

ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ

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INSTITUTULUI DE CERCETĂRI SOCIO-UMANE
„C.S. NICOLĂESCU-PLOPȘOR”
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**ANUARUL
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„C. S. NICOLĂESCU-PLOPȘOR”**

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ACAD. ALEXANDRU VULPE – A LIFE DEDICATED TO ARCHAEOLOGY

Simona LAZĂR*

On the 9th of February 2016, Alexandru Vulpe passed away. He was a remarkable personality of the Romanian archaeology, President of the Department of Historical Sciences and Archaeology within Romanian Academy, director of the “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology from Bucharest.

Alexandru Vulpe was born on the 16th of June 1931 in Bucharest. His parents, Ecaterina and Radu Vulpe, well-known historians and students of V. Pârvan, interested him in the study of the ancient history and the archaeological sites. In 1950 he graduated from “Titu Maiorescu” high-school, later attending courses of the Faculty of History, the University from Bucharest, which he graduated with the licence dissertation “Political ideas in the early stoicism”, under the guidance of professor D. M. Pippidi. In 1968, he passed his exam for a doctor’s degree with the dissertation “The Hallstattian Necropolis from Ferigile. Archaeological monograph”, being coordinated by professor Ion Nestor.

Starting with 1955, he carried out his activity at the National Museum of Antiquities, which, since 1965, has become “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology. After more than four decades of activity, period in which he ascended on the professional ladder, from external collaborator, to 1st degree scientific researcher and administrator of the department, in 1999 becoming the director of this important Institute of Research, within the Romanian Academy.

He undertook a prolific activity in the field of the archaeological researches, as leader of the sites from Ferigile, Costișa, Brad, Deleni, Tigveni, Susani, Rotbav, Davidești, Cepari, Remetea-Pogănici, Popești, Rudeni. The results of his archaeological researches were rendered valuable in numerous studies, articles, digging reports, communications, published along the time. There were approached subjects related to the beginning and the development of metallurgy, the Bronze Age and Iron Age in Romania and the south-west of Europe, along with the relations of the autochthonous population with the Illyrians, Scythians and the southern Thracians. His synthesis papers, such are those referring to the definition,

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the spreading areal and the chronology of Basarabi and Ferigile cultures¹, change radically the way we regard the Iron Age in Romania. A. Vulpe was very well underlining this in 2013: “if the first Iron Age was after World War II, in a great extent a white spot of the archaeological map of Romania, we would presently know the main forms of material culture that endow all the regions around the Carpathians and the Danube”². His articles and studies appeared in renowned specialised reviews from the country, *Dacia*, *Thraco-Dacica*, *SCIVA*, *Arhivele Olteniei*, *Arheologia Moldovei*, *Studii Clasice*, etc.³, and in prestigious abroad publications: *The Journal of Indo-European Studies*, *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, *Germania*, *Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt/Main*, *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, *Mitteilungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie und Urgeschichte*, *Regensburger Beiträge zur prähistorischen Archäologie*.

Since 1990, he was a professor at the Faculty of History from Bucharest, where he held courses and seminars of prehistory. In 2012, he was named a Merited Professor of the Faculty of History from the University of Bucharest. He influenced the professional training of many young archaeologists, both on addressing the theoretical research and the archaeological practical training. He used to be considered the creator of a “school” of archaeology⁴. In his point of view, the permanent connection to the international specialised literature, was playing a tremendously important part in the archaeological research, which had to rely on the interdisciplinarity of the researchers, awarding an important position to the cultural anthropology, ethno-archaeology, sociology. To all these, there are naturally added the archaeological theories that have dominated the international archaeological thinking, during the last decades: the processualism, the post-processualism. This beliefs could be easily noticed in the way in which he tutored the candidates for a doctor’s degree, which he guided since 1991.

The prestige that A. Vulpe enjoyed in the international academic world, is also mirrored in the fact that, during 1976-2008, he was invited to lecture at different Universities from Germany: Frankfurt, Marburg, Gießen, Berlin, Heidelberg, Münster, Saarbrücken, Bonn, Hochdorf.. In 1973, he was appointed member of the editorial staff for the magazine “The Journal of Indo-European Studies”, Mc Lean. Virginia USA. Three years later, in 1976, we was elected corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute of and member of the Permanent Council of the International Union for Prehistoric and Protohistoric

¹ *Istoria Românilor. Moștenirea timpurilor îndepărtate*, vol. I, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 2010, pp. 325-377, 413-443.

² A. Vulpe, *Istorie și arheologie sau arheologie și istorie: prima epocă a fierului în România*, Bucharest, The Academy Publishing House, 2013, p. 19.

³ Further on, there is presented the complete list of the works, in which there can be found all the publications that he collaborated with.

⁴ M. Babeș, *Profesorul Alexandru Vulpe la a 75-a aniversare*, in “SCIVA”, 1-4, 57, 2006, p. 7.

Sciences (UISPP), from 1991 also becoming a member of the Executive Committee of UISPP within UNESCO.

He was a corresponding member (1996), then a member (2009) of the Romanian Academy, where he delivered the Reception Speech "*History and archaeology, or Archaeology and History: the First Iron Age in Romania*", holding, in the last period of time, the position of President of the Department of Historic Sciences and Archaeology of the Romanian Academy. As a token of high valuation for his entire activity, he was awarded, in 2000, by the president of Romania, Emil Constantinescu, the National Order "The Star of Romania", in rank of Commander.

Alexandru Vulpe shall be remembered by the people who knew him, as a researcher, extremely dedicated to his career of archaeologist and historian, but also as an erudite professor, always close to his students.

List of works

Published books:

- *Necropola hallstattiană de la Ferigile* (Arheologic monograph), Bucharest, Academy Publishing House, 1967.
- *Äxte und Beile in Rumänien*, vol. I, München, C.H. Beck Publishing House, 1970, Work awarded the "Vasile Pârvan" by the Romanian Academy in 1974.
- *Äxte und Beile in Rumänien*, vol. II, München, C.H. Beck Publishing House, 1975.
- *Die Kurzschwerter, Dolche und Streitmesser der Hallstattzeit in Rumänien*, München, C.H. Beck Publishing House, 1990.

Collaborative books:

- *Geto-Dacii în istoria militară a lumii antice*, Bucharest, Military Publishing House, 1987.
- *Dacia înainte de Dromihete*, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1988. (German version 1983, English version 1988).
- 4 voci în: *Encyklopädisches Handbuch zur Vor-und Frühgeschichte*, Praga, Jan Filip Publishing, 1966.
- 112 voci în: *Dicționar de istorie veche a României*, Bucharest, Scientific and Enciclopedyc Publishing House, 1976.
- 44 voci în: *Enciclopedia arheologiei și istoriei vechi a României*, Bucharest, Enciclopedyc Publishing House, I, 1994, II, 1996.
- *Istoria Românilor*, vol. I (coord.), Bucharest, Enciclopedyc Publishing House, 2002.

Studies and articles:

- *Depozitul de la Tufa și topoarele cu ceața cilindrică*, în "SCIV", XI, 2, 1959, pp. 265-276.
- *Cimitir din prima epocă fierului la Ferigile (Vâlcea)*, în "Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice", V, 1959, pp. 363-372.
- *Săpăturile de la Costești – Ferigile*, în "Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice", VII, 1959, pp. 237-249.
- *Voprosy sveazi s koncom rannezeleznogo veka v svete raskopok v Feridzele*, în "Dacia" IV, 1960, pp. 181-199.
- *K voprosu o periodizacii bronzovego veka v Moldavja*, în "Dacia", V, 1961, pp. 105-122.
- *Descoperiri arheologice pe cursul mijlociu al Siretului*, în "Arheologia Moldovei" I, 1961, pp. 65-80.
- *Săpăturile de la Ferigile (1958)*, în "Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice" VII, 1961, pp. 219-225.
- *Sălașul hallstattian de la Novaci*, în "Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice" VIII, 1962, pp. 359-368.
- *Traci și iliri la sfârșitul primei epoci a fierului în Oltenia*, în "SCIV", 13, 2, 1962, pp. 307-324.
- *Săpăturile de la Costișa* (colab. M. Zamoșteanu), în "Materiale" VIII, 1962, pp. 309-316.
- *Nackenscheibenäxte aus der Moldau*, în "Dacia" VII, 1963, pp. 511-516.
- *Cu privire la unele topoare de aramă și bronz din Moldova*, în "Arheologia Moldovei", II-III, 1962-1964, pp. 127-141.
- *Ptolemy and the ancient Geography of Moldavia*, în "Studii clasice" VI, 1964, pp. 233-246.
- *Cu privire la cronologia topoarelor cu tășuri crucișe*, în "SCIV", 15, 4, 1964, pp. 547-467.
- *Reprezentări umane pe bolurile getice cu decor în relief de la Popești*, în "SCIV", 16, 2, 1965, pp. 341-351.
- *Die mittlere Hallstattzeit in Rumänien*, în "Dacia", VIII, 1965, pp. 105-162.
- *Les phases de la civilisation de Tei*, în "Dacia", VIII, 1966, pp. 319-329.
- *Necropola tumulară de la Milostea* (colab. Eugenia Popescu), în "Revista Muzeelor", 3, 1966, pp. 148-155.
- *Gemeinsame Elemente der späthallstattzeitlichen Gruppen im Donaukarpatenraum*, în "Actes du VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Prehistoriques et Protohistoriques", Praga, 1966 (1971), pp. 880-885.
- *Săpăturile de la Novaci*, în "SCIV", 18, 1, 1967, pp. 83-113 (colab. Valentina Veselovski-Bușilă).
- *Depozitul de topoare de la Ostrovul Corbului*, în "SCIV", 19, 3, 1968, 3, pp. 505-513 (colab. M. Davidescu).

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- *Cu privire la topoarele de metal cu gaură de înmănunșare transversală*, în “SCIV”, 21, 1970, 3, pp. 417-428 (colab. E. Tudor).
- *Depozitul de brățări de bronz de la Vadul-Izei*, în “SCIV” 21, 1970, 4, pp. 623-632 (colab. Fr. Nistor).
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- *Începuturile metalurgiei aramei în România*, în “SCIV”, 24, 1973, 2, pp. 217-239.
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- *Șantierul arheologic Popești, Raport preliminar 1976-1977*, in “Cercetări arheologice Muz. Istorie România”, 3, 1979, pp. 95-105 (colab. M. Gheorghită).

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CONSTITUTIONALITY, COMMUNISM AND MEMORY

THE YEAR 1952 – IMPOTANT MOMENT IN THE WORKING-CLASS DEMOCRACY IN THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

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Abstract: The year 1952 represents for Romania a climax of export Stalinism, a moment when the power of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and of the communist leaders' group around him was established.

The collectivization of agriculture, the development of socialist property, the adopted repressive laws, the Party plenaries and the conferences of certain important professional sections of the society generating new people, the successive trials and sentences, as well as the Soviet Constitution of 1936, evidenced in the 87 articles of the Romanian fundamental Law of September that year, are the achievements of the totalitarian regime, which had managed to annihilate the course of Romanian democratic history and to forcefully trigger the process of alienation of citizens deprived of real rights. The authors present the main events in the People's Republic of 1952, trying to capture both the power struggle within the party and the drastic diminuation of private property.

Keywords: Constitution, power, repression, plenary meeting, communist regime.

Since the very first years from the setting up of the communist regime, the legitimacy question has represented a high priority for the party, the government and especially for the leaders of the unique party. In the 50' of the previous century, the relation between regime and society depended on the limited room for manoeuvre granted by Kremlin. During the phase of power struggle, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej was interested in the people's confidence in him, using it as a means of obtaining Stalin's esteem. The Marxist doctrine defined government as an instrument of the working class, a political and institutional activity which permanently needed legitimacy, a self-regeneration through the state and the "disguised" propaganda of the party.

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Discussing the idea of legitimacy within dictatorial and totalitarian regimes, Stephen White explains the way the government is rightful and legitimate and that by virtue of this attribute its decisions can be observed without resorting to coercive measures¹.

The citizens' compliance with the government, without the intervention of coercive measures, through a dialogue between the regime and the society and a transfer of expectations and compromises proved to be idealistic, unrealistic, mere propaganda. David Betham ascribed to the government the character of a superstructure, of an autonomous unity, not connected with citizens, a fact which proved impossible to be put into practice for a longer period of time. The expectations and attitudes of the population who was the subject of the governing did not permit it².

Linda Cook remarked *the social contract* between party elites and society through which the totalitarian regime offered the population social policies (jobs, salaries, economic performance and efficiency, subsidized prices and services)³. Romania was constrained to accept the regime, because at "the moment of awakening" a forceful cancellation of it failed to be started. In Romania, the Communists' seizure of power is typical of the general European pattern of *People's Democracies*, a pattern conceived by Stalin. Initially, the Communist Party supported the policy of coalition governments, structures in which it gradually increased its influence and weight until, through Soviet protection and intimidation, it managed to successively eliminate its opponents, so as to become *the sole master of the power*. The radical and irrational restructuring of the old system of values and of the administrative, scientific and cultural institutions was aimed at creating the socialist ownership, as the property of the whole people, the necessary basis for moulding *the new man*⁴. The internal and international pressure of the Stalinist period left only a narrow space in which the concerns regarding legitimacy were hard to hold. During the first years of communist regime, though the society was an active actor, its degree of involvement was not the same with all the social categories. The conflict party-state versus society persisted throughout the communist domination with variable intensity.

The year 1952 represents the sample which demonstrates the effort made by the party and the leaders, headed by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, to strengthen their power in "the heat of the class struggle", in "abolishing the dying, harmful and

¹ Stephen White, *Economic Performance and Communist Legitimacy*, in "World Politics", vol. 38, nr. 3/1986, p. 462.

² See David Betham, *The Legitimation of Power*, Londra, MacMillan, 1991, p. 118.

³ See Linda J. Cook, *Brezhnev's Social Contract and Gorbachev's Reforms*, in "Soviet Studies", vol. 44, nr. 1, 1999, p. 37.

⁴ Cezar Avram (coord.), *Introducere în istoria dreptului*, Bucharest, Fundația România de Măine Publishing, 2007, p. 286.

degrading capitalism”⁵. During that period of time they built a social basis of power by using physical and moral violence. During the sixth decade of the previous century, the pluralist political discourse was non-existent, the economy inefficient, while the population’s confidence in the Marxist-Leninist ideals was reduced by nationalization, collectivization, industrialization and forced urbanization. Class struggle was more than necessary because control over peasantry through collectivization “was incomplete, Gheorghiu-Dej’s situation as a leader was only partially consolidated”⁶, the party’s actions of internal purges were in full progress, “while the population’s discontent at the economic conditions and the fear of repression were a reality”⁷. The continuous aggravation of the generalised repression against the population mostly resulted from the methods already experimented in the Soviet Union and put into effect through the Soviet counsellors and through the communist repressive legislation.

The capital punishment for the “crimes” which were jeopardizing the state security and national economy (economic sabotage, group or individual terrorism, denigration of the regime, the party and the leaders etc.) became a law in January 1949, while a year later the repressive legislation was set to “improve” through the imprisonment of those who were directly or indirectly endangering the building of socialism. The acts of arresting and sentencing the ministers, the undersecretaries of State and the senior officials belonging to the Romanian governments of the 1920-1947 period, as well as extensive deportation in the summer of 1951 were followed by the displacement of a great number of workers and office workers from the Valea Jiului, Constanța and Brașov to the new building sites of the *socialist construction*.

The carrying on of the first five-year plan of the RPR was going to worsen both the pressure on peasantry and on other social categories in the urban and rural areas. The compulsory contributions, the acts of arresting and sentencing, the taxes collected through individual acts of violence brought out in strong relief the repression policy of the regime. The collectivization excesses emerging from the circulars and directives of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers’ Party reveal the non-observance of the free consent, of the citizens’ basic rights and, last but not least, the demagogy of the alliance between workers and peasants. The year 1952 represents the climax of the continuous aggravation of the generalized repression against the population, in the first phase of implementing the methods already experimented in the Soviet Union.

On 15 January 1952 decrees were issued regarding milk and wool collecting and on 26 January, a decree concerning the carrying into effect of the monetary reform as well as the reducing of the commercial prices for the main food products

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 288.

⁶ Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor. Volumul X. România în anii 1948-1989*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 2013, p. 142.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

and industrial items were approved⁸. The monetary reform (26-27 January) represented a new confiscation of the monetary mass in circulation⁹ and a relevant connecting of the leu to the rubla¹⁰.

⁸ See Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria României în date*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing, 2003, p. 527.

⁹ The Decision of the Council of Ministers No. 147/1952 regarding the carrying into effect of the monetary reform and the reductions in prices, in force from 26 January 1952 to 24 November 1997, abrogated by Decision No. 735 of 1997. For details, see <http://lege5.ro/Gratuit/g42tknzu/hotararea-nr-147-1952-cu-privire-la-efectuarea-reformei-banesti-si-la-reducerile-de-preturi>, accessed on 30 March 2016:

Art. 7.

The old money is to be changed into notes of the State Bank, treasury bills issued by the Ministry of Finance as well as into division currency unlimitedly, as follows:

For population and private enterprises, the exchange is effected individually, on the basis of the following norms:

a) the sums of money in cash up to 1,000 old lei inclusive are to be changed in the proportion of 100 old lei for 1 new leu;

b) the sums of money in cash up to 3,000 old lei inclusive are to be changed this way: 1,000 lei in the proportion indicated at point “a” above, while the rest up to 3,000 old lei inclusive, in the proportion of 200 old lei for 1 new leu;

c) the sums of money in cash over 3,000 old lei are to be changed this way: 3,000 old lei are to be changed in the conditions stipulated at point “b” above, while the rest is to be changed in the proportion of 400 lei for 1 leu.

For the state-owned enterprises, institutions and organizations, as well as the cooperatist and public ones, the change of money in cash is to be effected in the proportion of 200 old lei for 1 new leu.

Art. 8.

The paying of the money orders, directions, cheques and postal orders to natural persons or to associations of natural persons, for which the necessary pecuniary means had reached the public institutions before the introductions of the new leu, is to be effected according to the stipulations of art. 7 of this Decision.

Art. 9.

At the same time with putting the new money in circulation, the sums deposited at C.E.C. bank to bring in more will be recalculated in the following way:

a) the balance of deposits up to 1,000 old lei inclusive will be recalculated in the proportion of 50 old lei for 1 new leu;

b) the balance of deposits up to 3,000 old lei inclusive will be recalculated in this way: 1,000 old lei, according to the stipulations of point “a” above, while the rest up to 3,000 old lei is to be recalculated in the proportion of 100 old lei for 1 new leu;

c) the balance of deposits over 3,000 old lei is to be recalculated in this way: 3,000 old lei according to the stipulations of “b” above, and the rest will be recalculated in the proportion of 200 old lei for 1 new leu.

Art. 10.

The postage stamps, fiscal stamps, stamped sheets of paper, in circulation up to the date of the monetary reform, are replaced by “I. L. Caragiale” new stamps, in the proportion of 200 old lei for one new leu. Beginning with 28 January 1952, one could use only new stamps.

Art. 11.

The monetary reserves of state enterprises, institutions and organizations, cooperatist and public ones, as well as of the collective agricultural farms, deposited in accounts in the credit institutions or in mutual accounts, will be recalculated in the proportion of 20 old lei for 1 new leu.

The way of putting the reform into operation and the incidents caused by it represented reason for starting a new phase of power struggle. At the same time with the harsh battle of the top leaders for gaining control of the party, the negative reactions of the rural population to the collectivization and those of the urban population to the rhythm of the socialist industrialization of the country and to “the imposed legality of the people” did not cease to appear¹¹. In February The Military Council was established, as “advisory body within the Armed Forces Ministry”, as well as other specialized institutions in the financial and administrative machinery¹². At the end of the same month (29 February – 1 March) the Plenary of the Romanian Workers' Party took place which, through the incriminating and unmasking tone of the speakers, put the Minister of Finance, Vasile Luca and the governor of the Bank of RPR, Aurel Vijoli in the category of “right-wing deviation”. Having as aim “the assertion of the guilt” of those persons, the plenary also managed to label Ana Pauker and Teohari Georgescu as activists having a “conciliatory attitude” towards the two accused persons. *The factional group*, anti-Party and anti-State, that is Luca, Pauker and Teohari Georgescu, who had become “unhealthy phenomena” at the moment of the monetary reform in the

Art. 12.

The monetary reserves of the private industrial and commercial enterprises, deposited in accounts in the credit institutions, are to be recalculated in this way:

a) the sum necessary for the normal activity of the enterprises, which will not exceed the total amount of the salaries paid to the workers registered for the second half of the previous month, will be changed in the proportion of 20 old lei for 1 new leu.

b) the rest will be recalculated in the proportion of 200 old lei for 1 new leu.

Art. 13.

The sums owed among enterprises, institutions and organisations, the population's payment obligations to the state are to be recalculated in the proportion of 20 old lei for 1 new leu. The same proportion is used for recalculating the debts in lei of the Romanian People's Republic to foreign states, after 1945.

Art. 14.

The embassies, legations and diplomatic offices of the foreign states, related to the Government of the Romanian People's Republic, will be allowed to change, on 28 January 1952 at the offices of the State Bank, all the sums of old lei coming from foreign currency delivered to the State Bank in January, the current year, up to the date of the monetary reform.

The exchange of these sums is effected in the proportion of 20 old lei for 1 new leu.

Art. 15.

Beginning with 28 January 1952, the salaries, pensions, grants, state grants to large families, as well as all the prices and tariff in force up to the date of the monetary reform are to be recalculated through dividing the sums by coefficient 20.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, art. 4.

¹¹ Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor. Volumul X...*, pp. 153-154; Cezar Avram, *Deceniul stalinist. Colectivizarea în fața istoriei*, Panciova, “Libertatea” Press and Publishing House, 2005, pp. 134-137.

¹² See Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria României...*, p. 527.

financial and economic fields, were also criticized through a letter sent by the Central Committee to all the party organizations¹³.

Complying with the recommendations from Moscow, other two plenaries¹⁴ unmasked again the group of *deviationists* whom they removed from the party and state leadership, considering them “hostile elements”. The plenary of 26-27 May 1952, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej presiding, had been thoroughly prepared by congresses held with the various categories of people paid from the state budget. A great importance was attached to the *Congress of the primary school teachers* on 10 April 1952, where Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej delivered an ample speech, meant to mobilize “the primary school teacher for the high mission, that of moulding the new citizen of our country, builder of socialism”¹⁵. On this occasion, the party leader was trying to obtain new supporters in the power struggle, appealing to the patriotic mission of “raising the young people as people thoroughly dedicated to the working people, to our Homeland, the Romanian People’s Republic, people dedicated to the peace cause, educated in the spirit of brotherhood between peoples, of boundless love for our liberator and friend, the Soviet Union, for the teacher of the workers all over the world, the science and culture master mind of genius, comrade Stalin, of bringing to the vast masses of the people the beacon of culture and science”¹⁶. In his speech, the party leader was expounding “the conception of the regime of people’s democracy regarding education”, considering that the young people’s education is a duty performed under “the cult of life, of creative work, the cult of tenacious struggle for the people’s happiness”, and not dominated by “the cult of death”¹⁷. In the view of the Romanian Workers’ Party, the enlightenment of the masses with the aim of “training the future citizens, conscious builders of socialism”, the reform of education had as priority, together with the training of the necessary staff for the building of socialism, also the liquidation of illiteracy and the enriching of the population’s knowledge “through assimilating the advanced Soviet culture together with learning Russian from the IVth grade of the primary school”¹⁸. Once in every group of 3-4 sentences of his speech at the Congress, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej referred to the *great works of Stalin* who warned the communist world against the *harmfulness* of the activities

¹³ After asserting the success of the monetary reform in “eliminating the unhealthy phenomena which had appeared in the financial and economic fields”, due to the right-wing deviation of the anti-State, anti-Party and factional group of Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca and Teohari Georgescu, the letter ends with the mobilizing call to the party members to carry out the party line “for the economic strengthening of the country”; see Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria României...*, p. 528.

¹⁴ The Plenaries of 26-27 May 1952 and 19-20 August 1953.

¹⁵ *Speech delivered at the Congress of the primary school teachers of the RPR* (10 April 1952) by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, in “Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie”, anul 5/1952, nr. II/April-June, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Academy of the Romanian People’s Republic, p. 22.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 27.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

done by “amateurs and people pretending to know everything”, and also warned of the necessities of the *socialist society*, “in short the producing of stahanovists, technicians, educators, scholars”, necessary staff for socialism building¹⁹. The primary school teacher “should educate the pupils in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of the struggle against the internal and external enemies of the regime of people’s democracy”. The unique party, as well as the institutions of the People’s Republic, were engaged in “getting to know the inestimable values of the Soviet culture”, the “immortal works of Lenin and Stalin”, the writings of Puşkin, Tolstoi and Gorki. School was called to instill into the Romanians’ soul “the feeling of friendship and brotherly collaboration with the great Soviet people, love for the glorious Soviet Union, which liberated us and is helping us to build our socialist Homeland, love for our people’s best friend, Comrade Stalin”²⁰.

The Romanian communists’ obedience to Kremlin is also apparent from the telegrams exchanged on the occasion of celebrating 9 May 1952, addressed to “beloved Iosif Vissarionovici”. The telegram signed by dr. Petru Groza, on behalf of the R.P.R. government and by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers’ Party, addressed to “the brilliant leader of peoples, the father and best friend of the Romanian people”, was glorifying the great Stalin and “the memorable event of our history”, the victory of “the Soviet Union’s glorious armed forces against the fascist imperialism”²¹, a victory which had brought the Romanian people “for the first time in its tormented history, the true national and state independence, the foundation for our national rebirth”²².

The Plenary of 26-27 May 1952, Gheorghiu-Dej presiding, was aimed at unmasking and crushing “the infractional, anti-party and anti-state group consisting of Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca and Teohari Georgescu” considered to belong to the *Moscow wing*²³. Intangible until the year 1951, those persons were to be labelled as “tools” which had infiltrated among the decision-makers of the people’s democracy. Discussing the presented reports, the plenary attendance noted “the criminal opposition” of the exploiting classes, driven away from power, of the capitalist elements generated by the small-scale production of wares, as well as of the group of traitors around Vasile Luca. At the same time, the plenary highlighted

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 29.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 29-30.

²¹ *Apud The telegrams exchanged on the occasion of 9 May 1952 celebration to comrade Iosif Vissarionovici Stalin*, in “Studii. Revistă de istorie şi filosofie”, anul 5/1952, nr. II/April-June, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Academy of the Romanian’s People Republic, p. 20.

²² Even the great leader was satisfied “with the friendly salute on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of proclaiming Romania’s State Independence” (*Ibidem*).

²³ Mihnea Berindei, Dorin Dobrinu, Armand Goşu (editors), *Istoria comunismului din România. Documente perioada Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1945-1965)*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 2009, p. 379.

the anti-Marxist conception of the right-wing deviationist group who had lost the sense of social class and had broken away from the party and the working class, a fact that contravened “the general direction set by the decisions and resolutions of the Romanian Workers’ Party”²⁴. The line of hindering the socialist economy development was also blamable, as well as the supporting of the capitalist sector, a fact that was seriously detrimental to the interests of the needy peasantry and the working class. The plenary resolution pointed out the party’s option of being guided by Lenin’s and Stalin’s doctrine. Comrade “Stalin teaches us that right-wing deviation is extremely dangerous because it means the capitalist elements’ influence reaching the working class and the party, because it represents the resistance put up by the main elements of the classes in the process of disappearing, because it puts the working class off its guard, it undermines the mobilizing determination of our country’s revolutionary forces, it discourages the working class and enables the capitalist elements’s offensive...”²⁵. The blaming of V. Luca’s activity set forth the visionary argument of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej who “fought against that man’s hypocrisy, characteristic of right-wing deviationists”²⁶. In order to emphasize Vasile Luca’s “anti-party line”, “the communist memory” “was invoked”, bringing forward old deviations and factional methods practised even in the period of the party’s illegal activity”²⁷. The “leading” role in “the factional, unprincipled fights” of the years 1929-1931 consisting in attracting the Union of Communist Youth, the Red Aid and the trade-unions in these rather external than internal disputes, punished by the party leadership through “sending to jobs with low status” in the period 1932-1933, as well as the contribution to including “the democratic elements into the monarchist-fascist organization FRN, all these things constituted the counts of indictment appearing in the speeches delivered in the party decision forums. Other *serious* accusations (the stifling of criticism and self-criticism) were added to these “violations of the statute”, facts that harmed “the healthy raising of cadres and reduced their working enthusiasm and fighting spirit”²⁸. With such charges, the fate of the one who not long ago had been *obeyed and praised*, was sealed. It is to be noted that again the accused person was followed by other opponents, important members, considered by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej as “dangerous for the party”, for its power and position in the communist state. The plenary of May 1952 regarded Teohari Georgescu as guilty “of lack of combativity against the class enemy”, of “losing

²⁴ “Scântea”, nr. 2364 of 3 June (Editorial).

²⁵ See I. V. Stalin, *Works. April 1929-June 1930*, vol. 12, PMR Publishing House, Bucharest, 1951, pp. 42, 384.

²⁶ “Scântea”, nr. 2364 of 3 June 1952 (Editorial).

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ “Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie”, year V/1952, no. 2, April-June The Publishing House of RPR Academy, p. 12.

the revolutionary vigilance in his work”²⁹. In order to be penalized, Teohari Georgescu was criticized for not taking measures to send the profiteers for trial, people who rob the workers in towns and the working peasants”³⁰.

By a majority vote, the plenary decided that “comrade Ana Pauker had a position of supporting Vasile Luca’s right-wing deviation, that she had deviated herself from the party line, regarding agriculture and collecting for which she was responsible at the Central Committee of the Party and at the Government. This was especially to be seen in the delay in organising the agricultural associations for tilling the ground in common, TOZ type, in failing to give proper care to founding new collective farms, in permitting the kulaks to be in collective farms and in agricultural associations, as well as in the lack of interest in the problems of the MTS (machine and tractor stations) and of the State farms in which there gathered a great number of hostile elements”³¹. In order to be able to remove the person supported by Kremlin, the plenary brought forward accusations in the area of “left-wing deviations from the party line as regards forming collective agricultural farms by tolerating the violation of the principle of the working peasants’ free consent”³². The criticism expressed by Ana Pauker against Vasile Luca at the plenary in February 1952 was considered formal and insincere because the accused woman had had unprincipled relationships within the party leadership”³³.

The plenary meetings of 29 February – 1 March and 26-27 May 1952 *self-critically* analysed the activity of certain members of the party leadership, judging “as a significant weakness the fact that the party only tardily discovered the right-wing deviations”³⁴. It was considered that Vasile Luca had been able to carry on his anti-party activity owing to the support of Teohari Georgescu and Ana Pauker, “who had always a spirit of compromise and back-up of the right-wing deviation from the party line”³⁵.

The hindering of the party control, the stimulating of the capitalist elements in villages and towns, the slowing down of the rhythm of the country socialist industrialization, the violation of the principle of free consent in the socialist transformation of agriculture, the arresting and framing of a great number of working peasants and the “illegal and rude violation of the people’s legality” were the counts of the charge brought against “the Moscow group”. In fact, these accusations were related to the communist regimes which had functioned and

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

³¹ *Pentru continua întărire a partidului*, in “Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie”, year V/1952, no. 2/April-June, The Publishing House of RPR Academy, p. 13.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ The letter of the CC of the RWP sent to the party organizations and members in March 1952.

³⁵ “Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie”, year V/1952..., p. 13.

were to function with grievous violations of *the socialist legality*³⁶. As a result of the serious accusations the “factional, anti-party and anti-state” group was to receive drastic penalties: Vasile Luca and Lotar Rădăceanu were discharged from their top positions in ministries, Teohari Georgescu³⁷ – expelled from the CC Secretariate and from the Political Office and sent to humble jobs, Vasile Luca³⁸ expelled from the CC of the Romanian Workers’ Party and sent to be judged by the party control commission, while Ana Pauker³⁹, after receiving a warning, was no longer to be elected in the secretariate and the Political March Office⁴⁰. Gheorghiu Dej’s victory was recorded through the re-election of a new Political Office, Organization Bureau and a new Central Committee Secretariate whose members were, among others, the following: Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Alexandru Moghioroș, Iosif Chișinevschi, Miron Constantinescu, Gheorghe Apostol, Chivu Stoica, Emil Botnăraș, Petre Borilă, Constantin Pârvulescu. Ana Pauker, Liuba Chișinevschi, Gheorghe Florescu and Nicolae Ceaușescu are among those elected in the Organization Bureau. Gheorghe Stoica, Ghizela Vass and Nicolae Ceaușescu were elected as candidate-members. In the speeches delivered at the close of the plenary meeting proceedings, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers’ Party pointed out “that the debates and the decisions made by the Central Committee proved the unflinching unity of the Party, of its leadership and its resoluteness in the struggle for eliminationg the opportunism, and the spirit of compromise”⁴¹.

³⁶ Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor. Volumul X...*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, p. 150.

³⁷ “Comrade Teohari Georgescu had a conciliatory attitude towards V. Luca’s right-wing deviation, trying to hide his own right-wing errors, his lack of competitiveness in the face of class enemy and his losing the revolutionary vigilance” (*For the continuous consolidation of the party* in “Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie”, year 5/1952, No. 2/April-June, Publishing House of RPR Academy, p. 13).

³⁸ “Losing the sense of class, Vasile Luca detached himself from the Party, from the working class, he surrounded himself with hostile elements, rose against the general line of the Party, and introduced his own opportunistic right-wing line – of stimulating capitalist elements from villages and towns, thus causing serious damage to the state and creating difficulties in supplying the working people” (See *Pentru continua întărire a partidului*, in “Studii. Revistă de istorie și filozofie”, year 5/1952, No. 2/April-June, Publishing House of RPR Academy, p. 13). Vasile Luca would die on 27 July 1963 in Aiud after his death penalty was commuted to life imprisonment (It is important to see www.historia.ro/exclusiv_web/general/articol/vasile-luca-dej-nu-merit-sa-mor-inchisoare, accessed on 29 March 2016).

³⁹ This is the beginning of “comrade Ana’s” gradual expulsion from the political life. After her mandate of leading position in the Ministry of External Affairs ceased on 11 July 1952 and after her mandate of vice-president of the government also expired in September the same year, she would be expelled from the executive and the “security” service investigation would start, but not so ruthless as in the case of Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu; for details see Dinu C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor. Volumul X...*, p. 150.

⁴⁰ *The plenary meeting of the CC of the RWP 26-27 May 1952*, în “Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie”, year 5/1952, No. II/April-June, Bucharest, Publishing House of RPR Academy, p. 5.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 6-7.

The decisions of the plenary in May had special repercussions on the peasantry. The income tax was settled for the members of GAS (state agricultural farms) and agricultural associations and also for kulaks⁴². In June hundreds of workers “having no connection with the rural world”, were assigned as presidents or secretaries in the people’s councils, with the task of controlling the peasantry on behalf of the party⁴³.

The power’s fear of the people’s movement of 1949-1962 determined the power network to be as little as possible tolerant to crimes. It developed the principle of systematic punishment, meant to cause apprehension and obedience. Technically, the function of continuous repression was assumed by the political police, the penitentiary system, the magistracy enslaved to the regime and necessarily integrated in the party and it was strongly supported and “covered” by the communist legislation. The evolution of the penal power witnessed no moment of “clemency” for the individual proprietorship, for the peasant trying to defend his property. It brought about a forceful mutation of the political and juridical principles and practices, managing to entirely take over the Stalinist legislation which had proved its brutality and compulsion force in the Soviet society of the years 20’ and 30’.

For the peasants’ evading to deliver and not delivering the quotas of products, which had become a mass phenomenon, the stipulations of Decree No. 183/1949 and Decree No. 33/1950 were not sufficient. So the Decree No. 131/1952⁴⁴ of 18 June was promulgated in order to make the penalties harsher. The act of not fulfilling the payment obligations written in the call entitled the authorities, by administrative way, to the arresting, the interrogation and even detencion of the debtors, without any special or previous consent from the body of judges (art. 2). That is why during the years 1952-1955 there were many convicts from the country villages, without judgement or trial. Simultaneously, a directive was issued through which “the young people with an unhealthy social origin” were incorporated in militarily organized working detachments⁴⁵.

On the same line of worsening the repression and coercion by juridical measures, the Decree 202/1953⁴⁶ was issued in order to abrogate Decree 183/1949 and Decree 199/1950. Keeping the penalties of the abrogated decrees, the Decree No. 202/1953 introduced new penalties, as well as the ones taken over from Decree No. 111/1951 and Decree No. 405/1949. In all “the offences punished through the decree, the law courts will also pronounce the total forfeiture of the convicted people’s property” (art. 4). The instigators, the accomplices, the supporters and the

⁴² The tax increased by 50%.

⁴³ Cezar Avram, *Politici agrare în Oltenia anilor 1949-1962. Mutații socio-economice în satul românesc*, Craiova, The South Publishing House, 1999, pp. 118-121.

⁴⁴ Official Journal No. 30 of 18 June 1952.

⁴⁵ General Management of Labour Department – DGSM; For details see also Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor. Volumul X...*, p. 529.

⁴⁶ Official Journal No. 15 of 14 May 1953.

concealers “are to be penalized by the punishments stipulated in the decree for the perpetrators” (art. 5). The acts of preparation and attempt are punished in the same way as “the consumed offences, while not denouncing an offence depicted in the decree is penalized by severe 3 to 10 years imprisonment (art. 6). If the law court ascertains that there are extenuating circumstances, instead of death penalty “hard labour and imprisonment for life or for indefinite time is to be applied (art. 7)”. The acts referred to in the Decree No. 202/1953 were judged by the military law courts (art. 9)⁴⁷.

In August and September there was the *Canal Trial* of “elements alien to the class and having hostile feelings”, who had trickled into leading positions of the General Management of the Danube-Black Sea Canal⁴⁸, a process that led to hard imprisonment (20-25 years) and total forfeiture of property. At the same time a number of members and personalities of the historical parties, as well as former officers of the royal court.

On 20 September the Ministry of State Security was set up which included the State Security General Department, with minister Alexandru Drăghici⁴⁹. During 22-24 September the session of the Great National Assembly took place, which adopted a new fundamental law appreciated by the party officials as the document representing “the balance of the historic achievements attained until its adoption by the working people of our country on its way of socialist building”⁵⁰.

The Constitution of 1952 confirmed the consolidation of the people’s democratic power, the goals of complete eradication of the contradiction between the socialist character of the state power and the character of production relations based on private ownership, expressing “the stage of maximal sovietization of the Romanian People’s Republic”⁵¹. Its pattern was I.V. Stalin’s Constitution of 1936 “whose articles it largely resumes” (84 maintains the Soviet wording)⁵². In the introductory chapter, the Constitution proclaimed Romanian as “state of the working people in towns and villages”. Further, the subordination to the Soviet Union was emphasized by stating that “the creation and consolidation of the people’s democratic state, the friendship and alliance with the great Soviet Union” were meant to ensure “the independence, state sovereignty, development and flourishing of the Romanian People’s Republic”⁵³. The foreign policy was described as “a policy of defence of peace, a policy of friendship and alliance with

⁴⁷ Cezar Avram, *Politici agrare ...*, p. 83; Gail Kligman, Katherine Verdery, *Țăranii sub asediu. Colectivizarea agriculturii în România (1949-1962)*, Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2015, p. 128.

⁴⁸ Apud Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria României ...*, p. 530.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 531.

⁵⁰ Official Journal No. 1 of 27 September 1952.

⁵¹ Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria României ...*, p. 531.

⁵² The text of September 1952 contains 105 articles: Idem, *The History of Romania ...*, p. 156.

⁵³ Official Journal No. 1 of 27 September 1952. In this sense, it is also to see *The Constitution of the Romanian People’s Republic 1952* available on <http://legislatie.resurse-pentru-democratie.org/constitutie/constitutia-publicii-populare-romane-1952.php>, accessed on 30 March 2016.

the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and with the countries having people's democracy, a policy of peace and friendship with all peace loving peoples". The equality between the national minorities was also reflected in providing the administrative-territorial autonomy of the Magyar population in the Szekler districts. In addition, it was stated that the state policy was aimed at "abolishing the exploitation of man by man and at building the socialism"⁵⁴.

As regards the state regime, the Constitution proclaimed *the regime of people's democracy*, which "represents the working people's power". The people's democratic state is a form of proletarian dictatorship, exerted by the party of the working class, among the state functions being that of repressing the classes inside the country, thrown down from power, the function of defending the country against external aggression, the economic and organizational function and the cultural-educational one. Based on these constitutional provisions, the new socialist system of state bodies was created and the replacement of the current state apparatus by a new one was carried out through the changes made to the laws of judicial organization and those of organization and functioning of the Prosecution department⁵⁵.

After mentioning the prerogatives and the way of setting up the supreme body, "the sole legislative body", namely *the Great National Assembly*, the role of the Presidium was defined, the forum that was to be turned into *Council of State* by law 1/1961⁵⁶. The *Council of Ministers* was considered as "supreme executive body and the body of state power management in the R.P.R.", being formed by GNA⁵⁷.

According to the Constitution, justice was performed by "*the Supreme Court of the R.P.R., the regional courts and the people's courts*, as well as by *special law courts*, founded by law" (art. 64). The law courts had the task of defending "the regime of people's democracy" and the working people's achievements, of ensuring "people's legality, public property and citizens' rights" (art. 65). *The Supreme Court* was elected by GNA for a period of 5 years. *People's assessors* were participating in the act of judging at all the courts, with the exception of the cases when the law stipulated otherwise. The proceedings were in Romanian, and in the regions and districts also inhabited by population of other nationality, the use of that nationality's native language was ensured. The state authority was also reinforced by having the *General Prosecutor* (chosen for a five-year period), by assigning the task of "superior supervising" of observing the laws by ministries and the other central bodies, by the local bodies of state power and administration, as well as by civil servants and the other citizens. He was responsible to the GNA,

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁵ Apud Avram Cezar (coord.), *Introducere în istoria ...* p. 293.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 294.

⁵⁷ Official Journal No. 1 of 27 September 1952. in this sense, it is also to see *The Constitution of the Romanian People's Republic 1952* available on <http://legislatie.resurse-pentru-democratie.org/constitutie/constitutia-republicii-populare-romane-1952.php>, accessed on 30 March 2016.

and in the interval between sessions, to the GNA Presidium and to the Council of Ministers⁵⁸. The judicature structure and the Prosecuting magistracy had received a new regulation through Law No. 5 of 19 June 1952⁵⁹.

As regards *the administrative-territorial division* the article 18⁶⁰ of the Constitution settled on the following regions: Bacău, Baia Mare, Bucureşti, Cluj, Constanţa, Craiova, Galaţi, Hunedoara, Iaşi, Oradea, Piteşti, Ploieşti, Stalin, Suceava, Timişoara, The Autonomous Magyar Region. By the art. 19⁶¹, 20 and 21, the Autonomous Magyar Region was created, “made up of the territory inhabited by the compact Magyar Szeckler population, having an autonomous administrative management elected by the population of the Autonomous Region”⁶², on whose territory the laws of Romania, the decisions and rules of the state central bodies were compulsory. The regulations of this region were to be elaborated by the local power body and then submitted to the GNA for approval.

The Constitution of 1952 laid down *the citizens’ fundamental rights and duties* based on the major principle of equality of all the citizens, irrespective of sex, nationality, race, religion or level of education in all the fields of economic, political and cultural life. Moreover, any instances of chauvinism, racist hatred, national hatred or nationalistic chauvinistic propaganda were penalized by law. In addition, the equality of women to men was proclaimed, in all the domains of activity – economic, political, state and cultural –, an equality materialized in a series of provisions regarding protection of marriage and family, defence of mothers and children’s interests, setting up of maternity hospitals, creches and nurseries for babies and small children, the right to salary, the right to rest, social insurance and education in conditions equal to those of men. The Constitution recognizes the citizens’ liberty of conscience, freedom of speech, of the press, freedom of participating in assemblies, meetings, processions and demonstrations, the free use of mother tongue, inviolability of person and domicile, the secret of correspondence, etc. However, in reality, the citizens’s rights and liberties were infringed and great abuses were committed⁶³.

Work is declared “a duty and a point of how our for every citizen able to work”, after the principles “he who does not work, does not eat” and “from each one after their capacities”⁶⁴. The right to rest was ensured by setting the working day of 8 hours, the annual paid leaves, by putting rest homes, sanatoriums and

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁹ Later the *State Arbitrage* (Law No. 5/1954) and *State Notary Office* (Decree No. 377/1960) were set up as well as public jurisdictional bodies: *the commissions for settling the work litigations and the councils of comradesly judgement*; Avram Cezar (coord.), *Introducere în istoria ...*, p. 295.

⁶⁰ Later it was modified through Law No. 5 of 1956.

⁶¹ Modified through Law No. 5 of 1956.

⁶² Official Journal No. 1 of 27 September 1952. in this sense, it is also to see *The Constitution of the Romanian People’s Republic 1952* available on <http://legislatie.resurse-pentru-democratie.org/constitutie/constitutia-republicii-populare-romane-1952.php>, accessed on 30 March 2016.

⁶³ Avram Cezar (coord.), *Introducere în istoria ...*, p. 295.

⁶⁴ Ioan Scurtu, Ion Alexandrescu, Ion Bulei, Ion Mamina, *Enciclopedia de Istorie a României*, Bucharest, Meronia Publishing House, 2001, p. 30.

culture institutions at their disposal. The right to insurance against sickness or incapacity was materialized through “free medical assistance offered to the working people. As regards the right to education, this was secured through organizing and developing the state elementary education, general, compulsory and free of charge, through the system of state grants awarded to meritorious pupils and students of the institutions of higher, secondary and primary education and through organizing the free of charge vocational education for the working people.

Concerning the exercising of one’s right to association, the Constitution stipulated that “the most active and conscious citizens from the working class, as well as among the other sections of the working people, get together and join the Romanian Workers’ Party, the working people’s vanguard detachment in the struggle for consolidating and developing the regime of people’s democracy and for building the socialist society (art. 86, paragraph 3). At the same time, the Romanian Workers’ Party was proclaimed “the leading force of both the organizations of the working people and also of the state institutions and bodies”, all the organizations of the people who work in RPR “gathering around it”⁶⁵.

Apart from the rights, the citizens had also certain duties: the obligation to observe the Constitution and the laws of the state of people’s democracy, to watch, strengthen and develop “the socialist public property”, to abide by work discipline and to actively contribute “to the consolidation of people’s democracy regime and the economic and cultural flourishing of the country”⁶⁶. These duties were to represent an important weapon of the communist regime⁶⁷.

It is laid down in the Constitution that there are three domains in the national economy: *the socialist domain, the domain of small-scale commodity output and the private-capitalist domain*. So, it was the first time that in a Romanian fundamental law there was mentioned the socialist property. This one “is either in the form of state ownership (people’s common assets), or in the form of cooperative-collectivist ownership (the property of collective agricultural farms or of cooperative organizations)”⁶⁸. In accordance with art. 6 paragraph 3, “the socialist structure, which holds the leading role in the RPR national economy, constitutes the foundation of the country’s development on the way to socialism”. The results of the nationalizations of the years 1948-1950, following the one in June 1948, are recorded in article 7⁶⁹.

⁶⁵ Art. 86, paragraph 4 of the Constitution of 1956.

⁶⁶ Official Journal No. 1 of 27 September 1952. in this sense, it is also to see *The Constitution of the Romanian People’s Republic 1952* available on <http://legislatie.resurse-pentru-democratie.org/constitutie/constitutia-republicii-populare-romane-1952.php>, accessed on 30 March 2016.

⁶⁷ See Mihaela Cristina Verzea, *Partidul stat. Structuri politice (1948-1965)*, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing, Târgoviște, 2013, pp. 201-202.

⁶⁸ Art. 6 paragraph 1 of Constitution of 1952.

⁶⁹ Art. 7 of the Constitution of 1952 stipulated that “The riches of any kind of the subsoil, the factories, plants and mines, waters, springs of natural energy, ways of communication of any kind, railway, fluvial, maritime and aerial transport, banks, post office, telegraph, radio, printing press, cinematography and theatre, state agricultural farms, machine and tractors station, village enterprises

The cooperatist ownership was collective property comprising: “the live stock and the dead one belonging to the collective agricultural farms and the cooperatives, the production obtained by them, as well as all their enterprises and buildings represent the public property of the collective agricultural farms and cooperatives”⁷⁰. The peasants members of the collective agricultural farms had the right to own for personal use a plot near the house and, as personal property, the household on this patch of land, the dwelling place, productive animals, fowls, small agricultural implements in accordance with the status of the collective agricultural farm.

The small-scale commodity production included “the small and medium-sized peasant farms, which had private ownership, (namely land) based on the producer’s own work, as well as the workshops of the handcraftsmen who do not exploit the work of other people” (art. 10).

The private-capitalist ownership comprised the kulaks’ households, the private commercial enterprises, the small-scale unnationalized industrial enterprises, based on exploiting the paid work, the state being “constantly engaged in a policy of restricting and eliminating the capitalist elements” (art. 11).

The right to personal property referred to the incomes and savings, obtained from work, the dwelling house and the adjoining auxiliary household, household utensils and items of personal use, as well as the right to inherit the citizens’ individual property.

The predominance of the state property was aimed at developing Romania’s economic life on the basis of the state plan of the national economy, in the interest of building the socialism. The foreign trade was state monopoly.

Putting the Constitution of 1952 into force would not make the People’s Republic more powerful, free and “so much the less the master of its own destiny”⁷¹. The Constitution was to be improved 11 times during the interval 1953-1964, the most important amendment being the one in the political administrative field, in March 1961⁷², when the Council of State was set up instead of the Great National Assembly Presidium, having Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej as president. The Constitution of 1952 reinforced the role of the party and that of the group of communist leaders around Gheorghiu-Dej. The entire activity of the state powers was subordinated to the party. For the first time it was emphasized, as condition, that “only the most active and conscious citizens from working people” belonged to Romanian Workers’ Party (ar. 86). The last two chapters (ch. VIII and ch. IX) were about the coat of arms, the flag, and the capital of RPR, new symbols that broke the Romanian tradition and marked the new trend of the regime.

and the nationalized part of the housing resources in towns represent the state property, common assets of the people”.

⁷⁰ Art. 9 of the Constitution of 1952.

⁷¹ Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor. Volumul X* ..., p. 157.

⁷² Official Journal No. 9 of 25 March 1961.

The month of November was to put into circulation the decision of the CC of the RWP and of the Council of Ministers concerning the building and rebuilding of the towns, a document that would start the carrying on of an ample process in the recent history of the Romanian state. The election of deputies for the second legislative period of the National Assembly on 30 November were going to consolidate the communist power, the Front of People's Democracy obtaining 98% of the votes⁷³. The year 1952 was coming to an end with a worsening of the forceful collectivization of agriculture, in spite of all the peasantry's resistance, with a new wave of political process, with maintaining the climate of terror and uncertainty for the citizens. At the same time, the political power of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej' group became a certainty, while the obedience to the Soviet Union reached its climax.

⁷³ Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor. Volumul X...*, p.159.

THE AVATARS OF SOCIALISM AND ITS AFTERMATH. A SURVEY OF THE ROMANIAN POST-COMMUNISM

Silviu-Gabriel LOHON*

Abstract: This paper is about the most seductive political theory of all times: The Socialism. During its almost 250 years journey throughout the timeline of world history, it embraced different forms, names or agents, so that it became a very confused way of thinking sociopolitics. Just as we research the working arrangements of Socialism (the socialist political ideas, the ways of implementation of them or, even, the criminal compulsions of it), so we must analyze the consequential effects of socialism in post communist Romania.

Keywords: socialism, communism, post-communism, Romanian post-communism, ideology.

As a scientific doctrine, the socialism incarnates the most quivering story of the 20th century. No other belief influenced more the people, the precepts on no other doctrine had deeper repercussions on the contemporary history because, thanks to its perverse faculty, thrive to show off the musty manifesto brochures or off the shelves of the libraries and to implement straight to the point: in the bosom of the societies which were unable to adhere to democracy.

From the beginning, it is needful to draw up a distinction between the essence of the doctrine and its function: the first one is outlined in quasi-explicit terms while the second one is perfectly intelligible. The appeal to reality and the ideological education of the workers according to the spirit of socialism tempt people to accept the fundamental ideological principles of this political scheme and also its political authority, even the formal adhesion to the Communist Party.

In the antic Greeks' terms, the moment of death is the very instant when the genuine nature of the man is revealed. The same hypothesis is also applicable to socialism: its flashing collapse and its electrifying suicide prescribe the real dimension of what socialism meant. The egalitarian outbursts, the vigorous anticlerical enthusiasm and the successive rebellions aroused from uncertain

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millenarianist ambitions are to be found to the origins of socialism concurrently born with the French Revolution. For instance, Gracchus Babeuf's *Conspiracy of the Equals* (fig. 1) was used as "the Fate" of the collectivization of private property, the one who was proclaiming itself as the unique reason of the "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity". The voyage of the socialism through the universal history points out other important halting places in England, then in America, led by Robert Owen (fig. 2), the owner of a weaving mill in Scotland.

In the very moment when all these experiments seemed to fail, the socialist idea was took over by the German tandem Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels whose closing by the socialist aspirations was disguised in a kind of intellectual misionarism that helped the two ideologists to distort, in an original way, the sources of socialism. It transgressed the genuine existentialism towards the non-transcendental branches, with no remnants of metaphysical. Marx and Engels' offer meant a petrifying of history and then a going off the track of it, which signified, of course, a moment of crisis.

Historically speaking, in the USSR, no long after that episode V. I. Lenin saves this theory by using instead of the proletariat the communist avant-garde. This is the way in which Lenin created the most well known absolutist system in history, a system made, in fact, to be controllable only by him. But the Leninist doctrinaire-guiding idea, which can be taken up from Chernishevsky's *What's to be done* brochure was that socialism should be made for workers not by them.

We should pop over now from Lenin to Mussolini, a leap which in not very different by that one from Marx to Lenin, because each one of them had acclimatized the socialist doctrine in agreement with local regulation. The failure of the bolchevik leader in putting his precepts in circulation beyond the borders of the imperial Russia did not absolute signify the elusion of any influences. In 1922 Benito Mussolini, "the baby in red diapers" – he came from a family with socialist options: his father, a blacksmith, was a member together with Mark and Engels, of the first communist Internationale and then was involved in promoting the anarchist ideas of Mikhail Bakunin – proceeded to build his rising and, on a Leninist pattern, drew up his own doctrine which was based on an eccentric socialism. The fascism.

The fascist regime like the bolshevik and then the communist regime, impelled the mass indoctrination to an unprecedented level, reinforcing the cult of personality.

On the one hand, after this lapidary fascist episode, the idea of socialism materialized itself totally, especially because the end of the Second World War noticed the cropping out of a few communis regimes and on the other hand it was about the burst of energy of social-democracy as a result of the success in elections of Clement Attlee in opposition with Winston Churchill in the Great Britain.

An American historian and politologist, Joshua Muravchik¹, attaches the emergence of the new post-collonial countries to the historical circuit of socialism

¹ Joshua Muravchik, *Raiul pe pământ. Mărirea și decădere socialismului*, translated into Romanian by Dorian Branea and Cristina Chevereșan, Timișoara, Brumar Publishing, 2004.

and from here the consolidation of the “Third World socialism” with its communist and social-democratic hybrids. One of the author’s examples is Julius Nyerere’s Tanzanian regime (fig. 3), sequentially and complementary built on a mixture between the Chinese maoism and the British fabianism.

Communism, social democracy or the tiermondism were the governmental options in almost all countries in the late 70’s of the 20th century, when socialism was at the height of its glory. But, little by little its armour begins to crack, mainly because of the disarming economic failures, then because the American economy, paradoxically built on the working class, led by George Meaney (fig. 4) and Samuel Gompers (fig. 5) had began to be a defiance for socialism. The venturing into an unknown way of the two principal features in the internationalist plot, USSR and China which were led by the neo-reformers Michail Gorbachov (fig. 6) and Deng-Xiao-ping (fig. 7), loomed a predictable relaxation of social-economic congestion of socialism. And in 1997 social-democracy stepped back thanks to Tony Blair (fig 8) who revitalized the metastatic party of Attlee, using a disguising method: “the Labour party is the businessmen party”. Consequently, if we toy with Joshua Muravchik’s idea we will see the the historical voyage of socialism is complete after 200 years after the failure of Gracchus Babeuf’s *coup d’etat*.

From the owenian neo-harmony to Moscow and from Dar es Salaam to London, via Rome, socialism acts very foolishly by using an opaque delirium compared to the most trifling and credible possibility of transgression of reality.

As a jew, Muravchik resorts to an “addendum” of the already analysed mechanism of socialism, making a digression in the experimental sciences. He learns us, in the epilogue of his volume, how to live in a jewish kibboutz.

Such an example is the Ginosar kibboutz (fig. 9), a community built in 1937 located in a valley in the north-east of the Galilean Sea. For christians, this place has a peculiar symbolic value because Jesus Christ committed the miracle of multiplication of fish and bread and for the jews it represents a place of memory of the resistance against the Roman occupation.

The population of a kibboutz meant “the aristocracy and the clergy of the national ideology”. Following this course we will find out that the prime-ministers David Ben-Gurion, Levi Eshkol, Golda Meir, Shimon Perez or Iehud Barak were, at one time, members of a kibboutz.

The golden age of Ginosar lasted until the ’80 of the 20th century. The conservative Menahem Begin had had elected as prime-minister in 1997 when the long Labour rule ended. Therefore, the kibboutzs confronted with the collapse and their inhabitants were aware of the fact that the nation will not appeal to them in order to continue the colonization project or to monitorize the borders.

When the socialists acted in a democratic way, the result was the progressive detachment from ideology. The basis of utopias, from the ancient Greeks to Thomas Morus, from the millenarianism to Edward Bellamy, whose novel “*Looking Backward*”, written in 1887 meant the highest expression of the

American socialism, was the idea of constraint. Why is so important the example of the kibboutz? Because, according to the author, “after they established it, they chose, in a democratic way, its abolition”.

Is it possible that the socialist topic, which is only very faintly heard, be the last obstacle in front of an ever-growing and menacing alterity seen as a threat to the stability and national integrity of the East-European states? Could this inquiry into post-communist matters be legitimated the moment Central and Eastern Europe willingly open their gates to the modern world of the West? These are some very debatable issues which, if closely taken into account, can give birth to confused and subsequent discourses.

Undoubtedly, the post-communist era is a transitory one, an indenture, a return to democracy, fact which does not involve, by any means, renewed adjustments in fixing a typical hierarchy of the old regime of the communist period. On the contrary, this brings into discussion a completely different and radical epoch, a revisitation of the geography of European space and a transgression of the Soviet epoch and space towards the European space. Consequentially, the dimensions of this transformation cannot pass over a concrete European history that has been constructed as such for the last sixty years.

In the 1960s, the powerful communist parties in Eastern Europe declared “the implementation of socialism”, and consequently, this process immediately metamorphosized into a new political organism known as “the socialist republics”. Therefore, the purpose of this political event was taken over by the newly created Constitutions, in accordance with which the term “socialist” was added to the term “republic”.

However, the unpredictable course of recent history, whose *boiling point* was materialized during the European revolutionary movements in 1989, swept away “the victorious socialism” which had been ubiquitous in Budapest and Warsaw, Prague and Bucharest, and likewise in Sophia and West Berlin.

The communist system, also known as “the future model of the mankind”, brought together, along with its collapse, different versions of the totalitarian mythology, one by one exfoliating off the monolithic imaginary of the system in case.

The myth of a common identity which was supposed to unite the ex-socialist republics, revealed itself to be nothing else but a mere fantasy. The burlesque of the situation made the appropriate pawn, “the new man”, disappear instead of legitimating the totalitarian regime.

As a result of the collapse of the repressive regime of the State Party, there outburst some changes in culture, mentality, and social behaviour, specific to each of the ex-communist countries. If something remained after the disappearance of the old regime, then it melted under the newly recovered and assumed identities.

The circulation of the information is now free and diverse. Human perspectives enlarge as the cultural horizons are expanding. The young generation follows the model of the West-European typology to such an extent that it

identifies with it. Thus, the touristic imaginary, reduced to the C.A.E.R countries only by the communist regime begins to expand while opening its gates and allowing the people to travel to previously forbidden destinations, not to mention the fact that the market economy has definitely replaced the socialist way of production. On the whole, these are the reasons why this process of *normalization* of the society should regard as relative the obsession concerning the national identity issue, nonetheless, this is not at all the case!

To put the point nicely, the avatars of the Romanian historical discourse are far from being an accident during the period after the Second World War course of history. The massive state mobilization, the enthusiasm with no real support and the habit of solemnly celebrating history are all intellectual and political misfortunes, whose origin dating long before the 1989 Romanian Revolution can't be ignored. The response strategy is simple and predictable and it covers all the aspects of the situation.

Within this context of revisiting history, the appeal to the 'masters of ceremonies' of the Romanian national-communism was necessary as long as it created the need for a return to a recent past (which has never been thoroughly analysed) in order to legitimate the present.

The permanent appeal to history calls upon a political method which was cooked to perfection by those generations after the year 1945: historical and political figures, writers, artists, but especially historians built a mechanism designed to put forward an acceptable version of history, which could legitimate the communist regime. A close investigation into the recent past could be the turning point of the re-evaluation of identity.

The post-1989 state assumed its obvious umbilical relationship with the communist party, not only with regard to the issue of collective memory, but also in respect to its self-localization against the background of a society both monochromatic from an intellectual point of view, and spoilt and ruined from a financial point of view. In addition to this, the Party should not identify itself with the State. When this happens it can't stand any opposition, or anything that requires a certain distance in relation to its doctrine. Thus, while embodying the proletariat, one of the Party's main objectives is to rebuild a state apparatus which should govern according to the possibilities created by the situation and also in conformity with the needs of the population.

The Party should not make the decisions that belong to the State, even if it might influence the apparatus². As it becomes a state doctrine, dogmatism grows into a more destructive ideology which should be condemned as such. Consequently, it is necessary that the new democratization be developed and institutionalized and that the different attempts to clearly and coherently analyse the discourse created around the State/Party issue be identified.

² Claude Lefort, *Invenția democratică*, (the original title is *L'invention démocratique*, translated into Romanian by Nicolae Baltă and Vasile Mlesniță), Pitești, Paralela 45 Publishing, 2002, pp. 244-245

The Communist Party has been portrayed as *the* unique party, which is an incomplete characterisation. A unique party can be the tool of a dictatorship which allows a civil society to subsist. It does not necessarily imply the existence of various political alternatives. This unique party can coexist with some forms of association, especially with those trade unions which are considered legal. However, The Communist Party is deeply rooted in a fantasy, being a hybrid born out of the mixture between the social and the political³.

According to Adrian Marino, the perpetuation of the communist ideology into contemporary culture under the form of national-communism is a characteristic cultural phenomenon which occurred after the communist era. It has definitely been noticed that in all East-European countries nationalism has remained the only possible surviving option of the communist ideology. Ceausism, as an endemic form of national-communism, is still alive. The communist aversion to the Occident, pluralism, democracy, and integration in supranational organisms is perfectly disguised by the national traditional pride, to defend the national independence and sovereignty⁴.

So far, one of the most important episodes of the post-communist period has been the explosive problem of the “de-mythisation of history”. This concept not only assumes that myths are deconstructed, but also, *in extenso*, it emphasizes the fact that history and its heroes are politicised and nationalised, which makes everything be read in the key of *historicism*.

It is but obvious that every political class is looking for cohesion in society, while history is weaving the ideal mask under which it redirects the attention of the civil society to some other ways, different than those established by the contemporary truth, which seems very often difficult to explain in a rational way. When the world seems to overwhelm you, the glorious ancestry of the thread of the history is firing you up.

Therefore, the “de-mythisation of history” is materialised in an antiseptic process which can be applied to the massively forged historical memory. In order that the mechanism of the collective memory be understood, it is essential that within the field of scientific research possible obstructions of intellect and mentality should be prevented. A strong and steady nation in regard to the question of the psychology of identity is required to accept such deconstructions without dramatizing the situation due to the fact that this concept of the “de-mythisation of history” does not endanger national identity, as it has very often been assumed.

The present article attempts to determine whether those who object to the historical figures not being represented in our national Pantheon as authoritarian are self-conscious of their identity and history. Under the spell of involuntariness

³ *Ibidem*, p. 245.

⁴ Adrian Marino, *Politică și cultură. Pentru o nouă cultură română*, Polirom Publishing, Iași, 1996, p. 203.

the Romanians have replaced *history* with a general myth-inventing and national *hysteria*.

The Romanian historiography as a neo-eschatology of pseudo-intellectual type is based on a messianic and canonic parentage almost impossible to avoid and oppose. All the conclusions that are inferred from the different re-interpretations of history found themselves gathered under the same roof of the *melting-pot* of the Romanian unwillingness. The mentality of the Romanian historians (and this is not meant to generalize the situation) is specific for the rhetoric of the Orwellian 'Ministry of Truth' and a relaxation of the situation cannot be achieved as long as their educational influence is to be found in schools, high schools, local cultural and religious centers. According to Andrei Pleșu,

"the *legendarization* of history (which has as its derivative the term heroism used in the sense implied by the poorly-made handbooks) can thus become the substance of an unhealthy sophism according to which the virtues of our forebears are very easily inherited, the same way we inherit the blue eyes, from one generation to another. Yet, it is not enough to noisily remember the heroes or multiply their portraits in order to take after them"⁵.

All along the Balkanic geopolitical area, history still stands for xenophobia, revengeful feelings, uncertainty and hatred, as opposed to the abstract, sometimes hilarious frameworks (see the demagogic discourse produced by the concept of *political correctness*) of the consumerist stereotypes it comfortably experiences in the Occident.

As far as Romania is concerned, things haven't settled down yet, we still live in uncertain times, and the flux of history is still blocked by prejudices resistant to changes and new perspectives. In other words, even if the Western strategies of demythisation of history appeal to multidisciplinary, thus offering a whole range of possible and multiple points of view, most of the times they are not compatible with the Romanian endemic realities. A certain relaxation to 'read' history in a self-mocking, playful and generous manner is missing.

The circumstantial aspect of the Occidental deconstructivist phenomenon, frequently called upon by the French intellectuals is not at all to the Romanian historians' taste, because the obvious balance between the absence of the document and the inflated discourse of history is politically and institutionally legitimised. It is very uncomfortable for the Romanian history not to have at least one clear and scientifically sustained historical event completely agreed upon by the historians.

However, a new chapter of the Romanian historiography has begun its way into the local market of ideas. Lucian Boia⁶ is the first to have promoted a new and different perspective on the study of historiography, which does not mean the death of historiography, but a revisitation of it.

⁵ The quotation is my translation of a fragment taken from Andrei Pleșu's *Rigorile ideologiei naționale și legitimitatea universalului*, in *Chipuri și masti ale tranziției*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing, 1996, p. 220.

⁶ Lucian Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing, 2002.

The study of the practices of everyday life is in its beginning. Toader Nicoara⁷ was the coordinator of an anthology of texts meant to offer an introduction to the history of collective mentalities. Adrian Cioroianu⁸, Marius Oprea, Stejarel Olaru⁹ are only but a few names among those who have successfully re-visited and re-evaluated the Romanian recent past, or, in other words, that area concerned with the Romanian communism. The praise-worthy well-documented analytic project on the study of the concept of *pétit histoire* during the Romanian communist epoch conceived by the four young researchers Paul Cernat, Ion Manolescu, Angelo Mitchievici, and Ioan Stanomir¹⁰ is a good start for the clarification of the Romanian communist mythology. Needless to say, many other different contributions to the study of history are to be mentioned, but as far as I am concerned, I shall focus on those studies which refer mainly to the Romanian communism and post-communism.

Accordingly, balance and stability are the main points of reference for an attempt to build a fresh project released from the constrictions imposed by the old national-communist mentality. Yet, this venturesome thought is very difficult to accomplish owing to the counteroffensive of the Ministry of Culture which accepted as scientific truth any false representation of history, from the nationalist obsession to the ones referring to protocronism or tracology.

For the ex-communist countries, the opening towards Europe poses a fundamental and quite new problem – that of the place their formerly ignored identity and cultural contributions will occupy from now on within the future European context. We will be looking forward to seeing how they will respond to the offer made by contemporaneity and to what an extent Western Europe is willingly to open itself and accept the heritage of the *Other Europe*.

All things considered, what we are to find out is whether Isaiah Berlin was right when making the following statement:

The answers must be known to someone: perhaps Adam in Paradise knew; perhaps we shall only reach them at the end of days; if men cannot know them, perhaps the angels know; and if not the angels, then God knows. The timeless truths must in principle be knowable¹¹.

⁷ Toader Nicoara, *Introducere in istoria mentalitatilor collective (antologie)*, Cluj, Presa Universitara Clujeana, 1998.

⁸ Adrian Cioroianu, *Ce Ceausescu qui hante les Roumains. Le mythe, ses representations et le culte du Dirigeant dans la Roumanie communiste*, Bucharest, Curtea Veche Publishing, 2004.

⁹ Marius Oprea, Stejarel Olaru, *Ziua care nu se uita*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2003.

¹⁰ Paul Cernat, Angelo Mitchievici, Ion Manolescu, Ioan Stanomir, *O lume disparuta. Patru istorii personale urmate de un dialog cu H.-R. Patapievici*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2004.

¹¹ Isaiah Berlin, *The Proper Study of Mankind: An Anthology of Essays*, Farrar Straus Giroux, New York, 2000, p. 5, also available in Romanian as *Adevaratul studiu al omenirii. Antologie de eseuri*, Bucharest, Meridiane, 2001, p. 35.



Fig. 1. Gracchus Babeuf

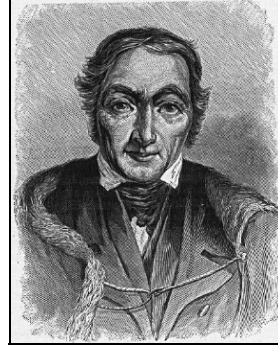


Fig. 2. Robert Owen



Fig. 3. Julius Nyerere



Fig. 4. George Meany



Fig. 5. Samuel Gompers



Fig. 6. Mikhail Gorbachev



Fig. 7. Deng Xiaoping



Fig. 8. Tony Blair



Fig. 9. Ginosar kibboutz

PARALLEL LIVES IN MARXIST POSTERITY

Ion MILITARU*

Abstract: The old exercise of ancient culture, illustrated by Plutarh, had reduced efficiency as it was chronologically situated at the end of antiquity. Transferred in the methodological field, the outcome of such practice results, in the Marxist posterity, in an extended signifying capability of the Marxist practice and doctrine. The parallel comparison of the Marxist and Communist lives and doctrines in the Marxist posterity led to signalling the uniqueness and originality of the peak masterminds and the protagonists of the communist power.

Keywords: history of ideas, communism heritage, Marx, style.

A genre which gained only minimal recognition. A surprising appearance in late antiquity, when there was not much left in its analytical stock, *parallel lives* seemed to be a solution, a key to read the world. The Idea, which had dominated the entire ancient culture, has already given ground to history. And it is personality that arises on this field.

In a somehow meteoric way, a providential appearance of a new method which, having lost the metaphysical vocation of the Idea, replaced it with the personality deciphered in the mirror, this type of exercise was not going to be a long lasting one. Perhaps the last light cast by the antiquity self-awareness on itself, *the parallel lives* are based on comparison. A life resembles another, they have something in common, there is a universal meaning unifying them, making them exponents of the same genre. Nothing more than the old assumptions of Greek metaphysics.

With such a *weltanschauung*, Plutarh's discovery remained the exclusive property of his time. The world itself became different, it grew larger, its dimensions expanded. In an infinite universe, parallel lives can no longer exist. At the most, in such a world which had dissolved its limits, there can be non-Euclidian lives in which two parallels never meet. Not even with Plutarh definitely parallel lives exist. There are common points, lives intersecting in a horizon which is, however, common.

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In this type of exercise, forcing its limits beyond time, which place could Marx take in the world of parallel lives? Who could stand next to him?

Marx has never been a leader, whereas the *parallel lives* are, with Plutarh, the lives of great leaders, not parallel lives of women, famous wives or dancers. We could hardly find a figure similar to Marx in this universe. To whom could he be compared? Who could stand next to him regarding starting point, development, results, consequences? Lenin, whom he resembles through his capacity of ideological thinking, has nevertheless appeared by a legacy, on an already existing ground, with a capacity of maximum assimilation, with a reason already recorded on the cadastral map of history. Lenin created no ideology, but he benefitted from one which he practised in all the possible and impossible directions. On the other hand, Lenin applied ideology – a fact that makes the difference. He created a socialist – totalitarian state, being however defeated by his own creation, Stalin, in a scenario worthy of Victor Frankenstein. A little simpler could be the situation with the descendants.

Lenin – Castro; both are placed at the beginning of the communist system, they make revolutions, destroy a world and make preparations for the birth of another. The newly arisen world is and wishes to be another world, new, perfect... However, they end differently. Lenin is pushed to death by Stalin, Castro is defeated by no one. He retires, gives up power to his family, a unique case in history where, as it is known, family is as a rule removed from power, killed or exiled.

The exercise does not hold good in the case of Lenin – Che Guevara. The stable structure of the former having the idea of limited revolution, does not coincide with the nomadic structure of the latter. Che is the exponent of the idea of world revolution, so he is nearer to Marx than to Lenin. Otherwise, nothing to be compared. Ceaușescu, Honecker, Kadar – minor figures, puppets of a received, inherited ideology and history.

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Marx did not inherit the Decalogue ethics in order to set the outline of the human normativity in the face of reality. He neither inherited the list of commandments to which he would accept the laxity of achievement. Neither Moses nor Jesus has the certainty of message acceptance. Their whole tragedy consists in the gap between what their message demands and what the human being driven away by God really is.

Between these two, the entire religious drama of man is revealed. Here are to be found all the downfalls, all the hopes and all the faith. Not even Kant led further the equation between *sollen* and *sein*, not even with him the moral being was irrevocably united to the normativity of the categorical imperative.

Marx denies both types of equation. For him, the normativity, the *telos* which the working class is supposed to achieve, is given in the historical law itself, it is not an actual normativity. The laws of nature do not have their own *telos*, their

normativity and neither do the laws of history. Consequently, what man should be is not a *sollen* of traditional, kantian or religious type, it is no *sollen* whatsoever.

The idea that the proletariat will overthrow the capitalist world does not come from foreseeing the future or from a moral *sollen*, it is not a prophecy. It is simply the interpreting of the economic analysis undertaken: a law of history. Here is the second perversion of Marx' economic analysis: the setting of the historical normativity, allegedly inferred from the facts themselves.

The logic of false normativity is also the basis for the famous definition of religion as *opium for people*. The aleatorily settles a contingent goal. Not even faith, God's promise escapes contingency. Faith is a free act. Marx discovers this goal in things themselves. The goal exists in the development of facts, it is their direction of moving, their indestructible target which is no longer up to human will. Science itself is the one which points to it. Marx appreciated science for its totalitarian character, indisputable feature.

On the other hand, the laws of history considered together with the laws of nature lead to strange knowledge. We owe them, says Marx, the naturalization of the world of man, getting to know man like we get to know the world of nature. Through the laws of history one knows the final outcome, the point history wishes to get to (though the laws of nature are without relation to time, without a target: there are no laws with an aim, teleological laws in the living world: birth, youth, maturity, old age, death...). Marx stops to an ideal target, a deathless maturity: communism – nature without nature, a nature obtained through self – awareness. In other words, a nature-spirit hybrid. By introducing historical laws on the model of nature laws, Marx advances a confused vision of laws: up to a point the identity between the two is valid, whereas beyond a certain point: the achieving of communism, the historical law ceases. The biological laws are not teleological laws. Only in a far-fetched manner can one grant something in the range of targets to the nature laws.

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After all, it is not the working class which destroyed the bourgeoisie, but it is the bourgeoisie which transformed the working class.

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The separation from Hegel is made in terms easy to understand. Marx replaces the logic, the course of Idea and of spirit with the history an subject of proletariat. What happens with Idea and spirit in Hegel's metaphysics is exactly what happens with proletariat throughout history. With the only difference that, while Hegel's spirit had sufficient resources in the concept, doing nothing else but following the way described by the latter, Hegel's proletariat had to cover a historical route for which there was no concept. History has merely no concept.

The artifice used by Marx in order to fit in the parallel with Hegel consisted in introducing the shaky concept, the pseudo-concept in history. History constructed on the matrix of Procust bed conducts to exactly what the Bolshevik communism led to. From this point of view, Marx' concept of history is bound to end up in Bolshevik communism. History as a concept is a late discovery with Marx. In his early writings, when he was not certain whether to adhere to the socialists' recipes for the future, he lacked this concept¹. Not even later would he provide accurate data regarding communism.

When does this moment come up and what brings it about? Marx was a contradictory character. On the one hand he related to history and to everything that meant parts of it as if it were a mystery, an enigma and he viewed its forces as phantoms, ghosts, unknown factors – from this point of view history is rather in opposition to concept. On the other hand, Marx had always been attracted to viewing history as a solved enigma, an unravelled mystery. It is on this dimension that the concept of history was developed. From here also derives the belief in the possibility of intervening in it, of hurrying up its processes and of discovering its laws.

The striving for knowledge is the trigger for concept, the primary source of Marx' theory on the inevitability of communism. Knowledge is the one which pushed him into developing a concept of history. Completing the concept is what led him to communism as the final stage of history.

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Style is the man! Scientific genius could not take the place of his literary talent: if Marx had lacked in the former, he could have surely benefitted from his literary talent. Moreover, it is not difficult to discover its directions of action: esoteric fiction as mystery fiction. Marx' manner of dealing with science, his conviction that at the end of it there will be the discovery of certain laws that will make everything clear, cannot derive from anything else but this very type of literature. In its essence, mystery is the key while its discovery, the *lifting of the curtain* does not mean the destruction, but the preserving and the alchemic recomposing of the world. In any fiction of this kind, the psychological effect consists in discovering a *modus vivendi* in the proximity of the world foundation, of the presence of god and his benevolent attitude.

Nothing serves this fiction better than a myth. And the very presence of it in the Marx' texts, especially the Greek myth, but also the Hindu, the Persian or the Celtic one, and to a great extent, the Christianity, with all its symbols, is abundant. It is not, as one might first think, about a rhetorical technique, a persuasion method or actually the manner of using general education. We have here one of the sources of undeclared esoteric thinking.

¹ As it is shown in "Contributions to the Jewish Issue".

Like the myth, *The Capital* as a whole is a scenario with two protagonists: the capitalist and the proletarian². The myth relates various happenings with ample, cosmic value or with a human, reduced one. *The Capital* presents the whole phenomenon of history as a script between capitalist and worker, with their entire prehistory from antiquity up to the present. In it there are episodes of cosmic proportions, apocalyptic in the most accurate sense of the word and also episodes of regional ontology. Though the two characters have mythical value – as they lay the foundations of history! – they are nothing else but impersonations of certain human categories with the accompanying active implications.

The capitalist is involved in the process of producing, retrieving and increasing the capital. The worker, as far as he is concerned, is involved in the same process: he asserts the same thing but in the opposite direction! What actually occurs has to a greater extent the mark of the former, as he possesses the economic initiative, the development and the specific culture. Though, what follows, namely the end of the process, eludes them both. They are caught in *iron relations* which lead to the end a mode of production meaning nothing else but the end of the world as capitalist world.

Marx speaks like in an esoteric novel in which the events have their own value and significance. He gives human shape to his categories and processes which as a matter of fact, represent something beyond any narrative possibility. It is an impressive literary device. The economic history becomes clearer, attractive and personal. “By no means do I paint a rosy picture of the figure of the capitalist and that of the landowner. But here it is about **persons** only in so far as they are the personification of some economic categories, bearers of certain class relations and interests”³.

But for what purpose is personification created here on the ground of the most *severe science*? In the sciences admired by Marx, namely physics, mathematics, chemistry, nothing stranger than adopting such a device. He does not even use the personification in the plural: the capitalists (it is very seldom that one can find this!), but in the singular, a fact which makes the economic category a character. Should it be at stake a simple coercion of intelligibility or merely, as I think, the manifestation of an innate nature and talent, of such a propensity as to display his belonging to a *weltanschauung* much more natural than the one built in full view?

² The present characters cannot be easily replaced by a manicheist typology: a good one and a bad one, Ormuzd and Ahriman. The two do not simply represent the own will, the intended identity with the principle of evil and the principle of good, respectively. Though situated on the principle of evil, the capitalist's situation is not wished for, he does not want to be the evil, actually. The historic coincidence in which he is thrown does not belong to him, his role is historically limited. And neither does the proletarian play on the side of the good principle of one's own will.

³ Marx, *The Capital*, in “Works”, vol. 23, Political Publishing House, 1966, p. 16.

And because such a talent and such a nature do not coincide with what Marx *wishes*, that is a nature and a talent placed at the service of science, immediately after making the above specification, a more accurate and precise description follows. Marx becomes retractile, contesting what he has just stated: it is nothing but a literary device, because history favours neither personifications, nor individuals, but only processes and laws. The artificial aim of thinking, its declared, public, official aspect looks worried about what might be the first line of force of dispalying a more powerful spirit. Thus a breach appears between a primitive-innate, vigorous, intermittent nature and a cultivated one, equally powerful and active. “*My point of view, which conceives the **evolution of the economic structure of society** as a **natural process**, can less than anybody else consider the isolated individual as being responsible for the relations whose social creation he remains, no matter how much he would rise beyond them from a subjective point of view*”⁴.

So, now Marx speaks about a point of view, a mind creation, meaning everything that concerns reason, discernment etc. But previously it was about mere nature, talent which had neither points of view, nor reason involved, nothing that meant elaboration and development on this ground. (I do not advance the decoding of this breach towards a psychoanalytic reading of Marx. This has already been done and has its value. The point I am concerned with has a cultural value and cannot be identified with any Freudian principle, be it the life principle, or the death principle).

What did Marx expect from style? There is an explicit register which does not exhaust the problem, however. In the second edition of *The Capital* there are specifications in this sens. “*First, I am bound to give explanations to the readers of the first edition on the modifications made in the second edition*”⁵, it is said. What do the modifications consist in? *The more systematic division of the book is obvious. All the added new notes are marked as notes to the second edition. Regarding the text, here is what the really important modifications consist in*⁶. There are specifications about *processing, modifications, revising and deductions made with more scientific exactness*. In the end some stylistic modifications are also named somewhat *en passant*, as he says. *It wolud be useless minutely mentioning the sporadic text modifications, which very often are only of stylistic nature. They are spread all over the book*⁷. To bear in mind: these modifications are so numerous, so scattered that they involve the *whole book*. That means the entire *Capital* is in itself stylistics. A revising of it is useless, but also impossible since everything is to be considered. Namely the whole work is seen as a stylistic exercise. Marx says that a mentioning of this kind is futile. I say: also impossible!

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

But they are essential. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand why, a sentence below, he provides an addition: *I notice now, while revising the French version which is going to be published in Paris, that certain parts of the German original would have needed, some of them – a more serious working up, others – really important stylistic correcting, and others still a more careful elimination of some lapses that are to be found here and there*⁸.

We learn a commonplace here: stylistic corrections are important. It is banal, and still why does this specification appear if the scientific strictness is held in high esteem? The answer is given at the end of the preface to the first edition of the same book. There it is said: *Any appreciation from the part of scientific critique is welcome. As regards the prejudice of the so-called public opinion, to whom I have never made concessions, my watchword is, now like before, the words of the great Florentine: **Segui il tuo corso, e lascia dir le genti!** – Let people talk, and you go your way!* To whom was Marx addressing this recommendation? Obviously, not to scientific critique, whose appreciations he considers welcome. Nor to the public opinion, which he is determined to leave alone, in its pathetic idle chat. Then to whom? Evidently, Marx was addressing himself. And it is not exactly an addressing, as it goes without saying that it was not a subtle monologue, but a return to the primary element of his spirit here approximated in the form of Dante's art! Marx is addressing the phantom of his own spirit which never ceased to follow and haunt him. I approximated the type of fiction practised by Marx if one presumed the absence of scientific spirit, stating it as esoteric fiction. But it takes a little more to identify this genre, even in the situation in which its premises are not without insight.

In the two prefaces to *The Capital* he provides in a typical manner his way of asserting certain truths. I say *certain truths*, namely some secondary ones in comparison with the truth for the assertion of which he makes use of *scientific strictness, statistics and logic*. These secondary truths are not properly asserted, they are not formulated **ad rem**. The working ground of the scientific explanations of *The Capital* is England, its economy and history. It is a logic argument: *A physician notices the nature processes where they appear in their most conspicuous form and are less disturbed by alien influences or, if it is possible, he makes experiments in conditions that ensure the pure carrying out of the process. What I meant to study in this work is the capitalist mode of production and the corresponding production relations and circulation relations. Up to the present, their classical country is England. This is the reason why I have taken this country as main illustration of my theoretical lecture. But if the German reader shrugged his shoulders like a Pharisee, regarding the situation of the English industrial or agricultural workers or calmed down by optimistically thinking that in Germany it is far from being such an awkward plight, I am bound to tell him: De te fabula narratur! – It is about you!*

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 18-19.

The distance separating Germany from England, the fact that it is about England and not Germany is not a reason to salve consciences. The evil there is your own evil. It is you who is there! – it is not an ordinary method to talk about somebody by describing somebody else to him.

Socrate taught us that the best self-awareness can be achieved not by evading oneself, not by consulting the skies, the gods and their love affairs, on the contrary, the best way to self-awareness is to deepen the understanding of oneself, the direct approach. But, what Marx practises here is something totally different. The Germans should not deceive themselves: the one who describes them the hell as being on English soil, in fact describes their own hell. Certainly Germany is not in the historical stage of a capitalism like the English one. Being far behind it, Germany only apparently does not share its misery.

It is not like this. Speaking to the German reader about the situation in England, Marx speaks to German reader, to the German worker about themselves: *de te fabula narratur!* It is true, Germany does not benefit from statistics like the English one which display misery in figures and data. But so much as it is, these statistics are clear: *they lift the curtain sufficiently so as to be able to catch a glimpse of the jelly fish head which it hides*⁹.

We are in full mythology of hiding. Moreover, with the stylistics about German statistics and the veil it manages to lift in order to catch a glimpse of the jelly fish head, mythology begins to flow in the same river of hiding. But we are immediately given a new episode of the same scenario of the hidden truth: *In order to pursue the monsters, Perseu made use of a miraculous hood which made him invisible. We pull the hood as much as possible over our eyes and ears so as to deny the monsters existence*¹⁰.

The Capital closes the preface to the first edition with the pagan ritual of the belief in signs. In fact it is the same idea: the truth which is hidden, while the way to it is one of going on the road and following the signs: *these are the signs of the time which cannot be hidden by purple cloaks or long black robes. This time the new signs indicate that time has come! The time and hour of change, of pulling mankind out of prehistory and entering the truth, namely the communism!*

Eventually, maybe it is not useless to complete this beginning picture of *The Capital*, a picture of illustrating the esoteric manner of primitive perception of truth, with the way in which the dead themselves participate in this process of hiding. *Beside the modern miseries, a whole range of inherited miseries lie heavy on us, resulting in long lasting of outdated obsolete modes of production, with all their train of anachronistic social and political relations. We suffer not only because of the alive, but also because of the dead. Le mort saisit le vif! – the dead one catches the alive!*¹¹.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 15

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

In various forms, the dead people would haunt Marx all of his life. They had never ceased to do it, even since the drafting of *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, when they haunted him in the form of the ghosts, and would not ceased to do it even later, at the climax of his life, when the battle with them as spirits would go on.

Marx had often preferred the hidden truths, pulled out of the hiding place and unveiled, to the truth that really exists, a truth of the type of natural sciences. The circumstances in which he preferred such a methodology and considered it more efficient and appropriate represent still something like a debt to Marxist thinking!

SHORT DIGRESSION IN THE HISTORY REFERRING TO THE CONTROL OF CONSTITUTIONALITY IN ROMANIA

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Abstract: This short excursion in the history of the control over the constitutionality of laws in Romania, shows us that, in the period prior to 1912, in Romania, there used to be an incipient and accidental form of control of constitutionality, exercised by the Court of Cassation. Between 1912 and 1923, it was exercised by the judges from all the courts, regardless their degree, while the Constitutions from 1923 and 1938 were stipulating that only the Court of Cassation and Justice, in joint sections, had the competence to judge the constitutionality of laws. The socialist constitutions stipulated the political control over the constitutionality of laws, exercised by the Grand National Assembly, and, in 1991, the Romanian constituent legislator implemented, for the first time in Romania, the institution of the control over the constitutionality of laws, exercised by an independent and specialised jurisdictional body, appointed by the Constitutional Court.

Keywords: control of constitutionality, law, court, Constitutional Court, competence.

As regarding the existence and the regulation of the control over the constitutionality of laws in Romania, according to the courts that exercised this form of control and their due competences, and the jurisprudence developed in this area, we can distinguish three stages of evolution.

I. The period anterior to 1912 is characterised by the existence of an incipient and accidental form of control over the constitutionality of laws, exercised by the Court of Cassation, through two decisions, in 1875 and 1886. Nevertheless, it cannot be called a proper control of constitutionality, especially as regarding the first decision, because it was brought forward the problem on addressing the application of laws in time, existing a conflict between a pre-constitutional law and the Constitution from 1866. The Court of Cassation from Romania, section II, through the Decision no. 110/1886, took notice that the court did not have the competence to judge the intrinsic constitutionality of a law, but only the extrinsic constitutionality¹.

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¹ See, G. Alexianu, *Curs de drept constituțional*, Bucharest, Casa Școalelor Publishing House, 1930, vol. I, pp. 260, 310-311.

In the Romanian doctrine, it is considered that the first case when noticing the unconstitutionality of a law, dates from 1902, when the Court of Cassation refused to apply a law from 1900 that would authorise the former socmen, from the commune of Râmnicu-Vâlcea, to sell their plots of land, which they had received according to the agrarian reform from 1864, on the grounds that the law was contrary to art. 132 from the Constitution that was stipulating the principle of inalienability, for 32 years (starting with 1884), with regard to the property of the former socmen, and their descendants, who had received new plots (in the case of the just married), or the already bought public plots, or those bought from the state², a decision that did not receive the European feedback opinions³. Nonetheless, this decision generated discussions within the country, the specialised people of this area, from that period of time, asserting that “the minister who took part to the despotic interpretation of the Constitution” should be held responsible for the countersigning of the unconstitutional law⁴. According to this opinion, the law was still valid, owing to the fact that the judge did not have the freedom to not put an unconstitutional law into operation, being forbidden to abolish a law, or to ignore it through a trial. The arguments that supported this opinion were that “a law cannot be abolished, on grounds of unconstitutionality, [...] as much as a decision taken by a judicial authority cannot be annulled, due to illegality”, and that “each power should be the sovereign one within its sphere of influence”⁵.

II. In the period 1912-1923 Romania faced the control of constitutionality, done by the courts, regardless their degrees. This type of control was yet consecrated once with a judicial precedent, the control of the courts, on addressing the constitutionality of laws, when settling an action at law, from their competence, not being expressly regulated by the Constitution from that period.

Thus, jurisprudence played the part that involved the filling of gaps in the constitutional text, in the famous “tramways business” from 1921, when the solution of the matter on trial was awarded by Ilfov Court – Section II Commercial, through the sentence from the 2nd of February 1912⁶. It would later end with the completion, through jurisprudence, of the Constitution from 1866, with the rules on addressing the control over the constitutionality of laws. According to art. 128,

² *Ibidem*, p. 310, nota 169.

³ G. Cognac, *O Anterioritate română: controlul constituționalității legilor în România de la începutul secolului XX până în 1938*, p. 10, paper presented on the occasion of the Romanian-French constitutional days, 6th edition, Bucharest, 2000, available at the address <http://www.ccr.ro/events/2000/ro/Conac.pdf>.

⁴ A. Degre, *Scrieri juridice*, vol. III – *Materii de drept comercial, drept public, constituțional și administrativ*, Bucharest, Gutenberg Publishing House, 1901, pp. 454, 455, 456.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 457.

⁶ For the entire text of the decision, see Șt. Deaconu, *Apariția controlului de constituționalitate a legilor – experiența americană, situația în România*, in “*Analele Universității București*”, no. III/2005, pp. 111-122.

within the Constitution from 1866, the courts were competent to control the constitutionality of laws. Hence, in case of contradiction between a law, or a legal provision, and a constitutional disposition, the judge had the obligation to award priority to the constitutional text, which represented the supreme legislative norm, which all the other juridical norms were subordinated to⁷.

In the case pending before Ilfov Court – Section II Commercial, the Company of Tramways from Bucharest requested the ceasing of their interdiction to build the tramway lines and the paying of damages for the caused prejudices. In the motivation of the request, it was mentioned the fact that the Parliament, through the so-called interpretative law from the 18th of December 1911 (laws for which it was admitted, exceptionally, the retroactive effect), imposed new statuses for the society, and if the shareholders had not agreed with the new conditions as regarding the constituting of the company, their right of owners of shares would have become a right of litigious damages. The Company of Tramways from Bucharest invoked, before Ilfov Court, the unconstitutionality of the wrong interpretative law, on the ground that it infringed art. 19 from the Constitution, on addressing the property, respectively, the infringement of the power separations in state. The court declared itself competent to control the constitutionality of laws, invoking the following arguments⁸:

- the affirmation of the separation of powers in a state, the delimitation of each power, the distinction between the attributions of the legislative power and the prerogatives of the judicial power;

- the constitutional laws also have the status of laws, therefore, their enforcement in the litigations between the parties, fall in the competence of the judicial power too, along with the application of the ordinary laws. The logical consequence is that, in case of contradiction between the laws, the court can decide which law should be preferred, not being necessary a formal text that would grant the court the competence to sentence the constitutionality of the laws, in the trials from its competence, but, on the contrary, there would be needed a formal text that would impede the exercising of this competence;

- if the law, referred to before the court, were to be contrary to the expressed dispositions of the Constitution, the judge would have to impose his will, though their authority, both in front of the legislator, and the judge;

- art. 108 from the Penal Code (that provisioned the punishment of the magistrates that would have stopped or suspended the enforcement of a law) also stipulated punishments for the judges that would interfere with the attributions of the legislative power, but not for those who, because they had to decide between the application of a constitutional dispositions, and the application of an ordinary

⁷ C. Avram, Gh. Bică, I. Bitoleanu, I. Vlad, R. Radu, E. Paraschiv, *Introducere în istoria dreptului*, Fundația România de Măine Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007, p. 15.

⁸ See K. Benke, *Provocări ale controlului de constituționalitate: trecut și viitor*, pp. 2-3, available at the address http://www.ccr.ro/ccrold/events/conferinta/benke_vechi.pdf.

law, between which there is an obvious contradiction, giving priority, according to the fundamental principles, to the constitutional dispositions, to the detriment of the ordinary law;

– art. 77, from the Law on the judicial organisation, provisioned that the judges, before holding their position, should take an oath that they would observe the Constitution and the laws of the country, from here also resulting the intention of the ordinary legislator that, based on the principle of separation of powers, to formally acknowledge, to the judicial power, the plenitude of the attributions when applying both the Constitution and the laws (regardless their degree) and, consequently, to decide, in case of conflict, between them.

Taking into account the arguments put forward, and analysing the data of the case law, Ilfov Court sentenced that the law adopted by the Parliament in 1911 is falsely interpretative, the ordinary legislator diverting from the mission of the courts, through the emitting of that law, and infringing, the provisions from art. 14 and 36 of the Constitution⁹. Moreover, through the sentence from the 2nd of February 1912, the same court also showed that the mentioned law is unconstitutional, due to the fact that it allowed the expropriation of the company from its patrimony, and the shareholders from the property of their actions, besides the cases in which the law was admitting the expropriation and, more than that, without granting the expropriates a just and prior indemnity.

By exercising the means of appeal against Ilfov Court, the Court of Cassation also gave a sentence with regard to some controversial aspects. Thus, through its decision from the 16th of March 1912, admirably drawn up¹⁰, taken with the majority of votes, the Court of Cassation reaffirmed the competence of the courts to control the constitutionality of the laws¹¹. Yet, this decision raised some voices amongst the magistrates, juristconsults and authors of specialised literature, from those times. Consequently, Professor George Alexianu criticised the decision of the Court, showing that, if strictly approaching this issue, the Court of Cassation did not have the right to exercise that control, owing to the fact that, in such a manner, the judicial power had an advantage, unlike the other powers. Moreover, Alexianu considered that the Supreme Court sacrificed the text of the ordinary law and the organisation of the state. At the opposite pole, there were C.C. Dissescu and Constantin Stere, who approved the decision sentenced by the Court of Cassation, appreciating that all the legal texts that were contrary to the Constitution, were null.

The consequence of this episode from “the tramways business”, was the fact that the legislative power was later more cautious when emitting laws that regarded

⁹ According to these constitutional texts, “Nobody is to be removed, against their will, from the courts designated by the law”, meaning that “The judicial power is exercised by Courts and Tribunals”, see I. Muraru, Gh. Iancu, *Constituțiile române. Texte. Note. Prezentare comparativă*, Bucharest, Regia Autonomă Monitorul Oficial Publishing House, 1995, p. 98.

¹⁰ L. Duguit, *Les transformations du droit public*, Paris, Librairie A. Colin, 1913, p. 101.

¹¹ See G. Alexianu, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-317.

the observing of the constitutional dispositions. In their turn, the courts made a habit from analysing the constitutionality of laws. Through another decision made by the Court of Cassation, section III, no. 194/1913, sentenced in the trial of the tramways, on the merits, there was reconfirmed the competence of the courts to control the constitutionality of the laws¹². Later, the Supreme Court, in joint sections, would sentence rather easily on the constitutionality of some dispositions of the Decree-law nr. 1420/1920 on the relations between the landlords and the tenants, and on the 7th of September 1922, still in joint sections, on the constitutionality of art. 36 within the Agrarian Law from 1921. Such a position was adopted after the Union from 1918, by the courts from Basarabia and Bucovina too, which included, very fast, in their practise the control of constitutionality¹³.

III. In the period of time between 1923-1947, in Romania, there was a control of constitutionality exercised only by the Court of Cassation, in joint sections. This form of control was expressly consecrated by the Constitution from 1923, provisioning that: "Only the Court of Cassation, in joint sections, has the right to sentence the constitutionality of the laws, and to declare inapplicable the ones that are contrary to the Constitution. The sentencing over constitutionality is limited only to the pending trial" (art. 103)¹⁴. Despite this regulation, there were cases (two decisions sentenced by the Court of Cassation, on the 24th of September 1925, and the 10th of December 1925) in which the constitutionality of laws was last sentenced, after the trial had passed through all the degrees of jurisdiction, with one exception, that when the claimant accepted that the pending trial to be suspended, for deciding, prior to it, on the question of constitutionality¹⁵. Therefore, the control of constitutionality, instituted by the Constitution from 1923, was an *a posteriori* control, and a concentrated one, realised through the Court of Cassation in joint sections, which replaced the system of the vague control, provide by the courts, of all the degrees. Under the provision of the Constitution from 1923, just one law was declared unconstitutional, the law of pensions from the 31st of January 1924, which was suspending the pensions from the joined territories, until the creation of a new regime of the pensions, because it infringed art. 137 from the Constitution, which was stipulating that "there shall be revised all the registers and the laws that exist in the different parts of the Romanian State, in order to align them to the present Constitution, and to ensure the legislative union. By then, they shall remain in force"¹⁶.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 317.

¹³ M. Criste, *Controlul constituționalității legilor în România, aspecte istorice și instituționale*, Bucharest, Lumina Lex Publishing House, 2002, p. 68.

¹⁴ Also see C. Avram, Gh. Bică, I. Bitoleanu, I. Vlad, R. Radu, E. Paraschiv, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁵ G. Alexianu, *Dreptul constituțional*, Bucharest, Librăria Socec & CO Publishing House, 1929, pp. 238, 239, 241.

¹⁶ Court of Cassation, joint sections, Decision from the 19th of November 1925. *Apud* G. Alexianu, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, 239, 241.

Until 1948, the courts were controlling the extrinsic constitutionality of the law, therefore the monopole exercised by the Court of Cassation was visible only as regarding the intrinsic constitutionality of the law¹⁷.

As concerning the beforehand control on the constitutionality of laws, the Romanian judicial doctrine unanimously admits that it was exercised, in a certain manner, by the Legislative Council, founded on art. 76 of the Constitution from 1923. Although the text from art. 76 of the Constitution did not give expressed competence to the Legislative Council, to exercise the previous control on the constitutionality of the bills of general regulations, some of the specialised authors, and even the Legislative Council, in one of its approvals, admitted that this body had the competence to sentence with regard to the constitutionality of the bills, according to the consultative approvals¹⁸.

The Constitution from 1938 did not bring any modification relating to the control over the constitutionality of laws. According to art. 75, section 1, from the Constitution, “only the Court of Cassation and Justice, in joined section, has the right to sentence the constitutionality of the laws, and to declare inapplicable the ones that are in disagreement with the Constitution. The sentence on addressing the unconstitutionality of the laws is limited only to the pending trial”. Moreover, as regarding the previous control (*a priori*), a significant part was attributed to the Legislative Council, art. 72 of the Constitution from 1938 stipulating the mandatory consulting of the Legislative Council, for all the bills, both before and after their amending in the Commissions of the Legislative Assemblies, excepting those on the budgetary credits. Nonetheless, the bills could be discussed without the approval of the Legislative Council, if it was not within the period established through its internal law¹⁹.

IV. Between 1958 and 1989, in Romania, there was not a proper control on the constitutionality of laws, but a political control on the constitutionality of laws, exercised by the Grand National Assembly.

According to the Constitution from 1948, the Grand National Assembly (GNA) was declared “the supreme body of the state power” and the only legislative authority of the country; its competences were widely-spread, also including the modification of the Constitution, and the Presidium of GNA had, amongst its attribution, the interpretation of the laws voted by GNA, such is “the exercising of any attribution, granted by the law”²⁰.

The Constitution from 1952 consecrated the Grand National Assembly (GNA) as the supreme and unique legislative body of the Romanian Popular Republic, having as attribution, among others, the modification of Constitution and

¹⁷ See D. Valea, *Sistemul de control al constituționalității din România*, Bucharest, Universul Juridic Publishing House, 2010, p. 121.

¹⁸ I. Deleanu, *Justiția constituțională*, Bucharest, Lumina Lex Publishing House, 1995, pp. 144-146.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 170-171.

²⁰ Art. 39 of the Constitution from 1948.

the general control, for its enforcement²¹. It has to be underlined that, in the competence of the GNA Presidium was also falling the interpretation of the laws in force, along with the annulment of the decisions and the dispositions of the government, when they were not under the provisions of the laws. The Presidium of the Grand National Assembly was transformed through Law no 1/1961, into the Council of State, the new supreme body of the state power, with a permanent activity, and also subordinated to the Grand National Assembly.

The Constitution from 1965 indorsed the Grand National Assembly (GNA) with extremely complex attributions, among which there was expressly stipulated the adopting and the modification of the Constitution, along with the exercising of the general control, for the enforcement of the Constitution (the constitutionalisation of laws)²².

V. The period following immediately after the Romanian revolution from 1989 brought, among other institutions meant for the defending of democracy, the legality and equality of the citizens before the law, along with the guarantee for the defending of their rights and fundamental freedoms, the control over the constitutionality of laws, and the Constitutional Court²³.

In October 1990, after the collapse of the communist regime, but before the adopting of a new democratic Constitution, the Plenum of the Supreme Court of Justice, was noticed on addressing the unconstitutionality of a decree from 1950, considering that it has the competence to analyse its constitutionality. The justification of such a competence was mentioned in the principle on the separation of powers in state, provisioned in the Decree-law no. 92/1990, and in the competence of the courts to interpret the laws that they had to apply. Yet, the request was rejected, on procedural grounds, as Plenum of the Supreme Court of Justice considered, such a request could be introduced by the general prosecutor, not by the parties²⁴.

The Constitution from 1991 provisioned, for the first time in the constitutional history of Romania, the creation of a Constitutional Court, as an only authority on the constitutional jurisdiction in Romania, having an exclusive character of competence²⁵.

The Constitutional Court carries out its activity in the plenum, which is a jurisdiction body and one that ensures the progress of the Court activity. In the exercising of its attributions, the Constitutional Court adopts decisions, judgements and gives approvals.

²¹ C. Avram, Gh. Bică, I. Bitoleanu, I. Vlad, R. Radu, E. Paraschiv, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 79.

²³ For details on the attributions of the Constitutional Court and the institution responsible with the control of constitutionality, see Șt. Deaconu, *Necesitatea reformării Curții Constituționale a României prin revizuirea Constituției – o viziune izvorâtă din practica Curții Constituționale în cei 20 de ani de existență*, available at the address http://www.icj.ro/S_Deaconu.pdf. Also see C. Ionescu, *Regimul politic în România*, Bucharest, All Beck Publishing House, 2002, pp. 249-271.

²⁴ See M. Criste, *Instituții constituționale contemporane*, Timișoara, De Vest Publishing House, 2010, p. 69.

²⁵ C. Avram, R. Radu, *Regimuri politice contemporane: Democrațiile*, Craiova, Aius Publishing House, 2007, p. 87.

The specialised literature identified three stages of evolution in the activity of the Constitutional Court of Romania, according to the competences that it was attributed, and the developed jurisprudence²⁶:

- the period that followed immediately after the Romanian Revolution from December 1989 (1992-2003), in which the main task of the Constitutional Court was “to adapt concepts and laws, which had existed before the adopting of the Constitution, to the new constitutional realities”²⁷;

- the period between 2004-2009, in which the competences of the Constitutional Court were extended after the revision of the Constitution in 2003 – through the Law on the revision of the Romanian Constitution no. 429/2003²⁸, in which there is made the transition towards the adhering to the European Union, along with the debut of the global economic crisis;

- the third stage (2010 to the present days) is marked by the relation national law – European law, by the consequences of the economic crisis, along with the consolidation of the role and the attributions of the Court in the system of the Romanian constitutional law.

Between 1992-2003, according to art. 144 of the Constitution from 1991 [at present art.146, after the revision and the republication of the Constitution from 2003], the Court had the competence to exercise the next procedures, for the control of the constitutionality²⁹:

- An *a priori* control of constitutionality (also called the noticing of unconstitutionality or objection of unconstitutionality) – it is a previous control, aiming at adopted laws, which have not been promulgated, along with the initiatives for the revision of the Constitution;

- An *a posteriori* control of constitutionality (also called exception of unconstitutionality) – which is a type of control exercised on a norm already in force, on the regulations of the Parliament, or primary regulation normative documents, the exception being suppressed only before the court.

After the revision of the Constitution from 2003, the Court, besides the existent procedures, became competent to exercise:

- an *a priori* control of constitutionality regarding, on one side, the law for the revision of the Constitution, after it had been adopted, but before it was subjected to the approval from referendum³⁰ and, on the other side, on addressing the international treaties in the procedure of ratification, therefore before the law of ratification.

²⁶ K. Benke, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

²⁸ Published in the Official Gazette of Romania, Part I, no. 758 from the 29th of October 2003.

²⁹ Șt. Deaconu, *Necesitatea reformării Curții Constituționale a României...*, p. 8; C. Ionescu, *Regimul politic în România*, Bucharest, All Beck Publishing House, 2002, pp. 249-271.

³⁰ An attribution introduced through Law no. 232/2004 for the modification and completion of Law no. 47/1992 on the organisation and functioning of the Constitutional Court, published in the Official Gazette of Romania, Part I, no. 502 from the 3rd of June 2004.

– an *a posteriori* control of constitutionality regarding the normative documents for the primary regulation, to the direct notification of the People's Advocate (a posteriori abstract control of constitutionality³¹).

As regarding the *a posteriori* control of constitutionality, as an exception on addressing the normative documents for the primary regulation in the interpretation that was awarded, through decisions sentenced at the second appeal, in the interest of law³², it has to be mentioned that the role of the Constitutional Court of Romania, when applying and developing the law, is represented by “an expressed enforcement of the living law”³³, the Court mentioning that: “The Constitution represents the background and the extent to which the legislator and the other authorities can act; thus, the interpretations that could be given to the juridical norm have to take into account this constitutional request, stipulated in art. 1, section (5) from the Fundamental Law, according to which, in Romania, the observing of the Constitution, and its supremacy, is mandatory. From the perspective of relating to the provisions of the Constitution, the Constitutional Court verifies the constitutionality of the applicable legal texts, in the interpretation consecrated through the appeals in the interest of the law. To admit a contrary judgement, it means to be inconsistent with the existence of the Constitutional Court itself, which would have its constitutional role negated, if accepting that a legal text to be applicable in the limits that might be against the Fundamental Law”³⁴.

Nowadays, according to art. 146 from the Constitution, the Constitutional Court has the following attributions:

a) it sentences on the constitutionality of laws, before they have been promulgated, when the President of Romania, one of the presidents of the two Chambers, the Government, the High Court of Cassation and Justice, the People's Advocate, at least 50 deputies or 25 senators intimate, or, ex officio, on the initiatives of revision of the Constitution;

b) it sentences on the constitutionality of the international treaties or covenants, when one of the presidents of the two Chambers, at least 50 deputies and 25 senators intimate;

c) it sentences on the constitutionality on addressing the regulations of the Parliament, when one of the presidents of the two Chambers, a parliamentary group, or at least 50 deputies and 25 senators intimate;

³¹ See, on the subject, *Decision no. 1167 from the 15th of September 2011*, published in the Official Gazette of Romania, Part I, no. 808 from the 16th of November 2011.

³² See, for example, *Decision no. 854 from the 23rd of June 2011*, published in the Official Gazette of Romania, Part I, no. 672 from the 2st of September 2011 and the *Decision no. 515 from the 15th of May 2012*, published in the Official Gazette of Romania, Part I, no. 421 from the 25th of June 2012.

³³ See K. Benke, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

³⁴ *Decision no. 515 from the 15th of May 2012*, published in the Official Gazette of Romania, Part I, no. 421 from the 25th of June 2012.

d) it decides on the exceptions of unconstitutionality, on addressing the laws and ordinances, brought before the courts or the commercial arbitration court; the exception of unconstitutionality can be directly lifted by the People's Advocate;

e) gives the solution of the constitutional juridical conflicts between the public authorities, at the request made by the President of Romania, one of the presidents of the two Chambers, the Prime-Minister, or the President of the Superior Council of Magistracy;

f) supervises the observing of the procedure for the election of the President of Romania and confirms the results of the suffrage;

g) notices the existence of the circumstances that justify the interim, in exercising the function of President of Romania, and communicates the reports to the Parliament and the Government;

h) gives the advisory intimation for the proposal of suspension from the position of the President of Romania;

i) supervises the observing of the procedure for the organisation and the carrying out of the referendum, and confirms the results;

j) verifies the meeting of the conditions for exercising the legislative initiative, by the citizens;

k) decides on the contestations that have as subject the constitutionality of a political party;

l) fulfils other attributions too, which are stipulated in the organic law of the Court.

Unlike the control of the legality of the acts of enforcement, which can be a hierarchic control, or a judicial control that can be done by means of different forms and manners, at the disposal of the parties involved in the specific juridical relation, the control of legality, as regarding the normative acts, presents a system of specific guarantees. As a form of this last type of control, the one exercised by the Constitutional Court "is manifested as a prolonging of the will and the meaning asserted by the legislator, evidenced as viable until the moment the legislator interferes"³⁵.

Being "the guarantee for the supremacy of the Constitution"³⁶, the Constitutional Court "has to remain a special and specialised institution, independent from any other institution of the state"³⁷, situated outside any other institutions and authorities of the state, including outside the judicial system, as a "guarantee for the existence of the separation of powers in state, but nevertheless as an extra guarantee of legality and the stat of law"³⁸.

³⁵ M. van Kerkhove, Fr. Ost, *Le système juridique entre ordre et désordre*, Paris, PUF, 1988, p. 232.

³⁶ Art. 1 section 1 from the *Law no. 47/1992 on the organisation and functioning of the Constitutional Court*, republished in the Official Gazette of Romania, Part I, no. 807 from the 3rd of December 2010, in accordance with the dispositions of art. V from the *Law no. 177/2010 on the modification and completion of Law no. 47/1992 on the organisation and functioning of the Constitutional Court*, the Civil Procedure Code and the Penal Procedure Code of Romania published in the Official Gazette of Romania, Part I, no. 672 from the 4th of October 2010, giving another numbering to the texts.

³⁷ Șt. Deaconu, *Necesitatea reformării Curții Constituționale a României* ..., p. 4.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

ELITE, INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL PROJECTS

GLIMPSES FROM THE PAST OF AN OLD FAMILY FROM RM. VÂLCEA: SIMIAN FAMILY*

Georgeta GHIONE^{**}

Abstract: In the Romanian historiography, after 1990, there have been noticed numerous preoccupations of the specialists, to rebuilt aspects from the life and activity of some people who left their mark on the area in which they activated. Simian family wrote a significant part of history from the town of Rm. Vâlcea, as a prosperous family, whose members rapidly advanced on the ladder of the social hierarchy of the town that spreads around Capela Hill. We managed to create an image of this old family from Oltenia, with the objective, limited by the so far researched sources, to reveal aspects from the economic, financial, political and private area of their life.

Key words: Simian family, Râmnicu. Vâlcea, industrialists, politicians, destiny.

A name often mentioned by the people living in this area is that of Simian family, a kin from Rm. Vâlcea, where important traders were born, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, along with industrialists, lawyers and intellectuals in different fields. Through our approach, we have tried to recreate, as much as possible, the history of this old family from Oltenia. The reconstruction of the most important moments was based on the documents kept in the archives, and less on the written official papers, so it is possible that the material could present historic inadvertences, or in manner of expression, or that some of the names to be repeated, but differently presented, as found in the cited source.

Around 1877, Ion and Nicolae Simian, from *Săliște*¹, came to settle in Râmnicu Vâlcea. Their main occupation was haberdashery with bottles, harnesses, belts, trade that they practiced through a social company called *Articole de Sibiu*-Goods from Sibiu. In the same time, Ion Simian founded a textile based business in

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¹ *Săliște*, a village in the region called "mărginime-frontier line" situated in the south of Transylvania, on the foot of Sibiu Mountains, in I. Hașeganu, *Mărginenii în viața economică a Transilvaniei și a Vechiului Regat*, Brașov, 1941, p. 5.

the town. He used to buy large quantities of wool, silk and gold thread, silk and cotton scarves etc. from Comşa Company, based in Ardeal², and then he sold them in his shops, but not only the local ones. The prosperous businesses allow the two, around 1881-1882, to bring their entire family in Rm. Vâlcea. From the same period, the archive documents offer us information about the existence in Rm. Vâlcea of a workshop of ropes, which functioned with a social capital of 40,000 lei, and 41 employees. The same source shows that the workshop was under the care of Dumitru, Ion, Nicolae and Oprea I. Simian brothers. In 1888, the workshop functioned as a social company *Opinca Românească*, had 100 employees and a tannery, where cow hides were tanned. Simian brothers carry out their activity under this association until 1900, when they separated³. From this date on, they started to work on their own. The reasons that produced the breaking-up were: the elder brother, Ion I. Simian renounced the tannery trade, engaging into forest exploitation, and his brothers, having sufficient financial profit, decided to work separately, for their own interests. Thus, Oprea I. Simian bought *the old factory* with 25,000 lei, and the other brothers built their own places. Due to their separation, the social capital for each of them was of 70,000-80,000 lei⁴.

In 1905, the documents indicate in Rm. Vâlcea the next activities, carried out by the Simians: Ion I. Simian was exploiting forests, and Dumitru and Oprea I. Simian owned individual companies of *tannery and rope making*. Besides them, at Rm. Vâlcea, in the mentioned year, the documents attest the existence of a factory of wooden bottles and other items, led by N.N. Simian, and a forest ranger, we assume the brother of the firstly mentioned one, I. N. Simian⁵.

During World War I, Simian family sought refuge in Moldova, and the factories from Rm. Vâlcea functioned under the German supervision. After 1918, the archives indicate a new association of the Simians. Oprea, with his son Nae, and Dumitru, with his son Mitică, founded under the name *Simian Brothers&Sons. The united factories of tannery, leather goods and peasants' sandals from Rm. Vâlcea*, a modern tannery, endowed with modern machinery brought from Germany and Austria⁶. The tannery functioned until 1922, when the association dissolved, and Oprea, along with his sons, Nae and Romică, and Dumitru, with his son Mitică, would carry out their activity separately.

After the death of Oprea I. Simian, in May 1925, the factory would be called "Oprea Simian Sons", the owners being Nae, Romică and Aurel (the sons of Oprea). Under this name, the factory would prove to be highly productive, having a

² *Ibidem*, p. 155.

³ Vâlcea County Department of the National Archives, The National Bank of Romania fund, Rm. Vâlcea Agency, file no. 4/1903-1933, ff. 9-10 (further cited as SJAN Vâlcea).

⁴ *Ibidem*, ff. 12-14.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 20; SJAN Dolj, fund, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Craiova, file 29/1921, f. 14.

varied range of types of leathers and shoes, which were sold in the entire country⁷. The production of the country was affected by the economic crisis from 1929-1933, the lowest production index of the leather industry being registered in 1930, when the activity of the tannery and leather factory from Rm. Vâlcea was reduced with 60%, as confronted to 1925. In the attempt to revitalise the society, the owners founded, in 1931, a section for the production of pegs (the department was abolished in 1937), and in order to surpass the consequences of the economic crisis from 1934, they resorted to the loans from the National Bank, Rm. Vâlcea Agency. The measures brought a significant improvement, and even the doubling of the production in 1935, as confronted to 1934.

In 1937, Romică Oprea Simian sold his part of the factory (the price of the sale was 815.000 de lei⁸) that he had inherited from his father, to Nae and Aurel, therefore they remained the sole owners⁹. The two brothers managed carefully the factory, becoming involved directly in the supplying with necessary raw materials, and the distribution of the final product. The factory was supplied with sheep, horse, cow, ram skins, brought from Timișoara, Făgăraș, Deva, Craiova, Cernăuți and from abroad, from countries as Denmark, Poland, Australia, or Palestine¹⁰. The tannery was processing 3,360 tons of skins a year, from which there were made different products: box calf (the cow skin tanned with minerals, from which there was made the front side of shoes), butts, the high sides of the peasants' sandals, soles, the low side of the soles, English soles, neat's leather, small leather stripes, waste leather products, peasants' sandals, boots, transmission belts, sandals¹¹ etc. The products of the Simians could be found on the shelves of leather and shoes shops from Vâlcea County, but also from Bucharest, Călărași, Dolj, Gorj, Mehedinți, Olt, la Cernăuți, Chișinău, Roman, Iași, Alba Iulia, Arad, Blaj, Hunedoara, Brașov, Turda, Abrud¹² etc. In 1938, the production of the production of the factory registered the highest level, the archive information indicating the next quantities of products: sole – 250,867 kg, transmission belts – 40,313 kg, waste leather products – 51,858 kg, peasants' sandals – 34,152 kg, neat's leather and small leather stripes – 33,823 kg, belt stripes – 42,428 kg, shoes – 12,738 pairs, whip stripes – 236,627 pieces, ready-made products – 24,040 kg., all of them reaching the total sum of 57,604,453 de lei¹³. In the same year, the same sources indicate the following sales: soles – 212,980 kg, transmission belts – 39,851 kg, waste leather products – 39,806 kg, peasants' sandals – 32,316 kg, neat's leather

⁷ SJAN Vâlcea, fund, the National Bank of Romania, Rm. Vâlcea Agency, file no. 80/1937-1949, f. 12.

⁸ Idem, "Oprea Simian and Sons" Company fund, file no. 1/1925-1944, f. 44.

⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 41.

¹⁰ Idem, personal records Simian Romică-Oprea, file no. 4/1939, unnumbered.

¹¹ Corneliu Tamaș, *Istoria Râmnicului*, Rm. Vâlcea, Antim Ivireanul Publishing House, 1994, p. 178.

¹² SJAN Vâlcea, "Oprea Simian and Sons" Company fund, file 2/1939, unnumbered.

¹³ Idem, personal records Simian Romică-Oprea file no. 4/1939, unnumbered.

and small leather stripes – 28,276 kg, belt stripes – 39,615 kg, shoes – 11,468 pairs, whip stripes – 179,747 pieces, tanned leather waste – 11,789 kg, rasping leather, meat and bones – 253,846 kg, ready-made products – 22,230 kg, with a total value of 56,166,515 de lei¹⁴. The situation of the capacity of production, as regarding “Oprea Simian Sons” factory, between 1935 and 1938, is illustrated by the table below¹⁵:

No.	Year	Production in kilograms	Sales in lei
1.	1935	125,024	12,346,936
2.	1936	235,888	25,498,442
3.	1937	324,174	49,123,994
4.	1938	393,586	56,166,515

In 1939, wishing to become suppliers for the army, the Simians started to enlarge and transform the leather factory. For this purpose, there was built a special construction for tanning the skins through a *slow process*, they replaced the old and damaged machines with new ones, and they also built another shoe factory, able to produce 1.500 pairs a day. In the same year, the factory opened a new branch in Cluj, at no.1-3 Foch Marshal Road (after the Vienna Dictate, the branch was moved to Arad) and another branch at Sibiu, on Prince Nicolae Street¹⁶. The factory renewed the connections with the leather factories from Deva, Oradea, Buzău and Cernavodă¹⁷. Starting with 1941, there was registered a significant growth in the production, consequence of the military orders, the factory working only for the Ministry of National Defence¹⁸.

On the 1st of April 1944, engineer Aurel O. Simian and Nae O. Simian were registering the joint-stock company “O. Simian and Sons Company” with the name *Oprea Simian Sons Companies, trust house founded in 1888*, from no. 68, Col. Ap. Dumitrescu Street, with a social capital of 200 million lei¹⁹. On the mentioned date, the administration board was made of the following members: Nae O. Simian, engineer Aurel O. Simian, Tița Nae Simian, Ecaterina Aurel Simian, C. Gh. Ștefănescu Tică (married with Jeni Simian, sister of Nae, Aurel and Romică), N. Băleanu, Gh. Măcărescu (deputy auditor)²⁰. The object of the society was: *leather industry and commerce, tannery, shoe-making, ready-made civil and military products, forest exploitation, different industrial and commercial operations*²¹. A year later, in 1945, it is abolished the harnesses department, and

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ Idem, “Oprea Simian and Sons” Company fund, file no. 1/1939, f. 1.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, ff. 15, 29, 31, 69, 98.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, file no. 5/1939, f. 79.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, file no. 1/1925-1944, f. 11.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 12.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

remain only the tannery and shoe-making ones. The factory was nationalised on the 11th of June 1948.

Owing to their intellectual training, economic possibilities, social and political aspirations, the Simians belonged to the category of financial and intellectual elite, and succeeded in giving their family opulence and prosperity. In order to have a complete image over the Simians, we have traced, as far as the researched sources allowed us, so far, few aspects from the private and political areas of their lives. Moreover, one of the least approached aspects, as regarding the members of this family, is their involvement in founding some important credit companies from Rm. Vâlcea. One of these companies was: **Vâlcea Bank**. The institution was founded on the 1st of June 1899, as a Savings and Credit Co-operative, being the first institution of this type from Vâlcea County. In 1909, the shareholders of the company, convoked to an extraordinary general assembly and representing the entire social capital, decided its transformation from a credit co-operative into a joint-stock company, with a social capital of 200.000 lei²². On this occasion, the administration board appointed the office members, among which there were: Dinu Simian – president, Mitică Dumitru Simian, Nae Oprea Simian and Aurel Oprea Simian. In the interval 1915-1918, the bank did not have any activity. From its balance sheet, struck on the 31st of December 1933, we find out that during 1930-1932, in this institution, most of the credits were given to farmers, with interests of 8, 9 and 11%. In the same period, in order to handle the restitution of the deposits, the bank had to sell some of its properties. Among these, the building from Col. Apostol Dumitrescu Street and four properties in the communes of Roman-Horezu, Gușoieni and Zlătărei²³. The bank faced more problems in 1933-1939, not being able to fully recover after the economic crisis. On the 1st of February 1943, *Vâlcea Bank* merged with the *Bank of Râmnic*. The merging documents were published in the Bank Official Gazette, no. 10, from the 19th of May 1943; half of year later, on the 16th of December 1943, Banca Vâlcea was erased²⁴.

In the first half of the 20th century, **Oprea I. Simian**, great landlord, got involved in the financial activities from Vâlcea County participating to the creation of the **Bank of Râmnic**. The company was founded on the 16th of May 1905, and admitted as a current account one, by the National Bank Agency from the locality, on the 19th of January 1906²⁵. Once with the founding of the bank Oprea I. Simian, became actively involved in the banking activities, successively holding the positions of director and president of the company. The organizational form of the society was that of a joint-stock company with nominative shares, with unlimited

²² Idem, The National Bank of Romania fund, Rm. Vâlcea Agency, file no. 4/1903-1933, f. 20.

²³ Idem, The Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Vâlcea fund, file no. 33/1931, ff. 18-19.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 1.

²⁵ Idem, The Bank of Râmnic fund, file no. 13/1940, f. 20; *Ibidem*, file no. 17/1947, f. 3; Idem, The Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Vâlcea fund, file no. 57/1931, f. 1.

duration. The bank was founded with the help of the Romanian Bank from Bucharest, which subscribed to the initial social capital, along other 55 citizens from the county, Bucharest and Craiova, most of them traders and landlords. The banking products and services offered by it were: mortgages, and loans in current accounts, guaranteed by deposits, warrants, commercial papers and mortgages. The main services provided by the institution were addressing to the farmers and shepherds from the Communes of Vâlcea și Argeș Counties, in a smaller extent to the traders, for buying goods and viticulturists, for buying agricultural inventory. He dedicated to the promotion and support of some small and medium credit companies, a part of the credits being directed towards: the Vineyard Bank from Drăgășani, Drăgășani Bank, Viitorul Commercial Bank from Govora, Vaideeni Commercial Bank, Cerna Commercial Bank from Măciuca etc. On the 25th of September 1931, the *Bank of Râmnic* was registered at the Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Vâlcea, with a social capital of 35 million lei. Until the end of 1932, due to the loss resulted from the economic situation, the capital of the company was reduced to 50% (17,500,000 lei)²⁶. In 1943, the Bank of Râmnic merged with Vâlcea Bank, taking all its assets and liabilities. After the merge, the social capital was increased to 27,500,000 lei (10,000,000 lei brought by Vâlcea Bank and 17,500,000 lei by the Bank of Râmnic)²⁷. The company went into liquidation on the 4th of June 1948²⁸.

On the 4th of April 1930, it was founded in Rm. Vâlcea, from the initiative of 18 traders and industrialists "*Albina*" *Popular Bank*. Savings and Credit Co-operative, with unlimited duration, it had the headquarters at no. 154, Traian Street. It was the bank of the craftsmen and industrialists from the locality, and in the first summoned council, **Mitică Dumitru Simian** was appointed for the position of president.

Crângași Bank, joint-stock company with the headquarters in Rm. Vâlcea, was founded in 1930, by the members of **Simian family**²⁹. In the archive documents, it is registered as a *family bank*, and in the statistics, it is not mentioned after 1934.

The archive information brings us interesting data about other economic activities too, which were carried out by Simian family members. Thus, **Romică Oprea Simian** was a great landlord. He owned two farms in Vâlcea County, one at Bujoreni, with a surface of 42 hectares, and another at Sărăcinești, in the commune Olănești, with a surface of 60 hectares, and a farming property of 165 hectares in the commune of Leșile, Argeș County³⁰. Romică Oprea Simian administrated personally these farms, being very preoccupied with the apiculture. He was the

²⁶ Idem, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry from Vâlcea fund, file no. 57/1931, ff. 2-3.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, file no. 29/1934, f. 107.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, file no. 20/1948, f. 13.

²⁹ "Official Gazette", no. 298/22nd of December 1938, pp. 11,462-11,463.

³⁰ SJAN Vâlcea, personal records Simian Romică-Oprea, file no. 17/1928-1946, ff. 70-72.

vice-president of „Albina” Association of the Beekeepers from Rm. Vâlcea. In 1934, on the occasion of the traditional fall festival “The Fruit Week”, he was awarded a prize for the displayed apicultural products³¹, which were distributed both in Vâlcea County, and in Bucharest. He was the owner of a nice house at no. 32, on Carol I Street, Rm. Vâlcea, he also owned a house in Olănești, one in Bucharest, and a private automobile. As regarding his brother, **Nae Oprea Simian**, he was a founding member and shareholder at 5 banks from the locality, he was the owner of a building on Mircea Vodă Street, from Rm. Vâlcea, and he managed to build, in the centre of the town, on Carol I Street, a lovely Andalusian house, which today hosts the Art Museum of the town.

The most famous member of the Simian family was **Dinu Simian** (we assume that he was the son of Dumitru I. Simian and the brother of Mitică Dumitru Simian). He was: a lawyer, landlord, liberal deputy (1922-1926), president of PNȚ Vâlcea (1927-1938), national-peasant deputy, elected between 1928-1937, vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies during Vaida-Voievod governing³² and deputy-secretary for the Internal Affairs, during the same governing (1937-1938)³³. The headquarters of PNȚ Vâlcea organisation was, during his presidency, his own house (the place where today there is Union restaurant)³⁴. Due to his political and economic activity carried out in Vâlcea, **Mitică Dumitru Simian** also became a well-known figure. Mayor of Râmnic, between 1922-1926³⁵ and 1931-1932 (from the National Union, led by Nicolae Iorga), president of the Traders Council, from Vâlcea County, president of the Chamber of Commerce of Vâlcea County, deputy after the elections from 1939, Mitică Dumitru Simian was a great landlord, an expert accountant, the owner of a building on Col. Ap. Dumitrescu Street, inherited from his father, Dumitru I. Simian, and another one on Traian Street, both in the locality. His father, **Dumitru I. Simian**, great landlord, made his debut in the politics as a member of the National Liberal Party, later joining the ranks of the Conservatory-Democrat Party of Take Ionescu, the branch from Rm. Vâlcea.

The information that we have after 1948, about the Simians, are dispersed and come from different sources. Thus, about Nae and Aurel Oprea Simian Brothers, we have found that they fled to Argentina, in 1947, along with their families. Aurel Oprea Simian had only one daughter, Ancuța, who died in 1944, due to a heart disease. Arrested around 1950, Dinu Simian was sent to the prison of the officials from Sighet. The family of Dinu had a tragic destiny. Dinu Simian

³¹ *Ibidem*, file no. 16/1931, unnumbered.

³² “Îndrumarea Vâlcei”, Rm. Vâlcea, no. 2/1 September 1932, p. 1.

³³ Radu Livezeanu, *Scurtă privire asupra vieții Organizației Partidului Național Țărănesc din județul Vâlcea, între anii 1919-1998*, Rm. Vâlcea, Conphys Publishing House, 1999, p. 45; Diana-Mihaela Păunoiu, *Rezidența regală a Ținutului Olț (1938-1940)*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2012, p. 89.

³⁴ Corneliu Tamaș, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 183.

died at Sighet; Tanți Simian, his wife, passed away in 1971, after a fight with the cancer, his son, Sergiu, was sentenced to work in the Canal, and died shortly after he was released, and his daughter, Mira Simian, great poetess and painter, left Romania in 1946, along with her husband, Ștefan Băciu³⁶. Mitică Simian killed himself in 1948, jumping from the balcony of his house, when he saw the Security members from Vâlcea coming to arrest him. He had two children, Doralina and Radu³⁷.

Haberdashers at first, stand owners, deputies, traders or bankers, the Simians affirmed themselves as a significant presence in the socio-economic dynamics from the town of Rm. Vâlcea. The Knowledge of the market, their ability to use the loans and the art to make the capital shift rapidly, were just few of the qualities that made them famous in the economic and financial areas that were developing in the locality.

³⁶ Gheorghe Dican, *Comorile Casei Simian*, available online at http://www.muzeu-valcea.ro/buridava/B10_27.pdf.

³⁷ Mihai Pelin, *Opisul emigrației politice*, Bucharest, Compania Publishing House, 2002, p. 300.

THE ROLE OF GHEORGHE POPOVICI IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF SADOVA CROWN DOMAIN (1898-1942)

Narcisa Maria MITU*

Abstract: For 44 years, Gheorghe Popovici, managed Sadova Crown Domain, a period in which he was preoccupied with the development of Sadova Domain, from all the points of view: organisational, economic and cultural. During the entire period of time, his main purpose was to stop the phenomenon of desertification, by fixing the sand with locust trees and vineyards, in order to make useful as much farm land as possible. So that to successfully accomplish this desire, he gathered around him a collective of young people, chief farmers and silviculturists, graduates of the higher, prestigious agriculture schools, from Romania and from abroad. He did not neglect either the relations with the villagers, the main manpower from the Domain. For his activity, he was rewarded by the Kings of Romania with plenty of gratitude and honours.

Key words: Gheorghe Popovici, Sadova Crown Domain, 1898-1942, manager, silviculturist.

Gheorghe Popovici was born on the 25th of March 1865 at Caransebeș. He finished high-school in 1885. Graduate of the School of Sylviculture from Schennitz, Austro-Hungary, he worked, during 1891-1892 as probationer ranger at the Wealth Community from Caransebeș. His responsibility was the forest planning. In 1893, he entered in the service of the Crown Domain, where he stayed until the end of his activity. In April 1893, he was appointed silviculturist – assistant in the forest department of Mălini Crown Domain – Borca. Two years later, he was promoted chief-silviculturist and transferred to Sadova Crown Domain. He held this position for three years, later taking the leading position of this Department (1898). For 28 years, he obtained all the degrees of the forest department of the state, attaining, on the 1st of January 1927, the position of counsellor forest engineer¹. His activity as the head of the department, at Sadova Crown Domain ended in 1942. Starting with this year, Gheorghe Popovici appears in the documents as a counsellor.

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¹ Dolj County Department of the National Archives, fund Sadova Crown Domain, file no. 5/1940, f. 171 (further cited as SJAN Dolj); *Ibidem*, file no. 43/1946, f. 1.

Throughout the military occupation, during World War I, he had to leave Sadova Department, period in which the Domain was administrated by a German High-Command (10th of November – 15th of October 1918). For a short period of time, at the end of World War I, Gheorghe Popovici also leaded Segarcea Domain, along with the head of the Department, Eremia Medianu². He also managed the Domains: Bușteni (1920-1940), Cocioc-Gherghița (1920-1941) and, only for two years, Rușețu (1920-1922).

In order to understand the role that Gheorghe Popovici played in the organisation and the development of Sadova Domain, it is necessary to find which were the attributions of the head of Department. The head of such a Department was the most important person in the circumscription, having the role to maintain the connection with the central administration, and to put into practice the dispositions of the general administrator. The forestry or the agricultural expert was a graduate of a higher school from Romania, or abroad. Among their responsibilities there were: the organisation and the controlling, so that the production on the Domain would increase, the maintenance of the administrated goods; growing and maintaining the farm to the aspect and the result of a “Model Farm”, along with the rational distribution of the attribution and works: ensuring of a decent and disciplined environment, dignity, honesty and good faith in justice, the establishing of the working timetable; the drawing-up of the budget project for the Department; the controlling of the good execution of the budget; the commercialisation of the products, according to the best conditions, norms and prices established by the Central Department; the employment or the sanctioning, or sacking of staff; the carrying out on time of the administrative and accounting responsibilities, which had been established by the Central Department; the payment based of justifying documents, for works that had been approved either through budget, or the special dispositions of the Central Department³.

Once with his appointing at the leadership of Sadova Department, Gheorghe Popovici created a team made of young people, the farming executives and the sylviculturists, who were trained in the field, being graduates of prestigious higher sylviculture schools from Romania (Herăstrău) and abroad. The deputy-executives were also graduates of higher or vocational agriculture schools. The apprentices were supported, by the Crown Domain Administration, in vocational schools from the country, or in those within the domains.

After two decades, the team from his subordination was made of: a helper, an accountant, an assistant accountant, an archivist and a storekeeper, 6 branch managers, 2 deputy branch managers, 2 trainees, 6 farming supervisors, 1 sylviculturist, 2 forest keepers; an auxiliary (inferior) staff: deputy bailiffs, guards, farm hands, foresters, according to the dimension and the needs of the

² Idem, fund Sadova Crown Domain, file 17/1918, ff. 16-21.

³ Narcisa Maria Mitu, *Organizarea și administrarea Domeniilor Coroanei*, in “Analele Universității din Craiova”, no. 1(19)/2011, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing House, p. 304.

department, servants etc⁴. In 1921, the staff employed on Sadova Domain included 135 people, and in 1944, consistent with playlists, drawn-up in July, the staff of Sadova Domain would have 53 people, to which there was added a physician and 15 pensioners⁵.

With the staff recruited and selected under the direct supervision of Sadova Domain's administrator, based on some analytical studies, numerous field works stated, along with the exploitation of the land, which constituted the estate of the Domain. The mission was a difficult one, considering the quality of the land and their pre-establishing for the agricultural use. The fertile land was alternating with the sandy ones, without any economic value, reason for which there was imposed the conceiving of a plan that would increase the usefulness of the rich soils from the Water-Meadow, on one side, and the stopping of desertification, by fixing the sand with locust trees and vineyards, on the other side. Moreover, for obtaining fertile lands that would be appropriate for farming, there were taken measures for the sanitation and draining, through a circuit of open canals, of the water that was stagnated, during the summer in the Meadow of Jiu, in a place called "Balta Liștevei". For the same purpose, there were done deforestations of the tree clusters, outside the perimeter of the forest, and the flow of the waters was changed Jieț⁶.

For a better administration, the Domain was divided in square kilometres, each having four strips of 25 ha. Each square kilometre was surrounded by two roads of 12 m, and other two, of 16 m wide, having a locust tree planted at 1 m distance from each other. In only few years, there were planted 500 linear kilometres on the side of the roads, apart from the boundary of the estate, approximately 500 linear kilometres were planted with 3-5 rows of locust trees, forming, in this way a defending belt. The farms were also surrounded by locust trees belts, organised on 10 rows, works that finished in 1907⁷.

During 1902-1903, there was conceived an economic plan, based on which Sadova Crown Domain was structured on agricultural and silvic department. Until 1908, Sadova Domain was divided in 8 agricultural departments, varying between 1,000 and 2,800 ha: Sadova, Pisc, Ogrin, Daina, Odaia, Coclitu, Ocolna, Înșiratele, a vitucultural one and a silvic one⁸. From 1902, there were adopted 2 systems of crop rotation: one for 4 years, extensively, and the other for 5 years, intensively.

For the exploitation of the Domain, Gheorghe Popovici concluded agreements with the villagers from the domain, but also with the dwellers from the neighbouring villages: Dăbuleni, Amărăști, Daneți, Mârșani, Dobrotești. The

⁴ Gheorghe Popovici, *Monografia Domeniului Coroanei Sadova*, Bucharest, 1906, pp. 34-35, 54.

⁵ SJAN Dolj, fund Sadova Crown Domain, file no. 33/1944, f. 16.

⁶ Narcisa Maria Mitu, *Organizarea și exploatarea Domeniului Sadova în perioada 1884-1919*, in "Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane «C.S. Nicolăescu Plopșor»", no. X/2009, Craiova, Aius Publishing House, p. 312.

⁷ SJAN Dolj, fund Sadova Crown Domain, file no. 1/1882, f. 10.

⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 7.

following year, the Domain had 1,200 workers, who owned 5,000 draught cattle and 1,000 iron ploughs, bought by the Administration, but paid by the peasants, through their work. A worker would cultivate between 3 and 6 ha on the domain and 2 to 4 ha, on his property. Until 1907, the crop rotation was applied only on the surfaces cultivated on the Central Department. Starting with the following year, the system was extended to the sharecropped lands⁹.

For the diversification of the cereal categories that were cultivated in the area, taking into account the land specificity and the ability to be productive, experimental fields, with plants that would later be widely grown. We mention on this respect: the wheat from Banat, rye from Schlanstedt, Petcov and Debry, "Ligovo" oat, and as artificial forage, beside the lucerne, the vetch, sowed and mixed with the autumn barley¹⁰.

As regarding the forests, at his arrival at Sadova Central Department, Gheorghe Popovici found a disorganised and old forest, made of different types of trees: ash trees, oaks, elm trees, common maple trees, lime trees, nu trees, cornel trees, hornbeam trees, poplars, willows, mulberry trees, reason for which there were necessary rapid measures for the regeneration. The following measures were taken, in order to solve the problem: the grazing into the woods was forbidden, trees were planted in the glens, oaks on the sandy areas, under the protection of the locust trees there were built communication roads and bridges within the forests.

The threaten, represented by the sand storms, determined the head of the Central Department to take the necessary measures for fixing them. Therefore, the Administration decided, by also offering the necessary amounts of money, to plant the sandy areas with locus trees, on a surface of 800 ha¹¹. The planting proved to be extremely beneficial: first, in order to fix the sandy lands that were representing the largest part of the surface, and then, because those trees could be exploited in their early stage, unlike the oak or the whitewood forests, which needed over 80 years. In 1890, there were made attempts to fix the sand with scots and black pine trees, but, because they could not adapt themselves to the climate, these types were not used anymore.

For obtaining the necessary seedling, he founded several mobile nurseries of locust trees, the first being created in 1894, in Ocolna, and, for the oaks and other types of trees, a nursery in Jiu River Meadow.

For a better exploitation, he divided the oak forest from the Meadow in 7 areas, of approximately 100 ha each. The regime was that of the permanent forest. The regeneration was made by timber and artificial impregnation. The locust trees plantations were divided in 5 series: Daina, Ocolna, Dăbuleni, Ogrin and Visa

⁹ Narcisa Maria Mitu, *Forța de muncă utilizată la lucrările agricole de pe Domeniul Coroanei Sadova (1884-1948)* in "Arhivele Olteniei", New Series, no. 26/2012, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, pp. 204-205.

¹⁰ Idem, *Domeniile Coroanei Regale (1884-1948)*, Craiova, Aius Publishing House, 2011, p. 83.

¹¹ Gheorghe Popovici, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Bădălaie. As an exploitation regime, there was adopted that of the simple thicket, with a 20-25 year revolution. These locust trees forests were designed for the obtaining the wood for constructions and fire.

The works for fixing the moving sand, through the construction of protecting belts, but also the drainage from the line of river Jiu and the changing of the flow for Jieț, permitted the Central Department of Sadova to give to exploitation almost 1,000 ha of land that, in 1921, was expropriated to the dwellers of that area. If, at the beginning, the forest domain of Sadova had a surface of 2,493 ha, being made of the forests from the meadow of Jiu River (1,676.1 ha) and the plantations from the sandy lands (816.9 ha), in 1916, the proportion inversed, the surface of the forest from the Meadow reaching 728 ha, and that of the locust trees 1,600 ha¹². The refusal of the dwellers to take the sandy lands during the expropriations from 1919, determined Gheorghe Popovici to intensify the forestation with locust trees. Thus, immediately after the end of war, the activity for the forestation of the sandy land was restarted, leading to, in 1935, a situation in which the locust trees plantation to occupy a total surface of 3,300 ha¹³. The increase of the forested surface, transformed the Central Department of Sadova in a preponderantly forest domain.

For the industrialisation and the commercialisation of the logs, it was built, on the Domain, a small frame factory. Destroyed during World War I, there were taken measures for repairing and moving it in another part of the Domain, the land on which it had been built, being expropriated¹⁴. It was built in 1924, and inaugurated in 1925, discharging lots of materials for the local needs: oak boards, of different lengths and thicknesses, planks (beams, rafters, poles), board fence, stakes, edge boards and materials for cooperage, oak and ash tree lumber. The factory was reconstructed in 1936, but it was destroyed by a fire on the 24th of May 1945. In the yard of the factory, there were two warehouses for logs and frame, along with the building for the people who were working there¹⁵.

The huge quantities of wood were being transported over the Danube, by barge, and commercialised in the harbour of Brăila. The quality of the lumber obtained from the forest of Sadova Domain was proved by the request for export, of some wood products, made there. There were highly demanded the oak staves and friezes. In 1932, there were sent to England approximately 1,000 m³ of oak friezes of 25½ mm thick and of different lengths and widths, the first quality. In March 1934, there were sold 2 railway carriages of staves in Turkey and 5-6 carriages were ready for being sent to Malaysia. One year later, 25 carriages were expected to go to Spain¹⁶.

¹² SJAN Dolj, fund Sadova Crown Domain, file no. 1/1882, f. 7.

¹³ *Ibidem*, file no. 1/1935, f. 49.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, file no. 7/1920, f. 13.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, file no. 16/1945, f. 41.

¹⁶ Narcisa Maria Mitu, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

The remaking of the vineyards and the extension of their surfaces, also represented a major preoccupation for the administrator of Sadova Domain. By planting the vineyards, the administration considered the rendering valuable of some useless, sandy lands, influenced by the wind. He chose the indigenous vines, resistant to the sandy lands, and also to phylloxera. There were brought grafting vines, but they were planted in a small share. From the 500 ha for the culture of vines, until 1906, there was planted only a surface of 115.7ha, in the departments of Ogrin and at Pisc Farm. During the military occupation, from 1916-1918, the vineyards were abandoned, fact that led to a reduction in the viticultural surface, to 90.80 ha. The moment when Gheorghe Popovici gave his seat, from Sadova Central Department, to his successor, engineer *Iosif Rossman*, he left behind him vineyards on a surface of 50.95 ha. The reason for the shrinkage of the surface was determined by different factors: being very scarce, it was renounced, first to 20 ha, then 2.78 ha, destroyed by phylloxera; later, owing to the Decree from the 14th of October 1940, which led to the annulment of the privileges obtained through the law that founded the Domain, and the expensiveness of manpower, material, and even high demands of the staff, there were lost other 10.51 ha, of not very productive vineyards¹⁷.

The wine making was performed with modern devices, based on scientific knowledge. The wine was generally a high quality one, extremely appreciated, being mostly commercialised in the locality, in the towns around and, especially in the wine store from Bucharest. The best wines were also put on the table of the royal family.

Considering the existence of wide surfaces, occupied by pastures (3,381.5 ha of pastures and 21.2 ha of underwood for grazing), and the interest of the administration to make them useful, the Administration of the Domain gave a special importance to cattle rising. After the investments performed for this area, Sadova Department had, at the end of 1905, 1,169 livestock units: 494 cattle and 7 buffalos; 72 livestock units of horses, 230 pigs and 819 sheep. The cattle were kept in Piscu, and were raised for producing oxen for the future works. They were often part of the Moldovan breed. The horses were kept at Ocolna, and were used for the local regeneration of the Arabian breed, being chosen the Mura breed for working, and English-Arabian one for services. The pigsties were at Daina, it was raised the breed called "Mangalitza swine". As regarding the sheep, they were raised at Ogrin, being preferred the breed called "Țigaie alba-prime wool breed of sheep"¹⁸.

The investments from this field led to the significant raise of the number of animals, and, in April 1916, on Sadova Domain, there could be inventoried: 1,177 cattle, 253 horses, approx. 1,000 swine and 3,205 sheep. The menacing of the occupation army in November, determined the evacuation of the animals in

¹⁷ Idem, *Evoluția social-economică a Domeniului Coroanei Sadova după reforma agrară din 1921*, in "Arhivele Olteniei", New Series, no. 25/2011, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, p. 117.

¹⁸ Idem, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 115, 117.

Moldova (approximately 1,700 cattle, 156 horses, approx. 2,000 swine, 3,000 sheep, captured at Râmnicul Sărat). Along the two years of occupation, the German administration produced to Sadova Department a loss representing 1,044 cattle, 150 horses, 132 swine and 2,369 sheep¹⁹.

The animal loss, suffered during World War I, along with the reduction of commons and pastures, the farming land too, as an effect of expropriation, resulted in the diminishing in the number of animals, as confronted to the pre-war period. In 1925, the Administration made the decision to liquidate the swine breeding farm, only a reduced number being further raised, for the needs of the Department²⁰.

The development of sericulture was also under the attention of the head of the Department, reason for which, there were planted 8,000 mulberry trees and, in 1912, there was founded a *weaving and housekeeping school*, liquidated in 1923, due to the lack of staff²¹. As regarding the beekeeping, it developed a lot in the period between the wars. If in 1918, the apiary had 129 good beehives, in 1933, it had 320 of productive beehives²².

Another priority was the endowment of Sadova Central Department with buildings and agricultural farming stock: houses for the staff, workshops, stables, storehouses, barns and shelters for the agricultural farming stock and machinery. The image of the farms was also very important. For this reason, in the park from Sadova, and in all the other departments, there were planted fruit trees, and the gardens, in front of the houses where the chief farmers were living, were nicely arranged. For making the orchards, and for offering the dwellers the chance to plant fruit trees in their own households, there were created two nurseries, one at Sărăceaua, and another at the monastery of Sadova.

Related to Gheorghe Popovici, it is also the renovation of the church from the old monastery of Sadova, built by Matei Basarab, the erecting of 4 schools, the theatre, 3 Town-Halls, several workshops, which, when the war broke out, in 1916, had awarded qualifications to over 150 peasant boys in different trades: farm mechanic, blacksmith, wheelwright, carpenter, cooper; he built a tiles factory, 5 mills, an oil factory, he founded "*Vasile Alecsandri*" People's Bank²³.

"*Vasile Alecsandri*" People's Bank was founded in 1900, with a social capital of 600 lei. Gheorghe Popovici was a founding member, along with Ion Kalinderu, who was the honorary president, A. Valsanachi, A. Angelescu and G. Socoteanu. Besides the Administrative Committee of the Bank, there was also a committee that dealt with the improvement of the cultural and moral condition of the people from the countryside²⁴. Gheorghe Popovici was also one of the subscribers of "Steaua" Society, whose president was also Ioan Kalinderu²⁵.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ SJAN Dolj, fund Sadova Crown Domain, file no. 4/1925, f. 23-24.

²¹ *Ibidem*, file 4/1921, f. 36; Narcisa Maria Mitu, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-292.

²² SJAN Dolj, fund Sadova Crown Domain, file no. 24/1933, ff. 45-46.

²³ "Albina", no. 37/15 June 1908, pp. 1066-1070.

²⁴ SJAN Dolj, fund Sadova Crown Domain, file no. 2/1910, f. 26; *Ibidem*, file no. 1/1882, f. 5.

²⁵ "Albina", no. 45-46/5-12 august 1901, pp. 1248-1249.

Moreover, he created a museum, in which there were exhibited: 7 stuffed birds, a board with the oak collection, the 95th edition, Basarabia; 78 boards with plants and buds; 18 stuffed birds: an eagle, 2 geese, 1 seagull, 5 bee eaters, 2 grey crows, 1 ciuhurez, 2 black milans, 4 pond birds²⁶.

He organised a library, whose fund of books reached, at the end on 1933, 104 works and magazines, estimated to 36,438.40 lei²⁷.

In the period when he was the head of Sadova Domain, Gheorghe Popovici participated with the Domain to many exhibitions. The most important was the jubilee exhibition from 1906, organised at Bucharest, where there were registered the departments: agriculture, viticulture and silviculture²⁸.

In the *agriculture department* he exhibited: a soil section, realised at 3 m deep; a graph indicating the quantity of nutritive substances and the physical composition of the soil from Sadova Domain; an economic plan, divided in sections; the model of Ocolna farm made of: corn barns, storehouses, car garages, stables, houses of the staff, with gardens, and surrounded by plantations. There were exhibited the miniatures of rack-waggon and carts, used for the transport of cereals, made in the workshops of Sadova Domain, the model of the wheelwright's and smithy workshops, along with the mill from Ocolna; the economic and statistic plan of Sadova Domain, along with the departments of Odaia, Coclitu, Ocolna, Piscu; albums with the plans of the buildings constructed on Sadova Domain; the plan of the plantations from the sandy areas; a reproduction of the tiles factory, with patterns of tiles and roofs, showing the way in which they are covered.

The *viticultural department* was represented by varied white and black wines, produced at Sadova Central Department.

In the area of *silviculture*, there were presented different types of wood products: small oak barrels and butts, with iron rings, a miniature oak bath, an oak butt for wine, with a lid, for cleaning it, made in the cooperage from Sadova Domain; a locust tree log, from the sandy area of the Domain, sectioned from each metre; the study for the plan of Sadova Domain; different locust tree beams for construction, from the forest planted on the sandy area.

On the 25th of September 1928, he participated to the international fair of samples from Prague, with 21 samples of frame, of oak and ash tree, along with few wheelwright's items, boards lumber, cleaned only with emery paper²⁹.

He did not neglect the relations with the villagers either, the main manpower from the Domain. He insisted on the good relations that the employees of the Domain had to maintain with villagers, both from the point of view of their attitude towards them, and their material and moral development. They were encouraged to

²⁶ SJAN Dolj, fund Sadova Crown Domain, file no. 13/1928, unnumbered.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, file no. 24/1933, ff. 42-45.

²⁸ *Catalog – Administrația Domeniului Coroanei la expoziția generală română din București*, Bucharest, pp. 1906, pp. 61-62, 65, 74, 77, 86, 88, 92, 99, 115.

²⁹ SJAN Dolj, fund Sadova Crown Domain, file no. 2/1928, ff. 87-88.

improve the breeds from the households, bringing, instead of their cattle, ones similar to those from the Department; to buy performant agricultural farming stock, to organise their households, according to the model of the Central Department.

Among the preoccupations of the administrator Gheorghe Popovici, there was also the writing. Starting with the first years, the heads of the departments were encouraged to write articles in the specialised magazines, the well-documented ones being financially recompensed. Thus, in 1906, there were printed 11 monographs, published by the heads of the departments, on the occasion of the manifestations that were celebrating the 40 years of ruling of Carol I. Gheorghe Popovici is the author of the work *Monografia Domeniului Sadova din județul Dolj* (The Monograph of Sadova Domain, from Dolj County), Bucharest, 1906. Three decades later, he wrote *Istoricul plantațiilor de salcâm depe domeniul coroanei Sadova* (The history of locust tree plantations from Sadova Crown Domain), published in "Revista Pădurilor" (The magazines of the forests), issues 7 and 8, from 1936, along with a monograph of Sadova Domain, a manuscript, which refers to the period 1884-1936. The three works proved to be absolutely necessary, considering the fact that the archive of Sadova Domain was destroyed during World War I, when it was lost precious information on addressing the evolution of the Department, in the period before the war.

For the activity carried out along the 44 years on Sadova Domain, Gheorghe Popovici was rewarded by the kings of Romania with honours: the medal *The Star of Romania, in the rank of commander, Reward for the work in education, 1st degree; Reward for work at church; Agricultural Merit in rank of Knight/1933; Commercial and Industrial Merit, 1st class; Reward for 25 years working period; Faithful Service – in the rank of officer/1937*, the medal, *Centenary of King Carol I/1940*³⁰.

³⁰ SJAN Dolj, fund Sadova Crown Domain, file no. 5/1940, ff. 23-24.

PEASANT'S SUPERIOR CLASSES AND SCHOOLS IN OLTENIA DURING KING CAROL II (1938-1940)

Diana-Mihaela PĂUNOIU*

Abstract: In this paper some aspects are being analysed regarding “cultural politics” started during carlist regime, with the accent on organisation and progress of the peasant's classes and schools in Oltenia County. Their programs contained theoretical knowledges and practical applications, depending on the specific of the areas where were being held. Were though, by the protagonists of the carlist regime, to offer a minimum of knowledges from various fields and, in the same time, to be interdependent, so will contribute to the lifting of quality of life within village's population. The peasant's schools offered an organisational role model for the peasant life, in its assembly.

Keywords: peasant's schools, quality of life, King Carol II, Social Service, Community Home.

Starting with the 2nd decade of the XXth century, there were constant preoccupations for rebuilding the Romanian socio-cultural life, affected by the First World War and, ulterior, by the socio-economical and political crisis from the 30's. In this line is also recorded the start-up of the Association for Social Study and Reform, that will become, in 1921, Social Romanian Institute and, from 1938, The Institute for Social Research of Romania, and also the start-up, in 1921, of People's House of Culture, that will become, in 1922, The Royal Cultural “Principe Carol” Foundation¹.

“The peak” of social reconstruction/restructuration was reached during the regime of monarchic authority, enforced by the coup d'état from the night of 10/11 February 1938. Placing at the base of Romanian state and society organisation the

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¹ See, for details, Dimitrie Gusti, *Cunoaștere și acțiune în serviciul națiunii*, vol. I, Bucharest, Fundația Culturală Regală “Principele Carol”, sine ano, passim; Antonio Momoc, *Capcanele politice ale sociologiei interbelice: școala gustiană între carlism și legionarism*, foreword by Zoltán Rostás, Bucharest, Curtea Veche Publishing House, 2012, pp. 86-89, 109, 151, 153; “Monitorul Oficial”, part I, year CVI, No. 242, 18 October 1938, p. 4953.

cult of nation and dynasty, the carlist's regime protagonists have started a series of reforms/activities/actions with the purpose of improving the life level of the people in urban and rural areas, but also to help the coagulation of some social humane/collectivist communities, capable of assimilating and promoting constructively the royal policies² of "raising" the villages³.

The monographic campaigns started under the leadership of Professor Dimitrie Gusti⁴ have been institutionalized during carlist regime thru Social Service law, from October 18, 1938. According to this "the work for village reorganisation, understood as a citizenship and national obligation"⁵ became mandatory, for one year, for all the graduates of Romanian superior schools.

The activity plan of the Social Service had to be applied thru the Community Home, under the coordination of Royal Cultural Foundation "Principe Carol". In every settlement, urban or rural, these kind of performing organisms had to be established. In regards of the purpose of these working unities, article 10 of the Social Service law stated:

"The purpose of the community home is to support, straighten and deepen the actions of the Church, the School and the State authorities. He will coordinate and unify all the activities deployed in the village by State's and social organisms, thru harmonic development:

1. Of health culture, thru prevention and fighting of diseases, and also thru physical training of the people;
2. Of work culture, thru its guidance towards a better production;
3. Of mind, soul and national education culture, on all the realms of village life"⁶.

According to the same law, peasant classes and schools had to be organized, (article 17). For the training of the community home's leaders and didactic core that had to perform in the peasants schools, temporary classes and permanent schools would had to be organized (article 18)⁷. Permanent classes and schools, organized after a special program, were supposed to be started also for the young people forced to perform the activities of the Social Service, and also for the leaders of this service (article 19)⁸.

² The social policies include "activities/actions done by/thru the state (strategies, programs, projects, institutions, legislation) with the purpose of promoting/influencing individual, family and community's welfare in its ansambly. The social policies are developed and promoted by the state using the central and local institutions, with the support of communities" (Miruna Luana Pop (coord.), *Dicționar de politici sociale*, Expert Publishing House, 2002, p. 598, apud Antonio Momoc, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

³ D. Gusti (coord.), *Enciclopedia României*, vol. III, *Economia Națională. Cadre și producție*, Bucharest, Imprimeria Națională, 1943 (following, will be quote: *Enciclopedia României*, vol. III, ...), p. 71.

⁴ Idem, *Enciclopedia României*, vol. I, *Statul*, Bucharest, Imprimeria Națională, 1938, p. 950.

⁵ "Monitorul Oficial", part I, year CVI, No. 242, 18 October 1938, p. 4952.

⁶ *Ibidem*; *Enciclopedia României*, vol. III, ..., p. 74.

⁷ "Monitorul Oficial", part I, year CVI, No. 242, 18 october 1938, p. 4953.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

Beyond the specific objective of the carlist regime, the institutionalisation of the people's education in the rural areas was born also from the fact that the realities in the Romanian villages in the period between wars were quite disturbing, the specialists in the field recording various problems regarding: alimentation⁹, personal and housing hygiene, property's attendance, raising the animals and birds, growing vegetable's gardens, etc., with negative effects on population's health, and also on local and national economy¹⁰.

Keith Hitchins highlighted the followings: "The health condition of rural population became a chronic phenomenon, given the inadequate alimentation, rudimentary living conditions and lack of elementary norms of hygiene"¹¹.

The situation deficient/regressed from the rural areas was described by the King Carol II, in the speech in front of the royal teams, on June 30, 1934. He highlighted unusable/damaged roads, broken fences, misery (dust, trenches filled with water) and, "almost everywhere gardens cannot be seen, although every villager has a stretch of land ... Need to learn the most elementary rules of hygiene, physics and moral"¹².

Using the experience and the results of the monographic campaigns started under the guidance of Professor Dimitrie Gusti, the carlist regime's protagonists have given the Social Service a reformatory mission, with effects over the rural traditional society. Therefore, the Community Home, thru its activity, had to convince every member of a humane community to become, in his field of activity, a creative personality. The community Home's program "consists in putting at every social group's disposal the cultural means. For public health comes with physical education, sport fields, bath installations, medical clinics, etc. For work organisation, an agriculture, wine-growing, veterinary education, start-ups for production and sales cooperatives, procurement of modern work tools, construction of workshops. For soul and intellect culture, open school libraries, museums, conference rooms, theatres, etc. *But all these cultural instruments would have no meaning without the ideal of humane solidarity and without the abnegation of the individual for the collectivity (our underline)*"¹³.

The Social Service law from 1938 contain, in fact, the experience gathered during monographic research done by the Sociological School from Bucharest,

⁹ Considering the low consumption of milk in the adult population and especially the childrens, in 1930, was established, besides the Zootechnic National Institute, The National Committee of Milk that, amongst others, acted to highlight the importance of having milk of good quality kept in Hygienic conditions ("Torța Olteană", Craiova, year IV, No. 47-48, 26 June 1938, p. 2).

¹⁰ See, for details, D. Gusti et alli (coordinators), *Enciclopedia României*, vol. IV, *Economia națională. Circulație, distribuție și consum*, Bucharest, Imprimeria Națională, 1943, pp. 919-922.

¹¹ Keith Hitchins, *România 1866-1947*, translated from English by George D. Potra și Delia Răzdolescu, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing, 1996, p. 367.

¹² D. Gusti (coord.), *Enciclopedia României*, vol. I, *Statul*, Bucharest, Imprimeria Națională, 1938, p. 950.

¹³ Idem, *Sociologia Militans. Cunoaștere și acțiune în serviciul națiunii*, vol. II, *Acțiune*, Bucharest, Fundația Regele Mihai I, 1946, p. 269.

giving it a legal base. Being “a final point of a pre-existing social movement”, the carlist social reforming action had new sociological conceptions/concepts, resulted from the field work performed under the leadership of professor Dimitrie Gusti.

Therefore, during gustian monographic campaigns was highlighted the need of giving a new definition to the concept of “civilisation”, that had to be understood “as an integral social phenomena, a syntheses of all the life’s aspects of an collectivity” and “as a creative and constructive effort of a social group”, and also the need of affirmation and application of a “new politic ideal, that is that of integral cultural reform”¹⁴.

Thru concept of “social personality” was understood “the moral development of the individual that is in perfect agreement with the entire social group and of whose efforts go towards a cultural creation, meaning towards a useful action not only for the isolated individual, but also for the individual seen as a member of a collective”¹⁵.

All the theoretical conclusions had to have applicability thru Community Home organisation that had the village’s intellectuals, teachers, priests, state’s representative’s and villager’s representatives. In the work plan of the Community homes was also stated the organisation of peasants schools and classes, thru which the peasants were educated to become “aware of their duty towards themselves and towards the State”¹⁶. The result of this new pedagogic mission had to be the creation/birth of “peasant’s personality”: “Our peasants should no longer be passive beings, humble victims of faith, but they need to gain an active will that will influence it”¹⁷.

The Presidency of the leadership comity of the Social Service in Olt County¹⁸ was given to the royal resident Dinu Simian, on February 11, 1939, by Dimitrie Gusti, the president of the Social Service, because the leadership had to be given to personalities with moral and social authority. The Royal Cultural Foundation “Principe Carol” was in charged with the enforcement of the Social Service¹⁹. Director of the Social Service in Olt County was C. Şaban-Făgeţel²⁰.

At the end of 1938, the county administrative authorities transmitted to the local authorities’ orders in which they were asked to take the necessary measures for the enforcement of the provisions of the Social Service law. Were targeted, especially, the articles 11 and 17 from the mentioned law, according to witch had

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 271.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 272.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 269.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 273.

¹⁸ Olt County was one of the 10 administrative-territorial institutions created thru the administrative law from August 14, 1938 and had the following counties: Dolj, Gorj, Mehedinţi, Olt, Romanaţi and Vâlcea.

¹⁹ National Archives of Romania, Dolj County Department, fund Rezidenţa Regală a Ţinutului Olt, Administrative Department, file no. 18/1939, f. 264.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, file no. 13/1939, f. 41,

to be organized "peasant's classes and schools, with the purpose of a citizenship and house holding training of the peasant, adjusted to the local needs and the reorganisation plan of the Romanian village's life and with the purpose of training the villagers for the work they will perform in the Community Home (our underline)"²¹. The priests, teachers, administrative functionaries, just like any professional paid from the State's budget were forced to adjust their activity of community work inside the Community Home²².

In the Romanați county, the mayor of city Caracal, on February 2, 1939, reported to the royal resident of Olt County that they made all the efforts to advertise the classes and schools destined to educate the rural population²³: "... thru the means at our disposal, like publications, beating the drums and propaganda done by the communes functionary by words, we urged the population to participate in the classes organized by the County's Community Home, explaining to them that by taking these classes they will learn beautiful and useful things for their"²⁴.

The administrative correspondence between royal resident of the Olt County and local authorities is eloquent to highlight the organisation and systematisation of the peasant's schools program, of their practical role, and also to evaluate the results.

On October 25, 1938, the prefect of Romanati County, submitted for approval to the royal Resident the work plan for the peasant's classes. According to this plan, the classes for adults, as they were named in the archive documents, destined to the peasants, were supposed to take place every Sunday, and in the Winter also in working days, for 2 hours (between 13:30 and 15:30). "The voluntary gathering of the citizens" took place in the headquarters of the Community Homes or schools, where the Community Homes have not been established yet. First half an hour was reserved for reading the orders, dispositions and official notices, received during the week, and also to explain the rights, obligations and sanctions that came with. One hour was dedicated for speeches and

²¹ "Monitorul Oficial", part I, year CVI, No. 242, 18 October 1938, p. 4953.

²² National Archives of Romania, Dolj County Department, fund Rezidența Regală a Ținutului Olt, Administrative Department, file no. 21/1939, f. 109.

²³ The schools for adults did not represented something new in the history of the Romanian Kingdom, these have been organized starting with end of the XIX century, with the purpose of reducing the illiteracy and the state of cultural regress of the population. Were thought theoretical information and practical activities with applicability in every day's life. In the second half of the XIX century and the first two decades of the XXth century, the schools for adults were some of the most important cultural institutions (See, for details: Gheorghe Dumitrașcu, *Haretismul în actualitate*, vol. II, *Haretismul în cultura românească (județul Vâlcea)*, Râmnicu-Vâlcea, Fântâna lui Manole Publishing, 2008, pp. 183-209; Georgeta Ghionea, Narcisa Maria Mitu, *Aplicarea legilor lui Spiru Haret în mediul rural doljean la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea – începutul secolului al XX-lea*, in "Analele Universității din Craiova", Seria Istorie, year XVI, No. 2(20)/2011, pp. 151-152; Narcisa Maria Mitu, *Domeniile Coroanei Regale a României (1884-1948)*, Craiova, Aius Publishing, 2011, pp. 295-296).

²⁴ National Archives of Romania, Dolj County Department, fund Rezidența Regală a Ținutului Olt, Administrative Department, file no. 21/1939, f. 108.

practical demonstrations done by the public functionaries (doctor, agronomy, veterinary, technical specialist and gendarme), which, by rotation, during one month, had to travel in every settlement in the county. The peasant's classes ended, inside the Community Home, with a short meeting, organized by the priests and teachers, which had the obligation to participate at these villages gatherings²⁵.

Regarding the women's education in the rural areas, four teams, formed with the support of the commander of the Country's Guardians and the director of Ménage School, had to travel by turn in every village to explain various aspects regarding the household, and also to perform practical sessions. The accent had to be placed on organisation of the housekeeping in the family, preparing the food, laundry and taking care of the children²⁶.

On November 11, 1938, the head of the royal residency Administrative Service, Gheorghe Hodoroabă, replied to the prefect of Romanați County, highlighting the fact that the program submitted for his approval created the sensation of obligation to take the peasant's classes and was not attractive enough:

"... had to leave the peasants the largest freedom specially on Sundays and national holidays.

The attraction towards the Community Homes or schools had to be produced thru the quality of the speeches and the conviction that is useful for them, formed using the advises of their leaders and the village's wise people.

Programs like those that overlap, with executions of hour or half on hours we don't believe them to be achievable.

We believe in an achievement only if they will be attractive.

We believe that is good to give up these programs and try something else also with the Community Homes, with the teacher, priest and the settlement's intellectuals"²⁷.

In Romanați County, were organized, in 1939, classes for initiating the leaders of Community Homes with 120 participants. Also, were organized peasants and workers classes in 126 settlements, of which 2 of them were cities. The classes' themes were in accordance with the program of Royal Cultural Foundation "Principe Carol"²⁸.

On January 16, 1939, a peasant's school near Agriculture School Grade I Voicesti-Vâlcea opened its classes, for adults' farmers in the area²⁹.

On January 15, 1939, the inauguration celebration of the peasant's superior school took place in Poiana-mare, Dolj County. The classes were held twice per week in days of Tuesday and Saturday, between January 15 – March 15 1939,

²⁵ *Ibidem*, file no. 4/1938, f. 476.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 476v.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, file no. 35/1938, f. 118.

²⁸ «Vatra. Foaia Fundației Culturale Regale "Principele Carol" și a Ținutului Olt», Craiova, year V, No. 26-29, December 1939, p. 22.

²⁹ National Archives of Romania, Dolj County Department Rezidența Regală a Ținutului Olt, file no. 14/1940, f. 382.

having 17 sessions, 6 hours each. In the morning there were theoretical classes, and in the afternoon practical classes³⁰.

The program for the theoretical classes' notions about peasant household, labour, product's productivity and commerce, knowledges about elementary geometry, etc. Therefore, the first chapter from the program, "Centre of life: household". Had themes like: "Household's factors: Family (sociology and biology of the family, relations in the family and religion, family from juridical and economical point of view; history and the geography of the country, etc.), the courtyard and the house (hygiene, the peasant's workshop from the low areas, etc.), domestic animals (cattle, birds, stalls, hencoops)", "The Property" (the sociology of the property, juridical regime of the property, property from the point of view of agrarian culture, measuring the properties, work and production, etc.). The activity of the practical classes was done in the carpentry workshop, school garden and school's backyard³¹.

The program of the peasant's superior school from Poiana-Mare, Dolj County, had theoretical and practical notions also for the women in rural areas. They had the possibility to learn about: family ("Family Sociology", "Family Biology", relation between family and religion, family as economic factor, "Family and Art", etc.), house ("Construction and hygiene of the house", "Peasant's workshop", "House Pharmacy"), the birds in the courtyard ("Hencoops for birds", "Breeds of birds", "Raising of courtyard birds", "Diseases and disinfection"), property ("Women factor of improvement of the property:", "Family budget", "Work source of ennoblement of the soul")³².

The practical classes for housekeepers had the following themes: "practical works of lingerie for family members", "Initiation in tailoring field", "Applying the cooking science in an ideal way", "Strictly necessary for a good house", "Occupying the time in the Winter", "Fabrication of soap", "Using practically the medicinal plants", "House Hygiene (practical demonstrations)", "Disinfection of hencoops", "Cosmetic and cleanliness of the courtyard", "Bird's food", "Toilet, clue of civilisation", "Increasing the family budget thru the smartness of the women", "Various calculations regarding the selling and buying (oral and written calculation)"³³.

Therefore, in the peasant's school organized in Poiana – Mare from Dolj County, the accent was put, mainly, on spreading amongst participating persons some basic notions of personal hygiene, house and courtyard's hygiene, people's alimentation, raising domestic animals and birds in healthy conditions and basic notions of economy. By compare with this one, the programs of the following schools analysed bellow are more complex.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, file no. 13/1939, ff. 416, 419.

³¹ *Ibidem*, ff. 419-420.

³² *Ibidem*, f. 421.

³³ *Ibidem*, f. 422.

Organisation and starting the teaching-learning process of practical and theoretical notions, estimated by the carlist regime's protagonists for the cultural "rise" of the Romanian villages, with the schools and classes for adults, represented an action that progressed quite slow in Oltenia. Therefore, although the law for Social Service was issued in October, 1938, the first initiation schools of the Social Service and Leaders of the Community Homes in Olt County had the inauguration on August 6, 1939 in Craiova³⁴. The County Community Home "Mircea cel Mare" from Râmnicu-Vâlcea decided that, starting with November, would be organized peasant's classes in as many communes as possible in the County.

Initiation Classes for the leaders of Community Homes in the Vâlcea County have been held between August 7 and 17, 1939, at the Agriculture School from Voicești and between August 2 and 10 at the school in Craiova. In the first school 44 people graduated and in the second, 13. From the 134 Community Houses from the County, only 108 send their delegates. Therefore, for the position of leaders of peasant's classes 57 people were trained. The training of the rest was no longer possible because of the military mobilisation³⁵.

At the classes held in Voicești knowledge from various field were presented, like: agronomy ("Ploughings and their importance for agriculture", "Pastures of community's interest", "Choosing the tomatoes for seeds and preparing the tomato juice", "Agricultural machines from the farm", "Reasonable cultivation of corn", "Cultivation of textile plants", "Cultivation of oil plants", etc.), tree cultivation ("Advantages of fruitful trees, organisation of a tree nursery", "Cultivation of the vineyard. Technical aspects on start-up", "Notions for the clean-up of the Autumn pots", "Taking care of the fruit trees and the causes of lack of fruits", etc.), zootechny (Feed the milk caws and preparing the food rations", "Animal and birds species for the households in Vâlcea", "the diseases of domestic animals", etc.), beekeeping (The advantages of beekeeping. Life of bees. Schirach's theory and how to apply it. Choosing the hive. Various species of bees", "Choosing the setting place for the hives", etc.), household ("Rural constructions, pigsties, stables and hencoops", "Models of stables, pigsties and hencoops"), hygiene and peasants medicine ("House's hygiene. Social diseases, how to prevent and fight them", "Individual Hygiene. First Aid. Prevention of contagious diseases", "Medicinal plants"), cooperation ("About cooperation, how to obtain value out of agricultural products", "Starting the cooperative societies) and Civic training ("Doctrine principles of the Royal Constitution of Carol II")³⁶.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, file no. 33/1939, f. 5 (The solemnity of the inauguration started with a religious service, held at the "Sf. Dumitru" Cathedral, with the following participants: royal resident of Olt County, general Secretary of the County, prefect of Dolj County, mayor of Craiova, director of the Social Service in Olt County, leaders of the two schools of the Social Service from Craiova. Was followed, in front of the residential palace, by the parade of the teams of the two mentioned schools, and by a reception in the festivity room from the headquarter of the royal residency, *Ibidem*).

³⁵ *Ibidem*, file no. 36/1939, f. 13.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 16.

Some speeches have also been held, considered guidance, for the leadership of the Community Homes and Peasant's schools, referring to the following aspects: "The need for the Social Service, its purpose and importance", "The real village and the ideal village from utility, economically and cultural-moral point of view", "The priority of work and its understanding in the light of the modern concepts", "The Community Home in the fight for promotion of individual households and community household", "The programs for peasant's schools and methods to activate in various directions: sanitary, economic and social", etc.³⁷.

Teaching the theoretical notions ("the most useful essential knowledges for life") was completed with practical activities done at the school's farm, and also with the seminary meetings³⁸.

The teachers tried to teach "the most useful essential knowledges for life". The attendances, on their turn showed towards the subjects "a real interest and proved a special ambition in the effort to increase the knowledge and gaining various skills"³⁹.

Training the leaders for Community homes and peasant's schools from Voicești was not enough. Iosif Andreescu, the leader of County Community Home "Mircea cel Mare" Râmnicu-Vâlcea, considered that from the theme of the classes the following conclusions came: "(...) Training was incomplete, because it was not learned: manual skills, popular choirs, and the technic to organize peasant's celebrations. Too little hygiene, popular medicine, cooperation and civic education was thought"⁴⁰. An extension of the training period would have been required but it was not possible because of the military mobilisation. Therefore, he appreciated that the programs for the peasant's classes should have been developed at the level the teachers have been trained, and extended while the classes leaders would have gain the theoretical and practical knowledges.

In the same time, it was noticed during the mentioned classes that "the village's intellectuals were willing to contribute to the effort of raising their neighbours"⁴¹.

In the context of temporary suspension of the Social Service law, the general director of the Royal Cultural Foundation "Principe Carol" was sending, on December 18, 1939, a notice to the royal resident of the Olt County, that also had the position of president of Community Homes Region (from villages, cities, counties and regions), in which he was announced that the Foundation's activity was not stopped and he was asked to support, forward, the actions for "raising the villages from Moral and Material point of view"⁴².

³⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 16.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, ff. 13-14.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 14 (The classes from Voicești were paid by the royal resident of Olt County, Dinu Simian, with the amount of 15,000 lei, used for food, professor's salaries and for buying the needed books).

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, f. 15.

⁴² *Ibidem*, file no. 11/1939, f. 276.

In 1940, the activity of the Community Homes was not stunted by compare with the previous year, the causes being connected, mainly, to the military concentrations that targeted also the leaders of the Community homes. Also, the suspension of the Social Service eliminated, implicitly the obligation of the public functionaries to perform activities in the Community Homes. Therefore “some of the authorities leaders, members of the Staffs of the Cities and Counties Community Homes, have considered themselves to be exonerated of any obligation to support the Community Home’s activities”⁴³.

Although the initial planning of the County Community Home “Mircea cel Mare” Râmnicu-Vâlcea established the start of the peasant’s classes and schools starting with November 1939, most of them started their activity in January and February 1940. From the 40 classes prepared, two started in November and one in December⁴⁴.

The program for peasant’s classes was regulated by the county Community Home. By compare with the Peasant’s Superior School from Poiana-Mare, Dolj County, In Vâlcea County the programs also contained theoretical knowledges regarding the moral education (“The treasures of Romanian soul”, “With what features we arm our soul”, “Moderation, seemliness. The relation between husbands”, “the services given the Christian Church of Romanian Kind. The use of faith”) and national education (“The beauties and riches of our country”, “About the unification of all Romanians”, “The true patriotism”, “His Majesty King Carol II”, “His Majesty Great Voievod Mihai”)⁴⁵.

According to the reports of the leaders of Community Homes from the settlements in Vâlcea County⁴⁶, where the peasant’s classes have been held, the villages participated in high numbers and listen carefully what was presented. This is why, the director of County Community Home “Mircea cel Mare” Râmnicu-Vâlcea, Iosif Andreescu, was hoping that “theoretical and practical teachings received by them (peasants – n.n) in these classes will be applied in a certain measure and will contribute to improvement of their life’s”⁴⁷. Referring to the peasant’s classes, the leadership of the Royal Cultural Foundation “Principe Carol”

⁴³ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, file no. 26/1940, f. 5.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 6.

⁴⁶ The 40 settlements from Valcea County, where peasant’s classes were organized starting with November/December 1939 and January/February 1940 (the estimated period to finish these classes was April 1940), were: Amărăști, Bătășani, Bălcești, Benești, Bistrița, Copăceni, Căzănești, Cârșănești, Coltești, Cheia, Crețeni, Dețoiu-Nisipi, Frățila, Frâncești, Fumureni, Govorova, Gușoeni, Gorunești, Horezu, Lăcusteni, Laloș, Lăpușata, Lădești, Mateești, Mihăești, Otetelișu, Oteșani, Ocnele-Mari, Pietrari de Sus, Popești, Rusănești, Râmești-Beica, Romanesti, Regele Carol a II-lea, Roșiile, Tetoiu, Zătreani, Zlătărei, Zăvoieni. We mention that in the analysed document Crețeni was recorded twice (*Ibidem*, f. 5).

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 4.

appreciated the fact that the Community Home from Vâlcea County was one of the first Community Homes in the Old Kingdom.

C. Şaban-Făgeţel, the director of the Royal Community Foundation "Principe Carol" from the Olt County, summing-up the results of the application of the Social Service law, appreciated that it was received with enthusiasm and with the hope of a better life by most of the population from rural areas ("was embraced with love by the anonymous crowd of the peasants"), and the peasant's schools "give guidance of life, woke-up the national pride and prepared for rural housekeeping young and old people. (...) So many serious Romanian problems moved from theory to practice", asking himself rhetoric "what would have mean, in a few years, this movement of great material and morale reform"⁴⁸.

Starting with this hypothesis, and also from the archive documents studied, it can be said that the peasant's schools and classes, organized during the carlist regime, were able to provide a minimum of knowledges to elevate the quality of life of the population in the rural areas. The extremely short time for the application of the Social Service law (similar with the carlist regime) does not allow us to verify the consequences of the peasant's schools and classes, not even how the information supplied have been assimilated and used by the rural population. Nevertheless, the peasant's schools offered a model of organisation of the peasant's life, in its total.

On the other hand, considering the fact that, with the suspension of the Social Service law, some of the intellectuals or functionaries from the villages stopped having activities in Community Homes, we can say that the reforming the villages from moral and material point of view did not received the honest adhesion of the actors that were supposed to contribute to the success of the royal "social policies".

⁴⁸ "Vatra. Foaia Fundaţiei Culturale Regale «Principele Carol» şi a Ținutului Olt", year V, No. 26-29, December 1939, p. 1.

THE NAME OF SIGISMUND IN THE SPANISH GOLDEN AGE: FROM SIGISMUND BÁTHORY TO SIGISMUND III OF POLAND

Oana Andreia SÂMBRIAN*

Abstract: Our article focuses on the image that two of the important Sigismunds of our history have had in the Spanish mentality of the Golden Age: Sigismund Báthory, prince of Transylvania and Sigismund III of Poland. The details provided by the Golden Age literature are analysed with the instruments of comparative and cultural studies in order to depict the fascinating approach to a faraway land and characters.

Keywords: Transylvania, Poland, Spain, Sigismund Báthory, Sigismund III.

The name of Sigismund has given a lot to speak about in the Spanish Golden Age literature, personalising great historical figures. One of them was Sigismund Báthory, whom I have often used in order to establish the connection between the Spanish and the Romanian cultures¹. Sigismund Báthory, prince of Transylvania and *miles Christi*, has been the central character of all sorts of Spanish literature, from travel literature or diplomatic reports (Alfonso Carrillo) to *relaciones de sucesos (avisi)* or chronicles, until a more popular type of literature – the plays, accessible to a wider range of public, as Golden Age theater was a sort of social mass phenomenon.

Nevertheless, Sigismund Báthory is not the only Sigismund of the Spanish Golden Age literature, as Sigismund III of Poland had his own supporters, making him one of the most emblematical figures of the Baroque: Calderón's Sigismund.

The name of Sigismund belonged mainly to the field of Counter-Reformation, the homonymous name of the prince who in *Life is a dream (La vida es sueño)* plays the part of the false Dmitriy I, the Polish schemer who wanted to reinstall Catholicism in Russia. Once again and for the umpteenth time, the literary

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¹ See Oana Sâmbrian, *El gusto del público español por las comedias de carácter histórico en la España barroca – El prodigioso príncipe transilvano*, in "Bulletin of Hispanic Studies", 89.1/2012, Liverpool, pp. 31-43; Idem, *La imagen de Transilvania en El príncipe prodigioso y El rey sin reino de Lope de Vega*, in "Olmedo Clásico", Olmedo, 2010, pp. 951-960.

source and history go hand in hand, as Sigismund III, king of Poland (1587-1632) and Sweden (1592-1604) had fought the Protestants within his kingdom².

After having analysed quite a generous *corpus* of plays, we have reached the conclusion that there are two “Sigismundian” schools: one of them that groups the descriptions and avatars of the Transylvanian prince, Sigismund Báthory, an image that started to emerge towards the end of the 16th century when the first *avisi* about this prince were published, and a second school that presents an almost barbarian Sigismund, an image that Calderón himself disseminated, and which could refer to any of them, the Transylvanian prince or the Polish king.

All in all, our *corpus* of plays is integrated by the following works: *El capitán prodigioso* by Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El rey sin reino*, *La Santa Liga*, *El Argel fingido*, *El gran Duque de Moscovia* by Lope de Vega, *Peligrar en los remedios* by Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, *El alcázar del secreto* by Antonio de Solís, *Afectos de odio y amor* and *La vida es sueño* by Calderón.

SIGISMUND AND HIS AVATARS

We are not going to insist on analysing the text of Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El capitán prodigioso*, as we have already done that on previous occasions (see footnote 3). We will just remind the reader that this tragicomedy, probably written between 1596 and 1599, brought to light the Spanish collective mentality about Sigismund Báthory, with a special outlook to the relationships of that period, e.g. the secret mission of the Jesuit monk Alfonso Carrillo at the Transylvanian Court. Alfonso Carrillo’s informs and correspondence, together with quite some numerous amount of *avisi* published in Seville by Rodrigo de Cabrera³, represent the main historical source for Vélez’s play. Our most recent studies have proved that with almost all certainty, the source that Vélez based most of his script on was *Relación de lo sucedido al Serenísimo Príncipe Sigismundo Batori, Príncipe de Transilvania, Moldavia y Valaquia desde el principio del año pasado de noventa y cuatro hasta último de octubre de ese año* (Seville, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1596), which narrated many of the historical events from Sigismund’s Transylvania, such as the conspiracy of the nobles to overrule their prince, their defeat and beheading etc.

² Simon A. Vosters, *La rendición de Bredá en la literatura y el arte de España*, Londra, Tamesis Books, 1973, p. 120.

³ *Nuevos avisos. Venidos De Roma, de lo sucedido en el Exercito Imperial, y lo que agora de nuevo a hecho el Serenissimo Sigismundo Batorio, Principe de la Transilvania, y de otrs avisos de diversas partes*, Sevilla, Rodrigo Cabrera. 2 hs., 1599; *Verdadera relación de la insigne victoria que Michael Bayboda (de la Balachia); Capitan general del Principe de Transilvania a alcançado contra el Gran Turco, en la toma de la ciudad de Nicopoli, cabeça del Reyno de Bulgaria, con muerte de quinze mil Turcos, y presa de ciento y quarenta pieças de Artilleria. Succedido todo en el mes de Octubre del Año proximo passado de Nouenta y ocho*, Sevilla. Rodrigo de Cabrera. 2 hs., 1599; *Relacion de la gran victoria alcançada por el Serenissimo Principe de la Transilvania con el socorro del Señor Miguel Vayuada de la Valachia, Capitan general del Emperador [...]* Valencia, 1603.

Due to characters like Sigismund Báthory, the Transylvanian image of the *miles Christi* started to grow deeply into the Spanish mentality, following the footsteps of John Huniady from the previous century. After his victory in Belgrade against the Ottoman Empire (1456), Hunyadi's famous military deeds appeared in the chronicles of Pedro de Mejía and Vasco Díaz Tanco. The incredible success of this Transylvanian character determined Constantin Marinescu to affirm that one of the most important Spanish knights, Tirant lo Blanc, the main character of Joannot Martorell's homonymous novel, was based on John Hunyadi because of a series of coincidences, such as their similar coat of arms⁴. Subsequently, Hunyadi generated a cultural pattern of the Transylvanian soldier in the Spanish mentality, a pattern that Sigismund Báthory kept on perpetuating. The success of the character Sigismund Báthory was such that during the second half of the 17th century, Agustín Moreto and Juan de Matos wrote a new comedy play based on Vélez's, entitled *El príncipe prodigioso y defensor de la fe*, where the historical element is progressively replaced by the romantic one based on the triangle Sigismund Báthory – archduchess Maria Christina of Austria (Báthory's wife in real life) – the Sultan. Moreto's play was so "fruitful" that it was published in over twenty versions, an irrefutable proof of its massive notoriety.

So, how is the character Sigismund Báthory? According to Vélez's text, he is a good and faithful prince, trustworthy, loyal and good Christian, a good set of qualities, endorsed more or less by the historical texts; the *avisí*, for example, presented the Transylvanian prince as a violent and volatile person, far from the perfect traits depicted in *El capitán prodigioso* or in his subsequent adaptation (*Nuevos avisos. Venidos De Roma, de lo sucedido en el Exercito Imperial, y lo que agora de nuevo a hecho el Serenissimo Sigismundo Batorio, Principe de la Transilvania, y de otrs avisos de diversas partes*, Sevilla, Rodrigo Cabrera. 2 hs., 1599; *Verdadera relación de la insigne victoria que Michael Bayboda (de la Balachia); Capitan general del Principe de Transilvania a alcançado contra el Gran Turco, en la toma de la ciudad de Nicopoli, cabeça del Reyno de Bulgaria, con muerte de quinze mil Turcos, y presa de ciento y quarenta pieças de Artilleria. Succedido todo en el mes de Octubre del Año proximo passado de Nouenta y ocho*, Sevilla. Rodrigo de Cabrera. 2 hs., 1599; *Relacion de la gran victoria alcançada por el Serenissimo Principe de la Transilvania con el socorro del Señor Miguel Vayuoda de la Valachia, Capitan general del Emperador [...]* Valencia, 1603).

Apart from the already mentioned plays, Sigismund Báthory is also included in *La Santa Liga* and *El Argel fingido*, although his name is just a mere reference. *La Santa Liga*, a historical play about the battle of Lepanto (1571), presents Sigismund ruling Transylvania "in gifted peace"⁵. Nevertheless, by the time the

⁴ Constantin Marinescu, *Du nouveau sur Tirant lo Blanch*, in "Estudis Romànics", IV, 1953-1954, pp. 137-203.

⁵ Lope de Vega, *La Santa Liga*, in "Decima Quinta parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega", Madrid, por la Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1621, f. 97r.

events of *La Santa Liga* were taking place, the king of Hungary was not Sigismund Báthory, but Maximilian I of Habsburg; the first one became prince of Transylvania in 1581. Our belief is that Lope intentionally altered the chronology in order to allude to a character that was well known by the public (we should not forget that *La Santa Liga* was first published in 1621, meaning that her representations must have been prior to that year and subsequently could have been contemporaneous with Vélez's staging of *El capitán prodigioso*). We also base our supposition on the excerpt of *La Santa Liga* in which Sigismund rises up against the Ottoman Empire alongside Transylvania, just as it had occurred in 1595: "they told me that Philip was menacing Morocco and Fez (...) whereas Sigismund was rising up with Transylvania"⁶. It would not be the first time when a writer changed the order of the historical facts in order to enhance the opposition against the common European foe, the Ottoman Empire.

Subsequently, in *Argel fingido*, Sigismund is evoked in different moments, his name being a synonym of great bravery, integrating the Transylvanian prince to a wider cultural pattern, together with Alexander the Great, Cesar or Trajan, among many others: "and on earth the bravery of Sigismund/that has eclipsed so many moons".

By the middle of the 17th century (1651), Matos and Moreto published their *El príncipe prodigiso, defensor de la fe* that enhances once again the bravery of Sigismund Báthory against the Ottoman Empire, as well as his devotion to Christianity, something he is not willing to give up even knowing that it might cost him his crown and his head: "But Sigismund (...)/will rather give up his crown/than taking action against the Emperor/who is a Christian as I am".

A prominent role in the transmission of a positive image of Sigismund Báthory in Spain was played by the Jesuit Alfonso Carrillo that since the beginning of his mission in Transylvania in 1589 had become one of Sigismund's propaganda agents in Europe. Carrillo did not only limit himself to writing informs about Sigismund's bravery and plans to attack the Ottoman Empire, but also forged an unrealistic image of the prince of Wallachia, Michael the Brave, deliberately defaming his name, claiming that he was "miser Michael Voivoda olim... nunc vero turco facto"⁷. The "confusion" that led to this affirmation was the islamization of prince Mihnea II Turcitul ("Mihnea the Turned-Turk"), ruler of Walachia in two occasions (1577-1583 and 1585-1591), who had converted to the Islam together with his eldest son, in an desperate attempt to regain his throne after he had been removed for the second time by the Turks. Moreover, Carrillo accuses the Wallachian prince of treason, insisting that solely the Transylvanian army, completely omitting the fundamental contribution of Michael the Brave, had achieved the victories against the Turks. Vélez's play has obviously based its text

⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 100r.

⁷ Maria Holban (coord.), *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. III, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1971, p. 312.

on the informs of Carrillo, as he illustrates the idea of the Wallachian prince having been forced into collaborating with Sigismund against the Turks⁸: “Sigismund (...) has forced the Wallachian prince into following him”.

Vélez’s play presents an idealised image of Sigismund Báthory, calling him “the new Godfrey” (an obvious allusion to the medieval knight that had led the first Crusade), presenting him “armed with the Cross and the Faith” as his predecessors “Constantine, Heraclius, Titus Vespasianus” (vv. 3504-3515) etc.

As previously announced at the beginning of our article, Báthory is not the only famous Sigismund that appears in the Spanish Golden Age; the other emblematic character is Sigismund Vasa, king of Poland between 1587-1632 under the name Sigismund III and Sweden (1592-1599), where he was known as Sigismund I. His reign was not easy in any of the two countries. In Poland, his regime was marked by popular uprisings, whereas in Sweden he was overthrown because of his support of the Counterreformation. Lope de Vega was the first one to dramatise the Polish history, in both *El rey sin reino* and *El gran duque de Moscovia y emperador perseguido* (1606). The interest shown by Lope towards the foreign history should not surprise us, as out of his approximately 400 plays, 90 of them are set in an international background, in a likely attempt of the Fenix to approach the Spanish court to far geographical spaces.: from Persia, Hungary or Denmark to Poland, Russia or Japan.

Chronologically speaking, the interest towards Poland arises in Spain during the reign of Philip II, when in 1563 the report of the pope nuncio, Giulio Ruggieri, about Poland is translated into Spanish. In this favourable context, the story of Sigismund III could not escape Lope’s wittiness: a historical character whose parents had been incarcerated, Sigismund himself having spent part of his youth imprisoned in a tower. The *relaciones de sucesos* published in Spain illustrated Sigismund in the following way: “Sigismund III, by the Holly Grace, king of Poland and Great Duke of Lithuania, Russia, Prusia, Masovia [...], one of the most humble servants of the true God and of his crucified son, Jesus Christ”⁹.

Sigismund III, one of the important representatives of Counterreformation, has benefit from a big amount of literature, as the Christian officers were normally portrayed through hyperbolic praises that mythologized them. Therefore, we find ourselves in front of another case of manipulated information, as we have to take into account that the message that both the monarchy and the Church were giving in those times was highly Counter reformist. The texts focused on the morality, the exaltation of the Catholic faith and the Spanish spirit, as well as on enhancing the crusade spirit, offering a triumphant and messianic image of the Monarchy and her allies. This is the reason why in the Golden Age plays that bring Sigismund on stage or use him to inspire the creation of new characters, he is depicted as a

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 310.

⁹ Jesús Fernández Álvarez, *Información, control e identidad. El relato sobre el Turco en las relaciones de sucesos granadinas*, in “Revista del CEHGR”, nr. 25/2013, pp. 176-177.

profoundly catholic man, exiled, in permanent conflict with his subjects (a glimpse at the Reformist – Counter reformist conflict), devoid of his royal prerogatives, living in a forest or in a tower.

In Lope's play, *El gran duque de Moscovia* (1606), Sigismund of Poland does not have a very extensive role, although he appears to be very involved in the political events of the Russia of his times. His expansionist interests in Eastern Europe were well known, which is why he interfered in the fight for the Russian throne, supporting Dmitriy I (better known as False Dmitriy I) against Vasili IV. The historical events of the play were compiled in *Relación de la señalada y como milagrosa conquista del paterno imperio, conseguida del serenissimo Príncipe, Juan Demetrio de Moscovia*, translated from Italian to Spanish on which Lope de Vega based his famous play, *El gran duque de Moscovia*, donde Segismundo asistía a Demetrio en su empresa política.

Two are the interventions of Sigismund in Lope's play. In the first of them, Sigismund supports Dmitriy's innocence in a letter signed as "Sigismund, king of Poland": "The bearer of this message has come, Count, to see me. He has told me countless stories and lies about the innocent Dmitriy (...)"

In his second intervention, towards the end of the third act, Sigismund appears next to Dmitriy, supporting his reign: "Long may you enjoy your wife and your kingdom". Both episodes are confirmed by the historical reality.

One of the most important plays about Sigismund III is undoubtedly *La vida es sueño* by Calderón that presents some differences regarding Lope's play. If in *El gran duque de Moscovia*, Sigismund supports Dmitriy, in Calderon's play, the first becomes the heir to the throne. This variation is due to the different intentions of the two plays. While Lope is more interested in the Russian history, Calderón is more focused on the Polish one. Apart from this, Dmitriy, who in real fact was the son of Sigismund III under the name of Vladislav IV, is presented in the play as Sigismund's father and these are not the only differences.

Afectos de odio y amor (1658), another one of Calderon's plays, dramatizes the events of Sweden, where an important role belongs to the Duke of Moscow, son of the queen of Sweden. Once again, there are references to Poland and to Sigismund, presented as prince of "Gocia", an ancient Spanish name for Sweden. In *Afectos de odio y amor*, Casimir, duke of Russia, seduces queen Christine of Sweden. Christine of Sweden manifests her aversion towards marriage, not for religious issues, but for the fact of not wanting to subdue to the power of any man. This is why she rejects the love of Casimir, giving up the salic law. In the end, she weds Casimir, giving him the crown. Apart from the romantic plot, the play illustrates the imprisonment of Sigismund of Sweden in a tower towards the end of act I.

Another play that portrays Sigismund is *Peligro en los remedios* by Francisco de Rojas, a comedy play written towards the end of 1634, represented by Roque de Figueroa at the Palace on the 6th of April 1635. The plot is once again set in a non-Spanish space, in an unknown temporal unity, which, according to Frida

Weber, allows the author to manipulate the historical reality, through vast argumentative licences. The play is set in Naples, in an yet to be determined historical time, shortly after the dynastic war between Sigismund, king of Naples and Edward of Sicily, was over. The Neapolitan troops had won the war, reaching a truce period during which three weddings should have been celebrated in order to ensure a lasting peace: the wedding of the king of Naples with the princess of Sicily, the one of his brother, Carlos, with the infant of Sicily and the one of the Neapolitan duchess, Violante, with the Admiral of Sicily. Rojas' play depicts an undefeated Sigismund, a common leitmotiv in many of the plays that make use of this name.

Finally, another play that illustrates the name of Sigismund, inspiring itself in the story of the Polish-Swedish character is *El alcázar del secreto* by Antonio de Solís, a play that was represented in front of their Spanish Majesties in the Palace of Buen Retiro. In this play Sigismund is the prince of Epirus, banished from his country after having lost an important battle against the prince of Cyprus, whom he had slaughtered. Subsequently, he was defeated by the prince's soldiers, finally living undercover in a cave. Sigismund III plays once again a relevant influence in this play full of secrets and mysteries, where the leitmotiv of the exiled, renegaded and imprisoned prince is omnipresent.

In conclusion, in the Spanish Golden Age theater there are, of course, more characters named Sigismund. As it is impossible to present them all, we have tried to expose some of the most representative. Nevertheless, we can undoubtedly affirm that in the plays, Sigismund is never a common character, but a king or a prince associated to a faraway land (Transylvania, Epirus, Greece, a timeless Naples) or to the Counterreformation. The fact that several plays that had him as a character were performed in front of the Spanish court justifies the historical intertext, as generally the court men were informed about the contemporary political events. At the same time, the further the geographical space to which the character is circumscribed, the more possibility there is for the text to play with the information, to plot troubles and to conceal the identities of the dramatic characters.

Sigismund Báthory and Sigismund III have each of them created a different "school". In our article, we have tried not only to gather the information that the Spanish Golden Age includes about this topic, but also to investigate the possible ways and sources of transmission of this information. All in all, since the historical event "happens" until the information is performed on stage, therefore becoming cultural memory, there is a whole path to undertake. A path that in this case is as controversial and exotic as the characters that led to it: Sigismund of Transylvania and Sigismund of Poland, two of the great heroes of their time.

GENRE MIGRATION IN “ARTIST” BY NIKOLA PETROV

Bogdan ALEXANDROV*

Abstract: The study aims at identifying, examining and analyzing the dynamics in the genre of the picture “Artist” by Nikola Petrov and the reasons for its migration aspirations. Evidence is argumentatively applied in defence of the thesis that at different stages of the artistic life of the work it comes under three well-grounded distinct painting genres; self-portrait, portrait (single and double) and one figure composition (with the “presence” of a latent image). The hypothesis of genre migration is built on the basis of circumstances and facts that “accompany” the work from its creation till becoming part of a donation by the heirs of the author to a gallery in his hometown. An idea is argued that the simultaneous presence of several genres in the painting is unique for Bulgarian art from the early 20th century, which dimensions could only be rationalized when compared with current ideas and practices in art and nowadays views of portraying in particular. An inference is made in the text by proving that the hypothesis also applies to subsequent paradigm shifts with the time regarding portraying.

Keywords: *genre migration, Nikola Petrov, self-portrait, donation, Vidin.*

In October 2001 the “Nikola Petrov” Art Gallery in Vidin, named after the renowned Bulgarian painter, received a unique donation from his heirs¹. It consisted of anatomical drawings, a notebook with tasks and constructive perspective sketches, a landscape with the towers of the Vidin castle in the background, seen from the water-filled north moat (oil on canvas, student work of the artist), a wooden palette, a medallion with an unfinished child portrait, a photo of the artist (made at the international exhibition in Liege, Belgium, with dedication written on the back dated May, 20th 1905² and a family portrait from

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¹ As the museum director at the time of the donation I express my sincere respect and gratitude to Mrs. Lyulina Nedelcheva for her invaluable and noble act.

² The dedication on the back of the photograph taken at the exhibition in Liege, Belgium (1905), reads “Truly, Bai Stefane, you were one of a kind for me. Nikola Petrov” In a period of three months Nikola Petrov visited Brussels, Munich, Vienna and Budapest.

1919, taken at the posthumous exhibition), and a pastel drawing depicting the seated figure of the artist in front of an easel measuring 24 cm × 34 cm.

Milena Georgieva³, researcher of the period the listed works fall into, defines it as "...crucial for the formation of Nikola Petrov as a modern artist" and states the reasons and conditions that aided the transformation as well as the time of its immediate manifestation: "... However, Protich does not rule out the influence Neo-impressionism might have had on N. Petrov during his stay in Belgium and the great art hubs of Western Europe. Despite the fact that all other researchers emphasize mainly on Nikola Petrov's travels to the West in 1905 as the main factor for the artistic development of his modern view on painting, in my opinion, the turning point in his work does not occur immediately after his return, but rather after the South Slavic Exhibition in Sofia in 1906. It should be noted, that the change in his style, or its maturation to be more precise, cannot be noticed until 1908-1909".

Certainly, as a turning point, the importance of that period stems from the fact that it contains the mental image of the subsequent evolution of the artist. At the same time it includes the message of the possible but unrealized development and potential. The latter acquires profound meaning when correlated with the short "cultural time"⁴ when the opportunity to transform it into artistic reality still existed. A period of self-reflection, contemplation and synthesis of the accumulated information and influence by the dominating European ideas on painting that resonated within the Balkans.

For 85 years the heirs of the artist kept his works as intimate and cherished testimony of the lofty spirit of their inspired relative, and his legacy (through the donation) finally travelled back to his birthplace, Vidin. The wandering soul of this daring creator of beauty found embattled peace.

On suitable occasions, the family would show the valuable relics. The art critic Dimitar Avramov in his essay⁵ on the life and creative work of the artist writes: "...*The daughter of the artist now keeps his detailed notes on the history of art, diligent anatomical drawings with Latin inscriptions and a thick notebook on constructive perspective, filled with complex tasks and precisely drawn designs suggesting speculative conclusions. In addition, there are numerous sketches of heads as well...*".

³ Milena Georgieva, *South Slav Dialogues in Modernism. Bulgarian Art and the Art of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia 1904-1912*, Sofia, Bulgarian Artist Publishing House, 2003, p. 368.

⁴ Svilen Stefanov uses this term to describe the time when contemporary in their essence and importance works are created.

⁵ Dimitar Avramov, *The Unfortunate Fate of the Artist. A Century after the birth of Nikola Petrov*, Narodna Kultura Publishing, 1981; A text provided by Mrs. Maria Avramova for publishing on <http://kultura.bg/web/>.



Fig. 1. The family of the artist, photograph taken at the posthumous exhibition, 1919
(This photo belongs to “Nikola Petrov” Art Museum, Vidin).



Fig. 2. “Artist”, a pastel drawing depicting the seated figure of the artist in front
of an easel measuring 24 cm × 34 cm. (Nikola Petrov Gallery).



Fig. 3. Nikola Petrov in his studio, photograph, 1905; “The Citizens of Vidin”, Almanac, Vidin, 2006.

Over the past eight decades the nature of the interest in this precious heritage has varied widely: from sincere belief in the “creative power” of “the most significant artist”, attested by Andrei Protich, “a man who supports, understands and influences him – competent, erudite and extremely sensitive”, to openly mercantile in the 80s and 90s of the last century. The catalog for the exhibition of Nikola Petrov in the National Gallery (December, 2001) chronologically specified the dates and circumstance of the purchase of every item. In the catalog we can read that “from the posthumous exhibition of the artist (1919) were purchased (totaling 17,800 leva) *The Woman of the Artist*, *Nude Girl* and *Marketplace in Peshtera*... The same year, but probably from the artist’s studio, A. Protich personally selected nine more works – oil studies, sketches, pastels, watercolors, drawings... Later, in 1924 Protich buys from the widow of the artist *The Bansko Square* for the significant amount of 8,000 leva...”. After 1948 “especially significant is the purchase of part of the private collection of A. Protich”. Besides the qualities listed above by D. Sokolova in her essay published in the catalog of the exhibition at the National Gallery (December, 2001), it would seem that Nikola Petrov’s like-minded friend was also prone to the collector’s temptation. It is natural to assume that his family would make similar requited gestures as a sign of gratitude to Protich. Common practice for such a relationship was an offer to select a drawing or a small sized work. Probably over the years before the donation, the collection of original works, artifacts, photographs and painting tools of the artist kept by his family had diminished. In order to find the common factor that

characterizes the donation as "residue of the whole" we have to take into account the estimated emotional filter inherited like legacy by the descendants of the artist⁶.

With this in mind while examining the case in point, some logical questions arise: What made the descendants keep as relics those exact objects? Why the subsequent vicissitudes of time failed to "separate" them? Is it possible that the family felt (as a personal experience) a mystical spirituality emanating from them? And if so, what led to the formation of such a strong emotional attachment?

In search of an answer we will focus our attention on the pastel portrait in the donation, which along with 12 other paintings constitute the group of well-known, listed or well preserved pastel works, sketches, heads, portraits and several nude figures. Common in all the paintings is the prevalent human presence and the fact that the majority were painted in the years between 1906 and 1909. This is established by Irina Mihalcheva⁷ while listing the works included in exhibitions of the societies "Modern Art" and "Lada" in which the artist participated and which made possible their approximate dating. The work was recorded in the register with the inventory No. 298/30.10.2001, under the name "Portrait of an Artist" – a name which is more suitable for a literary work than a work of art. The curator who did the inventory complied with the name given by the donor, although the artist displayed it at two consecutive exhibitions: IV Art Exhibition of the "Contemporary Art" Society ("...usually displayed around Christmas...", 1907-1908) and the exhibition of the Union of South Slavic Artists "Lada" in Zagreb (1908) under the name "Artist". Under the same name Milena Georgieva published it as an image in the monograph "South Slav Dialogues in Modernism. Bulgarian Art and the Art of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia 1904-1912" (2003). The gallery which owned it was indicated and the work was dated "about 1908"⁸.

What led to this discrepancy in the names and why was a single-figure painting, essentially in the memory of the people closest to the artist, allowed to leave the boundaries of its genre and freely pass to the more personified genre of the portrait? Is it possible the clarification that the portrait is of the artist does not appear as a result of their desire to reconcile two truths – in this particular case – the formal and the personal? Can such an insignificant name change unlock a possible hypothesis in discovering the objective truth? Referencing concepts and views on the creation and perception of art by Petrov's contemporaries while investigating the issue will provide the necessary starting point and basis, assisting

⁶ Veska Draganova (wife of the artist); Ilina Mehlemova (daughter of the artist) graduated from Robert College in Istanbul. Worked as a radio host in Sofia Radio (the English broadcast) when the director was S. Skitnik; Lyulina Nedelcheva (grand-daughter of the artist and the person who made the donation) is a poet and Literary expert (the information was provided by Dr. Tahoki Sarkisyan, niece of the artist and daughter of Paraskeva – Nikola Petrov's sister).

⁷ Irina Mihalcheva, *Nikola Petrov*, Bulgarian Artist Publishing House, Sofia, 1976, pp. 12-18.

⁸ Most likely Nikola Petrov creates the painting earlier. If we take into consideration the aforementioned exhibitions, it can be safely assumed that the latest possible date is the previous year – 1907.

the vibrations of the constantly changing art form to match its own content. Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz⁹ in his collection of philosophical essays on art “New Forms in Painting and the Misunderstandings Arising Therefrom” states that: “...the beholder experiences the unity of his being by capturing the artistic perception through the objective work, the artist on the other hand, experiences this state the moment the concept becomes clear, or even to a lesser extent, the moment of its external manifestation. Thereafter he can become his own beholder and this is the most profound way to experience himself in unison with his own creation. That is why, if the artist is truly pleased with his own work his artistic conscience is clear, and no person is happier than he is”.

Nikola Petrov, clearly pleased with the achieved result, displays the painting at two important exhibitions at the time, and the short-lived implicit happiness experienced by his unity with his work was greatly amplified through his heirs.

A portrait-photograph¹⁰ that captures the exact moment “when the concept becomes clear”, unlocks the reasoning in a completely new direction. Namely, that the artist intended the picture to be a self-portrait. This explains why the heirs later changed the name trying to “communicate” the artist’s intention. The photograph was taken in the artist’s studio and presented Nikola Petrov half-faced, sitting on a folding chair in front of a tripod. The head is in semi-profile and the movement allows the eye to “see” the camera/lens/viewer. The left hand holds a palette and a set of brushes used for the different colors. The right hand is raised in a frozen motion, holding a brush reaching for the canvas. The year is 1905. The photograph captured the moment of the beginning of work on a new painting and the presence of the photographer seems to surprise the work-absorbed painter. If we imagine ourselves in the place of the anonymous but unquestionably skillful photographer, and then “move” in the space behind the easel, we will witness first-hand the already known story behind “Artist”. An ingenious decision and a challenge for the “conscientious” graphic artist who studied constructive perspective. Using the imaginary movement of the camera the artist intuitively applies an original cinematic technique¹¹ in his painting, but also manages to combine the intended design with the artist’s ego, by transforming it into an “acceptable compromise” and replacing the mirror with photography. By using a photograph and later slightly adjusting the point of view, the artist solves the issue with the possible lack of an appropriately sized mirror, necessary for the implementation of such an idea.

The conclusion is based on an imaginary rotation of the focal point in the photograph from 1905. After turning the painting counter-clockwise a second

⁹ Polish painter, art philosopher, writer, playwright I. S. Witkiewicz, *New Forms in Painting and the Misunderstandings Arising Therefrom*, SONM Publishing, Sofia, 2011, p. 141.

¹⁰ The picture is from 1905 and was published in the almanac “The citizens of Vidin”, August 2006. It was presented by the local historian Hristo Lishkov.

¹¹ Segundo de Chomón, film director and cinematic pioneer, who used a *camera dolly* for the first time in the 1914 movie *Cabiria*.

shape can be seen, intertwined in the structure of the large painting locales. The body (in dark clothing) of the seated figure in the background transforms into the hair, throwing shadow on the forehead, of young bright-eyed woman with expressive eyebrows. Her gaze "misses" the viewer and instead looks outside the painting at what might be the reason or the object of the artistic act. The mysterious muse emerges, as if from the very being of the artist, her oval and facial features remind of the protagonist in "Girl with a Straw-hat" – also a pastel portrait, created in 1906. The hypothesis, that Nikola Petrov had entwined the face of the model into his self-portrait, transforms the work of art into a self-portrait of an artist with a hidden image of a model. Similar artistic mutualism isn't characteristic for the known works of the painter, and the symbiosis between an artist and a model adds enigma and mysticism to the painting by utilizing this technique inherent to Symbolism. The gesture of inclusion of the "missing mirror" presents us with the opportunity to make various interpretations which are not the focus of this text. In this particular case, it is important to us to understand the dynamics in the genre of the painting and our analysis aims to reveal the reasoning behind its pursuit of genre migration.

At different stages of its history, the work analyzed by us has come under three well-grounded distinct painting genres: self-portrait, portrait and single-figure painting – each demonstrating its own characteristics, appearance and formation at a certain stage of the historical development of art. The simultaneous presence of the three genres in the painting "Artist" is a unique phenomenon in the Bulgarian art from the early 20th century. The relativity in defining the genre of the painting is actually the result of the development of the artist's message. A message that acquired the meaning of encoded self-manifesto; its declarations are directly correlated to the identity of the protagonist. In this context, the subsequent conceptual generalizations in the picture are the possible natural and logical developments in the form of a secondary accumulation of additional meanings in the painting "passing" through the three hypostases.

The time that separates us from the creation of the painting "Artist" justifies and rationalizes (contrary to formal logic) the issue of clarifying the migration of its genre. The suggested analysis attains importance when comparing the painting to current ideas and practices in art, or in particular – the changed view on portraits, result of the natural development of art. In his article¹² on the Bulgarian art in the 90s, Svilen Stefanov summarizes: "What all the views on painting in the 90s have in common is the that they depart from the conventional means of expression of this medium and commence the implementation of visions and strategies from theatre, photography, films and various others ... it is a fact, that the changes had a unified character, going beyond the simplified division between *new*

¹² Svilen Stefanov, *The Transformations of Bulgarian painting of the 90s. The Postmodern doubt in the "traditional matter"?*, Varna, Liter Net, 2003, available web <http://liternet.bg/publish8/svstefanov/transformaciite.htm>

and *old* means of expression”¹³. We witness “the art of painting unfolding to so many new frontiers”¹⁴ accompanied with blurring of the boundaries between genres in contemporary painting. The portrait is no longer a simple artistic image of a person in a static position that by recreating the features of the model strives to reveal the models spiritual state and character, but a work of art that intends to study the deep complexity of the social and psychological experiences in contemporary life. On the other hand, the creation of a self-portrait is more often used as a pretext for its ability to represent and provoke contemplation on social issues from a first person perspective. It is the strive to find the answers of objective social questions by means of esthetically synthesized intuitions, surpassing its individual character. In this sense, the suggested hypothesis on the genre of “Artist” can be verified by its conditional concordance with the new contexts that manifest and express the act of portrayal. A logical conclusion is that the hypothesis is formally valid in terms of the changes in time related to the paradigm of portrait painting.

The phenomenon which caused the paradox here is that, once unlocked, the genre migration is in constant orbit around the work of art and dominates its metaphysical integrity. And in pursuit of its Ouroboros, it symbolically “embeds” the battered soul of the artist as well. An orbit at the height of which Nikola Petrov was described as “the most talented” Bulgarian artist.

¹³ *Ibidem.*

¹⁴ *Ibidem.*

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW OVER THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Daniela OSIAC*

Abstract: International Organizations are, especially today, important factors regarding the evolution of societies. This is why, in this study we try to apply Durkheim's theory about society to these structures that influence so much our day by day evolution. The individual is connected to his environment and his form of organization. His form of organization also affects the individual and his environment. Nowadays, besides states, IGO's are the most important factor in shaping the evolution of individual and society.

Keywords: International Organization, Emile Durkheim, Anthropology, NATO, European Union.

Anthropology seeks to explain everything connected to the human being. From what he thinks, what he does, how he acts to how he behave and how he organize himself, all that have been researched and analyzed by anthropologies. If, in the beginning the main focus of this area of study were the communities and the traditional society, it is only logical that nowadays to focus the research more and more on the studies of international organizations.

After all, this mechanism influence more and more every day the traditional society and the way people live, act, behave and interact: "By addressing citizens directly these new mechanisms of governance bypass established institutions and rules by creating a plurality of norms that in practice shape the ways in which men and women, adults and children, creditors and debtors, humans, plants and animals act and interact"¹.

An International Organization has at least three members, and its members are hold together by formal agreements². There are different types of international

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¹ Birgit Müller, *Anthropology of International Governance (AIG)*, available at <http://easaonline.org/networks/aig/>

² Vasile Popa, Alexandra Sracinski, *Perspective în evoluția organizațiilor internaționale de securitate*, Bucharest, "Carol I" National Defence University Publishing House, 2007, p. 5.

organizations, from regional to global organizations, from economical to cultural organizations, from military organizations to peace holding ones, from intergovernmental organizations to non-governmental ones.

However, what we have to have into consideration whenever we analyze an international organization is that in order for such a construction to exist, before signing a formal agreement, its members have to have a common interest and objective. Based on these factors we can analyze the way an international organization acts and exists, and in the same time influences the life of the whole planet, from communities to environment.

In this study we will concentrate on IGO's, due to the fact that by comparison with the NGO's, they have a much bigger impact on human life, being the second largest actor on international stage after the states.

Emile Durkheim³ considered that collective representations can be defined as "collective awareness of conscious"⁴. He thought that the society has its own reality, beyond the sum of the individuals that are part of it⁵. Durkheim argues that the societies can be differenced based on the solidarity: mechanical or organically⁶.

First of all the solidarity that Durkheim speaks about in his research refers to a "bond of unity between individuals, united around a common goal or against a common enemy, such as the unifying principle that defines the labor movement"⁷.

The mechanical solidarity refers to the similarities and common feelings that unify the people, is a state of community bonding or interdependency which rests on a similarity of belief and values, shared activities, and ties of kinship and cooperation⁸. In his book, *Division of Labor in society*, Durkheim says:

"Thus we see what type of solidarity penal law symbolizes. ... not only are all the members of the group individually attracted to one another because they resemble one another, but also because they are joined to what is the condition of existence of this collective type ... They will as they will themselves, hold to it durably and for prosperity, because, without it, a great part of their psychic lives would function poorly"⁹.

³ French scholar who lived from 1858 until 1917, in *The Division of Labor in Society* he argues that the type of social solidarity has changed, due to the increasing division of labor, from mechanical solidarity between similar individuals to organic solidarity based on difference, available at <http://oyc.yale.edu/sociology/soc-151/lecture-22>

⁴ Robert Deliege, *O istorie a antropologiei*, Bucharest, Cartier Publishing, 2007, p. 62.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 63.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

⁷ Boundless, *Durkheim's Mechanical and Organic Solidarity*, Boundless Sociology, Boundless, 26 May. 2016, available at <https://www.boundless.com/sociology/textbooks/boundless-sociology-textbook/social-groups-and-organization-6/social-structure-in-the-global-perspective-58/durkheim-s-mechanical-and-organic-solidarity-359-1108/>

⁸ Charles Perry, *A Proposal to Recycle Mechanical and Organic Solidarity in Community Sociology*, in "Rural Sociology", vol. 51, no. 3/1986, pp. 263-277.

⁹ Emile Durkheim, *Divitsion of Labour in society*, New York, The Free Press, 1933, p. 105.

The other theory regarding solidarity in society is based on interdependence and labor division¹⁰. What Durkheim wants to say is that for example if we imagine a community of people that only plants rice for a living, if a member of that community leaves the given community won't be affected. It can continue to exist, because all the members have the same objective, target and function. But if we think to a community that not only that plants rice, but it also processed the rice, sells the rice so to say has a more complex way of living, then if let's say that the member of that community that it is in charge of gather the rice leaves than the community won't be able to function. We must not forget that the entire research of Durkheim was based on his desire of finding the elementary structures of the human society¹¹.

As he showed in his work,

"Individuality is something which the society possesses. Thus, [...] personal rights are not yet distinguished from real rights. [...] It is quite otherwise with the solidarity which the division of labor produces. Whereas the previous type implies that individuals resemble each other, this type presumes their difference. The first is possible only in so far as the individual personality is absorbed into the collective personality; the second is possible only if each one has a sphere of action which is peculiar to him; that is, a personality. ... In effect, on the one hand, each one depends as much more strictly on society as labor is more divided; and, on the other, the activity of each is as much more personal as it is more specialized ... Society becomes more capable of collective movement, at the same time that each of its elements has more freedom of movement. The solidarity resembles that which we observe among the higher animals. Each organ, in effect, has its special physiognomy, its autonomy. And moreover, the unity of the organism is as great as the individuation of the parts is more marked. Because of this analogy, we propose to call the solidarity which is due to the division of labor, organic"¹².

This theory of Emile Durkheim about society can be applied to the international organizations too, because especially today, these structures influence the day by day evolution of a society even more, in some cases, than the society itself or the state.

So what would be some examples of international organization to which we can apply the mechanical solidarity theory?

Well, the most obvious one is NATO. If in 1949 we had 12 states that signed the North Atlantic Treaty, NATO has now 28 members. One of the most important articles of the treaty is article five that states "The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 64.

¹¹ Nicolae Panea, *Antropologie culturală și socială*, Craiova, Omniscop Publishing, 2000, p. 67.

¹² Emile Durkheim, *Division of Labour in society*, New York, The Free Press, 1933, pp. 129-131.

other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area”¹³.

Of course things are not as simple as in a strictly agricultural community. The members on NATO have to fulfill a certain steps before making a decision. The *Consultation* process is essential for the well-being of the alliance. There are a series of principals that applies to the allies when it comes to consultation. The members have to inform the Council about any problem that could affect the alliance, no member can take a decision – politically or military – if that decision could affect in any way the allies, they have to keep in mind the interests of all the others members, and if that it is not possible they have to explain why is that.

However, basically, the states that came together under this treaty have mostly defense military objectives. If one of the member states would leave the organization, NATO wouldn't be considerably affected. The other members could continue their partnership and NATO could continue to apply its philosophy of existence. Of course, if we take a look into different analyses of different historians, we could conclude that if the member that would leave NATO would be the United States of America, then the organization would probably cease to exist¹⁴. The idea of common conscience applies best here:

“... the evolution of the common conscience... progresses less than individual consciences. In any case, it becomes feebler and vaguer in its entirety. The collective type loses its background, its forms become more abstract and more indecisive. [...] however, that the common conscience is threatened with total disappearance. Only, it more and more comes to consist of very general and very indeterminate ways of thinking and feeling, which leave an open place for a growing multitude of individual differences”¹⁵.

Regarding the organically solidarity, we can take the European Union as an example. After the World War II, the idea of peace through cooperation has been more and more present in the minds of the world leaders. For instance the idea proposed by the French minister Robert Schumann in May 1950 completed in April 1951 by creating the European Community of Coal and Steel is a solid example for our argumentation. This bound created between France and Germany made it almost impossible for the two states to ever find themselves in a war one against the other¹⁶.

The Maastricht Treaty was signed in 1992, and the European Community became the European Union – EU. Its members committed themselves to a

¹³ Article 5, The North Atlantic Treaty, 4 April 1949, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_17120.htm

¹⁴ Cristina Paiusan Nuica, *Istoria Relațiilor Internaționale și a Diplomatiei* (1945-2008), Bucharest, The Publishing House of România de Măine Foundation, 2008, p. 64.

¹⁵ E. Durkheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-172.

¹⁶ Cezar Avram, Roxana Radu, Laura Gaicu, *Uniunea Europeana trecut și prezent*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing House, 2006, p. 73.

political union, including the establishment of common foreign policies, a single currency, and regional central bank.

Nowadays, all the members of the European Union are connected between them through economic ties. Let's not forget that before becoming a EU member any aspiring state has to full fill some specifically conditions and one of the main reasons is that once they are a full member of EU it's is hard, if not impossible, to leave the Union because such an action would most likely affect the very existence of European Union. The cooperation and interdependence of the states inside this organization qualifies it for an organically solidarity structure. However, such an article exists, the article 50 of Lisbon Treaty, which stipulates that:

- “1. Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements.
2. A Member State which decides to withdraw shall notify the European Council of its intention. In the light of the guidelines provided by the European Council, the Union shall negotiate and conclude an agreement with that State, setting out the arrangements for its withdrawal, taking account of the framework for its future relationship with the Union. That agreement shall be negotiated in accordance with Article 218(3) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. It shall be concluded on behalf of the Union by the Council, acting by a qualified majority, after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament.
3. The Treaties shall cease to apply to the State in question from the date of entry into force of the withdrawal agreement or, failing that, two years after the notification referred to in paragraph 2, unless the European Council, in agreement with the Member State concerned, unanimously decides to extend this period.
4. For the purposes of paragraphs 2 and 3, the member of the European Council or of the Council representing the withdrawing Member State shall not participate in the discussions of the European Council or Council or in decisions concerning it. A qualified majority shall be defined in accordance with Article 238(3) (b) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.
5. If a State which has withdrawn from the Union asks to rejoin, its request shall be subject to the procedure referred to in Article 49”¹⁷.

If we have a close look to the above five articles, we could see that if a state would decide to leave European Union, than it would change all its legislation, legislation that took a certain time to implement it, and a sudden discharged of it would probably cause a huge internal crises of that state. This alone could be a domino effect for a major crisis in Europe and the whole world, regardless what state we are talking about. A state with a major economic, political, legal crises in traditional geographical Europe would have a certain effect on all the others countries. And let's not forget that European funds are for a majority of its members an important resource, and at the same time EU plays an important part on trade market in Europe. It was Durkheim that said:

“This law definitely plays a role in society analogous to that played by the nervous system in the organism. The latter has as its task, in effect, the regulation of the different functions of the

¹⁷ Article 50, Treaty of Lisbon.

body in such a way as make them harmonise. It thus very naturally expresses the state of concentration at which the organism has arrived, in accordance with the division of physiological labour. Thus, on different levels of the animal scale, we can measure the degree of this concentration according to the development of the nervous system. Which is to say that we can equally measure the degree of concentration at which society has arrived in accordance with the division of social labour according to the development of cooperative law with restitutive sanctions. We can foresee the great services that this criterion will render us”¹⁸.

These two examples are the most obvious ones to which we can apply Durkheim’s theory, but even if the other international organizations may not seem as clearly as these two to which category they fold under, they too have important elements that goes under one of these two aspects of Durkheim’s theory.

Of course that Durkheim theory doesn’t apply 100% to the International Organizations, but important aspects of his theory can be used for a better understanding of how these mechanisms affects the life of humans on day by day basis. And it is important to use as many tools as we can for a better understanding, because, in the end all resumes to how our future will look like.

After all, it was Durkheim who said: “...all friendly associations are formed wherein each one plays a role conformable to his character, where there is a true exchange of services. One urges on, another consoles; this one advises, that one follows the advice, and it is this apportionment of functions or, to use the usual expression, this division of labour, which determines the relations of friendship”¹⁹.

¹⁸ Emile Durkheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-129.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

CRAIOVA – HISTORY AND URBAN CULTURE

CRAIOVA IN THE YEARS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR: JUNE 1941 – AUGUST 1944

Cezar AVRAM*, Mihaela BĂRBIERU**

Abstract: During the years 1941-1944, Craiova had certainly the same fate as all the big cities of Romania. The subject of the research conducted by the authors consists in the activity undertaken in this period by the iron-guardists, the communists, as well as in the attitude of Antonescu's regime towards Jews, Romanians, Polish refugees, people from Bessarabia and Bucovina and also towards the German troops in transit. The paper also presents the authorities' informing notes regarding the population's state of mind in this period and the aftermath of the Anglo-American bombing over Craiova.

Keywords: war, iron-guardists, Jews, bombing, state of mind.

On 27 January 1941, after *the iron-guardists' rebellion* had been annihilated, a new Antonescu government appeared, entirely formed from military and technicians¹, which, on 14 February, abrogated Romania's name as "national and iron-guardish state" and interdiction of any political activity². A period marked by war, dominated by the unpredictable, a period of disastrous human and material cost for the Romanian state.

Craiova, a city important for the economic and political sphere of the country, was affected both regarding the industrial and urbanistic development and regarding the social life. Being the political and administrative centre of one the most high-ranking counties of the country, during the two inter-war decades the city witnessed a significant stage in its economic and social development, though the rhythm was slow and unilateral. Lacking in great factory production, at the

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¹ Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor. Vol. IX. România în anii 1940-1947*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 2008, pp. 105-107.

² See Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria României în date*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 2003, p. 451; the Official Journal no. 39 of 15 February 1941.

beginning of the analysed period it appeared as having 7 enterprises with over 100 workmen and other several tens of small enterprises, workshops and family associations³. The commercial activity, the permanent market places in which food products and household items were sold⁴, as well as the urbanistic activity aimed at improving the city condition were to be seen during the whole period of the war waged on the east front. In spite of the difficulties brought about by the political and social circumstances, Craiova represented a vast urbanistic conglomeration, having public buildings mixed with civil ones, without an architectural ensemble, palaces lying next to shabby houses and ruins, "giving the impression of an Oriental town in a phase of reconstruction"⁵. The absence of an urbanistic programme led to the city merging with the neighbouring communes, thus enlarging the area of the city though without increasing the population density. The outskirts of Craiova "had a thoroughly rural life, producing the necessary food by itself and contributing only in a small measure to making up the city budget"⁶.

The decrease in the living standard, the price increase as well as the profiteering brought about a series of trade disputes, leading to the claiming actions of the workers of the factories "Semănătoarea", "Concordia", "Scrișul Românesc", "Oltenia", "Richard Graepel", "Brătășanu" etc. The informing notes of the police office in Craiova point out the population's discontent at the prices increasing more than salaries, as well as the arresting taking place in the autumn of 1943 and spring of 1944. The taxes paid for using the market places, the communal fairs, the cattle

³ During the war years, *the prosperity* of the Romanian society was influenced by the existing political conjuncture in Europe, which was under a state of siege, by the material effort required in order to support the front, as well as by the authoritarian policy of the governments. Romania's economy was subjected to the state of war regime, a situation that had repercussions for the population's prosperity. In those years, Craiova was economically represented by industrial enterprises, such as metallurgical, chemical, textile, food industry, wood industry, building industry: "Semănătoarea" Factory, "Brătășanu" Metallurgical Enterprise, "Richard Graepel" Factory of Farming Machinery, "Negoiu S.A. Craiova" Factory of timber and cases, "Progresul" Furniture Factory belonging to Duțulescu family, "Alexandru Căciulescu" Tannery, "Frații I.D. Petrescu" Factory of varnishes and paints, "Mofleni" Factory of bricks, "Oltenia" Factory of cloth, "Ștefan Barbu Drugă" Commercial Mill of Craiova, "Victoria-Oprea Pretorian" Commercial Mill, "Moise Mendell" Commercial Mill, "Oltenia" Commercial Mill, "P. Marotineanu" Factory of flour pastes and marmalade, "Ștefan Barbu Drugă" Bread Factory, "Paul I. Schmidt" Factory of bread, "Grigore Petrescu" Factory of salami and sausages, "St. Giuvăra" Factory of candies, "Mercur S.A.R." Factory of soda waters, "Albina" Factory of vinegar, Factory of Ice-belonging to Craiova Town Hall, "Ramuri" and "Scrișul Românesc" Printing establishments, as well as a range of handicraft workshops; (also see Cezar Avram (coord.) et. al., *Dicționar istoric al localităților din județul Dolj. Craiova*, vol. V, Craiova, Alma Publishing, 2005, pp. 286-291.

⁴ Elca Marketplace, Central Marketplace, Chiriac Marketplace and Știrbei Marketplace in which there were market halls for fish and for meat; for details see the County Service of Dolj National Archives (Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale Dolj) (hereafter will be cited as SJAN Dolj), Dolj Prefecture fund, file no. 911/1944, ff. 134-136.

⁵ *Ibidem*, file no. 4/1943, ff. 45-47.

⁶ Cezar Avram, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

fairs and the market halls, added to the taxes and the working carried out in the benefit of administration, as well as the interdiction of all kinds deteriorated the living conditions of the citizens. The medical statistics mention cases of tuberculosis, typhus and diseases of the respiratory system, though Craiova had 6 hospitals⁷, two head physicians of the city, 3 hospital physicians, 4 hospital attendants and 4 midwives⁸.

There were a series of social measures aimed at assisting the needy population. On 20 May 1941 the Council for Sponsoring the Social Works in Craiova Municipium was constituted, which would carry out during the whole analysed period a substantial activity of social welfare for the families of those mobilized on the front, the war widows and the soldiers disabled in war, as well as for the needy children⁹. The mayor of Craiova, Ion B. Georgescu, was elected as president of the Council, while general Popovici¹⁰ the garrison commander was chosen as vice-president. In the winter of 1941/1942, people collected foodstuffs, money and clothes amounting to a total of 3,647,909 lei as Winter Aid, especially under the form of donations, money used for helping 1,461 needy families selected by the Welfare Assistance¹¹. În the school “Obedeanu”, “Traian”, “Ferdinand”, “Poienaru”, “Trișcu” and “Romanescu” school canteens were organized where 760 “completely destitute pupils”¹² had their meals. During the entire period, special attention was given to orphans and war widows, according to Marshal Antonescu’s orders. In June 1943 an administrative office was set up at Dolj Prefecture, which looked after the disadvantaged social categories all over the county. With that end in view, the Ministry of Internal Affairs allotted to the Prefecture a subvention of 232,000 lei, a sum which was used both for remunerating the two clerks working in that office and for other activities¹³. In October 1941, during Queen Mother’s visit to the Red Cross Hospital school no. 228, the Red Cross branch in Craiova was appreciated for the assistance given to all the hospitals in Craiova and Dolj county. Craiova’s Red Cross Society organized canteens for soldiers in the railway stations, especially in Craiova station, where, since the first day of the army mobilization, the passing or the leaving soldiers were given bread, salami and sousages, tea,

⁷ Military Hospital with 441 beds, Filantropia Hospital with 400 beds, Hospital for Contagious Patients with 110 beds, Th. Preda Hospital with 100 beds, Social Insurance Hospital with 50 beds, Oltenia’s Sanatorium with 20 beds; see SJAN Dolj, Dolj Prefecture fund, file no. 252/1940, ff. 320; file no. 672/1943, f. 26.

⁸ *Ibidem*, file no. 252/1940, f. 321.

⁹ *Idem*, Dolj Townhall fund, file no. 15/1941, f. 37.

¹⁰ A series of personalities were co-opted as members, among whom Florian Popoviciu – the city’s head physician, Marieta Dăbuleanu – president of “Principele Mircea” Society, Craiova branch, the inspector of constabulary and ex mayor of Craiova, general Constantin Z. Vasiliu, the president of “Red Cross” Society, Craiova branch, doctor Aurel Panea etc. Oltenia’s metropolitan bishop Nifon Criveanu was chosen as honorary member (*Ibidem*, f. 37).

¹¹ *Ibidem*, f. 99.

¹² *Ibidem*, f. 29.

¹³ *Idem*, Dolj Prefecture fund, file no. 10/1943, ff. 20-26.

items for dressing the wounds etc. The teachers and pupils in schools, high schools, colleges for girls and private boarding schools in Craiova¹⁴ were all involved in the work of Red Cross.

Over the whole analysed period, a series of cultural activities took place in Craiova, carried out by the National Theatre, "The Friends of Science" Society, "The Revival" Priests' Society, "Traian Demetrescu" Society, "King Michael I" Cultural Foundation etc. and even an Eminescu festival was created, together with several lectures and concerts¹⁵.

The characteristics of the political plan were determined by the population's state of mind, closely related to the war evolution, by the population's attitude towards the extremism represented by the iron-guardists and communists, by the behaviour of the quartered or the passing German troops and, last but not least, by the Jewish issue. Since March 1941, the Antonescu regime adopted a restrictive policy, especially on the Jews. Through a law decree issued on 27 March 1941, the Jewish urban buildings were transferred to the state patrimony. At the same time those people were "forbidden to acquire similar properties or certain real rights to those houses", with the exception of the Jews who "had been wounded, decorated or cited on the military order of the day for bravery, in Romania's wars, or the descendants of those who had died in those wars"¹⁶. On 3 May, the National Centre for Romanization was set up through a law decree having as objective "the transfer of Jewish property that had come into the state patrimony to the Romanian entrepreneurs"¹⁷. A series of actions of purging, confiscation, dispossession of property, imposition of contributions and compulsory work followed, measures which were also taken in Craiova during the years of Antonescu's regime. It is to be emphasized that by the Marshal's order the Jews in Romania were neither supposed to bear the "David's star", nor did the state authorities send the members of this ethnic community to the extermination camps the way it happened in the Northern Ardeal, a territory annexed by Horthy's Hungary.

After the Decree of 2 October 1941 concerning the extension of work duration to 56-72 hours per week, the Decree of 17 December of the same year followed, which dissolved the Federation of the Unions of the Jewish Communities in Romania. This was replaced by the Central of the Jews in România, "a tutorial and guiding organization of the Jews that had been counted by the census", an organization which was supposed to exercise its attributions on those of Jewish

¹⁴ According to the school's census of September 1942 in Craiova there were 12 school districts in which there were distributed 8,820 children and young people aged between 5 to 21 (*Ibidem*, file no. 749/1942, f. 3).

¹⁵ For instance "Oltenia's Song" Cultural centre organized in August 1941 a concert of choir and orchestra dedicated to the Romanian-German Brotherhood, the benefit of the concert was intended to the wounded and to the families of those who had fought on the front (*Ibidem*, file no. 5/1941, f. 310).

¹⁶ Dinu C. Giurescu (coord.), *Istoria României în date ...*, p. 451.

¹⁷ SJAN Dolj, Dolj Prefecture fund, file no. 5/1941, p. 452.

blood”¹⁸. The year 1942 brought other legislative settlements, among which the Order of deportation of all the nomadic gypsies to Transnistria¹⁹. In October the Council of Ministers decided the cessation of the Jews’ deportation from Romania to Poland “in order to put into operation the final solution”, a decision through which almost 300 thousand Jews of Romania escaped death²⁰.

During the same period, the great democratic political parties remained in a cold neutrality towards the governing political force. The divergences between Ion Antonescu and Horia Sima concerning the way of ruling the state, as well as the marshal’s barracks-like authoritarianism, brought about discontent and hostility all over the country. One of the immediate measures taken by Antonescu after stopping the iron-guardist rebellion was the militarization of a great number of institutions and state or private enterprises (18 February 1941). On 2–5 March 1941 a plebiscite was organized, which approved the marshal’s policy by 99,9 per cent²¹.

During the years of iron-guardist government, a series of abuses were committed in Craiova, especially towards the Jews. On 9 September 1940 the Prefect of Craiova ordered the county chiefs to shut down the houses of prayers of Mosaic religion and “to reopen them only after receiving new instructions”²². Later, after the banishing of the iron-guardists from power, the Synagogue of Spanish rite and the Synagogue Temple of prayers of occidental rite in Craiova were reopened²³. On March 1941 the police office in Craiova let the Prefecture know that the ex police officer Vâlcu Vlad had ordered on 10 January that the radio reception gadgets should be confiscated from the Jews “so as to stop the spreading of alarming news”²⁴ which worried the public opinion. On 24 September 1941 the prefecture advised the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the iron-guardists had confiscated from the Jews 170 radio-sets, to which there were to be added other 60 radio sets “in good condition” confiscated by the police and the military police force after 20 April 1941²⁵. These were stocked in the deposits of the Police headquarters office in Craiova until Romania’s joining the war, after which they were distributed to a series of military and civilian institutions, such as the Army Corps I, the School of Artillery Reserve Officers, the IIIrd Bomber Squadron, the Airport of Craiova, the hospitals for the wounded people in Craiova, the Recruitment Centre of Dolj county and 153 cultural centres²⁶. The Jewish issue entered a new stage after 22 June 1941, the date of Romania’s joining the war. On 30 June, the Prefect of Dolj county advised the Police Office, Craiova Garrison,

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 454.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 455.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 456.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 451.

²² *Ibidem*, f. 310.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, file no. 52/1941, f. 4.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 140.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, ff. 47, 132, 169.

Dolj Police Soldiers Legion and Supervision 3 Movement-Romanian Railways of the arrival in Craiova's railway station of a train with 30 carriages of Jews from Moldova. The supervision of the 30 carriages with Jews was the responsibility of Calafat police (20 carriages) and also of Craiova's police and garrison (10 carriages). The Jews were accommodated in barracks or huts under guard, and later they were sorted as follows: the women and children were quartered to the Jewish families in Craiova; the able-bodied men were distributed to "farming or any kind of work so as to earn their living"²⁷. The police force throughout the county and the Police soldiers' legion of Dolj were obliged to have "charts with the exact situation, so that the Jews should be kept under the most strict control, knowing that they were not allowed to leave the location where they were distributed for work"²⁸.

On 6 July 1941, the Prefecture reported to the higher authorities that in Craiova there were three camp-like centres for the Jews evacuated from Moldavia:

- a) A centre for men at Obedeanu School, with a number of 238 persons (128 able-bodied and 110 disabled);
- b) A centre for women and children at Trişcu School, housing a number of 465 persons (239 women and 226 children);
- c) A centre for women and children at Lumina School, housing 320 persons (216 women, 63 children, 41 old people aged over 60)²⁹.

In conformity with the orders, a set of rules was established which stipulated the daily nourishment per person (500 g of maize porridge, a bowl of sour soup or cooked vegetables for lunch and dinner, 20 g sugar for a mug of lime tea), the total ban on being supplied with eggs, milk, bread and poultry, because "these are lacking or can be found only in small quantities, being insufficient for the local population"³⁰. The regulations especially stipulated that the complaints should be addressed only to the political Police officer of Craiova through a delegation. On 8 July 1941, following the detainees' protests, it was disposed that they should "be given wheat flour once a week and mutton or beef in the quantity of 250 g per person on Sundays"³¹.

Ever since 2 July 1941 the Prefect Romulus Petroianu announced the President of the Jewish community of Spanish and of occidental rite that the Jews' families quartered in Craiova municipium "were not allowed to go into town otherwise than one person, at the most from each family and only during 8-9 in the morning and 16-17 in the afternoon. At the same time a permit for going around the town was issued for each family, but only for one single member"³².

²⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 1.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 50.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 36.

³¹ *Ibidem*, f. 53.

³² *Ibidem*, f. 12.

According to the Order of the Minister of Internal Affairs the able-bodied Jewish men aged 18-60 and Jewish women aged 20-50 from Craiova were sent to carry out public works: building of streets, highways, railways, bridges, etc. On 14 August 1941, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers ordered that the Jews who had been brought from Bessarabia and Bukovina and “quartered” in Craiova should return to the capitals of the counties from which they had been sent away. So, during the night of 25-26 August 1941 at 2⁰⁰ a.m., a train with 42 carriages where 1,806 Jews were made to get on, protected by 81 police soldiers led by warrant officer, left Craiova in the direction of Rădăuți³³.

Within Dolj Prefecture, the Service for Administering the Property Expropriated from the Jews was functioning, with several bodies: the Commission for property administration, the Commission for auctions and the Commission for evaluating the expropriated buildings³⁴. This service had taken over from the Jews in Craiova and Dolj county 96 economic enterprises (of food processing, selling of clothes, footwear, warehouses, etc.) Romanian businesses³⁵ started up in their place, some of them going bankrupt soon after that. In the autumn of 1942, 7 Jewish communists were deported from Craiova to Transnistria, a fact which aroused a state of anxiety not only in the Jewish community, but also among the Romanian population of the town³⁶. In the summer of 1943, when the Jews of Craiova were notified that they should contribute to the extraordinary tax for the army equipment (4 billion lei), a commission was set up, which arbitrarily decided on each Jewish family's contribution to the payment of the tax. The largest sums money were paid by the families of the some entrepreneurs already known throughout the country, such as Israel Baruch (5 million lei), Jacob Baruch (5 million lei), Moritz Eschenasy (3 million lei), Arnold Eschenasy (350 thousand lei), Marcel Eschenasy (350 thousand lei), H. Max (700 thousand lei), Dr. B. Safir (150 thousand lei)³⁷.

During the war, the Iron-guardist Movement “remained active in Craiova, especially by carrying on a propaganda action between man and man”³⁸. In January 1942, the Court-Martial of the Ist Army Corps judged the case of the iron-guardists Mititelu Nicolae and Mircea Vasile, arrested after a clandestine iron-guardist organization had been discovered in December 1941³⁹. The state political police and the investigation department of the Oltenian police also interrogated and brought to justice the group of “The Sworn Brothers from Carol I College”. The punishments given to the members of the group consisted in days in prison and

³³ *Ibidem*, ff. 430, 432.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, file no. 18/1942, f. 3.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, file no. 85/1942, ff. 10-11.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, file no. 53/1942, f. 450.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, file no. 315/1943, f. 265.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, file no. 53/1942, f. 450.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 12.

fines. Ștefan Boianțiu and Nicolae Nedelcu, the two chiefs of the iron guardist movement, were given 10 years of hard labour⁴⁰.

On 4 May 1942, the Prefect of Dolj informed the Ministry of Internal Affairs about the listing of the property of the iron-guardist movement in Dolj, property that was to be turned to good account in the next period⁴¹. During 1942 and 1943 a series of people were arrested for possessing materials of iron-guardist propaganda and actions were brought against those who had organized and participated in forbidden political actions⁴².

During the war years, there was also an activity of the communist group, consisting in propaganda and actions of reorganizing the Regional Communist Organization in Oltenia. A range of informing notes given by the police brought to the fore the communist propaganda of that period. Thus, on 26 August 1943, the informing order of the Police Soldiers Legion mentioned that the Central Committee of the Communist Party had sent propaganda groups to the villages to urge the peasants to rise against the requisitions, to destroy the fodder, and to urge the women “to refuse to work in the field in the place of their husbands who were on the front. At the same time, the propaganda groups had orders to get in touch with the soldiers who were on leave and determine them not to return to the front. In Craiova the communist movement consisted of 57 persons, activists and sympathizers. In July 1943 M. Cruceanu, one of the founders of the Communist Party, arrived in Craiova with the task of reorganizing the Regional Communist Organization of Oltenia. He had contacts with old local communists and with some of the Polish and Jewish refugees”⁴³. The informing notes of the police also mentioned the non subversive actions of the 5,000 workers from Suburbana Bordei Romanian Railways Building sites, though the communist activists tried to mobilize them to start strikes and anti-governmental demonstrations. At the same time, by using spies in enterprises and among the civilian population, Craiova’s police kept an eye on the 150 Soviet prisoners working in the local enterprises⁴⁴. An informing note from the Political Police Office in Craiova, dated 27 April 1943, was referring to the state of mind of the soldiers back from the front, pointing out that many of them had declared they would no longer return to fight in Russia “because apart from being shot by Russians, they were shot in the back by Germans too”⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 87.

⁴¹ The scrap iron given to Reșița Works for cash; the goods of the organization “The Country’s Sentinel” were given to the representatives of the undersecretary of State for educational affairs; foodstuffs distributed to school canteens and old people’s homes; clothes items distributed to the needy people by the County Committee of Social Work, on the occasion of holidays (*Ibidem*, file no. 25/1942, f. 1).

⁴² SJAN Dolj, Dolj Prefectura fund, file no. 315/1943, ff. 13, 119, 131.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, f. 337.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 437.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 338.

The increasingly violent offensive of the Russians on the eastern fronts induced anxiety among the city's inhabitants, who were afraid of the Soviet expansion, a fact mentioned in several notes of the police and political police of the city⁴⁶. Mussolini's resignation aroused comments from Craiova's inhabitants, while the members of the Liberal National Party and those of the Peasants' National Party were convinced that the Anglo-American troops "in case of a deterioration on the eastern front, would block the Bolsheviks' attempt at expansion"⁴⁷. The police advised the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the "dismay felt by the German ethnic group and by the iron-guardists in Craiova at Mussolini's resignation"⁴⁸.

A largely commented element was also Italy's capitulation in September 1943. The Anglophiles and the Jews in the city held that Romania, in order to be saved, had to leave the Axis, "lest Hungary should be in advance of it"⁴⁹. The informing notes of Craiova's Political Police also signalled that many of the town's citizens were of the opinion that "the Allies were not disembarking in the Balkans because the Russians were opposed to it"⁵⁰. The note of 16 April 1944 specified that some PNP members "started the rumour that important political events would take place in Romania too and that the only person apt to form a government that should save Romania was Iuliu Maniu, who was in favour with England and the USA"⁵¹.

The Soviet's going beyond the Nistru river limit represented a serious reason for the city's population to get worried, just like the arrival in Craiova of the 1,500 German soldiers who had come from the front for recovery. The beginning of the year 1944 intensifies the fear of a Soviet invasion of the country, the more so as new contingents of refugees from Bessarabia and Bukovina were trying to settle in Craiova⁵². The refugees wave brought the local authorities a range of problems to be tackled, regarding the provision of accommodation and nourishment. Canteens and restaurants were set up for the refugees, such as the Restaurant of the Social Work Committee in the Central Marketplace, the Canteen of B.P. Haşdeu High School Management at Carol I College for pupils, the Canteen of PTT Office at the post office seat in Unirii Street the Canteen of Chişinău Town at no. 2, I Hera street, etc.⁵³.

In accordance with an informing note issued by the officer of Craiova Police Office on 22 April 1944, the refugees from Bessarabia and Bukovina living within the area of the city created, through the things reported to the population, "a trend

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 437.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, file no. 69/1944, f. 63.

⁵² *Ibidem*, file no. 39/1944, f. 14.

⁵³ *Idem*, Craiova Town Hall fund, file no. 2/1944, f. 19.

hostile to the Germans and detrimental to the Romanian authorities”⁵⁴. They held that the German military retreating over the Nistru “entered the houses indulging in robberies and damaging, and doing nothing else but feasts and orgies, insulting the population”⁵⁵. At the same time, the Romanian authorities were accused of carelessness because though “the situation on the front was known, the population was not allowed to place their goods in a safe place and flee in time, being held back until they could no longer retire to a place of safety”⁵⁶. Another note dated 28 April 1944 showed that Craiova’s population was alarmed by the German troops’ presence, the people in town saying “that their presence at the railway station, airport and other places will determine the Anglo-Americans to bomb Craiova too, the only big city in the country which has remained untouched until now”⁵⁷. After 24 April 1944, when “500 inimical planes flew over Dolj county”, on 6 May the Romanian railway station Craiova was bombed, 6 goods vans, the Romanian Railways supply Office, the luggage depot, the transit office, the station building, as well as the railways in the station area being destroyed. The damages also included Craiova branch of Timișoreana Brewery and many houses in Valea Gangului street. The number of victims, including those in the area of the suburban communes Bariera Vâlcii and Ghercești Noi, amounted to 45 persons⁵⁸. On 7 May 1944, around 23⁰⁰, the air-raid alarm was sounded because a wave of airplanes belonging to the allies had launched flares and incendiary bombs on Craiova. One of them fell in the yard of Frații Buzești High School, another in the yard of the Regiment 14 Artillery, 3 bombs fell near the ammunition dump, however without causing damages or victims. In the commune Atârnații de Dolj, paratroopers were launched, who were going to be captured during the same night⁵⁹.

On 8 May 1944 Marshal Ion Antonescu landed on Craiova’s airfield and inspected the bombed railway station, the damaged neighbourhoods, the Red Cross canteen, enquiring about the refugees’ nourishment⁶⁰.

On 6 June 1944 a new bombing on Craiova took place, the allied planes launching 89 bombs, which fell on Bulevardul Gării and on Frații Golești street. They destroyed or damaged 95 dwelling houses, Traiul Bread Factory, the Customs Inspectors Office⁶¹. On 10 June 1944 the enemy’s aircraft machine-gunned the city’s water reservoir⁶², and on 24 June another bombing followed. This time 91 persons were killed and 56 injured, 261 buildings (146 in the town and 115 in

⁵⁴ Idem, Dolj Prefecture fund, file no. 39/1944, f. 29.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 36.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 233.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 155.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 189.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, ff. 190, 193.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 194.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, f. 269.

⁶² *Ibidem*, f. 303.

the suburban areas) were damaged or destroyed⁶³. The bombing aroused the population's indignation against the Anglo-Americans "who were labelled as murderers because they dropped bombs in the residential districts, causing damages and casualties"⁶⁴. The population's state of anxiety was also maintained by the scarcity of petroleum (petrol, diesel fuel) to which the restriction on foodstuffs was added. The wares deliveries were taken with big delays because of the bombing and the railways circulation being interrupted. Among the workers and public servants there was "an acute anxiety about the too reduced salaries and the expensive prices"⁶⁵.

The manifestos dropped by the Anglo-American aircraft deepened the population's worries. In those dropped on the territory of Dolj county on 7 May it was said that "in this stage of a lost battle, the Germans can plan nothing but the irrational destruction of your property. Eventually, the assistance given by Germany to Romania will mean abandoning Romania at the same time with devastating it"⁶⁶. The manifesto went on by mentioning that breaking the alliance with Germany was "the only hope for Romania", while "silence and passivity meant disaster"⁶⁷.

The Germans were also spreading leaflets in which they pronounced for continuing the war, "mentioning that there is not the slightest reason for panic" and asking the population "not to trust London radio, which is now the loud speaker of the Red Army, of the world revolution"⁶⁸.

In July 1944, the population was growing more and more hostile to Germany, hoping that the Anglo-American troops would arrive in the locality before the Soviet ones. On Romania's joining the Allied Forces, the mission of liberating Oltenia's territory was the responsibility of battalion general Marin Manafu, the Commander of the Army Corps I seated in Craiova. The presence of Romanian military in Craiova was going to maintain order in the town, the Germans' retreat not causing important damages to the population. Starting with 4 September 1944, the Russian military forces arrived in Craiova, a fact which started a long series of abuses and incidents with the population of the town⁶⁹.

⁶³ The number of bombs dropped on the town: 186, and in the suburban areas: 1,500 (*Ibidem*, f. 139).

⁶⁴ SJAN Dolj, Dolj Prefectura fund, file no. 39/1944, f. 242.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 253.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁸ *Istoria Craiovei*, Scrisul Românesc Publishing, Craiova, 1977, p. 105.

⁶⁹ SJAN Dolj, Dolj Prefecture fund, file no. 32/1944, ff. 555, 559, 560; *Ibidem*, file no. 118/1944, f. 106.

THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF CRAIOVA BY THE RED ARMY

Șerban PĂTRAȘCU*

Abstract: The study, based on published and unpublished documents, analyses the dynamics and dimension of the Soviet military occupation between 1944 and 1949, in the city of Craiova. The military occupation knew two periods: the first stage (September 1944 – May 1945), when the occupation appears to have a provisional character, and the second stage (1945-1949) marked by a massive military presence. In 1949 the withdrawal of the Soviet troops put an end to a severe and oppressive occupation, for the residents of Craiova.

Keywords: red army, military occupation, Craiova, commandeurs, World War II.

On the 12th of August 1949, an event which “one might call sensational”¹, takes place in Craiova: the Red Army leaves the city.

An eye-witness tells that “the Russian army, which was so numerous in Craiova (I think more numerous than in any other part of the country), started to leave towards the west (for Severin), with tanks, lorries, emptying the barracks where they had stayed, with a reduced guard. But it was not only the army from Craiova, the ones that had stayed in Slatina, Caracal etc. were moving too. The crossing of the columns started around 4 o'clock in the afternoon and lasted during the entire Friday to Saturday night. The loud rattle of the wheels was heard in the entire city. Lots of citizens of Craiova were watching this display of armed forces, unexpected for them. Everybody was wondering if they were going against Yugoslavia”².

It was therefore ended a 5-year period of military occupation (1944-1949), in which the true masters of Craiova had been the commanders of the Soviet troops, scattered all over the city.

Among the numerous aspects that characterised this military occupation (the deportation of the refugees from Basarabia and Northern Bucovina, the seizing of

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¹ Constantin I. Năvârlie, *Între abandon și crucificare. România 1946-1949*, vol. II, Craiova, De Sud Publishing House, 2000, p. 258.

² *Ibidem*.

goods in the name of the Truce, the supplying of the Red Army, the abuses and despotism of the Soviet soldiers, the support for the communists etc.), we have decided to portray the dynamics and the amplitude of the Soviet military presence in the city of Craiova.

It is known that, after the coup d'état from the 23rd of August 1944, the Red Army, without facing any resistance, invaded Romania through different parts. Soon after, they would occupy the entire country, and at the beginning of September, they would reach Craiova.

On the 4th of September, Colonel Loghin, the prefect of Romanați County, announced the general Administrative Inspectorate of Craiova, that, "starting with 5 o'clock in the morning, there are going to pass through Caracal, on the direction towards Craiova, coming from Roșiorii de Vede, motorised infantry columns of the Red Army, having different troops and armament, including tanks"³, and after only an hour and a half, at 6.30 a.m., the first "motorised infantry column was arriving in Craiova, coming from the direction Alexandria-Caracal", being stopped at the barrier from Caracal⁴.

After a short calm period, which seemed to have settled the fears of the people from Craiova⁵, on addressing the intentions of the Russians, in the same city, there was introduced a severe military regime, led by "Major Mordvinkin, a rigorous and exigent officer", appointed the commander of the city⁶.

On the 7th of October 1944, at the order given by Stalin, Serov is sent to Craiova, a deputy of the People's Commissary for the Internal Affairs, "with the purpose to do chekist operative actions"⁷. These actions were translated into the arresting of almost 60 people, among which the leaders of the local authorities (the mayor, the prefect, the quaestor of the police, the director of safety, the commander

³ SJAN Dolj, Fund of Ad-tiv General Inspectorate from Craiova, file no. 65/1944, f. 130.

⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 97. The Address of the Prefecture of Dolj to of Ad-tiv General Inspectorate, Section VI Craiova; As regarding the issue of the Soviet army that was advancing through Romania, a citizen of Craiova, colonel Constantinescu depicts the following: "Endless columns of the: infantry, artillery, tanks, katyusha multiple rocket launchers, motorised infantry columns, carts pulled by horses – with and without tilts – were passing day and night on the Romanian roads and railways. I think there was not even a single village, even hidden through the glens and the ravines of the entire country that remained unvisited by the Soviet soldiers, although those villages were not placed on the main roads, specified on the advancing route of the operative troops. From Danube to the Carpathians, the Soviet soldiers were swarming, with or without a purpose" (Alexandru Badea Constantinescu, *Labirintul Terorii*, Craiova, Sim Art Publishing House, 2006, p. 33).

⁵ Constantin I. Năvârlie notes in his dairy: "Today, I have received a letter from my wife; she is writing to me that things do not go well at Craiova; the Russian army entered there too, but it is still quite" (Constantin I. Năvârlie, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 25-26).

⁶ Radu Ciuceanu (responsabil), Ioan Chiper, Florin Constantiniu, Vitalie Văratie, *Misiunile lui A.I. Vâșinski în România. Documente secrete*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 78. "2000 soldiers from NKVD troops have been placed on the main routes of the city of Craiova, for introducing the military severe regime, and 250 soldiers make up the reserve for the intervention in case of excess".

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 75.

of the city garrison), the confiscation of numerous weapon and radios, various other goods, which were considered to be Soviet, were also sent to U.S.S.R.⁸.

The repressive measures were taken after some serious incidents⁹, which generated the violent death, through shooting, right in the middle of the city, of some Soviet officers. The preserving of order was even more necessary, as, starting from the 7th of September, the Soviets had organised in Craiova a supplying base¹⁰ for the People's Army for the liberation of Yugoslavia.

On the 4th of October, the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission for assuring the enforcement of the Truce convention, in agreement with the Romanian Government, decides to send to Craiova an officer, representative, accompanied by the necessary staff for supervising the way in which the stipulations of the Truce are observed. "The prefects of the counties – it is shown in the I.A.M order, no.

⁸ The operations of the Soviets terrified the people from Craiova: "On the streets there was hardly anyone, probably due to the late hour or the fear of Russians. There has passed only one years since Serov, the Russian Minister of the Internal Affairs, and brought terror into the city, through the arrests and the harsh measures introduced by N.K.V.D." (Cicerone Ionițoiu, *Memorii*, vol. 1, *Din țara sârmelor ghimpate*, Iași, Polirom Publishing, 2009, p. 46).

⁹ At least two incidents of this kind were registered in Craiova during the month of September. Colonel Constantinescu remembers one of them: "A serious case: in the first days when the Soviet troops entered in Craiova, an motor-lorry was transporting towards the train station the archive of the Ministry of War, which had been moved to Craiova. In the place where Calea București crosses with Gării Avenue, behind the Palace of Justice, this motor-lorry was stopped by a Soviet captain and few soldiers, who wanted to take hold of the lorry. That moment, a patrol interfered to help, and the Soviet officer slapped the chief sergeant of the patrol. A Romanian soldier fired his gun, killing the Russian officer, and the Romanians left in a hurry in the lorry, towards the train station, and the patrol disappeared too. The Soviet soldiers gave the alarm and, shortly after, a squadron of Cossacks arrived. They could not find the Romanians there, only their dead captain. They started galloping madly towards the station and they found, on the platform, an intendant colonel, who they shot dead and they disappeared in full gallop, shooting and terrifying the population" (Alexandru Badea Constantinescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41); The second incident takes place on the 20th of September, at lunchtime, at is it known owing to the report handed in to the Quaestor by policeman St. Pârvolescu, who arrived immediately on the spot: "Two Russian officers were going in a carriage driven by a Russian soldier on Sf. Spiridon, towards Vasile Alecsandri Street, at the junction of these streets with Carol Avenue being slightly buffered by a motor-lorry that belonged to the Aviation, and driven by a soldier, from a similar military unit. Next to the driving soldier, in the motor-lorry, there was also a Colonel and a Lady. In the lorry, there was furniture and few Romanian Aviation soldiers. Because the motor-lorry was driving very fast, the carriage was slightly buffered (although the officers should have observed the right of way, according to our legislation), they became angry and, getting out of the carriage, they summoned the people from the motor-lorry to get out, which they did. Then, they started to push the Romanian Colonel, who did not show resistance to this treatment. Other Russian soldiers also arrived, one of them, or even one person from the carriage, trying to shoot a Romanian soldier. To avoid being shot, he handled the gun swiftly, firing in his opponent, who died immediately. After this, he ran on the direction Sf. Spiridon Church. We could not establish who killed the other Russian military" (SJAN Dolj, Fund of Craiova Police Department, file no. 40/1944, ff. 296-297).

¹⁰ Radu Ciuceanu (responsabil), Ioan Chiper, Florin Constantiniu, Vitalie Văratie, *Misiunile lui A.I. Vășinski în România. Documente secrete*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 75.

3395 – are to provide accommodation and food for the staff and to take all the necessary measures for the representatives of the Control Commission to be able to function in optimal conditions, alongside assuring an effective and fruitful collaboration”¹¹. For covering the support expenses for the representatives of the Allied Control Commission, the Internal Affairs Ministry had requested a loan from the Ministry of Finance.

Through an address (No. S – 110 from the 29th of November 1944), the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission communicates to I.A.M. the name of the representatives: the commissioner of the Allied Control Commission for the province of Oltenia, is the major on guard A.A. Rozanov, seconded by major V.M. Zaharcenco, and the commissioner of the Allied Commission for Dolj County is lieutenant colonel L.N. Vorosilov helped by captain A.V. Trandasir¹².

During the 1944-1947, the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission functioned in Vorvoreanu building (palace)¹³ from no. 34 Buzești Street. The requests and the orders of Vorosilov and then, from 1946, of his successor, Lt.-colonel Vasili Uskov, will be promptly executed by the Romanian authorities. In the *Report on the activity carried out in January 1947*, the mayor of Craiova shows that “There were executed entirely all the superior orders and there were fulfilled all the requests that we were addressed, from the Soviet army, related to the enforcement of the truce convention”¹⁴.

At the installation of the Soviet troops in Craiova, there can be distinguished two stages, between September 1944 – May 1945 and May 1945 – August 1949.

In the first stage, the military occupation seemed to be temporary. Being still in the midst of war, the Russians stationed few days or weeks in Craiova, then they were going to move towards the western battle-front. For example, on Jitianu and Calea Dunării streets, which were circumscribed to the Police section no. 6, there had stayed in October 1944, in few dozens of commandeered rooms: a Commandment, a Unit of Engineer troops, Unit 265, the Soviet Union Hospital from the Barrier, along with other military units. On the 23rd of October, the Russians had gone and the administrator of the Police section no.6 was reporting to the quaestor that “up until now, we do not have under our circumscription quartered Soviet troops”¹⁵. These constant coming and leaving are not ignored by the people of Craiova: “From my wife from Craiova – as the magistrate Năvârlie

¹¹ SJAN Dolj, Fund of Ad-tiv General Inspectorate from Craiova, file no. 66/1944, unnumbered page.

¹² Idem, Fund of Craiova Police Department, file no. 40/1944, f. 501.

¹³ The building was also used by N.K.V.D. In the summer of 1945, Cicerone Ionițoiu is abducted at night, from the street, by the N.K.V.D. captain, Vasiliev Petrov, brought “in front of the boyar house of Ion Vârvoreanu, where there is today the chancellery of Oltenia Metropolitan Church”, investigated and beaten in a large room from the ground floor, which was study, and confined in a barred room from the basement (Cicerone Ionițoiu, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47).

¹⁴ SJAN Dolj, Fund of Ad-tiv General Inspectorate from Craiova, file no. 36/1947, f. 9.

¹⁵ Idem, Fund of Craiova Police Department, file no. 17/1945, ff. 84-85.

notes on the 1st of October – I have received the news that Russian troops left the city before, remaining less of them”¹⁶.

At the beginning of November, the Prefecture of Dolj, in collaboration with the Town-Hall, founds Canteens “for the officers and the isolated Soviet troops that cross Craiova”¹⁷, and on the 11th of November, the leaders of the local authorities (the mayor, the prefect, the chief of the General Staff and the commander of the garrison) are summoned by Voroșilov “to make an urgent decision on addressing the measures that must be taken for the organisation of four hospitals, necessary for almost 3,800 beds for the Soviet Army; moreover, there were requested three special services (approximately 50-60 rooms)”¹⁸.

The commandeering of furnished rooms (for the officers), empty (for the soldiers) and buildings (for the military Soviet institutions), constituted a permanent preoccupation for the Police of Craiova. The policemen, helped by the delegates of the Army (the Territorial Group), Town-Hall and Prefecture, and sometimes accompanied even by the Soviet officers, were permanently checking the houses from their circumscription, reporting the number of available rooms.

In the fall of 1944, the city was over-crowded, owing to the thousands of refugees, who had found shelter in Craiova, whereas in certain areas of the city, the houses still had the traces of the allied bombardment from the previous summer. A commissary at the Police Section no. 6, which the Commandant’s Office for the Market of Craiova had requested to commandeer “25 more rooms for the Romanian and Russian officers”, shows that, despite the insinuations on the local people, they did not succeed in finding 6 rooms, “because in the area supervised by this commissariat, cannot be found more rooms, most of the people suffering from the consequences of the disaster, and there are still refugees who own 2-3 rooms in each building”¹⁹.

Excepted from commandeering, there were the houses of the active Romanian military men, from which – according to the order issued by the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission from Romania – “there are not commandeered rooms for the needs of the red army”²⁰.

With all the difficulties, between the 1st and the 30th of November, the 6 Police Sections had managed to commandeer almost 400 rooms and buildings²¹.

¹⁶ Constantin I. Năvârlie, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 30.

¹⁷ SJAN Dolj, Fund of Ad-tiv General Inspectorate from Craiova, file 66/1944, f. 72. “Mordunescu Restaurant from Calea Unirii Avenue, cornered with C.A. Rosetti, had to serve meals for the officers, and Petre Florescu Restaurant, from no. 14 Kogălniceanu Street, for the troops”.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 74. The four hospitals will be installed, at the indications of the Soviet officers, in Pionieri Barracks (for sorting), the Barracks of Reg. no. 14 for Artillery (as surgical hospital), the Barracks of Reg. 1 of Foot-Soldiers (for the slightly wounded) and the Midwives School from. Sf. Mina Street (for contagious).

¹⁹ Idem, Fund of Craiova Police Department, file no. 17/1945, f. 42.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, file no. 16/1945, f. 113 (The address from the 6th of August 1945 of Voroșilov to the Police Department of Craiova).

²¹ *Ibidem*, file no. 17/1945, ff. 40-77.

Most of them belonged to the Police Section no. 5 (approx. 140), on the streets of: Caracal, Cazărmii, Bolintineanu, Crucea de Piatră, Toți Sfinții, I. G. Duca etc., and in the Police Section no. 4 (approx. 70) on the streets of: Cuza Vodă, Calea București, B-dul Carol, N. Bălcescu etc.; while in the Police Station no. 3, there had hardly been found few rooms.

Among the streets with a predominant Soviet presence, there were: Caracal, Cazărmii, Severinului, Brestei, Calea București, Carol Avenue and even Unirea Avenue – the main thoroughfare of the city.

Besides the house of Vorvoreanu and other buildings²², there were entirely occupied: the house of Chintescu (Unirea 124), Giuvăra (Aurelian 6), Calețeanu (Gh. Chițu 5), Pleșea (Negru Vodă 17), Angelescu (Pr. Nicolae 20), Corlățeanu (Ecaterina Teodorescu 7), Vulcănescu (Negru Vodă 5) etc.

Moreover, there had been commandeered, for a long time use, the hotels from the centre of Craiova. In New York Hotel, the Russians accommodate themselves in 46 rooms, for a period of 143 days; in Imperial Hotel (Kogălniceanu Street) they were staying in 67 rooms, for 202 days; in Mineva Hotel they were having 20 rooms, for 152 days; and in the hotel of Gh. Marinescu (Buzzești Street) and in other three hotels from Cuza Vodă Street, they had occupied 46 rooms, for 40-47 days. Extremely satisfied²³ – according to the administrator – are also the Soviet from Palace Hotel, which they commandeered entirely in February 1945, in March keeping only the first floor, and in April only 3 rooms. In July 1945, they returned and commandeered again the entire hotel.

In the second stage, which begins in May 1945, the Soviet military presence became even more massive, and the occupation becomes permanent.

After the end of the war in Europe, the Russians enjoy the necessary respite to organise the occupation thoroughly, in the territories under the domination of the Red Army.

At Craiova, numerous military units and formations started to appear: *the Russian Aviation Unit, the Military Unit no. 01366, the Soviet Formation no. 92722, the Military Unit no. 03892, the Soviet Formation no. 71371, the Military Unit no. 93597, the Military Unit no. 24345, the Soviet Military Hospital for the Evacuation no. 280, the Soviet Formation no. 03292F, the Military Unit no. 53622 – led by major Clușnicov, the Soviet Military Post Office no. 68-274, the Military Unit no. 92117, the Soviet Polyclinic no. 51119, the Russian Telephony Regiment no. 2795, the Soviet Military Hospital no. 32-49, the Soviet Hospital from no. 36 Calea Brestei Street, the Soviet Unit no. 35775 (the Health-Epidemic Laboratory of the military unit no.1), the Soviet Censorship, Office for Soviet transmissions, Aerodrome Soviet Commandment, the Soviet Information Centre, Regional Soviet*

²² *Ibidem*, p. 80. *Situation on the buildings and the rooms disposed for the Soviet armies, on the 25th of October 1944.*

²³ *Ibidem*, file no. 16/1945, f. 156.

Hospital of Foot-soldiers no. 1. At least a part of these troops belonged to 57 Soviet Army²⁴.

A *High Soviet Commandment* (with the headquarters in the Palace of Justice) was representing the supreme military authority in the city of Craiova. The N.K.V.D. troops did not miss either, whose military commander was being installed, in the summer of 1947, in the building from no. 10 Mihai Bravu Street²⁵.

For the quartering of the Red Army, there will be evacuated state institutions, schools and high-schools, barracks, private houses, hotels, and most of the people from Craiova will be forced to host in their houses Soviet officers and soldiers.

In a paced rhythm, between 1945 and 1947, the Russians come and install themselves into the city. At the beginning of 1947, the phenomenon was at its highest point. According to the report of the mayor "It was continued the assistance given for the commandeering of the necessary houses, for the quartering of the Soviet army, and for that purpose it was put at the disposal of the Quartering Department, especially founded within the Town-Hall of this Municipality, 11 municipal clerks, to collaborate with the Soviet military bodies and the local police ones, for the quartering"²⁶.

Yet, there was a moment when the Russians made a curious decision.

In the summer on 1945, the endless commandeering stopped suddenly. On the 7th of June 1945, Vorosilov ordered: "There are ceased the commandeering of buildings, necessary for the Soviet units, until further orders. Any request, expressed by the Commandants of the Soviet units, are not to be considered"²⁷. The new orders arrived at Craiova very fast. On the 18th of June, the Soviets request "skilled workers, necessary for reaping the barracks that will be occupied by the allied Soviet troops"²⁸.

All the barracks²⁹ (the Barracks of the Foot-Soldiers Regiment, of Artillery Regiment no. 9, of Heavy Artillery Regiment no.1, of Regiment no.14, Alionul Regiment) would be occupied by Russians, and when the Romanian military men

²⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 192. The head of the Quartering of the Soviet Army no. 57, was the major-engineer Șteinboc. On the 5th of January 1946, he approves the request of the colonel Govela Ioan, the commandant of Hunting Flotilla no. 2, who asked that his house to be exempted from commandeering.

²⁵ Idem, Fund of Ad-tiv General Inspectorate from Craiova, file 17/1947, unnumbered page.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, file no. 36/1947, f. 9.

²⁷ Idem, Fund of Craiova Police Department, file no. 16/1945, f. 80.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 88; On the 20th of June 1945, the magistrate Năvărlie was writing in his diary "It is intensively rumoured that new Russian armies will be installed in Romania. The country, which is nowadays dealing with the lack of food, will definitely experience a crisis in the future ... the country is filled with Russians, but seemingly an army of few hundreds of thousand people will be installed in our country, especially in Oltenia... At Craiova, there have been commandeered buildings, for the installation of the Russians, which will apparently spread through all the villages" (Constantin I. Năvărlie, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 109-110).

²⁹ SJAN Dolj, Fund of Craiova Police Department, file no. 16/1945, f. 89.

returned from the battle front, they were sheltered in Romanescu Park³⁰. For the painting and plastering works of the barracks, there were hired, through Territorial Office of Dolj, the entrepreneurs: Bruno Tamburini, Ion Panduru, Ferdinand Bulfon, Leonardo Mander, Michel Mander, Butnaru, Carlo Dallabarba and engineer Dumitrescu.

At the airport of Craiova, the Soviets were preparing for an intense activity. If, on the 19th of June 1945, few thousands of rooms from Cuza Vodă Street, were commandeered for the aviators³¹ who had arrived in the city, two days later, lieutenant Davâdov was requesting “3 painters, necessary for the disposal of the aerodrome from Craiova”³².

The schools and the high-schools received different destinations: “Elena Cuza” Girls High-School became a *Soviet Commandment*, D.A. Sturza Military High-School, the Girls Orthodox High-School and the Girls School became *hospitals*; Obedeanu Primary School and Madona Dudu Primary School – *Military Units*. On the 11th of July 1945, the *Soviet Formation no.03292F* occupied Carol I College, on the 17th of November they evacuated it for the start of the school courses³³, and in February 1946, the documents present it as being entirely occupied³⁴.

After the evacuation of the courts, the Palace of Justice became the headquarters of the High Soviet Commandment (1945-1947). Once the Russians had left, there was noticed that “lots of carpets, curtains, door knobs etc. are missing, and the cleanness of the place leaves much to be desired”³⁵.

One by one, there are commandeered: buildings in which there were service departments of the Town-Hall (the Companies of the Municipality of Craiova – Sanitary Engineering Department), Inspectorate, Private companies (Florica Factory, Waidman Repairing Workshops, Distribuția Company, Carpatina Company, Spirtaru Brothers’ Pub, on Carol avenue, Medina’s store etc.), the houses of some personalities (Virgil Potârcă, St. B. Drugă, Mendel, Grigore Pleșea, Iancu Isvoranu etc.).

The magnificent Palace Mihail does not avoid the commandeering, there being installed ARLUS, the agency from Dolj County³⁶.

³⁰ Constantin I. Năvârlie, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 121.

³¹ SJAN Dolj, Fund of Craiova Police Department, file no. 16/1945, ff. 71-72.

³² *Ibidem*, f. 92.

³³ *Ibidem*, f. 183.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 242.

³⁵ Constantin I. Năvârlie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 67; Also see Șerban Pătrașcu (editor), *Istoria Baroului Dolj în documente 1911-1957*, Bucharest, Universul Juridic Publishing House, 2015, pp. 319-321.

³⁶ SJAN Dolj, Fund of Craiova Police Department, file no. 16/1945, f. 250: *Situation on the buildings belonging to the State, Counties, Communes, Institutions or Public Companies, occupied by the Soviet troops, Commandments and authorities.*

On the 14th of July 1945, a citizen of Craiova, who had been gone for two months, found, when returned, a totally changed Craiova: "To Caracal, through villages, the Russians are almost at all present, on the other hand, Caracal and Craiova, and especially Craiova and the villages around, are packed with Russian military men. In Craiova, the barracks that we pass by are occupied by them, on the streets, on all the directions, there are Russian officers and soldiers rushing around in cars or on foot. The Palace of Justice, numerous schools and other buildings have been completely evacuated by the Romanians, so that they could be occupied by them. From almost each house, there were taken rooms for the Russian officers, the troops living in the barracks"³⁷. And he further notes: "It is said that the living in Craiova has become harder. The great majority of the food products is taken by the Russian army"³⁸.

The Russian occupation is the main subject for discussions: "Nowadays, in Romania, when two people are meeting, they are talking only about the Russians, who occupy our houses and eat our food, and they are wondering when are they going to get rid of them, a wish that everybody expects, from the bottom of their hearts, to become true"³⁹.

Inpatient to find the answer for this question, few people from Craiova, resort to the help of the spirits: "Today (20th of July 1945 – A/N), at professor Fortunescu, we assisted to a Spiritism session. We were told, among others, that the Russian are definitely leaving Romania, at the end of August"⁴⁰.

Although the city is full of Soviet military men, the room commandeers, from the citizens, does not cease.

On the 16th of August 1945, the Police quaestor was ordering to all the 6 Police Stations to give a daily report, until 7 p.m., regarding all the houses that will eventually be emptied. Until the 9th of September, there will be only 8 rooms in the entire city, their daily reports being almost identical: "until the present day, there were no empty buildings left, after the leaving of the Soviet soldiers, nor any other free rooms"⁴¹. Because the quaestor insists on this, through a new order (no. 5520/9th of September 1945), the head of the Police section no. 3, reports⁴², the second day, that "after verifying few streets from the circumscription of this commissariat, I did not find any empty or furnished rooms".

The documents also mention the often attempts of the Russians to install in force into the houses of the citizens.

Vasile Ungureanu from no. 6, Bolintineanu Street, who lived, along with the 9 members of his family, in two rooms, makes a complaint to the Soviet

³⁷ Constantin I. Năvârlie, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 117.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 112.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 131.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, ff. 118-119.

⁴¹ SJAN Dolj, Fund of Craiova Police Department, file no. 17/1945, ff. 123-124.

⁴² *Ibidem*, f. 133.

commander of Craiova that “many times, the Russian officers and soldiers come to my house and domicile, forcing it, under the pretext that they need rooms”, and asks to be issued a receipt “that would stop them from doing violent acts and forcing the doors, as they did before, without being accompanied by the Romanian police, or without having a commandeering order”⁴³.

Nicolae Doncea from no.12, Lipscani Street, complains to the quaestor that a Russian military man warned him that, in two hours, he had to free the room in which his daughter was living. When Doncea tried to convince to find another place, the Russian said “that he likes here and he wants to move here, and if I say something more, he will arrest me”⁴⁴.

Most of the people from Craiova are greatly affected by the commandeering. Priest Marin Popa-Nemoiu, from no. 6 Obedeanu Street, tells the Soviet Commandment that he “absolutely needs” to also use the second room of his house, which was commandeered by the Russians, because he lives cramped with his family, made of 6 people, in just one room⁴⁵. Ioan Grigorescu, from no. 23 Luminei Street was in a similar situation, writing to the Russians in a revolted manner that “I the undersigned cannot live such a life anymore”⁴⁶. Engineer Hulubei, from no. 91 Carol Street, who suffers from tuberculosis, has to share a room with the rest of the family (4 persons).

As a sign of the more and more accentuated Soviet military presence, the commandeering will continue, without a stop, in the next years.

An ample raid, for finding the empty rooms, takes place in February 1946. On the 5th of February, a commission made of delegates of the Police, Town-Hall and Soviet officers will go on field, starting from the headquarters of the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission, for “controlling the number of rooms”⁴⁷.

ANNEXES

The list of the Soviet military officers and commanders from Craiova, between 1944 and 1949, drawn-up according to the documents and the information from the press of that period:

1. ASTAHOV IVAN PETROVICI – Russian lieutenant from the Russian aviation unit, installed in Craiova (June 1945)⁴⁸.
2. BESCOVAIN – captain, representative of the Soviet Commandments from Craiova (November 1944).
3. BRÂNZĂ – major, Soviet military commandant of Craiova (December 1944).

⁴³ *Ibidem*, file no. 16/1945, f. 264.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, ff. 161-163.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 199.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 194.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 231.

⁴⁸ In brackets, it is mentioned the date when they were first mentioned in Craiova.

4. CAZNIETOV – captain (October 1944).
5. CLIMOVICI – major (November 1944).
6. CLIUȘNICOV – major, commandant of the Campaign Post-Office Military Unit No. 53622 (March 1946).
7. COBZAR – general, commandant of the Soviet troops from the Garrison (October 1945).
8. CUDELSCHI – captain, representative of the Soviet Military Post-Office Unit No. 68-274 (August 1945).
9. DAVĂDOV – lieutenant, representative of the Soviet Commandment from the aerodrome of Craiova (June 1945).
10. ERINENCO VASILE – major April 1948).
11. GOGUTU – major, commandant of the city of Craiova (February 1946).
12. GUSEINOV – lieutenant (November 1944).
13. KIAȘCOV – general, the representative of the Soviet Army from Craiova (September 1946).
14. KOGAN – captain (October 1946).
15. KRUKOV – colonel (October 1946).
16. MALȚEV – colonel, representative of the High Soviet Commandment from the Palace of Justice (August 1945).
17. MIHALKIEVICI – general (October 1946).
18. MILUȘKA – major, the representative of the Soviet Army.
19. MOGUTIN – colonel, the representative of the Soviet Commandment (August 1945).
20. MORDVINCHIN – major, Soviet Commandant of Craiova (October 1944).
21. MORTOF IVAN NIKOLAIKSEI – commandant or representative of the Military Unit no. 03892 (September 1944).
22. MORUZOV – major, deputy of the Soviet Commandant of Craiova (March 1945).
23. NAUMOV – major in the Red Army (August 1945).
24. NICHITIN – major, representative of the Soviet Commandment (November 1944).
25. OSIPENCO – colonel, commandant Soviet Anti-aircraft Defence from Craiova (November 1944).
26. PETROV – Soviet prosecutor (June 1945).
27. PETROV VASILIEV - N.K.V.D. officer (November 1944), killed in 1946.
28. POGREBNOI – major, military counsellor of the Allied Control Commission from Oltenia; in another document he is registered as “Commissioner of the Allied Control Commission for the military problems, within the Territorial Commandment no. 7” (June 1945).
29. PREANIȘNICOV – colonel (November 1944).
30. PROVALOV – captain, commander of the Soviet Information Centre (October 1945).
31. ROZANOV A. A. – guard major, Allied (Soviet) Control Commission for the province of Oltenia (November 1944).
32. SARHIN – general-colonel, Commander of the Soviet Army from Craiova (May 1946).
33. SEMICENCO – major in the Red Army.
34. SEROV – deputy of the People’s Commissary for the Internal Affairs (October 1944).
35. SLUȚSCHI – major in the Red Army (August 1945).
36. SOHORIN – general, Commander of the Soviet troops from the Garrison (October 1945).
37. SUMARIN – lt.-colonel (October 1944).
38. ȘTEINBOC – major, engineer, head of the Department for the Quartered Soviet Army no.57 (January 1946).
39. TEVCENCO – general- lieutenant, representative of the Soviet Army from Craiova (May 1946).
40. TRANDASIR A.V. – captain, deputy of Commissioner of the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission for Dolj County (November 1944).
41. USKOV VASILII – lieutenant-colonel, Commissioner of the Allied Control Commission in Romania, the Region of Craiova (July 1946).

42. VINOGRODOV – major, military commandant of the city of Craiova (November 1944).
43. VIȘINEVSCHI – military commandant, representative of the Soviet Army (August 1946).
44. VOROBUEV ANATOL – Russian lieutenant, from the Military Unit no. 01366 (September 1944).
45. VOROȘILOV L.N. – lieutenant-colonel, Commissioner of the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission for Dolj County (November 1944).
46. VURCHIN – captain (November 1944).
47. ZAHARCENCO V.M. – major, deputy of the Commissioner of the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission for the Region of Oltenia (November 1944).
48. ZAHAROV – major, commander of the Military Unit no. 24077, member of the High Soviet Commandment from the Palace of Justice (September 1945).
49. ZAIȚOV – lieutenant in the Red Army (August 1945).
50. ZAVIREAHIN EUGENIU – Russian lieutenant (December 1945).

THE LEFTIST EXTREMISM REFLECTED IN THE DOCUMENTS OF CRAIOVA CITY POLICE OFFICE (1919-1940)

Gabriel CROITORU*

Abstract: Starting from the analysis we have made on the basis of the archives documents of the collection available at the Police Office of Craiova city, our paper creates a radiography of the leftist extremism manifested in Romania in the interwar period. Therefore, the orders, the circulars, the instructions, the strictly secret and confidential informing notes issued by the Police Office of Craiova and by the police organizations under its jurisdictional authority, throw even more light on the activity carried out by the Comintern and by its branch in Romania, the Romanian Communist Party, regarding not only the liquidation of Romania's democratic regime and the setting up of the proletariat's dictatorship, but also regarding the Soviet revisionism, which was claiming, throughout that period, the urgent separation of Bessarabia, and not only, from the Romanian state.

Keywords: the III Internationale, extremism, communism, irredentism, revisionism.

The documents making up the collection available at Craiova Police Office¹, in the custody of Dolj county Service of the National Archives, can be structured and divided into three distinct periods in point of their topics. The first period is represented by the archives documents belonging to 1831-1842 epoch, over 300 in number, which are written in Cyrillic paleography and contain both information about the infringements of law in Craiova – to a greater extent – and quite interesting data about the population's condition of health, the town sanitation, the police equipment, the police buildings, in a word, valuable information for all those concerned with the process of modernizing the city Craiova and, implicitly, the police institutions, in the period of Organic Regulations Law.

The second period, referring to the interval 1919-1940, consists in documents issued by the police institutions and other institutions having the competence of

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¹ Dolj County Department of the National Archives, Documents collection of Craiova Police Office, no. 1061, the collection comprises 1553 archives documents, the limit years being 1832-1951 (further cited as SJAN Dolj).

maintaining the Romanian state's internal order and security – Military Police – Force, Army, Justice and so on, documents relating to the fight of these institutions for combating the extremism, both the leftist and the rightist one, to the fight for keeping the democratic liberties, to pursuing and arresting those who broke the law or those whose activity came into conflict with the Romanian state's interests. The degrees of danger that the workers' and the communists' activities represented for the democratic state order determined a frenzy of the police institutions. That was expressed in numerous circulars, orders, instructions, strictly secret or confidential informing notes relating to the imperative measures on the occasion of organizing 1 May, to the national days celebration to the measures taken for combating the iron-guardist and the communist movements, to the more and more vigilant scrutinizing of the press of Russian and Magyar origin, going so far as the total elimination of this press, to keeping a watchful eye on the religious associations and sects, for example the inochentists, the reapers, the students of the Bible, namely the millennium adepts, etc. The documents of this period contain extremely valuable information about the irredentist, revisionist actions of our neighbors – Hungarians, Russians, Bulgarians who – by means of some international groups – were working for the urgent separation of Bessarabia, Transylvania, Bukovina and Dobrogea from the structure of the Romanian state. These documents also included rather interesting information with regard to the demographic evolution of Craiova city during the interwar period, to the level of industrialization of Craiova and Oltenia, respectively, to the number and the state of mind of the Romanian subjects and foreign citizens, to combating the profiteering, to effacing the prostitution, the traffic in drugs or in pornographic literature, to the location and equipment of police stations, etc.

The third category is represented by documents belonging to the period of the Second World War and further, up to January 1949 when *Miliția*² was set up, an institution which was going to last until 1990. So, during the first years of war, the police institution issued documents in which the prevailing information was referring to the correspondence carried out between this institution and the police and military police of Bessarabia and Bukovina, of Chișinău and Cernăuți, respectively, documents concerning persons who had fled Bessarabia and Bukovina, including lists of names of the persons, who had taken refuge, the place where they had come from and where they were quartered, concerning the population's state of the mind, the pursuing and investigating of the spies, concerning all kinds of requisitions as supplies for the army. During the second part of the war, after Romania's joining the Allied Powers, the documents make numerous references to the transgressions committed by the German army in retreat from Romania, and even more to those committed by the Soviet army, to the

² Dinică Ciobotea, Ileana Cioarec, Emilian Cojocaru, Gabriel Croitoru, Constantin Nicolescu (coord.), *Din istoria instituției poliției în județul Dolj*, vol. III, 1919-1949, Craiova, MJM Publishing House, 2016, p. 62.

population's state of mind as regards Romania's decision about the continuation of the war, a.s.o.

After the First World War, in Romania, like in other European states, there developed the extremism, both the leftist and rightist one, which fostered either internationalism or nationalism. In our country, the left-wing extremism was brought by the Communist Party of Romania which not only championed the abolition of the democratic regime and the setting up of proletariat's dictatorship, but also unconditionally rallied to the revengeful, irredentist policy carried on by Hungary, Soviet Russia and Bulgaria against the stipulations of the Peace Congress of Versailles, pursuing during the entire interwar period the tearing of Bessarabia, Transylvania, Bukovina and Dobrogea from the Romania's territory³. Therefore, at the end of the first world conflagration, the Communist Internationale II being a failure, the representatives of socialism all over the world were called up to work out a solution leading to the making up of a new organization. On V. I. Lenin's initiative, the IIIrd Communist Internationale was set up in Moscow, in 1919. Next year, in autumn, a delegation of the Romanian socialists went to Moscow to debate the affiliation to the IIIrd Communist Internationale. Taking into consideration the contradictory discussions regarding Comintern's outlook on the Romanian state's character and regarding the obligation of strictly obeying the directives from Moscow, after the delegation's return the General Council of the Socialist Party and Trade-Unions was called, during 30 January – 3 February 1921. It approved, with majority of votes, the leftist group's motion aimed at summoning the general Congress of the party for 8-14 May 1921 and placing the party on communist foundations⁴. Taking place during 8-12 May 1921, the Congress decided the unconditional affiliation to the Communist Internationale III, accepting all the 21 imposed conditions. In fact that was the birth certificate of the Romanian Communist Party. The unconditional affiliation made Romania's government start arresting, 51 out of the 77 voters for the unconditional affiliation being arrested. The trial, known as Dealul Spirii trial, 23 January-4 June 1922, causing intense political agitation, convinced king Ferdinand to grant amnesty for 213 out of 271 arrested person. During the second Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, which took place in Ploiești on 3-4 October 1922, the participants elected the Central Committee and the general secretary, namely Gheorghe Cristescu, also adopting the party statute which stipulated at art. 1 that RCP was a section of the IIIrd Communist Internationale and that it had no other aims but those of the IIIrd Internationale to which it belonged. The article 2 specified that the decisions of the IIIrd Internationale were compulsory for all the members and all the committees, commissions and groups of the Communist Party. It was for the first time in the history of the country that a political party played the part of a section of an

³ Ioan Scurtu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor. Volumul VIII. România întregită (1919-1940)*, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 2003.

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 234-235, 239.

international organization, whose decisions it pledged itself to respect. For Romania the situation had an aggravating character because the Soviet Union did not recognize the Romanian state's integrity, namely the legitimacy of Bessarabia's union with Romania. More than the provisions stipulated in the party statute, in December 1923 the Balkan Communist Federation – a body consisting in all the parties of this European zone affiliated to the IIIrd Communist Internationale –, adopted a resolution which decided that the Communist Party in Romania should fight for the separation of Bessarabia, Transylvania and Dobrogea from the Romanian state⁵. Therefore, as a result of the negotiation between the representatives of Romania and the Soviet Union carried on in Viena (28 March-2 April 1924), the Communist Party of Romania placed itself on the side of the Soviet delegation which did not recognize the legitimacy of the State's Council decision on 27 March 1918, demanding that a plebiscite should be held in Bessarabia⁶. Under these conditions, the government led by Ion C. Brătianu took measures in order to block the communists' activity: on 5 April 1924, in conformity with the order of the Army Corps II, searches were carried out in the offices of the Communist Party, at some militants' residences, in the editorial offices of the communist newspapers. More than that, during the next days the communist press got suspended and the RCP buildings were sealed; on 23 July 1924, according to the Army Corps II orders, it was decided that RCP and the other organizations under its influence should be dissolved. The rebellion in Tatar Bunar organized by the IIIrd Communist Internationale in September 1924, hurried the decision of the Romanian government to outlaw the Communist Party. Through Mârzescu law of December 1924, RCP's activity was banned, its process of dissolution being virtually ended.

In 1925 the Workers and Peasant's Block (WPB) was set up, a legal organization, under the guidance of the Communist Party. The Workers and Peasant's Block tried a collaboration with the Peasant's Party on a plank that was democratic, but anti-liberal, the National Liberal Party being considered reactionary. On the occasion, of the communal election of February 1926, an electoral cartel was created, consisting in the Workers and Peasant's Block, the Socialist Party, the United Trade Unions, the Peasants' Party, the National Party and the People's Party, when almost 200 communists, socialists and social-democrats were elected in the towns' and the communes' councils. Comitern harshly criticized the position of the communists in Romania on the alliance made with the bourgeois parties for the communal election in February 1926, and the ex general secretary of the party Gheorghe Cristescu was excluded from the Communist Party⁷. In June 1928, Comitern convened the IVth Congress of the RCP in Harcov, Ukraine, on which occasion resolutions were imposed concerning

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 240.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 241.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

the self/determination of Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania and Dobrogea going up to their separation from the Romanian state⁸. During the next period, the Communist Party in Romania was involved in the social movements of the years of economic crisis, especially in the strikers' movements of January-February 1933, inflaming the situation even more by the political significance they meant to give to the events. During the next year up to the beginning of the Second World War, if the Communist Party in Romania showed a change in view regarding Transylvania, militating against the horthyst revisionism, in the question of Bessarabia the party continued to support the traditional, cominternist point of view which was aiming at the separation from Romania⁹.

In my opinion, this outline of the activity of the Communist Party in Romania and of the party's position versus the policy promoted by the IIIrd Communist Internationale was necessary to be presented for a better understanding of the leftist extremism, shown and brought into relief by the documents of Craiova Municipium Police Office, especially after the Romanian Communist Party's dissolution. These documents massively increase the already existing volume of knowledge concerning the illegal, clandestine actions of extreme leftist organizations in Romania until 1940, when the Soviet Russia's revengeful activity carried out against the Versailles Congress during this period led to the occupation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina on 26 June¹⁰.

The documents selected in order to assert our point of view on the manifestation of the left-wing extremism in Romania, during the interwar period, have been diachronically analyzed according to their set of problems.

Therefore, immediately after outlawing the Romanian Communist Party, the action of watching, monitoring and combatting its clandestine activity was intensified by Ion C. Brătianu government, through the authorized state institutions, the police institutions playing a crucial part.

According to the Great General Staff order no. 1869/1925, the Security General Inspectorate informs Craiova Police Office that the soviets, through the instructions given to the organizations in Romania pursue the organizing of the minorities in Transylvania, Bessarabia and Dobrogea with the aim of triggering, also by means of some elements from the Old Kingdom, the action of overthrowing the current government, Ion I. C. Brătianu government and replacing it with a leftist government. After attaining this goal, a rebellion was to be provoked also by means of armed bands organized in Bulgaria and Moldavian Republic, from where they were to penetrate into Dobrogea and Bessarabia. After achieving this aim, war

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 241-242, 256-257.

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 296, 305, 312, 361-362.

¹⁰ SJAN Dolj, Documents collection of Craiova Police Office, the dossiers 1/1924, 4/1924, 15/1924, 1/1925, 2/1925, 5/1925, 6/1925, 1/1926, 2/1926, 1/1931, 2/1931, 8/1931, 1/1932, 5/1932, 7/1932, 9/1932, 10/1932, 11/1932, 12/1932, 14/1932, 1/1933, 2/1933, 3/1933, 4/1933, 7/1933, 8/1933, 10bis/1933, 13/1933, 16/1933, 3/1934, 5/1934, 19/1934, 24/1934, 1/1935, 2/1935, 11/1935, 27/1935, 17/1936, 20/1937, 5/1939, 31/1939, 1/1941, 11/1943.

was to follow. So, maximum of vigilance was required from the police detachments belonging to Craiova General Inspectorate¹¹. Also in this sense, under the pressure of the international authorities closely watching Romania's attitude towards the national minorities especially towards the Jews, but also as a result of the minorities' irredentist actions, the Romanian state, namely Romania's government kept an eye on minorities' activities also by means of security police institutions. A note of security police showed that lists were periodically requested containing detailed information about the minorities' organizations and their branches within the Romanian state¹².

In 1925, according to the order no. 4153/2 November 1925 issued by the Great General Staff, Devision II, Counter-Intelligence Section, the Security Police was advising Craiova Police general Inspectorate that the Executive Committee of the IIIrd Communist Internationale decided that new instructions should be sent to the communist parties in Europe, asking them to intensify propaganda within the army. In fact, they demanded an increased propaganda among peasantry who was to be conscripted. The instructions meant for the Communist Party in Romania were to be sent through the Balkan Committee in Vienna, beside which, as it is known, there was also a military office. The instructions were to reach communist parties in the Balkan Peninsula and Romania at the end of November 1925¹³. Other two notes which, in fact, complete the first, notes given by the Security Police of Craiova and Giurgiu, respectively, show that the head of this action, for Bulgaria and Romania, is a certain David Lovenbuch, 35 year old¹⁴ and that during October 1925, the IIIrd Communist Internationale had already sent 5,000 Bolsevik propagandists who had graduated from the special school of communist agitation functioning in Moscow. Both notes end with the suggestion of an increased vigilance and with an emphasis on the danger represented by the Soviet agents. The actual measures taken by the Romanian authorities as regards combatting the communist propaganda among the military are disclosed by a strictly secret note issued by the Security General Inspectorate in Craiova the police detachments under its jurisdictional authority, a note which indicates that periodical tables had been sent with the names of the young people of the contingents 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932 and 1933 who are enrolled in various clubs of a communist nature people, who appreciate or entertain communist outlooks¹⁵.

The activity of permanent observing the activity of the IIIrd Internationale and of RCP, respectively, by the police institutions, meant, among other things, the selection of foreign press coming to Romania, especially the press of Russian and Hungarian origin. Therefore, after indicating the newspapers of Russian and

¹¹ *Ibidem*, file no. 15/1924, f. 131 f-v.

¹² *Ibidem*, file no. 2/1925, f. 118.

¹³ *Ibidem*, file no. 1/1925, ff. 251-252.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, file no. 2/1925, f. 167.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, file no. 1/1926, ff. 17-29; 4/1933, f. 5 and next.

Hungarian origin authorized to get into the country, it is specified that all the Russian newspapers which might endanger Bessarabia's interests are banned¹⁶. Furthermore, from the declarations of the spies and agents that had been caught, the following data were reported: the centre of the whole activity of communist propaganda for the countries in the Balkans is Vienna, a centre that maintains links with the agents in Romania and there are exchanges of magazines from one centre to another, for instance "Elvira" newspapers, issued in Târgu-Mureş, together with "The Romanian Life" and "Liberation" were sent to Vienna by a certain person called Elek Goebbles. Another piece of information indicated that after the failure of revolution in Bulgaria the soviets had decided that the whole activity should be transferred to Romania. To this end Constantinople city was chosen as centre of this action, a centre led by 5 persons¹⁷.

We also find interesting information about the religious associations and sects which were carrying on their activity in the area controlled by Craiova Police Regional Inspectorate. Thus, in conformity with the decision of the Ministry of Public Education and Cults, no. 24336 of 29 May 1928, Craiova Police General Inspectorate communicates to Craiova Police Office the names of the religious sects and associations which, through their doctrine, endanger the proper morals and the public order, among them being also the sect of Inochentist which, according to the information of the Security Police, is a "true nest of communism"¹⁸. Clear data are requested about the phase of organization and propaganda of this sect, originated in Bessarabia.

As it is known, the communist propaganda action was especially focussed on the days of celebrating national and international holidays, when one intended to organize ample manifestations and to enhance the propaganda. Thus, in accordance with the order issued by Craiova Police Regional Inspectorate and given to Craiova Police Office, we learn that the communist leaders had decided that the day of 24 January 1932 should be declared a "red day", occasion on which large manifestations against the union were to be organized¹⁹. Another order of Craiova Police General Inspectorate discloses that the IIIrd Communist Internationale demanded that, in order to organize 1 May, the revolutionary peasants' Krostintern organization, with its headquarters in Moscow, should organize and produce ample peasants' demonstrations in all the states, against the present world economic crisis. In Romania, as a result of the directives received by the RCP, it was decided that the alliance of the peasants with the workers should be carried out with the aim of overthrowing the capitalism²⁰.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, ff. 23, 24, 25, f-v.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, file no. 2/1926, f. 289.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, file no. 2/1931, f. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, file no. 12/1932, ff. 9-11.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, ff. 12, 47 f-v.

Other two strictly secret orders issued by Police General Direction to the police detachments in the territory show that the year 1932 was chosen by the Communist Party secretariate as an extremely important stage for intensifying the communist propaganda and organize large public demonstrations: so, immediately after the holidays, they will start the propaganda week Lenin-Luxemburg-Liebknecht, a period in which people will hold meetings, will spread manifestos, will raise red flags, will draw the patterns of the communist slogans on the walls, etc.; if the conscription of contingent 1932 is effected in February, the Union of the Communist Youth will spread anti militarist manifestos which should show the soldiers' predicament; before the voting on the law of farming debts conversion, the leaders of the Workers and Peasant's Block would issue a pamphlet showing that the conversion law does not solve the agrarian issue at all, in fact a boycott on this law was prepared by the representatives of the Workers and Peasant's Block²¹, a political structure which was, actually, nothing but an interface of the RCP.

Among the workers' mutual assistance organizations created by Comintern there are also Red Aid, Youth'Road, Workers'Sports which, in fact, had in view the material and moral supporting of the workers imprisoned because of their communist membership. A note of Craiova Police Office reveal the fact that Kishinev Police Inspectorate had sent the instructions – translated from Russian – of the Central Committee of Red Aid in Romania to the regional and local committees of this organization. In brief, these instructions contained; *an introductory part* which specified the Romanian bourgeoisie's intention to destroy the communist organizations, the intention that an illegal party should be formed and also the consolidation of the Union of communist Youth through the complete bolshevization of this organization; *the rules of conspiracy*, which displayed the method of action; as well as *the norms of behavior* for the arrested communist²². At the same time, the document specifies the requirement that stamps of these organizations should be disseminated among workers²³.

The RCP's involvement in the social movements of the years 1933-1934 consisted both in the attempt of lending a political connotation to the events, and in the bid for converting the strikers' movements of January-February 1933 into a starting point for a revolutionary way out from the crisis. Therefore, several orders and circulars of the police institutions indicate that the General Council of the Revolutionary Trade Unions of Romania decided on raising the funds necessary for developing the workers' movement. For February 1934 the Central Committee of the Communist Party was preparing the launching of the general strike, so February 1934 was to be declared "red February". In addition, the Red Aid General Committee signed a manifesto through which it claimed the railway strikers' release and their treatment in prison as political prisoners, whereas the Central

²¹ *Ibidem*, f. 28, 47 f-v.

²² *Ibidem*, file no. 6/1933, ff. 40-43.

²³ *Ibidem*, f. 45.

Committee of MOPB, a clandestine communist organization, gave orders to its organizations in the country to raise funds necessary for the appeal to the court of law on 7 February 1934 for the railway workers sentenced in the trail of the rebellion at Grivița CFR workshops²⁴.

After the installation of Nazism and Hitler in Germany, in the Romanian Communist Party's policy there appeared a radical change as concerns the policy of self-determination going up to Transylvania's and Bukovina's separation from the Romanian state. As regards the policy on Bessarabia, the RCP remained loyal to the traditional line taken by the IIIrd Internationale from Moscow ever since the affiliation. This entire policy is apparent in the orders, circulars and informing notes issued by the police institutions in Craiova, which were steadily observing the Comintern's policy regarding Romania²⁵.

Beside a permanent surveillance of the activity of Comintern and the RCP, respectively, by the bodies authorized to maintain the social order and peace as well as state security, expressed in the clear registering of the RCP members or sympathizers, it is also to be noted the Romanian governments' policy to combat the bolshevism by publishing papers that should demonstrate the incompatibility of Marxist-Leninist doctrine with social organization. So, extremely interesting is the lieutenant colonel Ariefeanu Virgil's paper, *Aux frontières du bolschevisme*, published in Paris, welcomed by the European press, a paper which systematically demonstrates the incompatibility of communism with human nature, a paper which, after having been translated into Romanian, was distributed to all the centres in the country in order to make it very well known²⁶.

Extremely interesting for discovering the policy of the USSR towards Bessarabia and also the population's state of mind is the information found in this archive material concerning both the persons from Bessarabia and Bukovina who had carried on an activity against the Romanian state and also those who had been deported or quartered in various areas of Oltenia and concerning their state of mind²⁷.

As a conclusion of our outline, we can state, without doubt, that the documents displayed by the police institution, corroborated with those of other institutions meant to supervise the preservation of Romanian democratic liberties, reveal new information and considerably enlarge the already existing cognitive resources concerning the leftist extremist manifestations from Romania and towards Romania during the interwar period.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, file no. 4/1933, ff. 21-23; file no. 3/1934, ff. 15, 61.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, file no. 27/1935; file no. 17/1936; file no. 31/1939.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, file no. 4/1933, f. 109.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, file no. 10/1932, f. 108; file no. 1/1941, ff. 231-238.

MEDALS ABOUT THE HISTORY OF CRAIOVA (1966-1996)

Onoriu STOICA*, Adrian FRUNZĂ**

Abstract: In this article the authors describe, in chronological order, medals and plaques about the history of Craiova, which were emitted from 1966 to 1996 are in addition to previous articles related to medals of Craiova, as a contribution to a future complete catalog.

The medals of Craiova show glimpses of its history. Due to its historical events, institutions, personalities and monuments, town residents will be remembered through these metal documents.

Keywords: Medals, plaques, commemorative, history, Craiova.

The medals were created to immortalize certain events in the history of a people, of a human community or, why not, even of a city, becoming metal documents for certain historical periods. Through them, facts, personalities or past events that have taken their rightful durability, recalling over time, the rich spiritual treasure. Thus, the metal remains unaltered memory forever.

Arch over time, feelings shaped metal luster and hardness, medals reveal the deepest human feelings, dedication to the community and especially gratitude owed to ancestors.

Being among the most expressive historical sources, the need for transmission to the next generation of vibrant messages and thoughts, medals help spread world wide information on what took place once, they point out what was durable and essential relationships between generations.

Medals and plaques given below will complete previous articles concerning medals of Craiova, as a contribution to a future complete catalog¹.

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¹ Onoriu Stoica, Adrian Frunză, *Contribuții la cunoașterea medaliilor privitoare la Craiova (1997-2011)*, in "Arhivele Olteniei", New Series, no. 26/2012, pp. 291-298; Idem, *Recent medals of Craiova*, in "Oltenia. Studii și Comunicări. Arheologie-Istorie", Vol. XX-XXI, 2013-2014, Muzeul Olteniei Craiova.

1966

1. “Nicolae Bălcescu” High School Anniversary.

Obv. *LICEUL N. BALCESCU CRAIOVA (N. Balcescu High School Craiova)*. Circular written legend. In field, there is a part of the high school building, the main entrance and below it the establishment year written with Roman numerals : *MDCCCXXVI*, all being limited between a linear circle.

Rv. In the field, within a laurel wreath, there is a torch and below there are listed the years: *1826-1966*.

Patina Tombac. 60 mm. Engraver Haralambie Ionescu. Mint State. (Fig. 1).

G. Buzdugan, G. Niculiță, Romanian medals and plaques, Bucharest, 1971, p.199, 283.



Fig. 1. “Nicolae Bălcescu” High School Anniversary

1970

2. Centenary of The Pedagogical High School.

Obv. *LICEUL PEDAGOGIC CRAIOVA (Pedagogical High School Craiova)*. Circular written legend and linear limited by a circle. In the field, there is the main entrance to the high school building, and below it, the two branches of laurel, an open book with a torch in the middle.

Rv. *PENTRU DEZVOLTAREA ÎNVĂȚĂMÂNTULUI (For Education Development)*. The legend written in the semi circular upper half of an exterior limited linear circle and semicircular on the inside. In the field: *CENTENAR (Centenary)* written semi circular, years *1870-1970*, written linearly. Under the anniversary years, over two laurel, an open book with a torch on the left, the flame stretching above the right of the book.

Anodized Tombac. 50mm. Mint State. (Fig. 2).

Onoriu Stoica, Medals of Craiova, 1750 Pelendava-500 Craiova, Craiova, 1971, p. 9 (hereinafter: Medals of Craiova).



Fig. 2. Centenary of The Pedagogical High School

1971**3. Centenary of The Industrial High School for Agricultural Mechanics.**

Obv. *LICEUL INDUSTRIAL DE MECANICĂ AGRICOLĂ CRAIOVA* (Industrial High School for Agricultural Mechanics Craiova). Circular written legend. In the field, above a semicircular wreath of corn ears is **1971** with a tractor of Romanian origin above.

Rv. *ȘCOALA SUPERIOARĂ DE ARTE ȘI MESERII CRAIOVA* (Higher School of Arts and Trades Craiova). Circular written legend, limited by a linear circle. In field there is the school emblem: a toothed wheel, with a hammer, a compass and a square over and year **18-71**.

Aluminium patina. 60 mm. Mint State. (Fig. 3).

Medals of Craiova, p. 10.



Fig. 3. Centenary of The Industrial High School for Agricultural Mechanics

1973**4. Romanian Numismatic Society Anniversary.**

Obv. *SOCIETATEA NUMISMATICĂ ROMÂNĂ* (Romanian Numismatic Society). Circular written letter. In the field, the society logo, limited by a linear circle: the bust of the goddess Minerva in the profile to the left, with a helmet and a breastplate, holding a torch in her right hand. Under this, written semicircular, the anniversary years are Roman numerals: **MCMIII–MCM LXXIII**, and beneath, on a scarf, the **LXX** year.

Rv. *SECȚIUNILE SOCIETĂȚII 1903-1973* (Sections of The Society). Semicircular and linear written legend, in the upper half and the other half two laurel branches tied with a ribbon in the middle. In field, a central shield with the initials **SNR**, surrounded by five smaller shields localities where there were sections at that date, Craiova being the first section established in the country (1971).

Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. (Fig. 4).

Medals of Craiova, p. 11.



Fig. 4. Romanian Numismatic Society Anniversary

5. “Luminile uzinei” Competition (“Plant’s lights”).

Uniface. *CONCURSUL BRIGĂZILOR ȘI FORMAȚIILOR ARTISTICE*, (*Competition of Brigades and Artistic Groups*). Circular written legend, between two linear circles. In the field, written on four lines: *Luminile / uzinei / EDITIA-I-A / 1973*, (*Plant’s / Lights / First Edition / 1973*), and in a circle above the plant’s emblem: *E(lectro)P(utere)*.

Aluminium. 50 mm. Private Collection (hereinafter referred to as PC). (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Competition “Luminile uzinei” (“Plant’s lights”)

6. National Contest and Festival “Maria Tănase”.

Obv. *MARIA TĂNASE*. Semicircular written legend. In field, the bust of the singer in profile, facing right, all limited by a linear circle.

Rv. *FESTIVALUL ȘI / CONCURSUL NAȚIONAL / “MARIA TĂNASE” / ED III-A CRAIOVA / 2-8 IUNIE 1973* (*Festival and National Contest “Maria Tanase”. Second Editon. Craiova 2-8 June 1973*). Linear written legend, on five lines, carried out through incision over a floral motif, all limited by a linear circle. Between it and the exterior linear circle, the outside space is filled with Romanian folk floral motifs.

Anodized Tombac. 60 mm. Author Gabriel Bratu (Obverse). Mint State.PC. (Fig. 6).

This version is made by an illustrator from Craiova, Gabriel Bratu, in 1973, but since the next edition (1975), opposite the left shoulder of the artists appear initials G (rudinschi) S (Stefan), State Mint engraver between 1945-1988.



Fig. 6. “Maria Tănase” National Contest and Festival

1974

7. The Foundation of The Museum of the History of Medicine.

Obv. In field there is a shield with the arms of Dolj county, model 1972, tripartite shield in inverted fork which has in its center a shield into the abyss, cleaved, having in dextra the single party flag and the national flag senestra over both appearing the country’s coat of arms. In the three districts are area specific elements: the County

Council building, an open book and a toothed wheel. Under the emblem there is a scarf on which is written: **CRAIOVA**, all being framed by a laurel leaf crown with a scarf caught in the middle year: **1974**, and the edge of medal there is a linear circle.

Rv. UNIVERSITATEA / FAC. DE MEDICINĂ / MUZEULUI / DE ISTORIA MEDICINEI / 29 VI 1974 (University. Fac. of Medicine. Museum of the History of Medicine. 1974 29 VI). Linear legend, written on five lines, carried out through incision over a floral motif, all limited by a linear circle. Between it and the outside space there is floral Romanian folk motif.

Anodized Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. The Foundation of The Museum of the History of Medicine

8. Idem.

Obv. Idem no.7.

Rv. * UNIVERSITATEA * MUZEUL DE ISTORIA MEDICINEI * 29 – VI – 1974 (University. Museum of the History of Medicine). Circular written legend between two linear circles. In the field, the old building of the Faculty of Medicine with the main entrance.

Anodized Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8. The Foundation of The Museum of the History of Medicine

9. Anniversary of The Congress of Numismatics and Archaeology.

Obv. Idem no. 7.

Rv. Patru decenii de la / Congresul de arheologie / și numismatică. / Craiova 1934-1974 (Four decades of The Congress of archaeology and numismatics. Craiova 1934-1974). Linear legend, written on four lines, carried out through incision.

Anodized Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9. Anniversary of The Congress of Numismatics and Archaeology

10. Idem.**Obv.** Idem 7.**Rv.** *ONORIU STOICA * PATRU DECENII DE LA CONGRESUL DE ARHEOLOGIE ȘI NUMISMATICĂ * CRAIOVA 1934-1974.*

Anodized Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 10).

Fig. 10. *Anniversary of The Congress of Numismatics and Archaeology***11. Anniversary of The Section Craiova a Romanian Numismatic Society.****Obv.** *PROFESORULUI ONORIU N. STOICA.* Incised legend, written on two lines within a round medallion, below which there are two laurel branches and the years: *1971-1974.***Rv.** *PREȘEDINTELUI / SECȚIUNII DIN CRAIOVA A / SOCIETĂȚII NUMISMATICE / ROMÂNE / DIN PARTEA PRIETENILOR / ȘI COLABORATORILOR / 9 Iunie 1974 (President of The Sections Craiova a Romanian Numismatic Society from friends and collaborators 9 June 1974).* Legend written on seven lines.

Patina Tombac. 50 × 35 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 11).

Fig. 11. *Anniversary of The Section Craiova a Romanian Numismatic Society*
1975**12. Anniversary of Pelendava and Craiova.****Uniface.** *1750 PELENDAVA - CRAIOVA 500.* Linear written legend on a ribbon, at the superior part of the plate, and in the lower one two rectangular cartridges: *1975 / ROMÂNIA.* In field in a round medallion, there is the emblem of

Dolj County, which is flanked by a Romanian Dacian flag left and one to the right, crossed in the middle. Between the flags and two laurel branches, leaving from the cartridge with the name of the country, there are several symbols of the City's Power Plant, Chemical Plant, Thermal Power Plant and electric locomotive produced at Electroputere.

Patina Tombac and silver plated tombac. 90 × 60 mm. Author N. Culluri. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12. Anniversary of Pelendava and Craiova

13. Idem.

Obv. 1750 PELENDAVA – CRAIOVA 500, over two laurel branches and ROMÂNIA between them. Linear circular written legend between two circles. In field, Dolj County emblem, flanked by a Romanian flag and one Dacian flag, under these being a fragment of the old map called “Tabula Peutingeriana”, which marked the location of Pelendava (Craiova). Below are the city's landmarks: Chemical Plant, Thermal Power Plant and electric locomotive manufactured at Electroputere Plants. On a scarf is written the year: 1975.

Rv. AD GLORIAM PERENE * PRO PATRIA SEMPER. Circular written legend.

Bronze patina. 60 mm. Author N. Culluri. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 13).



Fig. 13. Anniversary of Pelendava and Craiova

14. Idem.**Obv.** Idem 13.**Rv.** *EXPOZITIA FILATELICA CRAIOVA (Philatelic Exhibition Craiova).*

Circular written legend. In field in a round medallion, the affronted busts of king Decebal, right, emperor Trajan, left, among them being the homagial Column of the Daco-Roman wars from Rome. Under the king's neck is the author's name: **N. CULLURI.**

Bronze patina, silver and gilt. 60 mm. Author N. Culluri. Mint State. PC.

M. Ioniță, Medalii și plachete românești, Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române (hereinafter BSNR), LXX-LXXIV, 1976-1980, nr. 124-128, p. 502, fig. 13. (Fig. 14).



Fig. 14. Anniversary of Pelendava and Craiova

15. Idem.**Obv.** Idem 7, but on the scarf is written the year: **1975.**

Rv. 1750 / PELENDAVA / CRAIOVA / 500. Legend written on four lines, carried out through incision.

Patina Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 15).



Fig. 15. Anniversary of Pelendava and Craiova

16. Idem.**Uniface.** Idem Obv. 13.

Aluminium enamelled. 32 mm. Author N. Culluri. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 16).



Fig. 16. Anniversary of Pelendava and Craiova

17. National Contest and Festival “Maria Tănase”.

Obv. Idem 6, but the artist’s bust is no longer surrounded by a rich floral ornamentation.

Rv. *FESTIVALUL ȘI / CONCURSUL NAȚIONAL / “MARIA TĂNASE” / ED IV-A CRAIOVA / 2-8 Iunie 1975.* Linear written legend on five lines, carried out through incision.

Anodized Tombac. 60 mm. Author Gabriel Bratu (Obverse). Mint State.

Medals of Craiova, p. 14. (Fig. 17).



Fig. 17. National Contest and Festival “Maria Tănase”

1976

18. “Nicolae Bălcescu” High School Anniversary.

Obv. *LICEUL NICOLAE BALCESCU CRAIOVA (High School Nicolae Balcescu Craiova).* Circular written legend, limited by a linear circle outside. In field is a part of the high school building, the main entrance, and under this the anniversary year is written in Roman numerals: *MCMLXXVI*.

Rv. In field, within a laurel wreath there are a few science’s symbols: an open book on which are a square and a compass, above the book there is a flame. The symbols are flanked by the years: *1826-1976*.

Patina Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 18).



Fig. 18. “Nicolae Bălcescu” High School Anniversary

19. Constantin Brâncuși’s Birth Centenary.

Obv. The bust of the sculptor on the front, flanked on the left and on the right of the head by the years, in Roman numerals *MDCCCLXXVI - MCMLXXVI*, and beneath: *100 – ANI (100 –Year)* which continues in a semicircle above the head *DE LA NAȘTEREA LUI CONSTANTIN BRÂNCUȘI (Of the Birth of Constantin Brâncuși).* Above the right shoulder there is the engraver’s name, *S. GRUDINSCHI*.

Rv. Against the background of the rising sun there are visible component parts of the complex carved in the city Tg. Jiu and above on the left, *VIA SACRA*. Bronze patina. 60 mm. Engraver Ștefan Grudinschi. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 19).



Fig. 19. *Constantin Brâncuși's Birth Centenary*

20. Homage Professor Ion Bușu (Faculty of Medicine).

Obv. *OMAGIU PROFESORULUI DOCTOR ION BUSU SOCIETATEA NUMISMATICA ROMANA SECTIUNEA CRAIOVA martie 1976 (Homage to Professor Doctor Ion Busu Romanian Numismatic Society Craiova Section march 1976).* Linear written legend, carried out through incision on five lines.

Aluminium. 130 × 85 mm. PC.

1977

21. Centenary of The Commercial School Group.

Obv. *GRUPUL SCOLAR COMERCIAL (Commercial School Group).*

Semicircular written legend in a frame. In field, there is the high school building with the main entrance, under which there is an open book with a torch on the left which is flanked by the years: **1877-1977**. Below, under a scarf held is written **CRAIOVA**, under which there is the anniversary date: **30 MAI**.

Rv. *CENTENAR, (Centenary)* semicircular written in a box at the top and the bottom number **100**, and in field there is map of Romania where there is dotted the city **CRAIOVA**.

Bronze. 50 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 20).



Fig. 20. *Centenary of The Commercial School Group*

22. National Meeting of Insignography.

Obv. *A III – A CONFATUIRE DE INSIGNOGRAFIE * CRAIOVA 16. X. 1977 * (The Third Meeting of Insignography)*. Circular written legend. In field, inside a laurel wreath there are the affronted busts of Trajan and Decebal.

Tombac. 26,5 mm. State Mint. PC. (Fig. 21).



Fig. 21. *National Meeting of Insignography*

1978

23. Branch A.F.R. Dolj Anniversary.

Obv. *EXPOZITIA FILATELICA OMAGIALA * CRAIOVA * 17. 09. 1978 (Tributes Philatelic Exhibition)*. Circular written legend between two linear circles. In field, on a shield the county emblem and written above: *EXPOFIL DOLJ '78*.

Rv. *FILIALA A.F.R. DOLJ LA 20 DE ANI DE ACTIVITATE 1958-1978 (Branch A.F.R. DOLJ to 20 Years of Activity 1958-1978)*. Circular written legend. In field, the County Council building under which there is a rectangular cartridge, with the incision, *V. BULUCEA*, the mayor of Craiova. Anodized aluminium. 50 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 22).



Fig. 22. *Branch A.F.R. Dolj Anniversary*

24. Idem.

Obv. Idem.

Rv. Idem. But with a simple rectangular cartridge.

Aluminium. 50 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 23).



Fig. 23. Branch A.F.R. Dolj Anniversary

25. National Contest and Festival “Maria Tănase”.

Obv. Idem no. 17.

Rv. **FESTIVALUL ȘI CONCURSUL NAȚIONAL “MARIA TĂNASE”**

ED. V-A CRAIOVA 2-8 Iunie 1978. Written legend on five lines made by incision.

Anodized Tombac. 60 mm. Author Gabriel Bratu (Obverse). Mint State. PC. (Fig. 4).



Fig. 24. National Contest and Festival “Maria Tănase”

1979

26. Electroputere Plants Anniversary.

Obv. **ELECTROPUTERE 1949-1979**. Circular written legend, between two linear circles. In field, on a linear circle, a triangle pointing down, which has inside initials **E(lectro)P(utere)**, which is the emblem of the plants.

Rv. **LOCOMOTIVE * APARATAJ * TRANSFORMATOARE * MOTOARE**. Written legend between two linear circles. In field, number **30** with a rectangular cartridge in the middle, on which are written the initials: **I(ntreprinderea) E(lectro) P(utere) C(raiova)**.

Bronze patina. 70 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 25).



Fig. 25. Electroputere Plants Anniversary

27. Anniversary Congress of Numismatics and Archaeology.

Obv. 45 / DE ANI DE LA / CONGRESUL DE / ARHEOLOGIE ȘI / NUMISMATICĂ DE LA / CRAIOVA / 1934-1979 (*45 Years from Congress of Archaeology and Numismatics Craiova 1934-1979*). Linear written legend, by incision, on seven lines, limited by a linear circle.

Rv. SOCIETATEA / NUMISMATICA ROMANA / SECTIUNEA CRAIOVA (*Romanian Numismatic Society Craiova Section*). Linear written legend, by incision written on three lines.

Aluminium. 70 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 26).



Fig. 26. Anniversary Congress of Numismatics and Archaeology

1982

28. Centenary of The High School “Frații Buzești” (Buzești Brothers).

Obv. LICEUL DE MATEMATICĂ – FIZICĂ * FRATII BUZESTI * (*High School Math - Physics Buzești Brothers*). Circular written legend between two linear circles. In field, statuary group of Buzești Brothers, situated out of high school in “Parcul Trandafirilor” (“Rose Park”), under which is written: **CRAIOVA**.

Rv. 1882-1982 written semicircular in the superior part, at the end of a wreath of laurel branche. In field, the high school building with the main entrance, and below it, written on two linear lines: **100 ANI / DE EXISTENȚĂ** (*100 Years of Existence*).

Anodized aluminium. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 27).



Fig. 27. Centenary of The High School “Frații Buzești” (Buzești Brothers)

29. Military Hospital Anniversary.

Uniface. *SPITALUL MILITAR CRAIOVA (Military Hospital Craiova).*

Semicircular written legend. In field, the symbol of medicine, the snake and the cup, flanked by the years **1832-1982**, and below it, written on two linear rows: **150 ANI (150 Years).**

Bronze. 70 mm, molded. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 28).



Fig. 28. Military Hospital Anniversary

30. The Aircraft Company Anniversary.

Obv. *A 10 – A ANIVERSARE (10th Anniversary).* Semicircular written legend, in the superior half and at the bottom two laurel branches, all being limited between a linear circle. In field, a stylized bird in flight to the left.

Rv. *M(inisterul). I(industriei). C(onstructoare). de M(aşini). – C(entrala). N(aţională). a I(ndustriei). A(eronautice). R(omâne). CRAIOVA.* Circular written legend, the institutions being separated by the town's name through two branches of laurel. In field under two crossed laurel branches, the tips are written down in four lines: **ÎNTEPRINDEREA / AVIOANE / 1972-1982 / CRAIOVA.**

Steel. 55 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 29).



Fig. 29. The Aircraft Company Anniversary

31. Centenary of the birth of Dr. Victor Gomoiu. Museum of the History of Medicine.

Obv. In field, the building of the educational institution and in front written: **FACULTATEA DE MEDICINA (Faculty of Medicine)**, below, circular the years **1976-1982**. At the top, the legend written in three lines: **UNIVERSITATEA / DIN / CRAIOVA (University of Craiova)**, having in the right the medicine sign and in left the pharmacy sign.

Rv. Circular legend in the top part **UNIVERSITATEA DIN CRAIOVA FACULTATEA DE MEDICINA** (*University of Craiova Faculty of Medicine*), separated from the legend also circular in the bottom part, symbols of the medicine and the pharmacy, **MUZEUL DE ISTORIA MEDICINII SI FARMACIEI 1972 * X * 1982** (*Museum of the History of Medicine and Pharmacy*). In field, the front view of the enlightening of the museum in the foreground, medical exhibits and a medallion with the bust left, legend: **DOCTOR VICTOR GOMOIU * 1882-1960***.

Copper. 50 mm. Mint State.

Medalii privitoare la istoria românilor. Repertoriu Cronologic, București, 1999, p. 412, no. 3471, (hereinafter RCMR). (Fig. 30).



Fig. 30. Centenary of the birth of Dr. Victor Gomoiu. Museum of the History of Medicine

1983

32. Inter-County Conference of Dentistry.

Obv. **CONFERINȚA INTERJUDEȚEANĂ DE STOMATOLOGIE * 1983** * (*Inter-County Conference of Dentistry*). Written circular legend between two linear circles. In field, the symbol of the medicine, under which is written **CRAIOVA**.

Rv. **SEMICENTENARUL STOMATOLOGIEI DOLJENE * 1933-1983 *** (*Dentistry Semicentenary of Dolj*). Circular written legend between two linear circles. In field, number **50** above a stylized inferior jaw.

Copper. 50 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 31).



Fig. 31. Inter-County Conference of Dentistry

33. Agricultural Machinery Enterprise Anniversary.

Uniface. *CRAIOVA / MAI 1983 / XXX*. Linear written legend on three lines, which has above in a semicircle, a tractor. At the top of the field in a semiround cartridge: *30 ani (30 years)*, and at the bottom in an identical cartridge the years: *1953-1983*.

Brass. 50 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 32).



Fig. 32. *Agricultural Machinery Enterprise Anniversary*

34. Homage Dr. Gabriel Cotulbea. (Faculty of Medicine).

Obv. *LUI / GABRIEL COTULBEA / CU PRILEJUL SUSTINERII TEZEI DE DOCTORAT / CONDUCATOR STIINTIFIC PROF. DR. RAOUL ROBACI / 24.03.1983* (*Gabriel Cotulbea on The Occasion of PhD Thesis Support Scientific Prof. Dr. Raoul Robacki*). Written legend on five lines.

Rv. *SECTIA CRAIOVA / A / SOCIETATII NUMISMATICE ROMANE / PRESEDINTE ONORIU STOICA* (*Section Craiova a Romanian Numismatic Society President Onoriu Stoica*). Written legend on four lines, by incision.

Aluminium. 130 × 85 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 33).



Fig. 33. *Homage Dr. Gabriel Cotulbea (Faculty of Medicine)*

1984

35. Anniversary of The Trust General Contracting and Industrial Construction.

Obv. *TRUSTUL DE ANTREPRIZA GENERALA CONSTRUCTII INDUSTRIALE * CRAIOVA ** (*Trust General Contracting and Industrial*

Construction). Circular written legend. In field, at the top, the symbol of the trust, building cranes, crane, furnace etc., with the company's initials below: **T(rustul). a(ntrepriză). g(enerală). c(onstrucții). ind(ustriale).**, and beneath the years: **1949 1984 35**, limited by a laurel branch and an oak.

Rv. XXXV / ani de la înființarea / întreprinderii de construcții / industriale din Craiova/ Te înalți / prin muncă și cultură (XXXV Anniversary of the establishment construction company industrial Craiova uplifting labor and culture). Linearly written legend on six lines, limited by a wreath formed by an oak branch and a laurel caught in the middle with a ribbon on which is written: **T(rustul). A(ntrepriză). G(enerală). C(onstrucții). IND(ustriale).**, under the city name anniversary year: **1984**.

Anodized Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 34).



Fig. 34. Anniversary of The Trust General Contracting and Industrial Construction

36.Idem.

Aluminium. 70 mm. Variant.

RCMR, p. 427, no.3595.

37. Idem.

Obv.1949 – 1984 T(rustul) C(onstrucții) IND(ustriale) A(ntrepriză) G(enerală) CRAIOVA. Linear written legend in three lines on the top half of the panel, lower being the institution's symbols.

Tombac patina. 80 × 50 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 35).



Fig. 35. Anniversary of The Trust General Contracting and Industrial Construction

38. Electroputere Plants Craiova Anniversary.

Obv. 1949-1984. *ELECTROPUTERE CRAIOVA*. Circular written legend between two linear circles. In field, the plants' symbols: locomotive, transformer, electric motor and relay.

Rv. *APARATAJ – TRANSFORMATOARE – MOTOARE – LOCOMOTIVE*
–. Circular written legend between two linear circles. In field, on the rays of a sunrise the initials *E(lectro)P(utere)*, below it the anniversary number written with Roman numerals *XXXV*, and below two laurel twigs.

Aluminium. 70 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 36).



Fig. 36. *Electroputere Plants Craiova Anniversary*

39. National Forum of Pioneers.

Uniface. *FORUMUL NAȚIONAL AL PIONIERILOR* (*National Forum of Pioneers*). Circular written legend, limited by a linear circle. In field, written on three lines: *CRAIOVA / 1984 / I(ntreprinderea) M(așini) M(aterial) R(ulant)*.

Aluminium. 50 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 37).



Fig. 37. *National Forum of Pioneers*

40. The Romanian-Chinese Philatelic Exhibition Craiova (31.08.1984) – Deva (09.11.1984).

Tombac. 60 mm. Engraver Ștefan Grudinski. Mint State.

RCMR, p. 429, no. 3612.

41. The First National Symposium of Numismatics.

Uniface. At the top a round medallion with circular written legend *SOCIETATEA NUMISMATICĂ ROMÂNĂ * 1903-1983 * (Romanian Numismatic Society)*, with another medallion inside, having the company logo, limited by a linear circle: the bust of the goddess Minerva in profile to the left, with a helmet

and a breastplate taking a torch in her right hand. At the bottom, linear writing on three lines, **PRIMUL SIMPOZION / NAȚIONAL / CRAIOVA 1984** (*The First National Symposium*).

Tombac. 40 × 25 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 38).



Fig. 38. *The First National Symposium of Numismatics*

1985

42. The first flight of IAR99, built in Craiova.

Obv. **PRIMUL ZBOR AL AVIONULUI** (*The first airplane flight*). Semicircular legend, limited by a linear circle. In field, inside a semioval left behind by a military fighterplane, it is written in two lines **IAR 99**.

Rv. **INTREPRINDEREA DE AVIOANE CRAIOVA – M(inisterul). I(ndustriei). C(onstructoare). M(așini). – C(entrala). N(ațională). I(ndustria). A(eronautică). R(omână).** Circular written legend, limited by a linear circle. In field, a military fighterplane flying to the right, over the number **1**, flanked, up and down the year **1985 – IAR 99**.

Anodized tombac. 50 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 39).



Fig. 39. *The first flight of IAR99, built in Craiova*

43. Philatelic Exhibition “Art and Medicine” Ion Țuculescu.

Obv. *EXPOZIȚIA FILATELICĂ “ION ȚUCULESCU” / ARTĂ ȘI MEDICINĂ (Philatelic Exhibition Ion Țuculescu Art and Medicine).* Semicircular written legend, in field the front bust of the painter, flanked by officials during exhibition: **2 – 9 IUN. 1985.**

Rv. *CERCUL FILATELIC PELENDAVA CRAIOVA A(sociația) F(ilatelică) R(omână) Dolj (Philatelic Circle Pelendava Craiova Romanian Philatelic Association Dolj).* Circular legend, in field edifice view of The County Council.

Copper. 50 mm. Arad. PC. (Fig. 40).

RCMR, p. 436, no. 3666.



Fig. 40. Philatelic Exhibition “Art and Medicine” Ion Țuculescu

1986

44. Romanian Scientist Henri Coandă Birth Centenary.

Obv. *EXPOZIȚIA CU PARTICIPARE INTERNAȚIONALĂ * AEROMFILA '86 - CRAIOVA * (Exhibition with International Participation).* Circular written legend, between two linear circles. In field, a passenger plane on which is written *T(ransporturile) A(eriene) ROM(âne)*, placed over a circle of rays.

Rv. *100 ANI DE LA NASTEREA SAVANTULUI ROMAN * 1886 * HENRI COANDA * 1986 * (100 Years from the Birth of Romanian scientist Henri Coanda 1886 * 1986).* Circular written legend between two linear circles. In field, there is the bust of the inventor, left, on to the first jetliner, and underneath is written on four lines: *Inventatorul avionului cu reacție. Coanda 1910 (The inventor of the jet plane. Coanda 1910).*

Anodized Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 41).



Fig. 41. Romanian Scientist Henri Coandă Birth Centenary

45. Idem.**Obv.** Idem.**Rv.** Idem, but the legend is made by incision.

Copper. 50 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 42).



Fig. 42. Romanian Scientist Henri Coandă Birth Centenary

46. University of Craiova Anniversary.

Obv. In field there is the emblem and the University building from Craiova. The legend is written circular: *UNIVERSITATEA DIN CRAIOVA (University of Craiova)*. And on top of it the years: *1966 – XX – 1986*.

Rv. Placed on a parchment the names of faculties are written on ten lines: *AGRICULTURĂ / ELECTROTEHNICĂ / FILOLOGIE / HORTICULTURĂ / MECANICĂ / MEDICINĂ / ȘTIINȚE / ECONOMICE / ȘTIINȚE / ALE NATURII (Agriculture Electrotechnics Philology Horticulture Mechanical Medicine Economic Science Science of Nature)*.

Chromium Nickel. 60 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 43).



Fig. 43. University of Craiova Anniversary

47. Aeronautics Industrial High School Anniversary.

Obv. *LICEUL INDUSTRIAL Nr. 1 CRAIOVA (Industrial High School Nr. 1)*. Circular written legend. In field, inside a circle there are *1966* and *1986*, in the upper and in the lower half of the gear. Inside a second circle there is the outline of a book, an aircraft in flight, viewed from above, with a compass.

Rv. Inside the shield there is in the middle a torch, which has at the right and at the left Roman numeral **XX** and at the bottom a laurel branch.

Brass. 50 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 44).



Fig. 44. *Aeronautics Industrial High School Anniversary*

48. Philatelic Exhibition România – Bulgaria – Poland.

Obv. Inside a circle, circular written legend **EXPOZIȚIA FILATELICĂ INTERNAȚIONALĂ* CRAIOVA 1986 *** (*International Philatelic Exhibition*). In field, the emblems and the names of the three cities organizing or **CRAIOVA**, **GORNA ORIAHOVITA** and **RZESZOW**.

Rv. Inside the circle, the circular written legend **ANUL INTERNAȚIONAL AL PĂCII -** (*International Year of Peace*). In field, two laurel branches, two hands and a dove flying towards the left.

Brass. 50 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 45).



Fig. 45. *Philatelic Exhibition România – Bulgaria – Poland*

1987

49. World Heritage Values in Craiova.

Obv. **MUZEUL DE ARTĂ** (*The Art Museum*). Semicircular written legend. In field, Jean Mihail Palace building, the Museum headquarters, limited by a linear circle, and below it, written on two lines: **CRAIOVA 1987**.

Rv. **CONSTANTIN BRANCUȘI**. Semicircular written legend, limited by a linear circle. In field, the work of the sculptor, located in the museum's collection, and exergual, written on two lines **VITELLIUS 1898**.

Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 46).



Fig. 46. *World Heritage Values in Craiova - VITELLIVS 1898.*

50. Idem.

Obv. Idem no. 49.

Rv. **CONSTANTIN BRANCUȘI.** Semicircular written legend, limited by a linear circle. In field, the work of the sculptor, and exergual, written on two lines: **CAP DE COPIL 1905.**

Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 47).



Fig. 47. *World Heritage Values in Craiova - CAP DE COPIL 1905.*

51. Idem.

Obv. Idem no. 49.

Rv. **CONSTANTIN BRANCUȘI.** Semicircular written legend, limited by a linear circle. In field, the work of the sculptor, and exergual, written on two lines: **ORGOLIU 1906.**

Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 48).



Fig. 48. *World Heritage Values in Craiova - ORGOLIU 1906.*

52. Idem.**Obv.** Idem no. 49.**Rv. *CONSTANTIN BRANCUȘI*.** Semicircular written legend, limited by a linear circle. In field, the work of the sculptor, and exergual, written on two lines: ***SĂRUTUL 1907***.

Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 49).

Fig. 49. *World Heritage Values in Craiova - SĂRUTUL 1907*.**53. Idem.****Obv.** Idem no. 49.**Rv. *CONSTANTIN BRANCUȘI*.** Semicircular written legend, limited by a linear circle. In field, the work of the sculptor, and exergual, written on two lines: ***COAPSA 1909***.

Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 50).

Fig. 50. *World Heritage Values in Craiova - COAPSA 1909*.**54. Idem.****Obv.** Idem no. 49.**Rv. *CONSTANTIN BRANCUȘI*.** Semicircular written legend, limited by a linear circle. In field, the work of the sculptor, and exergual, written on two lines: ***M-elle POGANY 1913***.

Tombac. 60 mm. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 51).

Fig. 51. *World Heritage Values in Craiova - M-elle POGANY 1913*.

55. National Maximaphily Exhibition.

Obv. A 40-A ANIVERSARE A PROCLAMARII REPUBLICII * 1947-1987
 * (*A 40 Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Republic*). Circular written legend, and at the top coat field of R. S. România and below two laurel branches.

Rv. EXPOZITIA NAȚIONALĂ DE MAXIMAFILIE * CRAIOVA 1987*
 (*National Maximaphily Exhibition*). Circular written legend and an envelope field with the front and the name of the place where the event took place, **TEATRUL NAȚIONAL (The National Theatre)**; above him, written semicircular **FILIALA A(sociația). F(îlatelică). R(omână). DOLJ (Branch A. F. R. Dolj)** and down a cartridge, where the name of the participant or serious prize winners.

Tombac. 60 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 52).



Fig. 52. National Maximaphily Exhibition

1988**56. Philatelic Exhibition România – Bulgaria.**

Obv. EXPOZIȚIA BILATERALĂ DE FILATELIE (Bilateral Philatelic Exhibition), Semicircular written legend at the top, linear **ROMÂNIA - BULGARIA**, written over two stamps, one on the left represents the first Romanian stamp, and on the right, a first Bulgarian stamp. Under the stamps, writing linear **4 DECEMBRIE 1988**, in a row, and below, semicircular **CRAIOVA**.

Rv. 70 DE ANI DE LA FĂURIREA STATULUI / NAȚIONAL UNITAR ROMÂN (70 years since the creation of Romanian National Unitary State), Semicircular written legend on two lines at the top. In field, a rider to the right and below it, on two lines written linearly, **ȘARJA DE LA ROBĂNEȘTI / JUDEȚUL DOLJ (Batch from Robănești Dolj)**. In exergual, the years **1918-1988**, and two stylized ears of wheat.

Aluminium. 60 mm. Mint State.

RCMR, p. 454, no. 3792. (Fig. 53).



Fig. 53. Philatelic Exhibition România – Bulgaria

1989**57. Electroputere Plants Anniversary.**

Obv. Idem no. 38, only different years **1949-1989**.

Rv. Idem no. 38, only different anniversary figure 40.

Aluminium. 70 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 54).



Fig. 54. *Electroputere Plants Anniversary*

58. Philatelic Exhibition “Poland – România – Bulgaria”.

Obv. **EXPOZIȚIA FILATELICĂ INTERNAȚIONALĂ * CRAIOVA 06.08.1989 * (International Philatelic Exhibition)**. Circular written legend, limited by a linear circle. In field, three shields acolyte with the coats of arms of cities participating (**RZESZOW, CRAIOVA, GORNA**), and underneath there is written on a ribbon **POLONIA (POLAND) – ROMANIA – BULGARIA**.

Rv. **45 DE ANI DE LA REVOLUȚIA DE ELIBERARE SOCIALĂ ANTIFASCISTA ȘI ANTIMPERIALISTA * CRAIOVA 1989 * (45 Years of the Revolution Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Social Liberation)**. Circular written legend between two linear circles. In field, over the rectangles in which the building stands Commercial Complex “Mercury” are two waving flags and the anniversary date: **23 AUGUST 1944**.

Anodized Aluminium. 60 mm. Author C. Dumitru. Mint State. PC. (Fig. 55).



Fig. 55. *Philatelic Exhibition “Poland – România – Bulgaria”*

1990**59. Humanitarian Association “December 22, 1989”.**

Obv. **REVOLUTION HEROES**. Semicircular written legend. In field, the tricolor cloth cropped coat, sitting on several concentric circles, surrounded by two

laurel branches. Down on a ribbon bow in the middle is written: **DECEMBER 1989 - CRAIOVA**.

Rv. In field there is a cross within a circle, from which starts a spiral bead there are alphabetically the names of the dead during those events: *Ambruș V.M. Constantinescu D. + Dragu S. + Georgescu V.M. + S-lent Ghinghici S. M. + Ghiță C. + S-lent Hula M. M. + Jianu D. E. + Mănescu C. Matei L. + Mormoe F. + Olaru E. + Osman D. + Orășanu V. + S-lent Melinescu C.M. + S-lent Petre A.C. + Radu A. + lent. maj. ing Savu S. + Stoica L. + S-lent Soneriu M.D.H. + Stănică I. + S-lent Știubei P.C. + Trașcă I. + Ungureanu M.B. + Ungureanu A. heroic fighters sacrificed for Freedom Dignity and Democracy*, and after that there are crosses to the edge of the coin.

Enamelled Aluminum. 60 mm. Engraver Maximilian Fetița. Regia Autonomă Monetăria Statului (hereinafter R A M S). 400 copies. PC.

Activity medals from 1990 to 1997. Autonomous State Mint, Bucharest, 1998 (hereinafter AM-MS, 1998); RCMR, p.469, no.3922. (Fig. 56).



Fig. 56. Humanitarian Association "December 22, 1989"

60. "Revolution heroes".

Uniface. **REVOLUTION HEROES.** Semicircular written legend. In field, the tricolor cloth cropped coat, sitting on several concentric circles, surrounded by two laurel branches. Down on a ribbon bow in the middle is written: **DECEMBER 1989 - DECEMBER 1990**, and below it: **DOLJ**.

Enamelled aluminum. 60 mm. Engraver Maximilian Fetița. RAMS. AM-MS, 1998, p. 12, no. 66.

61. "Revolution heroes".

Obv. Idem no.59.

Rv. Idem no. 60.

Sample. Aluminium. 80 mm. PC.

1992

62. International festival “Children and the game”.

Obv. *INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL „CHILDREN AND THE GAME”*

Craiova 1992. Circular written legend. In field, the emblem of the festival: half the globe, left, a child, right, everything is represented stylized.

Rv. *CHILDREN AND THE GAME / FIRST EDITION / A / INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL / A / disabled child / of the organizations / “Save the Children” Craiova - ROMANIA / AND / “RED BARNET” DENMARK / 14-18 MAI 1992 / Craiova.* Written caption on twelve lines.

Tombac. 60 mm. Engraver Vasile Gabor. RAMS. 75 copies.

RCMR, p.485, no.4080. (Fig. 57).



Fig. 57. International festival “Children and the game”

63. Philatelic Exhibition “România-Poland”.

Obv. *Philatelic Society / DOLJ – MILITARY CIRCLE / Craiova.* The Military building in field to the two inputs.

Rv. *Philatelic Exhibition / ROMÂNIA - POLAND / Craiova / 24-31 OCT. 1992.* In field above the name of the two countries there is a linear circle, the first Romanian stamp known „Bull Head”.

Tombac. 60 mm. Arad. PC. (Fig. 58).



Fig. 58. Philatelic Exhibition “România-Poland”

64. Lions International Craiova.

Obv. In field, the three buildings symbol of the city, Jean Mihail Palace, on the right, on the left, Suspension Bridge Park Romanescu, and on the top Băniei House, having written under it straight *CRAIOVA*.

Rv. At the top, on the left, Dolj County coat of arms and the right logo *LIONS International*, with the letter *L* in the center.

Aluminium. 60 mm. Engraver Vasile Gabor (V.G.). RAMS. 15 copies.

Tombac. 80 × 52 mm. Engraver Vasile Gabor (V.G.). RAMS. 150 copies.

AM-MS, 1998, p.26, no.39. (Fig. 59).



Fig. 59. *Lions International Craiova*

65. National Scientific Conference dedicated to beginning of the reign of Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave).

Uniface. In field there is the bust of The Prince, flanked on the left by „Casele Băniei” (Băniei Houses) and to the right of the imprint the seal used on a note of July 27, 1600. It has up an eagle, a sun and a moon from left to the right, and based on a tape, the Slavic inscription: *“ИО МИХАИЛЪ УГРОВЛАХИСКОЙ ВОЕВОДЪ АРДЕАЛСКОЙ МОЛДЪ ЗЕМЛЕ”*, ie *“Io Mihail voevod al Țării Românești, al Ardealului și al Moldovei”* (*“Io Michael voivode of the Romanian Country of Transylvania and Moldavia”*). Aurochs horns of a rosette between the left and the right crescent. This shield is supported by the Saints Constantine and Helen, having between, below, two juveniles lions, which have a Swordfish right abutting the seven peaks of the mountains. At the top, a scarf: *400 DE ANI DE LA – ÎNCEPUTURILE DOMNIEI LUI – MIHAI VITEAZUL* (*400 Years from the beginning of the reign of Michael the Brave*), surmounted by the years: *1593-1601-1993*. Under the bust of The Prince, which has the right and the left, between the oak and the laurel branches there is written: *SESIUNEA ȘTIINȚIFICĂ NAȚIONALĂ /*

CRAIOVA 16 – 17 . X . 1993 / V.G., (National Scientific Session Craiova 16-17. X. 1993 V.G.).

Tombac. 54 × 80 mm. Engraver Vasile Gabor. RAMS. 100 copies.
RCMR, p. 490, no. 4132. (Fig. 60).



Fig. 60. National Scientific Conference dedicated to beginning of the reign of Mihai Viteazul

66. Idem.

Obv. 400 DE ANI DE LA INCEPUTUL DOMNIEI LUI MIHAI VITEAZUL (400 Years since the beginning of the reign of Michael the Brave).
Circular written legend. The equestrian statue of Prince in field, flanked by the years: **1593-1601.**

Rv. SESIUNEA / STIINTIFICA NATIONALA / DEDICATA ANIVERSARII A / 400 / DE ANI DE LA INCEPUTUL / DOMNIEI LUI / MIHAI VITEAZUL (National Scientific Session celebrating 400 Anniversary of the beginning of the reign of Michael the Brave). Written legend on seven lines, framed by ornamental motifs from Oltenia. Below it, between the oak and the olive branches, written on two lines: **CRAIOVA 16-17. X. 1993.**

Tombac. 60 mm. Engraver Vasile Gabor. RAMS. 200 copies.

RCMR, p. 490, no.4133.(Fig. 61).



Fig. 61. National Scientific Conference dedicated to beginning of the reign of Mihai Viteazul

67. Idem.

Uniface. In the center of the field there is located the bust of the Prince, to the right and to the left of the head: **400 – ANI (400 – Years)**, up: **ÎNDRĂZNEȚ, PRICEPUT ȘI CLARVĂZĂTOR (Daring, Skilled and Clairvoyant)**, and down: **MIHAI VITEAZUL 1593-1993 (Michael the Brave)**, it is limited by a rectangular frame without bottom. On the outside its the continuation of the legend **DE LA ÎNSCĂUNAREA CA DOMN AL ȚĂRII ROMÂNEȘTI, TRANSILVANIEI ȘI MOLDOVEI (From the enthronement as Lord of Romanian Country, Transylvania and Moldavia).**

Tombac. 78 × 61 mm.

A. Ievreinov, *Medalii românești cu...*, p. 221, fig.12; *Repere spirituale...*, pp. 207-208. (Fig. 62).

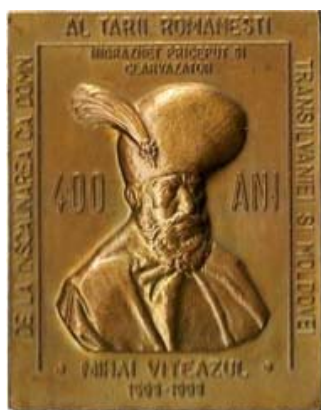


Fig. 62. National Scientific Conference dedicated to beginning of the reign of Mihai Viteazul

68. Contest Festival of Romanian Folk Song “Maria Tănase” (XII Edition).

Obv. Idem no. 17.

Rv. **EDIȚIA / A XII-A / 1993.** Linear written legend in a linear inner circle over a semicircular floral motif. The outer circle are characteristic linear ornaments of the Romanian folk art.

Tombac. 60 mm. Author Gabriel Bratu (Craiova). RAMS. PC Craiova.

RCMR, p. 501, no. 423. (Fig. 63).



Fig. 63. Contest Festival of Romanian Folk Song “Maria Tănase” (XII Edition)

1995

69. Philatelic Show “Ramuri” (“Branches”).

Obv. *SALONUL FILATELIC “RAMURI” CRAIOVA (Philatelic Show “Ramuri”).* Circular written legend. In field, in a linear circle, to the building “Ramuri” and below it wrote two lines: *13-17 OCTOMBRIE / 1995.*

Rv. *ZIUA POȘTEI ROMÂNE, (Romanian Post Day).* Circular written legend and inside a linear circle: *9 OCTOMBRIE (9 October).*

Tombac. 50 mm. Arad. PC. (Fig. 64).



Fig. 64. Philatelic Show “Ramuri” (“Branches”)

70. Laboratory High Voltage and High Power Anniversary.

Obv. *I(nstitutul) C(ercetări) M(ecanice) și E(lectro) T(ehnice) - 1995,* separated by two laurel branches. In the inner linear circle: *LIT - LMP1975 CRAIOVA 1995.* Circular written legend around a circular diagram written in a linear circle.

Rv. *INALTA TENSIUNE - MARE PUTERE* LABORATOR* (High Voltage - High Power Laboratory).* Semicircular written legend. In the inner linear circle, legend written on six lines: *20 ANI / DE / CERCETARI / INCERCARI / INALTA TENSIUNE / MARE PUTERE (20 Years of research test High Voltage High Power).*

Tombac. 60 mm. RAMS. 100 copies.

RCMR, p. 535, no. 4580. (Fig. 65).



Fig. 65. Laboratory High Voltage and High Power Anniversary

71. Faculty of Medicine Anniversary.

Uniface. At the top, on a scarf: **1970 - FACULTATEA DE MEDICINĂ - 1995** (*1970 - Faculty of Medicine - 1995*), and at the bottom on another scarf: **25 DE ANI DE LA ÎNFIINȚAREA FACULTĂȚII** (*25 Years of the Establishment of the Faculty*). In field, to the right, the new building of the faculty, and to the left the old one, among them being the symbol of medicine. In the top corners, two mountain flowers, and down below the scarf ends, one olive branch.

Tombac. 53 × 81 mm. Engraver Vasile Gabor. RAMS. 300 copies.

RCMR, p. 533, no.4552; AM – MS, 1998, p.79, no.142. (Fig. 66).



Fig. 66. Faculty of Medicine Anniversary

72. Idem.

Obv. In field, inside a rectangular plate with the symbol of medicine exceeding its cedar, laurel and seated on olive, on top is written: **UNIVERSITATEA DIN CRAIOVA** (*University of Craiova*). Under this text: **FACULTATEA DE MEDICINĂ** (*Faculty of Medicine*), semicircular written over a medallion with a ecorseu, made by C. Brâncuși, the years: **1970-1995**, and below, on three lines: **25 / DE ANI DE LA ÎNFIINȚAREA / FACULTĂȚII DE MEDICINĂ** (*25 Years of the Establishment of The Faculty of Medicine*). At the top of the medal, on another scarf written: **CRAIOVA**, and below, on another: **ROMÂNIA**.

Rv. **25/ DE ANI DE LA / ÎNFIINȚAREA / FACULTĂȚII / DE MEDICINĂ / DIN CRAIOVA / 1970-1995 / 12-14 OCTOMBRIE 1995** (*25 Years of the establishment of Faculty of Medicine from Craiova 1970-1995 12-14 October 1995*). Legend written on eight lines of laurel and olive branches. On the right side of the medal same ecorseu, and exergual, written on five lines: **ECORȘEU / LUCRAT DUPĂ NATURĂ DE / PROF. GEROTA / ȘI BRÂNCUȘI / ÎN 1902** (*Ecorseu worked as nature of Prof. Gerota and Brâncuși 1902*).

Tombac. 60 mm. Author and Engraver Vasile Gabor. RAMS. 300 copies.

AM-MS, 1998, p. 79, no.141; RCMR, p. 533, no.4551. (Fig. 67).



Fig. 67. Faculty of Medicine Anniversary

73. Festival and International Competition “Maria Tănase”.

Obv. Idem no. 17.

Rv. *FESTIVALUL ȘI CONCURSUL / INTERNAȚIONAL AL CÂNTECULUI / POPULAR ROMÂNESC / – MARIA TĂNASE – / EDIȚIA A XIII - A 1995 / CRAIOVA – ROMÂNIA (Festival and International Competition of the Romanian Folk Song).* Legend written six times, made by incision, the outer edges identical to the previous presentation.

Tombac. 70 mm. Author Gabriel Bratu (Craiova). Engraver Ștefan Grudinschi.

RAMS. 60 copies. Reminted old model, author G. Bratu (Craiova). PC.

AM-MS, 1998, p.73, no.5; RCMR, p.537, no. 4597. (Fig. 68).



Fig. 68. Festival and International Competition “Maria Tănase”

74. Idem.

Uniface. *MARIA TĂNASE 1995.* Legend circular letter. In field bust of the singer in profile looking towards the right.

Tombac. 30 mm. Author Gabriel Bratu. Engraver Ștefan Grudinschi. RAMS. RCMR, p. 537, no. 4598.

75. Rodae Automobile.

Uniface. *RODAE AUTOMOBILE – AUTOMOBILE.*

Tombac. 50 mm. RAMS. 50 copies.

AM - MS, 1998, p.81, no.182.

76. Centenary of the Death of Eugeniu Carada.

Obv. *EUGENIU CARADA * 1836-1910*. Circular written legend on the edge of a round medallion in the surrounding effigy of E. Carada in profile, looking to the left. Under the medallion and above a laurel branch, on three lines there is written: *CTITOR AL BĂNCII / NAȚIONALE A / ROMÂNIEI (Founder of The National Bank of Romania)*.

Rv. *115 ANI / DE LA / ÎNFIINȚAREA / BĂNCII / NAȚIONALE / A / ROMÂNIEI / 17 APRILIE 1880 / 17 APRILIE 1995 (115 Years of the establishment of The National Bank of Romania 17 April 1880 17 April 1995)*. Legend written on nine lines.

Tombac gilt, tombac. 70 × 50 mm. Engraver Ștefan Grudinschi. RAMS. 100 copies tombac gilt, 2000 copies tombac.

AM-MS, 1998, p. 75, no. 49; RCMR, p. 540, no. 4624. (Fig. 69).



Fig. 69. 115 Years of the establishment of The National Bank of Romania 17 April 1880 17 April 1995

77. Military High School “Tudor Vladimirescu” Craiova.

Obv. In field, an eagle, which has a shield on his chest with an open book with an open flame on top that keeps in the claws two bundles of lightning. At the bottom end carries a scarf that leaves two oak branches and on the scarf is written: *STATUL MAJOR AL AV(iației). SI AP(ărării). A(nti) A(eriene)*.

Rv. *LICEUL MILITAR “TUDOR VLADIMIRESCU” (Military High School “Tudor Vladimirescu”)*. Circular written legend, by incision, as well as all the medal’s writing. In field, on five lines there is written: *CONCURS / MATEMATICĂ FIZICĂ / ÎNTRE LICEELE MILITARE / CRAIOVA / FEBRUARIE 1995 (Contest Physics Mathematics among Military High Schools Craiova February 1995)*.

Brass. 55 mm. Craiova. PC. (Fig. 70).



Fig. 70. Military High School "Tudor Vladimirescu" Craiova

1996

78. Electric Networks Subsidiary Craiova (1896-1996).

Tombac. 60 mm. RAMS. 200 copies.

AM-MS, 1998, p. 102, no. 130.

79. Rodae Automobile Craiova (1994-1996).

Tombac. 60 mm. Uniface. 50 copies.

AM-MS, 1998, p. 81, no. 182.

In 2015, Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane (Humanistic Research Institute) "C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor" was celebrating half a century of activity, and it was considered necessary minting a medal, thus bringing a tribute to its founder and to the first director of this institution, subordinated to the country's supreme scientific court, Academia Română (Romanian Academy):

Obv. In field, there is the bust of the academician C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor and on his right side the years: **1900-1968**.

Rv. I(nstitutul). C(ercetări). S(ocio). U(mane). "C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor" * 1965-2015 *. Circular written legend, and in field, in a linear circle, on three lines there is written: **50 / de ani / de activitate, (50 years of activity).**

Anodized Tombac. 60 mm. RAMS. 100 copies. CP. (Fig. 71).



Fig. 71. ICSU "C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor" *1965-2015*

With this article, with the medals and plaques about the history of Craiova, we managed to encompass the period 1966-2015, and will fill it with those issued after 1846 when it was marked by issuance a medal to the establishment of the Hospital "Filantropia" ("Philanthropy").

CRAIOVA – IMPORTANT CENTRE OF THE *PAȘOPTISM*

Florin NACU*

Abstract: The *Pașoptism*-Forty-Eightism is the most important political current that influenced the political, economic, social, cultural life of Romania in the modern age, during the second half of the 19th century. The 1848 revolutionaries made a lot of plans, most of them applied after 1859. Craiova was the most important revolutionary town after Bucharest, but there was also an active counterrevolutionary party. That was due to the fact that the revolution started at Islaz, a small Danubian port from southern Walachia, but the revolutionary party had the main discussions in Craiova. A lot of Craiova's revolutionaries became, as it is shown in the article, members of the political governments after 1859, or members of the cultural, economic, educational institutions.

Key words: Craiova, revolutionaries, 1848, government, influence, measures.

I. INTRODUCTION

The *pașoptist* ideology still represents the fundamental landmark for the modernisation of Romania. The progressive Romanian politic elite, formed under the ideals of the generation from 1821, would come at age, from the political point of view, in the period of 1840-1849, and, a decade later would put into practice all the innovative ideas, whose common purpose was represented by the Union from 1859, the basis of the Romanian modern unitary and national state.

The city of Craiova had been, for centuries, the centre of some important institution with a political, economic, social, and even juridical role, the institution of the Ban from Craiova, which had gradually lost its importance, especially after the move of its headquarters to Bucharest, disappeared in the age of the Organic Regulations.

The reputation of the greatest city from the west of Walachia, was placing Craiova among the urban settlements, meant to create and promote innovative ideologies, even revolutionary ones. First of all, in the support of this idea we can mention the high level of promotion that the education and culture was enjoying.

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Secondly, we can invoke the creation of an economic, political, military elite, and of an intellectuality capable to develop and promote the new ideas. Thirdly, the revolutionary ideas could find a fertile ground among the socmen from the estates of the boyars, whose residence was in Craiova, or in the nearby localities, the small landlords, the traders, the craftsmen, who wished the radical change of the economic life, which meant its modernisation. Around 1848, Craiova had a population of 20,000 dwellers¹.

In 1845, two remarkable personalities, Gheorghe Magheru, former captain of the pandours, a trusty man of Tudor Vladimirescu and Costache Romanescu, son of Ioniță Romanescu (also a collaborator Tudor Vladimirescu), joined the secret society called “Frăția” (The Brotherhood), founded by Nicolae Bălcescu, Christian Tell, Ion Ghica.

At Craiova, in 1837, coming from Cerneți (after he had previously emigrated from Transylvania), arrived the history teacher Ioan Maiorescu, the father of the great literary critic and political man Titu Maiorescu. Ioan Maiorescu was a school inspector for Oltenia, and a headmaster of the Central School, the present Carol I National College, whose basis had been established in 1826.

II. THE ROLE OF CRAIOVA IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS FROM WALLACHIA

On the 7th of June 1848, Nicolae Bălcescu, having connections with Oltenia himself, Gheorghe Magheru and Costache Romanescu secretly established a revolutionary government. Along with them, there was a real “revolutionary party”, which included: Ștefan Golescu, the son of the famous erudite boyar Dinicu Golescu, Nică Locusteanu, Iancu Obedeanu, Grigore Bengescu, Grigore Marghiloman, Constantin Lecca, Theodor Aman, Iancu Coandă, Petrache Cernătescu, Ioan Mihail, Ion Strâmbeanu, Costache Petrescu, Florian Aaron, Marin Petrescu, Eufrosin Poteca, Gheorghe Radovici, Gheorghe Chițu.

At first, the revolutionists were aware that the metropolis of Oltenia was representing a significant point in the development of the revolution. The remembering of Michael the Brave, or Tudor Vladimirescu, was contributing to the popularity of the city of Craiova. Moreover, the fact that this city was entirely dedicated to the idea of revolution, resulted in the adhering of the entire Oltenia to the *pașoptist* cause. There was not less true that the city had also become an important centre of the state authority. First of all, “the leader of Craiova” was none than Iancu Bibescu, the brother of the ruler Gheorghe Bibescu. Among the reactionary representatives, we also ought to remember Dimitrie Filișanu, Barbu

¹ Vladimir Osiac, Ileana Petrescu, *Anul revoluționar 1848 în Oltenia*, “Scrisul Românesc” Publishing House, Craiova, 1973, pp. 11-12.

Știrbei (brother of the ruler Gheorghe Bibescu and Iancu Bibescu), Ion Vlădoianu, Mihai Coțofeanu, Ion Socoteanu, Ilie Roșianu, Ion Bălăceanu, Vasile Căpățână, Manole Jianu.

It is cert that the revolutionists considered Craiova a starting point for the revolution, but the fact that, here, the leader was the brother of the ruler himself, and that his controls had become worse, determined them to try a diversion. First, the important revolutionists, as Ioan Maiorescu and Nicolae Pleșoianu, were holding key positions. Ioan Maiorescu had been appointed the prefect of Romanați County, while Pleșoianu was commanding a foot-soldiers company. Thus, on the 9th of June 1848, it was decided the reading of the Revolutionary Proclamation at Islaz, a small Danubian port, at that point belonging to the former County of Romanați (today the County of Teleorman, where the river Olt meets the Danube). The county was led by a prefect, who was faithful to the revolutionists, while the commander had to guard the port, for stopping the eventual debarking of some revolutionists, Nicolae Pleșoianu was also a *pașoptist*.

At Islaz, the priest Radu Șapcă, prepared the people's assembly, communicating its preparation in a codified manner, under the name of "wedding", and the wait of the signal was "the arriving of the bride".

The provisory government was made of Ioan Maiorescu, Ștefan Golescu, Gheorghe Magheru, Nicolae Pleșoianu, Radu Șapcă, Ion Heliade Rădulescu, Christian Tell. The secretary was Costache Romanescu, from Craiova. This means that the government from Islaz was created on the structure of that established at Craiova.

On the 11th of June 1848, the ruler Gheorghe Bibescu signed "The Proclamation of Islaz", which became "The Constitution" of Wallachia, but pressed by the Russian consul, who was menacing with the invasions, the ruler abdicated, on the 12th of June 1848, leaving the country.

On the 13th of June 1848, the revolutionary government reunited at Craiova, because the group of opposition was continuing there its existence. Colonel Ion Vlădoianu tried to form a point of resistance, with the help of the foot-soldiers from his subordination. Yet, Iancu Bibescu, realising the great sympathy for the revolution, and knowing that his brother had abdicated, decided to not encourage the violence and the human lives losses. Therefore, he chose to auto-exile himself, beyond Turnu-Severin, at Orșova, then under the domination of the Habsburg Empire. Ion Vlădoianu made the decision to give up the counterrevolutionary plan.

The people from Craiova assured the triumphal entering of the provisory government, and Ioan Maiorescu looked for a place where to read the text of "The Proclamation from Islaz". Because he could not find a tribune tall enough, Ioan Maiorescu climbed a nearby tree and, in this manner, the people from Craiova heard the text of the most important programmatic document of the revolution.

The second day, in the morning, a delegation of the reactionaries requested to be met by Ion Heliade Rădulescu. Rather naive, he accepted the meeting with the

delegation. Meanwhile, the foot-soldiers of Vlădoianu took advantage on the lack of people, early the next morning, from the streets of the city (The Central School was not too far from the “Main Crossroad”, the Old Market, which back then was the main commercial centre of Craiova), and forced the entrance in the house where there was the provisory government, ordering the arresting of some of its members. Ioan Maiorescu, helped by Gheorghe Magheru, Iancu Obedeanu, Grigore Bengescu, Nică Locusteanu succeeded in mobilising the local people and the foot-soldiers, adepts of the revolution, surrounding the reactionaries. Thus, the first try was passed, the provisory government accepting the compromise to appoint Dimitrie Filișanu as a prefect, an adept of the reactionary group.

Taking into account that the Ottoman Empire and the Tsarist Russia were “the suzerain power” and “the protective power”, their diplomatic representatives took the decision, that day, to have a military intervention, because the idea of a revolution was not tolerated. Russia decided to invade Moldavia, while the Ottoman Empire had to invade Wallachia.

This can be the explanation for the fact that, at Craiova, as it would also be noticed at Bucharest, it was tried the establishing of a connection with the reactionaries, so that to try the calming down of the external attitude, as regarding the disavowal of the Romanian revolution.

III. CRAIOVA AND THE REGULATION OF THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND LEGISLATIVE PLATFORM OF ROMANIA

On the 14th and 15th of June 1848, at Craiova, there was established the form of the tricolour, as the revolutionary flag of Wallachia, with the colours blue, yellow and red, first horizontally (and later vertically), having the inscription “Justice for the Brotherhood”, with Cyrillic alphabet. On the 15th of June 1848, the provisory government, along with the troops of foot-soldiers, led by Nicolae Pleșoianu, headed towards Bucharest. At Craiova, Gheorghe Chițu was appointed the commander of the people’s revolutionary guard from Craiova.

On the 16th of June 1848, at Bucharest, there was a redefinition of the revolutionary government. Thus, the leadership was entrusted to the Metropolitan Neofit, who had direct and very good relations with the Patriarchy from Constantinople, and who had also become famous after refusing to grant the divorce of the ruler Bibescu, from his wife, and of Maria Ghica, from his husband. Moreover, he had not agreed to marry the ruler with Maria Ghica, after the divorce had been pronounced, through the Patriarchy from Constantinople.

The members of the government were: Ion Heliade Rădulescu, Ștefan Golescu, Gheorghe Magheru, Christian Tell, Nicolae Bălcescu, C.A. Rosetti and Ion C. Brătianu.

On the 19th of June 1848, at Bucharest, the colonels Odobescu and Solomon tried to arrest the provisory government, but Ana Ipătescu managed to mobilize the population of the capital city, who assaulted the place where there were the members of the government. Therefore, the provisory government faced the second major ordeal, but it succeeded in maintaining the control of the power.

It followed a month in which the provisory government tried to materialise the political platform projected at Craiova, and made public at Islaz. The most urgent issue was the agrarian reform, which had been expected by the peasants, who also had adhered in large numbers to the cause of the revolution.

The revolution of Wallachia was the highest point of the Romanian accomplishments, from 1848. The 22-point Platform, drawn up at Craiova, made public at Islaz and consecrated at Bucharest, on the 9th and 11th of June 1848, announced a liberal-democrat regime, based on a set of individual and group freedoms, along with the abolition of social-economic privileges, announcing explicitly the emancipation, and the land appropriation of the socmen. Through the founded institutions, there was expected the introducing of a republican form of government, with a rigorous separation of the state powers, and a legislative department, chosen through universal suffrage. During the three months of government, despite the menacing of Russia, some of the provisions from the platform became true: the introduction of a new provisory administration; the organisation of the army, of national guards and a military camp; the abolition of the feudal privileges, and the summoning of a Commission of property; the beginning of an electoral campaign for a Constituent Assembly; the abolition of censorship and a full freedom of press and printing; relations with the governments of the European revolutionary states etc.².

Another aspect of the revolution was represented by the tolerance towards the diversity of ideas, including those of the adversaries. The winner was the idea to enjoy the freedom of expression, and nevertheless converted and neutralised in a democratic manner. It was a new conception, although hardly applicable, due to the adversity shown by the former privileged people. The leadership of the revolution had created, since the moment from Craiova, the appropriate environment for the expression of the different political opinions, although the reaction, taking advantage on the idea of tolerance, did not hesitate to unleash two counterrevolutionary complots, in June 1848, which failed because of the people's intervention. The revolution never resorted to censorship, or to the stopping of the political reunions, organised by the adversaries: "We do not judge the people who do not have the same ideas as ours, because [when] we sworn freedom, we thought that each person is free to think in his best interest, because this is one of the rights of freedom, which is called "the freedom of thought", is what "Poporul suveran" wrote on the 28th of June. "Pruncul roman" was even making popular comments,

² Apostol Stan, *Revoluția română de la 1848*, Bucharest, 1992, pp. 203-225.

ideas that belonged to some conservative people, although they were obviously in contrast with the liberal-democrat ideology of the revolutionary government from Bucharest³. Through the political propaganda, there were popularised a series of liberal notions, even among the population. In the preamble of “The Proclamation” from the 9th of June, there were mentioned “*the freedom of printing, the freedom of speech, the freedom of meetings, of speaking, of writing everything is necessary for showing the truth*”. The affirmation and the defending of this belief in an environment of complete freedom, were representing an almost mystical confession of the beliefs. The truth, the ideas and the knowledge could be useful to all the people, so they didn’t need to be taken by one of the revolutionary sides, because they were inspired by God. The freedoms could be harmful only for “the children of the dark”. The excess of freedom, without the supervision of the laws, was representing “the staggering and deranging twirl”, such is the chaos, which could only lead to the dissolution and the self-destruction of the country and the people in it⁴.

The abolition of censorship that had been introduced by the Organic Regulations, and the proclaiming of the freedom of press, led to a new situation in the Romanian Principalities. “Pruncul roman”, “Poporul suveran”, “Naționalul” transformed themselves into a tribune of the free ideas. Although they were promoting the vision of the provisory government, they became the exclusive promoters of the power, representing more the tendency of the public opinions. By popularising the ideas of the revolution, presenting the policy of the government and opting for an educative attitude, the revolutionary press contributed decisively to the birth of a modern public opinion.

The liberal-democrat atmosphere, created by the new regime in Romania, imposed a moderate, but also a modern attitude, of the political factors of decision⁵.

On the 18th of July 1848, Gheorghe Magheru returned to Craiova, where he established the foundation for the military defence of the revolution, in case of external invasion. In a similar manner, as that from 1821, Oltenia was going to be the point of resistance, in front of the foreign intervention.

Dissatisfied with the administration of Dimitrie Filișanu, some discontented revolutionaries as Eufrosin Poteca, Ioan Mihail, Iancu Coandă, Marin and Costache Petrescu, forwarded a letter of complaint, signed by 36 of the prominent revolutionaries, from the total number of 60, active in Craiova, requesting his replacement. Noticing that their approach was grounded, Gheorghe Magheru would appoint Florian Aaron as a prefect, who took the control of the position, on the 7th of August. On the 9th of August, he succeeded in removing all the reactionaries from the county administration. On the 15th of August, he read “The

³ *Ibidem*, pp. 245-247.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 251.

⁵ Gheorghe Platon, *Geneza revoluției române de la 1848: Introducere în istoria modernă a României*, Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 1980, p. 63.

Proclamation from Islaz” again, in front of the peasants’ representatives, from Dolj County.

On the 19th of June 1848, a delegation of the revolutionary government moved to Giurgiu, where the headquarters of the Turkish troops had been installed, led by Soliman Pasha. Here, the Romanian delegation managed to gain the trust of Soliman Pasha, who enjoyed a special welcoming at Bucharest. He had requested the dissolving of the government, and the revolutionaries found the compromise solution, appointing a group of ad-interim rulers, made of Ion Heliade Rădulesu, Christian Tell and Nicolae Golescu. This did not represent a drawback for the other members of the government, not losing entirely their attributions. Costache Romanescu was again the secretary of this group. The effect was the expected one, because Soliman Pasha acknowledged the new ruling from Bucharest, as an expression of the moderate vision. Thus, except for Russia, the European states were acknowledging the existence of the revolutionary government, a situation that made Russia start the measures for forcing the Porte to change Soliman Pasha.

On the 21st of July 1848, the Commission of Property, whose vice-president was Ion Ionescu de la Brad, started the works by militating for the agrarian reform (the appropriation of the socmen), by giving them compensations. A month later, in which there were lots of useless talks, due to the misunderstandings between the radicals and the moderates, the commission dissolved, without creating anything noticeable. It was evidenced the fact that neither was the external context favourable for some definitive decisions.

If at Bucharest it was maintained the line of a moderate governing, Craiova continued to play the role of “the second capital city” of the revolutionaries. Here, on the 24th of August 1848, Ion Strâmbeanu and Petrache Cernătescu published “Naționalul”, the most important *pașoptist* revolutionary newspaper.

On the 8th of September, under the circumstances of the hastened events (Fuad Pasha, a radical, had taken the position of Soliman Pasha, for the leadership of the Ottoman troops of intervention), Ioan Maiorescu, Costache Romanescu, Theodor Aman and Eufrosin Poteca delivered public speeches in front of 10,000 peasants who came from all the localities of Oltenia.

On the 10th of September 1848, at Craiova, on the location where “The Open-air Fair” (the area between the University and Hagi Enuș Church) was taking place, the revolutionaries burned copies of the “Organic Regulations”, also expressing their adversity towards the old regime, which had been removed in June 1848⁶.

On the 13th of September 1848, when at Bucharest the Ottoman troops intervened, generating the battle from Dealul Spirii, when the fire-fighters of captain Zăgănescu resisted heroically, causing numerous damages for the Ottoman troops, having to lay down the arms, in Craiova there were also manifestations showing solidarity with the heroes from the Capital.

⁶ *Istoria Românilor*, Vol. VII, tom I, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 2001, pp. 342-346.

On the 30th of November, Hussein Pasha, leading 10,000 Ottoman soldiers entered in Craiova, where few hundreds of people, dwellers of the city and of other localities, showed opposition with guns, pitchforks, axes, spears, being defeated by the more numerous and better equipped Turks.

From obvious considerations, the army from Râureni, led by Gheorghe Magheru was demobilised, considering that the life of the soldiers had been sacrificed in vain, and the armament, the ammunition, could have been used in another, more favourable context⁷.

Gheorghe Magheru and Nicolae Pleșoianu, the main performers of the military structure of the revolution from Craiova, exiled themselves at Vidin. The exile represented a solution for all the revolutionaries, in this period of time being made great efforts for impressing the European diplomacy, as regarding the Romanian cause. During the past years, there had been flourishing the idea of a new European revolution, much better organised, especially after the revolutionaries had become aware of the power of the reactionary force. Yet, it was considered, by the reactionaries, that the Ottomans were protecting them, and they were continuing allowing them even a political activity. The two of them decided to go to Paris. Finally, the Turks retreated from Craiova, whose leadership was taken by Barbu Știrbei.

CONCLUSIONS

The provisional government did not make any attempt to seize the power, considering themselves only a vector of the power, with only a transitory position, towards more elaborated and legal constituted instances. Due to the extremely unfavourable political environment, they had to delay the applying of some provisions from the platform, subjecting them to the debates and approval of a national representation, which had to be decided after elections, an incomplete work, due to the invasion of the Porte, at the insistence of Tsarist Russia.

As regarding the revolutionists from Craiova, they brought their contribution to the materialisation of the *pașoptist* ideas.

Ioan Maiorescu (1811-1864) became, during 1853-1856, a civil servant for the Ministry of Justice from Vienna. In 1859 he was the headmaster of Eforia Școalelor.

Gheorghe Magheru (1802-1880) came back from the exile in 1857, where he had got involved in the diplomatic fight. In 1860, he was elected deputy of Gorj, and in 1864, he was a Commissary for Oltenia, for the application of the Rural Law for the peasants.

⁷ Constantin C. Giurescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor din cele mai vechi timpuri și până astăzi*, Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1971, pp. 587-592.

Ștefan Golescu (1809-1874), after returning from the exile, activated as a secretary of the Ad-hoc Assembly from Bucharest. On the 9th of April 1859, he was appointed President of the Central Commission from Focșani, which had a role in the institutional and legislative unification of Romania. He was a prime-minister in the Government of Wallachia (in 1861) and Prime-Minister of Romania (1867-1868).

Gheorghe Chițu (1828-1897), in exile, studied the law. After an experience as a magistrate, mayor of Craiova, he dedicated himself to the political life, being the Minister of Cults and Public Instructions, Minister of Finance, Minister of Justice, Minister of the Internal Affairs.

Costache Romanescu (1821-1877) was confined at Giurgiu, then exiled, until 1851. He continued his career as a magistrate, then he activated as a member in the electoral committee for the deputies from the Ad-hoc Assemblies in 1857, and as a deputy in the Constituent Assembly from 1866.

Eufrosin Poteca (1786-1858), a learnt monk, activated as a revolutionary ideologist, being remembered for his radical views.

Petrache Cernătescu (1825-1892) left in exile, in 1848, returning in 1854, and committing himself to the unionist activities. After the arriving of Prince Carol of Hohenzolern-Sigmaringen, Cernătescu became a counsellor of the Ruler, teaching him Romanian and the History of the Romanians.

Grigore Bengescu (1824-1881) was the sub-prefect during the ruling of Barbu Știrbei, a Minister of the Cults, and after 1859, during the governing of Mihail Kogălniceanu, he was appointed Minister of Justice (1865), then a director in the Ministry.

Florian Aaron (1805-1887) came back from the exile in 1857, working as a professor, until 1856, and then as a member of the Superior Council for Instruction, contributing decisively to the adopting of the Law for the Public Instruction.

Nică Locusteanu (1821-1900) returned from the exile in 1857. He completed his studies abroad, becoming a frontier engineer, fact that helped him work in the field for the management of the agricultural real estate. He was many times a deputy of the Romanați County, until 1895.

Constantin Lecca (1807-1887) carried out, before the revolution, an intense activity in the press, running “Mozaicul”. He was the Art teacher of Theodor Aman and Costache Petrescu. After the revolution, he made a career from teaching drawing and painting.

Theodor Aman (1831-1891) activated in the artistic area, militating for the founding of a school of belle-arte. He painted important scenes from the historical past of Romania. He painted “Hora Unirii” – Hora of the Union – from Craiova.

Costache Petrescu (1829-1910) painted numerous churches from Oltenia, contributing to the spreading of the revolutionary ideas.

ADDRESSING THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE LABOUR FORCE: PAST AND PRESENT

WORK DISCIPLINE: FORMS, STIMULATIVE AND SANCTIONING MEASURES, DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURE

Roxana RADU*

Abstract: Discipline is essential for work. Although discipline does not consist merely of punishment, at the hand of authority, for wrongdoing, this external discipline is nevertheless very important, as an essential part in training the individual to be self-disciplined (by means of punishments, rewards and warnings). Employers need to be able to discipline their employees when they either make a mistake at work or do something more serious, such as assault or harass a colleague. That is the reason for which employers should adopt and make effective use of both disciplinary and stimulative procedures. Having in view the dispositions of the Labor Code and other special laws, this article presents the forms of work discipline, ways of achievement, stimulative and sanctioning measures, disciplinary liability of the employee, the phases of disciplinary procedure with all its elements, including appeal against sanctioning decision and cancellation (radiation) of disciplinary sanctions.

Keywords: discipline, employee, employer, liability, sanction, misconduct.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON WORK DISCIPLINE

According to article 39 par. 2 let. b) of Labor Code, the employee has, among other obligations, the obligation to respect work discipline. The obligation stipulated by law operates at somebody's charge only on the basis of a individual labor contract.

Work discipline is specific to labor relations and can be defined as being "the necessary order in the frame of the performance of social labor relation and of a specific collective, resulted from the observance of some rules or normes of conduct by the members of the collective"¹. For the good functioning of their activity, employers should adopt and make effective use of both disciplinary and

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¹ S. Ghimpu, I. Tr. Ștefănescu, Ș. Beligrădeanu, Gh. Mohanu, *Dreptul muncii*, Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1982, vol. II, p. 7.

mediatory procedures. They are guided by the Labor Code and other special laws, such as Law no. 319/2006 concerning labor health and security and Law no. 202/2002 on the equality of chances for men and women.

Work discipline has two forms: technological and organizational discipline.

Technological discipline implies the fair application of all knowledge about means and methods of effectuation the operations necessary for realizing products, works or services, as well as the use, in security conditions, of tools, instalations, machines and work equipments. On the basis of article 22 of Law no. 319/2006 concerning safety and security at workplace, each worker must perform his activity in accordance with his training and experience, as well as with the instructions given by his employer, in order that his person or other person's security should not be put into danger during work process.

Organizational discipline is ensured through the agency of "respect, by all employees, irrespective of their hierarchical level, of all their obligations, as well as the established work relations"².

Working discipline can be realised through the agency of stimulative means, as well as sanctions applied on the basis of disciplinary liability³. Stimulative means and rewards are meant for stimulating the positive actions and results of employees, while the sanctionatory measures are applied for the purpose of preventing new misconducts and punishing any breach of duty and discipline. For the proper fulfilment of their duties or the achievement of certain professional performances, employees can be rewarded through the following measures: verbal or written thanks, adjustment of diplomas and titles, increasement of salary, promotion, adjustment of premiums, benefits, merit wage, other stimulents, recompenses or facilities (office telephone, office car etc.).

DISCIPLINARY LIABILITY

As a form of legal liability specific to labor law⁴, disciplinary liability is an institution that tends to defend the internal order of an enterprise (unity), having a strictly personal character, arising from the "intuitu personae" character of the employment relationship and therefore being excluded the liability for another person.

Regulating disciplinary liability is a guarantee for both individuals and legal entities, state organs or public institutions (when the subject of disciplinary offense is a public official/ civil servant, a military, a magistrate etc.) and for maintaining

² A. Sandu, *Managementul resurselor umane*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing House, 2005, p. 130.

³ C. Belu, *Dreptul muncii. Ediție revăzută și adăugită*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing House, 2006, p. 238.

⁴ I. Tr. Ștefănescu, *Tratat de dreptul muncii*, Bucharest, Lumina Lex Publishing House, 2003, p. 466.

public order, its purpose being to prevent and combating misconduct or abuses committed in the line of duty at the expense of public and private interests⁵.

Disciplinary liability exerts a threefold function: disciplinary, preventive and educative function, leading to the establishment and defense of the internal order within the enterprise.

Disciplinary liability is a form of liability independent from all other forms of legal liability: patrimonial liability, tort, administrative or criminal liability.

Disciplinary responsibility involves the following cumulative conditions:

a) existence of a breach of professional duties (misconduct) of the employee, regardless of their severity;

b) employee's misconduct (disciplinary offense) was committed with guilt;

c) the offense has to have disrupted the order required for the normal activity of the employer;

d) between the wrongful act and harmful outcome has to be a causal link.

If proven the guilty and the breach of professional duties, the causal link and the harmful result are presumed.

Disciplinary liability does not operate in some instances that remove the unlawful nature of the employee's act, taken from criminal law cases: self-defense; state of emergency; physical and moral coercion; fortuitous event⁶; major force⁷; error of fact; the execution of an unlawfully issued order; drunkenness.

Execution of an order of service clearly illegal, issued in violation of legal rules on the competence of the issuing body, on the content and form of that order does not discount the disciplinary responsibility of the employee⁸ and drunkenness must be complete and must be caused by circumstances beyond the control of the perpetrator as to relieve him of liability. On the contrary, drunkenness would be considered an aggravating circumstance when the one who committed the unlawful act consciously and freely consumed alcoholic beverages.

Grounds for exemption from disciplinary liability must be properly analyzed and applied to disciplinary offences, according to the specific of employment relationships.

Disciplinary misconduct is an essential requirement, the factual basis of employee's disciplinary liability. Disciplinary misconduct is an offense in relation to work, consisting of an act or omission committed with guilt by the employee through which he violated legal norms, employer's internal rules, individual employment contract or collective agreement applicable, orders and statutory provisions of the hierarchical leaders (art. 247 of the Labour Code).

⁵ See B. Knapp, *Théorie et pratique de droit*, Bale at Frankfurt sur le Main, Éditions Helbing & Lichtenhann, 1944, p. 290.

⁶ See S. Ghimpu, A. Țiclea, *Dreptul muncii*, Bucharest, Editura All Beck, 2000, p. 515.

⁷ See Tr. Ionașcu, E. A. Barasch, *Forța majoră în executarea contractului economic*, in "Studii și cercetări juridice" nr. 3/1964, p. 380.

⁸ For details, see L. C. Duțescu, *Ordinul de serviciu ilegal, cauză exoneratoare de răspundere disciplinară*, in "Revista Română de Dreptul Muncii", nr. 5/2007, pp. 105-107.

Unlike crimes and offenses that are expressly listed and punishable by law, disciplinary offenses can not be individualized by the Labour Code because of their unlimited number. Virtually any action of the employee by which he violates legal norms, internal rules, individual employment contract or collective agreement applicable, provisions and orders of hierarchical leaders represents misconduct. Thus, misbehaviors are determined only by default by setting service obligations of employees in the content of individual employment contract and job description list, which is why labor law can not apply the principle of "nullum crimen sine lege", only the principle of "nulla poena sine lege"⁹.

The unlawful nature of the offense results from breaches of employee's proper service obligations. Service obligation means all the duties incumbent upon each employee based on individual labor contract, all the provisions of the law, collective agreements applicable, decisions taken at the unit level, and the rules of professional or private conduct enacted to ensure order and discipline necessary for the smooth conduct of the work process¹⁰.

The Labour Code does not expressly provide some form of guilt for disciplinary offense's existence and for the application of certain disciplinary sanction and hence guilt can take any form¹¹ – intent (direct or indirect) or blameworthiness (easiness or recklessness). If the form and degree of guilt are crucial to criminalize certain acts as crimes, in employment law disciplinary offenses are punishable even when committed by negligence. The degree of guilt is just one criterion taken into account by the employer when individualizing disciplinary sanction. The importance of guilt as a defining element of the disciplinary offense is underlined by the requirement of the preliminary disciplinary investigation, disciplinary committees or the person authorized to carry out the investigation being guided by the principle of presumption of innocence, under which the employee is presumed innocent for the deed on which the employer was notified that it would be misconduct as long as his guilt has not been proven¹².

DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURE

Disciplinary procedure sets out the instruments that employers may use when disciplining an employee. Unless an employer follows the legal disciplinary procedure the Employment tribunal will find dismissals/sanctions to be

⁹ L. Belu, *Relevanța vinovăției în răspunderea juridică*, Craiova, Reprograph Publishing House, 2003, p. 319.

¹⁰ See Gh. Bădică, *Contractul de muncă*, Bucharest, Tribuna Economică Publishing House, 1998, p. 203.

¹¹ See R. C. Radu, E. Voicu, *Regimul disciplinar specific funcționarilor publici*, in "Arhivele Olteniei", New Series, nr. 28/2014, p. 369.

¹² See art. 19 of the Government Decision no. 1344/2007 concerning the rules of organization and functioning of disciplinary commissions, with subsequent amendments.

automatically unfair. No disciplinary action will be taken against an employee until the case has been fully investigated.

Articles 247-252 of the Labor Code, corroborated with the dispositions of Law no. 319/2006 concerning labor health and security and Law no. 202/2002 on the equality of chances for men and women state that disciplinary procedures/decisions should: be put in writing; say to whom they apply; be non-discriminatory; tell employees what disciplinary action might be taken; say what levels of management have the authority to take disciplinary actions; require employees to be informed of the complaints against them and supporting evidence, before a meeting; give employees a chance to have their say before management reaches a decision; provide employees with the right to be accompanied by a trade representative; provide that no employee is dismissed for a slight breach of discipline; require management to fully investigate before any disciplinary action is taken; ensure that employees are given an explanation for any sanction; allow employees to appeal against any disciplinary decision.

General procedure of applying disciplinary sanctions comprises the following phases:

1) *notification* to the competent body in relation to the commission of an offense – can be made by any person who knows about committing a disciplinary offense;

2) *preliminary disciplinary investigation* – is mandatory in the case of all disciplinary sanctions, except the written notice, the lack of this investigation attracting the absolute nullity of the sanctioning decision. To conduct disciplinary investigation, the employee shall be convened in writing by a person authorized by the employer, stating the subject, date, time and place of the meeting. The failure of the employee to be present at the preliminary investigation without an objective reason entitles the employer to sanction him without making preliminary disciplinary research. During preliminary disciplinary investigation employee is entitled to formulate and support defenses in his favor and provide the person empowered to carry out the investigation all the evidence and motives that it deems necessary and the right to be assisted, at his request, by a union representative whose member is.

3) *applying the sanction*. According to art. 252 of the Labour Code, the employer has to apply disciplinary sanction by a decision made in writing within 30 days (limitation period, which can be interrupted or suspended) from the date of knowledge about committing disciplinary offense, but no later than 6 months (limitation period) from the date of the deed. The moment at which commences the 30 calendar days for applying the sanction is the registration date of the final disciplinary report at the unit's registration¹³. All phases of disciplinary

¹³ *Decision no. 16/2012 of the High Court of Cassation and Justice (HCCJ) on the appeal on points of law raised by the Ombudsman and the General Attorney's Office at the HCCJ on the calculation of the 30 days term inside which the employer can impose a disciplinary sanction to the employee, published in the Official Gazette no. 817/2012. See M. Volonciu, in Al. Athanasiu, M. Volonciu, L. Dima, O. Cazan, Codul muncii. Comentariu pe articole. Vol. II. Art. 108-298, Bucharest, C.H. Beck Publishing, 2007, pp. 384-386.*

proceedings should be consumed entirely within the period of 6 months; after the completion of this term the employee could no longer be disciplined. Judicial practice held that “the fact of starting alongside disciplinary investigation provided by art. 267 of the Labour Code and criminal proceedings, does not remove the mandatory provision of the text of art. 268 of the Labour Code for the implementation of disciplinary sanction within 30 calendar days from the date of knowledge about committing disciplinary offense, as long as the text lacks the possible existence of grounds for interrupting this period or extension of starting flowing of it up to the finalization of the investigations that followed the start of other procedures. Such an interpretation could create situations where disciplinary investigation could even exceed the duration of 6 months for applying the sanction. Or, the legislator's intention was precisely to limit in time the preliminary disciplinary investigation in two separate limitation periods for 30 days and 6 months respectively”¹⁴.

The decision of disciplinary sanctioning should contain the following mentions: the description of the fact that constitutes disciplinary misconduct; the stipulations of the personnel statute, internal regulations or collective labor contract that were violated by the employee; the reasons for which employee's defence was removed or the motives for which the disciplinary inquiry was not effectuated; the reason of law on the basis of which the sanction is applied; the term inside which the employee have the right to appeal against the disciplinary measure; the instance competent to solve the appeal¹⁵. The lack of any of these mentions shall be sanctioned by absolute nullity of the sanctioning decision. Also, there must be a full concordance between the description of the act which constitutes disciplinary offence, specifying the provisions of the personnel statute, internal rules or collective agreement applicable which were violated by the employee and the legal dispositions under which the disciplinary sanction applies. If the indication of the internal Regulation's provisions and the legal basis is not accurate and relevant another unlawful act than that contained in the” description of the misconduct”, which was not committed by the employee, the sanctioning decision is invalid¹⁶.

The Labor Code expressly and limitatively stipulates the sanctions which can be applied by the employer to the employee that committed misconduct. Because of the fact that, being inexhaustible, misconducts can not be enumerated, the Romanian legislator could not have stipulated for which misconduct one or other sanction would be applied. As a result, the employers is the only one that establishes the applicable sanction, taking into consideration a series of general

¹⁴ See Alba Iulia Court of Appeal – Department of labor and social insurance disputes, Decision no. 115 /29.01.2009, in R. C. Radu, *Legislația muncii. Culegere de decizii, spețe și alte aplicații practice*, Craiova, Aius Publishing House, 2012, p. 317.

¹⁵ Article 268 par. 2 of Labor Code.

¹⁶ Alba Iulia Court of Appeal – Department of labor disputes, *Decision no. 1441/ 09.12.2004*, in R. C. Radu, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

criteria such as¹⁷: the circumstances in which was committed the fact; employee's guilt; the previous behaviour of the employee etc.

General disciplinary sanctions are stipulated by article 248 par. 1 of Labor Code:

a) written warning. The written warning will set out the disciplinary problem, the improvement that is required, the timescale and any help that may be given. The individual will be warned that if his conduct does not meet acceptable standards, he will be punished more severely;

b) demotion for a period which can not exceed 60 days. This penalty applies to serious breaches of order and work discipline, for bringing important damages to the employer, for repeated violations committed by the employee, being the harshest sanction after disciplinary dissolution of the individual employment contract given the triple effect of sanctions pursued by the legislator: moral, patrimonial and prohibitive (in terms of professional development). Demotion may not be ordered for a period greater than 60 days or if there is not a lower function in the same occupation;

c) reduction of the salary with 5-10% for 1-3 months. It is a disciplinary measure whose effects are primarily patrimonial;

d) reduction of the basic salary and/or, as the case may be, the management allowance, with 5-10% for 1-3 months. This penalty is similar to the previous one, applying, however, to employees with management functions. It is up to the employer to opt for one of the two forms provided by the legislator: reduction of salary and management allowance or reduction only of management allowance;

e) disciplinary dismissal (disciplinary dissolution of the individual employment contract). This is the most serious disciplinary sanction, which terminates the employment relationship between the employee and the employer. According to article 61 let. a) of Labor Code, an employee will be dismissed either for a gross misconduct or for repeated violations of the rules of labor discipline or those set by individual employment contract, collective agreement or internal rules applicable.

Article 249 expressly stipulates that disciplinary fines are forbidden.

For a single misconduct only one disciplinary sanction can be applied, according to « *non bis in idem* » principle.

Sanctioning decision shall be communicated to the employee within 5 days from the date of issue and shall take effect once communicated (with signature of receipt or, in case of refusal by registered mail at home or residence).

4) *execution of disciplinary sanction* – occurs by communicating and writing the sanction in the Register of employees and in the personnel file (for all sanctions except written warning); by operating the decreases in payroll (in case of demotion and salary reduction); by removal from records and refusal to admit the presence of the sanctioned employee at the workplace (disciplinary dismissal).

¹⁷ Article 266 of *Labor Code*.

APPEAL AGAINST SANCTIONING DECISION

An employee will have the right to appeal against any disciplinary measure imposed by his employer. An employee who wishes to appeal against a disciplinary decision must do so within thirty days¹⁸. The jurisdiction body competent to judge, in the first instance, appeals against decisions of disciplinary sanctioning, is the tribunal. At the appeal any disciplinary penalty imposed will be reviewed by the judicial instance¹⁹.

If it finds a reason of invalidity of the sanctioning decision or of groundlessness/ illegality of the sanction applied, the court has to annul the decision obliging the employer to pay material damages and, where appropriate, moral damages, for damage suffered by the patrimony or the image of the employee.

A highly controversial issue in the specialised literature generated by a gap in the labor legislation, is the possibility of the court to replace the sanction imposed by the employer with an easier one if it finds that the offense committed is not sufficiently serious to justify the sanction it was applied. Over time, both doctrine and practice were inconsistent in cutting this problem. Most authors, as some courts have upheld that, in case of admitting the complaint of the employee, the court is not competent to apply another easier disciplinary sanction. The Supreme Court has considered that the judicial authority seized with the appeal of the employee against a decision of disciplinary dismissal can only validate the sanctioning measure if it turns out thorough and lawful, or to cancel if it was applied based on a unjustified reason, but has no jurisdiction to replace the sanction imposed by the employer with an easier one²⁰. This solution appears to be the correct one in the light of the provisions of art. 247 par. 1 of the Labour Code which enshrines the disciplinary prerogative of the employer in the following terms: "The employer has disciplinary power by having the right to apply, according to the law, disciplinary sanctions to his employees whenever he finds that they committed misconduct". "De lege ferenda" we believe that the legislature

¹⁸ Art. 211 of the *Social Dialogue Law no. 62/2011* contains provisions to the contrary in the sense that unilateral measures of enforcement, amendment, suspension or termination of the individual employment contract, including commitments to pay certain amounts of money may be appealed within 45 calendar days of the date on which the party concerned became aware of the measure ordered. We believe that this is tantamount to an implicit repeal of art. 252, 5 of the *Labour Code*.

¹⁹ See I. Tr. Ștefănescu, *Tratat de dreptul muncii*, Bucharest, Lumina Lex Publishing House, 2003, p. 475; C. Belu, *op. cit.*, p. 236; S. Ghimpu, Al. Țiclea, *Dreptul muncii*, Bucharest, All Beck Publishing House, 2000, vol. II, p. 88; N. Voiculescu, *Dreptul muncii. Reglementări interne și comunitare*, Bucharest, Rosetti Publishing House, 2003, p. 157; Al. Țiclea, A. Popescu, C. Tufan, M. Țichindeal, O. Ținca, *Dreptul muncii*, Bucharest, Editura Rosetti House, 2004, p. 670. See also The Appeal Court, Craiova, Civil Department, *Decision no. 2186/1996*; The Appeal Court, Ploiești, Civil Department, *Decision no. 309/1998*, unpublished.

²⁰ The Supreme Court of Justice, Civil Department, *Decision no. 1319/1992*, in „*Probleme de drept din deciziile Curții Supreme de Justiție (1990-1992)*” (coord. Leonida Pastor), Bucharest, Orizonturi Publishing House, 1993, p. 236.

should devote express this solution; a last argument is art. 250, according to which the employer establishes the applicable disciplinary sanction in relation to the gravity of the disciplinary offense committed by the employee, taking into account the circumstances in which the act was committed, the degree of fault of the employee, the consequences of disciplinary offense, the general behavior of the employee, any disciplinary sanction previously incurred by him.

CANCELLATION (RADIATION) OF DISCIPLINARY SANCTIONS

Sanctions can be radiated, according to the law, within 12 months of the application, if the employee is not bound for another disciplinary sanction within that period. Cancellation of disciplinary sanctions shall be determined by the employer's decision issued in written form²¹.

Since the law makes no distinction between penalties to be radiated or not, we believe that radiation (cancellation) covers all applicable disciplinary sanctions.

In case of disciplinary dissolution of the individual employment contract, the written act of cancellation acknowledgment will be issued by the new employer of the dismissed person.

²¹ B. Vartolomei, *Radierea de drept a sancțiunilor disciplinare*, in "Revista Română de Dreptul Muncii" nr. 8/2011, p. 49.

EUROPEAN LABOR MARKET EVOLUTION. PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE CHALLENGES

Mihai Alexandru COSTESCU*

Abstract: This paper aims to create a general image of the European Labor Market from the end of WWII to present day, as well as to identify some major trends in Labor Market evolution in the following years. The focus is set on the direct link between labor market and economic development, and the evolution from the consumption society to the knowledge society today, and the global society of tomorrow, and the influences on the structure of labor, from very skilled employees in industry to service professionals and the increased need of IT&C personal in the future.

Keywords: labor market, economic development, knowledge economy, global society.

1. INTRODUCTION

At the end of World War II, Europe had the difficult task to find a way reconstruct the economy that was ruined in the last 6 years of war. Some countries, that were neutral during the war, like Spain, Switzerland, Sweden and Ireland, found themselves with the economy in a better situation.

On the other hand, countries that were involved in war had to outcome difficult – and very different – situations. Germany was almost entirely a ruin, with no industry, services or agriculture and thus in the situation to be totally dependent on external aid. Britain's industries, mainly dedicated to supporting the war effort, and in shortage of materials due to losing former colonies, had the difficult task to try to turn from direction to the commercial direction, this meaning huge investments, employees shortage and, why not, an important lack of experience in dealing with the offer and demand concepts.

The rest of the countries in Europe – even if in a slightly better situation than Germany – had to overcome another kind of difficulties. While their industry worked almost only for the German war machine, this meant that products, services, money, all went to Germany, thus creating shortages and austerity for the population.

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But what was for sure everywhere in Europe was that with the end of the war came the need and expectation for normality and a better life. Still, it soon became generally accepted that the only way to do this was with the help of America. This later translated in the Marshall Plan, a law passed by President Truman in April 1948 under the formal name of the “European Recovery Program”. The aim of the Marshall Plan was a general aid program for all the countries in Europe, Ally or Axis member, a plan to support a long term development of Europe. Unfortunately for the countries found in the Soviet influence sphere, the Marshall Plan was not accepted by the USSR and they did not benefit of the Plan’s huge advantages.

2. FROM THE EEC TO EU

At the end of World War II, “three realities evinced the necessity of the new orientation towards the European integration:

First, the Europeans' awareness of their own weakness. World War II had put a definitive end to the traditional European hegemony in the world. The two new superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, had a superior economic, political and military might than the heterogeneous group of European States.

Second, the conviction that it was necessary to avoid, by all possible means, coming back to a confrontation among European States. The two world wars had begun as European civil wars and the European continent had been the main battle field in both. Essentially, it all came to finding a common path for France and Germany, the European integration will pave the way to guarantee peace.

Third, the extended desire among many Europeans to create a freer, fairer and more prosperous continent in which the international relationships were developed in a framework of concord”¹.

The first step was made in 1950, when 6 countries – France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and Luxembourg – formed the European Coal and Steel Community. Later, in 1957, the “Common Market”, or the EEC – European Economic Community, was created with the signing of what is known as the Treaty of Rome. It came into effect on the 1st of January 1958.

During the 1960s, this very first step proved to be a very good one, as the following years were dominated by economic growth, due to the fact that the countries in the EEC removed custom duties in their trade with each-other. This development was easily noticed by other European countries, and in 1973 the first enlargement took place, as the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark join the community and the number of member grow to nine. This first enlargement was only the first one on the road of forming the EU, as in the decades to follow more and more countries joined the community – Figure 1.

¹ For more details, see www.historiasiglo20.org, accessed at: May 23, 2016.

With this came a major change in the policies of western countries, as they decide to invest large amounts of money in infrastructure, the creation of new jobs and reducing poverty, along with a stronger policy against pollution which led to the notion of “the polluter pays”. In 1975 the members of the community decided on the use of a single “monetary unit” within the community, and this led to the appearance of EUA – European Unit of Account. The EUA was in use till 1979, when it was replaced by the ECU – European Currency Unit, which became the unit of account of the European Community. Another major change is that, from 1979, people in Europe can now directly elect the member of the European Parliament.

In 1981 Greece joins the EU, followed in 1986 by Spain and Portugal. The same year, the Single European Act – the beginning of a 6 year programme with the goal to create the European Single Market – is signed. A major event takes place in 1989, when the Berlin Wall falls, and later in 1990 Germany is reunified. Today, the fall of the Berlin Wall is seen as the start point for the fall of communism in central and Eastern Europe.

During the 1990s, the European Single Market is finally coming to an end, as the members of the EU decide on the freedom of movement of people, money, goods and services. Two important treaties are to be mentioned, the “Maastricht” Treaty on European Union in 1993 and the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999.

In 1995, EU becomes even larger, as Sweden, Austria and Finland join the community. What is more important is the creation of the Schengen (free movement space), named after a small village in Luxembourg. Free movement of goods, services, people and money led to an increase in people mobility for work and education and provided the basis for the development of new technologies, with an increase of communication services and a huge increase of people using the internet and mobile phones. This was also facilitated by the fact that the EU countries took another step forward and introduced, since 1999, the EURO, the single currency for the EU. The Eurozone consists of 19 of the 28 member states of the European Union: Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Spain². It is estimated that the currency used, on daily basis, by 337 million people, and that only within the borders of EU³. The rest of the 9 EU members are working and trying to meet the requirements to enter the Eurozone and adopt the EURO as their official currency.

On the other hand, several countries outside the EU, Andorra, Kosovo, Montenegro, Monaco, San Marino, and the Vatican City, are using EURO as their currencies⁴.

² Matt Rosenberg, *Euro Countries: 22 Countries use the Euro as their Official Currency*, in “About Education”, December 2014, available at <http://geography.about.com/od/lists/a/euro.htm>.

³ *The euro*, 2 November 2015, available at www.europa.eu.

⁴ Matt Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, available at <http://geography.about.com/od/lists/a/euro.htm>

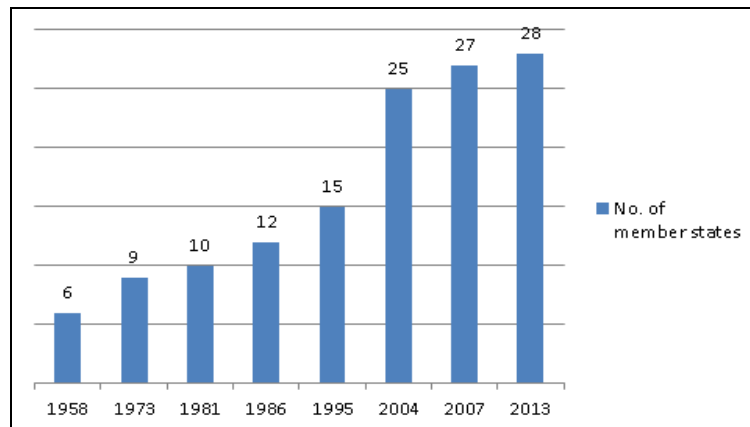


Figure 1. Evolution of the number of EU member countries from 1958 to present.

Source: Author's own compilation

After the year 2000, the EU faces a number of important changes. In 2001, a terrorist attack on the US will forever change the relations between countries, as the “war on terror” is launched. Political changes are seen everywhere, and in Europe this translates into a huge enlargement, with 10 countries joining the union in 2004 and another two – Romania and Bulgaria – in 2007. Also in 2007, the Treaty of Lisbon is signed by all EU countries (it will take effect in 2009), and it makes possible for EU to have modern institutions and more efficient working methods.

A year later, a major economic crisis will tremble the global economy (September 2008), and important consequences are still seen today. The EU was forced even to help some member countries to deal with their economic difficulties, thus leading to the creation of the “Banking Union”, in order to ensure safer and more reliable banks.

The last enlargement takes place in 2013, when Croatia becomes the 28th member of the EU.

3. POPULATION EVOLUTION IN EUROPE

On the 1st of January 2015 the population of the EU-28 was estimated at 508.2 million, 1.3 million more people than the population in 2014.

Since the 1960s, there was a continuous increase of the population of the countries that currently form the EU-28, from around 400 million in 1960s to the current 508 million people, which is an increase of around 25% over the last 50 years (Figure 2). This increase can be directly linked to the economic development in the EU⁵.

⁵ See EUROSTAT, available at <http://ec.europa.eu>.

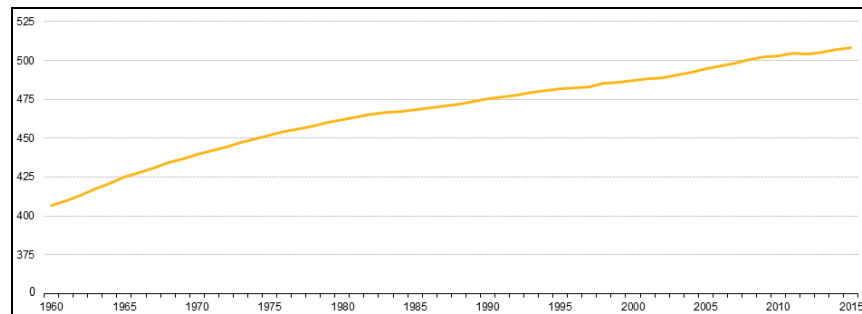


Figure 2. Population, EU – 28, 1960-2015 (at 1st of January 2015, million persons)

Source: Eurostat

At the very beginning, in the 1960s, the increase was more than 3 million people/year. It was a period of fast economic growth, important technological changes, medical discoveries, all leading to a feeling of security and accomplishment, and in the end to the need of having a family and children.

But if we analyze the data in the more recent years, 1994-2014, it can be seen that the actual increase in population is of about 1.3 million/year. Even if the technological development is at its highest, education, work, medical conditions improving on daily basis, we can still see that the economic crisis, the feeling of uncertainty, a massive cut in jobs all over Europe, all these created an unsecure environment for the family and thus the growth rate decreased. The number of live births fell, while the number of deaths increased.

The gap between live births and deaths in the EU-28 narrowed considerably from 1960 onwards. Since the number of deaths is expected to increase as the baby-boom generation continues to age, and assuming that the fertility rate remains at a relatively low level, negative natural change (more deaths than births) cannot be excluded in the future. In this case, the extent of population decline or growth will depend largely on the contribution made by migration, as is already the case in several EU Member States⁶.

The decrease in population growth has a major impact on the population structure of Europe. Until the late 19th century, Europe had around 50% population aged below 20, while those over age 60 only constituted a small minority. But, in the last decades, low fertility and increasing life expectancy both reversed the age structure, leading to a shrinking number of younger people, to an aging and eventually shrinking work force, and to an increasing number and share of older people, leading to what is known “demographic aging”. As a result the mean age of Western and Central Europe’s population has risen from 31 years in 1950 to 38 years in 2005⁷ (Figure 3).

⁶ *Ibidem.*

⁷ *Ibidem.*

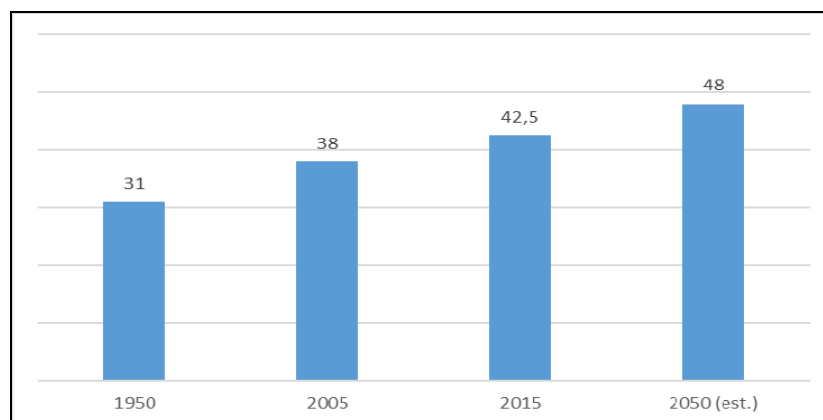


Figure 3. Evolution of mean age in Europe 1950-2050 (est.)

Source: Author's own compilation

Even more, for the period 2005-2050 (Figure 3), the mean age of the European Union's population (EU28) is projected to rise by 10 another years: from 38 to 48 years⁸. According to some sources⁹, the mean age in the EU has already reached 42.5 years in 2015, which indicates an even faster growth rate than it was initially estimated.

4. GENERAL ASPECTS ABOUT THE LABOR MARKET IN EUROPE

For a lot of year, specialized literature focused on the labor factor, its evolution and possible previsions. But it must be admitted that labor is the most important element that brings added-value, thus having a major influence as a determinant factor. It is already a certainty that the offer and request ratio for "labor", as well as for its structure, is strongly influenced by labor quality and the results it provides.bv

At the same time, every factor is, at its turn, influenced by other factors, and this leads to a vicious cycle on the labor market, national or international level. We can mention here the GDP evolution in three major sectors – production, services and agriculture, money movement, crediting, productivity variation and ups and downs in specific area of the national and international economy. One external factor – still also as important as the others – is the demographic factor, increases or decreases of population of each country seen individually or as part of the EU

⁸ Rainer Münz, *Europe: Population Change and its Consequences – An Overview*, available at <http://www.berlin-institut.org>, p. 5.

⁹ *The World Factbook*, available at www.cia.gov.

and, even more, of the global economy.

Considering the EU, the population was divided in two major categories:

- active population – here are included all persons that already have a job, but also those who are looking for a job, as they are fit for work but unfortunately unemployed at the moment. The last category is actually the “offer” of labor, available at a certain moment on the market.
- inactive population – here are included all the other persons, children, retired, or with some kind of medical condition etc.

Following the analysis of the demographic data, three indicators were identified, on active population group, as follows:

- persons between 15 and 19 years of age – this category was identified as a need to outline the future professional development, with the particular elements they bring to the labor market, and from here the need to somehow predict the future structural changes on the labor market.
- persons between 19 and 64 years of age – persons that actually have a job or already are involved in an economic activity
- persons above the age of 64 – in this case, most of them are part of the “inactive population”, as retired people, but there are still some/many cases in which they continue to have a job or be involved in an economic activity, thus influencing the labor market structure.

EU employment rate on labor ranged in recent years between the limits of 64% and 66%. In 2008, when the financial crisis hit, it was at 65.7%. 2010 was its lowest, at 64.1%, then until 2013 it was around 64.2% and started to increase in 2014 at 64.9%¹⁰ (Figure 4).

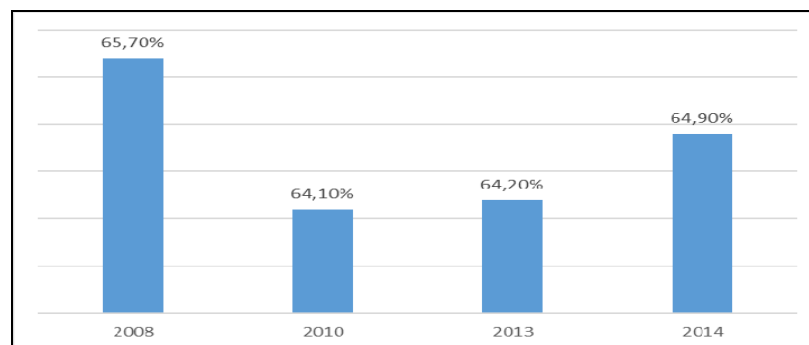


Figure 4. EU employment rate 2008-2014

Source: Author's own compilation

The highest employment rates in EU were in Sweden, Austria, Denmark, Germany and United Kingdom, around 71–74%, with a maximum of 74.9% in

¹⁰ See EUROSTAT, available at <http://ec.europa.eu>.

Sweden. Unfortunately, many countries in EU had to face major economic problems, huge unemployment, which in the end lead to a lower employment rate, under 60%, with the lowest in Greece, where it was situated at 49%¹¹.

It is important to underline one major aspect of the employment rate, respectively “the analysis of the employment rate of men and women. Although the 21st century lead to an improvement of women presence on different levels in different areas of the economy, women employment rate still is at a low level”¹². Important differences can be seen, as the employment rate for men is around 70%, while for women it is only 59%¹³. A positive aspect is that there are some European countries where this rates are almost equal or the differences between them are very low.

In any situation, there are some factors that directly relate to the employment rate:

- the standard of living in the EU members, which comes from economic development, growth policies and labor legislation
- investment level and their profitability
- financial capital output
- human capital migration and, most important, know-how migration

Considering all the above, we can talk, on the EU level, about a labor market segmentation, influenced, on one hand, by the level of economic development and social labor structure, and on the other hand by the offer and demand ratio, thus leading to the concepts of primary market and secondary market.

The primary market refers to the area where can be found important companies and organizations, with a high productive component, with an optimum salary package. The secondary market, which represent over 56%¹⁴ of the market, is the one for small and medium enterprises, characterized by instability, low salaries and somehow unsecure jobs. All these in an economic environment where labor market is driven by supply and demand, competition, product and service profitability, all influenced by the “labor” factor provided by the most uncertain resource, the human resource.

It can be called “uncertain” because, at the beginning of the 21 century, some important changes can be identified in the mentality of employees. They can easily see that the economy, even more after the 2008 financial crisis, is today divided in different sectors of activity, totally different from one-another:

- areas with almost zero unemployment, due to huge investments from multinational companies – for example, the IT field in some countries, such as Romania, Bulgaria, Poland etc.
- areas with high unemployment, such as the construction field, which is a major problem in many European countries.

¹¹ *Ibidem.*

¹² *Ibidem.*

¹³ *Ibidem.*

¹⁴ *Ibidem.*

From this came a change in the way people are looking for a job. In the last years, it became obvious that a “desk-job” is no longer the primary target. There is an increased need for a flexible job that provides financial independence together with low – ideally no – constraints regarding time and place. With other words, the trend is that people are not necessarily looking for a job based on their will to do something that they enjoy, but on the basis of “best-paid job”.

Unfortunately, this situation also comes with some negative aspects, such as:

- low productivity, as the employee is not at his/her maximum capacity
- low expectations from the employee, with no desire towards learning and increasing personal capacities
- medium term problems for the employer that faces the possibility of low economical results and eventually a weaker company.

Still, compared to other markets, positive aspects can be identified, as labor market is much more regulated and organized, easier to follow and predict, lower uncertainty, while negotiations between employees and employers can provide the latter with a certain degree of comfort about professional, social and personal expectations.

Given the fact that the actions of the holders of workforce can have a major impact on the market and in the society, there must be a market supervisor, moderator, in order to ensure balance on the market. It is the state that has to assume this role, as a properly regulated framework can provide a long-term healthy labor market, ruled by the supply and request chain.

Unfortunately, in the EU, the market is today characterized by instability, as there is a greater supply of labor and unemployment has reached a high level. Still, the state of imbalance not only appeared because the EU policies are not necessarily oriented towards balancing the rates, but also because profitability policies in production, services, trade, agriculture and not oriented towards added-value. In order for the labor market to be balanced, it is absolutely necessary that emerging markets (goods, services, financial) are also balanced, with high demand, so that all employers to be able to sustain jobs and rewarding salaries.

5. CONCLUSION

Like any other market, the labor market also had to deal with growth and restraints, up to the level where important changes appeared in the structure of labor and in the supply and demand.

At first, at the beginning of EU, labor market was oriented towards the production segment, and the educational system provided a more technical curricula. Today, we witness a major market reorganization, as services are more and more important in the economic environment, and the segment of goods and products is shrinking. These changes lead to changes in labor structure and also in

the educational curricula. Many technical courses were removed, while new fields of study become more and more important, such as service marketing, service negotiation, or elements regarding new technologies – internet, mobile, cloud-computing etc. Learning methods need to adapt to face realities, and this leads to the need for new and improved policies regarding labor market and education.

Thus, it is necessary for the EU policies to be related to the realities of the labor market, with the new supply and demand ratio and structure and with the economic forecast. As stated before, only if all emerging markets are in – as close as possible to – equilibrium, the political targets of economic growth can be achieved, and with this, also the people's expectations of financial, social and personal growth.

GENERAL DATA REGARDING THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH-WEST OLTENIA REGION

Laurențiu RADU*

Abstract: This study will analyze the potential development and problems facing South-West Oltenia. There is conclusive evidence that the imbalances at the level of counties and regions create a huge gap which can slow down the pace of economic growth. Opportunities for businesses highlight the importance of SMEs in generating jobs. Another aspect is the research and development sector where investments are needed for developing and fostering entrepreneurial mindsets. Further on, this study reflects the importance of tourism, which, aligned to national objectives, helps the region's sustainable economic development.

Keywords: economic potential, economic development, development region, small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), tourism.

Due to favorable relief, Oltenia became known as one of the main agricultural regions of Romania prior to the communist period. After 1944, villages were subjected to forced collectivization, followed by a period in which the region underwent an intense process of industrialization and urbanization, according to socialist economic development strategic plans, which led to major changes to traditional forms of social organization. After the fall of communism, the fledgling democracy brought a series of changes to the region's economy. The change was gradual, with major consequences for a population too little informed. Thus, privatization and restructuring determined especially young people to migrate in search of new jobs. Increasing job opportunities does not necessarily guarantee an improvement of living standards because some forms of development are related to seasonal services or very low wage jobs. Economic prosperity, health and social welfare are key factors in assessing the level of socio-economic development. This assessment can help avoid regional inequities, and to encourage positive effects associated with the development of a community.

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1. THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH-WEST OLTENIA

Oltenia region is in the South-East of Romania, between the Carpathians to the North-West, the Danube River to the South and East Olt River is the landmark that marks the border with Muntenia. Oltenia region consists of 5 counties Dolj, Olt, Valcea, Gorj and Mehedinți.

In the interbellic period, the region included Romanați county, with the town of Caracal as capital. Later on, Romanați was included in Olt county, belonging to Muntenia region. After the administrative-territorial reform of 1950, Olt will become part of the Oltenia region.

With an area of approximately 29,212 km² and 2,212,539 inhabitants on the 1st of July 2015, representing 10.42% of Romania's total population, the region consists of 11 cities, 29 towns, 408 communes and 2070 villages¹.

Table no. 1

Territorial organization and the number of inhabitants on December 31st 2015

Counties	Area (km ²)	Towns	Cities	Communes	Villages	Population in 2015
Dolj	7.414	4	3	104	378	701.461
Olt	5.498	6	2	104	377	452.095
Vâlcea	5.764,77	9	2	78	560	403.958
Gorj	5.602	7	2	61	411	367.262
Mehedinți	4.933	3	2	61	344	287.763

Source: Regional Statistics Directions

In order to determine the economic potential of the region a realistic assessment of all available resources and the factors promoting the development of both urban and rural areas is required. Supporting economic and social development of rural areas is a goal of the European Union, in terms of medium to long term development policies. It is necessary to pay special attention to rural areas not only because they represent 80% of the country but also because there are also the most resources. In general, the rural regions are characterized by small and medium sized settlements, with a small number inhabitants who work in agriculture, forestry, livestock and fisheries. Infrastructure and local services in rural areas are key factors in increasing the attractiveness and sustainability of these areas.

There are a number of established criteria used to assess the potential of each area²:

¹ Dolj County Department of Statistics, Monthly Statistical Bulletin of the development region of South-West Oltenia, operational data, November 2015, p. 21.

- *endogenous potential* consists of: the number of inhabitants, agricultural and forest area, number of animals and cultural heritage;
- *Economic activities* determined by: number of businesses, number of employees, number of tourist facilities and the degree of occupation;
- *Natural facilities*: relief, climate, soil fertility, rivers;
- *Services* analyzed by level of accommodation and supply in recreational areas, the percentage of homes connected to water, gas and sewage, means of transportation, existence of medical care.

The human capital is the most important factor in the development of a region, but also a beneficiary of the development results. Age groups can be used to determine which population category directly supports economic development. Also, the level of education reflects both the capability to find a job more easily and maintain a competitiveness potential, in terms of socio-economic development. In the last two decades, the rural population has experienced a demographic imbalance, caused by the aging of the population combined with declining birth rates due to the natural phenomena of displacement and migration, but also due to the transformation of villages into towns. After the 90s, the lack of employment prospects lead some city residents to return to the rural areas. Taking advantage of the land law in 1991, many became owners of land plots. Rural areas were characterized by an increase in the number of people who practiced agriculture as a means of sustenance, due to the loss of jobs generated by the economic downturn in Romania during 1990-1992 and 1996-1999, but they can not be classified as farmers or as small entrepreneurs³.

It is important to note that the agricultural area of South-West Oltenia represents 12% of Romania's farming land, and in 2011, of the total population employed in the economy, about 40% worked in agriculture⁴, meaning that a large part of the active population was in the rural areas.

In 1991 it the lowest unemployment rate at national level was recorded, according to Money magazine, who compares unemployment rates in all counties and development regions of the country.

South-West Oltenia in 1991 had about 40,700 unemployed: Gorj, with 1.2% had the lowest unemployment rate compared to other counties where that was between 3.4% and 4.5% (Dolj)⁵. The statistics from September 2015 mention a number of 69,200 unemployed persons, of which 40 325 men and 28 875 women,

² Studiu privind stabilirea potențialului socio-economic al zonelor rurale, The Academy of Economic Studies, Bucharest, p. 12, available at <http://www.madr.ro/docs/dezvoltare-rurala/programare>

³ Flavius Mihalache, Alin Croitoru, *Mediul rural românesc: evoluții și involuții. Schimbare socială și antreprenoriat*, Bucharest, Expert Publishing, 2011, p.52.

⁴ Planul de Dezvoltare Regională Sud-Vest Oltenia 2014-2020, p. 453, available at <http://www.adroltenia.ro/planul-de-dezvoltare-regionala-2014-2020/>

⁵ Anul în care România a avut cei mai puțini șomeri după Revoluție, in newapaper „Money.ro”, available at <http://www.money.ro/anul-in-care-romania-a-avut-cei-mai-putini-someri-dupa-revolutie/>

the largest share of the unemployed being held by Dolj County (35.6%), followed by Olt (19.3%), Mehedinți (16.2%), Gorj (15.6%) and Valcea (13.3%).⁶

The increase of the urban socio-economic potential requires continuous investments in human capital and development projects, and in the support of vital economic areas. Economic development means the ability of human activity to generate and maintain the growth of the gross domestic product. GDP is the standard measure which reflects improving living conditions. After a decline in living standards in the '90s, since 2001, the results are becoming visible economic reforms and GDP growths each year. Compared to the EU average, South-West Oltenia region with a GDP per capita below 75% fall into the category of less developed regions,⁷ existing data show that it contributes the least to the GDP national. Analysing CPC regional, state that within ten years has achieved an increase of approximately 520.76% and a trend upward, as shown in the following table. At the district level, in the period 2000-2013, the smallest share registers Mehedinți county, while Dolj, most to the formation of regional GDP is maintained in the leading position.

Table no. 2

Gross domestic product in counties in the South-West Oltenia Million leis, current prices

	2000	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
South West Oltenia Region	7182,60	42368,6	44583,5	46275,2	48013,1	50837,4	53981,5
Dolj	2059,7	13609,3	14307,3	14850,1	15636,4	17581,6	18668,9
Olt	1403,4	7166,4	7262,0	7773,1	8064,0	8910,8	9493,6
Vâlcea	1391,7	7510,6	8292,5	8538,9	8812,8	9008,1	9554,6
Gorj	1533,2	9758,2	10242,1	10491,9	10846,3	10439,8	11116,6
Mehedinți	794,6	4324,1	4479,6	4621,2	4653,6	4897,2	5147,8

Table made from data from the Statistical Yearbook, estimates based on statistical data, National Accounts, 2014; National Prognosis Commission, the main economic and social projection in territorial until 2018, p. 6.

In the process of European integration, the role of regions is important for achieving a sustainable development. Romania is divided into eight regions, considered secondary echelon of the state, the more developed the Bucharest-Ilfov region, as illustrated below, while the South-West Oltenia is the opposite.

⁶ Statistics Institute, Dolj County Department of Statistics, Monthly Statistical Bulletin of the development region of South-West Oltenia, November 2015, p. 25.

⁷ Regional Statistics Department of Olt County, Information on the place of Olt county in the South-West Oltenia Region, based on territorial indicators, avialabel at <http://www.prefecturaolt.ro/comunicate/2014/comisii/collegiu/12drs.pdf>

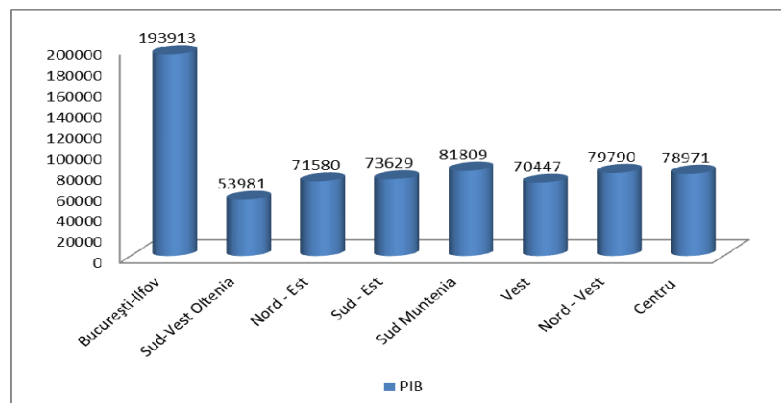


Fig. 1. Value of GDP in 2015 per region

Million leis, current prices

Source: *National Commission for Prognosis, The evolution of the main economic – social indicators*, pp. 6-7.

The problems facing regions are those related to infrastructure, growth and dominance to the detriment of rural towns, but also migration, which led to the emergence of sparsely populated areas and economic gaps.

2. DYNAMICS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH-WEST OLTENIA BY ACTIVITY SECTORS

As with any highly developed economy, the service sector is the largest, followed by the industrial sector, while agriculture, forestry and fisheries represent a lower percentage. Although in the past the region's economy was based on two important sectors, agriculture (Dolj and Olt) and industry based on the exploitation of existing natural resources (Valcea, Gorj and Mehedinți), this potential has not been appreciated enough by policymakers when developing the reforms towards a new market economy, which makes them responsible of the situation of the region⁸. The profile of the region can be characterized by contributions from different sectors to create PIB. Nowadays, the economic structure of South-West Oltenia is based upon these industries:

- **Trade and services** is the sector with the largest share, where during 2000-2010 was an increase of 670.15% with an upward trend in the coming years, up to an annual average of 8%.

⁸ Regional Statistics Department of Olt County, South-West Oltenia Region Information to the Olt Prefecture p. 13.

- **Industrial sector** had a relatively good growth, evolution in the 2000-2010 period being 401.62%
- The **construction sector** developed positively, albeit with a drop during the financial crisis of 2010, then returning to the growth rates recorded in previous years.
- **Agriculture, forestry and fisheries** have fluctuated, influenced by climatic and meteorological conditions.

Table no. 3

The gross domestic product by resource category

	Million, current prices				
	2000	2009	2010	2011	2012
<i>Trade and services</i>	2754,5	17322,7	21210,7	22881,6	24760,9
<i>Industry</i>	2469,8	10334,3	12385,3	13300,8	14539,2
<i>Agriculture, forestry and fishing</i>	1039,5	3766,7	3503,9	3735,9	4003,4
<i>Constructions</i>	413,1	4584,6	5720,6	6339,2	7034,0

Source: National Statistics Institute and the National Commission for Prognosis

Overall, the contribution of economic activities to achieve regional GDP has remained constant, but analyzing the regional dynamics by activities, we find that industry has the highest share in the development of the South-West Oltenia, and the largest imbalance we encounter in agriculture, forestry and fishing.

Table no. 4

VAB/GDP regional dynamic by economic activities in the South-West Oltenia

	2008	2009	2010
Extractive industry; manufacturing industry; production and supply of electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning; water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	25,54%	25,87%	31,97%
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	9,6%	9,43%	8,08%
Constructions	10,89%	11,47%	10,33%
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles; transport and storage; hotels and restaurants	17,57%	16,93%	11,81%
Information and communications	0,94%	1,05%	0,99%
Financial and insurance intermediations	1,14%	1,10%	0,93%
Real estate transactions	6,63%	6,62%	7,79%
Professional, scientific and technical services; activities of administrative services and support services	2,54%	2,71%	2,84%
Public administration and defense; social security insurance; education; health and social assistance	12,86%	13,43%	12,77%

Source: Data from the National Institute of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook

In order to get an economic growth, similar to developed countries, we must have an efficient and competitive economy based on innovation and knowledge. Although there is a lot of talk about the National Strategy for Research and Development and Innovation, however, this sector is severely underfunded. The most recent data from the National Statistics Institute, Section Indicators, shows that the South-West Oltenia in 2012 had only 0.09% of GDP for R & D expenses, being the smallest among the regions and decreasing compared to previous years. So in terms of sustainable development, it is necessary to find optimal solutions to harness the potential of the region and stimulate economic growth to increase competitiveness, reduce unemployment and eliminate macroeconomic imbalances.

3. THE ROLE OF SMES IN THE REGION'S DEVELOPMENT

In almost all countries, small and medium enterprises represent the highest percentage of all companies, and hence have a major influence on achieving both gross domestic product, but also reduce unemployment through job offers. SMEs are a strong competitor for large companies because they reduce their ability to control the market. Compared to large enterprises, their small size allows them to be more innovative and flexible in contact with the market, to adapt more easily to consumer demands and claims. By producing products and services at lower cost, they become a factor of balance at a micro and macro level. The important factor which helps to increase SMEs is government spending. Thus, low inflation, a stable exchange rate, access to credit for investment, training and education offers the certainty of a low-risk business environment. One of the great problems of the South-West Oltenia, is the lack of a highway, which is a disadvantage in attracting foreign investment.

From the data provided by the central bank⁹, at the end of 2014, the **value of foreign direct investment** in South-West Oltenia was 1,954 million euros, which represents a share of 3.3% of all regions. In this chapter, the Bucharest-Ilfov region is the most attractive with 35,665 million euros and a share of 59.2%. Values remain almost constant over the last five years, even though Romania has been hit by the financial crisis. Currently, complex heightened energy Oltenia, a company that belongs to the state, is the largest in our region and Alro Slatina, with a turnover of 2 billion lei in 2013, is the largest private company, as shown in the BNR report cited the online publication profit.ro¹⁰. Among the largest employers of Oltenia we mention: Romanian Post (32.124 employees), the CFR SA – National

⁹ National Bank of Romania, Foreign direct investments in Romania, available at <http://www.bnr.ro/PublicationDocuments.aspx?icid=9403>

¹⁰ „Oltenii nu știu să facă afaceri profitabile”, available at <http://www.profit.ro/stiri/economie>.

Railway. (23,839 employees)¹¹ and Ford Romania with nearly 2,700 workers of the 4,000 that started the production of cars at its plant in Craiova¹².

SMEs, as stipulated in Law no. 346/2004, art. 4 are classified into three categories:

- ❖ **Midsized businesses** that have fewer than 250 employees and a turnover of up to 50 million annually or holding assets of up to 43 million euro;
- ❖ **Small businesses** have between 10 and 49 employees and annual turnover or total assets may be up to 10 million euros.
- ❖ **Micro units achieved** a net annual turnover or assets have totaled up to 2 million euros and a maximum of 9 employees.

From the information of the National Statistics Institute in 2012 in the South-West Oltenia, there were 35,264 SMEs from 437,042 economically active throughout the country and report the National Office of Trade Edition 2013 indicate a 10% share registration of new agents businesses of all regions, with resulting low attractiveness for the area. The following year, when the economy began to recover in the entire country there was a significant increase, which results from the database Regional Statistics Department of Olt County, which mentions 36,535 SMEs active in the South-West Oltenia and a total of 309,437 employees.

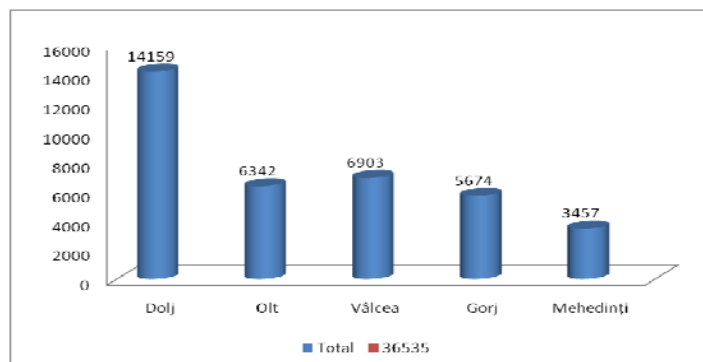


Fig. 2. The distribution number of IMMs in the South West Oltenia region in 2013

Source: Graph realized based on the estimated data presented by the County Directions of Statistics

The most attractive area is Dolj county with 14,159 units, followed by Valcea, Olt, Gorj, Mehedinți. Sectors most preferred by operators are trade, which

¹¹ Planul de dezvoltare regională Sud-Vest Oltenia 2014, p. 283, available at <http://www.adroltenia.ro/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/PDR-SV-Oltenia-2014-2020-1.pdf>

¹² Bogdan Alecu, *Ford România reduce numărul angajaților disponibilizați de la uzina din Craiova*, in „Ziarul Financiar”, available at <http://www.zf.ro/zf-news/ford-romania-reduce-numarul-angajatilor-disponibilizati-de-la-uzina-de-la-craiova-13942153>

recorded the highest turnover and agriculture to the detriment of industry where there is a decrease. The services sector provides most jobs. Although the scale of micro-enterprises had a lower turnover than the two upper classes, yet they have managed to achieve a high level of profit, ie 41.4% of total SMEs. There was a profit drop of 10% to small and medium enterprises due to the impact of the financial crisis two years ago.

Bucharest-Ilfov region has the most employees (23%) compared with other national weights that are between the lowest value of 6.7% and 13.9% in the Oltenia region in the North-Vestocupanta second place in the hierarchy¹³. Although regions in terms of generating jobs SMEs are considered an average percentage compared to the European Union, though they showed their efficiency by 54% contribution to gross value added of Romania, while the average member states was 60%. One of the factors underlying regional disparities is labor migration. Inefficiency and indifference of policymakers to support young graduates of secondary and higher education intensified the phenomenon of migration in search of work both in other parts of the country, but especially abroad which created an imbalance nationally, raising the share of elderly age. Moreover, if during the communist period witnessing a phenomenon forced migration from the rural to urban, from a firm yet balanced Financials, where we could talk about the middle class, rushing interest of big privatizations, especially of many enterprises profitable and even strategic importance for the state, reversed migration once in reverse fast due to large layoffs and retirements.

4. THE MAIN BUSINESS SUPPORT STRUCTURES

Support in solving the problems facing the business comes from the European Commission considers it necessary to introduce new legislative initiatives in the area of taxation, but also to develop concrete measures to boost investment in order to achieve EU objectives, in sustainable development and reducing șomajului. Planul,, Entrepreneurship action 2020', approved in January 2013, boosting support entrepreneurs by facilitating access to finance because they may be artisans prosperity through their innovative skills and capabilities to create companies and jobs work. EU funding of SMEs and increasing competition encourages innovative ideas.

Research, development and innovation by highlighting the results can create jobs and prosperity, and to achieve those objectives need to be included in these projects people qualified and dedicated study. Although it is European funding, our country invests less in research even in economic growth. Even if there are training programs and disciplines in education system to develop entrepreneurial skills,

¹³ Raportul Fundației Post-Privatizare privind sectorul IMM din România, 2013, pp. 65-80.

however many of these skills should not remain at the stage of theory, research and development requires investment. Since the last report of the Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development (HRD) gives several projects, last completed in December 2011 included 620 approved projects, 94 556 employees, 12 640 people in leading positions in companies, 2,402 managers, 10,856 entrepreneurs and 36,990 potential initiators of a business¹⁴.

South-West Oltenia no shortage of R & D units, while they work and private firms such as Popeci Craiova, Craiova Softronic or Artego SA Targu Jiu. We list some of the most popular state-run units such as:

- ✓ *Dolj County*: National Institute of Research Development and Tests for Electrical Engineering (ICMET) Craiova, Research Station – Craiova Fruit Growing Development, Agricultural Research Station Șimnic Center for Research and Development on crop sands Dăbuleni;
- ✓ *Vâlcea County*: National Institute for Cryogenic and Isotopic Technologies, The Research and Development winemaking Drăgășani;
- ✓ *Gorj County*: Fruit-growing Research Station Tg. Jiu Fruit Growing Research Station Strejesti;
- ✓ *Olt County*: Agricultural Research and Development Station Teleorman;
- ✓ *Gorj County*: Horticulture Research and Development Station Targu-Jiu.

So far, reports of the Member States of the EU, show that around 25% of the Structural Funds, representing 86 billion euros have been invested in research and innovation. Romania is in last place ranking with a share of 0.38% of GDP, being surpassed by Greece, Bulgaria and Poland¹⁵. Although there are European funds for this activity, many SMEs use their own resources to finance investment in research and development.

5. DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN THE SOUTH-WEST OLTENIA IN LINE WITH NATIONAL OBJECTIVES

Over time, tourism has become the economic sector with the fastest growing, one of the main sources of income countries developing, but also becomes a source of pollution and damage to the environment when not properly managed . Tourism generates jobs and opportunities comerciale.Potențialul tourism can be analyzed

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 110.

¹⁵ Eurostat, Social Media, Statistical data of the National Statistics Institute, available at <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostatm>

based on the attractiveness of the area and quantify the benefit is determined by numărulvizitatorilor. În South-West Oltenia practice health tourism, sports tourism and hunting, agriculture and ecotourism , mountaineering offering an array of amenities such as hiking, camping, paragliding and alpine skiing.

Besides ecotourism, health tourism, National Tourism Agency is envisaged that the main objective spiritual and material heritage of the past by developing European cultural routes in Romania. Our country is among the first countries to have developed an ecotourism European standards and meets the South West in terms of services and destinations.

Oltenia offers many opportunities to attract tourists because it is a region of cosmic outstanding and rich natural heritage consisting of spectacular scenery, national parks and regional (eg National Park Cozia, Făgăraș Mountains and Parâng), nature reserves (eg Reserve the wild peonies from Plenița), biosphere reserves (eg the Danube Delta, Retezat) and protected areas (eg Iron Gates Natural Park, cave Polovragi, Muierii). Cultural heritage is made up of prestigious institutions and traditions that have survived that houses memorials, ancient remains. Săcelu resorts, Băile Govora, Băile Olănești, Călimănești-Căciulata or Voineasa considered pearls region are known and visited not only by tourists but Romanian and foreign. In terms of monasteries and places of worship, Oltenia is in second place after the religious heritage of Moldova. South-West Oltenia has a capacity corresponding tourism has evolved constantly.

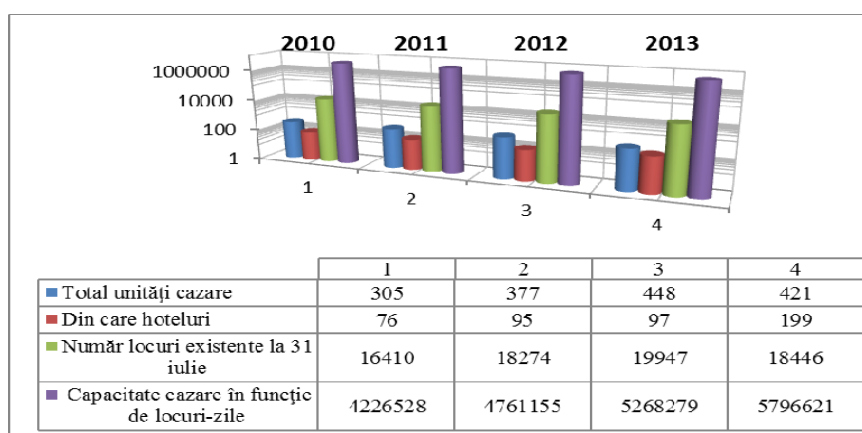


Fig. 3. Offer of tourist accommodation in 2010-2013.

Source: Graph realised from the data obtained from the National Institute of Statistics, Tempo-Online and publication „Turismul României”, Breviar statistic, 2014, p. 63.

On 31 July 2013, Oltenia had a structure composed of 421 tourist reception units, down from the previous year, but 38.03% more than in 2010. The structure

of reception generally consists of hotels, guesthouses tourism and agrotourism, villas, cottages, camping, camps for schoolchildren, etc. Although the number of accommodations are a growing compared with other parts of the country, Oltenia remains last in the standings regions. After the number of arrivals in accommodation establishments share with most tourists owns 53% Valcea, Olt but unless that is the last position, other counties varies between 13% and 15%. The number of tourists arriving in accommodation may be a relevant factor in the evolution development of the region. Foreign tourists have a special contribution to economic development, as compared to domestic ones who often are in transition, they have a longer stay. Compared with Valcea County attractive by health tourism, in terms of the percentage of foreign tourists arrive rule holds Dolj county, with its tourism business. Tourism requires investment to attract current and potential visitors, quality of services and infrastructure are key factors in maintaining a continuous flow of tourists.

South-West Oltenia has a sufficiently high potential, both human and natural to become a prosperous region. The region is experiencing a demographic decline caused by the migration of population and high unemployment in the urban areas. The need for a highway, practicing quality tourism, support and financing of entrepreneurship, encouraging the private business environment by offering tax facilities may be important factors that generate stability and a sustainable economic growth.

THESES AND ANTITHESES IN LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

NAMES OF PLACES WITH ADJECTIVAL DETERMINERS IN THE TOPONYMY FROM MUNTENIA*

Iustina BURCI**

Abstract: In the present article we intend to analyse the adjectives encompassed in the analytical microtoponyms from Muntenia. They are “requested” by both the qualities and the “faults” of a place/geographical object, but they also represent a neuter means of identification, as in the situations where their use is imposed by administrative reasons.

Our research unfolds the types of adjectives that can be met, their frequency, their relation with the partner (the entopic element) or the partners (proper or common nouns, adverbs etc.) of the denominative group, the lexical-grammatical form etc., and the establishment of the results obtained in the context of the similar researches from other geographic regions, can offer us a complete image of the displayed pattern.

Key words: toponymy, adjectives, entopic elements, structure, classification.

*Gramatica de bază a limbii române – The Basic Romanian Grammar*¹ considers the definition of adjectives from three perspectives: a) semantically – flexible words that show the features of entities and acts on the extension of the referents represented by the nouns, diminishing the referents into sub-classes; b) morphologically – characterized through flexion, according to the gender and number categories, inflectionally marked, and through the category of the intensity degrees; c) syntactically – defined by the necessity to be related to the nouns / to have a noun or a substitute of it as regent, with which they make the agreement, and that they modify semantically and syntactically.

* The article belongs to the research project *Toponimie în Oltenia și Muntenia*, of “C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor” Socio-Human Research Institute from Craiova; an analysis of the adjectival determiners in the toponymy from Oltenia was done in the study *Denumiri cu particularizatori adjectivali în toponimia din Oltenia*, in Silvia Pitiriciu (coord.), *Mioara Avram – In Memoriam*, Craiova, Sitech Publishing House, 2015, pp. 27-54. We consider that the research done in certain areas of the country can offer a complete image of a particular segment (in our case the adjectival one) from the denomination toponymical formula.

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¹ *Gramatica de bază a limbii române*, Romanian Academy, “Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti” Institute of Linguistics, Bucharest, Univers Enciclopedic Gold Publishing House, 2010, p. 212.

With some exceptions – the absence of the degree of intensity and the possibilities to determine a noun substitute – the adjectives keep, in toponymy, the same features as in the common language from which they migrate, becoming, through honimisation, names of independent places (*Afumata* – *smoked*, *Aleasa* – *chosen*, *Aninoasa* – (approx.) *with alder trees*, *Aninosu*, *Antoneasca* – (approx.) *of Anton*, *Bulburosu* – *whirling*, *Călugăreasca* – *of the monks*, *Frumoasa* – *beautiful*, *Găunoasa* – *hollow*, *Lutoasa* – *clayish*, *Nisipoasa* – *sandy*, *Păltinoasa* – (approx.) *with sycamore maples*, *Păcătoasa* – *sinful*, *Părăginosu* – *wrecked* etc.) or more complex constitutive parts of some more complex denominative structures (*Apa Albă* – *white water*, *Balta Luminoasă* – *bright pond*, *Cotu Adânc* – *deep bend*, *Fântâna Adâncă de la Purcărie* – *the deep well from the pig farm*, *Fântâna Moțească* – *the well of the mountaneers*, *Muchia Lungă* – *long edge*, *Râpa Mare la Griniș* – *big precipice from Griniș*, *Șoseaua Militară* – *military road*, *Valea Ra su Crânguri* – *wicked valley under the grooves* etc.).

Relying on the materials encompassed in the *Romanian Toponymical Dictionary. Muntenia*², we intend, in the present article, to analyse the micro-toponyms that have in their componence the adjectival particular elements, such are those designated by the sub-group IV³: *Appellative + adjective* (with or without article, in its literary or popular form: *a*, *al/ăl*, *ăi*, *aia*, *ale/ăle*, *cel*). Such an investigation of the information can lead to the establishing of hierarchies⁴ of the determined/determinant compatibility, followed by the relations established between the two partners of the analytical denominations, along with the knowledge of the adjective inventory (to which dialect or regional elements they belong), used in certain areas, at a specific time.

At a general look, we can notice that in DTRM, there were registered (in the six volumes that we had at our disposal, in the six enumerated structures), 119 popular geographic terms. Among these, only 101⁵ present combinations with adjectives,

² There were published, under the coordination of Prof. PhD, Nicolae Saramandu, at the Romanian Academy Publishing House from Bucharest, the following volumes from this dictionary: 1 (A-B), 2005; 2 (C-D), 2007; 3 (E-J), 2009; 4 (L-M), 2011; 5 (N-P), 2013; 6 (R-T); further quoted as DTRM.

³ In *Dicționarul toponimic al României. Oltenia* – The toponymical Romanian dictionary. Oltenia (DTRO) (coordinator Prof., PhD, Gh. Bolocan), vol. I (A-B), Craiova, Universitaria Publishing House, 1993 and next, and in DTRM, the compounded micro-toponyms were classified according to the second element, on the next levels: **I.** *Appellative + Anthroponym*, **II.** *Appellative + Toponym*, **III.** *Appellative + Appellative*, **IV.** *Appellative + Adjective*, **V.** *Appellative + Preposition + Noun*, **VI.** *Appellative + Preposition + Adverb*, subdivided, in their turn, according to the gender, the number, and the case of the proper or common nouns, if they are articulated or not, what kind of prepositions and adverbs were used.

⁴ To which there are frequently added aleatory extra-linguistic factors.

⁵ Structure IV lacks the next entopic elements: *Baraju* – *dam*, *Cabana* – *cabin*, *Capu* – *cape*, *Cărare* – *foot path*, *Coadă* – *end*, *Colțu* – *corner*, *Găvanu* – *hollow place*, *Găldău* – *puddle*, *Imașu* – *common*, *Jgheabu* – *trough*, *Nucu* – *nut tree*, *Ochiu* – *pool*, *Plantația* – *plantation*, *Platou* – *plateaux*, *Râu* – *river*, *Rigla* – *line*, *Ropina* – *pit*, *Știubeiu* – *beehive*.

and in their situation, from the point of view of the quantitative association with different determiners, they display themselves differently: there are entopic elements that selected in the process of denomination, a high number of adjectives, but also entopic elements which have scarce qualificatives.

Thus, among the 101 entopic terms, 18 are in combination with one adjective (*Casa* – house, *Căldarea* – cauldron, *Grădinile* – garden, *Grădiștea* – hillock, *Gura* – opening, *Hotaru* – boundary, *Iazu* – pond, *Izlazu* – pasture, *Japșa* – backwater, *Locuri* – places, *Oboru* – enclosure, *Odaia* – room, *Punctu* – point, *Răspântia* – crossroads, *Ruptura* – split, *Teiu* – lime tree, *Troița* – cross, *Tufele* – bushes), 16 with two adjectives (*Bariera* – barrier, *Cârciuma* – pub, *Colnicu* – hill, *Cotu* – corner, *Fundu* – bottom, *Gâlma* – hillock, *Eleșteu* – small pond, *Lotu* – lot, *Planu* – plan, *Pleașa* – flat area, *Plopîi* – poplars, *Puntea* – bridge, *Târla* – sheep fold, *Tufanii* – pubescent oaks, *Țarina* – tilled land, *Țifla* – summit), nine with three adjectives (*Calea* – way, *Canalu* – canal, *Golu* – clearing, *Livezile* – orchards, *Poarta* – gate, *Privalu* – ravine, *Rovina* – mire, *Șanțu* – ditch, *Tarlaua* – strip ground), 14 with four adjectives (*Aleșteu* – small pond, *Câmpu* – field, *Cheia* – gorge, *Dosu* – backside place, *Gropile* – pits, *Loturile* – lots, *Muntele* – mountain, *Nucii* – nut trees, *Obștea* – community, *Poteca* – path, *Șipotu* – spring, *Șuvița* – stripe, *Tufa* – bush, *Tufanu* – pubescent oak), nine with five adjectives (*Grădina* – garden, *Gruiu* – hill, *Hanu* – inn, *Hoaga* – ravine, *Locu* – place, *Ograda* – court yard, *Padina* – tableland, *Poienile* – glens, *Rusca* – small place), five with six adjectives (*Crângu* – grove, *Grindu* – bank ridge, *Livada* – orchard, *Pământu* – land, *Păru* – pear tree), two with seven adjectives (*Fagu* – beech, *Moșia* – estate), two with eight adjectives (*Lunca* – water meadow, *Moara* – mill), one with nine adjectives (*Balta* – pond), four with 11 adjectives (*Crucea* – cross, *Groapa* – pit, *Linia* – line, *Muchia* – edge), four with 13 adjectives (*Fața* – front side, *Movila* – hillock, *Plaiu* – field, *Șoseaua* – road), one with 14 adjectives (*Coasta* – coast), two with 15 adjectives (*Gârla* – streamlet, *Izvoru* – spring), two with 17 adjectives (*Măgura* – hillock, *Râpa* – precipice), one with 18 adjectives (*Malu* – river bank), three with 21 adjectives (*Fântâna* – well, *Piatra* – stone, *Podu* – bridge), two with 23 adjectives (*Dealul* – hill, *Pădurea* – forest), one with 24 adjectives (*Drumu* – road), two with 25 adjectives (*Poiana* – glen, *Puțu* – well), one with 27 adjectives (*Piscu* – peak), one with 31 adjectives (*Pârâu* – stream), one with 35 adjectives (*Lacu* – lake).

We can notice that we deal with both entopic elements whose meaning is generally known (*pond*, *hill*, *road*, *stream*, *lake*, *mill*, *peak* etc.), and with appellatives specific for some limited areas (*japșă* – backwater, *pleașă* – flat area, *prival* – brook); which is a common situation, because any geographic area, which had been at some point offered an emotional touch or guiding purpose, can become a landmark for the members of a community.

As regarding their frequency, there is an inverse ratio between the number of the popular geographic terms and that of the adjectives: while the entopic elements

decrease, the number of the adjective increases. If we position these appellatives on a graded scale, we can say that its inferior position is occupied by the less known entopic elements or those presenting importance for a smaller community (*Aleșteu* – pond, *Casa* – house, *Crucea* – cross, *Plopii* – plop trees, *Poarta* – gate, *Poteca* – path etc.); the higher we ascend towards the superior area, the more we notice the fact that there are increasing those belonging to the basic lexis of the Romanian language, which have a higher capacity of generalisation, and can constitute, altogether, local indicators for one or more villages (*Fântâna* – well, *Dealul* – hill, *Drumul* – road, *Pădurea* – forest, *Pârâul* – stream etc.). They refer to important elements from the life of the rural society, rather vital, if we consider the last two of them, the existence of the water sources represented, nevertheless, an essential condition in the constitution and the development of the human settlements, being definitely marked at the toponymic level; either it is about running waters (valleys), stagnant waters (lakes, ponds) or dug after ones (wells⁶), their meaning, inside the community, is reflected by the high and very high number of compound places, which encompass them in their structure.

By “translating” the above information into statistic data, the situation comes as following: there have been selected 85 entopic elements under 15 adjectives, and above this number – only 16. If referring to qualificatives from this date, we can observe that the 85 entopic elements are combined with 83 adjectives, while the rest of 15, with 236. The numbers speak for themselves, demonstrating that between the determined and determiner there is an “attraction” as far as the first ones are known and, on the other side, a series of factors related to particular situations contribute in the same time to the more frequent registering of some of the structures.

If the situation, on addressing the number and the distribution of the entopic elements, is this way revealed, the analysed material allowed us, on the regards of adjectives, their classification on the next levels of frequency:

a) Adjectives selected by just one entopic element:

- Without an article: *Acră* – sour (*Piatra*), *Aeriană* – airy (*Puntea*), *Afumat* – smoked (*Podu*), *Aleasă* – chosen (*Moșia*), *Altoită* – grafted (*Livada*), *Apăsat* – pressed (*Malu*), *Arată* – ploughed (*Măgura*), *Ars* – burnt (*Pârâul*), *Ascuns* – hidden (*Lacu*), *Ascunsă* – hidden (*Poiana*), *Aspră* – rough (*Poiana*), *Astupat* – plugged (*Puțu*), *Bălțat* – colourful (*Lacu*), *Bălțată* – colourful (*Pădurea*), *Bogată* – gorgeous (*Poiana*), *Brăzdată* – wrinkled (*Poiana*), *Breaz* – spotted (*Malu*), *Bulgăresc* – Bulgarian (*Dealul*), *Călugăresc* – monk (*Piscu*), *Cățătoare* – climbing

⁶ In Oltenia, *fântâna* – well is the entopic element present in the most numerous names of places compounded with adjectives (83), but also the one that enters in the structure of the most analytical denominations (8.562), as confronted to other registered geographical terms, as we showed in the article *Denumiri cu particularizatori adjectivali în toponimia din Oltenia – Denominations with adjectival particularisers in the toponymy from Oltenia* (see supra).

(Râpa), *Cheală* – *bald* (Măgura), *Chinețescă* (Moșia), *Ciocile* – *hillside* (Crucea), *Cocoșată* – *hunchbacked* (Tufa), *Combinat* – *combined* (Drumu), *Cornească* – *with cornel trees* (Pădurea), *Costească* – *on a coast* (Pădurea), *Cotit* – *winded* (Drumu), *Creață* – *twisted* (Măgura), *Cristalin* – *crystalline* (Izvoru), *Crucișat* – *crossed* (Drumu), *Curat* – *clean* (Plaiu), *Curățat* – *cleaned* (Drumu), *Dărâmată* – *pulled down* (Piatra), *Displicată* – *split* (Groapa), *Electrică* – *electric* (Moara), *Flocoasă* – *hairy* (Măgura), *Fofodată* (Măgura), *Forestier* – *of forest* (Drumu), *Forestieră* – *of forest* (Șoseaua), *Frumoase* – *beautiful* (Poienile), *Gârgăcită* – *tiny* (Piatra), *Găurită* – *pierced* (Piatra), *Găvănat* – *hollowed* (Lacu), *Gemănica* – *twin* (Gârla), *General* – *main* (Drumu), *Golașă* – *barren* (Măgura), *Golășel* – *bare* (Dealu), *Gras* – *fertile* (Lacu), *Grecească* – *Greek* (Crucea), *Gros* – *wide* (Drumu), *Împușcat* – *shot* (Fagu), *Împușcată* – *shot* (Tufa), *Înaltă* (Naltă) – *tall* (Coasta), *Îngrădit* – *enclosed* (Lacu), *Îngurită* (Piatra), *Întunecos* – *dark* (Pârâu), *Învărgată* – *stripped* (Râpa), *Ionească* (Moara), *Județeană* – *county* (Șoseaua), *Jugăurit* – *taxed* (Piscu), *Larg* – *large* (Pârâu), *Lăudat* – *praised* (Pârâu), *Lepădată* – *thrown away* (Poiana), *Liberă* – *free* (Poiana), *Lin* – *smooth* (Podu), *Luciu* – *clear* (Lacu), *Lungi* – *long* (Locuri), *Mândră* – *splendid* (Poiana), *Măruntă* – *small* (Pădurea), *Mărunți* – *small* (Nucii), *Moale* – *soft* (Podu), *Mort* – *dead* (Puțu), *Mortal* – *deadly* (Puțu), *Națională* – *national* (Șoseaua), *Ngustă* – *narrow* (Poteca), *Nebun* – *mad* (Pârâu), *Necunoscută* – *unknown* (Movila), *Negre* – *black* (Poienile), *Oprită* – *preserved* (Pădurea), *Pădure* – *woods* (Gârla), *Păpuroasă* – *with bulrush* (Balta), *Păroasă* – *hairy* (Calea), *Pietros* – *stonned* (Malu), *Pitulată* – *hidden* (Poiana), *Pleş* – *patchy* (Muntele), *Plesnitoare* – *breaking* (Poiana), *Pletos* – *shaggy* (Fagu), *Popesc* – *of the priest* (Dealu), *Pustie* – *deserted* (Groapa), *Râioasă* – *scabby* (Piatra), *Râios* – *scabby* (Lacu), *Rară* – *rare* (Pădurea), *Răsturnată* – *turned over* (Poiana), *Retezat* – *severed* (Tufanu), *Robit* – *enslaved* (Dealu), *Română* – *Romanian* (Poiana), *Românesc* – *Romanian* (Dealu), *Româno-Americană* – *Romanian-American* (Moara), *Roșii* – *red* (Tufele), *Ruginită* – *rusty* (Fântâna), *Rupt* – *broken* (Malu), *Ruptă* – *broken* (Fântâna), *Săpat* – *dug* (Privalu), *Sărac* – *poor* (Lacu), *Săracă* – *poor* (Moara), *Sârbești* – *Serbian* (Grădinile), *Sătesc* – *of the village* (Drumu), *Scăzut* – *reduced* (Golu), *Scobit* – *hollow* (Malu), *Șes* – *of the field* (Plaiu), *Șeț* – *flat* (Câmpu), *Sfânt* – *holly* (Locu), *Sfântă* – *holly* (Crucea), *Sfințit* – *hallowed* (Pârâu), *Șindrească* – *of shingle* (Movila), *Șindrilită* – *with shingle* (Crucea), *Șindruită* – *with shingle* (Moara), *Spălată* – *washed* (Muchia), *Spurcată* – *filthy* (Poiana), *Stearpă* – *barren* (Bariera), *Ștearsă* – *wiped* (Muchia), *Strâmb* –

slanting (Muntele), *Strânsă* – *pressed* (Muchia), *Surpată* – *crumbled* (Râpa), *Tăiat* – *severed* (Piscu), *Tămăduitoare* – *healing* (Fântâna), *Tătărască* – *of Tartars* (Fântâna), *Țigănească* – *of gypsies* (Linia), *Trăznită* – *hit by lightning* (Râpa), *Trăznit* – *hit by lightning* (Puțu), *Turcească* – *Turkish* (Movila), *Turcesc* – *Turkish* (Fagu), *Turtită* – *flattened* (Măgura), *Unsă* – *smeared* (Fața), *Uscat* – *dry* (Tufanu), *Uscați* – *dry* (Nucii), *Vărgată* – *stripped* (Râpa), *Vânăt* – *bluish* (Malu), *Vânăță* – *bluish* (Piatra), *Vânturată* – *scattered* (Piatra), *Văruit* – *painted* (Puțu), *Văsesc* (Dealu), *Vijelioasă* – *windy* (Râpa), *Vlăsesc* (Dealu);

- With an article: *a Deasă* – *the thick* (Pădurea), *aia Mare* – *the big* (Gârla), *al Mare* (Planu), *al Mari* (Grindu), *ale Mari* (Poienile), *ăi Bătrâni* – *the old* (Tufanii), *ăi Mari* (Nucii), *ăi Rari* – *the scarce* (Tufanii), *ăi Scriși* – *the written* (Plopilor), *ăl Adânc* – *the deep* (Pârâu), *ăl Alb* – *the white* (Pământu), *ăl Bun* – *the good* (Piscu), *ăl Galben* – *the yellow* (Pământu), *ăl Gras* – *the fertile* (Lacu), *ăl Înalt* – *the tall* (Malu), *ăl Negru* – *the black* (Lacu), *ăl Strâmb* – *the wry* (Puțu), *ăl Strâmt* – *the narrow* (Drumu), *ăl Vechi* – *the old* (Puțu), *ăl Verde* – *the green* (Podu), *ăle Mari* – *the big* (Gropile), *ăle Mici* – *the shallow* (Gropile), *cel Frumos* – *the handsome* (Piscu), *cel Mic* – *the small* (Lacu);

b) Adjectives selected by two entopic elements:

- Without an article: *Adânc* – *deep* (Lacu, Pârâu), *Albastră* – *blue* (Crucea, Râpa), *Bălan* – *white* (Muntele, Pârâu), *Bună* – *good* (Fața, Fântâna), *Caldă* – *warm* (Fântâna, Gârla), *Comunal* – *commune* (Izvoru, Șanțu), *Deasă* – *thick* (Coasta, Pădurea), *Domnească* – *of the ruler* (Livada, Pădurea), *Dreaptă* – *straight* (Linia, Pădurea), *Găunoasă* – *hollow* (Măgura, Piatra), *Gol* – *empty* (Lacu, Piscu), *Înfundată* – *isolated* (Lunca, Râpa), *Lat* – *wide* (Piscu, Podu), *Limpede* – *clear* (Izvoru, Lacu), *Mănăstirească* – *of the monastery* (Pădurea, Moșia), *Mândru* – *splendid* (Piscu, Podu), *Netedă* – *neat* (Coasta, Fața), *Noi* – *new* (Livezile, Loturile), *Părăsît* – *deserted* (Drumu, Puțu), *Părăsîtă* – *deserted* (Fântâna, Poiana), *Principal* – *main* (Canalu, Drumu), *Principală* – *main* (Linia, Șoseaua), *Puturos* – *stinky* (Lacu, Pârâu), *Românească* – *Romanian* (Gârla, Linia), *Rotund* – *round* (Fagu, Lacu), *Rusească* – *Russian* (Șoseaua, Tarlaia), *Săpată* – *dug* (Măgura, Movila), *Sârbească* – *Serbian* (Fântâna, Linia), *Scrișă* – *written* (Piatra, Râpa), *Scurtă* – *short* (Groapa, Șuvița), *Șerpătească* – *winding* (Drumu, Padina), *Spart* – *broken* (Dealu, Malu), *Spartă* – *broken* (Moara, Piatra), *Strâmtă* – *narrow* (Cheia, Groapa), *Subțire* – *thin* (Drumu, Piscu), *Surpat* – *crumbled* (Malu, Pârâu), *Tăiată* – *cut* (Măgura, Pădurea), *Tare* – *strong* (Coasta, Pădurea), *Tătărăsc* – *of the Tartars* (Drumu, Puțu), *Țigănesc* – *of the gypsies* (Dealu, Lacu),

Trăznit – *hit by lightning* (Puțu, Tufanu), **Turbure** – *turbid* (Izvoru, Pârâu);

- With an article: **a Mare** – *the big* (Coasta, Fața), **ăl Bătrân** – *the old* (Făgu, Plaiu), **ăl Des** – *the thick* (Crângu, Piscu), **ăl Nalt** – *the tall* (Piscu, Puțu), **ăl Rece** – *the cold* (Izvoru, Șipotu), **ăl Scurt** – *the short* (Pârâu, Piscu);

c) Adjectives selected by three entopic elements:

- Without an article: **Adâncă** – *deep* (Gârla, Groapa, Poiana), **Bătrân** – *old* (Dealul, Pârâu, Puțu), **Călugărească** – *of the monks* (Fântâna, Moșia, Pădurea), **Comunală** – *commune* (Gârla, Pădurea, Șoseaua), **Dulce** – *sweet* (Gârla, Izvoru, Lacu), **Frumos** – *beautiful* (Dealul, Pârâu, Piscu), **Galbenă** – *yellow* (Piatra, Poiana, Râpa), **Înalt** – *tall* (Malu, Podu, Puțu), **Înfundat** – *isolated* (Grindu, Lacu, Pârâu), **Largă** – *large* (Cheia, Hoaga, Linia), **Lată** – *wide* (Japșa, Movila, Piatra), **Naltă** – *tall* (Calea, Coasta, Râpa), **Neagră** – *black* (Balta, Hoaga, Pădurea), **Puturoasă** – *stinky* (Fântâna, Lunca, Muchia), **Sărată** – *salty* (Balta, Fântâna, Lunca), **Scurt** – *short* (Pârâu, Piscu, Plaiu), **Trăsnit** – *hit by lightning* (Piscu, Podu, Teiu), **Trăsnită** – *hit by lightning* (Crucea, Piatra, Tufa);
- With an article: **ăl Nou** – *the new* (Drumu, Podu, Puțu), **ăl Roșu** – *the red* (Dealul, Drumu, Puțu), **cel Mare** – *the big* (Dosu, Lacu, Plaiu);

d) Adjectives selected by four entopic elements: **Bătrână** – *old* (Coasta, Fântâna, Ograda, Pădurea), **Boieresc** – *of the boyars* (Crângu, Hanu, Lacu, Malu), **Domnesc** – *of the ruler* (Crângu, Heleșteu, Plaiu, Puțu), **Galben** – *yellow* (Hanu, Malu, Pământu, Pârâu), **Mici** – *small* (Gropile, Livezile, Loturile, Poienile), **Nalt** – *tall* (Dealul, Gruiu, Piscu, Puțu), **Rea** – *wicked* (Coasta, Fața, Groapa, Piatra), **Rotundă** – *round* (Fața, Pădurea, Poiana, Tufa), **Sărat** – *salty* (Grindu, Izvoru, Lacu, Pârâu), **Sterp** – *barren* (Izvoru, Pârâu, Piscu, Punctu);

e) Adjectives selected by five entopic elements: **Arsă** – *burnt* (Crucea, Măgura, Movila, Piatra, Poiana), **Nou** – *new* (Aleșteu, Drumu, Lacu, Podu, Puțu), **Seacă** – *dried-up* (Balta, Fântâna, Gârla, Hoaga, Poiana);

f) Adjectives selected by six entopic elements:

- Without an article: **Boierească** – *of the boyars* (Gârla, Grădina, Moșia, Movila, Pădurea, Poiana), **Mari** – *big* (Gropile, Livezile, Loturile, Nucii, Plopii, Poienile), **Rău** – *wicked* (Cotu, Crângu, Dosu, Izvoru, Pârâu, Piscu);
- With an article: **ăl Lung** – *the long* (Dealul, Lacu, Locu, Pârâu, Piscu, Podu);

g) Adjectives selected by seven entopic elements: **Alb** – *white* (Iazu, Lacu, Malu, Pământu, Pârâu, Piscu, Podu), **Frumoasă** – *beautiful* (Coasta, Crucea, Fața, Lunca, Muchia, Poiana, Râpa), **Negru** – *black* (Dealul, Gruiu, Izvoru, Lacu, Pârâu, Piscu, Podu), **Rece** – *cold* (Fântâna, Gârla, Groapa, Izvoru, Pârâu, Puțu,

Șipotu), **Repede** – *fast* (Coasta, Fața, Muchia, Pârâu, Piscu, Podu, Privalu), **Sec** – *dried-up* (Aleșteu, Dealu, Eleșteu, Izvoru, Lacu, Pârâu, Puțu);

h) Adjectives selected by eight entopic elements: **Înaltă** – *tall* (Crucea, Fața, Fântâna, Măgura, Muchia, Pădurea, Râpa, Țifla), **Verde** – *green* (Balta, Coasta, Fața, Lacu, Movila, Padina, Piatra, Poiana);

i) Adjectives selected by nine entopic elements:

- Without an article: **Albă** – *white* (Balta, Coasta, Crucea, Fântâna, Movila, Muchia, Piatra, Poiana, Râpa);
- With an article: **ăl Mic** – *the small* (Câmpu, Dealu, Drumu, Lacu, Piscu, Plaiu, Planu, Podu, Puțu);

j) Adjectives selected by ten entopic elements: **Roșie** – *red* (Crucea, Fața, Fântâna, Groapa, Movila, Padina, Piatra, Poteca, Râpa, Țarina);

k) Adjectives selected by 11 entopic elements: **Lung** – *long* (Cotu, Dealu, Drumu, Grindu, Gruiu, Lacu, Malu, Pârâu, Piscu, Plaiu, Podu);

l) Adjectives selected by 12 entopic elements: **Roșu** – *red* (Dealu, Drumu, Hanu, Lacu, Locu, Malu, Muntele, Pământu, Pârâu, Piscu, Plaiu, Podu);

m) Adjectives selected by 13 entopic elements: **Nouă** – *new* (Cârciuma, Gârla, Linia, Livada, Lunca, Măgura, Moara, Obște, Ograda, Rusca, Șoseaua, Troița, Țarina), **Vechi** – *old* (Aleșteu, Dealu, Drumu, Fagu, Hotaru, Lacu, Loturile, Oboru, Pământu, Pârâu, Plaiu, Podu, Puțu);

n) Adjectives selected by 17 entopic elements: **Lungă** – *long* (Balta, Căldarea, Fântâna, Gârla, Grădina, Groapa, Linia, Măgura, Movila, Muchia, Piatra, Poiana, Poteca, Râpa, Rusca, Șuvița, Tarlaua), **Mic** – *small* (Canalu, Colnicu, Crângu, Dealu, Drumu, Grindu, Gruiu, Hanu, Izvoru, Lacu, Lotu, Malu, Pârâu, Plaiu, Podu, Puțu, Șanțu);

o) Adjectives selected by 19 entopic elements: **Veche** – *old* (Bariera, Casa, Cârciuma, Fântâna, Gârla, Grădina, Gura, Linia, Livada, Lunca, Măgura, Moara, Obște, Odaia, Ograda, Poarta, Rovina, Rusca, Șoseaua);

p) Adjectives selected by 20 entopic elements: **ăl Mare** – *the big* (Aleșteu, Câmpu, Dealu, Dosu, Drumu, Fagu, Fundu, Golu, Izlazu, Izvoru, Lacu, Locu, Malu, Pârâu, Piscu, Plaiu, Podu, Puțu, Șipotu, Tufanu);

q) Adjectives selected by 31 entopic elements: **Mică** – *small* (Balta, Calea, Cheia, Coasta, Fața, Fântâna, Gâlma, Gârla, Grădina, Groapa, Hoaga, Linia, Livada, Lunca, Măgura, Moșia, Movila, Muchia, Obște, Ograda, Padina, Pădurea, Pleașa, Poarta, Poiana, Puntea, Rovina, Rusca, Șoseaua, Șuvița, Târla);

r) Adjectives selected by 63 entopic elements: **Mare** – *big* (Balta, Canalu, Câmpu, Cheia, Coasta, Colnicu, Crângu, Crucea, Dealu, Dosu, Drumu, Fața, Fântâna, Fundu, Gâlma, Gârla, Golu, Grădina, Grădiștea, Grindu, Groapa, Gruiu, Hanu, Hoaga, Izvoru, Lacu, Linia, Livada, Locu, Lotu, Lunca, Malu, Măgura, Moșia, Movila, Muchia, Obște, Ograda, Padina, Pădurea, Pârâu, Piatra, Piscu, Plaiu, Pleașa, Poarta, Podu, Poiana, Poteca, Privalu, Puțu, Răspântia, Râpa, Rovina, Ruptura, Rusca, Șanțu, Șipotu, Șoseaua, Șuvița, Tarlaua, Târla, Țifla).

If we make a general calculation, 276 adjectives were selected by 101 entopic elements, according to the classification above, a qualificative was selected by one to 63 different topic appellatives. Is this situation there are, at a) 169 adjectives, b) 48, c) 21, d) 10, e) 3, f) 4, g) 6, h) 2, i) 2, j) 1, , k) 1, l) 1, m) 2, n) 2, o) 1, p) 1, q) 1, r) 1. The previous information, according to which, the more the number of the entopic elements decreases, the number of the adjectives increases, is also valid as regarding the determinants, only that, this time, in an inverted way: the more the number of the entopic elements increases, the more the number of the adjectives decreases. In both situations, the relation generalisation / particularisation is the one that “moves” the things one way or another. The more an appellative (entopic element, adjective) has a rather general meaning, the more frequently used it will be, and the distribution encompasses (very) wide areas; on the contrary, the appellatives (entopic elements, adjectives) that designate/describe particular cases, have both a weaker representation of their use and territorial spreading.

If the most frequent entopic elements were *Pârâu* – stream and *Lacu* – lake, the most commonly met adjectives are *Mică* – small *Mare* – big. In toponymy, these qualificatives appear in two situations:

1. In the name of the localities where the particularisers *Mare-Mic*⁷ (and their flexional forms) are used due to administrative reasons. The division of a village in two (or more) parts, from socio-economic or juridical reasons, parts that usually used to belong to the descendants of a family (or they were sold), had as a consequence, in the past, the nominal isolation, of one as confronted to the other. The simplest way to realise this thing was to attach an attribute, perceived as a separating factor, different from the similar names. In *Toponimia Românească*⁸ – Romanian Toponymy, Iorgu Iordan showed that “usually, a *N. Mare* has a *N. Mic*, the same way a *N. Nou* has, most of the times, *N. Vechi* next to it. But we do not always find the both members of these toponymic pairs. Quite often, there is just one, without any determiner next to it. In this case, most of the times, *N. Mare* and *N. Vechi* elements are missing, a normal situation, because only the later created settlement needs to be different from the anterior one through an added element to their both common name”. Nevertheless, if we analyse – in the article *Structuri toponimice antonime*⁹ – the oiconyms from *Indicatorul localităților din România*¹⁰ – *The Indicator of the localities from Romania*, we noticed that among the toponyms for which the antonymy is incomplete (meaning that there is used just one part of the antonymic pair), the ones that have in their meaning the particulariser *mare* are more frequent than the ones with *mic*.

⁷ The same as *Nou-Vechi*, *de Sus-de Jos* etc.

⁸ Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1963, p. 191.

⁹ Published in “Arhivele Olteniei”, New Series, no. 26, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House 2012, p. 332.

¹⁰ Ion Iordan, Petre Gâstescu, D. I. Oancea, *Indicatorul localităților din România*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1974.

Neither macro nor micro-toponymy from Muntenia (along with the one from Oltenia¹¹) can find relevance in the last part of the affirmation stated by Iorgu Iordan (“...most of the times, *N. Mare* ... elements are missing”): the determiner *mare* appears, in our material, in more cases than *mic(ă)*. Therefore, if analysing the entopic elements from q) and r)¹², we noticed that 34¹³ of them were used with the first of the adjectives, two¹⁴ with the second one and 29¹⁵ with both.

Most of the names for the places belong to the category of micro-toponymy, a space characterised through a “personal”, direct, relation between the denominator and the denominated, the first one perceiving (objectively and subjectively) and naming the geographic objects around it, according to their physical features. Among these, the dimension is one of the criteria considered in the process of denomination; especially if it also includes the attributes “tall”, “vast” etc., which are synonyms for *mare*, the dimension impresses and can prevail the other designative aspects.

In the distribution on semantic classes, the feature “dimension” holds, nevertheless, a frontal position:

a) dimension (horizontally, vertically, in depth): *Lacu Adânc, Drumu Gros, Puțu Înalt, Fântâna Înaltă, Hoaga Largă, Piscu Lat, Piatra Lată, Cotu Lung, Căldarea Lungă, Grădiștea Mare, Crângu Mic, Padina Mică, Plaiu Scurt, Groapa Strămtă, Drumu Subțire* etc.;

b) chromatics: *Coasta Albă, Izvoru Alb, Crucea Albastră, Muntele Bălan, Lacu Bălțat, Malu Galben, Balta Neagră, Dealu Negru, Piscu Roșu, Fața Verde* etc.;

c) form: *Drumu Cotit, Drumu Cruciat, Linia Dreaptă* etc.

d) taste: *Piatra Acră, Gârla Dulce, Grindu Sărat, Lunca Sărată* etc.

e) aspect: *Coasta Deasă, Groapa Dispăcată, Pârâu Întunecos, Izvoru Limpede, Podu Moale, Coasta Netedă, Malu Pietros, Muntele Pleș, Fagu Rotund, Malu Rupt, Malu Scobit, Crucea Șindrilită, Muntele Strâmb* etc.

f) owner: *Moșia Chinețească, Pădurea Cornească, Moara Ionească, Dealu Văsesc, Dealu Vlăsesc* etc.;

¹¹ A region in which the number of the denominations with the adjectives *mare* and *mic* is much higher than in Muntenia, and the relations between them are more obvious (see Iustina Burci, *Denumiri cu particularizatori adjectivali în toponimia din Oltenia*).

¹² The determiners that are based on adjectives that take a possessive article (*a Mică, a Mare, ai Mici, ai Mari, ăi Mici, ăi Mari, ale Mici, ale Mari* etc.) or a demonstrative article (*cel Mic, cea Mare* etc.) can change only the numbers, not the relation between the two qualificatives, *mare* still keeping the first position.

¹³ *Canalu, Câmpu, Colnicu, Crângu, Crucea, Dealu, Dosu, Drumu, Fundu, Golu, Grădiștea, Grindu, Gruiu, Hanu, Izvoru, Lacu, Locu, Lotu, Malu, Pârâu, Piatra, Piscu, Plaiu, Podu, Poteca, Privalu, Puțu, Răspântia, Râpa, Ruptura, Șanțu, Șipotu, Tarlaua, Țifla*.

¹⁴ *Calea, Puntea*.

¹⁵ *Balta, Cheia, Coasta, Fața, Fântâna, Gâlma, Gârla, Grădina, Groapa, Hoaga, Linia, Livada, Lunca, Măgura, Moșia, Movila, Muchia, Obște, Ograda, Padina, Pădurea, Pleașa, Poarta, Poiana, Rovina, Rusca, Șoseaua, Șuvița, Târla*.

g) ethnicity: *Dealul Bulgăresc, Crucea Grecească, Gârla Românească, Fântâna Sârbească, Drumul Tătăresc, Fagu Turcesc, Linia Țigănească* etc.;

h) social position of the owner: *Grădina Boierească, Hanul Boieresc, Livada Domnească, Pădurea Mănăstirească* etc.;

i) destination/use: *Izvorul Comunal, Pădurea Comunală, Drumul Forestier, Canalul Principal, Drumul Sătesc* etc.;

j) surrounding vegetation: *Măgura Flocoasă, Balta Păpuroasă, Calea Păroasă* etc.;

k) temperature: *Gârla Caldă, Groapa Rece* etc.;

l) smell: *Fântâna Puturoasă, Lacul Puturos* etc.

m) chronology: *Livada Nouă, Livada Veche, Moara Nouă, Moara Veche, Podul Nou, Podul Vechi, Drumul Nou, Drumul Vechi* etc.

In other cases, the determiner singularises the objects from the field, from the perspective of certain occurrences in the centre of which they were at a specific point, through the interaction with the activity of people or through some physical features that other geographic formations from the nearby areas lack. These types of denominations are interesting due to the story they can tell, about the history (most of the times forgotten) of the place: *Podul Afumat, Plopii ai Scriși, Crucea Arsă, Piatra Dărmată, Fagu Împușcat, Poiana Liberă, Movila Necunoscută, Pădurea Oprită, Poiana Răsturnată, Dealul, Robit, Locul Sfânt, Crucea Sfântă, Fântâna Tămăduitoare, Piatra Trăsnită* etc.

Not lastly, a series of particularisers was borrowed from the human register, personifying the geographical forms, investing them with both positive and negative features: *Fagu al Bătrân, Piscu al Bun, Lacul al Gras, Tufa Cocoșată, Coasta Bătrână, Fața Bună, Măgura Cheală, Măgura Creață, Lunca Frumoasă, Piscu Frumos, Puțul Mort, Pârâul Nebun, Fagu Pletos, Cătu Rău, Coasta Rea, Lacul Sărac, Bariera Stearpă, Izvorul Sterp* etc.

If we take into account the type of discussed adjectives, we can observe that they are:

1) proper: *albastru (Izvorul Albastru), bătrân (Dealul Bătrân), frumos (Poienile Frumoase), cristalin (Izvorul Cristalin), lat (Movila Lată), lung (Drumul Lung), mare (Livada Mare), puturos (Lacul Puturos), roșu (Groapa Roșie), sărat (Balta Sărată), tulbure (Izvorul Tulbure)* etc.;

2) participial: *împușcat (Fagu Împușcat), robit (Dealul Robit), rupt (Malul Rupt), scris (Piatra Scrisă), vărut (Puțul Vărut), spart (Moara Spartă), trăsnit (Crucea Trăsnită)* etc.;

3) derived from proper nouns: *Costească (Pădurea), Ionească (Moara), Văsească (Dealul)* etc.

In the relation between the two members of the compound element, the topic appellatives are the ones that dictate the gender, the number and the case of the determiner. Therefore, we meet adjectives in the next cases:

1) nominative – singular (*Drumu Curățat, Lacu Gras, Poiana Liberă, Pârâu Nebun, Fântâna Ruginită* etc.) and plural (*Locuri Lungi, Nucii Mărunți, Nucii Uscăți* etc.);

2) genitive – singular (*Coasta a Mare, Fagu ăl Bătrân, Puțu ăl Nou, Dealu ăl Roșu* etc.) and plural (*Poienile ale Mari, Gropile ăle Mici, Câmpu ăl Mic, Piscu ăl Lung*);

Certain adjectives enter in complex toponymic structures, which encompass name of people and localities, nouns and adverbs with prepositions. In these situations, just one identifier, the adjectival one, is not enough, supplementary elements, for the location of the object on the field, being added to it:

înalt – **tall**: *Muchia Înaltă din Cucui*;

mare – **big**: *Dealul ăl Mare al Luncii, Drumul cel Mare al Târgoviștei, Drumul cel Mare al Văii, Linia Mare a Cișmelelor, Poiana Mare a Merilor, Drumul Mare al Paraschiveștilor, Drumul Mare al Podgorenilor, Poiana Mare cu Brebenei, Poiana Mare din Mijloc, Poiana Mare din Sus, Groapa Mare Valea*;

mic – **small**: *Poiana Mică a Merilor, Poiana Mică cu Brebenei, Măgura Mică la Vie*;

nou – **new**: *Linia Nouă din Bolovani*;

rece – **cold**: *Balta Rece la Poiana lui Purcaru*;

rezervat – **reserved**: *Șoseaua Rezervată a Proaspețului*;

vechi – **old**: *Crucea Veche din Deal, Crucea Veche din Răspântii, Drumul Vechi al Oilor*.

As we can observe, the qualificative *mare* is again more frequently met in toponymic structures, unlike the other adjectives.

CONCLUSIONS

Even if they are a minority, as compared to the nouns, the role of the qualificatives in the structure of the names that refer to the places, cannot be contested. They can offer detailed information about the concrete geographical reality, often through the personifying of the metaphor, exploring the imagination and the creativity of the person who observes and gives the name. The research of the toponymic structures with adjectives can offer information about the types of used particularisers and their characteristics: if they are continually active or not¹⁶ in the nowadays vocabulary, about their lexical-grammatical frequency etc.

¹⁶ For example, the adjective from the type *Chinezească (Moșia), Cornească (Pădurea), Ionească (Moara), Văsesc (Dealul)* etc. are specific to a certain period from the history of village property evolution, not being found nowadays. (Sometimes, the semantical relation from which the toponymical formation starts, does not contain the idea of possession, but nuances correlated to it, as the belonging to a locality or to a wider geographical region – see Ion Toma, *101 nume de locuri* – 101 names of places, “Viața cuvintelor” Collection, Bucharest, Humanitas, pp. 67-68).

THE TRANSLATION OF METAPHORS WITHIN THE STUDY OF LAW

Diana DĂNIȘOR*

Abstract: Although, at first glance, the mono-referential aspect of legal language would not afford affiliation to the structure of the metaphor, as this belongs to the realm of poetry, imagination and invention, the presence of metaphors within the study of law poses a genuine challenge for translators. They have to choose between a literary translation and a procedural pattern based on analogy. This study aims at exposing and analysing the circumstances in which the translation of metaphors triggers difficulties with respect to the common metaphor or the complex metaphor.

Keywords: metaphor, legal translation, literary translation, translation via analogy, common metaphors.

According to the classical perception, beginning with Aristotle, the metaphor was considered “as a purely ornamental rhetoric structure”, while in the 20th century it is no longer regarded as a decorative instrument for poetic expression, being perceived as a generator of new forms of access to knowledge leading to “a new paradigm of semantic expression belonging to a new semantic and cognitive regime”¹. It is therefore considered that nowadays the metaphor is no longer connected to the style of literary works, but it defines the ensemble of humanist studies². Assal is the first scholar who, in 1994, defined the cognitive and semiotic mechanisms which regulate the metaphor in specialised language. According to him, “the metaphor of terminology is by no means a simple method of communication, it is essentially a manner of thinking. What is certain is the presence of imaginative transference, but once this transfer is reinvested within a social practice, once its significance is regulated in accordance with the actors

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¹ Micaela Rossi, *Terminologies et comparaison interculturelle: évolutions de quelques métaphores conceptuelles dans le domaine du droit de la famille*, in “Publif@rum”, no. 18/2013, available at http://publiforum.farum.it/ezine_artic les.php?id=255

² Sonia Branca-Rosoff, *La métaphore entre philosophie et rhétorique*, Nanine Charbonnel et Georges Kleiber, in “Langage et société”, no. 89/1999, pp. 141-144, available at www.persee.fr/doc/lsoc_0181-4095_1999_num_89_1_2889

involved in that practice, it becomes the expression of an entirely new beginning”³. Building on this idea, studies have multiplied, allowing the metaphor to be analysed as playing a paramount role in the expression of new scientific findings. The emphasis is therefore placed on the vulgarising role of the metaphor⁴ and the communicative prowess of analogies⁵: “The metaphor plays an equally important part when it comes to touching, being just as precious”⁶.

THE METAPHOR WITHIN THE STUDY OF LAW

The study of law is not excluded from this status quo. Though apparently intended as precise and mono-semantic, legal language is filled with metaphors appearing in all shapes and sizes starting from those forms closest to classical rhetoric (pleadings, peroration etc.), leading up to encoded texts (laws, decrees etc.) and finishing with customary law (apothegms, adages etc.). Jean Delisle notices that the metaphor “is also a form of translation, as it expresses an abstract reality with the help of precise terminology”, distinguishes three possible approaches relevant to the translation of metaphors “literal translation, the utilisation of a metaphor which has a close or equivalent meaning or the simple rendition of an underlying idea”⁷.

The primary function and the most evident role of the metaphor in the study of law is purely rhetorical, as it is used to manipulate the audience’s opinion, providing therefore linguistic trickery: Cornu⁸ and Garavelli⁹ attribute this ornamental function to oral jurisdictional discourse. Another accomplishment of the metaphor is the circumstance which deals with the fundamental terminology of the legal language which makes use of the terms that “have today lost, within the framework of legal language, their metaphorical value [...] their official utilisation by the legislator, judge and administration has become completely natural”¹⁰.

The vitality of conceptual dynamics is expounded by the interaction between the source domain and the target domain generating related terminology¹¹, in

³ J. Ph. Assal, *La métaphorisation terminologique. Terminologie et traduction*, no. 2/1994, pp. 235-242.

⁴ D. Jacobi, *De la recherche à la vulgarisation; itinéraires du texte scientifique*, in “Annales de l’Université de Besançon et les Belles Lettres”, Paris, 1986.

⁵ Idem, *La communication scientifique. Discours, figures, modèles*, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1999.

⁶ Gaudin François, *La socioterminologie*, in “Langages”, no. 157/2005, pp. 80-92.

⁷ Jean Delisle, *La Traduction raisonnée: manuel d’initiation à la traduction professionnelle de l’anglais vers le français*, Les Presses de l’Université d’Ottawa, 1993, pp. 406-419.

⁸ G. Cornu, *Linguistique juridique*, Paris, Montchrestien, 2000.

⁹ Bice Mortara Garavelli, *Le parole e la giustizia*, Torino, Einaudi Publishing, 2001.

¹⁰ G. Cornu, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹¹ M. Prandi, *A Plea for Living Metaphors: Conflictual Metaphors and Metaphorical Swarms*, in “Metaphor and Symbol”, no. 27(2)/2012, pp. 148-170.

connection with common use objects which become technical terms of the domain in question. Conflictual metaphors are those metaphors which stimulate inferential competence, providing a challenge for specific conditions of logical coherence, thus generating new theories and epistemological paradigms which resort to this figure of style in order to properly relay the new concept, making it indefinite, for example, as in the expression “head of the family”¹².

THE LITERAL TRANSLATION OF LEGAL METAPHORS OR THE ABSTRACT INTERPRETATION VIA ANALOGY

It is well known, that the Romanian language prefers abstract interpretation, a fact which is verified in translation. For instance, in the following examples, the original metaphor is erased in translation for the benefit of a more abstract term: *thin skull doctrine* (doctrina vulnerabilității victimei / the doctrine of victim vulnerability); *clean hands* (conduită ireproșabilă / exemplary conduct); *long-arm statute* (extrateritorialitatea legii / the jurisdiction of the law); *poisonous tree doctrine* (inadmisibilitatea probelor obținute ilegal / evidence obtained illegally will be inadmissible in court)¹³.

There are other situations where translation through adaptation is the best if not the only possible course of action. Therefore, “Of course, after an accused has once let the cat out of the bag by confessing, no matter what the inducement, he is never thereafter free of the psychological and practical disadvantages of having confessed. He can never get the cat back in the bag. The secret is out for good. In such a sense, a later confession always may be looked upon as fruit of the first.” (United States v. Bayer), can be best translated as “Bineînțeles, din moment ce s-a compromis trecând la mărturisiri, acuzatul (...) trebuie să-și asume atât consecințele psihologice, cât și cele practice. El nu mai poate retracta (...)”. Literal translation is not the best choice, unless the intention is to underline the specificity of the foreign concept translated, maintaining it between brackets or provided in the source language via footnotes, for which a literal translation would be more suitable. It is preferable to avoid literal translation without making reference to the original text, in order to avoid confusion. For the expression *piercing the corporate veil*, a number of different translations can be used: the version “a ridica voalul personalității juridice” makes no sense in Romanian, a better translation would be “a face abstracție de personalitatea morală”, which makes use of a contrasting reflection linked to the analogy between concepts. According to scholars, literal

¹² L. Morra, C. Bazzanella, *Considerazioni sul “buon padre di famiglia”*, in “Rivista critica del diritto privato”, XX, 4/2002, pp. 529-563.

¹³ Frédéric Houbert, *Caught in the Web of the Law. Le traducteur juridique face à la métaphore*, available at <http://www.interm.net/public/langues%20de%20sp%C3%A9cialit%C3%A9/m%C3%A9taphores/Caug>

translation cannot be justified unless we deal with the introduction of a concept in its specificity - the American idiom “sweat of the brow” (“sudoarea frunții”) refers to “the one who worked, even if he didn’t produce an original creation, should be rewarded for his efforts from which the artistic creation benefitted”¹⁴.

Literal translation is best used when the historical context needs to be taken into consideration. For instance, in the collocation *Chancellor’s foot*, the image of the chancellor’s foot will be considered only if we need to make reference to the historical aspect of the notion related to the ‘*length of the Chancellor’s foot*’, otherwise this aspect will be omitted, translating the phrase as “an arbitrary norm” or as absolute discretionary power”¹⁵.

A viable option for a literal translation ensures the preservation of the original imagery, especially in the case of metaphors common to both legal cultures (the source language and the target language).

THE TRANSLATION OF COMMON METAPHORS

If the metaphors which operate discourse are common to both legal cultures, their translation should not raise any issues. This is indeed the case with body metaphors¹⁶: eyes, hand, arm, mouth etc. which have been successfully employed in formulas such as: “*the judge as the mouth of the law*” / „judecătorul gură a legii”¹⁷, “*body separation*” / „separație de corp”, “*administration was handed over*” / „administrare în mână comună”, “*a strong guiding hand*” / „politică de mână forte”, “*he was dealt a bad hand*” / „mână moartă”, „brațul justiției” / *the long arm of the law*, „ochiul justiției” / “*the eye of the law*” etc.

Another category of common metaphors, which are easily translatable, is that of maritime metaphors pervading the study of law. We will only mention the metaphor of “piracy” which transcends the maritime domain into the legal language, the image of the pirate being presented and analysed in almost all contemporary discussions pertinent to the evolution of intellectual property¹⁸: “Counterfeiting and piracy [...] are terms traditionally coined for the designation of illicit activities linked to copyright infringement industry and respectively, all the

¹⁴ Benoît Galopin, *Jeux vidéo et droit d’auteur*, 2003 available at <http://www.glose.org/mem022-htm.htm>.

¹⁵ Louis Beaudoin, *Traduire la common law en français: rebelle ou fidèle?*, in “Actes du colloque La traduction juridique, Histoire, théorie(s) et pratique”, Université de Genève et ASTTI, 2000.

¹⁶ Octavian Istrătoae, Manuela Lavinia Istrătoae, *Legal language, the metaphorical transposition of the human body and its parts*, in “Journal of Romanian Literary Studies”, no. 8/2016.

¹⁷ Montesquieu, *De l’esprit des lois*, ediție electronică a cărții realizată de Laurent Versini, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 1995, available at http://www.ecole-alsacienne.org/CDI/pdf/1400/14055_MONT.pdf

¹⁸ P. Loughlan, *Pirates, Parasites, Reapers, Sowers, Fruits, Foxes... The Metaphors of Intellectual Property*, in “Sydney Law Review”, no. 28/2006, p. 211.

reserved rights of the author”¹⁹, „the unauthorised copy of a copyright protected product for commercial purposes, as well as the unauthorised distribution of illegal copies, are known as piracy”²⁰.

The metaphors related to climate phenomena are extremely frequent in English and American Law, as well as in French and Romanian Law. For instance, the metaphor of the tree is encountered in *fruit of the poisonous tree* or *living tree*, in addition to the recurrent use in French and Romanian Law of the terms „branche” and „ramură” in order to define different areas of Law.

THE TRANSLATION OF COMPLEX METAPHORS²¹

“A structured series of metaphors which exploit, to a larger or a smaller extent, the elements of the same semantic field”²², the complex metaphor could not be used in legal texts according to some scholars²³, but reality contradicts this restriction. Because the translator must maintain its coherence and unity, the complex metaphor raises a considerable amount of issues in translation whether or not we are dealing with a limited or extended translation. The option between the literal translation and the abstract one sees the balance tilt towards the first procedure. For instance, “The Honourable Leader of the Government says that the Constitution *is a living tree, not a dead end*, and that the court has the responsibility to interpret it”²⁴ will be translated as „Primul ministru spune că *Constituția este în evoluție, și nu stagnantă*, și că tribunalul are răspunderea s-o interpreteze”, resorting to an adapted translation that is more abstract (the metaphor in not complex), and “If indeed our Constitution is as the court has stated, *a living tree*, then it must be considered that *this tree is rooted* in fundamental and historic values”²⁵ will justify resorting to a literal translation (the enhanced complex metaphor) and the translation will be as follows: „Dacă, așa cum au indicat

¹⁹ For more details, see “Studii privind elaborarea mecanismului de monitorizare a pieței obiectelor de proprietate intelectuală din Republica Moldova”, available at http://agepi.gov.md/sites/default/files/2015/11/studiu_monitorizare_a_pietei.pdf

²⁰ Ionela Cecilia Sulea, *Methods to Prevent the introduction of pirated merchandise on european market*, in Iulian Boldea (coord.), *Studies on Literature, Discourse and Multicultural Dialogue*, Târgu Mureș, Arhipelag XXI Publishing, 2013, p. 322.

²¹ Ioan Milică, *Trăsături, tipuri și funcții ale metaforei în discursul științific*, in “Lumi discursive. Studii de lingvistică aplicată”, Iași, Junimea Publishing, 2013, available at https://www.academia.edu/8264659/Metafora stiintifica_extras_din_Lumi_discursive_

²² Trésor de la Langue Française Informatisé, available at <http://atilf.atilf.fr/>.

²³ Bryan A. Garner, *A Dictionary of Modern Legal Usage*, Oxford University Press, 2001.

²⁴ Frédéric Houbert, *Caught in the Web of the Law. Le traducteur juridique face à la métaphore*, available at <http://www.initem.net/public/langues%20de%20sp%C3%A9cialit%C3%A9/m%C3%A9taphores/Caug>

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

tribunalele, Constituția noastră este *un arbore viu*, trebuie atunci să ținem cont de faptul că acest *arbore este înrădăcinat* în valori fundamentale și istorice”.

CONCLUSION

The translation of metaphors shall be performed with great responsibility, especially in the study of Law, an area so problematic as it can create rights and obligations for involved parties: “Of all the figures of discourse, none stands so closely related to painting as the metaphor; its special effect is to grant clarity and force to descriptions, to enable the visualisation of intellectual ideas, bestowing upon them colour, substance and sensible qualities; yet in order to produce this effect, an able and delicate hand is needed, for the slightest inconsistency in precision could produce confusion instead of shedding light on relevant issues”²⁶.

²⁶ A. Varinot, *Dictionnaire des métaphores françaises*, 1818, préface.

SPIRITUAL ITINERARIES: MYTHS AND TRADITIONS REINTERPRETED

THE WEDDING CEREMONY IN THE TRADITIONAL VILLAGES OF OLTENIA. PRELIMINARY RITES*

Anca CEAUȘESCU**

Abstract: Marriage is the second most significant moment from a man's life, an event that gives the opportunity of a rich display of folkloric manifestations. The ceremonial complex of the wedding mark, in a festive manner, the passing to another social statute.

In Oltenia, it generally has a unitary structure, with small individualising elements, from one village to the other. The nuptial ceremony also presents in its development the three categories of rites, specific to the passing rites, such are: preliminary, liminary, post-liminary.

Therefore, the nuptial scenario includes the existence of new rules and a logical succession in the development of the sequences. In the present material, we are going to stop on the customs from the stage that precedes the nuptial ceremony (wooing, discussing the dowry of the girl, the engagement), trying to point towards few dominant element of the phenomenon.

Keywords: Oltenia, the nuptial ceremony, preliminary rites, wooing, the engagement.

From the rich collection of customs preserved in the culture of the Romanian people, those related to the family, form a distinct chapter. They are related to the important moments from the life of an individual: birth, marriage and death, aiming, through their logics and structure, at the family status of the man and, through it, to the entire system of the social relations, from a larger community.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Arnold von Gennep calls the rites that accompany birth, marriage and death, "passing rites"¹. They are based on the

* The article is part of a research project *Popular culture and spiritual values in Oltenia. Permanence and change in the practice of the calendar customs and of those related to human existence*, included in the research programme of "C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor" Institute for Socio-Human Research, Craiova: "Economic, social, political and cultural development of the historical Oltenia, a condition for the integration in the community of the Euro-regions"

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passing, as the French ethnologist was saying, transitions from pre-existence into this side world, that of the living, and further on, into “the other-side world”, the one after death, passing accompanied by specific customs that are translated into rites and ceremonies. The three passing rites ought not to be regarded separately. They are, nonetheless, stages of the becoming, together forming a ceremonial complex of the passing. Pavel Ruxăndoiu establishes the essential characteristics of them, noting that: “For the passing rites, there are characteristic the *uniqueness* of the performing, as related to the individual destiny and the *ternary structure* implied by the transition one state to the other”².

The customs from the family cycle are taking place, generally, in a logical succession, marking every moment from an individual’s life. The fundamental principle that structures them is that, according to which, in the essential moments of his life, the individual experiences a passing between two distinct existential ways, between two human conditions, or between two states. If the birth of a man is nothing but the beginning of a new stage of cosmic life, in a terrestrial hypostasis, the wedding implies the integration of this stage into the rhythm of the earthy life, and death is the returning on the man into the Cosmos. These events represent, for the individual who transits them, a change of a previous condition, disorder in the vital biotonus of the human body and the human environment (inside a family and a wider social group), therefore a disequilibrium in the system of the social relations.

Marriage is the second most significant moment from a man’s life, an event that gives the opportunity of a rich display of folkloric manifestations. As referring to this aspect, Mihai Pop notes that: “Nowadays, in the traditional popular forms, marriage is performed through complex manifestations, in which there are combined economic, legal, ritual and folkloric elements, in order to form a great popular show, an important popular artistic manifestation”³.

In its classical form, the peasant wedding, is an interesting and picturesque show. To its artistic values of the form, there are added aesthetic and ethical content values, due to the fact that from the phases and the moments of the ancient custom, the people created the acts and the scenes of the later spectacular party, in the opinion of Ovidiu Bârlea, the wedding is the only custom that “gathers closely the fatuous with the comical representation... this antonymy governing the entire wedding, both the ritual and the ceremonial scenes, then each gesture and act, together with the repertoire that accompany them”⁴.

The ceremonial complex of the wedding mark, in a festive manner, the passing to another social statute. In this respect, Mihai Pop and Pavel Ruxăndoiu

¹ Arnold von Gennep, *Riturile de trecere*, Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 1996, pp. 22-23.

² Pavel Ruxăndoiu, *Folclorul literar în contextul culturii populare românești*, Bucharest, Grai și Suflet – Cultura Națională Publishing House, 2001, p. 218.

³ Mihai Pop, *Obiceiuri tradiționale românești*, CCEs, Bucharest, 1976, p. 131.

⁴ Ovidiu Bârlea, *Folclor românesc*, vol. I, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1981, p. 424.

see marriage as “a change in the statute of an individual’s social relations, the passing from a system of family and group relations to other group relations, bearing implications in the behaviour of the main performers, who themselves are subjected to fundamental changes”⁵. Through the detachment of the young bride and bridegroom from their old condition, and then their union, there appears a perturbation in the existent system of relations. And, the wedding with all its ceremonial sequences, represents nothing else but the reestablishment of the affected equilibrium.

Marriage, tightly connected to the emerging of the family life, has been, since ancient times, the best way that the human community chose for constituting a favourable social background for giving birth and bringing-up children. Therefore, marriage can be considered an institution related to the transmission of life, “it symbolises the divine origin of life, for which the communion between the man and woman is just a recipient, a passing instrument and channel. It is included in the area of the rituals that make life sacred”⁶.

Through tradition, marriage is considered a social act with a major signification, both for the young pair who behave accordingly, and for the entire village too. Through the assembly of customs that it implies, this existential stage has as purpose to assure the passing of the young people involved in it, into the ranks of the householders, of the mature and responsible people. It is the only preserved passing ceremony in which the main characters are aware of their participation, and in which the both terms belong to “the white world”. The entire nuptial ceremony unfolds according to some precise rules that include ceremonial and ritual prescriptions, with well-established roles: “each sequence has its well-determined role in the context of the custom, and a precise role in accomplishing the ultimate purpose of the wedding: the annulment of two into One, through the passing from one state to the other”⁷.

The nuptial folkloric rites, acts and practices desire not only the accomplishment of the passing, but also the creation of the premises that will further consolidate the new family, will assure the economic, social and biological continuity, along with its permanence in time. The entire community watches the traditional development of the ceremony, supervising attentively the creation of the new family and the enrolment of it into the traditional norms, transmitted by our forefathers.

All these are of a greater significance, as in our traditional village, the family is extremely important, being seen as a cell, a “human micro-unity created through marriage, which unites the spouses and their direct descendants through tight

⁵ Mihai Pop, Pavel Ruxăndoiu, *Folclor literar românesc*, Bucharest, Didactical and Pedagogical Publishing House, 1978, p. 179;

⁶ Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *Dicționar de simboluri*, vol. I (A-D), Bucharest, Artemis Publishing House, 1993, p. 278.

⁷ Delia Suiogan, *Simbolica riturilor de trecere*, Bucharest, Paideea Publishing House, 2006, p. 119.

biological, economic, psychological, spiritual and legal relationships”⁸. In the family there is possible the reproduction and the perpetuation of the species, the bringing-up and the education of the children, the assuring of the existence: “Essential element of production, it assures the economic functionality and the transmission of patrimony. Cell of reproduction, it assures the necessary of children, to whom it provides proper socialisation. Warranty of the race, it watches over its purity and sanity. Melting pot of the national conscience, it transmits the symbolic values and the founding memory. It creates both citizenship and civilisation”⁹.

The passing of the young people from the condition of girl and boy, into the category of adults, their positioning in another system of roles and relations, is overlapped over the surpassing of a biological age. This passing implies, nonetheless, the wilful acceptance of a social statute that evolves subjected to other criteria, different from those specific to the so far age. As a matter of fact, in the traditional vision of the village, the collective mentality and experience, most of the time, were eliminating the possibility of the young people to choose this event. Yet, the phenomenon is not regarded by them as a restriction of their freedom of choice, due to the fact that it is framed into a complex of behavioural patterns, traditionally transmitted, until they have come to be accepted. Marriage is seen as a normal stage of their existence, one might say even indispensable and necessary in an individual’s life¹⁰, while the celibacy is rarely met, being considered a deviation from the norms of the collectivity.

The nuptial ceremony is seen by the popular community as a fulfilment in the biological, social and ethical level. In Oltenia, it generally has a unitary structure, with small individualising elements, from one village to the other. The nuptial ceremony also presents in its development the three categories of rites, specific to the passing rites, such are: *preliminary* rites, invoked to ease and to assure the breaking from the old state; *liminary* rites, which include the displaying of rites and ritual acts meant to prepare the individual for the new state and to assure the proper passing; *post-liminary* rites, which are supposed to favour the entering into the new condition, to incorporate the individual into the new state. Unlike other passing

⁸ Vladimir Trebici, Ion Ghinoiu, *Lumea de aici, lumea de dincolo*, Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1986, p. 227.

⁹ Michelle Perrot, *Funcțiile familiei*, in Philippe Ariès, Georges Duby (coord.), *Istoria vieții private*, vol. VII, Bucharest, Meridiane Publishing House, 1997, p. 87.

¹⁰ Generally, the marriage age was rather young (18-25 years old for boys and 14-18 years old for girls, sometimes earlier). This young age was corresponding, in the traditional thinking to the biological and socio-economic maturity, in other words, the people were able to procreate, to work and support their families. The boys after 25 years old were called old bachelors and they were considered either too ugly, too pretentious, or “to have their foreordained wife dead”, and the girls were called spinsters. Almost unnoticeably, in the both cases, they were excluded from the group of the lads, and that of the young girls. (Florin Valeriu Mureșan, *Satul Românesc din nord-estul Transilvaniei la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea*, Cluj-Napoca, Romanian Cultural Institute, The Centre of Studies from Transylvania, 2005, p. 207).

rites, what is specific for the nuptial ritual is the equilibrium between the sequences that mark the breaking from the old state and those that assure the integration of the individual into a new state.

Ion Şeuleanu, understanding the nuptial ceremony as a passing from a stage into the other, remarks that the union of the young people “is done progressively, in stages that prepare them, which unfolds successively and concentrically, from the initial tries (meetings, wooing etc.), until the consecration of the new social cell...and then its inclusion into the mechanism of the community”¹¹. Therefore, the nuptial scenario includes the existence of new rules and a logical succession in the development of the sequences. In the present material, we are going to stop on the customs from the stage that precedes the nuptial ceremony, trying to point towards few dominant element of the phenomenon.

Wooing¹², the first preliminary act of marriage, is also known in Oltenia as agreement, or asking in marriage (*peţit, înţelegere, împeţit, împeţeală*). According to the tradition, if the young man accepted the girl that the parents had chosen, or if the parents agreed with the choice of their son, they would go the house of the girl to woo her.

First of all, we need to mention that in our traditional village, in most of the cases, marriage was a business between the parents of the young people, motivated by their material position and social prestige of the family that they were going to become related: “the parents were deciding most of the times. Even if the young people didn’t like each other, they would marry anyway. There were situations as this in our village”¹³. Hence, the pecuniary interest was above the feelings: “if the girl had land, the parents of the boy made him marry her. She could be limping and blind, he would take her anyway. He would marry her for the land”¹⁴.

Through wooing, the young man “asks the girl” from her parents, in other words, requires the consent of the young girl’s family for the marriage. They habitually used to woo after the future bride had been chosen by the parents and after another relative of the boy, who had been sent with a bottle of wine or brandy, was returning bringing good news from the girls’ parents, such is the accept to receive the wooers. The young man was going along with his parents and other people, closer chatty people, or friends: “for wooing, there were leaving the parents of the boy, the boy and other close relatives or neighbours. The young people had known each other before. The parents of the boy were sending the parents of the boy word, to see if they are welcomed. There were cases when the two knew each other. The parents made the decision, not the young people”¹⁵.

¹¹ Ion Şeuleanu, *Poezia populară de nuntă*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1985, p. 58.

¹² The reconstitution of the wooing sequence, from the nuptial ceremony, was based on the existing bibliographical sources and the researches made in few villages from the south of Oltenia in 2012-2015.

¹³ Inf. Peţa Maria, 78 years old, Cetate, Dolj County.

¹⁴ Inf. Olga Văcaru, 73 years old, Dârvari, Mehedinţi County.

¹⁵ Inf. Vultureanu Lucica, 73 years old, Dârvari, Mehedinţi County.

Wooing is one of the oldest customs, preserved in the traditional environment until nowadays. The oldest mentions that refer to this custom are found at Dimitrie Cantemir in *Descrierea Moldovei*-Description of Moldavia. This is what the scholar was noting in his works: "...if a young man likes a girl, he sends people to the parents of the beloved to ask her in marriage, which are called with a corrupted Latin word *pețitori*, meaning petitioners. They firstly evaluate the opinion of the parents, for not facing a possible public insult, followed by a public refusal. But if they notice that the parents do not refuse the proposal, then they gather all the relatives of the future groom, and leave for the girl's house"¹⁶.

Wooing was usually done on a Saturday evening, on a Sunday or a holiday. In the Villages from Dolj County, the wooers, once reaching the girls' house, were talking about the subjects related to the farming season, the condition of the harvest, the weather etc.: "Don't you ask us/ Why we are here?/ Why you are here, you are going to tell/ We have come to look for a weaver's reed/ But it should have strong teeth/ And if you give us the reed/ You should also give us the girl"¹⁷.

During the wooing, it was also discussing the dowry of the girl, and the "agreement" was made. The custom, as carried out in the villages from Dolj County, is described by Charles Laugier: "In the evening, the boy and his parents, with one or two closer relatives, go to the girls' house. They make there the agreement. The father of the girl serves a meal to the guests, according to his condition, and then they start the dowry negotiations. After all the item that are going to constitute the dowry have been enumerated... it is made the so-called «dowry paper» (marriage portion document), which is written by a literate person, among the present people, and it is read by the groom"¹⁸. At Cloșani, in Gorj County, the wooers were also welcomed with generosity: "There was laid the table, if the proposal was accepted. During the meal, every glass of brandy or wine, was accompanied by the wishing «Let this be an auspicious moment»"¹⁹.

The dowry of the future bride was the focal point of the agreement between the two families. Its value was depending on the social and economic status of the families. Nevertheless, the dowry was mandatory for each girl, regardless their social class. Generally, for the lower classes, the marriage portion was made of the dowry chest, land, animals and different object, necessary in the household: "the parents gave the girl land, the dowry chest with pillows, blankets, quilts, rugs, bed sheets, clothes. I still have the chest. I keep the good clothes in it"²⁰. At Susani,

¹⁶ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei*, Bucharest, "Cartea românească" Publishing House, 1923, p. 158.

¹⁷ Ștefan Enache, Teodor Pleșa, *Zona etnografică Dolj*, Bucharest, Sport-Turism Publishing House, 1982, p. 129.

¹⁸ Charles Laugier, *Sănătatea în Dolj*, Craiova, 1910, p. 55.

¹⁹ Ion Ghinoiu (coord.), *Sărbători și obiceiuri. Răspunsuri la chestionarele Atlasului Etnografic Român*, vol. I, Oltenia, edition supervised by Ofelia Văduva and Ofelia Pleșca, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 2001, p. 65.

²⁰ Inf. Stângă Fica, 78 years old, Unirea, Dolj County.

Vâlcea County, “some long time ago, the girls got only clothes, cattle, sheep, and the boys were inheriting the land”²¹, and at Stoina, Gorj County, “the girl was given land, a house (rarely), cattle, her clothes and different types weaved clothe for dressing up the house where she was going”²². The dowry chest was always present, in the past, among the items constituting the marriage portion of the girls, being the best proof of their diligence. Beautifully decorated, they were later used as items of furniture for storing the “good” clothes.

In the larger, wealthier villages, there was the custom to make “dowry papers” (marriage portion documents), in which there were registered all the goods that were going to make the dowry. In these papers from the 18th century, there were also recorded the buildings, the alembics, the rings, the plates and even the sets of table linens²³. The dowry paper, a custom inherited from the Romans, was signed by the parents, the young bride and groom, and then by a judge. These marriage portion papers were drawn up only by the rich and the scholars.

The next stage was *the engagement*, which took place at the house of the future bride. “The engagement includes separation rites and threshold rites, and ends by preliminary aggregation rites, in the new place”²⁴. Therefore, the engagement expresses symbolically the breaking from the parents, the gifts exchange signifying the entering of the girl into the new family.

The event included an organised meal, occasion on which it was also established the date of the wedding: “at the bride’s house, without a priest, there was a meal only with the relatives. The engagement was done with three, four weeks before the wedding. The godparents were called there too”²⁵. In the north-west of Transylvania, the engagement was done in the morning of the next Sunday after the agreement, at the church²⁶. There, the young people were declaring their decision in front of a priest.

The exchange of gifts, on this occasion, between the two young people, was making their relationship official. The young girl gave the young boy a shirt, a towel or a pillow, and received from him money, cloth for making a dress and the engagement ring. Therefore, the bride and the groom hold, in turns, the two positions, of donor and beneficiary. Ofelia Văduva notices in the reciprocal exchange of gifts a lot of magical significations, through which it is transmitted a beneficial energy, which facilitates and tightens the union²⁷. In the opinion of Ion Șeuleanu, the exchange of gifts can be placed in the category of the compensatory

²¹ *Sărbători și obiceiuri ...*, p. 71.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ see M. Theodorian Carada, *Foi de zestre olteneste*, în “Arhivele Olteniei”, Year VII, no. 39-40, Septembrie-Decembrie 1928, pp. 463-468.

²⁴ Arnold Van Gennep, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

²⁵ *Sărbători și obiceiuri ...*, p. 51

²⁶ Florin Valeriu Mureșan, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

²⁷ Ofelia Văduva, *Magia darului*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1997, p. 103.

acts: “the compensatory acts and rituals work, in the unfolding of the nuptial scenario, in the immediate closeness of the union rites, which are supposed to make the union of the two easier, until the fulfilment of the couple”²⁸.

Habitually, the engagement was done by the well-off people, and lasted three-four weeks, or few months, until the wedding. After the engagement, the young couple could meet and spend time alone.

Although generally a conservatory one, the nuptial ceremony was gradually adapted to the changes. Some ritual acts disappeared, others, which are still preserved experienced the vanishing of the initial significations, and a frontal positioning of the parading function. Nowadays, the young people decide on their own on the marriage, the parents finding later on. The sequence of the wooing was almost eliminated, and where it is still preserved, it represents nothing but a formality. The actual image does not correspond anymore to the original one.

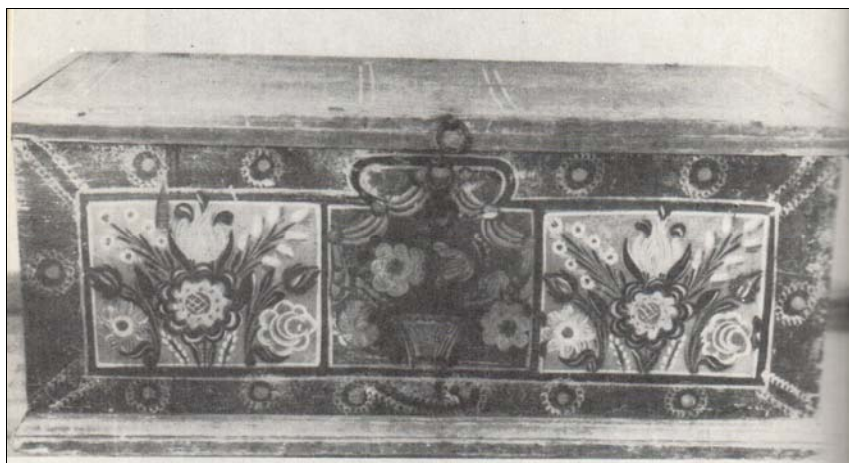


Fig. 1. Dowry chest painted in Dolj County (after Șt. Enache,Th. Pleșa 1982)

²⁸ Ion Șeuleanu, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

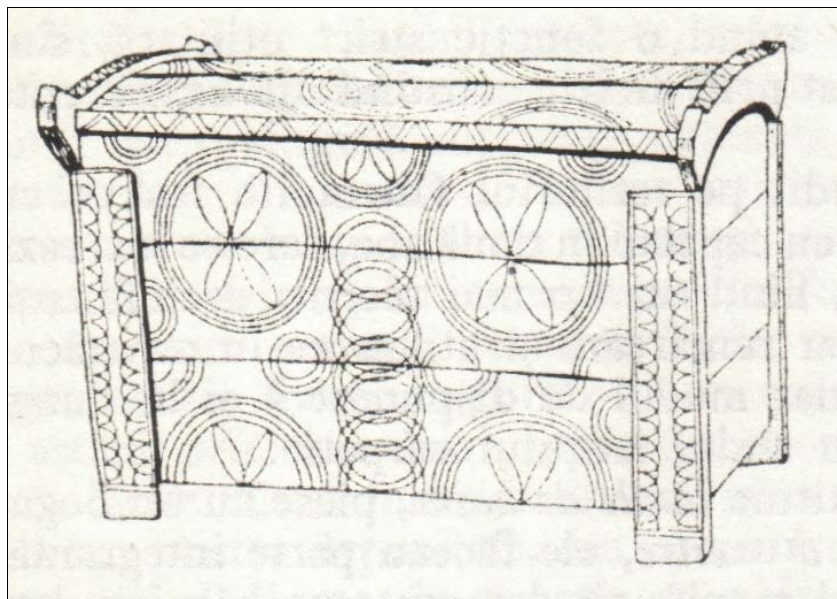


Fig. 2.

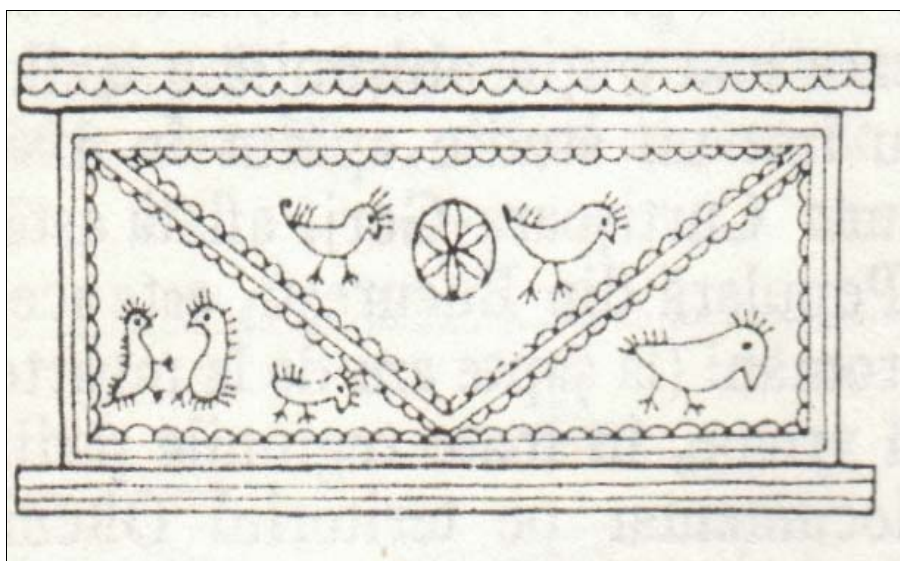


Fig. 3.

Fig. 2, 3. Chests of Oltenia. 2. Dowry chest bulging lid; 3. Dowry chest invoice town, with incised decoration (after Viorica Tatulea, 1989)

THE FUNERARY SONG *THREE SISTERS GATHERING FLOWERS**

Loredana-Maria ILIN-GROZOIU*

Abstract: Since ancient times, in all the civilisations, the antagonistic duality fear versus fascination, which refers to the aspect of the Other-Side World, has induced and maintained numerous funerary rites and rituals in the collective mentality. The fear of death was defeated by the belief in the continuation of life beyond death. In the funerary song *Three sisters gathering flowers* that accompanies the funerary rites, the passing towards the Other World is presented as a wandering (or falling asleep) while gathering flowers. By analysing the significations of the symbols that are found in this song, we intended to bring back to life the image of the cosmic sacredness, characteristic to the Romanian peasant.

Keywords: three sisters, sleeping, gathering flowers, This World, the Other-Side world.

In the Romanian folklore, the narrative nucleus of the three sisters gathering flowers is developed in several folkloric creations, such is, for example, the ballad¹, the funerary ritual song and, very important as well, the carols about the death of

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¹ The variants of the ballad with the three sisters who left to pick flowers, in the typology of Al. I. Amzulescu, are also met in Ilfov, Teleorman, Ialomița, Dâmbovița, Argeș, Olt, Dolj, Sibiu, Gorj, Caraș Severin and Timiș. Here is the summary of this ballad made by Al. I. Amzulescu, based on other several versions: "Leaving at daybreak to pick flowers to make wraths, three sisters get lost one from another in the misty morning and the thick forest. Hearing the cuckoo singing, the little girl asks it to show her the good way, promising it that she will become its: sister, cousin, wife. Only after the third promise, the cuckoo helps her to return home. The cuckoo was Prince Charming, transformed into a bird, who became the husband of the girl. In some variants, the girl does not keep her promise, or her mother does not agree, and the cuckoo leaves making a curse that comes true" (Al. I. Amzulescu, *Balada familială. Tipologie și corpus de texte poetice*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1983, pp. 13-14).

the reaping girl². The similarities have been noticed by acad. Sabina Ispas, who believes that the reason is represented by “the ancient wide range of significations of these narrative nuclei, preserved from the background of old religions, or magical practices, well-known to the autochthonous population, which have kept, owing to his reason, an image full of mystery that generates both fear and respect”³. The researcher observes especially how interesting there are the possible connections between the primary forms of manifestation of the old epic-heroic epos and the ancient funerary songs⁴. Due to this reason, one of the examples is the fact that the wandering of the girls is met as an initial episode in some variants of the songs depicting the fight of Iorgovan with the snake⁵. Consequently, this narrative nucleus is rather well-represented, especially in those texts that originate from all the regions of the country, which demonstrates its antiquity at the Romanian people.

The text from the funerary ritual *Three sisters gathering flowers* narrates the following string of events: three sisters leave for picking flowers at a specific moment of the day, they get lost (or fall asleep) and find themselves on the realm of the Other-side World, a space of the total silence and stillness, where they can hear only the voice of a cuckoo, which they ask to help them return to the world they came from. Let's follow the text carefully (approximate translation) of a version from Oltenia, the village of Runcu, commune of Șovarna (Mehedinți County), published by Vasile Șîșu in 2001: “When the rooster was crowing/ When the day was dawning/ There were gone/ Three sisters to gather flowers/ Through the dewy grass/ Through the misty morning/ And they picked/ And they gathered/ Randomly the blooms/ Lots and lots of flowers/ The flower of lonesome/ The flower of peony/ The flowers were willing/ And they made mistake/ And they fell asleep/ Then they woke up/ When it was midnight/ Feeling chills of death/ Vainly they listened/ If they still could hear/ The crow of the roosters/ The sound of the otter/ A door opening/ The call of a wooden church board/ And they didn't hear/

² The text of the carol about the reaping girl is spread in the central area of Transylvania, encompassing the entire space between the Mountains of Maramureș and the area of Târnave, Western Mountains and the range Gurghiu-Călimani, being inserted by Monica Brădulescu in the typology of carols, at number 34². “The heroine, who tells the story at the 1st person singular – as Vasile V. Filip notes – leaves to reaping, where she finds a mysterious “heavenly flower”, which she hides in her bosom. But the flower seems to be magical effects, because it releases the eroticism, which will prove to be evil, of a shepherd. He, who either sees the girl picking flowers, or hearing the trumpet sounds that-surprisingly – the flower makes, comes to hug and kiss the girl. She fights back, showing a fear that cannot be generated only by the fact that the harvest will remain unreaped, but by an obscure intuition of the danger, and by the look of the shepherd-Flyer, who the girl calls “a dog with a human face” (Vasile V. Filip, *Universul colindei românești. În perspectiva unor structuri de mentalitate arhaică*, Bucharest, Saeculum I.O. Publishing House, 1999, p. 190).

³ Sabina Ispas, *Cântecul epic-eroic românesc în context sud-est european. Cântecul peșirii*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1995, p. 73.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

Either the rooster crowing/ Or the otter barking/ Or a door opening/ Or the priest calling/ But they still could hear/ On the top of the mountain/ The sound of a cuckoo/ And they started calling:/ -You, dearest cuckoo of the sea/ Turn your tail into a ladder/ Get us out of here/ -I cannot, I say/ I wish, but I can't/ I am only a traveller/ Only twice a year/ And you shouldn't take/ The way of the waters/ They just take you away/ But don't bring you back/ In the summer, all the flowers/ They are all my good sisters"⁶. This is the classical form of the songs that accompany the funerary rites, but we should consider the fact that the text presents, according to its variants, other motifs too, which we shall take into account further on, at the right moment. It is also worth mentioned that a thorough analysis of these motifs is to be later approached, first of all because the space for writing an article cannot allow such an extended study. Therefore, although the subject remains the same, the changes that refer to the foundation concern the details: for example, in the version from Prejna (published by Pavel Ciobanu)⁷, and that from Rudina (published by Mihail Gregorian⁸), the little sister asks the cuckoo to help them passing from the Other-Side World to This world; in the version from Prejna, the sisters left for gathering flowers on a certain day, on a Thursday morning. Although in the past it used to be more often heard, this funerary text is quite seldom attested. There should also be added that, the variant from Runcu is performed by the women who mourn, in the evening and at night, during the wake, in the house, next to the dead person's coffin, the variant from Rudina is sang next to the grave, and the one from Prejna is performed on the way to the cemetery.

As it can be observed, the quoted funerary ritual song introduces us, nonetheless, in the area of the myth that refers to *the great road* or *the road of the passing*. The myth and the rite are tightly connected to the symbolic way of thinking, because the myths are the elements that can offer us a concrete perspective on the manner in which the individuals give meanings to their existence and experiences⁹. Here are some of the notes of A. Codoban, made for this reason: "(...) If the essence of the religious experience is symbolic, its adequate expression is the myth, then its celebration is the ritual. The myth explains the symbols, making a connection between them and dramatizing them. Through the myth-symbol "we are told" and "we are brought motivations". (...) As keeper of the fundamental sacred gestures and deposit of the exquisite patters for acting, the myth justifies and assures the communion around the same beliefs and behaviours. In the original archaic cultures, "the myth and the ritual did not represent only

⁶ Vasile Şişu, *Odiseea sufletului. Epos funerar românesc*, Drobeta Turnu-Severin, The County Centre for Folk Creation from Mehedinţi, 2001, pp. 32-33.

⁷ Pavel Ciobanu, *Plaiul Cloşani*, vol. III, Drobeta Turnu-Severin, Edited by the County Centre for Popular Creation from Mehedinţi, 1981, pp. 151-153, 156-158.

⁸ Mihail Gregorian, *Folclor din Oltenia şi Banatul Răsăritean*, in "Folclor din Oltenia şi Muntenia", I, 1967, Bucharest, Editura pentru Literatură Publishing House, pp. 262-264.

⁹ Delia Suiogan, *Simbolica riturilor de trecere*, Bucharest, Paideia Publishing House, 2006, p. 45.

cultural images, as they are nowadays, but they encompassed everything, each thought and activity. The myth and the ritual were the culture itself, not only simple forms or manifestations of it”¹⁰. Since immemorial times, in all the civilisations, the discovery of the man’s eternal youth secret, or the continuation of existence on another ontological stage, were permanent preoccupations of the humans and constituted the motivation for the emerging of numerous beliefs and myths that promised to shed light on the origin and the meaning of death, but, on what it was entirely fascinating, what was beyond the threshold of the existence. Accepted as a natural law, death is regarded as a long and mysterious voyage towards another world, whose success depends, first of all, on the fulfilment of certain funerary practices that assure the safe depart from This World and the emersion into that of the ancestors. As a passing rite towards another ontological level, death becomes the image of the supreme initiation, “the beginning of a new spiritual existence”¹¹. In the funerary ritual text *Three sisters gathering flowers*, the passing from This-Side World into the Other-Side World is presented as a wandering, a lingering while picking flowers. Displaying a wide potential, the flower is the symbol of the paradise, an ephemeral and passing world¹². A formulation of a text from Ilovăț, Mehedinți County, seems edifying in this respect: “Flower of a rose/ You have not bloomed/ This morning again/ As you did yesterday morning/ Because I lingered more/ And I fell asleep/ While picking flowers/ You flower of a water hyssop/ Being the loveliest/ And remembering of my house (...) Flower of sweet basil/ Spreading longing and passion/ Passion and great sadness/ From my dearest sisters (...)/ Flower of a cranesbills/ Great yearning you spread”¹³.

In the title, and also in the text of the funerary ritual song, we can meet an archaic symbol, the number three, related to the characters. Three are also the goddesses invoked in the funerary song, to grant the soul respite, in order to prepare for the voyage towards the Other-Side World. In the Romanian collective imaginary, the *Dawn Fairies* are three sisters who decide, by their appearance before the Sun rise, the departure of the soul from existence, and the entering into post-existence. These goddesses become the correspondent of the Faith Fairies, who are goddesses of the soul that enters into This-Side World. Rolf W. Brednich in his work *Volkserzählungen und Volkslaube von den Schicksalsfrauen*, published in Helsinki in 1964, mentions that in the mentality of the Indo-European traditional societies, the Faith Fairies exercise their powers on three ontological levels: pre-existence (they decide whether the moment of birth is favourable or not), life (they

¹⁰ A. Codoban, *Sacru și ontofanie*, Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 1998, p. 99.

¹¹ Mircea Eliade, *Eseuri*, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1991, p. 307.

¹² Ivan Evseev, *Enciclopedia simbolurilor religioase și arhetipurilor culturale*, Timișoara, “Învieră” Publishing House, 2007, p. 209.

¹³ Sabina Ispas, *Trei surori la flori (Trei fete surori)*, in “Anuarul Institutului de Etnografie și Folclor «Constantin Brăiloiu»”, new series, volume 4, 1993, p. 125.

decide when and who a person will marry), and death (they decide when and how an individual will die)¹⁴. The Faith Fairies are also three sisters, maidens, dressed in white, who predestinate when the children are born; “The Faith Fairies spin the thread of a man’s life, according to their disposition, in the day they predestinate. The little one, who has the scissors, limps and, similar to other Romanian mythical representations that have this flaw (Limping Filip, *Sântoaderul cel Șchiop-Saint Theodore the Limping*), they decide the age when somebody dies, by the sudden cutting of the life thread!”¹⁵. Really fascinating are the investigations of Mircea Eliade, who gives to these feminine mythical representations of the destiny, the role of “spinners” in several Indo-European mythologies¹⁶. For the Romanians, these mythical representations appear in the area of the popular beliefs, and the ceremonial manifestations, of the superstitions, of the artistic creation. The hypostasis known in the context of the funerary ceremony is a complex one, that of “Faith Fairies-Fays-Sisters-Sisters of the Sun-Death. The manners in which this formula is accomplished are different, according to the inner conditions that they relate with. Thus, the Faith-Fairies can be directly connected with the Sun, can be displayed as siblings, can appear as Faith-Fairies-Fays, or equal with the Death”¹⁷. The presence of number three in some variants of the *Song from the Dawn*, is closely connected with the presence of the customs. In the popular mentality, the passing towards the Other-Side World implies the paying of the heavenly customs¹⁸, which is done with money and other ritual objects: “You should go to the fair/ And buy from there/ Three black scarves/ Three mourning veils/ Three wraths”¹⁹. As referring to the number three, Adrian Fochi in the work *Estetica oralității* published in 1980, noted that it closes a cycle (in the ballad *The girl and the cuckoo*, three represents a progressive succession that brings the idea to a closure), or opens a cycle (in the ballad *Manole*, after three obstacles, the catastrophe unleashes)”²⁰.

The gathering of flowers begins at the end of February (the 24th of February-the Christian Holiday celebrating the Finding of the Head of St. John the Baptist, also known in the popular calendar as *Dragobete*), when there are gathered flowers that the girls put around their ears, there are jokes about the feelings of the young

¹⁴ Rolf W. Brednich, *Volkserzählungen und Volkslaube von den Schicksalsfrauen*, Helsinki, 1964, p. 220 and next.

¹⁵ Ion Ghinoiu, *Mica enciclopedie de tradiții românești*, Bucharest, Agora Publishing House, 2008, p. 319.

¹⁶ See more, Mircea Eliade, *Traité d’histoire des religions*, Paris, 1968, pp. 159-160.

¹⁷ Florica Lorinț, Cornelia Belcin-Pleşca, *Însemne despre destin(în credințe și rituri populare la români)*, in “Anuarul Institutului de Etnografie și Folclor”, New series, volume 4/1993, p. 47.

¹⁸ As regarding the heavenly customs, see: Serafim Rose, *Experiențe contemporane “de după moarte” în lumina învățăturii ortodoxe*, translated from English by Dana Cocargeanu, Bucharest, Sophia Publishing House, 2007, pp. 81-106.

¹⁹ Mihai Fifer, *Cântecul ritual funerar*, in “Arhivele Olteniei”, New series, no. 10/1995, p. 177.

²⁰ Adrian Fochi, *Estetica oralității*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1980, pp. 194-195.

people, there are horas and reunions for shared working, the boys kiss the girls. Dragobete characterises “the representation of all the beings, animals, birds, along with the man”²¹, showing in the same time a reminiscent form of Eros.

Anna Ferrari tells the legend of the god from the Greek mythology, Hades (he used to rule in the infernal land of shadows, beneath the ground)²², who fell in love with the beautiful daughter of Zeus and Demeter, called Persephone. Knowing that Demeter, the goddess of harvest, grains and fertility was against the marriage between Hades and Persephone, he asked her from his brother, Zeus, who agreed, on the condition that Hades managed to take her into his kingdom. While picking flowers, Persephone was taken by Hades into the Inferno. Finding the news, Demeter wandered through the world in nine days, looking for her daughter, and leaving draught behind her. Under these circumstances, Zeus sent Hermes, his messenger, into the Inferno, to ask Hades to leave Persephone return to her parents. Although released from the Inferno, Persephone remained connected to the world of the shadows, due to the fact that Hades had lured her with the fruit of a pomegranate tree. Each winter, she had to return into the Inferno, and for the rest of the year she would live on the earth, along with her mother. This is the reason for which, in the winter, the vegetation dies²³.

An interesting symbolist interpretation can be invoked in the moment of the ritual time. According to the variants, the three sisters left for picking flowers in the dawn of a day (when the rooster was crowing=around the daybreak moment). In this context, it should be brought forward for discussion the moment when the *Dawn is breaking*. The moment the red-orange light of the sun appears, before the sunrise, is called “the daybreak” or “dawn”. The sacredness of this moment is marked by the birth of the Sun²⁴. It is the symbol of the victory of light over the darkness, of purity and sincerity, of awakening, met in the cultures from the civilisations around the world²⁵. Some of the most poetic embodiments of the dawn is the Hindu goddess Usas, the wife and lover of the Sun. In *Rig-Veda*, there are 20 hymns dedicated to her. She is a young woman, of an exquisite beauty, dressed in shining gowns, who shows herself to the world dancing in a shining chariot, pulled by reddish horses. The mythical personification of this moment are the *Dawn-Sisters*, invoked in the funerary ritual songs, the *Pure-White-Dawn* from the Romanian carols, the lyrical and wedding songs. The observations of Ernest Bernea depict the vision of the Romanian peasant, on the moment when the *Dawn*

²¹ Romulus Vulcănescu, *Mitologie română*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1985, p. 338.

²² Victor Kernbach, *Dicționar de mitologie generală*, Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 2004, p. 223.

²³ Anna Ferrari, *Dicționar de mitologie greacă și romană*, translated by Emanuela Stoleriu, Dragoș Cojocaru, Dana Zamosteanu, Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2003.

²⁴ Ivan Evseev, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 57.

breaks: “When the red light appears on the sky, it seems as if you were a different man, and the entire world is different too. The light is coming from God and it brings nothing but good things. This is given by God, everything to be under change. When the dawn breaks, it feels as if the world was being recreated”²⁶. In the folkloric vision, the child born at daybreak will be lucky, and the person who dies at dawn has all his sins forgiven.

The text of carols, called *The Dawn*, registered by Monica Brătulescu in the 28 typology²⁷, present the request of the carollers for the dawn to stay longer, or the solemnly brought news of the daybreak. The image is accentuated, in the mythical area of the carol, the key moment of the dawn breaking is that of some birds or animals fighting for a small amount of food. Ovidiu Bârlea, preoccupied mainly with the folkloric text, underlined that “Transylvania and Țara Loviștei shows an even greater importance, by singing the carol *the dawn* on the lanes of the villages (*zăuritul*), or even in the church tower or on a tree. The Sun, through the red light spread beforehand, is asked not to rise, by the morning mist, because the mist did not find any moment of rest, often pretending that witnessed the fight between two eagles, over a golden feather, saying a rather imperative request: “Do not break”, and with the impetuosity in which it is seen the impossibility to change the natural course, along with the regret that the crucial moment from the year, the night of the carolling, is, nevertheless, over”²⁸.

This is also the moment when the valences of the dew are cherished, representing the purification and the merging between human and vegetation. The valences of the water, encompassed in the dew, are found in numerous rites connected to the dawn, which refer to the health of the humans (the ritual of washing with the dew gathered in St. George’s night; the rolling in the wet grass in the Midsummer Night etc.), and also the animals (the dew from the field is given to the cattle for more milk²⁹).

In the version from Prejna, the three girls-sisters left to pick flowers, “on a Thursday morning”, the day that used to be protected by the lord of the sky-the god Jupiter. The mythology of Thursday was reflected both in the ritual³⁰ and in the

²⁶ Ernest Bernea, *Cadre ale gândirii populare*, Bucharest, Cartea Românească Publishing House, 1985, p. 192.

²⁷ See Monica Brătulescu, *Colinda românească*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1981, pp. 182-184.

²⁸ Ovidiu Bârlea, *Folclorul românesc. Momente și sinteze*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, p. 305.

²⁹ A. Fochi, *Datini și eresuri populare la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea. Răspunsurile la chestionarele lui N. Densușianu*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1976, p. 295.

³⁰ Among all the important Thursdays, referred to the popular calendar, we mention: *the Forbidden Thursdays* (*the Thursday of the Ants*, from the week before the Lent, also called *the Thursday of all the Animals*, *the Thursday of the Mares*, from the first week of the Lent, *the Thursday of the Pots*, *the Black Thursday*, *the Thursday of the Rain Idol*, *the Thursday of the Rain-Makers*), *the Maundy Thursday* from the last week of the Lent (also called *the Thursday of the Passions* or *the Black Thursday*).

texts of the ballads and the funerary songs. "Thursday is the day of the passed away, the day in which the worlds, the seen and the unseen ones, get in touch. The moment from the day, when the hero wanders, is precisely the moment known as favourable for unleashing the inhuman forces, the moment when magic is practised and spells are made, when hidden rituals are unfolded. During this period of time, the hero "wanders", "roams" as the souls of the dead that the poem of the funerary ceremony calls "the pure-while travellers"³¹. The morning, considered the time of the divine privileges, symbol of purification, a moment when nothing is tainted, corrupted or compromised³², the girls leave to gather flowers. Everywhere, in all the variants of the funerary text, the sisters were living in This-Side World during the daybreak, but at midnight or "in the middle" of the night, they pass into the other world. According to the popular beliefs, the midnight represents the apogee when the demons and the evil demi-gods unleash (the Spooks, the Wicked-Fairies, the Ghosts, the Wraiths, the Evil Spirits, the Flyer, Muma-Pădurii – the Evil Spirit of the Forest etc.), along with the witches, the spectres and the infernal animals"³³.

Another very interesting symbol that caught our attention, is the rooster: "And they didn't hear/ Either the rooster crowing/ Or the otter barking/ Or a door opening/ Or the priest calling". In the universal mythological systems, the rooster is a solar symbol. It "embodies the light, with all its cosmic and spiritual valences"³⁴. In the antique Cartagena, at the old Slavic people, or at the Pueblo Indians from America, the white rooster is a bird of light, which announced through its song, the creation of the morning Aurora³⁵. The ancient tradition attributes to the rooster psihopomp virtues, being sacrificed for the god Asclepios, who, through his cures, he succeeded to resurrect people. This bird becomes also the symbol of Attis, the oriental solar god, dead and later resurrected³⁶. In the funerary rituals of the old German people, there were sacrificed roosters, and at certain populations from Altai, "the dead is depicted as a roosted tied on the funerary bed"³⁷.

In the Christian symbolist, "the rooster signifies the supreme light and intelligence that come from God; it is also depicted as a symbol of Jesus Christ"³⁸. The beliefs recommend it as being "given as a present to God", being implied in the Resurrection of Jesus Christ: "The rooster is blessed by our Lord Jesus Christ. If it had not been for the rooster, Jesus would not have resurrected". It also

³¹ Sabina Ispas, *O nouă interpretare a unui cântec povestitor: Toma Alimoș*, in "Revista de etnografie și folclor", v. XXXI, no. 2/1986, pp. 113-118.

³² Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *Dicționar de simboluri*, vol. 1, Bucharest, Artemis Publishing House, 1993, p. 373.

³³ Ivan Evseev, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 133.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ Marcela Bratiloveanu Popilian, *Obiceiuri de primăvară din Oltenia*, Bucharest, "Constantin Matasă" Publishing House, 2001, p. 164.

³⁷ Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 345.

³⁸ Ivan Evseev, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

announces the Resurrection of our Lord: “At Easter, when you hear the rooster crowing, if there is a companion with you in the house, you should say: “Christ has resurrected!””. “Created as a miraculous being”, it can resurrect: it flies next to the icons crying: “Cock-a-doodle-doo! Look at me, they ate me, but I have resurrected!”³⁹. In the folkloric vision, the crowing of the rooster drives away the evil spirits, announces the daybreak, announces the death of a person, watches the way towards the other world. In laments, the inferno is a place where “the rooster does not crow”. The rooster does not come at the door of the dying person, but it calls them, from the gate of heaven, through a song that only the receiver understands: “Nobody in this wide world hears it/Only Lina, who answers it”⁴⁰. It is believed that it is a good thing to give alms a rooster, to somebody the same age as you, to have it when dying. This rooster will crow at the gate of heaven day and night, and in the Other-Side World, it will meet you singing its song⁴¹. In Oltenia, it is very interesting a confession from Drăgănești-Olt, Olt County, according to which, “on the Good Friday, at the service for the dead, those who have among their beloved people who died without holding a candle, take to the church a small parcel, money, something sweet, a match, wine and a white rooster. When they come out with the holly gifts, the roosters start to crow so loudly, that you cannot hear anything else in the church. On Friday afternoon, people go to the cemetery, they take the rooster, and give it, over the grave, to a person, or a child, of the same sex as the one who died without holding a candle”⁴². The same custom is noticed by I. H. Ciubotaru in Bacău and Vrancea and by Elena Niculiță-Voronca, in the villages from the northern parts of Moldova⁴³.

The bird of death that appears in this funerary song, and in other funerary ceremonial-ritual songs too, is the *cuckoo* (*Cuculus canorus*). A legend tells how the cuckoo “used to be the son of an emperor, who ruled in a further country, towards the west. And the emperor had another son too. Along much wealth, he had even more land. When the emperor grew very old, lying on his death bed, he tried to advise his sons how to divide the land. But they didn’t listen, and started to fight. Their father cursed them, saying: “You shall be birds that shall never meet again. And one of you shall remain here, and the other shall go in the east. And you shall call each other until the end of your time on earth, and your eggs shall be hatched by other birds, and you shall be cursed forever!”⁴⁴. The song of the cuckoo

³⁹ Elena Niculiță Voronca, *Datinile poporului român adunate și așezate în ordine mitologică*, vol. I, Iași, Polirom, 1998, p. 363.

⁴⁰ Mariana Kahane, Lucilia Georgescu-Stănculeanu, *Cântecul Zorilor și Bradului (Tipologie muzicală)*, Bucharest, Editura Muzicală Publishing House, 1988, p. 170.

⁴¹ Gh. F. Ciușeanu, *Superstițiile poporului român. În asemănare cu ale altor popoare vechi și noi*, critique edition, preface and theme index by I. Oprișan, Bucharest, Saeculum I.O. Publishing House, p. 261.

⁴² Marcela Bratiloveanu Popilian, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

⁴³ Elena Niculiță-Voronca, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

⁴⁴ Lucian Costin, *Legende*, Timișoara, 1927, p. 12.

can be heard from the Annunciation (The Day of the Cuckoo) until the Midsummer Day, when, according to the tradition, this bird would choke with a grain of barley. A lone bird, it does not build a nest, laying the eggs in the nests of other birds. According to the popular beliefs, if you kill a cuckoo, your parents⁴⁵ or the children die⁴⁶.

In the tradition of the Vedas, the soul of the man before, and after the reincarnation is imagined as a cuckoo, finding shelter in a foreign nest (body)⁴⁷. At the populations from Siberia, the cuckoo helped the shaman to resurrect the dead, while in Japan it used to accompany, at dawn, the disappearance of the shadows⁴⁸. At Lithuanians, when it is said that the sister of Laima will make a prediction through the voice of a cuckoo, it means that she will announce the person "who is going to die"⁴⁹. At the Romanians, it is a bad omen if the cuckoo sings on a lifeless branch, or if somebody sees it standing on dote, it is believed that the person will die that year⁵⁰.

In a variant from Oltenia of the ballad *Doicin the sick*, the psihopomp cuckoo, through an ascending move, flies away from the ground, together with the soul that departed the body: "The cuckoo is singing on a wall/ They put boots on Doicin's feet;/ The cuckoo is singing on the mill,/ Doicin is about to die,/ The cuckoo is singing on a cross,/ Doicin is taken to the grave,/ The cuckoo is singing on the tall hut,/ Over Doicin there is thrown the dust"⁵¹. In another version on the same motif, gathered from Moldova, the cuckoo remains in the mourning house: "The cuckoo is singing on the beam,/ My beloved is taken out in the hall,/ The cuckoo is singing on the line,/ My beloved is taken out,/ The cuckoo is singing on the house,/ My beloved is lying dead in the house"⁵².

In the realm of silence, the lost girl hears the voice of the cuckoo, on the top of the mountain. Although the only creature from the other world is the cuckoo, its singing is the proof that the sisters are dead. According to the popular beliefs, the song of the cuckoo is an omen announcing death if: it flies over the house, it sings above the hose, you hear it singing in the morning, before having the meal, when the saying goes that *the cuckoo profaned you*. According to the entirely quoted version, at the beginning of this study, the cuckoo to whom the characters talk is not common, but one **from the seaside**: "You, dearest cuckoo of the sea/Turn your tail into a ladder/Get us out of here".

⁴⁵ Artur Gorovei, *Credințe și superstiții ale poporului român*, Bucharest, Grai și Suflet Publishing House, 1995, p. 86.

⁴⁶ Ion H. Ciubotaru, *Obiceiurile funerare din Moldova în context național*, Iași, "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University Publishing House, 2014, p. 366.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 365.

⁴⁸ Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 407.

⁴⁹ Algirdas Julien Greimas, *Despre zei și despre oameni. Studii de mitologie lituaniană*, translated by Rodica Paliga, Bucharest, Meridiane Publishing House, 1997, p. 231.

⁵⁰ Artur Gorovei, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁵¹ Ion Nijloveanu, *Balade populare românești*, Bucharest, Muzicală Publishing House, 1984, p. 157.

⁵² Petre V. Ștefănuță, *Datini și creații populare*, Chișinău, Știința Publishing House, 2008, p. 196.

The ladder is an apocryphal image, met in the funerary songs: “To build a wax ladder/ To climb to Christ on it/ Because there is a lovely place” (Negoiștești)⁵³, or, “Down, at the sunrise/ Next to the yellow sun,/ There is a high ladder/ There is an iron ladder/ That goes until the high sky;/ In the middle of it/The black Samodiva,/ Holding a book;/ On which she was writing,/ He should be written in/ Up until the last year” (Borlova-Caraș-Severin)⁵⁴. Sâma Somodiva is a hideous creature, master of the obscure forces, a specific image of the old texts of small stories-songs⁵⁵. Numerous myths and religious texts attest the existence of a ladder that connects the earth from the sky, starting with *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*⁵⁶, in which the ladder of Ra is put for the pharaoh to see the gods easily, and to the vision of Jacob, where the ladder is the instrument of theophany, passing through the African stars dedicated to Saturn, which indicate the communication between the person who makes the dedication and the divinity⁵⁷.

The ladder, as a hypostasis of the world Axis, a mark of the Centre and place to pass to different ontological levels, is also met in the texts of the carols: “There, in the lowest point/ There is a waxen ladder/ On which the sun descends/ Holding the sickle next to his armpits/ To harvest rye/ And spring wheat”⁵⁸. The pictographic motif of the ladder is found, as V. Kernbach noticed, on rushlights, on jewellery and the dishes of the Dacians and the Carpi, the number of steps indicating the degree of mystical initiation. The origin of the ladder theme, according to the opinion of the same author, must be searched in the oriental mythologies (even in the Chinese one), which our popular culture connected, using the way of the apocrypha⁵⁹.

The cuckoo advises the three sisters not to follow the dangerous waters way, because they “they only take you away/ they don’t bring you back/”. The same idea is also put in a funerary song from Țara Loviștei: “Do not look towards the waters/ They only run away,/ They do not return,/ And you look towards the sun/ It goes away/ But it turns back too/ And it brings you once in a while,/ To be amongst us” (Malaia-Vâlcea)⁶⁰. A more nuanced point of view is that of Mircea Eliade: “The ancient road of the dead used to be on the route of the sun, the shiny star that takes the shadows in the empire of darkness, and returns every morning. The solar cult

⁵³ Vasile Șîșu, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

⁵⁴ Sabina Ispas, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁵⁵ Idem, *Eros-polemos. Comentarii asupra unei balade*, in “Anuarul Arhivei de Folclor”, no. XII-XIV, 1993, p. 151.

⁵⁶ For details *Cartea egipteană a morților*, translation and notes by Maria Genescu, Arad, “Sophia” Publishing House, 1993.

⁵⁷ Mihai Fifor, *art. cit.*, p. 175.

⁵⁸ Monica Brătulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵⁹ Victor Kernbach, *Universul mitic al românilor*, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1994, p. 193.

⁶⁰ C. Mohanu, *Fântâna dorului. Poezii populare din Țara Loviștei*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1975, p. 208.

perceived this gleaming divinity as being a hierophant and psihopomp. The sun constitutes a model for the traveller who wishes to return from the other realm. Without knowing the death (as the moon does), it crosses the other-side world every night, to rise again at dawn⁶¹.

In the case of the funerary song about the three sisters who left to gather flowers, we are facing an ancient narrative nucleus, which has in its centre the idea according to which death represents the ultimate initiation of the human, the border towards another state of their being. The syntagm from the funerary text “and they fell asleep” suggest the cleaving between the old condition, its annulment or exceeding, the leaving of the anterior existential statute and the accession to the new state. Therefore, this is not a regular sleep, but it is the one associated with a journey towards the Other-Side World, the sleep of death.

⁶¹ Mircea Eliade, *Traité d'Histoire des Religions*, Paris, Payot, 1970, p. 120 *apud* I. H. Ciubotaru, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

CAUSES OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DECLINE. ANALOGY WITH THE STOCKHOLM SYNDROME

Gabriel PRICINĂ*

Abstract: This article is based on a series of surveys that were conducted in Strehaia in the Mehedinți County. The statistical analyzes performed by consulting the database of the National Institute of Statistics, supplemented by field research regarding the prospects of development of the city have revealed that the level of development is low, and in the last twelve years have been missing a strategic thinking required for the community development. Local pride, the lack of vision and institutional objectives limited the institutional efforts to the electoral cycles and the fatality invoking as a cause of the current problems.

Keywords: community development, public institutions, symbolic capital, Stockholm syndrome, elite.

INTRODUCTION

Romanian society undergoes a perpetual crisis since 1989, characterized by the social, economic and value decline. The symbolic capital is disrupted in the absence of some benchmarks that can guarantee the individually or collectively success. The inspired comparison of the sociology professor Dumitru Sandu in the work: “the sociological transition with a trip that of a social group is moving towards a specific destination, defined as indicators of quality of life”. To what extent these destinations are thankful for all social categories or contain values universally accepted for all group members is reflected in public opinion expressed, fears, social involvement, group cohesion and political options which set elites act as guarantors of direction effective.

After a research of this kind we get to the questions about the five prospects mentioned in the cited work: “Who are the ones who represent the new elite, with what resources have they reached that position, what values they support or what scale of values relate to, do you have trust or not, we know them or detest them,

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which are the behaviours that characterize etc.”. In the case of the researched community we stop at the community’s capacity to conserve its own symbolic capital in the conditions of some confused intern factors that correlate with the extern ones with the decline in the life quality, living conditions and life opportunities. Thus, we find a correlation between hope and fatalistic resignation in the real changes undisturbed election cycles.

In the absence of a real and change capable middle class it arise a need for effective elite to drive the community development. But assessing the effectiveness of new local elites remain at the discretion of a poor population, disoriented without analytical criteria based on a symbolic capital sufficiently developed and adapted to current times. Instead we witness a syncretism of traditional principles, specific to the autarkic Romanian communities, and welfare principles, defined by the global processes influence, handy for local staff attached to political parties ideologically shaped only in major cities and supported locally by the vehemence of local elites.

1. WHY THE STOCKHOLM SYNDROME WOULD BE A MODEL FOR UNDERSTANDING THE COMPLEX PHENOMENA THAT AFFECTS THE SYMBOLIC CAPITAL?

Understanding the contributing factors to the total decline of a community involves more complex explanations than the reductionist ones, such as the economic or demographic nature. The Stockholm syndrome describes the behaviour of the victim to the aggressor, due to insulation, captivity and violence. Relative benevolence of the aggressor is perceived positively by the victim who goes to a state of sufficient sympathy. The events of 1973 in Sweden revealed an atypical behaviour of human beings in a compelling context, hostage’s attachment to the bank robbers. But the reasons are complex and based on specific traits of human nature¹, and in this relationship we are dealing with aggressor rationality and the captive emotional experiences.

Transfer elements from The Stockholm syndrome toward the individual experiences that may help explain collective behaviour of people in a social group that supports the state of dependence towards the elite at the expense of democratic rights to vote in favour of changing the individual freedoms and opportunity to express their potential.

The symbolic capital is “any property type (any physical capital, economic, social, and cultural)”², whose function is to support economic and social valorisation of capital so as to meet the objectives of the group.

¹ Nathalie de Fabrique, Stephen J. Romano, Gregory M. Vecchi, Vincent B. Van Hasselt, *Understanding Stokholm Syndrome*, FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, Volume 76, No 7, july 2007, pp. 10-15, available at <https://leb.fbi.gov/2007-pdfs/leb-july-2007>

² Pierre Bourdieu, *Rațiuni practice. O teorie a acțiunii*, Bucharest, Meridiane Publishing House, 1999, p. 85.

The community that is the subject of this study we cannot explain the maintenance of a status quo undesirable by this syndrome than compensates disaggregating the components in the use of the symbolic capital and human capital stock that can provide “the trip” towards the desired objectives. Accepting the current context it can only be explained by the collective mind that accepts captivity from different considerations of social action rationality.

2. COMMUNITY CHARACTERIZATION BASED ON THE DATA

Statistical data analysis allows assessing the situation of the urban infrastructure of the city while placing thereof in the context of other cities in the Mehedinti County in particular and Oltenia in general.

From a demographic perspective Strehaia is the third urban community of the county, comprising approximately 8.1% of the total urban population of the county, placed in the same category with other cities in Oltenia such as Rovinari, Dăbuleni, Orșova, Scornicești, Drăgănești Olt and Bumbesti Jiu, is the 19th largest city in total 40 cities in Oltenia.

In terms of urban infrastructure Strehaia city ranks 24 being surpassed by smaller cities. In relation to the urban area in 2011³ in Strehaia every kilometre of the street was 11.03 Km², each kilometre of water network was 37.55 Km², and a sewage incumbent was 71.67 Km². On average the area covered by all utilities (measured in square kilometres of built-up area per one kilometre from complete utilities) was 40.08 Km². For comparison cities of the same size have the following areas covered by the three utilities (paved streets, water and sewerage).

Table 1

The area covered by utilities in Oltenia cities with population between 10,000-15,000 inhabitants

<i>Nr. Crt.</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>The average area covered by all utilities*</i>
1	Rovinari	12,29 Km ²
3	Orșova	13,73 Km ²
4	Scornicești	15,44 Km ²
5	Strehaia	40,08 Km ²
6	Drăgănești Olt	43,70 Km ²

Source: National Institute of Statistic, Tempo online database, available at: <http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/index.jsp?page=tempo2&lang=ro&context=75>

Ddata processing by author

**Note: a lower average surface covered by utility indicates greater length utilities*

³ National Institute of Statistic, Tempo online database, available at <http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/index.jsp?page=tempo2&lang=ro&context=75>

By this situation we find that Strehaia is far below the level of development of similar cities. We note that economic investment in the city's development is dependent on the existing infrastructure and facilities offered to investors. A poor infrastructure is not attractive for potential investors, and by comparison with other cities shows that Strehaia is far from what the entrepreneurs are looking for.

Analysis of urban infrastructure on Strehaia revealed that the municipality has remained constant for a long time (at least between 2000-2010 for which we have available data). But stagnation areas covered by basic public utilities highlights the lack of involvement in local development by the local decision makers. We note that the city is at the confluence of two metropolitan areas of influence: in relation to Mehedinți county resident, Dr. Tr. Severin the urban area of influence is 5 km (measured from the town centre), and compared to the most important city of Oltenia (Craiova), the urban influence is 2.4 km⁴. The stagnation of investment in infrastructure development will decrease these areas and develop potential loss due to expansion of urban services to areas under the influence of the city. Moreover, the lack of investment in urban development capacity causes decreased revenue from taxes collected by local authorities which affect revenues to the state budget. Demographic decline is influenced by the infrastructure condition, lack of life opportunities and attraction shown by other urban centres as well as international migration.

Add to these statistics the decrease of the healthcare quality by closing and reopening the hospital, increasing number of people per one doctor and the number of potential patients to beds. Therefore the conditions necessary for urban services quality are affected by even the extinction, pausing and resuming the activity syncope. It is challenging to provide a coherent strategy on the background of eliminating the urban services that serves the bordering areas, which are shrinking as can be seen from the influence of urban areas.

Statistics data prove that Strehaia is in a directional retrieval stage which requires numerous investments in improving, maintaining and expanding investments. The location along the European road, linking the west of the capital can be an important asset by increasing the city's attractiveness for investors.

To get closer to the urban infrastructure with the highest density of Oltenia (town Motru) were required in 2011 investment in the construction of 50 km of tap water and sewerage, which means employment and increase the number of payers of these services, which means a surplus of revenue to local government. The level of investment by 2016 is far from being achieved which shows that the statistical analysis and inventory needs of the local community was not found in the management plan of the local Mayor.

⁴ These measurements are based on the statistical data of the National Institute of Statistic with the method Reilly-Converse.

3. POPULATIONS OPINIONS AND VALUES

This data is based on two opinion surveys conducted in Strehaia in 2015 and 2016. Knowledge based on statistical data requires knowledge of community field. Please note that in this case Strehaia is not an atypical case, its specific phenomena being found in many places in Romania.

Data collected and their dynamics, resulting after processing data from two consecutive studies have shown a paradoxical state of mind of a part of the population. In the last 12 years there have been no major changes among the local Mayor, and their performance proved that the choice of their state reasons which go beyond rationality required a vote based on logical assumptions which also induced the idea for this article title in an attempt to explain the specifics of the village.

Community status and life quality are viewed in a negative way by the population. The question about the mayor's work highlighted that in 2016 a percentage of 34.7% of respondents gave the note "1", while a rate of 16.9% gave "10". The remaining options were distributed between "2" and "10". By aggregating the extreme options shows that more than half of respondents (51.6%) tends to analyze in a radically way the mayors activity, being in complete opposition. By reporting on pre-election efforts you can find some differences between 2015-2016: the critical attitude fell by 6.8% (note "1" was given by 41.5% of respondents in 2015 and 34.7% in 2016), while appreciations increased by 7.1% (16.9% in 2016 from 9.8% in 2015).

The local council, now dissolved, was appreciated in the same way, although currently not working: between 2015 and 2016 the share of those which were awarded the note "1" fell by 1.1% (from 38.9% to 37.8%) and "10" was granted 5.8% in 2015 and 10.6% in 2016, an increase of 4.8%. This positive change in favour of an institutional entity that no longer exists is due to the same atypical way of understanding the things of a population category in terms of information.

The City Hall institution was appreciated in the same way, the growth of satisfaction with the way in which it operates. The mark "1" was mentioned by 6.7% fewer respondents in 2016 compared to 2015 (32.8% vs. 39.5%) and "10" has met several options by 8.8% in 2016 to 2015 (15% vs. 6.2%).

These considerations suggest that the hope given by the work started in the pre-election period had a positive effect on the population, which although not directly associated with these works with a certain person, I think in the future things will get a good direction.

Political debates are reflected in conflicts between the local decision makers. The Local Council is suspended by the decision of the mayor but without this being made known to the public. Awareness of local political realities of the population is evidenced by the 37.6% of people who heard about the dissolution of the council.

A percentage of 34.9% of respondents believe that the decision was bad and only 24.9% of respondents said that this is a good decision.

The opinions concerning the issues addressed by the local authorities' shows that the activity is unknown or limited to work around urban areas of strength. The largest proportion of respondents (34.76%) has highlighted that so far local authorities have not solved any problem of the village. The main issues addressed were road works (by asphalt or pavement), sewerage and tap water. The remaining issues resolved hold shares of less than five percent. Analysis of the data collected shows that there is a collective short-term memory: are forgotten the works for more than a year before (water, public lighting) and current popular works, visible even if they are just begun without there being any evidence that will be completed in the future.

Data comparison between the two surveys highlights a few elements to be taken into account:

- In 2016 it increased the number of references to the problems solved (13 issues mentioned in 2016 compared to 7 issues in 2015);
- Increased by 6.81% percentage of those who believes that local authorities have solved the roads problem;
- Increased by 0.72% percentage of those who consider that the authorities have solved the sewage problem;
- Decreased by 1.74% percentage of those who believe that local authorities did nothing.
- Decreased by 6.50% percentage of those who believe that the current water problem has been solved;
- Decreased by 3.21% percentage of those who believe that public lighting has been solved;
- Decreased by 3.21% percentage of those who think the authorities did the right thing;
- Instead mention of problems appear solved in 2016 and not mentioned in 2015: repair sidewalks, drainage ditches, city sanitation, school repair, carrying wells, repair bridges, green spaces development.

Future solutions are simplistic, referring to replace the mayor (up 5.99%), staff reduction (up 2.98%) and cooperation with companies specialized in European funds (0.79%). Trying to guess the positive consequences of these measures is discouraging the population as proposals are more punitive and less than constructive. Replacing the mayor with a person with the same management vision will not generate any community development and improvement of life quality. Moreover, possible solutions and specialized activity represented variants cooperation with companies specialized in attracting European funds registered a minor increase of only 0.79% and the option of hiring specialists in population opinions fell 4.15%, the same as drastic staff reduction (5.45%). The data resulting from the processing of potential solutions for the future are reduced to sanctioning

the mayor, but not completed for proposals on ways to improve the professionalization of business and administrative skills team. Thus, in the future we expect that the city hall activity is centered on a single person (the mayor) who can use its discretion to fund community passivity and lack of qualified advice. There is a risk reconstitution the same context of the community captivity in a vicious circle of passivity, the lack of performance of clerks, the lack of a real strategy of development and the lack of specialists in community development derived from the internal or external resources.

In this way expectations will be materialized through reporting to a single person, subjectively, will seek to preserve the mandate (power position) becoming an “aggressor” by imposing certain measures that will create community’s state of dependence.

Rejecting the human capital stock from outside the community represents a sufficient argument, in our opinion, for understanding the nature of cultural captivity of small communities. Increasing appreciation for local leaders under conditions of repeated setbacks over twelve years ago small investment, some not yet finalized, highlights a supra-innovation fear and modernization to the detriment of subsistence sanctioned capacity of the current state of affairs. Thus, the slowing modernization and integration into the competitive world of globalization is perceived as a valuable mediator of the community interests in a manner contrary to the evidence.

Understanding the attitudes towards the community problems can be divided into two broad categories: a higher degree of interest in terms of personal as well as the hospital (32.25%) and workplaces (29.63%), followed by another category of issues concerning the Community organization: roads (25.16%), stray dogs (5.11%) and the amount of taxes (3.83%).

Regarding the last point raised – the amount of taxes – making them more difficult to collect and reduce their impact on the local budget through the demographic decline, poverty and the low number of economic agents, plus the significant migration of population and consumer goods and services. The multiplication of local government services can support a revenue growth at the local budget.

The belief that wellbeing depends on the activity of the mayor and the Town Hall (75.6% in 2015) in a ratio discrepancies with other options (foreign investors, attracting EU funds, agricultural development or the Romanian State, not exceeding 10.0% of options) highlights the concentration of the expectations around the local institution and its leader. These views support the idea of the Stockholm syndrome in the community. The only relationship assessed as positive by the captive citizens is the nearest administrative institution and its leader: the mayor. The community members behave such as being isolated from the world, ignoring the institutions and organizations that can provide material support, logistics and professional development of the city. This attitude contributes

authoritarian behaviour of the city representatives imposing a model of compliance according to the social prestige sought.

The traditional elements are found in the general population views. Thus, the business of the mayor's positive attitude is reflected in the personal aid they provide to those in need. Moreover, the mayor ideal for Strehaia should be male (69.4% of the options), politically unaffiliated (64.85), young (63.2%), to be born in the locality (55.6%) and rather poor (43.8%).

This image features a mayor highlighted that the populations vision is based on the leadership role specific as a man (the origin patriarchal), politically independent (unconstrained by any community external force) young (a guarantee of future), born in the locality (warranty attachment to the community) and poor (guarantee fairness and honesty).

We find that the decision is based on a traditional cultural model, commonly found in the policy choices of the early 1990s.

Associating honesty with poverty is a widespread in Romanian rural areas, where wealth is associated with negative traits of character and honesty. Through such considerations we believe that the decision criteria are compensated based on a solid reasoning related to the modern management.

CONCLUSION

The link we are trying to realize between the power relations within a community and isolation which develops through self-assumed dependence towards the leaders can identify the most effective ways to support small communities. They prove incapable of identifying their own development resources and their use for enhancing life quality. Decisions based on those principles determine auto-exclusion the small communities that can provide the institutional development support.

The objectives of the modernization projects are reported in the literature as "the integration of local communities in political structures (nation-state) and national and international economic (market)"⁵. Although the democratic organization requires election cycles of four years, we find that voting intentions are based on the principles of traditional culture and not on modern performance on reasonable indicators of life quality or the democratic principles that allow the necessary corrections from time to time.

Political competition is reduced to an exercise in gaining legitimacy of community representation and conservation of power within the community. Late

⁵ Liviu Chelcea, *Cultură și dezvoltare: perspectiva antropologiei culturale*, în Cătălin Zamfir, Laura Stoica (coord.), *O nouă provocare: dezvoltarea socială*, Craiova, Polirom Publishing House, 2006, p. 131.

modernization aggravates the social issues and community decline due to overlapping the self-sufficient relationships of those specific to globalization. The syncretism between overlapping of the two value systems results in decreased life quality. Adapting to the new challenges requires integrating in the world current of the local potential that should only be selected from those favouring and those blockers. We are currently witnessing, unfortunately, to the candidates empowerment that guarantees the context of subsistence at the lower survival rather than initiating opportunities to express their potentialities individual or group.

The analogy with the Stockholm syndrome has an explanatory power sufficient to the small communities specific phenomena, with connections between people based on tradition, autarkic Romanian and that attaches irrational on people who retain their privileges and legitimacy by maintaining the economic, social and cultural turn them into leaders.

THE ETHICS OF THE FIELDWORK – METHODOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND RULE FOR OBJECTIVITY

Gabriela BOANGIU*

Abstract: From the stage of commencement, that of the scientific research, to the one of the interpretation and publishing of the result after a thorough research, the ethnologist has to observe lots of principles that will lead them to authentic, avoiding the illusions and errors. The ethics of the ethnological research imposed itself both as a methodological research, and rule of objectivity. The main ethnological research, the participative observation, has to take into consideration few rules, in order to become closer to the studied reality.

Keywords: Ethics, fieldwork, ethnological research, objectivity.

In his investigations, the researcher constantly has to reflect on the categorical statement that Kant formulated: “Behave in such a manner, that to regard humanity, both yourself and the other people, always as a purpose, never as a means” and, this way, your work will be saved through objectivity and morality, in the relation with all the respondents. It was also Kant who asserted that: “An only thing is sure: morality has value for us, not because it is a preoccupation of ours, but because it preoccupies us owing to its value for us, the humans, because it emerges from our will, conceived as intelligence, that is our true self”. Therefore, the ethics of the ethnological research is imposed both as a methodological request, and as a rule of our objectivity. From the stage of commencement, that of the scientific research, to the one of the interpretation and publishing of the result after a thorough research, the ethnologist has to observe lots of principles that will lead them to authentic, avoiding the illusions and error.

The main ethnological research, the participative observation has to consider few rules, in order to become closer to the studied reality, thus “the social and cultural phenomena are coherent and structured: the ethnologist has to regard the ensemble of the aspects met in a society, without eliminating *a priori* some field of the social life, or certain types of phenomena; there should not be shown preference

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for the public instead of the private events, nor the important social phenomena, instead of the small quotidian gestures, not the spiritual manifestations of the material spiritual life. The ensemble of observations has to be integrated, in order to confer meaning to a social togetherness”¹.

It can be made a reference to the vocation of ethnologist, but the support of this passion for the performed work also completes the vocational spirit, “the ethnologist attains scientific rigorousness only if they shed the cultural prejudices and present themselves on the field with the spiritual necessary open-mindedness. These preliminary dispositions seem impossible to be separated from the vocation of the ethnologist. But there remains to be fulfilled the work for the objectivity of their own categories of understanding, along with the situation created by their presence on the field. Therefore, in the first stage, they have to relativize the cultural values of the society from which they emerge, and to perceive better their arbitrary character, in order to understand the culture of the others, and to transform it into a researched subject (...) They have to subject ineludibly the far society, the occidental ones, closer as a distancing project – in other words, as objectivation”².

The role that an ethnologist carries in the research is a complex one, which implies multiple attitude expressivities: “Field experiences are very different and do not obey any pre-established rule. But what it is certain is that the ethnologist is not a kind of invisible man, a neuter observer, inexistent for their respondents. Due to his presence itself, through their involvement in precise interactions, the ethnologists generate reactions, confidences, which nurture the analysis. They are the discreet observers in some cases, the insistent and active researcher in others, a simple social actor, now and then. Their so-called “informers”, if we use the consecrated term, such are the people who they have a preferential relation with, can be individuals that are positioned side-ways or, on the contrary, which have an authority position. The ethnologist is sometimes kept beside, or the other way round, summoned to express their opinion, to solve litigations. Besides some simple precautions, those of respect towards the studied populations, we cannot give details regarding the prescribed attitude on the field. But, nonetheless, we are allowed to insist on this aspect, whatever the place of the ethnologist’s in the community, they have to be able to be objective, for contextualising the observations, and confer meaning to them. The observers are themselves part of their observation, and only their capacity to objectify their position in the studied community guarantee the objectivity of the ethnographic approach”³.

Nevertheless, in case of realising a collection of oral history, “the attitude when interviewing has to correspond to a “careful listening, not a passive one”, a

¹ Marie-Odile Géraud, Olivier Leservoisier, Richard Pottier, *Noțiunile cheie ale etnologiei*, Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 2001, p. 29

² *Ibidem*, p. 31.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 32.

part of the discourse analysis needing the completion in the moment the story is collected. From here, it resorts the preference for the semi-directive interviews, which allow a free expression, exercising, in the same time, a minimal amount of control. Thus, through the intervention during the interview, along with the later work for verification, analysis and publishing, the researcher participates directly to the construction of the story⁴.

The organisation and the carrying out of the project implies numerous interrogations, in the interview, because the reciprocity of the observation can transform radically the situation of the inquiry, the first hardships that the researcher has to consider being those generated by the relation researcher/subject. What is the researcher seen like, by the narrator? How to solve the problems of approach, when the social distance between the inquirer and the inquired is too small or too big? When confronted to such difficulties, the creation of a relation based on trust appears as one of the preliminary conditions for the smooth flow of the interview. To obtain this, the researcher has to be extremely patient, to become familiarised with the studied subject, because they cannot just request a spontaneous story-telling of private elements. Moreover, they ought to, as a general rule, give information about themselves: Who are they? What are they looking for? For what purpose? Finally, they have to make sure that they meet the subject frequently, which will eventually allow, for this point, to obtain information that was hidden during their first meetings. On this trustful relation, it depends both the way in which the narrators reveal themselves, and the quality of their information⁵.

To the relation of researcher-subject, other variables participate too. Thus, often due to social and cultural reasons, or some related to generation, the two do not use the same language. Consequently, there are implied problems regarding the interpretation, because the use and the signification of the words are not similar. Sometimes, due to the risks of misunderstanding, it is recommended the integral recording of the talk, in order to further verify the meaning of the words. If the interlocutor is uncomfortable with him being recorded, this must not be considered an unavoidable obstacle; most of the time the recorder is rapidly forgotten during the conversation⁶.

The analysis of the conditions in which it is told the story (the relation researcher-subject, the situation of the interview, the conditions for the realisation) appears as one of the essential stages of the research. The biography being a commune production, it is indeed imposed, in an equal extent, an ethnographic reflection on the activity of investigation and on the studied object. Far from aspiring to the perfect neutrality, it is about the unravelling of a form of subjectivity, induced by the presence of the researcher, for fully integrating it in the analysis and to evidence it in the moment of publishing⁷.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 43-44.

If the interpretation of the story has to be analysed according to the procedural conditions, it also involves the relating of it to the three levels of reality. To which the discourse is connected: formal reality, the reality of representation and the experienced reality. The first covers the field of law and norms. The second one regards the representations, the moral and the ideologies. The third level is related to the social practice, the behaviours and the actions of the individuals. One of the main tasks of the researcher is, subsequently, to unravel the contradictions between the field of law and that of the practice, for noticing the way in which there are interiorised the norms. Therefore, a thorough analysis of the biographic documents implies the knowing and the familiarising with the studied group, along with the field observation. The ethno-biographic method is based on the principle that the story is not a finite product, a raw material, on which it should be done verification. Firstly, it is about the contextualisation of the story, being especially interested in the environment in which the studied person lives. The text that we collect is subjected to the verification of the subject itself, in order to make the corrections and the completions that are considered necessary. Finally, the ethno-biographic inquiry leads to the collection of new stories, for the further cross analysis. In parallel, the researcher resorts to the classical ways of verification, based on the historic sources and archives. Yet, despite these precautions, the biographic story can avoid the verification, because, sometimes it happens that the confession is unique⁸.

The publishing of the text must also take into consideration some rules in the process of passing from the oral form, to the printed text. Moreover, the content of the publication must have the agreement and the consent of the interlocutors, of the narrators.

The relation researcher – field informer is one of the most debated themes, which has been approached within the social sciences. Its centrality opens new manners for the research, shows methodologies, brings subjects together. The same centrality creates continuous interrogations that activate the process of research. There have to be considered two coordinates, on one hand the optimisation of the process of selection on addressing the field informers, along with the communicational one, for obtaining the relevant information, and, on the other side, the need of constant repositioning of the researcher, as confronted to the investigated material, for the perspective to be more comprehensive.

The displaying of some types of informers, from a folkloric perspective that has assimilated the praxeology and pragmatics elements – the study of the researcher Sanda Golopenția-Eretescu manages to offer important details for the realisation of an efficient research, within the folkloristics, and not only. Thus, she remarked: “The researcher can observe actions (interactions) that take place

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 44-45.

spontaneously, or can generate actions (interactions), in order to observe them”⁹. Moreover, the title of subject is attributed to the individuals who “are trained by the researcher for the role of agent, or anti-agent, of some generated actions (interactions)”¹⁰.

Furthermore, “the bringing of some individuals in the position of subjects is realised through an ad-hoc oral interaction, done between the researcher and the individual. The success of this interaction depends on the researcher’s capacity to interact. The interaction is translated through a request addressed by the researcher to the individual. The subject of this research can be: execution, miming, collaboration to, imagination, description, evaluation, justification etc. of an action (part of an action) or the miming, imagination, description, evaluation, justification etc. of an interaction (part of an interaction). In the study of actions and interactions that constitute a community, the researcher has to merge the observation of the individuals with the observations of the subjects, and reach a coherent interpretation of the information, received in the two manners”¹¹. When the coherence cannot be realised but through the renouncing to a part of the existent information, there will be taken into account the information resulted from the direct observation of the phenomenon and the respective subjects, “this priority is justified by the fact that, being a creation of the interaction with the researcher, the subject is an altered individual”¹². Sanda Golopenția-Eretescu calls informer “that subject who is trained by the researcher, in at least one generated verbal interaction, other than the interaction through which he was brought in the position of subject. For example: the subject who accepts to describe, to evaluate, to justify an action and he describes, evaluates and justifies it; the subject who accepts to mime a verbal interaction and he mimes it; the subject who accepts to describe, to evaluate, to justify an interaction, and he describes, evaluates, justifies it. The informer is a subjects who talks”¹³.

In the same time, “an individual brought by the researcher in the position of subject or informer, does not cease, though his position, to affect actions (to participate to interactions) spontaneously (as individual). In observation, the researcher will have to separate the information provided by the individual, from that provided by the subject and the informer, to examine it critically, to compare and to reach to a coherent positioning of it”¹⁴. For the undifferentiated reference to an individual-or-subject-or-informer, there will be used the syntagma “folklore conveyor”.

⁹ Sanda Golopenția-Eretescu, *Elemente praxiologice și pragmatice relevante pentru o tipologie a informatorilor*, in “Revista de etnografie și folclor”, volume 22, no. 1, Bucharest, 1977, p. 16.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 17.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

In the relation with an activity that they do, the individuals, who interact with the researcher can be (A) a creator-individual, (B) a performing-individual, (C) a witness-individual, or (D) a commentator-individual. The creator individual is the one who initiates the activity of research. The defining qualities are inventiveness, originality, “geniality” etc. The performing individual is the one who effectuates, carries out, does, but does not initiate the action. He is defined by skill, talent, respect for the consecrated norms, accuracy etc. The witness individual is the one who describes, specifies (gives explanations on addressing) the development and the structure of the action. He is characterised by the perceptive faculty, rigorousness, precision, exactness, strictness. The commentator individual is the one who evaluates, criticises, praises, explains, formulates the underlying norms, gives opinions on addressing the action. His main qualities are: lucidity, reflexivity, capacity of empathy. The terms of creator, performer, witness, commentator are rather vague, as Sanda Golopenția-Eretescu also noticed, therefore, they shall be considered in different degrees, considering the fact that there is dealt with ideal categories, and moreover, there can be made a distinction between the strong and the weak meanings of these terms. The types (A) – (D) represent “the ideal profiles”, they cannot be found in the “pure” manifestations, most of the times the individuals do not even denote just a unique type, but they synthesise, more or less expected, features from several types¹⁵.

Folkloristics is well-endowed, from the methodological point of view, for studying the way in which all the specified profiles are manifesting, but mainly that of the performing individual, which is defined through the capacity to do an action that they did not initiate, “according to the reason of the performance, there is made a distinction between the commissioned performer, the professional performer, the consecrated performer, performer on their own initiative, and the requested initiative. It is a commissioned performer of an action the person who was designated by a community for this position (for example: the godfather, the midwife etc.), it is a professional performer of an action the person who earns a living after the performing of the action. For example: musicians, different craftsmen (...). It is a consecrated performer of an action the person who belongs to a group that recognises the optimal qualities of performing, in other words, the performer who is evaluated superlatively by the commenting group. It is a performer on his own initiative the person who, either because he is an optimal performer, or for other reasons, does frequently, “for pleasure”, that specific activity. It is aimed, in case of verbal, musical (non-professionalised), choral activities, through terms as *folklore transmitter*. The performer on request does not frequently, and on his own initiative, get involved in the specific activity, but they have the ability to do it, if they are requested. They do the activity only if the context necessarily requires this activity, unlike the performers on their own

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

initiative, who get involve in that specific activity every time the context does not forbid this involvement. The commissioned performers, professionals, well-known in a group, can be detected through the ad-hoc questioning of some informers recruited among them. The performers on their own initiative, or on request, can be noticed only through direct observation”¹⁶.

It is essential to be made the distinction whether the performer denies some of the already storied, sang, played parts, if they interrupt themselves, or change the type of the story, song, or dance, if they simplify it. Each error, each change in the activity of an individual, signifies a deterioration of the object.

According to the quality of the execution, there can be made a distinction between an optimal (master) performer, average (normal) performer, mediocre performer, sub-mediocre performer. Not every optimal performer is also a consecrated one. There should be further observed whether any consecrated performer is also an optimal one. Many folklorists have interviewed and interacted with optimal performers, but it is useful, in research, the collaboration will all the types of performers, because for a series of investigations (especially those regarding forgiving of an action, or the disappearance of some songs, ceremonies etc.), the mediocre and sub-mediocre performer gain a central position. According to the fidelity the absolute action of the creator is reproduced, there can be made a distinction between a relaxed, amateur performer, and a strict, specialist one. The relaxed performer seems to rather approximate a pattern (inventing, on the way, the performances and the activities that he does not know, in order to reach the result or the type of result he knows that another performer had), he is actually a creator-performer. The strict performer repeats precisely the carefully memorised performances, to reach the exact conditions reached by the creator of the action itself. A relaxed performer is the craftsman; an example of a strict performer is the ritual performer, who reproduces rigidly performances and activities for reaching, under the same circumstances, the result that he thinks a postulate ancestral creator reached¹⁷.

Sanda Golopenția-Eretescu underlines in the same time the importance of the relations between the ideal (A) – (D) profiles, and the parameters used in the typology of the informers, such is the age, talent, belonging to tradition, memory, repertoire, heredity etc., or to folklore in general. Thus, “the old man tends to be a witness, a commentator; the child is excluded from these two positions. The talent refers rather to the quality of performer, than to that of creator, it does not have any relevance for the quality of witness or commentator. A strong adherence to tradition gives a good performer, a good witness. A weak adherence to tradition

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

can give (but not necessarily) a good creator, a good commentator. The qualities of performer and witness are qualities that, in a traditional collectivity, should belong, either one or another, to each of the group members. The qualities of creator and commentator are nevertheless related to the talent of the individual, more than the amplitude and his immersion into the tradition. The performer and the witness fulfil a joint position, they are the connecting element of the group, the centripetal movement of the group being expressed through them. The memory is highly significant for the performer and the witness; it does not interest us directly when we talk about the creator or the commentator. Yet, the term is not used with the same acceptation when we refer to the performer, but when we refer to the witness. When we talk about the memory of the performer, we mainly talk about his unconscious memory, in which there have been expressed and brought to light, one after another, once triggered, the connections between the crucial moments and unanalysed acting situations etc. When we talk about the memory of the witness, we refer to their conscious memory, which keeps deliberately unaltered and “relives”, according to their will, independent from the impulse of occurrences, the details, the elements, the aspects of the actions and interactions. The well-known characterisation of Constantin Brăiloiu (“the singularity of the mechanism of the popular memory, which becomes fully aware only when the imperious exigencies of a rite or an exceptional state of mind constrains it”) refers to the unconscious memory of the performer¹⁸. The fact that memory defines firstly the performer and the witness, can be also suggested by the fact that they are the ones who can be subjected to oblivion. Generally, seldom in the case of the performer, and never in that of the witness, oblivion can be total (the individual forgets not only what he knew, had knowledge of, but even the fact that he used to know, have knowledge of that specific fact; an example of that is “the regress towards non-recognition” of some stories, noticed by Dumitru Pop and Olga Nagy¹⁹), or partial (the individual forgets what he knew, but he does not forget that he used to know that fact). The creator, the commentator forget in a way that is significant for the folklorist.

The concept of repertoire is used in the relation with the performer, but it is not relevant in relation with a creator, a witness or a commentator. There are inherited, inside the same family, qualities of performer, maybe of creator, anyway, we cannot mention heredity when discussing the quality of witness or commentator. The problems of circulation in folklore, could be better shaped if we considered the fact that the person who does it is, the performer, and the person who mentions it is the witness, and if the analysis of the individuals, who manifest

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 25

¹⁹ Dumitru Pop, Olga Nagy, *Arta povestitului și vârsta povestitorilor*, in “Revista de etnografie și folclor”, year XIV, 1969, no. 4, pp. 263-269 *apud* Sanda Golopenția-Eretescu, *op. cit.*, p. 25

these types, focused. Directed by some informers, or by chance, the researcher notices individuals who manifest the ideal (A) – (D) prototypes. There are drawbacks inherent to this observation, among which we mention two: (a) the researcher does not observe the individuals whose qualities of creators, performers etc. are not obvious for the members of the studied group; (b) the researcher does not observe the features related to the personality of the creator, performer etc., which the observed opportunity does not request. There remain for examination the special problems that appear (a) when the researcher collaborates with the subjects or the informers following (exclusively, or for another purpose) to find the (A) – (D) type of individual to whom these features belong, or (b) when the researcher collaborates with the informers for the repeating of the (A) – (D) types, in the studied group, or knowing the type in which some individuals from the group fit, others but the informers. Through the collaboration with the subjects, the researcher can know exclusively the aspect of creator or that of performer, in the personality of those individuals. Knowing the subject in the hypostasis of creator is, in its turn, indirect. The researcher cannot, if we ignore the special circumstances, request a subject to initiate an entirely new action (to create, in the actual meaning of the word), in the moment of cooperation. Or, more exactly, even if he is requested, or the subject agrees, this situation will illustrate only partially his quality of creator (because he will be, nevertheless, a second creator, who is told to create, not a proper creator, who decides entirely free on the creation). Such cases of directed creation are interpreted rather as tests of creativity, which the subject has to have, than circumstances in which he acts creatively. The knowing of the subject in the hypostasis of performer is possible and must be amplified through the elaboration of a list with ad-hoc requests²⁰.

Through the collaboration with the informers, the researcher can meet with any of the aspects (A) – (D) of their personality. He will therefore know oral creators (or also oral, in case of syncretic manifestations), oral performers (or also oral), witnesses and commentators²¹. The conclusion considers that the folkloric investigation of a problem, regardless its type, cannot be declared complete as long as the researcher has not observed (interviewed) individuals, subjects and informers from all the (A) – (D) profiles, along with individuals, subjects or informers who do not frame into any of the four types. The classical folkloric research, orientated preponderantly towards tradition, so towards the individuals, subjects and informers that belong the performing type (and inside it, to the sub-types consecrated performer and professional performer, which is manifested more preponderantly). Yet, there was noticed that the witness is equally important as the

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

performer, for the understanding of the traditional aspect of a collectivity. Hence, it might be useful to be shown more attention. As regarding the newer investigations, which aim the folkloric perspectives of a collectivity, they have to consider especially the individuals, the subjects and the informers that belong to the types of creator and commentator. For meeting the (A) – (D) types, the researcher has to elaborate the instruments that would allow their finding. Among these, there are also: (a) the description of the four types; (b) the elaboration, for each of the four types, of lists that contain the requests that the researcher has to address the subject, according to the wide categories of problems that he considers interesting; (c) the elaboration of questionnaires, differentiated on the four types of informers, for the main approached problems²².

²² *Ibidem*, pp. 28-29.

THE DOPPLER ECHOGRAPHY – FROM GREEK MYTHOLOGY TO MODERN CARDIOLOGY

Diana DĂNIȘOR*, Octavian ISTRĂTOAIE**

Abstract: The following pages shall demonstrate how the nature of things is made evident through the science of naming, the structure of designation. Through this extensive analysis, I aim at establishing the connection between Greek mythology and modern cardiology by exploring the origin of the word *echography* and its modern counterpart *the Doppler echography*.

Keywords: echo, echography, Doppler echography, Greek mythology, Cardiology.

ECHO GREEK MYTHOLOGY

The word “echography” originates from the Greek mythology nymph Echo, nymph of the forests and springs of Mount Helicon, the very personification of the acoustic echo. In the Ancient Greek language, Ἠχώ / *Ēkhō*, she was an oread raised by nymphs who was prone to prolixity and exacerbated playfulness, constantly making up wild stories, talking incessantly to distract Hera, as she favoured Zeus’ many erotic indiscretions. The jealous Hera becomes aware of her trickery and curses Echo to never again be able to be the first one to speak, but rather be content in repeating that which others have said¹: “You will always have the last word, but you may never have the first”².

Echo is the unhappy heroine of two legends. Hidden in the depths of forests, her voice always answers to the voice that beckons; yet nobody can see her, only sound still lives inside her³. Rejected by her and jealous of her many talents, Pan

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¹ Joseph Læwenstein, *Responsive readings: versions of Echo in pastoral, epic, and the Jonsonian masque*, Yale University Press, 1984.

² Edith Hamilton, *La mythologie: ses dieux, ses héros, ses légendes*, Col. Marabout, Hamilton Publishing, 1997.

³ Ovide, *Metamorphoses*, Livre III, Trad. and notes de A.-M. Boxus et J. Poucet, Bruxelles, 2006, p. 400.

drives the shepherds against her and this will see her bones crushed and spread all over the earth. Gaia, Mother Earth, collects the broken parts of her body which still carried the power to repeat the last words of an utterance. Ever since, Echo has been omnipresent, and even in death her voice can still be heard.

Another legend depicts echo as being in love with the beautiful and lonely Narcissus. Cursed by Hera, she would follow Narcissus everywhere, but could not speak a word to him in order to confess her love. One day, while on the verge of successfully confessing her love, he brutally rejects her, a fact which leads to her doom, falling victim to profound sadness, she is torn asunder inside, losing so much weight until nothing of her remains except the voice that echoes in the mountains, repeating the last words of a phrase. A furious Artemis decides to punish him: one day, as he was coming back from a hunt, he stopped to cool off from a spring, falling in love with his own reflection in the water. Overwhelmingly mystified by the being he saw reflected in the water, he desperately tries to embrace his own image, being incapable of detaching himself from self-contemplation⁴. Faced with such burning passion, he chooses the path of suicide. An alternate version says that Narcissus was so obsessed with admiring his own reflection, that in his attempt embrace it, he fell into the water and drowned. Ever since then, the white daffodil flowers appeared upon his disappearance. The nymph Echo is sadly gone, leaving behind only a voice. The physical and acoustical phenomenon which shares her name was granted to honour the memory of the unfortunate nymph⁵.

The dictionaries of the Romanian language attest the word by making reference to the ancient nymph only in the area of musical dictionaries⁶:

Echo (< gr. ἠχώ, from the name of the nymph Echo, "sound")

I. An acoustic effect produced by the reflection of a sound encountering an obstacle (surface, wall, rock, edge of forest) and perceived with a tiny delay by the emitter of the original sound. The delay must be at least 0.1 s long for the perception to be clear. Because the speed of sound is about 340 m/s, that would mean the soundwave must cross a minimum distance of 34 meters back and forth, so that the distance between the emitter-receiver and the obstacle must be at least 17 meters long.

II. The musical manual* for organ* encompasses a registry (1) of sound encountered in the registries of other manuals.

III. (it. *eco*; fr. *écho*; engl. *echo*; germ. *Echo*; sp. *Echo*)

Compositional procedure consisting of the repetition of a short theme* or a musical motif* of lower acoustic intensity*. It was widely used ever since the 15th

⁴ Idem, *Légendes thébaines: Narcisse et Écho*, in "Metamorphoses", Livre III, Trad. and notes de A.-M. Boxus et J. Poucet, Bruxelles, 2006, pp. 402-461.

⁵ Yves Denis PAPIN, *Connaître les personnages de la mythologie*, Paris, Éditions Jean-Paul Gisserot, 2003.

⁶ *Dicționar de termeni muzicali*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing, 2010.

and 16th century in polyphonic vocal music by composers such as Josquin Desprez, Luca Marenzio and Orlando di Lasso (in the famous villanelle*, *Echo*, 1581), as a special imitational technique. In the 17th century, the first stage of artistic development, brings forth an avalanche of pastoral themes in which we often see the mythological figure of Echo weeping over unrequited love; and from this originated countless arias* using the *e.* procedure, a procedure that will be extended to works which do not share a connection with the legend. Remaining an independent musical procedure, the echo will be harnessed in the instrumental writings of the entire Baroque* period, seeing this dominant manner of repetition implemented both in the piano* and in the forte*. The procedure is used in concerto or responsive works as a special effect (Stamitz, Symphony in E flat major – “Echo Symphony”, Mozart, *Notturmo for 4 orchestras*; Chabrier, *España*; Rimski-Korsakov, *Spanish Caprice*; Strauss, *Ariadne auf Naxos*), or as a general principle of composition (Hindemith, *Echo for flute and piano*), commonly targeting stereophony*.

THE DOPPLER ECHOGRAPHY

Originating from the word *echo*, medicine creates the term *echography* – from êkhô + graphein (to write), has the following dictionary definition:

Echography n. (med.) An ultrasound method of medical diagnosis: ◇ “To be able to see one’s child before it is born [...], what can be more exciting for an expecting mother? This is possible today through the use of **echography** [...]” Sc. 6 I 80 p. 5. ◇ “The writing of a volume of great scientific and practical value, « Medical *echography* », the first study of its kind in the country, and one of the few of its kind in the world. The volume [...] describes and illustrates the *echography* of all the organs and systems pertinent to the use of relevant methodology in medical investigations”. R.I. 5 X 82 p. 2. ◇ “Ultrasound **echography** will develop rapidly in the following years reaching a level of applying ultrasound diagnosis in all the fields of medicine [...]” R.I. 17 V 84 p. 6; v. and *biomedical, echo graphic* (from Fr. *échographie*; PR 1972, DPN 1983; DN3, DEX-S)⁷.

Echography (fr.) n. Method of exploring the living structures of organisms with the help of ultrasound reflection, which measures the depth and placement of these structures (simple echography) and obtaining images of their forms (echo-tomography). A variety of diagnosis techniques are used in neurology, ophthalmology, obstetrics, cardiology, urology, in pulmonary, liver and gastric diseases⁸.

⁷ Florica Dimitrescu, *Dicționar de cuvinte recente*, Edition II, Bucharest, Logos Publishing, 1997.

⁸ Marcel D. Popa, Alexandru Stănciulescu, Gabriel Florin-Matei, Anicuța Tudor, Carmen Zgăvărdici, Rodica Chiriacescu, *Dicționar enciclopedic*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing, 1993-2009.

During the 1940s, doctor George Ludwig⁹ uses ultrasound for medical purposes on the human body for the first time. The next to follow in his footsteps is John Wild¹⁰ (considered by many “the parent of medical ultrasound”) who, in 1949, uses the procedure to estimate the thickness of intestinal tissue. Inge Edler and Carl Hellmuth Hertz (son of Nobel prize winner, physicist Gustav Ludwig Hertz) uses medical ultrasonography in Sweden, at the University of Lund, their team managing in 1953 to perform the first measurement of cardiac activity with the aid of ultrasounds, a method which facilitated the performing of an echoencephalogram¹¹. The first application of this method in diagnosis is performed by a team led by professor Ian Donald in Scotland¹². The commercial version of a device for measuring blood vessels pulsations belongs to the Japanese physicist Shigeo Satomura¹³.

The Doppler echography owes its name to Austrian mathematician and physicist Christian Andreas Doppler, famous for the discovery of the Doppler effect. The Doppler effect designates the delay in the frequency of a wave (mechanics, acoustics, electromagnetics or other fields) observed between the measurements of the emission and the reception when the distance between the emitter and the receptor varies in time. This effect was presented by the aforementioned scientist in 1842 in the famous article *Über das farbige Licht der Doppelsterne und einige andere Gestirne des Himmels*¹⁴.

The Doppler is a medical apparatus based on the Doppler effect: the echography machines emit the ultrasounds towards the internal organs, recapturing the ultrasounds and processing them in order to offer images of the areas analysed¹⁵.

In 1958, the continuous wave Doppler allows the study of blood vessels circulation. The first pulse wave Doppler is introduced in 1970 by Backer. The Doppler echography allows the analysis of blood circulation speed in order to calculate its flow. In cardiology, the tissue Doppler allows the analysis of the contraction speed of heart muscles (TDI = « Tissular Doppler Imaging »).

⁹ Dr. George D Ludwig – pioneer in medical ultrasound. For more details, see <http://www.ob-ultrasound.net/ludwig.html>.

¹⁰ Échographie Doppler, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89chographie_Doppler

¹¹ Siddharth Singh, Abha Goyal, *The Origin of Echocardiography. A Tribute to Inge Edler*, in “Texas Heart Institute Journal”, no. 34(4)/2007, pp. 431-438.

¹² Ian Donald, *Investigation of Abdominal Masses by Pulse d'Ultrason*, Lancet, 1958, pp. 1188-1195, available at <http://www.ob-ultrasound.net/lancet.html>

¹³ F. Picard, *Échographie et insuffisance cardiaque*, 2011, available at <http://www.cardiologie-pratique.com/journal/article/13e-journees-d-echo-doppler-de-bordeaux-i-echographie-et-insuffisance-cardiaque>

¹⁴ M. Moigno, *Repertoire d'Optique Moderne*, Vol. 3, Sur la lumière colorée des étoiles doubles, Paris, A. Franck, 1850.

¹⁵ For details, see <http://www.romedic.ro/dopplerul-cardiac-ecografia-cardiaca-doppler-0F27070>.

The Doppler echography is a non-invasive procedure that does not require penetrating the skin barrier, thus avoiding the risk of infection, it is painless and non-traumatic, ultrasounds do not pose any danger for tissues. Being harmless to the human body, this apparatus can be therefore used repeatedly for as many times as needed.

The physical principles which contribute to the increase of practical utility are based on the fact that the ultrasound waves can be directed as a single beam, which can be later focused towards a single spot, offering an even greater precision and accuracy¹⁶. When crossing a particular environment, it submits to the laws of reflection and refraction of that environment, adapting to the density of the environment it intersects with, and finally it can accurately evaluate small targets, previously undetectable until the apparition of ultrasounds because ultrasound waves are reflected by that target, and can be later captured, amplified and analysed. The quantity of the reflected, refracted and controlled waves depends on the acoustic properties of the environment through which they propagate, gaseous environments cannot therefore be analysed through ultrasounds, while solid environments will reflect the vast majority of waves¹⁷.

Soft tissues and blood allow the propagation of a large quantity of ultrasounds by increasing their penetration capacity, thus generating a vast utilisation potential of the method¹⁸. The higher the transmission of the ultrasound wave is, the higher the chances to detect small targets, but high frequencies have a reduced penetration capacity compared to low frequencies, so therefore, there is a loss in the percentage of the ultrasound waves which propagate in a given environment¹⁹, a phenomenon called attenuation.

The purpose of a correct and extremely precise examination is to obtain the high speeds of low-frequency waves which facilitate the Doppler exchange defined as the difference in frequency of the transmitted signal compared to the one received called *grosso modo spectral analysis*²⁰, providing the essence of this method.

¹⁶ N. Grenier, M. Claudon, *Bases physiques du Doppler*, available at [http://www.sfrnet.org/rc/org/sfrnet/htm/Article/2011/20110524-112842171/src/htm_fullText/fr/polyBases Physiques_07.pdf](http://www.sfrnet.org/rc/org/sfrnet/htm/Article/2011/20110524-112842171/src/htm_fullText/fr/polyBases%20Physiques_07.pdf)

¹⁷ Ch. Tegeler, F.W. Kremkau, L.P. Hitchings, *Color Velocity Imaging: introduction to a new ultrasound technology*, in "Journal of Neuroimag", no. 1(2)/1991, pp. 85-90.

¹⁸ O. Bonnefous, P. Pesque, *Time domain formulation of pulsed Doppler ultrasound and blood velocity estimation by cross correlation*, in "Ultrasound Imaging", no. 8(2)/1986, pp. 73-78.

¹⁹ S.G. Carlier, *A Clinician's Contribution to Biomedical to Engineering in Experimental Echocardiography*, Rotterdam, Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2001.

²⁰ Guy Van Camp, M. Menassel, D. Plein, B. Cosyns, S. Carlier, J.L. Vandenbossche, *Automated cardiac output measurement using color Doppler velocity profiles obtained with the multibeam Doppler method: in vivo validation in the intensive care unit*, in "Belgian Society of Cardiology", Brussels, 1997.

CONCLUSION

It would seem that the form words hold is endowed with individual purpose, a fact confirmed by this study resulting that the science of naming must be firmly anchored in the very nature of designation and purpose, and that man is not the crafter of names, but rather a willing spectator gazing at the natural dimension of each object, able to encompass form in the letters and syllables provided²¹.

²¹ Platon, *Cratylus*, in “Opere III” (translate by Simina Noica), Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing, 1978.

THE CHURCH IN SOCIETY

THE LAND AREA OWNED BY THE MONASTERY OF SADOVA

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Abstract: A monastery from Oltenia, built by Matei Basarab, who decorated and endowed it with assets, Jitianu represents a place of worship and of Romanian culture. It was founded between 1632 and 1633, on the ground of an older wooden church, erected by the ban Barbu Craiovescu, at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century. The first mention in the documents of the wooden church was the charter from the 20th of June 1530 of Vlad Înecatul, through which it is given to Sadova monastery the estates of Nedeia and Zăval, because they were given “by the ban Pârvul of Craiova”.

The reconstruction of the ownership of Sadova monastery over the estates and the villages, could be done after a thorough analysis of the numerous documents from the Monastery register, along with other documents too. The typology of the papers that refer to the estates is extremely varied due to the great number of documents, and the period of time in which they were issued. There can be met charters of the rulers from Wallachia, from the 15th-17th centuries, sell and purchasing acts, books with the neighbouring areas, legal, ransom and confessing documents.

Keywords: the monastery of Sadova, the estates, Matei Basarab, Wallachia, the Monastery register.

A monastery from Oltenia, built by Matei Basarab, who decorated and endowed it with assets, Jitianu represents a place of worship and of Romanian culture. It was founded between 1632 and 1633, on the ground of an older wooden church, erected by the ban Barbu Craiovescu, at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century¹. The first mention in the documents of the wooden church was the charter from the 20th of June 1530 of Vlad Înecatul, through which it is given to Sadova monastery the estates of Nedeia and Zăval, because they were given “by the ban Pârvul of Craiova”².

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¹ Manole Neagoe, *Neagoe Basarab*, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1971, p. 31; Ștefan Ștefănescu, *Bănia în Țara Românească*, second edition, revised and completed, Craiova, Alma Publishing House, 2009, p. 72.

² *Documente privind istoria României, B, Țara Românească*, the 16th century, vol. II, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1951, p. 81 (further cited as *DIR, B*); *Documenta Romaniae Historica, B, Țara Românească*, vol. III, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1975, p. 156.

The involvement of Matei Basarab, in the founding of the monastery, is surrounded by legend. According to it, “Matei Basarab, returning from the exile in Banat, fought with the Turks at Schela Ciobanului and came with his soldiers to Sadova. Being defeated by the Turks, he had to retreat from the forest, into the church defended by mires and forests, where he would wait for help. After praying at the icon of St. Nicholas from there, he promised that, if he was a winner, he would erect a walled church, the old church being in a state of ruin. He managed to be victorious, on the 26th of August 1632, and the ruler ordered to start the building of the church at once, as he had promised to Saint Nicolas and God”³.

The legend is also mentioned on the inscription of the church: “with the will of Matei Băsărab, voivode, ruler of all Wallachia and duke over the country of Amlaş and Făgăraş, it was built this monastery, which is called Sadova, after defeating the Turks at Schela Ciobanului, where, being in a great danger twice, and managing to retreat with all his army into this holly place, where a small wooden church was standing, with few monks, and after the end of the war, they built this holly and heavenly monastery”⁴. This inscription also mentions the fact that, in 1633, the works were already finished: “they built this holly and heavenly monastery, as it can be seen in the year 7141 (1633) since the creation of the world, they endowed it with estates and income for the further remembering and for the gratitude showed to the holly fathers for giving them food and clothes, 1633, August, the 26th”⁵.

The veracity from the text of the inscription and the legend were contested by all the historians. By analysing the charters issued by the ruler, they concluded that there was not a battle that Matei Basarab fought against the Ottomans, in the area of Schela Calafatului, next to Bechet, at the beginning of his ruling.

The first document that mentions the monastery of Sadova, as a place founded by Matei Basarab, is the charter from the 2nd of January 1639, through which the ruler order to father Gavriil, “from the monastery of his highness in Sadova”, to take a gypsy woman, called Mişa, and her daughters, from the monastery of Glavacioc⁶. The quality of founder of Matei Basarab, for the monastery of Sadova, is also mentioned by other documents issued during his ruling: the 2nd of November 1640, the 26th of April 1644 and the 12th of May 1651.

After the death of Matei Basarab, the works at the monastery of Sadova were carried out by Preda Brâncoveanu and Constantin Brâncoveanu. Preda Brâncoveanu built the hermitages and the clock tower from the southern side, and Constantin Brâncoveanu built the church-infirmery with the patronage “the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary”, in 1693. New modifications at the

³ Florin Epure, *Ctitoriile lui Matei Basarab în Oltenia*, Bucharest, RAO Publishing House, 2014, p. 55.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

monastery were done at the end of the 18th century, during the ruling of Mihail Șuțu. The Father Superior Paisie, the abbot of the monastery, repainted the altar and repaired the church-infirmery, which “had become, in time, a stable for the animals”⁷.

The reconstruction of the ownership of Sadova monastery over the estates and the villages, could be done after a thorough analysis of the numerous documents from the Monastery register, along with other documents too. The typology of the papers that refer to the estates is extremely varied due to the great number of documents, and the period of time in which they were issued. There can be met charters of the rulers from Wallachia, from the 15th-17th centuries, sell and purchasing acts, books with the neighbouring areas, legal, ransom and confessing documents.

It is mentioned in a charter issued in April 1543, through which Radu Paisie gave to boyar Chera the estate of Sadova, “good old hereditary estate”⁸. On the 17th of May 1589, Mihnea Turcitul confirmed to deputy court marshal Nica and to his lady, Maria, daughter of Anca from Coiani, the possession over several villages, among which it was also Sadova. This village used to belong to the court marshal Radu Craiovescu⁹. On the 29th of August, Michael the Brave confirmed to the monastery of Glavacioc the fourth part from the Sadova estate, which had been given to lady Marga, the daughter of Matei, the ban¹⁰. The ownership of the monastery over this part of the estate was reconfirmed on the 28th of September 1596, by Eftimie, the metropolitan of Wallachia¹¹. The other part of the Sadova estate remained in the possession the Craiovescu boyars. From these boyars, it entered in the possession of the rulers Neagoe Basarab, Michael the Brave, Radu Șerban and Matei Basarab. Matei Basarab gave the part of Sadova estate, which he had inherited from his forefathers, to the monastery of Sadova. On the 3rd of June 1658, Mihnea III reconfirmed to the monastery of Sadova, the right to the wine tax, over village of Sadova. It had been confirmed by the rulers Matei Basarab and Constantin Șerban¹². On the 8th of July 1731, there were established the boundaries of Sadova estate, near Călărași: “it is on the salt road near the fountain of Gineșu, and after the fountain of Gineșu, on a narrow road that goes upwards and moves away from the main road, the salt road, downwards, and the narrow road goes upwards and goes to the hillock of Cârnat, from the hillock of Cârnat it goes towards Ciobanul by the end of the pond, where the main salt road meets with the narrow road”¹³. The charters from 1828¹⁴, 1831¹⁵, 1838¹⁶ mentions the village of

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 59.

⁸ DIR, B, the 16th century, vol. II, pp. 297-298.

⁹ *Idem*, vol. V, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1952. pp. 405-406.

¹⁰ *Idem*, vol. VI, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1953, p. 149.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 253.

¹² *Catalogul documentelor Țării Românești din Arhivele Statului*, vol. IX, Bucharest, 2012, p. 266.

¹³ SJAN Dolj, Cărți de Hotărnicie Collection, file no. 773/1878-1879, f. 8.

¹⁴ Paul-Emanoil Barbu, Vladimir Osiac, *Catagrafia județului Dolj din anul 1828*, Craiova, Universitaria Publishing House, 2001, p. 93.

¹⁵ Ion Donat, Ion Pătroiu, Dinică Ciobotea, *Catagrafia obștească a Țării Românești din 1831*, Craiova, Helios Publishing House, p. 46.

¹⁶ Dumitru Bălașa, *Mănăstirea Sadova*, in “Mitropolia Olteniei”, no. 10-11, 1971, p. 869.

Sadova as a property of Sadova Monastery. It was in its possession until December 1863, when through the law on the secularisation of the monastic estates, it entered into the proprietorship of the state.

Another village that entered into the possession of this monastery was Zăval. It is mentioned in a charter issued in the period June–20th of August 1530, when Vlad Înecatul confirmed to the monastery of Sadova the possession over the estate of Zăval, which had been given by Pârnu great ban of Craiova¹⁷. On the 1st of August 1608, Radu Șerban confirmed to Duma, Stoica, Radu and Nan the possession over the village of Zăval, which was stretching “from the hillock of Ostra, to the hillock of Ținta and to Padina Stoicii and Poiana Goii to Jiu, and from the bed of river Jiu to Poiana Ostrovului and to Crângul Frumos; and from Crângul Frumos la Jiu, to Berigata and to Coadele Șarcovului and by the water of Vulturul, and to the hillock of Ostra again”. They had bought the village during the ruling of Mircea Ciobanul, from lady Anucuța, the wife of the ban, and her brother Mircea Postelnicul, and from the mother of Radu Șerban with 26000 de aspri (old coins)¹⁸. On the 6th of July 1646, the cupbearer Ștefan, priest Albu, Neagoe and Stoica sold to the ruler Matei Basarab their part of the estate from Zăval, without the serfs¹⁹. On the 2nd of March 1647, Matei Basarab gave to the monastery of Sadova the part of the estate from Zăval that he had bought a year before²⁰. On the 22nd of December 1651, the same ruler reconfirmed to the monastery of Sadova the possession over the village of Zăvalul, with all the serfs²¹. In 1722, the village was in the possession of the monastery of Sadova. It is the same situation from “Catastihul de toate lucrurile mișcătoare, nemișcătoare și de sineși mișcătoare ale Mănăstirii Sadova”-the Register with all the mobile and immobile goods of the Monastery of Sadova, drawn up on the 25th of January 1825²² and in the registers from 1828²³, 1831²⁴, 1838²⁵ and 1845. It remained in its possession until December 1863, when through the law on the secularisation of the monastic estates, it entered into the proprietorship of the state.

In the componence of the land area of this church is Verbicioara. It is mentioned in a document from the 23rd of June 1649, when Călina, the wife Barbu Brădescu, along with her son, sold to Matei Basarab their part from the estate of Verbicioara with 40.000 de aspri²⁶. Later, Matei Basarab gave to the monastery of

¹⁷ DIR, B, the 16th century, vol. II, p. 81.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, the 17th century, vol. I, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1951, pp. 331-332.

¹⁹ DRH, B, vol. XXXI, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2003, p. 241.

²⁰ SJAN Dolj, Cărți de Hotărnicie Collection, file 733/1848-1879, f. 3v.

²¹ DRH, B, vol. XXXVI, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2006, p. 273.

²² Dumitru Bălașa, *op. cit.*, p. 866.

²³ Paul-Emanoil Barbu, Vladimir Osiac, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

²⁴ Ion Donat, Ion Pătroiu, Dinică Ciobotea, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

²⁵ Dumitru Bălașa, *op. cit.*, p. 869.

²⁶ DRH, B, vol. XXXIV, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2002, p. 118.

Sadova his part from the village of din Verbicioara that he had bought from Călina. The possession of the monastery over this part of the village was reconfirmed by the rulers Antonie Vodă from Popești on the 22nd of April 1669²⁷, Gheorghe Duca on the 17th of April 1677²⁸ and Șerban Cantacuzino on the 10th of April 1684²⁹. On the 30th of June 1783, 7 freeholders from Plenița were designated by the ruler's council to establish the boundary that was separating the estates of Verbicioara and Orodel. The new boundary started "next to the lake of Hodobesnița, where there is a milestone at the hillock with a willow-tree, where there is a milestone, from here to the wide valley, where there is a milestone, from here to the lake of Arsul, and from here to the milestone on the road of Bălvanul"³⁰. A year later, on the 18th of June, seven freeholders from Orodel confessed that the boundary between the two estates began from "the frontier of Hodobesnița, where there is the milestone, to the pit with the willow-tree from the valley, where there is the milestone, and from here to the road of Bălvanul to the fountain of Udrea"³¹. At the beginning of the 19th century, the misunderstandings between the freeholders from Orodel and the Father Superiors from the monastery of Sadova, on addressing the boundary of the estate of Verbicioara, increased. On the 30th of April 1803, Ioan Pleniceanu, Radu captain Zapciu and Stoica chancellor of Cerneți, were designated by sub-prefects of Mehedinți County to research the violation of the boundaries of the estate from Verbița, by the freeholders from Orodel. The three, going on the spot, requested the two parties to show the ownership papers that they had. The freeholders from Orodel claimed that they do not have any papers and that they respect the previously established boundaries. Ioan Pleniceanu, Radu captain Zapciu and Stoica chancellor of Cerneți, requested the Father Superior of the monastery to present the ownership papers, in which there were mentioned the two estates. After the Father Superior showed them the papers, the three asked if all the parties knew about the existence of all the boundary marks. The freeholders from Orodel answered that the only milestone that they knew was the lake of Arsul. The Father Superior of the monastery, supported by Ionașcu, former sub-prefect, declared that this milestone had been there for a long time. After that, Ioan Pleniceanu, Radu captain Zapciu and Stoica chancellor of Cerneți, asked the freeholders from Orodel if they agree that, among the milestones between the two estates to be also Arsului Lake. Even if the freeholders agreed with the position of this milestone, the Father Superior disagreed, sustaining that, by establishing this milestone, the monastery would suffer great loss³². The situation is similarly presented in "Catastihul de toate lucurile mișcătoare, nemișcătoare și de sineși mișcătoare ale Mănăstirii Sadova,

²⁷ SJAN Dolj, Cărți de Hotărnicie Collection, file 770/1884, f. 1v.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² *Ibidem*, ff. 2v-3.

drawn up on the 25th of January 1825³³ and in the registers from 1828³⁴, 1831³⁵, 1838³⁶ and 1845. It remained in its possession until December 1863, when through the law on the secularisation of the monastic estates, it entered into the proprietorship of the state.

In the possession of the monastery of Sadova there was the village of Gârleni too. It is mentioned in a charter issued on the 30th of August 1580, through which Mihnea Turcitu confirmed to Stan and Mosorei the ownership over several parts of the estate from Gârleni bought from Radu, Voico and Școpan³⁷. On the 24th of January 1609, Radu Mihnea confirmed to treasurer Pană the village of Gârleni³⁸. On the 11th of May 1620, Gavriil Movilă confirmed to Stoia, Lepădat, Pătru, Barbu, Stoica, Necula the ownership over the village of Gârleni. In the charter, there were also mentioned the boundaries of the village: “from the middle of Jiu river, to the Salt Road it is neighbouring with Comoștenii and Hurezii, to the milestone and the brook, in the middle of the river next to Bojenești, to the milestone and to the place called the turning point”³⁹. On the 15th of August 1645, several freeholders from Gârleni sold themselves as serfs, along with their parts of estate, to Matei Basarab⁴⁰. Two years later, on the 2nd of March, the ruler gave to the monastery of Sadova the parts of the estate bought from the freeholders. On the 15th of August 1649 Matei Basarab bought other parts from the estate of Gârleni from Lupu and Rădivoi⁴¹ that on the 17th of May 1651 he gave to his foundation, the monastery of Sadova⁴². It is unknown how long he owned the monastery of Sadova, because the documents, starting with the 17th century, do not mention him anymore.

The village of Amărăști was also in the possession of the monastery of Sadova. It is mentioned in a charter issued on the 27th of May 1603, when the ruler Radu Mihnea confirmed to equerry Gheorghe the village of Căpreni, among the 24 witnessing boyars, brought to support the equerry Gheorghe, it also Gheorghe din Amărăști⁴³. On the 2nd of March 1647, Matei Basarab gave to the monastery of Sadova the part of the estate from Amărăști, bought from the freeholders, with a surface of 1.095 stanjens “from the field and the forest and the pasture of the village, from all the estate of Amărăști, from one end to the other” with 28.000 aspri. In the charter, there was mentioned that, initially, the village had belonged to

³³ Dumitru Bălașa, *op. cit.*, p. 866.

³⁴ Paul-Emanoil Barbu, Vladimir Osiac, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

³⁵ Ion Donat, Ion Pătroiu, Dinică Ciobotea, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

³⁶ Dumitru Bălașa, *op. cit.*, p. 869.

³⁷ DIR, B, the 16th century, vol. IV, p. 482.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, the 17th century, vol. I, p. 360.

³⁹ *Idem*, vol. III, p. 524-525.

⁴⁰ DRH, B, vol. XXX, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1998, pp. 292-293.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² *Ibidem*, vol. XXXVI, pp. 101-102.

⁴³ DIR, B, the 17th century, vol. I, p. 90.

the family of Matei Basarab, but it had been bought back by the freeholders from the magistrate Danciu, the father of the ruler. On the 12th of May 1651, the same ruler reconfirmed the ownership to the monastery of Sadova, over the part of the estate of Sadova that he had given in 1647⁴⁴. On the 8th of July 1678, 6 boyars were designated, at the request of the Father Superior Daniil, to delimitate the part from the estate of Amărăști of the monastery of Sadova, to that owned by the freeholders⁴⁵. On the 7th of June 1742, Climent, the bishop of Râmnic, requested the freeholders from Amărăști to not trespass the part of the estate from Amărăști that is in the possession of the monastery of Sadova⁴⁶. In 1749, there were established the boundaries of the estate of Amărăști of the monastery of Sadova, along with the frontiers. On the 2nd of June 1752, 12 boyars were appointed by the great ban Barbu Văcărescu to research the correctness of the boundaries established on the 10th of March 1749 by Matei Bârzanu and captain Matei Prejbeanu⁴⁷. This part of the estate from Amărăști remained in the possession of the monastery of Sadova, until the beginning of the 19th century, because “Catastihul de toate lucrurile mișcătoare, nemișcătoare și de sineși mișcătoare ale Mănăstirii Sadova, drawn up on the 25th of January 1825 does not mention it anymore⁴⁸.”

The village of Bârca was also in the possession of the monastery of Sadova. It is mentioned in a charter issued on the 31st of August 1596, in which the great ban Manta, confirmed to the monastery of Coșuna the possession over 2 funii (units of measure, one funie=around 25 metres long), bought from Nicola, son of Petco. Among the witnesses there is also mentioned priest Radu from Bârca⁴⁹. On the 24th of January 1609, Radu Mihnea confirmed to treasurer Pană the possession over the entire estate of Bârca. In the charter, there was also mentioned that the estate had belonged to the ruler⁵⁰. In November 1614, Radu Mihnea confirmed the buying back from serfdom of the village of Bârca for the sum of 150.000 aspri. On this occasion, there were mentioned the frontiers of the village: “next to Hurezi, to the hill with a milestone and to the hillock of Cioara, it goes to the Hillock Schiteșăi and to Măgurile to Săratele and to the end of Măgurile to the hillock of Boțoca; then to the road of Călugăreni and to the road of Diiul and to the hillock of Cărvanul by the way of Diiul to the road of Goicea to the elm tree that goes to Plosca, to the Caetilor lake, to the hillocks of Gema and the hillock of Ciuta”⁵¹. In the buying back document, it is noticed that village was one of the freeholders, until the ruling of Michael the Brave, who took it because “some people didn’t pay

⁴⁴ SJAN Dolj, Cărți de hotărnicie Collection, file no. 733/1878-1879, f. 3v.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 4.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 6.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ Dumitru Bălașa, *op. cit.*, p. 864.

⁴⁹ DIR, B, the 16th century, vol. VI, p. 244.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, the 17th century, vol. I, p. 306.

⁵¹ Idem, vol. II, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1952, pp. 228-229.

their taxes". The buying back from serfdom of the village of Bârca was reconfirmed by Alexandru Iliăş too, on the 9th of April 1617⁵². on the 12th of August 1671, 1617 Bălan along with Stoica al Milii sold to Lupu the monk from Giurgîţa the fourth part of the estate of Bârca⁵³. On the 15th of May 1651, Stanciu the son of Magâda from Bârca sold to Raine the Serbian his part from the estate of Bârca⁵⁴. On the 3rd of January 1652, several servants from Bârca declared the boundaries of an estate from Bârca, of Sava the monk, which was stretching from "the Mill of Stegaru to the downwards part of the vineyard, to the milestone of Bărcuţa and from here to Gârla Cetăţii in the milestone, on the way of Calea Cornii"⁵⁵. On the 5th of May 1652, Matei Basarab confirmed to the monastery of Sadova the possession over a part of the estate of Bârca, given by Sava, the monk. In the charter, there were also mentioned the frontiers of the estate: "from the mill of Stegaru downwards to the vineyard, to the boundary of Bârca, and from here to Gârla Cetăţuiei in the milestone and from here to the road called Drumul Cârnevului". This part of the estate, Sava the monk had bought from Danciu from Bârca, during the ruling of Alexandru Iliăş⁵⁶. The second day, the ruler confirmed the freeholders their possession over the part of the estate of Bârca⁵⁷. On the 27th of August 1652, several freeholders sold their part from the estate of Bârca to Hrizea. Previously, they had sold their estate to Ion Lobodă, but they had bought it back from him⁵⁸. The village remained in the possession of the monastery of Sadova, until the 19th century. During the ruling of Ioan Caragea, the monastery ceased to Hagi Enuş the estate of Bârca, receiving in exchange the estate of Coteni

Another village in the possession of the monastery of Sadova was Ocolna. It is mentioned in a charter issued on the 17th of May 1589, through which Mihnea Turcitul, confirmed to Nica, the deputy court marshal and to lady Maria, the daughter of lady Anca, the village of Ocolna, after a legal sentence. In this document there was mentioned that the village had belonged to court marshal Radu, who had received from his brothers Barbu, great ban, the great magistrate Pârnu and the equerry Danciu⁵⁹. The fourth part from this estate was later given to the monastery of Glavacioc. On the 29th of August 1594, Michael the Brave confirmed to the monastery of Glavacioc the possession over this part of the estate, that it had received as donation⁶⁰. In the document of confirmation, there was mentioned that the part of estate donated to the monastery of Glavacioc had been seized by Danciu, great magistrate of Brâncoveni and Manta, great court marshal,

⁵² Idem, vol. III, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1952, pp. 116-117.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 165.

⁵⁴ DRH, B, vol. XXXVI, p. 92.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, vol. XXXVII, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2006, p. 1.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 133-134.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 134-135.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 259.

⁵⁹ DIR, B, the 16th century, vol. V, p. 403.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, vol. VI, p. 149.

but the ruler had interfered and put this injustice right. After the death of Michael the Brave, the great magistrate Danciu regain the control over the part of the estate from Ocolna, which had been donated to the monastery of Glavacioc. From the great magistrate Danciu, the entire estate of Ocolna entered into the possession of Matei Basarab, who gave it to the monastery of Sadova, “together with the boundary and the profit”. In 1692, at the request of Father Superior Dionisie, from the monastery of Sadova, it was established the boundary of the estate from Ocolna: “the upper end from the milestone, which is Siliștea Bojăneștilor and from the road of Dagă from Bojănești, next to Lăcusteni and Fărcășani and next to the frontier of Dobrești, from the road of Dagă to the road that goes towards east to Amărăști, which is next to the frontier with Amărăști and goes downwards to the east, through the lake of Munteni through the crossroads, next to Măgurice, and from the lake of Munteni it goes downwards and meets the oak that is on the field from the boundary of Propor, and from this tree on, it turns to the main road that goes to Obârșii and from the main road to the boundary with Sadova, to the milestone that is next to the road that goes to the pond and the road meets another road, which is near the milestone next to Dăbuleni and goes upwards to Vârtop, from Vârtop to the hill with a lime-tree, next to the vineyard of Cheroiu, from the top side of it, which is next to the road, and from here among the scattered hillocks and reaches the road of Sarineh to the stone cross and upwards to the milestone of Bojănești⁶¹”. It is unknown how long it remained in the possession of the monastery of Sadova, because the documents, starting with the 18th century, do not mention it anymore.

The last village that entered in the possession of the monastery was Nedeia. It is mentioned in a charter issued in the period June-the 20th of August 1530, when Vlad Înecatul confirmed to the monastery of Sadova the possession over a half of the estate of Nedeia, that had been given to Pârău, great ban of Craiova and by the provost marshal Detco⁶². The other part of the village of Sadova remained in the possession of the family of the future ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu. On the 30th of June 1658, Mihnea III Radu confirmed to the magistrate Preda Brâncoveanu the possession over the half of the village of Nedeia⁶³. The part of the village donated by the great ban Pârău to the monastery of Sadova remained in his possession until the ruling of Mihnea III when the villagers managed to buy them and the estate back⁶⁴.

In conclusion, we mention that the interest of the monastery of Jitianu for the villages and estates mentioned above was a significant one, being determined by several factors. The first reason that determined the monastery to purchase these

⁶¹ SJAN Dolj, Cărți de hotărnicie Collection, file no. 733/1878-1879, f. 5.

⁶² DIR, B, the 16th century, vol. II, p. 81.

⁶³ *Catalogul documentelor Țării Românești din Arhivele Statului*, vol. IX, p. 282.

⁶⁴ Iolanda Țigăhiliu, *Constantin Vodă Brâncoveanu împlinirea unui destin baroc*, in “Sfântul Constantin Vodă Brâncoveanu ocrotitorul Episcopiei Slatinei și Romanaților”, vol. II, Slatina, Episcopia Slatinei și Romanaților Publishing House, 2014, p. 356.

villages, was their positioning at the crossroads of several roads. The routes from and towards Nedeia, Amărăști, Bârca, Gârleni, Sadova, Zăval, connected to the old road to Craiova, called the Hill Road, were almost all of them connected to the main road that joined the large deposit towns from Transylvania, Brașov and Sibiu, with Slatina (crossing spot and customs over the river Olt), Craiova (the resident town of several important regional institutions: The Great Banat 1495-1761, the Caimacan Office of Oltenia 1761-1831), Vadul Diiului (Calafat) and Vidin (from the south of Danube). The neighbouring of the above mentioned villages with the important commercial road that crossed Oltenia, from Slatina-Balș-Craiova to Vadul Diiului (Vidin), generated special interests and exceptional efforts, for their possession, made by the monastery of Sadova.

NEW INFORMATION ON THE CHURCHES IN GORNA AND DOLNA VERENITSA IN THE CONTEXT OF AN UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENT

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Abstract: The report is published and analyzed for the first time, the document was found in a study of archival units in the RDA – Montana, which contains information related to issues concerning the overall decoration of churches in Gorna and Dolna Verenitsa. Despite a considerable number of existing scientific publications devoted to the two monuments, a number of significant issues regarding their dating and attribution are still unclear; circumstances capable of transforming the document into the “missing link” in the research. In the new text information is presented in detail and analyzed in comparison with different viewpoints put forward by scientists who have studied both monuments. Due to the historical specificity and territorial dynamics of the Vidin Diocese, the document also contains data leading beyond its current limits.

Key words: Newly discovered document, churches, Gorna Verenitsa, Dolna Verenitsa.

The focus of the following report is an unpublished late document found in November 2014 in the RDA – Montana. The document contains information regarding the churches in Gorna and Dolna Verenitsa. The authenticity of the document requires careful analysis due to the fact that no earlier written records exist. The necessity to research the document stems from our engagement in the full study of the monuments in question by comparing the new data to the existing information related to the dating and attribution of the two churches and their decoration. Our suggested analysis is based upon the data provided in the document in comparison with the different points of view justified by authors in earlier records and notes. The newfound information allows us to shed light on one (or more) of the “missing links” regarding the knowledge of the two monuments. It is key for unraveling the past and history of the churches as well as defining their

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identity and establishing them in the future as monuments of national importance. Publishing the data from the source document contributes to the interpretation of the history of the monuments and its related opinions, suggestions and assessments, as well as the attribution of the mural and carved decoration.



Figure 1: View of the Church in D. Verenitsa.



Figure 2. View of the church in G. Verenitsa.

In scientific literature “St. Nikola” church in Dolna Verenitsa (Fig. 1) is first mentioned by Boris Dyakovich (1868-1937) in a text written in 1902 and later published in a collection in 1904¹. After half-century long draught of information, Asen Vasiliev “breaks the silence” in 1950, publishing findings acquired during a

¹ Boris Boris Dyakovich, *Archeological expedition in the Bulgarian Danube region*, in “Collection of Folklore”, vol. XX, Sofia, 1904, pp. 25-26.

scientific expedition in western Bulgaria². Later, in 1971, Velda Mardi-Babikova³ introduces us to the monument and its overall decoration.

Meanwhile the walls of the old part of the church were covered with whitewash⁴ but above the archway of the widening of the nave can be seen pieces/fragments of the frescos, which at the moment are the focus of our attention. On the narthex of the eastern wall there is a preserved fresco – “Judgment Day”. According to Mardi-Babikova the frescos on the archway are from the 19th century. Those on the narthex, despite being stylistically different, date back to the same period. She identifies the icon-painters as members of the Tryavna School. In her research published in 1983 I. Gergova⁵, dates the creation of “Judgment Day” to the first half of the 19th century or the middle of the century at the latest, drawing her conclusions from the style and iconography. Between 1995 and 1997 M. Koeva⁶ gathered and later published the existing historical and architecture materials in collaboration with other authors in a journal expressing the opinion that the frescos were painted in different periods. Those on the archway date to the 1870s and the “Judgment Day” to the early 19th century. She also adds information about the dating and attribution of the iconostasis in the Dolna Verenitsa church, that it was painted in 1834-1835 by the icon-painter Priest Rade and his son Panayot Popovich.

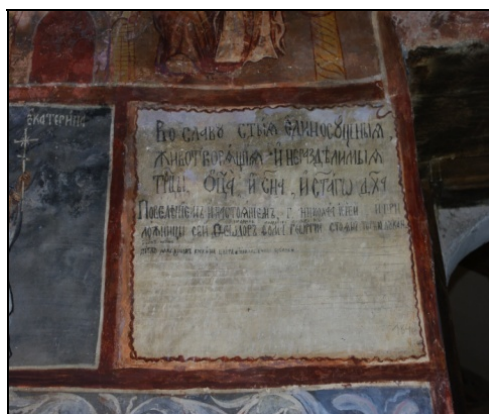


Figure 3. Commemorative inscription in the G. Verenitsa church.

² Asen Vasiliev, *Churches and monasteries in Western Bulgaria*, in “Excavations and research”, vol IV, Sofia, 1950, pp. 91-95.

³ Velda Mardi-Babikova, *Scientifically-justified suggestion for declare cultural monuments the churches “St. Nikolai” in Dolna Verenitsa village and “St. Nikolai” in Gorna Verenitsa village*, National Institute for Cultural Monuments, Mihailovgrad Region, Sofia, 1971.

⁴ A few years later frescos from the 17th century are revealed

⁵ Ivanka Gergova, *Bulgarian National Revival Art in Mihailovgrad region*, Sofia, September Publishing State, 1983, p. 7.

⁶ M. Koeva, P. Yokimov, L. Stoilova. *Orthodox temples in the Bulgarian lands*, Sofia, Marin Drinov Publishing House, 2002, p. 59.

In the same work, that describes the church in Dolna Verenitsa, Dyakovich adds a description of the “St. Nikola” church in Gorna Verenitsa. (Fig. 2) He defines it as similar, but smaller. The frescos cover the walls and the archway of the nave and the altar. The comparative approach is also applied by Vasiliev in his research from 1950, giving information about both churches. He mentions for the first time the name Yanachko Stanimirov as the author of the “later” frescos in the church. As a birthplace of the icon-painter Vasiliev points Breze village in the Sofia region. He dates the narthex to 1848 and attributes the iconostasis to Hristo from Koprivshtitsa. In one of his next published works in 1960, A. Vasiliev⁷ dates the portraits of the two Priests/ktetors (from Greek – church donor/benefactor) painted on the side of the west window to 1848 and the rest of the frescos he determines to be later creations and painted by Yanachko Stanimirov. According to Mardi-Babikova the similarities in the style of the mural paintings also point to the 19th century and bases her assumption on the founders notes (Fig. 3) next to the door on west wall of the nave, that also specifies the year 1848. She also distinguishes two different handwritings – of a master and apprentice, that she also attributes to the Tryavna School, just like the church in Dolna Verenitsa.

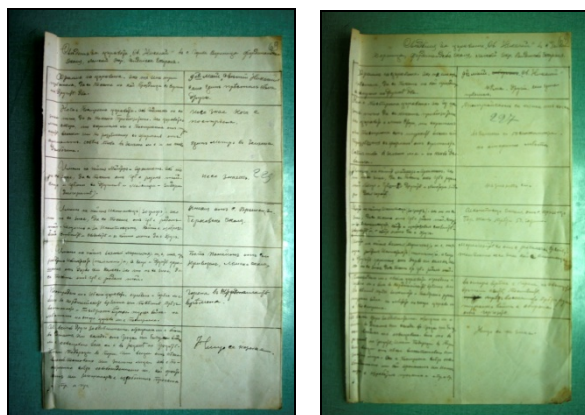


Figure 4. Archival document - RDA Montana.

The handwritten, unpublished document in the Montana archive (Fig. 4) complements the information on the aforementioned questions, by adding new elements useful for the clarification on the dating and attribution of the interior decoration of the two monuments. The document was found in a folder from 1898 in the RDA - Montana, fund No. 101K, a.u. 7. It consists of two pages (68, 69) in the form of a carefully drawn table with questions and answers columns. The table was most likely made by the priest serving the two churches and is handwritten in

⁷ Asen Vasiliev, *Ktetor portraits*, Sofia, Bulgarian Academy of Science Publishing House, 1960, p. 168

ink. The document itself is an inquiry of information about the churches and its creation was probably requested by the Archiereus vicarage in Berkovitsa. This was a common practice among most Dioceses in the years after the Liberation. Despite its comparatively late creation, the document remains the only written source of information capable of changing our view of the churches in Dolna and Gorna Verenitsa. In the document it is noted that the churches had been burned down in “times of old” and in the Dolna Verenitsa church the eyes of the saints were “socketed” into the walls⁸. The icon-painter of both monuments is E(Ya)nakiya from Varshets, Berkovitsa district. In the information about Dolna Verenitsa it is said that the fresco was done 50 years before the document was written. When taking into consideration the date on the document, which is 1898 and subtract the aforementioned time period, the mural paintings were created exactly in 1848. The date from the commemorative inscription in the nave and the date mentioned in the document coincide and can be used as evidence to prove the document's fidelity. It is mentioned that the master woodcarver in Dolna Verenitsa was from Rosomach, Serbia, and the master woodcarver for the church in Gorna Verenitsa is priest Panayot from Krivodol, Lom district.

Undoubtedly, Yanakiya from Varshets, mentioned in the document is the same Yanachko, attributed by Vasiliev as an author of the frescos in Gorna Verenitsa. Similar coincidence of names in two unrelated sources, would be otherwise impossible⁹. The time period of the painting of the churches also matches the time suggested by Vasiliev and Mardi-Babikova. The former dates part of the frescos to 1848 and Mardi-Babikova bases her date on the commemorative inscription. We know little of icon-painter Yanachko Stanimirov, and most of our information is more or less hypothetical. Asen Vasiliev claims that Yanachko was born in Breze village, Sofia region. He does not give any information about where he studied the craft but thinks that he is responsible for the frescos in the “St. Paraskeva” church in Breze village and part of the frescos in the Iskrets monastery “Virgin Mary”. According to Vasiliev, the icon-painter died in Stubel village, Mihailovgrad region¹⁰. Dora Kamenova mentions the name of Yanachko Stanimirov only to refute (and argue) his authorship of the frescos in the narthex of the Iskrets monastery. She calls the alleged creator of the frescos icon-painter Kiriak, whom she considers even more skilful¹¹. Ivanka Gergova accepts Asen Vasiliev's attribution and furthers it, basing her evidence on a handwritten collection from Breze village, where Yanachko was a teacher and crafting a list of his famous works¹².

⁸ Dyakovich also describes this fact in a publication in 1904.

⁹ Vasiliev gathered this information from the oldest person in the village at the time.

¹⁰ Asen Vasiliev, *Master artisans from the period of the Bulgarian National Revival*, Sofia, Science and Art Publishing House, 1965, pp. 591-592.

¹¹ Dora Kamenova, *Frescos in the Iskrets monastery*, Sofia, Bulgarian Artist Publishing House, 1984, p. 138.

¹² I. Gergova, *The dialogue between the sinner and Virgin Mary*, in “Problems in Art”, no. 1/2012, pp. 11-12.



Figure 5. Fragments from a prophetic fresco in Gorna and Dolna Verenitsa.

All that being said, we can conclude that Yanachko Stanimirov was born in Varshets, and his connection to Breze is plausible, considering that he was a teacher in the same village – a fact proven by Ivanka Gergova. Credit for the frescos in both Gorna and Dolna Verenitsa churches (according to the document as well) should be given to Yanachko. The same becomes apparent by a close stylistic inspection and analysis of the frescos in both churches (Fig. 5). It is obvious, that both churches were painted by the same person.



Figure 6. Detail from the inscription in G. Verenitsa.



Figure 7. Inscription on the Royal Doors - D. Verenitsa.

Therefore, until further evidence are found to refute the previous statement, it is only logical to accept the information in the document as truthful and authentic and attribute the frescos to Yanakiya from Varshets. The exact dating of the frescos in the same document is confirmed by the inscription in the western wall of the narthex in the Gorna Verenitsa church (Fig. 6). In the lower right corner can be seen the following text “Verenitsa Gorna 1848”. At the time when Asen Vasiliev was studying the church, the inscription was clearly seen and he published it in one of his works¹³. Similarly, we should trust the fidelity of the information in the archival document and date the frescos in Dolna Verenitsa to the same year – 1848.

¹³ Asen Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

The only reservation (before another document is found that reaffirms or refutes our statement) is the fact that not the entire fresco from the 19th century is preserved and the scale of what had been painted by Yanakiya remains unknown, that might as well be more than what can currently be found. Therefore it is permissible to guess that the painting of the churches might have taken more than one year, in this case – two subsequent years, which would lead to the dating of the frescos of the Dolna Verenitsa church to either 1847-1848 or the following 1848-1849.

The master icon-painter of Dolna Verenitsa church placed his signature in the lower end of the Royal Doors of the iconostasis – Panayot Popovich and also added the year 1835 (Fig. 7). Atanas Atanasov¹⁴ found that he and his father – priest icon-painter Rade¹⁵ – are the creators of the iconostasis. It is yet to be confirmed whether Panayot Popovich is the same master woodcarver from Rosomach village (Pirot region), mentioned in the Montana document or he was born in Krivodol, Lom region, as noted in the same document about the wood carvings in Gorna Verenitsa. The coincidence here too is enough to suggest, that Panayot is the creator of the carvings in both churches.

In conclusion we can paraphrase the sentence about the boundaries of history in relation of hypothesis and denoting the fact, that thanks to the published by us document we humbly contribute to the entirety of the history of both churches and help shrink the boundaries set by hypothesis. With gratitude to the effort and diligence of the unknown priest, author of the document – a worthy follower of the inscribed in one of the churches ktetors.

¹⁴Atanas Atanasov, *Newly discovered Medieval frescos in the "St. Nikola" church in Dolna Verenitsa, Mihailovgrad region*, in "General overview", National Institute for Cultural Monuments, Sofia, 1989, p. 7.

¹⁵M. Koeva, P. Yokimov, L. Stoilova, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

DISCOURSE AND THE HUMAN BEING DIGNITY

THE PURE BEING, LIBERTY AND DISCOURSE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF HEGEL

Gheorghe DĂNIȘOR*

Abstract: The absolute pure being harnesses within itself the entire development of consciousness until its ultimate emergence as the *Logos*. As a result, the absolute pure being encompasses within itself a trajectory of enlightenment regarding historical consciousness and its identification with the divine (the pure being), which means that from the perspective of the absolute pure being the logos becomes trans-substantial. From the perspective of the logos, the pure pre-reflexive being is reflected onto itself and thus we bear witness to the first separation inside the pure being itself. This primordial rupture stands as the premise of understanding and dialectic transcendence. This paper aims at exploring the connection between logos and primordial freedom as absolute negativity. The dawn of freedom appears when the being itself becomes logos.

Keywords: pure being, logos, liberty, discourse, Hegel.

The identification between the absolute pure being (the divine) and the logos (as discourse) is the result of the awareness achieved in *Phenomenology* and the ascension towards absolute knowledge, meaning that man rose to the level of the divine through the power of knowledge, a sense of knowledge that places itself at the core of the absolute pure being that stands at the basis of the *Science of Logic*. Considering the evolution of thinking in Hegel, from *Phenomenology* to the *Science of Logic* and the connection between them, we can affirm that the reflexive activity of self-consciousness (man) stems from the consubstantiality of the pure being. The original doubling of the being as a result of the reflection of consciousness onto itself is the beginning of freedom and the emphasis on the identity between being and spirit or the identity between being and freedom.

It is necessary to consider the fact that *Science of Logic* defines the being as nothing else than Parmenides' One-Being through the effort to "enlist the elaboration of the entire discourse inside the unsullied movement of the original

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emergence of the Being in the constitutive vision of a theory of Being”¹. In other words, an authentic philosophical discourse must include Parmenides’ One-Being and expand from here on out. The ontological definition of the being coincides with “the original affirmation of inseparability of that which exists from its conceptual representation”². From this, we can deduce that an identification of the original absolute being is produced with the concept which becomes its own self. This identity bears the mark of Hegel’s steadfastness to present humanity based on a theory originating from Parmenides’ design. This high status of the human being is equivalent to the introduction of the logos (concept) to the pure being, thus securing an essential place of discourse in his ontology which ultimately accounts for the original doubling of the being and the possibility to emphasise the commencement of the dialectic pure being as a *Discourse Being*. That’s why Hegel, in the *Science of Logic* expands the presence of an ontology which at the same time presents itself as onto-theology. From this we can imply the fundamental origins of Christianity according to which “in the beginning there was the Word”.

The doubling of the original being, the ontic itself, founded on the logos, can have two subsequent connotations: a human one, which answers to ontology, and a divine one, which places emphasis on God. The first is the result of human labour accounted for in the *Phenomenology of the Spirit*, placing itself as pure thinking related to the *Science of Logic*. The second one can be interpreted as the manner in which pure reason begins as a revelation of the divine according to Christianity. The doubling, therefore, presents us with two connotations which ultimately unite in the concept of *onto-theology*. This may signify that, according to Hegel, the pure being can be conceived and measured as a projection of human reason on the one hand, or a revelation of God on the other hand. This approach takes us to Hegel’s attempt to rationalise the acts of revelation and faith. Through reason, man becomes active, a builder, whereas through revelation, he falls into contemplation. Uniting these prerequisites compels Hegel to say that man is a *rational – contemplative* being.

The original doubling through the logos emphasised by Hegel has the purpose to expound a better aspect of human nature. Hegel’s philosophy follows the same path as Parmenides and Plato, while at the same time bringing a strong Christian influence into the mix. It is through this very endeavour that has remained untouched for centuries, that we can identify the *Being* with the *Concept*. We will strive to correlate this conceptual framework with the ideas of Joseph Juszezak, who, in turn, follows the same path as Alexander Kojève in defining the fundamental principles of Parmenides and Plato metaphysics³.

¹ Joseph Juszezak, *Hegel et la liberté, Société d’action d’enseignement supérieur*, Paris, 1980, p. 25.

² *Ibidem*.

³ Joseph Juszezak, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-32.

The premise of Parmenides and Plato metaphysics regarding the being foretells that, in fact, the future Hegelian ontology and subsequent determinations unite the Being with the Concept, as Hegelian ontology is considered the historical fulfilment of the entire Western system of metaphysics. The concept of metaphysics in the perception of Kojève is closely connected to the concept of wisdom which is approached as either discourse or silence. Metaphysics begins with Parmenides, the first philosopher who refers to the One-Being, a being about which nothing can be said, as “this is the thesis of Parmenides, who was the precursor of Plato and Hegel. The One-Being cannot be captured in its immobility and eternity unless we make use of the pure silence of contemplation”⁴. What is paradoxical in Parmenides’ thinking is that this Being stems from the fundamental of truth and discourse. In other words, the entire discourse is founded on Parmenides’ One-Being. Through discourse, however, the truth of the One-Being goes into multiplicity as the essence of discourse is spatial temporality itself. It is a passing truth that transcends immobility and eternity, meaning that if man is approached as an individual, we can communicate towards something else. This passing into discourse is in fact the alteration of the one truth. The discourse, which defines Parmenides’ One-Being, “appears as an antithesis for the Parmenides thesis: a fact made evident in Heraclitus’ thesis, explained by Cratyle, constituting the essence of contradiction themed by Hegel”⁵.

The Parmenidesian thesis is in contradiction to that of Heraclitus as “the being is the nothingness of our discourse for Parmenides while to Heraclitus, the discourse is the nothingness of the being”⁶. In either of the situation, nothing can be said about the being, which means a sentence to silence or pure contemplation, or the fugitive chase of mobility. The mistake stems from the fact that the Parmenidesian One-Being is considered as nothingness to Discourse and vice versa, when in reality they are absolutely interdependent.

The ontological presentation of the Parmenidesian One-Being in the dialectics of discourse constitutes the discursive wisdom of Plato, which is to say “the eternal silence as a method of understanding the truth of being”. One might say Plato achieves a synthesis between the Parmenidesian thesis and Heraclitus’ antithesis, when in reality, according to Kojève, he creates a para-thesis, as to him, discourse and truth are not interconnected but mutually exclusive, which leads to silence in front of the being, meaning contemplation, the ontological revelation of the One-Being. Juszezak believes that Plato uses a little of both theories, stating that “discourse places emphasis on ontological truth, essential for the development of discourse, I rightfully deny the consequence of pluralism in discourse undetermined through the unity of Being, in short, I convert the wisdom of Parmenides’ silence into discursive wisdom and Heraclitus’ universal relativity,

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 29.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

who sees in man the measure of all things (such as Protagoras) into the same discursive Wisdom that acknowledges the contemplative silence of the Truth of the One-Being, showing us how to surpass contradiction in the unifying quality of wisdom via the ontological revelation of truth”⁷.

In short, one can say that Plato does not achieve a genuine synthesis between the theses of Heraclitus and Parmenides because his synthesis is only an ideal representation categorised in a world of pure, intangible ideals. The philosophical discourse of Plato is not a reconciliation of discursive wisdom and reality with the objectivity of the world. That is why Plato’s philosophy concerns itself with Transcendence and not the human world. Because of this fact, “Plato’s wisdom (Parmenides-Heraclitus) remains God’s wisdom (theology) or the Discourse of God, but it is not yet the Wisdom of Man who lives on earth (discursive wisdom or Anthropology), Plato, of course, is concerned about man, but as a discourse, he is closer to God”⁸.

However, man itself has to become God, which means that Reason must come down from the Heavens to Earth and incarnate into the history of the world, a possible achievement if we look at Hegel’s philosophy which reconciles the Parmenidesian silence, the discourse of Heraclitus, Plato’s dialectics and anthropological history. At the same time, man has the revelation of God.

Hegel brings down the eternity of the One-Being into historical time, uniting Being and Concept as a premise of human liberty. Therefore, we can deduce that human liberty cannot be achieved unless it springs from the original unity of Being, Freedom and Concept, which might suggest that the absolute being comes to the Earth in historical time, seeing man transcend historical time towards God’s religious epiphany. Human liberty is placed in the proximity of this rift created by the identification of historic descent regarding the historical suppression of revelation. Thus, man stands no longer as a mundane being, but rather as an extra-mundane one. Only through this can history gain meaning. To regard man solely on the basis of historical being means dragging on into unilateral limitations, a fact condemned by Hegel every step of the way. Moreover, it can be said that Hegel, although casting off Reason from the Heavens to Earth, never gave up on maintaining a balance between Heaven and Earth. Hegel limits the gap between man and God, predicating that getting closer to God can also be done through reason not only faith. We are dealing, however, with pure Reason which transcends the temporal and the random, situating itself beyond the “network of petty preoccupations and daily worries, being capable of the liberty which the preoccupations of science can bring forth”⁹.

Every time he addresses pure Reason, Hegel situates himself beyond the ramblings of history and tries to capture the truth which can only be encompassed

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

⁹ Hegel, *Enciclopedia științelor filosofice. Logica*, Bucharest, RPR Academy Publishing, 1962, p. 35.

within the kingdom of thought that is based on itself. Hegel says: “This kingdom is the truth as it is in itself and for itself, without a husk. That is why it can be said that this content is the representation of God as He is in His eternal essence, before nature and limited spirits were created”¹⁰.

Through pure Reason, man knows God to the extent that God descends into man. In other words, you can know God as long as you have Grace, the two concepts being intertwined. It is nothing less than a historical ascension towards God forged through the absolute self-knowledge presented in *Phenomenology* which is the equivalent to divine revelation in man. Under no circumstance can it be about atheism in Hegel’s reasoning, especially considering that he states that he remains devoted to the knowledge of the divine which is only accessible through a state of philosophical Grace. Talking about man’s positioning at the crossroads between Grace and Reason, Dumitru Stăniloae states that “there are somehow two degrees or forms of Grace in man: an imprinting of it in man, as power, although here too we can find the work of the Holy Ghost, and a fully assimilated presence felt by man as work through his work”¹¹.

This way, it can be said that Hegelian philosophy achieves an anthropology which situates man between the inaccessibility of Parmenides’ One-Being and the plurality of discourse. This matrix is the kingdom of uninhibited freedom. The transcendence of God will always exist as long as there is rational thinking, and this sense of reasoning can exist only as long as it is dedicated to the transcendence of God. Through man, the Parmenidesian One-Being is submerged into reasoning (logos), thus becoming concept, as the plurality of discourse (negativity) is pierced by the concept of the One-Being. This is the privileged position that man holds in Hegelian philosophy, a status of placement never again achieved in another philosophy. This rift that situates man between transcendence and the plurality of discourse can serve as support for the One-Being as a Trinity.

If we think this way, the position of man within the Hegelian system stipulates that we are in the presence of anthropo-theology, thus excluding the claim “we must from now on (in the philosophy of Hegel) see man become God, because he writes his own discourse (anthropology), to put it in a nutshell, Reason descends onto Earth from the Heavens and becomes historically incarnate into the world, that Plato’s synthesis of Idealism and Ideal becomes a material synthesis through the materialisation of the intangible world (kosmos noetos) in the Hegelian realm”¹².

For the sake of the system according to which “Discursive wisdom will only be truly achieved within the Hegelian system of absolute knowledge”, we will bear

¹⁰ Hegel, *Enciclopedia științelor filosofice. Știința logicii*, Bucharest, Academy Publishing, 1962, p. 32.

¹¹ Dumitru Stăniloae, *Teologia dogmatică ortodoxă*, vol. II, Bucharest, Bible Institute and Orthodox Mission Publishing, 1978, p. 304.

¹² Joseph Juszezak, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

witness to “the reconciliation of Parmenidesian silence, the discourse of Heraclitus, Plato’s dialectics and the anthropological history”¹³, omitting the standpoint which sees man reconcile anthropological history with the above mentioned concepts. According to our structuring, Hegel’s philosophy places importance on anthropological history when man is neither historical nor divine but a little bit of both. That is why man is the medium for reconciliation between the One-Being and history, man being a synthesis between the divine and the profane. Man is the only rational-contemplative being. Kant had previously parted man, a piece of him belonging to phenomenology, while the other part belonging to the intangible. Hegel unites the two sides, forging a man in which Reason pleases God, while at the same time reconciling the Discourse-Being with the plurality of discourse.

¹³ *Ibidem.*

THE OBSERVATION OF THE HUMAN BEING DIGNITY, AS MIRRORED IN CONVENTIONS, TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Antoaneta-Laura (MIREA) SAVA*

Abstract: This article presents the evolution of the concept of human dignity in conventions, treaties and other international documents, starting from the 13th century, when we meet different references to the human rights in the English Charter from 1215 –Magna Charta, and continuing with the American Declaration of Independence from 1776, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen from 1789 etc. In present times, the most important and relevant documents are The Charter of the United Nations, signed at San Francisco, California, on the 26th of June 1945, The European Convention of Human Rights, signed at Rome, on the 5th of November 1950, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted in 1963, The Charter of Paris, called “For a new Europe” – 1989, The Inter-American Convention on Human Rights, signed at San José, in Costa Rica, on the 22nd of November 1969, The African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, adopted during the Conference for Organisation of African Unity (OAU), on the 27th of June 1981, The Asian Human Rights Charter, elaborated by the Asian Human Rights Commission and proclaimed on the 17th of May 1998 etc.

Keywords: dignity, human rights, human person, document, convention.

Although a relatively new concept in law¹, the ideas referring to the human being dignity have become more frequent in the political speeches, in the national juridical documents and in the international treaties, along with the resolutions adopted by different national and international organisations. The shaping and the affirmation of the human dignity concept, has a long history, longer than the history of human rights, being influenced by the entire evolution of the philosophical thinking, and by the practical applicability of the philosopher’s

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¹ Bernard Edelman, *La dignité de la personne humaine, un concept nouveau*, in Marie-Luce Pavia, Thierry Revet (coord.), *La dignité de la personne humaine*, Paris, Economic Publishing, 1999, pp. 25-34.

teachings, as asserted by the PhD professor, Gheorghe Dănișor: «*when we talk about the human dignity, we consider the human individual, regardless the step of the social pyramid where they stand*»².

The great thinkers and legislators, of the old times, brought their contribution to the recognition and the observation of the human dignity, as fundamental value, considering that the welfare of each individual cannot be materialised but through the social wellbeing, meaning the respecting of the other wellbeing. From the development of this idea, until the recognition of the equality among people and the guarantee of the fundamental rights, for all the people, there have been many steps, this evolution determining us to consider human dignity a fundament of the human rights.

The mentions about the human dignity can be found in numerous normative documents or national charters because, fighting for the affirmation and the protection of their dignity, the citizens mainly considered the recognition of this concept nationally, inside the borders of the state where they were living, and only secondly the extension of the recognition, and implied protection, internationally. Thus, in the 13th century, we meet different references to the human rights in the English Charter from 1215 – *Magna Charta*, followed by the American Declaration of Independence from 1776, by the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen from 1789 etc.

Magna Charta can be considered one of the first documents on addressing the human rights, issued by King John of England (Lackland), on the 15th of July 1251, for the English barons and bishops. This extremely progressive document for that period, stipulated, at clause 39 that: “No free man shall be seized or imprisoned, or stripped of his rights or possessions, or outlawed or exiled, or deprived of his standing in any way, nor will we proceed with force against him, or send others to do so, except by the lawful judgment of his equals or by the law of the land”³.

The United States of America Declaration of Independence enumerates in its Preamble the ideas and the ideals that founded it – equality, life, liberty, pursuit of happiness, along with “the right to revolution”, the ability of a people to assume its political independence: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and

² Gheorghe Dănișor, *Filosofia drepturilor omului*, Bucharest, Universul Juridic Publishing, 2011, p. 77.

³ Victor Duculescu, *Protecția juridică a drepturilor omului. Mijloace interne și internaționale*, Bucharest, Lumina Lex Publishing, 1998, p. 23.

organizing its powers in such from, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their Safety and Happiness”.

A historical moment was represented by The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, from the 26th of August 1789, adopted in France, an international juridical instrument that consecrated new principles as regarding the human being, and the recognition of their dignity, one of these principles being that people are born free and equal.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen represents a display of principles for the next French constitution, which was to become a landmark for all the following democratic movements of the world, a document that is still actual nowadays. In succinct definitions, there are adopted the philosophic concepts of the Enlightenment, being enumerated the natural rights of the human (freedom, property, resistance against oppression), people's sovereignty, equality of citizens, the fundamental attributions of the government and the background for the laws. In art. 2 of the Declaration, through the direct borrowing from the English literature of the 17th century, and the French one from the 18th century, there were mentioned the natural rights: freedom (the most important right), property⁴, safety and opposition against exploitation. Articles 4 and 5, by defining liberty, were showing what it was allowed and what had to be limited. The law was strictly meant for the defending of the society, and everything that it was not mentioned in it, belonged to the field of the freedoms. The individual freedom was fundamental. Taking inspiration from the British law, *Habeas Corpus*, the declaration extended it to the freedom of speech, the religious freedom, freedom of expression, which represent only few of the numerous sides and forms taken by the concrete manifestation of the right to dignity. Another freedom is that to oppose against exploitation, being taken from the United States Declaration of Independence and from Locke's ideas.

Confirming the suppression of privileges, the Declaration made from the equality before law, one of the fundamental principles of the new society: “*people are born free, and remain free and equal in rights*” (article 1). Yet, it is not excluded the existence of differences between people, on the condition that they are “based on the common interest”. The objective of the state had to be the providing of inalienability of human's natural rights, among which there was the right to freedom, private property, personal security, resistance against the tentative of violation of the right etc. In art. 4 we find the mention of the necessity to limit freedom, in other words the free exercising of the human right, for not harming another person: “*Freedom is the possibility to do anything, on the condition to not prejudice another individual*”.

The sovereignty of the nation, the representative system, the observing of the individual's natural rights, the proclaiming of the individuals' equality in front of

⁴ As regarding the controversies on the lawful and natural status of property, see Gheorghe Dănișor, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

the law, the liberation from the state's domination⁵, were the principles formulated by the French Revolution and put into practice by the Constituent Assembly, by the adopting of the Constitution from 1791, which legalised the equality of citizens before the law, and abolished the discrimination based on ethnic or religious criteria (Jews, protestants).

The Charter of the United Nations, signed at San Francisco, California, on the 26th of June 1945, proclaims, in its Preamble: "We The Peoples of the United Nations Determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims. Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations".

Although in the UN Charter it is reaffirmed the recognition of the man's fundamental rights (art. 1 and 55), there is not made any reference to the dignity of the human being. Nonetheless, this charter is considered to be the beginning moment for "the emerging" of the notion of dignity, and value of the human being, into one of the most important international documents from our times⁶.

The General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation adopted, on the 10th of December 1948, through resolution 271 A, the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights, which reads in its preamble: "**the recognition of the inherent dignity** and of the equal and inalienable rights **of all members of the human family** is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, (...) disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people, (...) it is essential, if

⁵ I. Dogaru, D.C. Dănişor, *Drepturile omului și libertățile publice*, Chişinău, Zamolxe Publishing, 1998, pp. 44-45.

⁶ Madjid Benchikh, *La dignité de la personne humaine en droit international*, in Marie-Luce Pavia, Thierry Revet (coord.), *La dignité de la personne humaine*, Paris, Economic Publishing, 1999, p. 38.

man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law, (...) it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations, (...) the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed **their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person** and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, (...) Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms”.

Numerous documents that brought an important contribution to the recognition and protection of the human dignity are the ones that incriminated discrimination, one of the most detestable deeds that tell against the human person and against peoples, widely practiced along history, constituting today a severe infringement of the international law norms and principles.

One of the conventions through which there was specifically forbidden any form of discrimination, was the *European Convention of Human Rights*⁷, signed at Rome, on the 5th of November 1950 (by all the states of the European Council). In fact, the rights stipulated by the Convention are: the right to life, the right to freedom and security, and the forbidden of prison conviction on grounds of debts, the right to a good administration of justice, the right to the respect of private and family life, to domicile and correspondence, the freedom of speech, the freedom to meet and the freedom of associations, the right to marry and to form a “family”, the right to appeal before the national courts, in case of infringement of the rights mentioned in the Convention, the right to property, the interdiction to send to exile the national people, the collective expulsion of foreigners, the interdiction of torture and punishments, or inhuman and degrading treatment, the interdiction of slavery, servitude, forced and mandatory labour, the interdiction of any type of discrimination⁸. Through the jurisprudence of the European Commission and Court on Human Rights, through the interpretations that it was conferred in different cases, the Convention passed beyond the stage of simple document, becoming “a living instrument that needs to be interpreted according to the actual living conditions”⁹. Unlike other instruments of international law, the Convention “surpassed the classical theories of reciprocity and nationality”¹⁰, going further

⁷ The integral text of the conventions and additional protocols is available in Romanian at the address http://www.irdo.ro/sectiuni.php?subsectiuni_id=2.

⁸ The Convention instituted a judicial mechanism for international guarantee of the consecrated rights and freedoms, made of a Commission and a European Court of Human Rights (with the headquarters at Strasbourg) and a Committee of Ministers from the Council of Europe.

⁹ Aisling Reidy, *L'interdiction de la torture. Un guide sur la mise en oeuvre de l'article 3 de la Convention Européenne de Droit de l'Homme*, Direction générale des droits de l'homme, Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg, 2003, p. 6.

¹⁰ Hélène Lambert, *La situation des étrangers au regard de la Convention Européenne de Droit de l'Homme*, Éditions du Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg, 2007, p. 8.

than the framework of a simple reciprocity, between the contracting parties”, creating objective obligations that, according to the terms stipulated in the preamble, benefit from a “collective guarantee”¹¹.

U.N.O. brought its contribution through the numerous declarations and resolutions, among which the *United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, adopted in 1963, occupies the central position in fighting against the racial discrimination. In this declaration, the General Assembly of U.N.O., underlined the necessity to eliminate rapidly all the forms and manifestations of racial discrimination in all the parts of the world, and to assure protection and the observing of human dignity.

On the 21st of December 1965, it was adopted, through a resolution of the U.N.O. General Assembly, and opened for signing, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, through which the states parties condemned any form of discrimination, especially the racial segregation and apartheid, making the commitment to prevent, forbid and eliminate from their territory such malevolent practices, using all the available means, including their incrimination and penal sanction measures. According to this Convention, racial discrimination consists in “any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life” (art.1).

In 1966, the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation, adopted two covenants, one referring to the civil and political rights¹², and the other regarding the economic, social and cultural rights¹³, which transformed the human dignity into the fundamental of the human rights, acknowledging specifically that “*these rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human person*”.

The fact that the other international documents from this area, among which the most important is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, place on the same level, human dignity and the human rights, without explicitly basing the fundamental rights on dignity, requires certain remarks. Thus, to the extent to

¹¹ ECHR, Decision Ireland v. Great Britain, 18th of January 1978, available in French at http://www.cvce.eu/obj/arret_de_la_cour_europeenne_des_droits_de_l_homme_irlande_c_royaume_uni_18_janvier_1978-fr-e07eaf5f-6d09-4207-8822-0add3176f8e6.html.

¹² Available on <http://lege5.ro/Gratuit/he2damju/pactul-international-cu-privire-la-drepturile-civile-si-politice-din-16121966->. Romania ratified the Pact on the 31st of October 1974, through the Decree no.212, published in the Official Bulletin of Romania, 1st part, no. 146 from the 20th of November 1974.

¹³ The Integral text of the Pact is available in Romanian at the internet address <http://www.hotararicedo.ro/files/files/PACTUL%20INTERNATIONAL%20CU%20PRIVIRE%20LA%20DREPTURILE%20ECONOMICE,%20SOCIALE%20SI%20CULTURALE.pdf>. Romania ratified the Pact on the 31st of October 1974, through the Decree no.212, published in the Official Bulletin of Romania, 1st part, no. 146 from the 20th of November 1974.

which this distinction is not found in other international documents, we can consider that the signing states either did not agree to establish a hierarchy between the human dignity and the human rights, or the same states did not have, the moment when the papers were signed, a clear idea about the distinctions that could be made between the two notions, or this aspect did not represent a current preoccupation. The second hypothesis seems the most probable, considering that the different international treaties and covenants do not adopt the same position, in this case. An example for this situation is article 1, from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaims that “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”, consequently placing dignity next to the human rights.

Other documents in which there are made references to the human dignity are, mainly, the ones referring to the human rights. The last quarter of the last century was a period of intense promotion of the human rights, mentioning here only the Helsinki Final Act (1975), continuing with the Reunions from Belgrade (1977-1978), Madrid (1983), Vienna (1989), Paris (1989), Copenhagen (1990), Moscow (1991). During the general-European reunions from Belgrade, Madrid and Vienna, there were reaffirmed both the provisions from the *Helsinki Accords on Human Rights*¹⁴, and the principles that govern the relations between the participant states¹⁵. Though this document, which left a mark on “the establishment of the human rights”¹⁶ in the international law, the signing states committed to constantly observe the fundamental rights and freedoms, in their reciprocal relations, and to try, individually or together, including a cooperation with the United Nations, to promote the universal and effective observance of these rights. At section VII, referring to the Observing of the fundamental human rights and freedoms, including the freedom of thought, consciousness, religion or belief, it is stipulated that: “*The participating States will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.*

They will promote and encourage the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development”¹⁷.

¹⁴ The participants were: the High Official of Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Cyprus, Denmark, Switzerland, Finland, France, Democrat Republic of Germany, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Ireland, Iceland, Italy, Yugoslavia, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Great Britain, Monaco, Norway, Holland, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, United States of America, Sweden, Turkey, Hungary, U.S.S.R., Vatican.

¹⁵ Raluca Miga-Besteliu, *Drept internațional*, Bucharest, ALL Publishing, 1997, p. 189.

¹⁶ Patricia González-Aldea, *Helsinki 1975. Începutul sfârșitului. Degradarea regimului din România și singularitatea lui în blocul de Est, 1975-1990*, Bucharest, Curtea Veche Publishing, 2008, pp. 42-43; Emanuel Copilaș, *Ideologie și politică. HELSINKI 1975 și problematica drepturilor omului în România socialistă*, in “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie «G. Barițiu» from Cluj-Napoca”, volume L, 2011, pp. 232-233.

¹⁷ For the integral variant see <http://www.dri.gov.ro/actul-final-de-la-helsinki/>.

The states that participated at the Reunion from Vienna (1989) considered that *the promotion both of the economic, social and cultural rights, along with the civil and political ones, present a major importance for the future of human dignity*, whose observing becomes, therefore, a priority objective of the leading strategies, establishing as purpose, *the guarantee of effective exercising of fundamental human rights and freedoms, which are tremendous important for the free and entire development of the person.*

Among the objectives established by the states that participated to the reunion, there are¹⁸:

a) to ensure that effective remedies as well as full information about them are available to those who claim that their human rights and fundamental freedoms have been violated; they will, inter alia, effectively apply the following remedies

– the right of the individual to appeal to executive, legislative, judicial or administrative organs;

– the right to a fair and public hearing within a reasonable time before an independent and impartial tribunal, including the right to present legal arguments and to be represented by legal counsel of one's choice;

– the right to be promptly and officially informed of the decision taken on any appeal, including the legal grounds on which this decision was based. This information will be provided as a rule in writing and, in any event, in a way that will enable the individual to make effective use of further available remedies.

b) equal rights of men and women. The participating states confirmed their determination to take all the necessary measures, including legislative measures, to promote equally effective participation of men and women in political, economic, social and cultural life;

c) to ensure the freedom of the individual to profess and practice religion or belief. The participating expressed their commitment to take effective measures to prevent and eliminate discrimination against individuals or communities on the grounds of religion or belief in the recognition, exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms in all fields of civil, political, economic, social and cultural life, and to ensure the effective equality between believers and non-believers. Therefore, they pledged to protect and create conditions for the promotion of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of national minorities on their territory and to respect the rights of these religious communities:

– establish and maintain freely accessible places of worship or assembly;

– organize themselves according to their own hierarchical and institutional structure;

– select, appoint and replace their personnel in accordance with their respective requirements and standards as well as with any freely accepted arrangement between them and their State;

– solicit and receive voluntary financial and other contributions.

¹⁸ See *Document final al Reuniunii de la Viena a reprezentanților statelor participante la Conferința pentru securitate și cooperare în Europa*, Bucharest, Bălcescu Publishing, 1990, pp. 1-96.

d) respect the right of everyone:

- to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State,;
- to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country;

e) the obligation of every participating state to ensure that:

- no one will be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or 10 exile;
- all individuals in detention or incarceration will be treated with humanity

and *with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person*;

– observe the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners as well as the United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials;

– prohibit torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and take effective legislative, administrative, judicial and other measures to prevent and punish such practices.

Through the document concluded at Vienna, it was summoned the *Human Dimension Implementation Meeting* of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which took place with three reunions: Paris (the 30th of May-the 23rd of June 1989), Copenhagen (the 5th-29th of June 1990), Moscow (the 10th of September-the 4th of October 1991). The Reunion from Paris ended with the final document – the *Charter of Paris*, called “For a new Europe”. The *Charter of Paris*¹⁹ has as objective the assurance of security, the promotion of fundamental human rights and freedoms, and the development of a wider cooperation among the participating states, stipulating: “Democracy has as its foundation **respect for the human person** and the rule of law. Democracy is the best safeguard of freedom of expression, tolerance of all groups of society, and equality of opportunity for each person. Democracy, with its representative and pluralist character, entails accountability to the electorate, the obligation of public authorities to comply with the law and justice administered impartially. No one will be above the law”.

In the *Copenhagen Document*, there were accentuated the human rights on addressing the democratic development of the society, insisting on the separation of powers, the assuring of free elections, political pluralism, consolidation of the democratic institutions in the state of law. For the first time, there were included both detailed provisions regarding the rights of the people belonging to national minorities, and provisions that protect the ethnic, cultural and religious identity of the minorities, the documents being considered « a “landmark” in the establishment of the normative standards for the protection of the minority people’s rights »²⁰. The states committed to protect “the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious

¹⁹ Published in the Official Gazette no. 181 from the 9th of September 1991.

²⁰ Adrian Alexe, *Sfârșitul lumii libere*, Bucharest, Aldo Press, 2013, p. 199.

identity of the national minorities on their territory, and to create the conditions for the promotion of this identity”²¹.

Neither do the regional conventions clearly approach the issue of distinction between the human rights and the dignity of the human person, nor the right to dignity.

The *Inter-American Convention on Human Rights*, signed at San José, in Costa Rica, on the 22nd of November 1969, and entered into force on the 18th of July 1979, was conceived after the model of the European Convention of the Human Rights. The states parties assumed, through this convention, the obligation to respect and guarantee the freedom and the entire exercising of the rights stipulated in the Convention, without any discrimination, and to adopt legislative, or other types of measures, measures, for the effectiveness of these rights. Chapter II of the Convention provisions civil and political human rights, along with economic, cultural and social rights. Art. 26 of the Convention stipulates that the states parties ensure the adopting of measures, both internally and regionally, for the gradual effort, though juridical regulations or other appropriate means, towards the full achievement of the rights that residue from economic, social, educational, scientific and cultural standards, established by the Charter of the Organisation of American States, as it had been amended in the Protocol of Buenos Aires. One of the most important provisions, relevant as regarding the human dignity, is that each person has obligations towards their family, community and mankind, and their rights are limited by the rights of the other people (art.32, section 1 and 2). Article 27 from the Convention allows the signing states to depart from their obligations “in case of war, public menace or another crisis, which threatens their independence or security”.

The *Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, was adopted at San Salvador in 1988, and entered into force in 1999. It acknowledges a series of rights such: the right to work and equitable working conditions, the right to association, the right to social security, to health, the right to a healthy environment, the right to food, the right to education, the right to the formation and the protection of family, the protection of children, elderly and handicapped (art. 6-16). The states parties assumed the obligation to adopt internal laws for the making these rights a reality (art. 2), and the restriction of some of the stipulated rights is inadmissible (art. 4). The states parties also undertake to guarantee these rights, without discriminations based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinions, national or social origin, economic status, birth, or other social conditions (art. 3).

The *Second Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights to Abolish Death Penalty* was adopted in 1990, and does not allow the states to

²¹ Document of the Copenhagen Reunion from 1990 at the Human Dimension Implementation Meeting of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), in Ion Diaconu, *Minoritățile. Identitate. Egalitate*, Institutul Român pentru Drepturile Omului, Bucharest, 1998, p. 177.

formulate any reservations, but it admits exceptions only for the internal legislation, which can be applied in case of war.

It should be mentioned that the *Inter-American Convention on Human Rights* did not elucidate the question on addressing the fundament of the human rights, but it established in the Preamble that: “the essential rights of man are not derived from one's being a national of a certain state, but are based upon attributes of the human personality, and that they therefore justify international protection in the form of a convention reinforcing or complementing the protection provided by the domestic law of the American states”²².

The references to the human dignity from art. 5 and 6, correlated to the declarations from the Preamble, allow us to believe that the people who drew up this convention considered dignity an attribute of the human being.

The *Asian Human Rights Charter* was elaborated by the Asian Human Rights Commission, along with many other non-governmental organisations from the field of human rights, being proclaimed on the 17th of May 1998, in South Korea – at Kwangju. Among the rights mentioned in the Charter, there is the right to life; the right to peace; the right to democracy; the right to the freedom of religion and consciousness; the right to development and social justice, but also rights specific to women: the right of women to the opportunity of employment; the woman's right to freely choose a profession; the woman's right to social assistance; the woman's right to equal wage with a man, if the job is carried out under the same circumstances; the woman's right to compensation for the family work; the woman's right for the protection of health; the woman's right for the protection of work; the woman's right for social protection during pregnancy, in case the work is harmful; the right to an equal participation of women to the public, political and social life.

The *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*²³, adopted during the Conference for Organisation of African Unity (OAU), on the 27th of June 1981, is different from the European and the American Conventions on Human Rights. Firstly, it proclaims not only the human rights, but also the fundamental duties of them. Secondly, it encoded not only the human rights, but also the peoples' rights, because “the observing of peoples' rights implicitly guarantees the human rights too”. Thirdly, not only does it recognise the civil and political rights, but also protects the economic, social and cultural rights, mentioning that: “the civil and political rights cannot be dissociated from economic, social and cultural rights in their conception as well as universality and that the satisfaction of economic, social and cultural rights is a guarantee for the enjoyment of civil and political rights”.

Finally, it is drawn up in a manner that reflects in the same time the influence of UNO instruments that refer to human rights, and the African traditions, in the Preamble

²² Madjid Benchikh, *La dignité de la personne humaine en droit international*, in Marie-Luce Pavia, Thierry Revet (coord.), *La dignité de la personne humaine*, Paris, Economic Publishing, 1999, p. 40.

²³ The integral text of the Convention is available on the address http://www.dadalos.org/rom/menschenrechte/grundkurs_2/Materialien/dokument_7.htm.

of the Charter being stipulated “the virtues of their historical tradition and the values of African civilization which should inspire and characterize their reflection on the concept of human and peoples’ rights”. Nonetheless, in the Preamble of the Charter, it is also mentioned that: “Freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples”.

Most of the rights from the African Charter can also be found in other international documents, being added those specific for the peoples in case. In the first part of the Charter, there are provisioned civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, along with the duties and the fundamental freedoms of a person and of the peoples, taking into account the dispositions of the articles from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the values of the African civilisation. The second part of the Charter includes provisions that refer to the constitution and the organisation of the African Commission on human and peoples’ rights, the competences, the procedure for receiving and solving the eventual infringements of the dispositions written in the charter, the objectives of the Commissions being to promote the human and peoples’ rights, and to assure their protection in Africa.

The references to human dignity from the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ rights are more consistent in art. 5, where it is being mentioned that: “Every individual shall have the right to the respect of the dignity and to the recognition of his legal status. All forms of exploitation, torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment and treatment shall be prohibited”.

Taking into consideration that, according to the declarations from the Preamble, the peoples of Africa “still fight for their dignity and real independence, being committed to eliminate colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, Zionism, the foreign military bases that stand for aggression, along with any form of racial, ethnic, skin colour, sex, language, religion or political opinions criteria”, art. 19 asserts « equal dignity and the same right for the peoples ».

These formulations are not absolutely new in the picture that refer to dignity, in the international treaties, therefore our investigation on the fundament of human rights shall be continued, with regard to other European documents.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

George Steiner, *The grammars of creation*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 2015, 375 p.

Concrete result of research grant awarded by one of the most prestigious European institutions in 2011, *The grammars of creation* can be a starting point for the intricate relationship which the humanities can have with various institutions and sponsors as regards supporting and promoting that research which is not strictly scientific and technological: *what does scientific research in humanities mean and how can it be distinguished and separated from the technical or technological one?*

A late work, in which creation is followed and pursued in its separate or mixed evolution forms, from *Creation as Genesis up* to creation in the most mundane possible sense, *The grammars of creation* represents an inventory of its major significances in the manner they are described in the area of Western culture. Other areas of reference are refused: the Chinese, Hindu or Arabian cultures are only allusively taken into consideration. Everything is limited to the Western area and its offers. A few references to Hery Corbin and his brilliant studies devoted to Islam and Islamic philosophy, a little more mentions and more substantial ones referring to Jewish culture and Jewishness, properly speaking-constitute all the excursion undertaken outside the assumed Western area.

The beginning – it could not have been otherwise! – belong to the sacred text strictly circumscribed to the chapter of *Genesis*. The correlations between the two cultures more closely engaged in its assuming and promoting, the Christian culture and the Jewish culture, amplify and enlarge the possibilities of understanding and interpreting. From this follows the immediate emergence of new meanings and contexts. First the Greek culture, from whose vast and difficult to cover thematic area there appears actual poetry and philosophy. Homer and Hesiod are consulted about creation, gods' intervention and inspiration. From here also comes the contribution brought by the intervention of transcendence and merit.

O, Goddess, sing the wrath – the absolute beginning of culture in its Western version – as illustrated by Homer's *Iliad*, is the subordination of human creation to the goddess, to her benevolence and gifts. In such a faith in which that what is going to be: the epopeic song-moves away or, anyway, maintains the distance. How much of the creation can be subjectively ascribed to the aed, to the poet or to their human instance and how much belongs to the divine or the transcendence? The verses do not count on such an answer and do not mean to, but anyway, the problem exists and the similarity of *creation* in the sense of biblical genesis is obvious.

So the significances become similar or dissimilar but are also extracted, or derived and create a common context which is not important.

From here, with Homer and Hesiod on top of the list, poetry makes the transition. Further, Steiner closely pursues what seems to him to be the most relevant myth, in a manner, to tell the truth, that is subjective and personal but not irrelevant: the myth of the *Demiurge* as he constructs by a logic easily recognizable and identifiable with Platon. The latter's dialogue *Timaios*, responsible for a good and long tradition of the Western culture from antiquity until the dawn of modern age (and with echoes further, even if they are fragmented, diluted and transfigured).

The bases for discussion being laid down, the subject follows his own logic, easy to locate in all the cultural areas, no matter if it is about music, architecture, poetry and novel. The creative spirits are consulted and summoned on the theme: the actual creation. The way they look at it, the way they bear with it and especially the way they practise it. But it is not an inventory resembling statistics or a dictionary in which they are to be found in alphabetical order, the way a late caricature character was trying to build his cultural background (Jean Paul Sartre, *La Nausée*).

The writer easily passes from one author to another, who are allotted restricted or extensive space. Thus, a special place and proper space is granted – it could not have been otherwise! – to Dante and *La divina commedia*. The apparent meanders of the creative process are ordered and disciplined, in accordance with his explicit or implicit consciousness.

A long experience concerning philology, interpretation and analysis, commentary and applied thinking provides an efficient methodological strategy, especially where Steiner does not benefit from clear expositions about the way creation evolves. Steiner's methodology is functional especially in what is implicit.

Not less important, philosophy is present. Steiner's old pieces of writing especially devoted to the theory of culture (*Bluebeard's castle*), to philosophy (*Heidegger, masters and disciples*, and so on). So, philosophy is present in this approach in the same measure as literary theory and criticism.

On the whole, *The grammars of creation* is a baroque, mixed piece of writing, in which genres interfere, epochs communicate and methods interfere with each other. Without being an original work, not even a work of reference, *The grammars of creation* has the merit of having pursued one of the most subtle and difficult themes of culture in its whole complexity.

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Adelina Emilia Mihali, *Toponymy from Maramureș region. Vișeu upper valley, Cluj-Napoca, Mega Publishing House, 2015, 256 p.*

The paper submitted by Mrs. Adelina Emilia Mihali is part of a series that provides a contribution to knowing and preserving our toponymical inventory unaltered, by presenting a monograph of the names of places recorded in the settlements Borșa, Moisei and Vișeu de Sus, "an area less examined" (p. 18) in this respect, but whose importance is related to the historical moments in this region's past and to its linguistic, ethnic, and socio-economic characteristic features.

About the objective that generated the book (initially a PhD thesis) – "the wish to complete the studies of Maramureș toponymy" (p. 17) in the context of an increasing interest in this type of researching and of highlighting the region's language and history – as well as about the stages of carrying it out, the lady author succinctly speaks in the *Introduction* (pp. 17-20). Then, in *Brief outline of toponymy researches* (pp. 21-30) she goes on to introduce us in the topics of the approached subject; she starts from a few theoretical aspects (the defining of the concepts used in the domain) and then continues by reviewing Romanian research on place names from the beginnings up to the present. From this survey one can notice the gradually growing interest in toponymy, a wide range of historians and geographers being involved in this activity. But the prominent part in interpreting the facts is played by the linguists, the names of places being firstly elements of vocabulary.

The Research methodology (pp. 31-33) represents the second chapter of the paper. A most detailed analysis of a region's toponymy requires both interdisciplinary knowledge (of geography, history, ethnography, dialectology, semantics, etc.) which the lady author proves to fully master and also the usage of several methods of research. The methods used by Mrs. Adelina Emilia Mihali in order to gather and process the local material were of the following types: linguistic, geographical, comparative-historical and cartographic; she made investigations on the ground, using as sources of information persons selected on pre-established criteria and also appealed for the data provided by the maps of Borșa forest administrative zone, the tourist maps, the classified list and plan of the streets as well as the farming registers of the settlements included in the research.

The IIIrd chapter – *Geographical and historical considerations* (pp. 43-54) – has been, in fact, subdivided into the following: 1. Geographical aspects (location, neighbourhood, approaches,

characteristics features of the land forms, climate, vegetation, places of interest, economic evolution, occupations, etc.), 2. Historical considerations (the official documentary testimonial of the settlement, owners, remarkable moments in its history), 3. The origin of the oiconims (the forms in which they were attested in various documents throughout the centuries, theories about names etymology). The three settlements are minutely described with regard to all the stated aspects.

Glossary of the place name (pp. 55-175) is the most substantial chapter of the book. Each toponym constitutes a separate article, in the following set-up: the type of the named object, location, etymology. The phonetic transcription, for which the author opted in order “to capture the exact pronunciation of the toponyms” (p. 19), enables the comparison between the dialectal form and the official one, remarkably catching the local specific character.

The analysis of the information recorded in the *Glossary* is carried out in the next section: *Classification of toponyms* (pp. 176-221). The lady author takes into consideration the three aspects: semantics, typology and etymology.

The semantic criterion determined the division of the material into two subdivisions: a) place names derived from appellatives (the most part of the indigenous terms refer to land forms, hydrography and vegetation, taking into account the mostly mountainous zone in which the three settlements are situated), b) place names derived from proper nouns – Christian names (through function change, transformations or associations) and toponyms (the transfer of name from a geographical entity to another situated nearby). Regarding typology, the presented place names fit into two patterns: simple and compound. Their detailed analysis sets forth the interrelationship of the three compartments of language: lexic, anthroponomy and toponymy. The toponymical layers – Romanian, Old Slavic, Magyar, Ukrainian and German – found in Borșa, Moisei and Vișeu de Sus represent the object of the last criterion of analysis, the etymological one.

The work ends with *Language characteristic features* (pp. 222-227), a short chapter which presents the phonetic, morfo-syntactic and lexical characteristic features of Maramureș dialect and the way in which these are present in the local toponymy, followed by *Conclusions* (pp. 228-230) and *Bibliography* (pp. 231-245).

Through the analysed material and the etymological solutions proposed, Mrs. Adelina Emilia Mihali's book easily finds a place among the significant works on toponymy, contributing to the turning to good account of the plentiful and various information, which often risks being lost, due to the modification of the area's geomorphological aspect.

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Georgeta Ghionea, *The history of the urban banks in Oltenia in statistical data and correspondence (1880-1948)*, Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, 2015, 451 p.

A paper dedicated to the history of the urban banks in Oltenia during the period of the years 1880-1948, – from the founding of the National Banks of Romania and until the setting up of the totalitarian socialism – is welcome. It comes to enrich the fact of getting familiar with the banking system and the ways through which the financial institutions, either branches of the National Bank or of other central banks, either bigger local banks or smaller ones had supported, through their very mission, the effort of modernizing the economic life in this part of the country.

The paper is judiciously structured in five chapters, to which the list of the documents and statistics, the introductory study and the bibliography are added. It not only has the task of completing the few historiographical information now available concerning the chosen subject, but also equally represents

a necessary and valuable contribution to knowing and thoroughly studying an extremely interesting subject, closely related to the evolution of financial-banking system in Romania. The approach to such a complex field had required the undertaking of serious and indispensable investigations at the National Archives County Services of Dolj, Gorj, Vâlcea, Olt and Mehedinți, as well as the examining of some speciality papers, statutes, reports and periodicals which illustrate the various aspects concerning the banking and credit system in Oltenia. The paper comprises 108 documents and 5 statistics, all of them having a special importance both for the historians and for those preoccupied by the economic history. As regards the selection of the documents, the lady author remarks that only those documents were published which “were about the setting up, the evolution and the balance of certain banking societies, having an outstanding role in supporting the local economy, and not only”.

The confidential correspondence between D. I. Dimitriu and personalities of Romanian financial – banking life (I. G. Bibicescu, Anton Carp, Th. Ștefănescu, Eugeniu Carada), contracts of association, instructions of the economic and financial situation of Vâlcea county during the first decades of the XXth century, requests for merging, the establishing of the branches and special agencies of the NBR in Oltenia in the year 1948 are only a few of the subjects which the lady author approached in the first chapter of the paper entitled: *The NBR branch and agencies in Oltenia, between the instructions of the Central Administration and the engagement in supporting the economy*.

On the basis of the studied documents, in the second chapter with the title: *The banking movement in Oltenia (1880-1948). The urban commercial banks and the interaction with the economic environment*, the lady author took into consideration the organization and consolidation of the credit institutions in the researched region, within a national financial economic system. The evolution of the banking operations, the impact of the economic crisis, of the monetary reform of 1947, the nationalization of 1948 and its consequences for the Oltenian banking system are only some aspects which we find in the statistics and documents in this chapter.

The establishing of the Bank of Commerce in Craiova, in December 1897 was closely related to the economic and social function which this town had in the XIXth century. Its organization, role and evolution until 1948 was treated in the third chapter of the paper entitled: *The organization and functioning of the Bank of Commerce in Craiova (1897-1948)*. In a short time it had become, as the lady author remarked, the most important private bank in Oltenia, set up by means of Romanian capital and focussed on a wide range of financial operations, with favourable consequences for all the social categories.

The IVth chapter was devoted to co-operative system in urban Oltenia. In the two statistics dedicated to the co-operative societies for credit, but also to those for consumers, to the cooperatives for forestry, agriculture, supply and marketing, the lady author successively examined the stages of their setting up and activity ever since the end of the XIXth century. The statutes for functioning, the general statistical data, the exchange of letters with the National Institute of Cooperation, the reports after the inspection undertaken by cooperative institutions are subjects we find in the documents that complete this chapter of the book and offer us information about the role and place of the system of credit, of production and sale, within the larger system of cooperative movement in Oltenia.

In the last chapter of the book, the lady author carried out two statistics about the structure of the shareholders group and the office holders of the urban banking societies in Oltenia, starting from the idea that “the success and performance of some institutions or the failure of some of the largely depended on the quality of human resources”. The lady author took into consideration the possibility that the statistical image of some local leaders, better known “for their engagement in the cultural or political life and less for their contribution to the development of the financial and banking system in Oltenia”.

Without insisting on other details, I consider that this paper has undoubtedly covered the subjects approached and that it asserts itself as a substantial piece of research, being ranked as a valuable contribution worth taking its proper place in the contemporary historiography, in the series of books and studies devoted to presenting the history of the national economy.

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Mihai Ghițulescu, *Reign and Government, Organisation and operation of the government institution in Romania (1866-1940)*, Craiova, Aius Publishing House, 2015, 236 p.

Mr. Mihai Ghițulescu propose to clarify in the paper named *Domnie și guvernare. Organizarea și funcționarea instituției guvernului în România (1866-1940)* [*Reign and Government, Organisation and operation of the government institution in Romania (1866-1940)*], an ambitious objective, complex and quite difficult to analyse, the author itself admitting from the beginning the fact that this analyse is not exhaustive, but more likely brings into attention “new ideas” about the problematic that the book is built around.

The objective of the paper, named in the *Introduction* by the author, is targeting “the correlation of the constitutional-legal norms with the practices and putting in context the Romanian norms and practices” (p. 5), using an o comparative analyses of Romanian democracy with western democratic regimes, and also with the east European ones, the end result being, in author’s opinion, “a roughly accurate image of Romanian democracy and its originality” (p. 6).

Considering the mentioned objective, the author is structuring his paper in six chapters, each having a variable numbers of sub-chapters, having titles more or less common for a classic scientific research paper: I. “How many and witch Powers”, II. “The Monarch – «the Pivot of Power »”, III. “The Council of Ministers or «Ministers Reunited in the Council»”, IV. “The Ministers. «The Wretched Refresh »”, V. “All the Government People... in the Territory” and VI. “Epilogue (1939-1940). «All the King’s Men»”.

Nevertheless, on a more careful lecture of the contain of the chapters can be seen that the titles are eloquent for the problems approached by the author that, under “unusual” titles retraces classic subjects giving them a note of particularity inculcated by the writing and analysing style of the author.

On the whole, the book of Mr. Mihai Ghițulescu proposes a “different kind” of lecture to the reader that highlights interesting ideas about the evolution of the government institution between the years 1866-1940, chronological limits identifiable with the Romanian constitutional monarchy system, keeping the proper rigours for the years 1938-1940.

A thoroughgoing study of the research started in this book (besides another objective announced by the author in the *Introduction* of the book) will be capable to provide, probably, a more detail image of the epoch, of the operation of the government institution during Romanian constitutional monarchy, period (1866-1938) considered by the specialists to be the epoch of Romanian traditional democracy, as well as for the period of the authority regime of King Carol II (1938-1940). At the same time, we consider that using and analyzing some primary, newer and richer documentary materials will provide the author new perspectives and interpretations regarding the problematic of the paper.

Thru the manner of approach used by the author to treat the subject, we can say that *Reign and Government, Organisation and operation of the government institution in Romania (1866-1940)* represents a synthesis paper that can be useful to students in History or Political Studies but also to specialists.

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Florin Nacu, *The fulfilment of the forty-eighters' revolutionary desiderate, during the ruling of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Iași, "Tipo Moldova" Publishing House, 2015, 233 p.*

It has been repeatedly evoked the idea that there is an organic connection between the ideals of the revolution of 1848 and the age of the great reforms, which coincides with the ruling of Alexandru Ioan Cuza and continues until the gaining of the national independence.

Undoubtedly, this represented the reason for which Mr. Florin Nacu, PhD, researcher within "C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor" Social Humanistic Research Institute, decided to start this research. I acknowledge, in my experience so far, this has been the first time I have discovered the theme of the title being enounced in an independent study. Mister Florin Nacu started to show preoccupation for the question, conferring the appropriate attention in his doctoral thesis, deciding to treat it separately, on the first occasion. That came with the present paper, published under exceptional circumstances at «Tipo Moldova» Publishing House.

It is mandatory to notice the fact that the manager of the institution, Professor Cezar Avram, PhD, knew to accurately direct the creative energies of the collective of researchers that he coordinates, for such exquisite works, through form and content, to be able to emerge to light.

The work is based on two essential aspects, such is, firstly, the historiographical analysis concerning the evolution of the issue, the interpretation of the concepts and, secondly, a comprehensive set of annexes. Although there are opinions that say the annexes only make complete the space designated to a book, implying that there should be placed there only the new, the approach of PhD Florin Nacu deserves our entire consideration, due to the fact that, amongst the incredible amount of information, it is extremely difficult for an advised reader to go from one article to a volume of documents, or to consult dozens of electronic pages, without knowing if the found text is totally authentic. Mister Florin Nacu presents in the annexes the acknowledged texts, but the ones that illustrate the analysed issues, which confers an obvious advantage to this work. Basically, the analysis and the annexes create an inseparable complex.

Moreover, the work is unquestionably, a work instrument. It gives the readers a starting point. They know that somewhere, a young researcher had the idea to interpret data and to bring forward the text, on which was based the research.

The author underlines once more, with plenty arguments, the fact that the evolution of the modern Romanian society was impossible without the pleiad of forty-eighters, both politicians and men of culture as Vasile Alecsandri, Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Nicolae Bălcescu, Mihail Kogălniceanu, along with the men of action as Nicolae Pleșoianu, Christian Tell, Gheorghe Magheru, who knew how to create a political platform that, at the right moment, to materialise into veritable political institutional reforms that led, in almost 10 years, to the circumstances in which the modern Romania was able to retrieve some centuries of delay.

The period of the forty-eighters connected Romania to the trend of modernity, to the revolutionary conquests, but it was nevertheless able to impose, during the peace periods, the personalities of some men who managed to settle the things into a special and progressive manner.

In conclusion, the work of mister Florin Nacu, PhD, is a special accomplishment for himself, as a historian, but also for the remarkable collective in which he thrives.

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