monitorul Oficial” Nr. 48 din 27 Februarie 1938, Published exclusively by the Liga pentru Unitatea Culturală a tuturor Românilor, f. l., 1938, p. 13.*

⁴ Article 23 from the Constitution from 1923 stated: “The documents regarding the marital status are the responsibility of civil law. Drawing these documents will have to always precede the religious blessing” (C. Hamangiu, *Constituțiunea cea nouă din 29 martie 1923*, Bucharest, “Universala” Alcala&Co Library Publishing House, s. a., pp. 3–4).

⁵ See, regarding the demographic problem in the period between wars, Keith Hitchens, *România 1866–1947*, Translation by George G. Potra and Delia Răzdolescu, București, Humanitas Publishing House, 1996, pp. 360–362; and, for the period 1938–1940, “Buletinul Statistic al României” years 1938, 1939, 1940, official publication of Central Institute for Statistics, director: PhD Sabin Manuilă, București.

⁶ S.J.A.N. Dolj, Royal Residency of Olt County fund, Administrative Service, Section State Administration, file No. 86/1939, f. 7.

⁷ *Ibidem*, file No. 72/1939, f. 4v.

⁸ Such initiative was welcome, if is considered the fact that, in the analysed period most women in rural areas had multiple duties: agriculture, house work and taking care of the family. Many of them were working the land even when they were pregnant, sometimes until they delivered the baby into the world (Diana-Mihaela Păunoiu, “Mother’s Day” in the Year 1939 – *Opportunity for Celebration and Propaganda: Olt County*, in “Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane «C.S. Nicolăescu-Ploșor»”, no. 12/2011, Craiova, pp. 94–102).

To give the appropriate importance to the family in Romanian society, one of the most important measures, taken in that time, was the attempt to solve the problem of concubinage, highlighted initially, by the priests to civil authorities.

In that period, through concubinage was understood the cohabitation of two persons of opposite sex that were only married civil and did not had the religious marriage service in the Church, and also the cohabitation of two persons of opposite sex that were not married civil and religious.

For example, on April 15th, 1938, Olt County prefect send out a notice to the authorities reporting to him asking for the resolution of concubinage:

“Is been highlighted to us by the priests and we checked for ourselves that, in every commune in this county, are many men and women living in concubinage – some being married civil without religious service, and others are not even married civil and also without religious marriage”⁹.

Therefore, the mayors together with local police chiefs had to fill charts with the situation of people living in concubinage and explain to them the disadvantages of such cohabitation. All people in concubinage had to get married civil and religious within 30 days from the date that notice was issued¹⁰.

The problem of concubinage was not solved, the evidence being the fact that on June 2nd, 1938, the Olt County prefect issued a new notice to the mayors and registrars reporting to him, because of the high number of people living in concubinage (1.391 pairs not married civil and religious and 1.265 pairs married only civil), giving them new instructions:

“If every one of you hat thought about the bad coming from this unfortunate living, I am convinced you will put all your heart to end in a very short time this sad situation that bring no honour to the society we live in and produces two bad things. The first: children born from these concubines have no right to inheritance; the second: in the event of a war they have no right to pension; and for us as country is a disgrace to have such elements.

Upon receiving this order you will summon all the priests, teachers and chiefs of police, and on agreement you will fix the first holiday to call all concubines at city hall to be married legally, civil and religious, and those married civil will be immediately married religious. (...) the people being forced we will be successful”¹¹.

The authorities of Olt County give dispositions that men and women refusing to formalize the civil and religious marriage will receive records from the police authorities, with the hope that this way the problem of concubinage will be solved: “And being forced constantly in 4-5 months all will be married”¹².

⁹ S.J.A.N., Olt, Olt County Prefecture fund, file nr. 20/1938, f. 25.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, f. 59.

¹² *Ibidem*, f. 60v.

The situation was not singular; in all the counties in Olt County¹³ were cases of concubinage in various numbers, the hardest to convince to leave this illegitimate cohabitation being, in general, older persons¹⁴.

Besides, the matter of concubinage was valid in the entire country, the proof being the fact that The National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women submitted numerous letters to Ministry of Internal Affairs, offering to support, “together with other good people, who will want to help fulfilling this Christian and Romanian act”¹⁵, the marriage expenses.

Therefore, the Ministry of Internal Affairs was sending, at the begging of April 1940, a notice to all ten royal residents of the counties, notifying them of the objective of the called society and, in the same time, asking them to provide full support:

“The National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women, ..., is informing us that in our country there are a high number of pairs that are cohabitating without being married civil or religious.

The social consequences of this arrangement (concubinage – our note) do not affect only hundreds of thousands of illegitimate children, but are also *digging, in the people conscience, believe in the holiness of the family (our emphasis)*.

Most of the cases were caused by the poor material situation that the pairs were, unable to handle the expenses needed to fulfil the civil and religious norm of marriage, The National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women aims to: 1. All the pairs not married belonging to orthodox rite, to be married civil and religious by the Society, thru our branches around the country; 2. The society will cover all the expenses for the wedding”¹⁶.

In this context, the Ministry of Internal Affairs asked the royal residents to give dispositions to the structures reporting to them that, together with the priests and teachers, to draw, for every locality, lists with the pairs cohabitating in concubinage and communicate the situation to the branches of the National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women in the region¹⁷.

On April 16, 1940, the Ministry of Internal Affairs completes the instructions given before. Therefore, the civil marriage had to be officiated at the end of May, and the religious one at the beginning of June. Was desired that:

¹³ Olt County was one of the ten territorial-administrative units created thru decree-law from August 14, 1938 and had the following counties: Dolj, Gorj, Mehedinți, Olt, Romanați and Vâlcea (Diana-Mihaela Păunoiu, *Rezidența regală a ținutului Olt*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2012, pp. 77–78).

¹⁴ S.J.A.N. Dolj, Royal Residency of Olt County fund, Administrative Service, file no. 3/1940. f. 129.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, file no. 16/1940, f. 632.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 631.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

“A number [of] up to 500 marriages to be performed in bloc, at the beginning of June current year, out of the pairs in the county capital, the godfathers being the county Prefect together with the president of the National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women from the locality. If she is missing, with the commander of the Guard of the Country. The rest of the marriages will be done on the centre of places, during June [...]”¹⁸.

The expenses needed for rings and candles would be bared by the National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women, and the city halls had to exempt these marriages from communal taxes. Also, the Minister of Internals considered opportune that “the heads of administrative authorities, within the possibilities, had to seek to give a festive character to these solemnities, which will be developed into a frame of Romanian customs”¹⁹.

In May 1930, the royal resident of Olt County has send a letter to HH.E. mitropolitan Nifon Criveanu, in which he informed about the initiative of Aretia Tătărescu, the president of the Romanian National Orthodox Society, and also about the decision that on May 2nd, 1940 will be officiated, in all the cities and communes of the county, the marriages of those living in concubinage. As a result, he was asking the mitropolitan to give dispositions to the priests in Olt County (*ținut*) to officiate this service, at the end of the regular religious service. The godfathers, delegated by the royal resident, were the prefects and the mayors with their wives²⁰.

On May 20th, 1940, the centralization of the concubines of orthodox rite was complete. In Olt County, there were 13.852 pairs of concubines; on the first place was Dolj County with 5.474 pairs of concubines and Craiova City with 50 pairs of concubines. On the second place was recorded Mehedinți County with 2.396 pairs of concubines (57 pairs in the city of Turnu Severin; 47 pairs in the city of Strehaia; 13 pairs in the city of Baia de Aramă and 2.279 pairs in the rural communes of the County²¹), followed by the counties of: Romanați (2.260 pairs of concubines), Vâlcea (1.547 pairs of concubines), Gorj (1.079 pairs of concubines) and Olt (1.046 pairs of concubines)²².

The persons authorized to organize the event occasioned by the marriage of those living in concubinage respected the instructions received. For example, the mayor of Râmnicu Vâlcea city, to confer the event the required pomposity, and to “have a higher response within population’s rank”, appealed to the local commander of National Guard of National Renaissance Front. Thereby, on June 1, 1940, asked the Guard commander to delegate as many members of the Guard to

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, file no. 292/1940, f. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 2v.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 4.

²¹ *Ibidem*, f. 20.

²² *Ibidem*, f. 33.

participate at the religious marriage of the concubines from the city that would be officiated, the following day, in the churches: “Cuvioasa Paraschiva”, “Sf. Gheorghe”, “Sf. Ioan” and “Cetățuia”. In the same time, he asked him to delegate the important members of the local unit of the National Guard to be the godfathers of the pairs that would be married religious in the mentioned churches²³.

Also, the prefect of Mehedinți County sent, on May 20th, 1940, to the royal resident of Olt County, a letter informing him that he took all the necessary measures to celebrate the religious marriages scheduled for June 2nd. At these would participate the priests, teachers, guardians and administrative authorities from the respective localities and, within possibilities, the events would receive a festive character. The mayors and their wives were delegated to be the godfathers of those to be married and hat to, together with the owners from the county’s communes, ensure the festive meal of the grooms after the religious marriage²⁴.

The Olt County prefect, in the letter sent to the royal resident on May 19th, 1940, mentioned the fact that he took all the measures necessary to perform the marriages scheduled in the county but he was, still, sceptic that these would be realised totally:

“Also we report that measures were taken and necessary orders have been given, although we together with Ms President of the National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women and Ms Commander of the Guardians already taken the all measures and arranged that these marriages will receive special attention and be performed within a special ceremonial frame, in 9 centre.

To celebrate these marriages we will hit the irremediable inconvenient caused by the actual conscriptions, because there are communes were even the mayor and the notary are conscripted, so other people will be identified to perform these marriages without a heartbreak”²⁵.

The marriages, scheduled for June 2nd, 1940, took place, within Olt County (*ținut*), in different proportions, not being possible the complete solving of the concubinage matter from various reasons, of which we mention: the refusal of one party to officiate and bless religious the cohabitation; the absence from locality of some of the men, mainly, because the conscription; some of the concubines did not had the marital status clarified (although they lived in concubinage with a person, legally they were married to another person or the divorce process was not finished)²⁶ etc.

²³ S.J.A.N., Vâlcea, Govora Police Detachment fund, file no. 12/1940, f. 105.

²⁴ S.J.A.N. Dolj, Royal Residency of Olt County fund, Administrative Service, file no. 292/1940, f. 20–21.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 17.

²⁶ S.J.A.N., Gorj, Târgu Jiu City Police fund, file no. 1/1940, ff. 20–23; S.J.A.N. Dolj, Royal Residency of Olt County fund, Administrative service, file no. 292/1940, f. 38.

According to the reports of the Olt County (*ținut*) prefects, the matter of concubinage was solved partially²⁷. For example, in Dolj County, on June 2nd, 1940, have been officiated 2.156 marriages, legitimating 1.370 children²⁸. These marriages represented less than half from the total of marriages scheduled according to statistics developed by Dolj authorities. 5.472 marriages were scheduled to be realized in 3 centres of the county: 2.146 marriages in Craiova centre (communes: Ocolu, Brabova, Amaradia and Filiași); 2.667 marriages in Băilești centre (communes: Segarcea, Calafat and Plenița) and 659 marriages in Sadova centre (commune Sadova)²⁹.

In Romanați County, on June 2nd and 9th, 1940, were officiated 1.015 civil and religious marriages, legitimating 467 children³⁰.

In Gorj County, on June 2nd, were celebrated 68 marriages legitimating 37 children³¹. The authorities appreciated that the rest of the marriages will be officiated gradually, as the problems appeared at the initially scheduled date will be solved.

The attempts of the ecclesiastic authorities, in the Olt County (*ținut*), to solve the problem of concubinage represent evidence of the interest to reaffirm/revalue the Christian family in Romanian society, as defining element of national identity.

On the other side, the stipulation in the “King Carol II” Constitution of the compulsoriness of religious marriage, required the transposition in reality of constitutional provision, and achieving/materialisation of this action in a short time led to additional pressures, mainly, from the laic authorities, exercises over the population living in concubinage, as the concept was defined in that time.

Also, if we consider the fact that a large part of the marriages officiated between 1938–1949 did not represented the free will of the persons concerned, but were performed as a result of socio-politic conjuncture created by the pressure of laic authorities, can be stated that these represented, in fact, an artificial social scenario, meant to correspond to the official ideology and less to the real needs of the persons living in concubinage.

²⁷ We have to specify that for the counties in Olt not found in the examples, we do not possess official data.

²⁸ S.J.A.N. Dolj, Royal Residency of Olt County fund, Administrative Service, file no. 284/1940, f. 21.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, file no. 292/1940, f. 11.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, file no. 275/1940, f. 29.

³¹ *Ibidem*, file no. 292/1940, f. 38.

ANNEX NO. 1

The order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs No. 5422A/ April 16th, 1940, regarding the measures the local authorities had to take to reduce the concubinage, as a result of the initiative of Orthodox Society of Romanian Women.

MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Direction of State Administration

No. 5422A from April 16, 1940

Mister PREFECT,

Following our circular order No. 5254 from April 11th, 1940, (Annex in copy), through which we brought to your attention the initiative of Orthodox Society of Romanian Women to contribute to the marriage of all pairs living in concubinage.

To fulfill this laudable intention we ask you to please order the following measures:

- 1) To prepare immediately the lists of those living in concubinage;
- 2) The legal formalities of the marriages to be performed by the city halls in May this year, so that towards the end of June to be finished;
- 3) The civil marriage to be officiated in May this year and the religious one at the end of June;
- 4) It is desired that a number up to 500 marriages to be performed, in bulk, at the beginning of June this year, amongst the pairs from the county capital and the surrounding communes, godfather being the county Prefect with the president of the Orthodox Society of Romanian Women from the city.

If she is not available, the commander of the Guard of the Motherland.

The rest of the marriages will be performed in centers of *plasa*, during June this year using the lists prepared by the administrative authorities.

The expenses needed for rings and candles will be supported by the Orthodox Society of Romanian Women.

- 5) Orders will be given that city halls will exempt these marriages from the communal taxes;
- 6) The minister believes appropriate that the heads of administrative authorities, within possibilities, to provide a festive character to these solemnities, that will evolve into a frame of Romanian customs.

Bringing to your knowledge the above, we pledge that you order we will be kept informed of the measures you will be taking in this matter, and also of the results you obtain, communicating the statistic data so that the Minister will know the effects of the measures taken in the entire country.

Minister /ss/ indecipherable

Director/ss/ indecipherable

This order was communicate to:
 Royal Residents of the Regions;
 County Prefects in the Country.

Source: S.J.A.N. Dolj, Royal Residency of Olt County fund, Administrative Service, file No. 292/1940, ff. 2–2V.

ANNEX NO. 2

Order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, No. 5574A/April 19, 1940, addressed to Royal Residents and County Prefects, regarding the distribution of the *Appeal* launched by the National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women regarding the concubinage.

ROMÂNIA
MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS
Direction of State Administration
No. 5574A from April 19, 1940

YOUR EXCELLENCY

Following our circular orders No. 5254/940 and No. 5573/940 we have the honor to advance a number of 10 appeals, launched by the National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women, asking you to please order the distribution and posting in your County.

The heads of authorities will control the posting of these appeals.

Minister:

Director:

This order was communicated to:
Royal Residents of the regions, for information and control;
County Prefects, for execution.

Source: S.J.A.N. Dolj, Royal Residency of Olt County fund,
Administrative Service, file 16/1940, f. 630.

ANNEX NO. 3

The Appeal of National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women through which the members of Society offered their material support for the pairs of concubines that wanted to get married religiously.

APPEAL

Any good Christian and Romanian becomes sad thinking that thousands of families live in the Romanian country one not civil married and not married in the Holy Orthodox Law.

Therefore the Orthodox Society of Romanian Women, determined to serve its kind and Church, calls all those that because of the shortages and needs could not get married

until today, to register on the City Hall list to be married and wed religiously by the ladies of the National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women.

The expenses of the marriage will be covered by the National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women and by the good people that would want to help the fulfillment of this Christian and Romanian act.

General Interim President of the National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women
ARETIA G. TĂTĂRESCU

C.27.180 – M.O. Central Printing Shop

Source: S.J.A.N. Dolj, Royal Residency of Olt County fund,
Administrative Service, File 16/1940, f. 632.

PHILOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS: TOPONYMIC DICTIONARY

THE TOPONYMIC DICTIONARY OF ROMANIA. OLTENIA. ANTHROPONOMIC INDEX*

Iustina NICA (BURCI)**

Abstract: The lack of an integral inventory of the Romanian anthroponomy has a negative impact on the research of the people, and also place, names, owing to the fact that the latter ones come from personal names, among which some are not met in the actual anthroponomic register.

Starting from this idea, of the importance carried by people names for different linguistic, and not only, fields, we endeavoured to make an anthroponomic index of Oltenia, having as source *Dicționarul toponimic* (DTRO) – The Toponymic Dictionary for this region (in seven volumes). It is going to include the names of people from the mentioned area, ordered alphabetically. Its existence will allow us to know the anthroponomic inventory from Oltenia precisely, and, due to it, to be able to study thoroughly issues related to: the migration of words from one class to another, the stages for constituting what today represents the official name, the preference for a certain anthroponomic category in the region. The recording of all the personal names and the mentioning of some conclusions on the numeric representation of the anthroponyms and the productivity of their area in the selected territory.

In the present article, there is depicted the methodology for making this index, and there is exemplified the theory, by presenting few pages with anthroponyms that were met in DTRO, for the letters A, and partially B (*Ba-Bă*).

Keywords: toponymy, dictionary, anthroponomy, index, methodology.

In the 1990s, the well-known linguist Ioan Pătruț, was stating that, unlike the toponymy – privileged “due to its specific valences in the study of the Romanian people, ...because it supplements, and sometimes replaces, the historical information”¹ –, the anthroponymy has been continually placed on a secondary position, “on addressing both the collecting of the material, and its study”², despite

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¹ Ioan Pătruț, *Originea și structura antroponimelor românești*, in “Dacoromania”, new series, VII–VIII, 2002–2003, p. 1.

² Idem, *Tradiție și inovație în onomastică*, in “Studii de onomastică”, vol. V, Cluj-Napoca, 1990, p. 14.

the fact that “an endless number of topic denominations”³ come from a specific person. Thus, whether it is about human settlements (villages, parts of villages, hamlets, slums) or the minor toponymy (ponds, hills, slopes, hillocks, forests, valleys, generally any ground irregularities), the both branches are based, “to a great extent, on the anthroponomic contribution”⁴. For Oltenia, the ratio of involving the anthroponomy into the formation of the toponyms was established to a percent of 49.2%⁵, from the total number of places that originate from a noun (anthroponyms, appellatives, toponyms), which demonstrates that, within the process of denomination, “the relief is not always decisive..., but other factors, ...related to socio-historical aspects, among which the form of ownership might have an essential role”⁶.

The lack of an integral inventory of the Romanian anthroponomy (“from all the ages”⁷) has a negative impact nowadays, not only on the name of people, but also on those of places, because, as it has been shown before, very many of the latter ones originate from personal names, among which some are not present in the actual anthroponomic record anymore, which often maintains the solving of some toponymic etymologies within a level of uncertainty.

In the last decades, the interest for the gathering of all the names of people has increased considerably; it has been manifesting in the emerging of certain regional and national projects. There have been materialised especially the ones that were putting together thematic anthroponomic inventories or whose research area was reduced to a specific region⁸: Aurelia Bălan Mihailovici, *Dicționar onomastic creștin. Repere etimologice și martirologice* (Christian Onomastic Dictionary. Etymological and Martyrologic Landmarks), Bucharest, Minerva, 2003; Viorica Goicu, *Nume de persoane din Țara Zarandului* (Names of People from Țara Zarandului), Timișoara, Amphora, 1996; Mile Tomici, Persida Andronache, *Onomasticon dobrogean* (Dobruja Onomasticon), Bucharest, Stephanus Press, 2006; Liliana Lazea, *Nume de persoane din Dobrogea. Dicționar invers* (Names of People from Dobruja. Inverted Dictionary), Constanța, Ex Ponto Press, 2004; Cristian Ionescu, *Dicționar de onomastică* (Onomastic Dictionary), Elion Press, 2004; Teodor Oancă, *Microsisteme antroponimice românești* (Romanian Anthroponomic Microsystems), Craiova, Grafix Press, 2016; idem, *Contribuții onomastice* (Onomastic Contributions), Craiova, Grafix Press, 2018 etc.

³ Iorgu Iordan, *Toponimia românească*, Bucharest, Academy RPR Publishing, 1963, p. 154.

⁴ Gheorghe Bolocan, *Dicționarul numelor de familie din România*, in “Studii și Cercetări de onomastică” (SCO), no. 2, 1996, Craiova, p. 7.

⁵ Ion Toma, *Baza antroponimică a toponimiei din Oltenia*, in “Dacoromania”, new series, VII–VIII, 2002–2003, Cluj-Napoca, p. 188.

⁶ Idem, *Toponimia Olteniei*, Craiova, Reprografia University of Craiova, 1988, p. 65.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

⁸ The number of the contributions to the collecting and the studying of the surnames increases proportionally with the decreasing of the researched geographic space. Thus, the studies dedicated to a single locality (rural or urban) are numerous. To the extent to which some of them are going to offer useful information, they are to appear in the final bibliography of our index.

Other projects, more audacious and complex due to the dimension represented by the research area and/or the amplitude of the information that is to be supplied in them, take a longer time for accomplishing and specialised human resources that would carry out the scientific endeavour: *Tezaurul toponimic al României. Moldova* (The Toponymic Thesaurus of Romania. Moldova), vol. II, *Mic dicționar toponimic al Moldovei (structural și etimologic)* (Small Toponymic Dictionary of Moldova (structural and etymological)), Part I, *Toponime personale* (Personal toponyms) (coordinator Dragoș Moldovanu), Iași, “Al. I. Cuza” University Press, 2014; Teodor Oancă (coordinator), *Dicționar de frecvență a numelor de familie din România* (Dictionary of the Surnames Frequency in Romania), vol. I, A-B, Craiova, Universitaria Press, 2003; Marius Sala (coordinator), *Dicționarul antroponimic tezaur al limbii române* (The Thesaurus Anthroponomic Dictionary of the Romanian Language) and *Dicționar istoric al numelor de familie romanice* (Historical Dictionary of the Romanic Surnames); Ionel Boamfă (coordinator), *Tezaurul⁹ antroponimic românesc* (The Romanian Anthroponomic Thesaurus), etc. In some cases, “the mission” has been accomplished successfully, others are currently being carried out, and others, unfortunately, from diverse reasons, have been partially drafted and then interrupted.

Starting from the same idea, which states that the importance of the names of people represent an area with vast ramifications in the subject of study for numerous branches of the language, that the denominative parts can contribute to the understanding of a lot of aspects related to the anthroponomastics itself, but also more complex domains connected to the extent they are better and thoroughly known, it is intended to create the anthroponomic index of *Dicționarul toponimic al României. Oltenia* (The Toponymic Dictionary of Oltenia)¹⁰, a dictionary on which the linguist Iorgu Jordan was stating that it proved to be amazing because of “its extraordinary richness of the material gathered from different sources (historical, geographical, administrative – a/n), among them being also found the result of a field investigation” (*În loc de prefață*, DTRO, vol. 1). It is to comprise of all the names of people from the mentioned region, ordered alphabetically; this aspect is going to grant the possibility to the interested ones to find easily, and at the same place, all the anthroponyms from Oltenia, with the structural and morpho-syntactic “hypostases” in which they were coined as toponyms along the times, regional

⁹ A dictionary that is going to include “as many as possible, if not all the Romanian people names, with historical, linguistic and geographical explanations, completed with maps that would evidence their presence in the Romanian, and international, areal” (see Ionel Boamfă, *Utilizarea programelor cartografice asistate de calculator pentru realizarea Tezaurului antroponimic românesc*, available at http://www.geomatica.uaic.ro/articole/NR.11_2005/29.pdf, site accessed on 26.05.2020 and Ionel Boamfă, *Antroponomastică geografică*, Iași, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University from Iași Publishing, 2019).

¹⁰ *Dicționarul toponimic al României. Oltenia* (DTRO) (coordinator prof. Gh. Bolocan, PhD) published at Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, in seven volumes: vol. I (A-B), 1993, 414 p.; vol. II (C-D), 1995, 428 p.; vol. 3 (E-Î), 2002, 283 p.; vol. 4 (J-N), 2003, 309 p.; vol. V (O-R), 2004, 337 p.; vol. 6 (S-Ț), 2006, 284 p.; vol. 7 (U-Z), 2007, 329 p.

variants, popular and official forms, old or new forms of the names. Besides the fact that we are to know exactly which is the anthroponomic inventory from Oltenia, based on it, there will be studied more profoundly issues related to: the migration of the words from one class to another (for example, nicknames/appellations → anthroponyms), the stages of creations for what today represents the official formula of denomination, or the preference for a certain anthroponomic category, in the region. The registering of the emergence for all the personal names and the mentioning of the area in which this phenomenon occurs will allow the highlighting of certain conclusions on addressing the numerical representation of the anthroponyms and the productivity of their areas, within the selected territory. Briefly, our index is going to facilitate analyses, classifications and comparisons, regionally and nationally, if we are to extend the perimeter¹¹ of the research.

It is imposed, since the beginning, a series of specifications related to a) the information comprised in the index and b) the manner in which the information is presented, for an easier and more efficient use of the index.

a) The material from the index is going to include, alphabetically, all the names of people recorded in DTRO. They can be:

– simple, made of one word, derived or underived, transformed into toponyms through transfer of function, or with the help of the appellative plan (group names) *Abagii, Abagiu, Adam, Adamești, Agiu, Albăstroiești, Alboia, Alecu, Argintaru, Avrămeasca, Balomiru, Banu, Bădălău, Bădica, Băileanu, Bibănoaia, Bălănești, Bobonești, Boiasca* etc.;

– double (*Aristică Năiculescu, Barbu Mircea, Benga Constantin, Bogdan Micico, Simion Bălănescu* etc.);

– triple (*Gheorghe Nistor Ungureanu, Ion Pascu Roșu*).

In DTRO, all these names are found either as independent lexical units (*Alecu, Alimanu, Argintoaia, Ariciosu, Avrămeasca, Augustina, Barbă Lată, Bălcescu, Bărbuceanu* etc.), or they are engaged in analytical constructions with a smaller or bigger degree of complexity (*Aninii lui* (alders of) *Gheorghe Nistor Ungureanu, Aria* (plot of) *Boierului, Balta de la Dumitru Stanii, Balta lu Bănică, Balta lu Gheorghe al Dumitri, Balta lu Gheorghe Budă, Balta lu Truță sub Vii, Bordeiu lui* (cabin of) *Bârdoacă, Bunaru de la* (well of) *Boacănă, Bunaru la Iepure, Bunaru lu Matei al Cichii* etc.), included in some base-articles, whose structure is made of “a permanently articulated entopic term (an endonym), bearing the function of regent, and a nominal determinative”¹², in our case an anthroponym, the connection between the two term being a relational or a social one (the genitive of possession).

¹¹ Even internationally, if we relate the information, for example, to the anthroponomic interferences with the Bulgarians and the Serbians.

¹² *Tezaurul toponimic al României. Moldova*, vol. II, *Mic dicționar toponimic al Moldovei (structural și etimologic)*, Part I, *Toponime personale* (coord. Dragoș Moldovanu), Iași, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University from Iași Publishing, 2014, p. XIII.

The source-dictionary¹³ offers us a scheme for the base-articles (*apa* – the water, *balta* – the pond, *calea* – the way, *dealul* – the hill, *drumul* – the road, *fântâna* – the fountain, *măgura* – the hillock, *pădurea* – the forest, *podul* – the bridge, *răspântia* – the crossroads, *tarlăua* – the field land, *valea* – the valley, *vâlcea* – the glen etc.) that reunites all the types of toponyms with analytical structure, according to the nature of the determinative: I. Appellative + anthroponym, II. Appellative + toponym, III. Appellative + appellative, IV. Appellative + adjective, V. Appellative + preposition + noun, VI. Appellative + preposition + adverb.

From the six enumerated sub-types, only two (yet extremely rich¹⁴, compensating through the very high number of anthroponomic units) are going to supply the necessary information: I. and V. They both include, integrally (I.) or partially¹⁵ (V.) – names of people. In its turn, each of these subgroups has suffered divisions, according to the morpho-syntactic hypostasis in which the anthroponym was “caught”. Thus, in the first case (appellative + anthroponym), there were established the following situations:

a) anthroponym in the nominative-accusative case (*Balta Chiriac*, *Balta Bagioaica*, *Balta Năbârdoc*, *Bradu Pate-Rău*, *Bunaru Albu Aurel*, *Bunaru Anghilina*, *Bunaru Gheorghe Bobâc* etc.);

b) anthroponym of masculine gender in the singular genitive case, with enclitic article (*Aninii Banului*, *Aria Cojocarului*, *Apa Giurcului*, *Balta Chișului*, *Balta Bărăganului*, *Bordeiu Begului*, *Bășicuța Chiorului* etc.);

c) anthroponym of masculine gender in the singular genitive case, with proclitic article (*Balta lu Bădescu*, *Balta lu Codiță*, *Balta lu Costea Ionescu*, *Boldu lu Dragomir*, *Bunaru lu Costică al Bărboanei* etc.);

d) anthroponym of feminine gender in the singular genitive case (*Balta Anicăi*, *Balta Catalinii*, *Balta Dimoaicei*, *Balta Floricăi*, *Balta Mărinii lu Tănase*, *Bunaru Fichii* etc.);

e) anthroponym in the plural genitive case (*Balta Adămeștilor*, *Balta Bădiștilor*, *Balta Ghiculeștilor*, *Braniștea Cătăneștilor*, *Braniștea Liovenilor*, *Boldu Floranilor* etc.).

¹³ DTRO, vol. I (A-B), pp. 13–14.

¹⁴ Just for the main article **fântâna** there was registered, for point I (entopic element + anthroponym in nominative, synthetic or analytic genitive, feminine or masculine, singular or plural), a number of 5,871 simple anthroponyms, or the ones that help making the popular formula of denomination – *Fântâna lu Fane a lu Nae*, *Fântâna lu Fănică a lui Neamțu*, *Fântâna lu Ilie a lu Iordache*, *Fântâna lu Ion a lu Dică al Stancului* – a case in which the number of the personal names increases progressively. If there are also added the anthroponyms used with different locative prepositions: de la (of) – *Fântâna de la Nae Neșă*, *Fântâna de la Nelu Moașii*, *Fântâna di la Ristea* etc.; de sub (from under) – *Fântâna Via lui Tache Gheorghe Băzăvan* etc.; din (from) – *Fântâna din Chelaru* etc.; la (at) – *Fântâna la a lu Lică al Popii*, *Fântâna la ai lu Gaură*, *Fântâna la Gheorghe Subțârelu* etc.; în (in) – *Fântâna în Crețu a lu Șolea C. Dumitru* etc., then their number will easily exceed 6,000 units.

¹⁵ The elements of relation connect an invariable term (an entopic element) of the compound term, and variable terms, represented by both common nouns (*Balta de la Biserică*, *Balta la Arini*), and proper nouns (*Balta de la Dumitru Stanii*, *Balta di la Ilie Bărlădeanu*, *Balta la Naidin*, *Bunaru la Ion Covlea*).

In the second case (appellative + preposition + noun), the determinatives are accompanied by the following elements of relation: *cu* –with, *de* – of, *de la* – from, *de sub* – from under, *din* – from, *la* – at, *în* – in, *între* – between, *pe* – on, *peste* – over, *spre* – towards, *sub* – under (*Bunaru la Văcărescu Constantin*, *Bunaru de la Gârjabu*, *Balta din Greuceanu*, *Balta pe la Nicolae Costache* etc.). How many of them and how often they were used in combination with anthroponyms, is a question which is going to be answered the moment the entire material has been analysed.

*

According to the complexity of the denominative formulation in which the anthroponym was integrated, by its frequency and origin, each new entry from the index will have a more or less dense structure. Thus, we can meet “short” variants – names / localisation / etymology – as in the case of the unique anthroponyms, of minimal territorial spreading and of a definite origin:

Aga [DJ]; p. (predicative) *Aga*

Agiu [VL]; p. *Agiu*

Agoiu [GJ]; p. *Agoiu*

Aguş [OT]; p. *Aguş*

Ahmed [OT]; p. *Ahmed*

.....

Boanda [DJ]; p. *Boandă*

Boanta [DJ]; p. *Boanta*

Boaşca [GJ]; p. *Boaşca*

Boba [MH]; p. *Boba*

While adding new information – personal, double or triple names; the toponym comprises of, besides the anthroponym, other “items” too (entropic elements, relational elements, kindred relationships etc.); the denomination is a frequent one, with a wide territorial spreading; etymology allows several solutions – it also increases proportionally the structural diversity of many entries from our index.

The composition of the items with double, little utilised and with cert etymology anthroponyms is maintained relatively simple:

Bălticel Andrei [GJ]; p. *Bălticel Andrei*

Barbu Curăţitu [VL]; p. *Barbu Curăţitu*

Bogdan Micico [DJ]; p. *Bogdan Micico*

Yet, a mention is imposed, both in the case of the double names, and the triple ones: in order to have a very clear image on the inventory and the frequency of each anthroponomic item, all the double/triple names are going to be inserted into our list two/three folded, for the letter corresponding to the two/three elements that make it. Thus, in the above examples, the names are registered both for **Bălticel**, and **Barbu**, for **Andrei**, and **Curăţitu**. It is the same for the case **Bogdan Micico**. Moreover, in order to underline the fact that a name occupies, in the

structure of the denominative structure, the second¹⁶ or the third place, it is going to be accompanied by one or two asterisks. Here is what the entries are going to be like in the index:

Bălticel Andrei [GJ]; p. *Bălticel Andrei*

Andrei* Bălticel [GJ]; p. *Bălticel Andrei*

...

Barbu Curățitu [VL]; p. *Barbu Curățitu*

Curățitu* Barbu [VL]; p. *Barbu Curățitu*

...

Bogdan Micico[DJ]; p. *Bogdan Micico*

Micico* Bogdan [DJ]; p. *Bogdan Micico*

Triple structure anthroponymy:

Gheorghe Nistor Ungureanu [Aninii lu ~, GJ]; p. *Gheorghe Nistor Ungureanu*

Nistor* Ungureanu Gheorghe [Aninii lu ~, GJ]; p. *Gheorghe Nistor Ungureanu*

Ungureanu Gheorghe Nistor** [Aninii lu ~, GJ]; p. *Gheorghe Nistor Ungureanu*

...

Ion Pascu Roșu [Bordeiu lui ~, DJ]; p. *Ion Pascu Roșu*

Pascu* Ion Roșu [Bordeiu lui ~, DJ]; p. *Ion Pascu Roșu*

Roșu Ion Pascu** [Bordeiu lui ~, DJ]; p. *Ion Pascu Roșu*

For the same reason, that is, evidencing the fact that a name comes second in a structure, the asterisk is going to be placed also in the case of the nominal items that make the popular form of denomination.

Bălii Rusăndii [Bordeiu ~, OT]; p. *Băla (Bălu) Rusăndii*

Rusăndii* Bălii [Bordeiu ~, OT]; p. *Băla (Bălu) Rusăndii*

Another mention is imposed: the anthroponym from the second position is preceded, a lot of times, by the possessive-genitival article “al”-of, an element characteristic for expressing the filiation in a specific stage when the official system of denomination is formed:

Iorgu al Anei [Balta lu ~, VL]; p. *Iorgu al Anei*

(al) Anei* Iorgu [Balta lu ~, VL]; p. *Iorgu al Anei*

...

Matei al Cichii [Bunaru lu ~, GJ]; p. *Matei al Cichii*

(al) Cichii* Matei [Bunaru lu ~, GJ]; p. *Matei al Cichii*

The adjective *zis*-called, which has the meaning of “nicknamed, denominated”, can also accompany the secondary name:

Stoichița zis Danacu [Bunaru lu ~, MH]; p. *Stoichița zis Danacu*

(zis) Danacu* Stoichița [Bunaru lu ~, MH]; p. *Stoichița zis Danacu*

To conclude, all the homonym personal names are going to be ranged one below the other, corresponding to their alphabetic order (specifying that some of them, being secondary, have the asterisk on):

¹⁶ The etymology will preserve the order of the names, as it was registered in DTRO.

Constantin Hulă [Bunaru lu ~, GJ]; p. *Constantin Hulă*

Constantin Pițurcă [Bunaru lu ~, MH]; p. *Constantin Pițurcă*

Constantin* Benga [Bunaru lu ~, GJ]; p. *Benga Constantin*

Constantin* Burghel [Bunaru lu ~, GJ]; p. *Burghel Constantin*

Constantin* Olaru [Bunaru la ~, GJ]; p. *Olaru Constantin*

Constantin* Văcărescu [Bunaru la ~, GJ]; p. *Văcărescu Constantin*

There are situations in which the anthroponym is not accompanied by an asterisk, but by a number, as in the case of *Belciu*:

Belciu⁴ [VL]; p. *Belciu*

The number next to it indicates the fact that of all the toponyms (five of them) that are based on the word *belciu*, the anthroponomic provenience was established only for the number four index. The rest of them, originate from the entopic element *bălc*, *bâlc* having the next meanings¹⁷: “a marshy, muddy place, with lots of water, on which reed grows too”, “deeper large areas or ponds, surrounded by reed, or bulrush”, “shallow wide valley, without steep hills”, “narrow still rainwater or small spring area”, “deeper river beds”, “wide, miry and swampy lake” etc.

Another situation that needs to be mentioned, is that of *Băloi* toponyms. Four of them, the ones with the indexes: 1 – stream or hayfield in Gorj, 2 – area in Gorj, 3 – groove in Gorj, and 5 – island in Olt, have a direct anthroponomic provenience, while the toponym from 4 index – lane in the village of Vălari, the commune Stănești from Gorj – has an anthroponomic origin intermediated by a group name (group n.):

Băloi^{1,2,3,5} [GJ, GJ, GJ, OT]; p. *Băloi*

Băloi⁴ [GJ]; group n. *băloi* (p. *Băloi, Băloaia, Bălu, Bălea*).

Also referring to the anthroponyms, it can be remarked the fact that there are numerous cases in which the same name has one or several graphic variants. They have been maintained in our index too (in parentheses) – in the form they were recorded in DTRO – immediately after the “official” variant of the personal name:

Băgenacu (Băjenacu) [OT]; p. *Băgenacu (Băjenacu)*

Saftei (Saftii) [Balta ~, DJ]; p. *Safta*

Sireanu (Sâreanu) [Balta lu ~, MH]; p. *Sireanu (Sâreanu)*

Stancăi (Stancii) [Balta ~, DJ, VL]; p. *Stanca*

Vicioaicăi (Vicioaichii) [Balta ~, MH]; p. *Vicioaica*

Vochiței (Voichițai) [Balta ~, DJ]; p. *Vochița*.

On addressing the manner in which the anthroponyms were presented in the index, there ought to be mentioned that their grammatical form was preserved unchanged – corresponding for the sub-types I. (nominative and synthetical and analytical genitive) and V. (accusative with prepositions) that have been enunciated above – from the following reasons: for preserving an accurate image of the reality

¹⁷ Extracts from DTRO and Gh. Bolocan, Elena Șodolescu Silvestru, Iustina Burci, Ion Toma, *Dicționarul entopic al limbii române*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, vol. I, 2009, s.v. *bălc*.

denominated in the field, as it was registered in the source-dictionary, for registering the syntactical relations between the terms of the denominative formula and, not last, the local colour that the names bear (variants or phonetisms).

- Adămeștilor** [Balta ~, GJ]; group n. *adămești* (p. *Adam, Adamescu*)
Angelicăi [Baraca ~, VL]; p. *Angelica*
Asprițeștilor [Balta ~, OT]; group n. *asprițești* (p. *Aspriță*)
Baloș (Baloși) [MH]; p. *Baloș*
Catalinii [Balta ~, GJ]; p. *Catalina*
Căpitanu [Balta lu ~, OT]; p. *Căpitanu*
Căpruciu [Balta lu ~, VL]; p. *Căpruciu*
Cazacului [Balta ~, GJ]; p. *Cazacu*
Costache [Balta lu ~, GJ; Bărâca lu ~, MH; Bunaru lu ~, MH]; p. *Costache*
Didică [Aria lu ~, MH]; p. *Didică*
Drugă Dumitru [Bunaru la ~, GJ]; p. *Drugă Dumitru*
Frusinii [Balta ~, GJ]; p. *Frusina*
Gârjabu [Bunaru de la ~, MH; Bunaru la ~, MH]; p. *Gârjabu*
Gogoășe [Balta pe la ~, DJ]; p. *Gogoășe*
Greuceanu [Balta din ~, VL]; p. *Greuceanu*
Purcărița (Purcărica) [Balta ~, DJ]; p. *Purcărița (Purcărica)*
Saftei (Saftii) [Balta ~, DJ]; p. *Safta* etc.

*

If so far there have been cleared up diverse aspects that are related to the manner they were registered and how the information needs to be “read”, further on, when it comes to the anthroponyms, there are to be made references to the extended denominative formula, which they belong to (where it is the case) and their localisation, subjects that are already anticipated by some of the prior examples. These data are placed within square brackets. It needs to be stated, and it could already be seen in the anterior examples, that within the toponymic structure, for not overloading the material, the anthroponym was replaced with the tilde (~). Here are some examples:

- Albu Aurel** [Bunaru ~, GJ]; p. *Albu Aurel*
Andrițoiu [Bunaru lu ~, GJ]; p. *Andrițoiu*
Andrucu [Aninii lu ~, GJ]; p. *Andrucu*
Antoneștilor [Braniștea ~, DJ]; group n. *antonești* (p. *Antonescu*)
Chintescului [Balta de la Fântâna Hanului ~, DJ]; p. *Chintescu*
Dumitru Stanii [Balta de la ~, OT]; p. *Dumitru Stanii*
Mitran Voicu [Bășicuța lui Moș ~, OT]; p. *Mitran Voicu*
Nicolae Costache [Balta pe la ~, DJ]; p. *Nicolae Costache*

It is observed that the structures can be reduced – *Aninii lu Andrucu, Bunaru Aurel Albu* etc., or complex (with entopic elements, other toponyms, relating words etc.)

according to the number of lexical elements/structures that were necessary for the denominators to identify the field objects accurately, especially in the case of the villages, where any land denivelation was requiring a name, for a better field orienting of the dwellers.

There is going to be presented, also in square brackets, the localisation of the respective toponym. As in the example of *Andrei*:

Andrei [DJ, DJ; Balta lu ~, DJ, VL; Bordeiu lui ~, GJ];

In order to “decrypt” the above formula, we need to provide the names of places that contain the anthroponym *Andrei*, as they were registered in DTRO, for the letters A and B:

*Andrei*¹ – *part of a village* v. (village) Dunăreni c. (commune) Goicea-DJ,

*Andrei*² – *hillock* v. Dobridor c. Moțăței-DJ,

Balta lu Andrei – v. Răcarii de Jos c. Brădești-DJ; v. Crângu c. Scundu-VL,

Bordeiu lui Andrei – v. Valea Deșului c. Vladimir-GJ.

As a simple toponym, *Andrei* is present twice in Dolj, and in the componence of some analytical toponyms, also twice, with the mention that in the case *Balta lu Andrei* there are homonymous denominations in the counties of Dolj and Vâlcea. Thus, there are to be considered the county localities (not the village or commune ones), due to the fact that we are especially interested in how many denominations are present, in order to analyse, in the end, their frequency and not their strict positioning¹⁸ on the geographic map of the region.

And another example:

*Bogdan*¹ – *village* c. Calafat, *island*, *hillock*, *picket*, *crenel*, *forest* v. Ciupercenii Vechi t. (town) Calafat-DJ,

*Bogdan*² – *slum*, *well* m. (municipality) Craiova-DJ,

*Bogdan*³ – *village* within v. Preajba de Pădure c. Teslui-DJ,

*Bogdan*⁴ – *forest* v. Românești m. Târgu Jiu-GJ,

*Bogdan*⁵ – *hill* t. Țicleni-GJ,

*Bogdan*⁶ – *hill* v.c. Bunești-VL,

*Bogdan*⁷ – *hill* v. Mădulari c. Cernișoara-VL,

*Bogdan*⁸ – *field* v.c. Costești-VL,

*Bogdan*⁹ – *stream*-VL,

*Bogdan*¹⁰ – *village* c. Tomșani-VL,

Bunaru lu Bogdan – v. Cremenea de Jos c. Tâmnă-MH.

The contracted information is presented in our index:

Bogdan [DJ, DJ, DJ, GJ, GJ, VL, VL, VL, VL, VL; Bunaru lu ~, MH].

Other times, the compound structures can be predominant in forming the toponyms. Such denominations are also the ones made with the toponym *Popa*:

Popa¹⁹ [DJ, GJ, VL; Balta ~, DJ; Balta de la ~, MH; Balta lu ~, DJ, MH; Bunaru lu ~, GJ]; p. *Popa*

¹⁸ For further details, see DTRO.

¹⁹ The simple denominations *Popa* were extracted from vol. V (O-R) al DTRO.

Popii [Aninii ~, DJ, GJ; Balta ~, DJ, GJ, MH, OT, V; Baraca ~, GJ; Bazinu ~, OT; Băteleştele ~, MH; Bâlcu ~, DJ; Bercu ~, GJ; Bordeiu ~, DJ; Braniştea ~, DJ, GJ; Bunaru ~, GJ, MH; Bungetu ~, GJ]; p. *Popa*

The names with a great number of bearers, as in the case of the two²⁰ anthroponyms before – *Bogdan* and *Popa* –, have consistent presences in toponymy too; the more frequent a personal name is, the more it will need to be placed in denominative constructions that make it not being ambiguous anymore, in relation to the homonymous names registered by the same region.

A clear and complete image on the most frequent anthroponyms in toponymy (or, on the contrary, on the rarest ones), on the relations that create between the terms of the determinative syntagmata and, certainly, on their frequency, we will have only in the moment the entire source-dictionary will be indexed.

*

The final part of the index items is represented by the etymology of the respective toponym. We thought it was important to mention the origin of each different name, because there are cases, and not few, in which it allows multiple solutions:

Adomireasa [VL]; p. *Adomireasa* or p. *Adomir* + suff. *-easa*;

Albinoaia [VL]; p. *Albinoaia* or a derivative from *albină*-bee “place with bees, beehives / place with bee flowers”;

Băleni [GJ, GJ, GJ, MH, MH]; group n. *băleni* (p. *Bălă*, *Bălu*, *Bălea*, *Balea* or top. *Bala*);

Băltani [DJ, GJ]; p. group *băltani* (p. *Baltă*, *Băltan* or top. *Balta* or appellative *băltă*);

Bălţaşi [MH, GJ, MH]; group n. *bălţaşi* (p. *Bălţatu* or adj. *bălţat*);

Bătăioasa [DJ, OT, VL]; p. *Bătăioasa* or adj. *bătăios* + suff. *-a*, through substantivisation;

Bândeasca [OT]; p. *Bândeasca* or *Bându* + suff. *-easca* “that belongs to Bându”;

Becheanca [VL]; p. *Becheanca* or a derivative from top. *Becheni* or p. *Bechea* + suff. *-eanca*;

Boltaşu [DJ, GJ, OT, VL, VL]; p. *Boltaşu* or *boltaş* “trader”;

Borzeasca [VL]; p. *Borzeasca* or adj. *borzesc* “that belongs to Borza, Borzea or Borzescu”;

²⁰ In *Dicţionarul numelor de familie din România* (published in “Studii şi Cercetări de onomastică” – SCO, no. 2, 1996, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, pp. 10–11), Gh. Bolocan was placing the anthroponym *Popa*, according to the number of bearers from that time, on the first position in the classification of the Romanian patronymics, with a frequency of 171,195 bearers. Reaching 28,410 bearers, *Bogdan* is also positioned among the quite frequent names.

Brătuianca [GJ]; p. *Brătuianca* or p. *Brătui*, or top. *Brătuia* + suff. *-eanca* “that belongs to Brătui or to Brătuia” etc.

In order to have the complete image of all the personal names from Oltenia, it is not excluded from our index any anthroponym, even if its provenience is not always a one-hundred-percent certain one, but it makes place for many interpretations.

Moreover, it needs to be mentioned that the etymology of the denominations in which there are inversions of names, as a consequence of their alphabetic classification, will be the one registered in DTRO, the “original” version of the denominative structure (and between brackets there will be recorded the nominative form of the possessor’s name too):

Iorgu al Anei [Balta lu ~, VL]; p. *Iorgu al Anei*

(al) **Anei*** **Iorgu** [Balta lu ~, VL]; p. *Iorgu al Anei* (p. *Ana*)

A comprising image on the problems (especially the typological, statistical and evolutive ones), which the anthroponomy of a region may generate, can be obtained only by examining the totality of names from that territory. This is the reason for which we intend the making of the anthroponomy from Oltenia, a necessary instrument, that will offer the interested people, through the data it contains, the possibility of diverse analyses, independently from even the source-dictionary²¹.

Further on, there is presented a part of what it is going to constitute the index of the people names from Oltenia, which includes, due to the reduced typographic space, the anthroponomic materials under the letters A, and partially B (*Ba-Bă*). Yet, to make an opinion on the amplitude that the final index will have, there ought to be mentioned the fact that only these two letters – A and B – have supplied us so far with 44 pages of dictionary:

²¹ For each entry, there will be presented, as shown before, all the information belonging to the form of the name and its territorial distribution, for each county. If in the present moment, the denominative unit *Andrei* gives us partial information, “picked” from the letters A and B – [DJ; Balta lu ~, DJ, VL; Bordeiu lui ~, GJ] –, at the end, after the entire inventory has been approached, the anthroponym is going to enjoy the following “contents”:

Andrei [DJ; Balta lu ~, DJ, VL; Bordeiu lui ~, GJ; Cioaca lu ~, GJ; Cișmeaua lu ~, MH; Ciutura lu ~, GJ; Ciutura lu ~ Bunescu, VL; Conacu lu ~, GJ, VL; Cracu lu ~, GJ; Dealu lu ~, MH; Drumu lu ~, GJ; Fagu lu ~, GJ; Fântâna lu ~, DJ, GJ, MH, VL; Fântâna lu ~ Constantin, DJ; Fântâna lu ~ Mihart, MH; Fântâna lu ~ Stanciu, DJ; Grindu lu ~, DJ; Heleşteu lu ~, GJ; La ~, GJ, VL; Lacu lu ~, DJ; Leasa lu ~, GJ; Măgura lu ~, DJ, OT; Măgura lu ~ Culcescu, OT; Moara lu ~, MH; Odaia lu ~, GJ; Ogașu lu ~, GJ, MH, VL; Pădurea lu Iancu ~, DJ; Pădurea di la Curătura lu ~, MH; Piscu lu ~, GJ, VL; Pârâu lu ~, GJ, VL; Plațu Constantin ~, GJ; Pluta lu ~, GJ; Poiana lu ~, GJ; Poteca lu ~ Trancă, VL; Prunii lu ~ GJ; Puțu lu Ion ~, VL; Rovina lu ~, GJ; Scocu lu ~, DJ, DJ; Șotanu lu ~, VL; Știubeiu lu ~, GJ; Ulmul de la Prunii lu ~ Amărescu, DJ; Valea lu ~, MH, VL; Valea Fântâna lu ~, DJ; Vâlcea lu ~, OT; Vâlcea Sandei lu ~, DJ]; p. *Andrei*.

- Abagii** [VL]; group n. *abagii*
(p. *Abagiu* or appellative *abagiu*)
- Abagiu** [VL]; p. *Abagiu*
- Achimescu** [Bunaru lu ~, MH];
p. *Achimescu*
- Adam** [DJ; Balta lu ~, GJ]; p. *Adam*
- Adamești** [GJ, GJ]; group n. *adămești*
(p. *Adam, Adamescu*)
- Adămeștilor** [Balta ~, GJ]; group
n. *adămești* (p. *Adam, Adamescu*)
- Adoarmă** [Bordeiu lui ~, DJ];
p. *Adoarmă*
- Adomireasa** [VL]; p. *Adomireasa* or
p. *Adomir* + suff. *-easa*
- Afrimi** [MH]; group n. *afrimi*
(p. *Efrem, Ifrim*)
- Aga** [DJ]; p. *Aga*
- Agiu** [VL]; p. *Agiu*
- Aglițoi** [GJ]; group n. *aglițoi*
(p. *Aglițoi, Aglițoia, Agliță*)
- Agoiu** [GJ]; p. *Agoiu*
- Aguş** [OT]; p. *Aguş*
- Ahmed** [OT]; p. *Ahmed*
- Albăstroiești** [DJ]; group
n. *albăstroiești* (p. *Albăstroiu*)
- Albești** [DJ, MH, VL, VL]; group
n. *albești* (p. *Albu*)
- Albicești** [GJ]; group n. *albicești*
(p. *Albic, Albici, Albicea*)
- Albici** [GJ, MH]; p. *Albici*
- Albina** [DJ, GJ, MH, VL]; p. *Albină* or
albină “a plant that grows in clayey
places, on the slopes and grassy
ravines, or at the edge of forests”
- Albinoaia** [VL]; p. *Albinoaia* or a
derivative from *albină* “place with
bees, with beehives / place with bee
flowers”
- Albinuș** [DJ]; p. *Albinuș*
- Albinușa** [GJ]; p. *Albinușa*
- Albișori** [MH]; group n. *albișori*
(p. *Albișoru* or adj. *albișor*)
- Albișoru** [MH]; p. *Albișoru*
- Alboaia** [OT]; p. *Alboaia*
- Alboiești** [GJ]; group n. *alboiești*
(p. *Alboiu*)
- Alboiu** [Buruga lui ~, GJ]; p. *Alboiu*
- Albotești** [VL]; group n. *albotești*
(p. *Albotă*)
- Albu** [GJ, MH, VL; Balta lu ~, GJ;
Branîștea lui ~, OT]; p. *Albu* (for
the denominations from Vâlcea,
which designate mountains, it is
possible the etymology from the
adj. *alb* – white, through
substantivisation)
- Albu Aurel** [Bunaru ~, GJ]; p. *Albu
Aurel*
- Albuiești** [VL]; group n. *albuiești*
(p. *Albui, Albuia*)
- Albulani** [MH]; group n. *albulani*
(p. *Albul*)
- Albulești** [DJ, GJ, GJ, MH, MH, MH,
VL]; group n. *albulești* (p. *Albul*)
- Alcești** [MH]; group n. *alcești*
(p. *Alcea*)
- Aldea** [DJ, MH]; p. *Aldea*
- Aldești** [GJ, OT]; group n. *aldești*
(p. *Aldea, Alda*)
- Aldumireasa** [VL]; p. *Aldumireasa*
- Alecești** [VL]; group n. *alecești*
(p. *Alecu*)
- Alecu** [VL]; p. *Alecu*
- Alexeni** [GJ]; group n. *alexeni*
(p. *Alexe*)
- Alexești** [VL, VL]; group n. *alexești*
(p. *Alexe, Alexiu, Alexa*)
- Aliana** [VL]; p. *Aliana*
- Alibeg** [GJ]; p. *Alibeg*
- Alicu** [DJ]; p. *Alicu*
- Alidorul* Tișeta** [Bunaru lu ~ , GJ];
p. *Tișeta Alidorul*
- Aliești** [DJ]; group n. *aliești* (p. *Ilie*, cf.
Aliescu)

- Alimanu** [DJ, GJ, VL]; p. *Alimanu*
Alimănescu [Baia lui ~, GJ];
 p. *Alimănescu*
Alimpești [GJ]; group n. *alimpești*
 (p. *Alampie*)
Alion [Bostanu lui ~, GJ]; p. *Alion*
Alisei [Balta lu ~, GJ]; p. *Alisei*
Almășani [GJ]; group n. *almășani*
 (p. *Almăș*, *Almășan* or top. *Almăș*)
Amărăscu [Arsiștea ~, VL; Bărâca lu
 ~, VL]; p. *Amărăscu*
Amărăști [DJ, DJ, VL]; group
 n. *amărăști* (p. *Amaru*)
Amuzică [Bunaru lu ~, GJ];
 p. *Amuzică*
Amza [DJ; Balta lu ~, DJ; Bordeiu lui
 ~, VL]; p. *Amza*
Amzulești [DJ, VL]; group
 n. *amzulești* (p. *Amzu[l]*, *Amza*)
Anășești [DJ]; group n. *anășești*
 (p. *Hanăș*)
Ancești [GJ, VL]; group n. *ancești*
 (p. *Ancea*, *Anca*, *Ancu*)
Ancuței [Bordeiu ~, GJ]; p. *Ancuța*
Ancuțești [DJ, VL]; group n. *ancuțești*
 (p. *Ancuță*)
Andrășoi [GJ]; group n. *andrășoi*
 (p. *Andrășoiu*, *Andrășoaia*, *Andraș*)
Andrei [DJ; Balta lu ~, DJ, VL;
 Bordeiu lui ~, GJ]; p. *Andrei*
Andrei Dide [Balta lu ~, GJ, OT];
 p. *Andrei Dide*
Andrei* Bălticel [GJ]; p. *Bălticel*
Andrei
Andreieni [VL]; group n. *andreieni*
 (p. *Andrei*)
Andriești [DJ, GJ, GJ, VL, VL];
 group n. *andriești* (p. *Andrei*)
Andreiu [DJ]; p. *Andrei*
Andreioiu [Balta lu ~, VL]; p. *Andreioiu*
Andrian [GJ]; p. *Andrian*
Andrițoiu [Bunaru lu ~, GJ];
 p. *Andrițoiu*
- Andronești** [MH, VL]; group
 n. *andronești* (p. *Androne*,
Andronie, *Andron*)
Andrucu [Aninii lu ~, GJ]; p. *Andrucu*
(al) Anei* Iorgu [Balta lu ~, VL];
 p. *Iorgu al Anei* (p. *Ana*)
Anescu [MH]; p. *Anescu*
Anești [MH]; group n. *anești* (p. *Ana*,
Anea)
Angelicăi [Baraca ~, VL]; p. *Angelica*
Anghel [DJ; Balta lu ~, DJ]; p. *Anghel*
Anghelani [MH]; group n. *anghelani*
 (p. *Anghel*)
Anghelești [DJ, DJ, DJ, GJ, MH, OT,
 VL, VL, VL]; group n. *anghelești*
 (p. *Anghel*)
Angheloi [GJ]; group n. *angheloi*
 (p. *Angheloiu*, *Angheloaia*, *Anghel*)
Anghelu [GJ]; p. *Anghel*
Angherului [Balta ~, VL]; p. *Angheru*
Anghilina [Bunaru ~, GJ];
 p. *Anghilina*
Anicăi [Balta ~, DJ]; p. *Anica*
Anicuța [VL]; p. *Anicuța*
Anițeasca [MH]; p. *Anițeasca*
Anițești [GJ]; group n. *anițești*
 (p. *Anița*, *Aniță*)
Anta [MH]; p. *Anta*
Antimu [VL]; p. *Antim*
Antița [DJ, VL]; p. *Antița*
Antonești [GJ, MH]; group
 n. *antonești* (p. *Anton*)
Antoneștilor [Branăștea ~, DJ]; group
 n. *antonești* (p. *Antonescu*)
Antonie [Bunaru lu ~, MH]; p. *Antonie*
Anuța [OT]; p. *Anuța*
Anuțești [VL]; group n. *anuțești*
 (p. *Anuța*, *Anuță*)
Apanu [DJ; Balta ~, DJ]; p. *Apanu*
Apostu [DJ]; p. *Apostu*
Arapu [DJ]; p. *Arapu*

- Arămești** [DJ]; group n. *arămești* (p. *Aramă*)
- Arângu** [GJ]; p. *Arângu*
- Arbănești** [MH]; group n. *arbănești* (p. *Arbăn, Arban*)
- Arbotești** [MH]; group n. *arbotești* (p. *Arbotă*)
- Arcani** [GJ]; group n. *arcani* (p. *Arca, Arcan*)
- Arcanu** [GJ]; p. *Arcanu*
- Arcănești** [GJ]; group n. *arcănești* (p. *Arcanu*)
- Arcești** [OT]; group n. *arcești* (p. *Arcă, Arcu*)
- Ardeiești** [MH]; group n. *ardeiești* (p. *Ardei[u]*)
- Arghiloapa** [GJ]; p. *Arghiloapa*
- Arginești** [MH]; group n. *arginești* (p. *Argint*)
- Argintari** [MH, VL]; group n. *argintari* (p. *Argint, Argintaru* or appellative *argintar*)
- Argintaru** [DJ]; p. *Argintaru*
- Argintoaia** [DJ]; p. *Argintoaia*
- Arhoți** [GJ]; group n. *arhoți* (p. *Arhot*)
- Ariceanu** [DJ]; p. *Ariceanu*
- Aricioaia** [VL]; p. *Aricioaia*
- Aricioiu** [VL]; p. *Aricioiu*
- Ariciosu** [DJ]; p. *Ariciosu*
- Ariciu** [MH, VL]; p. *Ariciu*
- Arimești** [GJ, MH]; group n. *arimești* (p. *Arimie, Arimia - Ieremia*)
- Aristică Năiculescu** [Balta lu ~, MH]; p. *Aristică Năiculescu*
- Arjoci** [GJ]; group n. *arjoci* (p. *Arjoca*)
- Arlămpești** [GJ]; group n. *arlămpești* (p. *Arlampie*)
- Arlămpoaia** [MH]; p. *Arlămpoaia*
- Armanca** [GJ, MH]; p. *Armanca*
- Armașu** [GJ]; p. *Armașu*
- Armășaru** [VL]; p. *Armășaru*
- Armășești** [OT, VL]; group n. *armășești* (p. *Armașu*)
- Armășoica** [GJ]; p. *Armășoica*
- Armeanca** [Branîștea lu ~, GJ]; p. *Armeanca*
- Armeanu** [VL]; p. *Armeanu*
- Arnăutu** [DJ]; p. *Arnăutu*
- Arsan** [DJ; Bordeiu lui ~, MH]; p. *Arsan*
- Arsane** [VL]; p. *Arsene*
- Arsănești** [GJ]; group n. *arsănești* (p. *Arsene, Arsan*)
- Arsești** [DJ]; group n. *arsești* (p. *Arsu*)
- Arși** [DJ, GJ]; group n. *arși* (p. *Arsu* or adj. *ars*)
- Artanu** [GJ, VL]; p. *Artanu*
- Arteapa** [MH]; p. *Arteapa*
- Arvatu** [MH]; p. *Arvatu*
- Arvătești** [MH, OT, VL]; group n. *arvătești* (p. *Arvat*)
- Arvătoaia** [GJ]; p. *Arvătoaia*
- Asprești** [GJ, GJ]; group n. *asprești* (p. *Aspru, Aspra*)
- Asprițești** [OT]; group n. *asprițești* (p. *Aspriță*)
- Asprițeștilor** [Balta ~, OT]; group n. *asprițești* (p. *Asprițoiu*)
- Augustina** [OT]; p. *Augustina*
- Aulești** [DJ]; group n. *aulești* (p. *Hău[l]*)
- Aurărești** [VL]; group n. *aurărești* (p. *Auraru*)
- Aurel* Albu** [Bunaru ~, GJ]; p. *Albu Aurel*
- Aurești** [VL]; group n. *aurești* (p. *Aur[u]*)
- Aurică** [Balta lu ~, DJ]; p. *Aurică*
- Aurora** [MH]; p. *Aurora*
- Avel** [VL]; p. *Avel*
- Averești** [VL]; group n. *averești* (p. *Aver, Avăr*)
- Avram** [VL; Balta lu ~, GJ, MH, VL]; p. *Avram*
- Avrămeasca** [VL]; p. *Avrămeasca* sau adj. *avrămesesc* + suff. *-easca*

- Avrămești** [DJ, GJ, VL, VL, VL, VL]; group n. *avrămești* (p. *Avram*)
- Avrămoaia** [GJ]; p. *Avrămoaia*
- Avrămoaica** [DJ]; p. *Avrămoaica*
- Avrintești** [VL]; group n. *avrintești* (p. *Avrinte*)
- Azlan** [Balta lu ~ , MH]; p. *Azlan*
- Babaioana** [Balta lu ~ , MH]; p. *Babaioana*
- Babanu** [DJ, GJ, MH, VL]; p. *Babanu* or adj. *baban* “big”, through substantivisation
- Babelea** [OT]; p. *Babelea*
- Babii** [Bordu ~ , GJ]; p. *Baba*
- Baboțu** [MH]; p. *Baboțu*
- Bacea** [VL]; p. *Bacea*
- Baciovu** [DJ]; p. *Baciovu*
- Baciu** [VL]; p. *Baciu*
- Bacoava** [GJ]; p. *Bacova*
- Bacoe** [Aninii lu ~ , GJ]; p. *Bacoe*
- Bacrov** [GJ]; p. *Bacrov*
- Badea** [GJ, VL; Băltina lui ~ , OT]; p. *Badea*
- Badeșu** [MH]; p. *Badeș*
- Badii** [Balta ~ , DJ, VL; Bunaru ~ , MH]; p. *Badea*
- Badiu** [GJ]; p. *Badiu*
- Baghiu** [GJ]; p. *Badiu*
- Bagioaica** [Balta ~ , DJ]; p. *Bagioaica*
- Bahanu** [MH]; p. *Bahanu*
- Baica** [Brazda lui ~ , OT]; p. *Baica*
- Baidea** [GJ]; p. *Badea*
- Baiu** [GJ, MH]; p. *Baiu*
- Balabanu** [DJ, MH, VL]; p. *Balaban*
- Balaci** [DJ, GJ; Bunaru lu ~ , MH]; p. *Balaci*
- Balaciu** [DJ, MH, VL]; p. *Balaci*
- Balasan** [DJ]; p. *Balasan*
- Balaure** [DJ, GJ]; p. *Balauru*
- Balaurești** [MH]; group n. *balaurești* (p. *Balaure, Balauru*)
- Balauru** [DJ, MH; Balta ~ , DJ]; p. *Balauru*
- Bală** [GJ]; p. *Bala, Balu, Bălu*
- Baldovin** [DJ, OT, VL]; p. *Baldovin*
- Baldovinești** [OT]; group n. *baldovinești* (p. *Baldovin*)
- Baldovinii** [MH]; group n. *baldovini* (p. *Baldovin*)
- Baldovinu** [GJ, MH]; p. *Baldovinu*
- Balea** [GJ, VL]; p. *Balea*
- Balica** [DJ, GJ, MH]; p. *Balica*
- Balici** [MH]; group n. *balici* (p. *Balica*)
- Balindru** [VL] p. *Balindru*
- Balinu** [MH]; p. *Balin*
- Baliu** [GJ]; p. *Baliu*
- Balmeș** [DJ]; p. *Balmeș*
- Balmeșu** [GJ]; p. *Balmeș*
- Baloiești** [MH, OT, VL]; group n. *baloiești* (p. *Băloi, Băloiu*)
- Balomirești** [DJ, GJ, VL]; group n. *balomirești* (p. *Balomir*)
- Balomiru** [GJ]; p. *Balomir*
- Balosânu** [GJ]; p. *Balotin*
- Baloș (Baloși)** [MH]; p. *Baloș*
- Baloșani** [GJ]; group n. *baloșani* (p. *Baloș, Baloșan*)
- Baloșân** [MH]; p. *Balotin*
- Balota** [DJ, MH, VL]; p. *Balotă*
- Balotești** [GJ, MH]; group n. *balotești* (p. *Balotă*)
- Balotina** [MH]; p. *Balotina*
- Balș** [OT, VL]; p. *Balș*
- Baltazaru** [GJ]; p. *Baltazar*
- Balța** [VL]; p. *Balț, Balțe, Balțu*
- Balțea** [DJ]; p. *Balțea*
- Balțu** [GJ]; p. *Balțu*
- Balu** [GJ, VL]; p. *Balu*
- Baluca** [MH]; p. *Baluca*, analogous with *Răduca*
- Bancea** [VL]; p. *Bancea*
- Banciu** [GJ, VL]; p. *Banciu*
- Banciulea** [GJ]; p. *Banciulea*
- Bancu** [DJ, VL]; p. *Bancu*
- Bandea** [GJ]; p. *Bandea*

- Bane** [DJ]; p. *Bane*
- Băniu** [GJ]; p. *Banea*
- Banța** [GJ, MH]; p. *Banța*
- Banu** [GJ, MH, OT, VL]; p. *Banu*
- Banului** [Aninii ~, MH; Balta ~, MH];
p. *Banu*
- Baraliu** [DJ]; p. *Baraliu*
- Baranca** [former county of Romanați];
p. *Baranga*
- Barâncea** [MH]; p. *Barâncea*
- Barbă Albă** [DJ; Balta ~, DJ];
p. *Barbă Albă*
- Barbă Lată** [MH, VL]; p. *Barbă Lată*
- Barbu** [DJ; former county of Romanați;
Balta lu ~, MH];
- Barbu Curățitu** [VL]; p. *Barbu Curățitu*
- Barbu Iova** [Branîștea lui ~, OT];
p. *Barbu Iova*
- Barbu Mircea** [MH]; p. *Barbu Mircea*
- Barna** [MH]; p. *Barna*
- Barnea** [GJ]; p. *Barnea*
- Baroana** [DJ, GJ, GJ]; p. *Baroana*
(baroness Zenechereschi, related to
prince Bibescu)
- Barogelu** [DJ]; p. *Barogelu*
- Barosu** [MH]; p. *Barosu*
- Baroși** [GJ]; group n. *baroși* (p. *Barosu*)
- Barza** [GJ, GJ, VL]; p. *Barza*
- Basagii** [DJ]; group n. *basagii*
(p. *Basagă*)
- Basamac** [DJ]; p. *Basamac*
- Basarab** [VL, VL]; p. *Basarab*
- Basarabă** [MH]; p. *Basarabă*
- Basarabi** [DJ, MH]; group n. *basarabi*
(p. *Basarab, Basarabă*)
- Bascarin** [OT]; p. *Bascarin*
- Basta** [GJ]; p. *Basta*
- Bașcoava** [MH]; p. *Bașcoava*
- Bașcov** [DJ, DJ]; p. *Bașcov*
- Batârăști** [VL]; group n. *batârăști*
(p. *Batâr*)
- Batovu** [MH]; p. *Batov*
- Batrucu** [MH]; p. *Batrucu*
- Bațachete** [GJ]; p. *Bațachete*
- Baur** [OT, VL]; p. *Bauer*
- Băbaci** [GJ]; p. *Băbaci*
- Băbara** [VL]; p. *Băbar* + suff. *-a*
- Băbălău** [DJ; Balta lu ~, GJ];
p. *Băbălău*
- Băbălâncani (Băbălâceni)** [MH];
group n. *băbălâncani* (p. *Băbălica, Băbălicu, Băbălican*)
- Băbăluța** [VL]; p. *Băbăluță*
- Băbănești** [MH]; group n. *băbănești*
(p. *Băbanu, Baban*)
- Băbănoaia** [DJ; Balta ~, DJ];
p. *Băbănoaia*
- Băbănoaica** [OT]; p. *Băbănoaica*
- Băbeanu** [DJ]; p. *Băbeanu*
- Băbiceanca** [OT]; p. *Băbiceanca*
- Băbiciu** [OT]; p. *Băbiciu*
- Băbițu** [DJ]; p. *Băbițu*
- Băbuci** [GJ]; group n. *băbuci*
(p. *Băbucu, Băbucă*)
- Băbușu** [GJ]; p. *Băbușu*
- Băcan** [VL, VL]; p. *Băcan[u]*
- Băcanilor** [Bunaru ~, GJ]; group
n. *băcani* (p. *Băcanu*)
- Băcănești** [DJ, GJ, VL]; group
n. *băcănești* (p. *Băcanu*)
- Băcănoaia** [DJ]; p. *Băcănoaia*
- Băcărani** [VL]; group n. *băcărani*
(p. *Băcăru, Băcăran[u]*)
- Băcătîn** [MH]; p. *Băcătîn*
- Băcâți** [GJ]; group n. *băcâți*
(p. *Băcâțea*)
- Băcești** [DJ, DJ, GJ]; group n. *băcești*
(p. *Băcea, Bacea, Baci*)
- Băcila** [GJ, OT, VL]; p. *Băcilă*
- Băcioasa** [DJ]; p. *Băcioasa*
- Băcoiu** [Bunaru de la ~, GJ]; p. *Băcoiu*
- Băcraci** [GJ]; p. *Băcraci*
- Băculești** [MH]; group n. *băculești*
(p. *Bacu[l], Băcu[l], Baculea*)
- Bădani** [MH]; group n. *bădani*
(p. *Badea, Bădan*)

- Bădăi** [Balta lu ~, MH]; p. *Bădăi*
Bădăi* Gheorghe [Bunaru la ~, GJ];
 p. *Gheorghe Bădăi*
Bădăiasca [MH]; p. *Bădăiasca* “of
 Bădăi”
Bădălău [MH]; p. *Bădălău*
Bădăluu [OT]; p. *Bădăluu*
Bădănar [GJ]; p. *Bădănar*
Bădăroiu [OT]; p. *Bădăroiu*
Bădârcea [OT]; p. *Bădârcea*
Bădeasca [GJ, VL]; p. *Bădeasca*
Bădeni [GJ, GJ]; group n. *bădeni*
 (p. *Badea*)
Bădescu [Balta lu ~, VL]; p. *Bădescu*
Bădești [DJ, DJ, DJ, DJ, DJ, DJ, DJ,
 DJ, GJ, GJ, MH, MH, MH, MH,
 MH, VL, VL, VL, VL, VL]; group
 n. *bădești* (p. *Badea*)
Bădeștilor [Bărâca ~, MH]; group
 n. *bădești* (p. *Badea*)
Bădica [DJ, DJ, DJ, DJ, OT, VL];
 p. *Bădica*
Bădicani [VL]; group n. *bădicani*
 (p. *Bădică*)
Bădicescu [Balta lu ~, OT]; p. *Bădicescu*
Bădicești [DJ]; group n. *bădicești*
 (p. *Bădica, Bădicea, Bădici, Bădicu*)
Bădie [OT]; p. *Bădie*
Bădila [VL, VL]; p. *Bădilă*
Bădinu [OT]; p. *Bădinu*
Bădița [VL]; p. *Bădiță*
Bădiță [Balta lu ~, VL]; p. *Bădiță*
Bădițești [MH, VL, VL, VL]; group
 n. *bădițești* (p. *Bădiță*)
Bădițeștilor [Balta ~, VL]; group
 n. *bădițești* (p. *Bădiță*)
Bădiții [Balta ~, VL]; p. *Bădiță*
Bădițoi [VL]; group n. *bădițoi*
 (p. *Bădițoiu, Bădițoia, Bădiță*)
Bădoaica [DJ, OT]; p. *Bădoaica*
Bădoanea [MH]; p. *Bădoanea*
Bădoi [VL]; p. *Bădoi[u]*
Bădoiești [DJ, OT, VL]; group
 n. *bădoiești* (p. *Bădoi[u]*)
Bădoiu [VL, VL]; p. *Bădoiu*
Bădoși [DJ]; group n. *bădoși*
 (p. *Bădosu*)
Băduică [OT]; p. *Băduică*
Bădulani [DJ]; group n. *bădulani*
 (*Badea, Badul, Bădulani*)
Băduleasca [OT]; p. *Băduleasca*
Bădulești [GJ, OT, OT, VL, VL, VL];
 group n. *bădulești* (p. *Badul,*
Bădulescu)
Băduleștilor [Balta ~, OT]; group
 n. *bădulești* (p. *Badul, Bădulescu*)
Băduni [GJ]; group n. *băduni*
 (p. *Bădunu, Bădună*)
Băgenacu (**Băjenacu**) [OT];
 p. *Băgenacu*
Băghinești [MH]; group n. *băghinești*
 (p. *Băghină*)
Băgioaica [DJ]; p. *Băgioaica*
Băgneanu [MH]; p. *Băgneanu*
Băianu [MH, MH]; p. *Băianu*
Băiasa [VL]; p. *Băiasa* or through the
 substantivisation of the adj. *băiasă*
 “of Baiu”
Băiașului [Albia ~, VL; Balta ~, MH];
 p. *Băiașu*
Băica [VL]; p. *Băica*
Băicanu [DJ]; p. *Băicanu*
Băicești [GJ]; group n. *băicești*
 (p. *Baicea, Baicu*)
Băicoasa [DJ]; p. *Băicoasa*
Băicoiu [MH]; p. *Băicoi*
Băiculești [VL]; group n. *băiculești*
 (p. *Baicu[l]*)
Băiești [VL]; group n. *băiești* (p. *Baiu,*
Baia, Bai, Bae)
Băileanu [GJ]; p. *Băileanu*
Băileasa [GJ]; p. *Băileasa*
Băilești [DJ, DJ]; group n. *băilești*
 (p. *Băilă*)
Băjanu [DJ]; p. *Băjanu*

- Băjău** [OT]; p. *Băjău*
- Băjenari (Bejenari, Bejinari)** [DJ, DJ, DJ, VL]; group n. *băjenari* (p. *Băjenaru* or appellative *băjenar*)
- Băjenești** [MH]; group n. *băjenești* (p. *Băjan*)
- Băjenici (Bejenici)** [MH]; group n. *băjenici* (p. *Băjenică*)
- Băjinărești** [GJ]; group n. *băjinărești* (p. *Băjinaru*)
- Băla** [OT]; p. *Băla*
- Bălaci**^{2,3} [MH, VL]; p. *Bălaci*
- Bălaci**^{1,4} [GJ, VL]; group n. *bălaci* (p. *Balaci*)
- Bălaia** [DJ]; p. *Bălaia*
- Bălan** [OT, VL; Aria lu ~, VL; Balta lu ~, VL]; p. *Bălan*
- Bălani** [GJ, GJ, GJ, GJ, MH]; group n. *bălani* (p. *Bălu, Bălă, Bălan*)
- Bălana** [VL]; p. *Bălana*
- Bălașa** [DJ, GJ, MH]; p. *Bălașa*
- Bălașa Mișu** [Balta lu ~, OT]; p. *Bălașa Mișu*
- Bălașii** [Balta ~, GJ, VL]; p. *Bălașa*
- Bălava** [GJ]; p. *Balavă, Balavu*
- Bălăbănești** [DJ]; group n. *bălăbănești* (p. *Balaban[u]*)
- Bălăceanu** [GJ, OT, VL, VL; Balta lu ~, MH]; p. *Bălăceanu*
- Bălăcescu** [GJ]; p. *Bălăcescu*
- Bălăcești** [DJ, DJ, GJ, GJ, GJ]; group n. *bălăcești* (p. *Bălacea, Bălăcea, Balaci*)
- Bălăcița** [MH]; p. *Bălăcița*
- Bălăieni** [GJ]; group n. *bălăieni* (p. *Bălăi*)
- Bălăiești** [DJ]; group n. *bălăiești* (p. *Bălăi[u]*)
- Bălăieț** [GJ]; p. *Bălăiețu*
- Bălăila** [DJ]; p. *Bălăilă*
- Bălăjești** [GJ]; group n. *bălăjești* (p. *Bălaj*)
- Bălăneasca** [VL, VL]; p. *Bălăneasca* or, maybe, derived from the top. *Bălănești*
- Bălănescu* Simion** [Bunaru lu ~, GJ]; p. *Simion Bălănescu*
- Bălănești** [DJ, DJ, DJ, DJ, DJ, GJ, GJ, GJ, MH, OT, VL, VL, VL, VL, VL, VL]; group n. *bălănești* (p. *Bălan*)
- Bălănoaia** [GJ]; p. *Bălănoaia*
- Bălănoiu** [GJ]; p. *Bălănoiu*
- Bălășani** [GJ]; group n. *bălășani* (p. *Baloș, Balaș, Bălașa, Baloșan*)
- Bălășel** [VL, VL]; p. *Bălășel*
- Bălășești** [DJ, GJ, VL]; group n. *bălășești* (p. *Balaș, Bălașa*)
- Bălășica** [VL]; p. *Bălășica*
- Bălășița** [MH]; p. *Bălășița*
- Bălășoii** [MH]; group n. *bălășoii* (p. *Bălășoiu, Bălășoia, Bălașa*)
- Bălășoiu** [MH, MH, VL; Balta lu ~, VL]; p. *Bălășoiu*
- Bălăuțăști** [Bunaru ~, MH]; p. *Bălăuțăști*
- Bălăvan** [DJ; Bordeiu lui ~, GJ]; p. *Bălăvan*
- Bălceasca** [MH]; p. *Bălceasca* or, maybe, created through the substantivisation of the adj. *bălcesc* “of Balcea or of Bălcescu”
- Bălcescu** [GJ]; p. *Bălcescu*
- Bălcești** [GJ, VL]; group n. *bălcești* (p. *Balc[u], Balca, Balcă, Bălă, Bălăcu, Bălcea*)
- Bălcoiu** [DJ]; p. *Bălcoiu*
- Băldoi** [GJ]; group n. *băldoi* (p. *Băldoi, Băldoaia, Bălă, Băldea*)
- Băleanu** [DJ, GJ]; p. *Băleanu*
- Băleanu* Ilie** [Bunaru lu ~, GJ]; p. *Ilie Băleanu*
- Băleasa** [GJ, OT]; p. *Băleasa*
- Băleni** [GJ, GJ, GJ, MH, MH]; group n. *băleni* (p. *Bălă, Bălu, Bălea, Bălea* or top. *Bala*)

- Bălescu** [GJ, VL]; p. *Bălescu*
- Bălești** [DJ, GJ, GJ, GJ, GJ]; group n. *bălești* (p. *Bălea, Bălu, Balea*)
- Bălii** [Balta ~, GJ]; p. *Bălea, Bălu, Balea*
- Bălii Rusândii** [Bordeiu ~, OT]; p. *Băla (Bălu) Rusândii*
- Bălindești** [VL]; group n. *bălindești* (p. *Balint*)
- Bălinești** [GJ]; group n. *bălinești* (p. *Bălin*)
- Bălineștilor** [Balta ~, GJ]; group n. *bălinești* (p. *Bălin*)
- Bălmăiești** [DJ]; group n. *bălmăiești* (p. *Bălmai*)
- Băloaia** [VL]; p. *Băloaia*
- Băloaitei** [Balta ~, GJ]; p. *Băloaita*
- Băloasa** [DJ, VL]; p. *Băloasa*
- Băloi**^{1,2,3,5} [GJ, GJ, GJ, OT]; p. *Băloi*
- Băloi**⁴ [GJ]; group n. *băloi* (*Băloi, Băloaia, Bălu, Bălea*)
- Băloiești** [GJ, MH]; group n. *băloiești* (p. *Băloi[u]*)
- Băloiu** [VL, VL]; p. *Băloiu*
- Băloși** [MH]; group n. *băloși* (p. *Bălosu, Bălos*)
- Bălșoi** [DJ]; p. *Bălșoi[u]*
- Băltani** [DJ, GJ]; group n. *băltani* (p. *Baltă, Băltan* or top. *Balta* or appellative *baltă*)
- Băltași** [MH]; group n. *băltași* (p. *Băltașu* or appellative *băltaș* “person living around ponds”)
- Băltăcoanea** [Bunaru la Moașa ~, MH]; p. *Băltăcoanea*
- Băltăreni** [DJ]; group n. *băltăreni* (p. *Băltaru* or appellative *băltar* “person living next to ponds”)
- Băltărești** [VL]; group n. *băltărești* (p. *Băltaru*)
- Băltăreți** [DJ, DJ, MH, OT]; group n. *băltăreți* (p. *Băltărețu* or adj. *băltăreț* “from the region of the ponds”)
- Bălticel Andrei** [GJ]; p. *Bălticel Andrei*
- Bălțați** [MH, GJ, MH]; group n. *bălțați* (p. *Bălțatu* or adj. *bălțat*)
- Bălțatu** [GJ, GJ, GJ, MH, OT]; p. *Bălțatu*
- Bălțătești** [GJ]; group n. *bălțătești* (p. *Bălțatu*)
- Bălțățeanu** [MH, MH]; p. *Bălțățeanu*
- Bălțățeanu** [GJ]; p. *Bălțățeanu*
- Bălțoi** [Balta di la ~, VL]; p. *Bălțoi*
- Bălțoican** [DJ]; p. *Bălțoican*
- Bălțoiu** [VL]; p. *Bălțoiu*
- Bălu*** **Ghiță** [Bunaru lu ~, MH]; p. *Ghiță Bălu*
- Bălulești** [MH]; group n. *bălulești* (p. *Bălu[l]*)
- Bălușu** [GJ]; p. *Bălușu*
- Băluț** [Bunaru lu ~, GJ]; p. *Băluț*
- Băluța** [MH, MH]; p. *Băluța*
- Băluță** [Balta lu ~, MH; Brazii ale ~, DJ]; p. *Băluță*
- Băluțești** [GJ, GJ, GJ, OT]; group n. *băluțești* (p. *Băluță, Băluț*)
- Băluțoaia** [GJ, GJ, OT, OT, VL, VL]; p. *Băluțoaia*
- Băluțoiu** [GJ, VL, VL]; p. *Băluțoiu*
- Bănatu** [DJ]; p. *Bănatu*
- Bănăguiu** [DJ]; p. *Bănăgui*
- Bănceroaia** [VL]; p. *Bănceroaia*
- Băncioi** [GJ]; p. *Băncioi[u]*
- Băndălete** [MH]; p. *Băndălete*
- Băneasa** [DJ, DJ, DJ, DJ, GJ, GJ, VL, VL, VL, VL]; p. *Băneasa*
- Bănesii** [Balta ~, OT]; p. *Băneasa*
- Bănești** [DJ, GJ, VL]; group n. *bănești* (p. *Banu, Banea, Bane*)
- Bănică** [GJ, VL]; p. *Bănică*
- Bănică** [Balta lu ~, GJ, VL; Bunaru lu ~, GJ]; p. *Bănică*
- Bănicel** [Balta lu ~, MH]; p. *Bănicel*
- Bănicești** [DJ, GJ, VL]; group n. *bănicești* (p. *Bănică, Bănicea*)

- Bănicoaia** [DJ]; p. *Bănicoaia*
Bănișoru [DJ]; p. *Bănișoru*
Bănița [GJ]; p. *Bănița*
Bănoaia [GJ, VL]; *Bănoaia*
Bănțești [VL]; group n. *bănțești*
 (p. *Banță, Bănța, Banțu*)
Bănțoaia [VL]; p. *Bănțoaia*
Bănțoi [GJ]; p. *Bănțoi*
Bănuța [GJ]; p. *Bănuța*
Bănuțescu [DJ]; p. *Bănuțescu*
Bănuțu [GJ]; p. *Bănuțu*
Bărasca [OT]; p. *Bărăscu* or adj. *bărăsc* “of Băra”, through substantivation
Bărăcești [DJ]; group n. *bărăcești*
 (p. *Bărăcea*)
Bărăgan [Balta lu ~, OT]; p. *Bărăgan*
Bărăganu [DJ, GJ, OT, OT, MH, VL, VL, VL]; p. *Bărăgan[u]*
Bărăganului [Balta ~, OT]; p. *Bărăganu*
Bărăitaru [GJ, MH, VL, VL]; p. *Bărăitaru*
Bărăneasca [DJ]; p. *Bărăneasca* or adj. *bărănesc* “of Băran”
Bărănești [DJ]; group n. *bărănești*
 (*Băran[u]*)
Bărăscu [DJ, DJ, OT, VL]; p. *Bărăscu*
Bărăști [GJ, OT]; group n. *bărăști*
 (p. *Băru, Băra, Bara*)
Bărbasa [DJ]; p. *Bărbeasa*
Bărbălanu [DJ]; p. *Bărbălan[u]*
Bărbăluși [MH]; group n. *bărbăluși*
 (p. *Bărbăluș*)
Bărbănița [DJ]; p. *Bărbăniță*
Bărbăraci [VL]; group n. *bărbăraci*
 (p. *Bărbărac*)
Bărbăras [MH]; p. *Barbărasă*
Bărbărești [OT]; group n. *bărbărești*
 (p. *Barbăr*)
Bărbăroaia [VL]; p. *Bărbăroaia*
Bărbătescu [GJ, VL]; p. *Bărbătescu*
Bărbătești [GJ, OT, VL]; group n. *bărbătești* (p. *Bărbat*)
Bărbățoiu [VL]; p. *Bărbățoiu*
Bărbești [GJ]; group n. *bărbești*
 (p. *Barbu, Barbă, Barbea*)
Bărbila [VL]; p. *Bărbilă*
Bărboaia [VL, VL]; p. *Bărboaia*
Bărboaică [GJ]; p. *Bărboaică*
(al) Bărboanei* Costică [Bunaru lu ~, GJ]; p. *Costică al Bărboanei*
 (p. *Bărboana*)
Bărboasa [MH]; p. *Bărbosu* + suff. *-a* or p. *Barbu* + suff. *-oasa* “of Barbu”
Bărboi [DJ]; group n. *bărboi*
 (p. *Bărboi, Bărboaia, Barbu, Barbă*)
Bărboian [DJ]; p. *Bărboianu*
Bărboiești [GJ]; group n. *bărboiești*
 (p. *Bărboi*)
Bărbonești [GJ]; group n. *bărbonești*
 (p. *Bărbonea, Barbone, Barboane*)
Bărbulani [DJ, DJ, MH, MH, MH]; group n. *bărbulani* (p. *Barbul*)
Bărbulești [GJ, GJ, GJ, GJ, OT, VL, VL]; group n. *bărbulești* (p. *Barbu[l], Barbulea*)
Bărbosu [GJ]; p. *Bărbosu*
Bărbucea [VL]; p. *Bărbucea*
Bărbuceanca [VL]; p. *Bărbuceanu* + suff. *-eanca*
Bărbuceanu [GJ]; p. *Bărbuceanu*
Bărbuia [VL]; p. *Bărbui* + suff. *-a*
Bărbulea [VL] p. *Bărbulea*
Bărbuleasa [OT] p. *Bărbuleasa*
Bărbuleni [GJ]; group n. *bărbuleni*
 (p. *Barbul*)
Bărbulescu [DJ]; p. *Bărbulescu*
Bărbuț [Balta lu ~, MH]; p. *Bărbuț*
Bărbuț* Ion [Balta ~, MH]; p. *Ion Bărbuț*
Bărbuțești [GJ]; group n. *bărbuțești*
 (p. *Bărbuță, Bărbuț*)
Bărbuțoi [GJ]; group n. *bărbuțoi*
 (p. *Bărbuțoiu, Bărbuțoia, Bărbuță*)

- Bărcan** [VL]; p. *Bărcan*[u]
Bărcanu [GJ]; p. *Bărcanu*
Bărcănești [MH, VL, VL]; group n. *bărcănești* (*Bărcan*[u])
Bărcești [GJ]; group n. *bărcești* (p. *Bărca, Bârca, Bărcea, Bârcea, Bârcu*)
Bărconești [DJ]; group n. *bărconești* (p. *Barcon, Bărconea, Barconiu*)
Bărdan [Balta lu ~, GJ]; p. *Bărdan*
Bărdani [GJ]; group n. *bărdani* (p. *Bardă, Bardea, Bărdan* or appellative *bărdan* “bărdar, bărdășman using a hatchet” or top. *Bârda*)
Bărdoiu [DJ]; p. *Bărdoiu*
Bărnat [VL]; p. *Bărnat*
Bărnești [DJ]; group n. *bărnești* (p. *Barna, Bărna, Bărnea*)
Băroaia [DJ, GJ, GJ, MH, VL]; p. *Băroaia*
Băroiești [MH]; group n. *băroiești* (p. *Băroi*[u])
Băroiu [GJ, VL]; p. *Băroiu*
Bărsâla [VL]; p. *Barsilă*
Bărteni [former county of Romanați]; group n. *bărteni* (p. *Bărta, Bărta*)
Băru [GJ]; p. *Băru*
Bărvăreța [DJ]; p. *Bărvăreța*
Bărzuica [DJ, GJ, GJ, MH]; p. *Bărzuică*
Băsăscu [MH]; p. *Băsescu*
Băsești [MH, MH]; group n. *băsești* (p. *Băsu, Băsea*)
Băsoaia [GJ]; p. *Băsoaia*
Bătăgwiești [OT]; group n. *bătăgwiești* (p. *Bătăgui*)
Bătăieșescu [MH]; p. *Bătăieșescu*
Bătăioasa [DJ, OT, VL]; p. *Bătăioasa* or adj. *bătăios* + suff. *-a*, through substantivisation
Bătăiosu [DJ, VL]; p. *Bătăiosu* or adj. *bătăios*, through substantivisation
Bătășanca [VL]; p. *Bătășanca* or top. *Bătășani* + suff. *-[e]anca*
Bătășani [VL]; group n. *bătășani* (p. *Bătaș, Bataș*)
Bătești [GJ, OT, VL]; group n. *bătești* (p. *Batu, Bata, Batea*)
Bătineni [OT]; group n. *bătineni* (p. *Batin*)
Bătoaia [VL]; p. *Bătoaia*
Bătoiești [MH], group n. *bătoiești* (p. *Bătoaia*)
Bățățanu [GJ]; p. *Bățățanu*
Bățești [MH]; group n. *bățești* (p. *Bățu, Bățea*)
Băuleci [VL]; p. *Băuleciu, Bouleciu*
Băureni [VL]; group n. *băureni* (p. *Baur* or top. *Baur*)
Băzăchița [DJ]; p. *Băzăchița*
Băzărinoaia [MH]; p. *Băzărinoaia*
Băzăvan [DJ]; p. *Băzăvan*
Băzăvani [GJ, OT, VL]; group n. *băzăvani* (p. *Băzăvan*)
Băzăvanu [DJ, GJ, MH]; p. *Băzăvanu*
Băzdăvanu [VL]; p. *Băzdăvanu*
Băzici [VL]; group n. *băzici* (*Bazică, Bazicu*)
Băzoiu [VL]; p. *Băzoiu*

ELITE, INSTITUTIONS AND ADVERTISING

INSET PORTRAITS OF THE FOREIGN ADMINISTRATION CLERK OF THE CROWN DOMAINS

Narcisa Maria MITU*

Abstract: The Crown Domains Institution was led by a trustee appointed by the King, among the officials of the Royal Palace, and it had the office in Bucharest from where it was coordinated and overseen the activity of the twelve domains. He was assisted by a team of jurists, accountants and office workers who formed the Central Office. Each Domain was led by a chief of administration, directly subordinate to the central administrator.

The chiefs of administration were forestry or agronomist engineers, depending on the particularities of the Domain where they operated. They were the best in their profession being graduates of some prestigious institutions from Europe: Forest Academy of Schemnitz, Agricultural Academy of Vienna, Forest Academy of Dresden, Munich University but also from our country College of Agriculture from Herastrau, Forestry Department of the Polytechnic School in Bucharest, Forestry School from Branesti. The entire staff was Romanian. Like the other specialists, they benefited of great salaries, annual rewards, a series of amenities: supplying agro-food products for free or with a low price, granting aid in difficult situations, benefits for renting, food, fire woods, quotas, small transport fees on railway, spacious and salubrious houses which clarify the stability for their duty.

Keywords: the Crown Domains, the chiefs of administration, Inset Portraits, Stefan Coltescu, Augustin Berian.

The Crown Domains Institution was led by a trustee appointed by the King, among the officials of the Royal Palace, and it had the office in Bucharest from where it was coordinated and overseen the activity of the twelve domains. He was assisted by a team of jurists, accountants and office workers who formed the Central Office. Each Domain was led by a chief of administration, directly subordinate to the central administrator.

The chiefs of administration there were forestry or agronomist engineers, depending on the particularities of the Domain where they operated. They were the best in their profession being graduates of some prestigious institutions from

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Europe: Forest Academy of Schemnitz, Agricultural Academy of Vienna, Forest Academy of Dresden, Munich University but also from our country College of Agriculture from Herastrau, Forestry Department of the Polytechnic School in Bucharest, Forestry School from Branesti. The entire staff was Romanian.

Within the tasks of the administration chief there were: the implementation of the work programme, supervising the subordinate staff, the drawing up of the draft budget under the direct supervision of the central office; timely execution of the work; the marketing of products on the best terms to the full extent of the norms and prices established by the Central; following the orders of the central office; hiring, sanctioning and getting fired of the enlisted personnel; organizing and updating the administration dealt with¹. Many of them committed their entire career to the Crown Domains, reason why we considered necessary to make for them short inset portraits.

Alexandru Precup was born on 3rd of May 1878 in Turda². He graduated the Forestry Special School, studies underway in 1896³, he worked as forester at Malini Crown Domain until 1918 when he was appointed chief of Dobrovat Crown Domain (1918–1947)⁴. Over the years he covered all the professional degrees in his field, taking over the position of Forester Engineer General Inspector⁵.

About The Head of Administration of Dobrovat Crown Domain they spoke very highly concerning his activity: “a much trust labourer, an excellent landscaper, a brilliant leader in technical work, of exploitation, lifting in the plan, constructions, regenerations, improvements, etc., serving us also in much greater matters concerning landscaping and forest exploitation from the other domains. Whereas his extensive knowledge in technical-forest matters have ranked his as one of the most distinguished engineers from the Crown Domain for his papers published within professional journals and also for placing the security pole whose projection was introduced into the forestry course and it is taught at Polytechnics, well-worth entitle him to enjoy the rank Forest Counsellor, of his choice, following an activity that is honouring The Forestry Body”⁶.

Alexandru Precup involved in the activity of cultural Society “The Book beneath the icon” as vice president, which for 40 years operated in the establishment released by Crown Domain Administration on Dobrovat Domain, offering gratifications to the villagers who were noted in tree cultivation and also for students with good progress in school⁷.

¹ Marcisa Maria Mitu, *Domeniile Coroanei Regale (1884–1948)*, Craiova, Aius Publishing House, 2011, pp. 46–47.

² National Central Historic Archives Service Bucharest, the Royal House fond, The Crown Domain Administration, Central Administration, file no. 111/1941, f. 166 (quoted as: S.A.N.I.C.).

³ Revista Pădurilor. Organul Societății “Progresul silvic”, tome XI, 1897, București, p. 303 (quoted as: “Revista Pădurilor”).

⁴ S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Royal House fond Central Administration, file no. 111/1941, f. 166.

⁵ *Ibidem*, file no. 161/1943, f. 61.

⁶ *Ibidem*, ff. 210–211.

⁷ Idem, Dobrovăț Crown Domain fond, file no. 646/1936-1938, 1940–1941, f. 5.

Into a memo of career, achieved in 1943, addressed to the Bucharest Administration of Crown Domain, Alexandru Precup stated that within his 43 years of activity, 16 years as Forest General Inspector had no sanctions and he served as “old and faithful servant of the Crown “under four Kings who conferred him the following Distinctions: Loyal Service Cross, Labour Retribution for Church, Grade 1, Labour Retribution for School, Grade 1, Commercial and Industrial Merit, Grade 1. By Royal Decree he became Member of the Loyal Service Order in the rank of officer, he was decorated with “Steaua Romaniei” Order in the rank of Knight⁸. He was also decorated with the title of “Steaua Romaniei Officer” (1927) and “Coroana Romaniei Comandor” (1931)⁹.

Eremia Medianu was born on 4th July 1873. He entered into the service of the Crown Domain on 1st of July 1897 as an accountant. At 1st of April 1902 he was appointed as a guarantor of Cocioac Crown Domain and at 1st of July 1903, he led that Administration.

He stepped down on 28th of February 1925 according to the order no. 475/2.02.1925, claiming in the petition that he couldn't move at Sadova, where he was assigned. At that time he was registered with a wage of 5400 lei consisting of: 1800 lei base salary, 2300 lei costly, 1300 quota of food, to which were added benefits in kind. Throughout the period he worked at the Crown Domain he was registered at Pension Services at the Crown Domain, gaining an amount of 21.883 lei, money that were refunded at 12 of December 1931, waiving pension rights, by purchasing receipt for receiving the money¹⁰.

Alexandru Cristescu was born on 3rd of November 1879, at Sarinasu, Tulcea County. He entered into service on 1st of July 1903, as forest assistant. In 1904 he had a wage of 190 lei/month¹¹. He stepped up in his career, becoming a forester engineer inspector. In 1941 he was appointed chief of Administration at Malin Domain, Baia County, one of the most important mountain Domain, with a surface of 20.000 acres and 3 sawmills¹². In his recommendation to be headed as Forester Counsellor he was described as being “an excellent landscaper, skilful, hardworking and spirited in all his works of operation and regeneration”¹³. In 1940 he received a gratification of 50.000 lei¹⁴.

When the Crown Domain dissolved, Alexandru Cristescu worked as forester engineer general inspector, as he was portrayed aside the other forester engineers from Crown Domain on the 1st of January 1947¹⁵.

⁸ Idem, Central Administration fond, file no. 161/1943, f. 246.

⁹ *Ibidem*, file no. 268/F.D., ff. 77–78.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, file no. 86/1938, ff. 51–52.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, file no. 27/1904, f. 6.

¹² *Ibidem*, file no. 111/1941, f. 166; *Ibidem*, file no. 161/1943, f. 61.

¹³ *Ibidem*, file no. 161/1943, ff. 210–211.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, file no. 119/1941, f. 219.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, file no. 235/1946, f. 196.

For his achievements Alexandru Cristescu received the following distinctions: “Coroana Romaniei” Knight (1916) and “Steaua Romaniei” Knight (1921)¹⁶.

Stefan Coltescu was born on 15th of March 1879, in Coltesti, Gorj County¹⁷. In 1897 he started forester special school from Branesti, as scholarship¹⁸. After he graduated he became a forester assistant at Malini Crown Domain (1901–1905). In 1905 he was transferred at Segarcea where until 1939 he stepped up in his career, becoming a forester engineer inspector. He managed the “Forests” section, activity which was finalised in 1939, when he took over the management of Segarcea Domain (1939–1941). He was compelled by the administrator Alexandru Manolescu to retire, his reputation being affected by a love affair, an alleged relationship with the boss of weaving mill shop from Segarcea, called Elena Ghinea. The uproar sprung in the summer of 1942, when he was dismissed¹⁹.

Eight years later, in 1912, after his arrival at Segarcea, Stefan Coltescu drew up a report referring to exploiting and forestation produced on Segarcea Domain for a period of ten years, the report being handed to the administrator of the Crown Domain, Ioan Kalinderu. From this report it turns out that between 1905–1912, under his management there were exploited by razed cutting and deforestation 271,4 ha: 178 ha from Panghis forest, 21 ha from Dalga forest, 25 ha from Cobia-Dalga, and 47,4 ha from Lunca Desnatuiului and 426 ha of forestation. It was also created a stag park on an area of 24 ha which got in 1912 to have 36 animals. In 1908 it was created a pheasant farm which five years later counted 700 pheasants. For watering, to irrigate the nursery from Cobia and also for water supply of the households from the forests, from expenses of “Forests” section were built: a well with pump and a tank which supplied by pipes over a kilometre distance, the machines and cattle from that area, the costs getting to 7000 lei. In Dalga forest in order to irrigate the nursery they built a waterhole whose expense of 300 lei was depreciated by selling the fish. In 1911 he revised the landscape for Panghia and Dalga forests, and in 1927 the forester St. Coltescu offered the most completed situation of the three forests both in formation of brush cutters and the structure of the fields found out in their premises: the natural forest covered 63%, plantations 26%, agricultural land 8% and unproductive field 3%²⁰. On 19 of January 1931, Ioan Popovici, the head of Segarcea Administration transmitted to Central Administration a map made by the same forester, accompanied by a “description” of boundaries of the Domain²¹.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, file no. 268/F.D., ff. 77–78.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, file no. 111/1941, f. 166.

¹⁸ “Revista Pădurilor”, tome XI, 1897, p. 303.

¹⁹ Nicolae Șt. Noica, Ștefan Petrescu, *Domeniul Coroanei instituție model a lui Carol I după 130 de ani*, Bucharest, Vremea Publishing House, 2014, p. 55.

²⁰ National Archives Service Dolj, Segarcea Crown Domanin fond, file no. 8/1931, f. 146 (quoted as: S.J.A.N. Dolj).

²¹ *Ibidem*, ff. 302–306.

Beginning with 1933, Stefan Coltescu was sustained in his activity by the forester Dan Hanocean, graduate of Polytechnic School from Bucharest and by the brigadier Gheorghe Parvan, a graduate of the forest brigadier's school from Ghiurgheni-Arad²².

In 1901, Stefan Coltescu became an active member of the "Progresul Silvic"²³ society, being one of the authors of some scientifically papers published within the volumes of "Revista Padurarilor": *In the matter off cubage tariffs*²⁴; *Rebuttable experiences in preserving woods by antiseptics*²⁵; *Exploiting and forestation on Segarcea Domain. A report addressed to the administrator of the Crown Domain*²⁶.

For his entire activity developed on the Crown Domain, the forester engineer Stefan Coltescu has been given by the King Carol the Second the "Coroana Romaniei" distinction in the officer rank (21 Dec. 1931) and the honorary sign "Rasplata Muncii" for the achievement of 25 years serving the Domain (15th of Feb. 1932)²⁷.

The agronomist engineer **Toma Busuioc** succeeded Stefan Coltescu in charge at Segarcea Administration (1941–1944). He was born in 1880 Horezu Poienari, Dolj County. He graduated the boarding school from Iasi and Agricultural School from Herastrau²⁸. On 1st of November 1905 he was hired as newcomer at Sadova Domain where he activated until 1923 when he transferred to Segarcea Administration, as under chief of Administration. In Sadova, in 1921, Toma Busuioc as specialist, helped by the culturing sub chief Florea Ciobanu, led the viticulture section and the winery, having in service 21 people²⁹.

At Segarcea, being the sub chief of Administration he benefited, as the management stuff, of living in spacious and financial means which grown considerable his income. He owned a large place with four rooms, a garden and all the outhouses needed. Regarding his finances, in 1924, he had an income of 5.475 lei/month, consisting of: 1400 lei salary, 1900 costs, 1000 benefits in money, 375 lei for fire woods and 800 lei for servant. In the same year he received a quota of 14.000 lei³⁰. In 1928, during Easter he benefited a bonus of 12.000 lei³¹.

²² Narcisa Maria Mitu, *Aspecte privind organizarea muncii salariate pe Domeniul Coroanei Segarcea*, in "Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane «C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor»", nr. XIII/2012, Craiova, Aius Publishing House, p. 186.

²³ "Revista Pădurilor", tome XV, 1901, p. 352.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, tome XXI, 1907, pp. 79–81.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, tome XXIII, 1909, pp. 343–349.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, tome XXVI, 1912, pp. 387–397.

²⁷ S.J.A.N. Dolj, Segarcea Crown Domain fond, file no. 5/1932, ff. 66, 71.

²⁸ Nicolae St. Noica, Ștefan Petrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

²⁹ S.J.A.N. Dolj, Segarcea Crown Domain fond, file no. 7/1920, not numbered; *Ibidem*, filel no. 24/1921, not numbered.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, file no. 6/1925, f. 120.

³¹ *Ibidem*, file no. 5/1928, f. 150.

On 1st of July Alexandru Manolescu, the administrator of the Crown Domain, appointed him in charge of Segarcea Domain³². One of the relevant measures taken in his activity as manager was to require his workers, starting with May 1942, that every Sunday to take a bath. In order to be sure his decision will take place he provided the necessary woods to warm the water³³. Shortly after he took charge, General Manolescu draw his attention that he received letters announcing him that his wife was mingling in the Domain businesses “I don’t want to cause you any grief, I know you are a hardworking man with sense of duty, but I must point out that I, personally, can’t stand ladies meddling into men businesses[.....] with a first occasion we will talk this side of household things, until then I wish you good luck with your things and plenty of health”³⁴. He led Segarcea Administration until his death registered in 1944, his successor being the forester Emil Solomon, transferred from Bicaz Domain.

Among his distinctions we recall “Coroana Romaniei” Knight (1927), “Steaua Romaniei” Knight (1931) offered by King Carol II, on the occasion of holding a royal hunt on Segarcea Domain on 19–21st of December 1931³⁵ but also the honorific sign “Rasplata Muncii” for 25 years in service (August 1932)³⁶.

Emil Solomon was born at 15th of June 1874, at Blaj. Graduate of Schemnitz Forest Academy (1899), he entered in service of the Crown Domain a year later at 1st of January 1900, at Malini Administration³⁷. In 1904 forester aid, with a salary of 225 lei³⁸ promoted later as general forester inspector, on 1st of January 1927³⁹. In August 1938, with 12 years of work experience in his job but also running two administrations, he was promoted as counsellor⁴⁰.

In 1931 he was appointed in charge of Borca, Sabasa and Farcasa Crown Domain, a job that he would held until 31 June 1941. Simultaneous he led Bicaz Crown Domain, replacing Constantin Armasescu. He was in the lead of Bicaz Administration until 1944 when he transferred to Segarcea, where he took the leadership (1945–1947)⁴¹. At the same time with leading the two Administration,

³² Narcisa Maria Mitu, *Aspects from the activity of the adjutant general Alexandru Manolescu, administrator of the Crown Domain* in “Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor”, nr. XIX, Bucharest, Academy Publishing House, 2018, p. 181.

³³ Idem, *Relațiile de muncă pe Domeniul Coroanei Segarcea: utilizarea forței de muncă la lucrările agricole (1884–1948)*, in “Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane «C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor»”, no. XIV/2013, Bucharest, Academy Publishing House, pp. 133.

³⁴ Nicolae St. Noica, Ștefan Petrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

³⁵ S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 268/F.D., ff. 77–78.

³⁶ S.J.A.N. Dolj, Segarcea Crown Domain fonf, file no. 5/1932, f. 79.

³⁷ S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 86/1938, ff. 127, 197; *Ibidem*, dosar nr. 111/1941, f. 166.

³⁸ *Anuarul Bucureștilor pe anul 1904*, Ediția XVI, București, 1904, p. 2; S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 27/1904, f. 16.

³⁹ S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 86/1938, f. 127.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, file no. 86/1938, f. 116; *Ibidem*, file no. 111/1941, f. 166.

⁴¹ Narcisa Maria Mitu, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

engineer Solomon was tasked in 1938 with capitalizing the wood from Malini Administration.

Considerably, it is the fact that in 1942, the king accepted to build a park on Bicaz Crown Domain and even of a wisent farm, the mountain region being suitable for this animal, and also a trout holding. The park had an area of 6 ha forest and 2 ha bare⁴².

He was a member of Retirement of Civil Servants Home Committee from the Crown Domain. The Committee was made of: Nic. Mateescu, the manager of the Crown Domain as president; Emil Solomon, the chief of Borca Administration and Cristian Stefanescu, the retiree as members⁴³.

As many others civil servants he was distinguished with “Steaua Romaniei” Officer (1927), “Coroana Romaniei” Comandor (1931) and the Loyal Service Order, as officer⁴⁴.

Voiculescu Petre was born on 12 July 1904 in Tecuci⁴⁵. He graduated Polytechnic School, Forester Department (1928) and he was hired on 1st of September 1928, Borca Administration⁴⁶. Stepping up in his career, in 1943 he was a forester superintendent and forester general inspector and engineer (Oct. 1947)⁴⁷. He was charged by gen. Manolescu to run and administrate Borca Administration at 1st of July 1941, in succession of Emil Solomon, assisted by chief engineer Mihai Ciuperca, the head of Borca and Neagra Forestry on 20 of December 1943 and sub-engineer Gheorghe Danaila, the head of Sabas Forestry, appointed at 1st of July 1945⁴⁸. He had the leadership of Bicaz Administration until the dissolution of the Crown Domain (1947).

He was decorated by Carol II with “Coroana Romaniei” Order, as Civil Knight⁴⁹.

Constantin Armasescu graduate the Forest Special School from Branesti in 1897⁵⁰. He was hired at the Crown Domain in 1899⁵¹ and he appears in charge of Bicaz Administration until 1933. In 1904 he was the guarantor in charge of the Administration – being a forester assistant with a salary of 300 lei, living in Bicaz, working with the forest assistants Popescu N. And Belinschi Gheorghe, the accountant Popp Gh. as collaborators and Popandron Iacob – the chief of the hacksaws⁵². At 1st of April 1904 he was appointed permanently in charge for that

⁴² S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Bicaz Crown Domain fond, file no. 324/1942, ff. 99, 132, 138.

⁴³ *Idem*, Central Administration fond, file no. 115/1941, f. 4.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, file no. 268/F.D., ff. 77–78.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, file no. 111/1941, f. 166.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, file no. 86/1938, f. 197.

⁴⁷ “Monitorul Oficial”, no. 231/7 October 1947, Part IB, p. 9035 (quoted as “M.O.”).

⁴⁸ S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Borca Crown Domain fond, file no. 388/1947, f. 30.

⁴⁹ *Idem*, Central Administration fond, file no. 268/F.D., ff. 77–78.

⁵⁰ “Revista Pădurilor”, tome XI, Bucharest, 1897, p. 303.

⁵¹ S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 210/1945, f. 103.

⁵² *Anuarul Bucureștilor pe anul 1904*, pp. 2–3; S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 27/1904, f. 16.

Administration⁵³. During the First World War in 1918, the one in charge with Bicaz Administration was the host for the Royal Family: king Ferdinand, Queen Maria, Princesses Ileana, Maria, Elisabeta and Prince Nicolae accompanied by Lavovary ladies, Richard and personal on duty, at the Government recommendation they retreated at Bicaz.

During the stay they were hosted into the Administration house, the forester's house, the accountant's house, at theatre, bakery house and also private houses in the village⁵⁴. After 234 years of activity, a period in which he stepped up hierarchically in his career, he retired and moved to Bucharest with one of the biggest pensions, registered in 1938 among seniors from The Crown Domain: 7000 lei/ month to which monthly was added a support of 2000 lei⁵⁵. In 1948 he was enlisted in the selection board of retirement files for the employees⁵⁶. His successor was Emil Solomon.

Ioşif Rossman was born on 20 February 1910, Voivodeasa, Radauti County and graduated Superior School for soil cultivation from Vienna (1936)⁵⁷. Until 1942, he activated on Dobrovat and Borca Crown Domains after that being transferred at Sadova Administration. Being a forester engineer, he succeeded Gheorghe Popovici since 1942, at the management of Administration, job that he had until the closure of the institution, meaning 1948. In 1943 being "in charge at Sadova Administration, taking care of an area of 4600 ha of forests and a sawmill" he was recommended to move forward in his career as engineer chief with the following description: "well-trained and with a professional and intellectual capacity, we propose him to put forward of choice"⁵⁸. On 17th of March 1944 he was promoted as forester chief engineer⁵⁹. In October 1947 it was mentioned that Ioşif Rossman had passed the exam to obtain the job as superintendent forester engineer, with a salary of 13,000 lei⁶⁰.

In 1945 at his request he changed his name patronymic from Rossman to Roman⁶¹. As a reward for his activity he received in 1940 the "Centenarul Regelui Carol I"⁶² medal

Nicolae Gr. Lovinescu was born on November 18, 1878 in Radaseni, Baia County. He graduated Forestry Special school from Branesti⁶³. On 1st of January

⁵³ "Revista Pădurilor", tome XVIII, Bucharest, 1904, p. 125.

⁵⁴ S.A.N.I.C., Bucharest, Bicaz Crown Domain fond, file no. 292/1918, f. 3; Narcisa Maria Mitu, *Popasuri regale pe Domeniile Coroanei* in "Stat și societate în Europa", vol. 4, Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House 2012, pp. 141–142.

⁵⁵ S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 84/1938, f. 6.

⁵⁶ Nicolae Șt. Stoica, Ștefan Petrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁵⁷ S.J.A.N. Dolj, Sadova Crown Domain fond, file no. 43/1946, f. 95.

⁵⁸ S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 161/1943, ff. 210–211.

⁵⁹ S.J.A.N. Dolj, Sadova Crown Domain fond, file no. 43/1946, ff. 95–96.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁶¹ "M.O.", no. 203/7 September 1945, Part I, p. 7873.

⁶² S.J.A.N. Dolj, Sadova Crown Domain fond, file no. 43/1946, ff. 95–96.

1903 he was enrolled in Forestry Technical Body and on 1st of April he was employed as forester assistant at Malini Administration with a salary of 150 lei⁶⁴ afterwards being transferred at Bicaz Domain where in 1940 he was a forester engineer. During his 44 years of activity he achieved all the ranks within the forester body of the state. One of the first measures taken by Alexandru Manolescu as Administrator of the Crown Domain was to rejuvenate the higher personal by hiring young engineers. As the county was during the First World War these were sent on Soviet line, fact that made the hiring process difficult. In 1941, being necessary the reform of forester arrangements, gen. Manolescu proposed the reorganization of forester services by bringing younger specialists at the forestry administrations: "it is necessary that forester engineers to be young elements in order to endure the physical effort needed in climbing the slopes from the exploiting places especially for monitoring the revision tasks that will start soon⁶⁵. Engineer Nicolae Lovinescu refused to be transferred to Segarcea Administration, so the general administrator decided to retire him starting with 1st of January 1942, with a pension of 20.000 lei⁶⁶. He was reinstated at Bicaz Administration in August 1944 by administrator Negel who was struggling to find engineers in the field; he maintained his job until 1947⁶⁷.

In his memorandum, written in 1946, Lovinescu mentioned that he was entrusted with his job by Dimitrie D. Negel and that he proposed "Office papers: proposals and budget drafts, instructions, monitory and supervision after their approval. He was the legal representative of the Administrator of the Crown Domain in all the papers referring the Administration. Mailing with authorities. Financial manager holding the responsibility, working between the limits and direct orders given by the Administrator of the Crown Domain. Assisted to do so by the superior forester personal, forester engineers of the two forest grounds, by office clerk and inferior personal of security and forest police.

Field work. Management, directives and surveying regarding applying the provisions for setting up forests at Bicaz Crown Domain, in accordance with current orders and disposals of Ministry of Agriculture and Domains and the Crown Domain Central. Guidance and orders concerning forester grounds, for a good household adequate forestry interests. Applying inspection and checking wood products resulted from exploiting, in accordance with the delivery Conventions approved by the Administrator of the Crown Domain. Proposals and conclusions of conventions undergo ratification and approval for selling

⁶³ S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 111/1941, f. 166.

⁶⁴ *Anuarul Bucureștilor pe anul 1904*, pp. 2–3; S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 27/1904, f. 16.

⁶⁵ S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Bicaz Crown Domain fond, file no. 319/1943, f. 5; *Ibidem*, file no. 325/1943, f. 16.

⁶⁶ *Idem*, Central Administration fond, file no. 235/1946, f. 200.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*.

incidentally products to villagers and different buyers. The check out, supervision and orders concerning exploited areas, within the budget provisions etc”.

He continues his memorandum stating that “The activity of the undersigned at Bicaz Administration takes time after 23 of August 1944, when the Administration was subjected to difficult attempts by troops crossing, causing great damages by raids, mining of all kinds, thereby destroying the power station, buildings, railway installations and all sorts of cars, bearing the contentment that nevertheless thanks to the endorsed motions the administrator of the Crown Domain by granting credits of good will and wide understanding, these destructions were today restored”⁶⁸.

The sawmill manager from Piata Corbului told that on August 24, 1944, “Engineer Lovinescu, the chief of Bicaz Administration, accompanied by engineers Andreescu and Voiculescu left towards eviction. At the same day a group of German officers asked to be available for them houses of administration, chancery and all housings of the Domain to install the German headquarter in view of resilience against Soviet army on Valea Bistritei”⁶⁹.

The serious situation encountered at Bicaz Administration in 1946, the high inflation rate, small salaries and also the drought which had destroyed the kitchen gardens, determined Nicolae Lovinescu to make some concessions: sharing a half of wagon of wheat for the necessities of those who could work and due to a slightly price increase for various labours in the wood, as for helping those in need, devastated by war, with different materials from falling which needed for their buildings to make them liveable⁷⁰.

He achieved the following distinctions: “Coroana Romaniei” Knight (1927), “Steaua Romaniei” Officer (1931) and “Casa Domnitoare” Order, in rank of Knight⁷¹.

Augustin Berian was born on July 3, 1865 in Cugir, Hunedoara County and he died on July 16, 1933. His father was a forester brigadier and his grandfather an unit Romanian priest. His primary school was in the native village: gymnasium Saxon Middle School from Sebes, Alba, and high school at Blaj, where he graduated in 1886⁷².

Benefiting from a scholarship granted by Metropolitan Consistory of Blaj from cultural and relief foundations and also support from municipality of Cugir, he enrolled at Forestry Academy of Schemnitz (North Hungary) on 1st of October 1886, for two years, the third year he studied at “Hochschule fur Bodenkultur” from Vienna, forestry department which he graduated in 1890⁷³. After five years of practice as trainee engineer at the Hungarian Forestry Direction from Lipova, in

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 201.

⁶⁹ *Idem*, Bicaz Crown Domain fond, file no. 330/1944, ff. 91–93.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, file no. 336/1946, f. 68.

⁷¹ *Idem*, Central Administration fond, file no. 268/F.D., ff. 77–78.

⁷² Rodica Cristina Florea, *Portrete cugirene. Augustin Berian*, în “Curierul de Cugir” – monthly newsletter edited by city council and Cugir municipality, year V no. 53/September 2010, Alba Iulia Altip Printing House, pp. 1–2; “Revista Pădurilor”, no. 8/1933, p. 849 (obituary).

⁷³ “Revista Pădurilor”, no. 8/1933, p. 850.

1895 he was appointed chief of Borca and Sabasa-Farcasa Domains Administration from Suceava, putting himself into service for the King of Romania: Carol I⁷⁴. His first meeting with the King it is touching portrayed in his memories: it took place on 1st of June 1895 at the Administration office of the Crown Domains in Bucharest, where he was received by Ion Kalinderu who introduced “the young Berian to a General who asked where was he from, where he studied and if he was soldiering and then holding out a finger from the right hand wished him a safe journey to Borca”. Onward he found out that general was King Carol I⁷⁴.

In 1907, after 12 years of working at the Crown Domain he resigned in order to get into forest service of the State, being appointed as chief of Forester Ground at Strehaia, Mehedinti. In 1902 he moved on application at Baile Herculane, then in 1923 he became chief of Cugir Forester Ground, thus coming back to his native village.

During 1921–1931 as member of board of directors of Commercial Public Direction Hunedoara founded forester service of steel factories from Hundoara. Furthermore he laid down into a manuscript an extensive monograph of Cugir in which he elaborates the history of the locality, the beauty and its importance from industrial, forestry, and national cultural point of view.

He was a member of “Steaua” Society⁷⁵.

In recognition of his merits, Carol I gave him “Coroana Romaniei” distinction and King Ferdinand awarded him with “Steaua Romaniei” and “Serviciul Credincios” (Loyal Service)⁷⁶ distinctions.

Nicolae Popescu was born on February 4, 1876, in Hudesti, Dorohoi⁷⁷. Graduate of Forestry Superior School Branesti (1900), was employed at first at Bicz Domain, being enrolled in 1904 as forester assistant⁷⁸. Working as forester engineer inspector he was in charge of Malini Administration during 1940–1941. In 1940 he received a quota and gratifications around 56,000 lei⁷⁹.

Forester Engineer Carol Jauerig (Iauerning) was born on May 11th, 1905 at Sibiu. He graduated the Forestry Academy of Dresda (24 of April 1931)⁸⁰. He was hired at Cocioc-Gherghita Crown Domain on 16th of January 1932 he got to manage the place during 17th May 1941–1947, being appointed chief of administration by general Alexandru Manolescu⁸¹.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ “Albina”, no. 49/1904, Bucharest, p. 1202 (quoted as: Albina); S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 36/1906, p. 985.

⁷⁶ “Revista Pădurilor”, no. 8/1933, p. 850.

⁷⁷ S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 111/1941, f. 166.

⁷⁸ *Anuarul Bucureștilor pe anul 1904*, pp. 2–3.

⁷⁹ S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 119/1941, f. 219.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, file no. 86/1938, f. 197; *Ibidem*, file no. 111/1941, f. 166.

⁸¹ Narcisa Maria Mitu, *Aspects from the activity of the adjutant general Alexandru Manolescu*, ... p. 181.

He was decorated with “Coroana Romaniei” Order as civil Knight⁸².

Dumitru Negulescu, the chief of Rusetu Domain administration, was born on October 16, 1882, in Urlati, Prahova. He retired on 1st of April 1941, after 35 years of activity, with a pension of 7462 lei/ month. He worked as wine maker (5th of May 1906–1922) and then he took charge over Rusetu Administration, starting with 1922 until 15th of March 1941, at the age of 59⁸³.

Ioan Popescu Cartianu was in charge at Borca, Sabasa and Farcasa Administration during 1907–1914⁸⁴. There are no information on his hiring on forestry body at the Crown Domain, but there is a fact that in 1906 he published a paper in “Revista Padurilor” where he speaks about fixing with acacia the flying sand at Sadova Domain, where he showed the effects of acacia in protecting oak seedlings in their first years, which proves he was a forester, for one thing, at Sadova Administration, Dolj County⁸⁵. A year later he was transferred to Borca where he took charge succeeding Augustin Berian who resigned. Three years later he published in the same magazine a paper on forestry crane, arguing its necessity in exploiting forests on the Crown Domain by means of which big trees could have been easily removed with a reduced capacity of human effort⁸⁶. The disasters caused by frequent floods on Bistrita river, led I. P. Cartianu to suggest in the article “Rafting on Bistrita and flash floods”⁸⁷ a series of measures meant to diminish their negative effects: imposing a tax of minimum 10 bani/cubic meter roughed and moulded, paid by the rafting owners; the tax being administrated by the “Committee for regulating Bistrita course” made by the owners of bordering forests to proceed picking up the woods only after the party loser have sent a representative; the municipality and all the competent institutions to notify on time the occurrence of any floods to allow the rafting owners and woods to take measures; building bridges over Bistrita river of reinforced concrete and a railway to connect Piatra Neamt to Bucovina.

In May 1914, I. Popescu Cartianu was in charge of administration together with Iulius Puscariu, the vet of Brosteni district and the mayoral. Florescu were the jury which has awarded prizes of 400 lei, offered by Administration of the Crown Domain for the inhabitants involved in the annual cattle competition organised at Borca. There were awarded amounts of 295 lei for 21 cattle owners and 105 lei for horses owners⁸⁸.

⁸² S.A.N.I.C. Bucharest, Central Administration fond, file no. 268/F.D., ff. 77–78.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, file no. 115/1941, f. 8.

⁸⁴ “Albina”, years XVII, no. 36/1914, Bucharest, p. 1442.

⁸⁵ “Revista Pădurilor”, 1906, pp. 369–371.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, 1908, pp. 50–51.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, 1912, pp. 288–297

⁸⁸ “Albina”, p. 1442.

Through the High Royal Decree no. 47854/ October 21, 1914, Ioan Popescu Cartianu became forester in charge Cl. II⁸⁹. There are no information on his further activity.

As mentioned above, the administrators of forest or culture grounds, were educated people, licensed in higher system at prestigious institutions in Europe or in our country, they all have proved scientifically competences, practical, organisational and managerial skills. Like the other specialists, they benefited of great salaries, annual rewards, a series of amenities: supplying agro-food products for free or with a low price, granting aid in difficult situations, benefits for renting, food, fire woods, quotas, small transport fees on railway, spacious and salubrious houses which clarify the stability for their duty.

⁸⁹ "Revista Pădurilor", 1914, p. 349.

ADVERTISING – THE SOUL OF THE COMMERCE. FROM THE OFFER OF THE ECONOMIC OLTENIA PERIODICAL JOURNAL

Georgeta GHIONEA**

Abstract: *The advertisement is the heart and the soul of the commerce, consequently, in order to draw the attention of the clients on the business, to keep the loyal clientele close, and also to gain new ones, the traders and the merchants resorted to advertisements very often, which had to suggest and address directly to the customer's feelings. The messages that make the research corpus of the present study has an economic content and were gathered from Oltenia Economică periodical journal, a newspaper issued for 23 years (1924–1947), and the editorial staff used them for ensuring its financial independence.*

Keywords: Craiova, inter-war period, advertisement, commerce, trader.

The same as nowadays, in the inter-war period as well, the printed newspapers, easily to manoeuvre and read, represented an important source of information. The present study is based on the analysis of some commercials gathered from the periodical journal called *Oltenia Economică (The Economic Oltenia)*, “an independent, economic only newspaper”, edited under the direct supervision of a committee, starting with 1924. Coordinated by Petre P. Andreescu, the president of Oltenia Administration of the Trade Councils, the journal, which was issued for 23 years (1924–1947), inserted in its pages, starting with the first issues, different economic and financial problems, political and cultural reflections, national and international news, sport and the constantly present advertisements.

The study of the advertisements from the mentioned periodical journal benefited, since the beginning, of an excellent point of view expressed in the article *Commerce and civilisation. The role of the advertising*. It is a popularisation article, in which there are found details on commerce, regarded as “a reflex for the good living, the comfortable life, which needs to be satisfied with increasingly numerous things”¹, but also on the more and more active trader, who determined

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¹ I. Gherghinescu-Strehaia, *Comerț și civilizație. Rolul reclamei*, in “Oltenia Economică”, year VI, no. 40–41/October 7 1929, p. 1.

“the invention of the advertisement”. The author also reminds the impact of the profit generating phrases, calling the advertisement “the weapon used for hunting the client”². Cunningly called *the heart and the soul of commerce*, the ad is “one of the earnings of the 19th century, because, even only with a seldom occurrence, it had existed before, but it had not been similarly organised and it had not worked for the benefit of the commerce”³, and, in the author’s view, a greater attention should have been paid to it, “at least equal to that for accountancy and supplying”⁴.

The messages that constitute the research corpus for the present study have an economic content, and *Oltenia Economică* periodical journal resorted to them, in order to ensure a certain financial independence. Whether it is about watches, furniture, hats, fabrics, shoes, body linen, cars, toothpaste, soap or pills advertisements, everything was traded, everything was, in way or another, mentioned. Most of the ads offer us information on the business owner, which was, most of the times, a well-known person in the locality, or had a history in his field of activity (*Efraim A. Eschenasy*⁵, *Ignatovici-croitor*, *La Ilie*⁶, *La Popescu*⁷, *Otto Roth*⁸), a lot of them have picturesque logos, corresponding to that age activity and requests (“*La sapa de aur*” (The golden hoe)⁹, “*Oriental*” (The Orient)¹⁰, “*La ucenicul vienez*” (The Viennese Apprentice)¹¹, “*La plapuma roșie*” (The red duvet)¹², “*La lacătul de aur*” (The golden lock)¹³, “*La Crucea de Aur*” (The golden cross)¹⁴, “*Au Bon Goût*” (The Good taste)¹⁵), and others were trying to attract customers by adopting funny

² *Ibidem*.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ Efraim A. Eschenasy practiced a “manufacture and hardware” commerce, between 1900–1933, at no.63, Lipskani St., in County Department of Dolj National Archives, collection of Chamber of Trade and Industry of Craiova, social firms, file 77/1931, ff. 2–4 (further cited as: SJAN).

⁶ Ilie Dobrieșan was the administrator of a company, known by the logo *Bodegă și Restaurant* (Pub and Restaurant), at no.19, Buzești St., in “*Oltenia Economică*”, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 34.

⁷ “*La Popescu*”, behind this logo, there was Ilie Popescu the administrator of a luxury footwear, situated at no. 30, Lipskani St., in “*Oltenia Economică*”, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 33.

⁸ Otto Roth, practice a commerce with luxury men hats, at no. 76, Uniri St., in SJAN Dolj, collection of Chamber of Trade and Industry of Craiova, sole partnerships, file 522/1931, f. 1.

⁹ “*La sapa de aur*”, hardware store administrated by I. F. Poescu and Sons.

¹⁰ “*Oriental*”, coffee, tea, colonial goods shop, with the premises at no. 5, Madona-Dudu St.

¹¹ “*La ucenicul vienez*”, leather store, administrated by Moritz M. Grunberg, at no. 41, Lipskani St., in “*Oltenia Economică*”, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 37.

¹² “*La plapuma roșie*”, store administrated by Ilie I. Ciobanu, which was addressing the public the following text: “The first duvet store. Luxury workshop. Always supplied with ready-made duvets and mattresses, of any dimension”. “*La plapuma roșie*” was situated at no. 33, Copertari St., in “*Oltenia Economică*”, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 31.

¹³ Hardware store, no. 69, Lipskani St.

¹⁴ Church items store, administrated by Ionescu&Mihail, at no. 44, Lipskani St., in “*Oltenia Economică*”, year I, no. 43–44/December 23 1924, p. 8.

¹⁵ “*Au Bon Goût*” branch of “*Mireasa*” store, situated at no. 97, Unirii St., with special departments selling “Cloaks, lady suits and dresses, the newest items from Vienna and Paris”, in “*Oltenia Economică*”, year I, no. 39/November 14 1924, p. 4.

logos: “La vulturul de mare cu peștele în ghiare” (The sea eagle that’s clutching a fish).

Simple and concise, rich in details and images, having displayed a logo or the name of the owner, the advertisements that refer to clothes allowed an easier identification of the conveyed message. After analysing the space allocated to advertising, there was noticed a richness of ads that aimed at both the finite product, and the services that were connected to the fashion environment. After World War I, the new tendencies in the fashion area were speculated by the shops in which there were sold *ready-made clothes*, the raw material for tailoring, shoemaking, accessories (umbrellas, watches, hats, bags, handkerchiefs, sock), perfumes etc., and the administrators were competing in launching inventing and tempting ads.

The items of clothes that were offered to the public included a wide variety of toile, silk, cotton and wool products. D. Calef&M. Demetrescu were the owners of a well-known wholesale manufacture shop, known after its logo *Voaleta* (The hat-veil). In the autumn of 1924, the two administrators were addressing to the people of Craiova, and were inviting the buyers to pay “a visit in Lipscani St.”, to the shop that was “supplied with merchandise from the most renowned foreign factories; toil-fustian-fabric-chiffon-cotton-cashmere and a great transport of knit items, sold at the producing price”¹⁶. It was possible to buy toile and products made of it from *D. Ghisdăvescu&Co. Ssori Great Shop* too, at no. 23, Madona Dudu St. The departments of the store are presented to us through an advertisement, as being permanently supplied with the most *modern, elegant and convenient items*, with “fabrics, silk, haberdashery products, body linen for men and women, ready-made-clothes for children, and also items useful for weddings and Christianisation”¹⁷. In the ad, the administrator also reminds his clientele that he manages *the only depot* from Craiova, where people can buy “the Tip-Top boots”¹⁸. The purchasing of the finest and most modern fabrics, brought directly from England was possible from *The Modern Draper’s Shop*, a well-known shop from this locality, administrated by I. Matei &N. Oprănescu. At the beginning of 1925, the two administrators announced their clientele that, besides the quality of the fabrics, they also make, for the potential clients, “suits made to order”, with the promise to create the clothes “in accordance to the latest fashion”¹⁹. *The Great Novelty Shop*, from no. 8, Lipscani St., administrated by Catone&Roman always had toiles for coats and woollen knitwear to sale. During the entire year of 1927, the two associates were announcing their clients that they sale products made at “Oltenia” fabric factory, and, in 1934, at *The Fashion Triumph* – the logo of the store – and there could be bought “silk products, man toile, dress trimmings”²⁰.

¹⁶ “Oltenia Economică”, year I, no. 39/November 14 1924, p. 4.

¹⁷ *Idem*, year I, no. 43–44/December 23 1924, p. 5.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ *Idem*, year I, no. 47/January 11 1925, p. 5; *Idem*, year II, no. 10-11/April 19 1925, p. 3.

²⁰ *Idem*, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 21.

A special segment in our study is reserved for *the ready-made clothes*. Completely renovated in 1927, *Braun* department store was selling a wide range of items, among which: ready-made clothes, men and women coats, children clothes, school uniforms, hosiery, cotton items etc. The public (children, women and men) was invited to visit the establishment, where everyone could find any product they wanted. The price offers of the administrator, especially during the holidays, was an interesting approach. Thus, the current and potential clients were invited to take advantage of *the great sales*, and also *the paying facilities*, because the products could be paid in *monthly or weekly instalments*²¹. *Magazinul de Lipsănie și Mode* (Trading and Fashion Shop) of Lungulescu brothers, was tempting its potential female clients with French patterns. Thus, in the spring of 1924, the owners of the fashion shop were announcing pompously that “The latest and the most exquisite *Novelties form Paris*” were “offered for sale” in the premises from no. 14, Lipsani St.²². In the first inter-war decade, with its special departments of clothing, *Marele magazin “La Englezu”* (The Englishman’s Great Store) met its clients²³. The products from *Depozitul Dunărea* (Danube Depot), administrated by the Jew Samuel Flachs, were directed exclusively to the ladies, where they could buy “flannel clothing”²⁴, along with products offered by *Evelin* shop, from no. 76, Unirii St.²⁵. Leon A. Lillu had a knitwear, sweaters and jackets depot, situated at no. 25, Ed. Quinet St., and, at the beginning of 1934, we find that the store of the Jew Jean Löbel, *La Cocheta* (The coquettish), from no. 56, Unirii St., is always supplied with “the newest items in clothing for ladies and young ladies”²⁶.

The sector related to clothes making up was well-represented in the inter-war Craiova. The presentation should be started with the offer of tailor M. D. Cristescu who owned, in 1924, “the only tailoring shop from Craiova that corresponded to all the modern requests”²⁷. The text offered for reading is a combination between the types of services that were at the client’s disposal, and their quality. Thus, the clients are invited to visit the workshop from no. 16, Justiției St., the only “smart tailoring workshop”, *for elegant clothes, made with precision*²⁸. During the year of 1924, tailor Dobre Ignatovici, prefers a more straightforward approach: “Visit the well-known Progresul tailor’s”²⁹. His establishment, from no. 26, Kogălniceanu St. (beneath Imperial Hotel) was dedicated to *men*. 10 years later (1934), Ignatovici was still activating in the locality, still addressing the males, but adding supplementary elements that would catch the public eye: “tailoring, toiles, the

²¹ Idem, year IV, no. 49/December 12 1927, p. 3.

²² Idem, year I, no. 8/March 16 1924, p. 4.

²³ Idem, year I, no. 43–44/December 23 1924, p. 8.

²⁴ Idem, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 34.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 37.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

²⁷ Idem, year I, no. 12/May 5 1924, p. 3.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

latest designs, exclusive patterns”³⁰. Because the founding of a society was an opportunity for advertising, in 1927, it is announced the founding of a new tailor workshop, administrated by Dumitru Isăcescu. This time, at the new tailor’s, both the ladies and the gentlemen from the locality were addressed, because, at the location from Kogălniceanu St., there were made “men suits inspired by the latest fashion magazines, and dresses, cloaks and jackets for ladies”³¹.

In order to be fashionable, the ladies and the young ladies needed plenty of clothes and accessories, and their desires were speculated by the local traders, by the tailor shops or beuty parlours, which competed in making a variety of interesting advertisements. There was a constant preoccupation for making the outfits complete, the hosiery, the hats, the handkerchiefs or the bags being extremely popular.

The hat was a promoted and intensively used accessory, in the inter-war period. In Craiova, lady hats were displayed for purchasing at “Mireasa” (The bride) shop, from no. 52, Unirii St.³². In 1934, under the careful management of Albert Landau the Son, *the refined clientele* of the city was announced about the extension of their activity, through the launching of a fur department³³. The house, founded since 1891, and administrated by Landau the father, had been well-known as the most important *lady hat* shop³⁴.

The hosiery products, the handkerchiefs, the ties, the umbrellas, the perfumes could be found, in the inter-war period, for sale, having “small prices and prompt services”, at *Intim* shop, at no. 56, Unirii St.³⁵. The ad also reminds the ladies and the young ladies that the shop has for sale “all kinds and colours of silk stockings, the fine and resistant Adesgo stockings”³⁶. Moreover, “The hose of an elegant lady, the Adesgo hose” appears frequently in the advertisements from the 1934–1936 period, more than the advertisements for other stocking brands³⁷. A shop for lady stockings was also EL-BE “Casa Ciorapilor” (The hosiery house), an old trustworthy brand, administrated by Iancu Solomn³⁸, from no. 4, Lipscani St., where “seasonal new items, the latest patterns of a superior quality” were received daily³⁹. The ladies and the young ladies could purchase umbrellas and corsets from I. Gabrovanu, no. 18 Lipscani St., handkerchiefs from Florea Amărășteanu’s Handkerchief Factory, no. 12, Lahovary St., and bags from Radu Bazar, no. 4, Lipscani St.⁴⁰.

³⁰ Idem, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 12.

³¹ Idem, year IV, no. 45/November 21 1927, p. 3.

³² Idem, year I, no. 39/November 14 1924, p. 4.

³³ Idem, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 6.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ In the inter-war period, Adesgo products could be purchased from: *Bazarul Radu*, at no. 4, Lipscani St., sale depot for the items produced by *Adesgo Hosiery Factory*; *Leon Bazar*, no. 84, Unirii St., selling “Adesho hosiery, of all colour and qualities”; *Medina Bazar*, no. 60, Unirii St., in “*Oltenia Economică*”, year XI, no. 1-January 4 1934.

³⁸ “*Oltenia Economică*”, year XIII, no. 15–16/April 12 1936, p. 4.

³⁹ Idem, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 12.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

Speculating the ladies' interest for fashion, in the inter-war period, there were also developed the beauty services. An "artistic hairdo, an impeccable perm" were done in *Pandeleescu* saloon, in Unirii St. (Under New York Hotel), and at *Frizeria 2 minute* (2-minute Hairdresser's), from Buzești St., were offered "perms, hair dying and artistic hairdos, under the direct supervision of Mr. Papp"⁴¹.

Even if they did not enjoy that much diversity, the gentlemen also had the possibility to wear elegant outfits. Generally, the advertisements that were promoting the shops where men could buy items for them had a briefer, more concise message, with a respectfully text, or they were represented through a simple image (a shoe, a hat). In the inter-war period, *Leon Bazar*, through its administrator, was inviting the gentlemen at no. 84, Unirii St., where they could purchase: shirts, collars, ties and gloves, "of all qualities"⁴².

The outfits were completed by the footwear that needed to be accordingly to the new tendencies. Towards the end of 1924, Eftatopol Brothers were announcing the readers that they had founded a "Large Sentis Footwear Depot". From galoshes and overshoes to boots, sandals, soles, leather goods, varnishes of "the most convenient prices"⁴³, all these were found in the shop from no. 8, Kogălniceanu St. The list of services that Eftatopol brothers were offering, was more diverse than this, as they offer "Bourul factory products – Bucharest, along with the necessary accessories, of any kind, and having the most convenient prices"⁴⁴. *The galosh, the overshoes and other types of footwear* were purchased from "Dunăreanu" store too. The description of the good services offered by the administrator can be identified from the message that announces us that, from the *always well-organised* store, situated at no. 8, Cuza Vodă St., there could be bought "new merchandise and models", for "modest prices", of "an irreproachable quality"⁴⁵. "Do not buy until you have visited *Voevodul Mihai* Store". That was, in 1936, the advertisement for the store administrated by Ilie Chirițescu, from no.12, Lahovari St., from which people could buy "elegant footwear", of "guaranteed resistance"⁴⁶. Nevertheless, trader Chirițescu can be easily seen as a connoisseur in this area, if we take into account the fact that, in 1925, was presenting his clientele with his leather goods and footwear store that he was administrating at no. 50, Alex Lahovari St. From "La Grănicerul Vesel", (The Happy Frontier Guard), the logo the store was registered with, *supplied with all the essentials*, there could be purchased: "...Black and coloured box calf; black and coloured kid goatskin; Varnishes, Soles and Butts, everything from renowned factories, from the country or abroad"⁴⁷. This commercial sector – the footwear – was generously represented in Oltenia

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 27.

⁴³ *Idem*, year I, no. 42/December 15 1924, p. 4.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, year XII, no. 1/January 1 1935, p. 2.

⁴⁶ *Idem*, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 27.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, year II, no. 10-11/April 19 1925, p. 3.

Economică journal, on addressing the number of the advertisements. There also ought to be mentioned the following short ads: “Luxurious Footwear, only at Popescu”⁴⁸; “The Modern Footwear Store”, at Costică Nicolaescu (Michianu); “Moritz M. Grunberg, Leather-Goods Store”⁴⁹; “La Tunul de Aur (The Golden Cannon), Iliescu&Bărbulescu”⁵⁰; “Ioan N. Modrescu – Footwear Store”⁵¹; “The Footwear Store - E. A. Gutuescu”⁵²; Emanoil David&Son – Footwear in Craiova”⁵³.

The “coffee-colonial goods-delicacies” sector was for a long period of time contested by the Armenians who had settled in the city of Craiova. The studied advertisements announce that the best factory of “Grounded coffee and a shop, properly-supplied with all kinds of colonial product and delicacies” was in Craiova (New Market), at no.1, Emil Gârleanu St., and it was managed by Agop Babaeghian⁵⁴. The Armenian’s store, known for the logo *La Aurora*, was offering the customers “Turkish and American peanuts”, all the goods being “fresh and with prices lower than anywhere else”⁵⁵. Starting with 1926, Babaeghian extended his business and announced the opening of a big shop, “supplied with all the goods: coffee, delicacies, colonial foods, Oriental fruits”⁵⁶. His shop was daily supplied with new and fresh merchandise, all for prices “that defy any competition”⁵⁷. In order to gain the trust of the local aristocracy, the owner was offering supplementary clarification. Thus, the quality of his products, the taste, the aroma, were incomparable, and the renowned SOULTAINE Turkish-delight could be purchased, for different anniversary occasions, packed in luxurious boxes. Other interesting propositions on the coffee and colonial goods commerce were also coming from the Armenians: Aznavov Aznarovian, who administrated *a special coffee shop*⁵⁸, Lazăr Dilberian⁵⁹ and Minaș Karakasean⁶⁰.

Among the advertisements promoted by Oltenia Economică periodical journal, during the year of 1925, the following advertisement draws the attention:

⁴⁸ Idem, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 33.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 37.

⁵⁰ Idem, year I, no. 43-44/January 1 1925, p. 4; Idem, year XIII, no. 15-16/April 12 1936, p. 3.

⁵¹ Idem, year I, no. 43-44/January 1 1925, p. 4.

⁵² Idem, year IV, no. 51-52/December 25 1927, p. 4.

⁵³ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁴ Idem, year I, no. 12/May 5 1924, p. 3.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ Idem, year III, no. 6/March 8 1926, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ Aznavov Aznarovian administrated *La Indiana* special coffee shop, renowned for the following specialties: “coffee, tean, cocoa, delight, chocolate, colonial products, delicacies and goods from Orient”, in “Oltenia Economică”, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 27.

⁵⁹ Lazăr Dilberian administrated, since 1926, a coffee and colonial goods shop, with the logo: *La Pașa*, at no. 90, Unirii St.

⁶⁰ Since 1927, at no. 4, Sf. Apostoli St., there was “a special coffee shop” that sells: “grounded coffee, colonial goods, delight and small goods. The shop was renowned within the city with the logo *La Voevodul Mihai*, and it was administrated by Minaș Karakasean, in “Oltenia Economică”, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 13.

“*La vulturul de mare* Family Garden and Bowling-Alley, which meets its clients, daily, with tripe broth, hot and cold dishes, special steaks”⁶¹. For *the travelling and clerk gentlemen*, the place was “well-supplied with all kinds of drinks”⁶², was giving discounts, and, those who were expressing the wish “to take care of their stomach and their money”⁶³ were invited to have a meal at Uncle Costică, a specialist in the culinary art⁶⁴. The honourable clients were entertained by *the classic orchestra, led by the caressed Mihalache*⁶⁵. In the spring of 1926, the owner of the restaurant, which was introducing by the logo, *La vulturul de mare cu peștele în ghiare*, launched a suggestive invitation, for recruiting a permanent clientele. Thus, in the restaurant from no. 15, Știrbei Vodă St., the old or new customers, during the “autumn or winter seasons, will be served equally well and scrupulously as during the summer season”⁶⁶. The same restaurant stood out in the summer of 1926 too, when we find out that the only restaurant where people could have a good meal, in Craiova, very clean and for the lowest prices, is “C.I. Cotorelea shop and restaurant”, which could provide for its customers, “Daily, fresh beer, from the renowned Luther Beer Factory, along with the delicious wines of Drăgășani vineyards”⁶⁷. Moreover, the owner was recommending “the tripe broth and the special grilled dishes”. All these, were offered for “uncompetitive prices”⁶⁸. The owner’s offer was also supported by the presence of some supplementary elements, indispensable for unforgettable entertainment. For this, the restaurant was continued with “an appealing terrace, gazebos decorated with flowers and natural greenery, and the most modern Bowling-Alley from Craiova”⁶⁹. On the 29th of October 1929, we find out that the restaurant moved on the lower ground floor of Splendid Hotel, “where anyone can have a meal at any day or night hour”⁷⁰. Because the advertisements for *Luther Beer* was mentioned above, it was observed that, starting with 1926, people are announced that it is sold “The special black beer of the renowned Traian Beer Factory”, from Turnu Severin⁷¹. The supplying was ensured daily, the prices were convenient, the serving prompt, and the warehouse from where it could be purchased was at no. 26, Carol I Blvd. The information on this sector is to be ended with the services offered by the restaurant administrated by Petre Florescu, from Kogălniceanu St., which must have been of a very good quality, if we consider the way in which the manager

⁶¹ “*Oltenia Economică*”, year II, nr. 17/June 8 1925, p. 3.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

⁶³ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁵ *Idem*, year II, no. 27/August 17 1925, p. 3.

⁶⁶ *Idem*, year II, no. 47–48/January 1 1926, p. 4.

⁶⁷ *Idem*, year III, no. 22–23/June 18 1926, p. 6.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁰ *Idem*, year VI, no. 49/December 2 1929, p. 2.

⁷¹ *Idem*, year III, no. 20/June 14 1926, p. 4.

decides to promote his business. We chose, for this instance, the advertisements, in its original form: “Awarded with the golden medal at the international viticultural and industrial agricultural exhibit from Rome, in 1019, wines chosen from the most renowned vineyards of the country”⁷².

Of smaller or larger dimensions, some written exclusively briefly, depicting strictly the offered facilities, others surpassing the enunciative simplicity of saying only what it is sold and where, the advertisements from *Oltenia Economică* periodical journal are displayed on 2–3, from the 4, in certain periods 6, and during the holidays 8 pages of the newspaper. Most of the identified advertisements are formulated with the *superlative*: *the most modern, the newest, the best*, and address the women, especially those with a certain social position, who appreciate silk, the newest items from Paris, the furs, the varied accessories (hats, corsets, bags, gloves etc.). There were also met advertisements that launched certain services, short ads to preserve the fidelity of the client, ads that resort only to a simple image (a hat, a shoe, the image of a bride) or texts that transmit the advantages and the novelty elements of the produce, quality guarantee, technical details, information on the brand, the premises, the name of the administrator etc.

The studying of the above-mentioned advertisements, only a part of the economic ads identified in *Oltenia Economică* periodical journal, convinced us on continuing the endeavour, to obtain a wider image on the commerce and the traders from the inter-war Craiova.

⁷² Idem, year XI, no. 1/January 4 1934, p. 13.

ROMANIAN LEGISLATION: PAST, ACTUALITY AND CHALLENGE

THE LEGISLATIVE UNIFICATION OF THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES (1859–1866)

Sevastian CERCEL*

Abstract: In the period 1859-1866, the Romanian Principalities carried out an ambitious program to endow the new state with modern institutions. The legal system was organized in accordance with the needs of a European state, and the adopted legislation is fundamental to modern Romanian law. The elaboration and adoption of the major codes are noticeable: the Civil Code, the Civil Procedure Code, the Criminal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code.

During a reign of only seven years, through an extraordinary political will, completed by a special vision of the needs of Romanian society, Alexandru Ioan Cuza managed to lay the normative and economic bases of modern Romania¹.

Keywords: Romanian Principalities; legislative unification; Calimach Code; Caragea Code; Romanian Civil Code; Romanian Criminal Code; Procedural Codes.

INTRODUCTION

In the history of Romanian law, the legislative work of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1859–1866), fundamental to modern national law, was preceded by the “*era of the Calimach and Caragea codes*”, named after “*the laws that lasted the longest*”². In turn, the era of the codes of the early 19th century had as a starting

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¹ The translation of this study into English was performed by Assoc. Prof. Simina Badea, PhD, University of Craiova, Faculty of Law.

² A. Rădulescu, *Cultura juridică românească în ultimul secol*, speech delivered on 3 June 1922 in the solemn session under the chairmanship of His Royal Highness Prince Carol, National Culture, Bucharest, 1923, p. 27. For the evolution of Romanian law under the Turkish-Phanariot regime, E. Cernea, E. Molcuț, *Istoria statului și dreptului românesc*, revised and supplemented edition, Bucharest, Universul Juridic Publishing House, 2006, pp.190–203; L. P. Marcu, *Istoria dreptului românesc*, Bucharest, Lumina Lex Publishing House, 1997, pp. 167–178; Val. Al. Georgescu, V. Șotropa, in *Istoria dreptului românesc*, vol. I, Part I, volume coordinators: Dumitru Firoiu, Liviu P. Marcu, Bucharest, Publishing House of the R.S.R. Academy, 1984, Title I – *An overview*, chap. III – *Structure and sources of law*, pp. 65–93; Elena Tereza Chilom, *Istoria dreptului românesc*, Craiova,

point the publication of the Legal Handbook of Andronache Donici, in 1814. Donici's work, entitled "*A brief collection of the rules contained in the royal books to help those who are engaged in learning them, with reference to the book, title and beginning of the royal rules*", although lacking official recognition, had special importance. It was drafted in Romanian, being "the first major legislative work written in Romanian" (A. Rădulescu), with advanced regulations and a modern structure³.

It is estimated that the period ended when the Romanian Civil Code was drafted and entered into force, ie on 1 December 1865. This normative act was voted, decreed and promulgated under the title *Civil Codex*, and later named the *Alexandru Ioan Codex*, proposed by the Minister of Justice, who argued that the new Code was "the result of the regenerative ideas" of the prince (of 29 December 1864)⁴.

The development of legal culture in the two Principalities, during this period, "*appears in much the same way*" and we find here a "*mutual influence*" and a real

Universitaria Publishing House, 2002, pp. 171–177. For the problem of legislative unification, A. Rădulescu, *Unificarea legislativă, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, session of 2 June 1927, series III, tome VII, Bucharest, National Culture (also available at www.digibuc.ro, pp. 3–7, accessed July 2020); Idem, *Puterea judecătorească*, 10 March 1922, in *Constituția din 1923 în dezbaterile contemporanilor*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1990, pp. 278–314; Idem, *Dreptul românesc în Basarabia*, presentation in the public session of the Romanian Academy of 3 July 1942, republished by Universul Juridic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2017; D. Gusti, President of the Romanian Social Institute, *Cuvânt de deschidere, în Constituția din 1923 în dezbaterile contemporanilor*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1990 – which reproduces the New Constitution of Romania, 23 public speeches organized by the Romanian Social Institute, published by the National Culture Print, Bucharest, no year, pp. 19–23, dated 18 December 1921; Vintilă I. Brătianu, *Nevoile statului modern și Constituția României Mari*, in *Constituția din 1923 în dezbaterile contemporanilor*, pp. 54–72; M. Dușu, *Un secol de stat unitar și drept național (1918–2018). Perspective istorice culturale-științifice*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Universul Juridic Publishing House, 2018; S. Popescu, T. Prelipceanu, *Unificarea Codului civil și a celui de procedură civilă, un remarcabil rezultat al conlucrării fructuoase dintre membrii și consilierii temporari ai Consiliului legislativ interbelic*, in "Revista de drept comercial", no. 4/2008.

³ For the life and work of Donici, A. Rădulescu, *Juristul Andronache Donici*, National Culture, Bucharest, 1930, who reminds that although approved by "Prince Calimach to be printed and implicitly allowed to be used in Moldavia, it was only a guiding manual, a kind of Institutes" (p. 25). Published in Iași in 1814, Donici's book was also applied in Bessarabia – translated into Russian, "with many omissions and errors" – for 114 years, until 1 June, 1928, when "this book was replaced by our civil code" (pp. 27–28); Sorin Radu, *Vespasian Erbiceanu (1865–1943). Studiu monografic*, Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, 2014, p. 89 and 184, which mentions the translation of Donici's book into Russian.

⁴ Paul Cosmovici (coord.), *Tratat de drept civil*, vol. I, General part, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Academy, 1989, p. 33. On the change of name in the "Civil Code", at the proposal of the Council of Ministers of 16 June 1866, arguing that the new Civil Code is, with minor modifications, the French Civil Code, which cannot be designated by any other name than that of its "glorious and immortal author" Napoleon I, see A. Rădulescu, *Izvoarele dreptului civil*, in *Pagini de istoria dreptului românesc*, op. cit., p. 186, who emphasizes that the decision also concerned the other codes and was approved by Prince Carol and published in the Official Gazette of 23 June 1866.

“*competition in achieving the same goal*”, so that “the sister country soon replied to a rule, an institution, a measure with another almost similar one”. A true “*legal unity, not included in the texts, but in principles and other cultural manifestations, a unity that becomes full at the end of this epoch*” is now established between the two Principalities⁵.

At European level, by the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, under the influence of the principles of the French Revolution, a strong trend of codification manifested itself, “a kind of mysticism of codification”⁶. In Bucharest, in the work published in 1842 and entitled “*Interpretation of the commercial code, according to the method of Bravard-Verrier, for the use of judges, lawyers and merchants*”, Gh. A. Manu and A. Roset-Bibica reminded that this “*bending towards codifications seized the whole Europe and the whole new world*”. This trend also includes the Romanian Countries, and “Wallachia... cannot remain outside this spirit of codification”⁷. The Caragea Code is drawn up, promulgated on 1 June 1818 and in force on 1 September 1818. Written from the beginning in Greek and Romanian, published in an official edition in both languages in 1818, it has as its sources Roman and Greco-Roman law, especially Justinian’s law, certain rules of the law of the country and, to a lesser extent, Western law⁸. It was the civil law of Wallachia for 47 years and 3 months, with the mention that some texts were amended or repealed by other regulations, before 1 December 1865. Under art. 1415 (regarding hereditary leases, known as “*emfiteuze*” or “*embatic*”/ “*emphyteusis*”) and art. 1912 (which repealed the Caragea Code, but only in what did not comply with the rules provided in the new civil law) of the Romanian Civil Code of 1864, it was admitted that this code was also applied after 1 December 1865 in certain cases⁹.

In Moldavia, Scarlat Calimach, assisted by Christian Flechtenmacher, Anania Cuzanos, Andronache Donici and others, succeeded in drafting the *Civil or Political Code of the Principality of Moldavia*, promulgated on 1 June 1817 and in force on

⁵ A. Rădulescu, *Cultura juridică românească în ultimul secol*, Bucharest, National Culture, 1923, p. 27, which divides this era into three periods: a. The period preceding the Organic Regulations; b. the period of the Organic Regulations; c. The period of the Paris Convention and of the State.

⁶ Ripert et Boulanger, *Traté de droit civil*, Paris, 1957, t. I, no. 321; for aspects regarding the drafting, description and appreciation of the French Civil Code, Ambroise Colin et Henri Capitant, *Curs elementar de drept civil francez*, translation by Victor G. Cadere and Ioan Miloae, Bucharest, Central Printing House, 1940, no. 17–18, pp. 24–29.

⁷ A. Rădulescu, *Primele încercări de doctrină comercială în Țara Românească*, in Irina Rădulescu-Valasoglu (ed.), *Pagini de istoria dreptului românesc*, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Academy, 1970, p. 170.

⁸ A. Rădulescu, *Izvoarele dreptului civil*, in *Pagini de istoria dreptului românesc ...*, pp. 172–179; *Legiuirea Caragea*, critical edition, Publishing House of the Academy, 1955, drawn up by the Collective for the old Romanian law of the R.P. R. Academy, coordinated by A. Rădulescu.

⁹ A. Rădulescu, *Introducere*, în *Legiuirea Caragea*, critical edition, Publishing House of the Academy, 1955, pp. V–XXVI; Idem, *Pagini despre Legiuirea Caragea*, in Irina Rădulescu-Valasoglu (ed.), *Pagini inedite din istoria vechiului drept românesc*, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, 1991, pp. 77–102.

1 September 1817, one year before the Caragea Code in Wallachia. The Calimach Code was written in Greek and printed in three parts. The first part included an introduction about political laws in particular and about the law of persons, being printed in Iași, in 1816, in the Greek printing house at the monastery of the Three Hierarchs. It was translated at the end of 1831 and printed in Romanian two years later. On 5 December 1833, the Minister of Justice Costache Sturdza presented to the Ordinary Public Assembly a copy printed “for the first time in the language of the country”¹⁰.

Considered “*the most important civil law of our past*”, appreciated by foreigners – recommended to the Greeks by Zachariae von Liendenthal to be adopted as the law of their state –, the Calimach Code had as its source Roman, Greco-Roman law, in particular the Basilica, parts of the previous law of the country and certain provisions of the European laws of the time¹¹. The civil code of Moldavia governed the social relations that formed its object of regulation, until the adoption and entry into force of the Romanian Civil Code of 1864. Due to the urgent need for legislative unification, it had to be replaced by it, before reaching half a century of applicability. It is important to note that the Organic Regulation of Wallachia (art. 241) recommended, in 1831, the composition of a modern civil code and criminal code. Following this recommendation, on 31 March 1831, a commission was set up to draft a political and criminal code, but it did not go any further. There is no such recommendation in the Organic Regulation of Moldavia, because the Calimach Code and the Criminal Code (1820-1826) regulated separately the matter of civil law and, respectively, the matter of criminal law and criminal procedure. The Caragea Code was mainly a civil code (first four parts), but it also included some rules of criminal law (part 5), criminal procedure and civil procedure (part 6).

THE PROBLEM OF THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES IN PARIS FROM MARCH 1856 TO AUGUST 1858

Internationally, the conflict of interests between the Great Powers for the control of the Eastern Mediterranean Sea and the Straits – the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles –, triggered the Crimean War in 1853. On the scene there are, on the one hand, Turkey, supported by France, England, Sardinia and, indirectly, Prussia

¹⁰ Idem, *Introducere, în Codul Calimach*, critical edition, Publishing House of the Academy, 1958, drawn up by the Collective for the old Romanian law, pp. 3–34, as well as Annex I A, point 9, p. 868; Idem, *Izvoarele Codului Calimach*, in *Pagini de istoria dreptului românesc ...*, pp. 133–154.

¹¹ A. Rădulescu, *Izvoarele dreptului civil ...*, p. 177, who emphasizes that the view according to which the Calimach Code is a mere copy of the Austrian Code is unfounded and considers that the resemblance to the Austrian Civil Code in terms of the plan and in many parts of the wording – which contributed to this view – is explained by the fact that both codes have the same main sources: Roman law and Greco-Roman law (p. 178).

and Austria, and on the other hand, Russia. The historical context offered by the defeat of Russia by the Ottoman Empire and the European allies, brings to the fore the problem of the state organization of the Romanian Principalities.

The Paris Peace Treaty of 18/30 March 1856, which ended the Crimean War, decisively influenced the political development of Wallachia and Moldavia, as it included important clauses regarding the Principalities. On the one hand, some parts of the three southern counties of Bessarabia (Cahul, Bolgrad and Ismail) are returned to Moldavia. This situation would increase the tensions already existing in the Russian-Romanian relations, because, although the respective area represented only 5000 km² and had modest economic importance, Russia lost access to the Danube, and the tsar felt the loss of this territory as a personal humiliation, being determined to regain it¹².

On the other hand, the “Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia” remained under the suzerainty of the Porte, with the collective guarantee of the signatory Powers. This meant the maintenance of Ottoman suzerainty over the Principalities and the replacement of the protectorate of Tsarist Russia, established by the Treaty of Adrianople of 2/14 September 1829, with the collective guarantee of the six European Powers: France, Great Britain, the Habsburg Empire, Prussia, Russia and Sardinia. In this matter, art. 22 of the Treaty provides that “none of the Guarantor Powers shall exercise exclusive protection over them. In this respect, no special right of interference in their internal affairs is provided”¹³. The Treaty, which establishes the freedom of navigation on the Danube¹⁴ and the neutrality of the Black Sea, also brings an international legal confirmation of the autonomous existence of the Principalities and the special relations they have with the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, art. 22 expressly mentions their “*privileges*” and “*immunities*”, and art. 23 stipulates that the Sublime Porte undertakes to maintain “*an independent and national administration, as well as the full freedom of culture, law, trade and navigation*”.

¹² The documents of the Commission for the delimitation of borders in Bessarabia recorded the discussions between the commissioners of the Great Powers (Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia and Turkey) on the issues of the gradual incorporation of the territory ceded to Moldavia by Russia. Minister Constantin Negruzzi, who participated in the proceedings as a representative of the Moldavian government, requested information necessary for the fulfilment of this mission, see Protocols Nos X and XI of the Commission, in Ioan Aurel Pop, Ioan Bolovan, Ioana-Mihaela Bonda, Ana Victoria Sima, Teodor Laurențiu Popescu (coord.), *Construind Unirea cea Mare*, vol I, *De la Revoluția pașoptistă la formarea Partidului Național Român (1848-1881)*, volume edited and prefaced by Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan, Cluj-Napoca, Școala Ardeleană Publishing House, 2018, points 100 and 101, pp. 419–426.

¹³ For the text of the provisions in the Treaty on the situation of the Romanian Principalities, Ioan Aurel Pop, Ioan Bolovan, Ioana-Mihaela Bonda, Ana Victoria Sima, Teodor Laurențiu Popescu (coord.), *op. cit.*, vol. I, point. 93. 1856, March 30, Paris. Fragment from the Paris Peace Treaty, pp. 402–405.

¹⁴ The Principalities have a modest role in this matter, even if their section of the Danube is the longest, arguing that they were not sovereign states.

It is very important that, in order to know the wishes of the Romanians, through a radical change in their usual way of treating the Principalities, the Powers provided for the election of special consultative assemblies, which had to make known their opinion on important issues. For the first time, the population of these Principalities was to be consulted on their future organization, by convening the two ad-hoc Assemblies (Divans), constituted so as “to represent as accurately as possible the interests of all classes of society” (art. 24). A Commission for the Information of the Guarantor Powers was established, which was to investigate the desiderata of the Romanians and then, based on the work of the ad-hoc Assemblies and its own findings, to prepare a report, which would be the basic document for the proceedings of a future Diplomatic Conference¹⁵: “The final agreement with the suzerain power will be consecrated by a convention concluded in Paris between the High Contracting Powers”, art. 25 of the Treaty stated. Finally, the powers stipulated that all foreign troops be withdrawn from the Principalities, as soon as the Ottoman Empire and Austria could make the necessary arrangements.

The action of the Wallachian and Moldavian national party, which expressed the wishes of an active and enthusiastic majority, in contradiction with a conservative minority, which sought to maintain the old rules, was now becoming decisive. At the level of the Guarantor Powers, two orientations could be noticed: one favourable to the union - France (Napoleon III), Russia, Sardinia, Prussia -, the other against the union - the Ottoman Empire, Austria, England¹⁶.

¹⁵ Dan Berindei, *Diplomația românească modernă. De la începuturi la proclamarea independenței de stat (1821–1877)*, Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1995, p. 117.

¹⁶ For the Union of the Principalities, *Documente privind Unirea Principatelor, I – Documente interne, 1854–1857*, Dan Berindei (editor in charge) et al., Bucharest, 1961; Dan Berindei (coord), *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VII, tome I, Formation of modern Romania (1821–1878), mainly part II, chap. X–XII, pp. 387–485; Dan Berindei, *Epoca Unirii*, Publishing House of the R.S.R. Academy, Bucharest, 1979, pp. 9–93; Gheorghe Iacob, *România în perioada edificării statelor naționale (1859–1918)*, pp. 607–685, in *Construind Unirea cea Mare*, vol. VII, *De la Sarmizegetusa la Alba Iulia. Stat și statalitate pe teritoriul României*, volume edited by Ioan-Aurel Pop and Ioan Bolovan, Cluj-Napoca, Școala Ardeleană Publishing House, 2018; Gheorghe Iacob, *România în epoca modernizării (1859–1939)*, Iași, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University Publishing House, 2013, in particular, IV. *Sub semnul “politicii faptului împlinit”. De la Unirea Principatelor la proclamarea Regatului (1859–1881)*, pp. 61–76; Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor*, vol. 9, *Unificatorii*, Bucharest, 1938; Nicolae Iorga, *Partea lui Napoleon III în Unirea Principatelor*, (conference held at the Cultural League on 27 February 1915), Bucharest, Publishing House of the League for the Cultural Unity of all Romanians, 1915; Gheorghe Platon, *Lupta românilor pentru unitatea națională. Ecouri din presa europeană (1855–1859)*, Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 1974; Keith Hitchins, *România. 1774–1866*, second edition, revised, translation from English by George G. Potra and Delia Răzdolescu, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1996, in particular, 7. *Principatele Unite*, pp. 335–387; Dumitru Vitcu, *Diplomații Unirii*, Bucharest, Publishing House of the R.S.R. Academy, 1979; D. A. Sturdza, *Însemnările Divanurilor ad hoc din Iași și din București în istoria renașterii României*, in “Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii istorice”, series II, tome XXXIII (1910–1911); XXXIV (1911–1912); D. A. Sturdza et al., *Acte și documente relative la istoria renascerei României*, București, 1888–1909, vol. I–X.

According to the Paris Peace Treaty, ad-hoc Assemblies were convened, in which the main social categories were represented, including the peasantry (which constituted over 80% of the population) and which were to formulate the country's desiderata. The elections for the ad-hoc Assemblies and their proceedings, held in Iași and Bucharest in the autumn of 1857, form a special chapter in the history of the movement for the unification of the Principalities. This period notes beneficially the intensification of the relations between the Wallachian and Moldavian unionists, the establishment of a permanent contact, exchanges of visits and combined actions. For example, at the end of September 1857, Dimitrie Brătianu moved to Iași and had meetings with the Moldavian leaders of the union movement. During that period, a close correspondence between the leaders of the National Party in the two countries continued, and it was widely recorded in documents¹⁷. The Romanian political centres outside the Principalities continued their activity. A pamphlet was published in Paris in 1857, a brochure presenting a series of proposals in respect of the most appropriate wishes to be expressed by the ad-hoc Assemblies. The demands were primarily aimed at the unification of the Principalities and the strengthening of their autonomy, noting that social policy issues could be addressed later internally¹⁸.

In March 1857, in view of the elections for the ad-hoc Assembly, the Moldavian unionists announced the establishment of the Electoral Committee of the Union for Iași and presented their program, which “is based on the very principles of the Treaty of Paris”. The central points of this program were the union of the Principalities and the promotion of their autonomy under the collective guarantee of the Great Powers signatories to the treaty. They wanted the legislature to be “entrusted to a public assembly which should represent the interests of the whole nation”. At the same time, the unionists in Wallachia presented their political program and declared their agreement with the Moldavian unionists. The aim was “the Union of the countries Romania and Moldavia, in one state and under one government”, as well as “a foreign prince to inherit the throne, chosen from a ruling dynasty of Europe”¹⁹.

¹⁷ Dan Berindei, *Știri noi privind conclucrarea muntienilor și moldovenilor în lupta pentru Unirea Principatelor*, in *File din trecutul istoric al județului Prahova*, Ploiești, 1971, pp. 5–14; Maria Huminic, *Colaborarea dintre unioniștii moldoveni și munteni în lumina unor documente ale vremii aflate în Muzeul Unirii din Iași*, in “*Cercetări istorice*”, Iași, I, 1970, pp. 29–42. In detail on the ad-hoc Assemblies and their significance, Dan Berindei, *Epoca Unirii*, pp. 51–72; Cornelia Bodea (ed.), *Corespondență politică (1855–1859)*, Publishing House of the R.S.R. Academy, Bucharest, 1963, Dimitrie A. Sturdza to Constantin Hurmuzachi, 3 July 1856 (where he mentions the unionist aspirations and unwavering confidence in the imminent achievement of the Union), p. 115; Grigorie Ioranu to Mihail Kogălniceanu, 24 July 1856 (announcing the establishment of Union committees in Bucharest and emphasizing the unionist spirit in the country), pp. 123–124.

¹⁸ *Ce se cuvine să cerem la Adunările ad-hoc*, Imprimerie de Gustave Gratiot & Comp., Paris, 1857; Ioan Aurel Pop, Ioan Bolovan, Ioana-Mihaela Bonda, Ana Victoria Sima, Teodor Laurențiu Popescu (coord.), *op. cit.*, vol. I, point 99, pp. 416–419.

¹⁹ For the text of political programs, Ioan Aurel Pop, Ioan Bolovan, Ioana-Mihaela Bonda, Ana Victoria Sima, Teodor Laurențiu Popescu (coord.), *op. cit.*, vol. I, no. 105, pp. 434–438, no. 107, pp. 440–442.

The ad-hoc Assembly of Moldavia voted at the proposal of M. Kogălniceanu, in the meeting of 7/19 October 1857, by 81 votes for and 2 against, a declaration for *the Union of the Principalities in a single state under the name of Romania*, for a hereditary foreign prince, for the neutrality of the Principalities and for a legislative power "entrusted to a public assembly, in which all the interests of the nation should be represented". In Bucharest, the resolution voted unanimously on 9/21 October 1857, included the same desiderata²⁰.

The Commission for the Information of the Guarantor Powers noted in its report the "wishes" expressed by the two ad-hoc Assemblies, the Commissioners' comments and proposed a series of reforms on which a unanimous consensus had been reached: the abolition of privileges and equality before tax and law, the revision of the agrarian relations, the separation of the judiciary from the executive and the gradual introduction of the irremovability of the magistracy, the improvement of education and the creation of an academic education, the simplification of the financial system, the development of the means of communication.

On 10/22 May 1856, the proceedings of the conference opened in Paris, which was to draw up, in accordance with the provisions of the 1856 treaty, a convention on the "*definitive*" organization of the Principalities. The French government firmly maintained its favourable attitude to the Romanian cause, supported by Russia, Sardinia and Prussia. On the other hand, the Porte and Austria were against it. The Conference of the ambassadors of the Guarantor Powers concluded, after laborious negotiations, the *Paris Convention of 9/17 August 1858*.

The Great Powers declared themselves for a compromise formula: Wallachia and Moldavia would be called the United Principalities; there would be a Central Commission for the preparation of the laws and a joint Court of Cassation in Focșani; all citizens were equal before the law (art. 46), and the privileges and ranks of boyars were abolished²¹.

The stipulations on the prince were important, and he could be in each country a Moldavian or a Wallachian, with an income of three thousand golden coins and having held a public office for ten years. He was to be "elected for life by the Assembly" and had to obtain the investiture of the Porte "within a month at most". The legislative power was to be exercised collectively by the prince, the Elective Assembly and the Central Commission. The electoral stipulations annexed to the convention restricted the right to vote directly to several thousand people.

²⁰ Dan Berindei, *Epoca Unirii*, pp. 59–61. The French press reported the results of the Divan debates and stressed that "everything is clear and unequivocal", Gh. Platon, *Lupta românilor pentru unitate națională 1855–1859. Ecouri în presa europeană*, p. 40.

²¹ For the text of the Convention, *Acte și documente*, vol. VII, pp. 306–314; B. Boerescu, *Examen de la Convention du 19 août relative à l'organisation des Principautés Danubiennes*, Paris, 1858; <http://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocument/21852>, accessed June–August 2020; Loredana-Maria Ilin, *Sistemul constitutional românesc (1821–1923)*, Aius Publishing House, Craiova, 2009, pp. 181–188.

The prerogatives of the Head of State were provided in art. 14–15 of the Convention: the exercise of government with the ministers, whom he appointed; the sanctioning and promulgation of the laws, but also the right to refuse to sanction laws; the right to pardon or reduce criminal penalties, without interfering in the good functioning of justice; the right of legislative initiative and the preparation of the budget, which was to be submitted to the deliberations and vote of the Assembly; the right to appoint in all functions of public administration and to draw up regulations for the enforcement of the laws.

He also had the right to convene the Assembly in ordinary or extraordinary sessions, to extend the ordinary session and to dissolve the Assembly, having the obligation to convene a new Assembly within three months. He had the right to summon, in case of danger to the borders of the country, the armies of the two Principalities, following the agreement of the two princes and with the notification of the Porte, but also the right to appoint and revoke, as appropriate, the army commander.

All these prerogatives were similar to those of any constitutional monarch, as Andrei Rădulescu noted²², as the principle of inviolability and irresponsibility was provided, in the sense that any act of the Prince had to be countersigned by a minister, who assumed full responsibility.

THE DOUBLE ELECTION OF PRINCE ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA

In accordance with the provisions of the Paris Convention, a provisional commission was set up in the Principalities to ensure the election of the elective assemblies, which were to appoint the two rulers. In Moldavia, the kaimakamship was entrusted to Anastasie Panu and Vasile Sturdza, representatives of the national party, and to the conservative boyar Ștefan Catargiu. In Wallachia, the members of the kaimakamship represented conservative positions – Ioan Manu and Emanoil Băleanu – or moderately conservative – I. Al. Filipescu.

The elective assembly of Moldavia was dominated by the representatives of the national party, while in Wallachia it was dominated by the conservatives. When the Elective Assembly of Moldavia was opened on 28 December 1858/9 January 1859, the deputies were enthusiastically greeted by the people. On 5/17 January 1859, Al. I. Cuza was elected ruler, by the unanimous vote of the deputies present there. Colonel Cuza was known as a leader of the unionist movement, who in the summer of 1857 had resigned from the office of chief magistrate of Covurlui (Galați) in protest against the falsification of the elections in Moldavia and the

²² Andrei Rădulescu, *Organizarea statului în timpul domniei lui Cuza-Vodă*, Bucharest, Cartea Românească Publishing, 1932, p. 10.

electoral abuses of kaimakam Vogoridi. A member of the ad-hoc Assembly, Cuza had then become the deputy of the minister of war, commander of the country's army. After taking the oath of the newly elected, in which he showed that he wanted to defend "the rights and interests of the homeland" and to ensure "the good and happiness of the Romanian nation", Mihail Kogălniceanu delivered an impressive speech on behalf of the assembly²³.

In Bucharest, the national party acted in such a way that, on 24 January 1859, it obtained the election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza as ruler of Wallachia. By the double election of Cuza, then 39 years old, the essential desire of the nation was harmonized with the provisions of the Paris Convention, an intelligent and courageous solution of the Romanians for the situation created by the decisions of the Great Powers.

Cuza launched a vigorous diplomatic campaign to gain recognition for his election and sent Moldavian and Wallachian delegates to Constantinople in mid-February 1858. He would also send special emissaries to Western Europe and Russia. The first and most successful mission was that of Vasile Alecsandri in Paris, London and Turin. He was warmly received by Napoleon III and Walewski, who promised to send a military mission to the Principalities²⁴.

Internally, Cuza's reign, begun under such happy auspices, would soon run into serious difficulties. The ruler's mission was not easy, being forced to collaborate with two governments and two assemblies, located in Bucharest and Iași, at a distance of 400 km, quite long at that time (which could be covered in about 60 hours). In the first three years of Alexandru Ioan Cuza's reign, the political life in the Principalities was characterized by a deep instability, so that more than 20 ministerial formations and five Assemblies followed one another in the two countries²⁵.

The Paris Convention established a high electoral qualification for voters of future elective and legislative Assemblies, different from that applied in 1857. In this context, the great nobility had the opportunity to dominate and control the Assembly politically and to oppose any initiative to improve the situation of the

²³ Dan Berindei, *Epoca Unirii*, pp. 80–83; Session of 5/17 January 1859, *Acte și documente*, vol. VIII, pp. 342–345. For the life and work of Alexandru I. Cuza, Constantin C. Giurescu, *Viața și opera lui Cuza Vodă*, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1986.

²⁴ D. Vitcu, *Diplomații Unirii*, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, 1979, pp. 60–68.

²⁵ *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VII, tome I, coord. Dan Berindei, Bucharest, Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 2003, pp. 485–495; N. Iorga, *Un cugetător moldovean de la jumătatea secolului al XIX-lea: Ștefan Scarlat Dăscălescu*, Romanian Academy, Memoirs of the Historical Section, series III, tome XIII, Mem I, Bucharest, National Printing House, 1932, p. 45, who noted that ministries "changed like plates". The enthusiasm of the beginning had passed, and many of the risks anticipated by some political leaders were fulfilled. See Ion I. Brătianu, *Memoriul lui Ion C. Brătianu prezentat domnitorului Alexandru Ion I. Cuza, la prima sa venire în București*, Bucharest, Institute of Graphic Arts and Minerva Publishing House, 1901, pp. 1–6.

peasantry²⁶. Cuza quickly began the work of administrative centralization of the two Principalities, skilfully using the legislative route, which required the adoption of normative acts by the two Assemblies, or the faster administrative route, which included actions to strengthen the political unity and functionality of state institutions.

The administration of the post office and the telegraph, customs, sanitary service and other services, the currency exchange rate were unified (governing bodies based in Bucharest were also established). Unified solutions in important areas were imposed by the adopted normative acts. In chronological order, among the first projects voted by the assemblies were those related to the unitary organization of the army. The elective assembly of Wallachia voted unanimously, on 22 March 1860, the Law for the instruction of the army²⁷, to follow the laws for the organization of the Court of Cassation, the laws on revenues from salt mines, those regarding the construction of roads and railways, the cancellation of the concessions of salt mines and customs and their administration by the state, the organization of ministries and the financial service, the organization of the Court of Accounts, the organization of state accounting. All these were important steps in the process of achieving the full Union starting from the personal union fulfilled at the beginning of 1859²⁸.

By various diplomatic means, the agreement of the Guarantor Powers and the Sultan for the unification of the Principalities was obtained. In the Proclamation addressed to the country on 11/23 December 1861, the ruler could declare: “*The union is fulfilled, the Romanian nation is founded...; the one you elected gives you one Romania today*”²⁹. The capital was settled in Bucharest, where there was only one government and one parliament, which opened its proceedings on 24 January 1862. In the new political context, Cuza continued and expanded the reform program, conceived together with his main adviser, Mihail Kogălniceanu.

The law of December 1863 imposed the secularization of the monastic wealth, through which approximately 25% of the country’s territory entered the state patrimony, and demonstrated the capacity of the leadership of the young Romanian state to overcome the resistance of the Porte and other great powers.

²⁶ Grigore Chiriță, *Condiția politică a țărănimii în epoca Unirii. Contribuția ei la crearea României moderne (1856–1866)* (I), in *Revista de istorie*, tome 37, no. 1/1984, p. 25. In the sense that the text of the Paris Convention did not propose “the fundamental status that the Romanians expected”, see Dan Berindei, *Trăsături definitorii ale începuturilor procesului de constituire a statului român modern*, in “*Revista de istorie*”, tome 37, no. 1/1984, p. 6.

²⁷ Pursuant to art. 42 of the Paris Convention, Cuza became the commander of the two armies, aided by a joint general staff, and the two ministries of war also merged into one in 1861.

²⁸ I. Vântu, Title II, chap. 1 – Constitutional law, sect. I – Statute Expanding the Paris Convention, pp. 63–66, in *Istoria dreptului românesc*, vol. I, Part I, editors: Dumitru Firoiu, Liviu P. Marcu, Bucharest, Publishing House of the R.S.R. Academy, 1984.

²⁹ Gheorghe Iacob, *România în epoca modernizării (1859–1939)*, Iași, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University Publishing House, 2013, p. 65; C.C. Giurescu, D.C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri până azi*, Bucharest, 1971, p. 553.

THE STATUTE EXPANDING THE PARIS CONVENTION

However, the road to agrarian reform encountered, in addition to external resistance, fierce internal opposition from the great boyars, who dominated the Chamber and used parliamentary procedures to block any initiative in this regard. After several failed attempts, the adopted solution was the coup d'état of 2 May 1864. The ruler dissolved the Assembly and promulgated the *Statute Expanding the Paris Convention*, where he cautiously stated in the preamble: The Paris Convention “is and remains the fundamental law of Romania”. The name of the document was chosen to express continuity and to prevent any suspicions and obstacles on the part of the Porte and the guarantor powers. In order to gain legitimacy, the Statute was submitted to a plebiscite on 10–14/ 22–26 June 1864, together with a new electoral law³⁰. The result of the plebiscite vote demonstrated an overwhelming support of the nation for the ruler and his reform projects. There were 682,621 votes *for*, 1,307 votes *against* and 70,220 *abstentions*, which means that over 90% of the votes cast were for the Statute and electoral reform³¹.

After the ruler's visit to Constantinople, the Statute and the electoral law were recognized, and on 6/28 June 1864, a protocol was concluded in this regard between the Porte and the representatives of the guarantor powers. On 8/20 July the “Official Gazette” published this protocol and the “Additional Act to the Convention of 7/19 August 1858”, the new name of the Statute, which had certain amendments to the original proposed text. The country obtained the right that the future legislation would be approved according to the internal legislative procedure, without being subject to external intervention, a genuine internal sovereignty that Cuza would make full use of.

The Statute states in its first article that the public powers are entrusted to the Prince, the Moderating Body and the Elective Assembly. It is a new body added to those mentioned in the Paris Convention, the Moderating Body, meant to play a key role in the new organization. Legislative power is exercised collectively by the three bodies, and its organization seeks to rule out the possibility of using

³⁰ See, *Convențiune pentru organizarea definitivă a Principatelor Unite Române*, Bucharest, 1864, pp. 25–30; the Monitor Official Journal of the Romanian United Principalities, no. 99 of 4/16 May 1864, pp. 456–457; the Monitor Official Journal of the Romanian United Principalities, no. 150 of 8/20 July 1864, pp. 671–672.

³¹ The Monitor Official Journal of the Romanian United Principalities, no. 113 of 20 May/ 1 June 1864, p. 519. For “*Noua Constituție a Principatelor-Unite*”, G. Alexianu, *Curs de drept constituțional*, vol. I, Casa Școalelor Publishing House, Bucharest, 1930, pp. 434–441, who recalls the refusal of the Central Commission to approve the first initiative to amend the electoral law, arguing that the Assemblies are elected for 7 years, and the amendment of the electoral law would mean their dissolution. In his turn, Mihail Kogălniceanu, in order to demonstrate the unfair way in which the national representation was elected, mentioned (Official Gazette of Moldavia of 16 March 1860) that the deputy of Ismail was elected by one vote because there the college of primary owners consisted of one delegate.

parliamentary mechanisms against the normal functioning of the state. The Prince alone has legislative initiative (art. 3), who prepares the laws with the help of the State Council (a newly established body, by Law of 11 February 1864, which replaced the Central Commission of Focșani). The laws are subject to the vote of the Elective Assembly and the Moderating Body.

The deputies of the Elective Assembly are elected by a two-degree scrutiny: by voters who vote directly and by voters who vote indirectly. Direct voters are those who have an annual income of 100 golden coins and pay a tax of 4 golden coins. The right to vote is exercised from the age of 25. Priests, teachers, doctors, engineers, architects, bachelors are exempt from the electoral qualification and can vote as direct voters, if they meet the other conditions required. The law imposes special rules for incompatibilities, indignities and incapacities, provides the procedure for compiling electoral lists and solving contestations, establishing a real electoral dispute system, which reaches the High Court of Cassation. In order to have the right to be elected deputy, several conditions must be met: a. to be Romanian by birth or to have acquired the great naturalization; b. 30 years of age; c. to be a voter and to pay an eligibility qualification (provisionally set at an income of 200 golden coins, with certain exemptions). Indirect voters express their vote collectively, by designating a direct voter (50 indirect voters designate by “open” vote 1 direct voter).

The Statute maintains the prerogatives of the Head of State established by the Paris Convention, adding others that increase his authority: the right to appoint the President of the Assembly annually, from among its members (art. 4); the right to appoint the 64 members of the Moderating Body, according to a formula that includes the recognition and protection of local interests (from among the members of the General Councils of the counties one is elected from each county), and persons “recommended by their merit and experience”; the right to appoint one of the vice-presidents of the Moderating Body (art. 11, the initial text proposed the appointment of both vice-presidents by the Prince); the right to govern by decrees-laws, in accordance with art. 18 which stipulates that the decrees elaborated by the Prince, after the proposal of the Council of Ministers and the opinion of the State Council, until the convocation of the new Assemblies, have the force of the law³².

The legislative role of the Moderating Body is very important, having a real control of the constitutionality of the laws, similar to the one exercised by the French Senate. The draft laws voted by the Elective Assembly, except for the budget, are subject to the control of the Moderating Body, from the point of view of their compatibility with the “constitutive provisions of the new organization”

³² See G. Alexianu, *Curs de drept constituțional*, vol. I, Bucharest, Casa Școalelor Publishing House, 1930, p. 440, who mentioned that “on the basis of this provision of the Statute, Cuza manages to carry out, in a short time, the entire reorganization of the state, rejected for so many years by the sterility of party struggles and the bad will of reactionary Parliaments”; Sorin Liviu Damean (coord), *Evoluția instituțiilor politice ale statului român din 1859 până astăzi*, Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, 2014, pp. 19–22.

(art. 13 of the Statute). The projects voted by the Elective Assembly and submitted to the approval of the Moderating Body, can be: a. adopted as they were voted by the Assembly; b. amended; c. rejected. In the first case, the project is subject to the sanction of the Prince.

If amendments are made to the draft, it returns to the Assembly. In the event that it votes on the amendments of the Moderating Body, the draft is subject to the sanction of the Prince. If the Assembly rejects the amendments, the draft is sent to the State Council. The draft thus revised may be presented by the government again to the Elective Assembly, in the current or future session. In the event that the draft law was rejected in its entirety by the Senate, it is sent to the State Council and cannot be brought back for debate until the second session (art. 14 of the Statute).

THE LEGISLATIVE WORK OF PRINCE ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA

At the end of 1864, the Moderating Body and the newly elected Elective Assembly were opened, the social composition of which demonstrated the important role of the events of May in enlarging political rights. The legislatures began their activity on 6/18 December, listening to the royal message: *“Through the plebiscite of 10–14 May, the nation entrusted me with exceptional powers. So today, I consider myself obliged to give you an account of the use I have made of these powers”*, the ruler mentioned.

The message of the throne includes the circumstances that justified the act of 2 May 1864, a summary presentation of the governing activity, especially in the “last five months of a peaceful, strong and respected administration”, as well as projects waiting to be fulfilled³³. The ruler reminds that *“throughout Romania”* the communal and county councils function, and the government *“on the path of decentralization”* will keep only *“those inherent attributes”* of a central government. The equality of cults and freedom of conscience receive *“new guarantees”*, the Orthodox Church establishes the *“Central Synod for All Romania”*. The law on public education introduces a broad education system for all classes of society, with free primary education, each *“city, town or village”* will have its own school. The metric system is mandatory for the whole country. The law of expropriation for public utility *“will strongly activate public works”*.

³³ See, Gh. Buzatu (coord.), *Discursuri și dezbateri parlamentare 1864–2004*, Bucharest, Mica Valahie Publishing House, 2006, point 1, Bucharest, 6/18 December 1864 – Debates of the Senate and the Elective Assembly. Opening of the session of 1864–1865: The Message of the Throne, signed by the Prince of Romania, Alexandru Ioan Cuza, as well as M. Kogălniceanu, N. Cretzulescu, L. Stege, N. R. Bălănescu, no. 1762/ 6 December 1864, presented in the joint session of the Chambers by Alexandru Ioan Cuza, pp. 61–70.

Chambers of commerce will be set up “*in all the main cities of Romania*”. The Ministry of Finance organizes several specialized services, and the Deposit Bank will make “*profitable the deposit and guarantee funds*”. The army has a new law on recruitment and organization. Agriculture is considered “*the only and strong source of our national wealth*”, the “*abnormal bases*” of land ownership and the Rural Law of 14 August 1864 are mentioned, and the “*compensation due to the owners*” will be paid on time and in the legal amount, being considered “*a national debt*”. It is necessary “*to open the communication ways*”, create railways, build roads, iron bridges over rivers, establish “*a port on the Black Sea*”.

Cuza recalls the “state of peril” to which “the party struggles and dreams of ambitious people had brought the country” a year before, the mission of the two Chambers “to strengthen the Romanian state” and “strengthen the foundations and durability of constitutional institutions”. The Prince asks for their support to complete the work of organizing the state and concludes emotionally: “*after I had to put myself above the law, for a minute, to save the Romanian nation and society, today I am in the happy position to implement the new institutions of Romania*”.

On 11 February 1866, due to prolonged internal tensions, Prince Cuza is forced to abdicate. At another level, Romanian literature had recently witnessed Mihai Eminescu’s debut with the poem “*On Arune Pumnul’s death*”, signed M. Eminovici, in the students’ homage collection dedicated to teachers and entitled “*Tears of high school students from Chernivtsi at the tomb of their beloved teacher Arune Pumnul dead on 12/24 January 1866*”, in Chernivtsi. In Romanian poetry, the Evening Star began his mission. In national politics, the Prince of the Union and Reforms ended his work. His message for the opening of the 1865–1866 parliamentary session, read on 5 December 1865, two months before his abdication, officially announced his intention to leave the throne: “*In Alexandru Ioan I, Prince of the Romanians, the Romanians will always find Colonel Cuza, who declared to the Guarantor Powers that he received the double election only as a sacred deposit*”³⁴.

During a reign of only seven years, through an extraordinary political will, completed by a special vision of the needs of Romanian society, Cuza managed to lay the constitutional and economic foundations of modern Romania. Compared to Bismarck or Carvour, who in another historical context, laid the foundations of the German and Italian states³⁵, respectively, Prince Cuza is the one who brought the first modern legislative unification in the Romanian legal space, admirably using the force of persuasion in modernizing society. The laws adopted under his rule, the principles and legal solutions, constitute the foundation of the modern Romanian legal system, many in force in the Old Kingdom in 1918 and, subsequently, applicable for a long time in Greater Romania.

³⁴ For the moment of the abdication, see also Titu Maiorescu, *Istoria contemporană a României (1866–1900)*, Bucharest, Titu Maiorescu University Publishing House, 2002, pp. 6–9.

³⁵ Gheorghe Iacob, *România în epoca modernizării (1859–1939)*, Iași, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University Publishing House, 2013, p. 67.

The elaboration and adoption of the major codes were of cardinal importance for the national legal system: the Civil Code, the Civil Procedure Code, the Criminal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code³⁶.

The first Romanian Civil Code was elaborated and implemented during the reign of Alexandu Ioan Cuza, who on 17 July 1862 established a commission of specialists that elaborated a draft of a Romanian Civil Code, after the model of the French Civil Code, submitted to the Legislative Assembly at the end of 1863³⁷, without being adopted. After 2 May 1864, the Prince invited the State Council to draw up a Civil Code, with the recommendation to take as a model Pisanelli's Italian Civil Code³⁸. Starting from the existing project and having as a main model the French Civil Code (contrary to the recommendation of the prince), the members of the commission completed the project in less than six weeks. On 26 November 1864 the Civil Code was sanctioned by Cuza, on 4 December it was promulgated and its publication in the Official Gazette began immediately. There occurred numerous errors in hastily copying the manuscript and in printing it, so that the Code was published in April 1865 in a second official edition, which was immediately distributed to the courts and regarded as the authentic edition of the Civil Code. The initial deadline for implementation was 1 July 1865, but since the Civil Procedure Code and the Law on the Organization of the Judiciary, necessary for its application, had not been promulgated, it was postponed to 1 December 1865.

Unlike the French law of 21 March 1804, which expressly repeals all previous legal norms, the Romanian Civil Code provides in art. 1912: "The codes of princes Calimach and Caragea and any other previous civil laws, royal ordinances and ministerial instructions of both United Principalities shall be repealed, *in all that is not in accordance with the rules provided in this Code*" (our emphasis – C.S.). The application of previous laws and customs that did not contradict its provisions was accepted, an important legal solution. Over time,

³⁶ *Istoria dreptului românesc*, vol. II, Part II, editors: Dumitru Firoiu, Liviu P. Marcu, Bucharest, Publishing House of the R.S.R. Academy, 1987, Book I, Title I, Chap. III. Structure and sources of law, pp. 42–62.

³⁷ See D. Alexandresco, *Explicațiunea teoretică și practică a dreptului civil roman în comparative cu legile vechi și cu principalele legislații străine*, vol. I, Iași, National Printing House, 1900, pp. 22–29; P. Cosmovici (coord.), *Tratat de drept civil*, vol. I. General part, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Academy, 1989, pp. 31–44; Ion Dogaru, Sevastian Cercel, *Drept civil. Partea generală*, Bucharest, C.H. Beck Publishing House, 2007, pp. 10–12. For the text of the 1864 Civil Code, see also C. Christescu, *Codicele civil adnotat cu jurisprudența română urmat de un tabel indicativ pe articole de hotărârile pronunțate asupra vechilor legiuri Caragea și Calimach și asupra Regulamentelor Organice ale Munteniei și Moldovei*, Bucharest, Printing-lithography of Wiegand & Săvoiu Publishing House, Covaci, 1894.

³⁸ The President of the State Council, Constantin Bosianu, divided the matter between the members of the Council on 10 October 1864, without having previously worked in the plenary, as follows: I. Strat and Al. Papadopol-Calimach receive the preliminary title, book I, book II, privileges, mortgages and expropriation; Gh. Vernescu – successions, donations, wills, conventional obligations and commitments without conventions; Al. Crețescu, Gh. Apostoleanu – the marriage contract, sale, exchange, leasing, company, loan, deposit, seizure, aleatory contracts, mandate, bail, transaction, corporal constraint in civil matters, pledge, prescription

several private editions of the Civil Code appeared and were well received by practitioners, such as: A comparison between the Romanian Civil Code and the Napoleonic Code, by Constantin Nacu (Bucharest, no year) or The annotated Civil Code, by Constantin Hamangiu in collaboration with Nicolae Georgean (nine volumes, Bucharest, 1925–1934).

The doctrine states that the *moment of the Civil Code* is crucial for the development of the science of Romanian civil law. It imposes a unitary case law, periodicals and legal journals are published, and the doctrine reacts and brings reference works of some illustrious jurists³⁹. It should be remembered that, from Junimist positions, the harshest criticism of this code was that it was an important law lacking the Romanian spirit, because it had nothing to do with the realities of Romanian life and prevented the natural evolution of our old law. It is considered that the fact that it did not regulate the sensitive issue of the freeholders' property, caused serious and endless conflicts, especially at the beginning of its implementation, causing prejudice to freeholders. The criticisms were fought in time by other authors, but the most thorough answer was given by time, through the long and good application of the Civil Code⁴⁰: it was in force, with inherent changes, for 146 years.

The Romanian Civil Code is divided into books and the books into titles, each title making reference to a special matter. Thus, a preliminary title (art. 1–5) deals with “the effects and application of the law in general”, book I “On persons”, art. 6–460, has 11 titles (currently repealed), book II “On goods and on various changes in property”, art. 461–643, has 4 titles, book III “On the different ways in which property is acquired”, art. 644–1910, has 20 titles and, finally, “general provisions”, art. 1912–1914, a total of 1914 articles, compared to 2281, as has its French model.

Although this division is questionable (because of the magnitude of the third part compared to the other two, for example), it is traditionally explicable, because the structure of Justinian's *Institutes* (which reproduces the structure of Gaius' work – often called by Justinian *Gaius noster* – which replaced the case-law treatment of Roman law with a systematic, tripartite one on persons, goods and actions) is taken over. It was emphasized that in the Romanian Civil Code, as in its French model, *the individual is taken as a basis of law*, seeking to protect him by ensuring the protection of the person, by ensuring the legal equality of all before the law, but also by protecting private property⁴¹.

³⁹ Constantin Nacu, *Drept civil român* (8 volumes, 1901–1903); Matei B Cantacuzino (professor at the University in Iași), *Elementele dreptului civil* (1922); Constantin Hamangiu (counsellor at the High Court of Cassation and Justice), I. Rosetti-Bălănescu, Al. Băicoianu, *Tratat de drept civil român* (3 volumes, 1928). A special place belongs to Dimitrie Alexandrescu, *Explicațiunea teoretică și practică a dreptului civil român* (11 volumes).

⁴⁰ Andrei Rădulescu, *Izvoarele dreptului civil. Întocmirea Codului civil*, in *Pagini din istoria dreptului românesc*, 1970, pp. 179–188; Mircea Duțu, *Știința dreptului și cultura juridică în România*, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, 2018, pp. 42–43; see also Andrei Rădulescu, *Moșnenii*, in *Pagini inedite din istoria dreptului vechi românesc*, 1991, pp. 56–76.

⁴¹ P. Cosmovici, coordinator, *Tratat de drept civil*, p. 34. The Civil Code has undergone numerous changes over time, mainly due to changes in social relations, there have been numerous discussions and initiatives on a new code. In September 2004, the Romanian Senate adopted a draft

In turn, the Criminal Code was promulgated and published on 30 October 1864 and implemented on 1 May 1865, it underwent several changes over time – by the laws of 17 February / 1 March 1874, of 21 February/5 March 1882, of 28 May / 9 June 1893, of 15/27 February 1894 and of 4/16 May 1895 - and was in force until 1 January 1937. Prior to this code, the Criminal Code of 1826 was applied in Moldavia, and *Condica Criminală* (a criminal code) was applied in Wallachia, worked by the public divan under Barbu Știrbei in the period 1850–1853 (in force, amendments in time, until 1865, when it was repealed by art. 398 of the Criminal Code). This code had as its sources the French Criminal Code of 1810 and the Prussian Criminal Code of 1851, being one of the important normative acts of the legislative reform initiated by the ruler. It contains many modern legal solutions, which demonstrates the attempt of its drafters to orient the society of those times towards a new system of values. It consists of four fundamental parts – “Preliminary provisions” and three books: Book I “On punishments and their effects”, Book II “On crimes and delicts in species and on their punishments”, Book III “Police contraventions and their punishments”⁴². The Criminal Code enshrined the principle of the legality of punishments (art. 2), and regarding the qualification of criminal acts, other factors were also taken into account: the way in which they were committed, the number of participants. Regarding criminal liability, it was established that until the age of 8 an absolute presumption of irresponsibility is applied, between 8–16 years a relative presumption of irresponsibility is applied, between 16–20 years a lighter punishment is applied, and full liability arises from the age of 20. In the matter of punishments, unlike the French law, the Romanian Criminal Code abolished the death penalty. Corporal punishments or confiscation of property were not provided.

The Civil Procedure Code was drafted and entered into force at the same time as the Civil Code. The draft code was drawn up by V. Boerescu and Al. Crețianu and was submitted to the State Council in May 1865. It was voted by the Elective Assembly in the session of 21 June/ 2 July 1865 and the Moderating Body on 28 May/ 9 June 1865. He was decreed on 9/21 September 1865, being implemented on 1/13 December 1865⁴³. Its sources were the procedural law of the Canton of Geneva of 1819, the French Civil Procedure Code of 1806, some provisions of the

law on the Civil Code, which was submitted to the Chamber of Deputies (considered a decision-making chamber pursuant to art. 75 of the Constitution). For the explanatory memorandum of this project, which has not been completed, see *Curierul Judiciar* no. 3/2004, pp. 121–133. For a comparative analysis of the various institutions in the draft and the Civil Code of 1864, as well as for the criticism of certain proposals, see *Revista de Științe Juridice* no. 1/2006. The 1864 Civil Code was repealed by art. 230 letter a of Law no 71/ 2011 for the enforcement of Law no. 287/ 2009 on the Civil Code, which entered into force on 1 October 2011. See, Marian Nicolae, *Elaborarea Noului Cod civil*, in *Codex iuris civilis*, tome 1. The new Civil Code. Critical Edition, pp. XXIV–CII.

⁴² *Codul penal al lui Alexandru Ioan Cuza*, Cernăuți, Bukrek Publishing House, 2017, with a presentation of the Code signed by Tudorel Toader and Sergiy Nezhurbida, pp. 13–18.

⁴³ G. N. Nedelcu, *Textul autentic al Codului civil*, Bucharest, 1904, p. 18, n. 1; G.G. Tocilescu, *Explicația noului Cod de procedură civilă*, vol. I, part II, Bucharest, 1900, p. 15.

Belgian law⁴⁴ on enforcement and some rules of our old legislation. The code has seven books: the procedure before the rural district judge, the county tribunals, the courts of appeal, the arbitrator, the enforcement, special procedures, general provisions. Due to the lack of staff, the provisions on rural district courts were not implemented and the competence was assigned to sub-prefects. The trial went through a double stage on the merits of the case (in the first instance court and the court of appeal) and in the second appeal court.

The Criminal Procedure Code – was promulgated on 2/14 December 1864 and implemented on 30 April/ 12 May 1865, and was based on the French Criminal Instruction Code of 1808. The 603 articles included: Preliminary provisions, Book I (art. 13–138) – On the judicial police and police officers exercising it, Book II (art. 139–603) – On trials (police and correctional tribunals, cases to be submitted to jurors, second appeal, particular procedures, jurisdiction regulations, recusals, prisons, prescriptions, etc.). The delicts were within the jurisdiction of tribunals, and the crimes were within the jurisdiction of jury courts, which consisted of a panel of judges and a jury composed of citizens. The jurors answered “yes” or “no” to two essential questions: whether or not the person tried was guilty and whether or not he deserved mitigating circumstances (in the event that he was guilty). Their decision – the verdict – did not have to be motivated and determined either the legal classification of the act and the individualization of the criminal punishment, or the acquittal of the person tried.

In commercial matters, a legislative unification of the two Principalities is recorded by “expanding the legislation”. The law promulgated on 10/22 December 1863 for the “implementation in all Romania” of the Commercial Code of Wallachia, the abolition of the Commercial Court of Appeal in Bucharest and the transfer of its competence to the Civil Courts of Appeal was one of the important measures of legislative unification adopted by Alexandru Ioan Cuza⁴⁵.

As for the organization of the judiciary, the Law of 4 July 1864, established the following courts: the rural district court, county courts, courts of appeal, jury courts, in criminal matters, and the High Court of Cassation and Justice. For the organization of the supreme court, starting from the provisions of art. 38–41 of the Paris Convention, first, the Central Commission of Focșani elaborated and published, in the session of 1859, the Draft Legislation for the establishment of a Court of Cassation and Justice for the United Principalities of Romania, and in February 1860 it was transmitted to the Legislative Assemblies in the two principalities. The draft law was voted by L. of 6 July 1860 in Iași, respectively, L. of 19 July 1860 in Bucharest. In his turn, Cuza sanctioned and promulgated by the Royal Decree no. 1 of 12 January 1861, issued in Iași, the Law for the

⁴⁴ Andrei Rădulescu, *Pagini din istoria dreptului românesc*, 1970, *Influența belgiană asupra dreptului român*, pp. 188–209; Elena Tereza Chilom, *op. cit.*, pp. 202–203.

⁴⁵ The Romanian Commercial Code was adopted under Carol I, promulgated on 10/ 22 May 1887 and in force on 1/ 13 September of the same year.

establishment of the Court of Cassation and Justice. It was published in the Official Gazette of Wallachia no. 18 of 24 January (using the Latin alphabet), as well as in the Official Gazette of Moldavia no. 88 of 29 January (using the Cyrillic alphabet), being countersigned by two Moldavians, Manolache Kostache, the Prime Minister in Bucharest, and Mihail Kogălniceanu, in Iași⁴⁶.

Regarding the Court of Accounts, prior to the Union of 1859, in Wallachia and Moldavia there were “control ministries” subordinated to the executive power. The Central Commission of Focșani seeks solutions for the establishment of an institution specific to a modern state and supports from June 1859 the idea of founding a separate court with financial control powers. The law for the establishment of the Court of Accounts is voted by the Elective Assembly on 8/20 January 1864 and promulgated by the ruler on 24 January/ 5 February 1864, being countersigned by M. Kogălniceanu, President of the Council of Ministers, and A. P. Ilarian, Minister Secretary of State at the Department of Justice⁴⁷.

CONCLUSIONS

The modernization program of the two Romanian countries initiated after the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and affirmed by the voice of the ad-hoc Divans of 1857 had several fundamental principles, which were to be put into practice gradually: a. the union – fulfilled on 24 January 1859 and institutionally completed on 24 January 1862; b. internal autonomy – affirmed in May 1864; c. the foreign prince; d. the establishment of the constitutional regime.

During the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the first two desiderata were fulfilled, and after 11 February 1866, the way was open for the achievement of the other two. Cuza built ambitious plans to endow the new state with modern

⁴⁶ Mircea Duțu, *Istoria Întelei Curții de Casație și Justiție a României*, second edition revised and supplemented, Bucharest, Universul Juridic Publishing House, 2002, pp. 52–58, which explains why the law was applied after almost a year, when by the High Royal Decree no. 82 of 11 February 1862, the members of the Court and of the Prosecutor’s Office attached to it were appointed, after the establishment of the first unitary government, on 23 January 1862, and the official proclamation, on 24 January 1862, of the full and definitive union of the Romanian state. Andrei Rădulescu, *Cercetări privitoare la înființarea Curții de Casație în România*, Romanian Academy, Memoirs of the historical section, series III, volume XIV, mem. 8, Bucharest, National Printing House, 1933, which shows, among others, the disputes regarding the establishment of the seat of the Court of Cassation, “the question of the place where it was to function”, pp. 43–47.

⁴⁷ Official Gazette of the Romanian United Principalities, Friday, 24 January/ 5 February 1864, no. 18, p. 1; see, Bogdan Murgescu, *Studiu introductiv*, in *Curtea de Conturi a României 1864–2004. Culegere de documente*, Bucharest, 2004, pp. 9–17. The work contains the “Protocol of the Central Commission of Focșani on the proposal to establish a Court of Control of the United Principalities (12 June 1859), p. 19, “Debates of the Assembly of Deputies on the draft law for the establishment of the Court of Accounts (4/16 January 1864), pp. 20–31, the text of the Law for the establishment of the Court of Accounts, pp. 32–37.

institutions and paid special attention to the legal system, which he organized in accordance with the needs of a European state. From the complex of reforms carried out during his reign we must mention⁴⁸: the rural law, the communal law, the county council law, the public accounting law, the State Council law, the law of the Chambers of Commerce, the law introducing the system of metric weights and measures, the church laws, the law on expropriation for causes of public utility, the pension law.

⁴⁸ For the economic policy promoted by Cuza and the difficulties of that period, Apostol Stan, *Independența României. Detașarea de piața otomană și ratașarea de Europa 1774–1875*, Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1988, in particular, *IV. Liberalismul economic sub Cuza Vodă*, pp. 115–156. The University of Iași, the oldest modern university in Romania, was established in October 1860, and the University of Bucharest, in July 1864.

THE INTERSECTION OF ETHNICITY AND GENDER IN THE ROMANIAN LABOR MARKET: THE CASE OF ROMA WOMEN

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Abstract: Discrimination of Roma women in employment relations became a certainty in post-communist Romania. Although gender is the most frequent criterion of discrimination in labor market, from the statistics of the National Council for Fight against Discrimination, one can notice that the most frequent petitions were formulated mainly by men and had as object the discrimination based on ethnicity (Roma mainly), social category, age or religion. This fact shows that Roma women confronted with such situations either did not know who to address a complaint to or did not have the courage to do it. This article explores the history of the ethnic discrimination in Romania and illustrates how ethnicity and gender intersect in the Romanian labor market resulting in a low rate of Roma women employment. As for methodology, the author used the analysis of employment advertisements, official statistics and documents of public institutions, the comparison between different Romanian Government programs aimed at fighting marginalization and social exclusion of Roma, study of anti-discrimination laws etc. In the section of conclusions, the author makes some recommendations about the need of rethinking and remodeling public policies on preventing discrimination acts against Roma women.

Keywords: Roma women, race, ethnicity, gender, discrimination, employment.

1. INTRODUCTION

Romania is a country with no tradition in terms of public speeches, legislation and studies concerning discrimination. Although foreign specialists admit almost unanimously that there are strong evidences that race and gender do intersect in the labor market under certain conditions¹, in Romania such studies are

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¹ J. Acker, *From glass ceiling to inequality regimes*, in "Sociologie du Travail", Vol. 51, no. 2/2009, pp. 199–217; J.G. Altonji, R.M. Blank, *Race and Gender in the Labor Market*, in O. Ashenfelter, D. Card (eds.), *Handbook of Labor Economics*, no. 3/1999, pp. 3143–3251; H. Y. Choo, M.M. Ferree, *Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities*, in "Sociological Theory", vol. 28, no. 2/2010, pp. 129–149; R.J. Emigh, I. Szelényi (eds), *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Eastern Europe during the Market*

missing almost completely. The purpose of this paper is not to bring its contribution to the development of intersectionality theories, but to capture the various ways in which it manifests on the Romanian labor market. Another objective is to pull a signal of alarm about the situation of Roma women whose gravity is generally ignored. The motivation for this work was precisely the lack, almost absolute, of the studies regarding intersectionality from the Romanian literature, as well as the lack of integration of Roma women on the labor market.

In terms of the frequency of discrimination acts, certain categories of persons are discriminated against constantly and repeatedly – Roma, women, gays, the poor, members of religious sects, while other groups are discriminated against just occasionally, under certain circumstances – pregnant women, the elderly, the disabled². Few Romanian researchers show that at the intersection of these cases are the forms of multiple discrimination³, including the case of Roma women which have to cope with the negative consequences of a double fact: being Roma and being women.

In the field of gender discrimination there are numerous Romanian studies and statistical data about women's status in the society and gender differences⁴. There are also comparative studies related to gender equality policies in different European countries⁵.

Transition, Westport London, Praeger Publishers, 2001; G. H. Bradley Healy, C. Forson, *Intersectional Sensibilities in Analysing Inequality Regimes in Public Sector Organisations*, in "Gender, Work and Organisation", vol. 18, no. 5/2011, pp. 467–487; E. Holvino, *Intersections: The Simultaneity of Race, Gender and Class in Organisation Studies*, in *Gender, Work and Organisation*, vol. 17, nr. 3/2010, pp. 248–277; B.D. Metcalfe, C.J. Rees, *Gender, globalisation and organisation: exploring power, relations and intersections*, in "Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal", vol. 29, nr. 1/ 2010, pp. 5–22; B. Mintz, D. H. Krymkowski, *The Intersection of Race/Ethnicity and Gender in Occupational Segregation. Changes over Time in the Contemporary United States*, in "International Journal of Sociology", vol. 40, no. 4/2011, pp. 31–58; L. Weber, *Understanding Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality: A Conceptual Framework*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 2001; N. Yuval-Davis, *Intersectionality and feminist politics*, in "European Journal of Women's Studies", vol. 13, no. 3/2006, pp. 193–209.

² C. Ștefan, *Coeficientul de adversitate al lucrurilor: reprezentările de gen*, in O. Băluță (ed.), *Gen și putere*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2006, p. 23.

³ *Ibidem*; A. Iancu, *Analiza conceptuală a excluziunii sociale*, in O. Băluță, A. Dragolea, A. Iancu, *Gen și interese politice. Teorii și practici*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2007, p. 175.

⁴ M. Albu, C. Mocanu, *Egalitatea de șanse în România. De la teorie la practică*, in O. Băluță (ed.), *cit. work*, 2006, pp. 117–137; A. Huminic, *Instituționalizarea politicii de egalitate de șanse*, in L. Grünberg (ed.), *Gen și integrare europeană*, Bucharest, Societatea de Analize Feministe AnA, 2002, pp. 11–28; Ministry of European Integration, *Ghidul egalității de șanse*, 2005; Open Society Foundation – Romania, *Gender Barometer*, 2000; V. Pasti, M. Miroiu, C. Codîță, *România - starea de fapt. Volumul I. Societatea*, Bucharest, Nemira Publishing, 1996, pp. 165–206; L.M. Muscalu, *Discriminarea în raporturile de muncă*, Bucharest, Hamangiu Publishing, 2015; L. Popescu, *Politica sexelor*, Bucharest, Maiko Publishing, 2004; R. Teșiu, F. Bocioc, *Equal opportunities for women and men in Romania*, in "Equal opportunities for women and men: Monitoring law and practice in new member states and accession countries of the EU", New York, Open Society Institute, 2005; UNDP Romania, NCS, *Women and Men in Romania*, 2005, available at <http://www.undp.ro>

⁵ R. J. Emigh, I. Szelényi (eds), *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Eastern Europe during the Market Transition*, Westport London, Praeger Publishers, 2001; C. Fagan, P. Urwin, K. Melling,

After the adoption of Romanian anti-discrimination legislation (2000–2002) there was a veritable explosion of gender studies in various domains: sociology, anthropology, ethnography, economics, management and organizational studies, political and juridical studies. A variety of knowledge sources is available in the field of gender equality public policies which pointed out the evolution of Romanian equality policies in the first years after the fall of communism, in the period before the accession to EU and after Romania's EU membership⁶.

Although the researchers and academics produced many studies concerning unemployment, poverty and social exclusion, most of these analyses lack a gender perspective⁷. There are some gender studies concentrated on women's relationship to the labor market and social security system (especially concerning social assistance benefits) but attention was not afforded to Roma women⁸.

D. Meulders, A. Kanjuo-Mrčela, *Gender inequalities in the risk of poverty and social exclusion for disadvantaged groups in thirty European countries*, Manchester, The University of Manchester, 2006; E. Fodor, C. Glass, J. Kawachi, L. Popescu, *Family policies and gender in Hungary, Poland and Romania*, in *Communist and Postcommunist Studies*, vol. 35, nr. 4/2002, pp. 475–490; S. Gal, G. Klingman, *Politicile de gen în perioada postsocialistă. Un eseu istoric comparativ*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2003; J. Plantenga, C. Remery, P. Helming, D. Meulders, A. Kanjuo-Mrčela, *Reconciliation of work and private life: a comparative review of thirty European countries*, Luxemburg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2005; M. Voicu, *Work and family life in Europe: Value patterns and policy making*, in W. Arts, L. Halman (eds.), *European values at the turn of the millennium*, Leiden, Brill Book, 2004, pp. 231–253; R. Weber, N. Watson (eds.), *Women 2000: An investigation into the status of women's rights in Central and Southeastern Europe and the New Independent States*, Vienna, International Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights, 2000.

⁶ M. Dediú, *Rolul instituțiilor internaționale în reformarea politicilor publice pentru romii din România*, in F. Bondar (coord.), *Politici publice și administrație publică*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2007, pp.174–186; A.-M. Dima, *Femeile de minoritate romă între lipsa de modele și integrarea europeană a României*, in L.Grünberg (ed.), *Gen și integrare europeană*, Bucharest, Societatea de Analize Feministe AnA, 2002; A.-M. Dima, *Sub minorities or Roma women – between ideologies and practices within the process of Romania's accession to the European Union*, in “AnALize: Journal of Feminist Studies”, no. 12/2002, pp. 25–34; S. Gal, G. Klingman, *cit. work*; G. Ghebrea, M. Tătăram, I. Crețoiu, *Implementing the EU equality acquis*, Bucharest, Nemira Publishing, 2005; L. Grünberg, *Politica socială și egalitatea sexelor*, in E. Zamfir, C. Zamfir (eds.), *Politici sociale. România în context european*, Bucharest, Alternative Publishing, 1995, pp. 184–190; E. Magyari-Vincze, *Romanian gender regimes and women's citizenship*, in J. Lukic, J. Regulska, D. Zavrsek, *Women and citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, pp. 35–51; M. Miroiu, *Drumul către autonomie. Teorii politice feministe*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2004; A. Moraru, R. Popa, M. Tobă, O. Voicu, *Elaborarea și realizarea politicilor de combatere a discriminării și promovare a egalității de șanse între membrii grupurilor minoritare și cei ai majorității și între femei și bărbați. Intoleranță, discriminare și autoritarism în opinia publică*, Bucharest, IPP, 2003, pp. 79–93; M. Munteanu, *Dinamica formulării politicilor publice de gen în contextul integrării europene*, in F. Bondar, (coord.), *Politici publice și administrație publică*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2007, pp. 201–236.

⁷ M. Preda, *Grupuri social ignorate/excluse de politicile sociale în România*, in C. Zamfir (ed.), *Politici sociale în România, 1990–1998*, Bucharest, Expert Publishing, 1999, pp. 301–342; E. Zamfir, C. Zamfir, A. Dan, S. Cace, *Politici de suport pentru femei*, in C. Zamfir (ed.), *Politici sociale în România, 1990–1998*, Bucharest, Expert Publishing, 1999, pp. 269–300.

⁸ V. Marinescu, V. Pricopie, *Accesul femeilor pe piața muncii*, Bucharest, Editor.ro, Centrul Parteneriat pentru Egalitate, 2004; S. Peț, V. Vasile, R. Negruț, P. Mazilescu, *Procese, fenomene caracteristice și tendințe ale circulației forței de muncă în România*, in “Studii și Cercetări

Only few researcher studied intersectionality, with special regard to the intersection of gender and ethnicity, and gender and disability but with few considerations about employment, gender division of labor, wages establishment or work migration⁹.

There is remarkably little empirical work on Roma/non-Roma differences on the labour market outcomes¹⁰. There is even less empirical work looking at Roma women employment¹¹ but the author hopes that future research will remedy this gap.

In 2011 took place the general census of population and housing, however, official data have not been disclosed until now although they must have been published by the National Institute of Statistics in July 2013. Also in the period following the year 2000 were developed several strategies and government programs aimed at fighting marginalization and social exclusion of Roma – The Government’s Strategy for Improving the Situation of the Roma (2001–2010), The National Anti-Poverty and Social Inclusion Promotion Planning (2002–2012), The Joint Memorandum on Social Inclusion (2005–2010), The Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005–2015), but unfortunately lacks data on the implementation and results of those programs.

Being unable to access database to study developments and dynamics and preview future trends poses major obstacles in conducting research and preparing studies on the intersection of gender, race and ethnicity in the Romanian society.

Economice”, no. 6–7/2003, pp. 34–39; M. Preda, L.M. Pop, F. Bocioc, *The gender dimensions of social security reform in Romania*, in E. Fultz (ed.), *The gender dimensions of social security reform. Volume 2: Case studies of Romania and Slovenia*, Budapest, ILO, 2006, pp. 11–92; M. Voicu, *Work and family life in Europe: Value patterns and policy making*, in W. Arts, L. Halman (eds.), *European values at the turn of the millennium*, Leiden, Brill Book, 2004, pp. 231–253; M. Voicu, M. Șerban, *Statutul femeilor din mediul rural. Afirmarea economică a femeilor din mediul rural în România*, Bucharest, PNUD, 2002.

⁹ A. Gheauș, *Femeile și dizabilitatea în România*, Bucharest, Societatea de Analize Feministe AnA, 2006; N.L. Magyari, E. Magyari-Vincze, L. Popescu, T. Rotariu, *The social construction of Romanian poverty: The impact of ethnic and gender distinction*, in R. J. Emigh, I. Szelényi (eds), *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Eastern Europe during the Market Transition*, Westport London, Praeger Publishers, 2001, pp. 123–156; E. Magyari-Vincze, *Excluderea socială la intersecția dintre gen, etnicitate și clasă. O privire din perspectiva femeilor rome*, Cluj, EFES, 2006; M. Miroiu, *Drumul către autonomie. Teorii politice feministe*, Iași, Polirom, 2004; V. Pasti, *Ultima inegalitate. Relațiile de gen în România*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2003; A. Oprea, *Re-envisioning social justice from de ground-up. Including the experiences of Romani women*, in *Essex Human Rights Review*, vol. 1, no. 1/2004, pp. 29–39; L. Surdu, M. Surdu, *Broadening the agenda: The Status of Romani Women in Romania*, New York, Open Society Institute, 2006.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*; C. Zamfir (ed.), *Politici sociale în România, 1990–1998*, Bucharest, Expert Publishing, 1999; M. Preda, A. Dan, *Surse ale excluziunii sociale în România*, in “Revista de Asistență Socială”, no. 2–3/2004, pp. 3–56.

¹¹ A.-M. Dima, *Femeile de minoritate romă între lipsa de modele și integrarea europeană a României*, in L. Grünberg (ed.), *cit. work*, 2002; A. Dragolea, *Preferințe și mecanisme pe piața muncii – o abordare de gen sau cum “aleg” femeile performanțe profesionale mai scăzute și bani mai puțini*, in O. Băluță, A. Dragolea, A. Iancu, *Gen și interese politice. Teorii și practici*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2007, pp. 83–124.

2. ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION IN ROMANIA: HISTORY OF A PHENOMENON

In contemporary society, ethnic discrimination is very widespread¹², ethnicity representing one of the most common grounds of discrimination, after the gender criterion. Ethnic discrimination is based on the ethnic origin of the person, though to the identification of an ethnic group serve other criteria, such as religion, language, culture, nationality, genetic characteristics, which, in turn, can be seen as criteria in the use of a differential treatment. All these distinctive features of an ethnic group used to determine it from the objective point of view, determining which can lead to differences in treatment suffered by members of the group, differences that are prohibited by law. From the subjective point of view, the belonging of a person to an ethnic group cannot be determined except by a sense of awareness of share belonging to that group; an objective determination, against the will of the person, is not possible. Ethnic discrimination can often coincide with racial discrimination or discrimination based on the criterion of color because the color is one of the physical features that make a racial/ethnic group different from another¹³. Moreover, the European Commission of Human Rights has defined racial discrimination as “discrimination based on color, national or ethnic origin, which are elements of the same problems”¹⁴.

A worrying fact, proven by statistical data, is that the Roma are the most despised ethnic group in Europe¹⁵. According to surveys, the categories of people who are perceived by the population of Romania as the most often the victims of discrimination are, in first place, Roma (22% of the population has shown that Roma people are being subjected to acts of discrimination “very often or often”), followed by people experiencing poverty – “the poor” (22%), disabled persons (21%) and elderly people (18%)¹⁶.

The history of Roma in Romania is full of examples of ethnic segregation and discrimination, the latter having a systematic character and being described as a “historical phenomenon”¹⁷. Undoubtedly, the attitudes, traditions, prejudices and inhibitions play a decisive role in determining the behavior of the person that discriminate, as well as in the construction of responses of the discriminated.

¹² V. Nicolae, *Words that Kill*, in *Index on Censorship*, no. 35/2006, p. 138.

¹³ D. C. Dănișor, *Fundamentul statului și criteriile de nediscriminare (comentarii ale dispozițiilor art. 4 din Constituția României)*, in “*Revista de Drept Public*”, no. 1/2008, p. 58.

¹⁴ B. Maurer, *Le principe de respect de la dignité humaine et la Convention européenne de droits de l’homme*, Paris, La Documentation française, 1999, p. 341.

¹⁵ V. Nicolae, *cit. work*, p. 138.

¹⁶ Metro Media Transilvania, *Barometrul de opinie privind discriminarea în România*, 2004, available online at <http://www.cncd.org.ro/publicatii/Sondaje-4/>

¹⁷ R. Crețan, *Marginalitate socială și spațială: conceptualizare și tipologie în cazul rromilor din Banat și sudul Crișanei. Studiu de geografie istorică și socială*, Timișoara, West University Publishing House, 2007, p. 50.

Discrimination and violence against Roma in Romania has its motivation in a dual source: on the one hand, a centuries-old history, along which the Gypsy servants were considered simple property from the 11th century until the middle of the 19th century¹⁸, status who legitimized the committing of any violence by the master against the servant; on the other hand, a modern culture, created especially by the media, which emphasized the image of Roma as the source of all evil, exposing them to some violent manifestations with racist overtones. The Romanian society's prejudices have been added to the phenomenon of intensification of Romanian ethno-nationalism after the Revolution of December 1989 and numerous economic factors: "These prejudices persist because it needs a scapegoat, in challenging economic conditions of the country. The reasons are complex. Roma are easily blamed, from isolated cases like «Roma ate swans in Vienna». Once the Roma are awarded this qualifier, the mentality is hardly to be changed"¹⁹.

3. LEGALLY DEFINING AND INCRIMINATING DISCRIMINATION WITHIN EMPLOYMENT AND LABOR RELATIONSHIPS

Among the diversity of problems that Romania is confronting with at the beginning of the 21st century, discrimination represents a reality that reached and reach edge situation, sometimes becoming manifest through violent actions against individuals, against groups or the entire society. Research on the incidence of the discrimination phenomenon within the work relations started to develop in Romania only during the last years, although this phenomenon has deep roots in the distorted mentalities and conceptions still active in a Romanian society in a never-ending transition after the crucial moment of the Revolution in December 1989. The 31 years that followed the Revolution brought substantial changes to our perception regarding the phenomenon of discrimination, and the causes, the effects and the negative implications tremendously dangerous that were produced by it. Twenty-three and even thirteen years ago there was a lack of knowledge about this issue, even more because there was no legislation regarding the phenomena. The legislation void favored the appearance of multiple abusive attitudes and discrimination on the part of the employers, also reflected in the want ads and announcements concerning the employment demand. Even though the principle of equal rights was recognized by the Constitution of 1991 in the 16th article, the lack of a legal way of fighting and sanctioning discrimination within the work relations, increased the proportion of the phenomenon.

¹⁸ C. Avram, Gh. Bică, I. Bitoleanu, I. Vlad, R. Radu, E. Paraschiv, *Introducere în istoria dreptului*, Bucharest, Romania of Tomorrow Foundation Publishing House, 2007, pp. 110–111 ; V. Achim, *Țigani în istoria României*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1998, pp. 170–192; D. Crowe, *The Gypsy Historical Experience in Romania*, in D. Crowe, J. Kolsti (eds.), *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe*. New York: Arnok, M.E. Sharp Inc., 1991, pp. 61–63.

¹⁹ R. Crețan, *cit. work*, p. 51.

In august 2000, the Emergency Government Ordinance no. 137/2000 was adopted on the prevention and the punishment of all forms of discrimination, which stipulated the right to personal dignity, incriminated the notion of harassment defining it as being “any kind of behavior on the basis of race, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, social category, thought, gender, sexual orientation, affiliation to a disadvantaged social category, age, disability, refugee or asylum solicitant status or any other criterion that leads to an intimidating, hostile, degrading or offensive environment” and also the one of victimization, seen as any adverse treatment that constitutes a reaction to an intimation or complaint submitted to a court concerning the violation of the equal treatment principle.

Ordinance no. 137/2000 expressively incriminated:

- a) the discrimination of a person within a labour or social protection relation, which occurred in the following domains: conclusion, suspension, modification or cessation of the labour relation; settlement and alteration of job prerogatives or work place; adjustment of social rights, other than wage rights; professional training, re-qualification and promotion; application of disciplinary measures; right of joining a trade union and access to the facilities awarded by this organization; any other conditions of work, in accordance with the legislation in force;
- b) the refusal of a natural or juridical person to employ a person on the ground of his affiliation to a race, nationality, ethnicity, religion, social category or disadvantaged category, respectively because of thought, age, sex or sexual orientation;
- c) the conditioning of holding a post, through the agency of a job recruitment offer or competition launched by the employer or his representative, on the basis of the affiliation to a race, nationality, ethnicity, religion, social category or disadvantaged category, age, sex or sexual orientation, respectively the convictions of the candidates, with the exception of “positive discrimination” cases;
- d) the discrimination of the employees by the employers, in the matter of labor conscription adjustment on the ground of the affiliation to a race, nationality, linguistic community, ethnical origin, religion, social category or disadvantaged category or because of age, sex, sexual orientation, or employees’ convictions.

In March 2002, Law no. 202/2002 was adopted on the equality of chances for men and women, which incriminated direct and indirect discrimination, acts of harassment and sexual harassment, discrimination on the basis of gender and multiple discrimination.

After the adoption of these two normative acts, the Law on revising Romania’s Constitution modified article 16 stipulating that the Romanian state guarantees the equality of chances for men and women regarding access to military, civil and public services and dignities.

The principle of equal treatment of men and women at the work place is a consequence of the principle of equal treatment of all employees and employers

stipulated by article 5(2) of the Labor Code which forbids any direct or indirect discrimination on the basis of gender and other criteria. The fundamental criterion for employment and promotion at work remains the professional capacity; the employer cannot introduce his own unjustified (arbitrary) criteria, essentially different from the common ones. The employer could conclude an employment contract taking into consideration some other criteria, among which the sex of the future employee but only in those circumstances in which he faithfully considers that these particularities could be necessary for the normal performance of the activities required by the employment contract²⁰.

In accordance with Law no. 202/2002 concerning the equality of chances for men and women, direct (sexual) discrimination refers to a situation in which a person is less favourably treated, on grounds of sex, than another person is, was or would be treated in a similar situation; on the other hand, indirect (sexual) discrimination is defined as a situation in which a disposition, a criterion or a practice, apparently neutral, would disadvantage especially the persons belonging to a certain gender in comparison with persons of the opposite sex, excepting the case when this disposition, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate purpose and the means of accomplishing this purpose are proper and necessary.

The notion of “discrimination” had a significant evolution from expressively prohibited discrimination to arbitrary or permitted discrimination²¹. A concrete example of forbidden discrimination and permitted discrimination can be found in Law no. 202/2002 on the equality of chances for men and women which prohibits discrimination by using practices disadvantageous for persons belonging to a certain gender on the occasion of announcing, organizing competitions or examinations and selecting applicants for vacant posts in the public or private sector (prohibited discrimination), excepting those occupational activities for which, by reason of their nature or the particular context in which work is carried out, gender particularities constitute a determining factor (permitted discrimination).

Along the same line of accepting certain differences of treatment and positive actions, Law no. 202/2002 does not consider as being discrimination the following situations:

- a) special measures stipulated by the law in order to protect maternity, pregnancy and nursing;
- b) positive actions intended to protect certain categories of men and women;
- c) a difference of treatment based on a gender characteristic when, due to the nature of specific occupational activities or the context in which they are carried out, the sex of the person constitutes an authentic and determining professional requirement as long as the objective is legitimate and the demand is commensurate.

²⁰ R.C. Radu, *Dreptul muncii*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing, 2003, p. 27.

²¹ R.C. Radu, *Discriminări interzise și discriminări permise în materia angajării și a raporturilor juridice de muncă*, in “Revista Română de Drept Privat”, no. 5/2008, pp. 190–213.

It should be mentioned that the law does not define the positive measures, nor does it indicate what they entail, fact which can raise problems in the practice of labor relations.

The legislation does not help us but when it's about the expression of intersectionality in the labor market than by specifying that multiple discrimination means any act of discrimination based on two or more grounds of discrimination. Although on the agenda of the Romanian courts were not recorded legal actions based on multiple discrimination, in order to ease the burden of proof in all cases of discrimination, the law provides that burden of proof is incumbent on the person against whom the intimation/petition or, as the case may be, the complaint was made. This person must demonstrate that the principle of equal treatment was not violated.

4. AN OVERVIEW OF FACTS ABOUT ETHNICITY AND GENDER IN THE ROMANIAN LABOR MARKET

As there are considerable differences between theory and practice, the criteria of discrimination recorded in the practice of labor relations are much more different from the ones stipulated by the law: for example, looks, weight, height etc. These criteria are often combined with the gender criterion leading, in most cases, to multiple (intersectional) discrimination.

The most frequent cases of discrimination recorded in Romania are: gender discrimination (job offers only for men, job recruitment announcements exclusively for women); age discrimination (age limits for men's employment; age limits for women's employment; neutral age limits – in order to constitute a case of discrimination, these age limits should be imposed by the employer, not by the law); discrimination on the basis of the previous experience for the application post (requirement of previous experience for men, requirement of previous experience for women); discrimination motivated by the image of a person (agreeable physical aspect or height/weight limits as a requirement in the case of men employment, women employment or as a demand not related to sex; solicitation of a photography before the employment as a condition for men/women or as a demand not related to gender) etc.²².

From the analysis of employment advertisements there results that sexual discriminations reaches a percentage of approximately 26% although it is very difficult to know the real proportion of gender discrimination only from studying the wording of employment advertisements. In many cases, some Romanian nouns denoting functions or professions are of the masculine gender, not even allowing the adaptation to the feminine gender, and not falling within the category of sexual

²² Centrul de Dezvoltare Socială Sighișoara, *Manifestări discriminatorii în procesul de angajare*, in "Raporturi de muncă", no. 9/2003, p. 25.

discrimination either. The existence of the sexual discrimination cases becomes obvious when those professions make reference to a certain gender in a grammatically incorrect and far-fetched formulation, or when the gender of the person who is about to be hired is explicitly indicated. At first sight, men are more often discriminated than women at the moment of employment application. Moreover, they are not encouraged to occupy posts traditionally considered as “made for women” such as: secretary, nurse, manicurist²³. But it is a strong evidence that the women occupying these kinds of posts are often subject to sexual discrimination/harassment.

In the matter of age discrimination it seems that its proportions are much more reduced, representing almost half of the gender discriminations, fact that shows that employers discriminate mainly on the ground of sex and afterwards on the ground of age. Women seem also much more affected by age discrimination than men.

Discrimination motivated by the image of a person are more difficult to be recorded in practice, with the exception of evident discrimination cases – the introduction of a pleasant physical aspect requirement in the employment advertisements or the express solicitation of a photograph.

Cases of discrimination on grounds of only one criterion are extremely rare. As a rule, most cases of discrimination are based on a variety of criteria. Research emphasized the existence of multiple discriminatory behaviors, respectively discrimination founded on more than one criterion – gender discrimination combined with ethnic discrimination, age discrimination or discrimination based on personal image – but the statistics refers to a single criterion of discrimination. It should be noted though that no researcher in Romania has focused his attention on the study of multiple discrimination or on forms of manifestation of the intersection between race, ethnicity and gender within employment and labor relationships.

The studies and the statistics carried out in Romania during the previous years focused more on the most frequent cases of single criterion based discrimination, and less on the consequences of this alarming phenomenon at organizational level; ethnic discrimination constituted only a particular case of the research concerning discrimination in general. The researchers limited their interest to the psychological reactions of the discriminated victim, not focusing on the responses or echoes registered within the organization or the measures that could be taken at judicial and organizational level.

B.J. Whelan and C.T. Whelan stressed the fact that the marginalization of individuals on labor market constitutes a “causative factor prone to social exclusion” because it causes exclusion chain reactions²⁴. E. Zamfir, M. Preda and A. Dan points out that in the case of Roma population in Romania there is not a

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 27.

²⁴ B.J Whelan, C.T. Whelan, *In What Sense is Poverty Multidimensional*, in G. J. Room (ed.), *Beyond the Threshold: The Measurement and Analysis of Social Exclusion*, Bristol, Policy Publishing, 1996.

single factor, but several factors of social exclusion: external factors, represented by the local and national community, and domestic factors, with a mostly individual and cultural foundation, that generate auto-exclusion²⁵.

Although in the employment practices the most frequent criterion of discrimination is the one regarding the gender, from the statistics of the National Council for Fight against Discrimination one can infer that the most frequent petitions sent to be solved to NCFD, were formulated mainly by men and had as object the discrimination on grounds of ethnicity (Roma mainly), the social category, age or religion.

In practice, the criteria on which operated the discrimination are difficult to determine and prove, knowing, for example, that women are, as a rule, subject to multiple discrimination. Therefore, the actual size and magnitude of the phenomenon of discrimination in general, and of ethnic discrimination, in particular, are very difficult to surprise just by simply browsing to articles in the press and the working ads, which are most easily to be verified and, at the same time, the most common and most obvious acts of discrimination. Neither the study of the NCFD decisions, nor the analysis of courts' verdicts pronounced in cases of discrimination can make a true vision of reality, since in the NCFD statistics the decisions appear classified according to a single criterion, or acts/facts of discrimination, based on a single criterion, are, in principle, rare²⁶.

Regarding the discrimination made on the gender criterion, the low number of petitions shows the fact that person who confronted with such situations either did not know who to address a complaint to or did not have the courage to do it²⁷. Sexual harassment is a case of discrimination affecting women, in general, and those belonging to ethnic minorities, in particular. The situation is the more serious as 13% of Romania's adult population reports experiencing sexual harassment at the work place (but only cases of most serious forms of sexual harassment). There are a lot of cases in which different forms of sexual harassment (glances, obscene gestures, offensive language or physical contact) are ignored because they are considered "slight" and "harmless" by the subjects when they do not imply a request of sexual favors or coercion for sexual favors. More than a quarter of Romanian women and over 40% of men do not even accept to talk about this subject²⁸. In over 80% of sexual harassment cases happened in Romania, the harasser does not bear any consequence because of the victims' distrust and lack of interest towards the institutional ways of solving the conflict.

²⁵ E. Zamfir et al, *cit. work*, 2004, p. 45.

²⁶ R.C. Radu, C. Avram, *Politica socială românească între tranziție, reformă și criză*, Craiova, Aius Publishing, 2011, pp. 69, 88.

²⁷ CNCD, *Statistics Process (court files – 2007, 2006); Analysis of petitions – 2005, 2003, 2002, 2007*, available at <http://www.cncd.org.ro/biblioteca/Statistici-2/>

²⁸ Partnership for Equality Centre, Romania, *The National Research concerning Domestic Violence and Violence at Workplace*, 2003; for details, see also https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/vaw/ngocontribute/Center%20for%20Partnership%20and%20Equality%20_CPE_.pdf.

5. THE CASE OF ROMA WOMEN

In the communist regime, when all citizens of legal age and capacity for work were compulsory employed after graduation, Roma women were distributed to the most degrading and humiliating works: garbage lady, street sweeper, cleaning lady in public toilets, parks and public gardens etc. In the post-communist era, the market economy has introduced a free choice between working and not working, but also the insecurity of obtaining and keeping a job. Competition on the labor market almost totally excluded Roma women, a “gray” category in which race, ethnicity and gender intersect. The situation of Roma women can be and must be seen as a form of “absolute discrimination”. The term “absolute discrimination” appears in Romanian literature as being a form of discrimination which “designates a low degree of accessibility, which tends toward zero, of women and of men to a certain social system or more”²⁹, but without any reference to the Roma women. Instead, Roma woman, from rural localities, single mother, with no education, is seen as the “absolute loser of the transition”³⁰. This is an extreme case, however, of the intersection of the most frequent grounds of discrimination: gender, ethnicity, family situation, social status, education.

The only statistical data the author could consult about the degree of integration of Roma women on the labor market were registered in 2006. According to this statistics, 67.9% of Roma women in Romania were housewives (a four times higher than the national average) and only 11% were employed at that moment; 41% of the Roma population was working in agriculture, one-third of that proportion being women. With regard to education, 23% of Roma women over the age of 16 years did not enjoy formal education and only 3.7% had a high school education³¹. Also, another study says that about 150 young Roma were registered annually as students on specially allocated places for Roma in universities³².

Given that the chances of a Roma man, even educated, to receive a management position are weak³³, those of the Roma women are minimal. On the other hand, the lack of real incentives and positive examples led to the devaluation of education among Roma women. Often, education is simply not perceived as a way to succeed in life and be socially integrated. In these circumstances, the only legal ways to ensure revenue remains the sale of products, agriculture, livestock farming and traditional crafts. It is possible that only a small fraction of Roma women realize their interests, in particular due to the level of education and culture of the Roma people who prefer to keep their women at home.

²⁹ A. Bulai, I. Stănciugelu, *Gen și reprezentare socială*, Bucharest, Politeia – SNSPA, 2004, p. 29.

³⁰ M. Miroiu, *Drumul către autonomie. Teorii politice feministe*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2004, p. 44.

³¹ L. Surdu, M. Surdu, *cit. work*, 2006.

³² G. Andreescu, *Națiuni și minorități*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2004, p. 77.

³³ V. Crețan, *cit. work*, p. 51.

Lack of a coherent public system of social services in family and community is the most important cause of the persistence of institutionalizing children and elders in special homes³⁴ and, often, the explanation for the large number of women who quit the labor market. The same explanation can be valid for Roma women in Romania whose traditional “job” is caring for children and elders in the family.

Even if Roma women would attempt an integration on the labor market from such a situation of social exclusion, their options regarding the choice of a job would be extremely limited, almost non-existent. Dragolea is among the few academic authors who draw the attention that “the option of a young Roma graduate, possibly arising from the foster care houses, to be dedicated or not to the labour market depending on the personal preference of the route in life is at least utopian”³⁵. It is worth noting that the chances of any Roma woman to get a job even if it was not raised in a foster care house and not deprived of education, are minimal except in cases in which either she “buys” a job with money or relations, whether the employer is very open-minded, whether it is a job where ethnicity or knowledge of Romani language constitute a determining occupational requirement.

Closed nature of the Romanian labor market for Roma women is determined by public discourse “Gypsy do not make it to go to work, he just asks” or “we have nowhere to work, they are not willing to work”³⁶. Even if, hypothetically, Roma women would overcome the employment discrimination, the lack of time, energy, experience, confidence would be added to the gender-race intersection, preventing them from advancing or being promoted to a position of leadership.

Intersectionality is even more prevalent in the case of the unemployment phenomenon. All the statistics of recent years on the level of employment of the labor force and the unemployment rate are reported only to gender: male and female, not ethnicity. Roma women deprived of a job are regarded as being in a position of a housewife than an unemployed itself; the common expectancy (both that of society and that of the women in question) is that they take care of the household and their family.

6. THE NEED OF RETHINKING AND REMODELING PUBLIC POLICIES

In the field of public policies addressed to Roma, M. Dediu identified three main periods³⁷:

³⁴ E. Zamfir et al, *cit. work*, 2004, p. 14.

³⁵ A. Dragolea, *cit. work*, 2007, p. 107.

³⁶ M. S. Stănculescu, *Culisele zonelor sărace: forme de excluziune socială*, in M. S. Stănculescu, I. Berevoescu (coord.), *Sărac lipit, caut altă viață!*, Bucharest, Nemira Publishing, 2004, p. 198.

³⁷ M. Dediu, *Rolul instituțiilor internaționale în reformarea politicilor publice pentru romii din România*, in F. Bondar (coord.), *Politici publice și administrație publică*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2007, pp. 174–186.

- the “settlement” period (1990–1997) when it took place the first steps of organising Roma interests at national political level and Roma issue began to take shape on the international agenda³⁸ and on national agenda as part of minorities policy;
- period of the “non-aggression pact” (1997–2001) when the legal and institutional frame was designed;
- period of the “weak implementation” (after 2001) characterized by major discrepancies between legal regulations and administrative measures, and also by low financial and human resources.

After 1990, Romania had a number of incidents in which the hate against Roma, stepped up by the media, has generated violence hard to imagine, for example, the “pogrom” from the Hădăreni village (1993) during which three Roma persons have been killed and 18 homes were destroyed on the ground. In the last decade, the Roma have been the subject of several national public policies developed by the national and international specialized agencies, initiated by the European Commission, which converge towards the objectives of the future European policies developed and implemented according to national specifics. In 2001, as a result of the requirements imposed by the EU Accession Partnership, Romanian Government adopted a strategy for the improvement of the situation of Roma people, who proposed a series of measures for the Roma minority inclusion and the improvement of the socio-economic situation of Roma communities. The result of the collaboration between governmental and non-governmental organisations of the Roma people, with a significant support from the EU institutions, the strategy aimed to implement programmes and projects in the social, educational and health field for Roma.

In 2005, Romanian authorities launched the program entitled “The Decade of Roma Inclusion” (2005–2015). This is part of a political commitment, taken at the international level by the Governments of nine countries in the region, including Romania, as a result of an initiative promoted by the International President of the World Bank and the Open Society Institute in New York, James Wolferson and George Soros. The participating states have undertaken to promote active public policies of social inclusion of the Roma, on four priority areas: education, health, employment and housing. Focused primarily on the goal of combating poverty, discrimination and inequality between sexes, the Decade aims to reduce significantly, over the ten-year period, socio-economic gaps that occur between Roma and the rest of the citizens.

These political initiatives and government programs have remained at the level of public discourse, as there are no data reflecting an improvement of the situation of the Roma. The practical results remain doubtful as long as internal problems (poor economic situation, the high percentage of illiteracy, the lack of a consistent categories of intellectuals, division and conflict situations inside Roma

³⁸ R. Gugliemo, T.W. Waters, *Migrating Towards Minority Status: Shifting European Policy Towards Roma*, in “Journal of Common Market Studies”, no. 43/2005, pp. 763–786.

communities, caused by lack of consciousness of belonging to the same ethnic group) and external causes (discriminatory attitude of the rest of society) continues to persist, and conflicts may break out at any time (for example, Sâncrăieni and Sânmartin cases from June 2009). According to statistics, in the Romanian society there is great support of discriminatory attitudes towards the Roma, which comes from the media. Thus, 81% of Romanians share prejudice that Roma are offenders, 61% agree with the statement that “the Roma are a disgrace for Romania”, while a fifth of Romania’s population is of the opinion that “there should be places or stores in which Roma may not be welcomed”³⁹.

On the effectiveness of anti-discriminatory policies of the past few decades, Pasti noted that “the issue of gender policies is removed from any list of priorities”⁴⁰, while Cerkez was talking about the lack of coherence of public policies that have treated differently social categories confronted with similar phenomena⁴¹. Some of the side effects of this “lack of focusing” of public policies are the “feminization of poverty”⁴², “racialization of poverty”⁴³, “ethnicized poverty”⁴⁴ and the “feminization of long-term unemployment”⁴⁵.

Another obstacle to the elaboration and implementation of public policies in the field of non-discrimination lies in the absence of adequate advertising and promotion that has resulted in the emergence of a precipice between theory (studies of specialists from academic field) and practice (institutions with competences in the development, implementation and monitoring of public policies and legislative regulations).

Another shortcoming of the Romanian Government policies on social welfare is a priority orientation towards providing support for persons in need, instead of encouraging the social recovery and their integration on the labour market⁴⁶.

Another aspect that should be underlined is that public policies in Romania lack gender-ethnicity-race coordination. Even if central and local administration institutions collect and report data segregated by sex, however there are no appropriate indicators to capture sensitive developments to race and ethnicity. This

³⁹ Urban and Regional Sociology Centre, *Percepții și atitudini față de fenomenul de discriminare*, 2005, pp. 10–11, available at <http://www.cncd.org.ro/publicatii/Sondaje-4/>.

⁴⁰ V. Pasti, *cit. work*, 2003, p. 71.

⁴¹ Ș. Cerkez, *Discriminarea de gen în tranziție. Diferențe de tratament între grupurile sociale*, in O. Băluță (ed.), *Gen și putere*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2006, pp. 71–92.

⁴² N.L. Magyari, E. Magyari-Vincze, L. Popescu, T. Rotariu, *cit. work*, 2001, pp. 123–156; M. Preda, *Grupuri social ignorate/excluse de politicile sociale în România*, in C. Zamfir (ed.), *Politici sociale în România, 1990–1998*, Bucharest, Expert Publishing, 1999, pp. 301–342; R. Teșiu, *Discriminarea femeilor în România*, in C. Necula (coord.), *Combaterea discriminării. Eficiența inițiativelor guvernamentale și neguvernamentale*, 2004, p. 108, available at <http://www.mma.ro>; C. Zamfir, *cit. work*, 1999, pp. 149–179.

⁴³ N.L. Magyari et al, *cit. work*, 2001, pp. 123–156.

⁴⁴ M. Preda, *cit. work*, 1999, pp. 301–342.

⁴⁵ R. Teșiu, *cit. work*, 2004, p. 108.

⁴⁶ M. Miroiu, *Societatea retro*, Bucharest, Trei Publishing, 1999, p. 97.

raises methodological difficulties in assessing the impact of various laws and policies to prevent discrimination.

Partnerships between NGOs on gender issues and Government institutions are almost non-existent at the local level and extremely rare at the central level. Also a hard difficulty lies in the lack of experts specialized in issues of gender and ethnicity in all the social partners organisations (trade unions and employers' organisations), as well as in the lack of political initiative on the part of the specialized institutions established to combat and prevent discrimination (the National Agency for Equality of Chances for Men and Women, NCFD, etc.).

One of the main problems of women's organisations in the transition is the lack of resources necessary for the formation of interest groups to influence public policy⁴⁷. The under-representation of women in general, Roma women in particular, in the framework of social dialogue, make their interests and their views not be taken into account in the formulation of the draft laws and public policies.

In the Romanian public life there are many ethnic Roma in the cultural and artistic field – musicians, dancers, actors, and a few on the political scene, all of them being men who have managed to change the perception of the majority on Roma people, even if these public figures are considered exceptions. Roma women lack the representation through some public figures to promote their rights and interests. Racist discourses of the past few years have brought the issue of Roma women in actuality but only from the perspective of the pros and cons of sterilization.

The author considers that the exclusion of Roma women on the agenda of public policies is not unintentional, as it is claimed by some specialists⁴⁸, but, on the contrary, it is a form of social control through which it seeks to preserve the "patriarchal" social order in Romania. Improving the situation of the Roma and overcoming the exclusion status of Roma women cannot be achieved without the public authorities to realise that the overall development of society is not compatible with the state of underdevelopment and social exclusion of Roma.

Employment of Roma women can be achieved by implementing the following measures: encouraging professional education, stimulating employment in jobs that do not require a professional qualification, enabling professional training at work, increasing the number of jobs in the support activities for Roma people (teachers, social workers, midwives, nurses), subsidizing certain economic activities undertaken by Roma, granting of land and housing for the purpose of conducting agricultural activities, establishing social care services for Roma, particularly in the rural areas⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ Ş. Cerkez, *cit. work*, 2003, p. 84.

⁴⁸ C. Ştefan, *cit. work*, 2006, pp. 23–24.

⁴⁹ R. Creţan, *cit. work*, 2007, p. 83.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Discrimination against Roma women is a case of multiple ignorance: on the part of the victims of discrimination which do not consider themselves discriminated because of the gender representation they have about themselves and about others and of the cultural and behavioral pattern accepted with resignation; from organizations of civil society which, even if representing the interests of Roma ethnicity, do not focus their attention and efforts in order to improve the situation of women from their own ethnic group; on the part of the Government that, in the formulation of anti-discriminatory public policies, did not aim at resolving this problem; from the researchers and academics who do not pay attention to this subject; from the whole society that ignores entirely the dimensions of this phenomenon.

Although the anti-discrimination legislation plays an important role for the protection of Roma women rights, it is not enough because the discrimination in the labor field has different forms and types of manifestations.

Equally important as the action of sanctioning discrimination and harassment acts is their prevention. In this field, an institution cannot act by itself and the cooperation with other institutions and bodies is extremely important. An important contribution can be brought by universities, social partners or even by international institutions. Also, in post-revolutionary Romania there is a strong need of founding the governmental structures that are preoccupied exclusively with promoting new public policies for certain disfavored categories as Roma women.

The prevention of discrimination and harassment acts can be achieved by several concrete cooperation methods. The first method is the elaboration and promotion of the public policies. For example, in order to elaborate a position document in the field of Roma women employment, all the institutions operating in this field need to cooperate and enjoy the support of the civil society. Promotion and implementation are two of the most important stages for the successful implementation of a policy document. If there is no cooperation between the institutions of the public administration, or, even worse, if there is no involvement of the civil society (a society still in a transitional period after almost 31 years from the Romanian revolution), those documents have all the chances to remain only at the stage of "concept paper". In order to overcome discrimination against Roma women on the labor market public policies have to provide facilities to employers, employment incentive measures, flexible work programs, and the development of community-based services for the care of children.

Returning to the problem of preventing discrimination acts against Roma women, a second cooperation method is the cooperation in the process of implementation of the projects and programs. In this field, the cooperation between the structures of public administration and the involvement of the civil society are decisive. Projects, as well as policies, shall be addressed directly to the companies which have to be involved in it. Or, without involving it, the result cannot be

positive. It is very important to emphasize the role that the international bodies can play in the protection of the equal treatment principle. Maybe it is here, to this point, that one could notice how important they are with regard to the prevention of the discrimination acts. In certain stages of the project, these organizations can intervene both with their experience, expertise and their contribution in terms of human, material or financial resources. The reality has proven it, without reducing the merits of the national, regional or local projects, that a project with international implication has a larger impact on people, and that the chances of successful implementation increase proportionally.

The elimination of Roma women discrimination on labor market or even only its attenuation is one of the necessary conditions for constructing an equitable democratic society, this one implying the intervention of state authorities, changes in employers' vision, but also in every citizen's mentality. Looking several years back, it can be noticed that the subjects that, at that moment in time, were considered impossible to discuss (such as discrimination, moral and sexual harassment) are now subject to debate. So the situation changed as well as society and people's mentalities. Certainly, other fields will change and, before all, people's mentalities and social life. An important contribution can be brought by universities and research institutions. Members of civil society have to be much aware of the capacity of the universities to construct and mold mentalities. They can form and promote a series of specialists in the field of human rights, in general, and in the field of preventing and fighting against gender and ethnic discrimination, in particular. Also, taking into account the huge human resources of the universities, study making and research are a considerable contribution to the process of democratization.

JUDICIAL CONTROL OVER THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: NOTION, LEGAL BASIS, ESSENCE

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Abstract: As a guarantee of the right to justice of a person injured by an act of a public authority, administrative litigation is an extremely important institution in a democratic state. From a historical perspective, judicial control over public administration in Romania, as an institution, has its origins in the early twentieth century, the first law that introduced the notion of administrative litigation in Romania was the Law of 1905 governing the organization and functioning of the Court of Cassation, or perhaps even earlier, in the law of 1864 which established the Council of State. As a modern institution, which has its basis in article 52 and article 126 para. 6 of the Romanian Constitution and is currently regulated by Law no. 554/2004, administrative litigation can be defined as that activity which the administrative litigation courts undertake for the purpose of resolving, in accordance with the provisions of the organic law, disputes in which a public authority plays the role of one of the parties (at least), the conflict arising either as a consequence of the issuance / conclusion of an administrative act, understood in the sense assigned by the legislator, or as a result of the failure to resolve a request within the legal term or, depending on the situation, as a consequence of unjustified refusal to give a resolution of a request having as object a legitimate right / interest. In this article we analyzed the meanings of the notion of “judicial control over public administration acts”, its legal basis, its essence and characteristic features.

Keywords: administration, administrative act, public authority, administrative litigation, judicial control.

1. JUDICIAL CONTROL OVER PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION ACTS AND THE SEPARATION OF POWERS IN THE STATE

The concept of “judicial control over public administration acts” is presented as a judicial control mechanism whereby representatives of the executive power are obliged to comply with the provisions of normative acts; in other words, it is that coercive force that ensures compliance with the legal rules for the great mass of those administered¹. In order for such a mechanism to be effective, it must be

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¹ D.C. Dragoș, *Procedura contenciosului administrativ*, Bucharest, All Beck Publishing, 2002, p. 1.

entrusted to independent bodies, separated from the executive power and protected from any kind of political influence, the purpose of which is to cut disputes arising in the activity of public administration of implementing laws². These bodies that enjoy independence are the courts that materialize their role in limiting the excessive power of the executive in law enforcement through the institution of administrative litigation³.

On the basis of the mutual control between powers that the separation of powers in the state entails and which also involves two-way control between the executive and the legislative power (insufficient to curb the tendencies to abuse the authority conferred by the law), the courts are vested with the power to control the legislative acts (in two ways – constitutionality control and conventionality control), but also the administrative acts of the executive power (through the control of legality). The doctrine considers that the most serious threat to a genuine democracy is the exaggerated strengthening of executive power “which happens when the elected leader of the executive concentrates power in his own hands, subordinates his legislature or even dissolves it and governs it largely by decrees”⁴.

In this light, through its function of control over executive power, the judiciary holds a very important role. The position of the judge towards the Executive and the entire administrative apparatus is essential for a real democracy to function. The judiciary, which has become an intermediary between the governed and the government, is transforming itself into a center of balance of the state. The State and its executive apparatus are subject to laws and judicial power, whether subject to the control of ordinary courts (in countries with predominantly ordinary jurisdiction) or to the control of special courts (in states with a parallel or mixed judicial system).

Despite the constitutional effort to prevent the exercise of one of the three “powers” by the same body of organs and to prevent abuses, political and social realities drain these constitutional precautions to a high degree and demonstrate the impossibility of “linking” the function to an organ or organ system. We can no longer speak, undeniably, of a clear separation of legislative power from the executive power as long as the same party or group/coalition of parties has control over both powers, the government has almost exclusively the monopoly of legislative initiatives, legislating by ordinances, and the head of state can veto the legislation, participating in this image in the exercise of legislative power⁵.

² T. Drăganu, *Introducere în teoria și practica statului de drept*, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia, 1992, p. 11.

³ C.C. Manda, *Drept administrativ comparat. Controlul administrativ în spațiul juridic european*, Bucharest, Lumina Lex Publishing, 2005, p. 117.

⁴ L. Diamond, Y. Chu, M. F. Plattner, H. Tien, *Cum se consolidează democrația*, Bucharest, Polirom Publishing, 2004, p. 46.

⁵ See T. Drăganu, *Drept constituțional și instituții politice – tratat elementar*, vol. I, Bucharest, Lumina Lex Publishing, 2000, pp. 255–265; I. Muraru, E. S. Tănăsescu, *Drept constituțional și instituții politice*, 12th edition, vol. II, Bucharest, All Beck Publishing, 2006, pp. 8–10; I. Deleanu, *Instituții și proceduri constituționale – în dreptul comparat și în dreptul român*, Bucharest, C.H. Beck Publishing, 2006, pp. 49–52.

The model theory of the separation of powers has never been anything but an ideal and, like any ideal, impossible to achieve. In the context of contemporary society, this theory must be overcome, first of all, by shifting the analysis from the institutional level to the level of the entire state mechanism, by redefining the functions in relation to all the forces/organs that compete in their exercise and not only with the bodies that formally exercise them. Of course, this theory has its pluses and minuses. Each function involves the intervention of three levels of social existence: the international level, the level of civil society and the state institutional level. The exercise of each function is conditional and limited by the relations of the respective community with international decision-making mechanisms. Civil society – in this case, the governed – is not only part of an entity that obeys and supports the actions of the governors; it engages in the exercise of power in an active, decisive manner. After all, political decisions are made at the level of the party system or the internal apparatus of the party; the influence of pressure groups, even not co-opted to the decision-making system, is not at all to be neglected in the process of forming social decision-making; media intervention is increasingly being felt both in terms of power levers and in the exercise of it. The state institutional level cannot be seen as functioning separately from the rest of the social mechanism because it has reactions to the action of external stimuli and, in many cases, becomes the exponent of decisions taken outside it. Under a second aspect, the theory of the separation of powers can no longer be summed up in the fact that, at the institutional level, each function is exercised by a single power, but by a plurality of organs that perform – together – that power. Virtually all state bodies, regardless of their formal power, contribute to the exercise of their own political – legislative and executive – state functions; even the judicial function can no longer be as independent as it would like or should, given that there are a multitude of other bodies endowed by law with jurisdictional prerogatives.

2. THE BASIS OF JUDICIAL CONTROL OVER PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The guarantee of the right to use a judicial control of administrative acts is as follows from Article 6 (right to a fair trial) and Article 13 of the European Convention of Human Rights conferring on any person (without distinction or preference) the right to be able to use the recourse to a national court in the event that the infringement of a right or freedom recognised by the Convention “would be due to persons who have acted in the exercise of their official powers”. This statement covers all acts issued by the government or the public administration apparatus.

At national level, the basis for that right of control lies, in fact, in respect of the constitutional principle of legality laid down in Article 1 (5) of the Romanian Constitution. Legality, understood as the state in which strict compliance with the

rules of law is ensured, can only be achieved either by compliance with the legal provisions by all subjects of law (individuals and legal persons) voluntarily, or by means of the forced application of the law by resorting to the force of coercion of state power. Law No. 215/2001, regulating the local public administration, expressly stipulates the principle of legality, under which the way in which all administrative authorities are organized and operated must be subordinated to the law. Legality entails a conglomerate of obligations for subjects of law, of facilities, but also of prohibitions: “the law regulates three positions through the expressions: to have, to be able and not to be able. If something has to be done it is an obligation, if something can be done it is an option, and if something can not be done it is a ban”⁶.

The principle of legality signifies that fundamental rule of law by virtue of which the subjects of law – individuals or legal persons, state authorities or non-governmental organizations, civil servants or employees, Romanian or foreign citizens, etc. – are obliged to comply with the provisions of the Constitution, of laws and other normative or individual legal acts, based on the law and applicable to all social relations in which they take part⁷.

The principle of legality must be implemented in public administration as a whole. As a consequence, the entire activity of the administrative authorities, regarded in all its organizational and functional aspects (organizational structure, composition, tasks, way of incorporation, competences, principles and rules of operation of public administration bodies, relations established and developed between various institutions, public authorities, administrative structures in the Romanian State and other states), as well as the acts issued by them must comply with the provisions of the law (understanding by this, first of all, the Constitution – the fundamental law, but also the other organic and ordinary laws, as well as all the normative acts in force). Failure to comply with the laws amounts to a violation of this principle of legality, attracting the legal consequences that the law also provides.

On the basis of the principle of legality, the whole administrative body must be subordinated to the law, in accordance with its imperatives: “A structure and an activity of organizing the enforcement, enforcing and guaranteeing the enforcement of the law cannot exist independently of the law”⁸.

According to the claims of specialists in the literature, this principle lies in two component elements, crystallized in the obligation to comply with the legal provisions and in the obligation of initiative to ensure correct application of the law.

Under the obligation to comply with the law, no body/authority component of the administrative system may issue or refuse to issue acts, nor may adopt

⁶ I. M. Nedelcu, *Drept administrativ și elemente de știința administrației*, Bucharest, Universul Juridic Publishing, 2009, p. 61.

⁷ T. Pavelescu, *Drept administrativ român*, second edition, revised and completed, Bucharest, Pro Universitaria Publishing, 2007, p. 60.

⁸ I. M. Nedelcu, *cit. work*, p. 74.

measures contrary to the law. By carrying out their activities, the authorities of the administrative system must comply with the provisions of the legal rules, this being the most important guarantee for citizens. It is essential for the existence of a rule of law that public administration actions follow rules and respect predetermined legal principles in order to remove the danger of any arbitrary action.

Obligated to take initiative to ensure the enforcement of the law, administrative authorities shall be responsible for adopting measures for the implementation of the legal rules. In other words, the administration has the permanent task of avoiding the inapplicability of the laws; the inaction of the administration, in the sense of not taking general enforcement measures, would result in the law remaining dead. In addition, the administration is also obliged to take an initiative to ensure the enforcement of judgments.

Respect for and assurance of the action of the principle of legality within the public administration, by its bodies, extends both in terms of its legal activity and in terms of its non-legal activity, both on the executive relations established within it and on external ones linked to third parties outside it⁹.

In all its activity, the administration must comply with the law. The obligation to comply with the legal provisions cannot be restricted only to the passive attitude of compliance with the legal provisions or to refrain from committing or not an act by which the law is violated. The application of the principle of legality is more comprehensive, it goes as far as the active compliance of all subjects – individual or legal persons – with all the normative acts in force, i.e. to the obligation of all the bodies carrying public authority to act for the purpose of the enforcement of the laws.

However, as any principle contains exceptions, there are several exceptional situations to the principle of legality encountered in the activity of administrative authorities in which the application of that principle is mitigated. An example is the possibility for the Government itself to legislate through emergency ordinances or simple ordinances, based on the empowerment given by Parliament. In turn, the public administration has the prerogative to adopt legal acts of a normative nature as a matter of urgency in order to resolve problems arising in exceptional circumstances (urgent measures taken to avoid or eliminate the effects of events presenting public danger, including acts issued as a result of the triggering of the state of necessity, as well as measures taken to combat natural disasters or prevent other events of such gravity)¹⁰. In order for these administrative acts to be lawful, certain rules as regards form and competence must be respected and must be appropriate to the needs of the public interest in terms of their content and purpose.

⁹ I. Santai, *Drept administrativ și știința administrativă*, Cluj Napoca, Risoprint Publishing, 1998, p. 71.

¹⁰ T. Pavelescu, *cit. work*, p. 61.

3. THE ESSENCE OF THE CONTROL OF ADMINISTRATIVE ACTS BY THE COURTS: CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES

From the above, and as the basic law itself requires by Article 126 para. 6 of Romanian Constitution which governs the administrative dispute, that right of control by the courts over administrative acts is distinguished by a specific content, crystallised into several characteristic features.

The control carried out by the courts is one of the ways of ensuring the legality of administrative acts and, at the same time, of ensuring the pre-eminence of national interests in relation to local interests, as well as ensuring the prevalence of the legal unit of the State.

With regard to judicial control, some authors of the French literature have supported the view that the subjecting of public administration acts to judicial control does not require, as a necessary and binding condition, the existence of an administrative jurisdiction, nor is it a sufficient guarantee for the citizens of the State¹¹.

The judicial control of public administration acts, viewed in comparison with administrative control, is distinguished by a number of characteristic features such as: the performance of judicial control falls to judges, as opposed to administrative control which is carried out by the administrative authorities; the judge verifies the administrative acts only in the light of their conformity with the law in extensive meaning¹², whereas the administrative authority may also decide on the appropriateness of administrative acts; the court does not self-refer, resolving a dispute arising in the activity of the law enforcement administration only after a referral has been lodged by the person concerned, as long as a body empowered with administrative-judicial activity is authorized to act of its own motion; the judgment obtained as a result of the conduct of the administrative dispute is vested with the power of the work judged, instead, the administrative acts, even those of control, are, in principle, revocable¹³.

In Romania, the legal basis underlying the administrative dispute is contained in Article 52 of the Constitution, which stipulates the right of the person harmed by a "public authority" to obtain "recognition of the right or legitimate interest, annulment of the act or reparation of the damage", this right being guaranteed also by other articles of the fundamental law such as: Article 21 which gives the right of free access to justice, Article 73 para. 3 let. k), which classifies the law of administrative litigation in the category of organic laws; Article 123 para. 5, which gives the prefect the opportunity to appeal, in line with administrative litigation, the acts of the local administrative authorities (mayor, local council and county council), Article 126 para. 6, which guarantees the exercise of judicial control over

¹¹ J. Ziller, *cit. work*, p. 438.

¹² See L. Favoreu, *Ordonances ou règlements d'administration publique? La destinée singulière des ordonnances de l'article 38 de la constitution*, in "Revue Française du Droit Administratif", nr. 5/1987, p. 686 and following.

¹³ C.C. Manda, *cit. work*, p. 117 and following.

public administration acts by expressly setting out two exceptional hypotheses and at the same time by assigning to the courts of administrative litigation the power to settle the claims of persons whose interests have been harmed by government orders, or, depending on the situation, by certain provisions of government ordinances (simple or emergency ordinances) considered unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court.

According to the current opinions in the doctrine of administrative law, administrative litigation institution is regarded, in a broad sense, as consisting of all disputes arising between a holder of public power – either an authority of the administration, or a public official or an authorized structure in the field of the provision of public services – on the one hand, and – on the other hand – another subject of law, all these disputes falling within the competence of the courts¹⁴. In other words, the administrative litigation is an institution which designates, in principle, the totality of the legal disputes in which the administered and the public administration authorities arise as parties, as a result of the arbitrary application of the laws, regardless of the legal nature of those disputes, which may belong either to common or public law¹⁵.

In restricted sense, the term “administrative litigation” refers only to the totality of the disputes which the legislature has placed within the jurisdiction of the administrative litigation sections. Consequently, that concept would strictly refer to those disputes in which public administration authorities act in accordance with the legal regime of administrative law, on the basis of the power conferred by law¹⁶.

In the light of the intended purpose and using as a reference criterion the nature of the legitimate right/interest harmed, the distinction between the two forms (subjective and objective) is relevant – the subjective administrative litigation, which has as its object the protection of private rights and interests and the form of objective administrative litigation, by which the public interest is protected¹⁷.

In Romanian law, the concept of “judicial control over public administration” has as main characteristic features the following:

– the object over which it is exercised is composed of the typical and assimilated administrative acts¹⁸, in which the administrative entity appears as the subject carrying public power.

By referring to the subject-matter of the action in administrative litigation – namely the administrative acts which may be challenged by way of litigation, it must be noted that this is the case for unilateral acts of an individual or normative

¹⁴ A. Iorgovan, *cit. work*, p. 455.

¹⁵ Al. Negoită, *Drept administrativ*, Bucharest, Silvy Publishing, 1996, p. 216.

¹⁶ R.N. Petrescu, *Drept administrativ*, Cluj-Napoca, Accent Publishing, 2004, p. 365.

¹⁷ I. Alexandru, *Tratat de administrație publică*, Bucharest, Universul Juridic Publishing, 2008, p. 673.

¹⁸ See D.C. Dragoș, *Legea contenciosului administrativ. Comentarii și explicații*, Bucharest, All Beck Publishing, 2005, pp. 87–109.

nature belonging to an administrative entity, issued by it as a public authority, by virtue of the powers of organising the enforcement of the laws and of applying the law in concrete terms.

In the case of normative acts issued by the Government on the basis of the authority given by the Parliament, the person who considers that his legitimate interest or a right guaranteed by law has been harmed because of an order or orders considered unconstitutional can bring an action in litigation to the court, under the terms of Law No. 554/2004. The court of administrative litigation shall act on the actions of these persons, settling them on the merits, but only after the judgment has been given in constitutional litigation; if not, the action is to be declared inadmissible on the merits and therefore dismissed;

- includes the work of all public administration authorities at central, territorial and local level;

- aims – in the vast majority of cases – to verify only the legality of administrative acts, not the opportunity. In carrying out their supervisory activity, the courts call into question the issue of opportunity only in an exceptional manner and only by treating it as an element of legality. For example, an administrative authority takes a decision based on a manifest error of assessment of the state of affairs, thus turning the purpose of that decision from the imperative of the public interest.

- does not enjoy exclusive character;

- as a rule, it occurs after the adoption or execution of the act of an administrative nature, the court verifying the legality of measures/acts already adopted, but may also occur before or at the same time with the execution of the act which, as a consequence, is suspended/disbanded¹⁹;

- does not take the form of the so-called “full jurisdiction control” since the court – despite having competence to suspend or annul the administrative act or, where appropriate, order the removal of the damage caused or compensation for the damage suffered – cannot, however, adopt another necessary act or measure since it would mean substituting for the powers and role of the issuing administrative body. It is therefore necessary to have a court order which constitutes the basis for issuing another administrative act in accordance with the provisions of the law;

- is a form of control which the court carries out on the basis of its general substantive jurisdiction²⁰ of verifying the administrative act in terms of legality – with legal exceptions;

¹⁹ See also The Decision of the High Court of Cassation and Justice No. 18 of 2 October 2017 on the appeal in the interest of the law on the interpretation and application of the provisions of Article 14 and 15 of Law no. 554/2004 on administrative litigation, as amended and supplemented, and Article 435 of the Code of Civil Procedure, concerning the assumption that the application for suspension of the execution of an administrative act of a normative nature and the effects of that solution vis-à-vis the parties to the dispute, as well as third parties, published in the Official Gazette no. 970 of December 7, 2017, available at <http://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocument/195494>.

²⁰ See A. Trăilescu, *Drept administrativ*, fourth edition, Bucharest, C.H. Beck Publishing, 2010, p. 329.

– the procedure for exercising control is a specific one, of a judicial nature, based on the principles of adversarial debate and the independence of judges;

– because, in advance, other State authorities may be seised for the purpose of verifying the legality of the contested measures/acts, the judicial control is subsidiary in nature, sometimes being the last way on which a person can resort after the recourse – without success – to the path of prior administrative control or after carrying out the conciliation procedure in the context of administrative controls.

– Article 1(1) of the Law on administrative litigation No. 554/2004 refers to “any person” who would consider himself/ herself injured in his legitimate right or interest, thereby resulting the idea that the subjects of the referral to the court may be individuals, but also legal persons – in the sphere of private or public law, paragraph 8 of the same article containing the words “any subject governed by public law”.

In the case-law, it was decided that local councillors, being in the exercise of the local authority and having a joint and several responsibility for the decisions of the local council (not those who voted against) or, where appropriate, a personal one for the work they carry out in carrying out the mandate, enjoy active procedural legitimacy in attacking decisions which they consider to be unlawful, under the Law of administrative litigation and the provisions of Article 52(1) and Article 53 (1) of Law No. 215/2001 on local public administration²¹.

With regard to the mayor, he cannot challenge the legality of a decision of the local council either in his own name or as a representative of the administrative-territorial unit because the two authorities have different powers – deliberative and executive – and a relation of subordination of one of them to the other cannot be established. The mayor has only the possibility to refer the matter to the prefect of the county who can bring the action for annulment under the Law of administrative litigation²².

In connection with the second category (legal persons), the literature highlighted the active procedural quality of a trade union organisation, which – on the basis of the Law on Social Dialogue No. 62/2011 and Law No. 554/2004 – may stand in court on his own behalf without seeking an express mandate from its members²³. In addition, any association or foundation shall enjoy the right to act to pursue the achievement of a general interest (local or group interests) which may

²¹ Bucharest Court of Appeal, eight section, adm. and fiscal litigation, decision nr. 821 of April 2, 2005, in *Curtea de Apel București. Culegere de practică judiciară în materia contenciosului administrativ și fiscal, 2005*, Bucharest, Universul Juridic Publishing, 2006, pp. 402–405.

²² Suceava Court of Appeal, adm. and fiscal litigation section, decision nr. 311 of February 26, 2010, cited in Gabriela Bogasiu, *Legea contenciosului administrativ, comentată și adnotată*, third edition, revised and completed, Bucharest, Universul Juridic Publishing, 2015, p. 36.

²³ M. Eftimie, *Acțiune în contencios administrativ formulată de o federație sindicală. Organism social interesat. Calitate procesuală activă, comentariu la decizia nr. 3671 din 21 septembrie 2012 a ÎCCJ, s. cont. adm. fisc.*, in “Revista Română de Jurisprudență”, nr. 1/2013, pp. 85–93.

consist in the adoption of necessary legislation in certain areas which relate to their specific activity²⁴.

Law on administrative litigation no. 554/2004²⁵ provides for the possibility of appearing before the court for both the Public Prosecutor's Office and the Ombudsman, but the holder of the action remains the person injured as a result of the issuance of the contested administrative act. Article 1 (1) second thesis of the abovementioned law shows that the legitimate interest to which has been affected may be both personal and public.

The provisions of Article 1 para. 2 of the same law emphasize the idea that a third person may also bring an action if he/she has been affected in his legitimate rights/ interests by the contested administrative act of which another person is the addressee. Thus, the case-law held that the refusal of a local administrative authority to order the correction of a draft plan prejudicial to the applicant may be "censored" by the court with jurisdiction in matters of administrative dispute even if the applicant was not a party to the contract of sale and purchase which had as its annex the draft of the plan²⁶.

The action may be brought both against the public authority which issued the contested act and against the subject of law which was the addressee of the act, on the basis of Article 7 para. 3 of Law No. 554/2004, the latter having the possibility to give evidence and to make its defence in response to the applicant's claims. If the third party applicant does not request that the addressee (beneficiary) of the contested administrative act be introduced, the application for annulment of the contested act cannot be accepted, as is apparent from the provisions of Article 78 para. 2 of the Civil Procedure Code²⁷.

Moreover, the Ombudsman may also enjoy the status of holder of an action in subjective litigation, referring the matter to the court when it concludes that the refusal of the administrative authority to carry out its legal duties or the illegality of the act can only be removed by way of justice in order to defend an individual who thus acquires the status of plaintiff²⁸. Therefore, the actions which the Ombudsman introduces into subjective administrative litigation reflect the receptivity of this institution to cases in which subjective interests of individuals are violated and all

²⁴ In this case, it concerns the group interest of the Romanian Audiovisual Communications Association and the general interest of the adoption of legislation necessary for the development of the audiovisual field. See High Court of Casation and Justice, adm. and fiscal litigation section, Decision nr. 2034 of March 29, 2005, in *Buletinul Casației* nr. 3/2005, p. 5.

²⁵ Modified by Law nr. 262/2007.

²⁶ Ploiești Court of Appeal, adm. and fiscal litigation section, decision nr. 89/2005, in "Jurisprudența Curții de Apel Ploiești, 2005", Bucharest, C.H. Beck Publishing, 2006, p. 202.

²⁷ Article 78 para 2 of Civil Procedure Code stipulates: "In contentious matters, where the legal report inferred from the judgment so requires, the judge shall put into question the need for the introduction of other persons into question. If neither party requests the third party to enter in question and the judge considers that the case cannot be resolved without the third party's participation, he shall reject the application without ruling on the substance".

²⁸ If the petitioner fails to take action brought by the Ombudsman at the first court date, the administrative court shall annul the application.

other legal means, characteristic of its legal purpose, are exhausted. Through objective litigation actions, the entire order of law and, by implication, the rights of the citizen are protected. Applications in the latter category shall be submitted only in their own name and, in accordance with the provisions of Article 28(3) of Law No. 554/2004, they may no longer be withdrawn.

The intervention of the Public Ministry can occur in the context of subjective administrative disputes, but also of objective litigation ones. The referral to the court of administrative litigation may be made by the representative of the Public Prosecutor's Office if he considers that there has been an injury/violation of a legitimate personal or public interest. Moreover, the representative of the Public Prosecutor's Office has open the possibility of his participation at any stage of the process of resolving any application in administrative litigation, where he considers that his participation is necessary for the purpose of defending order within the rule of law as well as the rights of citizens.

The Law on administrative disputes also stipulates that actions may also be brought in administrative litigation by the National Agency of Civil Servants, the Prefect, as well as by any subject belonging to public law.

As regards the right of action of the prefect against unlawful acts (objective litigation), his justification must not be confused with the basis of the action in administrative litigation justified by the injury of a subjective right or a legitimate private interest²⁹.

On the basis of the above mentions and the provisions of Article 2 (1) of the Law on administrative litigation No. 554/2004, which attributes the meaning of the terms and phrases used in its contents, we may define the administrative litigation (dispute) as that activity which the administrative courts undertake for the purpose of settling, in accordance with the provisions of organic law, of disputes in which a public authority plays the role of one of the parties (at least), the conflict being born either as a consequence of the issuance/closure of an administrative act, understood in the sense assigned by the legislator³⁰, or as a result of the failure to resolve a claim within the legal time limit or as a consequence of the unjustified refusal to resolve an application relating to a legitimate right/interest.

²⁹ N. Scutea, M.M. Popa, *Unele controverse doctrinare privind Legea contenciosului administrativ la un an de la intrarea sa în vigoare (partea I)*, in "Revista de Drept Public", nr. 1/2006, pp. 56–72.

³⁰ Article 2 (1) let. c) of Law no. 554/2004 defines the administrative act as "the unilateral act of an individual or normative nature, issued by a public authority with a view to the enforcement or organisation of the enforcement of the law, giving rise to, modifying or extinguishing legal relations; contracts concluded by public authorities having as their object the enhancement of public property are treated also as administrative acts, for the purposes of this law".

WORLD SOCIETY: ACTUALITY AND CHALLENGE

THE CHANGING WORLD: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

Gabriel PRICINĂ*

Abstracts: The coronavirus pandemic is proving to be more than a medical crisis. The economic and social effects generate fears of the population about the future and due to the current context the behaviors will certainly persist for a long time.

This article results from the study of social dynamics in the current context, characterized by unique phenomena and processes, which began with the medical crisis and which will probably continue for a long time after overcoming it. Analyzes performed offer different perspectives for understanding the implications that extend from the medical dimension to the social and economic dimensions. The recording of some points of view regarding the coronavirus pandemic, available in the public media, was continued by conducting a sociological research in the online environment, where a number of 1356 people responded. The secondary analysis of the collected data allows the comparison of the opinions expressed by the population with the points of view expressed publicly, providing an image of the convergence between the measures adopted by the authorities and the expectations of the population.

This study includes references regarding the evolution of the pandemic, the consequences and measures in different societies which influenced the public perception and in the end we included opinions of citizens regarding the social and economic context due to the health crisis.

Keywords: public health, crisis management, public institutions, public opinion, coronavirus.

INTRODUCTION

The amplitude of the coronavirus infections, the lack of standard control procedures and their reduction, to which is added the lack of effective treatment has generated a general state of insecurity of the population. The hesitant measures with many contradictory elements have generated numerous globally controversies.

The successive corrections of the measures taken, the continuation of the infections and in the conditions of quite severe restrictions, accompanied by legal

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sanctions of a very high level had in some layers of the population an opposite effect: the anti-government attitudes intensified. In extreme cases we are dealing with the development of conspiracy theories with many followers. The existence of the pandemic is denied, and the measures taken by the authorities are criticized due to suspicions about their honesty. Fluctuations in a profit-oriented medical supplies market have fueled conspiracy theories, leading to the idea of a “health dictatorship”.

In such a context, the political manifestations were felt in the public space. The possibility of using it for electoral purposes in such states of tension, fear, suspicion and anger of the population has become attractive for public speculators. A first category of speculators was made up of people looking for notoriety. Anti-system stances and manipulations have generated irresponsible behavior in connection with the rules recommended by the authorities. Imposing them through legislation and with the help of law enforcement institutions has fueled public feelings of insecurity and circumvention of rules that are not considered fair and effective. In the Romanian society we can compare the behavior of a part of the population with the evasive resistance during the communism era. A number of people have adopted various public attitudes through which they have distorted reality by encouraging resistance. The second category of speculators is formed by people who work politically. 2020 is an election year, and the pandemic has overlapped with the electoral programs of parties and politicians. The approach of the elections influences the quality of the public discourse, which is oriented towards attracting the electorate more than towards solving the pressing issues raised by the pandemic. The aggressiveness of the discourse and the intensity of the political struggle are oriented mainly towards obtaining votes on the background of a discourse in which it is constantly stated “care for citizens and public health”.

The non-unitary nature of the measures adopted and the constant contestation from the opposition have radicalized the attitude of the population towards the rulers, and the vehemence of the positions is originated by the succession of harsh measures adopted following uncertain findings. The immediate consequences of the measures adopted have contributed to the aggression of citizens: social inequalities have intensified, and survival in the face of the health crisis has generated economic problems that have limited the opportunities of a large part of the population. Fears of purchasing power, payment of bills and loan rates, job losses correlated with the fear of an infection with a virus for which the authorities were unprepared.

In this context, we wanted to obtain information on the public’s perception of the measures taken and their confidence in the administrative ability’s to manage the economic and social effects of the pandemic.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTEXT GENERATED BY THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

The emergence and spread of coronavirus infections illustrate the complexity of the interdependencies specific to modern societies. Globalization has multiplied connections of all kinds, and the free movement of people and goods has been the main factor in the evolution from epidemic to pandemic.

The disease started in the Chinese city of Wuhan in December 2019. Suspicions of the causes led to the city's fish market, where live animals were also sold¹. Between December 8, 2019 and January 2, 2020, a number of 41 people were diagnosed with the virus called 2019-nCoV. The specific symptoms of this condition were fever, general malaise, dry cough and shortness of breath². These first cases were followed by an alarming increase in the number of cases. Subsequent cases have been reported in countries such as Thailand, South Korea, Japan, Macao, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the United States. Quarantine has been imposed in downtown Wuhan since January 23, 2020, and on January 24, 2020, five other nearby cities have been quarantined³.

The reports of the World Health Organization (WHO) from January 21, 2020, record that on January 20, 2020 there were 282 cases of infection with the new coronavirus. Of these, 278 cases existed in China, 2 in Thailand, one in Japan and one in South Korea. In the last three countries, cases of infection were exported from China⁴. Also, there were already 6 deaths in China⁵ WHO's second report⁶ records the existence of 314 cases of infection, of which 309 in China.

The report of 31 January 2020 mentions the conclusion of the meeting of 30 January 2020 of the Emergency Committee on the new coronavirus (Emergency Committee on the novel coronavirus), following which the coronavirus outbreak was declared *a public health emergency of international concern*⁷.

¹ David S. Hui, Esam I Azhar, Tariq A. Madani, Francine Ntoumi, Richard Kock, Osman Dar, Giuseppe Ippolito, Timothy D. Mchugh, Ziad A. Memish, Christian Drosten, Alimuddin Zumla, *The continuing epidemic threat of novel coronaviruses to global health – the latest novel coronavirus outbreak in Wuhan, China*, in "International Journal of Infectious Diseases", 91/2020, pp. 264–266, available at [https://www.ijidonline.com/article/S1201-9712\(20\)30011-4/pdf](https://www.ijidonline.com/article/S1201-9712(20)30011-4/pdf), accessed on 12.07.2020

² *Ibidem*.

³ *** The Straits Times on 23 January 2020, visible at <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/east-asia/china-locks-down-two-more-cities-huanggang-and-ezhou-after-wuhan>, accessed on 15.07.2020

⁴ For details, see World Health Organization, available at https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/situation-reports/20200121-sitrep-1-2019-ncov.pdf?sfvrsn=20a99c10_4, accessed on 13.07.2020

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ *Idem*, https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/situation-reports/20200122-sitrep-2-2019-ncov.pdf?sfvrsn=4d5bcbca_2, accessed on 13.07.2020

⁷ *Idem*, https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/situation-reports/20200131-sitrep-11-ncov.pdf?sfvrsn=de7c0f7_4, accessed on 13.07.2020

In the first six months since the beginning of the pandemic, the number of cases has increased exponentially: worldwide, they have reached 13,150,645 cases and 574,464 deaths⁸. According to the same document, Romania reached 33,585 confirmed cases, with a number of 637 new cases and 1931 deaths. In terms of the total number of confirmed cases, Romania is on the 17th position in Europe. In the European hierarchy, on the first place is the Russian Federation with 746,369 cases, on the second place is the United Kingdom with 291,377 cases, and on the third place Spain with 256,619 cases⁹.

In Romania, according to the *Agency for the digitization of Romania*¹⁰, which centralizes the internal data on the evolution of the coronavirus pandemic, were registered until July 15th, 2020 at one o'clock a number of 34,226 confirmed cases, of which 22,049 cases cured (64% of the total) and 1952 deaths (6%). The average age of confirmed cases is 46 years. Most of the registered cases were in the age group 40–49 years, with a percentage of 22% of the total, followed by those in the age group 50–59 years holding 21% and those in the age group 30–39 years by 15%. The most affected counties are Suceava (6.62 cases per 1000 inhabitants), Braşov (3.88 cases per 1000 inhabitants) and Vrancea (3.77 cases per 1000 inhabitants). The statistics collected show that most cases are cured, accounting for 64% of all cases. Given the specificity of the disease, which mainly affects people with comorbidities and the elderly, we can also explain the large number of cures.

The main effects of the increasing trend in the number of infections are the burden on the medical system, the removal from the usual circuit of some medical units and the impossibility of treating other diseases in the medical system whose resources have been directed to cases of COVID-19.

The economic downturn allows for short-term calculations given that the pandemic is ongoing and it is not possible to estimate when its effects will cease. Long-term calculations are affected by many variables that can permanently change the initial conclusions. Currently, the markets for goods and services are troubled by uncertainty about the evolution of the pandemic, and global connections mean limiting any local success to the evolution of the situation in other countries. Most citizens postpone expenses that exceed certain values, such as durable goods, and industrial activities are affected by the slowdown in transactions. The predominant trend is towards security, and people fear the future and the risks of economic collapse. In such a context, attempts are being made to restore economic activities to a level that will counteract the fears caused by the health crisis. According to public statements, the costs of the pandemic could reach up to 9.7% of global GDP, which is about \$ 8.8 trillion¹¹.

⁸ Idem, https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/situation-reports/20200715-covid-19-sitrep-177.pdf?sfvrsn=b1a193f3_2, accessed on 16.07.2020

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ For details, see <https://datelazi.ro/>, accessed on 16.07.2020

¹¹ For details, see <https://www.zf.ro/business-international/costul-total-al-pandemiei-economia-globala-poate-pierde-8-800-de-19145906>, accessed on 16.07.2020.

European Commission estimates¹², in the case that there will be no second wave of contamination, reveals that the European Union economy will shrink by 8.3% in 2020 and grow by 5.85 in 2021, while the European economy will shrink by 8.7% in 2020 and will increase by 6.15 in 2021. According to these estimates, both the decline and the recovery of economies will be different from state to state. Although the pandemic has affected most countries in the world, the effects due to declines and economic recovery are different, being significantly influenced by the measures taken by the rulers of each country. Each government is in a position to manage the effects of the pandemic and limit its spread, on the one hand, and on the other hand is put in a position to support the economic recovery as soon as possible. Success depends on the ability of governments to manage existing resources in each society.

Measures have been developed at European level to support businesses and protect jobs. The European Commission's main priorities are "saving human lives and supporting the means of subsistence"¹³. In response to these risks, a € 100 billion solidarity instrument, called SURE, was proposed¹⁴. The funds are to be targeted at businesses, employees, farmers, fishermen and disadvantaged people¹⁵. These measures are estimated due to calculations based on the current situation. Depending on the evolution of the pandemic and the multiplication of social and economic problems, it will be possible to make more accurate assessments of the needs that may exceed the current estimates.

A document on good financial practice in supporting consumers and entrepreneurs in the context of the COVID-19 crisis was prepared on 14th July 2020¹⁶. A first set of good practices concerns the moratorium on the payment of bank loans, the availability of cash payments to support companies and individuals in need of immediate financial support, the provision of new loans and guarantees in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic¹⁷. These measures have significantly contributed to the maintenance of many companies and the necessary financial flow in the economy.

It is found that in the current context there is a conflict between the sanitary control needs of COVID-19 infections and the economic needs. In many cases, public health policies affect the economy with major effects on household incomes, jobs, sales markets, economic partnerships and quality of life. The costs of the

¹² For details, see https://ec.europa.eu/info/live-work-travel-eu/health/coronavirus-response/jobs-and-economy-during-coronavirus-pandemic_ro#previziunile-economice-ale-comisiei-din-vara-anului-2020, accessed on 16.07.2020.

¹³ For details, see https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/ro/IP_20_582, accessed on de 16.07.2020

¹⁴ *Ibidem.*

¹⁵ *Ibidem.*

¹⁶ For details, see https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/business_economy_euro/banking_and_finance/documents/200714-best-practices-mitigate-impact-pandemic_en.pdf, accessed on 16.07.2020.

¹⁷ *Ibidem.*

pandemic are not limited to medical costs, but have extensions throughout the social and economic life. The radicalization of public opinion and the reactions of citizens in various countries are due in large part to the day-to-day fears of an uncertain future. Doctors cannot announce a specific time horizon for the disappearance of the pandemic, and governments cannot estimate the overall economic and social consequences. The measures taken are targeted for short and medium periods of time, and the total losses are only suspected. Protection rules do not provide total security, which provides a state of mistrust on the part of the population.

In the case of Romania, we face a lack of responsibility of a part of the population that neglects the protection measures recommended by the authorities and fully contributes to the spread of COVID-19 infection. For such reasons, the pace of relaxation has slowed down and, implicitly, the moment of society's return to normal life has been prolonged.

EXAMPLES OF STRATEGIES ADOPTED IN PANDEMIC CONTROL

The skepticism about public actions to control the pandemic is due to different approaches and adverse effects on the population. Insufficient data and ignorance of all aspects of coronavirus have led to different approaches by states, which revealed that the perception of danger is different depending on each state. Two main directions of action have been adopted: that of harsh control measures and that of total relaxation¹⁸.

China has taken harsh measures, which were criticized in the first phase of the epidemic, being considered specific to an autocratic government. But the spread of the epidemic and its transformation into a pandemic led to the export of authoritarianism. Following the Chinese model, the world's cities have been laid into a state of siege to the defense of a virus that has naturally followed its path¹⁹.

A different model was adopted by the South Korean government: the population was massively tested, contact maps were made, schools were closed, and public health information was centralized to block the chains of infection. The economy was not blocked, and the quarantine measure was imposed depending on the occurrence of outbreaks. As a result of these measures, there were only 240 deaths out of about 10,000 cases of infection at the end of April 2020. Cases of infection were detected in the early stages, which increased the effectiveness of medical intervention²⁰. Germany followed a similar path, by mass testing the

¹⁸ Carlo Caduff, *What Went Wrong Corona and the World after the Full Stop*, available at https://www.academia.edu/42829792/What_Went_Wrong_Corona_and_the_World_after_the_Full_Stop (Paper accepted for publication in *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*).

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

population once the first case of infection was detected and resorted to systematic follow-up of contacts and early hospitalization. In the case of Germany, the health system and a complex network of laboratories have helped to test about 500,000 people a week²¹. Thus, the two countries have developed a model of good practice, while most countries have adopted the Chinese approach to limit the spread of coronavirus.

However, it should be noted that the quarantine of Wuhan City and the surrounding area meant the total isolation of 56 million people, but in relation to China's total population (1.4 billion people) it means about 4% of the total, which suggests that the Chinese approach is personalized according to the coronavirus outbreak, and the negative socio-economic impact has been minimized²². Unfortunately in many countries the measures taken have been generalized by adopting the legalized state of emergency. Italy was the first country in the world to adopt a national quarantine. His example was followed by more emotional than rational impact. The large number of infections in the UK generated a huge political pressure to take action and after forced comparisons with the flu in 1918. Thus, quarantine was imposed by ignoring the economic, social and political implications, and the recommended duration even reached 18 months²³. From this point of view, it is clear that the Chinese approach has become an international norm, choosing to close the company until the emergence of appropriate treatment²⁴.

In the cited article, it is considered that the application of equal measures in conditions of unequal risks based on emotional principles has had the opposite effect. Social inequalities have intensified and vulnerabilities have been due to age, social class or pre-existing medical conditions²⁵. We believe that ignoring vulnerabilities has favored the public assertion of egalitarian principles for political purposes, but they have not been pragmatic enough to limit the undesirable effects of the pandemic, which has spread with unpredictable consequences in the near future and with effects that cannot be fully evaluated.

CITIZENS' OPINIONS ON THE EFFECTS OF THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

This section of the article results from the processing of data from a sociological survey conducted between June 23rd and July 5th, 2020. 1356 questionnaires were collected and are being processed, and the final study is to be published in full.

²¹ *Ibidem.*

²² *Ibidem.*

²³ *Ibidem.*

²⁴ *Ibidem.*

²⁵ *Ibidem.*

Partial data processing revealed that information on coronavirus infections is considered worrying depending on the age of the respondents. Thus, the older the person, the more worried people are about the information they receive. Being one of the vulnerabilities, age becomes a benchmark for analyzing the risks of coronavirus infection, while young people are mostly neutral about this risk.

From a gender perspective, women are more concerned about the information they receive than men, who tend to be more indifferent.

Depending on the level of education, the level of concern decreases significantly with the level of schooling.

Depending on the occupation, the most worried people are retirees and those who have intellectual activities: doctors, engineers, teachers, etc.

Most respondents were affected by reduced wages and reduced working hours, which in fact leads to lower incomes and which can lead to greater fears than those related to the risks of coronavirus infection.

Older people (56 years and over) have less confidence in the methods of protection proposed by the authorities compared to other age groups, where confidence generally tends to be high. But in each age group there is also a category of people who do not trust at all the measures proposed by the authorities, especially young and middle-aged people (18–45 years).

The same attitude exists in relation to the rules applied by the authorities: those up to the age of 35 consider that they are too harsh on the existing risks. The proportion of those who do not agree with the sanctions applied is increasing, especially among young people, but the proportion of disagreements expressed by those in the other age groups is also increasing.

Depending on the level of education, it is found that as the level of education decreases, the share of those who have been affected by reduced salaries or job losses increases.

Depending on the level of education, the level of confidence in the measures proposed by the authorities also increases. The same trend is observed in terms of confidence in the capacity of the health system: the decline in education illustrates the lack of confidence in its ability to meet the challenges.

The severity of the economic consequences is reported more by those with a high level of education and less by the other categories of respondents.

Respondents' opinions can be reduced to three factors that have an explanatory power of 82.91%: fears due to the coronavirus epidemic, activities to adapt to the conditions of the pandemic undertaken and the number of family members.

The main fears of the respondent population are related to COVID-19 infection, followed by reduced purchasing power, inability to pay installments and job loss. Also, those who were forced to adopt a certain behavior during the pandemic have converging opinions: the cancellation of trips to the country, the fears based on which they made food supplies, the cancellation of vacation leave

and the reduction of certain expenses are elements that explain the opinions expressed by the respondents. A final factor that determines the opinions expressed is due to the number of family members.

Analyzing the current infection trends in Romanian society, we find that one of the main causes of their growth is due to people who do not follow the rules of protection, do not trust the recommendations and consider that the severity of the coronavirus pandemic is exaggerated by the authorities. The answers collected following the application of the questionnaire allow adraw of a possible profile of those who tend to ignore the protection rules. In terms of appreciation of the protection rules imposed by the authorities, they are most likely men, aged 18–25 or 26–35, usually married, high school graduates, who can be pupils, students or workers, who live in families of 3–4 people, from urban areas, who are afraid of reduced purchasing power, the impossibility of paying installments and utility bills. During the pandemic, most of them canceled their holidays and certain trips to the country.

The disagreement with the sanctions applied reveals the following profile of the respondents: men, probably between 18–25 years old or 26–35 years old, most likely married, graduates of higher or secondary education, who can be students, workers or doctors, engineers, teachers, etc., who live in families of 2–4 people, who are afraid of reduced purchasing power and the impossibility of paying installments and bills. They canceled certain trips in the country, rest leave and certain trips abroad.

It is noted that forms of protest, resistance and indiscipline are developing among those affected by the pandemic in terms of plans established before its outbreak, which fear negative economic consequences, which have certain responsibilities and are trying to plan for the future. It is found that in both cases it is a significant proportion of young married people, people who are at the beginning of the road and live with two or three people in the same home. Beyond the government commitments made, economic recovery programs must take a less general form and be focused on the fears of the population, jobs, facilities to pay installments, utilities, etc. Medical limitations must be correlated as much as possible with economic and social consequences. For example, measures to control the prices of medical products during this period would reduce the public's suspicion of the authorities' decisions. In Europe there are countries that have reduced the costs of protective masks while implementing the obligation to wear them. Conversely, the increase in price conditions will favor the idea that occult economic interests are hidden behind the pandemic.

CONCLUSIONS

The coronavirus pandemic affects contemporary societies in different ways, depending on the internal factors of each society. From this point of view, the support measures adopted, in particular those specific to the European Union, will

have an effect depending on the internal policies adopted by the government. The ability to direct financial flows where support is really needed is a condition for the success of the economic recovery as soon as possible. The regression has affected the population, but the return to normal will occur in the rhythms dictated by the intervention of the rulers.

In the research that concludes this article we find that there is an area of translation of opinions: for example, there are a higher proportion of those who support the imposed rules, but which decreases in relation to the sanctions that accompany these rules. The fears of these people, especially young men up to the age of 35, are due to the negative economic consequences. The fears related to the risks of infection with the new coronavirus are mentioned mainly by the other categories of respondents, which also indicated the tendency to comply with the rules. However, regardless of the evolution of medical scientific research and the identification of effective treatments, we expect the pandemic to lose its effects in the future. Radicalization will intensify as negative economic consequences outweigh the consequences of the pandemic. The translation zone, where the imposed public health rules are no longer perceived as useful compared to the negative economic effects uncontrolled or out of control by the state, will favor the change of opinions of a large number of people in other categories, who are currently afraid more than COVID-19 infection or worsening of pre-existing medical conditions.

We can speak of a “shear” effect in which the medical and economic objectives act in opposite directions, if the authorities do not pay attention to the correlation of the two categories of objectives that can be easily put in contrast. We believe that the balance of decisions taken, avoiding secondary goals, such as political and electoral approaches, will reduce the time required for economic and social recovery.

THE IMPACT OF AFGHAN REFUGEES INTO EUROPE; INTEGRATION, ASYLUM SYSTEM AND SOCIAL ENVIROMENT

Adrian OTOVESCU*, Paykar KARIMI**

Abstract: Afghan refugees have left their homes, jobs, social environment, and relatives due to many problems such as political, tribal and religious issues. Their immigrations arise from the necessity to protect their lives and avoid direct danger of conflict and war. The term “Afghan refugee” may include a variety of diversity where people in same nation ware multi cultures and traditions and make the difference religious in the society. For the internal Afghani problems being, many of these refugees proceed to migrate to Europe to seek better life in terms of safety and security. This migration creates of cultural overlapping and clash; the migrated people find it difficult to integrate within new social and cultural confinements. According to the European Law, there have been many refugees who are restricted by the situation of their countries concerning residential European policy; if the conditions in their country is good, their chance of getting permission to stay in Europe gets less and vice versa. Relationally, this paper is dedicated to pin down the basic characteristics of the Afghani integration; manifesting the positivity and the negativity as well as the obstacles of their integration and economic circumstances.

Keywords: Afghani integration, asylum seekers, European Union, Afghanistan.

INTRODUCTION

Refugee is not a limited in the particular place rather it became a controversial debate among host countries over many implications about fully integration, social environment and legal rights. Therefore, Dr. Otovescu stated, “Refuge is a basic human right that has generally become a commonplace phenomenon as international states must abide to”¹. In early times, refugee had a very strong root and a respected status in ancient Greece. During the Romulus period, the founder of the Roman Empire, all those who were refugees had all the rights that the citizens of Rome had. Those who violated this law was severely punished. This paper endeavors to investigate various issues concentrated on the very fundamental matter of Afghani integration within

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¹ Dumitru Otovescu, *Tratat de sociologie generala*, Craiova, Beladi Publishing, 2010, p. 609.

tin European societies and cultures. Evidently, the historical statistics of Afghani refugees and asylum seekers manifests a tremendous wave starting with the USSR's military interventions in Afghanistan where it continues to affect Afghans for many different respects. War, violence and fear obligatory oppressive decisions of Russian forces have contribution to millions of Afghans to flee their country and seek refuge initially in neighboring countries such as Pakistan and Iran as well many countries of the European Union.

The Afghani government is trying to bring Afghani refugees back into their country, regardless of Government's efforts in this matter the issue of security remained actual obstacle to outcome it. In this respect, Afghani refugees fluctuated between unsecure daily lives to enforce them in Europe because of missing peace in Afghanistan. This article will concern in the universal discussions on migrants in particular from Afghanistan to the European Union countries, the essential obsession for the refugees from Afghanistan was the integration into European society and the other difficulties they might face. This work began with an explanation of the reasons that motivated the Afghans to leave the country and ends with explanations of their importance and role in the societies of the countries of the European Union.

Historically, Russian forces captured Afghanistan in 1979 and fought for 9 years, causing; death of thousand innocent people, political chasm, economic and social breakdowns. Aftermath the Russians left the country, but Afghanistan was entirely destroyed and no obvious plan to reconstruct a national state. The brutal civil war torn the national harmony and to cause heterogeneity atmosphere due to a numerous death, do not have infrastructure nothing remain and paralysis of the strategic development "results in total destruction of the capital Kabul and the emergence of the Taliban terrorist group"². With the advent of the Taliban in 1993 and the rise of countless crimes committed by this terrorist group, the number of Afghan refugees has increased. By the 1990s, Afghanistan had more than a third of the world's refugees, with over 5 million displaced; since the emergence of the Taliban this number doubled, reaching 10 million people who had regularly escaped the country³. They have settled for the first time in neighboring countries, such as Iran and Pakistan; these two countries are actually providing refuge to the largest number until this day. According to the latest statistics, Pakistan hosts about 2.5 million refugees, while Iran is the host country for about 3 million Afghan refugees. Besides the fact that they have a border with Afghanistan, we must also consider religious and linguistic relations, one of the most important reasons for such a large number of Afghan refugees in Iran and Pakistan.

At the beginning of 1990, the number of Afghan asylum seekers increased dramatically, until they became the largest refugee group to arrive in Europe in 2001. We can say that in total, Afghan citizens applied for asylum in at least 56

² For details, see www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37560704, accessed at December 29, 2019.

³ Zachary Laub, *The Taliban in Afghanistan*, available at <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/taliban-afghanistan>, accessed at December 27, 2019.

from countries around the world, including Iceland, Chile and Singapore. Europe, in particular, witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of Afghan refugees between 1999–2001⁴. Rutting showed that “The number of Afghan asylum seekers in Europe decreased simultaneously by more than 80% in the period 2001–2004, from 54,000 in 2001 to below 9,000 in 2004”⁵. In the period 2004–2009 many Afghans returned home, hoping that things in their country would change and that the country’s situation would improve that “something that did not happen but against the Taliban troops began to control much of Afghanistan and many Afghans have decided to seek refuge again in neighboring countries and in Europe”⁶.

1. METHODOLOGY

The current research was conducted in autumn/winter 2019, and the research subjects were Afghan refugees in EU countries. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were considered adequate for this specific study. Data on Afghan refugees from the EU and their ability to integrate into European society, as well as the difficulties they face, were obtained through scientific investigations and statistical analyzes. Through this paper, a broad and detailed description of the phenomenon of Afghan refugees in the EU was obtained. Methods of interviews, questionnaires and documentary techniques were used for data collection.

2. INTEGRATION OF AFGHAN REFUGEES INTO EUROPEAN SOCIETY

Integration is a complex process consisting of a series of elements such as economic, social, cultural, legal and educational element⁷. Only by going through all these elements can one become an active member of the host country’s society. In order to accommodate and successively integrate refugees and asylum seekers, European societies must adopt a number of approaches.

Importantly, there must be a way of assisting refugees in the integration program. In fact, the refugee integration program must be official based on beneficiary’s need to overcome all differences between them in terms of education, occupation and age. The host state should encourage refugees and asylum seekers to actively participate in all aspects of social life and contributing into real community development process. The host state should inform the refugees about

⁴ For details, see <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org>, accessed october 27, 2019.

⁵ For details, see www.unhcr.org/421316072.pdf, accessed at December 15, 2019.

⁶ Jelena Bjelica, *The mass return of Afghan refugees*, available at <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org>, accessed at December 29, 2019.

⁷ Adrian Otovescu, *Romanians in Italy*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing, 2016, p. 89.

their right that they legally grant through the law boundaries of the nation. Integrating refugees, they will be active members and thoroughly absorb into host society. Coordination of various organizations and institutions can create a great support and assistance of refugees and asylum seekers plays a key role in their integration. The process of integration of refugees from a sociological point of view regarded as a two-way process:

- Socio-cultural accommodation;
- Socio-economic integration.

2.1. SOCIO-CULTURAL ACCOMMODATION

According to the universal declaration of human rights art. 27, “*Everyone has the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to participate in scientific progress and in its benefits*”⁸. For people who come to EU as refugees and asylum seekers, socio-cultural integration plays a role of utmost importance because through this kind of integration they learn to accept and recognize the values of the socio-legal system of the host country.

Refugees who are legally resident (with a residence permit) in the EU must learn the official language of the host country, recognize and appreciate the local and national culture and show tolerance towards the locals. Consequently, for Afghan refugees coming to Europe, knowing the language of the host country is very important for their socio-cultural accommodation.

In fact, we can say that knowledge of the language is of crucial importance to find a job, to satisfy basic needs either at any academic or private job opportunity necessarily required a language skill. In the same vein, August Comte as being the founder of sociology remarks, “*The language invokes people in a long chain, linking the current community to distant support. Without a common language and solidarity, consensus and social order are impossible*”⁹. Therefore, the host government should plan and provide better opportunities for refugees so that they can attend local and national festivals, ceremonies and events. In this regard, a suggestive example is Germany where the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees has prepared a special German language course for the integration of refugees, which usually takes 900 hours.

During this course, they also address general life problems, such as work, health, child caring or familial life. *In addition*, there is another course that lasts 100 hours and runs over two months, teaching refugees about the German legal system, history and culture, rights and obligations, forms of coexistence and important values such as freedom of religion, tolerance and equality of rights. All

⁸ The universal declaration of human rights, *UN*, December 10, 1948.

⁹ Programme of the United Nations Development, *Human Development for Everyone*, New York, Edition UNDP, 2016.

other EU Member States should follow the example of Germany and provide such conditions to refugees.

2.2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 25 is that “*Everyone has the right to a standard of living that ensures the health and well-being of his and his family, including food, clothing, housing, medical care and the necessary social services; he has the right to insurance in the event of unemployment, illness, invalidity, widowhood, old age or in other cases of loss of livelihood, following circumstances independent of his will*”¹⁰. These main pillars (food, clothing, housing, medical care) should also apply to refugees, both when they are employed and unemployed. Hence, the host individuals must interact with humanity, at the same time the region must develop institutions to provide better social services for the integration of Afghan refugees.

The best measures to integrate Afghan refugees and asylum seekers are:

1. Each refugee must have access to information and counseling with respect to his rights
2. Providing social assistance and employment opportunities to improve understanding of refugee skills, as well as full support in the workplace. Civilian organization must participate in catering their demands of knowing about their duties towards the new environment; how to communicate with people from different cultural backgrounds, and have knowledge about refugee laws and regulations.
3. The social and health services that fulfill to the needs and requirements.
4. The host state should inform all refugees and asylum seekers about housing options available in nearby areas. Local authorities must work with non-governmental organizations to provide housing for refugees.
5. Facilitate the integration process and support the development of the environment through various integration programs that favor the integration.

From all of the above, employment is the most important factor in integrating refugees into and the new-being community, as it enhances their opportunities and ensures language learning.

The founder of the French School of Sociology, *Emile Durkheim* believes that “*the division of labor can really provide a solid basis for the unity and integration of individuals in society*”¹¹. To the basic response of the needs for Afghan refugees still struggle at the host countries where they have to receive initial support from the national official agencies. The staff of these agencies has to use appropriate means of communication while the cultural differences should be

¹⁰ The universal declaration of human rights, *UN*, December 10, 1948.

¹¹ Tim Delaney, *Classical Theories of Sociology*, Tehran, Ney Publishing, 2019, p. 145.

considered through job opportunities¹². Nonetheless, refugees may their Asylum request reject and must to leave the host country to their home country. In the below comparison between Germany and Romania, we are going to give a brief explanation about the matter being.

In Germany, there are particular legal agencies and ordinances for refugees regarding employment, while in Romania the conditions and requirements are absolutely the same for both refugees and Romanian citizens. In addition, in Germany it is possible to hire refugees only with an identity document (residence permit) that they receive from the German authorities while in Romania they asked for the documents that they cannot present as a birth certificate, the act of birth, studies or recommendation from the previous workplace if appropriate.

3. DIFFICULTIES FACING AFGHAN REFUGEES IN EUROPE

Before going deep in each one of the difficulties facing Afghan refugees in the EU, it is very important to differentiate between an asylum seeker and a refugee. According to Geneva Convention in 1951 defined the term of “refugee is used for people who are afraid of being persecuted for their religious, identity, ethnic, political or membership of a specific social group”¹³. The term “asylum seeker” is used for people who have already entered the host country and waiting for the case’s results. Once they have received asylum in their host country they become refugees. In another way, we can say that refugees and asylum seekers have specific characteristics. Asylum seekers do not leave on their countries for only desire to leave original place. Further implication for adapting asylum seekers at the host countries of how to assimilate them to learn a new language for communication and cultural heritage and related to another logistic support regarding residency. The asylum seeker is financially dependent on the aid of the host state and does not have economic independence until obtaining a temporary/temporary permit. Many problems are facing Afghan refugees after they receive official refugee status. For example, Afghan refugees living in the Greek Refugee Center of Chios Island complain about the conditions, health, and social problems of this camp. They face a fateful problem¹⁴. For instance, in TOLO Report was exposed the boy case that a boy named Rahmatullah from Laghman province, which was a sixth-grader when the Taliban set fire to his school. The boy left his native country because there are no jobs and came to Europe to work. He has an older brother who has lived in London for a few years with legal documents and who sent him money to get to Europe.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 147.

¹³ UN. *convention and protocol*, Geneva, Edition UNHCR, 1967.

¹⁴ For details, see <https://www.dw.com/fa-af>; accessed at October 30, 2019.

Rahmatullah wants to live and healthy in London with his brother and after his arrival, he wants to continue his education¹⁵.

For instance, Afghan refugees in Greece settled in the Moria camp on the Greek island of Lesbos are facing a very serious problem, namely sexual abuse. This camp is one of the largest in Greece and has a capacity of 3,000 people, but currently offers shelter for almost 9800 people. This camp is one of the largest in Greece. Speaking of sexual abuse that happened there, according to reporters at the *Info-migrant site* who did an investigation into the issue of sexual abuse, they found out that this is happening in section C, which is a special section for unmarried women¹⁶. Unfortunately, this does not end all the problems for Afghan refugees in this camp, even some of them lose their lives there, as happened to a woman in Afghanistan and her child, two months ago in a campfire in Moria.

4. AFGHAN ASYLUM SEEKER, REASONS OF REJECTION AND DEPORTATION

To reject application it may desperately mean ending to have a peaceful life, stroke many asylum seekers' expectations while they receive the unfavorable answer of NO, where they applied to obtain refugee status. In short, the reasons of rejection can be summarized as the following:

1. Inability to fully integrate into European society and subject to the legislation of the host country;
2. Threats to national security of the host country;
3. Those who do not respect the law of Dublin;
4. Those that come to study and after the expiry of the residence permit have no acceptable reasons for not returning to their native country.

Seemingly, the inability to integrate into the European society and to obey the legislation of the host country, we can talk about people who due to age, lack of interest, personal problems or poor financial situation have failed to succeed into integrate and complying with the demands of European society. In practice, it has been shown that younger people with high education, without medical or personal problems and with greater financial support from the host state integrate more fast and easier into European society.

Regarding to the threats for national security there were many asylum seekers rejected because the host government always deemed most them dangerous people for unusual cases regarding to illegal trafficking and smuggling of people, sexual violence, drugs, etc. By the Treaty of Dublin, any asylum seeker, once he has entered the territory of one of the countries that have signed this treaty, must apply

¹⁵ For details, see www.tolonews.com, accessed at October 30, 2019.

¹⁶ For details, see <https://www.dw.com>, accessed at October 30, 2019.

for asylum in that country and stay there if he is accepted. “The main purpose of the Dublin procedure is to determine a single Member State that is responsible for examining an application for international protection lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national or stateless person”¹⁷.

Therefore, police in any European nation can find easily through fingerprints and photographs of asylum seekers and can access and identify routes and residences of asylum seekers. These asylum seekers, according to the Dublin treaty will be rejected, sent back where they were first registered and should remain there¹⁸.

Many of the foreign citizens who come to study, after the expiration of the residence permits, decide that they will not return to their native country to notify police from immigration department where the area they live and the accommodation centers for asylum seekers where they apply to obtain a form of protection in the host country. In case they do not have the acceptable reasons, their requests will be rejected. The Eurostat Bureau estimated that one-third of all asylum applications were rejected. Deportation means the detention of refugees and their removal from the host country¹⁹.

Deportation has two dimensions: it can be legal and it can be illegal.

The deportation’s letter is considered according to the law of the host country and the international regulations that is called legal deportation. Perhaps, deportation may happen contrary to the provisions of international law and standards is called illegal deportation or one by force²⁰. The countries of the European Union can legally deport refugees, meaning that the host countries have the right when the refugees that cannot prove their eligibility in order to remain legally in the host country submit the file. In additional, legal deportation can be done when the asylum seeker has a criminal case. For example, at the beginning of the refugee crisis, Austria was very welcoming to Afghan refugees and received a large number of them, including families, but in recent years, many young people came from Iran and Pakistan who falsely declared that they are Afghans. Many of them even had criminal records in their countries of origin. As a result, Austria has begun to face certain disorders, rapes, and the drug problem. These groups were not very large but made it difficult for all Afghan refugees in this country. That is why in the last two years Austria has decided to deport up to 400 Afghan refugees and even a number of families who came to live there quietly and obeyed all the rules of this country²¹.

Forced deportation means that refugees have the right and are admitted to the host countries in accordance with some international agreements, but the host country opposite to the provisions of international law and standards is forcibly

¹⁷ For details, see <http://igi.mai.gov.ro/ro/content/procedura-dublin>, accessed at December 28, 2019.

¹⁸ See <https://arcarefugee.wordpress.com>, accessed at December 28, 2019.

¹⁹ For details, see <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat>, accessed at December 28, 2019.

²⁰ See <https://www.aihrc.org.af>, accessed at December 28, 2019.

²¹ For details, see <https://www.infomigrants.net>, accessed at December 28, 2019.

deported. For example, Iran from the beginning of 2019 until September 15, 2019, deported 180,408 Afghan refugees forced because of US sanctions on Iran. Also, in 2019 Pakistan deported 4459 Afghan refugees forced, Turkey 29 thousand refugees forced deported, European Union countries deported 1086 forced refugees and other countries deported 769 forced refugees²².

5. AGREEMENTS BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND THE EUROPEAN UNION ON AFGHAN REFUGEES

The Afghan government has signed numerous agreements with European Union countries on Afghan refugees such as the Istanbul agreement or the Kabul agreement. But one of the most important of these agreements is an agreement signed at the Berlin conference on October 5, 2016. By this agreement, the Afghan government and the European Union signed an act regarding the return of Afghan refugees to Afghanistan. The European Union has strongly supported President Ashraf Ghani's comments on the return of Afghan refugees. Meanwhile, the Amnesty International observer for Afghanistan Fatemeh Sadeh says the European Union has committed an illegal act and signed the agreement behind closed doors, without even sharing it with the EU Parliament²³. The signing of this agreement increased the number of forced deportations by Afghan refugees, also prolonged the waiting time for many of them and the difficult life conditions in the refugee camps might cause psychological pressure that could potentially increase a chance to commit a suicide especially among young Afghan asylum seekers. As a result, in 2017, three Afghan refugees committed suicide in Sweden²⁴. The reason behind this suicide, even it is prohibited in their religion and culture, of these three young people who received a deportation order by the Swedish authority. While the second asylum seeker waiting for long time after interview with the migration agency the result was failed. Moreover, the third applicant Asylum has tried many times to prove that he is a minor, but failed because he did not have the identity card and unfortunately, neither the Afghan nor the Swedish state helped him. Because of this reason, the Swedish state kicked him out of the camp for minors and after that, he went into depression and ended his life by hanging himself in the room.

President Ashraf Ghani ignores the fact that more than 50% of Afghan territory is owned by the Taliban and that the Afghan government's ability to return large numbers of refugees and provide decent living in the face of ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan does not exist. It must always be kept in mind and never

²² See <https://www.aihrc.org.af/media/files/Report%20on%20Returnees.pdf>, accessed at December 30, 2019.

²³ For details, see <https://da.azadiradio.com>, accessed at December 15, 2019.

²⁴ See <https://ir.sputniknews.com>, accessed at December 15, 2019.

forget that 38,489 civilians and 58,596 military personnel in Afghanistan were killed in the last 2 decades due to the critical situation. Currently, the Afghan state without assistance to foreign countries is not able to finance even six months of the Afghan army. Thus, the Afghan government must provide support for Afghan refugees in European countries following international refugee laws and standards.

I believe that this agreement in Brussels only increases instability, because it does not provide working conditions but only uninsured life, and the return of refugees can be manipulated by recruiting them to the lines of local and Taliban militia groups. The Repatriation and Refugee Minister told the media that the Afghan government is unable to provide forced deportation refugees from the European Union with working or relocation conditions and that a large number of expatriates are taking part in dangerous war in Syria.

CONCLUSION

Refugee as a human phenomenon has many effects on the social, cultural and economic aspects of life. Multiple factors in Afghanistan, such as political, social, economic, cultural and environmental insecurity, have led to the emergence of Afghan refugees in the EU. We can conclude that there are many other areas in which the countries of the European Union must make progress in terms of integration of Afghan refugees. Also, we can say that the big wave of Afghan refugees can be stopped only by improving the situation in Afghanistan. Only if given the normal and dignified life that every human being deserves, the option of returning Afghan refugees back home may be considered. Otherwise, it is unacceptable to expect any Afghan refugee to wish to return to a homeland that cannot even afford the basic conditions. There is a double rejection and assimilation game between locals and refugees from the countries of the European Union, which we hope will end soon and will lead to mutual respect and friendship. This new situation between Afghan refugees and European residents is just as difficult at first for both parties, but with much willingness, little effort and assistance and support from the state, neither party may be disturbed by the presence of “the others”. But to live in harmony and cooperation.

THE EFFORTS TO INCREASE ECONOMIC LEARNING ACHIEVEMENT IN ACCOUNTING MATERIAL AS INFORMATION SYSTEM THROUGH THE PROFIT NETWORK MODEL BASED ON INFOCUS LCD MEDIA

Rosmalinda SINAGA*

Abstract: This study aimed to determine the effect of the use of the LCD Infocus Media Assisted Spider Web model as an effort to improve learning achievement of accounting material as an information system for subjects in Economics towards the students of Class XII Social Science 1 State High School 2 Bandar 2019/2020. This study used Classroom Action Research (CAR) as the methodology which conducted at State High School 2 Bandar, Semester 1 in 2019/2020 academic years. The subject chosen was accounting material as an information system along with 27 students of XII Social Science 1 State High School 2 Bandar as the research subject. While the research collaborators were *consisted of teachers who taught other subject*. This research was carried out using two cycles, namely the first cycle and the second cycle. The results of this study indicated that the students' learning outcomes were enhanced with the application of learning improvement activities using the LCD Infocus Media Assisted Spider model in learning. Therefore, the learning process using the LCD Infocus Media Assisted Spider Web model could attract students' attention and improve their achievement especially in Economics for the accounting subject as an information system.

Keywords: Economic, Learning Achievement, Accounting, Information System, The Profit Network Model.

Jel codes: A2, A20, A29.

INTRODUCTION

Learning is an interaction process between student and teacher and its learning sources in a learning environment in which both of them are mutually exchange for information. Learning is a process to help student to study well. Learning process is experienced throughout a human's life and can be applied anywhere and anytime¹.

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¹ Shodiq Abdullah, *Evaluasi Pembelajaran: Konsep Dasar, Teori Dan Aplikasi*, Semarang, Rizki Putra, 2012, p. 78.

Learning has similar definition to teaching but with different connotation. The teaching material them uses several books whose material is still separate from one another, so it is necessary to the combine to be studied².

Learning achievement or academic performance is a disclosure of ideal learning outcomes including all psychological domains that change as a result of students' learning experiences and processes³. However, the disclosure of changes in behavior throughout the domain, especially the whole domain of student perception, is very difficult. This is happened due to the changes in learning outcomes that are intangible.

However, in the Class of XII Social Science 1 of State High School 2 Bandar, the student learning achievement is low on accounting material as an information system. It occurred since there are many problems in the economic learning process the learning process tend to be one way and less variable, the lack of guidance in implementing the exercises, the delivery of teaching materials is too much while the time is less, the material is abstract and complex, and the lack of facilities and infrastructures affect students' laziness. Based on the middle semester data, there are still many students who do not pass the teaching completeness criteria, as in the class of XII Social Science 1 State High School 2 Bandar which is consisted of 20 students and only 7 of them passed the criteria (KKM). Therefore, it needed a high learning motivation to reach the good learning result and adequate learning process.

To reach the success through Economic Learning, the teachers are striving to develop and determine the most effective and efficient learning strategies to help students in reaching their goals⁴. The Presentation of various teaching methods and its applications in teaching Economics to make students and teachers have extensive knowledge on the methods and have the skills to apply⁵.

Therefore, it needed a right methodology in giving learning material due to increase the students' learning achievement, hence the researcher took the LCD Infocus Media Assisted Spider model as a method in teaching economics for accounting material as an information system. The Spider Web Model is an integrated learning that uses an economic approach as a learning center which is elaborated in several activities and areas of development⁶.

The terms of spider web are used to the model name because the design is like a net made by spider, with the discussed theme as the center or the spider.

² Zulyadaini Zulyadaini, *Development of Teaching Materials in Numerical Methods*, in "Ukrainian Journal of Educational Studies and Information Technology", 2020, vol. 8, no. 1, available at <https://uesit.org.ua/index.php/itse/article/view/268>

³ Abu Ahmadi, Widodo Supriyono, *Psikologi Belajar*, Jakarta, Rineka Cipta, 2013, p. 55.

⁴ Hamzan B. Uno, *Model Pembelajaran Menciptakan Proses Belajar Mengajar Yang Kreatif Dan Efektif*, Jakarta, Bumi Aksara, 2007, p. 67.

⁵ Oemar Hamalik, *Proses Belajar Mengajar*, Jakarta, Bumi Aksara, 2014, p. 78.

⁶ Trianto, *Model Pembelajaran Inovative Berorientasi Konstruktivitik*, Jakarta, Prestasi Pustaka, 2007.

Based on the theme, the sub themes are specified which will clarify the main theme by using several basic aspects that one wanted to be developed.

The spider web model starts with determining the theme then developed into a sub theme with the relevance of the theme with related subjects. From the sub theme it is expected that the student activities can be developed by itself. The purpose of learning spider web model used to develop the basic science with using several activity that related with the cognitive ability, language, psychology and motoric skills⁷. This approach places students as the subject of learning, while the teacher is more as a facilitator. With direct experience students are confronted with something tangible or concrete as a basis for understanding abstract things.

Whereas, the LCD Infocus aims to understand text and help the weak student to understand and remember the information or text that contains in the picture, and give them the chance to see the direct learning material that will be served.

This research aims to know the effect of using the LCD Infocus Media Assisted Spider web as an effort to increase economic learning achievement in accounting material as information system for subjects in Economics after the students of Class XII Social Science 1 State High School 2 Bandar 2019/2020.

METHODOLOGY

This research is using the Classroom Action Research (PTK) method. Classroom Action Research is a reflectional activity that is implement based on rational considerations or uses solid and valid theoretical concepts to make corrective actions in an effort to solve a problem that occurred or to determine the appropriate action to solve the problem or fix something⁸.

This research is implemented in State High School 2 Bandar, Semester 1 2019/2020 academic year with 27 students as the research subject. The chosen topic is accounting material as information system. This research is implemented on August 1st 2019 until November 30th 2019. The research subject: Class XXI Social Science 1 State High School 2 Bandar 2019/2020 academic year, consisting of 27 students and research collaborators consisting of other subject teachers.

This research is implemented using 2 cycles, that is the first cycle and the second cycle. Before implementing the first cycle, the pre-cycle should be implemented first, the preparatory stages are implemented as below:

- a. Make a learning plan
- b. The teacher divides the group into five groups.
- c. After the formation of the group, the researcher then took the observation tool to find out the enthusiasm and activeness of students in the learning process.

⁷ Oemar Hamalik, *Kurikulum Dan Pembelajaran*, Jakarta, Bumi Aksara, 2001, p. 36.

⁸ Suharsi Arikunto, *Penelitian Tindakan Kelas*, Jakarta, Bumi Aksara, 2014; Suharsimi Arikunto, *Prosedur Penelitian: Suatu Pendekatan Praktik*, Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2013, p. 89.

In this research, the collecting data process is observation and documentation technique. Observation technique is implemented when applying or using a spider web model assisted by LCD Infocus media. The direct observation is implemented by researcher and collaboration (subject teacher) to observe and collect data from users of spider web model assisted by LCD Infocus media. Data analysis techniques are using students' data such as planning data, implementation data, observation data, and reflection data.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In this discussion, it explained about the learning result in pre-cycle or before improvement and after improvement which is in the cycle I and cycle II.

A. Pre-cycle

Pre-cycle test result showed that students whose grades are complete (KKM=60) were only 7 students (29,03%), while those who do not have grades complete grades were 20 students (70,97%).

Table 1.
Pre-cycle formative test results:

No	Interval value	Total of student	information
1	30–39	0	Incomplete
2	40–49	2	Incomplete
3	50–59	18	Incomplete
4	60–69	1	Complete
5	70–79	2	Complete
6	80–89	2	Complete
7	90–100	2	Complete
Total of number students		27	
The average class		49,65	
Complete level		29,03%	

Source: own study

Based on the results of formative test score data before the improvement in the table above, it can be said that the author has not been successful in learning. Realizing only 29.03% or 7 students out of a total of 27 students can be declared complete. While 70.97% or 20 students out of 27 students were declared incomplete. So the authors try to improve the learning process better in the first cycle by making and compiling a more perfect learning improvement plan.

B. Cycle I

The results obtained in the implementation of the first cycle by focusing on the LCD Infocus Media Assisted Spider web model was done in order to obtain better learning outcomes than before the improvements were made.

Formative test result cycle I show the data as follows:

Tabel 2.
Hasil Tes Formatif Siklus I

No	Interval value	Total of student	information
1	30–39	0	Incomplete
2	40–49	7	Incomplete
3	50–59	5	Incomplete
4	60–69	2	Complete
5	70–79	8	Complete
6	80–89	4	Complete
	90–100	1	Complete
Total number of students		27	
The average class		57,93	
Complete level		58,06%	

Source: own study

Based on the results of formative test score data before the improvement (cycle I) it can be said that there is an increase in learning outcomes. This shows there is improvement in formative test result; which the initial completeness was only 7 students (29.03%) to 15 students (58.06%).

At the end of the first cycle, the reflection phase was implemented with observers and school principals. Also, was recorded all the findings that emerged in the first cycle of learning, whether they were deficient or excessive. The researcher is focused more on learning model through the Spider Assisted LCD Media Infocus web model.

The advantages in cycle I can be seen as follows:

- 1) Through the model approach of the Spider Media Assisted LCD Media Infocus can increase student interest in following the lesson.
- 2) The activeness of students increases.
- 3) The learning process is more varied.

The weakness in the cycle I can be seen as follows:

- 1) Some students are bored with the implementation of writing lessons
- 2) Teachers use methods that have not been maximized so that learning does not attract students' attention.
- 3) Students look scared in expressing questions.

C. Cycle II

The results obtained in the cycle II by focusing on the media or LCD Infocus Media Assisted Spider model net. The implementation of learning and action in the cycle II based on the evaluation result and analysis on the cycle I learning with focusing the learning centre on teacher. In the learning cycle II teacher prepares clippings about the structure of the family structures either in reading books or on the internet with the aim of explaining to students about learning material.

Formative test in the cycle II obtained the results as follows:

Tabel 3.
Hasil Tes Formatif Siklus II

No.	Interval value	Total of student	Information
1	30–39	–	
2	40–49	1	Incomplete
3	50–59	2	Incomplete
4	60–69	3	Complete
5	70–79	6	Complete
6	80–89	10	Complete
	90–100	5	Complete
Total of number students		27	
The average class		73,10	
Complete level		90,32%	

Source: own study

Based on the above table, it can be seen that students who got the score 50–59 are 2 students, 60–69 are 3 students, 70–79 are 6, and 80–89 are 10 students, and 90–100 are 5 students.

Based on the results of Formative Cycle II test score data above the writer has succeeded in learning even though it is not said as the whole completeness. But the completeness has reached over 60% which mean surpassing the standard. The percentage of the completeness is 90.32% with 24 students within, whereas 3 students are scored less than 65 which declared as incomplete and needed to be followed up with assignments.

At the end of Cycle II there is a passibility that the students have already been in accordance with the planned scenario. Some things found at this stage are very satisfying because of the increased activity of students and more confident in expressing questions and opinions. Moreover, the teacher has optimized the delivery of material. The second cycle learning process is considered good because it matches the desired learning objectives.

The advantages in Cycle II as follows:

- 1) Learning activities are more varied.
- 2) The use of appropriate learning models and methods.
- 3) Students have a higher level of understanding.
- 4) Increase in satisfying grade grades.

The weakness in the Cycle II as follows:

- 1) Teachers find it difficult to focus dividing attention on study groups.
- 2) The teacher prepares more material because students have a higher level of understanding.
- 3) Students still look bored with the learning material.

DISCUSSION

From the results of student's data processing before repairs or pre-cycle with the approach of the spider-assisted web model LCD Infocus Media in Class XII Social Science 1 semester 1 State High School 2 Bandar 2019/2020 Academic year, showed that of the 27 students, there were only 7 students who have completed learning which means that there are 20 students or 70.97% who have not yet completed the standard, thus it needed improvement of learning.

On the basis of these problems, to improve student learning outcomes in Economics subject matter; Accounting material as an information system in Class XII IPS 1 semester 1 2019/2020 academic year, researchers make improvements through the pattern of Writing Classroom Action (PTK) to improve learning cycles I.

After the improvement in learning cycle I there is an increase in student learning outcomes of 27 students of Class XII Social Science 1, originally there were only 7 students from 15 students whose grades are in accordance with KKM or above KKM.

The improvement of student learning outcomes is succeed because researchers are carrying out learning improvement activities using learning methods through the LCD Media Infocus assisted Spiders. By using this method the completeness of student learning outcomes as indicated by the completeness percentage is increased from 29.58% to 58.06 %.

From the data processing and discussion with school's observers and principals as well as mentors, the researchers made improvements in the second cycle, to complete the learning outcomes of students, which results showed better improvement. In the improvement of cycle I, from 27 students, there were 15 students who scored ≥ 60 or 58.06% and in the second cycle it increased to be a member of 24 students or 90.32% achieving completeness.

The improvement in the second cycle occurred because it was used the LCD Infocus Media Assisted Spider web model in learning activities that attracts

students' attention and in accordance with the learning material. Besides, the improvement was done in other model as the focus of writing, such as lectures, assignments, questions and answers. So the learning process is not monotonous and the make the atmosphere in the classroom more vivid.

Based on the analysis above, it can be concluded that the improvement of the student learning happened because the researcher using the LCD Infocus Media Assisted Spider web model in learning, by using this method the percentage of completeness is increased from 29.58% to 58.06%.

The following graph show the increasing learning achievement from pre cycle, cycle I to cycle II

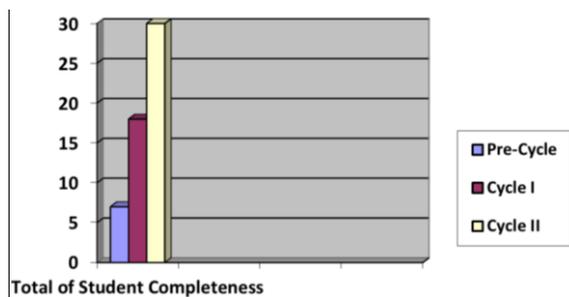


Fig 1. Improvement of learning achievement from pre cycle, cycle I to cycle II.

Source: own study

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

CONCLUSIONS

Learning process with using the LCD Infocus Media Assisted Spider web is able to attract the students and in accordance to the material, thus it can improve student learning achievement of Class XII Social Science 1 State High School 2 Bandar in the 2019/2020 academic year, especially Economics subjects' semester 1 Accounting subject matter as an information system. In the Pre-Cycle there were only 7 students (29.03%) who complete the criteria. Then the researcher is conducting improvements to Cycle I learning and the results were 15 students or 58.06% who had met the KKM in other words there were still 12 students who had not yet completed. Thus, the researcher is implementing the improvement of learning in cycle II. In the cycle II, the formative test result of student Class XII Social Science 1 State High School 2 Bandar are increased to were 24 students or 90.32% that meet the KKM. Whereas, the remaining 3 students scored less than 65 and declared as having incomplete knowledge and needed to followed up with more assignments.

SUGGESTIONS

1. For teacher
 - a) Optimize existing learning resources.
 - b) Increase innovation in developing learning methods in accordance with the material.
 - c) Use the right model and method.
2. To student
 - a) To focus more on the material taught by the teacher.
 - b) To be more active in the learning process with questions and answers about the material being taught.
3. For educational policy

This report can be used as a discussion in the Subject Teachers' Conference (MGMP) and can be used as material for consideration in making policies.
4. Follow-up

We hope that this report can be a reference in improving the learning of Economics Class XII Social Science 1 Studies of the actions and problems of the new material which need to be solved for the improvement of student learning achievement.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SCHOOL LITERACY MOVEMENT IN IMPROVING TEACHER'S READING MOTIVATION AT STATE HIGH SCHOOL 1 SIANTAR – INDONESIA, IN THE 2018/2019 ACADEMIC YEAR

Rahab SIADARI*

Abstract: This study aimed to determine the Implementation of School Literacy Movement in Improving Teacher's Reading Motivation in State High School 1 Siantar in the 2018/2019 Academic Year. This study used School Action Research (SAR) method, this research is a quantitative data with descriptive statistical analysis techniques which conducted at SMA Negeri 1 Siantar in the 2019/2020 academic year, subject consisting of 62 teachers of all subjects. This research was implemented using two cycles namely the first cycle and the second cycle, before the pre-cycle had been implemented. The results of this study indicated that there is an increase in the reading motivation of teachers who are selected from the assessment of the average reading motivation of the original teacher in the pre-cycle conditions showed that the average assessment is quite good, increasingly to be better. Based on the results, it can be concluded that the implementation of the School Literacy Movement carried out in a planned manner and proved to be able to increase the motivation of reading teachers in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar with the results of this study proving that it can increase the teacher reading motivation, this condition can be seen from the average assessment. The teacher's initial reading motivation in the condition of the first cycle showed that the average of good ratings increased to very good and those that originally had an average rating of 3.52 increased to 5.43.

Keywords: Teacher, Teacher's Reading Motivation, School Action Research, School Literacy Movement, Teacher Reading Motivation Assessment.

INTRODUCTION

Reading Motivation is the tendency of *an active soul to understanding the language patterns to obtain the information related to the will, activity, and feeling of pleasure*, it is potentially allowing the individuals to choose, pay attention and accept something that comes from outside of them¹.

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¹ Mujtahidin, *Teori Belajar dan Pembelajaran*, Bangkalan, Universitas Trunojoyo Madura, 2012, p. 22.

According to Lilawati² (1988), interpreting children's reading motivation is a strong and deep attention accompanied by a feeling of pleasure towards reading activities and it directs children to read on their own volition. Aspects of reading motivation includes: reading pleasure, awareness of the benefits of reading, frequency of reading and the number of books that teacher has been read.

Interest is a strong motivator to do an activity. Children's reading activities will be implemented or not, these activities are determined by the child's interest. In general, interest can be interpreted as a tendency that causes someone trying to find or try activities in a certain field. Witherington (1986)³ argues that interest is awareness of something, someone, a problem or situation that has to do and without someone's awareness of an object, and then the individual will never have an interest in something.

While reading is an activity or applying process of a number of reading text processing skills in order to understand the reading's contents. Therefore, reading as an activity to obtain the information or messages that were conveyed by the author in written language utterance. Someone is able to read not just by chance, but also learning and practicing of reading texts that consist of meaningful letters. RPP SD⁴ (2017) states that the purpose of reading is divided into three main objectives, namely: (1) reading for study, (2) reading for effort, (3) reading for pleasure. In this case, the purpose of reading must be determined before the reading activity to make it easier to understand and obtain the information.

As for the results of observations by school principals, the motivation teachers reading at Siantar 1 Public High School in 2018/2019 is still low. The low motivation teachers reading cannot be separated from the culture of Indonesian people who are more inclined towards the culture of speech. This because of made it worse the lack of confidence of the teacher in the results of his work⁵.

Generally, teachers feel that their work is not enough read by the public or students themselves. Whereas, the works improvement can occur if the teacher does not hesitate to present the work and learn from mistake. In fact, teachers who love reading and writing can transmit the same pleasure to their students. This condition underlies the construction of the literacy movement for teachers and educators⁶.

School literacy in the context of the School Literacy Movement (GLS) is the ability to access, understand and use something intelligently through various

² Lilawati, *Hubungan Antara Tingkat Pendidikan Orang Tua, Stimulasi Membaca Dari Orang Tua dan Intelegensi dengan Minat Membaca pada Anak Kelas V Sekolah Dasar*, Yogyakarta, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1988, p. 94.

³ H.C. Witherington, H. C., *Teknik-Teknik Belajar dan Mengajar*, Bandung, Jemmars, 1986, p. 110.

⁴ RPP SD, *Tiga Tahap Pelaksanaan GLS*, 2017, available at <https://www.pediapendidikan.com/2016/07/tiga-tahap-gerakan-literasi-sekolah.html>

⁵ V. F. Anggraeni, *Penerapan Disiplin Untuk Anak Usia Sekolah Dasar (5-12 Tahun)*, 2012, available at <http://belajarbarengkiddos.blogspot.com/2012/11/penerapan-disiplin-untuk-anak-usia.html>

⁶ S. Anitah & Dkk, *Strategi Pembelajaran di SD*, Jakarta, Universitas Terbuka, 2008, p. 70.

activities, such as reading, seeing, listening, writing and speaking. GLS is an overall effort to make schools a literacy learning community⁷.

Understanding School Literacy in the GLS context is the ability to access, understand, and use something that intelligently through various activities includes reading, seeing, listening, writing, and or speaking. The School Literacy Movement is efforts to make the school a learning organization whose citizens are lifelong literates through public engagement⁸.

Basically, literacy is an activity related to reading and writing. However, the Prague Declaration in 2003 stated that literacy is not only related to these two activities, but also covers how a person communicates in society.

From the background explanation above, the researcher is interested in conducting research aims to find out the Implementation of the School Literacy Movement in Improving Teacher's Motivation in State High School 1 Siantar in 2018/2019 Academic Year.

METHODOLOGY

This study used School Action Research (SAR) methods. The researcher used the quantitative data type with descriptive statistical analysis techniques namely "statistics used to manage data and describes data in the form of data display that is more meaningful and easily understood by others"⁹.

This research is implemented in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar. The subjects are all the teachers of SMA Negeri 1 Siantar. The study was conducted starting on October 17, 2018 until December 1, 2018.

This research is implemented using 4 stages, namely preparation, implementation, evaluation, and reflection, and carried out in at least 2 cycles. At this stage the process of observation is carried out on the implementation of the action cycle I and cycle II is observing the teacher¹⁰.

The preparation phase of the **cycle I** are:

1. Guide the teacher to implement the School Literacy Movement;
2. Arrange observation sheets to see the teacher reading motivation;
3. Compile a list of questions that will be used in interviews between the principal as a researcher and the teacher as a research partner.

⁷ D. Buchari, *Gerakan Literasi Sekolah*, 2017, available at <https://steemit.com/indonesia/@darmawanbuchari/gerakan-literasi-sekolah-20171117t22031536z>

⁸ Suhardjono, *Tanya jawab tentang PTK dan PTS, naskah buku*, 2009, p. 12.

⁹ N. Sudjana, *Penilaian Hasil Proses Belajar Mengajar*, Bandung, Remaja Rosdakarya, 1991, p. 77.

¹⁰ U. S. Winataputra, *Teori Belajar dan Pembelajaran*, Jakarta, Universitas Terbuka, 2007, p. 55.

The preparation phase of the **cycle II** are:

1. Hold a School Literacy Movement for teachers;
2. Prepare observation sheets to see how the teacher's reading motivation;
3. Prepare a list of questions that will be used in discussions between the principal as a researcher and the teacher as a research partner.

During the preparation stage, activities scenarios, time schedules, places and other supporting facilities such as observation sheets are made. This study was aimed to all teachers, both having education background and non education background, namely 62 teachers¹¹.

Data collection techniques in this study using non-test techniques. Non-test techniques are non-standard data collection techniques and engineering results from teachers and schools. Non-test techniques include; observation, questionnaire, interview. According to Suharsimi (2002)¹² in outline, the work of data analysis includes: (a) preparation, (b) tabulation, and (c) application and in accordance with the research approach.

After the data is processed, it is grouped by its type, namely quantitative data and qualitative data. Quantitative data in the form of scoring and qualitative data in the form of data with nature criteria are very good, sufficient, lacking, very lacking¹³.

For the motivation to read the teacher may be know the results after the score of observations is stated with the criteria:

If the results are 5–6, the teacher's motivation to read is high.

If the results are 3–4, then the results are moderate teacher reading motivation.

If the result is 1–2, then the teacher's reading motivation is low.

In order to get a clearer picture of the statistical technique, we need to use the mean or average formula:

Information:

$$M = \frac{\sum X}{N}$$

M = Average value

$\sum X$ = Number of teachers' reading motivation scores

N = Number of teachers

¹¹ Suhardjono, *Tanya jawab tentang PTK dan PTS, naskah buku*, 2009, p. 44.

¹² Arikunto Suharsimi, *Penelitian Tindakan Kelas*, Jakarta, PT Bumi Aksara, 2002, p. 209.

¹³ Mujtahidin, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

With these statistics one hopes that a picture of the effectiveness of the School Literacy Movement activities can be obtained in increasing teacher reading motivation at SMA Negeri 1 Siantar¹⁴.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. RESULT

1. Initial Condition (Pre-cycle)

In this discussion, it is explained the learning result in pre-cycle or before and after the improvement which is in the cycle I and cycle II. Researchers need to know first regarding the initial conditions that are associated with an assessment of the reading motivation of teachers in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar.

Table 1.
Formative Test Results for pre-cycle

No	Score	Total no of Teacher	Information
1	1	10	Low
2	2	37	Low
3	3	15	Medium
4	4	0	High
5	5	0	High
Total of NoTeachers		62	
Average		2,08	Low

Source: Own Study

Based on the teacher motivation assessment in initial condition (pre-cycle) one can see that the average score obtained in the pre cycle is 2.08 which means that the teacher's reading motivation is low.

Thus, it can be seen that the teacher reading motivation in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar before the School Literacy Movement was still very low.

Based on the results of the initial condition assessment, related to the evaluation of teacher reading motivation which is still low, it is necessary to get an action in order to increase teacher reading motivation which is one of the efforts that implemented at SMA Negeri 1 Siantar is by implementing the School Literacy Movement.

¹⁴ Departemen Pendidikan Nasional. *Pedoman Umum Direktorat jenderal pendidikan dasar dan menengah kementerian pendidikan dan kebudayaan tahun 2016*, Jakarta, Panduan, Gerakan Literasi di Sekolah Dasar, 2017. Kementerian pendidikan dan kebudayaan. *Kurikulum 2013 kompetensi dasar sekolah dasar dan madrasah ibtidaiyah*. Jakarta, Kementerian pendidikan dan kebudayaan, 2013.

2. Cycle I

In the first cycle implemented as an effort to overcome the problem of low teacher reading motivation in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar. In the implementation of the School Literacy Movement in the first cycle carried out with the following schedule:

Table 2.
Schedule Movement for School Literacy Cycle I

Time	Activity
07.00 – 07.15	Read a book in the teacher's room before entering class for 15 minutes
12.15 – 12.30	Looking for references sourced from the internet on how to write scientific papers
15 minutes before returning home	Read a book in the teacher's room before entering the class for 15 minutes

Source: Own Study

With the implementation of the School Literacy Movement in the first cycle in this study, it can be seen the results of the principal's observation of the results of the teacher's reading motivation evaluation in cycle I.

Table 3.
Formative Test Results for Cycle I

No	Score	Total of Teacher	Information
1	1	0	Low
2	2	0	Low
3	3	36	Medium
4	4	22	High
5	5	5	High
Total of Teacher		62	
Average		3,52	Moderate

Source: Own Study

Based on the teacher reading motivation assessment in the first cycle, one can see that the teacher reading motivation is in the moderate category, with the observation score reaching 3.52.

Thus, it can be seen that the teacher reading motivation in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar is increasing, this proves that the implementation of the School Literacy Movement organized by principals at SMA Negeri 1 Siantar can increase the teacher reading motivation.

It was proven that there was an increase in the teacher reading motivation and it was selected from the average evaluation of the teacher's initial reading motivation in the pre-cycle condition, indicating that the average assessment was quite good, and increasing well.

The increasing in teacher reading motivation after the School Literacy Movement was implemented in the first cycle was not able to achieve the target set of 100% of teachers having a good assessment for reading motivation. For this reason, the implementation of the first cycle needs to be reevaluated and reflected.

3. Cycle II

In cycle II it was implemented as a reflection of the implementation of the School Literacy Movement that has been implemented in cycle I in order to increase the teacher reading motivation at SMA Negeri 1 Siantar. In the implementation of the School Literacy Movement in cycle II it is basically the same as in the cycle I.

In the implementation of the School Literacy Movement in the second cycle implemented with the following schedule in the table 4:

Table 4.
Schedule Movement for School Literacy Cycle I

Time	Activity
07.00–07.15	Read a book in the teacher's room before entering class for 15 minutes
12.15–12.30	Looking for references sourced from the internet on how to write scientific papers
15 minutes before returning home	Read a book in the teacher's room before entering class for 15 minutes

Source: Own Study

With the implementation of the School Literacy Movement in the second cycle in this study, it can be seen the results of the principal's observation of the results of the teacher's reading motivation evaluation in the second cycle can be seen in the table 5.

Table 5.
Formative Test Results for Cycle II

No	Score	Total of Teacher	Information
1	1	0	Low
2	2	0	Low
3	3	0	Medium
4	4	0	Medium
5	5	35	High
6	6	27	High
Total of Teacher		62	
Average		5,43	High

Source: Own Study

Based on the teacher's reading motivation evaluation in cycle II it can be seen that the average score indicates a value of 5.43 or included in the high category. Thus it can be seen that the teacher reading motivation in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar is already high.

The implementation of the School Literacy Movement that was conducted in a planned manner was proven to be able to increase the teachers reading motivation in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar with the results of this study. It was proven that the implementation of the School Literacy Movement could increase the teacher reading motivation. In the cycle I is shown that the average rating is rising to high and the average rating of 3.52 increased to 5.43.

B. DISCUSSION

Based on the assessment of teacher reading motivation in the first cycle it can be seen that the motivation to read of the teacher is in the good category. Thus, it can be seen that the teacher reading motivation in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar is increasing, it is proved that the implementation of the School Literacy Movement organized by principals at SMA Negeri 1 Siantar can increase teacher reading motivation.

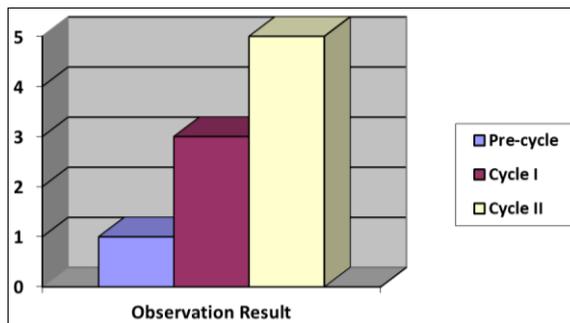
It was proven that there was an increase in the teacher reading motivation that were selected from the average evaluation of the teacher's initial reading motivation in the pre-cycle condition, indicates that the average assessment was quite good, increasing to be good.

Even so the increase in teachers reading motivation after the School Literacy Movement was implemented in the first cycle has not been able to achieve the target set of 100% of teachers have a good of teacher motivation reading assessment. For this reason, the implementation of the first cycle needs to be evaluated and reflected.

Based on the assessment of teacher reading motivation in the second cycle it can be seen that the average score indicates a value of 5.43 or included in the excellent category. Thus it can be seen that the teachers reading motivation in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar is very good.

The implementation of the School Literacy Movement which was implemented in a planned manner was proven to be able to increase the teachers reading motivation of in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar with the results of this study is the first cycle showed the average good rating increased to very good and which originally had an average rating of 3.52 increased to 5.43.

The following graph shows the increase of teacher reading motivation from pre cycle, cycle I to cycle II:



Graph 1. Increased Teacher's Motivation in Reading
From Pre Cycle, Cycle I, to Cycle II
Source: Own Study

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

A. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the assessment of teacher reading motivation in the first cycle it can be seen the teacher reading motivation is in the good category, the motivation in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar is increasing, this proves that the implementation of the School Literacy Movement organized by principals in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar can increase teacher reading motivation.

It was proven that there was an increase in the teacher reading motivation were selected from the average evaluation of the teacher's initial reading motivation in the pre-cycle condition, indicates that the average assessment was quite good, increasing well.

The increase in teacher reading motivation after the School Literacy Movement was implemented in the first cycle has not been able to achieve the target of 100% of teachers have a good of teacher reading motivation assessment. For this reason, the implementation of the first cycle needs to be evaluated and reflected.

Based on the assessment of teacher reading motivation in the second cycle it can be seen that the average score indicates a value of 5.43 or includes in the excellent category. Thus, it can be seen that the teacher reading motivation in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar is very well.

The implementation of the School Literacy Movement which was implemented in a planned manner was proven to be able to increase the teacher reading motivation in SMA Negeri 1 Siantar with the results of this study. The first cycle showed that the average good rating increased very well and which originally had an average rating of 3.52 increased to 5.43.

B. SUGGESTIONS

Based on the conclusions above, the researcher makes the following suggestions:

1. School Literacy Movement activities are very well done to foster teachers increase teacher reading motivation. This activity should be carried out in a planned and sustainable manner.
2. This guidance should be continued with the School Literacy Movement activities in the implementation of learning to measure the teacher reading motivation in implementing the learning plans that they have prepared.
3. The School Literacy Movement should also be conducted on all teachers in rotation and involves all aspects of the teacher's abilities/competencies.

IMPLEMENTATION OF OCM SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO IMPROVE STUDENT LEARNING OUTCOMES OF EXPOSITION TEXT MATERIAL

Delpi SINAGA*

Abstract: This research has as aim to disclose the effectiveness of scientific approach learning the technique of OCM (Observed, Copied and Modified) on improving student learning outcomes of Indonesian Language subject especially exposition text material in class of X Science I. The approach used in this research is qualitative-quantitative approach within the mixed method research design. This research obtained by Classroom Action research style because the process of research included an action inside classroom. Population of this research the are students of State High School 2 Bandar 2019–2020, while the sample taken from first grade student of X Science I class (33 students). This research has two variable dependent and independent variable. Independent variable is scientific approach of Observe, Copy and Modify technique, and the dependent variable is student learning outcomes. The result of this research indicated that there is an improvement of result from pre-cycle test; I cycle test and II cycle test. Based on the result, it can be concluded that scientific approach and OCM (Observe, Copy and Modify) technique is an effective way to improve student learning outcomes on exposition text material.

Keywords: Scientific Approach, Learning Technique, Exposition Text, Dependent variable, Independent variable.

INTRODUCTION

Educational process is an effort to develop human ability and attitude which include student life experience. Human ability of thinking is influenced by their intelligence¹. Thus, it can be seen that there is a relation between intelligence and learning process. Learning process is a part of student activities which they done to obtain learning purposes. And learning outcome is an ability of student after they receive the experience of learning². Inside the theory of constructivism, student has

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¹ Azhar Arsyat, *Media Pembelajaran*, Jakarta, PT. Grafindo Persada, 2003. p. 30.

² Ibrahim Sudjana Nana, *Penelitian Dan Penilaian Pendidikan*, Bandung, Sinar Baru, 1989, p. 44.

a better place than teacher. It means that inside the learning process, student is in the center.

As the time growth more sophisticated and modern, human demands to follow the era. The same thing happens on educational field, learning process has to be planned as the applied modern knowledge in order to be equal with the other education system in other part of world. The opinion teacher is the only resource of knowledge should be changed, because there is still much source of knowledge for student.

Student learning outcomes influenced by two factors, the first one comes from the inside of student and the other comes from the outside of student. According to Carroll³ there are five factors which can influence student learning outcomes such as: (1) student natural talent; (2) student's advanced time; (3) time which teacher used to explain subject material; (4) learning quality; and (5) student ability. There is also the observation result of student score especially in Indonesian language subject on the material of exposition text, student in class X Science I State High school 2 Bandar still showed low score in learning, and their daily score is under the standard.

Furthermore, teacher tends to consider the problem of student outcomes needs to be improved. Teacher makes an observational interview for several students to test their learning outcomes, the result came out as student feels bored with the same learning process in class. Based on those interview results, teacher makes an initiative to make an unusual learning model inside the class, which called as scientific technique of OCM (Observed, Copied and Modified). Scientific Approach on learning is a characteristic and strength of Indonesian 2013 curriculum. Ministry of Education and Culture⁴ stated their own conception that this approach of learning involved several components such as observing, asking, trying, managing, serving, concluding and creating. Those components should be included on every learning practice, however it should not be included on learning cycle therefore student can actively participate in every learning activities.

Scientific approach meant to make the student recognize and understand every material using the scientific approach, and every information can be come from any source, any time, everywhere and did not depend on single information from teacher. However, the information from teacher should be unsuitable along with the improvement of student class. Scientific Approach is relevant with three learning theories by Bruner which are called learning theories⁵.

Strategy of Observe, Copy and Modify is one of 7 learning approach components of Contextual Teaching and Learning (CTL), which is a model that

³ Sudjana Nana, *Penilaian Hasil Proses Belajar Mengajar*, Jakarta, Sinarbaru, 2009. p. 40.

⁴ Ministry of Education, *Malaysia Education Blueprint 2013–2025 (Preschool to Post-Secondary Education)*, 2013, available at <https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/en/2013/malaysia-education-blueprint-2013-2025-preschool-post-secondary-education-summary-5867>

⁵ A.A. Carin, R.B. Sund, *Teaching Science Through Discovery*, Columbus, Charles E. Meril Publishing Co., 1975. p. 88.

can be copied and giving an example that can be copied. That applied model can be how to operate something, or the teacher will give an example of how to make progress something.

Exposition text is a paragraph which contains information or knowledge which served in simple way, solid and precise⁶. Other opinion stated that exposition text is a kind of text which has function to convey some opinions which include as thinking of a topic. Exposition paragraph has scientific characteristic or can be stated as non-fiction.

Based on the background above, this research aimed to identify the problem of student low learning outcomes on Indonesian Language subject especially on the material of exposition text and the effect of scientific approach Observe, Copy and Modify learning method toward student in order to improve their learning outcomes.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The approach used in this research is a qualitative-quantitative approach within the mixed method research design which is a procedure to collect the data, analyze and mixed quantitative and qualitative approach in a research to understand well the problem⁷.

This research obtained by Classroom Action research is a process of trustine them development of the strength on reflective thinking, discussion, making decision and a action by ordinary people that participate in the collective research to overcome certain difficulties that they faced in their activities.

This classroom action research was done within State High school 2 Bandar within three months (during October, November and December). Population of this research is the entire taking students of State High School 2 Bandar 2019–2020, while the sample is taken from first grade students of X Science I class (33 students). This research has two variables dependent and independent variables. Independent variable is the scientific approach of Observe, Copy and Modify technique, and the dependent variable is student learning outcomes.

Primary data of this analysis taken from student as the main research subject (through questionnaire and observation) and Secondary data taken from student assessment from those observations.

Data Collection technique consists of Test technique, non-test technique (Observation, Interview and Questionnaire). Data analysis used qualitative and quantitative analysis. Data analysis is a process to manage the data that were obtained by collecting results. Data analysis is the process of organizing the

⁶ Pius A. Partanto, M. Dahlan Al Barry, *Kamus Ilmiah Populer*, Surabaya, Arkola, 1994, p. 98.

⁷ John W. Creswell, Vicki L. Plano-Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Method Research*, SAGE Publications, 2011. p. 70.

arrangement of data, made a pattern from it, categorize and made a certain unity of arrangement⁸.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This action research is done through a 3 cycle process. Pre-cycle, cycle I, and cycle II. Here are the details:

1. Early Condition (Pre-Cycle)

In this early condition, researcher did not apply the scientific approach of OCM (Observe, Copy and Modify) technique. Pre-cycle observed student learning activity and doing the test of exposition test to know student learning process before scientific approaching the OCM (Observe, Copy and Modify) technique. Then, there is a pre-test to know student learning outcomes before scientific approach.

2. Cycle II

a) Learning Plan

In this part, there are double meeting time for teacher to prepare the Learning Plan. On each meeting, there are student work sheets and test questions. This part has purpose to obtain the data regarding teacher and student activities and researcher takes the observation result of teacher and student.

b) Action Research Process

On this action research, teacher begins with opening, learning process to the last activities of learning. Here are the details of action research in cycle I:

Introduction Activities

1. Student responds to teacher greeting
2. Student responds to teacher question regarding exposition text. What is exposition text? What should write in the first line of exposition text? And then the next line, and the last is what should be written in final line of exposition text.
3. Student obtains the information of related material and the purpose of material learning. Furthermore, they find out about the exposition text as the material they will learn.

⁸ Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif (Edisi Revisi)*, PT. Remaja Rosda Karya, 2017, p. 60.

Main Activities

1. Stimulation
2. Problem Statement
3. Data collection
4. Data Processing
5. Verification
6. Generalization

Closing Activities

- Made Closing Assessment
- Explained the assignment for next week.
- Explained learning plan for next week

Observation Result of Cycle I

On cycle I the amount of student who passes learning process is of 25 students, the average score they gain is 78,53 which means that the scientific approach of OCM (Observe, Copy and Modify) is an effective way to improve student learning outcomes on the material of exposition text.

On student observation, teacher concludes that student has been listening to teacher explanation; student seems to gain their enthusiasm on following learning process of Indonesian subject exposition text material. Student could state their opinion, student asked about the thing they did not know and work in group with another friend. This observation result showed the average score of 97 which means student has actively participated in class. However, to make more conducive learning process, researcher makes the next move of observation cycle II.

Cycle II**a. Learning plan**

Activities in Cycle II quite same as in cycle I, the only difference in cycle I and cycle II are how they done the action research. In cycle II there are 2 kinds of action research.

b. Action Research Process

On this action research, teacher begins with opening, learning process to the last activities of learning.

Here are the details of action research in cycle II:

Introduction Activities

1. Student responds to teacher greeting
2. Student respond teacher question regarding their previous learning.
3. Student actively receives the information regarding their previous learning and their next learning material.
4. Student receives information about the material they will learn and they should master it especially regarding text exposition learning.

Main Activities

1. Student began to read the example of exposition text
2. Student asked about the material related to characteristic, structure and the rule of exposition text and its language principle.
3. Student made learning group and together they tried to identify exposition text related material such as the structure, characteristic of exposition text, and language principle of exposition text
4. Student wrote their findings related to exposition text.
5. Identified the definition, characteristic, structure and the rule of writing exposition text based on several references they have been read.
6. Discuss the definition, characteristic, structure and the rule of exposition text based on references.
7. Conclude about definition, characteristic, structure and the rule of exposition text based on several references.
8. Present the definition, characteristic, structure and the rule of exposition text
9. Other student says his opinion and ask questions regarding the presentation result.

Closing Activities

1. Student with teacher's help will defined the discussion result
2. Teacher gave reward for group with the best presentation performance.
3. Teacher gave student their post-test

Observation Result

In cycle II, there are 33 students who passes the learning process and the average score obtained 82,77 which means the scientific approach OCM technique is effective to improve student learning outcomes. Overall observation result showed the score of 153 which means student classroom activities are really good.

On student observation, teacher concludes that student listens the material well, student showed their enthusiasm on learning Indonesian subject of exposition text material, student can stated their opinion, asked about the part they did not understand and they can work in a group better.

The observation result showed the score of 153 which means student classroom activity is really good.

Discussion

In Pre-cycle, the amount of students who passed the learning process is 6 students. The average score just gains 59,16 which means it still under the standard score. Student gains the score of 49 which means they did not have the good result of classroom activities.

In cycle I, the amount of student that passed learning process is 25 students, and the averages score is 75,83 it means that the scientific approach of OCM (Observe, Copy and Modify) is an effective way to improve student learning outcomes on the material of exposition text.

Student observation activities: teacher concludes that student have been listening to the material well, students have their enthusiasm on following the learning process of Indonesian Language subject, exposition text material, student were able to state their own opinion, the student was asked about the part they did not understand and they can work in a group better. The observation result showed the score of 97 which means student classroom activities is quite good and they have been actively participated in class, however, to makes more conducive learning process, researcher make the next move of observation cycle II.

In cycle II, there are 33 students who passed the learning process and the average score obtained 82,77 which means the scientific approach OCM technique is effective to improve student learning outcomes. Overall observation result showed the score of 153 which means student classroom activities are really good.

For further explanation, here is the graphic of student learning outcomes improvement from pre-cycle, cycle I and cycle II.

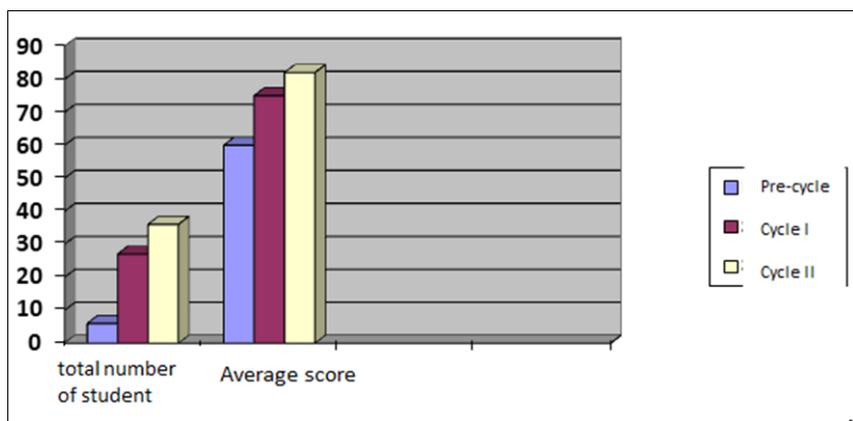


Fig. 1. The improvement of student learning outcomes from pre-cycle, Cycle I and Cycle II.

Source: own study

Based on the graphic above, the amount of student who has passes the learning process keep increasing from pre-cycle, cycle I and cycle II. Moreover, following the increase of student amount, their averages score also increased

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

A. Conclusions

In pre-cycle stages, the amount of students that passed the learning process is 6 students. The average score obtained 59,16 it means that the score is under standard. The observation result shows the score of 49 which means student classroom activity is not good enough.

On cycle I, the amount of student that passes learning process is 25 students, and the averages score is 75,83 it means that the scientific approach of OCM (Observe, Copy and Modify) is on effective way to improve student learning outcomes on the material of exposition text.

About the observation activities of, teacher makes an assessment of student on how they pay attention on teacher material explanation, how student has an enthusiasm and following Indonesian language subject of exposition text learning process, student can have stated their own opinion. Student asked about the material they did not understand yet and student can learn in a group with other friends. The final observation of cycle I is obtained the average score of 97 which means student activity inside classroom include as good enough. However, to make more conducive learning process, this research continues with cycle II.

In cycle II, there are 33 students who passes the learning process and the average score obtained was 82,77 which means the scientific approach OCM technique is effective to improve student learning outcomes. Overall observation result showed the score of 153 which means student classroom activities are really good.

B. Suggestions

Based on this analysis there are some point which needs to gain attention. Thus, here is the researcher suggestions for every part included:

1. Scientific Approach of OCM (Observe, Copy and Modify) technique can be applied in a class that has the same characteristics as the research subject.
2. This technique should be applied for other subject material.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

Mărioara Stanciu Sălăgean, *Niște amintiri de o viață...*, 4th edition, Bucharest, Semne Press, 2019, 576 p.

“The memories represent possessions that we travel through life with” is the motto that describes this book best. Nonetheless, due to what they reveal to us, the memories can sometimes become the possessions of the others: we can learn from the experience of our fellows, or, when the people who decide to write their autobiographies intend to describe their birth place specificity too, regarded in all its aspects (people and places, language, customs etc.) – as in the case of our author: “my wish is to preserve the archaic language, write it down for some dear successors of mine” (p. 9) – the memories can become sources of information for cultural and scientific studies.

Mrs. Mărioara Stanciu Sălăgean¹ depicts (retelling us gracefully) her own childhood and youth within the community from the locality of Cigmău, Mureș River Valley, the county of Hunedoara. As a matter of fact, there are two books, organically merged into one: the author’s autobiography and the monograph of her birth place village. In front of our eyes, there are unfolded either insignificant or great events from her life, presented in the context of the countryside living: working in the fields, having the meals, types of foods, jobs of the people, descriptions of the traditional costume from the region during the holidays or the regular days of the week, customs related to the major events from people’s lives (birth, Christianisation, wedding, funeral), traditions from the holidays, religious rituals on Palm Sunday, Easter or Epiphany Days etc., the Sunday Service etc., *claca* – group working (an opportunity to describe the weaving loom), measuring units used in the area (*stânjen* – fathom, *ferdela* – 1/4 acre) etc. The author then talks about the respect for the village teacher and the priest in the time of her childhood, along with some merrier and down to earth things: “There were heard nasty cursing words coming from the men during the working, when they would verbalise their sorrow to either the animals or the inanimate surroundings, whenever something went wrong... Other swearing words were mentioning church-related objects, or biblical characters”. And, the author continues humorously: “The man, when in trouble, hopes for any kind of unusual help, which is of no use nevertheless” (p. 256). The dialogues between her own relatives and the villagers depict the dialect of the region accurately; these dialogues are extremely delightful, and also interesting for the eye of the dialectologist. A particularity of the language used by the dweller of Cigmău is, for example, the use of the final *u* – *onu firu de busuiocu* (with the correct form: “un fir de busuioc” – a stalk of basil) –, which has the role “of making the final consonant and the word sound softer and milder in pronunciation” (p. 21).

On addressing our field of interest, the author offers us a lot of examples of people names, catching the pattern of the popular denomination while creation. Thus, “uncle Todor was called «Todoru Săvetii li Ghiuca»” (p. 13). This formulation, in which it is evidenced the relation of filiation, used to be intensively used in the rural area, and it is still used

¹ Physicist and scientific researcher for 38 years, of the Atomic Physics Institute from Bucharest–Măgurele.

nowadays, because people living in village know the nicknames better than the family names. Here are other examples: *Ion a li Ula*, *Laia li Nicodin* etc. “When it comes to me and my brother, people used to say: Gheorghiu and Mărioara li Laia Săvetii li Ghiuca” – an entire chain of generations. It ought to be noticed the use of the local form of the possessive: *a li*, instead of *a lu(i)* – son/daughter of.

We also find out about the perpetuation of certain names within some families; in the present case: *Maria* and *Ion*. Generally, the local inventory of the baptising names used to be: *Maria*, *Ana*, *Lina*, *Saveta*, *Fia*, *Fica*, *Aurelia*, *Ioana*, *Raveca* etc.; *Avram*, *Aron*, *Anton*, *Ion*, *Niculae*, *Gheorghe*, *Petru*, *Vasile* etc. The author also notices the fact that: “Nowadays, such names are not given to children anymore. I am sad to hear, in the village regions, names as: Robert, Carmen, Corina, Sorin, Ramona or, maybe, Afrodita, Medeea and Desdemona” (p. 16). Fortunately, the name *Maria* has revived lately.

The nicknames are met extremely often and “rule” in the village, because, as Mrs. Mărioara Stanciu Sălăgean accurately notices: “... the nicknames near the baptising names were identifying unmistakably the person in case. By using the surname, it would have been much more difficult, if not impossible, to identify somebody. The family names were scarce in such a small village” (p. 21): *Başca*, *Bogatu*, *Buha*, *Bănuţoaia* (marital nickname), *Ciuta*, *Găzdău*, *Gărjob* (the last two, family nicknames), *Grofu*, *Murgu*, *Neamţu*, *Pardon*, *Prădatu*, *Prune Albe*, *Pticuţ*, *Răguşitu*, *Tocana*, *Uşu*, *Verdele*, *Zupa* etc. In some few cases, we are also offered the origin: *Uliţoică* was somebody who would wander around, more on the lanes-uliţă(e) of the village (p. 257).

An anthroponomic particularity this time is the unarticulated usage of the baptising names, instead of the articulated ones. The question *What’s your name?* was answered: *Ană*, *Mărică*, *Lină*, *Savetă*; this form is explained by the author thorough the use of the Romanian vocative: *Ană*, *Lină*...*get into the house, it’s going to rain!* (p. 33)

The people are not the only ones present in the book, from the nominal point of view, but also the animals. Here are the names of the beasts from the household: “I am also going to tell you few names of oxen, the ones that I can remember. I know that, we used to have an ox called *Iambor* and one *Bodor*. Or one called *Mişca*. I think there was one called *Paicu* and maybe one called *Sâmboan*, and I can’t recollect others... For the cows, there were: *Lunaia*, *Mândraia*, *Joiana*, *Dumana*, *Rujana*, *Florica*” (p. 227).

The observations on this book are going to be stopped here, the people interested in it need to discover its charm while reading it personally. Moreover, the author makes the experience even more pleasant and easier, by creating a Cigmău language – Romanian language dictionary (pp. 490–545), and a list of village sons and daughters (pp. 547–570).

There can be remarked the fact that, through this work, “filled with wise sincerity, biographic events and interesting monograph details (Sorin Preda, p. 5)”, Mrs. Mărioara Stanciu Sălăgean fulfilled her duty to give something, from her own transformed-self, back to the ones that formed her: the family and the birth village.

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Paul Emanoil Barbu, Mirela Comănescu, *Catagrafia din 1838 a oraşului Caracal şi a satului Bold, Craiova, Alma Press, 2018, 124 p.*

The preoccupation for the collecting and the publishing of the material from the archive has been an important objective for many historians and linguists. Aware of the fact that the period documents lack (especially the far back ones) from the history of our society evolution, being inaccessible for research, they have carried out an intense, individual or collective work, to which we nowadays owe a rich inventory, included in consecrated studies.

Furthermore, the census that the two authors made follows the line of the works aiming at the recovery of the historical past, by identifying and publishing some unknown documents from the archives.

Why are the censuses important? Because, in them, there can be found essential forms of manifestation of the Romanian society, such: economic activities, social relations, administrative, legal, military or church organisation, political phenomena and the beginning of some cultural manifestations, etc. This was due to the central authorities from the period of the Organic Regulations, which, wishing to know the number of the people who would supply the financial reserves precisely, required the making of censuses that would include information on the population from the two Principalities – Wallachia and Moldova – the tax payers, the tax-exempted, the leaseholders, the traders, the craftsmen, the plough-men, the clerics, the teachers, the boyars etc. (usually the family heads), along with information on their family members and their possessions.

For the former county of Romanaţi, there were preserved in the National Archives, the censuses for the city or Caracal, and other four districts, from the five existing ones. The present work presents the census made for the mentioned urban administrative territory, and the rural one of Bold, which, starting with 1845 became an integrant part of Caracal.

The structure of the work is made of an *Introduction* (pp. 5–16) and two annexes in form as a table, representing two censuses: *Catagrafia din 1838 a oraşului Carcal*-The Census from 1838 of the city of Caracal (pp. 17–96) (made on slums: Sfântul Ioan, Sfântul Nicolae, Târgul de Afară, Potroseni) and *Catagrafia din 1838 a satului Bold, judeţul Romanaţi*-The Census from 1838 of the village of Bold, the county of Romanaţi (pp. 97–122).

In the *Introduction*, the authors analyse, on categories, the data from the table rubrics: the ethnicity of the interviewed, the marital status, the age, whether they pay taxes or not, their profession, their health state, their possessions: how many acres of land, their livestock (horses, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, pigs, buffalos, donkeys, mules), the beehives, the fruit-bearing trees, the vineyards. The authors notice the fact that, generally, the amount of information from the end of each censused segment (slum) is the correct one, but there are wrong data inserted too that, after the calculations, were corrected. These situations are inherent when making this type of works, the interviewed are not always consistent in observing the norms imposed for making the censuses and the final calculations.

On addressing our field of interest, in the period when the census was made, the family names were in full process of creation; there is registered a rich inventory of names, very important for the evaluation of the stage the Romanian onomastic system was, at the beginning of the 19th century. The denomination was generally made with the use of an only name, by relating it to a family member, and, seldom, by double names. Other times,

the names of the profession, the boyar rank, the birth place, the nickname were used as distinctive elements. All these categories can be analysed in detail, based on the information from the present paper.

To conclude, the plurality of the angles from which the material offered by the Census can be approached (professional, fiscal, social, anthroponomic categories, the ethnic compenence of the population and its mobility, the material condition of the dwellers etc.), along with the richness of information, make the endeavour of the authors to publish this book be fully rewarded.

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Florin Nacu, *The Union of all the Romanians – From political concept to national ideal*, LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, Berlin, 2020, 212 p.

The author, Dr. Florin Nacu is a IIIrd degree scientific researcher at “C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor” Institute for Reserch in Social Studies and Humanities, from Craiova specialized in problems of social structures, the social, the economic and the political importance of Oltenia in the modern history. Moreover, having a juridical background education, he made the connections between law, history, economy, society, history, in his scientific works. For these reasons, it is very clear why the young historian and researcher Florin Nacu endeavoured to write the book “*The Union of all the Romanians – From political concept to national ideal*”. As we can see in its *Preface*, the book was published in a context dominated by important celebrations held on the occasion of the Great Union Centenary and the Paris Peace Conferences from 1919–1920 Centenary. The book is a precious instrument for understanding the Union of Romania as a high ranked historical process after centuries of fights.

For instance, I can present one of Florin Nacu’s assertions, which shows the mature manner of thinking and the force of analysis and synthesis, used by the author throughout his book: “*When the idea of uniting the dwellers from a territory, in a political form that would become autonomous and independent, emerged, the past represented the basis of that act of will. In the Romanian space, there are two moments that imposed themselves in the Romanian collective mentality, as further targets. The first was the kingdom of Burebista, and the second was represented by the attempt of the political union from the age of Michael the Brave. These two moments were again found in the political act of the Great Union from 1918*”.

Reading the book, we can observe what the author writes: “*the six chapters of the work represent, each, an independent historiographic issue. The Union was motivated by the Romanian diplomats as having a historical basis that was revealed starting from five main elements. Moreover, it has been tried to be brought forward the manner in which the Romanian borders evolved, in different historical stages*”. The author Florin Nacu intended to offer a point of view for each of the six chapters of the book. There were brought forward historiographic arguments, along with the documentary ones. Florin Nacu started his book “*The Union of all the Romanians – From political concept to national ideal*”, from the Carpathian-Danube-Pontic space from Antiquity and moved towards the present-day period. The struggle of the Romanians for the Union, concomitantly with the fight for Independence, took place in the same moments with that of the most peoples from Europe and the world. Some states that were Great Powers, disappeared, reorganised and others transformed from small states into Great Powers. The researcher Florin Nacu presented clearly the imperfections that led to the collapse of Great Romania, in the tragic summer of 1940, along with the courage, also worth admiring, of answering some questions on addressing the future of the idea of union for all the Romanians.

“*Only by insisting on the correct interpretation of the historical sources*”, as Florin Nacu considers, “*we shall be able to find the answer we are looking for*”.

The author of the *Preface*, Professor Cezar Avram, Ph.D., observes: “*The author affirms that the Union was accomplished neither by chance, nor forced. It was the result of*

a historical, continuous action, an effort of generations of politicians. Furthermore, along the pages of the work, it is stated that the Romanians accomplished the Union in the same time when, in diverse historical stages, other peoples of Europe and around the world, such the French, the British, the Italian, the German or the American peoples, accomplished their national aspirations of state centralisation, union, and independence. Basically, the author shows that we rose neither above nor below other significant nations from the universal history. An incontestable merit of the work is that the author introduced and commented numerous fundamental texts that refer to different stages of the Union". I will conclude, as Professor Cezar Avram wrote, that the author Florin Nacu also included a cultural approach on the Union, by reading significant literary works of authors from all the historical regions of Romania.

Equally a synthesis and a working tool, the paper "*The Union of all the Romanians – From political concept to national ideal*", represents the outcome of the research and gatherings under investigation, the author's intention being to compress as much information in order to submit to the reader either he's a well known historic or an aspiring one, both from expository and interpretative outlook.

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Tudor Vișan-Miu, *La școală cu Regele Mihai. Povestea Clasei Palatine*, foreword by Filip-Lucian Iorga, The Collection “Istorie cu blazon”, Bucharest, Corint Publishing House, 2016, ISBN: 978-606-793-055-9, 188 p.

The book written by Tudor Vișan-Miu, *La școală cu Regele Mihai. Povestea Clasei Palatine*, [In school with Michael of Roumania, The story of Palatine Class], represents an important scientific elaborate for the specialty literature, dedicated to the Romanian Monarchy. It brings entre information and meanings, revealing for the reader aspects of the life and reign of both from the period when he formed as a man, and as an inheriting prince, but also from the period of the proper ruling and the exile. Mister Vișan-Miu exceeds the strict limits by the title of the book precisely to follow/highlight to what extent helped the king, the innovating educational method of *Palatine Class* (1932–1940), including the cooperation with some of the class colleagues 1940–1947.

After a short, but relevant introduction in which the author speaks “Despre pregătirea principilor moștenitori în Familia Regală a României” [“About the training of inheriting prince’s in the Royal Family of Romania”], highlighting the fact that, up to the inheriting prince Michael, the education of the royal offspring’s was done, traditionally, in a private environment, the first chapter reconstructs “Studiile primare ale Regelui, apoi ale Principelui Moștenitor Mihai I (1928–1932)” [“The primary studies of the King, then of the Inheriting Prince Michael I (1928–1932)”]. This stage from King Michael’s life was marked by the return of his father in the country and reinvesting of Carol II as King of Romania.

The end of this first period of forming the young Mihai marked the beginning of a new stage in the education of the inheriting prince, characterized, amongst others, by the absence of the maternal figure and the prominence of the father figure in the life of price Mihai (as a result of the separation of the royal couple and the exile of the *Mother Queen* Elena). From educational point of view began, still, a very important stage, as the author states: “His thorough theoretical training will be received, although, in the royal school where the most original pedagogical ideas of the XXth century will be applied, inaugurated on October 24, 1932 in Sinaia” (p. 22). The Palatine Class represented an initiative of King Carol II.

This issue is analysed in detail by Mister Vișan-Miu in the 3rd chapter of the book, representing, practically, the main part of the volume. The chapter “O școală națională românească pentru liceul Principelui Moștenitor” [“A national Romanian school for the high school of the Inheriting Prince”] is split in nine subchapters suggestively entitled: “Cum a apărut ideea Clasei Palatine” [“How the idea of Palatine Class appeared”], “Profesorii Școlii de la Palatul Regal” [“The teachers of the school of the Royal Palace”], “Un trimestru la Sinaia, două trimestre la București” [“One trimester in Sinaia, two trimesters in Bucharest”], “Lecțiile de sinteză” [“Synthesis lessons”], “Sport, agrement și serbări școlare” [“Sport, recreations and school celebrations”], “Cercetășia: «Gata oricând!»” [“Scouting: «Ready anytime!»”]; “1936–1937. Un anturaj restrâns, o nouă metodă” [“1936–1937. A narrow entourage, a new method”], “Pregătirea militară” [“Military training”], “1938–1940. Între anturaj și școală” [“1938–1940. Between

entourage and school”], “Examenul de bacalaureat de la Palatul Regal” [“The bacalaureate exam at the Royal Palace”].

This chapter reveals to the reader a series of important details for the subject of the book regarding: the birth of the idea and the establishment of the Palatine Class, the students that form it (Radion Chiaburu, Dan Cernovodeanu, Ion Dinulescu, Mircea Ionnițiu, Lascăr Zamfirescu etc.), the teachers (Ion V. Gruia, Vasile Băncilă, Ion Conea, Nicolae Georgescu Tistu, Mircea Tomescu, Ion Zamfirescu, Florica Musicescu, Dimitrie Știubei etc.) that taught the specific program, that comply in general with the program of other high schools in the country, the innovation being, though, the combination of the theoretical lessons with practical activities, conducted in the field during: “synthesis lessons”; education thru sport and Scouting, included, from 1937, in the organisation for youth called Guard of the Country; school celebrations, military education etc., all contributing to the formation of Prince Michael as a man, but especially as a future king of the country.

An important subject analysed in the book of mister Tudor Vișan-Miu over which we intend to focus a bit are the 7 synthesis lessons, that took place between 1933 and 1940, in various regions of the country, “a premiere for Romanian educational system (and not only)” (p. 44). During these trips they visit museums, monasteries, *dacic* and Roman cities (*cetăți*), students learned in the field history, geography, about the great personalities of the Romanian culture, and the inheriting prince had the opportunity to know the country and regional particularities get in touch with the local people. The last synthesis lesson took place on June 3, 1940, in the County of Bucegi (Argeș), where the students of the Palatine Class were explained, by the teacher Ion Gruia and royal resident Gheorghe Alexianu, the administrative law from August 14, 1938, that divided the Romanian country territory into 10 administrative-territorial units, called Counties (*jinuturi*).

Prince Michael finalized the classes of Palatine Class by successfully graduating and obtaining his Bachelor Degree on June 27, 1940, his success being shadowed, though, by the acceptance by the Crown Council of the sovietic ultimatum and the concession of Basarabia and North Bucovina. The happiness of those was shadowed, for Prince Michael, also by the separation from his colleagues from the Palatine Class, launching, though, in the speech given with the occasion of studies finalization, the call to continue the friendships started during the years of school: “(...) Dear colleagues, I have to confess that, besides the joy of finishing in this day the first period of our education, I also have the grief that, from now, our roads separating, we will no longer be together day by day, as up to now, to share little joys and troubles of the day. I insist in thanking you too with all my love for the friendship you have showed me in these years and for all this work made easier by you. I count on your friendship as up to now. *Sănătate!*” (Annex 2, pp. 168–169).

Beyond the knowledge gain during the years of study, important were, for Prince Michael, the future King of Romania, the friendships, some for a life time, bonded amongst the colleagues of the Palatine Class, coming from different cultural and social backgrounds. A special merit of the book is also the following of the destinies of the former students and teachers of the Palatine Class, during the war, during the communist repressions and, were possible, until the publication of the book. The last part of the book treats these problems and is grouped in 4 chapters named suggestive, as follows: “Sub tutela generalului: Regele ca simbol” [Under the protection of the general: King as symbol]; “În jurul monarhului: Regele ca factor de coeziune națională” [Around the monarch: King as factor of national

cohesion], “Exilul Regelui” [The exile of the King] and “Destinul unor palatini” [The destiny of some palatines].

An important part of the book of Mister Tudor Vișan-Miu is represented also by the 7 annexes, that reinforce the analysis and the content of the book, bring additional information and complete the *Story of the Palatine class ...*, including occasional speeches of King Carol II and the inheriting prince Michael; students, directors and teachers of the Palatine Class, ministers of education in the period of 1932–1940. Also, equally important are the illustrations of the book, pictures being part of the personal archive of Radion Chiaburu, former colleague of the King Michael I in Palatine Class.

Overall, the book is well written and well structured, the author reaches the objectives he propose and gives the reader a genuine incursion in the life and education of the inheriting prince and, later, of the activity of King Michael, enriching and completing the speciality literature with an important work of the Romanian Monarchy and national history.

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Francine Hirsch, *Soviet Judgement at Nuremberg: A New History of the International Military Tribunal After World War II*, Oxford University Press, 2020 – 560 p.

The book *Soviet Judgement at Nuremberg: A New History of the International Military Tribunal After World War II* has 4 parts, concerning one of the most important juridical events of the 20th century: the establishment of the International Military Tribunal (IMT). For the first time in history, an international court acknowledged the notions of crimes against humanity, genocide, and war crimes.

Francine Hirsch is an objective historian who knows that the Nuremberg Trials represent a special history when addressing the war history.

It is also known that the Soviets were interested in presenting the Nazi crimes in their real image for disclosing their own crimes, for example, the Katyn massacre, made by the Soviets against the Polish Army war prisoners (both officers and soldiers), which Soviets blamed the Nazis for (the ammunition for Soviet rifles were compatibles with German one after the help the USSR gave to the Weimar Republic and the German Reich during the inter-war period). The Western Allies had the occasion to see that many Soviet prosecutors were chosen, by Stalin, amongst the most submissive prosecutors from the arranged trials that took place during the Great Purges ordered by him in the early thirties.

The Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact from August 23rd 1939 was a heavy heritage of the war for the Soviets. Stalin had already sent a lot of prisoners of war (even 150,000 Romanian officers and soldiers who had surrendered on August 23rd 1944, on the Eastern Front) in Siberia Gulag camps and, during the war, most of the prisoners had died because of terrible prison conditions in the Soviet camps. More than a third of the war prisoners did not return to their countries and families.

Many times, Soviet prisoners (especially from NKVD or partisans) were killed without trial by SS and German prisoners (especially SS, Gestapo agents), immediately after they were made prisoners.

On the other hand, British, American and French prosecutors had tried to convince the German prisoners (former statesmen, high-ranked officers, scientists, even former SS, Gestapo, RHSA, Abwehr officials) to offer military secrets, intelligence, the results of their discoveries, in exchange for reducing or cancelling the penalties.

Francine Hirsch considers that the “birth certificate” of the Cold War was signed at the meeting rooms within the Justice Palace from Nuremberg. Both the Soviet and the Western Allies would have German intelligence and people on their side, in case of a future military confrontation.

Nobody could deny the role of Soviet Union in defeating the Nazis, or that the International Military Tribunal (IMT) made possible the institutionalization of the Human Right Movement, but, overall, there can be noticed that, during the sessions, there occurred a lot of confrontations between the Soviet and the Western Allies.

Francine Hirsch has a major contribution through the book *Soviet Judgement at Nuremberg: A New History of the International Military Tribunal After World War II*, for the better understanding of the events that took place almost eight decades ago.

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