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**MUZEUL OLTENIEI CRAIOVA**

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## LA CULTURE DE CUCUTENI, ARCHIVES IMAGIÈRES

OPREA Cristina \*

**Résumé.** *Cette étude se propose de réaliser une incursion dans le monde des signes, présents sur les poteries de la culture de Cucuteni. On peut parler de variées archives imagièrès, qui contient des signes géométriques-méandriques, zoomorphes et anthropomorphes, qui ont été repris par les artistes – peintres, céramistes, sculpteurs qui ont trouvé leur source d'inspiration dans cet espace culturel.*

**Mots-clés:** *Culture de Cucuteni, céramique, peinture, artisanat d'art, signe.*

À la fin des périodes épipaléolithique et mésolithique, les changements qui apparaissent se manifestent non seulement au niveau de la culture matérielle, mais aussi au niveau de la vie spirituelle. C'est le commencement du néolithique. «Dans les conditions créées par les transformations importantes du mode de vie, le sens du beau se manifeste dans des zones toujours plus larges».<sup>1</sup>

Quand on fait référence à la période si fascinante du néolithique, au long de ses quatre périodes, on remarque en premier lieu la céramique et son évolution, impressionnante tant par la diversité des formes des objets que par la riche typologie des motifs décoratifs. Les gens de cette époque exerçaient, dans leurs communautés, des métiers divers – le filage, le tissage, mais le métier qui a produit les objets les plus originaux c'est la poterie. Il est tout à fait normal que, dans une culture de type agraire, les éléments du milieu environnant soient associés à des contenus magiques et religieux, employés ensuite pour la décoration de la poterie et des objets plastiques anthropomorphes.

Les différences consistant entre les techniques de cuisson, la conception du décor et son placement sur les surfaces ont conduit au développement de plusieurs types de cultures, spécifiques aux diverses zones géographiques

La culture de Cucuteni a été découverte dans le centre et l'ouest de la Moldavie. Elle a subi une forte influence de la culture de Petresti, Pré-Cucuteni et Gumelnita, faisant partie d'un grand complexe culturel appelé Ariusd – Cucuteni – Tripolie, du nom des villages où on a trouvé les premières traces.<sup>2</sup>

Au cours du temps, la culture de Cucuteni a été divisée par les chercheurs de manière différente, la plus réputée étant la division proposée par Vladimir Dimitrescu avec les phases

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\*PhD., Professor, University of Craiova.

<sup>1</sup> „Dans les conditions créées par les importantes transformations du mode de vie, la préoccupation pour le beau trouve un champ toujours plus large de manifestation.” (Vasile Drăguț, *Arta românească*, Editura Meridiane, București, 1982, p. 1).

<sup>2</sup> \*\*\* *Istoria Românilor*, vol.I, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2001, p. 164.

suiuante: Cucuteni A, avec les sous-phases Cucuteni A1, Cucuteni A2, Cucuteni A3; Cucureni A-B avec les sous-phases Cucuteni A-B1, A-B2 ; enfin, Cucuteni B, constitué par les sous-phases B1, B2, B3.

Modeler l'argile est une occupation distincte des autres métiers, non seulement parce que c'est une opération qui demande une habilité manuelle et une ingéniosité particulières, mais aussi parce qu'elle implique un bagage de connaissances qui a imposé la formation d'artisans spécialisés.<sup>3</sup>

L'argile, la matière fondamentale dans la création des objets céramiques, subissait un processus complexe de transformation, qui commençait aux sites d'extraction. Les impuretés de l'argile étaient éliminées, ensuite la terre glaise était pétrie. Pour accroître la résistance, on y mêlait d'autres matières, prises de la nature (balle de céréales, sable fin, coquillages cassées). Le modelage était fait à la main, puisque la roue du potier n'était pas encore connue, par deux techniques: la superposition de plusieurs bandes d'argile ou la superposition de plusieurs rouleaux cylindriques. La dernière étape consistait dans la cuisson, qui était faite à des températures très hautes, après la décoration du vase. Plus tard, apparaissent aussi des décorations faite après cuisson.

Les sites les plus importants pour la céramique de la culture de Cucuteni se trouvent à: Cetățuia, Horodiștea-Foltești, Trușești, Dâmbul Morii, Mlada, Siliștea, Laiu, Târpești, Hăbășești, Podei-Târgu Ocna, Drăgușeni, Poduri, Dealul Ghindaru și Dumești.

### **La céramique Cucuteni A**

Pour cette étape, on a découvert une céramique avec des décorations peintes en blanc, rouge, noir<sup>4</sup>, qui étaient parfois incisées, les deux techniques se mêlant parfois. Dans certains cas, la complexité de la décoration est accrue par la présence d'ornements en reliefs.

Cette phase initiale reprend plusieurs éléments des ornements de la culture pré-Cucuteni.

La spirale est le signe décoratif caractéristique, présent tout au long de la culture de Cucuteni. Elle se retrouve peinte, le plus souvent en blanc sur un fond brun-rougeâtre, parfois contourné en brun foncé pour la mise en évidence. Pour éviter que la décoration soit monotone, les artisans de l'époque ont transformé la spirale dans d'autres formes, par exemple dans des décorations angulaires.

En fonction de la forme et de la dimension de l'objet, l'artisan composait la surface en traçant plusieurs bandes décorées, appelées 'registres'. On a trouve des poteries avec deux jusqu'à cinq bandes, séparées par des métopes. Ces registres ont des rythmes propres, donnés par le décor

<sup>3</sup> Petre Gherghe, *Introducere in Arheologie*, Reprografia Universității din Craiova, Craiova, 2000, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> C.-M. Mantu, A. M. Vlad, Ghe. Niculescu. *Pigmenții de pictură în complexul cultural Cucuteni-Tripolie*, în CI, 18-20, 2002, p. 9-31.

employé, d'habitude géométrique-méandrique, spécifique de la Culture de Cucuteni. On a trouvé aussi des poteries où les registres verticaux alternent avec les registres horizontaux, selon des rythmes et des cadences propres. Il existe une harmonie entre la forme des poteries et les ornements qui les décorent. C'est une caractéristique qui rend cette culture si spéciale, par la sobriété, l'harmonie, l'équilibre et la proportion.

Les artisans de cette culture ont découvert le moyen d'isoler les pores des poteries. Ils ont créé une couche d'argile colorée, qu'ils ont teinté ensuite.

Les formes des poteries sont très variées : coupes, bols à fruits sur pied, vases piriformes<sup>5</sup>, vases sur pied à corps sphérique, avec la surface peinte, louches, etc.

### **La Céramique Cucuteni A-B**

La tendance à éviter les espaces libres, appelée par les chercheurs «horror vacui» (l'horreur du vide), disparaît dans cette deuxième phase d'évolution de la culture de Cucuteni. La période Cucuteni A-B se caractérise par une composition spécifique de la surface des poteries, dans un ou deux registres.

L'examen attentif de la céramique de cette période, réalisée par des chercheurs importants<sup>6</sup>, a conduit à l'identification d'une nouvelle modalité d'expression artistique, mais qui reprend la chromatique de la période précédente.

Les poteries décorées ont des formes variées: grands bols, couvercles, brocs, écuelles.

C'est la période de l'apparition d'un nouveau motif, celui anthropomorphe.

### **La céramique Cucuteni B**

La poterie datant de cette époque est surtout peinte, les motifs se relevant sur un fond crème ou blanc.

On remarque dans cette phase de Cucuteni B<sup>7</sup> la composition sur deux ou trois registres, à l'intérieur desquels les motifs géométriques alternent avec des figures humaines, des oiseaux ou des serpents, tous entouré par des spirales. On a découvert des typologies variées, allant des simples écuelles ou bols jusqu'aux coupes bitronconiques.

Cette culture surprend par sa complexité décorative. Des éléments simples imaginés et ensuite transposés sur les objets céramiques – la spirale, la lettre S, la ligne brisée, la grille, le triangle, le rhombe, le cercle, l'oiseau, l'animal, la figure humaine- touchent le spectateur

<sup>5</sup> C. Lacatușu, *Rerestaurarea unui vas piriform – Cucuteni, faza A*, dans Buletinul Centrului de restaurare și conservare a patrimoniului cultural Iași, nr. 2, 2003, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> A. Nițu, V. Bazarciuc. *Considerații cu privire la ceramica Cucuteni A-B pe baza descoperirilor recente*, dans ArhMold, 9, 1980, pp.19-62; Nițu, A., *Formarea și clasificarea grupelor de stil A-B și B ale ceramicii pictate Cucuteni-Tripolie*, Editura Academiei, Iași, 1984, p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> Șt. Cuceș, D. Monah, Ghe. Dumitroaia. *Faza Cucuteni B în zona subcarpatică a Moldovei*, Editura C. Matasă, Piatra Neamț, 1999, p. 215.

contemporain surtout grâce à la typologie compositionnelle, aux moyens employés et à l'essentialisation de la forme.

**La spirale**, le signe qui peut être dérivé des formes végétales qui constituaient le milieu environnant de la population de l'époque, présente plusieurs variantes (de fuite, angulaire, déployée), traitée en deux ou trois couleurs peut être étudiée sur les poteries appartenant aux trois phases – A, A-B, B.

**La lettre S**, motif repris de la culture Petresti, a été utilisée dans la composition du décor de la phase A, se retrouvant dans des compositions alternées ou répétitives. Les artisans de Cucuteni ont inventé d'autres motifs dérivés, par exemple des spirales angulaires, des méandres, des formes ovoïdales.

**La ligne**, une trace laissée par un outil simple, constitue la partie principale dans la conception des compositions sur des poteries des phases Cucuteni A et Cucuteni B. Elle se retrouve soit sous la forme d'une incision, soit peintes, dans des compositions verticales ou horizontales. Les artisans de cette culture ont combiné la ligne, créant des motifs dérivés – des bandes angulaires, des zigzags, des lignes parallèles, des lignes en croix, des tangentes à un cercle et des bandes rhomboïdales.

**La grille**, c'est-à-dire la superposition des lignes droites, a fait partie des décorations peintes ou incisées, dans les motifs des poteries des deux phases Cucuteni, à savoir Cucuteni A et Cucuteni A-B.

**Le triangle**, signe géométrique, est une partie des décors peints, impressionnantes par leur complexité, appartenant aux phases A et A-B.

**Le rhombe**, élément décoratif complexe, présent sur les poteries de la phase A, donne à la décoration des poteries, grâce à l'art des artisans, une rythmicité exprimée par la répétition et par l'alternation chromatique.

**Le cercle**, forme élaborée qui rend dynamique la composition de la décoration des poteries, apparaît surtout dans les phases Cucuteni A et B.

**L'oiseau**, élément présent dans les décorations des poteries de la phase Cucuteni B, surprend par son image graphique ainsi que par l'essentialité de la représentation. On la retrouve dans des décorations peintes, entourée par des motifs géométriques.

L'animal et le serpent, probablement des dessins à signification religieuse, sont présents dans les décorations des poteries de la phase Cucuteni B

„Prise dans son ensemble, l'art de la fin du néolithique est non seulement riche et diverse, mais aussi réceptive aux nouveautés ; elle manifeste un intérêt particulier pour la variété des formes et de la décoration, pour l'enrichissement des techniques, allant de paire avec les innovations qui

apparaissaient dans le domaine de la fusion des métaux et qui apporte une nouvelle image des ornements décoratifs.”<sup>8</sup>

Le village de Cucuteni est encore aujourd’hui impressionnant tant par les témoignages de l’art néolithique que par la communication avec les générations actuelles et par le souvenir et la redéfinition des formes discutées ci-dessus.

Dans les années ’80 on a construit sur une partie du site archéologique un musée d’une conception architecturale très moderne.

En 2004 se constitue une association appelée «ARS CONTINUA», fondée par quatre plasticiens roumains – Ionela Mihuleac, originaire du village de Cucuteni, Eugenia Pop, Draga – Irina Popa et Costache Gavril Sirileanu. L’association se propose d’augmenter la valeur du site archéologique de Cucuteni par l’intermédiaire des créations artistiques. Ils ont organisé des programmes pour des plasticiens roumains et étrangers. Par cette modalité d’information visuelle et auditive, les quatre artistes ont réussi à engager toute la communauté du village de Cucuteni ainsi que des villages voisins, à travers des manifestations artistiques dédiées aux enfants. On enseigne aux enfants comment conserver les valeurs authentiques par l’utilisation dans leurs propres créations des signes archaïques.

Les anciens signes (la spirale, le cercle, le rhombe, le triangle, etc.), incisées ou peints sur les céramiques néolithiques, sont réinventés, acquérant des significations nouvelles dans des compositions amples de l’art contemporain. Sculptés en bois, incisés sur les poteries ou peints, ces signes forment une nouvelle forme de langage.

Chaque manifestation artistique a été accompagnée par un symposium.

„Si les éditions précédentes se sont déroulées sous le titre „Art et Sacralité”, et ont été conçues principalement comme des camps de sculpture, celle de cette année, avec des travaux de sculpture, de céramique, de la peinture, de l’installation, de la « performance» et du «land-art», a été intitulée «HUMAN» (c’est-à-dire un jeu de mot entre HUMA « argile » et HUMAN «humain »), allusion à la matière plastique de prédilection de la zone, qui incorpore aussi un côté humain et spirituel.

L’organisation d’un camp de création dans un lieu qui touche un point sensible du subconscient collectif suscite dès le début un intérêt particulier. Foyer de la civilisation néolithique, cette zone est profondément ancrée dans l’imaginaire collectif national, elle porte l’empreinte

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<sup>8</sup> „Considérée par ensemble, l’art du néolithique tardif s’avère non seulement riche et diverse, mais aussi ouverte aux renouvellements ; il y a une connexion entre l’intérêt pour la variété de forme et de décor, pour l’enrichissement des procédés techniques, et les inventions intervenant dans le domaine du travail des métaux, qui apportaient une nouvelle vision sur l’appareil ornemental” Vasile Drăguț, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

d'une activation symbolique ancestrale et trace dans une certaine mesure l'horizon des options des artistes participants, tant par les techniques que par un complexe de significations qui traverse leurs travaux."<sup>9</sup>

Les thèmes des manifestation ont été variés, j'en cite quelques-unes: «L'espace-objet, l'objet et l'objet-espace» – en 2006, «Homme-Espace-Mouvement-Transformation» en 2007, «ROGVAIV» - en 2008, «Dans le Signe» en 2009, «Ciel – Terre- Homme – Parole» en 2010. Des manifestations avec des titres tout aussi inspirés ont continué en 2011 et en 2012.

«Le Symposium présente un côté éducatif important – avec chaque édition un nombre toujours accru d'enfants viennent travailler à côté des artistes plasticiens, environ 60 enfants se familiarisant chaque années avec les techniques de façonnage de l'argile, du bois, de la pierre, avec l'utilisation de la peinture, du dessin et de la composition. Ces éléments artistiques contribuent à leur apprendre comment valoriser le beau, l'art, comment se fixer des repères, un ensemble de valeurs. L'activité continue des initiateurs de la manifestation, tout le long de l'année, offre des repères culturels à la communauté rurale dans son ensemble."<sup>10</sup>

Je rappelle quelques noms important de l'art roumain et international, d'artistes qui ont participé au long des années à ces symposiums: : Ionela Sandrina Mihuleac, Violeta Radu, Tasi – Iosif Ștefan, Dorel Găină, Oana Pop, Răzvan Neagoe, Alina Tudor, Manea Emilian, Vasile Tudor, Radu Macavei, Damian-Ioan Popa, Eugen Petri, Draga-Irina Popa, Molnia Efremov, Dragoslav Nikitovik (Serbie), Marija Milin (Serbie), Ghenadie Popescu (République de Moldovie), Violeta Radu, Emanuel – Florentin Avasiloaie, Alice – Ioana Șfaițer, Philip Firsov (Grande Bretagne), Alina Bondrea, Iosif - Ștefan Tasi, Ramon Sadic, Virginia Toma, Oana Toderică, Mihai Soare, Ioan Scutaru, Ileana Danci, Andra Baban, Tatiana Doboș (République de Moldavie), Stanislas Deveau

<sup>9</sup> ..Si les éditions antérieures ont été mises sous le signe de «L'Art et la Sacralité» et ont été conçues premièrement en tant qu'ateliers de sculpture, l'édition de cette année, qui inclut des ouvrages dans les domaines de la sculpture, la céramique, la peinture, l'installation, la performance et le land-art, a été intitulée, d'une manière très inspirée, «HUMAN», comme une allusion au matériel de travail préférentiel de cette zone, sans en renonçant, par cela, totalement, au côté humain et spirituel.

La formule d'un atelier de création organisé dans une place qui touche un point sensible du subconscient collectif est capable de susciter un intérêt tout spécial. Foyer de la civilisation néolithique, cette place est profondément enracinée dans l'imaginaire national et porte dès le début une certaine empreinte, celle de l'activation des symboles ancestraux; par conséquent, cette location dessine, en quelque mesure, l'horizon des choix offerts aux artistes participants, tant dans les techniques que dans l'engrenage des significations qui traverses leurs œuvres». Radu Cristiana, *Le Catalogue du Symposium des Arts Visuelles HUMAN*, Cucuteni, 2006, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Le symposium a une dimension éducationnelle significative – lors de chaque édition, un nombre toujours plus grand d'enfants viennent travailler à côté des artistes, environ 60 enfants se familiarisent, chaque année, avec les techniques de travail dans l'argile, le bois, la pierre, et également avec la peinture, le dessin et la composition. A côté de l'apprentissage des notions artistiques, ils apprennent à valoriser le beau, l'art, ils se forment des repères et des valeurs. L'activité constante des initiateurs de l'évènement, tout au cours de l'année, assure l'offre de repères culturels solides pour toute la communauté». Radu Cristiana, *Le Catalogue du Symposium des Arts Visuelles HUMAN*, Cucuteni, 2008, p. 1.*

(France), Agnes Birebent (France), Adriana Goilav, Lucia Nemeș, Bogdan Onofrei, un artist de Turquie, et d'autres encore.

„C'est un événement extraordinaire. Si, au début, à la première édition du Symposium, il semblait seulement l'expression de l'enthousiasme de quelques jeunes artistes, avec chaque édition j'ai eu le sentiment que ce Symposium se transforme dans une institution culturelle, à vocation nationale et internationale.”<sup>11</sup>

En 2009, j'ai participé aussi à cette manifestation artistique, vivant une expérience très intéressante. Mes tableaux intitulés «Ouvertures vers le signe», peints sur verre, ont comme point de départ une fenêtre. La fenêtre - en tant que signe de l'ouverture, de l'accès vers un autre espace, vers un autre univers - peut être interprétée comme un retour vers le signe archaïque, archétypal, un retour à une «première enfance». Mon projet personnel impliquant les enfants participants a été appelé «Évolution» et il est représenté par une échelle que nous avons construite et qui a été ensuite peinte avec les signes de la culture de Cucuteni, avec la reprise de la chromatique des poteries anciennes.

Il existe une grammaire des signes qui se trouve à la base de la formation de l'humanité. Les signes ont évolué sur une échelle verticale, recevant des significations nouvelles. L'existence de ces projets, qui arrivent jusqu'à nos jours, démontre l'intérêt pour le signe et pour sa redéfinition.

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<sup>11</sup> « Cet événement est une chose vraiment extraordinaire. Si au commencement, lors de la première édition du Symposium, on pouvait dire qu'il s'agissait de l'enthousiasme de quelques jeunes artistes, au fur et à mesure, avec chaque nouvel épisode, j'ai eu l'impression que ce Symposium est en train de devenir une institution culturelle, à vocation nationale et internationale ». Ciucă, Valentin, *Le Catalogue du Symposium des Arts Visuelles HUMAN*, Cucuteni, 2007, p. 1.

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# COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EARLY CHALKOLITHIC POTTERY FROM RADINGRAD WITH SYNCHRONOUS VILLAGES OF THE LOWER DANUBE

NAIDENOVA Evghenia \*

**Abstract.** *The Tell Radingrad in the Northeastern Bulgaria is one of the most archaeological representative archaeological sites related to Polyanitsa culture. This communication presents a more detailed typology of pottery of 1st horizon, dated in Phase III of Polyanitsa culture, Early Eneolithic. Vessels are divided into groups with basic forms. Description of the decoration includes techniques used and typical motives. The submitted shapes and decorative motives are compared with the ceramic materials found in the settlement mounds in Polyanitsa and Ovcharovo of Targovishte district; in Ruse, Cherven and Shtraklevo of Ruse district (Northeastern Bulgaria) with those from the settlements in Djuliunica, Kachitsa and Hotnitsa (Central North Bulgaria) and findings at Boyan A, Vladichaska, Tangaru and Vidra (Romania). Comparative analysis brings to conclusion that in large territory - North-central Bulgaria, Northeastern Bulgaria and Muntenia (Romania) is formed Early Chalkolithic cultural complex which we call "Polyanitsa - Boyan". In this complex there are local groups. During this period the territory of Northwestern Bulgaria develops the Gradeshnitsa culture and in the neighbouring northern Oltenia region - Vadastra culture - a later stage. We can speak of the formation of another cultural complex Gradeshnitsa - Slatino - Dikilitash covering Northwest and Southwest Bulgaria. Direct contacts between societies late Vadastra and the population Polyanitsa - Boyan are not attested by archaeological discoveries - a problem which remains open for future research.*

**Keywords:** *Radingrad, Early Chalcolithic, Polyanitsa culture, pottery, comparative analysis.*

Radingrad mound is located in the basin of the Beli Lom River, Northeastern Bulgaria. It is one of the most representative archaeological sites related to Polyanitsa culture (map 1). Studies conducted by Totyo Ivanov (1974-1977 and 1980), lead to the establishment of five construction horizons<sup>1</sup>. This message gives a more detailed attention to the types of pottery of I st horizon dated to the end of the Early Chalcolithic Phase III of Polyanitsa culture. The analysis includes graphic images of the researcher and restored vessels from the Razgrad Museum fund.

According to its purpose, the vessels are divided into groups designated by Roman numerals. The registered basic forms in each group are marked with consecutive Arabic numerals.

## I. Dishes

In the first group, comprising the dishes, are 5 distinct forms. The first two I.1, I.2. (Fig.1/1-3) are conical vessels with walls sloping differently (30-75°), with its right or thickened inside mouth. Shape I.3. includes dishes with profiled side and curved mouth (Fig.1/4-5). Then follow dishes I.4. with a cylindrical upper and conical lower portion (Fig.2/1). Shape I.5. is similar to the preceding one, but has a highly profile zone between two body parts (Fig.1/6).

\*Manager of the Museum of History, Oriahovo, Bulgarian, "Vasil Levski" st., №3, evghenia\_ar@abv.bg.

<sup>1</sup> Totyo Ivanov, "Tell Radingrad", in *Materialen zur Allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie*, nr.13/1982, p.166.

## II. Bowls

The second group is formed by 9 bowls with established shapes. The first shape II.1. are bowls with cylindrical and conical top, concave lower part (Fig.2/2). The diameter of the mouth is larger than 15 cm. The next shape II.2. are cylindrical-conical bowls with short foot, hollow inside (Fig.2/3). By II.3. and II.4. are marked cylindrical-conical vessels with a cylindrical neck and sharp profiled transition (threshold) from the neck to the body (Fig.1/8-9). They vary according to the height of the neck. Shape II.5. unites biconical vessels with a rounded area at the maximum diameter of the body (Fig.1/7) and shape II.6. are similar vessels, but without the mentioned curvature (Fig.2/4). We see also biconical bowls with concave bottom part - II.7. (Fig.2/5). The latter two shapes II.8. (Fig.2/6) and II.9. (Fig.1/10) are associated with biconical bowls having short or higher neck inside inclined.

## III. Small and deep bowls with a diameter of 10-12 cm at the mouth

The group includes three forms: III.1. - Small, slightly biconical bowls with rounded top (Fig.2/7); III.2. - Similar vessels, but with a lower concave part (Fig.1/11; 2/8) and III.3. - Vessels with clear biconicity (Fig.1/12-13).

## IV. Deep and tall vessels, which can be defined as cups

Here are two distinct forms: IV.1. - Vessels with cylindrical neck, bulging upper portion and conical bottom, where the diameter of the mouth is about 14 cm (Fig.2/9) and IV.2. - Vessels having a cylindrical neck, cylindrical upper portion and an arm, and a conical bottom (Fig.3/1).

## V. Open deep vessels - pots (with a height greater than 2/3 of the maximum diameter of the body)

The group of pots includes biconical vessels with rounded upper part - V.1. (Fig.4/1); vessels with short cylindrical neck, profiled transition (threshold) to the body, upper cylindrical and lower conical part - V.2. (Fig.3/2) and biconical vessels with a short neck – V.3. (Fig.3/3).

## VI. Deep sealed vessels

They have two basic forms: VI.1. - Biconical with a cylindrical neck, above 5 cm high (Fig.4/2) and VI.2. - Biconical with a neck tilted inward (Fig.4/3).

Interest attract the following two groups of deep vessels VII and VIII, whose functionality is subject of discussion. These are cylindrical vessels with a short neck - VII.1. (Fig.4/4) and conical vessels in which the diameter of the bottom is slightly smaller than the diameter of the mouth, with straight - VIII.1. (Fig.4/5) or slightly rounded thick walls – VIII.2. (Fig.4/6).

Particularly representative of the age and of the cultural background are the the repositories, Group IX. We notice two typical forms: vessels with a foot, profiled transition from neck to body

and an upper cylindrical portion - IX.1. (Fig.4/7); Vessels with a leg where the top is slightly bent inwards - IX.2. (Fig.3/4). Along with the repositories are used covers and trays. Hemispherical caps with a cylindrical ledge are found - X.1. (Fig.3/5; 4/8); conical caps with a cylindrical ledge X.2. (Fig.3/6) and flat tops with a cylindrical handle - X.3. (Fig.4/9). Trays are cylindrical in shape. They differ according to the shape of the top - usually curved at straight angle, thickened or extended inward - XI.1. (Fig.3/7; 4/10) and XI.2. (Fig.3/8; 4/11).

According to the applied techniques are separated 7 groups of decoration: I. Barbotine II. Relief, III. Incised, IV. Excised (cut), V. Hacks, VI. Piercing, VII. Drawing with graphite. To mark the individual motifs we use the same combination of Roman and Arabic numerals, as at the description of the shapes.

Sprayed (Fig.4/1) - I.1. or organized in vertical strips barbotine -I.2., relieved tapes with holes - II.2. (Fig.1/13), round and elliptical relief buds - II.3.1. (Fig.1/8) and II.3.2., some with a dent in the middle - II. 3.3. (Fig.4/1) present the decoration of the first two mentioned groups. By incision are made vertical or oblique lines - III.1. (Fig.1/8, 14), III.2. (Fig.5/1, 2) and a motif of two diamonds located below each other - III.3. (Fig.5/3). The fourth group of decoration is typical with excised strips alternating with strips of the preserved surface of the vessel. In some cases both types of strips are the same in width IV.1., but dominate the vessels in which strips with retained surface of the vessel are narrower IV.2. These strips are horizontally- IV.1.1. (Fig.5/4), IV.2.1. (Fig.5/5), obliquely IV.1.2. (Fig.5/4), IV.2.2. (Fig.5/6) or they are arranged at right angle - IV.3. (Fig.5/5). Common motive is with strips at right angle and extended portion forming a "Г" letter - IV.4. (Fig.5/6). Sometimes appears a strip from the surface of the vessel, approximately 2 cm wide in the same form "Г" - IV.5. (Fig.5/7). Noteworthy is the motive of diamonds with preserved surface of the vessel, vertically below each other - IV.6. (Fig.5/8). There are motives with wide cut strips inlaid with white or red fabric. - IV.7. (Fig.5/9, 10). Incisions are short lines set along the mouth edge of the vessels - V.1. or triangular and elliptical traces of a tool by which are cut strips with preserved surface of the vessel-V.2., V3. (Fig.6/1-2). Similar is the technique that produces spiking. Instruments used with peak shaped differently. The triangular spiking dominate with peaks down - VI.1. (Fig.5/1-2) or left - VI.2. (Fig.6/3), combined or not with an incised line. Other motives are composed of round, oval or diamond piercings - VI.3, VI.4., VI.5. (Fig.6/4-5). Graphite decoration is positive or negative. Positive motives are horizontal strips that are grouped by two, three VII.1. (Fig.6/6) or more -VII.2. (Fig.6/7), mesh in diamonds -VII.3. (Fig.6/8), spirals - VII.4. (Fig.6/9) and unfolded spirals VII.5. (Fig.6/10). In negative are realized a spiral and broad strips -VII.6., VII.7. (Fig.6/11).

The submitted shapes and decorative motives are compared with the ceramic materials found in the settlement mounds in Polyanitsa and Ovcharovo of Targovishte district; in Ruse, Cherven and Shtraklevo of Ruse district (Northeastern Bulgaria) with those from the settlements in Djuliunica, Kachitsa and Hotnitsa (North Central Bulgaria) and findings at Boyan A, Vladichaska, Tangaru and Vidra (Romania).

The results of the comparative analysis show that dominate similarities with the settlement mounds from the nearby area - Polyanitsa and Ovcharovo. These similarities relate to the cylindrical-conical bowls with and without cylindrical neck - II.1., II.4. (Fig.7/1-2, 11-12) and for the small biconical bowls - III.1. and III.3. (Fig.7/3-5, 13-14). In these archaeological sites appear vessels with necks, possibly cups - IV.2. (Fig.8/6, 15), deep conical vessels with thick walls - VIII.1-2. (Fig.7/7-8, 16), repositories with upper cylindrical portion IX.1. (Fig.7/9, 17), covers X.1., X.2.<sup>2</sup> and cylindrical trays XI.2. (Fig.7/10, 18). There are many common decorative motives, among which we mention the decoration with incised lines, graphite drawing of strips and spiral, and almost all motives with incised strips<sup>3</sup>.

In a small percentage are the common elements with ceramics from the basin of Yantra (Central North Bulgaria). Conical and cylindrical-conical dishes - I.1., I.2., I.4., small biconical bowls - III.1. and III.3., deep biconical vessels V.1. occur in Kachitsa<sup>4</sup>. In Hotnitsa<sup>5</sup> are found similar cylindrical-conical bowls with neck - II.4. In Hotnitsa<sup>6</sup>, Kachitsa<sup>7</sup> and Djuliunica<sup>8</sup> we establish analogies with ornaments with relieved strips, with round and diamond pricks, for the motives with exceed strips placed obliquely – IV.1.2., IV.2.2.

Comparing the ceramic materials from Radingrad with the pottery of Ruse region, we note matches for the repositories and the deep open vessels with cylindrical-conical and bi-conical shape and neck, known in the village at Cherven<sup>9</sup>. In Rousse<sup>10</sup> and Cherven<sup>11</sup> we notice identical motives

<sup>2</sup> Henrieta Todorova, Vasil Vasilev, Zoia Ianushevich, Meri Kovacheva, Petar Valev, *Ovcharovo. Razkopki i proucvania*, VII, Sofia, 1983, fig.35/6-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, fig.33-35.

<sup>4</sup> Petar Lestakov, "Keramicniat kompleks na rannahalkolitnoto jiliste ot obect Kacitsa, V. Tamovo.", in *Velikotarnovskiat universitet "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodii" i balgarskata arheologia*, nr.1/2010, fig.1a; 2a, r; 3b; 4a, r.

<sup>5</sup> Valka Ilceva, "Tri eneolitni selista v zemlisteto na s.Hotnitsa, Velikotarnovsko", in *Tracia i sasednite raioni prez neolita i halkolita*, 2002, fig.2/18, 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, fig.1-2.

<sup>7</sup> Petar Lestakov, *op.cit.*, fig. 6a, б, д; 5r.

<sup>8</sup> Rumen Pejkov, "Earlier Chalkolithic Ornamenation on the Pottery from Dzuljunita Tell (North Central Bulgaria)", in *Early Symbolic Systems for Communication in Southeast Europe*, 2003, fig. 3/38.

<sup>9</sup> Dimitar Ivanov, Dimitar Cernakov, "Praistoricesko i srednevekovno seliste s nekropol v mesnostta "Bei ciflik" kraj s.Cerven, Rusensko", in *Izvestia na regionalen istoriceski muzei Ruse*, nr.XI/2007, fig.11/6, 8, 15; fig.12/14.

<sup>10</sup> Volodia Popov, *Periodizatia i hronologia na neolitnite i halkolitnite kulturi ot porecieto na r. Rusenski Lom*, Ruse, 1986, fig.176/55-56, 177/70, 88/89.

<sup>11</sup> Dimitar Ivanov, Dimitar Cernakov, *op.cit.*, fig.11/15, 10/7, 13/3, 12/17.

at cut strips IV.1.2, IV.2.1., IV.2.2. and IV.3; with round spiking VI.3. and with graphite strips VII.2., VII.3.

Similarities north of the Danube are found for vessels-repositories with foot and for cylindrical-conical bowls with a profiled transition to the body at Vladichyaska<sup>12</sup> and Boyan A<sup>13</sup>. At settlements near Spantsov<sup>14</sup> and Vladichyaska are known covers with cylindrical ledge and cylindrical handle, close to those found on the territory of Bulgaria. Most parallels can be given to cut and pierced decoration. Identically are made cut strips (motives IV.2.1, IV.4.) on ceramics at Bogata<sup>15</sup>, Boyan A<sup>16</sup>, Vladichyaska<sup>17</sup> and Vidra<sup>18</sup>, and triangular and circular piercings on vessels from Tangaru<sup>19</sup>. These observations are complemented by other correspondences established between materials from Polyanitsa and Ovcharovo, on one hand and those of Romania, on the other hand. They are related to the use of similar vessels - fabric, small pots with foot and some types of covers. Common are a number of other motives with carved ornament. Graphite decoration in Muntenia appears at the end of Vidra phase of Boyan culture (Tangaru Level IIIc)<sup>20</sup>.

Benchmarking and presented analogies lead to the following conclusions:

- The predominance of similarities with Polyanitsa and Ovcharovo of Kamchiya river basin testifies that together with Radingrad these settlements belong to the same group of population.
- Common features with other areas - Central North Bulgaria and Muntenia show that during the Early Chalcolithic for a vast territory become typical some major trends in ceramic production. Becomes a process of cultural convergence, most likely through an intensive exchange and regular contacts. A larger community is formed to that we offer the name cultural complex "Polyanitsa - Boyan." In this complex there are local groups with their own characteristics, the result of traditions inherited from the previous period, relations with neighbouring communities and the new southern influences<sup>21</sup>.

During this period the territory of Northwestern Bulgaria develops the Gradeshnitsa culture and in the neighbouring northern Oltenia region - Vadastra culture - a later stage. We can speak of the formation of another cultural complex Gradeshnitsa - Slatino - Dikilitash covering Northwest

<sup>12</sup> Eugen Comșa, *Neoliticul pe teritoriul României. Considerații*, Bucuresti, 1987, fig.44/6, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Eugen Comșa, *Istoria comunităților culturii Boian*, București, 1974, fig.34/96.

<sup>14</sup> *Civilizația Boian pe teritoriul României*, Călărași, 1999, cat.127-128.

<sup>15</sup> Eugen Comșa, "Săpături de salvare la Bogata și Boian", in MCA, nr.V/1959, fig.3/9.

<sup>16</sup> Idem, "Săpături arheologice la Boian – Grădiștea Ulmilor", in MCA, nr.VI/1959, fig.3/5.

<sup>17</sup> *Civilizația Boian pe teritoriul României*, Călărași, 1999, cat.133.

<sup>18</sup> Eugen Comșa, "Considerații cu privire la evoluția culturii Boian", in SCIV, nr.V/1954, 3-4, fig.16/2.

<sup>19</sup> Dumitru Berciu, *Contribuții la problemele neoliticului în România în lumina noilor cercetări*, București, 1961, fig.178/2.

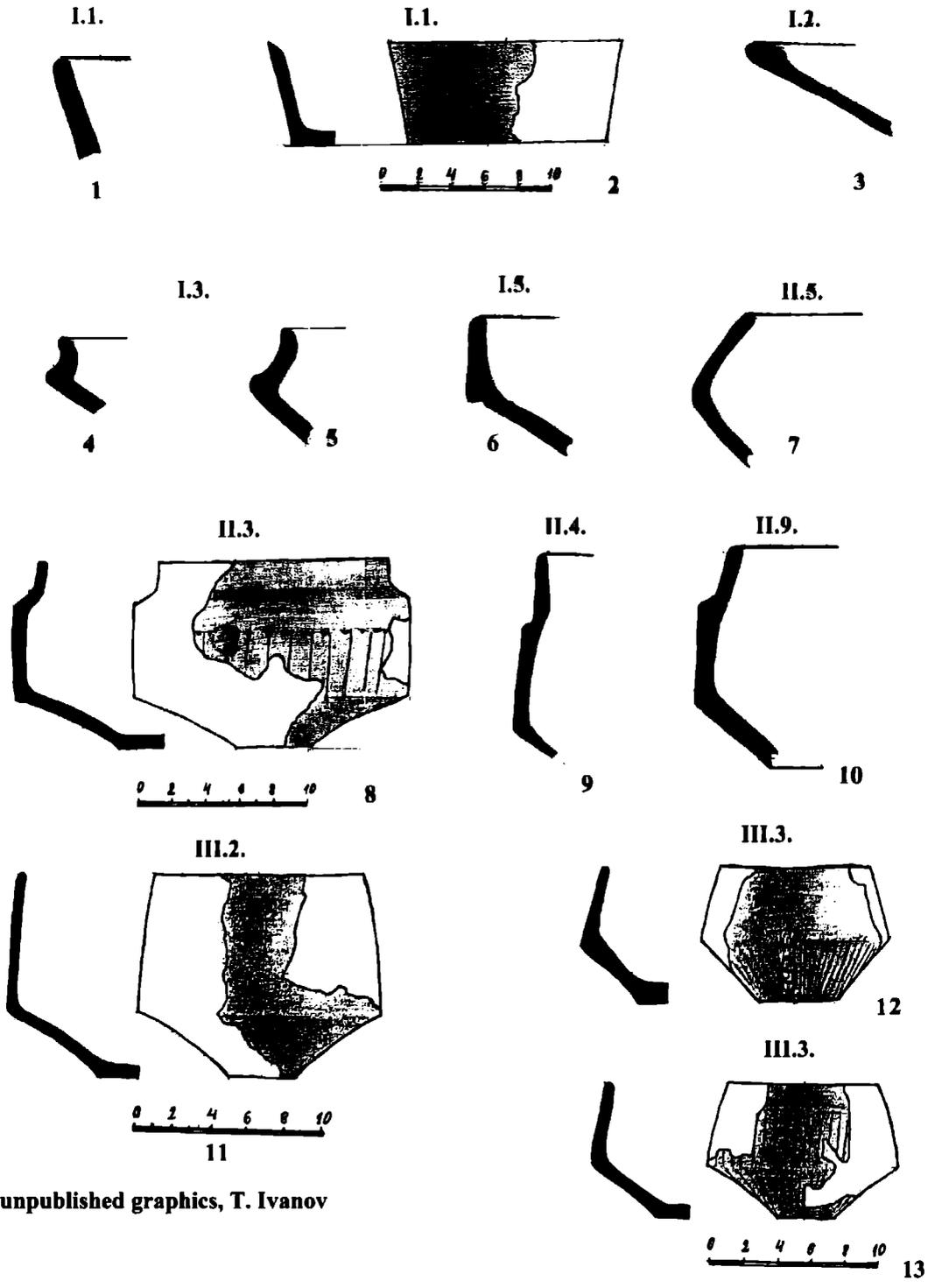
<sup>20</sup> Idem, op.cit, p.394.

<sup>21</sup> Evgenia Naidenova, "Actual research status of Chalcolithic cultures Polyanitsa and Boian", in *Studii de preistorie*, nr. 7/2010, p.71-75.

and Southwest Bulgaria. Ceramic type Gradeshnitsa has analogies with pottery, found in Rast - a fact proving links in this direction. Direct contacts between societies and late Vadastra and the population Polyanitsa - Boyan are not attested by archaeological discoveries - a problem which remains open for future research.

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1-14 unpublished graphics, T. Ivanov

Fig.1. Basic forms of vessels from Tell Radingrad, I horizon.

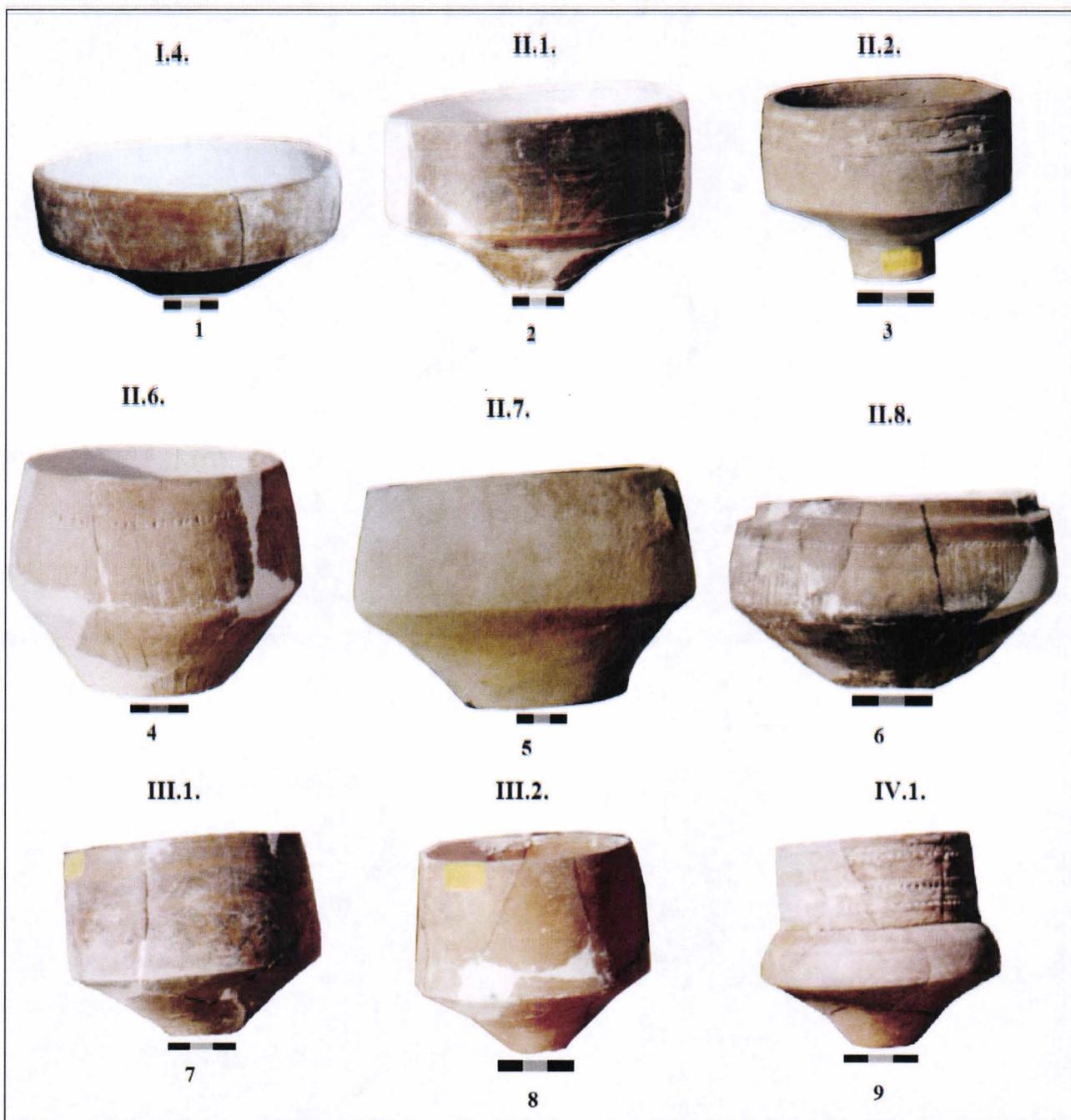


Fig. 2. Basic forms of vessels from Tell Radingrad, I horizon.

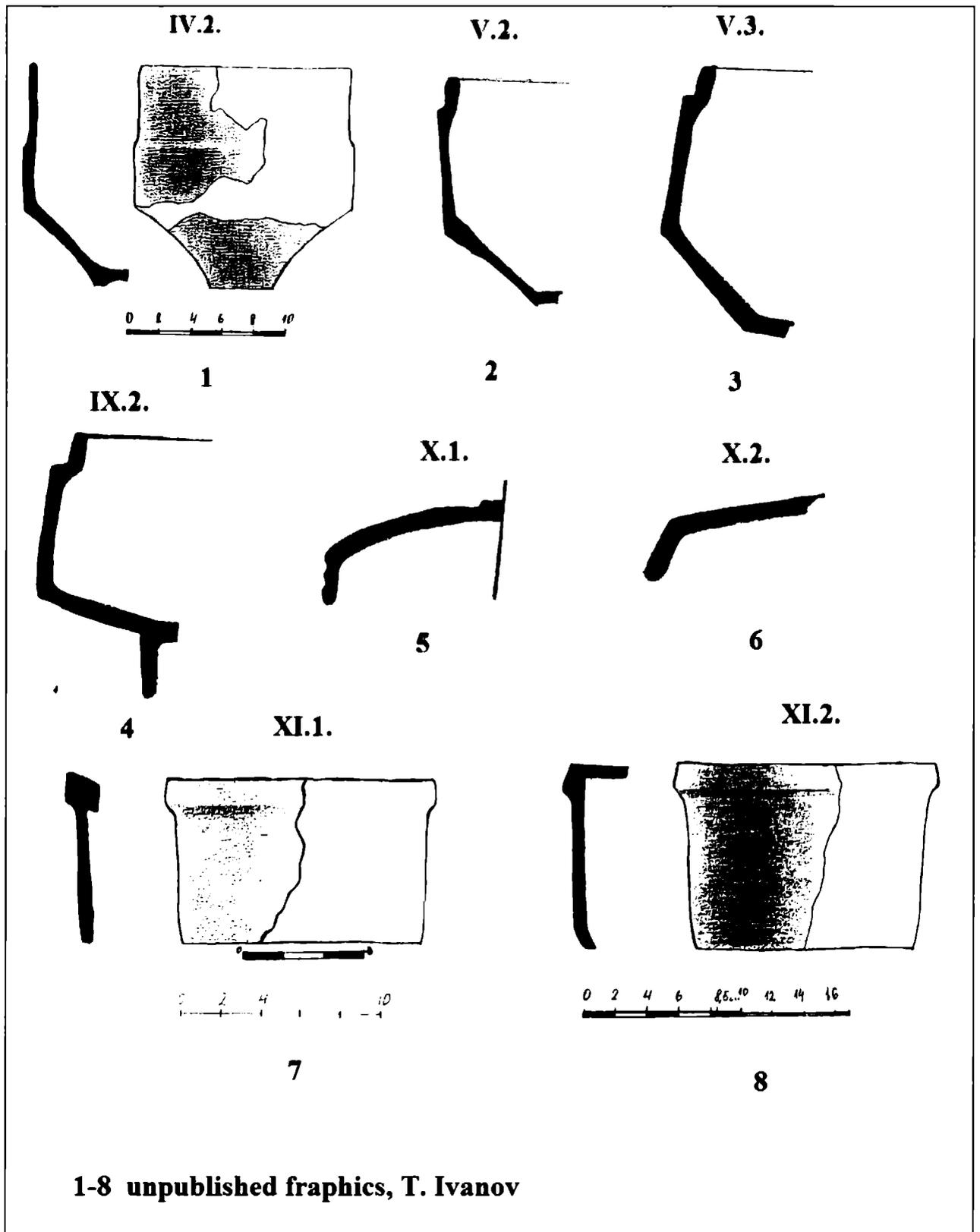


Fig. 3. Basic forms of vessels from Tell Radingrad, I horizon.

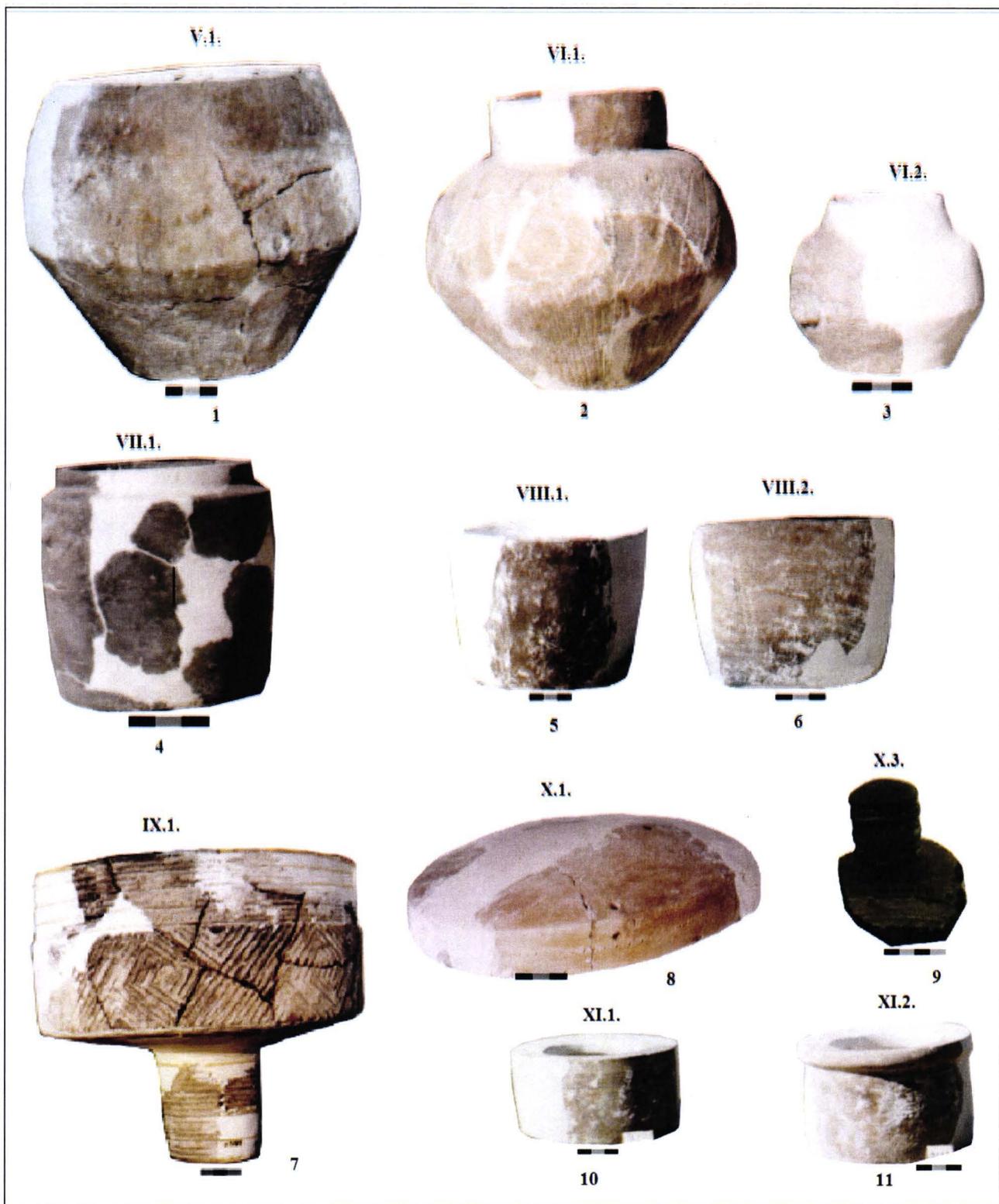


Fig. 4. Basic forms of vessels from Tell Radingrad, I horizon.

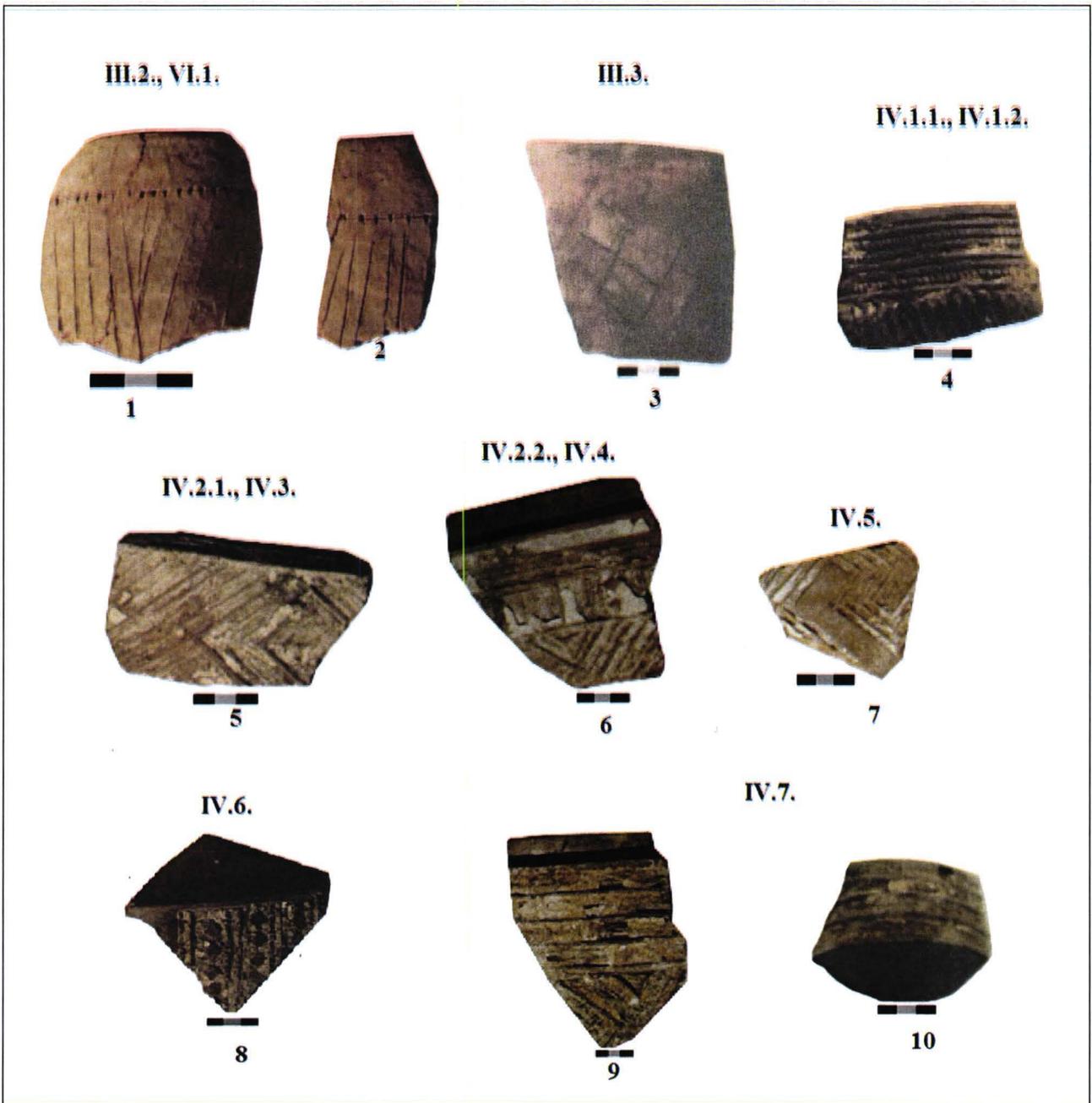


Fig. 5. Decorative motives of pottery found in Tell Radingrad, I horizon.

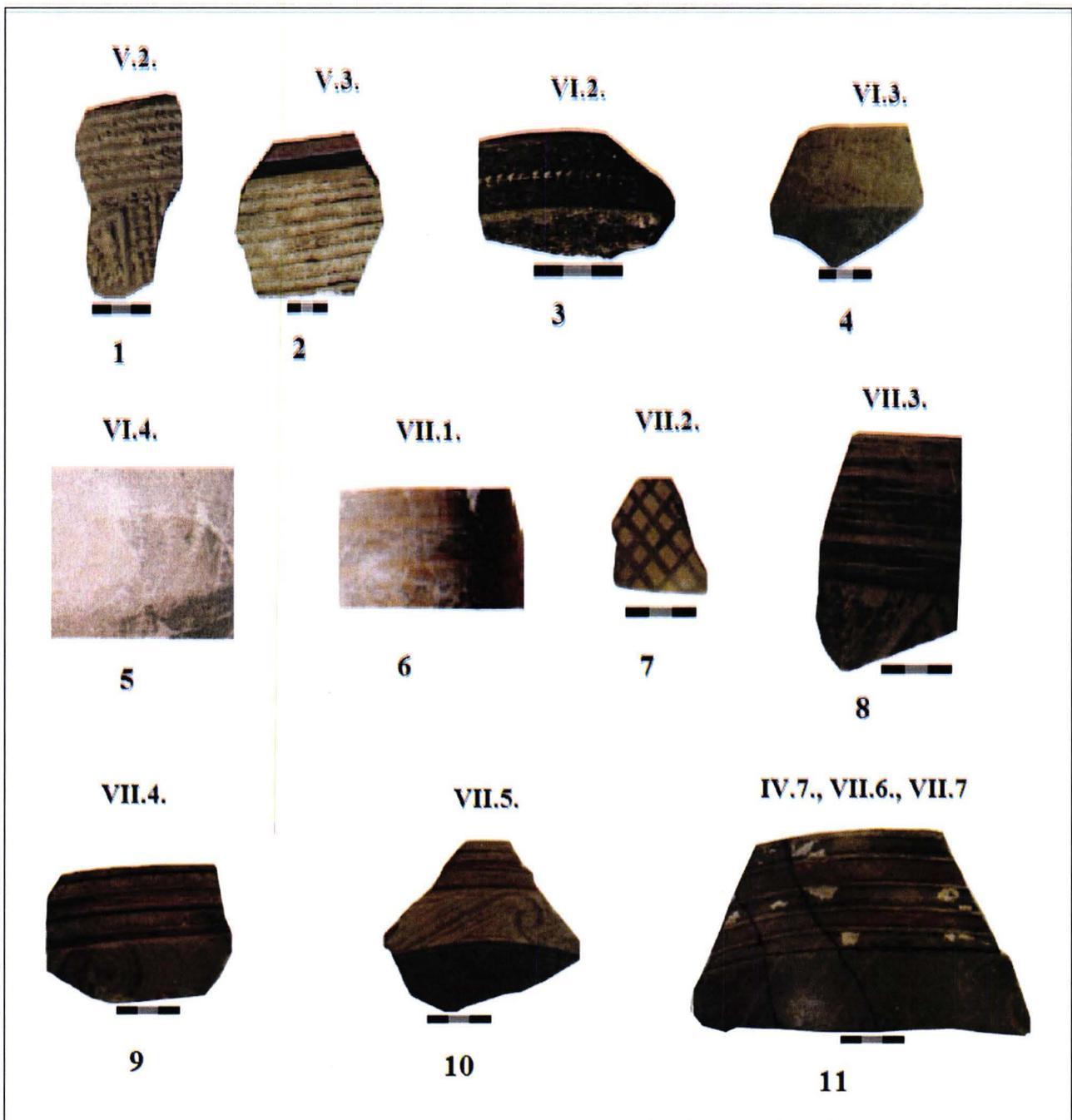
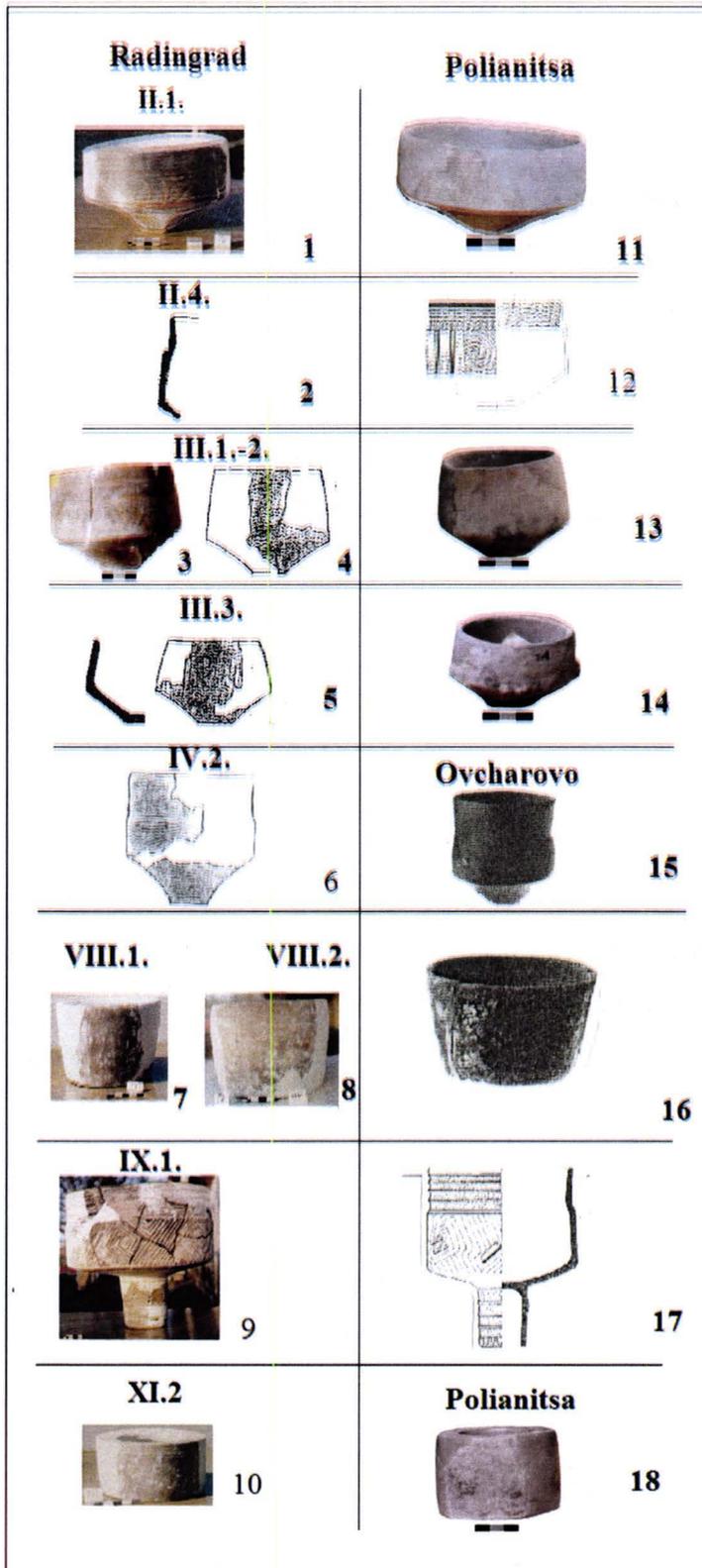
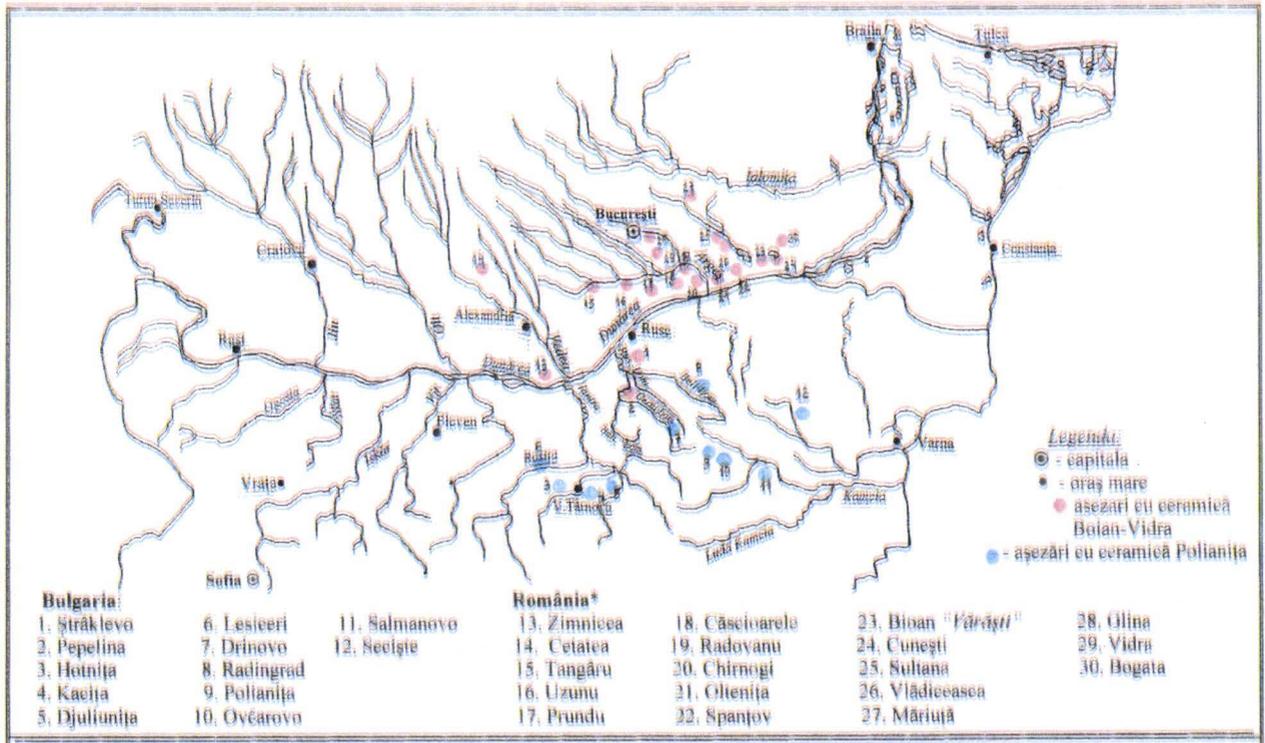


Fig. 6. Decorative motives of pottery found in Tell Radingrad, I horizon.

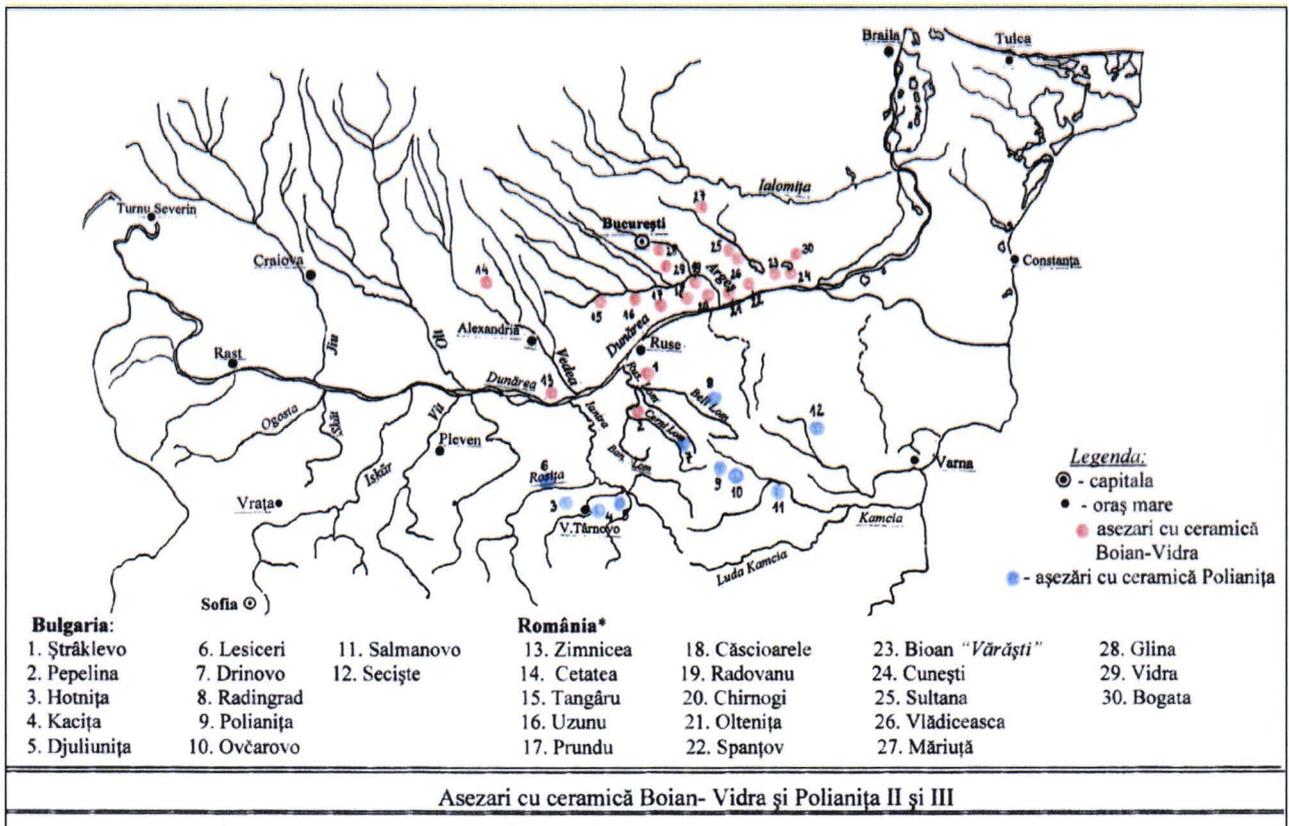


11, 13-14, 18 - unpublished; 12:H. Todorova, 1982, fig.100/17; 15-16: H.Todorova, V.Vasilev, Z. Ianushevici, M. KovachevaP. Valev , 1983, fig.36/8-9; 17: ibid, fig.35/12

Fig.7. The comparative table with pottery from Radingrad, Polyanitsa and Ovcharovo.



Map 1. Settlements with pottery Polyanitsa II-III and Boyan-Vidra.



Map 1. Settlements with pottery Polyanitsa II-III and Boyan-Vidra.

## THE TUMULAR NECROPOLIS FROM VÂRTOPU-CIUPERCENI, GORJ COUNTY

CALOTOIU Gheorghe\*, COTOROGEA Adina-Gabriela\*\*

**Abstract.** *The necropolis from Vârtoapu-Ciuperceni was discovered in the 'Vârtoapele' point and was studied between 2000 – 2006 by the Gorj County Museum. This necropolis is formed by 14 tumuli.*

*The funerary rite used in the necropolis above is the cremation (incineration). The rite consists in the placement of the burnt bones, coals and the vessels on the antic ground or on a base of river boulders. In some cases, the big boulders represented the original grave, in others the ceramics fragments were encircled by a stone ring. The burning took place outside the necropolis.*

*The tumular necropolis from Vârtoapu Ciuperceni (Gorj County) belongs to the Early Bronze Age - Final Glina - Verbita - Ostrovul Corbului (Glina IV), Bela Crkva-Privoi.*

**Keywords:** *Early Bronze Age, necropolis, Glina culture, ceramic, rit and ritual funerary.*

The tumular necropolis from Vârtoapu-Ciuperceni lies on plateau placed between hills called „Vârtoapele” and this plateau is surrounded at the south western part by the village Vârtoapu, on the western part by the village Glogova and on the north-east by the Peșteana Vulcan village (fig. 1-2).

The necropolis was signaled to us by Ion and Vasile Răuț from Vârtoapu-Ciuperceni in 1996 during a field research.

The first tumulus (fig. 3) has the following dimensions: 8,7x10 m and the depth of -0,65 m. At 1,5 m south-west from the centre of the cairn and 0,5 m deep, 4 vessels of a thronconic shape were found. The vessels has its mouth upward, and the ones from the edge had an oblique position, being tilted over the other vessels. At 0,1 m from these vessels, on a 0,23x 0,1 m area we found a layer of coals, ash and burnt bones and this area had a 0,06-0,08 m width. The tumuli has the following inventory:

a) Bithronconic vessel (fig. 4) made of a paste that was mixed with sand and gravel. Its bottom is plat, the mouth i son the outside and from it a wide handle is placed. The vessel shows traces of a secondary burning and has the following dimensions: height-17,3 cm; base diameter - 8,2 cm; mouth diameter - 4,8 cm.

b) Bithronconic vessel (fig. 5) of chestnut colour made of a paste that had sand in it. The bottom is flat and on its body, on the upper part 2 protuberances can be seen. The rim is a little on the outside and the edge is straight. The vessel interior has some traces of polish.

c) Bithronconic vessel made of a sand paste. The bottom is flat, the body is rounded in the middle and the rim is on the outside. It is made of a grey paste and its highest diameter has an

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\* Ph.D. in Archaeology, „Alexandru Ștefulescu” Gorj County Museum , e-mail: muzeulgorjului@gmail.com.

\*\* Curator, „Alexandru Ștefulescu” Gorj County Museum, e-mail: muzeulgorjului@gmail.com.

upright handle. Its dimensions are: height-17,8 cm; base diameter-9,5 cm; mouth diameter -16,5 cm.

d) Bithronconic vessel - fig. 6 - (a fragment of it) made of a paste with a little sand in it. The rim is straight, on the outside and on its biggest diameter it has a handle in the shape of a saddle. This fragment shows traces of secondary burning.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> tumulus (fig. 7) has the dimensions of: 6,5x7 m; and the height of 0,7 m. At the central position, at 0,68 m deep a bithronconic vessel with a flat bottom and an outside rim was found. Near this vessel fragments of a handle mug were found. This mug had traces of a secondary burning. Close to these vessels, on a 0,4x0,5 area were found burnt bones, coals, ash from the funerary pile. Near these remainings were discovered fragments from a bithronconic mug and a glass (a circular container). The inventory of this tumulus is the following:

a) Bithronconic vessel (fig. 8) made of height quality paste. Its bottom is flat, the body is rounded and the rim is on the outside. Under the rim starts a handle until the vessel shoulder. The vessel dimensions are: height-14,3 cm; base diameter-8 cm and mouth diameter-14,8 cm.

b) Bithronconic mug (fig. 9) made of a smooth paste. The bottom is flat, the body is strongly rounded on its upper part, neck is thronconic and the rim on the outside. A wide handle goes from under the rim to the vessel shoulder. Its dimensions are: height-14,6 cm; base diameter-4,2 cm; mouth diameter-8, cm.

c) Bithronconic mug (fig. 10) made of a sand paste. The bottom is rounded, the body slightly rounded and the rim on the outside. Dimensions are: height-10,8 cm; base diameter-4,2 cm; mouth diameter-8,3 cm.

d) Glass (circular recipient) made of a high quality paste. The bottom is flat and the walls are vertically. Dimensions are: height-3,5 cm; base diameter-8,3 cm.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> tumulus (fig. 11) has the following dimensions: 7,5x 7,25 m and the height of 0,45 m. The earth from the inside of the tumulus was yellow. On the south western part, at 3,5 m from the centre and at -0,38 depth a bithronconic vessel with a flat bottom and an outside rim was found. The vessel has a handle that goes its rim. At 0,1 m north of this vessel we found ceramic fragments from a red vessel with a flat bottom. Near these vessels, on a 0,25x0,3 m small pieces of coal and burnt hones were found. At 1,8 m S-W of this complex, at 0,36 depth were discovered ceramic fragments from two vessels, put one inside the other. The tumulus inventory is:

a) Bithronconic mug (fig. 12) made of a sand paste with a flat bottom and a thronconic neck. From the neck a handle goes until the base of the neck. The vessel is chestnut brown. Dimensions are: height-18,2 cm; base diameter-6,2 cm; mouth diameter-11,2 cm.

b) Bithronconic vessel fragmentary made of sand paste with flat bottom and rounded walls. It is grey.

c) Circular handle of a reddish colour

d) Circular handle of a brownish colour

e) Fragmentary vessel - only the flat bottom and wall fragments were found.

The 4<sup>th</sup> tumulus (fig. 13) has the following dimensions: 6,2x6,10 m. at 0,52 m and 0,35 m deep, central position, north-west from the north-south line two vessels discovered.

They were found with their mouth upward (fig 14). Close to these vessels, at 0,45 m in depth, on a 0,1x0,15 m area same fragments from burnt bones, coals, ash from the funerary pile were found. The tumulus inventory had two vessels:

a) Bithronconic vessel made of sand paste with a concave bottom, strongly rounded body and an outside rim. It is grey and its dimensions are: height-15,8 cm; base diameter-9,4 cm; mouth diameter-18,3 cm.

b) Bithronconic vessel made of sand paste - only the flat bottom and a part of walls are preserved. It has a brick colour shade.

The 5<sup>th</sup> tumulus (fig. 15) has the dimensions of 7,4x7,2 m in the earth mantle, in the N-W quarter were discovered many river boulders disposed irregularly a boulder trestle in a rectangle shape with the following dimensions, 1,9x0,5 m (fig. 16). This boulder trestle was made from a single layer of river boulders (a layer consisted in a 12-15 river boulders).

At south-west end of the trestle two vessels fragments were disposed. In the largest vessel a smaller one was put. Close to these vessels, on the river boulder trestle on a area of 0,15x0,20 m were disposed some burnt bones coals and ash. At 1,25 m south-west from these offering vessels were also discovered some vessel fragments and some coals near them. It is important to underline that in the north-west part of the tumulus some big river boulders (0,25x0,35 m) were found. This tumulus has the following funerary inventory:

a) Bithronconic vessel made of sand paste - the flat bottom, a part of the walls is preserved. On the walls we notice a tubular handle.

b) Bithronconic vessel - the flat bottom and a part of its body is preserved.

The 6<sup>th</sup> tumulus is categorized as a small tumulus (3,8x2,2 m and a height of 0,4). In the earth mantle appear river boulders, mostly on the north eastern part of the cairn. The river boulders are placed one over the other without being on a proper way of disposal. At 1,10 m north-west from the centre and at 0,26 m in depth a fragmentary vessel is disposed sidelong (fig. 16). Close to these fragments were put small pieces of coal. In the eastern part, at 0,45 m deep, under same river boulders was discovered a small reddish vessel. The tumulus inventory is:

a) Bithronconic vessel with flat bottom and of a chestnut brown colour. It is fragmentary.

b) Bithronconic reddish vessel with a tresle like bottom and with 4,5 cm-height and base diameter-3,5 cm.

The 7<sup>th</sup> tumulus (fig. 17) has bigger dimensions: 9,2x9,5 m and 0,7 in height. It is categorized as a big tumulus. In its centre, at 0,77 m deep two fragmentary vessels were found. The biggest vessel was placed upside down and at 0,2 m south-west of it at 0,72 m deep another vessel was put. The second vessel was smaller and of a thronconic shape. At 0,15 m north from these vessels, on a 0,2x0,35 m, some small pieces of coal from the funerary pile outside the necropolis were found. Among these coal pieces some burnt bones fragments were discovered. These incinerated fragments were disposed as white dots. The inventory is the following:

a) Bithronconic vessel of high quality paste. It has an ash like colour, flat bottom, outside rim and on its biggest diameter is placed horizontally a cylindrical handle.

b) Bithronconic vessel of small dimensions made of a sand paste. It has an ash like colour and is fragmentary only the flat bottom and a part of its body are preserved.

The 8<sup>th</sup> tumulus (fig. 18) has the following dimensions: 10,2x9,6 m and a height of 0,35 m. In its centre, at 0,42 deep, on a 0,6x 0,7 m area, and on a 0,05 m thickness coal pieces and ash were found. These coal pieces and the ash were disposed around two vessels put one inside the other.

In the north western part, at the centre, at 0,45 deep were discovered two vessels: a bigger vessel of bithronconic shape and a little cup (fig. 19). At 0,9 m south-west of these vessels, on a 0,7x0,8 m area were found small pieces of coals. At 2,1 m south-east of the centre and at 0,48 m deep some vessel fragments were seen. The highest vessel had coal pieces in it. The tumulus inventory is the following:

a) Bithronconic grey vessel with flat bottom, rounded body and outside rim. On its largest flat bottom, rounded body and outside rim. On its largest diameter it has a tubular handle horizontally disposed. The dimensions are: height-16,5 cm; mouth diameter-12,3 cm; base diameter-12,5 cm.

b) Bithronconic brown fragmentary vessel. Its upper part is missing. It is made of high quality paste. On its biggest diameter a upper part, an ornament in a horseshoe form is present. Base diameter-21,5 cm; mouth diameter- 22,5 cm.

c) Fragmentary brown vessel - the flat base and the lower part of it is preserved. Base diameter-10,5 cm.

d) Bithronconic mug made of high quality paste (fig. 20). The bottom is flat, the body has a sphere shape and the neck is thronconic. A handle goes down from under the rim to the shoulder of the vessel. On its biggest diameter the vessel presents three protuberances. Its dimensions are: height-15,2 cm; mouth diameter-8,5 cm and base diameter-5,7 cm.

e) Small cup, only the flat bottom is preserved. Its diameter is of 5,2 cm.

Tumulus IX (fig. 21) is one of the biggest with the following dimensions: 12x10 m and a height of -0,9 m. The cairn has a mantle of earth and underneath it were disposed many vessels of different shapes and dimensions. In the southern part of the tumulus, a mug and a fragmentary vessel were found. At 2,1 m west of the central “martor” and at 0,52 m deep a big vessel with a tubular handle and an outside rim was discovered. This vessel contained burnt bones and coal pieces. In the central part of the cairn at 0,67 m deep, was found a big vessel with bones and that had inside it a brown mug with the rim oriented to the south. Still in the central “martor”, to the north were also found two fragmentary bithronconic vessels.

In the eastern half, at 0,6 m from the central part were discovered two small vessels, bones and a fragmentary mug were present. At 0,9 m east from vessels was another bithronconic vessel that was surrounded by burnt bones and coals.

The tumulus inventory is:

a) Bithronconic vessel made of thick paste a flat bottom and a slightly outside rim. On the body, the vessel has a tubular handle. Its height is 37 cm (the vessel height).

b) Bowl made of fine paste. On the inner edge, under the rim, the vessel has circular punches disposed horizontally. Its colour is grey and it shows traces of secondary burning in the interior.

c) Mug made of high quality paste. The bottom is flat and under the rim two small protuberances. The vessel is chestnut brown and has a diameter of 5,5 cm.

d) Bithronconic vessel with a flat bottom, rounded body and 12,5 m height. Under the neck the vessel has some small punches disposed in a circle.

e) Bithronconic fragmentary vessel with a flat bottom that had inside it burnt bones. This vessel has traces of secondary burning.

f) Bowl made of fine paste with two handles that start under the rim. It has a brick like colour.

g) Thronconic vessel that is made of a fine paste. It is fragmentary. The vessel is of a brick colour and has a handle that starts under the rim.

h) Fragmentary mug with a slightly heightened handle.

Tumulus X (fig. 22) has the dimensions of 7,4x8 m and the height of 0,42 m. the first earth layer is until 0,2 m deep, has a grey colour and underneath it, until 0,42 cm deep, is a yellowish clay layer with archaeological remainings.

In the earth mantle of the cairn, in the south western quarter, some big stones were found. These stones weren't disposed following a certain rule (fig. 23).

In the central part, east-west, at 0,17 deep were discovered two vessels (fig. 24): a mug with a flat handle that has on its biggest diameter 3 groups of 3 protuberances. The mug (fig. 25) is made of a high quality paste, has a flat bottom, a sphere like body and a thronconic neck. The flat handle starts under the rim. The mug looks a lot like the one found in tumulus no. 8 but is bigger. The mug has the following dimensions: height - 18,5 cm and the mouth diameter is 8,5 cm.

At 0,1 m south of this mug a vessel with an outside rim was found. It is made of sand paste with a height of 18,2 cm and 16,5 cm in diameter.

Near these offering vessels were also found some coals and white marks from burnt bones (fig. 19). The burning took place on a funerary pile outside the necropolis.

At 2 m west from tumulus X is tumulus XI (fig. 26) which is of average in dimensions (6,6x6 m and 0,42 m in height).

At 0,23 m W. from the central north-south "martor" at 0,24 m deep were discovered 2 vessels: a mug with 3 groups of 3 protuberances on its biggest diameter and a thronconic fragmentary vessels with punched handles on its womb. The 2 fragmentary vessels were broken during the agriculture works lead in the last decades. Near these 2 big vessels were found 3 big stones (of 0,2-0,25 m) which marked the grave.

At 2,5 m on the north-south axe, to the north, at 0,5 m west at 0,19 m deep was discovered another fragmentary vessel with punched handles, outside rim and flat bottom. Burnt bones were found near this vessel.

The 2 tumuli have earth mantles, but tumulus no. 10 has some river stones disposed in its mantle, mostly in the south-west quarter of the cairn. Tumulus 11 had 3 river boulders that marked the grave.

Tumulus XIII (fig. 27) is small and has the following dimensions 5,40x5 m and height 0,39 m. In its middle river boulders were found. In the central zone of the tumulus was a river boulder ring with the north-south diameter of 1,6 m and the east-west one of 1,9 m. This ring had 2 ceramic fragments in it and 0,8 m south of this fragments, outside the ring, another ceramic fragment was found.

Tumulus XIV (fig. 28) was found in the centre of the necropolis and its dimensions are 5,8x5,35 m and 0,68 m in height. At 0,6 m deep, in the central zone 2 fragmentary vessels were found: a thronconic one and a fragmentary mug. At 0,6 m from these vessels were found coals and small fragments from burnt bones. The thronconic vessel (fig. 29) is made of a brown semifine paste. On its biggest diameter it has 2 small handles (fig. 30). The vessel is 10,2 cm high, the mouth diameter is 18,2 cm and the base diameter is 6,8 cm. the mug has a flat bottom and is made of brick coloured paste with a grey polish. Only the lower part of it is preserved.

In all this tumuli we can notice that the vessels have traces of secondary burning, and this shows as that they burnt at the funerary pile, along with the human bones outside the necropolis.

In the Glina area, the bithronconic vessels - amphora type like the ones found at Vârtoapele can also be found at Brăneț<sup>1</sup>, Padeș-Călugăreni<sup>2</sup>, Govora-Runcuri<sup>3</sup> village, Drăgănești-Olt<sup>4</sup>.

In the Vârtopu-Ciuperceni necropolis were discovered mugs with a rounded body, cylindrical neck, straight rim slightly opened on the outside, flat handle that starts near the vessel mouth or even under the rim. Resemblances with these vessels can be found at București-Glina<sup>5</sup>, Crivăț<sup>6</sup>, Greci<sup>7</sup>, Căscioarele-Cătălui<sup>8</sup>, Odaia Turcului<sup>9</sup>, Zlatna<sup>10</sup>.

On the bithronconic vessels of a bag type, amphorae or mugs were found small protuberances placed on the vessel's womb. Analogies are found at Govora-Runcuri<sup>11</sup> village and Morărești<sup>12</sup>. On a number of these vessels were found 2 small protuberances – analogies Văcărești<sup>13</sup>, Odaia Turcului<sup>14</sup>, Varlaam<sup>15</sup>.

The ceramic inventory found in the Vârtopu-Ciuperceni necropolis has resemblances with the ceramic and the ornaments (2 buttons flat or tubular handles) from Govora-Runcuri<sup>16</sup> village, Cetățuia, Rm. Vâlcea<sup>17</sup> (a vessel with 2 buttons) or vessels with horseshoe ornaments (tumulus VIII) on the womb found at Crivăț<sup>18</sup>, Odaia Turcului<sup>19</sup> and Greci<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A. Ulanici, *Săpăturile arheologice de la Brăneț, jud. Olt*, CA, I, 1975, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> I. Chicideanu, P. Gherghe, *Săpăturile arheologice de la Călugăreni (Gorj)*, a XV-a sesiune anuală de rapoarte (Brașov), MCA 1981, p. 103-107, fig. 2/10.

<sup>3</sup> Gh. Petre-Govora, *O preistorie a nord-estului Olteniei*, Rm. Vâlcea, 1995, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> M. Nica, C. Schuster, T. Zorzolui, *Cercetările arheologice în tell-ul gumelnițeano-sălcuțen de la Drăgănești-Olt, punctul Corboaică-campaniile din anii 1993-1994*, CAANT, I, 1995, p. 9-45, fig. 20/3; 4/1.

<sup>5</sup> P. Roman, *Die Glina III-Kultur*, PZ, 51/1, 1976, p. 26-42; I. Nestor, *Fouilles de Glina*, Dacia NS, 1933, III-IV, p. 226-252, fig. 8/6.

<sup>6</sup> D. Berciu, *Rezultatele primelor săpături de la Crivăț, (r. Oltenița)*, SCIV, 17, III, 1966, p. 529-535, fig. 3/1.

<sup>7</sup> A. Ulanici, G. Trohani, *Săpăturile de la Greci, com. Grădișteea, jud. Ilfov*, CA, I, 1975, p. 77-100, fig. 5.

<sup>8</sup> D. B. Nanu, *Cercetările arheologice de la Căscioarele, Cătălui, jud. Călărași*, în CCDJ, V-VII, 1989, p. 37-54, fig. 7/1.

<sup>9</sup> E. Tudor, *Săpăturile arheologice de la Odaia Turcului (jud. Dâmbovița)*, MCA, Brașov, 1983, p. 108-111; Idem, *Neue Angaben zur fruhen Bronzezeit in Sudrūmenien*, Dacia, NS, XXVI, 1-2, 1982, p. 59-75, fig. 4/7.

<sup>10</sup> H. Ciugudean, *Epoca timpurie a bronzului în centrul și sud-vestul Transilvaniei*, Bibliotheca Thracologica, 13, București, 1996, p. 104, fig. 64/1, 2.

<sup>11</sup> P. Roman, *Perioada timpurie a epocii bronzului "tracic" în Oltenia*, Thraco-Dacica, 1985, p. 279-297, fig. 6/12.

<sup>12</sup> C. Schuster, M. Nica, *Săpăturile de salvare de la Morărești, jud. Dolj 1993, Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracică*, CAANT, I, 1995, p. 114-122.

<sup>13</sup> E. Tudor, *Săpătura de salvare din comuna Văcărești, jud. Dâmbovița*, Valachica, IV, Târgoviște, 1971, p. 93-107, fig. 1/4.

<sup>14</sup> P. Roman, *Cercetări la Govora Sat-Runcuri în 1977*, SCIVA, 36/4, 1985, p. 116-122, fig. 1/2.

<sup>15</sup> C. Schuster, *Cercetările arheologice în așezarea culturii Glina de la Varlaam, jud. Giurgiu*, CCDJ, XIII-XV, 1995, p. 53-63.

<sup>16</sup> E. Tudor, *art. cit.*, MCA, p. 108-109.

<sup>17</sup> P. Roman, *art. cit.*, PZ, 51/1 p. 26; Idem, *art. cit.*, SCIVA, 36/4, 1985, fig. 6/12, p. 116.

<sup>18</sup> D. Berciu, *art. cit.*, SCIV, 17, III, p. 529.

<sup>19</sup> E. Tudor, *art. cit.*, MCA, p. 108-111.

<sup>20</sup> A. Ulanici, G. Trohani, *art. cit.*, CA, I, p. 77-100.

The outside rim and cambered womb vessel type found at Vârtopu-Ciuperceni has analogies with the vessels from Glina<sup>21</sup>, Odaia Turcului<sup>22</sup>, Brăneț<sup>23</sup>.

The ceramic inventory has analogies with the discoveries from Verbița-Dolj and the graves from Cetățenii din Dela, Văleni, Nucet, Albești.

The archaeological research from Vârtopu-Ciuperceni are dated to the early Bronze Age period, Glina final-Verbița-Ostrovul Corbului (Glina IV<sup>th</sup>)-Bela-Crkva-Priboi.

### ***The natural frame***

The tumulus from Vârtopu-Ciuperceni are placed on a hilly plateau at 3 km N-W from Bujorăscu hill<sup>24</sup>.

The identification of the 14 tumuli in this area shows us the geographic importance of the territory they were found in. So, we can state that the people back then preferred hilly zones to build the tumuli.

### ***The tumuli dimensions***

The Ciuperceni tumuli had a height between 0,35 and 0,92 m, a width of 3,8-10,2 m and a length of 2,2-10 m<sup>25</sup>.

So, the tumuli from the early Bronze Age found in the northern part of Oltenia, are medium/small sized, strongly flattened and most part of them look the same.

The fact that some tumuli have bigger heights than the others shows us that some members of the community were buried by their social position.

In the Early Bronze Age, the most frequent pieces are the ceramic vessels, the jewels, then the weapons and the tools.

In this necropolis that we're describing the inventory is represented by ceramic vessels, whole or fragmentary.

### ***Types of vessels***

We consider that the designation name of the ceramic vessels from Vârtopu-Ciuperceni can be made by their shape, taking into account their size.

By their geometric shape we have the following type of vessels: vessels with the same shape, different shapes and they consist in: mugs, cups, bowls, glasses etc.

<sup>21</sup> C. Schuster, *Așezări Glina pe cursul inferior al Argeșului și Valea Călniștei (I)*, Mihăilești-Tufa, Thraco-Dacica, XIII, 1992, p. 35-41, fig. 36, pl. 3/s, t; Idem, *Perioada timpurie a epocii bronzului în bazinele Argeșului și Ialomiței Superioare*, Bibliotheca Thracologica, 20, București, 1997, p. 354, fig. 72.

<sup>22</sup> E. Tudor, *art. cit.*, MCA, p. 108-109.

<sup>23</sup> A. Ulanici, G. Trohani, *art. cit.*, CA, I, p. 45 și urm.

<sup>24</sup> Gh. Calotoiu, *Cercetări arheologice din epoca bronzului timpuriu în necropola tumulară de la Vârtopu-Ciuperceni, județul Gorj*, Litua, IX, Târgu Jiu, 2003, p. 5.

<sup>25</sup> Idem, *Necropole tumulare din Gorj, Vârtopu-Ciuperceni, Telești-Drăgoiești*, Editura Universtaria, Craiova, 2007, p. 9 și urm.

In the Ciuperceni necropolis we have the following vessels:

#### *Funerary mugs and cups*

This category is very present in the Ciuperceni necropolis (by the number and by the number of tumuli it is found in).

In the centre of the second tumuli, at -0,68 m we found 2 bithronconic vessels of the same type. The first one is a mug made of fine paste. The bottom is flat, the body is strongly cambered, the neck is thronconic and the rim is on the outside. This mug has the following dimensions: height-14,6 cm; base diameter-6,8 cm and mouth diameter-11,8 cm<sup>26</sup>.

The second mug, made of a sand paste has flat bottom, a rounded body and an outside rim. It is smaller than the first. Height-108 mm; base diameter-42 mm; mouth diameter-83 mm<sup>27</sup>.

In tumulus IX were found 2 mugs. One had 2 small protuberances on the womb, 55 mm in diameter and the other one has a flat handle that is slightly heightened<sup>28</sup>.

The mug from tumulus 8 made of high quality paste has a flat bottom, sphere like body, thronconic neck, a flat handle that starts under the rim and goes until its shoulder. On its largest diameter the mug has 3 grouped protuberances, like the one from tumuli X<sup>29</sup>.

Still in tumulus VIII was found a flat bottom of apparently a small cup (base diameter-5,2 cm)<sup>30</sup>.

In tumulus XIV was found a mug that had only the lower part.

#### *Bowls*

This category is represented by only one piece found in tumulus IX. It is a bowl made of fine paste with 2 handles that start under the rim<sup>31</sup>.

#### *Bithronconic vessels with handles*

This type includes pot or jar like vessels.

We must say that the big pots, known as bithronconic urns were never found at Vârtopeu-Ciuperceni. The bithronconic shape is represented by some vessels with one or two handles.

All the 4 vessels found in tumulus I belong to this category.

The first bithronconic vessel made of a sand and gravel paste has an outside rim and a flat handle: height-17,3 cm, base diameter-8,2 cm; mouth-4,8 cm<sup>32</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Gh. Calotoiu, *art. cit.*, în *loc. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Gh. Calotoiu, *Cercetări arheologice din necropola de la Vârtopeu-Ciuperceni din perioada bronzului timpuriu*, Litua, XI, 2006, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup> *Idem*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>30</sup> *Idem*, *Cercetări arheologice din epoca bronzului timpuriu în necropola tumulară de la Vârtopeu-Ciuperceni, județul Gorj*, Litua, X, 2004, p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Gh. Calotoiu, *art. cit.*, Litua, IX, p. 32.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 6.

Another bithronconic vessel with a cambered body outside rim and a vertical handle is present: height-17,8 cm; base diameter-9,5 cm; mouth diameter-16,5 cm<sup>33</sup>.

Another vessel that is fragmentary has on its largest diameter a saddle like handle.

The bithronconic vessel discovered in the second tumulus has a flat bottom, a rounded body in its biggest diameter area and the rim on the outside. On the vessel's shoulder starts a wide handle. The vessel has the following dimensions: height-14,3 cm; base diameter-8,5 cm; mouth-14,8 cm<sup>34</sup>.

A vessel of bithronconic shape, but of bigger dimensions (height-16,5 cm; base diameter-12,5 cm; mouth diameter-12,3 cm) was discovered in tumulus VIII a deepness of 45 m. On its biggest diameter the vessel has a tubular handle horizontally disposed<sup>35</sup>.

The tubular handle appears also on the vessels found in the tumulus IX<sup>36</sup>.

Fragmentary bithronconic vessels can be found also in tumuli III, IV, V, VI, VII<sup>37</sup>.

In tumulus XIV was found a thronconic vessel that has on its biggest diameter two small punches handles<sup>38</sup>.

#### *Glasses*

They are represented by the glass found in the second tumulus. It is a circular container that was fragmentary<sup>39</sup>.

#### *Bowls*

At a depth of 0,79 m, in tumulus IX were discovered 2 bowls with 2 tubular handles. One of them has circular punches horizontally disposed<sup>40</sup>.

### ***The characteristics of the ceramic from the necropolis***

#### *The used material*

By the paste quality, the ceramic from Vârtopu-Ciuperceni can be divided into 3 categories: coarse, semi-fine and fine.

The vessels that were made with semi-thick paste have in their composition an important quantity of impurities, but of small dimensions like the first vessel discovered in the first tumulus, that contains in its paste sand and small gravel.

The thick vessels contain a big quantity of impurities: sand and big gravel (the vessel from tumulus VII).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 10.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 6.

<sup>35</sup> *Idem, op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> *Idem, art. cit.*, Litua, X, p. 7.

<sup>37</sup> *Idem, op. cit.*, p. 12-17.

<sup>38</sup> *Idem, art. cit.*, Litua, XI, p. 14.

<sup>39</sup> *Idem, art. cit.*, Litua, IX, p. 7.

<sup>40</sup> *Idem, art. cit.*, Litua, X, p. 7.

The vessels made of fine paste belong to fine ceramics and are made of high quality clay and are made carefully, without any impurities.

#### *The burning of the ceramic vessels*

The primary burning: the vessels made of thick paste or of semi-thick paste are mostly fragmentary kept.

The secondary burning: on most of the vessels found in the Vârtopu-Ciuperceni necropolis were found traces of secondary burning, which make us believe that were burnt, along with human bones on a funerary pile outside the necropolis<sup>41</sup>.

#### *The colour*

The colours or the shape of the colours come from the power of the burning, whether oxidized or unoxidized but, in some cases, the colour is given by the clay type or ingredients.

The thick and semi-fine ceramic discovered in the Vârtopu-Ciuperceni tumuli is mostly brown, grey and of a brick-like shade. The vessels of high quality paste are mostly orange-yellowish but also grey.

#### *The ceramic ornament*

The ornament elements are very few. They refer mostly on those small punches found on the vessels womb.

From the ceramic ornament point of view, on the Vârtopu-Ciuperceni necropolis can be found resemblances with different areas. The funerary inventory of the Vârtopu-Ciuperceni has vessels with rounded body and 2 handles neck. We meet resemblances with the ceramic found at other sites: București-Roșu<sup>42</sup>, Greci<sup>43</sup>, Văcărești<sup>44</sup>, Odaia Turcului<sup>45</sup>.

#### *The funerary rite*

The funerary ideology of a community is reflected in its rites, meaning the way the deceased were “buried”, taking into account their social category, sex age or their way of dying<sup>46</sup>.

In the Vârtopu-Ciuperceni the funerary rite is the incineration. This was shown to us by the research led in all the 14 tumuli.

<sup>41</sup> Idem, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>42</sup> N. Constantiniu, P. I. Panait, *O așezare din epoca bronzului la Roșu*, CAB, I, 1971, p. 301, fig. 4.

<sup>43</sup> A. Ulanici, G. Trohani, *art. cit.*, CA, I, p. 77, fig. 5/3; pl. 1/3; A. Ulanici, *Noi cercetări arheologice la Greci*, *Jud. Ilfov*, CA, III, 1979, p. 9-26, fig. 5/5, 58/9.

<sup>44</sup> E. Tudor, *art. cit.*, Valachica, IV, p. 93-107, fig. 6/1-3, 7, 10.

<sup>45</sup> Idem, *art. cit.*, MCA, p. 108-111.

<sup>46</sup> V. Sîrbu, *Arheologia funerară și sacrificiile: o terminologie unitară/Funerary Archaeology and Sacrifices: An Unifying Terminology*, în *Sinteze arheologice*, V, Editura Istros, Brăila, 2003, p. 17.

The using of the interment at Verbița tumuli, the incineration in the necropola from Vârtopu-Ciuperceni, show the variation of the funerary rites at the beginning of the Bronze Age in this area.

The funerary rite consists in the placement of the burnt bones, the coals and the offering vessels on the antic ground or on a river boulder tresle.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> tumulus we encounter the following situation: many bithronconic vessels put down with their mouth up, and the ones from the edge were horizontally disposed. Near these vessels, on a 0,23x0,1 m area were found burnt bones, ash and coals. Over them it was an earth mantle<sup>47</sup>.

In the 5<sup>th</sup> tumulus we encounter a different situation. At 0,44 m depth, was found like a ritual form the placement of the burnt material<sup>48</sup> and the funerary inventory on a river boulder tresle in the shape of a rectangle (1,95x0,58)<sup>49</sup>.

This tresle was formed by a single line of big stones disposed N-South. At the S-W edge of the rectangle were found another small one. Near these fragmentary vessels, on the boulder “bed”, on a 0,15x0,2 m area were found burnt bones, coals and ash from the funerary pile<sup>50</sup>.

In tumulus IX there is a more complex situation because this tumulus is one of the biggest from the necropola. Under the earth cairn were placed many vessels of different shapes and dimensions. In a big vessel was placed a mug, along with calcinated bones and coals. The same type of ritual can be found at the tumulus VIII<sup>51</sup>.

Tumuli X and XI had the earth mantles with river boulders, which marked the tomb. In tumulus X were found 2 vessels: a mug with a wide handle that has on its biggest diameter three punches and a thronconic fragmentary vessel with an outside rim found at 10 cm from the first one. Near these offering vessels were found some coals and burnt bones from the funerary pile (ustrinium)<sup>52</sup>.

In tumulus XI we found tombs with big river boulders which were placed near the bones, the coals and the vessels. These river boulders marked the tomb<sup>53</sup>.

In conclusion we can say that there are 2 types of incineration: incineration in the urn or straight on the antic ground and in stone ring (tumulus IX).

In all the 14 tumuli we see that most of the ceramic has traces of secondary burning due the burning in the funerary pile along with the human bones, outside the necropolis.

<sup>47</sup> Gh. Calotoiu, *art. cit.*, Litua, IX, p. 6-7.

<sup>48</sup> M. Nica, C. Schuster, T. Zorzoliu, *art. cit.*, în *loc. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>49</sup> Gh. Calotoiu, *art. cit.*, Litua, XI, p. 9.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 20.

<sup>52</sup> Gh. Calotoiu, *art. cit.*, Litua, XI, p. 7-8.

<sup>53</sup> *Idem*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

As we said earlier, the tumular necropolis from Vârtopu-Ciupereci is dated in the Early Bronze Age, Glina final -Verbița-Ostrovul Corbului (Glina 4<sup>th</sup>)-Bela-Crkva-Priboi.

*Translated by Alina Țița*

### Abbreviations

**Bibliotheca Thracologica:** *Bibliotheca Thracologica*, Institutul Național Român de Thracologie, București.

**CA:** *Cercetări Arheologice*, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.

**CAB:** *Cercetări Arheologice în București*, Muzeul de Istorie și Artă al municipiului București, București.

**CAANT:** *Cercetări Arheologice în Aria Nord-Tracă*, Institutul Național Român de Thracologie, București.

**CCDJ:** *Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos*, Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călărași.

**Dacia. N.S.:** *Dacia. Revue d'archeologie et d'histoire ancienne, Nouvelles Series*, București.

**Litua:** *Litua, Studii și cercetări*, Muzeul Județean Gorj, Târgu-Jiu.

**MCA:** *Materiale și cercetări arheologice*, București.

**PZ:** *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, Berlin.

**SCIV (A):** *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie)*, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București.

**Thraco-Dacica:** *Thraco-Dacica*, Institutul Național Român de Thracologie București, București.

**Valachica (Cronica Valachica):** *Valachica (Cronica Valachica)*, Muzeul Județean Dâmbovița, Târgoviște.

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Idem, *Cercetări arheologice din epoca bronzului timpuriu în necropola tumulară de la Vârtopu-Ciuperceni, județul Gorj*, Litua, X, Târgu Jiu, 2004.

Idem, *Cercetări arheologice din necropola de la Vârtopu-Ciuperceni din perioada bronzului timpuriu*, Litua, XI, Târgu Jiu, 2006.

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- Ulanici, A., *Săpăturile arheologice de la Brăneț, jud. Olt*, CA, I, 1975.
- Idem, *Noi cercetări arheologice la Greci, Jud. Ilfov*, CA, III, 1979.
- Ulanici, A., Trohani, G., *Săpăturile de la Greci, com. Grădiștea, jud. Ilfov*, CA, I, 1975.

## Annexes

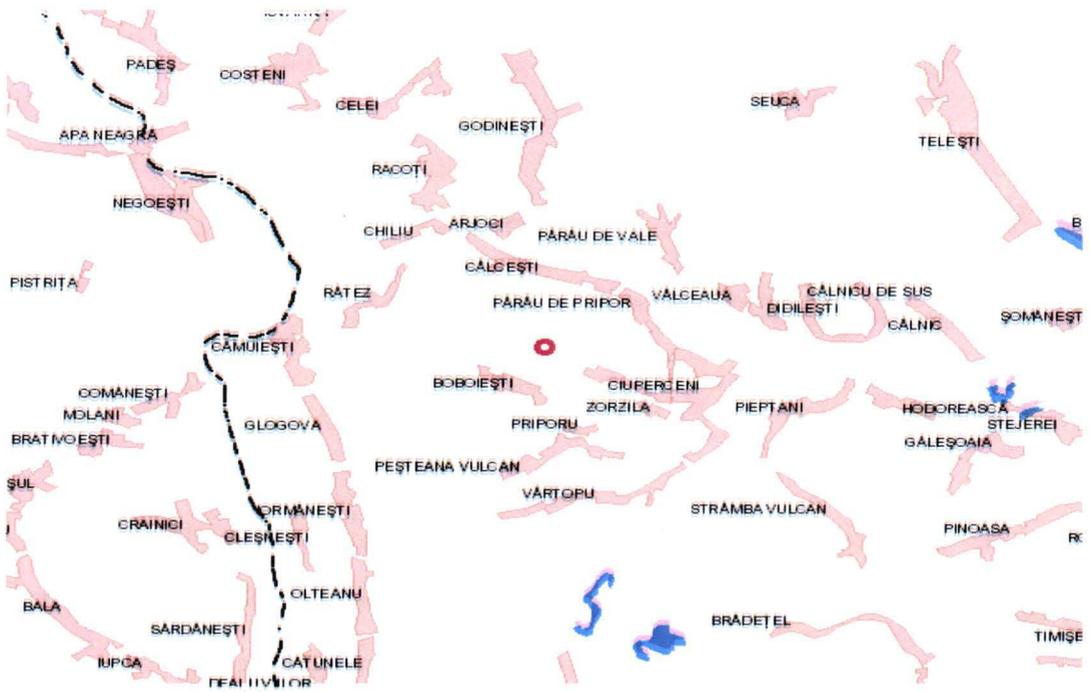


Fig. 1. Vârtopu-Ciuperceni. The map location of the necropolis.

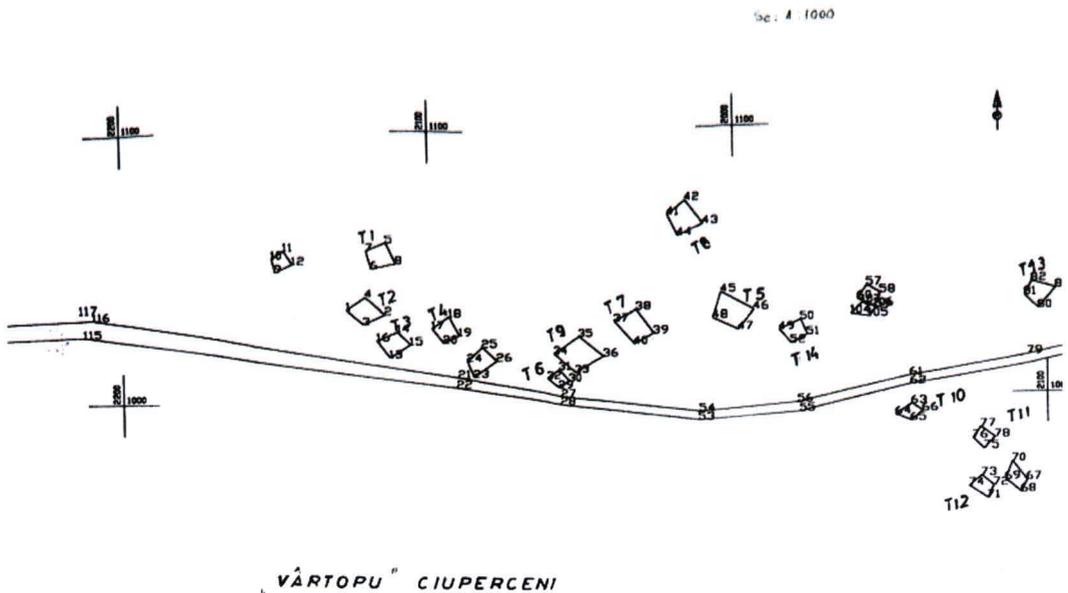
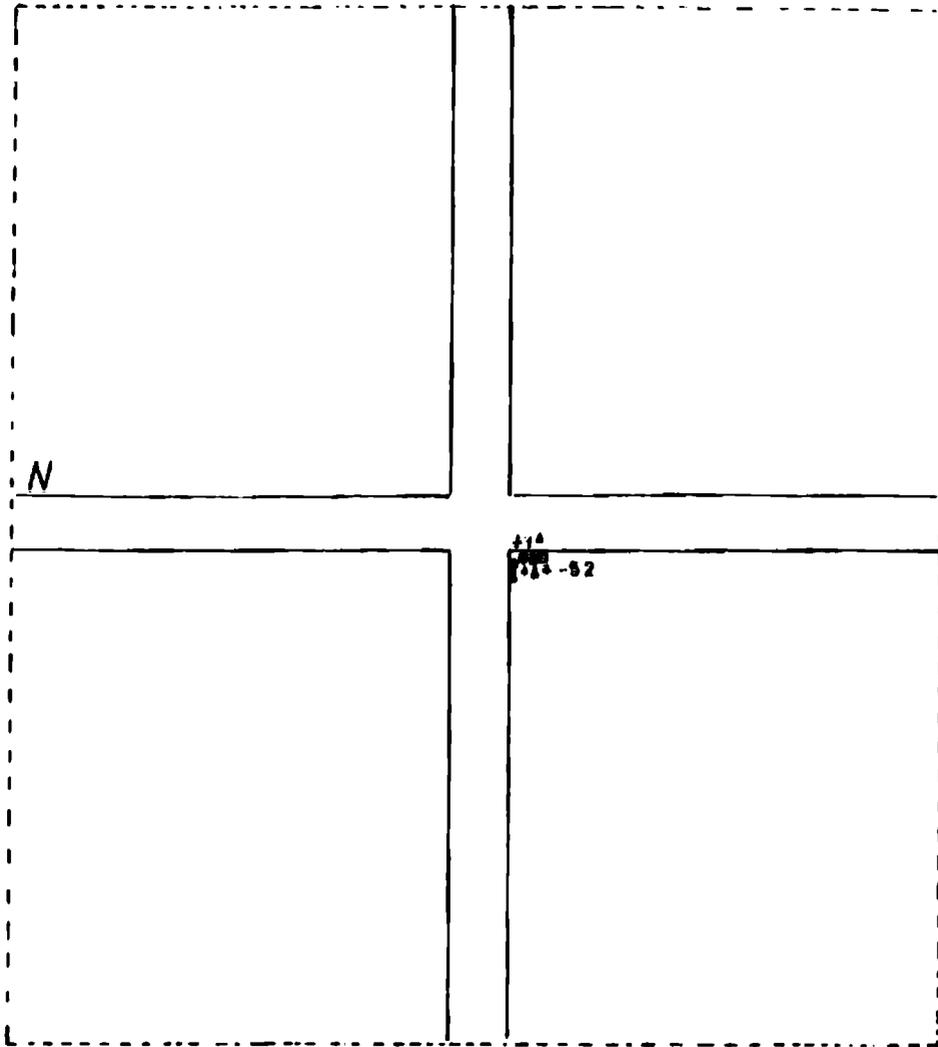


Fig. 2. Vârtopu-Ciuperceni. Topographical view of the necropolis.

TUMUL Nr. 1  
PLAN ȘI PROFIL



LEGENDĂ :



VASE



OASE



CĂRBUNE



STRAT VEGETAL



STRAT CU PĂMÂNT GALBEN



STERIL

Fig. 3. Tumulus I.

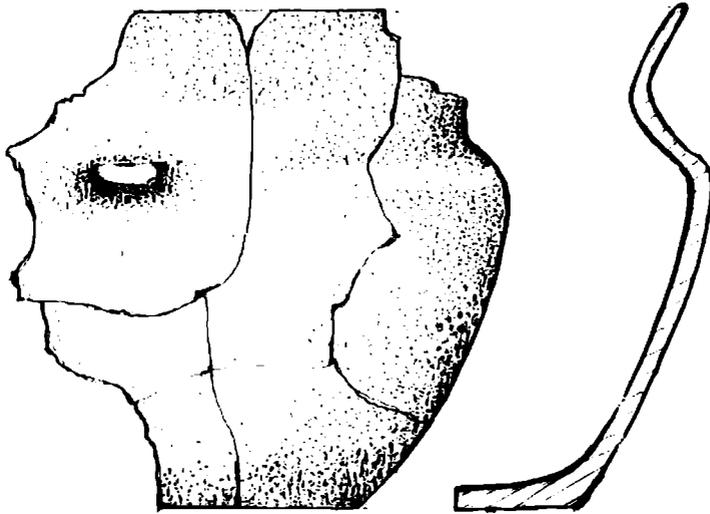


Fig. 4

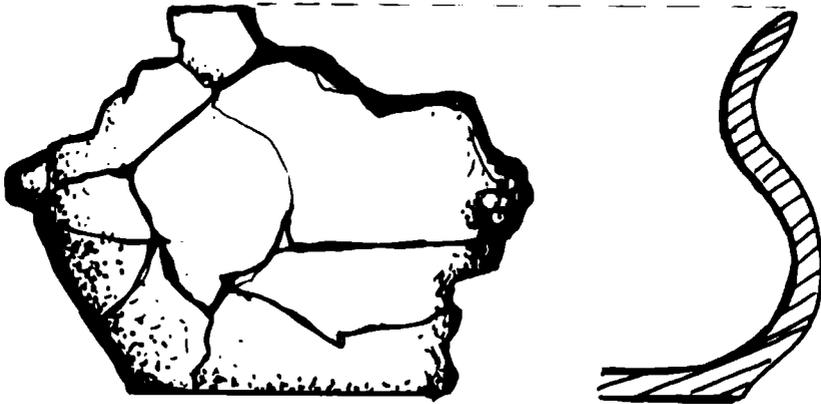


Fig. 5

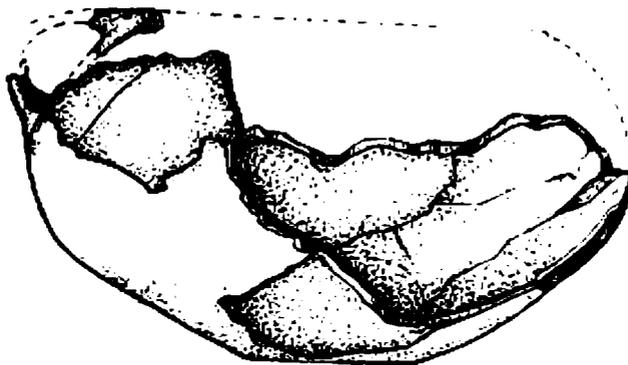
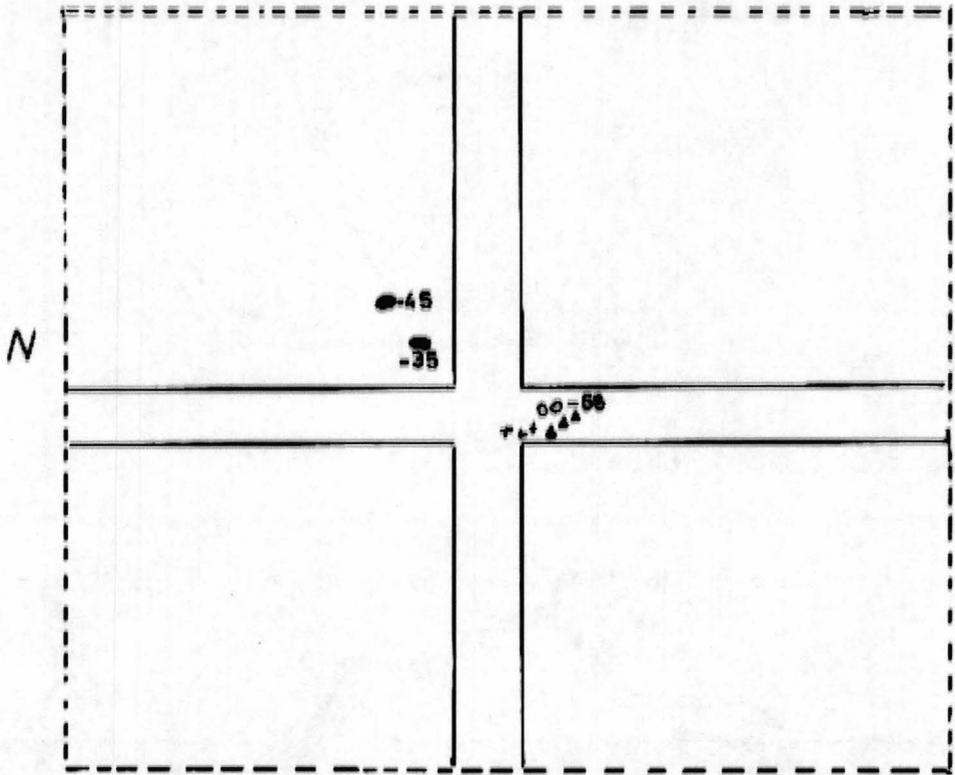


Fig. 6

TUMUL Nr. 2  
PLAN ȘI PROFIL



LEGENDĂ

- |   |                  |
|---|------------------|
|  | - VASE           |
|  | - OASE           |
|  | - CĂRBUNE        |
|  | - STRAT VEGETAL  |
|  | - STRAT CU PAM   |
|  | - STERIL         |
|  | - FRAGMENTE VASE |

Fig. 7. Tumulus II.

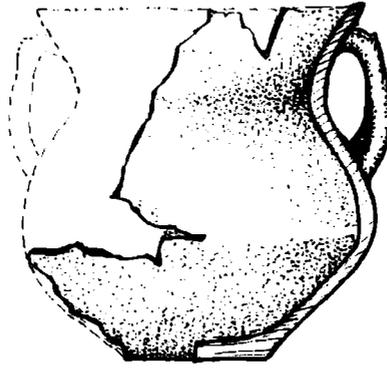


Fig. 8

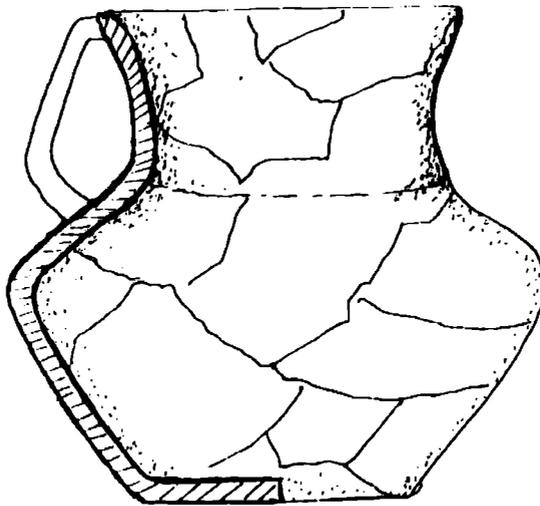


Fig. 9

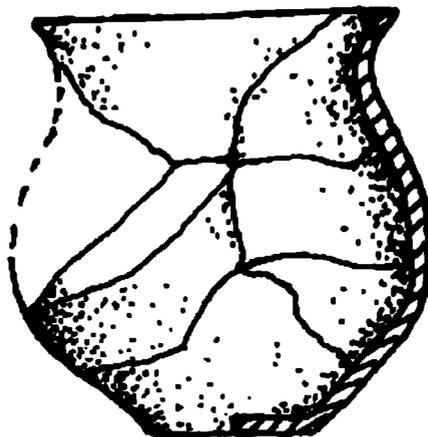
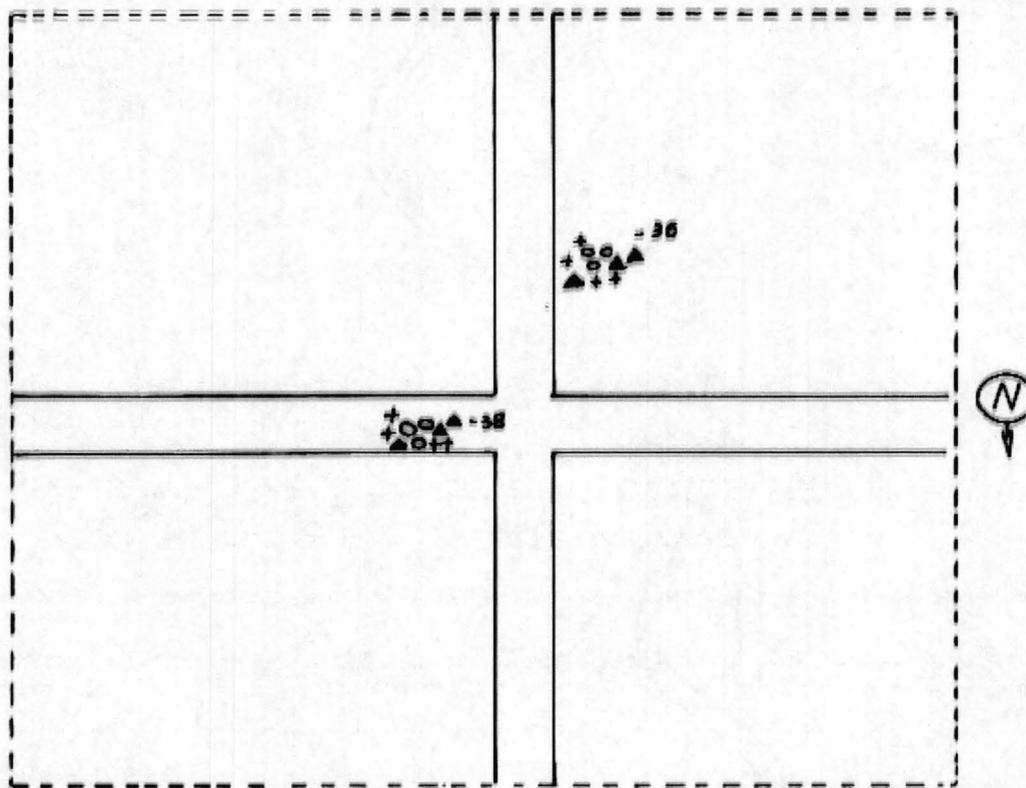


Fig. 10

TUMUL Nr 3  
PLAN SI PROFIL



LEGENDA

-  - VASE
-  - OASE
-  - CĂRBUNE
-  - STRAT VEGETAL
-  - STRAT CU PAMÂNT GALBEN
-  - STERIL

Fig. 11. Tumulus III.

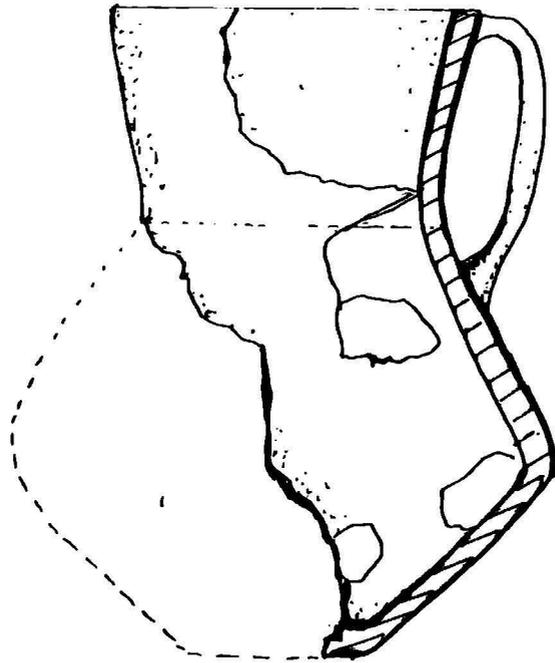
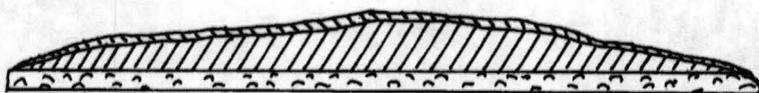
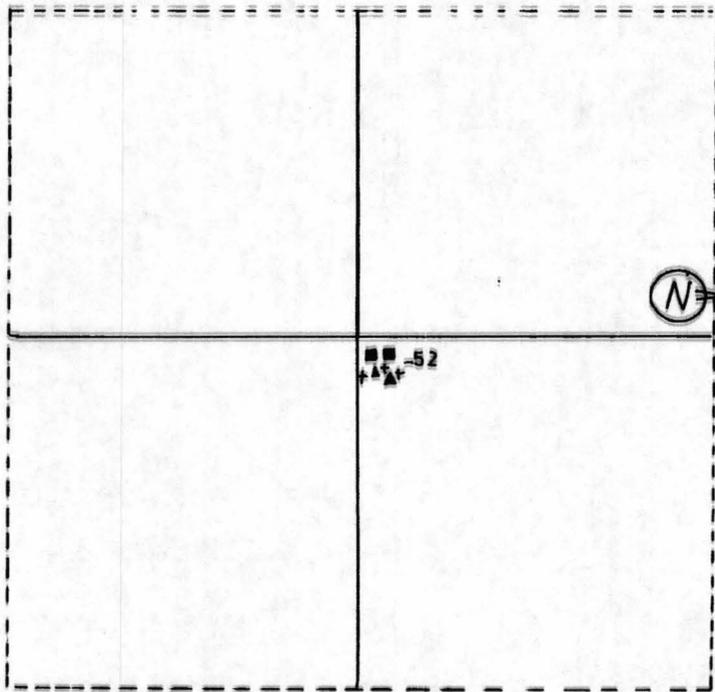


Fig. 12



Fig. 14. Aspect of excavation.

# TUMULUL 4 PLAN ȘI PROFIL



## LEGENDĂ

■ ■ - VASE

+ + - OASE

▲ ▲ - CARBUNE

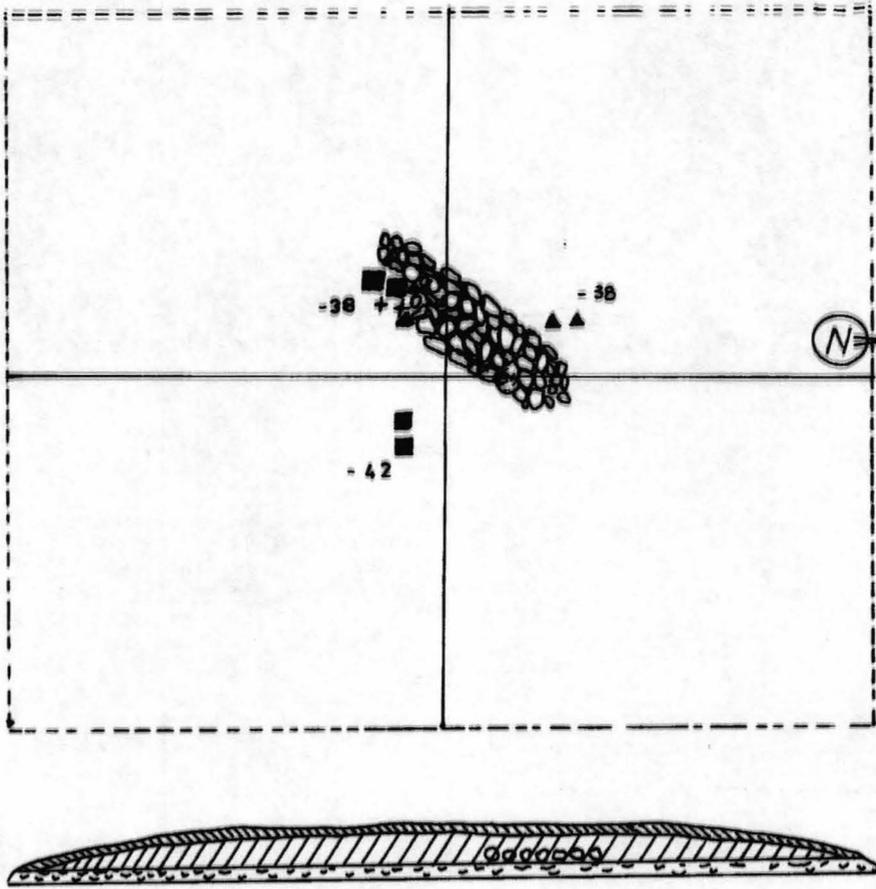
▨ - STRAT VEGETAL

▨ - STRAT CU PĂMÂNT GALBEN

▨ - STRAT STERIL

Fig. 13. Tumulus IV.

## TUMULUL 5 PLAN ȘI PROFIL



### LEGENDĂ

-VASE	-STRAT VEGETAL
-OASE	-STRAT CU PAMÂNT GALBÉN
-CĂRBUNE	-STRAT STERIL
-BOLOVANI DE RÂU	

Fig. 15. Tumulus V.



Fig. 16

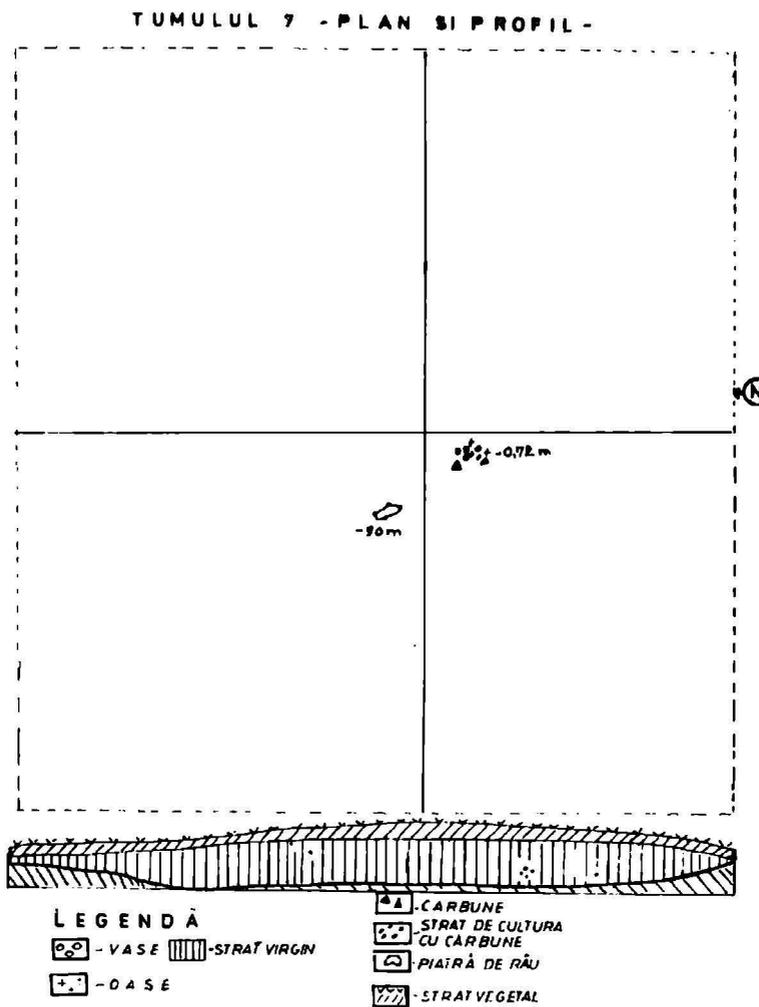
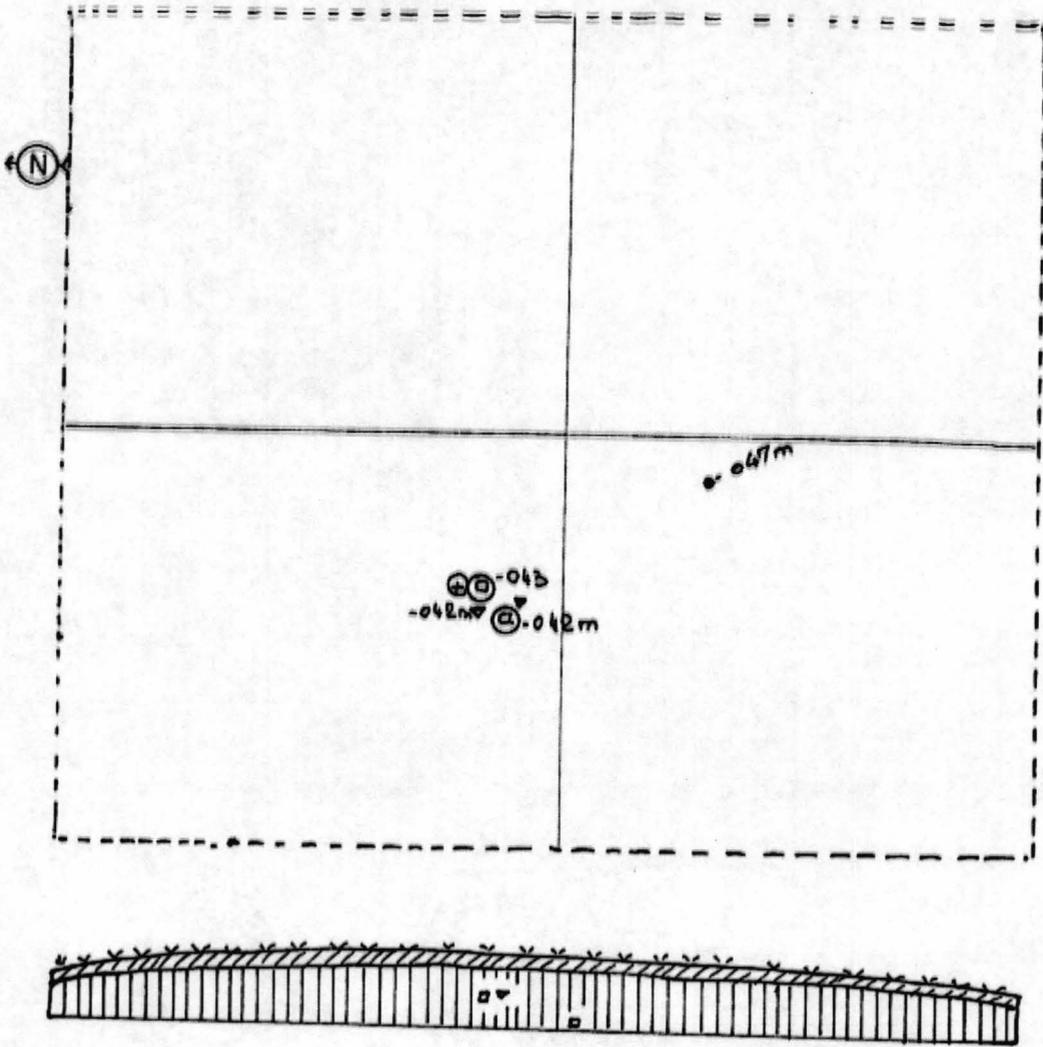


Fig. 17. Tumulus VII.

### TUMULUL 8 PLAN SI PROFIL



#### LEGENDĂ

⊕⊕⊕ - OASE

▲▲ - CĂRBUNI

⊙⊙ - VASE

∇∇ - SOL VIU

▨ - STRAT VEGETAL

▤ - SOL GALBEN

Fig. 18. Tumulus VIII.



Fig. 19

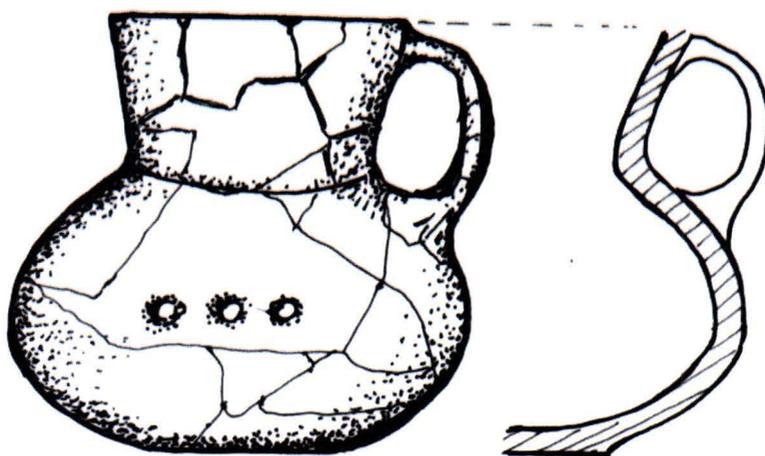


Fig. 20

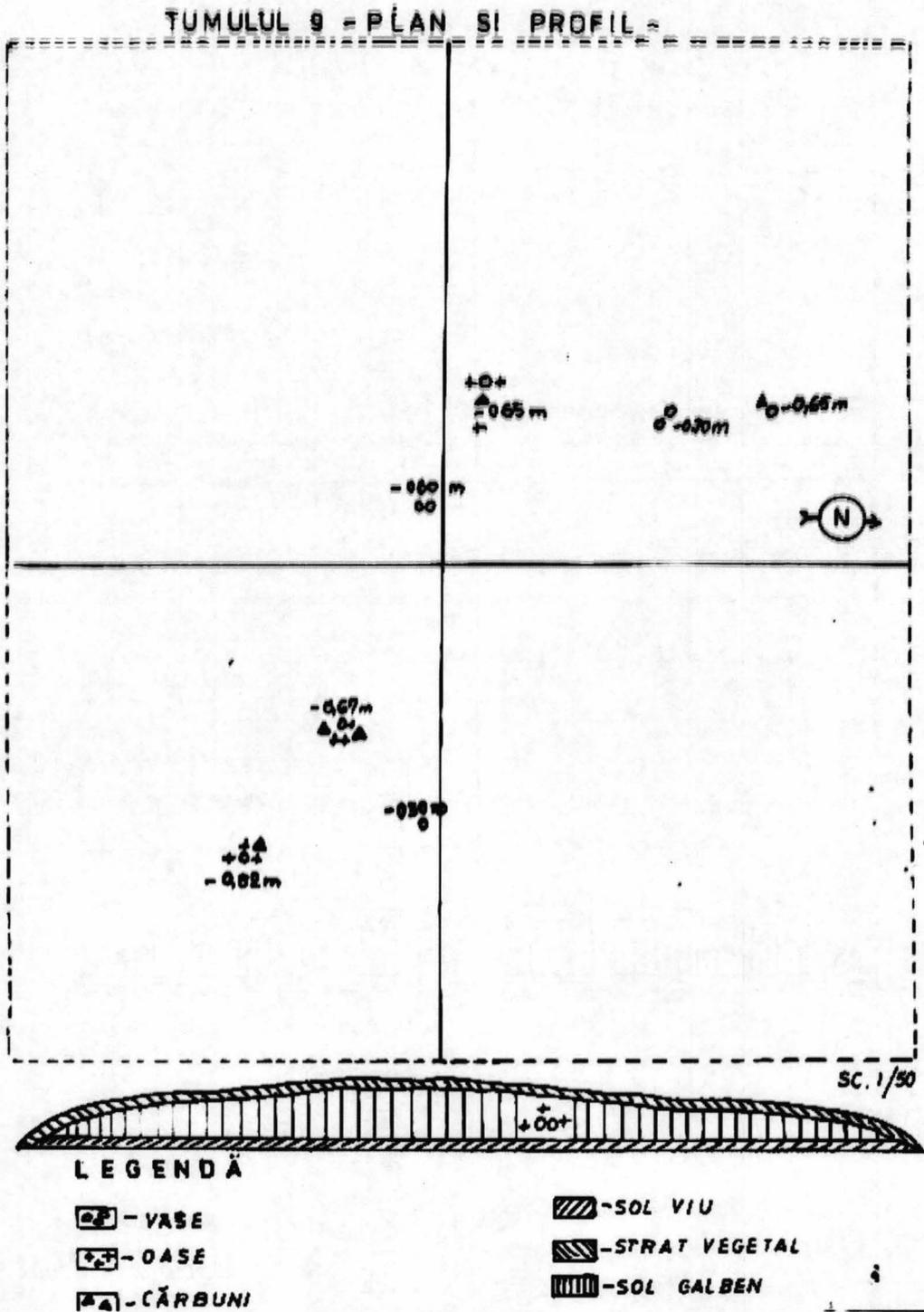
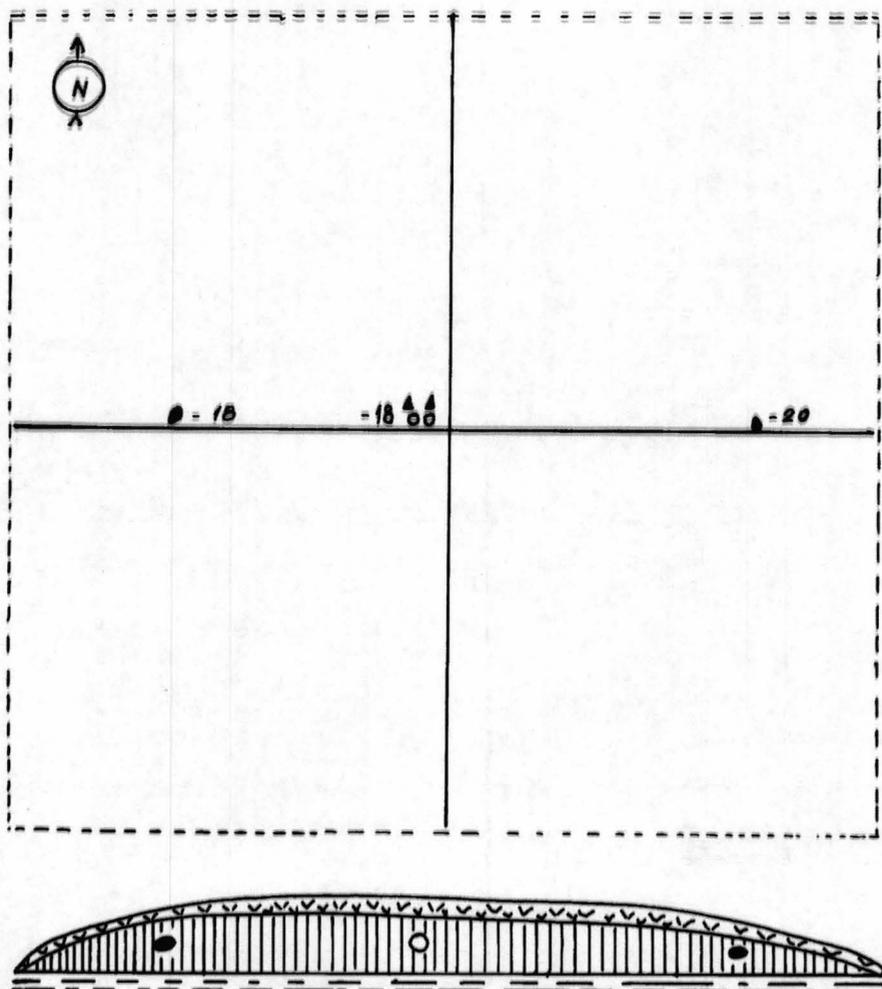


Fig. 21. Tumulus IX.

## TUMULUL 10 - PLAN ȘI PROFIL -



## LEGENDĂ

○● - VASE

▲▲ - CĂRBUNI

●● - PIETRE

∇∇ - STRAT VEGETAL

|||| - STRAT GALBEN DE CULTURĂ  
ARHEOLOGICĂ

== - STRAT VIU

Fig. 22. Tumulus X.



Fig. 23

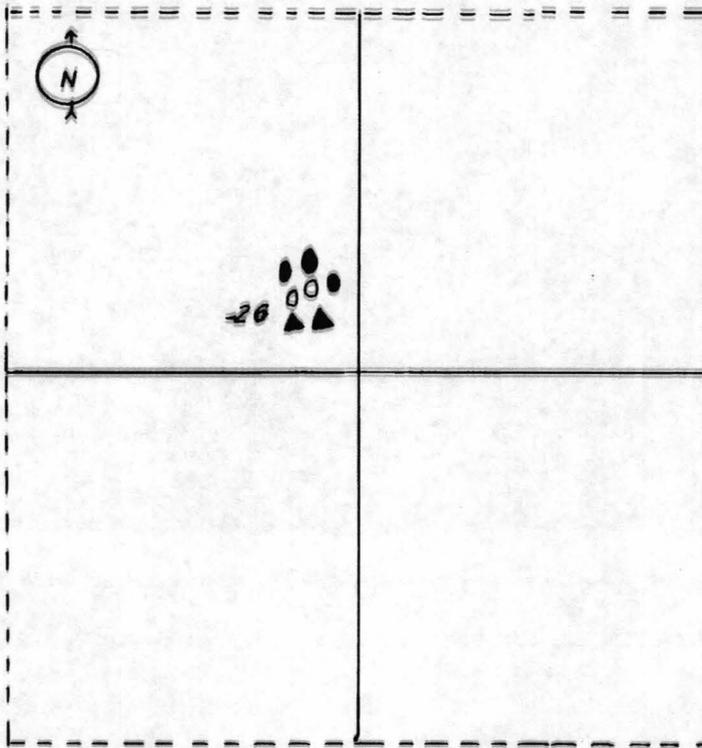


Fig. 24



Fig. 25

TUMULUL = 11 - PLAN ȘI PROFIL =



PROFIL N-S



LEGENDĂ

○ ○ - VASE

● ● - PIETRE

▲ ▲ - CĂRBUNI

▽ ▽ - STRAT VEGETAL

||||| - STRAT GALBEN DE CULTURĂ  
ARHEOLOGICĂ

≡ ≡ - STRAT VIU

Fig. 26. Tumulus 11.

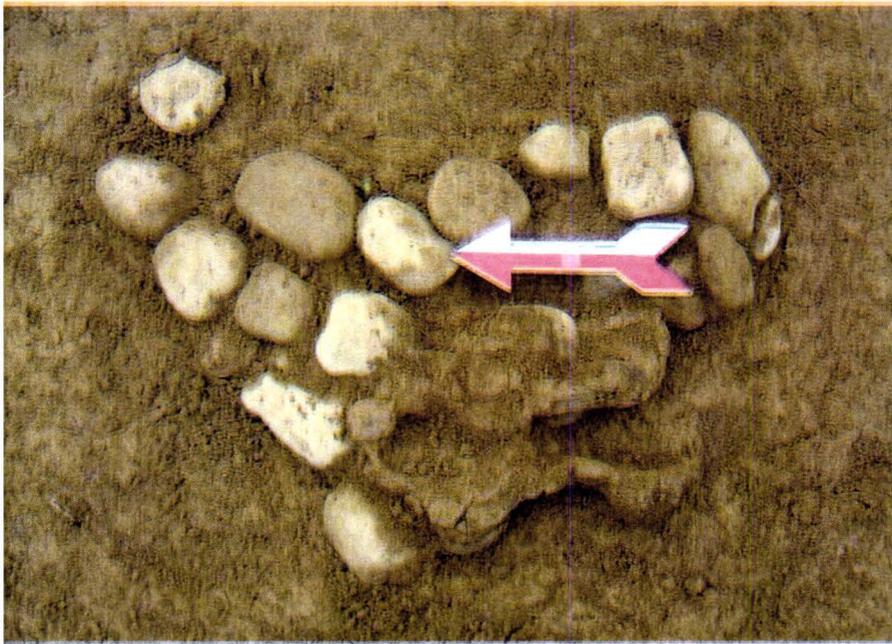


Fig. 27. Tumulus XIII. Aspect of excavation.

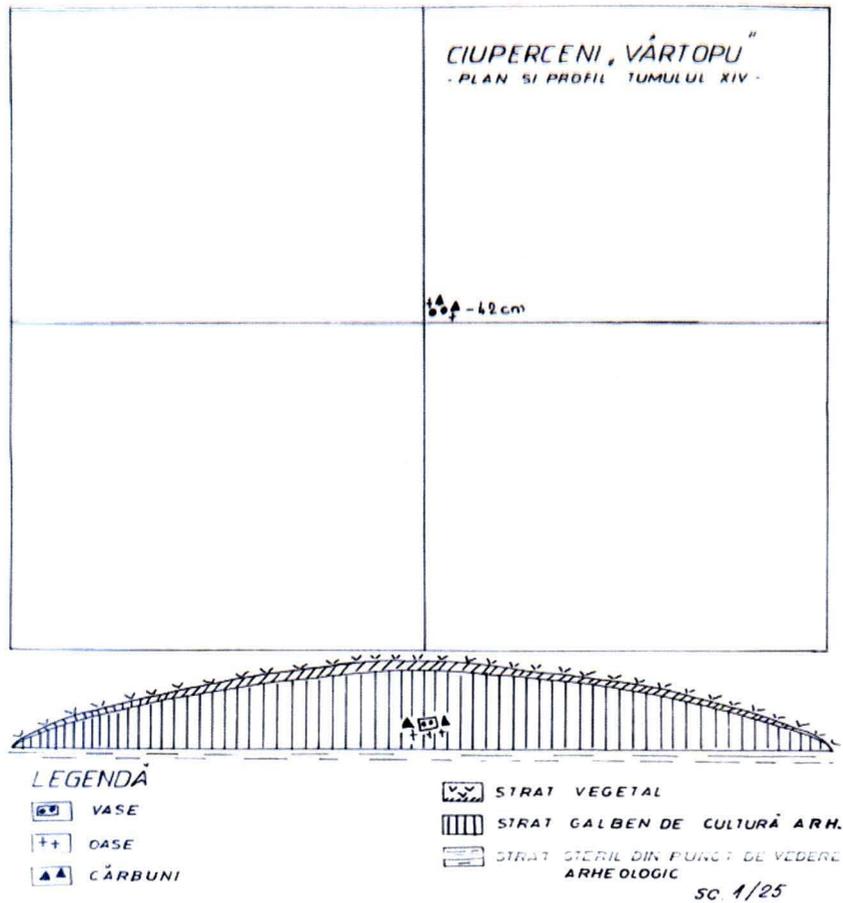


Fig. 28. Tumulus XIV.



Fig. 29

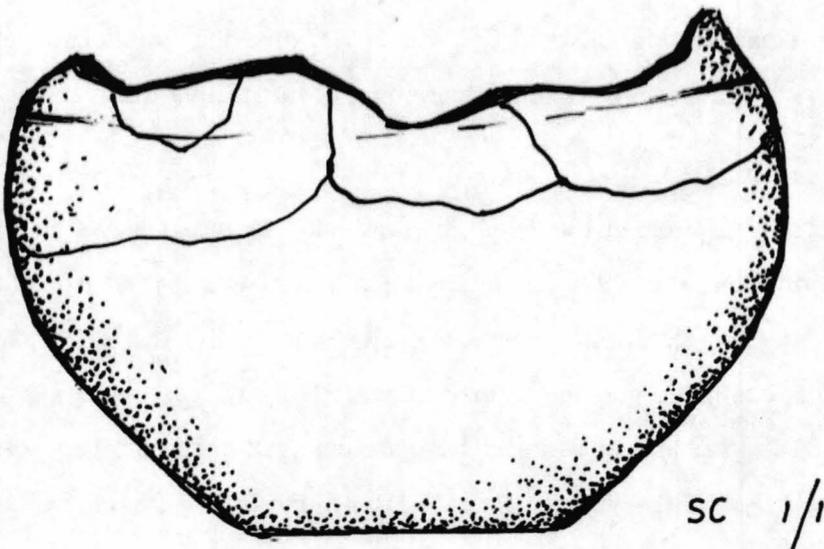


Fig. 30

# STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCE AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMPLEXES OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE BALEY SETTLEMENT (NORTH-WEST BULGARIA)

ALEXANDROV Stefan<sup>\*</sup>, HRISTOVA Tania<sup>\*\*</sup>, IVANOVGeorgi<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

**Abstract.** *The article discusses the prehistoric site Baley in North-West Bulgaria. It is located on the right bank of the Timok River, some 2 km from its confluence into the Danube River. In the course of the eighteen excavation seasons (from 1970 to 1989) forty-two residential features came to light including twelve houses with positively established plans and dimensions, as well as eight hearths and ovens not associated with a particular floor level. The settlement was not fixed within specific boundaries. Maps reveal a horizontal south–north shift with each new construction phase (level). There is ample evidence in support of the interpretation offered by the excavators and the present authors, with several instances of recorded stratigraphical continuity of the construction phases. The 2010 saw the discovery of the necropolis associated with the Baley settlement, presented here in summary.*

**Keywords:** *Late Bronze Age, Incrusted Pottery Culture, Settlement, Settlement-Necropolis relation.*

The prehistoric site Baley sits on the right bank of Timok River, approximately 2 km from the Danube River. The settlement occupies a low plateau – the second non-flood river terrace and was thus spared flooding and miring from both Timok and Danube rivers. The settlement covered a vast area but its proximity to the contemporary village precipitated its rigorous destruction in the last two centuries – the cultural layer from north-eastern and the south-eastern sectors of the site have been removed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> century in order to provide clay for bricks used to build houses; a locust grove planted in the south-western section annihilated the top layers of the cultural deposits in the southern part during the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, the untouched part of the site covered approximately 4000 square meters in the beginning of the excavations.

## History of Research

The site was first registered in the 1960s by Jordanka Atanassova (Vidin Museum). The archaeological excavations started in 1970 lasting eighteen non-consecutive seasons (1970 to 1977; 1979 to 1987; 1989) under the direction of Dr. Rumen Katinčarov (NIAM-BAS) and Ana Iocova (Vidin Museum). Four occupation Late Bronze Age (LBA) phases have been established, tentatively called construction phases (I to IV). These are detected at respectively: 0-0.10 m (level I); 0.40-0.50 m (level II); 0.80-0.90 m (level III); 1.30-1.40 m (level IV). Additionally, investigations recovered also pits with Early Iron Age (EIA) materials. A flood occurring sometime between the fourth and the third construction phases is recorded between depths 1.20-0.90 m.

<sup>\*</sup>Senior Researcher, National Archaeological Institute with Museum – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (NIAM-BAS); stefanalexandrov@abv.bg.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Researcher, National Archaeological Institute with Museum – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; tnaidenova@abv.bg.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>Researcher, National Archaeological Institute with Museum – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; ivanov.georgi@yahoo.com.

Despite the almost 20 years of excavations the publication of the results is scanty, usually as brief summaries in annual archaeological reports<sup>1</sup> as well as a concise overview contributed by prof. G.I. Georgiev.<sup>2</sup> The site is also mentioned in several analytical articles on the Incrusted pottery culture<sup>3</sup>. The Baley assemblage was the core of two dissertations, parts of which have appeared as papers and studies.<sup>4</sup> More data on the small finds and the ornamental motives appears in a study of T. Shalganova;<sup>5</sup> a small fraction of the EIA assemblage is published by A. Agre.<sup>6</sup> There is only one available <sup>14</sup>C date coming for level IV (3190 ± 55; Bln-1577 BP), calibrated to 1620-1400 BC. M. Şandor–Chicideanu revised the calibration of this date proposing– OxCal. v3.4 ± 1σ 1515–1505 BC, 1500-1425 BC; ± 2σ 1530–1390 BC.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Катинчаров, Р., А. Йоцова, Разкопки на праисторическото селище до с. Бaley, Видински окръг. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1976*. София, 1977, р. 32-34; *idem*, Разкопки на праисторическото селище до с. Бaley, Видински окръг. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1979*. София, 1980, 48-50; *idem*, Разкопки на селище от късната бронзова епоха до с. Бaley, Видински окръг. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1980*. София 1981, 36-39; *idem*, Разкопки на селище от късната бронзова епоха до с. Бaley, Видински окръг. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1981*. Михайловград 1982, 24-25; *idem*, Разкопки на селище от късната бронзова епоха до с. Бaley, Видинско. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1983*. Смолян, 1984, 41-42; *idem*, Разкопките на праисторическото селище до с. Бaley, Видински окръг. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1975*. София, 1976, 26-27; *idem*, Разкопките на праисторическото селище до с. Бaley, Видински окръг. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1977*. София, 1978, 43-44; *idem*, Селище от късната бронзова епоха до с. Бaley, Видински окръг. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1982*. Плевен, 1983, 26; *idem*, Селище от късната бронзова епоха до с. Бaley, Видинско. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1984*. Сливен, 1985, 60-61; *idem*, Селище от късната бронзова епоха до с. Бaley, Видинско. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1985*. Велико Търново, 1986, 45-46; *idem*, Селище от късната бронзова епоха до с. Бaley, Видинско. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1986*. Разград, 1987, 68-69; *idem*, Селище от късната бронзова епоха до с. Бaley, Видинско. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1987*. Благоевград, 1988, 46-47; *idem*, Селище от късната бронзова епоха до с. Бaley, Видинско. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 1989*. Кюстендил, 1990, 33-34.

<sup>2</sup> Georgiev, G. Die Erforschung der Bronzezeit in Nordwestbulgarien. In: B. Hänsel (ed.) *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v.Chr. Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa*, 1, Berlin, 1982, p. 194-197. The cup published by G. Georgiev *ibid*, Abb. 3/1 in fact does not come from Baley. It is a stray find from the territory of the neighbor-village Vrav, dated to the EBA. Neither of the other vessels included in the table *ibid*, Abb. 3/3,4,5 have been found at Baley. They are stray finds from the nearby village of Novo Selo.

<sup>3</sup> Hänsel, B., *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der Unteren Donau*. Bonn, 1976, p. 64-65; Morintz, S., *Contribuții arheologice la istoria tracilor timpurii*. București., 1978, p. 29; Şandor-Chicideanu, M., *Cultura Ţuto Brdo-Gârla Mare. Contribuții la cunoașterea epocii bronzului la Dunare Mijlocie și Inferioară*. vol. I, Cluj-Napoca 2003, p. 20-21.

<sup>4</sup> Зунг, Л., Развитие на къснобронзовата култура Бaley-Орсоя в Северозападна България. *Археология*, XXXI, 1989, 2, 20-24; Шалганова, Т. Относно гребеновидния мотив в украсата на културата на инкрустираната керамика по Долния Дунав. *Марица–Изток. Археологически проучвания*. 2, София, 1994, р. 111 – 117; Shalganova, T. About an ornamental pattern of the incrusted pottery culture along the Lower Danube. In: P. Roman, M. Alexianu (eds) *Relations Thraco–Illiro–Helléniques*. București, 1994, 170–177; Shalganova, T., Das Auftreten der kannelierten Keramik und der Übergang von der Spätbronzezeit zur frühen Eisenzeit in Nordwestbulgarien. In: *The Early Hallstatt Period (1200–700 BC) in South-Eastern Europe*. Biblioteca Musei Apulensis, I, Alba Iulia, 1994, 185-195. Shalganova, T., The Lower Danube Incrusted pottery culture. in: D. Baily and I. Panayotov (eds) *Prehistoric Bulgaria*. Monographs in world archeology No. 22. Prehistory press. Medison Wisconsin, 1995, 291-309.

<sup>5</sup> Шалганова, Т., *Изкуство и обред на бронзовата епоха. Културата на инкрустираната керамика по Долен Дунав*. Монографии 3. МИФ. София 2005.

<sup>6</sup> Agre, A., Quelques remarques sur la periode VIII-VI siecles av. J.-C. en Bulgarie du Nord-Ouest. *Cultura și civilizație la Dumarea de Jos.*, XXIV, 2008, p. 126-128.

<sup>7</sup> Boyadziev, Y., Chronology of prehistoric cultures in Bulgaria. In: D. Bailey, I. Panayotov (eds) *Prehistoric Bulgaria*. Monographs in world archaeology No. 22. Prehistory press. Madison Wisconsin, 1995, p. 177; Şandor–Chicideanu *op.cit.*, p. 208-209.

In 2009–2011 a team of NIAM-BAS and Vidin Museum archaeologists studied in entire collection accrued during the near two decades of archaeological excavations at Baley. The project was funded by *The Shelby White and Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications*.

## EXCAVATED ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRUCTURES

### EARLY IRON AGE (Plate 1)

Out of context many EIA artifacts are retrieved during all the archaeological seasons. Of this date are also two pits (no3/1976 – grid square B-10/C-10 and no17/1976 – grid square D-9/E-9). This occupation phase is synchronous to the Basarabi Culture and dated to the end of its I and the first half of its II phase; in terms of calendar years – the second half of the VIII – first half of the VII c. BC.<sup>8</sup>

### LATE BRONZE AGE

#### LEVEL I (Plate 2)

Floor levels are detected at the depth of 0.10 m. **Sections of four dwellings** are studied in grid-squares I-3, J-5/K-5, J-4/K-4, and J-7/I-7. A row of post holes in grid-square I-12/J-12, found in proximity with the main control profile, is likely associated with a dwelling from level I. The integrity of those structures is disturbed, rendering their reconstruction impossible. Evidence of heating devices is also deficient. The floors have been made of 0.08–0.10 m thick, highly compacted, clayish soil.

Fifteen pits can be assigned with certainty to level I (nos. 4/1976; 26-28/1979; 1, 2, 4, 5/1980; 1-3/1981; 1/1984; 1-2/1986 as well as a pit in grid-square I-13/H-13, marked as pit no. 3/1980, 1/1982 and 14/1983). The pits are round or oval, up to 1.50 m wide and up to 1.80 m deep. The pit in grid-square I-13/H-13 is an elongated oval, 2.90 m (east-west) by 5.20 m (north-south) wide, over 2 m deep.

#### LEVEL II (Plate 3)

**Dwellings with registered plan** – four such have been found, in grid-squares D-12/D-13 (1981), I-12/J-12 (1972, 1980), H-16/I-16 (1981), and L-17/M-17 (1981). Three of these are characterized by irregular trapezium shape; one is rectangular, divided into two compartments. This latter one is quite large - 9.80/9.85 by 4.10 m. One of the walls in two of the dwellings is apsidal. The number of recovered hearth-, or oven- remains in each residence differed, and the volumes of wall-plaster fragments are similarly variable. A better preserved hearth is found in grid-square J-12,

<sup>8</sup> D. Agre. *op.cit.*, p. 126–128, fig. 1–3.

associated with the second dwelling. The dwelling entrances likely coincide with the voids in the rows of post holes. A bottom grind stone was found in grid-square H-16.

**Sections of ten dwellings** have been found in grid-squares C-9/C-10/B-9/B-10 (1973, 1974), D-10/E-10 (1973, 1974), F-16/G-16 (1981), G-17 (1981), C-14 (1980), and F-13/F-14 (1972, 1980), G-13 (1972, 1980), H-12 (1971), I-13/H-13 (1971), H-14 (1971). These are identified based on post holes, traces of floor platforms, or hearth fragments. Better preserved are the remains of the six dwellings in grid-squares G17, F-16/G-16, D-10/E-10, F-13/F-14, C-14, C-9/C-10/B-9/B-10. A large half-sunken clay vessel was found in proximity with the floor vestiges in grid-square G-13. In 1973 in grid-square E-10, near the north wall of the dwelling found here, was discovered a bronze celt.

**Ovens/hearths**, not positively associated with particular dwellings are registered in grid-squares G-14 (1980), L-12 (1980), and H-17 (1981). It is recorded that their platforms are built upon arrangements of pottery sherds.

To level II belong also **21 pits**: nos.1/1970; 1/1973; 1/1975; 5, 6/1976; 8-10/1976; 12/1976; 14-16/1976; 18-20/1976; 21-25/1977; 13/1983.

### LEVEL III (Plate 4)

**Dwellings with registered plan** – five such have been discovered, in grid-squares F-14/F-15/G-15 (1982), J-18/J-19/J-20 (1986), F-18/G-18 (1986), F-19/F-20/G-19/G-20 (1987), and K-14/K-15 (1983). Three are irregular trapezoids, two – rectangular in shape. The dwelling in grid-squares F-19/F-20/G-19/G-20 is bipartite, with hearth remains found in both compartments. No hearth/oven was recovered in the dwelling in grid-squares J-18/J-19/J-20.

**Sections of dwellings** have been found in four locations, in grid-squares H-18/H-19/I-19/I-20 (1986), F-18 (1986), L-14 (1983) and F-9 (1974). Two are registered based on post-holes rows, two – by floor fragments.

**Ovens/hearths**, not linked to particular dwellings – five such structures have been found, in grid-squares B-10 (1974), E-10 (1974), F-4 (1974), I-16 (1982) and J-12 (1982). Particularly well-preserved is the oven in grid-square B-10 extending into the adjacent A-10 grid-square. The oven has an oval plan, likely opening to the south-east. The floor by the oven door have been completely destroyed and thus the shape and the size of the adjacent platform remain undetermined. The southwestern section of the foundation of the oven dome is well preserved and stands up to 15 cm high from southeast. The dome was made of 0.05 m thick twigs, as demonstrated by the preserved holes in the oven platform, spaced at 0.12 m intervals. Upon the oven floor was found a 0.10 m thick layer of burnt clay – the debris of the collapsed dome. The oven's floor is best preserved in the

south-eastern sector, where it is 3 to 4 cm thick and sits on a 4 cm layer of yellow clay. The oven is cut by Level II post holes. The platform of the oven in grid-square E-10 sits upon an arrangement of pottery sherds, underlined by a thin layer of fine gravel. The gravel itself sits on an extra-thin layer of yellow clay, resting upon the cultural deposits of the previous level. The center of the eastern periphery, and the western periphery of the oven are destroyed by four level II post holes.

To level III belong the following **four pits**: nos. 1/1972; 1, 2, 3/1983.

### LEVEL IVa (Plate 5)

**Three dwellings with securely registered plan** are found in grid-squares D-5/D-6/D-7/E-5/E-6/E-7 (1975), B-12/C-12 (1983) and E-12/E-13/F-12 (1983). All three are rectangular, bipartite, with one featuring an extra compartment – a porch. Hearths are registered in all three; the hearth in the latter dwelling is situated at its center, its platform is severely damaged. The floor plaster of this hearth is 0.07 m thick, very carefully smoothed and mechanically polished. Of particular interest is the first dwelling(?) described by the excavators as “*megaron*”. **Sections of dwellings** are registered in grid-squares A-11 (1975) and B-7/B-8 (1975). Similarly to the previous two levels, these are identified by the vestiges of posts and floors.

The **following pits** can be assigned to level IVa: nos. 4-12/1983, and 1-2/1987.

### LEVEL IVb (Plate 6)

To this occupation phase belong pits nos. 1, 2, 7, 11, 13/1976. Their stratigraphic position is sealed by Level IVa structures, a fact which grants them stratigraphic precedence to level IVa.

## STRATIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Excavators remarked that the settlement was not spatially “fixed” in particular boundaries during the four constructive levels; in fact, mapping the features discovered illustrates a south-north shift with each consecutive construction phase. There is ample stratigraphic evidence in support of the proposed by the excavators, and the authors of this article, internal division in four construction phases. The sequence I-II-III construction phase is clearly manifested in grid-squares I-12/J-12. Structures from level I and II overlap stratigraphically in grid-squares I-13/H-13. The level II-III-IV sequence is stratigraphically attested in grid-squares A-10, A-11, and B-10. Stratigraphically, structures from levels II and III intersect in grid-square E-10 (1974). The I-III-IV construction phase stratigraphic sequence is documented in grid-squares K-14/K-15. As it has already been noted, some of the pits studied in 1976 are stratigraphically succeeded by level IVa structures, and are thus distinguished by us as level IVb. This pertains also to the artifacts found below the floors of

the level IVa dwellings. The upper level of the EIA pits is fixed at and below the 0.50 m depth, but the nature of the artifacts in their fill categorically assigns them to a period approximately 200-300 years later than level I.

## GENERAL OUTLINE

### Level IVb

Pits nos. 1,2,7,11,13/1976 are located underneath level IVa dwellings. Their attribution to an earlier occupation phase is also justified by the artifacts discovered below those same floors during the 1977 and 1979 excavation seasons. The lumping of the pits and the out-of-context materials within a single construction phase is still tentative; however, if trusted, its dwellings should be sought south/south-east of the opened by the excavations area.

### Level IVa

The level IVa structures are found in the south-eastern part of the excavated area, along the A-F/5-12 corridor. Three dwellings with a securely fixed plan and two more residential structures are established, with a total roofed area of approximately 1000 sq. m. The eleven pits of this level are grouped ca. 30 m northwest of the dwellings. It is logical to assume that the primary built area of this level was south/south-east from the opened by the excavations area, i.e. in the sectors destroyed by the clay extraction for bricks, and/or below the modern village.

### Level III

The Level III structures are located in the western part of the excavated surface – over a 30 by 45 m area, and in the eastern sector – over a 35 by 40 m area. The total roofed area of this level is approximately 2300 sq. m. with fifteen dwellings, the plan of five of which is positively fixed. Two groups of dwellings emerge: in the western section, along the F-K/12-20 corridor (with 11 residential structures, the plan of five of which is securely established) and in the eastern sector, along the A-F/4-11 corridor (with 4 residential structures). The two zones are separated by the discovered in 1982 1.30m wide passageway (street?). It is made of grey-black compacted earth, dividing the excavated area along the south-west – north-east axis – from grid-square E-18 to grid-square H-11.

To this level four pits also belong, situated in-between the two residential groups.

### Level II

The level II structures are localized in the western sector – over an area of 60 by 30 m, and in the eastern sector – over an area of 20 by 10 m. The total roofed area of this construction phase is approximately 2000 sq. m, with fifteen residential structures, the plan of four of which is positively identified. Three groups of residences are distinguished: along the B-E/10-14 corridor (with four

residential structures); along the F-J/12-14 corridor (with five residential structures) and along the F-I/16-17 corridor (with four residential structures). Aside from these three groups remain two residential structures detected in the northern excavation sector, along the L and M corridors. In-between the three groups of residences emerge five-meter wide open spaces. The excavated 21 pits are located east of the build-up space.

### **Level I**

The dwellings have most likely been located in the north-eastern section of the site, destroyed during the construction of the brickyards and soil extraction. The fifteen excavated pits are situated south/south-west of the known residential structures.

### **Early Iron Age**

Positively of this date are pits nos. 3/1976, № 17/1976, and the pit in grid-square D-12/1980. In all excavation seasons artifacts from this age appeared over the entire surface, which suggests the presence of more EIA pits, destroyed by anthropogenic activity. These were situated primarily in the southern section of site.

## **DWELLINGS AND RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES**

During the 18 years of archaeological investigations 42 structures of residential nature have been studied. The plan and size of 12 of those dwellings are securely established (3 from level IVa; 5 from level III; 4 from level II), 22 are sections of residential (?) structures, detected by floor levels (2 from level IVa; 5 from level III; 10 from level II; 5 from level I) as well as 8 ovens and hearths (5 from level III; 3 from level II) not associated with a particular floor level.

### **Construction method**

The dwellings were built according to the typical for the age method – driven into the ground posts, intertwined with sticks, and then plastered with clay. There isn't sufficient evidence to indicate wall thickness, but judging by some plaster fragments from the pits, there were at least a few 0.15-0.20 m thick walls. Some of the wall plasters preserve a ca. 0.01 m layer of white substance, possibly a finishing coat. The excavated dwellings are rectangular, irregular trapezoids, or apsidal. According to their internal division they are uni- and bipartite. In one instance (the “*megaron*”) there is also a portico. The floors were made of heavily compacted clay, the color of which is described by the excavators as “*whitish*” or “*yellowish*”. The floor levels are 0.01 to 0.08 m thick, usually 0.025 to 0.05 m. Some are described as “*intensely cracked*”, suggesting also possible post-compacting firing of the floors. No repairs have been noted for any floors.

## Ovens and hearths

More than 20 hearths (or hearth platforms) have been found, and in only one instance the oven dome was partially preserved. The hearths are oval or round, averaging 1 m across. Most are destroyed; only the platforms are better preserved. These are made of plastered-over arrangements of sherds of larger vessels. The floor is made of highly purified clay, up to 0.05 m thick. Often it was also mechanically burnished. The oven from level III (grid-square B-10) is oval, domed. The dome is preserved up to 0.15 m tall. It is constructed of up to 0.05 m thick twigs, driven into the oven floor, at 0.12 m intervals.

## THE NECROPOLIS

The necropolis of the Baley settlement was found in 2010. It is situated on an elevation, ca. 450 m south-east from the settlement. The discovered burial assemblages can be assigned to three chronological phases. The earliest one is contemporary with Verbicioara III Culture. No synchronous materials were found within the settlement site. The middle chronological phase is synchronous to the Incrusted Pottery Culture (Baley-Orsoia, Dubovac-Žuto Brdo/Cîrna-Gârla Mare) of the LBA, and the final one is synchronous to Vîrtop Group.<sup>9</sup>

North of the Danube there are several registered settlement sites with associated necropolises. Two necropolises are registered near Ghidici-Balta Țarova site, Oltenia, – the first one is found approximately 300 m west of the settlement (synchronous to the Incrusted Pottery Culture), and the second one - 40 m away (with Bistreț and Vîrtop type pottery).<sup>10</sup> The Cîrna-Rampa necropolis is found approximately 300 m north of the settlement.<sup>11</sup> The Gârla Mare necropolis is located approximately 200 m north of the settlement.<sup>12</sup> The situation is identical in the Iron Gates region. At Ostrovul Corbului the necropolis is ca. 400 m east of the settlement site.<sup>13</sup> At Mala Vrbica the necropolis was registered approximately 200 m south of the habitation site, and at

<sup>9</sup> Христова, Т., Г. Иванов, Н. Казашки, Балей-некрополът. Археологически проучвания през 2011 г. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 2011 г.* София, 2012, р. 119-121; Александров, С., Г. Иванов, Т. Христова, Н. Казашки, Некрополът на праисторическото селище Балей. In: З. Димитров (ed.) *Българска археология 2011. Каталог към изложба.* София 2012, р. 16-17; Alexandrov, S., G. Ivanov, T. Hristova. Baley: New Discoveries. *Bulgarian e-Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 1, n.1, 2011, p. 127-136.

<sup>10</sup> Nica, M., Locuințe de tip Gârla Mare și hallstättian descoperite în așezarea de la Ghidici (județul Dolj). *Thraco-Dacica*, VIII, 1987, p. 10; *ibid*, Nica, M., Date noi cu privire la sfârșitul epocii bronzului și începutul epocii fierului pe teritoriul Olteniei. In: G. Simion (ed). *Prima epocă a fierului la Gurile Dunării și în zonele circumpontice.* Biblioteca Istro-Pontica. Seria Arheologie, 2, Tulcea, 1997.

<sup>11</sup> M. Șandor–Chicideanu *op.cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>12</sup> Crăciunescu, G., Epoca bronzului în insula Gârla Mare. *Drobeta*, XIX, 2009, p. 91.

<sup>13</sup> Roman, P., Aufzeichnungen aus den Grabungsheften zu den Forschungen in der bronzezeitlichen Ansiedlungen von Ostrovul Corbului und Ostrovul Moldova Veche. In: *Die Kulturen der Bronzezeit in dem Gebiet des eisernen Tores.* Bucurest, 1998, p. 20; *ibid*, Morminte de incineratie din epoca bronzului. In: P. Roman, A. Dodd-Oprițescu (eds) *Ostrovul Corbului între km. 911-912. Morminte și unele așezări preistorice.* Dunarea – axă a vechilor civilizații europene. Regiunea Porților de Fier. Seria monografii. I, București, 2008, p. 111.

Korbovo – 150 m south of the periphery of the settlement, now eroded into the Danube.<sup>14</sup> The situation is similar at Novo Selo, Bulgaria, according to observations contributed by Mikov.<sup>15</sup> The necropolises near Orsoia and Kutovo<sup>16</sup> occupy non-flood terraces, following the typical for the Incrusted Pottery Culture fashion.<sup>17</sup>

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With its five occupation phases the Baley settlement emerges as one of the largest in the Incrusted Pottery Culture area. Most of the settlements of this territory are characterized by thin cultural deposits;<sup>18</sup> still, the stratigraphic situation attested at Baley is not exceptional. Several levels (construction phases) are registered also at Ghidici – Balta Țarova I. The following stratigraphic situation is registered in a test trench from 1989: the earliest feature is an up to 1.50 deep pit, indicated as level I; it is succeeded by level II, marked by an oval oven, above which sit dwelling no. 6 – marked as level III, and dwelling no. 5 – marked as level IV. According to the M. Nica, within the same settlement to levels I and II belong also the pit and oven excavated in 1989 respectively, while level III is represented by three dwellings – nos. 3, 6, and 10; level IV is marked by dwellings nos. 1,3(?),4,5,11. The same author suggested that the life on the settlement continued through two more stages - one indicated by dwellings (nos. 2 and 9), which he refers to Gârla Mare – Bistreț-Ișalnița – Verbicioara IV, and a second stage, linked by him to the Vîrtop group.<sup>19</sup> The existence of these latter two stages, however, has not been attested stratigraphically at Balta Țarova I. If the published material, and their analogies to the Baley materials, is taken into consideration alongside the established correlation of the Balta Țarova I dwelling no.7 assemblage with the early Basarabi Culture,<sup>20</sup> we are inclined to agree with the proposed presence of only one late LBA layer

<sup>14</sup> Vukmanović, M., P. Popović, *Recherches archeologiques sur la localité "Livade" pre de Mala Vrbica. Бърданске Свеске*, III, 1986, p. 14; Крстић, Д., *Гламија. Некропола бронзаног доба у Корбову*. Народни Музеј Београд, Археолошке Монографије, Београд 2003, p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Миков, В., *Материали от последния период на бронзовата епоха в Северна България*. *Археология*, XII, 1970, 3, p. 49-50.

<sup>16</sup> Филипов, Т., *Некропол от късната бронзова епоха при с. Орсоя, Ломско*. София 1976; Александров, С., Т. Христова, А. Попова, А. Йоцова, О. Миланова, И. Цветков, Ф. Филипова, *Археологически проучвания на два обекта в м. Гриндур, землище на с. Антимово и Кутово, о-на Видин*. *Археологически открития и разкопки през 2007 г.*, София, 2008, 129-130.

<sup>17</sup> M. Șandor-Chicideanu, *op.cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>19</sup> M. Nica, *op. cit.*, *Thraco-Dacica*, VIII, 1987; *idem*, *Date noi cu privire la sfârșitul epocii bronzului și începutul epocii fierului pe teritoriul Olteniei*. In: G. Simion (ed). *Prima epocă a fierului la Gurile Dunării și în zonele circumpontice*. Biblioteca Istro-Pontica. Seria Arheologie, 2, Tulcea, 1997, p. 19-41; Nica, M., P. Rogozea, *Șantierul arheologic Ghidici punctul „Balta Țarovei”*, campania 1994. *Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracă*, I, 1995, p. 199-217.

<sup>20</sup> Nica, M., *Câteva date despre necropola și locuințele din așezările hallstattiene timpurii de la Ghidici, punctul „Balta Țarova” (județul Dolj)*. *Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracă*, I, 1995, 236-246; *Ibid.*, *La genèse, l'évolution et relations chronologique et culturelle de cultures Verbicioara et Gârla Mare dans le contexte des civilisations de l'âge du bronze de l'Europe centrale et du Sud-Est*. In: P. Roman (ed.) *The Thracian world at the crossroads of civilizations*. II,

at Ghidici- Balta Țarova I. Provided this proposition is proved, the Balta Țarova I stratigraphic sequence will be identical to that of Baley – pits in the earliest level, four LBA levels with residential structures followed by EIA Basarabi Culture materials. Some other Incrusted Pottery Culture sites proved not to be with “thin cultural deposits” as well. The Ostrovul Corbului settlement in the Iron Gates area has three construction phases, identified on the basis of ground dwellings.<sup>21</sup> We should also mention the Mala Vrbica settlement from the same area, where below the layer of plaster concentrations and floor sections excavators registered shallow pits.<sup>22</sup> However it is worth noted that for now the multi-layer settlements of the Incrusted Pottery Culture are quite a few, Baley being the largest one.

The longstanding investigations of the Late Bronze Age settlement Baley and the obtained results, including stratigraphic evidence, information on residential architecture and planning, distinguish it as one of the primary reference sites for the Incrusted Pottery Culture of the Lower Danube. With its five construction phases the site makes possible diachronical analysis of the surviving to-date evidence of the life of the inhabitants and the changes occurring over a long section of the Bronze Age, coinciding with almost the entire late stage of the epoch.

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<sup>22</sup> Vukmanović, Popović *op.cit*.

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## POSSIBILITIES TO DATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES BASED ON AMPHORA STAMPS\*

BUZOIANU Livia \*\*, BĂRBULESCU Maria \*\*\*

**Abstract.** *The present paper intends to demonstrate the fact that the stamps applied on the Greek amphorae can be considered stable chronological benchmarks in archaeology. Based on the discoveries from Albești (Constanța County), the chronologies proposed for different production centres can be verified: Herakleia Pontike, Thasos, Sinope, Rhodos. The proposed chronologies are consecrated in the field literature: Garlan<sup>1</sup> (for Thasos); Brashinskii<sup>2</sup> and Monachov<sup>3</sup> (for Herakleia Pontike), Finkielsztejn<sup>4</sup> (for Rhodos), Garlan<sup>5</sup> (for Sinope).*

**Keywords:** *Albești (Constanța County), amphora stamps, archaeological context, chronologies.*

The amphora stamps represent (or are used) for a long time as chronological benchmarks in dating the materials coming from closed archaeological complexes. In the same time, each important centre in producing stamped amphorae benefit from their own chronological grids. Our paper intends just to verify the chronological grids for amphora stamps coming from some important production centres, based on the archaeological discoveries from Albești (Constanța County)<sup>6</sup>. Without resuming the history of their establishment, we name these grids using the name of specialists who consecrated them and the year when the reference work was published: Garlan<sup>7</sup> for Thasos; Brashinskii<sup>8</sup> and Monachov<sup>9</sup> for Herakleia Pontike (chronologies based on the North-Pontic closed deposits)<sup>10</sup>; Finkielsztejn<sup>11</sup> for Rhodos and again Garlan<sup>12</sup> – for Sinope.

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\*\*National History and Archaeology Museum Constanța, Ovidiu Square No. 12, Constanța, 900745; e-mail: liviabuozianu@yahoo.com.

\*\*\*"Ovidius" University Constanța, Faculty of History and Political Sciences, University Str., No. 1 Constanța; e-mail: mariabarbulescu@yahoo.fr.

<sup>1</sup> Yvon Garlan, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thsos. I. Timbres protothasiens et thasiens anciens*, Athènes-Paris, 1999; Eadem, *En visitant et revisitant les ateliers amphoriques de Thasos*, BCH, 128-129, 2004-2005, p. 269-329.

<sup>2</sup> I.B. Brashinskii, *Grečeskii keramičeskii import na nijnem Domu v V-III vv. do n. e.*, Leningrad, 1980.

<sup>3</sup> S.Iu. Monachov, *Grečeskie amfory v Pričernomor'e. Kompleksy keramičeskoj tary*, Saratov, 1999.

<sup>4</sup> Gérard Finkielsztejn, *Chronologie détaillée et révisée des éponyms amphoriques rhodiens de 270 à 108 av. J.-C. environ*, BAR International Series 990, 2001.

<sup>5</sup> Yvon Garlan, *Les timbres céramiques sinopéens sur amphores et sur tuiles trouvés à Sinope. Présentation et catalogue*, Paris, 2004.

<sup>6</sup> See Livia Buzoianu, Maria Bărbulescu, *Albești. Monografie arheologică*. I., Constanța, 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Yvon Garlan, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thsos...*; Eadem, *En visitant et revisitant les ateliers amphoriques de Thasos...*, p. 269-329.

<sup>8</sup> I.B. Brashinskii, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> S.Iu. Monachov, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> For Herakleia Pontike see also V.I. Kac, *A New Chronology for the Ceramic Stamps of Herakleia Pontike*, in *The Cauldron of Ariantas. Studies presented to A.N. Șcęglov on the occasion of this 70<sup>th</sup> birthday*, Aarhus University Press, 2003, p. 261-278.

<sup>11</sup> Gérard Finkielsztejn, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Yvon Garlan, *Les timbres céramiques sinopéens...*

We are going to refer at the situation of incidence – meaning the association in the same context (= square) and at the same depth of some items from different centres and the presence of a single centre items but being in the different stratigraphic situations.

### *I. Incidences among stamps from Herakleia Pontike and Thasos* \*\*\*\*

There are three situations when the englyphic stamps from Herakleia Pontike containing two names (the late groups II and III after Brashinskii<sup>13</sup>) were found in association with old style stamps from Thasos belonging to the group G 2 (Garlan<sup>14</sup>). It is the situation<sup>15</sup> of Ἡρακλείδας situated in the same context with the Thasian eponym Πυθίων I or the Herakleian magistrates Σάτυρος and Σκύθας in the context with the Thasian eponym Νικίας (Tabl. I, 1-3). In an absolute chronology, the s.-group G 2 covers the period between 345-335 BC. In the order we mentioned above and on condition the chronological internal order of the Thasian eponyms belonging to the s.-group G 2<sup>16</sup>, Πυθίων I would be placed to the middle of the group, and Νικίας possibly the penultimate in the group.

The above cited magistrates from Herakleia Pontike can be found in North Pontic archaeological complexes, dated about 365-350 BC. (Σκύθας) and 355-345 BC (Ἡρακλείδας)<sup>17</sup>.

We mention that the "meeting" in the same context of the Thasian stamps included in the group F or G and of the stamps with names of magistrates from Herakleia Pontike included in the "late" groups II or III observed for the north Pontic complexes<sup>18</sup>, can be also seen in Albești.

The chronological coincidences between the fabricant stamps from Herakleia Pontike with a single name (group IV Brashinskii<sup>19</sup>) and those from Thasos of new style (Garlan<sup>20</sup>) can be partially verified (Tabel I, 4-11). Most of them refer to the subgroup of fabricants Ἀριστοκράτης, Νικόστρατος and Φιλότιμος present with Thasian stamps included in the group VII (about 294-288 BC) and mostly VIII (287-282 BC, after Garlan<sup>21</sup>). These stamps confirm the circulation of the above mentioned amphorae at the end of the 4th century and in the first quarter of the 3rd century

\*\*\*\* Abbreviations: s.-group = subgroup; s.-period = subperiod; o. s. = old style; n. s. = new style; SA (B, C) = sector A (B, C); c = square.

<sup>13</sup> I.B. Brashinskii, *op. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> Yvon Garlan, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos...*

<sup>15</sup> Here and further on, see Livia Buzoianu, Maria Bărbulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 125-177 (Cap. V. 1 and V. 2).

<sup>16</sup> Y. Garlan, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos...*, p. 266.

<sup>17</sup> S.Iu. Monachov, *op. cit.*, p. 321 and 329; p. 329-330, Kurgan 15 Divižija ; Kurgan 15 (1909), the necropolis Elisavetovskoe.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 320-423 (especially the tables at the p. 415-417).

<sup>19</sup> I.B. Brashinskii, *op. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> Y. Garlan, *En visitant et revisitant les ateliers amphoriques de Thasos...*, p. 269-329.

<sup>21</sup> *Eadem*.

(Brashinskii<sup>22</sup>). Among the Heracleian magistrates included in the group IV, Ἀριστοκράτης present in Albești with Πυθίων V (Thasian, n. s.) seems to be earlier.

In the north Pontic complexes, Ἀριστοκράτης is present with Thasian stamps included in the group IV (Ποῦλος, 315-310 BC), V (Κρινομένης, about 309-300 BC) and VII (Αἰνέας, about 294-288 BC)<sup>23</sup>.

In the same north Pontic contextes<sup>24</sup>, Νικόστρατος is recorded with the stamp of Κλεοφῶν (Thasian, n. s.), included in the group V. At Albești, the same group V from Thasos, where is also included Δέαλκος is compatible with that of Herakleian fabricant Μένιππος: both stamps were observed at the same archaeological level, at -0.60 m depth and they succeed the item of Πυλάδης with Πυθίων I (old style Thasian stamp), discovered at -0.70 m. A period, to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. is also fitted for the fabricant Ἀριστόβουλος, discovered in the same context with the Thasian magistrate Κρατίνοσ (group VI, about 299-295 BC).

*II. Incidences between stamps from Sinope and from Rhodos*, the last ones to be dated in the period limited by the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter until the last decade of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, at Albești<sup>25</sup> (Tabl. II).

The incidences are valid only for the general order as for each important Greek production centre there were established specific chronological classifications. The analysis underlines incidences between:

- Sinopean astynoms included in the s.-groups VI B and VI C and Rhodian eponyms from the s.-periods I c and II a;
- Sinopean astynoms included in the s.-group VI D and Rhodian eponyms from the s.-periods II a and II b.

We bring as example the situation of the astynom Ποσιδεῖος Θεαρίωνος (VI B) discovered with the eponym from the s.-period Ic Πειθιάδας; or the astynoms Πυθόχρηστος Ἀπολλωνίδου and Ἀντίπατρος Νίκωνος (the s.-group VI B) and the eponym Νίκων (II a).

<sup>22</sup> I.B. Brashinskii, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> S.Iu. Monachov, *op. cit.*, p. 490 and 524-529.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 450-451.

<sup>25</sup> Namely the periodes I c – II b; any period III Rhodian item (198-163 BC) has been discovered at Albești; see L. Buzoianu, M. Bărbulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 155-162; eadem, *Relații cu insula Rhodos în lumina descoperirilor amforice de la Albești (jud. Constanța)*, in *Historiae diversitas. Festschrift für Vladimir Iliescu zum 80. Geburtstag*, Galați, 2006, p. 35-50.

In the second case, the astynom Απολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου (VI D) discovered many times with the eponyms included in the s.-period II a (Τιμοκλείδας, Πausανίας, Δαήμων) and II b (Ονάσανδρος, Πολυκράτης, Ξενόφαντος). In the cases when the incidences repeat in different squares, the group stability is increased.

As regarding the incidences between the Sinopean stamps with stamps of some Rhodian fabricants we admit, for the last, larger periods of time which can, sometimes, pass over the limits of a (sub) period. The fabricants from Rhodos included in the period II are common to these incidences.

We record (Tabl. III):

- Rhodian fabricants discovered with Sinopean astynoms from different groups;
- Rhodian fabricants discovered with Sinopean stamps included only in the s.-group VI D.

For the first case, we consider the Rhodian Κρέων, present with Sinopean astynoms included in the s.-groups V A, V B, VI B, VI C1, VI C2 and VI D. Another example is provided by the fabricant Ξενότιμος, discovered in same context with astynoms included in the subgroups VI B, C and D.

For the second case, we take into consideration, the names of the Rhodian fabricants Έλλάνικος, Θεόδωρος, Σάμος, Μνησίθης and Δημήτριος. The repeated incidents provide stability in the group, too.

### *III. Stratigraphic situations*

The deep values observed for the items situated in the same square are significant for us: they confirm the chronological succession in the same category (or production centre) and the chronological succession of some items from different production centres.

For the first statement, we take into consideration some items from Herakleia Pontike with two names or with a single name (see Tabl. IV).

The same criterion of the depth values applied to the Rhodian category put into light, previousness from the fabricant Εϋφρων (s.-period I b) compared to the eponyms Πολυκράτης and Ξενότιμος included in period II b (in SB, c 27); the eponym Πausανίας (the s.-period II b) is also previous compared to the eponym Εϋφράνωρ (the s.-period II c; SB, c. 34); or the eponym Αρίσταρχος (the s.-period I b), compared to the eponym Τιμοκλείδας (the s.-period II a; SA, c. 60).

The situation becomes more interesting when we refer to the amphora stamps from different centres situated in clear stratigraphic context. Thus, there can be also verified mutually the chronological grids established for different categories of amphora stamps. We bring examples,

selectively, with the situation recorded in SA, c. 52 and SA, c. 49-56.

There were discovered successively, in SA, c. 52, at -0.80, a Thasian circular stamp from the first period of the old style (eponym Τελέας, group A)<sup>26</sup>; at -0,60 m - two stamps from Herakleia Pontike with two names and at -0.50 m, a Sinopean stamp, s.-group VI C 1.

In the excavation profile between the squares 49-56 from SA, the order according to depth records a stamp from Herakleia Pontike with two names late group II (at -0.90 m), a Thasian stamp, included in the group G 2 (at -0.70 m), an item from Herakleia Pontike, included in the group IV (at -0.60 m) and another from Rhodos (the s.-period I c). In a relative chronological order, they bring evidence, in order, a dating to the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (or 355-345 BC; the item from Herakleia Pontike); about 345-335 BC (for the Thasian stamp); the end of the 4<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (the second item from Herakleia Pontike) and about 246-235 BC (for the Rhodian stamp).

The situation can be verified in other contexts, too:

- for the stamps from Thasos (group G 2), Herakleia Pontike (group IV), Sinope (s.-group VI D) discovered in SC, c. 49-50 at -0.70 m, -0.50 m and -0.15 m;
- or for the same centres, but from other succession in SA, c. 30: Herakleia Pontike, group II late (at -0.60 m), Thasian, stamp of new style (at -0.30 m) Sinopean stamp, s.-group VI A (at -0.15 m);
- for the Thasian new style stamps (the groups VIII and IX) and Sinope, the s.-groups VI B and C (discovered in SA, c. 13, the first at -0.45 m, the others at -0.25 m).

#### *IV. Criteria of verification*

The stamps from the above-mentioned centres and whose chronology proved enough grounded, can represent, by attraction, an element for the chronological reference for other amphora materials. We mention the situations when:

- stamps from Herakleia Pontike with two names appear in common contexts with others from Knidos ("ship bow" type<sup>27</sup>; SD, c. 100) and from Akanthos<sup>28</sup> (in SA, c. 56);
- an item from Knidos included in the group Zenon A<sup>29</sup> appears to be contemporary with stamps from the group IV from Herakleia Pontike (in SB, c. 3-4, at -0.65 m);
- another item from Knidos of type Σω(φάβης)<sup>30</sup> was discovered in the same context (SB, c. 31) with Sinopean included in the s.-groups VI B and VI C2;

<sup>26</sup> Yvon Garlan, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thos...*, p. 105.

<sup>27</sup> Christoph Börker, *Die Herkunft der Schiffsbug-Stempel*, BCH, Suppl. 13, 1986, p. 473-483; Nikolai Jefremow, *Die Amphorenstempel des hellenistischen Knidos*, München, 1995, p. 170-174.

<sup>28</sup> Y. Garlan, *Interprétation des timbres amphoriques "à la roué" d'Akanthos*, BCH, 130, 2006, p. 263-291.

<sup>29</sup> J.-Y. Empereur, Numan Tuna, *Zénon de Caunos et l'épave de Serçe Limani*, BCH 112, 1988, p. 341-357.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 344-345.

- the stamps produced in Rhodos from the periods I c and mostly II are the most reference material for the items from Paros<sup>31</sup> (in SA, c. 15; SA c. 45; SB, c. 6);
- the stamps of the Μυρσιλείας group were constantly discovered in the presence of Sinopean stamps included in the s.-group VI D (SB, c.5; 53, 65, 55-54);
- stamps from Sinope included in the s.-group VI D (in SB, c. 65 and SC, c. 61) were discovered with stamps of Δίφιλος and Διότιμος (Ainos centre?)<sup>32</sup>;
- Koan stamps with the names Ἐκαταῖος and Ζαΐλος were discovered in the same context with items from Sinope included in the s.-groups VI B, C and D.

The last examination criterion we are going to use is that of the coins presence. But, unfortunately for us, this is a less strict criterion: at Albești the number of coins coming from the archaeological contexts is smaller<sup>33</sup>, and the chronological limits for these autonomous coins are rather large<sup>34</sup>. The majority includes bronze coins from Callatis of Demeter and Dionysus type. Both types are considered to be at the earliest among the bronze coins from Callatis (if not those representing Demeter, partially contemporary to those representing Dionysus are preceding them). They are to be dated in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, with the possibility that some to pass over the middle of the century<sup>35</sup>.

This possibility seems to be confirmed by the amphora stamps: two coins of Demeter type were discovered (in SA, c. 15 and SA, c. 34) bearing Herakleian stamps, group IV (the fabricants Ἀριστοκράτης and Ἀριστόβουλος). Other four coins of Dionysus type were discovered in context with Sinopean stamps included in the s.-groups V B and C (astynoms Ἀριστίων and Κρατίσταρχος) and others included in the s.-groups VI A and B (astynoms Πόσις Δαΐσκου and Ἰοβάκχος Μολπαγόρου); finally, the bronze coins from Callatis of Herakles type and Athens are to be dated, in a general chronology, at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century up to the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. At Albești they are coming from the buildings situated outside the fortified city and they seem to have a long circulation since the 3<sup>rd</sup> BC.

<sup>31</sup> J.-Y. Empereur, M. Picon, *Des ateliers d'amphores à Paros et à Naxos*, BCH 110, 1986, p. 495-512.

<sup>32</sup> Chrysa Karadima, *Ainos: An Unknown Amphora Production Centre in the Evros Delta*, in *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean* (eds. Jonas Eiring and John Lund), Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens, vol. 5, p. 155-162.

<sup>33</sup> L. Buzoianu, M. Bărbulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 249-260.

<sup>34</sup> C. Preda, *Istoria monedei în Dacia preromană*, București, 1998, p. 74-76; G. Talmațchi, *Monetăriile orașelor vest-pontice Histria, Callatis și Tomis în epoca autonomă*, Cluj-Napoca 2011, p. 345-435.

<sup>35</sup> Gh. Poenaru-Bordea, *Un tezaur de monede callatiene din perioada autonomiei*, SCN 4 (1968), p. 103-125; Idem, *La diffusion des monnaies d'Istros, Callatis et Tomi du VI<sup>e</sup> au I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C. dans leurs territoires, zones d'influence et ailleurs*, în *Presenza e funzioni della moneta nelle chorai delle colonie greche dall'Iberia al Mar Nero*, Roma, 2004, p. 37-40.

*Conclusions*

The above-mentioned analysis criteria have had in common the archaeological contexts at Albești. The chronologies proposed for different production centres could be verified individually (or for only one class), as well as at group level (or for many classes)<sup>36</sup>.

As regarding the first aspect, the materials discovered at Albești confirm the stability inside a group or a class (Herakleian stamps included into the group IV, for example or Sinopean stamps included in the groups V and VI). The same feature can be also observed on the Rhodian eponyms stamps from period II.

At the level of many classes, we can speak about compatibility only for limited sequences of time: among the stamps from Herakleia Pontike, the late II and III groups-and those from Thasos, the period G; Herakleia Pontike, the group IV-Thasos, the groups VII and VIII; Rhodos, the periods I c and II b –Sinope, the groups VI B, C and D.

From a technical point of view, the record of the depths where various items were discovered can be used as an argument to date them or for varying slightly some chronological successions.

The amphora stamp used as element to date archaeological contexts proves to be a method almost as sure and useful (as well as the Attic ceramics, for example, or the coins).

Tabl. I. Incidences of the names: Thasos – Herakleia Pontike

No. ord.	Thasos		Herakleia Pontike		Archaeological context
	Names	Group	Names	Group	
1.	[Πυλάδης]   [κερ] α[μάρχης] Πυθίων	*(o.s.) G 2 (345-335)	[Ἡρα]κλίδας [Ἄττης	late gr. II	SA, c. 49-56, -0,70 m
2-3.	Νικίας [Π]ρωτίων	(o.s.) G 2 (345-335)	Ἀπολλώνιος	late gr. III	SD, c. 92, -0,70 m
			ἐπὶ Σατύρο(υ) ἐπὶ Σκύθα Ἡρακλείδα	late gr. III	

<sup>36</sup> For an analysis of Sinopean and Rhodian stamps discovered in two different settlements, but partially contemporary, see A. Avram, *De la concordance chronologique entre les astynomes sinopéens du sous-groupe VI D et les eponyms rhodiens de la période II B*, Eirene XLVI, 2010, p. 168-175.

\* We refer here only at discoveries from Albești.

\* o.s. = old style stamps; n.s. = new style stamps.

4.	Δέαλκος	* (n.s.) V (309-300)	Μένιππος	gr. IV	SC, c. 49-50
5.	Κρατίνος	(n.s.) VI (299-295)	Ἀριστόβουλος	gr. IV	SB, c. 37
6.	[Πυ]θίων	(n.s.) VII (294-288)	Ἀριστοκράτης	gr. IV	SC, c. 44, -0,90 m
7.	Ἀριστοφῶν	(n.s.) VIII (287-282)	Φιλότιμος	gr. IV	SB, c. 17
			Νικόστρατος	gr. IV	
8.	Νικόδημος	(n.s.) VIII (287-282)	Φιλότιμος	gr. IV	SA, c. 53, -0,60-0,40 m
9.	Πουλυάδης	(n.s.) VIII (287-282)	Ἀριστοκράτης	gr. IV	SA, c. 13
10.	Χαιρέας	(n.s.) IX (281-273)			
11.	Ἰδνάδης	(n.s.) X cca. 266	Νικόστρατος	gr. IV	SB, c. 63
			Φιλότιμος	gr. IV	

Tabl. II. Incidences of the names: Sinope (astynoms) – Rhodos (eponyms)

Sinope		Rhodos		Archaeological context
Group	Astynoms	Period	Eponyms	
VI A	Καλλισθένης 2 Ἐστιαίου	II b	Αἰσχυλίνος	SA, c. 21
	Φαίνιππος	II a	Δαήμων	SB, c. 7, -0,55 m
VI B	Χορηγίων Λεωμέδοντος	II a	Καλλικρατίδας I	SB, c. 151, -0,75 m
	Πυθόχρηστος Ἀπολλωνίδου	II a	Νίκων	SB, c. 33, -0,35 m
	Ἀντίπατρος 1 Νίκωνος	II a	Νίκων	SB, c. 13, -0,50 m
		II b	Αἰσχυλίνος	SA, c. 21

	Ποσίδειος 2 Θεαρίωνος	I c	Πειθιάδας	SA, c. 53, -0,50 m	
	Μαντίθεος 2 Πρωταγόρου	II a	Τιμοκλείδας	SB, c. 81, -0,50 m	
VI C 1	Πασιχάρης 2 Δημητρίου	II a	Παυσανίας I	SB, c. 28, -0,90 m	
	Πρωταγόρης 2 Κυνίσκου	II b	Πολυκράτης	SB, c. 27, -0,50-0,70 m	
II b		Ξενοφάντος I			
VI C 2	Λεωμέδων Ἐπιδήμου	II a	Καλλικρατίδας I	SB, c. 24, -0,28-0,40 m	
		II a	Εὐκλῆς II	SB, c. 6, -0,70 m	
	Φήμιος Θεοπείδου	I c	Πειθιάδας	SA, c. 53	
		I c	Πολύχαρμος	SA, c. 38	
		II a	Εὐκλῆς II	SA, c. 38	
		II a	Καλλικρατίδας I	SB, c. 151	
	SB, c. 38				
	Βόρυς 2 Ζεύξιος	I c	Πολύχαρμος	SA, c. 38	
			II a	Παυσανίας I	SB, c. 34, -0,60 m
			II a	Δαήμων	SB, c. 7
			II a	Καλλικρατίδας I	SA, c. 38
			II a	Εὐκλῆς II	SA, c. 38
			II a	Νίκων	SB, c. 13, -0,40 m
	Ἴππων Διονυσίου	II a	Παυσανίας I	SB, c. 48	
VI D	Ἰκέσιος 5 Ἐτεονίκου	II a	Εὐκλῆς II	SB, c. 7, -0,55 m	
		II a	Δαήμων	SB, c. 7, -0,55 m	

		II a	Παυσανίας I	SB, c. 48
Ίκέσιος 6 Αντιπάτρου		II a	Παυσανίας I	SB, c. 48
				SB, c. 34, -0,60 m
Ίφιος 3 Έστιαίου		II a	Παυσανίας I	SB, c. 48
		II a	Δαήμων	SB, c. 7
Μνήσις 2 Φορμίωνος		II a	Παυσανίας I	SB, c. 48
		II b	Σιμυλίνος	SB, c. 8
Μικρίας 3 Αρισταγόρου		II a	Εὐκλῆς II	SB, c. 6, -0,70 m
		II b	Πολυκράτης	SB, c. 27, -0,50-0,70 m
		II b	Ξενόφαντος I	
Υγλος Φιλίσκου		II a	Φιλωνίδας	SB, c. 37
		II a	Παυσανίας I	SB, c. 34, -0,60 m
Άπολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου		II a	Τιμοκλείδας	SB, c. 54, -0,30-0,50 m
		II a	Δαήμων	SB, c. 7, -0,60 m
		II a	Παυσανίας I	SB, c. 34, -0,60 m
				SB, c. 48
		II b	Πολυκράτης	SB, c. 27, -0,50-0,70 m
				SB, c. 54
		II b	Ξενόφαντος I	SB, c. 27, -0,50-0,70 m
		II b	Όνάσανδρος	SB, c. 65

Tabl. III: Incidences of the names: Rhodos (fabricants) - Sinope (astynoms)

Rhodos - fabricants	Sinope - astynoms	Group	Context
Μέντωρ	Μητρόδωρος 1 Ἀρισταγόρου	VI A	SC, c. 61
	Ἀντίπατρος 1 Νίκωνος	VI B	SB, c. 78, -0,60 m
	Πλεισταρχίδης Ἀπημάντου	VI C 2	SA, c. 45, -0,20 m
	Ἴφρις 3 Ἐστιαίου	VI D	SC, c. 61, -0,85 m
	Ἀπολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου	VI D	SC, c. 61, -0,83 m
	Μητρόδωρος 2 Ἀθηνίππου	VI D	SC, c. 61, -0,85 m
Ξενότιμος	Ζῆνις Ἀπολλοδώρου	VI B	SB, c. 13 SB, c. 23
	Ἀντίπατρος 1 Νίκωνος	VI B	SB, c. 13
	Ἰκέσιος 3 Βακχίου	VI B	SC, c. 59, -0,85 m
	Ποσίδειος 2 Θεαρίωνος	VI B	SB, c. 23, -0,50 m
	Πρωταγόρης 2 Κυνίσκου	VI C 1	SB, c. 2
	Διονύσιος 5 Ἀπημάντου	VI C 2	SB, c. 23, -0,45 m
	Βόρυς 2 Ζεύξιος	VI C 2	SB, c. 23, -0,40 m
			SB, c. 13, -0,40 m
	Ἰκέσιος 6 Ἀντιπάτρου	VI D	SB, c. 2, -0,45 m
Ἴφρις 3 Ἐστιαίου	VI D	SB, c. 2, -0,45 m	

	Απολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου	VI D	SB, c. 2, -0,45 m
Αρτεμίδωρος	Ζήνις Απολλοδώρου	VI B	SB, c. 47
	Λεωμέδων Ἐπιδήμου	VI C 2	SB, c. 6, -0,70 m
	Ἰκέσιος 5 Ἐτεονίκου	VI D	SB, c. 6, -0,70 m
	Ἴφις 3 Ἐστιαίου	VI D	SB, c. 47, -0,25 m
	Μικρίας 3 Ἀρισταγόρου	VI D	SB, c. 6, -0,70 m
Παυσανίας II	Απολλόδωρος 3 Διονυσίου	VI B	SA, c. 42
	Ποσίδειος 2 Θεαρίωνος	VI B	SE, c. 48
	Θηρικλῆς Ἀπολλωνίου	VI C 2	SA, c. 33, -0,10 m
	Ἰκέσιος 5 Ἐτεονίκου	VI D	SB, c. 35, -0,60 m
	Ἰκέσιος 6 Ἀντιπάτρου	VI D	SB, c. 35, -0,60 m
			SE, c. 48, -0,70 m
	Μητρόδωρος 2 Ἀθηνίππου	VI D	SB, c. 35
	Πόσις 3 Στρατονίκου	VI D	SB, c. 35
Ἀριστοκλῆς I	Ἰόβακχος Μολπαγόρου	VI B	SB, c. 139, -0,40 m
	Λεωμέδων Ἐπιδήμου	VI C 2	SB, c. 134, -0,40 m
	Ἡρακλείδης 2 Ἐκαταίου	VI C 2	SB, c. 134, -0,40 m

Κρέων	Μιλτιάδης Τεισάνδρου	V A	SB, c. 58, -0,65 m
	Ἀντίμαχος 2 Θεοπείδου	V B	SB, c. 25, -0,45 m
	Ποσίδειος 2 Θεαρίωνος	VI B	SB, c. 58, -0,65 m
	Πρωταγόρης 2 Κυνίσκου	VI C 2	SB, c. 27, -0,50-0,70 m
	Φήμιος 3 Θεοπείδου	VI C 2	SB, c. 25, -0,50 m
	Μικρίας 3 Ἀρισταγόρου	VI D	SB, c. 27, -0,50-0,70 m
	Ἀπολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου	VI D	SB, c. 27
Δαμόνικος	Μαντίθεος 2 Πρωταγόρου	VI B	SA, c. 1
	Ἴφρις 3 Ἐστιαίου	VI D	SA, c. 1
Εὐφρων	Πρωταγόρης 2 Κυνίσκου	VI C 1	SB, c. 27, -0,50-0,70 m
	Μικρίας 3 Ἀρισταγόρου	VI D	SB, c. 27, -0,50-0,70 m
	Ἀπολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου	VI D	SB, c. 27, -0,50-0,70 m
Σωτήριχος II	Λεωμέδων Ἐπιδήμου	VI C 2	SB, c. 6, -0,70 m
	Ἰκέσιος 5 Ἐτεονίκου	VI D	SB, c. 6, -0,70 m
	Μικρίας 3 Ἀρισταγόρου	VI D	SB, c. 6, -0,70 m
Σάμος	Ἰκέσιος 5 Ἐτεονίκου	VI D	SB, c. 35, -0,45 m
	Ἰκέσιος 6 Ἀντιπάτρου	VI D	SC, c. 65
			SB, c. 35
Ἴφρις 3 Ἐστιαίου	VI D	SC, c. 65	

	Απολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου	VI D	SC, c. 65
	Μητρόδωρος 2 Αθηνίππου	VI D	SB, c. 35
	Πόσις 3 Στρατονίκου	VI D	SB, c. 35
Ελλάνικος	Ίκέσιος 5 Έτεονίκου	VI D	SB, c. 53
	Ίκέσιος 6 Αντιπάτρου	VI D	SB, c. 53
Θεύδωρος	Ίκέσιος 6 Αντιπάτρου	VI D	SC, c. 65
	Ίφις 3 Έστιαίου	VI D	SC, c. 65
			SB, c. 53-54
			SB, c. 49
	Απολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου	VI D	SC, c. 65
Δίσκος I	Ίκέσιος 6 Αντιπάτρου	VI D	SC, c. 65
	Ίφις 3 Έστιαίου	VI D	SC, c. 65
	Απολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου	VI D	SC, c. 65
Δαμάτριος	Ίκέσιος 6 Αντιπάτρου	VI D	SB, c. 2, -0,45 m
	Ίφις 3 Έστιαίου	VI D	SB, c. 2, -0,45 m
	Απολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου	VI D	SB, c. 2, -0,45 m
Μνησίθεος	Απολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου	VI D	SB, c. 65, -0,42 m

Table IV. Archaeological contexts (with depths for different amphora stamps)

**SB, c. 91**

-0,95 m Herakleia Pontike (late gr. II): Ήρόδωρος/Εὐφραῖος

-0,58 m Herakleia Pontike (gr. IV): Ἀριστοκράτης

-0,35 m Herakleia Pontike (gr. IV): Διονύσιος

**SD, c. 95**

- 0,95 m Herakleia Pontike (late gr. III): Απολλώνιος/ἐπὶ Σατύρου  
-0,83 m Herakleia Pontike (late gr. III): Ἀρίστων/ἐπὶ Σκύθα  
-0,53 m Herakleia Pontike (gr. IV): Νικόστρατος

**SC, c. 49-50**

- 0,70 m Thasos (o.s.; gr. G 2): Πυλάδης/κεραμάρχης/Πυθίων  
-0,50 m Herakleia Pontike (gr. IV): Μένιππος  
-0,15 m Sinope (s.-gr. VI D): Απολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου

**SC, c. 66-49**

- 0,75 m Herakleia Pontike (gr. IV): Νικόστρατος  
-0,35 m Sinope (gr. VI D): Απολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου

**SA, c. 30**

- 0,60 m Herakleia Pontike (late gr. II): Απολλω(...)/Φίλο(...)  
-0,30 m Thasos (n.s.; incomplete)  
-0,15 m Sinope (s.-gr. VI A): Πόσις 2 Δαΐσκου

**SB, c. 16**

- 0,65 m Sinope (s.-gr. VI C): Πασιχάρης 2 Δημητρίου  
Πρωταγόρας 2 Κυνίσκου  
Λεωμέδων Ἐπιδήμου  
Ἰκέσιος 4 Σιμίου  
Ἰκέσιος 5 Ἐτεονίκου  
Μικρίας 3 Ἀρισταγόρου

**SB, c. 34**

- 0,80 m Herakleia Pontike (gr. IV): Ἀριστόβουλος  
-0,60 m Rhodos (II a): Πausanίας  
Sinope (VI C 2): Βόρυς 2 Ζεύξιος

Sinope (VI D): Ἰκέσιος 6 Αντιπάτρου

Ἀπολλωνίδης Ποσειδωνίου

Ἵλλος Φιλίσκου

-0,45 m Rhodos (II c): Εὐφράνωρ

### SA, c. 60

-0,68 m Herakleia Pontike (late gr. II)

-0,55 m Rhodos (I b): Ἀρίσταρχος

-0,50 m Rhodos (II a): Τιμοκλείδας

### SA, c. 52

-0,80 m Thasos (o. s.): Τελέας

-0,60 m Herakleia Pontike (late gr. II)

-0,55 m Sinope (s.-gr. C 1): Ἀνθεστήριος Νουμηνίου

### SA, c. 49-56

-0,90 m Herakleia Pontike (late gr. II)

-0,60-0,75 m Herakleia Pontike (gr. IV): Ἀριστοκράτης

-0,70 m Thasos (o. s.; G 2): Πυθίων I

-0,50 m Rhodos (I c): Σθενέλας

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## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF POTTERY FROM ROMAN SETTLEMENT AT CIOROIU NOU, DOLJ COUNTY

GAMUREAC Ștefan - Emilian \*

**Abstract.** *The work presents some archaeological discoveries from Cioroiu Nou, Dolj County, for a better understanding of the characteristics and shapes of roman pottery from this site.*

**Keywords:** *Roman pottery, colour, shape, fabric.*

The analyzed pottery was discovered in 2010, during the archaeological excavations from Roman settlement at Cioroiu Nou, Dolj County, S4, h - 0, 50 m - 0, 70 m, in a context dated between the end of 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the beginning of 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, and it is located in the custody of Museum of Oltenia, Craiova.<sup>1</sup>

Over the time, archaeological and theoretical researches have been done at Cioroiul Nou by personalities of Romanian archaeology, starting with CS. Nicolaescu-Plopșor in 1938, D. Tudor, G. Popilian and D. Bondoc,<sup>2</sup> their valuable work enriching the information about this important archaeological site.

By this paper, I did not intend to create new categories of roman pottery, but to integrate the specific local tradition into the main 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century standardized Roman pottery.

The entire Roman pottery fragments, concerning traditional technologies, are wheel made. By the colour or paste code<sup>3</sup> I was able to distinguish two major types of burning, as a result of fabrication technologies: reductive burning, for the gray colour pottery and oxidative burning for the red colour pottery, each one showing various nuances. The colour of each vessel has been described both by Munsell<sup>4</sup> code identification, as by free description. In case there is a major colour difference, I have noted inclusively the distinction between the paste colour and the pottery surface treatment (slip).

As far as red colour nuances are concerned, the pottery is fabricated from a paste by colour Munsell 2.5 YR 6/8 light red, 2.5 YR 5/8 red, 2.5 YR 4/8 red, 7.5 YR 8/6 reddish yellow. The gray

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\*Superior Inspector, PhD, Ministry of Culture, Romania.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Dr. Dorel Bondoc, the head of archaeological team from Roman settlement at Cioroiu Nou, for giving me the opportunity to study the present pottery.

<sup>2</sup> Tudor, Dumitru, *Oltenia Romană*, București, 1968, pp. 214-216; Bondoc Dorel, *Cioroiu Nou. 100 descoperiri arheologice*, Craiova, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> For an accurate analysis of paste types, as for a standardization of the functional categories, Rusu-Bolindeț, Viorica, *Ceramica romană de la Napoca. Contribuții la studiul ceramicii din Dacia romană*, Cluj Napoca, 2007 pp. 57-65.

<sup>4</sup> *Munsell Soil Color Charts* 1994, Revised Edition.

nuances are often represented by Munsell 10R 3/1 dark reddish gray, 2.5YR 4/1 dark reddish gray, 5YR 5/2 reddish gray, to 2.5YR 2.5/1 reddish black.

From a total of 83 ceramic fragments, a number of 28 fragments representing 34 % from the total are reductive burned, with diverse gray nuances, and a number of 55 fragments of pottery, representing 66 % from the total are oxidative burned, presenting diverse red nuances.

From the point of view of fabric quality differences, we may distinguish the following main categories:

1. The fine fabric, a characteristic of oxidative burning, showing various red nuances, and generally containing silver mica, rarely micro fragments of limestone and occasionally iron oxide, the matrix presenting an average porosity level. Sometimes, from macroscopic analyses, a grainy aspect of matrix texture can be observed, especially at the fine vessel where the lack of clasts are predominant. The general appearance is of compact matrix, the result of a laborious process of selection and paste processing, before burning, followed by the surface treatment, usually with a slip by a darker nuance.
2. The semi - fine fabric characterizes an important part of the analysed lot, generally having the same characteristics as the fine fabric, but with a higher level of limestone and silicate/quartz, and no fossiliferous remains.
3. The coarse fabric generally results from the reductive burning (but not completely), the paste is gray and sometimes red, and the general appearance is of compact matrix with numerous clasts (sand, small fragments of stone, limestone and mica) with a low level of porosity, self slip and sometimes a slip of a darker nuance.

The main criterion of reference for the classification of types is the functionality of the wares. From the aspect of functionality, the analyzed pottery could be distributed in the following categories:

#### *Vasa escaria*

- dishes
- dishes/bowls
- bowls
- big bowls

#### *Vasa conquina(to)ria*

- pots made of coarse fabric for cooking
- pots made of fine fabric
- casseroles
- lids

## Vessels for food and drink storage

- *dolia*

*Vasa pota(to)ria*

- cups
- pitchers/amphoroidal pitchers

## Cult vessels

- *turribula*

As a first observation on the functionality of vessel, we can notice the absence of some specific categories of 2nd and 3rd century Roman vessels such as local and imported *terra sigillata*, stamped pottery, painted or pottery decorated *en barbotine*, suggesting a local origin of the analyzed pottery fragments, even though some of these categories have been already discovered at Cioroiu Nou.<sup>5</sup> The absence of other categories of Roman vessels, more or less usually used as plates, mugs, strainers or *mortaria*, combined with some resemblances between different types of pottery fabric, may conduct to the presumption that at least a part of the analyzed pottery comes from the same workshop, even a possible specialization of the local potters for some certain forms.

Even though in the specialized studies there is no total correspondence between the quality of the fabrics and the functionality of the Roman vessel, there are evidences for the classification of reductive burned coarse wares into the category of cooking vessels. From this perspective, the process of quality fabric selection by the potter was decisive, the fabric and the burning tradition being the first element for the estimation of the ware utilization and durability. Revising the fine fabric pots, oxidative burned, it is clear that they are less appropriate for a direct contact with fire, and more important, for resisting in sudden changes of temperature during the process of cooking. From our analyzed lot, there are little traces of secondary burning in the case of the fine red pots fragments, which could be a normal element of reutilization of the pot. Even so, the fine red pots have been included in the category of *vasa conquina(to)ria*, based on the previous specialized studies.<sup>6</sup>

I have placed in the catalogue two fragments as lids, included into the *vasa conquina(to)ria* category, for the reason of analogies, functionality of the fabric and shape of the vessel. Even assuming that lids had a button in the superior part, there are some variants without it; some types of food were not cooked on the open fire, but into the oven whose door was closed, making the button useless. For other reasons, presumably some lids could evolve from a dish used

<sup>5</sup> Bondoc Dorel, *idem*, Craiova 2010, pl. XVI.

<sup>6</sup> Popilian, Gheorghe, *Ceramica romană din Oltenia*, Craiova 1967, p. 91; Rusu-Bolindeț, Viorica, *ibidem*, p. 402.

as lid.<sup>7</sup> The coarse fabric, specific to cooking pots, and the shape of the ridge, curved inside, over the pot rim, making impossible slippage of this type of lid from the vessel during the boiling, are reasons for classifying these fragments of pottery as lids.

Because the terminology of classification of various types of big and small bowls, pots and dishes/bowls is far from being unitary for all the published roman pottery from Dacia, I intended a minimum conformity with the major works from archaeological domain. Without specific local examples, I included into the catalogue one example of fragment of casserole, because this ware, made of coarse clay, specific to the *vasa conquina(to)ria* category is characterized by the estimated height equal to the rim diameter.<sup>8</sup>

Categories	Forms	Number	%
<i>Vasa escaria</i>	Dishes	11	33 %
	dishes/bowls	14	
	Bowls	1	
	big bowls	1	
<i>Vasa conquina(to)ria</i>	cooking pots from gray coarse fabric	25	59 %
	pots from red fine fabric	20	
	Casseroles	1	
	Lids	3	
Vessels for storage	<i>Dolia</i>	3	4 %
<i>Vasa pota(to)ria</i>	Cups	1	2 %
	pitchers/ amphoroidal pitchers	1	
Cult vessels	<i>Turribula</i>	2	2 %

Since the analyzed fragments of pottery do not represent the total of pottery from a well defined /separated archaeological complex, I renounced to make a comparative analysis of the paste types with the functionality of the vessels, as it is useless in this stage of research. Even so, some characteristics of the various ceramics types are worth some short commentaries.

The fabric of the oxidative burned vessel has a fine or semi - fine purity being represented by the following forms: pots, dishes, bowls, cups, pitchers, *dolia* and *turribula*. This category represents the majority of the Roman pottery which has been analyzed at Cioroiu Nou. A single lid fragment is fabricated from a coarse ware oxidative burned.

<sup>7</sup> Hayes, J.W., *Late roman pottery*, London, 1972, p. 208-209.

<sup>8</sup> Opaît, Andrei, *Local and Imported Ceramics in the Roman Province of Scythia (4th – 6th centuries AD)*, BAR International Series 1274, 2004, p. 54.

The dishes and the bowls occupy an important place in the category of oxidative burned vessel, being grouped in three main types: dishes from a fine and semi - fine fabric with the flared and thickened rim, usually with a groove at the superior part and ring base, deep dishes from fine fabric with the flared rim and flat on the top and deep dishes made from a fine or semi – fine fabric with a thickened and drawn out rim. Other categories of the open forms made from the same fabric are bowls from a fine fabric with vertical rim and body slightly curved over the exterior and a big bowl from a fine fabric with the thickened and shaped rim.

The pots are divided into the following types: pots with two handles, flat rim on the top and cylindrical neck, pots from fine and semi - fine red fabric with two handles and vertical rim, decorated on the exterior with groves and the rim has a shallow concavity for the lid, pots from a fine and semi – fine red fabric with two handles, vertical rim on the exterior and usually decorated with grooves, having a concavity on the interior for the lid and pots of high capacity from a semi - fine red fabric, with a high and inclined rim on the exterior, showing on the interior a shallow concavity for the lid – this type looks more like a jar.

The gray pottery reductively burned is largely represented by cooking pots, casseroles and lids. From the entire analyzed pottery fragments, only two gray fragments could be described as having a semi – fine fabric, and for the rest of the gray reductively burned pottery, the fabric is coarse. Into the *vasa conquina(to)ria* category, the coarse pottery is on the first place, a tendency of using this fabric for cooking being noticed.

The repertory of forms is less diverse, noting few pot variants, among pots with thickened rim and concavity for the lid, pots with flared flat rim on the top, without neck, globular body, pots with right rim, obliquely inclined to exterior, pots with flared, thickened and rounded rim, without cavity for the lid. Other types of pots have a flat rim on the top and a funnel neck and globular body, and respectively pots with flat rim on the top, without neck and globular body. A casserole and two lids complete the types of reductive burned pottery.

The comparison of the Roman types of pottery has been generally done by references to closer analogies from Roman province of Dacia, especially from the Oltenia region, without neglecting older or newer discoveries from the south of Danube, taking into account the relative small distance of 20 km between the Roman settlement from Cioroiu Nou and the Danube.

In the catalogue, I used the following abbreviations:

d. - diameter

p. h. – preserved rim

p. h. - preserved high

## Catalogue

### I. *Vasa escaria*

#### 1. Dishes

**Dishes from fine and semi-fine fabric with flared and thickened rim, usually with a groove on the top, carinated body, ring base.**

**Analogies: Popilian 1976, type 6, p. 125, pl. LXX/864; Gudea 1972, p. 47, pl. XVIII/5; Tamba 2008, fig. VI.4.17; Man 2011, pl. CIV/85; Rusu-Bolindeț, Cociș, 2006, fig. 17/85**

**1.** fragment of rim, p. h. 4 cm, rim d. 19,5 cm, semi - fine fabric containing silver mica and limestone fragments, pale red colour, self slip, average porosity, Munsell 2.5 YR 6/8 light red

**2.** fragment of rim, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 30 cm, semi - fine fabric containing clasts such as fine particles of quartz, silver mica and limestone, brick - pale red colour, traces of red-brown slip, average porosity, Munsell 2.5YR 5/8 red

**3.** fragment of rim, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 30,5 cm, semi – fine fabric with silver mica and stone fragments, granulated, average porosity matrix, dark brick colour self slip, secondarily burned, Munsell 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow

**4.** fragment of rim, p. h. 4 cm, r. d. 24 cm, semi-fine fabric with silver mica and limestone, red brick colour, self slip on the interior of the body, traces of red slip on the exterior, Munsell 10 R 5/8 red

**5.** fragment of rim, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 30 cm, semi-fine fabric with rare silver mica and limestone particles, average porosity, granulated, brick colour, brown slip on the interior and the exterior of the body, Munsell 2,5YR 4/8 red

**6.** fragment of rim, p. h. 4 cm, r. d. 26 cm, semi – fine fabric, low porosity with silver mica and rare limestone fragments, brick colour and red slip on the exterior, secondarily burned on the exterior, Munsell 2.5YR light red

**7.** fragment of rim, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 30 cm, fine beige fabric with silver mica and black micro-particles, dark beige slip, Munsell 5YR 5/6 yellowish red

**8.** fragment of rim, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 27 cm, semi-fine brick colour fabric containing rare silver mica and limestone small fragments, reddish slip, Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 light red

**9.** fragment of bottom, p. h. 2,5 cm, base d. 10 cm, semi-fine light brick colour fabric with silver mica and limestone fragments, self slip, average porosity due to burning micro-fractures, Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 light red

**10.** fragment of rim, p. h. 2 cm, r. d. 25 cm, fine compact fabric with limestone particles, iron oxide and silver mica, beige colour, gray slip, secondarily burned, Munsell 10 R 3/2 dusky red

11. fragment of dish/bowl rim, p. h. 3 cm, r. d. 30 cm, fine light brick fabric with silver mica, iron oxide and limestone fragments, self slip, homogenous compact appearance of the paste, Munsell 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow

**Dishes/bowls with flared rim on the exterior, flat on the top, carinated body**

**Analogies: Popilian p. 125, type 7, pl. LXX/875-876 (second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.), Brukner 1981, T83/59 (bowl), Bolindeț 2007, pl. LXXXIX/519-520 (bowl)**

12. rim fragment of a dish/bowl, p. h. 4 cm, r. d. 22 cm, compact fine light red fabric with iron oxide and silver mica, red slip, Munsell fabric 2.5YR 6/8 light red and the slip 10 R 4/8 red

13. rim and median part of body of a dish/bowl, p. h. 5 cm, r. d. 24 cm, fine compact fabric with rare limestone fragments, brick-pink colour, light brown slip on the both sides of the body, Munsell fabric 2.5YR 7/6 light red and the slip 5 YR 4/6 yellowish red

14. rim fragment of dish, p. h. 5,5 cm, r. d. 24 cm, compact fine fabric, brick – light red colour, self slip, Munsell 2.5 YR 6/8 light red

**Dishes/bowls from fine or semi-fine fabric with thickened stretched rim to outside**

**Analogies: Popilian 1997, fig. 31/5; Man 2011, p. 160, pl. CVII/103 (bowl); Gudea 1972, p. 46, pl. XV/2; Gudea 1996, p. 219, pl. XXXII/7 (bowl); Brukner 1981, T.71/17; Mușețeanu 2003, p. 62, type 4, pl. 26/265 (second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.)**

15. rim fragment of a dish/bowl, p. h. 3 cm, r. d. 28 cm (on the inside), fine fabric with silver mica and rare limestone fragments, low porosity. The colour is brick, self slip, Munsell 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow

16. rim fragment of a dish/bowl, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 26 cm, fine compact fabric with silver mica, limestone and black micro-particles, brick colour, self slip, Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 light red

17. rim fragment of a bowl, p. h. 5 cm, r. d. 33 cm, semi-fine fabric with silver mica and rarely lithic particles, brick colour, red slip, secondarily burned on the outside, Munsell 2.5YR 4/6 red

18. rim fragment of a dish/bowl, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 20 cm, fine fabric with rare limestone particles, beige colour, brown slip, medium porosity, Munsell fabric 5YR 5/8 yellowish red and the slip 5YR 4/4 reddish brown

19. rim fragment of a dish/bowl, p. h. 5,5 cm, r. d. 28 cm, fine compact fabric with rare sparkles of silver mica and limestone particles, low porosity, limestone deposits on the body, light red colour, reddish - brown slip, Munsell fabric 2.5YR 6/8 pale red and the slip 2.5YR red

20. rim fragment of a dish/bowl, p. h. 4 cm, r. d. 30 cm, fine granulated fabric with silver mica and rare limestone fragments, pale red colour, red slip, Munsell fabric 2.5YR 6/8 light red and the slip 2.5YR 5/8 red

21. rim fragment of a dish/bowl, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 27 cm, fine compact fabric with silver mica and limestone fragments, pale red colour, red slip, Munsell fabric 2.5YR 6/8 light red and the slip 2.5YR 5/8 red
22. rim fragment of a dish/bowl, p. h. 6 cm, r. d. 30 cm, semi-fine compact fabric with silver mica and limestone, pale red colour, self slip, Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 light red
23. rim fragment of a dish/bowl, p. h. 5 cm, r. d. 20 cm, semi-fine, rough fabric with silver mica and white and red particles, porous, beige colour, self slip, Munsell 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow
24. rim fragment of a dish/bowl, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 27 cm, semi-fine, compact fabric with rare limestone and iron oxide, pale red colour, brick-red slip, Munsell fabric 2.5YR 6/8 light red and the slip 5YR 5/6 yellowish red
25. rim fragment of a dish/bowl, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 26 cm, fine compact fabric with silver mica, pale red colour, red slip, Munsell fabric 10R 5/8 red and the slip 10R 4/8 red

## 2. Bowls

### **Bowl from fine fabric with vertical rim and the body slightly curved on the outside**

**Analogies: Popilian 1976, pp.121-122, pl. LXV/794-795 – 2<sup>nd</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. (bowls type 6, larger than our bowl); Tamba 2008, LM3, fig. VI.5.13, Brukner 1981, T.56/42; Bolindeț 2007, bowls/cups type 5A, pl. LXXXIX/522; Suceveanu 2000, pp. 41-42, bowls type X, pl. 11/1**

26. bowl fragment, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 14 cm, fine compact fabric with rare limestone particles and silver mica, light red colour, brown slip, Munsell 2.5YR/2.5/4 dark reddish brown. This bowl is carefully made, contrasting with the majority of the rim fragments discovered in the area.

## 3. Big bowls

### **The fabric is fine, the rim is thickened and shaped**

**Analogies: Brukner 1981, T.95/186 (bowls); Popilian 1976, p. 119, pl. LXIII/770, big bowl type I variant c, p. 122, bowl type 7, pl. LXVI/801**

27. rim fragment of a big bowl, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 32 cm, fine slightly granulated fabric, pale red colour, brown slip, Munsell fabric 2.5YR 6/8 light red and the slip is 2.5YR 3/4 dark reddish brown

## II. *Vasa conquina(to)ria*

### 1. Cooking pots from coarse gray fabric

#### **Pots with thickened rim, concave on the inside for lid**

**Analogies: Bondoc 2010, p. 19; Bondoc, Gudea 2009, p. 174, pl. LIII/245; Tudor, Popilian, Bondoc, Gudea 2011, p. 173, Pl. XXI/81-82; Rusu-Bolindeț, Cociș 2006, fig. 22/114, 116; Gudea 1996, p. 214, pl. XX/5; Popilian, Bondoc, 2012, pl. CXXXV/1**

28. fragment of rim, p. h. 6,5 cm, r. d. 24 cm, gray coarse fabric, with lithic fragments and limestone, self slip, Munsell 10R 3/1 dark reddish gray
29. fragment of rim, p. h. 3 cm, r. d. 20 cm, gray coarse fabric, with lithic fragments, silver mica and limestone, self slip, Munsell 10R 3/1 dark reddish gray
30. fragment of rim, p. h. 5,5 cm, r. d. 19 cm, gray coarse rough fabric, with limestone fragments, self slip, Munsell 5YR 5/2 reddish gray
31. fragment of rim, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 22 cm, gray compact coarse fabric, rough, homogenous, with limestone fragments in composition, Munsell 5YR 6/2 pinkish gray
32. fragment of rim, p. h. 4 cm, r. d. 18 cm, coarse rough fabric, with limestone fragments and sand, gray colour, self slip, Munsell 2.5YR 2.5/1 reddish black
33. fragment of rim, p. h. 4 cm, r. d. 16 cm, coarse fabric, rough, with silver mica, black micro - particles and limestone, gray colour, self slip, Munsell 2.5YR 4/1 dark reddish gray
34. fragment of rim, p. h. 3 cm, r. d. 16 cm, coarse rough fabric, with lithic fragments and silver mica, gray colour, self slip, Munsell 2.5YR 4/1 dark reddish gray
35. fragment of rim, p. h. 2,5 cm, r. d. 8,5 cm, coarse rough fabric, with small stones, sand and limestone, gray colour, self slip, Munsell 2.5YR 4/1 dark reddish gray
36. fragment of rim, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 14 cm, coarse rough granulated fabric, with limestone silver mica and black particles, gray colour, self slip, Munsell 10 R 4/1 dark reddish gray
37. fragment of rim, p. h. 2,5 cm, r. d. 15 cm, coarse rough fabric, with lithic fragments, gray colour, self slip, Munsell 5YR4/1 dark gray
38. fragment of rim, p. h. 4 cm, r. d. 26 cm, coarse rough fabric, with sand and silver mica, gray colour, self slip, Munsell 2.5YR 5/1 reddish gray
39. fragment of rim, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 21 cm, coarse gray fabric, with limestone and sand particles, self slip, Munsell 2.5YR 5/1 reddish gray
40. fragment of rim, p. h. 2,5 cm, r. d. 18 cm, coarse rough fabric, with limestone and sand particles, gray colour, self slip, Munsell 2.5YR 6/1 reddish gray
41. fragment of rim, p. h. 2,5 cm, r. d. 20 cm, coarse rough fabric, with lithic particles, gray colour, self slip Munsell 10 R 4/1 dark reddish gray
42. fragment of rim, p. h. 5,5 cm, r. d. 17 cm, coarse fabric, with lithic particles, gray - reddish colour, self slip, Munsell 2.5YR 5/2 weak red

**Pots with flared rim on the outside, flat on top, without neck, globular body**

**Analogies: Brukner 1981, T.124/160; Popilian 1976, p. 179, type 3, pl. XXXIV/332; Bondoc 2010, pl. 6/1**

**43.** fragment of rim, p. h. 2 cm, r. d. 15 cm, semi-fine rough fabric with limestone, gray colour, self slip, secondarily burned, Munsell 10 R 3/1 dark reddish gray

**Pots with right rim, oblique inclined to outside**

**Analogies: Popilian 1976, p. 89, type 11, pl. XXXVI/365-366; Gudea 1996, p. 209, pl. XIII/3**

**44.** fragment of rim, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 16 cm, semi-fine rough fabric with sparkles of silver mica, and rarely black particles, light gray colour, self slip, secondarily burned on the inside and outside, Munsell 10YR 8/4 very pale brown

**Pots with flared rim on the outside, thickened and rounded, without concavity for the lid**

**Analogies: Bondoc 2010, pl. 19; Popilian 1967, p. 87, type 3, pl. XXXIV/339, Bondoc, Gudea 2009, pl. XLV/201**

**45.** fragment of rim, p. h. 3 cm, r. d. 18 cm, coarse rough fabric with small lithic particles and silver mica, gray colour, self slip, Munsell 7.5YR 4/1 dark gray

**46.** fragment of rim, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 20 cm, coarse rough fabric with small lithic particles, gray colour, self slip, secondarily burned on the outside, Munsell 10YR 3/1 very dark gray

**47.** fragment of rim, p. h. 2 cm, r. d. 16 cm, coarse rough fabric with silver mica, small lithic black particles, gray colour, self slip, Munsell 10YR 3/1 very dark gray

**Pots with flat rim on the top, neck funnel, globular body**

**Analogies: Bondoc, Gudea 2010, pl. XLIII/197 (first half of the 3rd century A.D.); Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, pots type 10E, pl. XCVI/574; Alicu, Cociș, Ilieș, Soroceanu 1994, pl. 72/992; Gudea 1996, pl. XVIII/7**

**48.** fragment of rim, p. h. 3 cm, r. d. 22 cm, coarse rough fabric with limestone, sand and silver mica, gray colour, self slip, secondarily burned on the outside, Munsell 10YR 5/1 gray

**49.** fragment of rim, p. h. 2 cm, r. d. 26 cm, coarse fabric with iron oxide, limestone particles and silver mica, light beige colour, self slip, secondarily burned on the outside, flat handle decorated with grooves, Munsell 10YR 8/4 very pale brown

**50.** rim fragment of a pot or casserole, p. h. 2,5 cm, r. d. 31 cm, coarse fabric with stone particles and silver mica, gray colour, self slip, Munsell 5YR 5/1 gray

**Pots with flat rim on the top, without neck and globular body**

**Analogies: Gudea 1996, pl. XV/1; Popilian 1976, jars type 4, pl. XXXV/344; Brukner 1981, T. 124/154, 163**

**51.** fragment of rim, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 13 cm, coarse fabric with stone particles and silver mica, gray colour, self slip, secondarily burned on the outside, Munsell 7.5YR 7/1 light gray

52. fragment of rim, p. h. 2,5 cm, r. d. 20 cm, coarse fabric with limestone particles, gray colour, self slip, Munsell 7.5YR 7/1 light gray

## **2. Red pots from fine and semifine fabric**

**The fabric is fine or semi-fine, the colour is red, the pots have flat rim on the top and two handles, the neck is funnel shape. One single pot has ovoid, grooved handle**

**Analogies: Popilian 1976, pots with two handles, type 4, pl. XXXIX/402, 403, 405 (first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.); Tudor, Popilian, Bondoc, Gudea 2011, p. 175, pl. XXIV/99; Bondoc, Gudea 2009, p. 172, pl. XLIX/225-226**

53. rim and neck fragment from a pot, p. h. 7,5 cm, r. d. 19 cm, fine compact fabric with silver mica sparkles and limestone, pale red colour, red-brown slip, Munsell 7.5YR 8/6 reddish yellow

54. rim fragment, p. h. 5,5 cm, r. d. 14 cm, fine fabric with silver mica, pale brick colour, red-brown slip on the outside, Munsell 7.5YR 8/6 reddish yellow

55. rim fragment, p. h. 5,5 cm, r. d. 15 cm, semi-fine fabric with silver mica, limestone and red and black particles, pale red colour, red slip on the outside, Munsell fabric 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow and the slip 2.5YR 4/6 red

56. rim fragment, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 17 cm, fine fabric with limestone, low porosity, pale red colour, red – brown slip on the inside, Munsell fabric 2.5YR 6/8 light red and the slip 5YR 4/6 yellowish red

57. rim fragment, p. h. 3 cm, r. d. 16 cm, fine compact fabric with limestone, low porosity, pale red colour, red slip on the outside, oval grooved handle, Munsell fabric 2.5YR 6/8 light red and the slip 2.5YR 5/8 red

58. rim fragment and median part from a pot, p. h. 8 cm, r. d. 24 cm, fine compact fabric with silver mica and limestone, pale reddish colour, brown slip on the rim, Munsell 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow

**The fabric is fine or semi – fine, the pot has vertical rim and two handles, decorated with small grooves on the outside, the rim has a concavity on the interior part for the lid**

**Analogies: Popilian 1976, pots with two handles type 4 (variant) pl. XL/407; Popilian 1997, pl. 40/1; Brukner 1981, T. 103/5, Varbanov, Dragoev, 2012, pl. XII/06**

59. rim fragment of a pot, p. h. 5 cm, r. d. 18 cm, fine compact fabric with white and black particles, pale red colour, brown slip on the outside, Munsell fabric 2.5YR 6/8 light red and the slip 2.5YR 3/6 dark red

60. rim fragment of a pot, p. h. 3 cm, r. d. 16 cm, fine compact fabric with rare silver mica sparkles and black particles, pale red colour, self slip, Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 light red

61. rim fragment of a pot, p. h. 4 cm, r. d. 16 cm, fine compact fabric, pale red colour, exfoliated, traces of reddish slip, Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 light red
62. rim fragment of a pot, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 18 cm, fine fabric with silver mica sparkles and limestone, red - brick colour, pale red slip on the outside, Munsell 2.5YR 7/8 light red
63. rim fragment of a pot, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 19 cm, fine compact fabric with red particles and silver mica sparkles, light red colour, brown slip on the outside, Munsell 2.5YR 8/8 light red
64. rim fragment of a pot, p. h. 3 cm, r. d. 20 cm, semi - fine fabric with limestone particles and silver mica sparkles, light red colour, brown slip on the outside, Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 light red
65. rim fragment of a pot, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 16 cm, fine compact fabric with limestone particles, pale red colour, brown slip on the outside, Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 light red
66. rim fragment of a pot, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 18 cm, fine fabric with limestone particles, pale red – brick colour, brown slip on the outside, Munsell 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow
67. rim fragment of a pot, p. h. 7 cm, r. d. 16 cm, semi - fine fabric with limestone, silver mica and red particles, pale red – brick colour, red slip on the outside, Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 light red

**Pots with two handles and vertical rim, decorated with small grooves on the outside, usually having a concavity for the lid. The body of pot is globular, without rim, the fabric is fine or semi fine.**

**Analogies: Popilian 1976, p. 91, pots with two handles, type 1, pl. XXXVIII/ 391-393**

68. rim fragment of a pot, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 22 cm, fine fabric with rare limestone particles, average porosity, pale red colour, reddish – brown slip on the outside, Munsell fabric 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow and the slip 5YR/5/8 yellowish red
69. rim fragment, p. h. 4 cm, r. d. 19 cm, semi-fine fabric with black particles, beige colour, brown slip on the outside and the superior part of the rim on the inside, secondarily burned on the outside, Munsell fabric 7.5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow and the slip 7.5YR 4/4 brown
70. rim fragment, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 28 cm, semi-fine homogenous, compact fabric with white and black particles, light red colour, brown slip on the outside and the superior part of the rim on the inside, Munsell fabric 7.5YR 5/3 brown and the slip 7.5YR 3/4 dark brown
71. rim fragment, p. h. 5 cm, r. d. 26 cm, semi-fine homogenous fabric with silver mica sparkles and white and red particles, average porosity, light red colour, brown slip on the outside, Munsell fabric 7.5YR 7/8 reddish yellow and the slip is 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown

**The fabric is red, semi-fine. The rim is high, inclined to outside, having a concavity on the inside for lid, the pot is similar to a jar.**

**Analogies: Popilian 1976, p. 182, jars type 11, pl. XXXVI/369; Gudea 1996, p. 213, pl. XIX/2; Diaconescu, Bota, Voișian 2006, fig 10/9**

72. rim and median part of a pot/jar, p. h. 6 cm, r. d. 20 cm, semi-fine fabric with limestone particles and silver mica sparkles, brick colour, self slip, Munsell 7.5YR 7/8 reddish yellow

### **3. Casseroles**

**Analogies: Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, big bowls type 8E, pl. XCIII/554; Opaț 2004, p. 54, variant I-B (casserole, for example is approximately, specific to a later period); Topoleanu 2000, pl. XXXVI/308; Böttger 1982, tafel 42/460**

73. rim fragment from a casserole, p. h. 3,5 cm, r. d. 16 cm, coarse fabric with small stone particles, light gray colour, self slip, the rim is flat on the top, rounded on the outside, Munsell 5YR 4/1 dark gray

### **4. Lids**

**Truncated cone shaped lid with round button**

**Analogies: Popilian 1976, type 1, Pl. LXXII/901; Rusu-Bolindeț, pl. XCVIII/596; Ciaușescu, Mustață 2009, pl. XVIII/7; Tudor, Popilian, Bondoc, Gudea 2011, pl. XXXII/145**

74. fragment of lid, button d. 5 cm, p. h. 2 cm, coarse fabric with small stone particles and silver mica sparkles, reddish – brick colour, Munsell 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow

**Lids with the edge turned inside. The fabric is coarse gray.**

**Analogies: Brukner 1981, T. 131/32-34; Uenze 1992, tafel 108/6-10; Bötger 1982, tafel 49/512**

75. fragmentary lid, d. 14 cm, p. h. 2,5 cm, coarse fabric with small stone particles, limestone and silver mica sparkles, light grey colour, traces of secondarily burning on the outside, Munsell 2.5YR 7/1 light reddish gray

76. fragmentary lid, d. 16 cm, p. h. 1,5 cm, coarse fabric with small stone particles and limestone, grey colour, traces of secondarily burning, Munsell 5YR 2.5/1 black

### **III. Vessels for storage**

***Dolia* wit rim diameter up to 30 cm**

**Analogies: Man 2011, p. 154, type 2, pl. XCIII/2; Brukner 1981, T. 128/22**

77. fragmentary rim of a *dolium*, p. h. 4 cm, r. d. 34 cm, semi-fine, compact fabric with limestone particles and silver mica sparkles, reddish - brick colour, brown - red slip on the outside and inside, the rim is flat and decorated with three grooves on the top, Munsell fabric 7.5YR 7/8 reddish yellow and the slip is 2.5YR 5/8 red

**78.** fragmentary rim of a *dolium*, p. h. 2,5 cm, r. d. 32 cm, semi-fine fabric with limestone particles and silver mica sparkles, reddish - brick colour, red slip on the outside and inside, the rim is flat and decorated with two grooves on the top, Munsell fabric 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow and the slip 2.5YR 5/8 red

**79.** fragmentary rim of a *dolium*, p. h. 2,5 cm, r. d. 34 cm, semi-fine fabric with limestone and black particles, reddish - brick colour, brown slip on the outside and inside, the rim is flat and decorated with two grooves on the top, rounded shaped on the outside, Munsell fabric 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow and the slip 2.5YR 5/8 red

#### **IV. *Vasa pota(to)ria***

##### **1. Cups**

**Analogies:** Popilian 1976, p. 207, pl. LX/737-739; Bondoc, Gudea 2009, p. 182, pl. LXIV/306; Man 2011, pl. CX/121

**80.** fragmentary rim from a cup, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 6 cm, fine red fabric with limestone and silver mica, brown slip on the outside and inside, Munsell fabric 7.5YR reddish yellow and the slip is 7.5YR 4/4 brown

##### **2. Pitchers / amphora pitchers**

**Analogies:** Man 2011, p. 156, pl. XCV/16, 18 (small amphora); Ciaușescu, Mustață 2009, pl. XIII/CX 16A - 1; Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, p. 425, (mug type 14 E) pl. CIII/628 – for a vessel with a considerably large rim diameter

**81.** fragmentary rim from a pitcher or table amphora, p. h. 4,5 cm, r. d. 8 cm, semi - fine red fabric with limestone black particles and silver mica, traces of brown slip on the rim and handles, oval handles, with grooves, Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 light red

#### **V. Cult vessels**

##### ***Turribula***

**Analogies:** Man 2011, p. 163, pl. CXI/4; Popilian 1997, pl. 36/1-5; Popilian 1976, pl. LXII/756; Alicu, Cociș, Ilieș, Soroceanu 1994, Pl. 70/977

**82.** fragment of median part of a hardly completed profile, possibly from a *turibullum*, p. h. 5 cm, semi-fine compact fabric with silver mica and rare limestone particles, brick – red colour, Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 light red

**83.** median part from a *turibullum*, p. h. 6,5 cm, beige fine fabric with black particles, average porosity, Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 light red

## VI. Various

### Ceramic tube for the oven oxygenation

**Analogies: Bondoc, Gudea 2009, p. 200, pl. LXXXVI/452-454**

**84.** fragment of a cylindrical tube, preserved length 6 cm, maximum diameter 6,5 cm, gray coarse fabric, porous with a high level of vitrifying – a microcrystalline vitreous structure, Munsell 2.5YR4/1 dark reddish gray

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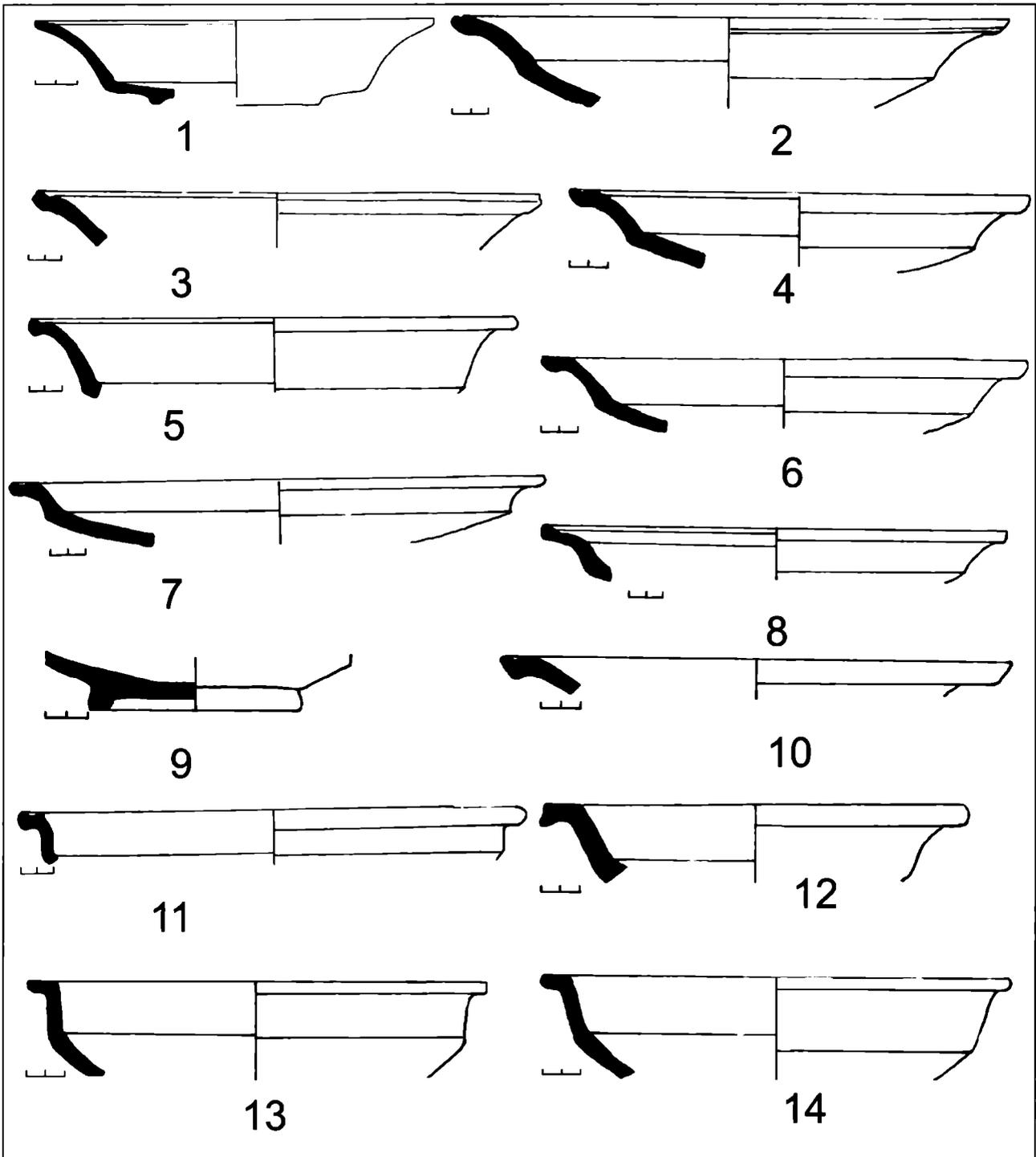


Plate 1

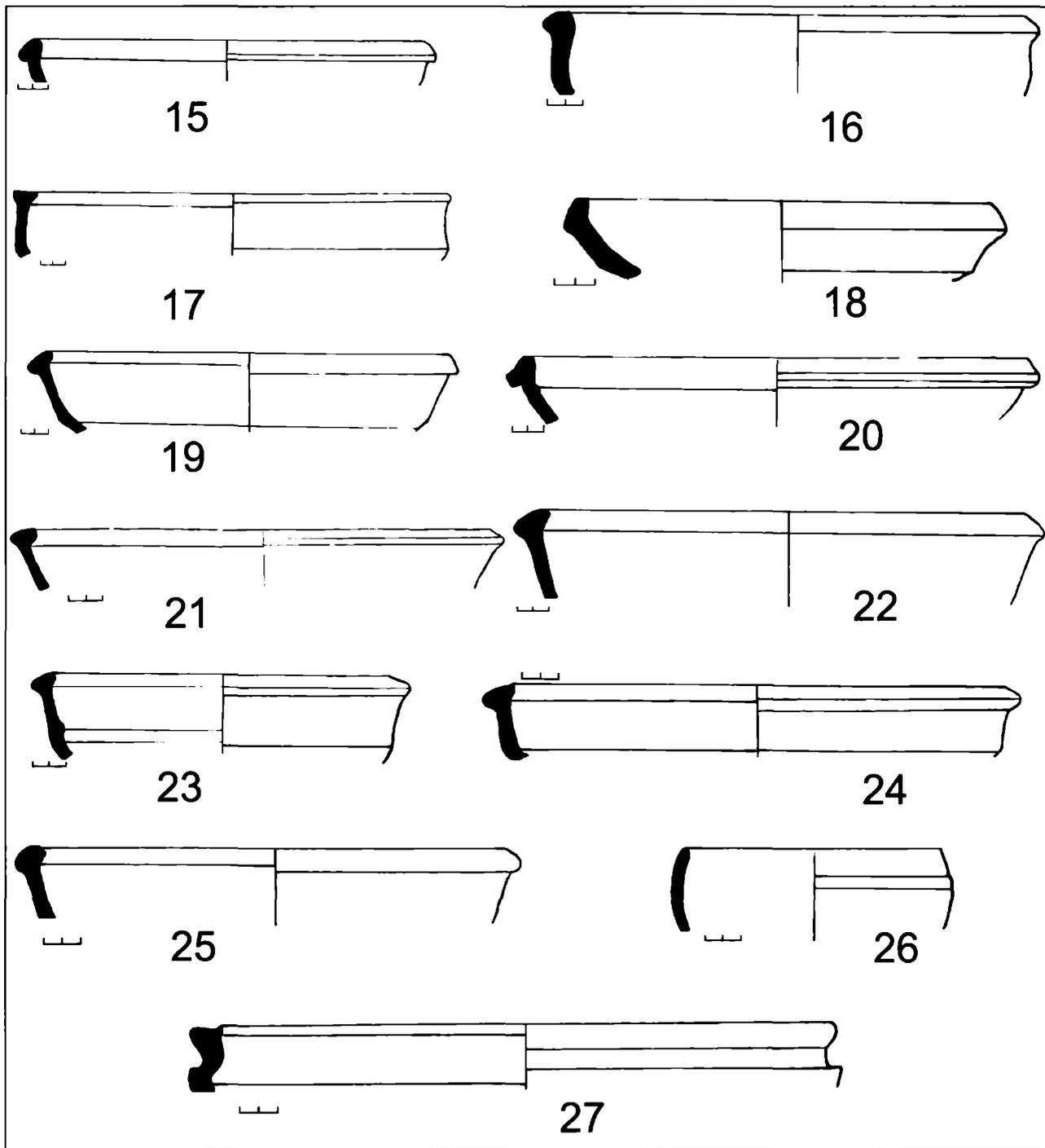


Plate 2

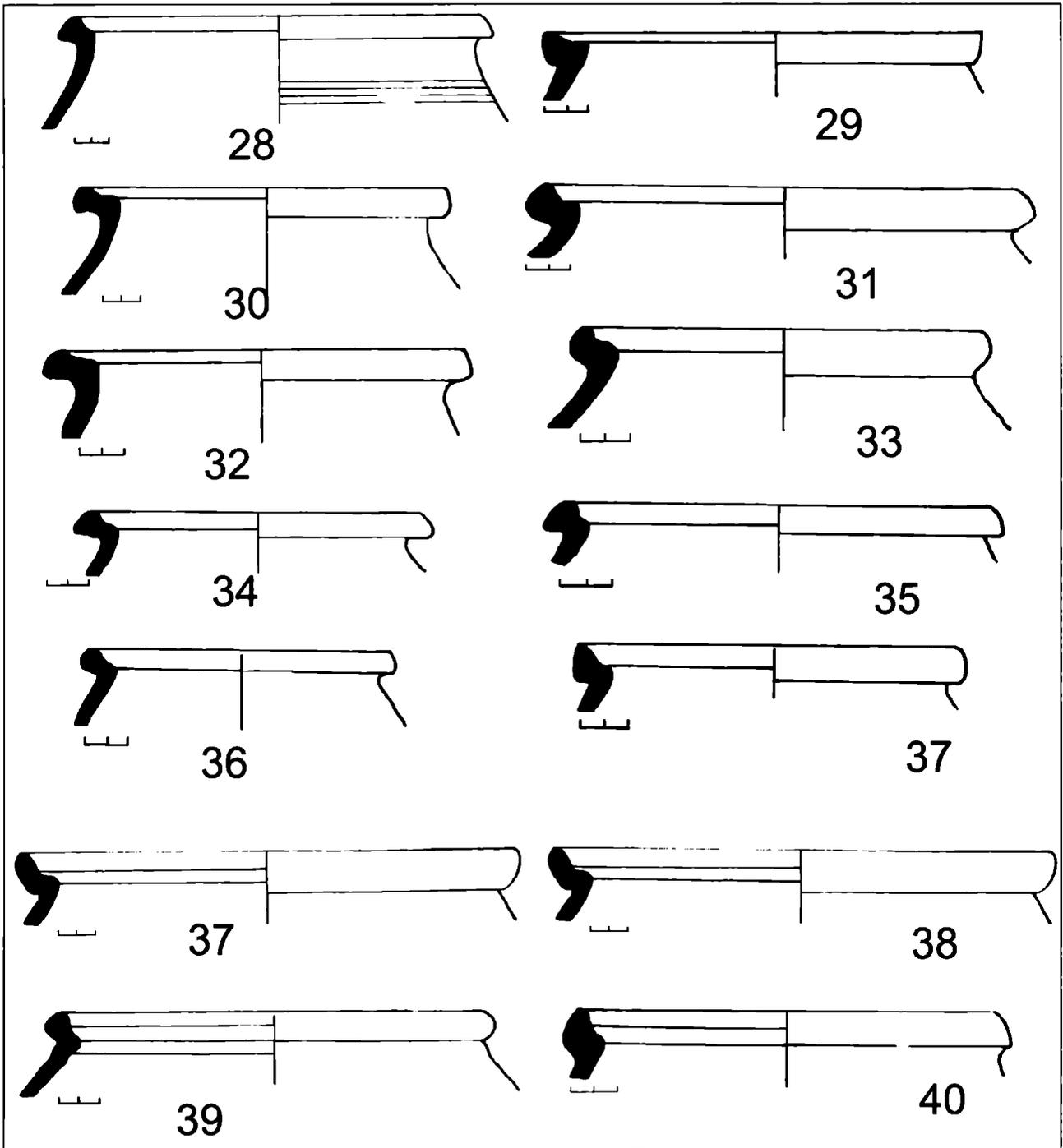


Plate 3

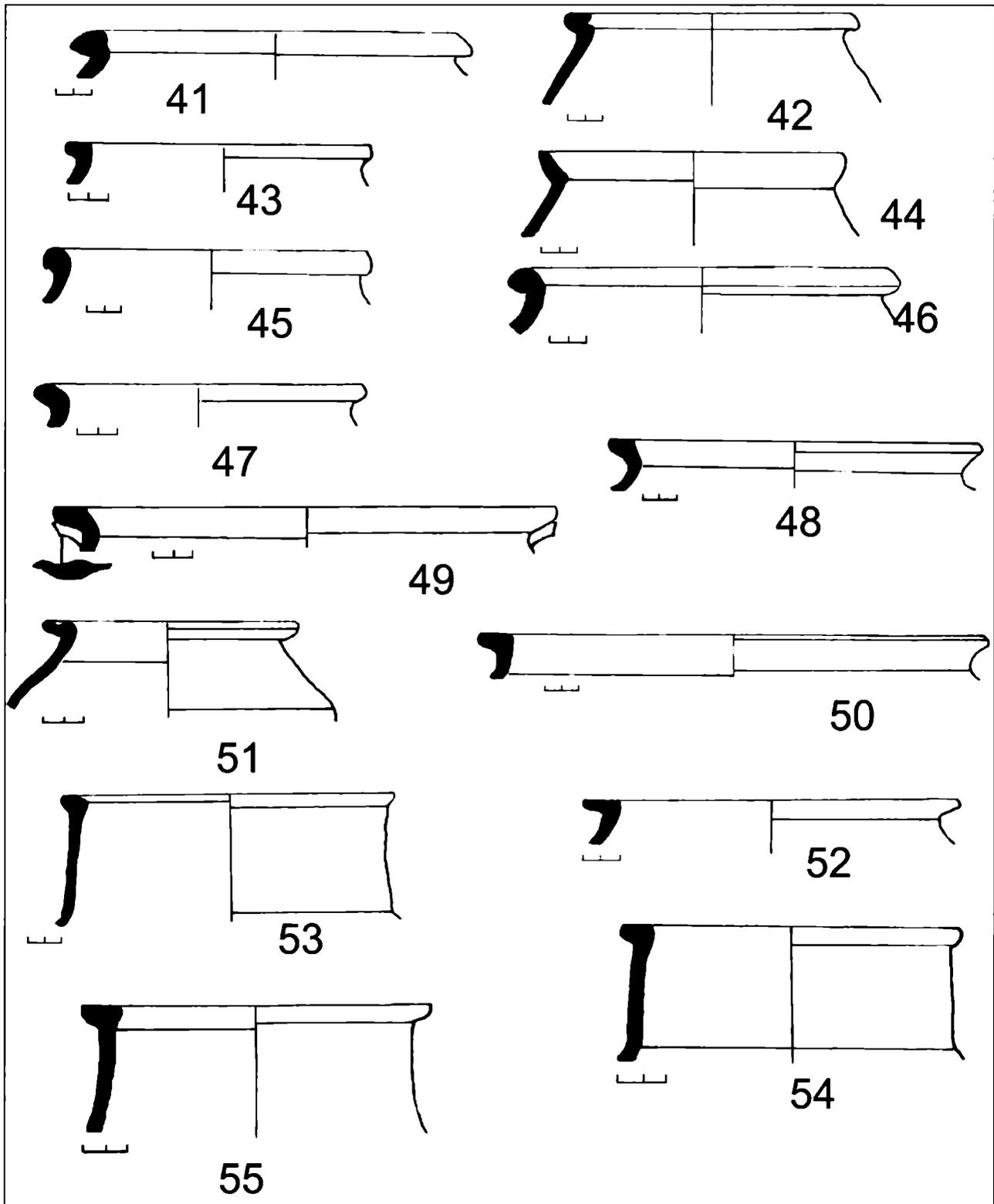


Plate 4

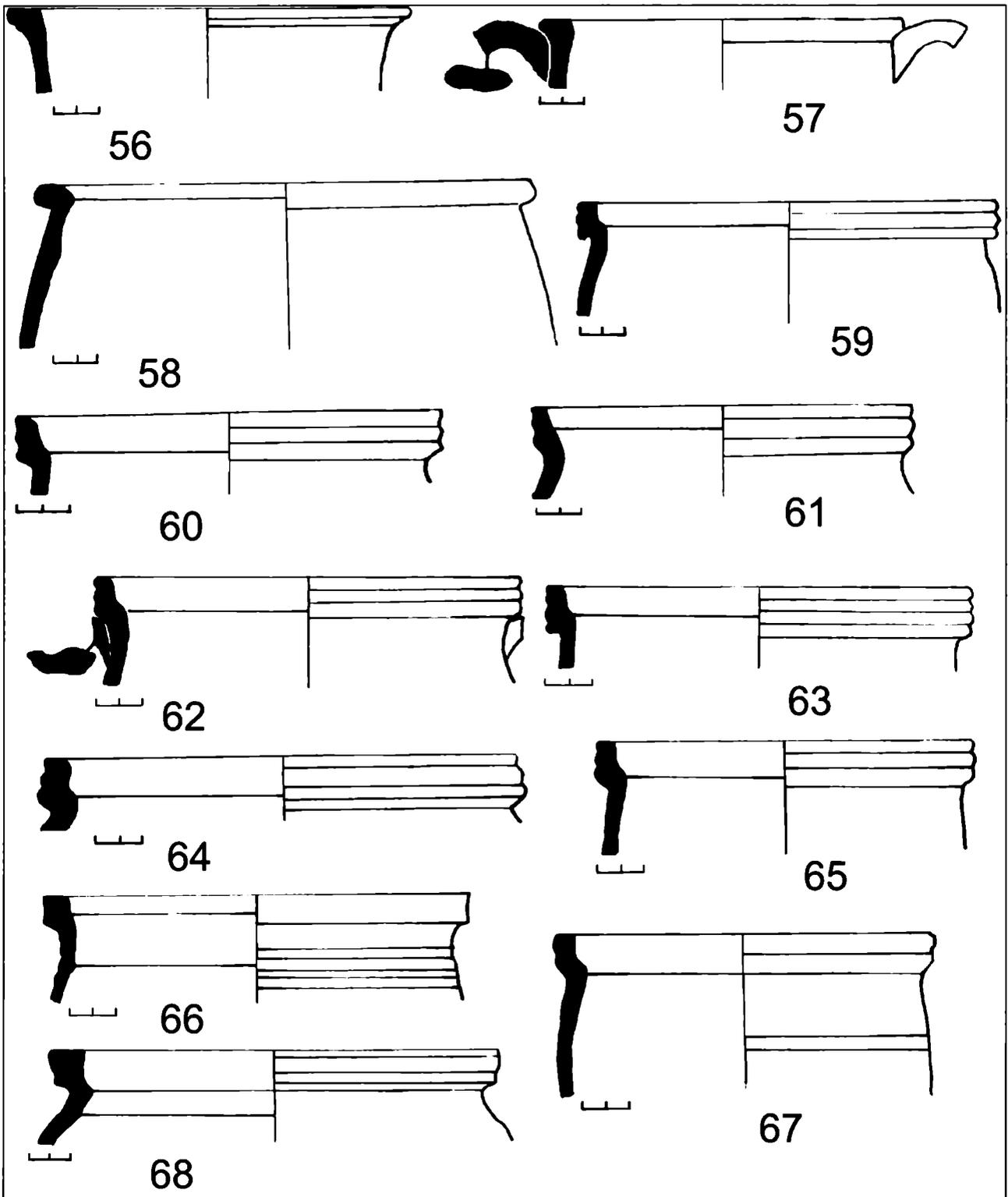


Plate 5

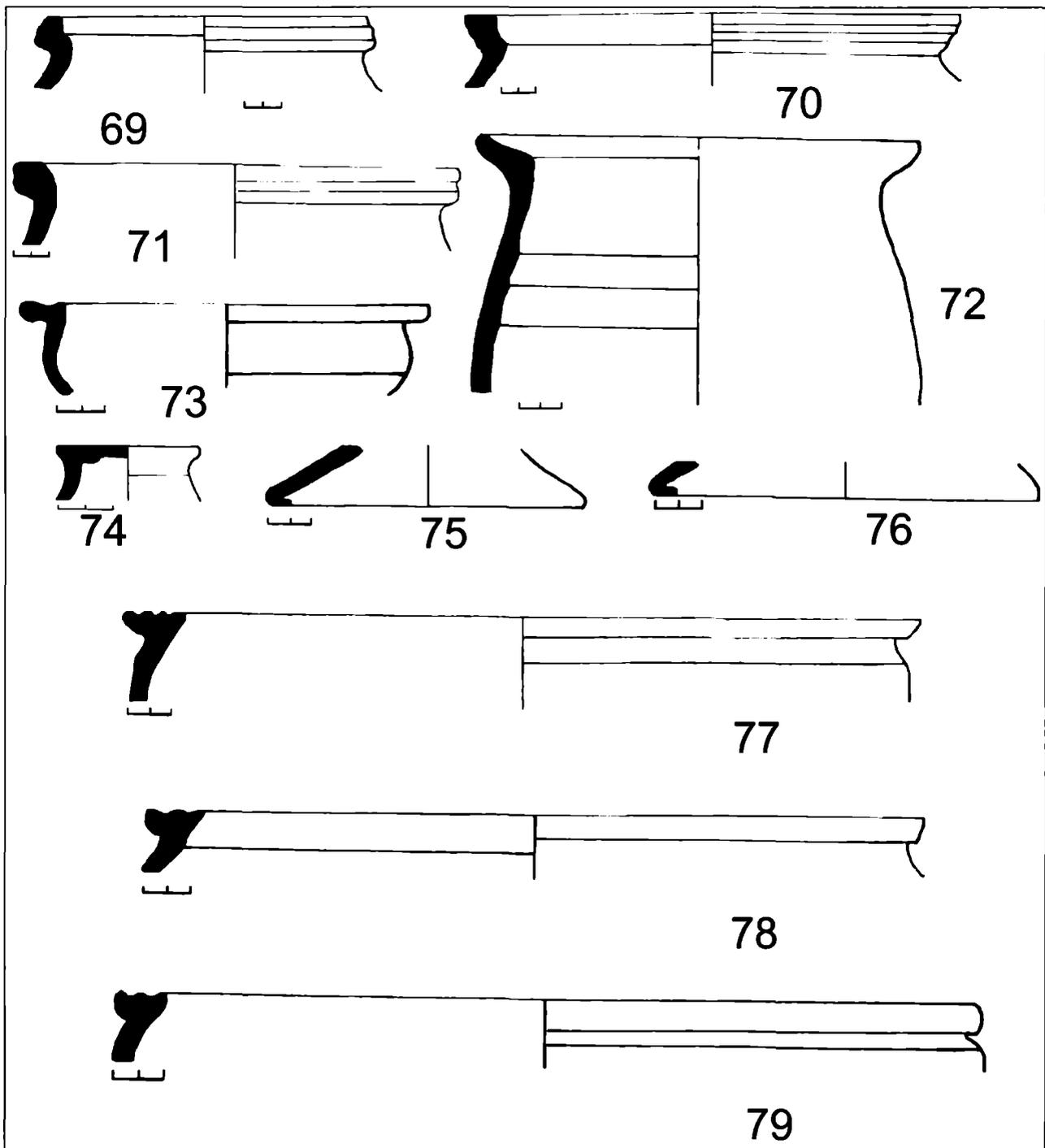


Plate 6

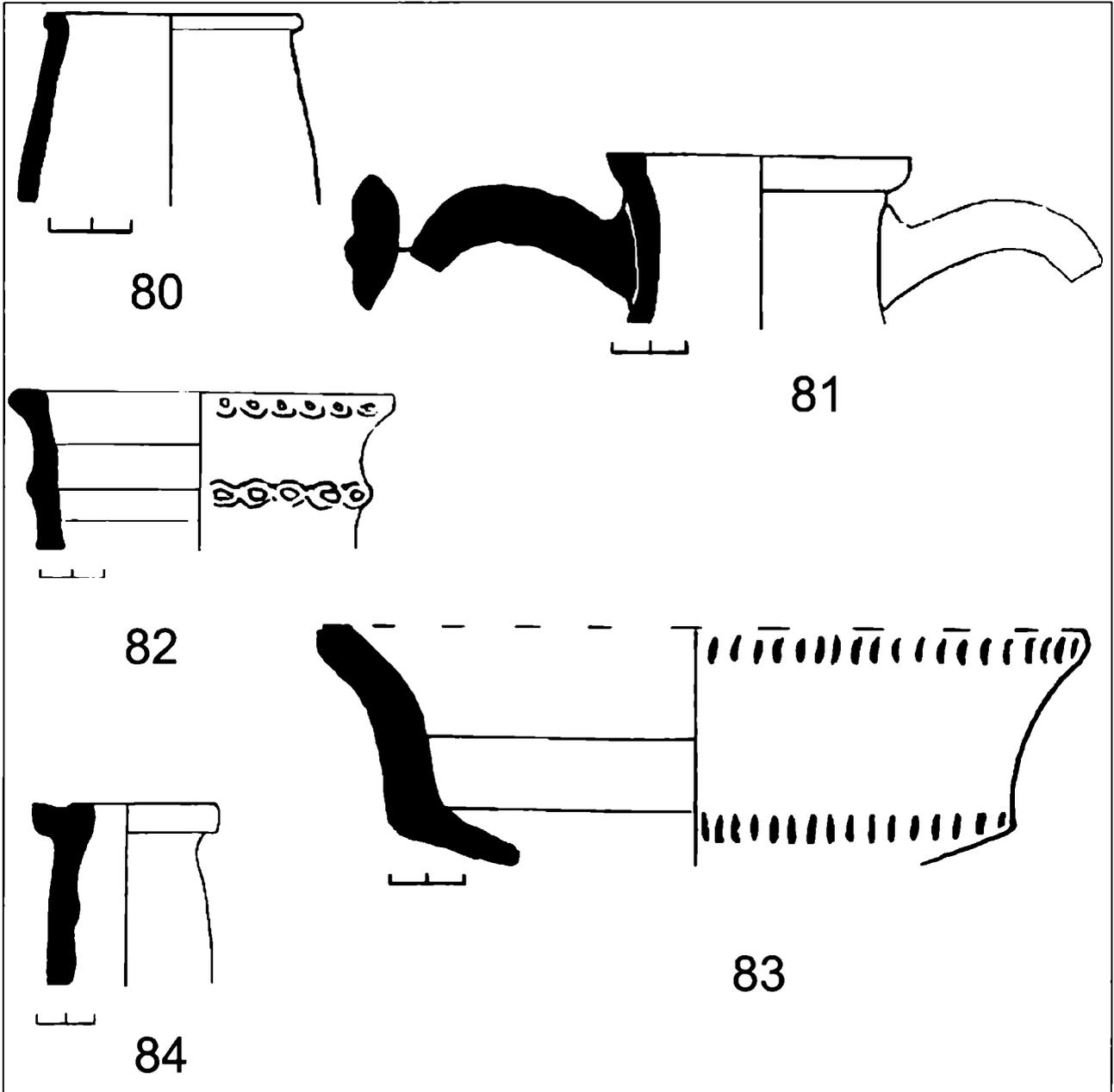


Plate 7

**M. AURELIUS CASSIANUS,  
PRAESES DACIAE MALVENSIS**

**PETOLESCU Constantin C.\***

**Résumé.** Ce personnage est attesté par une inscription honorifique de Thessalonique (dans la province romaine de Macedonia), dédiée par ses fils: M. Aurelius Philippus, centurion, et M. Aurelius Cassianus, tribun, dans la cohors I Flavia milliaria Bryttonum Malvensis (en Dacie Inférieure = Malvensis). Le titre de praeses, avec lequel est qualifié leur père, était inusité pour les procurateurs financiers des trois Daciae: Apulensis, Malvensis et Porolissensis; ce titre convenait seulement au gouvernement général des trois Dacies (voir dans le texte de l'article, notes 9-12). C'est pourquoi, nous croyons que l'inscription peut dater seulement après 260 p. C., pendant le règne de l'empereur Gallienus. Alors, la crainte des usurpations de plus en plus fréquentes ("les trente tyrans", selon l'Histoire Auguste), générées par l'existence de grands commandements militaires, prévaudrait des besoins d'une défense efficace de la Dacie.

Il résulte qu'à l'époque de M. Claudius Cassianus, Dacia Malvensis n'étaient plus sous l'autorité du gouverneur général des trois Dacies. Ces considérations nous incitent à dater le gouvernement de M. Aurelius Cassianus à l'époque de Gallienus; alors, le titre de praeses ("gouverneur") était possible.

**Mots-clés:** Dacia Malvensis, praeses vir egregious, coh(ors) F(lavia) m(illiaria) Bryttonum Malvensis, centurio cohortis, tribunes cohortis.

Ce personnage est connu d'une inscription de Thessalonique, province de Macédoine (fig. 1)<sup>1</sup>:

*B(onae) F(ortunae)  
M(arcum) Aur(elium) Cassi-  
anum, v(irum) e(gregium), prae-  
sidem prov(inciae) Daciae*

5 *Malvensis, patrem  
karissimum,*

*MM(arci) Aurel(ii) Phi-  
lippus, (centurio) et Cassia-  
nus, trib(unus) coh(ortis) I*

10 *F(laviae) m(illiariae) Bryttonum  
Malvensis*

M. Aurelius Cassianus (le père)<sup>2</sup> porte, dans cette inscription, le titre de *praeses provinciae*

\* Prof. dr., Institut d'Archéologie „Vasile Pârvan”, 11, rue Henri Coandă, Bucarest; adresse électronique: cpetolescu@yahoo.fr.

<sup>1</sup> I. H. Mordtman, AEM, *Inscriptiones aus Thessalonike*, 17, 1894, p. 117; AÉ, 1894, 112; CIL, III, 13704; ILS, 9008; IG, X/2 (1). 147; G. Daux, BCH, *Compléments et corrections aux Inscriptiones Thessalonicae*, 97, 1973, p. 586-587; I. I. Russu, *Contribuții epigrafice la istoria Daciei romane*, AIIA Cluj, 17, 1974, p. 41-45; IDRE, II, 357.

<sup>2</sup> Sur ce personnage: PIR<sup>2</sup>, A 1476; A. Stein, *Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien*, Budapest, 1944, p. 97; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain*, III, Paris, 1960, p. 1067; B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum*, Göteborg, 1984, col. 154, n° 33; I. Piso, *Certains aspects de l'organisation de la Dacie romaine*, RRH, 12, 1973, 6, p. 103; C. C. Petolescu, *Administrația Daciei romane*, RDI, 39, 1986, 9, p. 882 et n° 73.

*Daciae Malvensis*: cette province correspondait territorialement à l'ancienne province *Dacia Inferior* (la moitié de l'est de l'Olténie et le sud-est de Transylvanie); à celles-ci on ajoutera au commencement du III<sup>e</sup> siècle l'ouest de la Valachie)<sup>3</sup>. la première mention du nouvel nom de la province date du temps de Marc Aurèle<sup>4</sup>. Les deux frères, M. Aurelius Phillipus et M. Aurelius Cassianus, étaient officiers dans une troupe de la province gouvernée par leur père: *cohors I Flaviana milliaria Brittonum*; cette troupe est identifiée avec *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria*, qui se trouvait tout d'abord dans l'armée de *Moesia Inferior* et puis dans celle de *Dacia Inferior* (= *Malvensis*)<sup>5</sup>. L'inscription ne contient pas d'élément de datation sûre: selon A. Stein, elle daterait le plus tôt du temps de Marc Aurèle; mais d'autres ont préféré une datation plus tardive: Edson (IG) « ante mediam s. III p », Pflaum « vers 250 », Russu « assurément au III s. »<sup>6</sup>.

Les gouverneurs de *Dacia Inferior* portaient le titre de *procurator*<sup>7</sup>, de même que le premier connu après la réforme de Marc Aurèle: M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex, *p[ro]curator provinciae Daciae Malvensis*<sup>8</sup>.

Dans l'épigraphie de la *Dacia*, le titre de *praeses* était accordé au gouverneur de rang consulaire (*vir clarissimus*); tout d'abord dans une inscription adressée à P. Furius Saturninus<sup>9</sup>, légat de la *Dacie Supérieure* (environ 159–162) par la *Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa*, *praesidi optimo*. Presqu'une décennie plus tard, une autre inscription de *Sarmizegetusa* est dédiée à M. Claudius Fronto<sup>10</sup>: *leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(o) pr(atore) trium Daciarum et Moes(iae) Sup(erioris) – fortissimo duci amplissim(o) praesidi*. Comme il résulte de cette inscription, le titre de *praeses* indiquait à l'époque de la Principat la qualité (la mission) de gouverneur civil d'une province impériale; la commande militaire était désignée par le titre de *dux* (seulement plus tard, sous l'empereur Dioclétien, le gouvernement civil sera séparé du commandement militaire). Nous rencontrons encore ce titre dans une inscription de *Rapoltu Mare*, accompagnant celui de C. Iulius Maximinus<sup>11</sup>, *pr(a)es(es) [Daciar(um) III]*, et aussi dans une autre inscription de *Mehadia* du temps

<sup>3</sup> C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia. Un mileniu de istorie*, Bucarest, 2010, p. 168–169.

<sup>4</sup> CIL, VI, 1449 (= ILS, 1107; IDRE, I, 17).

<sup>5</sup> C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia Daciae*, Bucarest, 2002, p. 90, n° 25; Fl. Matei-Popescu, *Roman Army in Moesia Inferior*, Bucarest, 2010, p. 197, n° 15; idem, *Cohortes Augustae Nervianae Pacenses Brittonum*, dans *Identități culturale locale și regionale în context european. Studii de arheologie și antropologie istorică. In memoriam Alexandri V. Matei*, Cluj, 2010, p. 395-398 (édit. Horea Pop, Ioan Bejinariu, Sanda Băcuet-Crișan, Dan Băcuet-Crișan).

<sup>6</sup> Pour des références, voir la note 1.

<sup>7</sup> Liste des procurateurs: C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia. Un mileniu de istorie*, p. 172.

<sup>8</sup> CIL, VI, 1449 (= ILS, 1107; IDRE, I, 17).

<sup>9</sup> CIL, III, 1177 (= IDR, III/5, 5\*); voir I. Piso, *Fasti provinciae Daciae*, I. *Die senatorischen Amtsträger*, Bonn, 1993, I, p. 74, n° 6.

<sup>10</sup> CIL, III, 1457 (= ILS, 1097; IDR, III/3, 90); voir I. Piso, *Fasti*, p. 94, n° 3.

<sup>11</sup> AÉ, 1982, 833 (= IDR, III/3, 213); voir I. Piso, *Fasti*, I, p. 166-167, n° 1.

de Gordian III, en accompagnant le nom de D. Simonius Proculus Iulianus<sup>12</sup>, *v(ir) c(larissimus), praeses Daciae*.

Selon certaines opinions, le titre de *praeses* aurait été exagérément accordé à M. Aurelius Cassianus par ses fils; mais exactement leur qualité d'officiers, qui connaissaient bien les institutions administratives et militaires, exclue une telle erreur. I. Piso cite tout de même deux autres procureurs financiers qui portaient ce titre<sup>13</sup>: L'un est T. Varius Clemens<sup>14</sup>, *proc(urator) provinciar(um) Belgicae et utriusq(ue) Germ(aniae)*, auquel il dédie une inscription (les lignes 12–13) *civitas Treverorum, praesidi optimo*; mais sa mission d'amasser les impôts dans les trois provinces étaient exercée au nom de l'empereur, n'existant aucun rapport avec les gouverneurs des trois provinces (un légat de rang prétorien en *Belgica*, mais des légats consulaires dans les deux *Germaniae*). L'autre personnage était L. Didius Marinus<sup>15</sup>, *proc(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostri) provinciae Asiae et a sacris cognitionibus p(er)fectissimus v(ir)*, l'inscription étant mise par *corniculari et beneficiari et exacti humanissimo praesidi*: or la province d'Asie était une province sénatoriale, ayant en sa tête un proconsul. Par conséquent, dans les deux cas, il n'y avait aucune incompatibilité entre le titre de *praeses* d'un procureur financier et celui des gouverneurs des provinces citées. Au contraire, au cas de M. Aurelius Cassianus, le titre de *praeses* de Dacia Malvensis pourrait être en contradiction avec celui de gouverneur consulaire des trois Dacies<sup>16</sup>.

De l'épigraphie de la Dacie aussi, nous apprenons que si le poste de gouverneur était vacant, il serait giré temporairement par le procureur de Dacia Apulensis, qualifié en plus *agens vice praesidis*; nous connaissons ainsi quelques personnages: Herennius Gemellinus (cca. 208)<sup>17</sup>, Ulpus [Victor ?] (du temps d'Elagabal on Philippe l'Arabe)<sup>18</sup>, Q. Axius Aelianus *bis a(gens) v(ice) p(raesidis)* (a. 236–238)<sup>19</sup> et M. Aurelius Marcus (cca 251–253)<sup>20</sup>. Nous ne savons pas si l'autorité

<sup>12</sup> CIL, III, 1573 (=IDR, III/1, 66).

<sup>13</sup> I. Piso, *Fasti*, I, p. 84.

<sup>14</sup> CIL, III, 5215 (= ILS, 1362 b; IDRE, II, 253). Cf. H.-G. Pflaum, *Carrières*, I, 1960, p. 372.

<sup>15</sup> IKEphes, III, 660.

<sup>16</sup> Pour l'utilisation de ce titre parallèlement à celui de *legatus Augusti pro praetore* en Moesia Inferior à l'époque de Gallienus et Aurelian, voir notre article C. C. Petolescu, *Les derniers légats de Moesia Inferior*, Pontica, 45, 2012, p. 513-517.

<sup>17</sup> CIL, III, 1625 (= IDR, II, 640; IDR, III/2, 342) *proc. Augg. nn. agens v. p.*, 7901 (= IDR, III/2, 188); AÉ, 1913, 51 (= ILS, 9515; IDR, III/2, 220, Sarmizegetusa). Voir I. Piso, *Fasti*, I, p. 204, n° 7.

<sup>18</sup> CIL, III, 1464 (= ILS, 1370; IDR, III/2, 100, Sarmizegetusa); cf. I. Piso, *Beiträge zu den Fasten Dakien im 3. Jahrhundert*, ZPE 40, 1980, p. 273-282 (= AÉ, 1980, 758).

<sup>19</sup> Huit inscriptions provenant de Sarmizegetusa: CIL, III, 1422 (cf. p. 1016, 1407) (= ILS, 3636; IDR, III/2, 206) *v. c., proc. Aug[g.] (?)* (v. CIL, III, p. 1016), 1423 (= IDR, III/2, 244) *proc. Aug. (faux Augg. à IDR)*, 1456 (= ILS, 1371; IDR, III/2, 89) *proc. prov. Dac. Apul. bis vice praesidis*; AÉ, 1971, 376 (= CIL, III, 74\*, entre faux; réhabilités par N. Gostar, *Studii epigrafice*, MCA, 2, 1956, p. 635-638; I. I. Russu, *Contribuția lui Zamosius (Szamosközy) la epigrafia Daciei*, AMN, 3, 1966, p. 445; IDR, III/2, 191) *v. e., proc. Augg. (ou Aug.?)*; AÉ, 1982, 828 (= I. Piso, *Maximinus Thrax und die Provinz Dakien*, ZPE, 49, 1982, p. 234-235; ILD, 281) *proc. Aug. n.*; AÉ, 1983, p. 833 (= I. Piso, *Inschriften von Prokuratoren aus Sarmizegetusa (I)*, ZPE, 50, 1983, p. 241-242, n° 8; ILD, 257); AÉ, 1998, 1100 (= I. Piso, *Inschriften von Prokuratoren aus*

de ce *vice praesidis* (vice-gouverneur) toujours associé à la procuratelle de la Dacia Apulensis, s'étendait sur les deux autres Dacies – Malvensis et Porolissensis; les inscriptions qui attestent ce titre apparaissent seulement à l'intérieur de cette province (à Sarmizegetusa et Apulum). Donc, en Dacie un procureur financier (celui de Dacia Apulensis) a réussi d'avoir, temporairement, seulement le titre de substitut du gouverneur (*praeses*) de la province.

Le titre de *praeses* est attesté plusieurs fois dans les inscriptions des II–III s., accompagnant le nom des procureurs gouverneurs de Mauritania Caesariensis<sup>21</sup> et Mauritanie Tingitana<sup>22</sup>.

Il résulte qu'à l'époque de M. Claudius Cassianus, Dacia Malvensis n'étaient plus sous l'autorité du gouverneur general des trois Dacies. Ces considérations nous incitent à dater le gouvernement de Cassianus à l'époque de Gallienus; la crainte des usurpations de plus en plus fréquentes, générées par l'existence de grands commandements militaires, prévaudrait des besoins d'une défense efficiente de la province. D'ailleurs, à l'époque des invasions barbares de 267, la Dacie a été perdue (*amisa est*)<sup>23</sup>.

## ABREVIATIONS

AÉ: *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris.

AEM: *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen*, I-XX, 1877-1896, Wien.

AIIA Cluj: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie*, Cluj.

AMN: *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj.

BCH: *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*. École Française d'Athènes.

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.

IDR: *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane* (collection fondée par D. M. Pippidi et I. I. Russu).

IDRE: C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptions externs concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, Bucarest, 1996-2000.

IG, X/2 (1): *Inscriptiones Graecae*, pars II fasc. 1: *Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et viciniae*, edidit Carolus Edson, Berlin, 1972.

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*Sarmizegetusa* (II), ZPE, 120, 1998, p. 264-266, n° 13-14; ILD, 277). *proc. Aug[[ g]]*; AÉ, 1998, 1101 (= I. Piso, *op. cit.*, ZPE, 120, 1998, p. 266-267, n° 14; ILD, 278) v. e., *proc. Aug[[ g]]*.

<sup>20</sup> AÉ, 1983, 815 (= I. Piso, *op. cit.* ZPE, 50, 1983, p. 248-249; IDR, III/5, 68, Apulum), 841 (= I. Piso, ZPE, 50, 1983, p. 247-248, n° 16; ILD, 264, Sarmizegetusa).

<sup>21</sup> Voir B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum*, I, Göteborg, 1984, col. 410 et suiv., n°s 7, 16, 23, 25, 26, 28-31, 37, 39, 40, 45-49, 52, 53, 55, 58, 61. Tous ont le titre de *v(ir) e(gregius)*; un seulement est *v(ir) p(erfectissimus), praeses provinciae Mauretaniae Caes(ariensis)* (LP, col. 416, n° 50 : « fortasse iam ante aetatem Diocletiani »).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, col. 420 ss., n°s 12 (a. 144), 30 (sous Severus Alexander), 35 (a. 245); tous les trois ont le titre de *v(ir) e(gregius)*; un autre (n° 36, a. 277/280), est *v(ir) p(erfectissimus), praeses p(rovinciae) M(auretaniae) T(ingitanae)*.

<sup>23</sup> C. C. Petolescu, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 291.

- IKEphes: *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien. Die Inschriften von Ephessos*, Bonn, I 1972.
- ILD: C. C. Petolescu, *Inscripții Latine din Dacia*, Bucurest, 2000.
- ILS: H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II (1902), III (1916).
- LP: B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum*, I, Göteborg, 1984.
- MCA: *Materiale și cercetări arheologice*, I-X, Bucurest.
- PIR<sup>2</sup>: *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, editio altera.
- RdI: *Revista de Istorie*, Bucurest.
- RRH: *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, Bucurest.
- ZPE: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn.

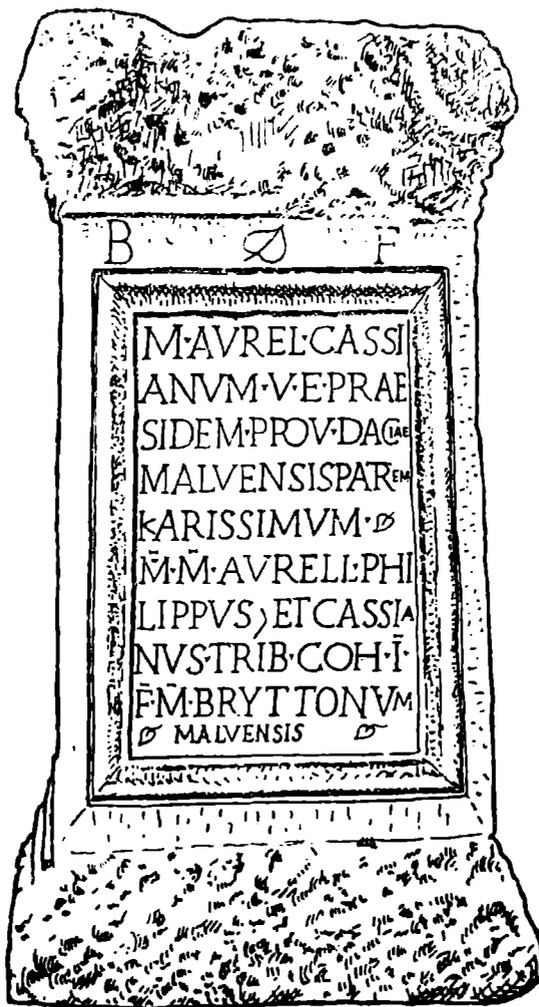
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Idem, *Contribuții epigrafice la istoria Daciei romane*, AIIA Cluj, 17, 1974.

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Inscription honorifique de Thessalonique

# BEITRÄGE ZUR KENNTNIS DER RÖMISCHEN BEWAFFNUNG AUS DAKIEN. ÜBER DIE WAFFEN FÜR DEN FERNKAMPF AUS DEM LEGIONSLAGER VON POTAISSA/TURDA UND DEM DAZUGEHÖRIGEN GEBIET

GUDEA Nicolae\*

**Zusammenfassung.** *Innerhalb eines umfangreicheren Programms für die Erforschung der Waffen für den Fernkampf aus bestimmte Kastellen der dakischen Provinzen: Buciumi<sup>1</sup>, Bologa<sup>2</sup>, Moigrad-Pomet<sup>3</sup>, Feldioara-Făgăraș<sup>4</sup>, Răcari<sup>5</sup> hat der Autor auch Waffen aus dem Legionslager von Potaissa/Turda aufgenommen und beabsichtigt auch andere Legionslager (Apulum, Ulpia Traiana) zu untersuchen.*

*Nachdem zu den alten zufälligen Funden aus der ehemaligen I. Tégylás-Sammlung<sup>6</sup> auch neuere Funde hinzukamen, die während der im Legionslager Potaissa/Turda durchgeführten Grabungen entdeckt wurden<sup>7</sup>, erhob sich die Anzahl der bekannten Waffen für den Fernkampf auf 21.*

*Durch den Vergleich dieser Funde mit Fundstücken aus anderen Legionslagern (Vindonissa, Viminacium, Ulpia Traiana) sowie mit den zahlreichen Waffen, die in den oben erwähnten Kastellen der Hilfstruppen entdeckt wurden, stellt der Autor fest, daß die Waffen für den Fernkampf aus dem Legionslager Potaissa/Turda und dem dazugehörigen Gebiet dieselben Waffengruppen/typen (Lanzenspitzen, Wurfspeerspitzen, Pfeilspitzen) umfassen wie jene aus den Kastellen für die Hilfstruppen.*

**Cuvinte cheie:** *Potaissa, Legionslagern, Waffen, Lanzenspitzen, Wurfspeerspitzen, Pfeilspitzen.*

Nachdem ich die Waffen für den Fernkampf aus den Kastellen der Hilfseinheiten am Westlimes von Dacia Porolissensis<sup>8</sup>, bzw. Buciumi – cohors peditata<sup>9</sup>, Bologa – cohors peditata und cohors equitata<sup>10</sup>, Moigrad-Porolissum – gemischte Einheiten: Kohorten, numeri usw.<sup>11</sup> aber auch aus den Kastellen aus Dacia Inferior: Feldioara-Făgăraș – cohors II Numidarum<sup>12</sup> und Răcari – numerus Maurorum<sup>13</sup> untersucht und dabei die Waffengruppen für den Fernkampf und Typologien

\* Prof. dr., Babes-Bolyai Universität, Cluj-Napoca, Fakultät für griechisch-katholische Theologie.

<sup>1</sup> N. Gudea, *Das Römergrenzkastell von Buciumi / Castrul roman de la Buciumi*, Zalău, 1997.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, *Castrul roman de la Bologa/Resculum / Das Römergrenzkastell vom Bologa/Resculum*, Zalău, 1997.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, *Das Römergrenzkastell von Moigrad-Pomet/Porolissum / Castrul roman de la Moigrad-Pomet/Porolissum*, Zalău, 1997.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, *Castrul roman de la Feldioara-Făgăraș*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008.

<sup>5</sup> N. Gudea, D. Bondoc, *Castrul roman de la Răcari*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

<sup>6</sup> I. Bajusz (Hrsg.), *Tégylás István jegyzetei. Régészeti feljegyzések*. I.2, Kolozsvár, 2005.

<sup>7</sup> D. Marta, *Aspecte tipologice ale armamentului ofensiv roman de pe teritoriul Daciei. Săgeți (I)*, in „Crisia“, XXI, 1991, p. 34-51; Idem, *Aspecte tipologice ale armamentului ofensiv roman de pe teritoriul Daciei. Sulite (II)*, in „Crisia“, XXII, 1992, p. 5-26; L. Petculescu, *Once again on the pyramidal spearheads of triangular cross-section in Roman Dacia*, in „Cercetări arheologice“, XIV-XV, 2007-2008, p. 229-244.

<sup>8</sup> N. Gudea, *Römische Waffen aus den Kastele des westlichen Limes von Dacia Porolissensis*, in: Claus von Carnap-Hornheim (Hrsg.), *Beiträge zur römischen und barbarischen Bewaffnung in den ersten vier nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten*, Lublin-Marburg, 1994, p. 81-89.

<sup>9</sup> Idem, *Das Römergrenzkastell von Buciumi...*

<sup>10</sup> Idem, *Castrul roman de la Bologa/Resculum...*

<sup>11</sup> Idem, *Das Römergrenzkastell von Moigrad-Pomet...*

<sup>12</sup> Idem, *Castrul roman de la Feldioara...*

<sup>13</sup> N. Gudea, D. Bondoc, *op. cit.*

in ihrem Rahmen bestimmt habe, habe ich mich entschieden, einen Blick auf die Bewaffnung – ausschließlich auf die Waffen für den Fernkampf – der Legionen aus Dakien zu werfen.

Das erste der Kastelle, das mein Interesse geweckt hat, war das Legionskastell von Potaissa/Turda. Aus diesem Kastell und dem dazugehörenden Gebiet wurden in der ehemaligen Sammlung von I. Téglás 13 Waffen für den Fernkampf (Lanzenspitzen, Wurfspeerspitzen, Pfeilspitzen)<sup>14</sup> identifiziert (siehe das Repertorium). Die Quelle leidet an einem grundlegenden Mangel, usw. werden weder der Fundort noch die Umstände, unter denen sie entdeckt wurden, angegeben. Die von I. Téglás verwendeten Ortsnamen entsprechen nicht unbedingt jenen, die auf der Karte vom römischen Potaissa aus dem archäologischen Repertorium des Kreises Klausenburg angegeben werden<sup>15</sup>, insbesondere weil letztere in rumänischer Sprache und sehr allgemein formuliert sind. Nur zwei Fundstücke stammen vom Várhegy/Dealul Cetății [Burgberg], die anderen kommen aus dem zum Kastell gehörenden Gebiet her: Tündérhegy/Dealul Zânelor [Feenberg], Sujadomb/Dealul Șuia [Schuiaberg], Szinditető/Dealul Szindi=Sândului [Szindiberg].

Die Autoren der jüngsten archäologischen Grabungen haben keine Waffen veröffentlicht. M. Bărbulescu<sup>16</sup> schreibt sehr verwirrend: „die Bewaffnung wird durch Pilumspitzen, Scheidebefestiger (Abb. 16/5), Nietkolben (Abb. 16/19-20) vertreten; in einer späteren Arbeit<sup>17</sup> schreibt er: „Waffenstücke (ein Schwert, Nietkolben aus Bronze, Eisen und Knochen, Scheidebefestiger, Pilumspitzen, Rüstungsbruchstück“, es gibt aber keine einzige Abbildung.

Ich habe aber Waffen für den Fernkampf aus dem Lager von Potaissa/Turda in kollateralen Arbeiten, bei Autoren identifiziert, die sich mit den Waffen während der Studenten – oder Nachstudentenzeit beschäftigt haben und die glücklicherweise Zugang zu den Waffen aus den Grabungen hatten.

D. Marta<sup>18</sup>, der sich mit den römischen Pfeilspitzen aus Dakien beschäftigt hat, bezog in seiner Arbeit auch fünf Pfeilspitzen aus dem Kastell von Potaissa/Turda mit ein. Er ließ sich von der Lizenzarbeit von Romeo Bălănică, *Piese de armament din castrele Daciei Porolissensis* [Rüstungsgegenstände aus Dacia Porolissensis], Cluj (non vidi !) (siehe das Repertorium unten) inspirieren. Ebenfalls D. Marta<sup>19</sup> beschäftigte sich mit der Untersuchung von Wurfspeerspitzen aus Dakien, eine Abhandlung, in die er auch zwei Stücke von Potaissa aufgenommen hat (inspiriert

<sup>14</sup> I. Bajusz (Hrgs.), *op. cit., passim*.

<sup>15</sup> I. H. Crișan, E. Chirilă, V. Vasiliev, M. Bărbulescu, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj*, Cluj-Napoca, 1972, p. 391, Abb. 232.

<sup>16</sup> M. Bărbulescu, *Potaissa. Studiu monografic*, Turda, 1994, p. 96-97.

<sup>17</sup> Idem, *Das Legionslager von Potaissa /Castrul legionar de la Potaissa/Turda*, Zalău, 1997, p. 101.

<sup>18</sup> D. Marta, *Aspecte tipologice ale armamentului ofensiv roman de pe teritoriul Daciei. Săgeți...*, p. 34-51.

<sup>19</sup> Idem, *Aspecte tipologice ale armamentului ofensiv roman de pe teritoriul Daciei. Sulițe...*, p. 5-26.

wurde er ebenfalls von der oben erwähnten Lizenzarbeit)<sup>20</sup>. Leider können die Zeichnungen von D. Marta in einer Facharbeit nicht verwendet werden, weil sie äußerst schematisch sind.

Ausnahmsweise erscheint eine Wurfspeerspitze aus dem Kastell von Potaissa in einer Arbeit von L. Petulescu<sup>21</sup>, eine Arbeit, die sich mit den Wurfspeerspitzen mit pyramidenförmigem Profil des Blattes auseinandersetzt. In diesen letzteren Arbeiten werden die Fundorte im Inneren des Kastells und manchmal sogar die Entdeckungsumstände angegeben.

Folglich nahm die Anzahl der Waffen für den Fernkampf mit acht Fundstücken zu, die den großen Vorteil haben, daß ihr Fundort und mehrere technische Einzelheiten vermerkt wurden. Die Gesamtzahl der aufgezeichneten Waffen für den Fernkampf aus Potaissa/Turda und aus seiner unmittelbaren Umgebung beträgt 21 Stücke. Wie bereits erwähnt, ist die Illustration (im Verhältnis zu den Veröffentlichungskriterien der Waffen) leider mangelhaft; auf diese Art werden uns viele technische Einzelheiten nicht zugänglich sein. Wichtig aber ist ihre Anwesenheit.

Um diese Waffen mit ähnlichen Produkten aus Legionslagern vergleichen zu können, mußte ich Arbeiten suchen, in denen Waffen aus Legionslagern veröffentlicht wurden. Ich hatte aber nur zu einer größeren Arbeit Zugang, uzw. zu jener über die Waffen aus dem Legionslager von Vindonissa (Germania Superior)<sup>22</sup>. Sie ist eine sehr wertvolle, umfangreiche, umfassende Arbeit, die alle Waffengruppen (für den Angriff, für die Verteidigung, die individuellen Waffen usw.), alle Waffenzubehöre und alle Rüstungs- und Pferdegeschirrgegenstände aufgezeichnet hat.

Das Legionslager von Vindonissa/Windisch funktionierte aber nur im 1. Jahrhundert; dort stationierten der Reihe nach mehrere Legionen: die Legion XIII Gemina (zwischen 17-45), die Legion XXI Repax (zwischen 45-69) und die Legion XI Claudia (zwischen 70-101). Das Lager wurde 101 verlassen, da die Legion nach Osten, in die Provinz Moesia Inferior, nach Durostorum versetzt wurde<sup>23</sup>.

Ich habe eine Arbeit über Waffen aus dem Lager der Legion VII Claudia von Viminacium/Kostolac (Moesia Superior) gefunden<sup>24</sup>; die meisten Waffen von dort wurden aber im Friedhof entdeckt. Es handelt sich um 38 leichte und schwere Pfeilspitzen, 23 Lanzen spitzen, 6 Lanzen schäfte und vier Wurfspeerspitzen. *Abb. 4-12*.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 17, Nr. XIII.

<sup>21</sup> L. Petulescu, *art. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 236, Nr. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Chr. Unz.-E., Deschler-Erb, *Katalog der Militaria aus Vindonissa. Militärische Funde, Pferdegeschirr und Jochteile bis 1976*, Brugg 1997.

<sup>23</sup> Giovanni Forni, *Limes*, Estratto dal *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità romane*, fondato da Ettore de Ruggiero (vol. IV, fasc. 40-41), Roma 1962, p. 103-105; Chr. Unz.-E., Deschler-Erb, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>24</sup> M. Korać, N. Mrdjić, *The cemetery battlefield – waepon finds from the cemeteries of Viminacium*, in „Xanter Berichte“, 16, 2009, p. 107-123.

Alle Waffen gliedern sich in die Typologie N. Gudea<sup>25</sup> ein:

Lanzenspitzen mit weidenblattförmigem Blatt;

Lanzenspitzen mit birnenblattförmigem Blatt;

Lanzenspitzen mit trapezförmigem Blatt;

Wurfspeerspitzen mit pyramidenförmigem Blatt und rundem Profil;

Wurfspeerspitzen mit pyramidenförmigem Blatt und viereckigem Profil;

Pfeilspitzen mit dreikantigem pyramidenförmigem Blatt;

Schwere Pfeilspitzen mit pyramidenförmigem Blatt und viereckigem Profil;

Schwere Pfeilspitzen mit pyramidenförmigem Blatt und dreieckigem Profil;

Schwere Pfeilspitzen mit lanzenförmigem Blatt und linsenförmigem Profil;

Alle stellen gute Muster für die Waffen von Potaissa/Turda dar.

Drei Lanzenspitzen, vier Lanzenshafte, 20 schwere Pfeilspitzen und fünf Pfeilspitzen (datierbar bis 107) wurden auch aus der Wohnschicht der Legion III Flavia Felix aus Ulpia Traiana veröffentlicht<sup>26</sup>.

Es werden also die wenigen Waffen, die im Legionslager von Potaissa/Turda und dem dazu gehörenden Gebiet entdeckt wurden und zwischen 180-275 n. Chr. datierbar sind, vor allem mit Waffen aus dem 1. Jahrhundert verglichen. Es ist nicht besonders richtig, aber es gibt keine andere Lösung.

Ich habe die Waffen aus der I. Téglás-Sammlung den Tafeln nach getrennt dargestellt (Tafeln I-III und jene, die während der Grabungen entdeckt wurden – Tafel IV), so, wie sie von den Autoren dargestellt wurden. Ich habe es mir nicht erlaubt, die Veränderungen durchzuführen, die eine wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung erfordert hätte. Ich möchte erwähnen, daß ich überzeugt bin, daß die Anzahl der im Lager entdeckten Waffen viel größer war. Da aber augenblicklich nur diese zur Verfügung stehen, habe ich sie so verwendet, wie sie dargestellt wurden.

In der vorliegenden Arbeit habe ich ein Repertorium der Waffen für den Fernkampf aus dem Legionslager von Potaissa und dem dazugehörigen Gebiet zusammengestellt. Ich habe sie aber den für die Waffen kennzeichnenden Gruppen entsprechend dargestellt.

Waffen für den Fernkampf aus der I. Téglás-Sammlung:

### **Tafel I**

1. Lanzenspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; weidenblattförmiges Blatt; an gewissen Seitenteilen von Korrosion angegriffen; kurze Tülle; Ausmaße: Gesamtlänge = 25 cm; Länge der Tülle = 5 cm; (maximale) Breite des Blattes = 3,5 cm.

<sup>25</sup> N. Gudea, *art. cit.*, in: Claus von Carnap-Hornheim (Hrsg.), *vol. cit.*, p. 81-89.

<sup>26</sup> C. Găzdac, *An unknown battle? Military artefacts and coin finds*, in „Xantener Berichte“, 16, 2009, p. 128, Abb. 6-8.

Bajusz 2005, 767, Abb. 40/38 (Nagy Tündér teteje).

2. Lanzenspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; weidenblattförmiges Blatt mittlerer Länge; lange Tülle, ziemlich korrodiert; Gesamtlänge = 18 cm; Länge des Blattes = 10 cm.

Bajusz 2005, 731, Abb. 36/29 (Tündérhegy – római sír [römisches Grab]).

3. Lanzenspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; kurzes weidenblattförmiges Blatt; kurze Tülle; sehr oxidiert; L = 14 cm.

Bajusz 2005, 83, Abb. 46/14 (Fundort nicht angegeben).

4. Lanzenspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; weidenblattförmiges Blatt; Spitze abgebrochen; die Tülle fehlt.

Bajusz 2005, 786, Abb. 50/82 (Sujadomb – római sír [römisches Grab]).

5. Lanzenschuh; aus Schmiedeeisen; Ausmaße nicht angegeben.

Bajusz 2005, 680, Abb. 30/89/1 (Kis Tündérhegy).

### **Tafel II**

6. Lanzenspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; birnenblattförmiges Blatt; Bruchstück; Spitze des Blattes abgebrochen; die Seiten des Blattes von Korrosion angegriffen; Tülle abgebrochen; Lp = 18 cm.

Bajusz 2005, 748, Abb. 48/21 (Fundort nicht angegeben).

7. Lanzenspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; birnenblattförmiges Blatt; mittelgroß; kurze Tülle; Gesamtlänge = 13 cm; Länge der Tülle = 5 cm, Breite des Blattes = 3,2 cm.

Bajusz 2005, 671, Abb. 44/80/1 (Szindi hegytető [Bergspitze]).

8. Lanzenspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; kurzes birnenblattförmiges Blatt; kurz; kurzes Blatt; kurze Tülle; L = 11,3 cm.

Bajusz 2005, 780, Abb. 48/30 (Suja domb alja [Bergfuß]).

### **Tafel III**

9. Wurfspießspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; pyramidenförmiges Blatt mit dreieckigem Profil; lange Tülle; Ausmaße nicht angegeben.

Bajusz 2005, 680, Abb. 30/89/1 (2) (Fundort nicht angegeben).

10. Wurfspießspitze mit Schaft; aus Schmiedeeisen; kurzes Blatt mit pyramidenförmigem Profil; Befestigungsdorn; Länge des Blattes = 5 cm; Länge des Dornes = 7 cm.

Bajusz 2005, 521, Abb. 55/37 (Várhegy).

11. Wurfspießspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; pyramidenförmiges Blatt mit viereckigem Profil; mittelgroß; L = 10 cm.

Bajusz 2005, 521, Abb. 53/3 (Várhegy).

12. Pfeilspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; pyramidenförmiges Blatt mit viereckigem Profil; kurzer Dorn; Ausmaße nicht angegeben.

Bajusz 2005, 680, Abb. 39/89/1 (3) (Fundort nicht angegeben).

13. Pfeilspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; ungewöhnliches trapezförmiges Blatt; kurzer Befestigungsdorn; Gesamtlänge = 8cm; Blatt = 3,2 cm.

Bajusz 2005, 552, Abb. 43/98/1 (Várhegy).

All diese Fundstücke haben sehr nahestehende – wenn nicht sogar identische – Analogien unter den Waffen von Vindonissa:

**Tafel I:** 1. Unz-Deschler/Erb 1997, Taf. 16/247; 2. Taf. 17/271; 3. Taf. 17/273; 4. Taf. 16/255; 5. (Lanzenschaft) Taf. 18/301.

**Tafel II:** 6. Unz-Deschler/Erb 1997, Taf. 18/282; 7. Taf. 18/276; 8. Taf. 19/322.

**Tafel III:** 9. Unz-Deschler/Erb 1997, Taf. 23/508-510; 10-11. Taf. 22/421-423; 12. Taf. 22/429-430; 13. ich habe keine Analogien gefunden.

Waffen, die während der archäologischen Grabungen im Legionslager entdeckt wurden:

#### ***Tafel IV***

14. Pfeilspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; pyramidenförmiges Blatt; unklares Profil; Tülle mit dem Schlitz bis zum Blatt; L = 10 cm; Legionslager, nordwestlicher Eckturm.

Marta 1992, 17, Nr. XXIII/1, Taf. VII/168.

15. Pfeilspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; pyramidenförmiges Blatt mit dreieckigem Profil; am Ende gebogene Tülle; L = 19,3 cm; Länge des Blattes = 10,3 cm; Breite des Blattes = 1,5 cm; Durchmesser der Tülle = 1,6 cm; Legionslager, Baracke Nr. 5, Raum A.

Petolescu 2008, 236, Abb. 1/5.

16. Wurfspeerspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; pyramidenförmiges Blatt mit dreieckigem Profil; lange Tülle; L = 19 cm; Breite des Blattes = 1,9 cm; Legionslager, Prätorium.

Marta 1992, 17, Nr. XXIII/2, Taf. VII/169.

#### ***Pfeilspitzen***

17. Pfeilspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; pyramidenförmiges Blatt mit dreieckigem Profil; Tülle; die Spitze sehr abgestumpft; Lp = 3,5 cm; Durchmesser der Tülle = 1,2 cm; Legionslager, Prätorium.

Marta 1991, 44, Nr. XIX/2, Taf. IV/106.

18. Pfeilspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; pyramidenförmiges Blatt mit dreieckigem Profil; gebrochene Tülle; Lp = 6 cm; Durchmesser der Tülle = 1 cm; Legionslager, Prätorium.

Marta 1991, 44, Nr. XIX/8, Taf. IV/108.

19. Pfeilspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; pyramidenförmiges Blatt mit dreieckigem Profil; teilweise gebrochene Tülle; Lp = 7 cm; Durchmesser der Tülle = 1,2 cm; Legionslager, Prätorium.

Marta 1991, 44, Nr. XIX/3, Taf. IV/107.

20. Pfeilspitze; aus Schmiedeeisen; rundes (?) pyramidenförmiges Blatt; lange Tülle; L = 3,5 cm; Durchmesser der Tülle = 1,2 cm; Legionslager, porta principalis dextra.

Marta 1991, 44, Nr. XIX/5, Taf. IV/109.

21. Wurfspeerspitze; sehr klein; kann als lanzenförmige Pfeilspitze betrachtet werden; blattförmiges Blatt; lange Tülle; L = 4,5 cm; Durchmesser der Tülle = 1,2 cm; Legionslager, Prätorium.

Marta 1991, 44, Nr. XIX/1, Taf. IV/105.

Beim Vergleich dieser Waffen – diesmal in ihrer Gesamtheit – mit den Waffen für den Fernkampf aus den Kastellen für Hilfstruppen aus Dacia Porolissensis (vgl. Gudea 1994) können einige vorläufige Feststellungen formuliert werden. Vorläufige, weil die Anzahl der untersuchten Waffen verhältnismäßig gering ist:

- die Anzahl der Waffen für den Fernkampf ist sehr gering, auch dann, wenn die Zufallsfunde mit den Funden, die anlässlich von archäologischen Grabungen entdeckt wurden, zusammengerechnet werden;
- es kann aber die Anwesenheit der drei Hauptgruppen von Waffen für den Fernkampf (Lanzenspitzen, Wurfspeerspitzen, Pfeilspitzen) beobachtet werden; die Wurfspeerspitzen bilden die zahlreichste Gruppe; bemerkenswert scheint mir die Tatsache, daß im Legionslager bis jetzt nur Wurfspeerspitzen mit Tülle gefunden wurden;
- von den Lanzen sind die Haupttypen bekannt: mit weidenblattförmigem, birnenblattförmigem und trapezförmigem Blatt; alle sind Waffen mittlerer Größe;
- die Wurfspeere mit Tülle gehören zum Typus mit pyramidenförmigem Blatt und dreieckigem Profil; die Wurfspeere mit Schaft / Befestigungsdorn gehören zum Typus mit pyramidenförmigem Blatt und viereckigem Profil;
- die Pfeilspitzen gehören größtenteils zum Typus mit Tülle oder Dorn, aber mit pyramidenförmigem Blatt und dreieckigem Profil (dreikantige Pfeile genannt).

Es kann also – mit dem angemessenen Vorbehalt – behauptet werden, daß die Bewaffnung (die persönlichen Waffen) für den Fernkampf der Legion von Potaissa desselben Typus war wie jene der Hilfstruppen (vgl. N. Gudea<sup>27</sup>).

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<sup>27</sup> N. Gudea, *art. cit.*, in: Claus von Carnap-Hornheim (Hrsg.), *vol. cit.*, p. 81-89.

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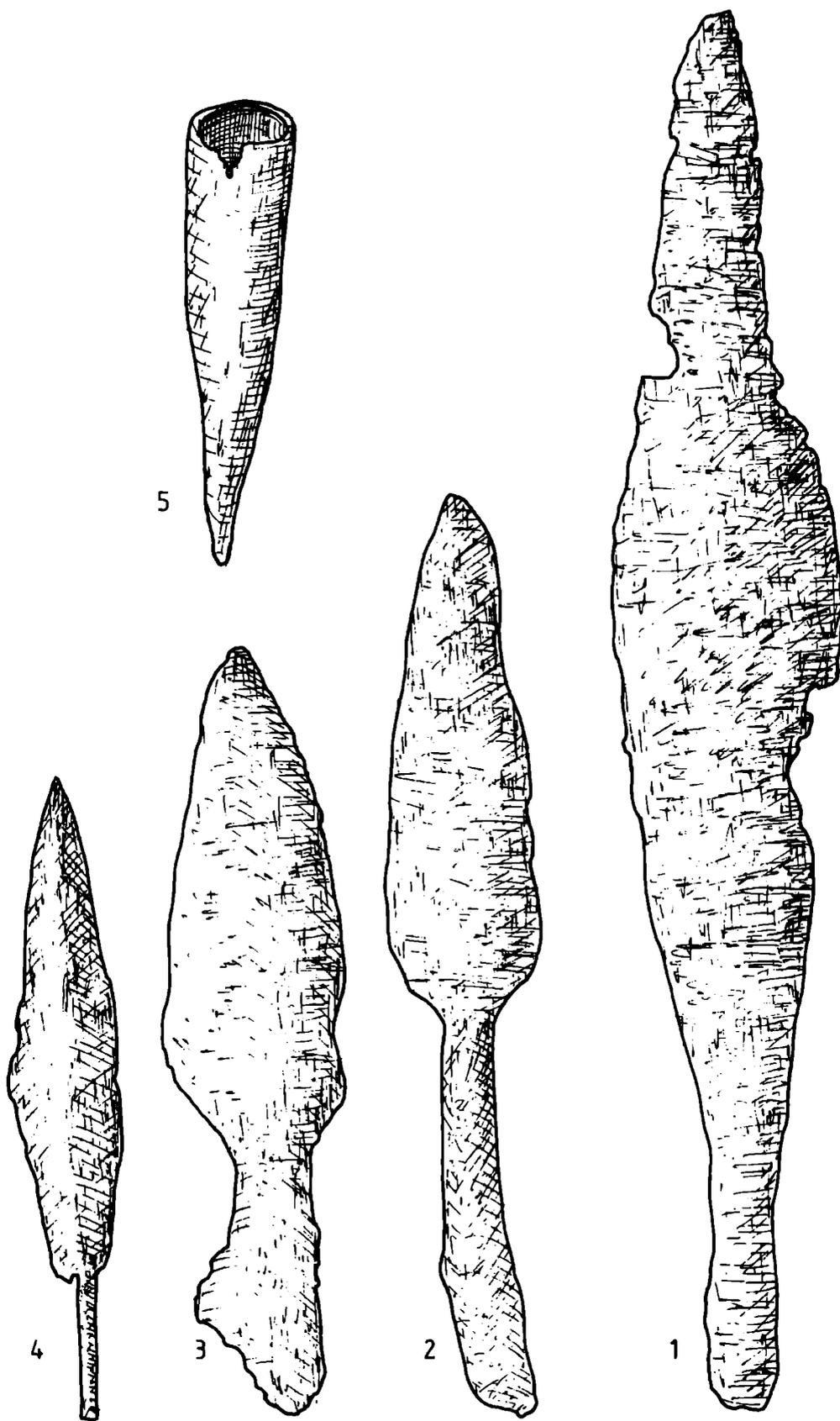
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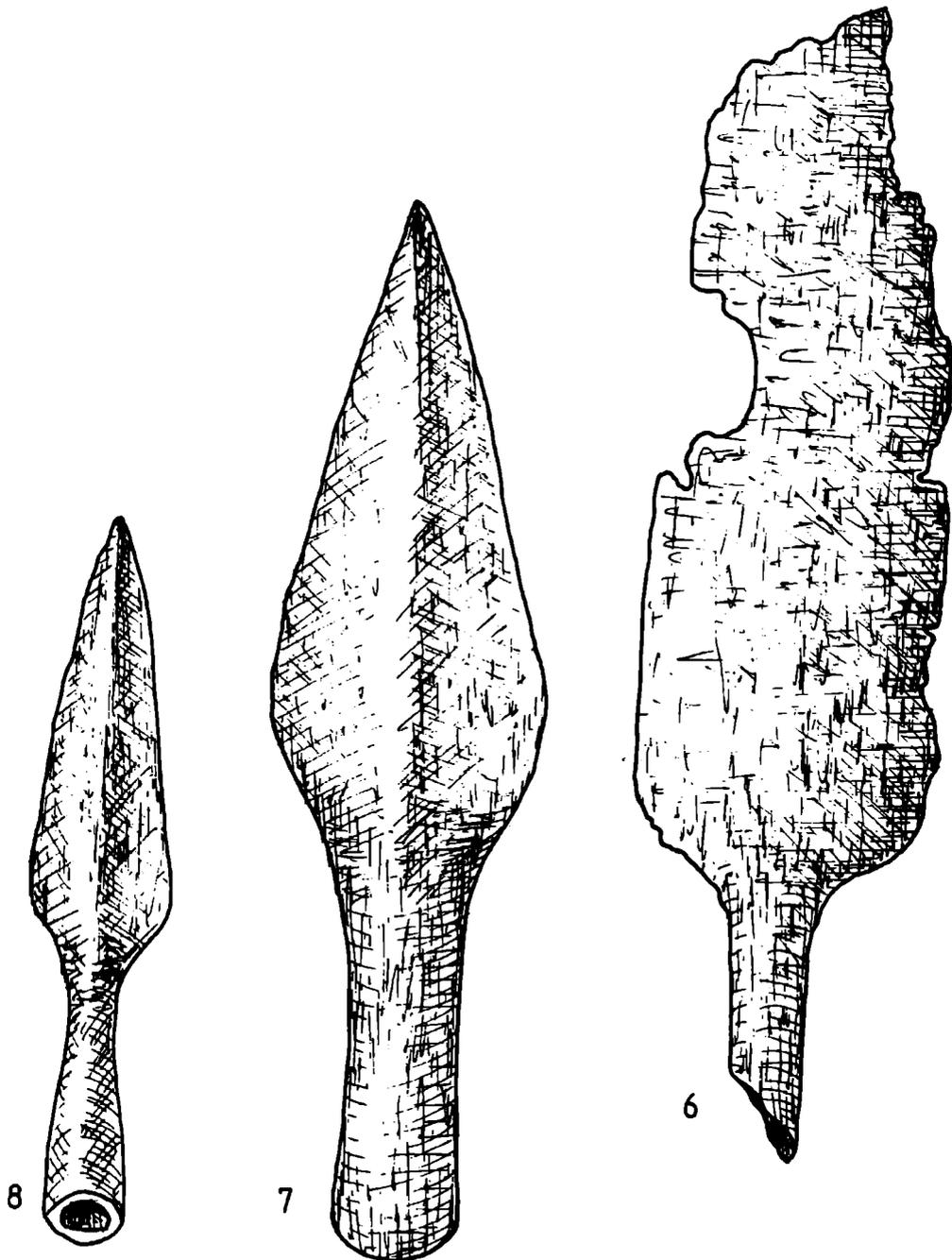
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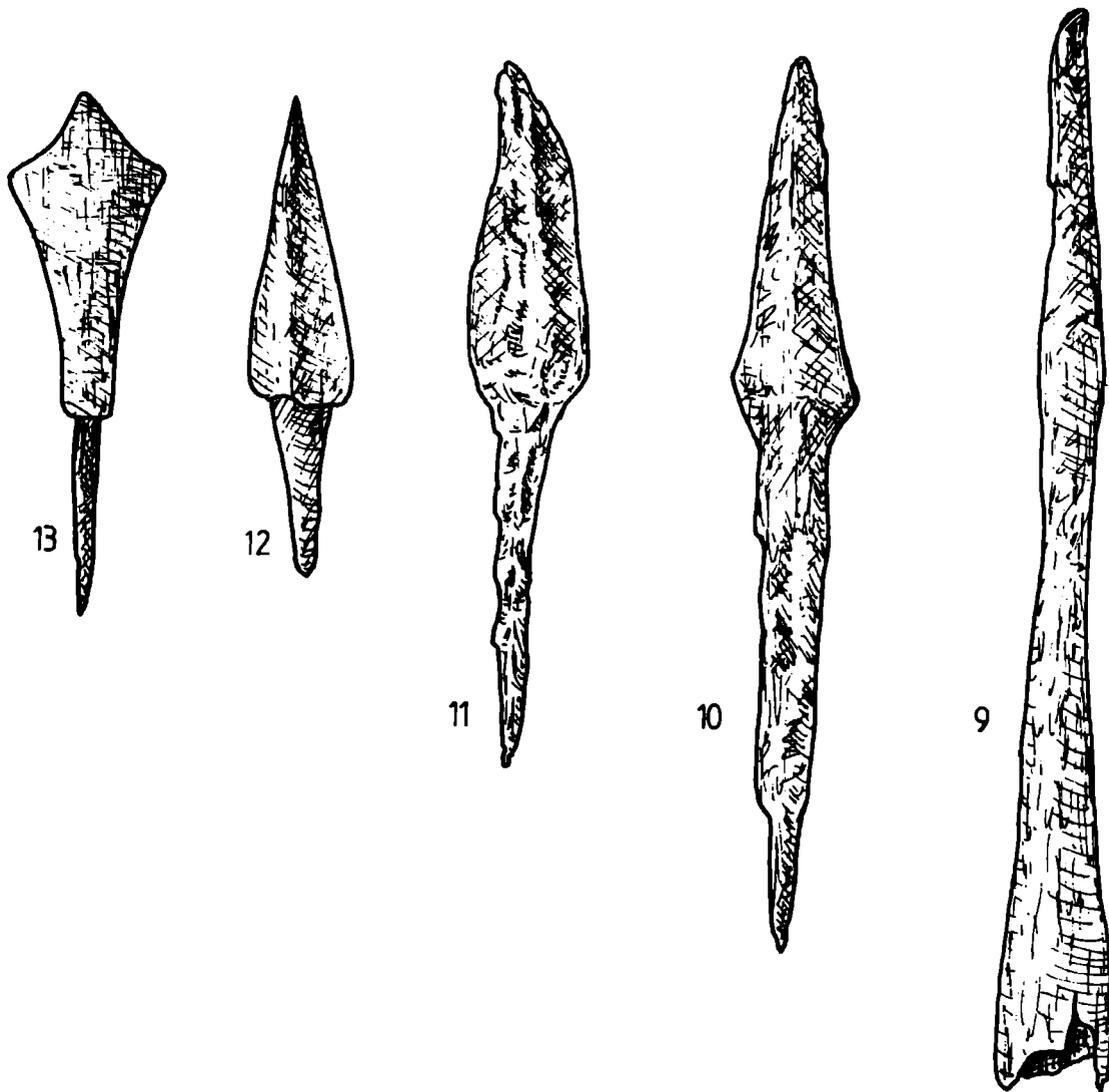
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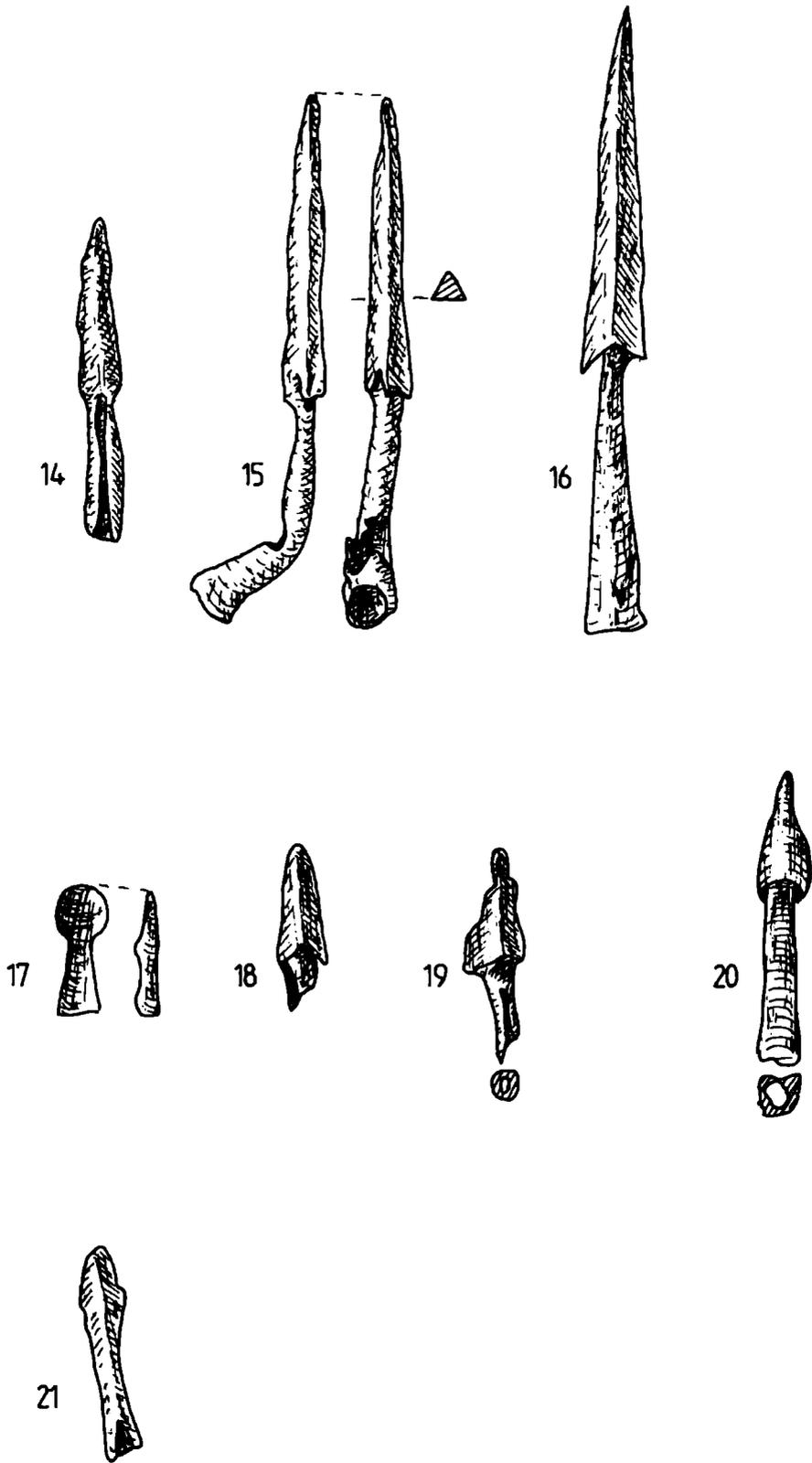
Figs. 1-5



Figs. 6-8



Figs. 9-13



Figs. 14-21

## A GERMANIC GRAVE INSIDE THE LATE ROMAN FORTIFICATION OF OF SUCIDAVA-CELEI

BONDOC Dorel\*

**Abstract.** *The issue of this article consists in re-discussing a grave in Sucidava, concerning its origin and chronology. There have occurred some differences in comparison with the date when it was published, a long time ago. Furthermore, its closest analogies have been retaken into consideration (Bistreț, Vădastra, Cioroiu Nou).*

**Keywords:** *Grave, sword, German.*

The Roman and late Roman archaeological monuments in Sucidava-Celei are impressive. The late Roman fortification (fig. 1), the civilian settlement (fig. 2), the road which ran north on the Valley of the Olt River (fig. 3), the bridge of Constantine the Great (fig. 4), the port facilities and furnishings, the craft workshops, and last but not least, the cemeteries and isolated graves make up a complex picture, rarely met for the region of the north of the Lower Danube<sup>1</sup>.

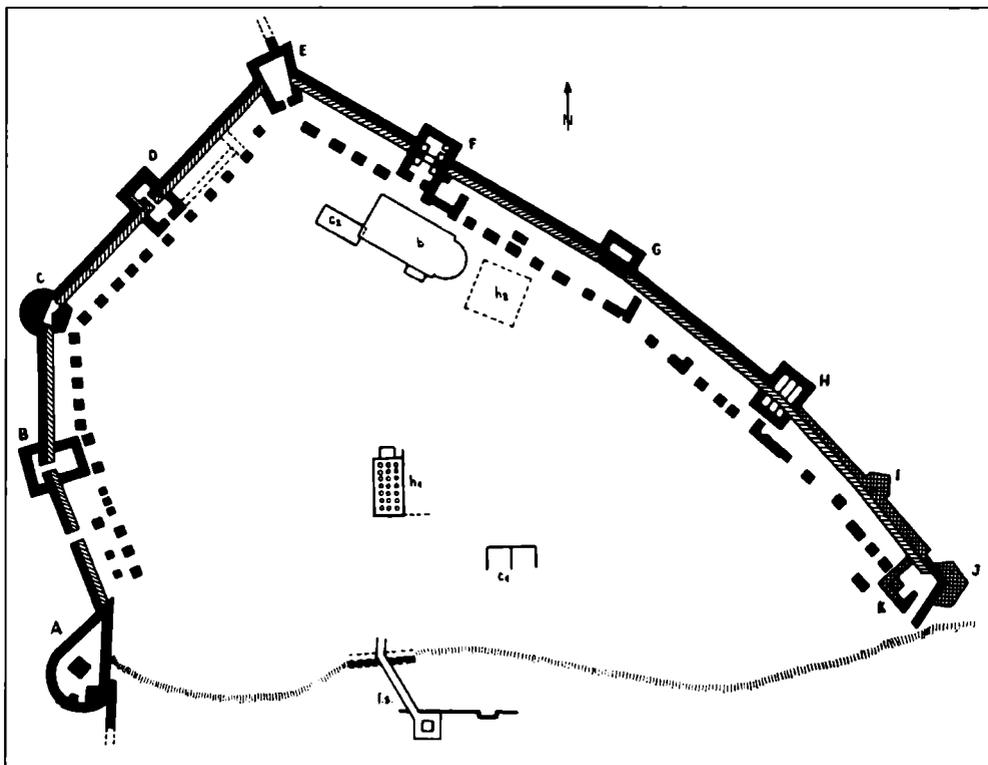


Fig. 1. The late Roman fortification of Sucidava, acc. to O. Toropu.

\* PhD Curator, The Museum of Oltenia, Craiova.

<sup>1</sup> For Sucidava-Celei, see D. Tudor, *Sucidava. Une cité daco-romaine et byzantine en Dacie*, Bruxelles, 1965; Idem, *Sucidava*, București, 1966; Idem, *Sucidava*, Craiova, 1974; O. Toropu, C. Tătulea, *Sucidava Celei*. București 1987; Gh. Popilian, D. Bondoc, *The Roman and Late Roman cemetery of Sucidava-Celei. The excavations from 1969-1983*, Craiova 2012.

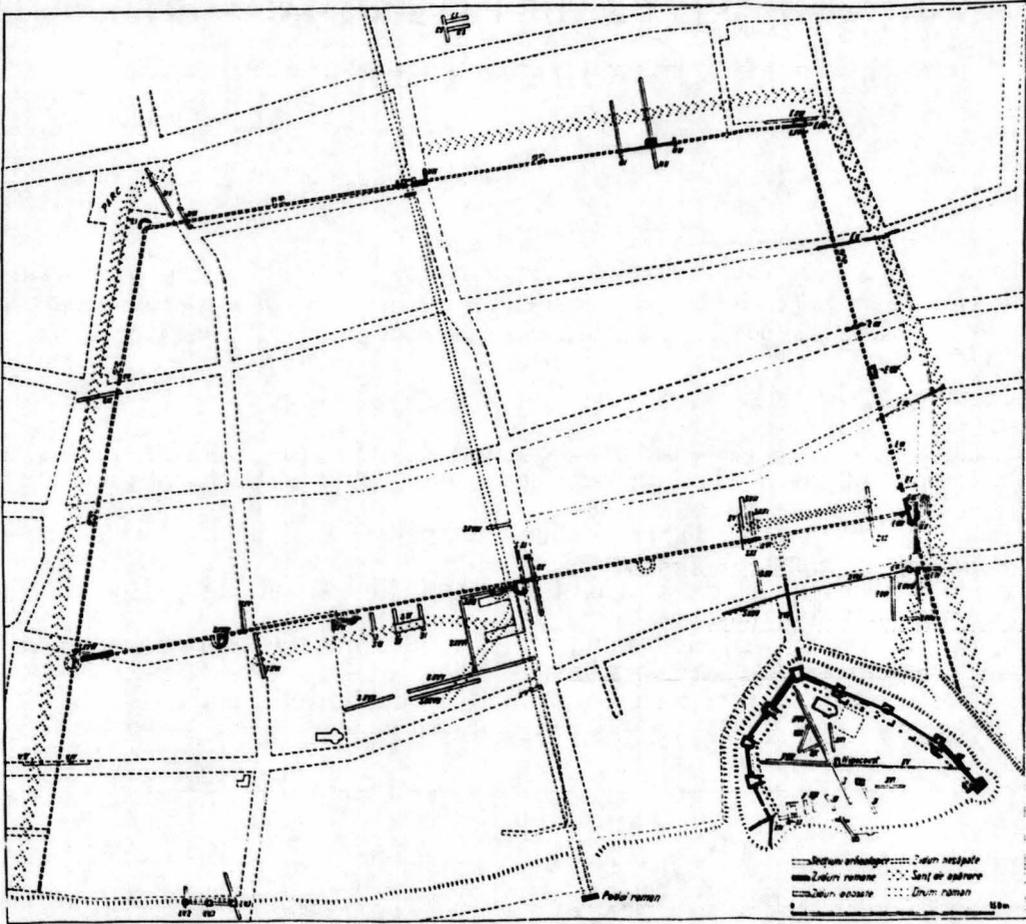


Fig. 2. The civilian settlement of Sucidava, acc. to E. Bujor, D. Tudor.

From all the archaeological discoveries made here over the years, we have to mention inscriptions and sculptural pieces, pottery, isolated coins and hoards, tiles and stamped bricks, lamps, bone objects, iron objects, bronze objects, objects of lead, glass vessels, weapons, pieces of military equipment and clothing accessories, etc.

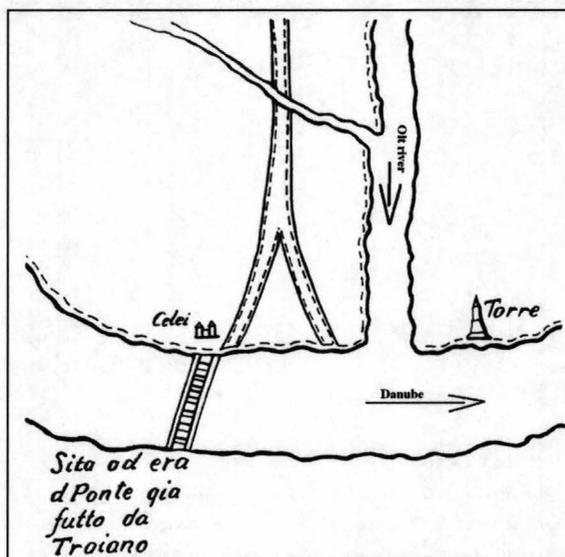


Fig. 3. The Roman road on the Valley of the Olt River, acc. to C. Cantacuzino.

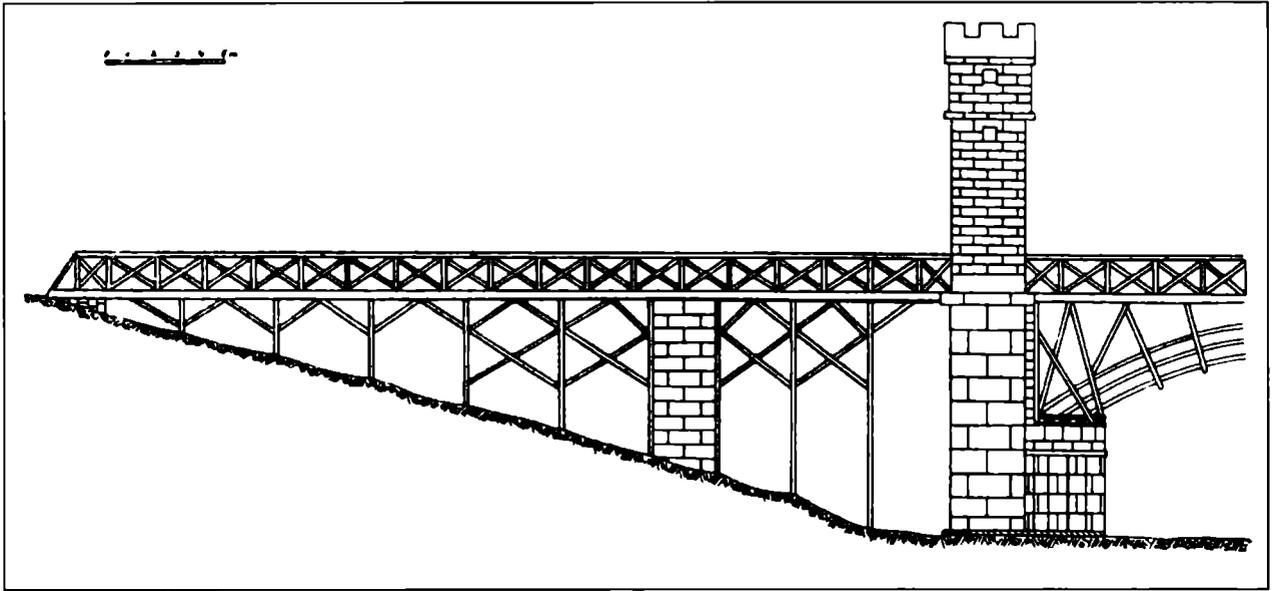


Fig. 4. The bridge of Constantine the Great, acc. to O. Toropu.

Some discoveries and objects are in contrast with those enumerated above, because of their origin and their owners. Given the characteristics of these discoveries and the archaeological context, it is not difficult to appreciate that some of them are of Germanic origin.

Such Germanic artifacts discovered at Sucidava have already been reported in the specialized literature<sup>2</sup>.

In addition to this subject there can be added others, as it follows.

\*

1. The subject of this article is an inhumation grave (fig. 5), found inside the settlement of the late Roman fortification Sucidava-Celei, during the excavations conducted by Prof. O. Toropu. Here is the context of discovery, as it was surprised by the discoverer:

*To the West of the early-Byzantine basilica, there was discovered an isolated inhumation grave. The skeleton, oriented SSE-NNW, belonging to an adult, was buried in a simple pit. The deceased was laid on the back with the legs and arms outstretched. The deceased was buried with a few objects: a shapeless and strongly oxidized piece of iron- at the foot; a bronze coin- near the left palm; an atypical piece of iron, which was "welded" by oxidation, a silver coin-to the eastern side of the skull; a gilded bronze buckle- in the pelvis area; two bronze applied ornaments- on the left side of the pelvis; an iron sword with wooden handle - under the left forearm; a fragmentary dagger (?) of iron - between the backbone and the right forearm. Both coins were passed through fire and cannot be determined<sup>3</sup>.*

<sup>2</sup> D. Tudor, *Sucidava III. Quatrième (1942), cinquième (1943) et sixième (1945) campagnes de fouilles et recherches archéologiques dans la forteresse de Celei, département de Romanași.* – Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, XI-XII (1945-1947), București, 1948, p. 197 and fig. 41/16; O. Toropu, C. Tătulea, *op.cit.*, p. 98-99, fig. 23/1-2.

<sup>3</sup> O. Toropu, C. Tătulea, *op.cit.*, p. 94-95.

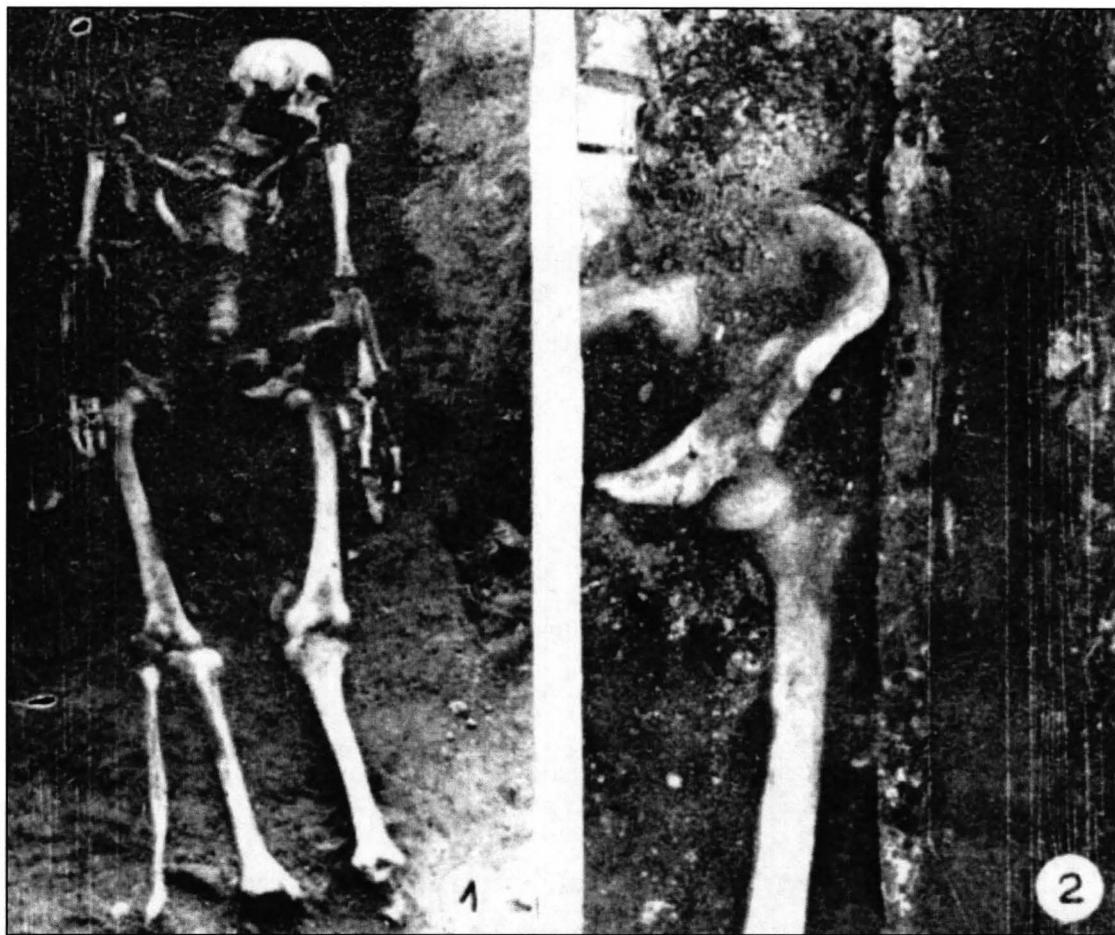


Fig. 5. The Germanic inhumation grave of Sucidava, acc. O. Toropu, C. Tătulea.

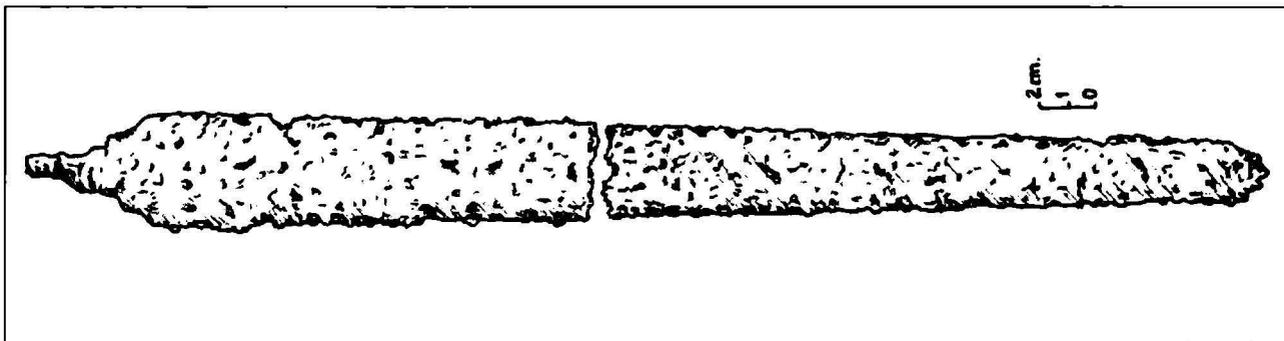


Fig. 6. The iron sword from the Germanic grave of Sucidava, acc. to L. Amon.

Later, the iron sword (fig. 6) was published in a paper dealing with weapons and the military equipment of the Roman period in Oltenia<sup>4</sup>. Despite the poor state of preservation (corroded, damaged, fragmented), it was possible to make a few observations and findings as it follows: the sword had been placed in a wooden sheath covered in metal; the blade is straight, sharpening

<sup>4</sup> L.D. Amon, *Armamentul și echipamentul armatei romane din dacia sud-carpatică*, Craiova, 2004, p. 179, no. 26 and pl. XVII/2.

gradually to the top; the blade length-44cm, the maximum width- 4cm; the preserved length of the handle- 3cm. The grave was dated in the second half of the fourth century<sup>5</sup>.

From the beginning, the presence of a grave inside a fortification during this period is unusual. Perhaps this would not be a drawback, but rather the laying of weapons in graves was not customary in that period, nor in the Roman graves<sup>6</sup>, and generally<sup>7</sup>, nor in those belonging to Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov Culture<sup>8</sup>.

Therefore, I will retake here the discussion concerning the ethnic origin and the chronology of this grave.

The skeleton as it was laid and how it was kept does not provide good clues for dating or for determining the ethnic origin. The laying of the dead with outstretched arms and legs, (the head to the left- down in this position !) is common in the Roman and late Roman necropolises.

Only the inventory of the tomb can bring further information. The presence of a sword indicates that it is the grave of a warrior.

The buckle of gilded bronze, the two bronze applied ornaments and the knife have not been published (lost ?), but the atypical piece of iron placed east of the skull could be a flint. In these circumstances, the grave we are presenting here belonged to a Germanic person.

2. The closest and the best analogy for the grave at Sucidava, about which we discussed above, comes also from the line of the Danube, from Bistreț<sup>9</sup>.

It is about an inhumation grave (fig. 7), oriented NNV 6050°/00 – SSE 2850°/00. The preserved inventory (fig. 8) consists of the following items: a sword, a silver buckle, two bronze rivets, an iron knife, a flint and a piece of silex, a fragmentary ring and other iron fragment which cannot be determined.

Unlike the grave at Sucidava, in Bistreț was arranged on the hill *Lazăru*, therefore not within the late Roman fortification here, but a little farther. The inventory of the grave provides a reasonable dating in the second half of the fifth century<sup>10</sup>, perhaps by the end of this period<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> O. Toropu, C. Tătulea, *op.cit.*, p. 95; L. Amon, *op. cit.*, p. 179, no. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Gh. Popilian, D. Bondoc, *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> I. Ioniță, *Contribuții cu privire la cultura Sintana de Mureș- Cerneahov pe teritoriul Republicii Socialiste România*, Arheologia Moldovei, IV, 1966, p. 237; O. Toropu, *Romanitatea târzie și străromânii în Dacia traiană sud-carpatică*, Craiova 1976, p. 116; R. Harhoiu, *Tezaurul de la Pietroasa în lumina noilor cercetări*, Alexandru Odobescu. Opere, IV, București 1976 (ed. M. Babeș), p. 1024.

<sup>8</sup> Exceptions to this rule are two graves in the necropolis of Drăgănești-Olt, according to G. Trohani, G. Zorzolui, *O necropolă din secolul al IV-lea e.n. descoperită la Drăgănești-Olt*, în *Cercetări arheologice*, 6, 1983, p. 210 (grave no. 6) and p. 214 (grave no. 9), if they are not to be susceptible to another dating. Also, some graves of Pietroasa, whose inventory included and swords, according to R. Harhoiu, *op. cit.*, p. 1024, note 164.

<sup>9</sup> D. Marcu, *Un mormânt de înmușare descoperit la Bistreț, jud. Dolj*, Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie, 38, 2, 1987, p. 184-191; R. Harhoiu, *Die frühe Völkerwanderungszeit in Rumänien*, Bukarest 1998, p. 162, no. 9, taf. LXXXIII/A.

<sup>10</sup> R. Harhoiu, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>11</sup> D. Marcu, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

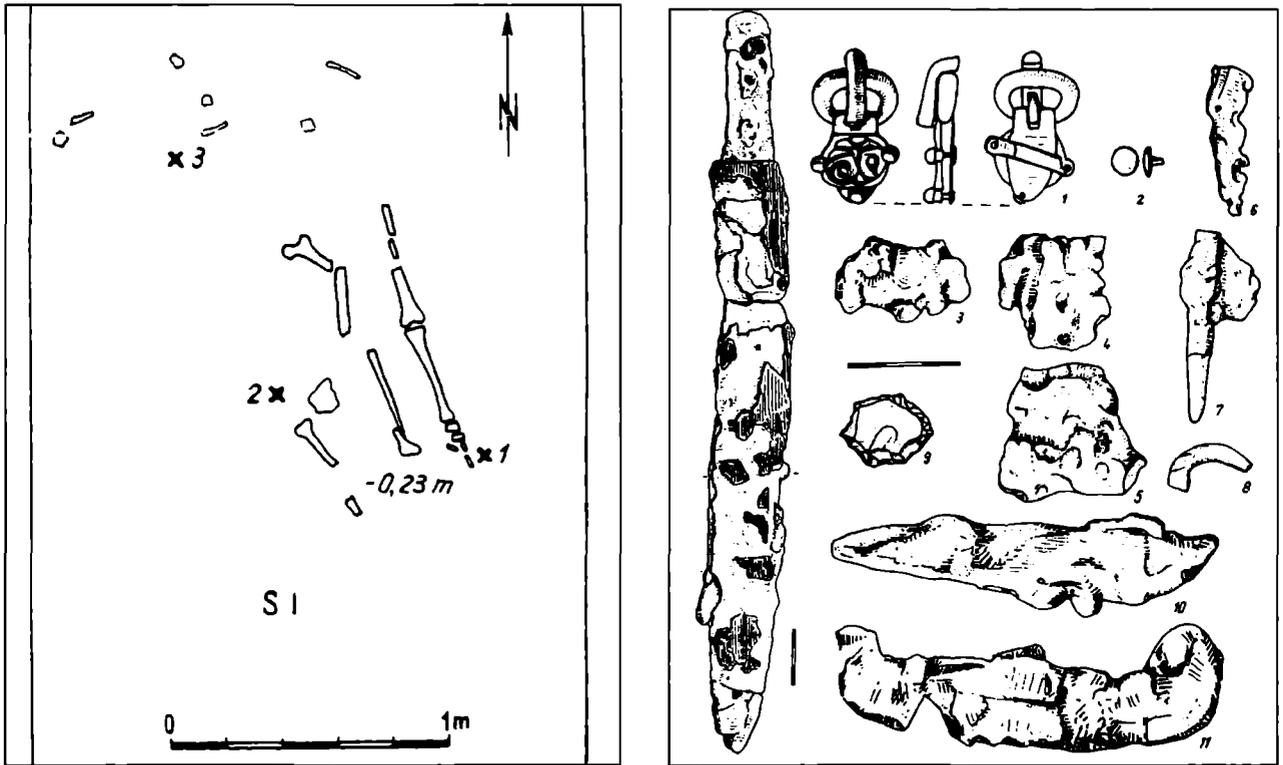


Fig. 7-8. The inhumation grave of Bistreț, acc. to D. Marcu.

3. Another notable analogy in the sense that we are discussing here is the inhumation grave (fig. 9) discovered on the hillock *Cetate* in Vădastra<sup>12</sup>, this locality is a little further-approx. 20 km north of the Danube.

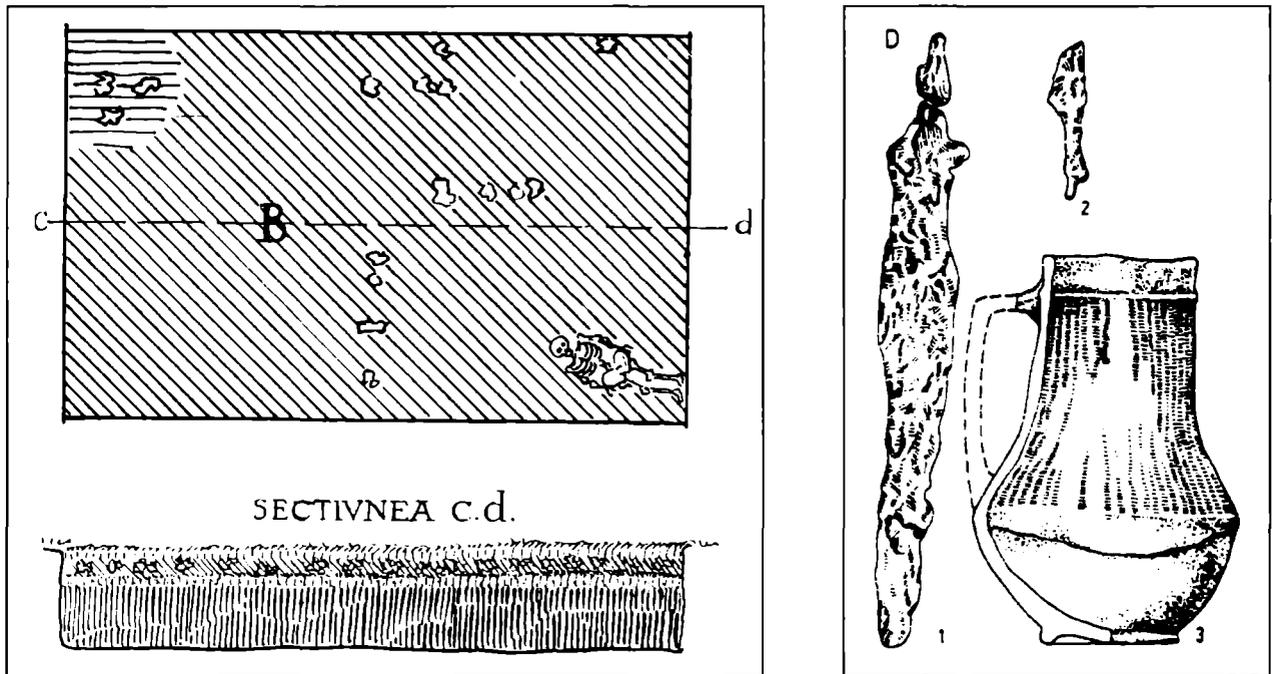


Fig. 9-10. The inhumation grave of Vădastra, acc. to V. Christescu and R. Harhoiu.

<sup>12</sup> V. Christescu, *Les stations préhistoriques de Vădastra, Dacia. Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie*, III-IV (1927-1932), Bukarest 1933, p. 209; R. Harhoiu, *op. cit.*, p. 193, no. 95.

The grave was oriented W-E and it has an interesting inventory (fig. 10). Besides a sword (similar to those found at Sucidava and Bistreț)<sup>13</sup>, the grave in Vădastra contains a mug<sup>14</sup>, a knife<sup>15</sup>, a link and a fragment from a bracelet<sup>16</sup>, which ensure a reasonable dating in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>17</sup>.

4. Finally, another contemporary grave with those mentioned here has been discovered at Cioroiu Nou and has been largely dated in the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup>.

It is about a grave of a child, oriented SW-NE. Its dating has been precised after the only inventory item was published- a buckle<sup>19</sup> (fig. 11), from the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>20</sup>.

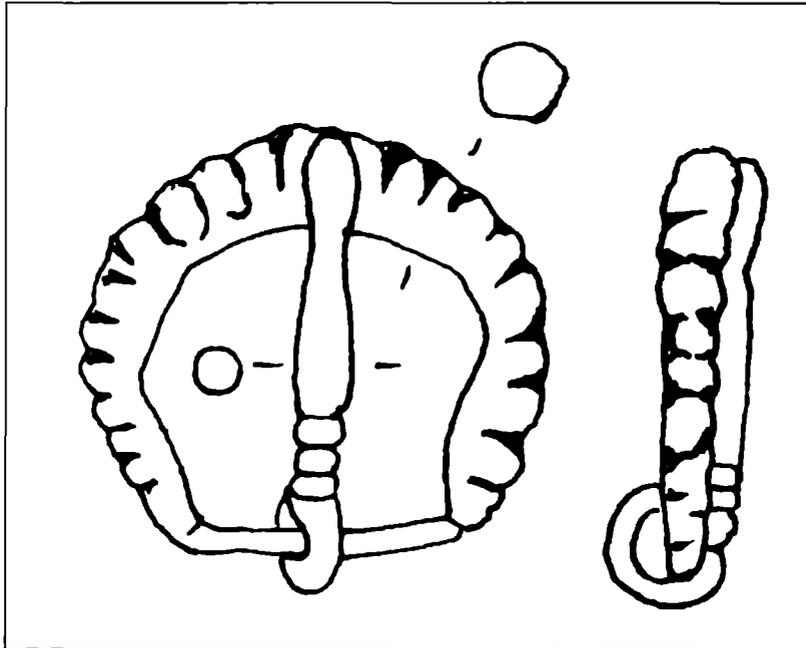


Fig. 11. The buckle from the inhumation grave of Cioroiu Nou, acc. to R. Harhoiu.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL COMMENT

The four graves presented here have a few similar objects in the inventory, as it follows: swords, knives, belt buckles, rings.

The swords were made of iron and they are short-measuring 44cm (Sucidava), 40cm (Bistreț), respectively, 35cm (Vădastra) - therefore they were used for close combat.

All three swords are edged on both sides, so they were weapons designed for stabbing and especially for hitting and cutting.

<sup>13</sup> V. Christescu, *op. cit.*, p. 224, fig. 65/1; R. Harhoiu, *op. cit.*, taf. LXXXIII/D1.

<sup>14</sup> V. Christescu, *op. cit.*, p. 218, fig. 58/1, p. 220, fig. 60/2; R. Harhoiu, *op. cit.*, taf. LXXXIII/D3.

<sup>15</sup> V. Christescu, *op. cit.*, p. 224, fig. 65/2; R. Harhoiu *op. cit.*, taf. LXXXIII/D2.

<sup>16</sup> V. Christescu *op. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>17</sup> R. Harhoiu *op. cit.*, p. 85, typ IV.3.1.4.

<sup>18</sup> O. Toropu, *op. cit.*, p. 66, 83, 208.

<sup>19</sup> R. Harhoiu, *op. cit.*, p. 170, no. 27.

<sup>20</sup> R. Harhoiu, *op. cit.*, p. 106-107, typ IV.5.2.1.

All of them had wooden handles and sheaths, and were worn on the left hip, suspended from a belt through a ring.

The two bronze rivets tomb at Bistreț seems to have served to fix the diagonal (*balteus*) down on right shoulder<sup>21</sup>. The swords of this type were widely used during the Hunnish period<sup>22</sup>, and especially in the second half of the fifth century<sup>23</sup>. Iron knives were laid in graves at Sucidava, Bistreț and Vădastra. No special features. They probably had wooden handles.

They were worn on the right side, probably suspended from the belt. Buckles (belt or strap or footwear) have been discovered in tombs at Sucidava, Bistreț and Cioroiu Nou.

The graves at Sucidava, Vădastra, Bistreț and Cioroiu Nou and others, represent a separate issue from the late Roman period north of the Danube. The presence of these isolated graves raise the question of the existence of a funerary "horizon"<sup>24</sup> characterized by the following traits:

- a. the practice of inhumation in simple pits;
- b. in general, these are graves belonging to warriors (less Cioroiu New, where we are dealing with the grave of a child);
- c. the inventory of the graves contains weapons and military equipment (swords, knives, buckles, rivets).
- d. there is no evidence to suggest that these warriors were horsemen, but rather pedestrians.

This type of graves was found not only near the line of the Danube or in its vicinity. An inhumation grave having as an inventory a sword (L- 38cm) and a glass was discovered at Ghenci, Maramureș County<sup>25</sup>.

Another similar grave was discovered at Oradea and its inventory consisted only in a sword (L- 34cm)<sup>26</sup> and three arrow points.

Most likely, as already stated<sup>27</sup>, it is about heterogeneous populations that were allied to the Huns, the Ostrogoths and the Alans having a dominant role<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> For a reconstitution, see J. Oldenstein, *Die spätromische Armee, Attila und die Hunnen*. Herausgegeben vom Historischen Museum der Pfalz Speyer, Stuttgart 2007, p. 198.

<sup>22</sup> M. Kazanski, *Archéologie des peuples barbares* (ed. V. Spinei), București-Brăila, 2009, p. 282, fig. 4.

<sup>23</sup> D. Quast, *Auf der Suche nach fremden Männer – Die Herleitung schmalen Langsaxe vor dem Hintergrund der alamannisch- donauländischen Kontakte der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts*, Germanen Beiderseits des Spätantiken Limes (Herausgeber: T. Fischer, G. Precht, J. Tejral), Köln-Brno, 1999, p. 115-128.

<sup>24</sup> D. Marcu, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>25</sup> I. Némethi, *Descoperiri funerare din sec. V e.n. lângă Carei*, SCIV, 2, 1970, p. 505-506.

<sup>26</sup> R. Harhoiu, *op. cit.*, p. 183 with the bibliography and taf. XCVI/1-4.

<sup>27</sup> O. Toropu, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>28</sup> The presence of the Gepids in Oltenia, could not be documented until now, according to O. Toropu, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

The dating in the second half of the fifth century (the middle or the end of this century) is surely a chronological reference point. No doubt, at this time, the Oltenian plain, as well as the entire area north of the Lower Danube, was dominated by these warriors.

*Translated by dr. Mihaela Pena*

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## FORMES ET INFLUENCES BOGOMILES DANS L'EUROPE AU MOYEN ÂGE

PĂTULARU Ionuț Valentin \*

**Abstract.** *In the middle Ages, the Christian thought is still conserving its mystical form, dogmatized, but it gets a more open form, permitting in this way the infiltration of critical opinions and philosophical commentaries, in the frame of the medieval thinking. One of the new manifestations of this new way of thinking is the Bogomilism, a heresy that greatly influenced the atmosphere of the ecumenical debates in the European East and also in the West, with the big movement of the Cathars. The Bogomilism, like the Mazdanism, had not only a religious dimension, but a social one as well. The ideological base of these medieval heresies is the dualist teaching about the antique opposition between the principles of the Good and of the Evil, teaching that characterizes also the Manichaeism or in the Mazdanism, which considered the material world as made by an evil demiurge, and the man soul as created by the Good God. Taking as a starting point the medieval world produced by the Evil, the heretics preached the return to the simplicity of the early Christian life, rejecting the Christian church and its rituals.*

**Keywords:** *Bogomils, Cathars, Byzantine Empire, eastern and western medieval heresies, inquisition, Balkan and Romanian Bogomil tombs.*

Le Moyen Âge a été une époque non seulement de grandes et éloquentes convergences, mais aussi une période de confrontation des contraires, qui substituent peu à peu la pensée contemplative ancrée dans des spéculations abstraites, traçant ainsi une attitude vindicative, active et militante. Le christianisme conserve encore sa forme mystique et dogmatique, mais il acquiert aussi une conformation plus ouverte, permettant la pénétration d'une infusion critique, de commentaires philosophiques même s'ils se maintiennent au niveau de la pensée médiévale. C'est justement le cas du bogomilisme, hérésie qui a influencé en grande mesure les débats œcuméniques non seulement de l'Église orientale, mais aussi de l'église occidentale par le mouvement des Cathars.

Le bogomilisme, comme le mazdéïsme, ont présenté non seulement un côté religieux, mais aussi un caractère social accentué. La base idéologique de ces hérésies médiévales est constituée par la doctrine dualiste concernant l'antagonisme entre le principe du bien et le principe du mal, doctrine qui se retrouve autant dans le manichéisme que dans le mazdéïsme, qui considéraient le monde matériel comme le résultat de l'influence du mal, tandis que l'âme humaine, ainsi que tout ce qui est spirituel, sont la création de Dieu, donc du bien.<sup>1</sup> Partant de l'idée que tout le monde médiéval est un produit du mal, les hérétiques prêchaient le retour à la simplicité de vie du christianisme primitif, réfutant l'église ses rites. Les églises chrétiennes dominantes dans l'Occident

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\* Dr. Directeur du Collège National Ștefan Velovan, Craiova.

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopedia Universalis*, vol. III, Paris, 1969-1975, p. 387-388.

et dans l'Orient, en alliance avec le pouvoir de l'État féodal, ont étouffé sans merci tous les mouvements spontanés des masses populaires, y compris les mouvements hérétiques.

Allant jusqu'à des mesures extrêmes, la papauté a créé, à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, un tribunal ecclésiastique spécial, appelé 'La Sainte Inquisition'. Sur la base d'une simple dénonciation, les hérétiques, réels ou soupçonnés, étaient portés devant les juges et soumis à des tortures terribles, à l'holocauste, « pour sauver leurs âmes ».

« En commençant avec le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'Inquisition a été mise sous la direction de l'ordre des dominicains. »<sup>2</sup>

En comparaison avec les églises chrétiennes de l'Orient, l'église catholique a été confrontée au Moyen Âge avec un nombre plus grand de sectes et d'hérésies et nous constatons que la majorité des hérésies ont eu comme point initial le bogomilisme.

«Le substrat social qui favorise l'apparition des sectes, ainsi que leurs implications sociales diffèrent d'une époque à l'autre, d'une secte à l'autre ou d'un groupe de sectes à l'autre ; on constate des différences d'une zone géographique ou d'un pays à l'autre. »<sup>3</sup>

Selon Jean Vernet, «le phénomène des hérésies et leur zone de manifestation a eu des implications sur les églises ».<sup>4</sup> Cette remarque est valable pour la société médiévale européenne dans son ensemble aussi, tant pour les zones où se manifestait l'église orthodoxe, dans la péninsule balkanique, que dans les zones affiliées à l'Église catholique dans l'Europe occidentale.

Le bogomilisme a été une des hérésies médiévales qui ont eu des effets profonds, avec des influences religieuses et culturelles assez prononcées dans l'espace balkanique dans son entier, ainsi que sur toutes les formes d'hérésies médiévales occidentales. Il a été consolidé aussi par d'autres doctrines hérétiques comme le paulicianisme.<sup>5</sup>

Cette secte avait ses racines dans le mécontentement évident du peuple par rapport à «l'église dirigeante » qui avait un statut matériel et social privilégié. Dans la pensée sociale du peuple on constate dans les principautés danubiennes (la Valachie et la Moldavie) une évolution dans un rythme plus lent, avec des doutes et des timidités dues à la mentalité orthodoxe, qui continuait à maintenir son autorité. En fait, le mouvement tente à corriger les anomalies apparues comme une infraction par rapport au christianisme populaire, basé sur le principe d'une parfaite égalité. ?

<sup>2</sup> S. A. Tokarev, *Religia in istoria popoarelor lumii*, Editura Politică, București, 1982, p. 440.

<sup>3</sup> Petre Hladchi Bucovineanu, *Fațete reale ale sectelor religioase*, Editura Politică, București, 1983, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Jean Vernet, *Sectele*, Editura Meridiane, București, 1996, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Encyclopedia Universalis*, vol. III, p. 387-388.

Le sentiment religieux est proclamé au nom de la majorité du peuple qui doit y trouver les vrais fondements, dans ce que Dieu a semé dans les hommes – les nécessités de la vie, la capacité de faire la différence entre le bien et le mal, l’aspiration vers le bonheur. Dans la littérature bogomile surtout, l’acte de foi arrive à avoir un sens seulement si basé sur la connaissance. Pour cette raison la littérature inspirée par cette doctrine a un sens supérieur, positif, de valorisation qui doit être apprécié positivement dans le cadre de la culture médiévale.

Cette attitude a été renforcée par l’organisation de la vie monastique et par l’attitude des princes régnants roumains (*les voïvods*) ainsi que par les classes dirigeantes, formées par des seigneurs féodaux (*boyards*), grands propriétaires terriers, liés à l’évolution religieuse, bâtisseurs d’églises et de monastères et protecteurs de la culture religieuse.

Cette attitude se conserve au cours de plusieurs siècles et s’accroît à l’époque de l’expansion ottomane, quand la Moldavie et surtout la Valachie sont devenues des bastions de l’orthodoxie, offrant asile aux réfugiés du sud du Danube. Dans de telles circonstances, on s’explique bien l’unité de la foi orthodoxe sur les territoires roumains. Il se manifeste une certaine ‘byzantinisation’ de la société dans les relations économiques au X<sup>e</sup> siècle, spécialement dans le développement de grandes propriétés terrières au détriment des propriétés terrières petites, et la tendance toujours plus accentuée des paysans de trouver de l’aide auprès de grands latifundiaires.<sup>6</sup> Ces manifestations sociales peuvent être trouvées assez souvent dans l’Empire Byzantin au X<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais il est encore prématuré d’affirmer que « ces tendances de féodalisation étaient tout aussi évidentes dans la Bulgarie du X<sup>e</sup> siècle. »<sup>7</sup>

Ces mécanismes de l’évolution sociale ont conduit à un appauvrissement massif des paysans qui se sont révoltés contre le féodalisme pratiqué par l’église. L’église orthodoxe de Bulgarie héritait dans une large mesure le système byzantin, se trouvant sous l’autorité canonique du Patriarche de Constantinople, la plus grande patriarchie médiévale, dotée d’une très large influence.

Essentiellement, la révolte des paysans bulgares de la seconde moitié du X<sup>e</sup> siècle montre l’adversité des paysans contre la culture byzantine dominante, qui était en forte expansion et contre «le système féodal centralisé, contre les seigneurs bulgares et grecs.»<sup>8</sup> Le mouvement social et culturel des paysans bulgares aura des composantes religieuses aussi, qui représenteront en fait la naissance du bogomilisme dans ce contexte caractérisé par l’hégémonie byzantine. L’impact impressionnant qui a rendu le bogomilisme si populaire dans la Bulgarie médiévale met en relief la situation de la « culture et des institutions byzantins dans un pays qui gravitait dans l’orbite de

<sup>6</sup> Dimitri Obolensky, *Un commonwealth medieval: Bizanțul*, Editura Corint, București, 2002, p. 136.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>8</sup> Steven Runciman, *Le manichéisme médiéval*, Paris, 1949, p. 65.

l'Empire et qui aurait pu arrêter cette hégémonie avec les mêmes armes que celles employées par les Byzantins. »<sup>9</sup>

Dimitri Obolensky précisait que les plus efficaces propagateurs de la culture byzantine dans un pays récemment converti au christianisme, comme la Bulgarie, étaient les prêtres, autant les popes grecs ou byzantins que les popes locaux qui s'efforçaient à insuffler au peuple la loyauté envers l'église de Constantinople. Malgré le fait qu'il existait une certaine autonomie du patriarcat bulgare, cette indépendance était plutôt théorique, car du point de vue canonique le patriarcat bulgare devait se soumettre au patriarche de Constantinople. Une partie des évêques « étaient devenus de grands propriétaires terriens, perdant ainsi le contact étroit avec les fidèles. Les prêtres ont été accusés par les bogomiles de mener une vie immorale, de fainéantise, d'ivrognerie et de détournement d'argent. »<sup>10</sup>

L'évêque Cosmas, qui faisait partie du clergé orthodoxe, a reconnu que ces accusations étaient fondées, imputant toute la responsabilité de la diffusion du bogomilisme au comportement immoral des prêtres. En plus, une autre partie du clergé (les moines) s'est beaucoup développée au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle en Bulgarie et elle a eu une grande contribution au progrès spirituel et culturel du peuple, christianisant une grande partie des païens. Pourtant, une bonne partie de ces religieux n'avait pas le niveau requis pour leur mission, menant une vie décadente. D'autres religieux ont été contaminés par le dualisme manichéiste selon lequel le corps est mauvais, et le mariage un obstacle inutile sur la voie de la rédemption.

Les bogomiles ont profité de leurs idées religieuses et de «leur réputation de saints pour discréditer la tradition byzantine dans le domaine sensible de la théorie politique, conformément à laquelle le roi gouverne par la volonté de Dieu.»<sup>11</sup> La théorie de l'origine divine du roi était considérée au Byzance une nécessité pour la perspective politique des pays qui dépendaient de l'Empire Byzantin aussi.

Le bogomilisme, à côté de la forme de proteste social, a été aussi un mouvement sectaire, qui a eu une grande influence autant dans l'Orient que dans l'Occident européen. Ce mouvement apparaît au X<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais a des sources beaucoup plus anciennes et il peut être rencontré jusqu'au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et même plus tard, au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Conformément aux dernières recherches, on observe que le bogomilisme représente « non seulement un prolongement à travers les siècles de la conception dualiste persane et gnostique et, en même temps, un mouvement contestataire contre ce

<sup>9</sup> Dimitri Obolensky, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem.*, p. 145.

qu'on pourrait appeler l'Église dirigeante du système byzantin. »<sup>12</sup> Le bogomilisme a agi surtout en Bulgarie, en Bosnie et en Serbie, se prolongeant ensuite sous diverses formes non seulement dans l'Occident, mais aussi dans les pays voisins, comme la Valachie et la Moldavie, jusqu'en Asie mineure. Initiateur du bogomilisme vécut au temps du tsar bulgare Pierre Ier (926-967): il s'agit du prêtre orthodoxe Jérémie, nom traduit en slave comme Bogomil (« le plus aimé de Dieu »), ce qui explique le nom de la secte.<sup>13</sup>

Conformément à d'autres sources et interprétations, le nom de 'bogomilisme' dériverait de l'expression *Bogo milui* ce qui en slave signifie « Mon Dieu, pitié », expression utilisée dans les prières par les adeptes de la secte, ou bien du terme *bogomili* (« ceux qui priaient Dieu »), terme qui indiquerait la fréquence de la prière comme moyen de rédemption dans leur système religieux.

Du point de vue étymologique, le mot *bog* est slave, proche de l'ancien mot *Bogo* qui signifiait « Dieu ». <sup>14</sup> À cause des persécutions, la secte, de la Bulgarie arrive en Serbie, en Bosnie et en Herzégovine, ensuite, dans l'Europe occidentale sous différents noms: 'patarens' dans l'Italie du Nord, ou cathars, étant un processus spécifique rencontré dans la phénoménologie des religions, délimité par la philosophie antique grecque et décrit dans tous ses particularités par Thucydide, Euripide, Apulée, Théophraste, comme étant un acte d'initiation religieuse<sup>15</sup>, donnant en allemand le mot *ketzer* en en thèque *kacir* signifiant « hérétique ».

Il n'est pas facile de faire une radiographie claire de la signification et de l'importance du bogomilisme dans l'histoire médiévale. Selon Katja Papisov, les informations à notre disposition, recueillies dans le temps, se trouvent sous l'influence d'un certain type de pensée, parce que réunies par les persécuteurs du bogomilisme. D'autres informations proviennent des leaders de ce mouvement et de ses sympathisants de la Bulgarie, du Byzance et de la Serbie. Des renseignements importants sont fournis par les rapports sur les cathars rédigés en France, en Italie ou en Allemagne.

« Tous ces ouvrages médiévaux contre le bogomilisme ont été rédigés principalement par des prêtres, des moines, des évêques ou des patriarches. Quelques-unes de ces œuvres font preuve d'une excellente éducation théologique, mais d'autres ont été écrites par personnes dépourvues de culture et fanatisées. »<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ioan Rămureanu, Milan Șesan, Teodor Bodogae, *Istoria Bisericească Universală*, vol. II, Editura IBMBOR, București, 1987, p. 97-98.

<sup>13</sup> *The New Encyclopedia*, vol. II, p. 324; Mircea Eliade, *Histoire des croyances et des idées religieuses*, Payot, Paris, 1976, traduction roumaine, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, vol. III, p. 190; Ovidiu Drimba, *Istoria culturii și civilizației*, vol. II, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1987, p. 190.

<sup>14</sup> S.A. Tokarev, *op. cit.*, p. 192; Dimitri Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, Cambridge, 1948, p. 119; Steven Runciman, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>15</sup> *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. III, New York, 1994, p. 117; *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. XII, p. 951.

<sup>16</sup> Katja Papisov, *Christen oder Ketzer die Bogomilen*, Band 10, Stuttgart, 1983, p. 57.

Les premières informations sur la doctrine bogomile hérétique de la Bulgarie, dans lesquelles nous trouvons des éléments caractéristiques d'autres hérésies, comme le paulicianisme, le manichéisme, le gnosticisme, le mesalianisme, ont été enregistrés par Jean l'Ixarhos<sup>17</sup> qui a vécu au temps du tsar Siméon (893-927). Jean l'Ixarho témoigne que le bogomilisme, cette nouvelle hérésie, avait un caractère dualiste manichéiste modéré, raison pour laquelle il nommait ses adeptes «des Slaves païens ».

« Entre 933 et 956, le tsar Pierre a reçu une lettre du patriarche de Constantinople, Théophylact Lecapenos, l'auteur du manuscrit étant le secrétaire chef du patriarche; la lettre dit que le chef suprême des Bulgares avait adressé un appel au patriarche, pour être aidé à trouver la meilleure méthode pour lutter contre l'hérésie récemment apparue dans son pays. »<sup>18</sup> Cette lettre contient 14 anathèmes, qui synthétisent les principaux éléments constitutifs du bogomilisme, qui était considéré un mélange entre le manichéisme et le paulicianisme. La même lettre précise que les sympathisants de la nouvelle doctrine ne proviennent pas d'un segment de la société formé de mécréants ou de «libres penseurs », mais des prêtres et des communautés orthodoxes. Le patriarche Théophylact Leocapenos, bien qu'il n'eût pas eu des expériences directes avec les bogomiles, connaissait assez bien le système hérétique des manichéens, des pauliciens et de Photius.

Des informations concrètes sur la manière d'agir et sur la doctrine des bogomiles nous sont parvenues de l'écrit *Le discours du prêtre Cosma contre les hérétiques*<sup>19</sup>. L'évêque bulgare Cosma a fait une analyse pertinente des classes sociales bulgares, mettant en évidence la situation déplorable des paysans et des serfs de la glèbe, ainsi que les excès des prêtres et des moines. Il connaissait directement le système de la doctrine des bogomiles, relevant en détail chaque écart par rapport aux normes de l'orthodoxie. La lettre de Cosma est divisée en deux parties distinctes. Dans la première partie l'évêque Cosma décrit le système de la doctrine bogomile, le combattant point sur point, dans la deuxième l'auteur formule des conseils et des avertissements pour les fidèles orthodoxes.<sup>20</sup>

Ce discours s'adresse spécialement aux laïques aisés et au clergé, critiquant l'existence désordonnée dans la société, situation qui, sans le vouloir, peut préparer le terrain historique et psychologique en faveur des mouvements hérétiques. La deuxième partie du «Discours » contient aussi 17 anathèmes. Il maudit les idées principales du système bogomile, le travail manifestant originalité et combativité. L'auteur ne présente pas les autres systèmes hérétiques, avec lesquels il

<sup>17</sup> Un « ixarhos » est une dignité de l'église byzantine, inférieure au patriarche.

<sup>18</sup> Dimitri Obolensky, *Un communwealth medieval...*, p. 136-137.

<sup>19</sup> *Isoavare bogomilice, Predica prezviterului Cosma*, traduction d'Alexandru Iordan, București, 1938.

<sup>20</sup> Alexandru Iordan, *Cuvânt înainte à Predica prezviterului Cosma*, p. IV.

s'était, probablement, confronté à l'époque. Des études de type linguistique ont permis de supposer que l'évêque Cosma déployait son activité dans la région de nord-est de la Bulgarie médiévale, probablement à Preslav, le chef lieu de la zone à l'époque; d'autres chercheurs croient qu'il mené son activité dans le sud-est de la Bulgarie et de la Macédoine.<sup>21</sup>

Nous observons qu'au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, la Bulgarie se trouvait sous la dominance byzantine et que la doctrine bogomile aurait comme aire d'extension tout l'Empire Byzantin.

Toujours au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle le moine Euthymos d'Akmonie, qui vivait au monastère Panagia Peribleptos de Constantinople, a rédigé une analyse du bogomilisme dans l'Asie Mineure, travail qu'il a envoyé dans sa région natale, pour avertir ses concitoyens du danger de l'hérésie bogomile.

Michel Psellos (1018-1092)<sup>22</sup>, très connu dans sa qualité d'historien et de philosophe, nous fournit des informations sur le bogomilisme en Thrace (Bulgarie) et dans l'Asie mineure dans son travail *Sur l'efficacité des démons*, écrit sous la forme du dialogue. Il fournit aussi des informations sur le système et l'organisation de cette hérésie.

Au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle hérésie bogomile atteint son apogée, réussissant à se faire des adeptes non seulement dans les classes sociales pauvres, mais aussi parmi l'aristocratie. La Patriarchie orthodoxe de Constantinople même a été secouée par des manifestations religieuses et sociales des bogomiles. Dans ce contexte, le théologien Euthyme Zigabène est prié par l'empereur Alexis I Comnènes de faire une présentation analytique des hérésies les plus importante et de la manière de combattre ces systèmes hétérodoxes. Pour exaucer cette prière, Euthyme Zigabène a écrit *La Panoplie dogmatique*, œuvre de grande envergure, une étude théologique du Moyen Âge.<sup>23</sup> Plusieurs théologiens ont collaboré à ce travail monumental, contenant 28 « titres ». Le titre 27 contient une partie intitulée «contre les bogomiles », dans laquelle les auteurs décrivent en détail la doctrine bogomile, suivant les déclarations de leur lieder, Basile, qui avait été interrogé par l'empereur Alexis I Comnènes. Employant une stratégie subtile, l'empereur l'a démasqué devant le Sénat, dont faisait partie le patriarche de Constantinople Nicolas III Grammatikos (1084-1111).<sup>24</sup> Les documents de cette époque fournissent une contribution substantielle à l'étude du bogomilisme, mettant en évidence la lutte acerbe portée par l'église orthodoxe et par le pouvoir de l'État byzantin contre le bogomilisme dans l'Empire. Nous disposons aussi de nombreux rapports sur les «décisions des synodes et sur leurs doctrines, documents conservés parmi les actes de ces réunions,

<sup>21</sup> Katja Papasov, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>22</sup> Michel Psellos, *Chronographie ou Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976-1077)*, traduit par Émile Renauld, 2 vol., Paris, 1926, dans *FHDR*, vol. III, p. 47.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>24</sup> Ioan Rămureanu, Milan Șesan, Teodor Bodogae, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Steven Runciman, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

contenant aussi beaucoup de formules d'abjuration, nous offrant ainsi une image des punitions ecclésiastiques de l'époque. »<sup>25</sup>

Le système bogomile a influencé la haute hiérarchie orthodoxe, même le patriarche Cosma II (1146-1147), avec deux autres évêques, ont été déposés en 1147 à cause de l'ambiguïté de leur position, et, une année plus tard, on condamne les écrits bogomiles de Constantin Hrisomalas.

En 1211 le tsar bulgare Boris (1207-1218) a convoqué un synode à Tarnovo, qui a condamné ouvertement le bogomilisme par un décret ('synodicon') qui anathématise la doctrine, fournissant ainsi des informations sur le développement de cette hérésie.<sup>26</sup>

Les sentiments anti-byzantins ont été exploités par les hérétiques bogomiles, ainsi que par les pauliciens. Selon l'opinion de certains historiens modernes, les bogomiles de Bulgarie ont joué un rôle actif dans les révoltes du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle et, plus tard, ils ont appuyé les Petchénègues et les Coumans à l'époque de leurs attaques contre l'Empire Byzantin. Nous remarquons que cette opinion est assez logique, si nous prenons en considération le fait que les bogomiles estimaient comme formes maléfiques l'Église et l'État, raison pour laquelle ils instiguaient à la désobéissance civile.

Dimitri Obolensky est, pourtant, plus réservé sur l'opinion exprimée ci-dessus, rappelant que «l'anarchisme social des bogomiles était l'expression de leurs convictions religieuses et morales, qui ne sont pas liées nécessairement à un programme politique, tandis que la violence et les massacres étaient incompatibles tant avec leurs croyances que, dans la faiblesse inhérente du monde matériel, avec leurs idéaux de pauvreté évangélique. »<sup>27</sup>.

En ce qui concerne l'implication des pauliciens dans les luttes anti-byzantines, Dimitri Obolensky croit que l'hypothèse de leur participation est plus proche de la réalité, puisqu'ils avaient perdu une certaine identité arménienne, se mélangeant avec les Grecs et les Slaves. Ainsi, au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle on les retrouve dans une alliance avec les Petchénègues et les Coumanes contre l'Empire Byzantin. Anne Comnènes avait constaté que la population de la cité de Philippopolis était en grande majorité formée de pauliciens, observation qui correspond à la réalité. À la libération de la cité de Philippopolis en 1205, les pauliciens et les bogomiles, commandés par Jean Assan II (1218 - 1241) formaient une alliance avec les Roumains et les Bulgares.<sup>28</sup> Dans cette situation, le patriarche Germain II (1222-1240) a recommencé une campagne contre les bogomiles, concrétisé dans des

<sup>25</sup> Katja Papisov, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>26</sup> Francis Dvornik, *Slavii în istoria și civilizația europeană*, Editura All Educational, București, 2001, p. 86; P. I. David, *Sectologie sau apărarea dreptei credințe*, Editura S.A.T., Constanța, 1998.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 238-239.

<sup>28</sup> Ioan Rămureanu, Milan Sešan, Teodor Bodogae, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Anne Comnène, *Alexiade (1081-1118)*, texte établi et traduit par Bernard Leib, vol. I-III, Paris, 1937-1945, dans *FHDR*, vol. III, p. 81.

actes de persécution contre la secte. Au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle on assiste de nouveau à une vague de synodes, en 1341 à Constantinople, en 1350 à Tarnovo, au cours desquels, à part des problèmes théologiques, on discute aussi le problème du bogomilisme, âprement critiqué.

Déjà au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle des missionnaires bogomiles ont réussi à arriver en Serbie, en Croatie et en Bosnie; de là, sous d'autres formes et noms, le bogomiles ont émigré en Italie et dans le midi de la France. Dans l'État serbe, l'église orthodoxe était plus proche du peuple déjà du temps d'Etienne Némania (1196-1228), raison pour laquelle le bogomilisme et tous ses mouvements n'ont pas pu avoir une influence considérable, étant, en plus, durement persécutés.<sup>29</sup>

Comme conséquence de toutes ces persécutions, de la part de l'État et de l'église serbe, les bogomiles ont été forcés d'émigrer dans les États « plus tolérants » du point de vue religieux, où les bogomiles ne représentaient pas un problème national ou social, avec des reflets religieux.

Arrivé en Bosnie, le bogomilisme a eu une évolution ascendante, bénéficiant de la protection du gouverneur Kulin (1180-1213), qui leur a donné certains droits de type religieux et politique, devenant une « religion d'État ». <sup>30</sup> Cette tolérance religieuse se manifeste aussi à l'époque du gouverneur Etienne Tvartko (1353-1391), qui leur a accordé certains privilèges. <sup>31</sup>

Au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle on assiste à une campagne constante des catholiques contre le bogomilisme et ses mouvements « dérivés », arrivant dans la situation de demander de l'aide aux Turcs. Plus tard, une partie importante des bogomiles bosniaques sont passés à l'islam.

Les persécutions dans l'espace balkanique ont forcé les bogomiles à émigrer, comme nous l'avons montré, en Italie et en France; plus tard, des disciples des bogomiles se trouvent même en Angleterre et en Allemagne. Ignaz Döllinger constatait dans ses *Contributions à l'histoire des sectes au Moyen Âge* que « en Italie et en France, les idées hérétiques ont commencé à se répandre au début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, idée qui, malgré leur désir de se présenter, même dans leur détail, comme des formes nouvelles, trouvent leur origine dans la même source gnostique et manichéiste. <sup>32</sup>

Le théologien italien Bonaccorsi (Bonacursus) de Milan a édité en 1196 *Manifesto Haeresis Catharorum*, ouvrage dans lequel il décrit en détail la doctrine des cathars et leurs liens avec les bogomiles bulgares. <sup>33</sup> Bonaccorsi connaissait assez bien le système doctrinaire, car lui-même avait été, auparavant, un disciple des cathars, qui lui ont appris les premiers enseignements religieux.

<sup>29</sup> Constantin Jirecek, *Civilisation serbe au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1920, p. 22.

<sup>30</sup> Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, vol. III, p. 191; Francis Dvornik, *op. cit.*, p. 96; *Encyclopedia Universalis*, vol. III, p. 388; *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. II, p. 325.

<sup>31</sup> Ion Rămureanu, Milan Seșan, Teodor Bodogae, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

<sup>32</sup> Ignaz Döllinger, *Beiträgen zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, apud Katja Papisov, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>33</sup> Katja Papisov, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

En 1230, Rainarius Sacconi a publié un ouvrage polémique, *Suma de Catharis et Leonistis*, basé sur une analyse pertinente du système doctrinaire et de l'organisation bogomile, fournissant des données très claires sur les noms des communautés bogomiles dans la Péninsule Balkanique et sur leurs relations avec les communautés hérétiques de l'Occident, du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Conformément aux affirmations de Rainarius Sacconi, à cette époque (au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle) existait dix-sept communautés cathares, comme les communautés de Vicence, Florence, France, Toulouse, Carcassonne, Constantinople, Dragovicka « cette dernière communauté doit être localisé en Thrace. »<sup>34</sup> Sacconi s'était rendu compte que toutes les communautés hérétiques tirent leurs origine des deux dernières soi-disant 'églises'. À travers son analyse critique il se rend compte que le bogomilisme constitue la fondation systémique et doctrinaire des cathars, ainsi que des hérétiques de l'Allemagne et même de l'Angleterre. Nous constatons aussi le phénomène de l'émigration de certains leaders bogomiles vers l'Occident, où ils ont joué un rôle actif dans la propagation de la doctrine et dans la création de nouvelles communautés hérétiques, qui ont bouleversé la vie religieuse dans ces pays.

Un théologien français, Eberareus, a écrit un traité très critique intitulé *Contra Valdenses*, dans lequel il démontre que le système des cathars est d'origine bogomile et, en même temps, hérétique. Par exemple, le système n'accepte pas la doctrine de la trinité et l'omniprésence de Dieu, elle ne reconnaît pas les sacrements, considérant que l'humanité se trouve sous une influence satanique. Le mariage devient un péché, on prêche l'idée de la réincarnation. Il observe aussi que les sectes françaises manichéistes sont étroitement liées au bogomilisme bulgare.

Le bogomilisme a eu une certaine influence en Allemagne aussi, où il apparaît au temps de Frédéric II, mais avec une intensité moins marquée.<sup>35</sup> Kanonist Ekbert von Schönau, qui a vécu dans la deuxième moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle a combattu toutes les formes hérétiques, surtout le bogomilisme, sous toutes ses formes ainsi que ses influences, dans le livre *Sermones adversus Catharorum errores*.<sup>36</sup>

Les théologiens catholiques avaient la mission de combattre par tous les moyens toute forme hérétiques apparue dans l'Église, les hérésies étant un problème avec lequel l'Église a été obligée de se confronter assez souvent au cours du Moyen Âge. À travers une filière française, le bogomilisme arrive en Espagne. Des informations dans ce sens nous sont parvenues de l'époque du pape Calixta II (1143-1144), qui avait délégué le cardinal Saint-Aurge de combattre lui-même, sans intermédiaires, cette hérésie.

<sup>34</sup> Rainarius Sacconi, *Suma de Catharis et Leonistis*, apud Katja Papasov, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>35</sup> *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. III, p. 116.

<sup>36</sup> Kanonist Ekbert von Schonau, *Sermones adversus Catharom errores*, apud Katja Papasov, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

Le synode de Lérída de 1194 a formulé des édicates très sévères contre «les ennemis de Rome »<sup>37</sup> terme qui faisait référence à toute forme d'hérésie. Malgré cette situation, le bogomilisme espagnol résisterait grâce à un nouveau leader, dans la personne d'Arnaud, «homme de grande valeur intellectuelle, qui avait présenté le système bogomile selon la méthode de la théologie romane. »<sup>38</sup>.

À l'époque du pape Grégoire IX (1227-1241) l'inquisition commence une campagne contre toutes es hérésies de l'Occident et spécialement de l'Espagne, où la lecture de la *Bible* en langue 'vulgaire' (l'espagnol) a été interdite. Les tribunaux de l'inquisition, sous la commande de l'archevêque Mangin de Tarragon et de l'inquisiteur Fra Pierre de Blénod ont condamné au bûcher des milliers de personnes, au nom de la foi.

Dans ce contexte de persécutions, le bogomilisme a pénétré dans l'Angleterre. En 1159, on trouve l'attestation d'un hérétique nommé Gera, originaire de Flandre. Gera avec sont groupe avait réussi à faire de nouveaux adeptes. Parce que leur nombre s'était accru, l'Église a manifesté son adversité, ce qui a conduit à la convocation d'un synode par le roi Henri II (1154-1189), qui a condamné ces manifestations hérétiques.

À la fin du Moyen Âge, la Bosnie se trouvait dans la situation de s'imposer comme un royaume puissant et stable, mais les conditions géopolitiques « lui ont imposé de jouer un rôle vague, à la périphérie du monde byzantin. »<sup>39</sup> Le bogomilisme est pénétré en Bosnie à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, quand il a été persécuté, se retirant vers le nord des Balkans et «se maintenant une période beaucoup plus longue que dans les autres pays, la Bosnie étant nommé le pays classique du bogomilisme. »<sup>40</sup> Ai XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle le dualisme du bogomilisme peut être rencontré de la Mer Noire jusqu'à l'Atlantique.<sup>41</sup>

À l'époque où l'État bosniaque se trouvait dans une période de croissance économique et de développement politique, le bogomilisme réussit à s'imposer, dans une certaine mesure, devenant même une religion d'État, comme nous l'avons dit, à l'époque du règne du gouverneur Kulin (1180-1214)<sup>42</sup>, fait qui marque l'apogée de son développement historique. L'Église catholique s'est impliquée dans le combat contre le bogomilisme de Bosnie, par des actions initiées par le pape Pie II (1458-1464), mais toutes les mesures prises par la curie romaine, quelques-unes en force, n'ont pas produit des résultats notables.

<sup>37</sup> Ioan Rămureanu, Milan Seșan, Teodor Bodogae, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>39</sup> Dimitri Obolensky, *Un commonwealth medieval...*, p. 244.

<sup>40</sup> Katja Papisov, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>41</sup> *The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. II, p. 325.

<sup>42</sup> Mircea Eliade, *Histoire des croyances et des idées religieuses (Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, vol. III, p. 191).

La source principale pour le bogomilisme de Bosnie s'appelle *Hic sunt puncta principalia et auctoritates exactae de disputatione inter Christianum Romanum et Patarenum Bosnensum*, qui date de la seconde moitié du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et qui se présente sous la forme d'un dialogue entre un catholique et un bogomile.<sup>43</sup> Ce travail théologique avertit les moines franciscains sur les thèses qu'ils devaient attendre dans une dispute avec les représentants des bogomiles, leur indiquant la manière dans laquelle ils devaient répondre à leurs provocations. Toute une série de lettres, par lesquelles les prêtres catholiques excommuniaient les adeptes des bogomiles nous sont parvenues, constituant une manière forte dans la lutte contre ce système hérétique.

Au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec l'expansion ottomane qui a conduit à la conquête de la Bulgarie et de la Bosnie (1393), les bogomiles perdent bon nombre d'adeptes, étant obligés à chercher une modalité de survie. Dans cette situation, une partie se sont converti à l'islam.

Cette carte du mouvement des bogomiles dans l'Empire Byzantin et, dans un second temps, dans l'Europe Occidentale sous diverses formes démontre la force de dispersion de cette hérésie dans certaines conditions sociopolitiques et économiques favorables, ce qui s'est manifesté dans l'ampleur atteinte par le mouvement.

Aucun autre mouvement hérétique (peut-être à l'exception de l'arianisme dans l'Antiquité), paru dans l'église au cours du temps n'a pas eu un pouvoir de propagation si grand, sur un aire géographique si nuancé et si diversifié comme la doctrine bogomile. Prenant en considération des fouilles archéologiques plus récentes, on constate que le bogomilisme s'est manifesté aussi dans l'espace roumain, mais sans exercer une influence majeure sur la vie des Roumains.<sup>44</sup>

Au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle a commencé une campagne puissante pour l'extirpation du bogomilisme de l'Empire Byzantin, arrivant au premier cas de holocauste dans l'histoire de l'Orient orthodoxe médiéval, par l'exécution dans le hippodrome de Constantinople du médecin Basile et quelques-uns de ses 'apôtres' en 1111, sous le règne de l'empereur Alexis I Comnènes, celui qui les a d'ailleurs trahis.

Nous avons constaté qu'en Serbie, Etienne Némania a continué les persécutions contre le bogomilisme, avec les même excès que le tsar bulgare Alexandre. Seulement l'invasion ottomane a empêché leur extermination complète.

Pour échapper de ces persécutions constantes, les adeptes du bogomilisme ont été obligés d'émigrer dans des pays où ils trouvaient une relative tolérance religieuse. Dans ce contexte, une partie ont émigré dans les Principautés Roumaines, «s'établissant autour de Craiova, de Râmnic et

<sup>43</sup> Katja Papasov, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>44</sup> Ioan Râmureanu, Milan Şesan, Teodor Bodogae, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

dans la zone de Bucarest, à Cioplea. »<sup>45</sup> Selon Nicolas Cartoian, ces déplacements en masse des bogomiles dans le Nord du Danube, dans la Valachie, sont mentionnés en 1688.<sup>46</sup>

Au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle entre Vidin et Nicopolis existaient encore 14 villages bogomiles qui conservaient la doctrine mais qui pratiquaient le culte de l'église orthodoxe. Ils avaient des contacts avec les communautés bogomiles de la Valachie.<sup>47</sup> Une partie de ces bogomiles bulgares ont été convertis au catholicisme au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle par des missionnaires venus de la Bosnie.

Un phénomène similaire s'est manifesté dans les Pays Roumains aussi, tenant compte du fait que les personnes arrivées avec la première vague, ont ensuite émigré vers la Bosnie et, ensuite, vers l'Occident. Răzvan Theodorescu a remarqué le fait que certains symboles découverts dans les dessins rupestres de Basarabi-Murfatlar expriment une conception dualiste-manichéiste qui montre une origine du monde populaire orientale, hétérodoxe.<sup>48</sup> Les symboles dualistes de Basarab-Murfatar ont pour fondement la cosmogonie bogomile qui a influencé, dans une certaine mesure, certaines zones culturelle du nord du Danube.

George Cantacuzino<sup>49</sup> a découvert une série de tombes à caractère bogomile sur le territoire roumain, tombeaux qui lui permettent de supposer des liens avec certaines communautés qui présentent des traits hérétiques bogomiles qui doivent être mentionnés et que nous allons présenter dans ce qui suit.

La première tombe à symbolique bogomile date du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et se trouve dans le village de Mărăcineni, un village médiéval situé à sud-est de Bucarest, sur le territoire de la commune de Cernica. Ce tombeau a été mentionné aussi par Nicolae Cartoian qui a précisé le fait qu'une partie des bogomiles « s'est réfugiée dans la Valachie, dans la zone de Bucarest. ». À Cernica on a découvert aussi un cimetière datant des XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Toute une série de tombes bogomiles ont été découverts à Măicănești, l'actuel village de Străulești. Toutes ces tombes sont orientées vers l'est et les corps ont les mains sous les omoplates.<sup>50</sup> À l'intérieur des tombes on a trouvé des accessoires vestimentaires et ornementaux à caractère bogomile. On considère comme particulièrement intéressants et significatifs deux obélisques trouvés dans les tombes de Lerești. Les

<sup>45</sup> Nicolae Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, București 1940, p. 66; Alexandru Toma Firescu, Ionuț Adrian Pătularu, *Biserici și așezări doljene - file de istorie*, Editura Mitropolia Olteniei, Craiova, 2005.

<sup>46</sup> Cartoian, *op. cit.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>48</sup> Răzvan Theodorescu, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale X-XIII siècles*, extrait, Université de Poitiers, XV Année, 1972, No. 4, p. 273.

<sup>49</sup> G. Cantacuzino, *Les tombes de bogomiles découvertes en Roumanie et leurs rapports avec le Communautés hérétiques byzantines et balcaniques*, dans *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des études byzantines, Bucarest 6-12 septembre 1971*, Editura Academiei Române, 1975, p. 515-528.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem.*

obélisques sont formés d'une petite pyramide trapézoïdale, comme dans les tombes découverts dans la Bosnie et Herzégovine.

Dans le Banat roumain méridional on a découvert 11 tombes du XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle dans le village de Gornea, commune de Sichevița ainsi que dans la commune de Ciclova. Ces tombes présentent des particularités par rapport aux autres zones, montrant un caractère temporaire et occasionnel, par un certain rituel spécifique pratiqué par une certaine minorité établie au nord du Danube dans l'époque médiévale.<sup>51</sup> La position des dépouilles, les mains sous les omoplates pour une dernière invocation, pour un salut à Dieu. Cette position des membres supérieurs ne permettait pas aux bogomiles de mettre la croix sur l'abdomen, thorax ou sur le bassin.

Après la comparaison des cimetières de la Roumanie avec les cimetières de la Bosnie et de la Herzégovine, G. Cantacuzino est arrivé à la conclusion que ces tombeaux « ont été employés tant par des orthodoxes que par des bogomiles ou des patarènes. Un autre élément commun serait le fait que les symboles des figures et le corps des morts sont orientés vers l'est; les grands monuments funéraires en pierre découverts en Bosnie et en Herzégovine ont été décorés avec des scènes contenant des personnages, des motifs ornementaux et des symboles spécifiques, tandis qu'en Roumanie ces scènes sont rares et de dimensions réduites. »<sup>52</sup>

Le phénomène de l'émigration « de la population bulgare et roumaine sous l'influence bogomile dans la zone du Vidin, population venue en Olténie correspond à l'an 1369, quand le prince de la Valachie a occupé la ville de Vidin. »<sup>53</sup>

Le patriarche Euthymius de Bulgarie a précisé que les bogomiles sont arrivés en Olténie et dans la zone du Severin, créant une communauté bien structurée, qui a créé de nombreuses difficultés au fondateur de la vie monastique roumaine médiévale, le prier Nicodim, dans la période de création du monastère de Vodița (1370-1371) et du monastère de Tismana (1376-1377). Pour cette raison, la recommandation du patriarche à Nicodim, en 1377, montre la situation des rapports de l'orthodoxie avec d'autres sectes néo-manichéisme, qui peuvent être identifiés dans le bogomilisme et le 'mesalianisme'. »<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 519.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 523-524.

<sup>53</sup> E. Lăzărescu, dans R.S.L., XI, 1965, p. 259-280 (occupation hongroise de Vidin), p. 261-262 (déplacement des populations), p. 267-271 (fondation de Vodița et de Tismana), apud G. Cantacuzino, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

<sup>54</sup> Emil Kaluzniacki, *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius (1375-1393)*, Wien, 1901, p. 205-220, 221-224, apud G. Cantacuzino, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

Dans la Valachie, le nom de ‘Schei’ donné à un quartier de Cîmpulung est lié à la fondation du quartier de Schei de Brașov, une colonie bulgare fondée aux XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle qui contenait aussi des bogomiles, comme le montre les découvertes faites dans les tombes de cette zone.<sup>55</sup>

Une communauté bulgare a émigré dans la Moldavie centrale au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle; elle s’était installée dans le village de Scheia, à nord de la ville de Roman, ainsi que dans le village de Zărnești du département de Neamț.<sup>56</sup>

Dans la deuxième moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les sectes néo-manichéistes diffusées dans les Balkan et sur le territoire carpto-danubien sont disparues.<sup>57</sup>

Les communautés bogomiles qui ont émigré au nord du Danube, ne se sont pas chargées des fonctions sociales, religieuses et politiques aussi manifestes que dans l’Empire Byzantin, elles ont influencé surtout la littérature folklorique et populaire par des écrits apocryphes.

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<sup>55</sup> G. Cantacuzino, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 523.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*.

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## ECCLESIASTIC EDIFICES OF THE PÂRȘCOVEANU BOYARS

CIOAREC Ileana \*

**Abstract.** *In this article I wanted to introduce religious foundations Pârșoveni boyars. Pârșoveni boyars built the church in Pârșoveni (Olt) and in Craiova and Bucharest and Mănăilești hermitage. All these worshipping places are built by the Pârșoveanu boyars, demonstrating their quality of great founders.*

**Keywords:** *ecclesiastic edifices, boyars, church, Pârșoveanu.*

In the Middle Ages, the founders named the persons who through initiated actions, brought their concrete contribution either to the building of a worshipping place, or to assuring the surviving conditions for such an edifice<sup>1</sup>.

According to the role the founders had, they could be divided in several categories:

a) the actual or the initial founders, also known as “great founders” represented all the persons who imagined and put into practice the building and the endowing of a worshipping place. The members of the founder’s family had the same quality as the one who effectively participated to the accomplishment of the action;

b) the secondary or “the new founders” were considered all those who contributed to the complete endowing with movables or real goods of an already existent place, to the restoration, repairing, transformation of the initial edifices or to the building of a new ones, inside the same place, to the painting or repainting of it.

All these categories of founders had the right to be mentioned in written evidences (diptyches, registers, documents), epigraphically (grave stones, inscriptions) and ichnographically (votive or funerary paintings) and to benefit by special chapel or commemoration services. They had the obligation to watch over the proper carrying on of the life regarding the founded location and of the material goods with which it had been endowed<sup>2</sup>.

To such a constructive spirit, the great Pârșoveanu boyars responded; they originated from Pârșoveni, in the former Romanați County, today Olt County, attested at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The first important character of this family is the *postelnic* (seneschal) Trufanda. Regarding his origin, several hypotheses had been presented. Some specialists consider that he could have been of Greek origin and would have arrived into the country during the fourth reign of Radu Mihnea (August 1620 – August 1623). Others, insist on the Romanian origin of his, mentioning that being at

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\*3<sup>rd</sup> deg. Scientific Researcher “C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor” Institute for Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities, Craiova, Romanian Academy, ileanacioarec@yahoo.com.

<sup>1</sup> Maria Voica Pușcașu, *Actul de ctitorire ca fenomen istoric în Țara Românească și Moldova până la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea*, Bucharest, Editura Vremea, 2001, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 191-194.

Constantinople, he returned together with Radu Mihnea to Bucharest, when the last one obtained the throne of Wallachia from Constantinople. P. V. Năsturel denies all the opinions expressed by the other specialists, sustaining that Trufanda had already been in the country, before 1620.

The members of this family of boyars built many churches, both in the counties from Oltenia and in Bucharest.

The building of the church from Pârșcoveni, under the patronage of “St. Nicholas”, was begun by Iordache, the son of the *stolnic* (High Steward) Trufanda and by his wife Ancuța, during 1634 – 1635 and it was ended in 1760 by the *medelnicer* (a boyar in charge with pouring water) Ștefan Pârșcoveanu and ended the next year, when the worshipping place was endowed by the founder with two church bells, on which it was written: “Ștefan Pârșcoveanu *vel logofăt* (the great chancellor Ștefan Pârșcoveanu)”. The small church had a rectangular shape.

The worshipping place also sheltered the portraits of the founders displayed in this way: on the eastern wall, there were painted the boyar Ioniță Becescu and his lady Maria. After them, there was the *vel stolnic* (Greatest Steward) Iordache, having on his left his lady Anca. With the backside towards Ancuța and with the hands reaching his husband, there was lady Stanca, the second wife of Ștefan, *vornic* (the Minister of Justice). On the wall facing the door, in front of lady Stanca, there was lady Ilinca Obedeanu, with the hand on the right shoulder of his husband, *medelnicer* Ștefan, who held the church in his hand. On the other side of them, there was Ștefan Pârșcoveanu, the counsellor, having lady Joița next to him.

On the northern wall, there was painted lady Stanca, wife of *medelnicer* Preda. Near Preda there was Anca, wife of Constantin Armașul. Near him, there was a child, Constantin<sup>3</sup>.

The church erected by Pârșcoveanu boyars is not intact anymore, on its place being built another one in 1906, by the dwellers of the village and by P. Hagiopolu.

In Craiova, Ștefan Pârșcoveanu, along with Ion Botoșanu, *stolnic* Ioan Brăiloiu, Dumitrache Viișoreanu, *logofăt* (chancellor) Radu Pleșoianu and captain Radu Măinescu, built between 1793-1794, the church Brândușa, on the place of another wooden church that was dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The worshipping place was repaired, as resulting from the inscription from 1855, by *clucereasa* (Lady Steward) Zinca Măinescu and by her son Petre Măinescu. On this opportunity, the church porch was closed, the wall between the nave and the narthex was demolished and the church was being repainted. The inscription from 1855 mentions as builders only the members of the family Măinescu, without mentioning Ștefan Pârșcoveanu, Ion Botoșanu, *stolnic* Ioan Brăiloiu, Dumitrache Viișoreanu and *logofăt* Radu Pleșoianu.

<sup>3</sup> P. V. Năsturel, *Biserica din Pârșcoveni-Romanați*, in „RIAF”, XIV, 1913, p. 130-137.

The role of builder played by Ștefan Pârșcoveanu is also mentioned by the census made between 1813-1815, in which it is stated that: “this is made by the deceased Ștefan Pârșcoveanu and *logofăt* Ioan Bocășanu”<sup>4</sup>. Ștefan Pârșcoveanu also appears as a writer in the “Law suits documents”, where it is mentioned that the building was made of bricks “by the deceased Ion Botoșanu and Ștefan Pârșcoveanu, and *logofăt* Radu Pleșoianu, and captain Radu Măinescu”<sup>5</sup>.

Brândușa church is made of thin bricks, arranged as a ship (nave), towards east as a semi-circle and towards west with an open porch, supported by four round polls, made of brick with flourished evidenced capitals. It has no domes and it is the only church from Craiova built in this style. The altar, semi-circular, is separated from the Nave by the catapetasma through a wall, built from the top to the bottom. Inside, the church is paved with wooden boards and in the porch with bricks put on one of their edges. In the exterior side, the worshipping place has a crenellated belt that separates the walls into two parts, formed by blind niches.

According to Nicolae Stoicescu, Ștefan Pârșcoveanu is also the founder of the church from the former village Rovine (Troaca), nowadays a neighbourhood of the city of Craiova. This worshipping place was built in 1785<sup>6</sup>. The edifice erected by Pârșcoveanu boyars, probably a wooden one, lasted only one century, because in 1866, Sândoi family built a brick church, under the patronage of “St. Nicholas”<sup>7</sup>.

To their name is also related the building of Măinești hermitage, under the patronage “Virgin’s Birth” (Vâlcea County) in 1648, by Pahomir, the son of *vel stolnic* Iordache. The initial founder did not get the chance to paint this church, and it was finally painted in 1801, by the hieromonk Dionisie<sup>8</sup>.

This worshipping place received from the founders the villages Studina and Mănăilești.

A part of the **Studina** (without any other specification) villages and Mănăilești were offered in 1659 by the wife of Preda Brâncoveanu to her daughter Ancuța, on the occasion of her marriage with *postelnic* Iordache Pârșcoveanu. From Iordache, a part of these villages were given to the Bistrița monastery, without the *rumâni* (serfs), but with the vineyard and the fish pond<sup>9</sup>. The other parts remained to be possessed by the other two sons of him: Matei and Preda. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of July

<sup>4</sup> I. V. Căncea, *Oameni și fapte din trecutul Craiovei*, in „Arhivele Olteniei”, VIII, 1929, no. 45-46, p. 449.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, *Biserici din Craiova și din împrejurimi*, in „Oltenia”, II, 1941, 9, p. 130; Cezar Avram, Dinică Ciobotea, P. S. Damaschin Coravu Severineanul, *Bisericile Craiovei*, Craiova, Editura Helios, 1998, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> Nicolae Stoicescu, *Bibliografia localităților și monumentelor feudale din România, 1-Țara Românească (Muntenia, Oltenia și Dobrogea)*, vol I, Craiova, Editura Mitropolia Olteniei, 1970, p. 662.

<sup>7</sup> Cezar Avram, Dinică Ciobotea, P. S. Damaschin Coravu Severineanul, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>8</sup> Protosinghel Theofil S. Niculescu, *Sfintele monastiri și schituri din România, ctitorite de vlădicim călugări și preoți, boieri, negustori și săteni*, Drobeta Turnu Severin, Editura Mănăstirea Vodița, 2002, p. 193-194.

<sup>9</sup> SJAN Dolj County, Manuscripts Collection, Bistrița Monastery, vol. II, f. 163.

1691, Matei and Preda, the sons of *stolnic* Iordache Pârșcoveanu, confirmed that their brother Pahonie (Papa) gave to the Mănăilești hermitage, his part of Studina and Mănăilești, with the vineyard, fish pond and mill, the *rumâni* and three small villages of gypsies<sup>10</sup>.

The church under the patronage of “St. John the New”, was built in 1756 by the head of the *boiangii* (dyers) Ioniță Croitorul, helped by the tailors and dyers guilds, on the place of an older wooden one, erected at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The worshiping place was dedicated in 1766, from the will of Grigorie Metropolitan, who was named Metohija of the Metropolitan Church in the same year, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of August. It was repaired in 1790, by *vornic* Ștefan Pârșcoveanu, the place being near his properties, on the area Podul Șerban Vodă. The church had been named for a short period of time “of Pârșcoveanu”.

The church Saint John the New has the shape of a rectangular nave (28.5 x 12.5 metres), with two domes. One apse from the altar is connected to the main body of the nave, through two pseudo-niches. In the nave, four columns sustain the arches that uphold a dome with twelve sides and a square basis.

The pronaos is covered with a flattened spherical calotte. An exornathex, which is now closed (wider than the pronaos), has above it the trellis-work mast, over which the octagonal bell-tower is built, on a square, tall basis. An added porch precedes the entrance into the church. It is not very tall, it has three central arches and a lateral one, all in the centre and supported by pedestal columns.

The facades of the church are divided by a twisted belt, in two illegal registers, embellished with simple niches, rounded in the superior side. The inferior register is higher, being pierced by windows. The superior register has the height of a frieze that surrounds the church. The bases of the domes are also ornamented with a register of simple niches.

On the basis of the tower-bell, in a wide, shallow panel, with a semi-circular edge, is placed the icon-mosaic that depicts the Baptizing of Lord Jesus.

All these worshiping places are built by the Pârșcoveanu boyars, demonstrating their quality of great founders.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 168.

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Brândușa Church.



The Church under the Patronage of “St. John the New”.

## DWELLINGS OR TEMPORARY HOUSEHOLDS IN THE VILLAGES FROM THE FIELD AREA

CEAUȘESCU Anca \*

**Abstract:** *Along the constructions inside the precincts, in its outside regions there are many types of constructions built for sheltering the humans, the animals, keeping the wine, the forage etc., used temporarily or sometimes permanently, named single room house, sheep fold or bee garden etc. They do not appear independently, but as annexes of a village. Most of the times, they are duplicates of the households from the precincts, situated at large and small distances, from few hundred of metres to few kilometres, according to the development of the precincts and the field configuration. The households outside the village precincts have a special economic importance. They appear spontaneously, being generated by local specific causes and are not influenced by elements outside the area where they were built.*

**Keywords:** *temporarily household, precincts, single room house, sheep fold, field.*

In the Romanian geographic landscape, the dominant form of habitat is the village. It represents the result of a constant and long process of territory humanization, becoming stable once with the sedentary process of the population, in the Neolithic age. In its components, the village has the precincts – that part of the territory in which are concentrated the population, the dwellings, the cultural and economic objectives – and the boundary or the lands that includes the cultivated land, the hay fields, the grazing fields, the forests etc.

The household from the precincts is made of the house and dependencies. The genesis, the evolution and the characteristic traits of it are the product of several factors that manifested differently along history. An important role was played by the main occupations, according to which some dependencies with proper functionality existed or not.

Besides the constructions from the precincts, on its lands there are many types of constructions, meant for the animals sheltering, wine and forage preservation etc., temporarily or even permanently used. They do not appear independently, but as annexes of a village. Most of the times, they are duplicates of the households from the precincts, situated at large and small distances, from few hundred of metres to few kilometres, according to the development of the precincts and the field configuration.

The evolution of the constructions from the precincts had on its base geographic and economic motivations. A decisive position was that of the socio-professional statute of those who built it, the purpose pursued and the dynamic of the villages development in the precincts where it was placed. Moreover, the size of the precincts is also among the most important conditions on which their establishment depended. The larger the territory of a village was, the more the probability for setting

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\*3<sup>rd</sup> deg. Scientific Researcher "C.S. Nicolăescu-Ploșor" Institute for Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities, Craiova, Romanian Academy, [ancaceausescu@yahoo.com](mailto:ancaceausescu@yahoo.com).

up new structures grew, deriving from the necessity of building new elements to the household meant to offer shelter and the possibility for the maximum exploitation of the field.

To the founding of the household outside the precincts contributed, in the same time, demographic and social factors too. The overcrowding that appeared in some precincts determined the construction of new houses inside the boundaries of a village, especially by the young married people. The constructions inside the border line of the village include, many times, all the elements of the household from the precincts, excepting the spaces and the constructions for storing huge quantities of cereals.

In the field regions, the most often met buildings are the single room houses (*odăile*).

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the economy of these areas was based on grazing. Related to this occupation, new constructions appeared in the precincts, called *odaie*, *sălaș*, *conac*, *casă în câmp* (single room house, abode, manor, field house). They were made by the animals' shelters, along with one to five households<sup>1</sup>. Unlike the hilly and the mountainside regions, where the houses were dwelt only temporarily, in the field areas, the single room houses were permanently dwelt.

These types of constructions appeared in an early period. Their presence is mentioned in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (1631)<sup>2</sup>. But, accordingly the opinion of the authors who studied these forms of dwelling, the single room houses formed in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the steppe or semi-steppe regions, as a consequence of the economic situation that used to characterize these fields: the consolidation of the large estates and the transition to the extensive agriculture. Therefore, towards the field regions, intensive fluxes of population migrating from the well populated hill or mountainside villages. For their workers, the landlords made of few and at hand, accidental materials, simple, rudimentary dwellings named single room houses, dwelt only temporarily, during the agricultural work period. In time, the single room houses became permanent residences, around which the settlements appeared. V. Tufescu, in his study on the single room houses, names these different forms of dwelling "a recent phase in populating the steppe regions"<sup>3</sup>.

In his study on the sociology of the Romanian sharer village, H.H. Stahl considers that the populating of a territory was done commencing precisely from these "starting points in the creation of the precincts"<sup>4</sup>. Around them, along time, different dependencies, meant to assure a

<sup>1</sup> Georgeta Nițu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea gospodăriei țărănești din Câmpia Română*, in „Contribuții istorice, filologice, socio-economice”, III, Craiova, 1977, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Constantin C. Giurescu, *Principatele Române la începutul sec. al XIX-lea*, Bucharest, 1957, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> V. Tufescu, „*Odăile*” – *O fază recentă de populare a ținuturilor stepice de la răsărit de Carpați*, Except from the Annual Book of „Dr. Meșota” High-school from Brașov, year 1936-1937, Brașov, p. 1-36.

<sup>4</sup> H. H. Stahl, *Sociologia satului devălmaș românesc*, vol. I, Bucharest, Fundația Regele Mihai I, 1946, p. 137-138.

correspondingly dwelling, were built when the pastoral function was transformed into an agricultural one and then into villages.

Melinda Căndea and her collaborators also consider that the temporarily dwellings such are the abodes or the single room houses lay the foundation of the villages, especially the gathered ones. In their transition to the statute of villages, process that registered a special dynamic during the 15<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the authors make a distinguish between several stages<sup>5</sup>: a) the installing of the abodes (cabins) in the clearing spots, as places with economic function related to the animal growing activity, being seasonal or temporary dwelt during the hot season of the year; b) the moment when the productive function starts to be competed and equalled by the residential function, even if the abodes remain further dependent on the main village, radical changes take place in the aspect, size and degree of comfort in the case of these dwellings; c) as the economic relations between abodes and the main villages diminish, gaining a real economic and social independence, the process for the formation of the new village occurs.

The household outside the precincts has generally a simpler structure: one room with different dimensions, multi-functional (shelter, kitchen, place to rest and heat in). The arranging and the storing spaces are reduced, as compared with the household inside the precincts, both as volume and number. In consequence, the locations used for storing food, especially cereals, are actually only vessels and the places used especially for tools and implements are maximally reduced, as the animal shelters too. In this type of household lives one person, rarely two, usually a man. During the farming works, the young persons from a family used to live, but only temporarily.

The households from the village lands are built strictly from local materials, with a lower degree of processing, therefore, with much more archaic characteristics. The dependency of the building materials on the geographical conditions determined the existence, in The Romanian Field, of the house with the walls made of weaved twigs and earth, covered with reed or straws and, later, made of adobes. The foundation misses most of the times (fig. 1).

The wide surfaces with natural grazing and hay fields from the Danube meadow constituted, in the past, important spaces for growing animals, not only for the local population but also for the shepherds from Transylvania<sup>6</sup>. Near the ponds from the Danube Valley numerous sheep flocks from

<sup>5</sup> Melinda Căndea, Florina Bran, Irina Cimpoieru, *Organizarea, amenajarea și dezvoltarea durabilă a spațiului geografic*, Bucharest, Ed. Universitaria, 2006, p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> During the Middle Ages, one of the main and intense practiced occupations was the shepherding. Relating to it, the transhumance from the mountainside towards the field areas and the Danube ponds, knew a great development on the so-called *transhumance roads*. One of these starts from Râu Șes Mountain, on Cerna Valley, and passes near Șiroca, Cerneți, Șimian, Rogova, from where it splits in several other roads, reaching Calafat, through Cetate – Hunia – Maglavit; another route starts from Godeanu Mountain, descends in Cloșani Depression and from here to Bala – Malovăț – Putinei from where, just like the previous one, enters the Danube meadow through fan-like channels; the third one, starts on two directions: near Osla Mănăstirească Mountain, respectively from Arcanul, and merges at

Novaci, Vaideeni and Poiana Sibiului spent their winter. The shepherds made here shelters, both for them and for the animals, named sheep folds. In the 7<sup>th</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the Danube meadow, limitrophe to Dolj County, there were a very big number of such sheep folds: 30 near the villages Piscu Vechi and Poiana Mare, 37 near Negoii and Rast, 29 in the south of Bistreț lake etc.<sup>7</sup>. Most of the part, the shepherds' shelter had the form of some conic cabins covered with straws or common reed. Sometimes, they were built of wood and looked like a hut.

Along these sheep folds, used in the cold season of the year, by the shepherds from Transylvania, in the Romanian Field, the dwellers that grew animals, especially sheep, arranged such constructions on the commons (fig. 2).

In this region, the sheep folds have a specific characteristic, according to the small number of sheep (200-300) and their mobile character. Generally, the sheep fold is organized during the spring (in April) and lasts until December (until St Nicholas day). The component elements of the traditional sheep fold are *the shed*, for the shepherd's shelter, keeping the food and the dairy and *the pen* (enclosure) for sheep. The shepherders' room (named *cătun* in Bistreț, Galicea Mare, *târlă* in Desa, *cerdac* in Cetate) usually had a square or rectangular shape and was built of wood poles introduced in the ground, one in each corner, with the walls and the roof made of reed.

In the villages from the Danube Valley, beside the already mentioned components, new elements appeared: "the curtain" (fence made of reed or common reed with the length of 8-10 metres and the width of 2-3 metres) that had the role of sheltering the sheep during the night; *strunga* (*șofru*, *cerdac*) – the place where the sheep were milked, surrounded by a reed fence, sometimes covered with branches, reed and sometimes open; *țarcălăul* that prevented the sheep from running away and *culmea*, used for draining the whey cheese.

Another type of seasonal dwelling is *the cellar* (*press house*) usually placed in the vineyard and where the wine and the tools were preserved. A great extension had this room in the viticulture regions, before phylloxera appeared.

To the elements mentioned above, we should add *the bee garden* – the place where the beehives are put and where the bees grow. They were usually positioned near the hay fields and the forests with meliferous plants, where a single room house was built for the beekeeper and for the storage of the products and tools.

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Tismana-Ungureni and then descends towards Godinești-Rocșoreni, from where it goes down to the Danube meadow and it is divided in several roads further on (Romulus Vulcănescu, *Cartografia etnografică a transhumantei în Oltenia de Vest*, in „Revista de etnografie și folclor”, year IX, no. 1, Bucharest, 1964, p. 25-27).

<sup>7</sup> \*\*\*, *Geografia Văii Dunării Românești*, Bucharest, Ed. Academiei R.S.R., 1969, p. 420.

The households outside the village precincts have a special economic importance. They appear spontaneously, being generated by local specific causes and are not influenced by elements outside the area where they were built.



Fig. 1. Seasonal dwellings in the precincts of the village (Galicea Mare, Dolj County).



Fig. 2. Sheepfold (Cetate, Dolj County).

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## FOREIGN MEDALS FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE MUSEUM OF OLTENIA

**DUMITRESCU Radu Gabriel\***

**Abstract.** *The medals from this study represent only a small part from the medals collection from former "Alexander and Aristia Aman" Foundation. The pieces are presented in a catalogue, taking into account the date of issue of the medal; in order to find them easier I have not taken into account the theme of the medal. The medals are chronologically spread from 1745-1900 and are, especially, from the central-west of Europe, but also from Russia. I mention several original or rare medals, as it follows: the medal – The Alliance of two ducal houses (no.3), the medal dedicated to Kuciuk-Kainargi Peace (no.7), the medal dedicated to the proclamation of the Cisalpine Republic (no.8) or the Napoleon commemorative medal (no.15).*

**Keywords:** *Museum of Oltenia, foreign medals, France, Russia, Napoleon I.*

Medals are a direct historical source for knowing one period and personalities who have had a major role in the life of states. Medal is at the same time a document and an artistic creation. Many data appearing on medals were lost and details, sometimes essential, about the life or activity for which they had been bet, are no longer known.

The medals illustrate the work of the artists who have realized, the style and technique that they possessed; the impact of European artistic trends of their art and also, the inexorable passage of time, visible in the protagonists' portrayed physiognomies<sup>1</sup>.

One of the most significant and valuable collections of the Museum of Oltenia is the collection of medals. Setting up this collection has started since 1908, more exactly on 21<sup>st</sup> of December, when it was opened in Craiova „Alexander and Aristia Aman” Foundation, in the presence of Minister of Public Instruction Spiru Haret and other personalities of that time. The Foundation was established in the building of the actual County Library, in the former houses Grigore Lăceanu. Till 1950, when the Foundation was disbanded, the medals collection was enriched with new pieces, acquired through donations, but mostly through acquisitions<sup>2</sup>. After the establishment in April 1915 of the Regional Museum of Oltenia, it had begun to be gathered a few medals, the collection being, substantially, multiplied especially after 1950, when the entire heritage „Alexander and Aristia Aman" Foundation was transferred.

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\* PhD, Curator, Museum of Oltenia Craiova, Madona Duda Street, no. 14, phone 0251/417756, e-mail: rgdumitrescu@mail.com.

<sup>1</sup> Carmen Tănăsioiu, *Considerații asupra medalisticii românești moderne (1866-1947)*, in „Cercetări Numismatice”, XIV, 2008, pp. 514-515.

<sup>2</sup> Details about Foundation see at Toma Rădulescu, Radu Gabriel Dumitrescu (collaborator), *Colecția Alexandru și Aristia Aman. Catalog numismatic. I. Monede antice de aur și argint*, Editura Sim Art, Craiova, 2008, pp. 15-17, 326-352; Gabriela Braun, Mariana Leferman, Tudor Nedelcea, Toma Rădulescu, *Familia Aman*, Editura Aius, Craiova, 2003.

The medals, which are the subject of this study, represent only a small part of the collection of medals coming from the former Foundation „Aman”. The medals are presented in a catalogue, after the date of issue of the medal; in order to find them easily, I did not take into account the medal theme.

The commemorative medal bet at the death of Earl of Starhemberg was the creation of the engraver Mathias Donner. He was the medallist of the Imperial Court, and professor at Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. Most of his works were signed **DONNER**, and **M.D.F.**, **M.D.** or just **D**<sup>3</sup>.

The following two medals (No. 2-3) have their origin in the German space and are true rarities of catalogue, with an uncertain dating, to middle of the eighteenth century. In a recent paper, I have identified four different medals<sup>4</sup>, with the same theme, inspired by the Old Testament<sup>5</sup>, in which only a piece is presented (No. 2), the other being unknown.

The three medals made by Charles Norbert Roettiers (No. 4-6) are in the catalogue of the Paris Salon from 1761 and represent important figures of the Tsarist aristocracy<sup>6</sup>. Descendant of a famous family of engravers who worked, as medallists, almost two centuries, for the kings of England, France and Spain, Charles Norbert Roettiers was general engraver (1753-1772) and then particularly engraver in Paris Mint (1759-1772)<sup>7</sup>.

The Peace of Kuciuk Kainarji, which represented the end of political, economic and commercial Ottoman monopoly in Danubian Principalities and paved the way for the establishment of a Russian protectorate over the territories to the south and east of the Carpathians,<sup>8</sup> is illustrated in the collection of the Museum of Oltenia by a rare item. The medal, whose obverse is kept in a poor state of conservation, created us some difficulties in determining it. On **R** monogram, located on reverse of the medal, I could identify the engraver of this piece in person of Johann Christian Reich (cca. 1740-1814)<sup>9</sup>.

The founder effigy of the first French Empire, Napoleon Bonaparte, is present in the “Aman” collection through two medals, illustrating the various stages of his life (No. 8, 15).

Important events, in the history of the House of Habsburg, as the coronation of Maria Ludovica, the wife of the Emperor Francis I, as the Queen of Hungary in Bratislava on 7<sup>th</sup> of September 1808, the marriage of Mary Louise to Napoleon in Vienna (11<sup>th</sup> of March 1810), and the

<sup>3</sup> Leonard Forrer, *Biographical dictionary of medallists*, vol. I, London, 1904, p. 607.

<sup>4</sup> Lutz Ruffert, *Medaillen Hamburg 1549-2009. Katalog mit preisen*, Battenberg Verlag, 2009, p. 41, no. 74913-74916.

<sup>5</sup> The obverse of exemplar no. 2 and the reverse of exemplar no. 3 were taken from the Book of Samuel, I, XX, 23, appeared in the Bible written by Martin Luther in 1545.

<sup>6</sup> Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. V, London, 1912, p. 154.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 150-155.

<sup>8</sup> Radu Gabriel Dumitrescu, *Pacea de la Kuciuk-Kainarji și implicațiile sale asupra Principatelor Dunărene*, in vol. *Stat și societate în Europa*, I, coord. Sorin Liviu Damean, Lucian Dindirică, Editura Universitaria, Craiova, 2009, p. 75.

<sup>9</sup> Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. V, London, 1912, pp. 69-71.

oath of allegiance to Emperor Ferdinand I of the Diet of Transylvania, in 1837<sup>10</sup>, are given by the medals from the Museum of Oltenia. (No. 9, 10, 18).

In Russia, together with the orders, there were created less important awards, medals and crosses, designed especially to reward the tsarist forces. The first of these commemorative medals was the Russo-Turkish War 1806-1812 (No. 11). To commemorate the entry of Russian troops into Paris in 1814, it was issued a new medal<sup>11</sup> (No. 12). Also, the victorious intervention of Russia in 1849 to defeat Hungary and Transylvania revolutions was celebrated by issuing a new medal (No. 20).

The first decades of the nineteenth century in France were marked by the launch of a series of commemorative medals in honour of national or universal personalities - *Galerie metallique des Grands Hommes Français, Series Numismatica Universalis Virorum Illustrium* - showed in catalogue at numbers 13-14, 16-17.

The crucial moment for the Romanian cause, regarding the Union of the Principalities was the start of the Crimean War (1853), which brought to the fore the fate of Wallachia and Moldavia, as factors of stability in the Lower Danube<sup>12</sup>. The victory of Franco-Anglo-Turkish-Piedmont coalition created a new balance of power in Europe, leaving Russia without possibility to chip in Danubian Principalities. To this event, it is dedicated the medal created in honour of Queen Victoria, achieving by the engraver Benjamin Wyon<sup>13</sup> (No. 21).

Two of the ten types of medals for the inauguration of Palace of Industry in Paris<sup>14</sup>, are found in the "Aman" collection and were made by known artists, some of them with a great authority at that time, as well as Armand Auguste Caqué<sup>15</sup>, the French Imperial Court engraver (No. 22-23).

Except the two medals issued by the inauguration of Paris Eiffel Tower (No. 27-28), the last items from this study are dedicated to international exhibitions or competitions.

Prestigious meetings between countries - international exhibitions – have represented the possibility to admire and appreciate the fruit of human creativity in various fields. Romania has participated from the beginning (mid nineteenth century) in such international events and several times the Romanian products - from economy to scientific or artistic creation - have enjoyed resounding successes. Moreover, the participation in these exhibitions always ended with the awarding of a large number of products and giving, therefore, some medals.

<sup>10</sup> Helmut Klima, *Gubernatorii Transilvaniei (1774-1867)*, in „Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională”, Tipografia „Cartea Românească din Cluj”, Sibiu, 1944, pp. 267-268.

<sup>11</sup> Floricel Marinescu, Maria Radovici, *Personalități din Țara Românească și Moldova distinse cu decorații străine în primele șase decenii ale secolului al XIX-lea*, in „Studii și Materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie Militară”, no. 14-15, 1981-1982, p. 116.

<sup>12</sup> Ion Chirtoagă, *Imperiul otoman și sud-estul european (până la 1878)*, Editura Istros, Brăila, 2004, p. 184.

<sup>13</sup> Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, London, 1916, p. 584.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 489.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. I, pp. 342-344.

The Museum of Oltenia preserves an important set of medals that reflect our country participation in exhibitions in Paris, or international competitions on various topics.

The participation of Romania in the exhibition of Paris in 1867 was a nice international affirmation, being also, the first official participation under national flag. Exhibiting in eight of the ten groups that composed the exhibition, Romania brought in front of the visitors and specialists, agricultural and industrial products as well as history and art objects, manuscripts, icons, a miniature model of the Cathedral from Curtea de Arges, the precious treasure of Pietroasele and other. The French magazine *L' exposition universelle*, from 16<sup>th</sup> of September 1867, published an interesting article about the exhibition and Romanian products, accompanied by a photography taken after the Lancelot's drawing, representing the Romanian district from the Universal Exhibition. As proof of the appreciation enjoyed by the Romanian exhibits are certainly testimony the received medals and mentions: 3 gold medals, 9 silver medals, 35 bronze medals and 38 honourable mentions<sup>16</sup>.

Consistent in the decision to hold of cyclical international meetings, France, in the late nineteenth century, started to prepare the international exhibition from 1900. In 1897, Romania was invited by the French government to participate in next and undoubtedly the largest international exhibition, that would be, ultimately, a beautiful tribute to human creation at the end of the nineteenth century<sup>17</sup>.

Five of medals obtained by Romania within the Paris exhibitions are at the Museum of Oltenia (see No. 24-25, 29-31), of which it is distinguished the medal of the universal exhibition opening in 1867, and medals realized by Antoine Fisch (No. 26).

I reviewed only a few pieces presented on this occasion. We want to continue their publication to outline the parts and complete series of this kind, which, unfortunately, are not sufficiently researched.

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<sup>16</sup> Lucia Bieltz, *Participarea României la expoziții internaționale oglindită în medalii inedite din patrimoniul Muzeului de Istorie al R. S. România*, in „Cercetări Numismatice”, III, 1980, p. 191.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 193.

## CATALOGUE

### 1. COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL GUNDACRE THOMAS, EARL OF STARHEMBERG, 1745.

Engraver: Mathias Donner.

Obv. Semicircular legend: **GUNDAC · THOM · S · R · I · COM · A STARHEMBERG**. Count of Starhemberg bust, in profile to the right. Under count of Starhemberg bust, engraver's name: **M. DONNER**.

Rv. Semicircular legend: **PIETATE ET CONSILIO**. Allegory – Minerva in profile to the left, shake hands over a lit altar of a Roman citizen (probably Earl of Starhemberg). On the right side of the pedestal on which the altar, monogram: **MD**.

BZ; D = 45 mm; W = 43,40 g.

Inventory number: I 1589, 15782, 658/1022 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *Biographical dictionary of medallists*, vol. I, London, 1904, p. 608.

### 2. MEDAL ALLIANCE OF TWO DUCALE HOUSES, Hamburg, 1749 ?.

Obv. Semicircular legend: **WAS DU UND I CH·MITEINANDER GEREDT HABEN**. On the right side legend: **I. SAM XX · 23**. At the top, a bundle of light rays and scattered clouds around, above two clasped hands, as the symbol of the Holy Trinity Centre [?]. In the bottom, image of two settlements, united by filing a quiver and a bow.

Rv. Semicircular legend: **UERGIS. DEINES. FREUNDES NICHT**. On the right side legend: **SYR · XXXVII**. Tree which is rooted in the Old Testament is based on two shields with name of **JONA/ THAN** (at the left) and with name of **DA-/VID** (to the right). In the background a harbor with boats in left, and at right a castle situated on a mountain peak.

AR; D = 45 mm; W = 28,58 g.

Inventory number: I 1590, 15783, 691/1023 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Lutz Ruffert, *Medaillen Hamburg 1549-2009. Katalog mit preisen*, Battenberg Verlag, 2009, p. 41, no. 74915.

### 3. MEDAL ALLIANCE OF TWO DUCALE HOUSES, Hamburg, 1749 ?.

Obv. Circular legend: **VERGIS DEINES FREVND: NIC: S I 37**. God the Father from which spreads light rays on two hands clasped and down a quiver with arrows and a bow.

Rv. Circular legend: **WAS DV V: I CH GERDT HABEN · I · SA · 20**. Tree which is rooted in the Old Testament is based on two shields with name of **DA/ VID** (at the left.) and of **IO/ NAT** (to the right).

AR; D = 13 mm; W = 1,02 g.

Inventory number: I 1591, 15784, 691/1024 A.

#### 4. COMEMMORATIVE MEDAL IRINA TRUBEŢKOI, 1761.

Engraver: Charles Norbert Roettiers.

Obv. Semicircular legend: **IRINA MARESC · PRINC · TRUBETSKOY CONI ·**. At the bottom: **NAT · 6 · APRIL · 1671 · DENAT · 21 IUN · 1749**. Under the bust Irina Trubeţkoi engraver's name: **ROETTIERS FILIUS F ·**. Irina Trubeţkoi bust in profile to the left.

Rv. Legend on four lines: **IN HONORE/ APUD DOMINOS/ IN AMORE/ APUD OMNES·**.

BZ, D = 45 mm, W = 45.35 g

Inventory number: I 1811, 15805, 655/1045 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. V, London, 1912, p. 154.

#### 5. COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL ANASTASIA TRUBEŢKOI, 1761.

Engraver: Charles Norbert Roettiers.

Obv. Semicircular legend: **ANASTASIA PRINC · TRUBETSKOY LANDGR · HÆSS · HOMB · CONI**. At the bottom: **NAT · 4 OCT · 1700 · DENAT · 27 NOV · 1755**. Under the bust of Anastasia Trubeţkoi, on the right part, the engraver's name: **ROETTIERS FILIUS F·**. Bust of Anastasia Trubeţkoi, in profile to the left.

Rv. Legend on three lines: **AD HONORIS CULMEN/ PER TRAMITEM VIRTUTIS/ ASCENDIT.**

BZ; D = 45 mm; W = 44,21 g.

Inventory number: I 1810, 15804, 656/1044 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. V, London, 1912, p. 154.

#### 6. COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL TATIANA GALITZIN, 1761.

Engraver: Charles Norbert Roettiers.

Obv. Semicircular legend: **TATIANA MARESC · PRINC · GALITZIN · CONI · AB AUGUSTÆ CUBIC**. At the bottom: **NAT · 4 · IAN · 1695 · DENAT · 7 · MAI · 1757**. Under the bust of Tatiana Galitzin engraver's name: **ROETTIERS FILIUS F·**. The bust of Tatiana Galitzin, in profile to the left.

Rv. Legend on six lines: **QUOS VIVA/ PRÆSTITERAT/ EOSDEM MORTUÆ/ HONORES VIRTUS/ ET/ PATRIA**.

BZ; D = 45 mm; W = 43,82 g.

Inventory number: I 1812, 15806, 699/1046 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. V, London, 1912, p. 154.

### **7. MEDAL DEDICATED TO PEACE OF KUCHUK-KAINARJI, JULY 21 1774, 1774.**

Engraver: Johann Christian Reich.

Obv. Legend: [...] **VICTRIT TU**[...] **GLORIOS**. Damaged.

Rv. Semicircular legend: **PRUDENTIA ET FORTITUDINE TURCA DEVICTUS**. In exergue, legend on two lines: **IM LAGERD. 21 IVL/ 1774**. In field, allegorical representation of the signing of the peace treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji: To the left, forward, looking to the right, Russia's representative in full dress, supports with a left hand the manuscript of treaty found on pedestal with Russian imperial arms and at right, representative of Ottoman empire, bent, humble, bareheaded and with the turban at foot as a sign of surrender. At the feet of Russian representative, the monogram: **R**.

Silvered BZ; D = 40 mm; W = 15,44 g.

Inventory number: I 1813, 15807.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. V, London, 1912, p. 71.

### **8. MEDAL FOR PROCLAMATION OF CISALPINE REPUBLIC, 1797.**

Engraver: Luigi Manodini.

Obv. Legend one side of the bust of Napoleon Bonaparte: **NAPOLEONE BONAPARTE**. Napoleon's bust in profile, to the right. Under the bust, engraver's name: **LUI. MANODINI F**.

Rv. Legend one side of Minerva: **REPVBBLICA CISALPINA**. Allegory - symbolic representation of Minerva seated in profile to the left.

BZ; D = 60 mm; W = 88,13 g.

Inventory number: I 1593, 15786, 666/1026 A.

### **9. MEDAL FOR MARY LUDOVICA PROCLAMATION, WIFE OF EMPEROR FRANCIS I OF AUSTRIA, QUEEN OF HUNGARY, 1808.**

Obv. Legend on six lines given above imperial crown, all in a pearl circle.: **MARIA LVDOVICA AVG./ FRANCISC I AVST · IMP · / HVNG · BOH · REGIS · / CORONATA HVN · REG · / POSONII · VII · SEPT · / MDCCCVIII**.

Rv. Semicircular legend at the top: **RECTE ET CANDIDE**; under it a blooming laurel, all in a pearl circle.

AR; D = 25 mm; W = 4,16 g.

Inventory number: I 1580, 15773, 667/1013 A.

**10. MEDAL FROM MARRIAGE OF NAPOLEON I WITH MARIA LUIZA, VIENNA, 11 March 1810, 1810.**

Obv. Circular legend: **NAPOLEONIS GALL · IMP · ET M · LVDOV FRANC · A · IMP · F · A · A**. In exergue, legend on two lines: **FELICIBVS/ NVPTIIS**. At field, two lighted torches, joined in the middle by a ribbon. Pearl circle.

Rv. Legend in two lines within a wreath made from a branch of roses, having at top a palm branch with a star with eight corners: **VOTA/ PVBLICA**. Legend arched under the crown: **VINDOB · XI · MART · MDCCCX**.

AR; D = 30 mm; W = 8,72 g.

Inventory number: I 1594, 15787, 668/1027 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Livia Călian, Maria Magdalena Jude, *Catalogul medaliilor napoleoniene din Cabinetul Numismatic al Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei*, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 153, cat. no. 211, pl. XXXVII/166.

**11. COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL WITH HANDLE SINCE A RUSSO-TURKIS WAR OF 1806-1812, 1812.**

Obv. In center, the "eye of God" in the star-rays in all directions, at the bottom, marginal, date of establishment: **1812 ГОДЪ**. Damaged.

Rv. Legend on four lines: **НЕ НАМЪ,/ НЕ НАМЪ,/ А ИМЕНИ/ ТВО ЕМУ**.

AR; D without handle = 20 mm; W = 5,61 g.

Inventory number: I 1814, 15808.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Floricel Marinescu, Maria Radovici, *Personalități din Țara Românească și Moldova distinse cu decorații străine în primele șase decenii ale secolului al XIX-lea*, in „Studii și Materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie Militară”, no. 14-15, 1981-1982, p. 116.

**12. COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL WITH HANDLE SINCE THE ENTRE TSARIST TROOPS IN PARIS, 1814.**

Obv. Tsar Alexander I effigy, awarded, in profile to the right, the field-rays emitted from the „Eye of God" placed centrally above.

Rv. Legend on five lines: **3A/ ВЗЯТІЕ/ ПІА РИЖА/ 19 МАРТА/ 1814**, completely surrounded by a laurel wreath.

AR; D without handle = 27 mm; W = 11,11 g.

Inventory number: I 1815, 15809, 670/1049 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Floricel Marinescu, Maria Radovici, *art. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 116.

### 13. **COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL JEAN DE LA BRUYERE, 1819.**

Engraver: Louis Michel Petit.

Obv. Legend one side of the bust of Jean de la Bruyere: **JEAN DE LA-BRUYERE**. Jean de La Bruyere bust, in profile to the right. Under the bust, engravor name: **PETIT F.**

Rv. Legend on eight lines: **NÉ/ A DOURDAN/ EN M. DC. XXXIX./ MORT/ EN M. DC. XCVI./ GALERIE METALLIQUE/ DES GRANDS HOMMES FRANÇAIS./ 1819.**

BZ; D = 40 mm; W = 39,25 g.

Inventory number: I 1595, 15788, 671/1028 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, London, 1909, p. 466.

### 14. **COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL LOUIS BOURDALOUE, 1820.**

Engraver: Mathias Nicolas Marie Vivier.

Obv. Legend on side Louis Bourdaloue bust: **LOUIS-BOURDALOUE**. Louis Bourdaloue bust, in profile to the right. Under the bust, engraved name: **VIVIER F.**

Rv. Legend on eight lines: **NÉ/ A BOURGES/ EN M. DC. XXXII./ MORT/ EN M. DCC. IV./ GALERIE METALLIQUE/ DES GRANDS HOMMES FRANÇAIS/ 1820.**

BZ; D = 40 mm; W = 40,57 g.

Inventory number: I 1596, 15789, 672/1029 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, London, 1916, p. 291.

### 15. **COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL WITH HANDLE AND IMPERIAL CROWN, NAPOLEON I, 1821.**

Obv. In a cameo, in pearl circle, the legend: **NAPOLEON I-EMPEREUR**. King's effigy in profile to the right, all in a crown of laurels and having an imperial crown in top.

Rv. In a cameo, circular legend between outer pearl circle and cliniar inner circle: **CAMPAGNES DE 1792 A 1815 \***, continued in nine lines: **A/ SES/ COMPAGNONS/ DE GLOIRE/ SA DERNIERE/ PENSEE/ S.<sup>TE</sup> HELENE/ 5 MAI/ 1821.**

BZ; D with crown = 30 x 19 mm; W = 6,12 g.

Inventory number: I 1597, 15790, 674/1030 A.

**16. COMMEMORATIV MEDAL JEAN DE LA FONTAINE, 1821.**

Engraver: Armand Auguste Caqué.

Editor: Amédée Durand.

Obv. Circular legend of the bust of Jean de La Fontaine: **JOHANNES-LA FONTAINE**. The bust of Jean de La Fontaine, in profile to the right, under the bust engraver name: **CAQUÉ F.**

Rv. Legend in ten lines: **NATUS/ AN. M. DC. XXI/ IN THEODORICI CASTRO/ INTER CAMPANOS/ IN GALLIA/ OBIIT/ AN. M. DC. XCV./ SERIES NUMISMATICA/ UNIVERSALIS VIRORUM ILLUSTRIMUM/ M.DCCC.XXI.**

BZ; D = 40 mm; W = 36,14 g.

Inventory number: I 1598, 15791, 673/1031 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. I, London, 1904, p. 343; 668.

**17. COMMEMORATIV MEDAL GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO, 1823.**

Engraver: B. Wolf.

Editor: Amédée Durand.

Obv. Circular legend of Giovanni Boccaccio bust: **JOHANNES-BOCCACIUS**. The laureat bust of Giovanni Boccaccio, in profile to the right. Under the bust engraver name: **WOLFF F.**

Rv. Legend on ten lines: **NATUS/ CERTALDO/ IN TUSCIA/ AN. M. CCC. XV./ OBIIT/ AN. M. CCC. LXXV./ SERIES NUMISMATICA/ UNIVERSALIS VIRORUM ILLUSTRIMUM/ M.DCCC.XXIII./ DURAND EDIDIT.**

BZ; D = 40 mm; W = 44,48 g.

Inventory number: I 1599, 15792, 675/1032 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, London, 1916, p. 525. Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. I, London, 1904, p. 668.

**18. MEDAL FERDINAND I EMPEROR, AGREEMENT FOR TRANSYLVANIAN DIET, 1837.**

Obv. Circular legend: **FERDINANDO · A · I · REGI · HVNG · M · P · TRANSYLVANIAE**. Laureat effigy of Ferdinand I emperor, in profile to the right.

Rv. Circular legend: **HOMAGIVM · PRAESTITVM · CIBINII · MDCCCXXXVII**. In picture, crowned shield of the Principality of Transylvania.

AR; D = 20 mm; W = 5,47 g.

Inventory number: I 1582, 15775, 678/1015 A.

**19. COMMEMORATIV MEDAL FELICE MARCHIZ DI SAN TOMMASO, 1843.**

Engraver: Giuseppe Ferraris.

Obv. Circular legend to effigy of Felice Marchiz Di San Tommaso: **FELICE M· DI-SAN TOMMASO**. Effigy in relief of a lui Felice Marchiz Di San Tommaso, in profile to left. On the edge of the effigy, in bottom: **G. FERRARIS F.**

Rv. Legend on five lines: **SPERANZA/ DELLE PATRIE LETTERE/ DELIZIE/ DELLA MADRE INFELICE/ MDCCCXLIII.**

BZ; D = 60 mm; W = 127,07 g.

Inventory number: I 1809, 15803, 689/1043 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. II, London, 1904, p. 88.

**20. MEDAL WITH HANDLE SCRAMBLED BY TSARIST TROOPS FOR REBELLION IN HUNGARY AND TRANSYLVANIA, 1849.**

Obv. Circular legend: **С НАМИ-ЪГЪ. РАЗУМЪИТЕ ЯЗЫЦЫ И ПОКОРЯИТЕСЯ.** In the field is lighted Russian imperial emblem of the „Eye of God”, centered above.

Rv. Legend on six rows: **ЗА/ УСМИРЕНИЕ/ ВЕНГРИИ/ И/ ТРАНСИЛЬВАНИИ/ 1849.**

AR; D = 29 mm; W = 11,00 g.

Inventory number: I 1817, 15812.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Revoluția Română de la 1848. Catalog*, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București, 2008, p. 185 (different size).

**21. MEDAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA – CRIMEAN WAR, 1854.**

Engraver: Benjamin Wyon.

Obv. Circular legend on side of effigy Victoria Queen, in profile to the left.: **VICTORIA-REGINA-1854**. On effigy edge, in bottom: **B. WYON**.

Rv. Legend to left, in vertical, bottom-up: **CRIMEA**. A Roman soldier with a dagger in his right hand and a shield in his left hand with a lion walking to the left (British lion), crowned by a Victory in flight. To the right., in bottom: **B. WYON SC**.

AR; D = 35 mm; W = 30,65 g.

Inventory number: I 1570, 15762, 687/1002 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, London, 1916, p. 584.

**22. MEDAL WITH PALACE OF INDUSTRY IN PARIS, 1855.**

Engravers: Armand Auguste Caqué, Jacques Wiener.

Obv. Circular legend: **EUGÉNIE IMPÉRATRICE . NAPOLÉON III EMPEREUR**. Acolyte effigy of Napoleon III and Eugenia, in profile to the left. Under effigies engraver's name: **CAQUÉ. F.**

Rv. At the top, semicircular: **PALAIS DE L'INDUSTRIE**. In exergue, legend on eight rows: **COMMENCÉ FEVRIER 1853. ACHEVÉ AVRIL 1855/ NAPOLEON III EMPEREUR/ A. FOULD, MAGNE, MINISTRES/ V<sup>TE</sup> DE ROUVILLE DIRECTEUR/ ARDOIN, RICARDO, BOUISSIN, ADM<sup>RS</sup>/ VIEL ARCHIT: BARRAULT ING:/ YORK, GOLDSMID, CONSTR:/ GERVAIS ET C<sup>IE</sup> ÉDIT:**. In the field, to the front and right of the Palace of Industry of Paris.

BZ; D = 50 mm; W = 63,71 g.

Inventory number: I 1801/1, 15794, 685/1034 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, London, 1916, p. 489.

**23. MEDAL WITH PALACE OF INDUSTRY IN PARIS, 1855.**

Engravers: Armand Auguste Caqué, Jacques and Charles Wiener.

Carver: Manguin.

Obv. Circular legend: **EUGÉNIE IMPÉRATRICE . NAPOLÉON III EMPEREUR**. Acolyte effigy of Napoleon III and Eugenia, in profile to the left. Under effigies engraver's name: **CAQUÉ F.**

Rv. In exergue, legend on two rows: **PALAIS DE L'INDUSTRIE/ VUE DES GALERIES**. In the field, aspect of the inner halls of the Palace of Industry. At the bottom: **J. C. WIENER FEC. MANGUIN DEL.**

BZ; D = 50 mm; W = 62,49 g.

Inventory number: I 1801/2, 15794, 685/1034 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, London, 1916, p. 489.

**24. MEDAL FOR OPENING UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION IN PARIS IN 1867 DEDICATED TO THE CROWN PRINCE OF THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE.**

Engraver: Eugène Ferret.

Obv. Circular legend: **S. A. LE PRINCE IMPERIAL PRESIDENT \* EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE DE 1867 \***. Circular, in five cartridges: **AMERIQUE-OCEANIE-EUROPE-ASIE-AFRIQUE**. In the center the emblem of the Second French Empire. At the bottom, as cartridge imprinted with **EUROPE** is the engraver's name: **FERRET**.

Rv. Circular legend: **NAPOLÉON III EMPEREUR EUGÉNIE IMPÉRATRICE \***, continued on ten rows, the first and last curved, surrounded by a crown of laurel leaves and flowers: **3 AVRIL**

**1866/ POSE/ DU 1<sup>ER</sup> PILIER DE LA/ CHARPENTE EN FER/ OUVERTURE SOLENNELLE/ DU PALAIS/ LE 1<sup>ER</sup> AVRIL 1867/ SUR FACE DU CHAMP DE MARS/ 446,000/ MÈTRES CARRÉS.**

Ormolu; D = 50 mm; W = 43,33 g.

Inventory number: I 1804/1, 15798, 692/1038 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. II, London, 1904, p. 88.

**25. MEDAL FOR FRANCE PRIZE, EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE IN PARIS IN 1867.**

Engraver: François Joseph Hubert Ponscarmé.

Obv. Legend one side of the effigy of the emperor: **NAPOLEON III-EMPEREUR**. At the bottom: **H. PONSCARME F.**. Winner effigy of Emperor Napoleon III, in profile to the left.

Rv. Semicircular legend: **EXPOSITION · UNIVERSELLE-DE · MDCCLXVII · A · PARIS**.

Victoria winged having held hands a scroll - symbol Exhibition, which became the center of the world, played the part above the earthly sphere. At the left, on the sphere, the engraver's name: **H. PONSCARME**.

Ormolu; D = 35 mm; W = 19,10 g.

Inventory number: I 1804/2, 15798, 692/1038 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, London, 1909, p. 656.

Lucia Bieltz, *Participarea României la expoziții internaționale oglindită în medalii inedite din patrimoniul Muzeului de Istorie al R. S. România*, in „Cercetări Numismatice”, III, 1980, p. 192 (different rv.).

Katiușa Pârvan, *Câteva medalii și decorații străine primite de români*, in „Cercetări Numismatice”, XIV, 2008, pp. 519-520, no. 2, 4, 5 (different rv.).

**26. MEDAL OF THE GRAND INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY, BRUXELLES, 1888.**

Engraver: Antoine Fisch.

Obv. Legend of a side of the effigy of King Leopold II: **LEOPOLD II ROI-DES BELGES**. Effigy of King Leopold II in profile to the left. Under effigy engraver's name: **A. FISCH**.

Rv. Circular legend: **GRAND CONCOURS INTERNATIONAL DES SCIENCES & DE L'INDUSTRIE \* BRUXELLES 1888 \***. Panoramic view of Brussels (venue of the competition), from which emanate rays of light (knowledge). Down and to the right a laurel branch.

BZ; D = 35 mm; W = 17,31 g.

Inventory number: I 1592, 15785, 695/1025 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. II, London, 1904, p. 97.

## 27. MEDAL FROM INAUGURATION OF EIFFEL TOWER IN PARIS, 1889.

Engraver: Charles Trotin.

Obv. In the field, the legend on three lines: **LES TRAVAUX/ ONT COMMENCÉ/ LE 27 JANV. 1887-LE MONUMENT/ A ÉTÉ INAUGURÉ/ LE 6 MAI 1889**. In exergue, legend on five lines: **INVALIDES 105: NOT. DAME 66 \* COLOGNE 150 \* OPERA 56/ G: PYRAMIDE 146 \* PANTHEON 83 \* S<sup>T</sup> PIERRE 132/ \* ARC DE TRIOMPHE 45 \* ROUEN 150/ \* OBELISQUE WASHINGTON 169/ TOUR EIFFEL 300**. In the field, the most important figures in the Paris buildings. On the right, the engraver's name: **C· TROTIN**.

Rv. Legend on five lines separated by a blank cartridge: **SOUVENIR/ DE MON ASCENSION/ AU SOMMET DE/ LA TOUR EIFFEL/ 1889**. At the bottom: **USINE METALLURGIQUE PARISIENNE**. In the above: **CUIVRE**.

Ormolu; D = 45 mm; W = 41,43 g.

Inventory number: I 1805/1, 15799/1, 696/1039 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, London, 1916, pp. 144-145.

## 28. MEDAL FROM INAUGURATION OF EIFFEL TOWER IN PARIS, 1889.

Engraver: Charles Trotin.

Obv. In the field, the legend on three lines: **LES TRAVAUX/ ONT COMMENCÉ/ LE 27 JANV. 1887-LE MONUMENT/ A ÉTÉ INAUGURÉ/ LE 6 MAI 1889**. In exergue, legend in five lines: **INVALIDES 105: NOT. DAME 66 \* COLOGNE 150 \* OPERA 56/ G: PYRAMIDE 146 \* PANTHEON 83 \* S<sup>T</sup> PIERRE 132/ \* ARC DE TRIOMPHE 45 \* ROUEN 150/ \* OBELISQUE WASHINGTON 169/ TOUR EIFFEL 300**. In the field, the most important figures in the Paris buildings. On the right, the engraver's name: **C· TROTIN**.

Rv. Legend on five lines separated by a blank cartridge: **SOUVENIR/ DE MON ASCENSION/ AU 2<sup>ME</sup> ETAGE DE/ LA TOUR EIFFEL/ 1889**. At the bottom: **USINE METALLURGIQUE PARISIENNE**. In the above: **CUIVRE**.

AR; D = 45 mm; W = 41,66 g.

Inventory number: I 1805/2, 15799/2, 696/1039 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, London, 1916, pp. 144-145.

**29. MEDAL FOR PRIZE FRANCE, EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE IN PARIS, CRAIOVA, TYPE I, 1900.**

Engraver: Jules Clement Chaplain.

Obv. Circular legend interrupted: **REPUBLIQUE-FRANÇAISE**. The oak at the left, as branches, head Marianne. In front, image of Paris - bridges, cathedrals.

Rv. Semircular legend: **EXPOSITION · UN-IVERSELLE · -INTERNATIONALE ·**. In the field, allegorical scene - Victory the right hand keeps a laurel branch leads Mercury left shoulder with torch in left. As background, prospect Exhibitions, **1900** characters behind; in exergue, the laurel branches fastened with ribbon, a cartridge legend which appears on two lines: **VILLE/ DE KRAÏOVA**. At the bottom, to the right, engravers name: **J· C· CHAPLAIN**.

Gilded copper; D = 65 mm; W = 97,08 g.

Inventory number: I 1807/1, 15801/3, 698/1041 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. I, London, 1904, p. 399.

George Buzdugan, Gheorghe Niculiță, *Medalii și plachete românești*, Editura Științifică, București, 1971, p. 250 (different rv.).

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Lucia Bieltz, *art. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, pp. 194-195 (different rv.).

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**30. MEDAL FOR PRIZE FRANCE, EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE IN PARIS, TYPE I, 1900.**

Engraver: Jules Clement Chaplain.

Obv. Circular legend interrupted: **REPUBLIQUE-FRANÇAISE**. The oak at the left, as branches, head Marianne. In front, image of Paris - bridges, cathedrals

Rv. Semicircular legend: **EXPOSITION · UN-IVERSELLE · - INTERNATIONALE ·**. In the field, allegorical scene - Victory the right hand keeps a laurel branch leads Mercury left shoulder with torch in left As background, prospect Exhibitions, **1900** characters behind; in exergue, the laurel branches fastened with ribbon, a cartridge legend which appears on two lines: **J· C· CHAPLAIN**.

Gilded copper; D = 65 mm; W = 121,72 g; 123 g.

Inventory number: I 1807/2, 15801/1, 698/1041 A. I 1807/2, 15801/2, 698/1041 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. I, London, 1904, p. 399.

George Buzdugan, Gheorghe Niculiță, *op. cit.*, p. 250 (different rv.).

Lucia Bieltz, *art. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, pp. 194-195 (different rv.).

MRRC, no. 941 (different rv.).

Katiușa Pârvan, *art. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 523, no. 17, 17 bis (different rv.).

Katia Moldoveanu, Katiușa Pârvan, *art. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 327, no. 15 (different rv.).

### 31. MEDAL FOR PRIZE FRANCE, EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE IN PARIS, SECOND TYPE, 1900.

Engraver: Georges Henri Lemaire.

Obv. Circular legend: **L'EXPOSITION-DE PARIS**. In the field, female figure seated, wearing royal crown on his head open, take the right hand a laurel branch and in his left a rich scarf, in right field at the foot of an oak branch character appears, musical instruments, a range of two brushes, a fragment of the volute capital, in the middle of the field as **1900** appears to begin with the sun. In left field, the engraver's name on two lines: **GEORGES/ LEMAIRE**.

Rv. In the lower, industrial, technical (hammer, anvil, cogwheel, a globe, a current generator with two terminals, camera, telescope, a boat with two masts etc.). At the top of left field a palm branch caught with a scarf, and in the center an empty cartridge.

AE; D = 52 mm; W = 63,36 g.

Inventory number: I 1806, 15800, 697/1040 A.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Leonard Forrer, *op. cit.*, vol. III, London, 1907, p. 384.

George Buzdugan, Gheorghe Niculiță, *op. cit.*, p. 250 (different rv.).

Lucia Bieltz, *art. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, pp. 195-196.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



1obv



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2obv



2rv



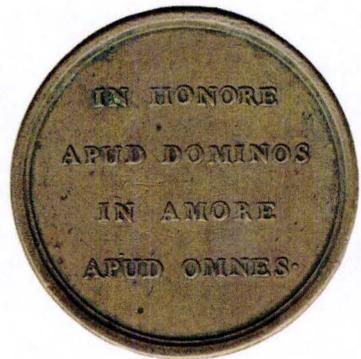
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# CONSTITUTIONAL INNOVATIONS IN THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPLES: THE ORGANIC REGULATIONS – THE SEPARATION OF POWERS PRINCIPLE

ILIN-GROZOIU Loredana-Maria\*

**Abstract.** *The Organic Regulations established, for the first time, a state organization that had as a fundamental law the separation of powers principle. The Romanian Principalities were given elected rulers and Assemblies, ministers and bureaucratic bodies, having as a result the administration of a domain that belonged directly to the ruler. But, they also had a contradictory character, because, on one side, they created the background favourable for the modernization of the Romanian society and, on the other side, they strengthened the economic and political power of the great boyars and the Tsarist protectorate.*

**Keywords:** *Romanian Principalities, modernization, Organic Regulations, state organization, separation of powers principle.*

The Organic Regulations were meant to create the conditions necessary for the acceleration of the modernization process into the Romanian society, and to put into practice a program for the transformation of the internal structures, on the same side with the spirit of that age. With few differences from one country to another, these fundamental laws legislated, for the first time, the state powers, defining, in the same time, the connections between these.

In the subsequently pages, we will try to present the stimulated modernization and the orientation imprinted by the Organic Regulations to this process, accentuating, in the necessary measure, the mixture of anachronism and reformation, with beneficial changing effects, but also with harmful consequences as regarding the conservatory content from foundation of these reforms.

The Organic Regulations<sup>1</sup> were elaborated according to the instructions received from Sankt-Petersburg, for the political provisions and under the supervision of Pavel Kiseleff, for the administrative stipulations<sup>2</sup>. The dispositions encompassed in the two Organic Regulations, were put into force on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1831 in Wallachia, and on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1832 in Moldavia.

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\*3<sup>rd</sup> deg. Scientific Researcher, PhD, "C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor" Institute for Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities, Craiova, Romanian Academy.

<sup>1</sup> *Regulamentul organic*, Bucharest, 1832; *Regulamentul organic. Interpretat cu legiurile din anii 1831, 1832 și 1833 și adăugat la sfârșit cu legiurile de la anul 1834 până acum, împărțite pe fiecare an, precum și cu scară deslușită a materiilor*, Bucharest, 1847; *Analele parlamentare ale României*, part I, volume I *Obșteasca Estraordinară Adunare de Revizuire a Regulamentului Organic a Țerei Românești. 1831*, Bucharest, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> See: Andrei Rădulescu, *Centenarul Regulamentului Organic al Țării Românești. 1 iulie 1831-1 iulie 1931*, Bucharest, 1932; Andrei Oțetea, *Geneza Regulamentului organic*, in „Studii și articole de istorie”, II, 1957, p. 391-393; Gh. Ungureanu, *Despre manuscrisul original al Regulamentului organic moldovean*, in „Studii și cercetări științifice. Istorie”, VIII, 1957, 1, Iași, p. 129; Anastasie Iordache, *Contrastul dintre anacronic și modern în Regulamentele organice ale Principatelor Române, în Principatele Române*, in „Revista istorică”, 2, no. 7-8/1991, p. 351-368; P. Păltânea, *Contribuția lui Costache Conachi la redactarea Regulamentului Organic*, in „Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A.D. Xenopol”, Iași, volume XXXIV, 1997, p. 39-50.

It was established, for the first time, a state organization that was based on the separation of powers principle: *the executive power* – belonged to the ruler, elected for life by the Extraordinary Assembly; he had the right of Legislative initiative and governed with the help of the law-decrees; *the legislative power* – was exercised by the Extraordinary National Assembly, the body that elaborated laws and handed in the reports to the ruler; *the judiciary power* – there were created the county Court Houses, the instances and The High Royal Chair.

*The Ruler* was elected by the Extraordinary National Assembly, made of: the metropolitan (the president); bishops (3 in Muntenia, 2 in Moldavia); 50 first rank boyars in Muntenia and 45 boyars in Moldavia, chosen from the almanac of the nobility according to their hierarchy, from *vel ban* (great ban) to *vel cămăraș* (tresurer), from *vel logofăt* (great chancellor) to *vel agă* (great agha), all born Romanian and living in the country; 73 second rank boyars, from *clucer* (Lord Steward) to *comis* (Equerry) in Muntenia, 30 from *agă* to *ban*, in Moldavia, sons of boyars and estate owners in Moldavia; 27 deputies from the city guilds in Muntenia and 21 in Moldavia<sup>3</sup>. In Moldavia, there was also a deputy “elected among the people from the academies”<sup>4</sup>.

The necessary presence for the election of the ruler had to be  $\frac{3}{4}$  from members of the Assembly. The ruler was elected from the first voting, if he gathered  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the votes or a simple majority from the 10 preferred candidates, in case of a second ballot<sup>5</sup>. The election of the ruler by the Extraordinary National Assembly had to be communicated to the Ottoman Porte through a written statement, signed by all the deputies. The same deputies had also to sign an official note to the Petersburg Court<sup>6</sup>.

According to art. 26 from the Organic Regulation of Wallachia, the candidates should be at least 40 years old and should come from a boyars' family<sup>7</sup>. The ruler was elected for life and could be dismissed from his position by the suzerain and protector Courts, on the basis of an enquiry. He could abdicate, on the condition that the abdication was accepted by the two Courts.

In case the ruling ceased or vacancy, the ruler's power was exercised by the temporary government of kaymakams, made of 3 members, elected among the heads of different high-offices: the president of the High Royal Chair; the ministry of affairs and the minister of justice, who filled the position the moment the vacancy occurred.

<sup>3</sup> *Regulamentele Organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei*, edition by Paul Negulescu, George Alexianu, Bucharest, 1944, p. 1 and p. 173(it is further quoted as: *Regulamentele Organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei*).

<sup>4</sup> I. C. Filitti, *Principatele Române de la 1828 la 1834. Ocupația rusească și Regulamentul organic*, Bucharest, 1934, p. 98-103.

<sup>5</sup> Cezar Avram(coord.), Ion Bitoleanu, Roxana Radu, Ion Vlad, Elena Paraschiv, *Introducere în istoria dreptului*, Bucharest, Editura Fundației România de Măine, 2007.

<sup>6</sup> *Regulamentele Organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei*, p. 179.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 5.

*The Ordinary National Assembly* from Wallachia was made of 42 members and that from Moldavia, of 35 members. The metropolitans and the bishops were rightful members in the two Assemblies. According to art.45 and 46 from the Organic Regulation of Wallachia, and art. 48 and 49 from the Organic Regulation of Moldavia, the deputies were elected among the boyars and the electoral body was made only of boyars. The county deputy electors were boyars and sons of boyars, of at least 25 years old, estate owners and living in that county. The President of the Assembly was the Metropolitan of the country. The members were: the bishops; 20 boyars of the first rank in Wallachia and 6 first and second rank boyars in Moldavia, 30 years old, native or naturalized, according to the old custom, and only in the capital elected by their fellows; 19 deputies of the counties from Wallachia (one from each county and one from Craiova), 16 deputies from Moldavia, landlord boyars, sons of boyars, who were at least 30 years old<sup>8</sup>.

The Assembly bureau was made of two secretaries and two substitute secretaries. The ministers in function did not have the right to be elected in the Legislative Assembly. They participated to the meetings of the Assembly to respond and report to the ruler. The deputies were appointed in any other positions, without losing their mandate.

Among the Ordinary National Assembly attributions, we can mention: the establishing of the budget and the control over the income and expenditures; sending written reports to the ruler and the two Courts, in which there was described the situation of the country and the discovered dissatisfactions, proposing, in the same time, measures in certain fields. The misunderstandings between the ruler and the Assembly were solved by Turkey and Russia<sup>9</sup>.

The law initiative belonged to the ruler who sent the bills to the Assembly through a decree or an order. The bills were voted with an absolute majority, entirely or with certain modifications. The result of the voting was communicated to the ruler through a letter, signed by all the deputies who participated to the meeting. The law entered into force only after the law had been sanctioned by the ruler. He had the right to re-bring the law into the Assembly's debates, to propose changes or to refuse the sanctions without motivating. Although the Assembly did not have law initiatives, it had the possibility to express some wishes or to present information regarding the deficiencies noticed in the state administration.

In certain situations, there were also mentioned some restraints concerning the activity of the Assembly. Thus, according to art. 52, 53 and 54 from the Organic regulation of Moldavia, the decisions of this Assembly were subordinated to the treaties and decrees in force, and to observing the

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9 și p. 181-182.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 10-11, p. 182-183, E. Cernea, E. Molcuț, *Istoria statului și dreptului românesc*, Bucharest, Editura Universul, 1993, p. 167.

“rights of the suzerain Court and of the defending Court”<sup>10</sup>. For example, the provisions regarding the finances could not be modified or completed without the agreement of the two Powers. Therefore, the Assemblies had a consultative role, meaning that they debated without deliberating, the sanctioning of the result after these debates held in the Assembly being due to the ruler.

The ruler had the obligation to convoke the Assembly on the 1<sup>st</sup> of December, the session being of 2 months, with the possibility for prolonging. For validating the debates, it was necessary the presence of 2/3 from the total number of the Assembly’s members.

There were founded, for the first time, *the departments (the ministries)*, for which there were mentioned the administrative attributions, being removed the judiciary ones, because the Royal Chair had been suppressed. It had been replaced by the *Ordinary Administrative Council* that had as a main task the counselling of the ruler and the preparing of the Assembly’s works. It was made of: internal affairs and finance ministers and the state secretary, under the presidency of the ruler or the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It was to meet twice a week to elaborate bills. After the bills were approved by the ruler, they were subjected to be deliberated by the Ordinary National Assembly.

It was the ruler who appointed and dismissed his collaborators, without considering other aspects than those in which he had an interest. According to art. 149 from the Organic Regulation of Wallachia, the six ministries were: the Ministry of Finance or the treasurer, the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the Great Magistrate, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the State Secretary, the Chancellor or the Ministry of Justice, the Chancellor or the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, the Sword Bearer of the Ministry of Defence<sup>11</sup>.

After an amendment proposed by the sword bearer Al. Dim. Ghica in Wallachia, it was constituted an *Extraordinary Administrative Council* that debated the extremely important problems. It was made of the members of the Ordinary Administrative Council and of the heads from the departments: police, ecclesiastic and justice.

According to the norms stipulated in the Organic Regulations, there were created<sup>12</sup>: *the department of internal affairs* – it handled the internal affairs, the education, the health, the public works and the social instance sectors; *the department of finance* – it supervised the income and the expenditure, the commerce and the industry; *the state secretariat* – led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who was the head of the ruler’s chancellery and who informed about the ruler’s ordinances; *the great chancellery of justice*, led by the Great Chancellor of Justice, who presided the supreme instance and supervised that the sentences of the courts were taken according to the laws and

<sup>10</sup> *Regulamentele Organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei*, p. 11 and p. 183.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 70.

<sup>12</sup> *Istoria dreptului românesc*, vol. II, part I, Bucharest, Editura Academiei Române, 1984, p. 127.

regulations in force; *the great chancellery of faith and ecclesiastic affairs* (in Muntenia), through which was accelerated the mixture of the state in the church issues.

For the separation of powers principle, the justice was also organized according to some modern principles: the hierarchic organization of the judicial instances; the separation of the juridical activity from the administrative one; the recognition of the authority as concerning the definitive decisions. Although the provisions that referred to the ministry responsibility institution were not clearly mentioned and complete, the separation of powers brought forward the idea of restraining the rulers' power<sup>13</sup>.

There were also created new instances: The High Royal Chair (in Wallachia), the Royal Chair (in Moldavia – as the third and the highest instance, able to judge the civil, commercial or criminal actions at law). The judicial instances were ordinary (civil) and extraordinary (military and ecclesiastic). The judges were appointed by the rulers for three years, with the possibility to extend the period of the mandate with other three years. It was also created the position of attorney near the courts and the solicitor offices.

The Organic Regulations prepared the field for a radical change in the Romanian Principalities. They assured the passing from the feudal era to the capitalist one, announcing, essentially, the modern organization of the Romanian state, for the following period. They represented a characteristic pattern of legislative identity, because they established, in the two Romanian principalities, the same state organization, formally built on the principle referring to the separation of powers.

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<sup>13</sup> Ioan Stanomir, *Nașterea Constituției. Limbaj și drept în Principate până la 1866*. Bucharest, Editura Nemira, 2004, p. 19.

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# THE ECHOES OF THE SPANISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION IN ROMANIA (1875)

ANDRONACHE Denisa-Victoria \*

**Abstract.** *In 1875 the Spanish Minister in Vienna, Cipriano del Mazo y Gherardi, was appointed to personally hand over to Prince Carol of Romania, a letter to notify the enthronement of Alfonso XII of Spain. This mission caused a diplomatic incident, as the Ottoman Empire saw in this action the recognition of the Principalities' sovereignty and threatened not to recognize the restoration of the Bourbons in Spain. The Ottoman protests were rejected because the capitulations had huge reputation in European offices and due to the vigorous response of the Romanian diplomacy.*

**Keywords:** *diplomacy, Cipriano del Mazo y Gherardi, letter of notification, restoration of the Bourbons.*

For Spain, a state with Latin roots just like Romania, the end of the year 1874 meant giving up experiments in governance and the restoration of the Bourbon Dynasty by Alfonso XII, son of controversial Isabella II who during her exile, abdicated in her son's favour. After the revolution of 1868, Spain experienced various forms of governance: two years of temporary government, the reign of Amadeo of Savoy (1870-1873) and the ephemeral First Spanish Republic. Lacking the means of an ambitious foreign policy, losing its few remaining colonies, Spain became a second rank power with an economic development depending on foreign capital and an agriculture that sidelined millions of peasants. Thus, Spain was merely a shadow of the mighty empire "on which the sun never sets". Only culture managed to rise up to the grand past and knew a revival that reminded the great *Siglo de Oro*, hence the name of the *Edad de la Plata*<sup>1</sup>.

In this domestic context, Alfonso returned to his country in January 1875. Consequently, various European countries have been sent notification letters to his enthronement. Spanish Minister in Vienna, Cipriano y Mazo Gherardi, was appointed to personally hand such a letter to Prince Carol of Romania, after doing the same thing in Germany.

Meanwhile, in Romania, Carol was quite busy supporting his own statement that he "was conspiring and will continue doing so against the Turks as long as they claim to treat him as a Turkish governor and Romania as an Ottoman province"<sup>2</sup>. This conspiracy was explained by the desire to proclaim the state's Independence, in fact, a national necessity. The tendencies in asserting the state's sovereignty consisted in having the right to diplomatic representation, to conclude treaties

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph Pérez, *Istoria Spaniei*, Editura Artemis, București, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Serviciul Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale (S.A.N.I.C.), Colecția Microfilme, *Franța*, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Archives Diplomatiques, Correspondance politique des consuls, Turquie-Bucarest, vol. 38, r. 17, c. 219.

(especially commercial ones) and the right to understand the capitulations established with the Ottoman Empire in the sense of absolute autonomy. In this register, we must understand Mitileneu's complete collection of treaties concluded by the Romanian Principalities from 1368 until then, published in 1874.

The purpose of the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs study, perceived as an almost official position of the authorities in Bucharest, was more than obvious, given the chosen *motto*: “The right to conclude a treaty, to bind the public trust to a foreign government is, indisputably, one of the attributes of sovereignty”<sup>3</sup>. Thus, this diplomatic controversy from 1875 allowed Romania to gain a victory over the Ottomans by using this principle.

As soon as he heard the Spanish Minister intended to come to Bucharest, the Romanian agent in Vienna, Gheorghe Costaforu, notified his Foreign Minister, Vasile Boerescu, to welcome the Spanish Minister at the border after his train journey on the route Lemberg-Cernovitz-Suceava and to accompany him to Bucharest, where he should be treated with all the honours. The mission, as Costaforu stated, was “unique in its own way until today and explainable only by the high consideration that His Majesty has for our Prince”, a fact that “can only flatter our own national pride”<sup>4</sup>.

Gherardi y Mazo Cipriano arrived in Romania in February and was received in Bucharest with the appropriate ceremony of such an event<sup>5</sup> and the notification letter was personally handed to Carol in a private audience. An interesting fact is that the Romanian prince was treated with the title “Her Royal Highness” which, in fact, he did not possess at that time. Only in 1878 after obtaining the state's Independence, this title was granted<sup>6</sup>.

After a stay of eight days in Bucharest (in Germany he spent four days) Cipriano del Mazo y Gheradi returned by train to Vienna, with a letter of gratitude from Carol<sup>7</sup> and, as Costaforu mentioned, very “pleased”<sup>8</sup>.

Unfortunately, after this diplomatic visit, the Grand Vizier, Savfet Pasha, shared a different opinion and did not hesitate in sending a circular letter to the Guarantor Powers complaining about Spain's notification letter to Prince Charles and showing his outrage towards the proper reception given to the Spanish diplomat while in Bucharest.

<sup>3</sup> Corneliu Mihail Lungu (ed.), *Independența României în conștiința europeană*, Editura Semne, București, 1997, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe (A.M.A.E.), Fond *Arhiva Istorică (1830-1895)*, vol. 260, Dosarul 73, f. 20.

<sup>5</sup> R. V. Bossy, *Politica externă a României (1873-1880) privită de la Agenția diplomatică din Roma*, București, Editura Cultura națională, 1928, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> A.M.A.E., f. 18-19.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 21-22.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 31

Apparently the instigator in this matter was none other than the British ambassador to Constantinople<sup>9</sup>, preoccupied with the actions of Carol ever since 1874 who, he believed, sought to obtain the Independence<sup>10</sup>. England remained devoted to its policy of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, even Carol stated in the context of his visit to England in 1874 that “Romania is a *terra incognita* and the sympathy for Turkey is so great that an attempt to uproot it would turn useless”<sup>11</sup>.

The Romanian diplomatic agent in Constantinople, general Ion Grigore Ghica, was convinced that the Ottoman approach was only an excuse to attack Romania, given the deteriorated relations between the two countries in the last years and the tendencies towards Independence. Thus, Ghica assured General Ignatiev, the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, that the Romanian Government was determined to repel any attack coming from Turkey, although hopes were that Savfet Pasha will not engage in such projects<sup>12</sup>.

The accusations coming from Constantinople were based upon the idea that the Spanish courtesy gesture was hiding in fact a lack of respect for their rights and “an attempt against the treaties which established our position of vassal towards them”. Through a circular letter telegraphed to their foreign agents, the Ottomans protested against Gherardi's mission, demanding a satisfactory explanation from Madrid and asking the support of the Guarantor Powers in their efforts. To achieve this purpose, the Ottomans resorted to the threat that the restoration of the Bourbons in Spain will not be recognized and Spain's diplomats in Constantinople will be deprived of their official status. In a telegram (11/23 February 1875), general Ghica considered that “the Turks took advantage of this opportunity to avenge their failure in the commercial question and to satisfy their vanity”<sup>13</sup>.

After Gherardi returned to his post on the evening of 10/22 February, the next day the Viennese press was shaken by a British dispatch which reported the Ottoman decision not to recognize Alfonso without an explanation. Costaforu emphasized that according to the Ottoman point of view, Gherardi's mission in Romania signified in fact recognizing of Romania's Independence by the King of Spain<sup>14</sup>. It is obvious now as it was then, that for the Ottoman Empire, a Power in decline, such a precedent might have proven dangerous and the example of Spain could

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 27.

<sup>10</sup> *Independența României. Documente (I.R.D.)*, vol II, partea I-a, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1977, doc. nr. 36, p. 78.

<sup>11</sup> *Memoriile Regelui Carol I al României: De un martor ocular*, vol. II, 1869-1875, București, Editura Scripta, 1993, p. 332.

<sup>12</sup> A.M.A.E., f. 27.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 29.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 31

have been followed by other European countries and the attitude of Romania by other nations still under the rule of the “sick man of Europe”.

The Romanian diplomacy, efficiently led by Vasile Boerescu, reacted vigorously to counter the Ottoman protest and to win on its side the major European Powers, thus the agents from Vienna, Paris, Berlin, Rome or Petersburg were instructed to explain the Romanian point of view and to neutralize the Ottomans requests.

In his circular telegram (12/24 February 1875), Boerescu wrote: “I found out that the Ottoman Government has sent a protest to the Great Powers against the mission of the Spanish Minister in Vienna to our Sovereign. According to Treaties and Capitulations, our country is in a position of receiving and already has received direct notifications from other Sovereigns. First of all we hope the Great Powers will not sustain this new Ottoman attempt to breach the legal status of our country. Our duty is, however, to formulate our formal objections against any potential attempts. Please meet with the Foreign Minister and communicate our point of view. Give him all the necessary explanations in order to avoid any misunderstandings that might arise from this new claim made by the Sublime Porte. If His Excellency wishes, you may leave a copy of this note”<sup>15</sup>.

Therefore, our diplomacy's arguments, which was trying to exploit in a favourable way this incident, were built on the assumption that there was a precedent and such notifications were a right established by the Capitulations and the whole attitude of the Ottoman Empire was deliberately malicious and aimed at harming the Romanian interests.

In accordance with these recommendations, C. Esarcu, Head of the Romanian Agency in Rome, met with Visconti-Venosta, the Italian Foreign Minister to counter the protest coming from Constantinople. The Italian Minister considered that the Great Powers will not get involved in this matter which concerned only Spain and Turkey. Esarcu tried also to meet the Spanish Minister from Rome to assure him the Romanian authorities didn't want the Spanish Government to abandon its initial position given the virulent attitude of the High Porte. Unfortunately, the Spanish Minister was not in Rome and for the moment, Esarcu confined to write to Boerescu about the results of his encounter with Visconti-Venosta<sup>16</sup>.

In Vienna, while dealing with Andrassy the terms of a commercial convention, Costaforu took time to talk with Cipriano del Mazo y Gherardi about the Ottoman protest, insisting that Spain should not resign from its position<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> R.V. Bossy, *op. cit.*, Annex XVI.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 5-6.

<sup>17</sup> A.M.A.E., f. 36.

The next day (13/25 February), while in Berlin, the Romanian agent, Kretzulescu, had a long meeting with the Spanish Minister, who promised to telegraph to Madrid and believed that his Government will not waver in facing the threatening circular made public by the press. Also, Kretzulescu obtained a meeting with Bismarck. Here, he tried to show the absurdity of the Ottoman claims and left a copy of Boerescu's note. While emphasizing the interest of the Kaiser in finding a quick solution, as well as for other issues that concerned Carol, the German Chancellor resumed expressing his hope that the incident will not have bad consequences<sup>18</sup>. Bismarck simulated a minimal interest for the Romanian problems and maintained the Kaiser's point of view of "friendship and friendly sympathy"<sup>19</sup> (as in the meeting between him and Carol in July 1873), but in reality, he shared the opinion of the British Ambassador in Berlin that "the Independence of Romania was a matter of no interest to him"<sup>20</sup>.

In Sankt Petersburg things were seen in a different way. In the absence of Chancellor Gorchakov, temporarily indisposed, the Head of Asian Affairs (Stremaukow) transmitted Nicolae Filipescu, the Romanian agent, his opinion that Spain's conduct was a wrong one, but Russia could not comply with the Porte demands for he did not want to create difficulties to Alfonso XII. Therefore, Gorchakov's advice for Constantinople was to give less importance to the matter. Filipescu tried to demonstrate that the Ottoman Empire was the one who looked for a reason of dispute and brought in discussion the problems that Romania faced in recent years, even though in many occasions Carol received identical notifications from the Great Powers which were published in "Monitorul Oficial" and the authorities from Constantinople were always informed<sup>21</sup>.

When Filipescu asked explicitly the Russian help, Stremaukow responded with reserve, stressing that Russia didn't have a legal basis to help Romania as one written communication was different from another one made by a Minister in an extraordinary mission and in a solemn audience. In addition, he considered our interpretation given to the Treaties and Capitulations to be wrong. A supporter of peace, Stremaukow advised that the inconveniences would be avoided if the Romanian agent in Constantinople expressed his astonishment towards the importance given by the Porte to the Spanish mission and that the notification didn't change in any way the relations with the Suzerain Power. Facing this undeserved reproof, Filipescu replied that the Romanian Government could adopt any attitude as long it did not offend the national feelings<sup>22</sup>, a reference towards the outdated, increasingly and unbearable formal suzerainty exercised by an Empire in

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 38.

<sup>19</sup> *Memoriile Regelui Carol I...*, p. 282.

<sup>20</sup> *I.R.D.*, vol. II, doc. nr. 31, p. 68.

<sup>21</sup> *A.M.A.E.*, f. 39.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 40-41.

decline towards the Romanian state in a process of modernization led by a descendant of a noted European family.

The echoes of the scandal were not just European. Cuban journalist and poet José Martí considered that the Spanish gesture was just a cover for the Sublime Porte who wanted to obtain a declaration from the Great Powers, in order to slow down the Romanians aspirations of Independence, stressing that “the ties that bind the Porte with the tributary state are already weak”<sup>23</sup>.

The Spanish Minister in Constantinople told general Ghica that although his Government hasn't responded in any way to the Ottoman circular, in the given circumstances he rushed to declare that there was no political trick hidden in Gherardi's mission and that the usages established by Amadeo of Savoy and Serrano, President of the First Spanish Republic, were followed. Savfet Pasha considered this explanation as unsatisfactory and insufficient<sup>24</sup> and asked for more explanations, not realizing that the time when his Empire had a dominant role on the continent was long gone.

Clearly, King Alfonso XII was not willing to indulge such games fed by a frustrated ego and relied on the slow development of this unpleasant incident whose magnitude was not clearly foreseen when Gherardi's mission was decided. Obviously, Spain didn't agree to be embroiled in a diplomatic dispute from which it had nothing to gain, than the eternal gratitude of the Romanian people. More specifically, the situation was tense given the fact that Marquis de Molins, the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, was in search of a legal argument to prove the existence of a likewise prior incident<sup>25</sup>.

In Constantinople, general Ghica made efforts to persuade Savfet Pasha about the justice of the Romanian position, telling him about the content of Boerescu's circular note. In this talk even the Grand Vizier seemed affected by the events and tried to minimize the extent of the Ottoman approaches, claiming that his circular referred exclusively to Spain's slightly unusual procedure to notify the enthronement of Alfonso XII only by a letter to Constantinople and through an embassy in Bucharest, suggesting that he had a problem with Madrid since the Spanish authorities had shown more deference to a vassal state than to its suzerain. In other words, it was a matter of pride. General Ghica labelled this explanation as improbable, arguing that it would have been plausible only if the incident had been summarized between Madrid and Constantinople and wouldn't had reached an European scale, as it happened in reality. The conclusion of this judgement was that the Ottoman Empire was trying to restrict the rights of Romania with the help of the European Powers

<sup>23</sup> José Martí, *Obras completas*, Vol. XIV, *Europa*, Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, Habana, 1975, p. 13-14.

<sup>24</sup> A.M.A.E., f. 42.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 43.

and hence the reservations expressed. Of course, Savfet Pasha denied that there was any hidden intention and asked Boerescu to try not to complicate things even more by involving Romania in the dispute. The Ottoman diplomacy experienced another failure, as the telegram of Boerescu arrived to Paris, Berlin and Vienna before the one of the Ottomans, causing “stupefaction” in Constantinople, as general Ghica mentioned<sup>26</sup>. Thus, this happening and also the talk with Savfet Pash meant somehow, accepting the defeat.

Under these circumstances, another news threatened to inflame the two states, as the sending of a Romanian extraordinary mission to Madrid was anticipated. The Ottomans complained to Russia and Boerescu was advised by Gorchakov to abandon this plan which would have complicated the issue unnecessarily<sup>27</sup>.

By the end of February, the Romanian agent in Paris, Cristian Vranas, met with Marquis de Molins. Vranas assured him the Romanian government appreciated the courtesy of Spain, as his gesture was a common practice among Christian monarchs of “sovereign descent” and notifications were also exchanged between Carol who was ruling over “a free and independent people” and other sovereigns and princes of European blood. Confessing his astonishment in facing Turkey's bizarre claims he added that his people had the firm hope that Spain won't give any explanations that could incite Romania's national susceptibilities. De Molins said that Spain paid little or no importance to the incident and revealed also how Alfonso decided to send an extraordinary mission in Romania, a vassal state: “being in his office he reviewed the princes that were reigning in Europe. Among them he saw His Highness Prince Carol of Romania, belonging to a sovereign House and who ruled over a Christian people with same Latin roots just like the Spanish people. Then, His Majesty hastened to announce His Highness of such a fortunate event. It's a sign of courtesy from a Christian prince to another Christian prince with equal illustrious origin. We are very excited about the satisfaction felt by the Romanian nation”. He concluded that Alfonso did not want to be disagreeable neither to Turkey, nor anyone else in this act and promised that if he met the Turkish ambassador he would say exactly the same words he told Vranas, remaining consequent to his initial position<sup>28</sup>.

Therefore, the influence of Prince Carol in the international development of modern Romania can't be denied, as he draw upon him at least the sympathy or support of certain states, whose leaders saw him as a monarch of equal rank<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 46.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 47.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 49-50.

<sup>29</sup> To test this Spanish-Romanian affinity we could mention the contacts established by Carol I with the Spanish royal family (Isabela II and Francis de Asis) following his visit to Spain in 1862, when Alfonso was only 5 years. As a true soldier he was, Carol visited the arsenal of Seville factory to see how artillery projectiles are being made, then he met the royal family in Madrid, who received him with all the honors, took part in a dinner, at a gala concert, met all the

In conclusion, the incident from 1875 faded as a result of the vigorous Romanian diplomacy action which condemned the agitation aroused in Constantinople. As the Capitulations were well known by the European offices, no one, but the Ottomans, protested and even Savfet Pasha had to recognize his defeat. Although this question had no major consequence, it marked a new stage in the relations between Romania and Spain, which did not hesitate to maintain the diplomatic contact with the authorities in Bucharest despite virulent accusations coming from Constantinople. Moreover, for the Romanian people the positive consequences of this episode were revealed during the reopening of the Eastern Crisis, the War of Independence (1877-1878) and the international recognition of its new status.

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Spanish aristocracy, attended a military parade and the King told him he can look at the Spanish Court as to one related to him (and we can add that this was achieved through the marriage of Beatrice, sister of the future Queen Maria of Romania, with Alfonso XIII, son of Alfonso XII). As Carol confessed when he reached Paris, avoided to talk about his reception at the Spanish Court, being so great that one might think he was too proud. S.A.N.I.C., *Fond Casa Regală, Carol I (personale)*, vol. V, nr. ord. 1625, 1626.

## THE INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION OF OLTENIA DURING 1878-1914

CIOBANU Anca Florentina \*

**Abstract.** *The state gaining independence in 1877, gave a powerful impetus to the country's economic and social development, the economy entering a sustained process of modernization. The independence meant, first of all, full output Romania from Turkish customs influence, the possibility of concluding customs and trade agreements with other countries, and led to economic policy designed to promote industrial development.*

*If, by the sixth decade of the nineteenth century, the domestic industry dominated the whole production process of the country, in the period now under review it is relatively restrained, but does not disappear, continuing to exist especially in rural mountain and hill regions.*

*Mechanized industry, which appeared in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century and was represented by mills, tanneries and so on, slowly develops in our country, with a delay of 50-100 years to the rest of Europe. In the period 1860-1886 there are created the premises for its development, through the acquisition of national sovereignty, institutionalization of a modern market economy, creation of infrastructure, establishment of national currency in 1867, and the creation of the modern banking system.*

*In Oltenia the most developed industrial branches were those of the light industry: food, textile, leather, and those producing raw materials, oil and forestry. Industry in this region has always been closely linked to the development of agriculture, based on the abundant agricultural raw materials. Most industrial establishments were from the processing of agricultural products, which gave the characteristic feature of Oltenia industry. Although the industrial development was uneven and influenced by material factors, which gave it the agricultural feature, the industrial establishments increased continuously in Oltenia and the mechanized industry accelerated its development together with the evolution of the Romanian economy.*

**Keywords:** *Oltenia, industry, industrial establishments, mechanised industry, modernization process.*

The state gaining independence in 1877, gave a powerful impetus to the country's economic and social development, the economy entering a sustained process of modernization. The independence meant, first of all, full output Romania from Turkish customs influence, the possibility of concluding customs and trade agreements with other countries, and led to economic policy designed to promote industrial development.

If, by the sixth decade of the nineteenth century, the domestic industry dominated the whole production process of the country, in the period now under review it is relatively restrained, but does not disappear, continuing to exist especially in rural mountain and hill regions. Regarding the craft industry, it continued to be until the late nineteenth century the main form of the industrial production, undergoing, however, a restructuring and adaptation process, so in 1914 provided about 30% of the country's industrial production, being situated after the large mechanized industry. The situation is different regarding the manufacturing industry, which will not continue to exist in the new industrial system, because a part of the manufacturing workshops, being equipped with machinery and mechanical driving force, is converted into factories, and the other part with specific manual processes will disappear.<sup>1</sup>

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\*Phd, history teacher, "Ion Creanga" Secondary School, e-mail: ancaflorentina2005@yahoo.com.

<sup>1</sup> Victor Axenciuc, *Introducere în istoria economică a României – Epoca Modernă*, Editura Fundației „România de Măine”, București, 1997, p. 130-135.

Mechanized industry, which appeared in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century and was represented by mills, tanneries and so on, slowly developed in our country, with a delay of 50-100 years to the rest of Europe. In the period 1860-1886 there were created the premises for its development, through the acquisition of national sovereignty, institutionalization of a modern market economy, creation of infrastructure, establishment of national currency in 1867 and the creation of the modern banking system which followed the establishment of the National Bank of Romania, in 1880. After 1886, free trade policy ends and begins the era of the industrial protectionism, which is the period when the mechanized industry takes off and places itself in the economic life of the country.<sup>2</sup>

In Oltenia the most developed industrial branches were those of the light industry: food, textile, leather and those producing raw materials, oil and forestry. Industry in this region was always closely linked to the development of agriculture, based on the abundant agricultural raw materials. Most industrial establishments were from the processing of agricultural products, which gave the characteristic feature of Oltenia industry.

It therefore develops primarily milling industry, Craiova, Calafat, Băilești, Turnu Severin being the most important centers of this industry. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century the largest mills in Oltenia, with a high production capacity were: „M. Weiss et Fii”, established in 1884, „Isac I. Beligrădeanu”-1879, „Moise Mendel”-1852, „Barbu Drugă”-1876, „B. Pomerantz et Fiu”-1861, „Carol Rauterstrach”-1887, all these in Craiova; „Molt și Rădulescu”, „D. Dracopol”, in Calafat; „Prințul B. A. Știrbey”, in Băilești; „Căp. Avramescu Al.”, „Andrei Ghelciu”, in Râmnicu Vâlcea; „Terese V. Schwartz”, in Drobeta Turnu Severin. There were a total of 1,247 mills which operated with steam engines, gas or water power, some of them such as those of Craiova, Calafat and Turnu Severin exporting about 50% of their annual production.<sup>3</sup> In the food industry, breweries, alcohol and spirits industry remarkable progress was made as well. Leather industry is diversifying and expanding its production, the number of tanneries growing more and more. Among them, the following had the highest production: the Eskenazy tannery, which worked in the late nineteenth century with 65 workers, having also attached a clothing workshop, the tannery at Bucovăț, founded in 1882, both in Craiova; the tanneries „Răsoiu și Comșa”, founded in 1889 and „La opinca națională”, in Târgu-Jiu; the leather factory „Frații Hanciu Moritz et Selendath” (1896), and the tanneries „N.I. Șimian”, „N. Șteflea”, „Frații Kleinrath”, „Oprea I. Șimian”, all set up in 1886 in Râmnicu Vâlcea.<sup>4</sup>

Regarding the textile industry, it was pretty weak, the most important establishment being the fustian factory „P. Birman și Fiu” in Craiova, followed by the rough homespun factories „Iohan

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 137. Also see Victor Axenciuc, Ioan Tiberian, *Premise economice ale formării statului național unitar român*, Editura Academiei, București, 1979, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> Vladimir Osiac, *Dezvoltarea industrial-comercială a Olteniei în epoca modernă*, Editura Universitaria, Craiova, 1997, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 39.

Fleischer” (1902), „Iohan Gașpar” (1878), „Nae Predescu” (1902) and the „Oltenia” cloth factory (1914) that, otherwise, was one of the most important industrial establishments in Oltenia founded during this period, and having 200 workers - all in Craiova.<sup>5</sup>

Other industries also developed both by increasing the number of industrial establishments and in terms of production, as regards the wood industry, with its forestry and processing branches, and building materials industry: bricks, tiles, hydraulic lime, plaster etc., this being due to the abundance of raw materials and urban development of the region. The main building materials factories were: the brick factory „P. Andreescu” (1898), Craiova, the lime and gypsum factory „Marocneanu și Gârlișteanu” (1901), from Gura Văii, Mehedinți, the tile factory „Mihai Pătru și Ion Vasilescu” (1903), in Ciupercenii Vechi, Dolj, the brick, tiles and tiled stoves factory in Cernele, Dolj (1912), the company of the production and consumption cooperative „Oltețu” in Zătreni, Vâlcea, and the lime factory „Runcu” (1908), Gorj. Regarding the wood industry, almost all the shares in Lotru Valley were seized by the „I. Gutmann and Comp.” firm, which will become, in 1901, the Snonymous society for Exploitation of Forests „Lotru”. Among the most important wood processing enterprises in Oltenia, there were: the Arpad Konrad workshop (1906), the Anton Bulfinschi and Gheorghe Ionescu workshops, both in Craiova and the mechanical carpentry workshop of M. Spech (1907), in Vâlcea.<sup>6</sup>

In Oltenia the mining industry was less developed and had a low production. The coal industry, for example, was limited to Mehedinți and Gorj counties, and the coal extracted was used mainly for the railways and not in the processing industry. During this period, there was, in Vâlcea County, a gold mine, and in 1908-1909 was established a mining society that systematically exploited gold in the Lotru mountains.<sup>7</sup>

The largest metallurgical enterprise in Oltenia continued to be, at this time, the shipbuilding yard from Drobeta Turnu Severin. In addition to this, other major metallurgical enterprises were: Gustav Wolf, Craiova (1884, specialized in iron construction), Carol Blozel, Turnu Severin (1886, iron construction), Eitel Dietrich, Râmnicu Vâlcea (1893, agricultural machineries, foundry ), Adolf Weidmann, Craiova (1895, agricultural machineries), Richard Graepel, Craiova (1901, agricultural machineries, foundry), P. Andreescu et Sons, Bucovăț, Dolj (1911, iron bellows), Felix Weidmann, Craiova (1912, mechanical workshop) etc.<sup>8</sup> As we can see, most of the metallurgical enterprises were specialized in agricultural machine building, according to the agricultural nature of the region,

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 40-41.

<sup>7</sup> *Dicționarul istoric al localităților din județul Vâlcea*, vol. I, *Orașele*, coord. Dinică Ciobotea, Cezar Avram, Editura Sitech, Craiova, 2009, p. 209 (we shall further refer as *Dicționarul istoric...*)

<sup>8</sup> Vladimir Osiac, *op.cit.*, p. 37, Dinică Ciobotea, Ion Zarzără, *Istoria Întreprinderii de Mașini Agricole și Tractoare din Craiova 1878-2008*, Editura Sitech, Craiova, 2009, p. 31.

but under these conditions, most of them produced quite a few equipment, that did not cover the needs of a major agricultural area, or of the country and export.

The oltenian industry in the last decades of the nineteenth century is surprised by the statistics compiled in 1885, which sought to centralize the major industrial establishments in Dolj county to the „project relative to the encouragement of the national industry”. At the request of the Dolj county prefect to prepare a statement of the local industries, most responses were negative, except the Amaradia-Ocolu locality, where there were two spirits plants, the town of Calafat, where there were mentioned a brewery and a soda water factory, and of Craiova, where there were 48 factories and industrial establishments including: 6 manufacturers of candles, 8 tanneries, 3 factories of rough homespun, 9 shoemakers, two tailors, 3 furriers, 3 sculptors of monuments, two manufacturers of plows, a woodstove tower, a blacksmith shop and a carpenter, two mechanical workshops, two blacksmiths, two upholsterers, two millers.<sup>9</sup> A few years later, in 1892, another statistic of „all factories and workshops” in the county listed in Craiova only 22 industrial establishments, while in Calafat were recorded 61 (10 factories with 2-15 workers per day, none with machines, 20 workshops with 2-5 workers a day, 31 individual craftsmen with 1-3 workers per day).<sup>10</sup> Hence the different perception of police chiefs, who were responsible for preparing these situations, about what it was, at the time, a factory or a workshop. The 22 industrial establishments in Craiova were: the steam mills Așer Eschenasy, Moise A. Mendel et Fiu, Isac B. Iosif et Fiu, Pepi B. Pomerantz; the mechanical workshops producing and repairing agricultural machinery of Gustav Burkhardt, Iosif Lachman; Acsentie Pilca, Anton Bulfinschi and Franz Ecseler’s carriage workshops; Grigori Siroși’s blacksmith shop; Dimitri Ghizdăvescu’s knitwear factory; Tănăsache Teodorescu’s linen factory; Carol Eniștea’s tile factory; Aron M. Lillu and „Societatea Viitorului” rope factories; Ioan Popp’s carpentry and furniture shop; the rough homespun factories „Societatea Deșteptarea” and Johan Gașpar; the printing workshops Ralian Samitca, Filip Lazăr, David Benvenisti and Nicolae Macavei<sup>11</sup>.

Therefore, the industrial development in this region has been uneven and influenced primarily by material factors, such as raw materials and energy generators, which led to the development of consumer goods manufacturing industry, the food industry occupying the dominant position: mills occupied the largest share within the industrial establishments. If, in 1878, Craiova’s industry was still in the manufacturing stage, characterized by the large number of workshops, in which there worked mostly foreign artisans, the local elements representing only a small percentage, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the local economy registered visible changes and the trend to form a national

<sup>9</sup> Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale Dolj (The County Administration of the National Archives from Dolj), fund *Prefectura Județului Dolj*, Serviciul Administrativ, file 142/1885, f. 9, 13, 25-26 (we shall refer further as SJAN).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, file 105/1892, f. 56, 107-110.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*.

industry was evident. Craiova continued to be an important agricultural, commercial and industrial urban center, but the separation from the agriculture was not finished, and therefore large areas continued to be used for gardening, cereals, vineyards, orchards and grazing.

However, Craiova industry recorded a number of achievements and we will continue to focus on a few: in 1882 it is established a tannery and a brick factory in addition to the Bucovăț Prison<sup>12</sup>; in 1887 Ștefan Constantinescu, the headmaster of the vocational school, set up a rope factory, then moved to the city<sup>13</sup>; in the same year it was put into operation the first knitwear factory, equipped with 12 knitting machines and a staff of 24 employees, their products (sweaters, socks, gloves etc.) being marketed in Craiova, Calafat and Caracal<sup>14</sup>; in 1894 it was founded the Richard Graepel agricultural machinery factory and warehouse, the tanning factory, equipped with a steam machine, built by the Kepik brothers, the Adolf Waidmann mechanical factory with departments of turning, blacksmithing and carpentry, created in 1895, the Power plant, called into operation in 1896 and representing the largest foreign capital investment, the Refrigerator and Ice factory in 1901, the first chocolate factory in Oltenia „Toppescu and Comp.”, in 1907, the bread factory „S.C. Traiul”, opened in 1909, the systematic mill Șt. Barbu Drugă<sup>15</sup> etc.

The printing industry has experienced a great development in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Craiova being one of the main printing centers of the country. In a statistic from 1885 there were registered four printing establishments: „Ignat and Ralian Samitca” typography which enjoyed, like other industrial establishments, the benefits of the law in 1887, having 80 workers in 1897 and gaining a good reputation for the quality of their work; „Filip Lazăr” typography which operated since 1874 and which changed its name over the existence in the Romanian Typography (1884), Filip Lazăr et Comp. Typography (1893), Lazăr Typography (1901); „Frații Benvenisti” typography established in 1876 which became in 1890 „Frații Benvenisti” publisher and bookstore (it continued to function until 1929); „Asociații Români” typography, established in 1884 (it became „N. I. Macavei” typography)<sup>16</sup>.

The building materials industry has also grown because of the existence of raw materials, on the one hand, but also because of the works made to modernize the city. The main establishments of this type were „P. Andreescu” (1898) and „Cernele”, specialized in producing bricks, tiles and tiled stoves<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> SJAN Dolj, fund *Prefectura Județului Dolj*, file 15/1882, f. 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, file 112/1887, f. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Luchian Deaconu, Otilia Gherghe, *Craiova de la 1878 la 1900*, Editura Sitech, Craiova, 2009, p. 296.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 303-304. Also see Luchian Deaconu, *Craiova 1898-1916. Saltul la urbanismul modern*, Editura Sitech, Craiova, 2001, p. 228.

<sup>16</sup> SJAN Dolj, fund *Prefectura Județului Dolj*, file 142/1885, f. 4,5. Also see Gheorghe Pârnuță, Nicolae Andrei, *Istoria cărții, presei și tiparului din Oltenia*, Editura Scrisul Românesc, Editura Oltenia, Craiova, 1994.

<sup>17</sup> *Istoria Craiovei*, Editura Scrisul Românesc, Craiova, 1977, p. 77.

The industrial and commercial development of the city led to the appearance of the first banking units in the late nineteenth century: in 1881 it began operating Craiova branch of the National Bank of Romania, and in 1897 it was established Banca Comercială (the Commercial Bank), which will open agencies in Corabia, Caracal, Turnu Severin, Drăgășani, Balș, Bechet<sup>18</sup>.

Regarding the metallurgical industry in Craiova there were, in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, many enterprises of agricultural machinery such as: Clayton & Shuttleworth workshop (1877), Eugeniu Bechles (1898), M.I. Panijel (1893), W. Stadecker (1893), Mihail Nasta (1878), Richard Graepel (1893), Gustav Wolf (1884), Adolf Weidmann (1895), P. Andreescu et Fii (1911) and Felix Waidmann (1912)<sup>19</sup>.

One of the oldest metallurgical enterprises in Craiova was that of Mihail Nasta, opened in 1878 as a coal store, blacksmith and agricultural machinery and continued with a repair and manufactured agricultural machinery shop. In 1893 he became associated with Richard Graepel, and in 1896 the latter took over the entire company under his name, henceforth called the „factory and warehouse for agricultural and industrial machinery, iron and brass foundry”. Richard Graepel factory continued to grow, so that in the years 1914-1915, produced or marketed over 88 categories of locomobile, threshing, sawmill, harrows, sewing machines, plows, pumps, mowers, lathes, drill, presses, etc., after 1912 also becoming the Royal Court provider<sup>20</sup>.

During this period, the Burkhardt branch of the Clayton company annually produced about 15-20 farm machinery, they provided in Bucharest, Ploiesti, Pitesti, Slatina, Turnu Magurele, Zimnicea, Tecuci, etc. They also provided replacement parts and components to the Lemartine plant in Bucharest, the coal mine in Targu Jiu, the A.B. Sabetay factory in Drobeta or locally to the printing workshops, mills and large enterprises such as Graepel, F. Weidman, P. Andreescu etc. Remarkably, however, it was the fact that, among the enterprises in Craiova, it figured, as the only exporting firm, in 1904<sup>21</sup>.

The industrial establishments Clayton and Richard Graepel met also the conditions of the industrial encouragement laws in 1887 and 1912, receiving advantages since 1906 and the benefits were to expire in 1921<sup>22</sup>.

Another great industrial enterprise in Craiova was the Ing.C. Brătășeanu foundry, founded in 1910<sup>23</sup> and together with Clayton & Shuttleworth (Burkhardt) and Richard Graepel they started their

<sup>18</sup> Luchian Deaconu, Otilia Gherghe, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

<sup>19</sup> Dinică Ciobotea, Ion Zarzără, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Graepel, *Craiova. Catalog general*, Ediția 1914-1915, Editura Samitca, Craiova, f.a. Apud Dinică Ciobotea, Ion Zarzără, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>21</sup> Dinică Ciobotea, Ion Zarzără, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> Paul Emanoil Barbu, Dinică Ciobotea, Ion Zarzără, *Istoria Camerei de Comerț și Industrie „Oltenia”*, Editura Camerei de Comerț și Industrie „Oltenia”, Craiova, 2000, p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> SJAN Dolj, fund *Brătășeanu*, file 1/1910, f. 1,2.

activity in the 1877-1910 time segment, which coincided with the creation of the national industry and the formation and consolidation of an industry in Craiova. Another major urban center of Oltenia was Turnu Severin, and this was mainly due to the existence of the shipyard. The development of the port activities and of the repair workshop led to the continuous expansion of the port, the number of vessels entering there increasing continuously. The shipyard came under Romanian administration on July 15, 1893, when it was bought by the Romanian State Monopoly from the DDSG Austrian society, year 1900 being also crucial for the modernization of the yard- at the time there it was introduced electricity and electric lighting. In its 25 years of existence, the shipyard reached the highest production level between 1893-1899 and 1908-1910, when it obtained incomes of over 1.5 million lei<sup>24</sup>.

Although in this period, the percentage of the Severin's industry grew, the predominant character of the economy continued to be commercial and handicraft. This emerges from a report submitted to the President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Craiova, in 1888, by the Secretary of the Chamber and the collaborator of the Chamber Bulletin: the town was developed but not uniformly, the main area being the center and west part, where the markets, banks and other commercial and industrial units were concentrated<sup>25</sup>.

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century due to the need of credit for trade and industry and fitting into the overall economic development of the country, the first banks were established: in 1892 there was established a branch of the National Bank; in 1899 „Banca Mehedințului” (the Mehedinți Bank) was founded; in 1904 „Banca Severinului” (the Severin Bank); Banca Comercială (the Commercial Bank) in 1908; in 1911 Banca Comerțului (the Commerce Bank); Banca Comercianților și Industriașilor (the Bank of Merchants and Industrialists) in 1913 and in 1914 Banca „Dunărea” (the Danube Bank)<sup>26</sup>.

During this period the craft industries and businesses launched in the city, enjoying the benefits of the laws of encouragement, rapidly developed. Since 1856 the city had a brewery, spirits and vinegar factory<sup>27</sup>; Later there were established brick and lime factories, a tile factory<sup>28</sup>, Princes Stirbey's glass factory<sup>29</sup>, alcohol refineries, mills on the Danube, entrepreneurs of sand and gravel quarries, etc. Some of these industrial establishments benefited of modern technical facilities,

<sup>24</sup> Constantin Petrică Dănescu, *Șantierul Naval din Turnu Severin*, vol. I (1851-1950), Editura Prier, Drobeta Turnu Severin, 2004, p. 45-83. Also see Vladimir Osiac, *Șantierul de construcții navale Turnu Severin, important centru al mișcării muncitorești din Oltenia*, in „Historica”, I, Editura Academiei, București, 1970.

<sup>25</sup> „Buletinul Camerei de Comerț și Industrie Circumscripțiunea I Craiova”, year I, 2 februarie 1888, no. 10, p. 7-8.

<sup>26</sup> SJAN Mehedinți, fund *Prefectura Mehedinți*, inv. 94/1924, f. 36-37.

<sup>27</sup> Idem, fund *Tribunalul Mehedinți*, inv. 203/1864.

<sup>28</sup> Idem, fund *Primăria orașului Turnu Severin*, file 6/1874, f. 53-54.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, file 1/1877, f. 9-10, 18-21.

among them there were: the Swiss cans factory<sup>30</sup>, the alcohol factory<sup>31</sup>, the Merbeck brewery<sup>32</sup>, the glass and brick factory, etc.

In an industrial statistic appeared in 1911 in the city there were: the Shipyard, the railway workshop and machineries warehouse, the ice plant, the „Traian” brewery, Carol Nemsovici’s cement pipes factory and the brick factory, Josif Gradl’s candy factory, Miloş Duca’s brick factory, Damianoff brothers’ tannery factory ( they also founded a leather clothing shop in 1915), five soap factories, three locksmith workshops, three carts workshops and a foundry workshop<sup>33</sup>.

In Oltenia, an agricultural county par excellence was the Romanaţi County. Although the economic concerns of the county residents were geared more to trade, some industrial activity was still present in the urban centers of Caracal and Corabia. After the independence, the number of the industrial establishments in the urban centers mentioned above, increased significantly from the previous period, many were, in particular, shoemaker shops, furriers, tailors, tinsmiths, blacksmith or carpenters.

In 1877, in Caracal was established the mechanical workshop of Josif Caneta, categorized as bronze casting, the statistics from 1887 recording here 14 brandy boilers, a soap boiler, 7 tanneries, 12 brick plants, 4 candle factories, two steam mills, 4 water mills. After a period of ten years the industrial landscape was largely the same. In 1899 there was founded the foundry shop of Nicu Petrovschi, the distillery of liqueurs, brandy, rum and fruit syrups of Panait Papahagi and in 1910 the carpentry workshop of Giovanni Gratagliano, which continued to operate until 1950, using an average of 10-15 workers. In 1912, in the town there were two workshops, one aerated water factory, a bakery, a carpentry workshop, two petrol mills and the power plant, which was commissioned with a year earlier<sup>34</sup>.

The data above shows the modest industrial activity of the town and its slow development, features also applying to the urban centre of Corabia, where the specific of the local industry was given by the agricultural area in which the town was settled and therefore the larger development of the milling industry.

In 1883 in Corabia there were two mills powered by steam and two bakeries, in the next five years, adding to the two ovens, a brick factory, located in the city center and a brandy boiler. By 1914 the town failed to grow too much in terms of industry, there being only nine major industrial

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, file 1/1891, f. 141-142.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, file 4/1886, f. 12, file 1/1891, f. 6-7.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, file 2/1895, f. 60.

<sup>33</sup> Idem, fund *Camera de Comerţ şi Industrie Turnu Severin*, inv. 1350/1931, f. 4; inv. 1351/1931, f. 53; Idem, fund *Primăria oraşului Turnu Severin*, inv. 3/1905, f. 25-26.

<sup>34</sup> Dana Roxana Dincă, Vera Grigorescu, Sabin Popovici, *Monografia Municipiului Caracal*, 2011, p. 108.

projects namely: two brick and tile factory, a sawmill, three mills, the power plant, a tannery, a candle factory, five bakeries and bread ovens<sup>35</sup>.

Of the industrial establishments that operated in the period considered, the most important were: Ioan Molnar and Ioan Boroș's mill and Cleante Mitraglia's mill, which functioned in 1883; Laios Ciur's mill, installed in the city center in 1893; Anton Ghebert's mill, commissioned in 1899 and that of his brother, Franz Ghebert, founded in 1913; a mill that functioned in the same building as the power plant, operated by the factory engine (their number fluctuated continuously); Nițu Andreescu and Emil Duse's brick and tile factory (it had a 25-hp motor); the gas and mineralized water factories of Ioan Rukini (1901) and Ionescu & M. Zăvăleanu (1911); the mechanical workshops of Lătescu Vasile, C. Teodorescu, Marin Vlăjje or C. Radulescu<sup>36</sup>.

After 1877, Vâlcea County experienced a sustained economic development, as evidenced by the establishment of industrial enterprises, especially in food industries, footwear and wood, present in Râmnicu Vâlcea or by the exploitation of the salt mines from Ocnele Mari, and the forestry and wood processing industries in Brezoi.

One of the main branches developed in Râmnicu Vâlcea was the processing and industrialization of wood, raw material which is found in abundance in the area. Thus in 1889 was born the Hanciu brothers' sawmill, and later „Stangni et Comp.” sawmill, which used improved machines and about 90 workers, and N.C.Vătășescu's factory, which used a number of 45 workers. In 1915 there were 31 sawmills in Vâlcea, fact that demonstrates the extent of this industry in the area.<sup>37</sup> Tannery and footwear represented another important industry in the city. In 1881 the Șimian brothers opened a factory ropes, which also made whips, belts and sandals, using a total of 41 workers. They are expanding their business in 1891, opening a tannery in the town, which, after 1900, increased its production capacity and became the largest industrial enterprise in the county. By 1900 there were five tanneries, some of which were turned into factories with a large production<sup>38</sup>.

Along with the old water mills, which continued to exist, there appeared several more systematic mills as: „Sentinela” mill, founded in 1885 and „Gheltach” mill (1886). During this period, as a result of the industry encouragement law in 1887, there were established approximately 100 tanning, shoemaking, blacksmithing, hats, belts, candles, tiles, bricks workshops and also shops, hotels, inns and restaurants. Among these the most important were the mechanical workshop for the production of agricultural machinery and carpentry, founded by Franz Eitel in 1890 and the company „Proprietatea”, profiled on making bronze objects, created in 1893. In 1899 among the

<sup>35</sup> Florea Bâciu, Ion Vârtejaru, *Monografia orașului Corabia*, 2001, p. 134-139.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>37</sup> Corneliu Tamaș, *Istoria Râmnicului*, Editura „Antim Ivireanul”, Râmnicu Vâlcea, 1994, p. 153.

<sup>38</sup> *Dicționarul istoric...*, p. 46.

larger industrial establishments there were: a factory of agricultural machinery and mechanical carpentry, a leather factory, three rope factories, six tanneries, a copper plant, two timber plants, a slaughterhouse, a cooperage shop and seven mills of which two were mechanical<sup>39</sup>.

The commercial and industrial development entailed the establishment of banks: in 1901 it was created a branch of the National Bank and in 1905 began operating Banca Râmnicului (Râmnic Bank) as a stock banking company<sup>40</sup>.

After 1906, gold exploration began in the Lotru Mountains and it was opened „Valea lui Stan” mine from Brezoi, the only gold mine in Romania. But Brezoi village is linked to logging and wood processing industry, which, with the early twentieth century, acquired new dimensions. In 1901 the company „I. Guttman et comp.” turned into „Societatea Anonimă pentru exploatarea de păduri Lotru” (The Anonymous Society for Forests exploitation LOTRU). It built a modern factory in Brezoi with electrical installations and where were operating 12 sawmills, seven circulars and related mechanical workshops. The company grew rapidly and in 1903 four horizontal boilers were installed and another force machine of 450 hp. In 1907 the company had a total of 1344 employees, exporting to Belgium, France, Germany and Austria-Hungary<sup>41</sup>. In the first decade of the twentieth century there were created another two logging companies in Brezoi: one in 1904, the company „Oltul”, the property of N.D.Șimian, Theofil Raux, Al. Maxim and Ștefan Gaillac, and the other in 1909 the forestry company named „Vasilatul”. The latter built a wood factory with six sawmills driven by a power machine of 250 hp, a furniture factory, a mill and two bakeries. In 1914 it will be leased to the Austrian company „Marcus Kislingher”<sup>42</sup>.

Another important industrial objective in Vâlcea was the salt mines from Ocnele Mari, which in 1881 came under the jurisdiction of the State Monopolies. Although the salt from Ocnele Mari occupied, by its superior capitalization, an important place in the economy of the county, the first steam engine brought here dates only from 1894<sup>43</sup>.

Analyzing these data, it appears that, although the industrial development was uneven and influenced by material factors, which gave it the agricultural feature, the number of the industrial establishments increased continuously in Oltenia and the mechanized industry accelerated its development together with the evolution of the Romanian economy.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 46-47.

<sup>40</sup> Corneliu Tamaș, *Istoria Râmnicului...*, p. 154.

<sup>41</sup> Petre Barțașu, Gheorghe Simeanu, *Brezoi-100 de ani de industrie forestieră*, Râmnicu-Vâlcea, 1973, p. 50.

<sup>42</sup> *Dicționarul istoric...*, p. 212-213.

<sup>43</sup> Corneliu Tamaș, *Istoria Ocnelor Mari*, Editura Conphys, Râmnicu Vâlcea, 1995, p. 205.

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## NICOLAE MILOȘESCU - THE FOUNDER OF TÂRGU-JIU'S FIRST PRINTING HOUSE

PĂTRAȘCU Dumitru-Valentin\*, PĂTRAȘCU Daniela-Liliana\*\*

**Abstract.** *The study aims to present the circumstances in which Nicolae D. Miloșescu settled in Târgu-Jiu and started a printing house in 1880. Provided with good printing tools and forming a group of skilful workers, Miloșescu's printing house would shortly become the most modern typography in the region.*

*The first newspaper and the first illustrated postcards in Gorj County and the works of historian Alexandru Ștefulescu (1856-1910), one of the Gorj County Museum founders, were published there in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.*

*The quality of his Târgu-Jiu printings were acknowledged at the typographic exhibitions held in Târgu-Jiu (1884), Craiova (1898), Paris (1900) and Bucharest (1904 and 1906) and for which he received many medals.*

*For his merits, Miloșescu was granted by the King Charles I (Carol I, in Romanian) the title of Romanian Royal Court provider in 1898 and he was knighted with the order "Crown of Romania" in 1902.*

**Keywords:** *printer, book, Târgu-Jiu, Gorj, provider of Romanian Royal Court.*

Nicolae D. Miloșescu was born in the town of Cerneți in the Mehendinți County, at a date that is still subject to controversy. Thus, G. Filip, the author of the *Typographic Almanac (Almanahul tipografic)*, book which was published in Bucharest in 1904, mentioned as date of Nicolae D. Miloșescu's birth the year 1860<sup>1</sup>. The same year was also mentioned by Jean Bărbulescu in the paper *The Gorj Calendar (Calendarul Gorjului)*, published in Târgu-Jiu in 1925<sup>2</sup>.

After following primary grades at Schools no. 1 and 2 from Turnu-Severin, Nicolae D. Miloșescu dedicated himself to the printing activity, first, until he was 14, as apprentice within the Severin section of the "SAMITCA" printing house from Craiova<sup>3</sup>.

The printing press he worked with during that time had been brought in the country before 1850 from Vienna, initially used in Craiova and subsequently moved to Turnu Severin<sup>4</sup>.

In 1880, Nicu. D. Miloșescu acquired this printing press and decided to settle in Târgu-Jiu where he would found Gorj first printing house. Shortly after settling in Târgu-Jiu, Nicu. D. Miloșescu acquired a number of equipments, necessary to a printing press' proper functioning, which were added to the old printing press he had brought from Turnu-Severin. Also, Nicu. D. Miloșescu formed a group of printing press workers who would contribute to the future activity of Târgu Jiu's printing press.

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\* PhD., Curator, „Alexandru Ștefulescu” Gorj County Museum, e-mail: valentinpatrascu83@yahoo.com.

\*\* Curator, „Alexandru Ștefulescu” Gorj County Museum, e-mail: danielamanea89@yahoo.com.

<sup>1</sup> G. Filip, *Nicu D. Miloșescu*, in volume *Almanahul tipografic*, Editura Minerva, București, 1904, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Bărbulescu, *Calendarul Gorjului*, Tipografia Lumina, Târgu-Jiu, 1925, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Vasile Arimia, Vasile Bobocescu, Nicolae Mischie, Dan Neguleasa, Alexandru Pășărin, *Personalități gorjene de-a lungul istoriei*, Editura Fundației „Premiile Flacăra - România”, București, 2000, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Ion Mocioi, *Publiciști gorjeni*, in „Litua. Studii și cercetări”, no. IV, 1988, p. 420.

Under these conditions, towards the year 1880, the "Nicu D. Miloșescu" National Printing House was in function, the first modern printing house in the town<sup>5</sup> and in the Gorj County.

During that period, the town of Târgu-Jiu was undergoing a modernization process, stimulated by the young mayor Vasile Lascăr<sup>6</sup>, while also benefitting from the presence of some educated people such as: primary school teacher Alexandru Ștefulescu, lieutenant Emanoil Părăianu, sculptor and graphic artist Witold Rolla Piekarski.

The "Nicu D. Miloșescu" National Printing House was situated in the centre of the town, on the Drumul cel Mare Street, no. 27, street which would later on be named the Tudor Vladimirescu Street<sup>7</sup>.

The first work published in Nicu D. Miloșescu's printing house from Târgu-Jiu was the short story called "Nicu Steluță" by the Gorj writer Emanoil Părăianu, one of Nicu D. Miloșescu's close friends, who helped him settle definitively in Târgu-Jiu<sup>8</sup>.

At the end of 1881, Nicu D. Miloșescu received a proposal from the primary schools teacher Alexandru Ștefulescu and the writer Emanoil Părăianu to print the "*Volcano*" ("*Vulcanul*") newspaper. The magazine appeared from January 1882 until October the same year and was the first newspaper edited in the Gorj County. It had a weekly edition, but, unfortunately, no copy of this magazine has remained until present days<sup>9</sup>.

About that moment, G. Filip, the author of the "Typographic Almanac", while bringing homage to Nicu D. Miloșescu in 1904, wrote: "*A year after elevating the Gutenbergian temple at the foot of the Parâng Mountain, a handful of talented writers gathers around the young and enterprising printer. The <<Volcano>> newspaper is the encyclopaedic masterwork of these associated energies*"<sup>10</sup>.

Until the inauguration, on 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1888, of the Filiași – Târgu-Jiu railway, the paper necessary to Nicu D. Miloșescu's printing house was brought from the Filiași railway station by wagon and the its transportation was rather difficult considering the distance of almost 80 km to Târgu-Jiu.

Despite these shortcomings, a national typographical exhibition was organized in Târgu-Jiu in 1884, during which Nicu D. Miloșescu's printing house in Târgu-Jiu was awarded the silver medal and gained nationwide recognition<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Teodor Berca, Voicu Berca, *Târgu-Jiul de odinioară*, Editura Cronos, Giurgiu, 2001, p. 175.

<sup>6</sup> Nicolae Mischie, *Vasile Lascăr – reformator în administrația de stat*, Editura Clusium, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Vasile Arimia, Vasile Bobocescu, Nicolae Mischie..., *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>8</sup> Ion Mocioi, *art. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 420; Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *Istoricul tipografiilor și tipăriturilor din Gorj*, Editura Ager, Târgu-Jiu, 2001, p. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *Publicații periodice din Gorj*, Tipografia Târgu-Jiu, Târgu-Jiu, 1978, p. 23.

<sup>10</sup> Apud. Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*.

Numerous works by Gorj men of letters were published at Nicu Miloșescu's printing house in Târgu-Jiu and, for this reason, it was modernized and tooled up with printing equipments and mobile letters ordered from abroad, especially from Vienna. Also, a lithographic press was acquired and a stone drawer-carver was employed.

Under these conditions, in 1894, the printing press changed its name into "*The Nicu D. Miloșescu Litho-Typography*", while its activity developed through the foundation of a modern lithography and by bringing specialists from the country and from abroad, as was the case of the German W. Werner<sup>12</sup>.

The same year the first Gorj newspaper appeared at Nicu Miloșescu's printing house, the "*Gorj Voice*" ("*Vocea Gorjului*") magazine was also published, a publication with no preserved copies, but about which is firmly known that it appeared at Târgu-Jiu in 1882<sup>13</sup>.

Later on, in February 1891, Nicu D. Miloșescu's printing house in Târgu-Jiu also published the first issue of the "*Parângul*" magazine, edited by the Gorj primary school teachers, under the coordination of Lazăr Arjoceanu from Pojogeni<sup>14</sup>.

On 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1894, at the "*Nicu D. Miloșescu*" Printing House, the cultural magazine "*Jiul*" was edited, by the initiative of: Iuliu Moisil – teacher, Alexandru Ștefulescu – primary school teacher, Ștefan Dobruneanu – lawyer, P. Pârvulescu – lawyer, Emanoil Părăianu – officer, Vasile Petrescu – officer, I. Urbeanu – doctor, C. Vișinescu – teacher, Clement Bontea – teacher, G. Pietroșanu – teacher, Alexandru Ionescu – teacher and Witold Rolla Piekarski – graphic artist.

In the article entitled "*For a start*" it read: "*We don't have gods to worship or shrines to destroy; on the contrary, enthusiastic for all the hardworking and skilled fighters of the quill, we believe there is room for all and that they equally deserve the audience support (...) It is time that this cultural movement to spread farther and to go deeper into all social categories, in cities as well as villages, by developing the taste for reading in all those who could welcome culture*"<sup>15</sup>.

The "*Jiul*" cultural magazine was published during the period 1894 – 1895 and it reunited studies and articles by Gorj men of letters and displayed illustrations executed under special graphic conditions by the graphic artist Witold Rolla Piekarski.

In October 1895, the first issue of the "*The Youth Friend*" ("*Amicul Tinerimei*") was published, having the teacher Iuliu Moisil, headmaster of the Technical Secondary School in Târgu-Jiu, as editor in chief<sup>16</sup>. The magazine contributors would include: M. Străjan – teacher at the

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 25.

<sup>15</sup> „*Jiul*”, year I, no. 1/15 April 1894, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> „*Amicul Tinerimei*”, year I, no. 1/10 October 1895, p. 1.

Highschool from Craiova, Andrei Bârsanu – teacher at the Secondary School from Brasov, M. Șăineanu – teacher at the Secondary School from Alexandria, dr. P. Tanco – teacher at the Secondary School Năsăud, Alexandru Ștefulescu – primary school teacher, Gheorghe Pietroșanu – teacher at the Secondary School from Târgoviște și I. C. Panțu – teacher from Brașov<sup>17</sup>.

For the editing of the “The Youth Friend” magazine, besides those mentioned above, there were also contributions from: Witold Rolla Piekarski – graphic artist, Anghel Păunescu – student at the Belle Arte Academy from Venice and Nicolae Bran – painter and teacher at the Secondary School from Târgu-Jiu<sup>18</sup>.

Also in 1895 the “*Hot Pepper*” (“*Ardeiu*”) humour magazine was published at the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house in Târgu-Jiu, comprising caricatures inspired from the Romanian political life. The characters aimed at members of the Conservatory and National-Liberal parties, as well as at Gorj politicians and were skilfully drawn by Witold Rolla Piekarski<sup>19</sup>.

In 1895, Nicu D. Miloșescu opened in Târgu-Jiu a bookshop with paper and hosiery departments, situated in a multiple floor building, across the street from his printing house in the town centre<sup>20</sup>.

From the “Book, Paper, Hosiery and Typography Shop”, according to the official name used by the owner Nicu D. Miloșescu, one could acquire: musical notes, drawing blocks, writing paper, registers, school manuals, schoolbags, postal stamps, as well as: shirts, canes, albums, gloves, perfumes, ties, pianos, newspapers and tobacco<sup>21</sup>.

In 1894, by the initiative of the primary school teacher Alexandru Ștefulescu, supported by teacher Iuliu Moisil, engineer Aurel Diaconovici and graphic artist Witold Rolla Piekarski, The Gorj Museum was founded, hosting collections of palaeontology, coins, Romanian Medieval documents, old books, as well as different artefacts discovered by Alexandru Ștefulescu during his numerous trips and field research performed in the county<sup>22</sup>.

After the foundation of the Gorj Museum, during 1896, in a single issue, the “Publications of the Gorj Museum” („*Publicațiunile Muzeului Gorjului*”) would be published, reuniting studies and articles by Gorj men of letters. This publication appeared in Nicu D. Miloșescu’s printing house in Târgu-Jiu.

<sup>17</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>19</sup> Copies of the „*Ardeiu*” magazine are found in the collections of the Archaeology-History Section of the „*Alexandru Ștefulescu*” Gorj County History Museum from Târgu-Jiu, one of them being displayed in the permanent exhibition within the section.

<sup>20</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>22</sup> Nicolae Mischie, *Gorjul cultural. 1890-1910*, Editura Rhabon, Târgu-Jiu, 2003, p. 200; Gheorghe Nichifor, *Alexandru Ștefulescu – un destin în slujba istoriei*, Editura Scrisul Românesc, Craiova, *passim*.

The same year, the first edition of the paper entitled “The Tismana Monastery” (“*Mănăstirea Tismana*”) by Alexandru Ștefulescu was published, comprising drawings executed by Witold Rolla Piekarski and numerous documents related to the history of one of oldest monasteries in the country<sup>23</sup>.

On 31<sup>st</sup> of October 1896, the first issue of “*Jiu Struggle*” (“*Lupta Jiului*”) weekly magazine, owned by Toma Cămărășescu, was edited at the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house in Târgu-Jiu<sup>24</sup>.

During the same year, Nicu D. Miloșescu edited the papers “Light and shadows” (“*Lumini și umbre*”) by capitain Emanoil Părăianu and the one entitled „*In the Maelstrom*” („*În vârtoare*”) by Alexandru Vlahuță<sup>25</sup>.

In 1897, the collection of short stories entitled „The Villager’s Book” („*Cartea săteanului*”), elaborated by Emanoil Părăianu, was published in Târgu-Jiu by Nicu D. Miloșescu, along with two pedagogic books. One of them was by Ștefan Bobancu and was entitled “Pupil flaws and their correction” (“*Defectele școlărilor și corectarea lor*”), while the second was a manual of “Vâlcea County Geography for Elementary Course” (“*Geografia județului Vâlcea pentru cursul elementar*”), elaborated by Ioan Gabrielescu<sup>26</sup>. The same year, the book entitled “*Lyrical poems from Pind*” (“*Lirice de la Pind*”) by P. Vulcan was also edited<sup>27</sup>.

After presenting all these products to the typographical exhibition organized in Craiova in 1898, the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house in Târgu-Jiu was awarded a silver medal for the second time<sup>28</sup>.

Nicolae D. Miloșescu financially supported the Gorj sculptor Constantin Bălăcescu in order for him to execute – in his workshop in Milano – Tudor Vladimirescu’s statue that would later be placed, in November 1898, in the park in front of the Technical Secondary School in Târgu-Jiu<sup>29</sup>.

Writing about Tudor Vladimirescu’s statue in Târgu-Jiu, Alexandru Vlahuță stated in the pages of the book “*Picturesque Romania*” (“*România pitorească*”): “*Tudor Vladimirescu’s statue – so well placed in front of the Secondary School – this everlasting embodiment of bravery and sacrifice is and will always be the most wonderful lesson of patriotism for the coming generations who will step by it*”<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Alexandru Ștefulescu, *Mănăstirea Tismana*, ediția I, Tipografia „Nicu D. Miloșescu”, Târgu-Jiu, 1896, *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>25</sup> Ion Mocioi, *art. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 423.

<sup>26</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 24.

<sup>28</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, *Personalități care au fost în Gorj*, Editura Măiastra, Târgu-Jiu, 2009, p. 197.

<sup>29</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>30</sup> Apud. Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

On 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1898, the first issue of the “*Villager Reunion*” (“*Șezătoarea săteanului*”) magazine appeared and was edited at the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house in Târgu-Jiu by the Cultural Society “*The Villager’s Enlightenment*” (“*Luminarea săteanului*”) from the Bumbești-Jiu village. The magazine was published in Târgu-Jiu until 1905 when the editorial staff moved to Bucharest, and its pages consisted in: folkloric poems, fairytales, stories, legends, folk medicine articles, tips about agriculture and animal rising<sup>31</sup>. The manager of the magazine was the primary school teacher Gheorghe Dumitrescu-Bumbești and the contributors included: Ion Pătrășcoiu, Emanoil Popescu, Grigore Pătrășcoiu, primary school teacher Ion Haiducescu, Constantin Dobrescu, Victor Bilciurescu, doctor Constantin Istrati, poet George Coșbuc, Alexandru Ștefulescu, Witold Rolla Piekarksi, Iuliu Moisil, Aurel Diaconovici, priest Ion Mălăiescu and others.

After Gheorghe Dumitrescu-Bumbești moved to Bucharest starting with 1902, the editorial staff of the “*Villager Reunion*” magazine moved to the capital as well<sup>32</sup>.

On 30<sup>th</sup> of May 1898, the first issue of “*The Nation’s Friend*” (“*Amicul poporului*”) encyclopaedic magazine, edited by the cultural society bearing the same name, was published by Nicu D. Miloșescu’s printing house in Târgu-Jiu.

In the article entitled “*Brother Peasants*” (“*Frați țărani*”) it was shown that the “*Nation’s Friend*” magazine will deal with “*matters of agriculture, animal rising, national industry, education, economy, hygiene, pedagogy (...) law interpreting (...) history (...) grammar, orthography, folklore lessons in the most accessible style possible*”<sup>33</sup>.

Also in 1898, the volume “*The Popular Civil Code*”, elaborated by Ștefan Romulus Scribian was edited at the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house in Târgu-Jiu<sup>34</sup>.

As result of his typographic activity and of his support for cultural and pedagogic activities in Târgu-Jiu and the Gorj County, on 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1898, Nicolae D. Miloșescu was granted the title of Romanian Royal House Supplier by King Charles I.

On 1<sup>st</sup> of June 1899, Nicu D. Miloșescu’s printing house in Târgu-Jiu published the first issue of “*The Light of the Villages*” (“*Lumina satelor*”) magazine, managed by school teachers Lazăr Arjoceanu and Gheorghe Dumitrescu-Bumbești<sup>35</sup>.

In the article “*We are moving forward*” inserted in the publication’s first issue it was shown that: “*It has been a year since we came before our readers (...) We came in two sides, with different organs, but with the same goal: to elevate the villager’s cultural level and to improve his economic*

<sup>31</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 39.

<sup>33</sup> „*Amicul poporului*”, year I, no. 1/30 May 1898, p. 1.

<sup>34</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>35</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

*status (...) We have agreed to make use, in future, of only one magazine which will bear the name of <<The Light of the Villages>>, born from uniting <<The Nation's Friend>> with <<The Villager Reunion>>* <sup>36</sup>.

Among the contributors of “*The Light of the Villages*” magazine there were Alexandru Ștefulescu, Iuliu Moșil, Emanoil Părăianu and others.

November 1899 marked the first issue of the monthly publication “*The Bazaar – the brochure of the book and hosiery shop*”, owned by Nicu D. Miloșescu, who declared in the debut article that the brochure “*will offer to my honoured clients, on the one hand, the catalogue of the merchandise available in my shop and, on the other, will provide my good readers with excerpts from Romanian authors, as well as translations from foreign authors*” <sup>37</sup>.

We consider it to be a significant fact that this publication would collaborate, among others, with, Romanian cultural life personalities, such as: the poet George Coșbuc, the writer Alexandru Vlahuță, the playwright Ion Luca Caragiale <sup>38</sup>.

During 1899, Nicu D. Miloșescu was visited in Târgu-Jiu by the poet George Coșbuc whom he had met at the mineral water resort of Sângiorgiul Romanesc from Transylvania a couple of years before. On this occasion, George Coșbuc wrote a poem dedicated to Nicu D. Miloșescu, poem which would later on be used by the latter as an advertisement for his typographical products. The poem was published, without signature, in the “*Bazaar*” magazine <sup>39</sup>.

In 1899, the first illustrated postal card from the Gorj County was executed in Nicu D. Miloșescu’s printing house in Târgu-Jiu. The images on the postal card were drawn by Witold Rolla Piekarski and subsequently printed on paper <sup>40</sup>. The oldest such type of postal card officially circulated by means of the postal services starting with 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1889 <sup>41</sup>.

During the same year, Nicu D. Miloșescu, together with G. C. Bălășescu and Nicolae Georgescu, founded a Vocational School for Girls in Târgu-Jiu, that would later become public school in 1908 <sup>42</sup>.

In 1900, the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house in Târgu-Jiu participated at the Universal Exposition in Paris, where it was awarded an “Honourable Mention”, as recognition of the quality of its typographical products <sup>43</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> „Lumina satelor”, year II, no. 1/1 June 1899, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> „Bazarul”, year I, no. 1/November 1899, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>39</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>40</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>42</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>43</sup> Mircea Tomescu, *Istoria cărții românești de la începuturi până la 1918*, Editura Științifică, București, 1968, p. 163.

On 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1900 the first and only issue of the “Aurora” magazine appeared, bearing as subtitle the mention “magazine for literature, science and art”. The magazine’s editorial staff was based in the Hurezenii de Sus village, under the leadership of Mr. Marius de la Stroia<sup>44</sup>.

In 1901, at Nicu D. Miloșescu’s printing house in Târgu-Jiu, the volume “*Guide for founding and managing people’s banks in the villages*” appeared, elaborated by the primary school teacher Gheorghe Dumitrescu-Bumbești and comprising articles of association models, which the people’s banks in Gorj would use upon their founding<sup>45</sup>.

For all his activity in the typographic sector, on 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1902, King Charles I presented Nicu D. Miloșescu with the order “The Crown of Romania” (“Coroana României”), cavalier rank.

In the course of the same year, the volume “*Upon an independent state of Congo*”, written by captain Pleniceanu, member of the Romanian Geography Society, was edited at the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house in Târgu-Jiu.<sup>46</sup>

In 1904, the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house produced the volume entitled “*The Historical and Picturesque Gorj*” by Alexandru Ștefulescu, following another milestone paper written by the Gorj historian, entitled “*An Attempt to recollect the History of Târgu-Jiu*” (“*Încercare asupra istoriei Târgu-Jiului*”), also published at the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house<sup>47</sup>.

The collaboration between the historian Alexandru Ștefulescu and the printer Nicu D. Miloșescu continued over the years to come and generated the editing of numerous volumes elaborated by Alexandru Ștefulescu. Thus, during 1906, the following papers were published at Nicu D. Miloșescu’s printing house in Târgu-Jiu: “The History of Târgu-Jiu”<sup>48</sup>, “*The Strâmba Hermitage*”, “*The Polovragi Monastery*”, “*The Lainici Monastery*”<sup>49</sup>.

All of these were followed by the appearance, during 1908, of the volume entitled “Slavonic-Romanian Documents related to Gorj”, comprising numerous medieval documents referring to the Gorj County<sup>50</sup>.

Returning to Nicu D. Miloșescu’s editorial activity in the mass media sector, one should highlight the appearance, on 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1902, of the first issue of the “Hope” (“Speranța”)

<sup>44</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>45</sup> Vasile Arimia, Vasile Bobocescu, Nicolae Mischie..., *op. cit.*, p. 65; Nicolae Mischie, *Gorjul Cultural...*, p. 201.

<sup>46</sup> See Captain Pleniceanu, *Asupra statului independent Congo*, Tipografia „Nicu D. Miloșescu”, Târgu-Jiu, 1902, *passim*. The volume is found in the collections of the Archaeology-History Section of the „Alexandru Ștefulescu” Gorj County History Museum from Târgu-Jiu.

<sup>47</sup> Vasile Arimia, Vasile Bobocescu, Nicolae Mischie..., *op. cit.*, p. 66; Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>48</sup> The volume is in the collections of the Archaeology-History Section of the „Alexandru Ștefulescu” Gorj County History Museum from Târgu-Jiu a copy being displayed in the permanent exhibition within the section.

<sup>49</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>50</sup> The volume is in the the collections of the Archaeology-History Section of the „Alexandru Ștefulescu” Gorj County History Museum from Târgu-Jiu.

magazine, “literary, scientific, political and legal magazine”<sup>51</sup> based in Târgu-Jiu, Unirii Street, no. 54, managed by Mr. Nicoale Burlănescu-Alin<sup>52</sup>.

In the article entitled “*Instead of foreword*”, inserted on the publication’s front page, it read: “*Several Gorj sons, devout admirers of the great Tudor Vladimirescu and of the ancient virtues, gathered today in an unanimous agreement of wills and aspirations for the glory of their kin, we have decided to publish, with our humble means, a magazine that will be named <<The Hope>> (...) We aim at discovering from the ashes of forgetfulness and ignorance of all that is worthy to be called beautiful, true and useful for the society we live in*”<sup>53</sup>.

The “*Hope*” magazine will only print 6 issues, of which the first 4 were published at the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house, and it ceased to appear in September 1903<sup>54</sup>.

On 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1905, the only issue of the “*Hodinău Voice*” (“*Vocea Hodinăului*”)<sup>55</sup>, while, on 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1905 the first issue of the “*Advice*” (“*Sfatul*”)<sup>56</sup> newspaper appeared, which would cease its activity on 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1906.

On 1<sup>st</sup> of November 1905, the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house brought to light the first issue of the “*Good Friend*” (“*Bunul prieten*”) magazine, dedicated to the “*youth from secondary schools*”<sup>57</sup>, its declared goal being “*to seed the pleasure of reading into the school youth*”<sup>58</sup>. The “*Good Friend*” magazine ceased its appearance in October 1906<sup>59</sup>.

On 1<sup>st</sup> of June 1906 the first issue of the bimonthly publication “*The Defence of the Nation*” was edited at the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house, under the editorial supervision of August Crainic. After just 5 issues it would cease its appearance at the end of July 1906<sup>60</sup>.

The first issue included an appeal “*To Romanians*” in which it was shown that “*<<The Defence of the Nations>> will enlighten the mind of those Romanians who do not know that, in order to be a good Romanian, it is not enough to speak Romanian, but also to accomplish Romanian deeds (...) <<The Defence of the Nations>> will aim at seeding in the category that lacks national education the love for the entire Romanian nation, that means also the Romanians abroad, because we are all offspring of the same parents who created the Romanian nation*”<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> „Speranța”, year I, no. 1/15 November 1902, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>53</sup> „Speranța”, year I, no. 1/15 November 1902, p. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>55</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 50.

<sup>57</sup> „Bunul Prieten”, year I, no. 1/1 November 1905, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>59</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>60</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>61</sup> „Paza neamului”, year I, no. 1/1 June 1906, p. 1.

On 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1908 the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house published the first issue of the “*New Gorj*” (*Gorjiul Nou*), from the initiative and written by the young liberal Gheorghe Tătărescu<sup>62</sup>. The publication would cease its appearance on 29<sup>th</sup> of June 1908<sup>63</sup>. The magazine’s goal was revealed by the article entitled “*Call*”, which read: “*a strong and restorative current goes through the country from one side to another; new institutions are being created, the old ones are transforming, the rights are being dislocated, new duties are born and are imposing themselves, a new transformations is agitating and shaking our society from the foundations – we left a way and wish to go on another. But is this guidance possible, without interior transformation, without moral organization?*”<sup>64</sup>.

In 1904, Nicu D. Miloșescu’s printing house participated at the typographic exhibition in Bucharest and received the “Honorary Diploma” and “The Gold Medal” as recognition of his editorial products’ exceptional quality.

Later on, while participating at the Romanian General Exhibition, organized in Bucharest in the year 1906, celebrating 40 years since Charles I ascended the throne of Romania, Nicu D. Miloșescu’s printing house obtained the gold medal. In fact, Nicu D. Miloșescu was part of the jury of the Romanian General Exhibition.

As result of the success and recognition enjoyed by his products, in 1900, Nicu D. Miloșescu built a mansion at Tismana and a trout pond in the vicinity<sup>65</sup>.

In 1901, Nicu D. Miloșescu acquired through a tender, using George Sfetea’s (his accountant) money, a building site which he eventually ceded to the latter. In 1902, George Sfetea built a mansion on that field<sup>66</sup>.

In the period 1902 – 1916, the Miloșescu and Coșbuc families met annually at Tismana, the place where George Coșbuc used to spend his holidays, at George Sfetea’s, his brother-in-law, mansion<sup>67</sup>.

A special attention was paid by the printer Nicu D. Miloșescu to editing manuals and writing materials. Thus, after publishing the manual for “*The Geography of the Valcea County for the Elementary Course*” in 1897, his printing house would print, in 1908, “*The Geography of the Gorj County Manual*”<sup>68</sup> for the second primary grade.

<sup>62</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>63</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>64</sup> „Gorjiul Nou”, year I, no. 1/27 March 1908, p. 1.

<sup>65</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 17.

<sup>68</sup> A copy of this manual is in the collections of the Archaeology-History Section of the „Alexandru Ștefulescu” Gorj County History Museum from Târgu-Jiu.

A constant preoccupation was the publishing of papers related to the founding and functioning of people's banks in Gorj's communes and villages, so, in 1906, the volume entitled „*Die rumanischen volksbanken*” elaborated by Grigore Pătrășcoiu, was printed<sup>69</sup>.

Starting with December 1909 until May 1910, Nicu D. Miloșescu's printing house in Târgu-Jiu edited the monthly magazine “*The Dawn*” (“*Zorile*”) <sup>70</sup>.

On 15<sup>th</sup> of January 1911, his typography printed the first issue of the “*Awakening*” (“*Deșteptarea*”) publication, managed by Dimitrie Brezulescu<sup>71</sup>. The magazine was addressed to peasants and consisted materials about agriculture, fruit growing, vineyard growing, economy, people's banks, cooperatives and agriculture legislation, but after 3<sup>rd</sup> issue from 15<sup>th</sup> of February 1911, it would cease its appearance<sup>72</sup>.

On 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1912, the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house in Târgu-Jiu printed the first issue of the bimonthly publication entitled “*The Light*” (“*Lumina*”) which would have the same sort of ephemeral existence, as it also ceased its appearance after the 4<sup>th</sup> number, in May 1912<sup>73</sup>.

An unprecedented, from a content point of view, magazine appeared in the Gorj mass media on 12<sup>th</sup> of January 1912, once the “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house in Târgu-Jiu edited the “*Military Week*” (“*Săptămâna militară*”) publication, lead by retired colonel D. I. Cocorăscu<sup>74</sup>. It comprised articles related to military theory and practice, methods of instructing military men from all arms, information, announcements, regulations and military dispositions; it ceased its appearance on 26<sup>th</sup> of October 1913<sup>75</sup>.

Furthermore, on 12<sup>th</sup> of October 1913, The “Nicu D. Miloșescu” printing house published the first issue of the newspaper called “*The Romanism*” (“*Romanismul*”), under the editorial supervision of Ștefan Bobancu. The publication appeared weekly until 5<sup>th</sup> of January 1914 when it turned its name into “*The Unity of the Nation*” until 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1914, when it ceased its appearance in the context of Romania entering the First World War and due to the privations caused by the opening of a frontline on the Jiu Valley<sup>76</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> The volume is in the collections of the Archaeology-History Section of the „*Alexandru Ștefulescu*” Gorj County History Museum from Târgu-Jiu.

<sup>70</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>71</sup> Jean Bărbulescu, *Calendarul Gorjului. 1925*, Tipografia „Lumina”- Frații Niculescu, Târgu-Jiu, n. y., p. 53-54.

<sup>72</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>73</sup> Vasile Cărăbiș, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 65.

<sup>75</sup> Al. Doru Șerban, Nelu Vasile, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibidem*.

In 1913, two volumes elaborated by teacher Iuliu Moisil were published at Nicu D. Miloșescu's printing house and were entitled "Gorj Guide" ("Călăuza Gorjului")<sup>77</sup> and "Plant Collection" ("Colecțiune de plante")<sup>78</sup>.

Nicu D. Miloșescu was elected several times chairman of the Gorj Chamber of Commerce, chairman of the "Tudor Vladimirescu" United Craftsmanship Corporation from Târgu-Jiu, chairman of the Printers Guild from Târgu-Jiu, chairman of the "Help" ("Ajutorul"), "Unity" ("Unirea") and "The Craftsman" (Meseriașul) societies from Târgu-Jiu, as well as honorary chairman of the Commercial Clerks Society<sup>79</sup>.

Nicu D. Miloșescu found himself among the founders of the Târgu-Jiu Musical Society, which would later be known as the "Gorj Lyre" ("Lyra Gorjului").

After his death on 5<sup>th</sup> of January 1924, Jean Bărbulescu declared in his paper, "The Gorj Calendar" for 1925: "Many good deeds – known and unknown – were done by Miloșescu for the Gorj County, for the entire nation"<sup>80</sup>.

Shortly after Nicolae D. Miloșescu passed away, in 1924, Iuliu Moisil, one of his friends, stated that: "Miloșescu was very skilled in his activity as a printer (...), in all he was, more precisely, the clear template, the perfect letter, the flawless execution. The books were elegant, of a very pleasant artistic display and were as perfect as those come from any good European printing press. Miloșescu was a true artist in the graphic arts, a man of good taste, as one can rarely find in our country".

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 25.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*.

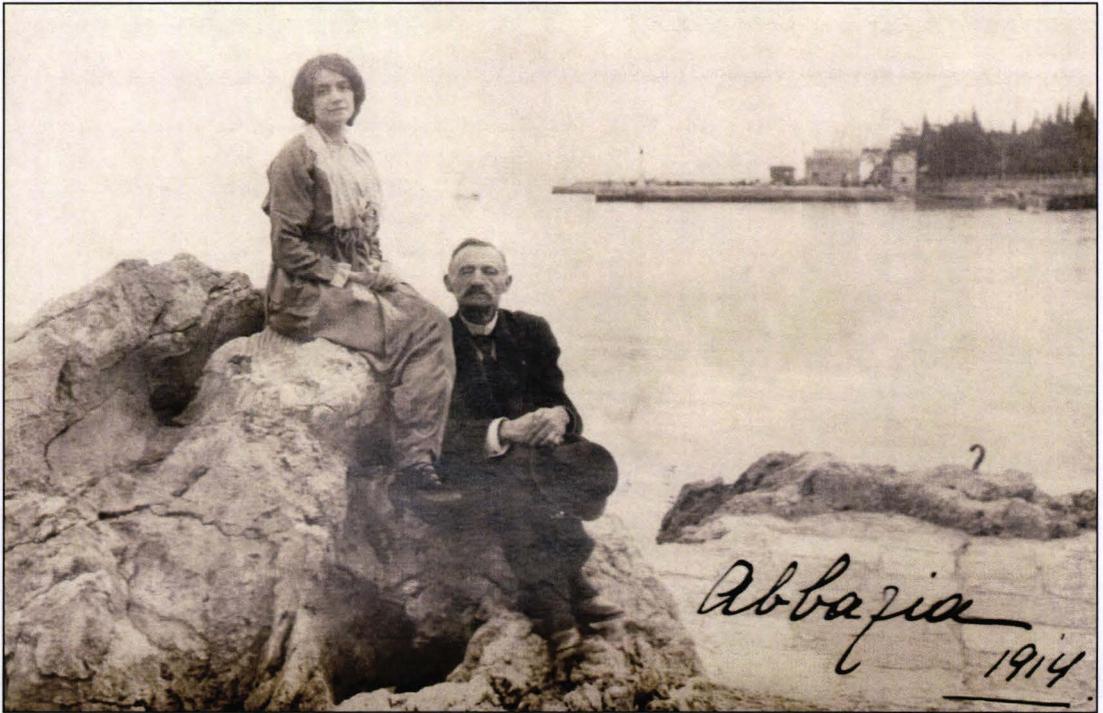
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<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 61.

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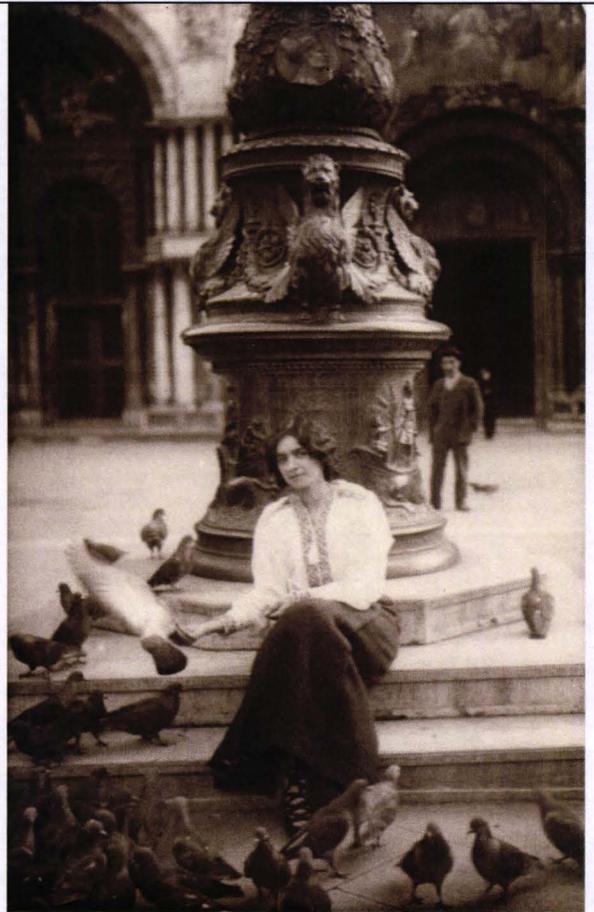
Nicolae D. Miloșescu.



Nicolae D. Miloșescu and his daughter Ștefania at Abazzia in 1914.



Nicolae D. Miloșescu and his daughter Ștefania at Venice.



Ștefania Miloșescu at Venice.

CASA CENTRALĂ A MESERIILOR, CREDITULUI ȘI ASIGURĂRILOR MUNCITOREȘTI

Bresla *Tipografie* NO *11* Comuna *Cărgu-Jiu*  
 (Corporația S. Vladimirescu) Județul *Gorj*

## CARTE DE MEȘTER

1) *Tipograf*

**Liberată D.º) *Niculae D. Miloșescu***

Născut în anul *1858* luna *Decembrie*, ziua *20*, comuna *Cerneti*,  
 județul *Mehedinți*, locuind în *Cărgu Jiu* Jud. *Gorj*

Libărată pe temeiul art. 12.  
 din Lege. Astăzi *18 Februa-*  
*rie 1902*

Comitetul Breslei  
 Membru *N. Miloșescu*      Membru *S. Constantin*

Semnătura meșterului  
*N. Miloșescu*

Se va prezenta la: 1) Numele și prenumele; 2) Semnăturile membrilor comitetului breslei.



Handcraft book of Nicolae D. Miloșescu.

STABILIMENTUL TIPO-LITOGRAFIC  
 FABRICE DE CARȚI MAGASIN DE GALANTERIE  
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# NICU D. MILOȘESCU

(CASĂ FONDATĂ LA 1880.)

*Târgu-Jiu Septembrie 1902.*

## Certificat

*Prin care se constată că Dozul Vasile  
 Apetoviu, a fost angajat în Atelierul meu de Le-  
 gătorie ca Uler de la anul 1899 până la 1902, și  
 de la această dată ca lucrător, în care timp și  
 a dat totă libertatea pentru mulțumirea sa, liberându-  
 acest Certificat, spre a îi servi la necesitate. —  
 Având putere bună? —*

*N. Miloșescu*




Certificate elaborated by the Typography of Nicu D. Miloșescu.

## ROMANIAN HONORARY SIGNS AND OFFICIAL BADGES

### (I)

**Onoriu Stoica, Adrian Frunză\***

**Abstract.** In this first part of the article the authors make up a description, in chronological order, a Romanian honorary signs which was created that distinction for long military service in the army. These signs were given honorary royal decree; officers who actually served in the military for 25 years and 40 years, and regimental flags by the same rules; also was created for permanent police officers, as insignia of office, and official badges. Within the Romanian decorations, a special category is that of "honorary" signs that were permanent and had a commemorative character, whereas awarded after a certain number of years of service in the military or a police function. We will present in chronological order, all signs "honorary" and some of the Romanian official badges, less known.

**Keywords:** Honorary, Sign, Official Badges, Military service, Insignia.

#### HONORARY SIGN of 18/25 YEARS

The first is called *Honorary Sign of Officers* established by the Decree on 15<sup>th</sup> of June, 1872<sup>1</sup>, which was created as a mark of distinction for military service long, and is designed for a service officers 18 (silver), and for those who have reached 25 years in the army (gold), the right to wear it continues after retirement. Honorary Sign oval diameter is 31 mm and 35 mm, composed is a plate on the left surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves, and on the right by a wreath of laurel leaves joined at the bottom through a ribbon as a node. It is surmounted by the crown prince, having on the obverse number "XVIII" or "XXV" and on the reverse the figure of Prince Charles raised. The honorary sign silver figure is golden reign (18 years), and honorary gold mark (25 years) royal figure is silver. It is worn on the left chest, fitted with a 32 mm wide ribbon, her colours are blue and yellow longitudinal stripes, unable to bear the honorary unsigned.



\* The Romanian Society of Numismatics, Craiova Branch.

<sup>1</sup> Official Gazette, No.132 of June 15, 1872.

### **HONORARY SIGN of 25/40 YEARS**

Aforementioned Decree was repealed and amended by another decree on 22<sup>nd</sup> of December, 1930<sup>2</sup>, which was created *Honorary Military Service Mark of Officers* that distinction for long military service in the army. These signs were given honorary royal decree; officers who actually served in the military for 25 years and 40 years, and regimental flags by the same rules. Note that while officers and regiments served during the campaign double counted in calculating the years served. For officers the right to carry is given life. Honorary mark 25 years is oval, with a diameter of 35/31 mm, and consists of a silver plate surrounded by a wreath on the left side of oak leaves, and on the right by a wreath of leaves bay, both gold and united them down a ribbon-shaped knot. It is fitted at the top with gold crown on the obverse being number "XXV", and on the reverse the figure of King Charles II. Both the number and figure are gold and royal gate on the left side of the chest, attached by a ribbon of 32 mm, its colours are yellow and blue thin longitudinal stripes.<sup>3</sup>



Honorary mark of 40 years is a cross border repeated prominent, whose arms are 35 mm long and 7.5 mm wide, and the heads were 10 mm wide. Edges are golden cross out in relief on a width of 1 mm and a height of 0.5 mm, both sides of the silver cross. On the obverse between the cross arms a garland of gold, with the left branch of oak leaves and right of laurel leaves. Branches are joined at the bottom by a ribbon in the shape of a knot on the top and separated, heads closer to 1.5 mm from the edge of relief. Inside the chain is "XL" golden number. On the reverse applied in the same place, same inside the wreath and gold royal figure. Honorary sign of wear on the left breast attached by a ribbon 38 mm wide, with broad yellow longitudinal stripes with red and blue stripes narrow, not being able to wear it without the Honorary sign.



### **SIGN for COURAGE and DEVOTION**

*Sign for courage and devotion*<sup>4</sup>, was created for permanent police officers, as insignia of office. It consists of a metal plate white, elliptical in shape, size 30/20 mm, which was applied in the middle, coat of arms, made of gilded bronze and enamel edges country colours on the back plate is engraved serial number, and validated through a card recognition. Prefects of police, police chief of police in

<sup>2</sup> Official Gazette, No.290 of December 22, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Bring in this way thanks to aid in shooting, Mr. Claudiu Vulpan dentist, member of photo club "Mircea Faria", from Craiova, the National Association of Arms Collectors and the Association of "Military Tradition".

<sup>4</sup> Official Gazette, No.181 of November 4, 1903.

general and their substitutes wore solemn ceremonies and publish a tricolour scarf with tassels silk yarn, having width of 8.5 mm and a length of 13 mm tassels and the dress being, tuxedo, high hat, tie and white gloves. Special safety agencies, and they had on their plate and a notebook. Safety plate special agents have the same form with the same dimensions described above, but nickel. Police officers who gave evidence in the performance of their duties of loyalty and courage could be allowed to wear a distinguishing mark consisting of a medal. The medals were made of metal and three classes, gold, silver and bronze. Their shape is circular with a diameter of 30 mm and a thickness of 3 mm, with the obverse in relief effigy of the sovereign with circular legend "CHARLES I KING OF ROMANIA" and embossed stamps on the reverse motto "FOR COURAGE AND DEVOTION", surrounded by two branches of oak joined by a ribbon. Medal hanging from a ribbon to wear silk, rips, width 30 mm, consisting of three vertical bands coloured in the following way, in between red tape (14 mm) and one blue stripe edges (8 mm). Granted only by royal decree, accompanied by a patent. Medal was awarded for life, not transferable. On 12<sup>th</sup> of October, 1904, the sign was changed turning into *Manhood and Faith Medal*<sup>5</sup> which may be conferred and any public official or private person that will be contributed to maintaining or restoring public order and safety, will be brought large police services, will be saved a person's life or possessions danger of his life. Medal made of metal, have three classes, I, II and III. Its shape is oval, vertical diameter of 35 mm, and 27 mm horizontally. On the obverse is embossed effigy of the king with the legend "CHARLES I KING OF ROMANIA", and on the reverse, also embossed stamps, slogan "MANHOOD AND FAITH" and a wreath of laurel leaves. Have a medal hanging system consisting of two branches of laurel, with a silk ribbon Rips (30 mm) made in the middle of a pale yellow cuff (18 mm) and having one edge of each strip blue and red (3 mm). It is given life by royal decree, accompanied by a patent and was not transferable.



At the end of 1913<sup>6</sup> this medal, which benefited only police officers, plus a mark to be given and soldiers who took part in the military campaign this year. To existing medal ribbon plus a wide metal bracelet 5 mm full-width-coloured medal ribbon with straight sides and semicircular ends apart. The middle bracelet is embossed



<sup>5</sup> Official Gazette, No.192 of November 4, 1904.

<sup>6</sup> Report of the Minister of War with No.12954 of December 28, 1913, approved by the king through high apostille.

stamps letters, "CAMPAIGN 1913". This bracelet is disposed on the ribbon and across color and was caught by a clip at a distance of 30 mm from where it was hanging ribbon.

Nr.3429 by Royal Decree on 21<sup>st</sup> of December 1916, the initial model and have added two swords crossed under the crown of laurel.

By a decree on 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1928<sup>7</sup>, the prefects and police inspectors were to wear a badge consisting of an oval metal plate with email background, national colours (red, yellow and blue), arranged vertically around a golden laurel wreath thread, tied with a golden ribbon. Above will be all golden coat of arms and the means placed transversely a metal plate that will be written in black letters "POLICE PREFECT" or "POLICE INSPECTOR". Back to engrave a serial number corresponding to the recognition of the official's book. These badges had a length of 40 mm and a width of 20 mm and always wear the buttonhole on the lapel of his coat as. Port badge was required, both at work and outside it, except when people were forced to wear them on holiday, in which case wearing the badge was optional. Also, officers and border guards, stations, warehouses etc. wore during the service required a special left arm, indicating the place of service. This sign was square with 65 mm width and 75 mm length from the same cloth as that of clothing. At stake was embroidered with gold thread, "BORDER POLICE" legend" (or station, hall and so on). Crown above legend was embroidered gold thread all red cloth. Around the square were two embroidered borders, the interior of shiny gold thread, gold thread outer mat as letters. Outer frame ends up and down the middle in sharp form. Wear a sign caught or elastic braid around the arm to mantle or jacket.



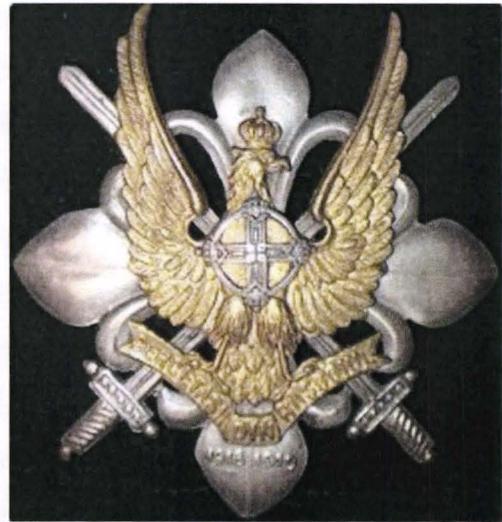
### **THE SCOUT WAR BADGES**

Decree on 17<sup>th</sup>\* of July 17, 1935<sup>8</sup> approved the establishment of a war badges called "Scouts from 1916 - 1919", made of solid silver, in the form of a cross composed of four petals lily with dimensions of 55 mm from one point to another of the cross, both vertically and horizontally. Among the branches of the cross are set two shiny silver cross swords with handles mate accentuated with a length of 65 mm. The front has a silver eagle gold mat with a thickness of 1 mm and 1 mm based on the wings, exceeding 20 mm above the tip of the lily forming cross. Eagle

<sup>7</sup> Official Gazette, No.125 of June 10, 1928.

<sup>8</sup> Official Gazette, Part I, No.161 of July 17, 1935.

is in the middle, chest royal figure in a circle with shiny silver crown, having a thickness of 1 mm. Badge is embossed in width and less pronounced at the ends so the vertical curved, plus the thickness of the base of the mid badge are a total of about 8 mm. On the ribbon at the eagle is three times inscription "SCOUTS OF THE WAR" and the lower petal lily forming cross has posted years "1916-1919". Reverse of the badge is smooth, which is the serial number and fitted with a steel needle clip that attaches the coat on the right side of the chest. It may be granted to all scouts who proved that during the campaign have served besides military units, formations or health militarized civilian authorities. Those who meet the conditions, be issued a certificate and their name was listed in a special register.



### **BEST SKI BADGE**

*Badge "Good Skier"* was established and was given by regulation on 9<sup>th</sup> of October 1935<sup>9</sup>. Grant aimed selecting officers, NCOs and units of the band Mountain, which proved special skills and advanced technique in skiing. Form is a skier winged badge on green cloth background and officers were embroidered with gold thread and NCOs and troops is embroidered with yellow silk. Wear on the left arm about 70 mm above the elbow, only on a competitive basis and cited the order of the day. Officers received the badge Mountain Corps commander during the contest which is held annually, while Ski Championship Cup "His Majesty Charles II". For NCOs and troops were given units as a result of ski competitions that were held in units annually if the time was ripe.

### **THE OFFICER BADGE**

On 19<sup>th</sup> of January, 1937<sup>10</sup> was established "The badge reserve and retired officers, coming from work". It is solid silver with dimensions 50x40 mm, representing an eagle embossed, polished gold plated with enamel coat of arms in heraldic colours, sitting on his chest. Crown of Romania, in email white with royal initials "C.C." below the left corner



<sup>9</sup> Official Gazette, Part I, No.232 of October 9, 1935.

<sup>10</sup> Official Gazette, Part I, No.14 of January 19, 1937.

of the badge, is applied "R.O.R." monogram in white enamel is applied as coat of arms. Oak and laurel branches surrounding the shield is embossed in silver oxidized linked at the bottom of the badge with a ribbon in the colours of the national flag. Badge back is polished with a special clip, including serial number control. It is given as a name, all reserve and retired officers, coming from work, being worn on the left chest. Parallel to this there was a small badge format (21x17 mm), which carry the silver buttonhole and was executed large format model.

### **BADGES of NCOs**

From 27<sup>th</sup> of October 1937<sup>11</sup> to establish "Badge NCOs coming up and withdrawal from activity" (55x40 mm), which was made of solid silver enamelled, representing a shield dome, surrounded on the sides by two branches of laurel, with the Slit top of crown branches, and at the bottom sunshine yellow metal (10 mm), fine grinding, whose rays are reflected on the national colours shield on it crosses a weapon of infantry with bayonets, with a cavalry sword, which start from either side of the sun metal tops with sword and bayonet stuck on branches of laurel leaves. Both gun bayonet and sword are all made of silver. Shield (38x24 mm) email includes national colours, arranged vertically and demarcated by a thin strand gold. The broad leaves of the two branches of laurel (7 mm), employing shield is well illustrated and finely enamelled, polished green and median rib and the outer edge of it is gold. Oxidized silver crown in steel colour, well illustrated, with red purple beneath, is placed on top of the shield, which is formed in the opening two branches. The shield will be placed initials "S.R.R.", made of silver and thus applied; "S." the colour yellow, on blue "R." and "R." in red. Badge is polished back and clip with a special device and a serial number. It is worn on the left chest, only uniform in the parade and official solemnities and badge small size (30x20 mm) for buttonhole was made of silver and the same model as the large format being worn on lapel to any outfit and in any occasion, having no restriction, as a sign of recognition. This badge was given to NCOs, Re-employed in the reserve and withdrawal activity and automatically derived from all active NCOs who pass up position by resignation, retirement or removal position for incurable infirmity.



<sup>11</sup> Official Gazette, Part I, No.248 of October 27, 1937.

### **PRE – MILITARY BADGES**

Although pre-military training of youth is organized by the Law on 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1934, badge and conditions for appearance were established by regulation on 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1936<sup>12</sup>, as amended by the regulation on 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1938<sup>13</sup>. Brooches shaped like a pre-military badge (65x38 mm) with stylized eagle in the middle with royal insignia above the wing and the left in a circle, coat of arms and legs coloured eagle crowned initials "P.P.". This grant officers and active and reserve, youth premilitary attending training sessions and some civilians, it has three classes of changes to each of them (gold, silver and bronze).



Pre-military badge was accompanied by patent and wear the right chest. The same badge, but with different dimensions (46x27 mm) are required to wear Basque and civilians had a miniature badge (30x17 mm) of metal and Wear appropriate class in the left lapel.

### **BADGE of MILITARY JUSTICE**

*Badge of Military Justice* founded on 16<sup>th</sup> of April 1938<sup>14</sup>, was solid silver (60x35 mm), oval embossed with the country enamel shield means being polished heraldic colours. Steel crown affixed to guard sword and below crown royal initials "C.C." white enamel with gold thin strand around them, on a sword blade between the shield and guard. Justice turn is placed under royal initials above the shield and tasurile are hung in right and left. Oak and laurel branches surrounding the shield, finely worked in relief were oxidized silver and branch lines being crossed back across the tip of the sword. Back badge was polished with a special clip, including serial number and replace the collar insignia uniform. This badge was granted to all officers of military justice, military judges confirm and badge was worn on the left chest above the pocket, all outfits, uniform integral part of military justice. Served as prosecutors recognition and military magistrates, they were dressed in civilian or office. In the first case, hidden under the lapel badge to wear civilian clothes, showing when military magistrates quality declines.



<sup>12</sup> Official Gazette, Part I, No.85 of April 10, 1936.

<sup>13</sup> Official Gazette, Part I, No.20 of January 26, 1938.

<sup>14</sup> Official Gazette, Part I, No.89 of April 16, 1938.

### **BADGE of VOLUNTEERS**

To symbolize the spirit of duty and faith of young people in the country who voluntarily engaged in the military (18 years), was founded on 5<sup>th</sup> of August 1939<sup>15</sup>, *Volunteer Badge*. It was made of brass (copper and zinc), form the oval (60x40 mm) with clip fastening at the back, and give all volunteers, from those of contingent 1937. In her field, the letter "V", superimposed over a wreath of laurel branches surrounding the crown and figure, as they are the coat of arms, carrying it on the left side of the chest.



### **BADGE OF ROMANIAN VOLUNTEERS 1916-1919**

Volunteer of the Romanian reunification war (1916-1919), on 8<sup>th</sup> of February 1940<sup>16</sup> was established *badge "Romanian volunteers"*, which was given to the legions organized Romanian allies. Badge was made, all of brass, silver oxidized form is oval (52x37 mm). Golden crown, is at the top and royal figure "F.F." underneath, polishing silver. Enamelled coat of arms in heraldic colours was located at the crossing of two swords and figures "V.R." and swords of gold colour guard, handles and arms from being a scarf for years; "1916-1919", all inside a crown of oak leaves. This hook, located in the back, where the serial number being worn on the right side of the chest.



### **BADGES "DISABLED VETERANS" and "REMEMBRANCE OF FALLEN HEROES**

#### **IN WAR"**

By decrees on 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 1942<sup>17</sup> was set; badge of "War Invalids reunification war" and badge "Remembering the war heroes for reunification people", both made of brass and clip fastening at the back and is worn on the right side of the chest. The first is in the field, a soldier with helmet, saw in half and left the year "1941" (41.5 mm).



<sup>15</sup> Official Gazette, Part I, No.179 of August 5, 1939.

<sup>16</sup> Official Gazette, Part I, No.32 of February 8, 1940.

<sup>17</sup> Official Gazette, Part I, No.52 of March 2, 1942.

The second (42.5 mm) has a cross field on a crown of thorns placed on its pedestal being written in relief year "1941" around it is to start a halo of ten rays. On it had the right to wear one of the family members of people killed in the war for reunification.



In conclusion, we can say that all parts shown are the historical value because we can determine the evolution of a system of rewards for military and civilian, for various merits medals value because some of them are part of the form and Romanian decorations and insignographics value, which is an auxiliary science more recent.

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## WORKING RELATIONS ON SEGARCEA CROWN DOMAIN: THE USE OF THE MANPOWER FOR THE AGRICULTURAL WORKS (1884-1948)

MITU Narcisa Maria \*

**Abstract.** *The situation of the agrarian workers from Segarcea Domain, people who assured the manpower on the estate, was always under the attention of the central administration. Between 1899-1948, the exploitation of the agricultural lands that belong to Segarcea Crown Domain, was done both through the administration and also through leasing, the labour being made first of all by the dwellers from the villages of the Administration and also by those from the neighbouring villages or even from other administrations. During the leasing period, they concluded agreement contracts. The land the peasants committed to cultivate had to be laboured according to the indications of the agricultural engineers and to the conditions imposed by the leadership of the Administration. The grazing field, in accordance with the agreements, was paid in money and sometimes in products. With human workforce, a constant preoccupation was represented by the endowing of Segarcea administration with agricultural implements, tools and machinery that had a determinant role in growing the productivity and the quality of produces, along with cattle.*

**Keywords:** *the Segarcea Crown Domain, the exploitation of the agricultural lands, agricultural bargain contracts, Ion Kalinderu, 1884-1948*

The proposal from 1884 that Segarcea estate to be part of the Crown Domain, brought much discontent, both among the political personalities and the population, motivating that there were many requests coming from the peasants who wished to buy it. Despite these protests, in June 1884, Segarcea estate constituted, along with other 11 estates, the Royal Crown Domain.

If previously to the moment of working for the administration, on Segarcea estate, the agricultural works were made without considering the most elementary rules for tiling the ground, starting with 1899, the Crown Domain administration imposed new rules of organization, and also conditions for performing the agricultural works. Segarcea domain was divided on several sections. In 1904, there were 7 agricultural sections: *Segarcea* (2.386.33 ha), *Dâlga* (1.204.70 ha), *Panaghia* (1.072.55 ha), *Lipovu* (2.732.54 ha), *Gârnicioara* (1.812.05 ha) and *Valea Rea* (1.701.26 ha), *Șestu* (947.28 ha), one viticultural - *Viilor* (512.46 ha) and another with forest. There were also founded a park, in which there was the main quarter of the Domain, and a fruit trees nursery of about 19.80 ha.

In the same time, a constant preoccupation was represented by the endowing of Segarcea administration with agricultural implements, tools and machinery that had a determinant role in growing the productivity and the quality of produces, along with cattle. As a consequence, during 1899-1906, the most performing and modern agricultural machinery produced either in the country or abroad, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, constituted the agricultural park of Segarcea Domain. In 1906, there were inventoried: two Fowler steam ploughs, 34 sowing machines, 10 threshing machines

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\*3<sup>rd</sup> deg. Scientific Researcher “C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor” Institute for Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities, Craiova, Romanian Academy, minarcisa@yahoo.com.

(2 of corn), 10 harvesting machines, 9 mowing machines, 7 machines for cutting beetroot, 3 machines for cutting hay, 10 winnowing machines. Each sector used between 10 to 12 ploughs, 10-16 fixed and mobile iron harrows, with 2 and 3 sections, beataxes, 4 to 5 clod crushers, 2 mechanic rakes for hay, and the vineyard sector owned 9 small-ploughs<sup>1</sup>. It was not neglected either the animal working power. In 1906, the number of oxen reached 290, of Moldavian breed, recognized for their qualities and working power and 8 buffalos used for heavy works – ploughing, land clearing – for transportation and traction, 14 mares and 2 Mura horses, used for the vineyard works.

Although the machines and the animals made the most difficult and intense works, the manpower was indispensable. Unlike other estates, where the peasant was seen only as manpower, without anybody being interested in his living standard, the Crown Domain administration had as a main purpose the betterment of the dwellers' situation in the villages on the estate, both from the cultural and material point of view. For this purpose, the villagers were encouraged to participate to conferences, meetings where they had the possibility to receive advice and information. A special role in their education had, especially, the primary school teacher and the priest. Nonetheless, the intellectual development of the villagers from the Crown Domain was recognised by G.D. Creangă, who said that “on the Crown Domain ... the villagers are superior from the cultural point of view”<sup>2</sup>.

As for the material development, Ion Kalinderu, asked, starting with 1901, that when concluding the working contracts, the workers should be assured conditions for a decent living standard. Thus, with the help of the memorandum from the 12<sup>th</sup> of October 1901, the workers obliged themselves to make certain works in their own households: to fence in their garden and the yard surrounding the house, to make vegetable gardens, to plant fruit trees in their gardens, to use organic fertilizers in the garden and on the cultivated fields, to sharecrop on 10 surfaces with hemp and flax, to use for reproduction only noble-race bulls. There were excluded from the agreement, the recalcitrant dwellers and those with an immoral way of living. Being aware that the works are executed much better and with more devotion if the people were better fed, starting with 1907, in the contracts, the Crown Domain administrator, Ion Kalinderu, insisted on offering daily portions with consistent food. According to him, food had to be not only sufficient, but also equilibrated<sup>3</sup>. Bread, that was introduced since 1903, starting with 1907, was given daily, at least at one meal.

Another aspect that must be mentioned is that, for the accomplishment of some quality works, the peasants were taught to execute correctly and scientifically, the works for the preparation

<sup>1</sup>, Fl. Davidescu, *The Monography of Segarcea Domain from Doljiu County* Bucharest, 1906, p. 42-45.

<sup>2</sup> *Proprietatea rurală și chestiunea țărănească*, Bucharest, 1905, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Narcisa Maria Mitu, *Domeniile Coroanei Regale (1884-1948)*, Craiova, Publishing House Aius, 2011, p. 62.

of the land and for the maintenance of the cultures. The agreements contained clear rules that the worker had to apply.

Starting with 1901, the surfaces contracted by dwellers were: between 1 to 3 ha for wheat, 1 to 4 ha for corn, while for forage, the surface was unlimited, according to the power of working and to necessities.

Unlike the anterior years, the conditions of the contracts were modified, the dwellers receiving cultivating lots on the estate, without paying the rent in cereals – wheat and oat, having the obligation to work a surface equal with that received. As regarding the forage cultures, on the surfaces for which they paid rent, the workers were obliged to cultivate cereals on a surface equal to the one received, to pay half of the rent from that culture. For corn, the rent was paid in produces, a part in two. If the works were not executed, the contractors were penalized to pay in money the afferent work of the contracted cultures: 24 lei the value of a ploughed and sowed hectare, 28 lei a reaped hectare and transported, 24 lei/the hoed hectare, 8 lei a beataxed hectare, 5 lei the working day with oxen, 24 lei a hectare of corn for gathering, transporting, cutting and carrying the stalks and 0.15 lei for the transportation of a hectolitre of corn. The dwellers who had not cattle for transportation, worked as the other ones, the difference being the fact that they had to effectuate, without paying, four days of labour.

According to the statistic data from 1906, the number of the workers from an estate was of 1.1887, most of them having: 2 oxen, 2 horses and a plough<sup>4</sup>. Even more, annually, in order to deal the need of labour force, in the summer, the Administration hired people from the neighbouring area, almost 300-400 workers. The contracts were usually concluded in advanced, for the next year. According to the archive documents, on 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 1915, there were hired with a contract 9 agricultural workers for different jobs: wheat reaping, shaft carrying etc., who received 343 lei and in December, the same year, 30 workers from Galicea Mare Commune received, according to the payrolls, 2.557 lei. All these contracts had to take place during the 1916 summer. According to the contract, Segarcea Domain administration provided the workers the transportation, 50 bani a day for each person for food or aliments as following: 1.200 kg of corn flour or bread, 250 ml brandy, meat, cheese, vegetables and twice a week fastening food: beans, potatoes, fish and vegetables<sup>5</sup>.

There were also cases when “working conflicts” appeared and that was the moment when the head of Segarcea Administration had to resort to the military police to determine different villagers to carry on their obligations assumed when signing the contracts. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of July 1920, the military

<sup>4</sup> Florian Davidescu, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> The National Archives Service of Dolj County, resources Segarcea Crown Domain, file no. 2/1915, f. 56-60 (is quoted next as: S.J.A.N. Dolj).

police department from Calopăr was announced that four dwellers from that commune, who had been contracted to reap 2.50 ha of wheat on the Domain, did not come to work, according to their agreement, and during this period the wheat spread on the ground. Few days later, on 23<sup>rd</sup> of July, the chief of the military police department gave an announcement that noticed the dwellers in case to come to work<sup>6</sup>. With a similar situation Segarcea Crown Domain was confronted in the next years.

The expropriation of the agricultural lands, according to the decree from the 14<sup>th</sup> of December 1918, reduced the surface of Segarcea Crown Domain to 4.829.73 ha. Even so, the crops continued to have wide surfaces, in a proportion approximately equal to the fodder plants. And, in the same time, the sector of vineyards gained a special importance, constituting the most important source of income from the period between the two World Wars, and the wine became the landmark of this Administration.

The works continued to be done with the dwellers, being paid both in rent and money. Considering the fact that through the agrarian reform from 1921, most of the people without lots or with a small surface were put in the possession of land, the manpower became much more reduced and Segarcea Crown Domain was obliged to resort to workers from the neighbouring counties (Vâlcea, Gorj, Argeş), but also from Ardeal and Basarabia. Thus, groups of 50-60 people were hired with a contract for at least 75 full days of work. According to the contracts, the agricultural workers received a residence, payment for food and wood and they had the transportation assured. The food was prepared by cooks, one for 20 workers. For a more efficient work, the workers were arranged in groups made of minimum 10 people, led by a bailiff. In 1922, in the contracts concluded for works as: sowing, weeding, mowing, gathering forage, reaping, gathering and carrying the sheaves to the threshing machine, trashing, and carrying different things with the carts, the working day to be paid with 7 lei a person. The bailiffs were paid with sums between 12 and 15 lei a day, according to the number of the workers they brought to work. Depending on the contract, the work began at dawn and ended at dusk. The food was: 1 kg of corn flour, half of bread and 250 g of vegetables. Three times a week, the food contained meat<sup>7</sup>. In 1928, the daily payment reached the sum of 45 lei for men, 40 lei for women and 100 lei for the bailiff<sup>8</sup> and in 1945 – 18.000 lei for men, 15.000 lei for women and 25.000 lei for the bailiffs<sup>9</sup>. On average, the number of the season workers was between 450 and 550 a year. For instance, in 1936, there were 487 workers (377 gypsies, 60 villagers and 50 dwellers from Ardeal) and in 1937, 531 people.

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 34/1919, f. 82.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 10/1922, f. 10-14.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 13/1930, unnumbered.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, inventory files no. 21/1945, unnumbered.

As regarding the works on each hectare, in 1926, the prices were calculated as following: 300 lei the spring ploughing, 400 lei the August ploughing, 400 lei the first hoe and 500 lei the second hoe for corn, 500 and 600 lei for the first and the second hoe of the beetroot, 1.000 lei for cereal reaping and 500 lei for mowing the hay<sup>10</sup>. The cost of the agricultural works raised continuously in the next years, reaching the sums of, in 1930: 800 lei for reaping, 80 lei for harrowing, 510 lei for threshing, 175 lei for sowing, 320 lei for ploughing with oxen, 1.200 lei for mowing and 150 for cart transportation<sup>11</sup>.

The deepening on the economic crisis imposed a gradual reducing of the expenditures, in all the sectors. In the budget project for 1932, it was mentioned the reducing to the bare necessities for the working days, the performing of the ploughing only with animal traction, in order to reduce the expenditure from 700 to 200 lei/ha. The steam plough had to be used only for clearing the lands that would be cultivated with lucerne and in the vineyards. In the agricultural campaign, the number of the workers was reduced to almost 188 dwellers from the near villages and almost 350-390 daily workers, who were paid with sums that fluctuated between 12 and 20 lei a day, according to their gender and the working power, plus the daily food. Most of the workers were gypsies, who received twigs and 6 stere of wood for each household<sup>12</sup>.

In 1933, the price of works for a hectare reduced even more: 200 lei for oxen ploughing, 97 lei for sowing, 30 lei for harrowing, 260 lei for threshing, 360 lei for reaping, binding and carrying the sheaves to the threshing machine, 440 lei for mowing and 100 lei the cart transportation<sup>13</sup>. In 1940, for the 563 workers hired for different jobs and paid with sums that varied between 22-26 lei a day was given 683.000 lei. This amount was divided as following: 200.000 lei for the gypsies hired on the estate, 334.000 lei for the gypsies and the villagers who worked in the vineyards, 20.000 lei for the Hungarians hired in the vineyards and 129.000 lei for the villagers<sup>14</sup>.

The work in the vineyard was made mechanically, with small ploughs and as manpower, there were used the gypsies. They were preferred especially for the small sums for which they could be hired. The jobs that they had to do daily, according to the contract, were: unearthing, cutting, binding, hoeing, aspersing, planting, ploughing and also any other works in the press house and on the field, according to the requests of the viticulture section personal<sup>15</sup>. Yet, the collaboration with the gypsies was not without incidents. The lack of seriousness they proved during the works obliged the leadership of the Administration to resort sometimes to the help of police and military police

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 4/1927, f. 191.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 1/1933, f. 137.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 1/1932, f. 576-577.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 1/1933, f. 137.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 12/1929, f. 38.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 15/1939, unnumbered.

from the communes where they lived. In 1930, at the Vineyard sector, were hired 288 workers, among which: 240 were paid with sums between 20-45 lei a day plus the food ration and 48 were Hungarians and were paid with 40-45 lei a day. The daily food for the Hungarian workers was around 27 lei, while that for the autochthonous workers of 21.40 lei<sup>16</sup>. The difference was in the fact that the foreigners received food on Sundays and on holidays too.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May, the general administrator proposed the building of special shelters for gypsies, “to assure for them human living conditions, to make them feel as the other people and to evolve on the biological scale”<sup>17</sup>. These houses had to give shelter to 10 families of gypsies. Two years later, when it was decided the deportation of the gypsies in Transnistria, the Minister of Internal Affairs decided that those on the Domain to remain there, insisting, in the same time, for building houses for them because, starting with the 1<sup>st</sup> of April they were no longer allowed to live in huts. A special attention was given to the workers’ body care. For this purpose, the head of the Segracea Administration, Toma Busuioc imposed, starting with May 1942, that each Sunday to be the day of bathing. To make sure that the decision was applied, the head of the Administration made a commitment to give them wood for heating the water.

During the Second World War, among the vineyard workers, we could also find the Soviet prisoners. For the performed jobs, they were paid with 90 lei a day, from which 60 lei were due to the Camp and 30 lei to the prisoner. The daily food cost 50 lei, consisted of products and was given by the Administration.

In conclusion, we can assert that the situation of the agrarian workers from Segarcea Domain, people who assured the manpower on the estate, was always under the attention of the central administration. The measures taken by the administrator Kalinderu represented the basis for the future intellectual and material development of the peasant, determining him to evolve faster and through his own strength, above the dwellers of the other estates. In consequence, the purpose was reached, the working peasant from the Crown Domain succeeded in becoming a model for the Romanian rural world.

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 2/1928, f. 246-250.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, file no. 9/1941, f. 42-43, 45.

## THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND THE VISIT OF FRANZ FERDINAND IN ROMANIA (1909)

BERTONI DRAGOMIR Silviu \*

**Abstract.** *The article displays the presence of Frederic Wilhelm and Franz Ferdinand (the heirs to the Throne of Germany and Austria-Hungary) in Romania during the year 1909, when King Carol I was celebrating his 70th anniversary. Their visits came to strengthen the alliance between Romania and Austria-Hungary, both part of a much greater ensemble, the Triple Alliance. Given the importance of Archduke Franz Ferdinand for the Romanians, we have focused on how his presence in Romania was perceived by the Hungarians.*

**Keywords:** *Frederic Wilhelm, Franz Ferdinand, diplomacy, national movement, Romania and Austria-Hungary.*

A significant moment in the history of the Kingdom of Romania was the anniversary of 70 years of King Carol I and the attention given by Germany and Austria-Hungary to this event. In the context of increasing tensions in the Balkans, the Emperors of the two central European Powers found it necessary to congratulate Carol I, but more important to strengthen his ties with the Triple Alliance. In the spring of 1909 Kronprinz Wilhelm Frederick arrived in Bucharest and in the summer of the same year followed the visit of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Duchess Sophie of Hohenberg.

Frederick William arrived in Bucharest on April 6, 1909, accompanied by a group of twelve officers, including Lieutenant Schenk, General Rohrscheidt (Dragons Regiment), Colonel Oppen, Count Bismarck-Bohlen. The German delegation was expected by Queen Elisabeta, Prince Ferdinand and his wife Maria, the King's brother, Prince Charles Anton who came on the same occasion of the jubilee, Prince Charles, ministers and other important figures<sup>1</sup>. The Kronprinz was received as a true Sovereign<sup>2</sup>. The event enjoyed the attention of the Romanian press, regardless of their political orientation. For example, "Patria" noted that the visit was not only the proof of harmony that reigned between the two dynasties, or a tribute to Carol I, but a definitive consecration of the Kingdom's status, equal to any other state in world. Adopting the same tone, "Secolul" wrote about the political and economic ties that Romania had with Germany, the most important European Power<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Serviciul Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale (S.A.N.I.C.), Colecția Microfilme, Anglia, rola 240, vol. 175, c. 362.

<sup>2</sup> Constantin Bacalbașa, *Bucureștii de altă dată*, vol. III, 1901-1910, Editura ziarului „Universul”, București, 1936, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> S.A.N.I.C., Colecția Microfilme Belgia, rola 9, vol. 15, c. 208-209.

While the Kronprinz offered him the German army Feldmarschall stick, Carol I gave a speech which generated some comments over the antagonism between his position as King of Romania and the other as a soldier serving in the Second Reich's army. Here are his words: "For more than 50 years I have been closely bound to the brave army of Prussia; by my appointment as Generalfeldmarschall these ties have become indissoluble; thus my long military career receives an upsurge and a historical finish. This rare distinction, as well as many other proofs of affection that His Majesty shows me in all the circumstances, deeply excite my heart and I cannot express my gratitude in a better way than restlessly wishing the happiness and prosperity of Your Royal and Imperial Highness beloved Parents"<sup>4</sup>. The bond which Carol I mentioned in his toast, determined some assumptions and critics<sup>5</sup> according to which the King kept the pledge with his homeland until his death and that the compromise from the summer of 1914 was the consequence of his inability to go in a war against Germany. Just how German or Romanian was Carol I we cannot determine. A certain fact is that the decision taken in 1914 was mostly in favour of his adoptive country and the King accepted the will of the majority instead of imposing his point of view.

The visit involved a pragmatic purpose, recommended by the German plenipotentiary in Bucharest, Kiderlen-Wächter<sup>6</sup> – to flatter the Romanian people and the old King who was quite sensitive to this type of pleasantries. The existence of a national movement which claimed the emancipation of Romania from the Austro-German influence and adopting an independent foreign policy orientation determined the German diplomacy to seize the opportunity of the jubilee to remedy some of these shortcomings of the alliance between Austria-Hungary and Romania. The British Minister accredited to Bucharest, Conyngham Greene, observed these aspects and noted the German diplomatic success in his reports, but with the observation that in a country with an illiterate population (in an overwhelming proportion of 80%), it was quite difficult to maintain the pro-German enthusiasm (*Schuärmeri*)<sup>7</sup>.

In his correspondence, Carol remembered bitterly his poor state of health in the moment of the visit, something that restrained him to take part in all the events held in honouring his German guests. However, the Kronprinz deviated from the program to stay with King, saying that he came to learn from him how to guide himself in political matters<sup>8</sup>. Undoubtedly, from the young prince in

<sup>4</sup> *Cuvântările Regelui Carol I*, vol. II, 1887-1914, Fundația pentru literatură și artă „Regele Carol I”, București, 1939, p. 409.

<sup>5</sup> Constantin Bacalbașa, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

<sup>6</sup> Teodor Pavel, *Mișcarea românilor pentru unitatea națională și diplomația Puterilor Centrale (1878-1914)*, vol. II, 1894-1914, Editura Facla, Timișoara, p. 218-220, annex LXI.

<sup>7</sup> S.A.N.I.C., *Colecția Microfilme Anglia*, rola 251, vol. 724, c. 110. Sorin Liviu Damean, *Diplomați englezi în România (1881-1914)*, vol. II, Editura Universitaria, Craiova, 2009, p. 334.

<sup>8</sup> Sorin Cristescu, *Carol I și corespondența personală (1878-1912)*, Editura Tritonic, București, 2005, p. 459.

1866 to the wise king in 1909, Carol accumulated enormous experience in this part of Europe to share it with any prince eager to learn, but the German guest came rather to observe Romania's progress within the Triple Alliance and its position in a future continental conflict. His conclusion was that “in case of war Romania will refuse, at best, to fulfil its obligations as an ally or worse, will decide to join the opposite alliance”<sup>9</sup>.

In the summer of that year followed the visit of Franz Ferdinand, the chosen successor of Emperor Franz Joseph. Announced in 1908, the visit came one year after as the events in the Balkans postponed it. “Neue Freie Presse” noted the two visits confirmed the importance of Romania in the Balkan affairs and the trust the two Empires had in its current policy<sup>10</sup>. Being well known Franz Ferdinand’s sympathy towards Romanian people and their hopes with him, an enthusiastic reception was prepared<sup>11</sup>. The event enjoys our special attention due to its impact on the Romanian national movement from Austria-Hungary.

Together with General Huyn, Major Brosch and Baron Rumerskirsch the Princely Couple arrived in Predeal, the Romanian border point, in the afternoon of July 10, where they were greeted by Ferdinand and Maria. Carol I and his wife along with the Austro-Hungarian Legation members awaited the arrival of the couple in Sinaia. During the dinner gala, Carol I paid special attention to the Princess of Hohenberg whom he placed in his right side<sup>12</sup>. This gesture had a special significance as the status of a morganatic wife deprived Sophie of Hohenberg of such treats, things to which Franz Ferdinand was quite sensitive. It was the first visit of the Duchess with her husband abroad and also the first time she was treated as his equal. Remembering this episode, Count Ottokar Czernin considered that through this proof of “friendly tact”, Franz Ferdinand came to appreciate Romania, of course by associating the country with the image of Carol I and Elisabeta<sup>13</sup>.

The visit had an intimate character with the exception of some official celebrations. Without detailing, the King noted in his correspondence he dealt some political matters and discovered with joy the Archduke sound judgment. “He is focused in all matters and disagrees the repeated concessions they are forced to make to the Hungarians, which also embitter the poor Emperor’s days”<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, *România și Tripla Alianță la începutul secolului al XX-lea (1900-1914)*, Editura Litera, București, 1977, p. 72-73. The French newspaper „Le Temps” observed the influence the Germans had in Romania and accused the French authorities for loosing their influence in this part of Europe. Constantin Bacalbașa, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

<sup>10</sup> S.A.N.I.C., Colecția Microfilme Belgia, rola 9, vol. 15, c. 220.

<sup>11</sup> Sorin Cristescu, *op. cit.*, p. 461. Călin-Radu Ancuța, *Arhiducele Franz Ferdinand și rolul său în relațiile româno-austro-ungare*, Fundația pentru Democrație și Educație Politică, București, 2002, p. 150.

<sup>12</sup> S.A.N.I.C., Colecția Microfilme Anglia, rola 251, vol. 724, c. 371.

<sup>13</sup> Constantin Graur, *Cu privire la Franz Ferdinand*, Editura „Adevărul”, București, 1935, p. 156.

<sup>14</sup> Sorin Cristescu, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

For four days Budapest's attention stayed focused on Romania, due to the Archduke attitude towards Hungary and the strained relations between the two neighbouring countries, at that time the public opinion from Romania being outraged by the arrest and conviction of deputy Aurel Vlad's wife. In these moments, an invitation was addressed to all the doctors in Romania to attend the Congress of Medicine in Budapest. Unanimously, the Romanian doctors rejected the invitation and addressed them a Memorandum approved by their political leaders, which presented the reasons of refusing to be guests of the "Romanian people oppressors". Finally, the crisis was avoided through the intervention of the Emperor who pardoned the deputy's wife<sup>15</sup>. Another incident took place on July 4th during the funerals of the director of "Gazeta de Transilvania" newspaper (Aurel Mureșanu), in Brașov where the funeral wreath sent by the union of journalists from Bucharest wasn't accepted to appear on the burial chariot, because the presence of the Romanian flag on it<sup>16</sup>. The union responded by issuing a national call which criticized the press processes and the abusive convictions dictated by the Hungarian authorities, in this way asking the Romanians to sustain the newspaper left without its most important figure<sup>17</sup>.

Of course, to the Hungarians satisfaction, incidents took place also during the Archduke's stay in Romania. Franz Ferdinand was welcomed in Sinaia by a delegation of several hundred Romanians from Austria-Hungary and other delegates came to represent the society "Transilvania" from Bucharest or "Liga Culturală". A controversial issue was the receiving of a delegation composed of Dumitru Popovici, Nicolae Mircea and Ion Scurtu, who gave Franz Ferdinand a homage parchment and presented the wishes of the Romanians from Transilvania. The next day, "Epoca" made public the obstacles Ugron (Secretary of Legation) tried to face the delegation and only an approach on Schönburg (Austro-Hungarian plenipotentiary in Bucharest), made the audience possible<sup>18</sup>.

Of course, their presence led to media attacks which blamed the Hungarian Archduke for staying no more than ten minutes in Budapest, while in Romania he received the "enemies of the Hungarians"<sup>19</sup>. This enthusiasm was well portrayed by Constantin Bacalbașa in his memories. He noted that the sympathy for Franz Ferdinand was accompanied by a great animosity against the Hungarians whose flags were at stake. Bacalbașa relates the case of a merchant who during that event displayed the Hungarian flag and was urged to do the same with the Austrian and Romanian

<sup>15</sup> Haus-, Hof-, und Saatsarchiv (în continuare se va cita HHStA), PA XVIII Rumänien, Karton 41, Berichte 1909, f. 317-318.

<sup>16</sup> S.A.N.I.C., Colecția Microfilme Belgia, rola 9, vol. 15, c. 223. Idem, Franța, rola 25, vol. 6, c. 505.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, c. 225.

<sup>18</sup> Constantin Bacalbașa, *op. cit.*, p. 234-235.

<sup>19</sup> S.A.N.I.C., Colecția Microfilme Belgia, rola 9, vol. 15, c. 223.

flag. After he complied, he was asked to bring down the Hungarian flag, thereby an entire scandal<sup>20</sup>. Such unfortunate events were speculated by the press, and the Government had to disprove these incidents in an official statement<sup>21</sup>.

In an article of “Budapest Hírlap” noted the Archduke represented in Romania only the Austrian side of the Empire, and if he had been aware of those incidents he would’ve had to leave Romania immediately. Another publication “Budapest” requested the intervention of the Foreign Ministry to give explanations. “Pesti Hírlap” condemned the reception of the Romanian delegation, an achievement more than impossible in the case of Franz Joseph. No doubt, Franz Ferdinand intended to express his sympathy towards the nationalities of the Empire, particularly towards the Romanians. According to “Naplo” the Minister accredited in Romania was also responsible<sup>22</sup>.

Hungarian and Romanian press found each other in a fierce dispute, as the latter accused the “collective madness” of their neighbours, the oppression of the nations of the Monarchy and their guilt in compromising the good relations between Romania and Austria-Hungary<sup>23</sup>. As these critics continued, Schönburg had to intervene and ask Ionel Brătianu to stop the campaign promoted by “L’Indépendance Roumaine”. His answer was negative because the publication mentioned belonged to the Liberal Party and didn’t represent an official point of view. As he noted in his reports, Schönburg wanted to prevent the alteration of a press campaign into a larger dispute. His report also records the hostility generated by the school laws of Apponyi<sup>24</sup>. We also have to appreciate how Brătianu handled the matter and his attitude towards Schönburg, unlike that of D.A. Sturdza in the past. By being the leader of the most powerful party in Romania and also the President of the Government, Brătianu reconsidered the terms of the secret alliance between Bucharest and Vienna and the boundaries of the latter’s interference in Romania’s domestic policy.

Like the Romanian public opinion, Franz Ferdinand was outraged by the attitude of Hungary. In a letter from Major Charles Brosch to Vaida Voivod (13 July), we can see now the measures ordered against the Romanians from Transilvania who had the intention to greet the Imperial train of Franz Ferdinand. Brosch informs how in some regions the Romanians managed to reach the station and they were stopped and held like they were animals. Without indicating the Archduke’s position, Brosch recommended recording these incidents by the Romanian and Austrian press<sup>25</sup>.

Undoubtedly, the visit of Franz Ferdinand and his wife was an important event for the Romanians in the Kingdom and especially for those from Austria-Hungary, who put all their

<sup>20</sup> Constantin Bacalbașa, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

<sup>21</sup> S.A.N.I.C., Colecția Microfilme Belgia, rola 9, vol. 15, c. 223; Sorin Cristescu, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

<sup>22</sup> HHStA, Karton 41, f. 235.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 239-245; S.A.N.I.C., Colecția Microfilme Belgia, rola 9, vol. 15, c. 223.

<sup>24</sup> Teodor Pavel, *op. cit.*, p. 221-222, annex LXIII.

<sup>25</sup> S.A.N.I.C., fond Vaida-Voevod, 3/1908-1909, f. 7.

national hopes in the future reign of Franz Ferdinand. Confirming this attachment towards the House of Habsburg, Alexandru Vaida Voivod said in an interview that only this dynasty could change the political situation of the Romanians abroad<sup>26</sup>.

This visit was a successful “workmanship”. Franz Ferdinand was an unusual character in the outdated Habsburg Empire<sup>27</sup>, an exponent of the state’s modernization, a monarch who envisioned the consolidation of his power by being the Empire’s nations friend. His staying in Romania was used as a pretext and instrument to provoke Hungary. Still, Franz Ferdinand acted cautiously and his statements were moderate as he was aware that no matter the expectations of the Romanians from Transilvania or Bucovina, their future remained an internal matter of the Empire.

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<sup>26</sup> Constantin Bacalbașa, *op. cit.*, p. 23; HHStA, Karton 41, f. 376, 540-543.

<sup>27</sup> Barbara Jelavich, *Istoria Balcanilor. Secolul XX*, vol. II, Institutul European, Iași, 2000, p. 55.

# THE FIRST WORLD WAR NOTES IN THE ORIGINAL JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN CONSTANTIN SĂNĂTESCU (First part)

GHERGHE Otilia\*, SLABU Camelia\*\*

**Abstract.** *The article presents the first part from the war journal of captain Sănătescu. There are presented issues during the battles waged in Dobrogea by Călărași 5<sup>th</sup> Brigade, 19<sup>th</sup> Division, during 15<sup>th</sup> of August and 10<sup>th</sup> of October 1916.*

**Keywords:** *journal, Constantin Sănătescu, First World War, Dobrogea.*

The Army General Constantin Sănătescu comes from an old boyar family of Gorj County, family which dates from 1717.<sup>1</sup>

His father, Gheorghe Sănătescu (1858-1942), career military, fought as volunteer in the war of 1877 and became lieutenant since 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1885, captain since 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1891, major since 28<sup>th</sup> of November 1898, and becoming general of division, as he took part in the First World War<sup>2</sup>.

Constantin, General Gheorghe Sănătescu's oldest son, was born in Craiova on 13<sup>th</sup> of June 1885. He studied at Javet Institute, then Carol I High School in Craiova, Traian High School in Turnu-Severin and the High School in Iași, then Military School in Bucharest, which he graduated in 1907, as second lieutenant. He was assigned at Roșiori 5<sup>th</sup> Regiment in Turnu-Severin, and in 1910 he became instructor with lieutenant degree at Cavalry School in Târgoviște. He was an excellent rider, participating in numerous military equestrian competitions or, as jokeu in civil competitions. On 22<sup>nd</sup> of May 1911 he won "The Army Price".

In 1913 he took part in the campaign in Bulgaria. He was promoted to captain, and in 1915 he moved to a regiment in Tulcea<sup>3</sup>. After the war he attended the Superior School of War, which he graduated in 1920.

Career military, Constantin Sănătescu was also a refined intellectual. Relevant in this way it is the analysis that he made to "the limits" of rendering the nature by means of art, literature and music, at the end of the chapter from the journal dedicated to the description of the mission in the north of Dobrogea.

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\* The Museum of Oltenia, Craiova.

\*\* The Museum of Oltenia, Craiova.

<sup>1</sup>C. Giurescu, *Material pentru istoria Olteniei supt austrieci*, vol II, Editat de Institutul de Istorie Națională, București, 1944, p. 431.

<sup>2</sup>*Anuarul armatei române pe anul 1900*. București 1900, p. 201; Mihai Sorin Rădulescu, *Ascensiunea unei familii boierești oltene, Sănăteștii*, in the journal „Arhiva Genealogică”, nr.3-4, Iași, 1996, p. 227; About the general Gheorghe Sănătescu, see Constantin Sănătescu, *Jurnal*, with foreword by Simona Ghițescu-Sănătescu, Editura Humanitas, București, 1993, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Constantin Sănătescu, *op.cit.*, pp. 5-9.

When he arrived close to the Genoese fortress in Heracleea, next to Enisala, C. Sănătescu wondered: “How I wish I could render this piece of nature, where I am, with the loneliness that masters in the hum night, which comes together with the day that leaves, with colours and light changes, noticed in each moment. Vain is my endeavour, because I see how far I am from the truth. Nature is made of mysteries and it cannot be rendered, and when I think that there are so many who claim that art is above nature; I, on the contrary, found it more inferior. If I come up to this conclusion, it is due to the fact that I didn’t take after one or the other, but because I walked a lot, I saw many things, I read most famous masterpieces of all literatures, I visited famous galleries and I heard divine orchestras. When I saw Louvru, when I saw “Venus in Milo” and “Victoria of Samotrake”, when in “Carré” saloon, Gioconda’s smile squeezed my eyes, and when I read the Luxemburg description in „Les Misérables” by Hugo and “Paradon” garden description in „La faute de L’ abbé Mouret” and when I heard “The Tempest” by Weber, played by the orchestra of Nisa Municipal Casino, I must confess that I fell in ecstasy and I was think long, but back to reality and examining this mood, I realised that, yet art is powerless to nature. I think that great artists felt this inferiority of art to nature and to the completion of the work of art did not have full satisfaction”<sup>4</sup>. He loved literature and wrote, himself, some sketches in 1914, that he published in “Cavalry Journal”. C. Sănătescu easily read in German, that he had learnt, as a child from his Austrian governance, or, later in English.

As an officer in command of the regiment in Tulcea in 1915, Constantin Sănătescu was around the First World War in direct contact with social and economic realities in Dobrogea. During the First World War, he first took part in the battles in Dobrogea, Muntenia and Moldova, and then in Basarabia, advancing in the squadron he commended up to Tighina. Courtesy to Mrs. Simona Ghițescu–Sănătescu, I had the possibility to consult the journal made by her father Constantin Sănătescu, beginning with 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1915 till 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1918, extracting for this article, the information referred to the battles in Dobrogea.

**On 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1916<sup>5</sup>** . Mobilization; 1,2,3 pickets attack.

**On 16<sup>th</sup> of August 1916**. 4,5,6 pickets attack.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibidem*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>5</sup>On 14/27<sup>th</sup> of August 1916 Romania declares war to Austro-Hungary. On 16/28<sup>th</sup> of August, the Romanian Army crossed the Carpathians in Transilvania, starting the military operations. On 17/30<sup>th</sup> of August, Germany declares war to Romania. The Danube and the Dobrogea frontier were defended by the third Army, commanded by M. Aslan General: at Turtucaia was the 17<sup>th</sup> Division, at Silistra the 9<sup>th</sup> Division and at Balcic the 19<sup>th</sup> Division, totally 72.000 people. The Russian crossed the Danube – the cavalry to Isaccea, and the infantry to Cernavodă – and submitted for Cobadin, south of the Medcidia. Total Romanian-Russian forces in Dobrogea were: 83 infantry battalions, 40 mobile batteries and 34 cavalry squadrons. Constantin Kirițescu, *Istoria războiului pentru întregirea României*, vol.I, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1989, p. 315).

**On 17<sup>th</sup> of August.** The attack of my sector; Ali Oman withdrawal where I found the regiment.

**On 18<sup>th</sup> of August<sup>6</sup>.** Baluga occupation; the first horse shot.

**On 19<sup>th</sup> of August.** Attack against Vama and Cuiungiuc; rejected with losses; the withdrawal towards Bazargic; the brigade arrival; Baloga bombardment; the arrival to Bazargic at night.

**On 21<sup>st</sup> of August.** Battles over Corvac, Corvac-Cuiundjuc and Cocimar.; the recognition to Hodjolar; Cocimar counterattack; disaster; the withdrawal at night through Demecler, Golemo Ceamurli, Karavaclar; the panic of regimented train.

**On 22<sup>nd</sup> of August.** Karavaclar we found the first Russian troops. March to Cocardja, then in the evening to Musa Bei.

**On 23<sup>rd</sup> of August.** Musu Bei, Darbilii, Kalfa Alialife, Kara Suian march with the intention to go to Maleo Ceamurlii. The brigade receives the order to withdraw and I to go to the cavalry brigade to Ciairlighiol. I cross through pillaged and fired villages; people left homeless, cattle running on the field and troops withdrawing in a big mess; robbery and fire. I cannot find the regimented train in Eli Bei, because it has run; I hear that the cavalry brigade were withdrawing from Ciairlighiol to Caraomer. I go there. At Karaagaci we found a part of the regimented train that do not know about the other carts or regiment. Riders on fields are searching for the Regiment or the regimented train. In the evening I arrive at Arman Cuius. Great joy for all to I see me, they thought I was lost in the disaster from Cocimar.

**On 24<sup>th</sup> of August.<sup>7</sup>** General attack over Bazargic by 16<sup>th</sup> Russian Division and 19<sup>th</sup> Romanian; the Russian cavalry on the right, the brigade towards Hanlâc on the left; big fights. The Bulgarians are rejected, but we are forced to withdraw because we heard that Turtucaia felt; a fantastic ride, at night, on the battle field.

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<sup>6</sup>On 18/31<sup>th</sup> of August – 19<sup>th</sup> of August/1<sup>st</sup> of September the Bulgarian troops had attacked the Romanian military items before Dobrogea. On 19<sup>th</sup> of August/1<sup>st</sup> of September 1916 Bulgaria and Turkey declare war to Romania. On 15<sup>th</sup>/28<sup>th</sup> of August, Feld marshal von Mackensen was appointed commander in chief of German –Bulgarian- Turkish army in north-west of Bulgaria. Just few days after Romania entered war, Lloyd George, the Britain prime minister expressed, in the House meeting, his concern that the new ally not to have the fate of Serbia. “I have just taken notice, the Britain prime minister declares, of the telegrams that announced the war declaration of Bulgaria against Romania that we had announced as being possible shortly on Saturday in Balkans. Then I expressed fear that Hindenburg, who has a big influence in the state and who has always opposed to the tactic of concentration of German forces in the West, won’t make all the efforts to destroy Romania, and in the case of an attack from the south, our duty is to think seriously of Romania, of a effective support for it. We cannot repeat the Serbian tragedy. I hope that we won’t accept that for lack of a provision a similar catastrophe to depart on Romania... I think that the Romanian military equipment cannot long withstand an Austro-German-Bulgarian attack sustained by hundreds of good cannons and equipped with heavy artillery. The Romanians have few cannons and I doubt that their ammunition supply be sufficient in order to allow them to fight back in a few weeks continuously fire” so that was true. Constantin I. Năvârlie, *Cronica celor 100 de zile de război în Munții Cernei*, vol.I, Volume cared for by Phd. Luchian Deaconu, prof.Otilia Gherghe, Editura Sitech Craiova 2009, pp. 67-67).

<sup>7</sup>Between 19<sup>th</sup> -24<sup>th</sup> of August /1<sup>st</sup> -6<sup>th</sup> of September took place the battle in Turtucaia, the Romanian army being defeated and forced to surrender, having important losses: thousands of dead, 480 officers and 28.000 soldiers were made prisoners; 100 cannons, 62 guns and a huge prey were the enemy’s trophies. (Constantin Kirîțescu, *op. cit.*, p. 336).

**On 25<sup>th</sup> of August.** The protection of the troops that were withdrawing from Bazargic. We left to Sartighiol.

**On 26<sup>th</sup> of August.** In the evening we go to Cerchezchioi through Caraomer. We walk all the night till 3 a.m. We sleep 2 hours and at 5 a.m. 2 squadrons go to south in searching for the enemy.

**On 28<sup>th</sup> of August<sup>8</sup>.** At 2 p.m. I go with the squadron to Karaagaci as discovery squadron. I stay at night in an oatmeal field.

**On 29<sup>th</sup> of August.** We occupy the high areas of Karaagaci; recognitions; the Turkish population. In the evening we are attacked by a squadron and guns; one horse shot; I withdraw in Hasarlâc.

**On 30<sup>th</sup> of August.** We occupy again Karaagaci and we deal with the enemy recognition and prepare food, with difficulty; the withdrawal to Hasarlâc.

**On 31<sup>st</sup> of August.** We receive order to come back to Cerchezchioi, where in rain we receive the food from the regiment. Immediately we receive the order to go closer to Hasarlâc.

In the afternoon, the Bulgarians are closely at east and west. We receive as a help a Cossacks squadron. At the right, the cannon roar tremendously. We cannot stay in the village and we withdraw in the north. The night is slowly coming, with red sun at the sunset. I stay in a thresher and I search with the binocular the field. We sleep in straw, always bothered by the Bulgarian patrols. The Russian officers come for information, we give them tobacco and tea.

**On 1<sup>st</sup> of September<sup>9</sup>.** I receive the order to find the brigade in Caraomer. I gather the patrols and I leave, but I do not find it, a clutter instead of coaches and artillery that go towards the trenches. Aeroplanes threaten us. I look at the occupied trenches and in front of them wire networks. I send the riders to search the brigade, while I receive the division's order to go to Alibechioi and cover Caraomer – Cerchezchioi area. In leave in hurry, although the people's food has arrived; we take it with us. In trenches fierce fight can be seen after the cannons roar.

**On 2<sup>nd</sup> of September.** The troops withdraw. I am alone; a Cassocks squadron. I leave to Ginaculi; the Bulgarians are there; I go to Cavaclar. It is raining; tobacco deposit; carts with injured people; Russians in trenches, I don't know where our people are.

**On 3<sup>rd</sup> of September<sup>10</sup>.** We ask about them at Medgidia station. The Division is at Topraisar. We leave. The commander sends us to Amzana. The enemy is in front of us. We are bombed by our own artillery; in Amzana; the brigade's arrival in the evening at Topraisar.

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<sup>8</sup>On 26<sup>th</sup> of August /8<sup>th</sup> of September, Bazargic was assigned and Silistra was evacuated.

<sup>9</sup>On 1<sup>st</sup> /14<sup>th</sup> of September in Bazargic, there was the 17<sup>th</sup> Brigade – 9<sup>th</sup> Hunters Regiment and 40<sup>th</sup> Infantry; the 5<sup>th</sup> mixt Brigade in Ghelengic, north to Bazargic, and 6<sup>th</sup> mixt Brigade in Caraomer. On 1<sup>st</sup> /14<sup>th</sup> of September, the Russian – Romanian troops from Dobrogea star the withdrawl to Rasova-Cobadin-Tuzla.

<sup>10</sup>Between 3<sup>rd</sup> -8<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup> of September there is the Rasova-Cobadin-Topraisar-Tuzla line battle. A strong German-Bulgarian-Turkish offensive led by von Makensen was rejected by the Romanian-Russian troops.

**On 5<sup>th</sup> of September.** An aeroplane recognizes us. At 12 o'clock there is a bombardment. We leave. We go to the east. We arrive at Techirghiol Lake. We see Movila hotel; memories; in the evening we enter in Musurat. At night we receive food; I was dreaming a beautiful dance when I am awakened.

**On 6<sup>th</sup> of September.** We get up early and go to Techirghiol Lake in order to recognize the territory we are going to defend; we stay in a vineyard, behind the trenches, where we stay till 2 p.m. The action starts to Cobadin, where we receive order to stop; beautiful unnatural sunset on a picture; good result for us; the Bulgarians are destroyed; at Cobadin the Russians bomb; we enter in Osmanjaca in a big yard; under a shed, we sweep, make the fire and put straw; we sleep well because it was warm in the shed.

**On 7<sup>th</sup> of September.** At 6:30 we go to the field; silence, because the Bulgarians withdrew; the 3<sup>rd</sup> squadron comes; the 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment leaves in search and we enter in Ebechiol; the watered is impossible because the water is dirty; the owner's house is devastated, great mourning, the bookcase is down, everything is destroyed by us; the warehouses full of grain are abandoned; we bake corn, the only food; in the evening we go to Osmanfaca, again, where we eat and sleep.

**On 8<sup>th</sup> of September.** Saint Mary. I receive the order to go in search to the sea; I leave; I arrive at Mursurat, where I find the 1<sup>st</sup> squadron; the ordered is changed; general offensive at Carlichioi; the fight on the ground; the brigade arrives; Pervelia; the owner's house is devastated; Ghelengic; the enemy's rejection; in the evening on the field; big fight in the right; wandering to find Caraghioi; we cannot water; the water is poisoned; at 7 o'clock nothing to eat; officers, people, horses.

**On 9<sup>th</sup> of September.** At 4 a.m. we get up; withdrawal order; we protect the withdrawal; the leaving for Musurat, then back to Muratan, then to Propaizar, where we eat in rain and go to occupy Amzacea; it is still raining, the infantry enter in Amzacea, we stay in the field with the artillery; we sleep, we are wet, the next day horses and people are dead, because of the rain and cold and hungry.

**On 10<sup>th</sup> of September.** In the rain we enter in Amzacea; at the canton we drink tea at the 9<sup>th</sup> C Regiment; Costică leaves, we are sorry, the mandate; after the lunch we leave for Carachioi and in the evening we are attacked by the enemy's artillery; we withdraw to Amzecea, make fire, and we sleep covered with straw; there were no houses because the Bulgarians fired them.

**On 11<sup>th</sup> of September.** In the morning it seems to be silence; we eat, take off our shoes to dry them; the rain stopped, but the wind did not; at 10 o'clock we ride our horses because we are attacked; we cover the left part; the troops withdraw to Topraisar; we dismount with the squadron in an orchard and open fire against a squadron; the enemy's artillery have noticed and shots over us and our horses; my sword scabbard is hit and also Lucia's left back leg is hit; the other horses escape and run;

I finish the munitions, but I cannot leave from the corn, because the artillery is still shooting; we had to stay in the corn till the artillery stopped the shooting; we had to gather the horses; in the evening we enter in Topraisar, where we eat and sleep in the straw; it was cold, the sky was clear with stars.

**On 12<sup>th</sup> of September.** We withdraw behind the trenches; I find the 8<sup>th</sup> Buzău Regiment and I find that my father is in Transilvania; a German aeroplane throws 5 bombs, without any result; in the evening we stay in Topraisar.

**On 13<sup>th</sup> of September.** We in the place of the reserved; a man is shoot; in the evening we go to Musurat.

**On 14<sup>th</sup> of September.** We leave to Unichioi; we water, we find oatmeal, we clean; I get hair dressed in the middle of the field; in front of us the Russian cannons roar.

**On 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> of September.** Break, a visit to the aeroplanes; the 1<sup>st</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> squadrons come; the installation in the only house; backgammon; Pripelnița.

**On 18<sup>th</sup> of September<sup>11</sup>.** At 9 a.m. we go to Ebechioi where the general Pavlov comes. We put the horses in the stables and we stay in the warehouse.

**On 19<sup>th</sup> of September.** It is raining heavily. We stay still; injured people arrive; the fight is in front of us; the cannon have roared all night and all day.

**On 20<sup>th</sup> of September.** We hear the Averescu's army crossing over the Danube; great joy; the rain stopped; we make tea and coffee; we play backgammon.

**On 21<sup>st</sup> of September.** At 3 o'clock in the morning we receive the order to go to Tusla and then the offensive goes to south to destroy the Bulgarian cavalry. The whole cavalry is gathered in south to Tusla. The Regiment is in recognition. The officers from Hasarlâc are waiting for me; they give me chop with mashed and Russian cigarettes; a very sympathetic lieutenant; Tatlageacul Mare was occupied; the artillery opens fire. The 2 battalions go and the Regiment goes, too; roaring cannon; we are in the middle of the field; it is still raining; the soldiers find a company and a squadron, they attack them, and catch many of them, a lieutenant was murdered. The Bulgarian company raise the hands as if they surrender, and when the Russians come close to them, they give grenades. I see a lieutenant on a stretcher with the head broken. I am terrible impressed; this fighter that come from somewhere and who knows how many regrets he left behind. The Bulgarian prisoners are bet by the Russians. In the evening we enter in Mangea Punar. The rain has stopped, but it is wet and mud in the field.

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<sup>11</sup>On 18<sup>th</sup> of September/1<sup>st</sup> of October – 22<sup>nd</sup> of September/5<sup>th</sup> of October, there was the Romanian counteroffensive try in Dobrogea led by the General Al. Averescu. After an initial success, the action is stopped, and the troops moved on the front from Carpathians, where the German-Austro-Hungarian offensive had become threatening. *Istoria României în date*, Editura Enciclopedică Română, București, 1972, p. 301).

**On 22<sup>nd</sup> of September.** We enter in Mangea Punar. It is situated on the sea shore, with a beautiful beach and a rich plantation. It is a German village, but abandoned now with the war. We stay still, because our front couldn't go forward, so we cannot venture. A Russian ship on the sea, bombs towards Perculi, which cannot be taken by us.

**On 24<sup>th</sup> of September.** At 2 o'clock a.m. we get up, at 3 a.m. we ride our horses to go in the trenches in order to rest the infantry. We ride to Tatlageacul Mare, where we leave the horses and then we walk; at 4:30 we enter in the trenches. The change is made only by night. Hardly have we entered, that a stream of weapons starts. Hardly have I mastered the people not to shoot, because it can't be seen anything and the munitions is consumed in vain. To start fire is something infectious; some begin to shoot and immediately the whole unit start to shoot without order and without seeing anything. The Bulgarian trenches are at 800 m in front; as far as someone raises his head, you hear the gun snapping. Life in trenches is running hard. We deepen the trenches. I dig together with the soldiers. The Bulgarian cannon projectiles pass over us to the Russian one. It is a big noise. Sometimes the Bulgarian cannon hit the trenches searching the ground. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Squadron has a dead sergeant and an injured corporal. In the right, there is a Russian Regiment, then 9<sup>th</sup> Călărași and a Cossacks Regiment. So 4 cavalry regiments keep the left flank: that because the infantry miss. This thing disappoints us, because we see that there are few forces and such important front. In the evening 5 Russian ships come and bomb Tatlageacul Mic and the Bulgarian trenches, without any result. At night we see the moon, and we are lucky because it is full moon and the field can be perfectly seen in front of us. As the night has come, we dare to stand up from the ditches and come back to eat and get munitions. So the Bulgarians do, as we see their shadow behind their ditches. We do not shoot because they do not shoot either, as if it was a common decision to stand still, after a day of tension. I sleep in the trenches covered only with the mantle and I watch the moon, and my head is travelled by thousands of thoughts. I think of my family, left alone, my eyes fill with tears, I put my handkerchief to wipe tears over them and I make a cross.

**On 25<sup>th</sup> of September.** At 3 a.m. a stream starts again, in the left; the Russian artillery shoots, too. I calm the people to see till the Bulgarian trenches, where it can't be seen any move. They don't shoot. Hard hours we live, because death is always stalks us; German aeroplanes.

**On 26<sup>th</sup> of September.** It is cold overnight, and I sit on the ground I feel cold. I often cough and I get up, I dig to heat. The night isn't silent, at 2 a.m. the fires begin. During the day, we stand still in the trenches and rarely do we change a gunshot. The Bulgarians don't know it is cavalry, because they would attack for sure; artillery cannonades all day. We perfectly know what cannon shoots after their noise: ours have a long echo, the Russians, runny, rough noise, the Bulgarians have a metallic rattling, and those from the ships have a strong snap as if something crashed. We also

know the guns: ours roar and make a long echo, the Bulgarians make 2 noises. It is difficult life in trenches, you cannot move in that wet area, cannot take off clothes, not wash, be thirsty and hungry is not easy, especially for us, who were used to move. In the evening we receive some letters; I receive one from my wife, other from my grandpa, who only recommends me to take care with the flu, as if this was the biggest danger from here. When I don't receive letters it is better, because, when I receive I start longing for home and my eyes get wet. The man is weak, but if he has will, he goes forward. At night I walk along the trenches. I go in my sector and talk with 2 Russian officers, who know German, I give them cigarettes and they give me brandy.

**On 27<sup>th</sup> of September.** At 12 o'clock at night I am awakened. A soldier announces me that the infantry has come to change us, I get up and order my people to gather the guns and munitions, I speak with the company commander, who replace me and one by one go to Tatlageacul Mare. We eat and then sleep and at 6 o'clock we get up. We must move farther because the Bulgarian artillery is closer. We stay in a valley on the sea shore. The sun is hot; the sea is very calm and the soldiers have a bath as if it had been the biggest silence, although at about 1 Km the Russians shoot the Bulgarian artillery. Although I am cold I have a bath. I remembered the beautiful days from Vii and Mamaia.

14 German aeroplanes go towards Constanța. In the afternoon we watch the bombing of a German aeroplane by a Russian torpedo, without any result.

**On 28<sup>th</sup> of September.** We stand still. On the front it is silence, we cannot believe it. Two torpedoes try to come closer to the coast; an aeroplane throws 4 bombs, but does not hit, because the torpedo runs back. Two squadrons enter in the trenches.

**On 29<sup>th</sup> of September.** The heavy Bulgarian artillery shoots in front of us. In the afternoon, they shoot the torpedoes, without hit them. Pavlov, the commander of the unit, comes.

**On 30<sup>th</sup> of September.** It is a silent day. In the evening we receive the order to go back Horoslar, because the action is reduced to the entrance of the troops in the trenches.

**On 1<sup>st</sup> of October.** At midday the people from the trenches arrive. We prepare to leave, gathering the tents and chests and loading the carts. At 7:30 we leave through Mangea Punar, Carlichioi, Urlichioi, Hași Dului. Here we make a halt. Then we go, we through Palas to Palazul Mare and the 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment to Horoslar. We arrive in the evening and we enter the village.

**On 2<sup>nd</sup> of October.** We get better installed. I stay in an owner yard. I walk around the lake; I meet refugees from other villages. Over the lake it can be seen Mamaia. It can be seen Canara and Ovidiu Island; memories from 1907 and 1908.

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**On 5<sup>th</sup> of October.** The colonel is invited to the Cossacks Regiment which celebrates the patron. I go to Constanța. Russians are everywhere, sedentary and administration officers; many hospitals. The Casino is full with injures. In the evening, the colonel says that we can have 4 days of leave.

**On 6<sup>th</sup> of October**<sup>12</sup>. Very early I leave to Constanța by carriage; Romanian train, Russian train, sanitary train, again Russian train, which leaves me in Târgoviște by night at 12; the town is empty, no light.

**On 7<sup>th</sup> of October.** I stay with mine. My girl hardly comes close to me, because of the beard. I tell them what I have seen.

**On 8<sup>th</sup> of October**<sup>13</sup>. I receive telegram to come back. I suppose that terrible things have happened. I leave in the evening, get in Bucharest at 11 o'clock and I sleep in the waiting room.

**On 9<sup>th</sup> of October.** In the morning at 7, I continue to go, we arrive at Medgidia, we cannot go farther, we sleep in the train.

**On 10<sup>th</sup> of October.** We cannot go farther. The district ran to Hârșova and no one can give any information. In the afternoon Medgidia is bombed and we walk to Tartoman. The field is full with soldiers and carriages. It is heard that Constanța is occupied. We arrive in Tartoman late, we enter in the first house and we beg the Russians to give us some food.

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<sup>12</sup>At 6<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> of October – 8<sup>th</sup>/21<sup>st</sup> of October a strong German – Bulgarian offensive takes place in Dobrogea. The Romanian-Russian front is destroyed.

<sup>13</sup>At 9<sup>th</sup>/22<sup>nd</sup> of October the German – Bulgarian troops occupy Constanța.



1916 - Aspects during the battles from Dobrogea.

## OPINIONS WITH REGARD TO THE BANKS FROM CRAIOVA IN THE YEARS OF GREAT DEPRESSION (1929-1934)

GHIONEA Georgeta \*

**Abstract.** *The period of the great depression (1929-1933/1934) reduced the number of the loan institutions from Craiova. Under the pressure exercised by the crisis, in the banking sector there was necessary to be adopted some measures for defusing the conflicts between creditors and debtors. The measures for the conversion of the agricultural debts, adopted during 1932 and 1934, served this purpose. The number of the small and middle banks decreased, while the role of the great financing institution consolidated, that is the National Bank and a newly founded Bank Superior Council. Affected by the economic crisis and being in the impossibility to restore their credit, according to the law from 1935, a great number of banks from Craiova went into liquidation (Frații Așer Eschenasy Bank, Orient Bank, Bank of Dolj, Semănătorul Bank, Viitorului Bank etc.).*

**Keywords:** *great depression (1929-1934), Craiova, Banks.*

At the end of the First World War, the economy of the countries from Europe knew a powerful economic crisis, characterized through: under-production, pushed to the lack of first necessity objects and agricultural and industrial over-production, followed by unemployment. The great depression from 1929-1933 was a world-wide phenomenon that displayed different aspects, from one country to another. During this period, financial, social, commercial exchanges and production crises manifested simultaneously. If considering its amplitude, intensity and duration, the crisis had an extremely acute character, being manifested through mass dismissals of workers and clerks, wages decreasing, tax raising, worsening of the living standard etc. The years 1929-1933 negatively left their mark on Oltenia too. The depression encompassed almost all the branches from the agricultural sector, where there were registered both reductions of the cultivated land and of production. Without credits and stricken by the high price of the transportation taxes, the industry had its difficult moments during the period of economic crisis. Without the necessary capitals and without the raw material, the metallurgic industry suffered, the tanning industry covered only the local needs, the mills worked to the bad, the furniture factories reduced their production, the cloth and fabric factories ceased their activity and the small units worked only two to three days a week.

At the end of 1929, there were 33 loan institutions in Craiova, among which: The Romanian National Bank Branch, 16 anonymous societies<sup>1</sup>, 9 branch offices and agencies with the main

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\*3<sup>rd</sup> deg. Scientific Researcher, PhD, "C.S. Nicolăescu-Ploșor" Institute for Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities, Craiova, Romanian Academy, getaghionea@yahoo.com.

<sup>1</sup>Bank of Commerce, Frații Popp Bank, Bank of Oltenia, Bank of Craiova, Frații Așer Eschenasy Bank, Creditul Oltean Bank, Agricultural and Commercial Bank, Viitorului Bank, Dacia Bank, Semănătorul Bank, Orient Bank, Bank of Dolj, Renașterea Bank, Bank of Banat, Săteanul Bank, Z. Blaunștein Bank.

quarter in other counties<sup>2</sup>, 6 popular banks<sup>3</sup> and a federal bank<sup>4</sup>. Many of these banks were created after the First World War (Z. Blaunstein Bank, Dacia Bank, Semănătorul Bank, Bank of Dolj, Viitorului Bank, Orient Bank, Renașterea Bank, Agricultural and Commercial Bank etc), in full monetary inflation and had as origin the personal interests of the founders. The clients from the villages, the first ones affected by the effects of the economic crisis, constituted the vast majority from the debtors of these banks, while the other categories (artisans, traders, industrialists) registered a reduced percent. Because they had to handle the requests for refunding the deposits to be turned to account and being in the impossibility to retrieve the credits from the debtors, these banks went into liquidation.

At the end of 1929, the capital of *Bank of Dolj*, was around 10 million lei. The damages, in the first period of the crisis were significant, as a proof being the balance made during 1931, when the bank was registered with a capital of 1.094.000 lei. The administration board, made of: N. D. Mucica, Marin Naiculescu, Dr. N. Strebea, Elizeu Dumitrescu, Petre I. Petrescu, Petrică P. Iamandi, Ion I. Encioiu, D. Manolescu (Plenița), N. G. Mita, Gică Popescu (Ciuperceii Vechi-Dolj County)<sup>5</sup>, decided the suppressing of the society. In 1939, on 27<sup>th</sup> of April, the bank entered into liquidation, Jean Marinescu<sup>6</sup> being appointed liquidator. Similar cases were met at *Orient Bank*, that entered into liquidation, according to the decision of the Bank Superior Council, from 24<sup>th</sup> of February 1934<sup>7</sup>, at *Semănătorul Bank*, put into liquidation through the decision no. 727 from 28<sup>th</sup> October 1934, liquidator being appointed the accounting professor D. Marinescu, *Dacia Bank* and *Viitorului Bank*, both going into liquidation in 1935.

Having their portfolio preponderantly agricultural, the traditional banks from this region also experienced dramatically the years of depression. Hard times endured *The Bank of Commerce* from Craiova, of which agencies (Caracal, Bechet, Drăgășani, Turnu Severin, Tg. Jiu, Corabia, Balș) registered significant loses. The society had to deal the liquidation of Bank of Vânju from Mehedinți County and Banca Jiului<sup>8</sup>, where it was the major stockholder. Altogether, the Factory of fireplaces from Cernele, the property of this bank, ended its activity, the building of the bank being

<sup>2</sup>Bank of Discount, General Romanian Bank, Agricultural Bank, Astra Bank, Stock-exchange Bank, Bank of Romania, State Officials Bank, Commercial Bank, Bank of Cooperative Farmers.

<sup>3</sup>Banul Mărăcine Popular Bank, Credit Popular Bank, Răsăritul Popular Bank, Casa Noastră Popular Bank, Victoria Popular Bank, Craiovița Popular Bank.

<sup>4</sup>Mihai Vitezul Federal Bank.

<sup>5</sup>County Department of the Dolj National Archives, resources Craiova Chamber of Commerce and Industry, file12/1931, f. 54 (is quoted next as: S.J.A.N. Dolj).

<sup>6</sup>*Ibidem*, f. 68.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibidem*, resources 94/1931, f. 13.

<sup>8</sup>Idem, resources Romanian National Bank, Craiova Branch, file 41/1912, f. 30.

rented, from 1935, with 36.000 lei a year<sup>9</sup>. The great depression also affected the activity of Munca Cloth Factory, another property of the bank, the building of this society being also rented, for 300.000 lei a year<sup>10</sup>. In 1932, the administration board of the Bank of Commerce faced a difficult decision: ceasing the shares from the society Steaua Română. On 27<sup>th</sup> of September 1935, the shares entered to the possession on the Romanian Bank and the Romanian Credit Bank from Bucharest<sup>11</sup>.

Significant loses had also *Frații Popp Bank*. If at the beginning of the great depression, it owned a social capital of 9.280.000 lei<sup>12</sup>, after the withdrawal of the deposits, by the end of 1931, it halved. Being in the impossibility to recover the credits from the debtors, but being forced to face deal with the requests for withdrawing the deposits, Frații Popp Bank solicited several loans from the National Bank of Romania, the Branch from Craiova, mortgaging its own building<sup>13</sup>. On 22<sup>nd</sup> of February 1932, the administration council of Frații Popp Bank accepted the proposal for a mortgage to N.B.R. of 1.000 shares from Reșița society, shares with a nominal value of 50.000 lei. The mortgage was for the sum of 1.504.000 lei<sup>14</sup>.

In 1929, *Frații Așer Esckenasy Bank* had on its current account the farmers from Cetate, Brabova, Segarcea and Calafat<sup>15</sup>, to whom it had given short and medium term loans, with a 12% interest a year and a 1% commission<sup>16</sup>. Being in the incapacity to restoring its capital, according to the law of credit from 1935<sup>17</sup>, the Bank Superior Council decided, on 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1937, the liquidation of the society, the Romanian Bank being appointed liquidator<sup>18</sup>.

The great depression did not avoid the activity of the branches from Craiova, with the main quarter in the capital city, some of them recurring to the liquidation of the branches and agencies from the provincial towns. Thus, on 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1933, *The Agricultural Bank* annulled the branch from Craiova<sup>19</sup>. On 28<sup>th</sup> of October, Astra Bank, the branch from Craiova, was proceeded against by the Bank Superior Council, because it infringed the dispositions of art. 21 from the law regarding

<sup>9</sup>Idem, resources Bank of Commerce, file 1/1935, f. 8.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibidem*, file 9/1925-1948, f. 3.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibidem*, file 1/1935, f. 6.

<sup>12</sup>Idem, resources „Frații Popp” Bank, file 160/1932, f. 40.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibidem*, f. 67.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibidem*, file 164/1932, f. 2.

<sup>15</sup>Idem, resources Frații Așer Esckenasy Bank, file 39/1932, f. 20.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibidem*, file 8/1908-1945, f. 8.

<sup>17</sup>On April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1935, *The Law for credit facilitating and changing*, that encouraged the fusion between banks, pronounced in favour for reducing the number of banks from Oltenia. The law established the minimal quote of capital for exercising the bank trade. This varied according to the juridical form of the bank and the importance of the locality, between 5 and 20 million lei. In the same time, there were regulated the types of operations that the banks needed to realize, stipulated the appointing of the leading bodies and were established the norms for managing the banks, the reserve funds etc.

<sup>18</sup>S.J.A.N. Dolj, resources Frații Așer Eschenasy Bank, file 55/1938, f. 1.

<sup>19</sup>Idem, resources Craiova Chamber of Commerce and Industry, file 271/1931, f. 1.

the organization and the regulation of the bank trade because: it did not have a register with the minutes of the Administration Council; it did not communicate to the Bank Superior Council the global wages of the administrations, censors and directors for the years 1934 and 1935; it did not send to the Bank Superior Council the constitutive document, the statutes and the balance for 1933 and the semester balance until 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1934<sup>20</sup>. In consequence, on 28<sup>th</sup> of May 1939, it was put into liquidation.

In full economic crisis were evidenced, through the constant activity, the economic banks from Craiova. Thus, on 30<sup>th</sup> of December 1930, „Învățătorul” Popular Bank from Craiova<sup>21</sup> started its activity, an institution founded by the Associations of the primary school teachers from Dolj. The bank gave short and long term loans, with an interest of at most 6% and a 1% commission. The credits were given for: disease, household repairing, decease, child support in school etc. In 1935, this institution founded a first aid section, called „Binefacerea” that gave upon request, money both to the teachers in activity and to the descendant of a deceased person. The branch of the Cooperative Central Bank also had initiatives. Inaugurated on 4<sup>th</sup> of April 1929, this financially supported the cooperative societies from Dolj County, gave credits and received the deposits to be turned into account. The given loans were meant for the small ploughmen and artisans, for buying seeds, cattle, chemical fertilizers, for sowing, fruit tree planting etc. The loans could not be used to buy land or buildings, but only to improve production<sup>22</sup>. The date of payment was of 6 to 9 months and the interest did not exceed 9.5% a year<sup>23</sup>.

If at the end of 1929, there were 33 local banks, agencies and branches in Craiova, their number reduced, until 1939, because of the great depression and of its effects. Around the unleashing of the Second World War, in our locality were 25 credit institutions, among which: The National Bank of Romania Branch, 9 local banks<sup>24</sup>, 8 branches with the main quarter in Bucharest<sup>25</sup>, 6 popular banks<sup>26</sup> and a federal bank<sup>27</sup>. After 1938, the economic life was influenced by the evolution of the international situation that imposed the reorientation of the external commerce, considering that certain traditional markets for Romania disappeared, the international transports became more difficult and the fortification of the frontiers for defending grew to be imminent.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibidem*, file 144/1931, f. 84.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibidem*, file 414/1931, f. 1.

<sup>22</sup>S.J.A.N. Mehedinți, resources „Albina” Popular Bank, file 3/1937, f. 52.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibidem*, f. 53.

<sup>24</sup>Bank of Commerce, Frații Popp bank, Bank of Oltenia, Bank of Craiova, Creditul Oltean Bank, Agricultural and Commercial Bank, Renașterea Bank, Bank of Banat, Săteanul Bank.

<sup>25</sup>Bank of Discount, State Official Bank, Commercial Bank, Romanian General Bank, Commercial Bank, National Institute of Cooperation.

<sup>26</sup>Banul Mărăcine Popular Bank, Credit Popular Bank, Răsăritul Popular Bank, Casa Noastră Popular Bank, Victoria Popular Bank, Craiovița Popular Bank.

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## MILITARY ALLIANCES OF ROMANIA THROUGHOUT THE YEARS OF THE PEACE TREATIES FROM PARIS

BĂRBIERU Mihaela \*

**Abstract.** *In the period between the two World Wars, Romania and also other small states of Europe, unfavoured by the system of the Peace Treaties from Paris, had to fight for maintaining their territorial status quo. The danger of revising the treaties and also that of communism, fascism and Nazism determined the integration of our country in political and military alliances that had a defensive character. These alliances promoted the peaceful collaboration, the observing of the sovereignty and national dignity and assured the consolidation of their position on international level. To this respect, the most significant step made by Romania was that to become founding member of the League of Nations.*

**Keywords:** *military alliances, aggression, Romania, convention, states.*

At the end of the World War I, the political and military situation of Romania was different from the one before the war. The fact that its neighbours had changed, influenced both the internal situation and the position in the area of the Romanian state. Instead of the two great multinational empires that it had had as neighbours before the war, there appeared new national states with interests similar to those of the Romanian state and also the Soviet Russia. This inaugurated a new form of political regime and a new policy in the international relations<sup>1</sup>. Romania was in an even more difficult situation than in its past, having its frontiers menaced by the surrounding states: “This threat was due either to the retaliation coming from Hungary and Bulgaria that could not accept their depriving of some territories that they had own, or because of the propaganda tendency sustained by the Bolshevik regime that wished to spread its influence as much as possible to the west”<sup>2</sup>.

The acknowledgement of Romania in its natural borders as an independent state, by the Peace Conference from Paris and by the state members of the League of Nations constituted the juridical instrument of organization and internal political and economic consolidation for its international recognition, as part to the elaboration of peace treaties and agreements that had as objective the attainment of the security systems from the European area where it was situated. The security system in the centre and south of Europe was based on the bilateral agreements with France, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, on zone groups as the Little Entente and, later, the Balkan Pact, based on the activity of the League of Nations.

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\*PhD, Sci. Researcher III, “C.S.Nicolăescu-Plopșor” Institute for Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities, Craiova, Romanian Academy, e-mail address *miha\_barbieru@yahoo.com*.

<sup>1</sup>See Dumitru Tuțu, *Alianțe militare ale României (1921-1939)*, in „Probleme de politică externă ale României. 1918-1940. Culegere de studii”, vol. II, Editura Militară, Bucharest, 1977, p. 108; Gheorghe Zaharia, *Considerații asupra politicii externe a României (1919-1929)*, in „Probleme de politică externă ale României. 1919-1939”, Editura Militară, Bucharest, 1971, p. 17-46.

<sup>2</sup>Cited Romanian Academy, *Istoria românilor. România întregită (1918-1940)*, vol. VIII, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 2003, p. 432; Romanian Military Archives (cited next as RMA), fund 948, section 3, file 406, f. 175.

As far back as during the preliminary discussions of the Peace Conference, there were begun the discussions for constituting the Little Entente. Concomitantly, there was desired the fulfilment of an older idea, that of making a *Danubian confederation*. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Romania initiated the creation of the central-European states organization, to which Poland and Greece to participate, considering that only this way could be reinforced the resistance capacity of the small states and could be imposed the observing of the peace treaties<sup>3</sup>. Nonetheless, the international situation got complicated because of the Soviet-Polish war. France militated for the organization of the states from the Danubian area in the same time with the constituting of a “containment” around the Bolshevik Russia. The General Staff, after a pertinent analysis of “the available war potential that each of the hostile neighbouring states of Romania had”<sup>4</sup>, reached the conclusion that: “the most dangerous adversary for us was Russia. It could act alone, finding in the situation to lead an operation with its own resources, while Hungary and Bulgaria could act only guarded by alliances, being in an inferior position as confronted to Romania, even if it could have not benefited by the conventions with Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia”<sup>5</sup>.

In order to get through the danger “that was emerging, its main rivals being defeated, the situation in which Romania was from the military point of view”<sup>6</sup>, during 1920-1922, there were concluded numerous bilateral conventions: between Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (14<sup>th</sup> of August 1920), between Romania and Czechoslovakia (23<sup>rd</sup> of April 1921), between Romania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (7<sup>th</sup> of June 1921). On 2<sup>nd</sup> of July 1921, at Prague, the Kingdom of Romania signed a military convention with the Czechoslovak Republic. The two states undertake to offer each other military assistance “in the event that one state or another was attacked without provoking by Hungary”<sup>7</sup>. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of January 1922, at Belgrade, there was signed a military convention between Romania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes through which it was expected that the two states to offer reciprocal military assistance if they were unprovokably attacked by Hungary and Bulgaria<sup>8</sup>. After the signing, on 23<sup>rd</sup> of April 1921 of the *Romanian-Czechoslovak Defensive Alliance Convention* by Take Ionescu, the minister of Foreign Affairs and Ferdinand Veverka, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary minister of Czechoslovak Republic at Bucharest, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 1921, it came to the concluding of the *Alliance Convention between Romania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and*

<sup>3</sup>Memorandum from the 19<sup>th</sup> of August 1920, Bucharest (not signed).

<sup>4</sup>*Istoria românilor*, ... , p. 432.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibidem*.

<sup>6</sup>Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, *România după Marea Unire, 1918-1933*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, Bucharest, 1986, p. 1009.

<sup>7</sup>RMA, file 63, f. 78.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibidem*.

*Slovenes*. Starting with the end of April 1921, Pašić had expressed his desire to organize at Belgrade a meeting between the representatives of the two countries<sup>9</sup>. Belgrade and Bucharest debated repeatedly until they reach to the signing of the *Defensive Alliance Convention*, by Take Ionescu și Nicola Pašić<sup>10</sup>. The Convention was almost identical to that signed between Romania and Czechoslovakia, but, moreover, it stipulated the obligation of the signers to offer support to each other in the event of an aggression from Bulgaria. Protocol B, annexed to the Alliance Convention stipulated that “if one of the parties would have to defend itself against the aggression coming from another state not mentioned in the present Convention, the other part engages not only to notice the most favourable neutrality, but also to provide, all the facilities according to the political possibilities and stipulated in the Military Convention”<sup>11</sup>.

The political factors from Romania considered that, after the concluding of the Alliance with Yugoslavia, a great measure was taken. It was therefore fulfilled the staged plan made by Take Ionescu. In the memorandum from the 12<sup>th</sup> of June 1921, Take Ionescu informed accordingly the Romanian diplomats accredited in different states, giving in the same time instructions that “the relations with the representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to be those existent between allies”<sup>12</sup>.

The conventions and the treaties concluded between Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia represented a defensive common alliance, made through bilateral treaties in favour of the *status quo*, “in order to protect them together against the exertion of pressure that came from the states that were claiming the revision of the peace treaties”<sup>13</sup>.

The treaties of the Little Entente expressed vital national interests for the defending of the territorial independence and integrity, a new historic experience at the European level. The

<sup>9</sup>The Archives of the Romanian External Affairs Ministry (next cited as AREAM), file 19, the telegram from the 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1921 to the legation from Prague, f. 39.

<sup>10</sup>Art.1. In case of an unprovoked attack from Hungary and Bulgaria against one of the High Contracting Parties, the other part shall come to aid of the attacked part in the way determined though the agreement stipulated in art. 2 of the present convention.

Art.2. The competent technical authorities of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovans shall decide by mutual agreement on the necessary measures to give effect to this Treaty through a military convention that shall be concluded later.

Art.3. Neither Contracting Party shall enter into alliance with a third State before notifying the other Party to the Treaty to that effect.

Art.4. In order to coordinate their peaceful actions, both governments undertake to hold mutual consultations regarding the external affairs issues that are related to Hungary and Bulgaria.

Art.5. The present Treaty shall be valid for a period of two years counting from the date of its ratification. Upon the expiry of this period each Contracting Party may cancel it. It shall continue in force for a period of six months following the notice of cancellation.

Art.6. The present Convention shall be notified to the League of Nations according to The Pact... („The Official Gazette” no.77/10<sup>th</sup> of July 1921, p. 2881).

<sup>11</sup>AREAM, fund C. 93, Romanian-Yugoslavian relations, file 79, f. 63.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibidem*, fund C.19, Romanian-Czechoslovakian relations, file 19, f. 43.

<sup>13</sup>Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, *op. cit.*, p. 1015.

governments of the three countries would take common actions for creating a peaceful international climate “for the consolidation of the international peace and security, for counteracting the fascism and revisionism that menaced their integrity and independence”<sup>14</sup>. Protocol B, an integrant part of the Convention, represented an extra security measure “for two states whose external policy competed to the building of a regional security system, for defending their national frontiers”<sup>15</sup>. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of January 1922, the generals Constantin Cristescu and Nicola Pašić signed at Belgrade the *Military Convention between the Romanian Kingdom and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes*. The technical commissions stipulated four acting variants. The first option was referring to a possible aggression of Hungary against one of the two “Contracting Parts”. At the governmental request of the country “subjected to aggression”, the unattacked state had to decree the army mobilization in 48 hours “and gathered its military forces so that in 20 days to be able to join the attacked ally”. According to the decision of the Technical Commissions, “the minimal quantum of the intervention forces was established to six infantry divisions and a cavalry division (72 battalions, 90 batteries, 24 squadrons) and 30 planes”. For the Romanian army, the concentration area was established at Arad, and for the Yugoslavian forces in the region between Danube and Tisa. The second variant was considering an attack coming from Bulgaria. “The technical details for assistance were identical with the first case”. The area delimited by the rivers Olt and Jiu was representing the concentration territory of the Romanian army. The Yugoslavian army was supposed to shift on the direction Niš-Pirot. The third variant was referring to an eventual combined attack from both of the revisionist states (Hungary and Bulgaria), “the unattacked state was to decree the general mobilization and to attack with the majority of its forces the aggressor that the two supreme commandments had previously established”. The technical commissions made of military representatives saw as possible a simultaneous attack of the both states, “regarded as potential conflict factors”. The “issue of the superior leadership” was outstanding, until a special agreement was to be regulated. The forth variant of conflict stipulated into the convention was that Romania would be at war with any other state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes being obliged to allow the crossing and to facilitate the war materials for Romania. In conditions of reciprocity, Romania pledged to do the same if the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had been in a similar situation.

The Military Convention also stipulated the possibilities of material exchanges and supplying and, in the same time, the transit of the war materials in case of armed conflict. These provisions were similar to those from the Military Convention between Romania and

<sup>14</sup>*Istoria militară a poporului român*, vol. VI, Bucharest, Editura Militară, 1989, p. 82.

<sup>15</sup>*Istoria românilor*,..., p. 437.

Czechoslovakia<sup>16</sup>.

To the discussions during the meetings preliminary to the Peace Conference, Take Ionescu notified the fact “that all the divergences that might appear between us, had to be regarded with the friendliness appropriate for the situation of allies who desire a good relation”<sup>17</sup>.

After the journey of Take Ionescu to some European countries, including Poland, and after the attempt to solve through talks the litigation between Poland and Czechoslovakia, the negotiations regarding the plan of organization for the Little Entente in five, realized on stages, gained new promising formulas. A first stage was supposed to be the Romanian-Polish Alliance<sup>18</sup>. Until 1921, the Romanian government hesitated to conclude any treaty with Poland, for fear of not drawing Russia’s aversion, with which the first country was at war. The closeness between the two countries was possible as a sequence of Poland’s unease that the Romanian-Soviet treaties carried on in that moment, not to be finalized thorough the concluding of a bilateral alliance treaty and for Romania’s fearing of a possible Polish-Hungarian closeness. Another target aimed through the signing of the Romanian-Polish alliance treaty was “to bring Poland on the field of closeness and collaboration with the states of the Little Entente, and actually wishing for the drawing of this country into the new anti-revisionist organization from the centre of Europe”<sup>19</sup>.

The problem of realizing “*the alliance of the five*” interested both France and England. Great Britain expressed its agreement for the project of the Little Entente, with some reservations regarding Poland. In its turn, Italy spoke for the concluding of this alliance, considering that “the project served Italy’s interests too”<sup>20</sup>.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of February 1921, Take Ionescu informed the Romanian representatives in the European capitals and not only, on addressing the decision made by the governments from Warsaw and Bucharest, that the treaty between Romania and Poland “to guarantee the eastern frontiers of both countries”<sup>21</sup>. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1921 was signed, at Bucharest, the *Defensive Alliance Convention between the Romanian Kingdom and the Republic of Poland*, by the ministers of external affairs, Take Ionescu and the Prince Eustachy Sapieha, according to the decision of “the

<sup>16</sup>See *Istoria românilor*, ... , p. 437.

<sup>17</sup>Ștefan Osusky, *Origines historiques de la Petite Entente*, in „Dictionnaire diplomatique, sous la direction de Frangoulis”, Editon de l’Academie diplomatique et internationale, Paris, f.a., p. 396.

<sup>18</sup>In July 1919 there were established the diplomatic relations between Romania and Poland that had been recognized as a state by Germany since 1918 and by the other Powers during 1919. See *Reprezentanțele diplomatice ale României*, vol. II, Editura Politică, Bucharest, 1971, p. 140-141.

<sup>19</sup>Dumitru Tuțu, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>20</sup>Apud Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, *op. cit.*, p. 1010.

<sup>21</sup>Eliza Campus, *Mica Înfelegere*, Editura Științifică, București, 1968, p. 44 (the telegram 2910 from the 26<sup>th</sup> of September 1920, from the legation situated in Rome, signed by Take Ionescu).

Republic of Poland's leader and His Majesty, the King of Romania"<sup>22</sup>. In the same time, the General Constantin Cristescu and the general Rozwadowski, the chiefs of the General Staffs of the two armies, signed the *Military Convention*. The both documents were ratified on the 25<sup>th</sup> of July 1921, being renewed in 1926. According to the stipulations of art. 1 from the Political Convention, Romania and Poland, "undertook to offer mutual help in case one of them had been attacked without provoking, at the common frontiers from East", circumstances in which the other part started to consider itself at war and was obliged to offer "armed assistance". In the other seven articles, was mentioned the necessity for concluding military conventions, the duration of the convention on five years, "starting from its signing", the obligation that neither of the contracting parties "to treat or conclude any armistice, or peace, one without the other", that none of "the Great Powers was to conclude an alliance with a third Great Power without the previous treating with the other party", the recognition by the Polish government of the validity of Trianon and Neuilly Treaties, and by the Romanian government of the validity of the Poland's agreements with the French Republic etc. The treaty also included the specification though which the two parties engaged to communicate to "the League of Nations, according to the Treaty of Versailles", the content of the entire engagement. To the Conventions, there were attached protocols A, B, C and a statement from the 25<sup>th</sup> of July 1921. In article 4 from Protocol C, it was stipulated that the two governments should study "together the means in which could obtain a defensive alliance with the neighbouring states" that had signed the Treaties from Versailles, Trianon and Neuilly, for a reciprocal guarantee "against any aggression". A secret provision (point 1 from the secret protocol B) obliged the two states to keep a secret the text of the treaty "as long as the Polish-Soviet Peace Treaty was not signed"<sup>23</sup>. 15 days after the signing of the Polish Romanian Treaty, was also signed the Treaty from Riga between Poland and the Soviet Russia (18<sup>th</sup> of March 1921). Another provision introduced in order to prevent a potential collaboration between Poland and Hungary, a country whose powerful revisionist tendencies the Romanian government feared of, stipulated that "neither of the contracting parties could conclude any alliances with the Central Powers without the accord of the other party"<sup>24</sup>.

The Romanian-Polish Military Convention, an integrant part of the Political Convention, signed by the generals Constantin Cristescu and Tadeusz Rozwadowski, provided the defensive means for the guarantee of the eastern frontiers of the both sides, specifying "all the measures that

<sup>22</sup>The Official Gazette no 89 from the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 1921; Petre Bărbulescu, Ionel Cloșcă, *Repere de cronologie internațională. 1914-1945*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, Bucharest, 1982, p. 200-201.

<sup>23</sup>RMA, fund 71/Poland, file 64, f. 11. The secret protocol annexed to the Defensive Alliance Convention between the Republic of Poland and the Romanian Kingdom from the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1921.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibidem*.

were to be initiated if the territories of the two states, separately or concomitantly, were to suffer aggression coming from the eastern areas”<sup>25</sup>. Art. 1 of the Military Convention stipulated that: “Should one of the contracting states be attacked under the circumstances of a *casus foederis*, according to the stipulations of the political convention concluded between the two states, the unattacked state would have been obliged to decree immediate mobilization, in the same extent as an attacked state”<sup>26</sup>. Subsequent to other treaties from the summer of 1922, after a memorial addressed to the Romanian General Staff by the military attaché of Poland at Bucharest, through which was evidenced the necessity of fulfilling the military convention, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of September in the same year, it was signed another Polish-Romanian defensive military convention that annulled the one from the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1921. The purpose of signing the second convention results from art. 1 of it that stipulated that if the states had been attacked, the unattacked state engaged to immediately wage war against<sup>27</sup>.

For each country, in relation with its own aggressions, there was provisioned, “the quantum of the operative troops: 14 regular infantry divisions, on four infantry regiments and two artillery ones, and 2 cavalry divisions that were to be concentrated in 18-24 days from the decreeing on mobilization”<sup>28</sup>. The Romanian point of view regarding the commanding said that “every army was to act under its own leadership” and “in the event that the strategic situation demanded that units from one army to operate in the other areas, they were placed under the commanding of the last one”<sup>29</sup>. Subsequently, there was stipulated that “the communication between the two General Staffs to be under the supervision of certain departments meant to ease the contact and the common making of decisions”<sup>30</sup>.

As in the case of other small states that had been disadvantaged during the Peace Treaties from Paris by the Great Powers of Entente, being obliged to fight for the defending and promoting of their sovereign rights, Romania’s territorial *status quo* was further on menaced by the early emerging of the defeated states’ revanchist policy. The danger constituted by the revision of the treaties, the threat of communism, fascism and Nazism and, naturally, “the orders of our national unity”<sup>31</sup>, determined the integration of Romania in defensive political and military alliances that

<sup>25</sup>*Istoria românilor*, ..., p. 434.

<sup>26</sup>RMA, SIII, file 39/1938. Defensive Alliance Convention between the Romanian Kingdom and the Republic of Poland. Also see AREAM, fund 71/Poland, file 65, f. 268.

<sup>27</sup>AREAM, fund 71/Poland, file 65, f. 57. The Military Convention between the Romanian Kingdom and the Republic of Poland from the 16<sup>th</sup> of September 1922.

<sup>28</sup>*Istoria românilor*, ..., p. 434.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibidem*.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibidem*.

<sup>31</sup>Nicolae Titulescu, *Discursuri*, Editura Științifică, Bucharest, 1967, p. 407.

promoted the peaceful collaboration, the observing of the national sovereignty and dignity and that were able to provide for it the consolidation of its international situation. Altogether, the Balkan states felt the urge to establish tighter connections between them for diminishing the degree of dependence towards the Great Powers and for preserving their territorial integrity.

The most important step taken by Romania in this direction was that to become a founding member of the League of Nations, an organization whose declared purpose in its constitutive document was “to defend and protect against any external aggression, the territorial integrity and the political independency of all the members”<sup>32</sup>. Joining the great winning western Powers from World War I – England and France – Romania militated, through its entire diplomatic activity, for the concluding of defensive political and military alliances with the purpose of consolidating its state unity and keeping the territorial integrity, as against any aggressor.

Even though, as the great diplomat Nicolae Titulescu mentioned, the external policy of Romania “is dominated by the perfect concordance that exists between the Romanian interests and the European interests... Romania is eager for peace, as almost all the nations that had been subjected to the world war... but there is no peace without an international order and there cannot be order without an absolute trust in its steadiness”<sup>33</sup>, the concluding of a system of solid and secure alliances with other states, faced many obstacles due to the divergent interest of its possible allies.

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<sup>32</sup>N. Dașcovici, *Interesele și drepturile României în texte de drept internațional public*, Iași, 1936, p. 55-56.

<sup>33</sup>Nicolae Titulescu, *Documente diplomatice*, Bucharest, Editura Politică, 1967, p. 295.

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## GUARD OF THE MOTHERLAND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZED PROPAGANDA: OLT COUNTY (1938-1940)\*

PĂUNOIU Diana-Mihaela\*\*

**Abstract.** *Our study is divided in two main parts, built around a common idea: formation of the youth, in the institutionalized frame of the Guardians of the Motherland, in the direction of learning by them the ideology of the monarchic authority regime, and also to be included inside a social-politic ritual, that symbolized, in the conception of carlist's protagonists, the united "front" of the nation around her leader, King Carol II. In the first part, are being analysed the main modification introduced with the law of organisation and functionality of the Guardian of the Motherland, from 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1938, and are highlighted those activities from the guardian's programme dedicated to learning and practicing a special ceremony, meant to induce in youth's conscious the filling of national solidarity and devotion towards King and motherland. The second part of the study analyse one of the main propagandistic instrument of the new regime: sending into public space the guardian's ceremony as integrated part of the socio-politic ritual, staged with the occasion of great national holidays, our analyse being fixed on the festive events that took place in Olt County.*

**Keywords:** *Guardian of the Motherland, propaganda, Olt County, solidarity, King Carol II.*

The authority regime of King Carol II, that happened between 10/11<sup>th</sup> of February 1938 and 6<sup>th</sup> of September 1940, meant the end of traditional democracy and was characterized by a series of political, social, economic and cultural measures and reforms that targeted, next to the transformations on institutional level, restructuring the society on new bases.

In "the new state", the central power, the summation of law – executive – judiciary trio, became the privilege of "the head of state" – the King – by emptying the content of the 3 fundamental institutions: the Parliament, the Government and the judiciary power<sup>1</sup>. More than that, the press, considered to be the 4<sup>th</sup> power in the state, became the subject, even from 10/11<sup>th</sup> of February 1938, to an excessive censorship<sup>2</sup>. The traditional multi-party system, incompatible with authority monarchy, was replaced with mono-party system, by creation, on 16<sup>th</sup> of December 1938, of the first unique party in national history, National Renaissance Front<sup>3</sup>.

Romanian citizens "received", with the passing, on 27<sup>th</sup> of February 1938, of the "King Carol II" Constitution, clearly defined obligations, while their rights have diminished. On the base

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\*\*Researcher PhD, Romanian Academy, "C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor" Institute for Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities, Craiova, Department of Archaeology and History; email: dianamihaelapaunoiu@yahoo.com.

<sup>1</sup>*Constituțiunea Regele Carol [al] II [lea]. Promulgată prin Înalt Decret Regal Nr. 1045 din 27 Februarie 1938. Publicată în „Monitorul Oficial” Nr. 48 din 27 Februarie 1938*, Edited exclusively by "Liga pentru Unitatea Culturală a tuturor Românilor" (League for Cultural Unit of the All the Romanian), f. l., 1938, p. 15 (following, will be quote: *Constituțiunea Regele Carol [al] II [lea] ...*); Ioan Stanomir, *Libertate, lege și drept. O istorie a constituționalismului românesc*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2005, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup>„Monitorul Oficial”, part I, year CVI, No. 34, 11<sup>th</sup> of February 1938, p. 802.

<sup>3</sup>Armand Călinescu, *Noul regim: cuvântări 1938-1939*, Edition 2<sup>nd</sup>, București, Editura DoMinor, 2003, p. 97.

of citizen's duties and rights was set the principle of the social solidarity, proclaimed in the detriment of individualism. The Romanian citizens became, first of all, "social functionaries"<sup>4</sup>, that owed all to the *motherland* and, implicitly, to the King, that is the vision of the article 4 from the new Constitution:

"All Romanians without distinction of ethnic origin and religion have to: see the Motherland as the most important goal of their life, sacrifice to defend her integrity, independence and dignity; contribute thru their work at her morale ascension and economic development; fulfil with faith the public tasks, without witch the State cannot live on"<sup>5</sup>.

The doctrinaires of the regime considered that article 4 from the carlist Constitution contained "the essence of national ideal", that all citizens had the duty to learn it. In the same time, they spread the idea that, for achievement of "the ideal" proclaimed by the Constitution, was necessary "to form first a *new mentality*, [and] a united spirituality, a union of conceptions in administration of general interests"<sup>6</sup>.

To achieve the principle of social/community solidarity, and also other principles written in the Constitution, special structures have been created and old ones have been reformed, amongst these being: The Guardians of the Motherland, Social Service and cultural community homes, National Renaissance Front and its annex formation, the National Guard, and also guilds of workers, private functionaries and skilled workers. Not the last, on 3<sup>rd</sup> of October 3, 1939, the Ministry of National Propaganda was set up<sup>7</sup>. The coordinated activity of all these services/institutions had as main task "integration of ideology" of the new regime in the conscious of the citizens<sup>8</sup>.

In this context, institutions and propaganda represented, next to the censorship of the communication means and the advantages of the siege state, two important instruments for achieving of the objective that targeted the creation of a new Romanian society. All state's institutions have been placed in the service of promoting the carlist ideology and sustaining the new

<sup>4</sup>Paul Negulescu, *Principiile fundamentale ale Constituției din 27 februarie 1938*, București, Atelierele Zanet Corlăteanu, 1938, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup>*Constituțiunea Regele Carol [al] II [lea]*, ..., p. 10.

<sup>6</sup>Paul Negulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>7</sup>*Codul general al României 1856-1940*, vol. XXVII, *Coduri, legi, decrete-legi și regulamente cuprinzând a treia parte din legislațiunea anului 1939*, part III, Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeria Statului, Imprimeria Centrală, București, 1940, p. 2275.

<sup>8</sup>Paul Negulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

regime. “the moral recovery of the nation”, expression that became the motto of the official propaganda, targeted all social segments from youth up to adult population.

Starting with this context, our study is divided in two main parts, built around a common idea: formation of the youth, in the institutionalized frame of the Guardians of the Motherland, in the direction of learning by them the ideology of the monarchic authority regime, and also to be included inside a social-politic ritual, that symbolized, in the conception of carlist’s protagonists, the united “front” of the nation around her leader, King Carol II. In the first part, are being analysed the main modification introduced with the law of organisation and functionality of the Guardian of the Motherland, from 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1938, and are highlighted those activities from the guardian’s programme dedicated to learning and practicing a special ceremony, meant to induce in youth’s conscious the filling of national solidarity and devotion towards King and motherland. The second part of the study analyse one of the main propagandistic instrument of the new regime: sending into public space the guardian’s ceremony as integrated part of the socio-politic ritual, staged with the occasion of great national holidays, our analyse being fixed on the festive events that took place in Olt County.

Guardian of the Motherland, autonomy state’s institution, with legal personality, was set up on 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1937, having as purpose the moral, social, national and physic education, that was compulsory for youth of both sexes, with ages between 7 and 18, for boys, and 7 to 21, for girls<sup>9</sup>.

On 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1938, thru law for organisation and functionality of the Guardians of the Motherland, this institution was “reformed”<sup>10</sup> based on the same principle as the constitutional one: generation of power from top to bottom. The main role came to the King Carol II, the supreme commander – “The Great Guardian of the Country”, that was assisted by the Superior Council of guidance with a consultative role. The effective leadership, administration, control and guidance of the Guardians of the Motherland was done by the commander of the Guard, which was appointed or revoked by the King.

The Guardians of the Motherland continued to be a state institution, with fully autonomy, with legal personality and its own patrimony. If in 1937, was specified that Guardians of the Motherland was set up “for study, guidance and application of education, and also for guidance, coordination and control of the activities of all state and private institutions, that have as purpose youth’s education or have direct or indirect contact with this problem”, in the decree-law from 1938, was stipulated the monopoly of the Guardians of the Motherland over the education of youth

<sup>9</sup> „Monitorul Oficial”, part I, year 105, No. 232, 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1937, p. 8190-8192.

<sup>10</sup> „Monitorul Oficial”, part I, year CVI, No. 292, 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1938, p. 5942-5947.

with ages between 7-18/21. That, according to article 3, will have to be organized only in guardians units, any other youth organisations being forbidden in Romania.

There will be introduced the mandatory action of taking the oath of faith towards the King, Country and the Guardians of the Motherland for guardians with age over 21, the guardians and commanders, and also for the members of leadership committees of the organisations under the control of Guardians of the Motherland<sup>11</sup>; the mandatory action of taking the promise oath for guardians with ages before 14 and taking the pledge for guardians age between 14 and 21. The formula for the oath of faith towards the King, Country and the Guard of the Motherland mentioned in the decree – law was: “I swear allegiance to my King Carol II; / I swear love and sacrifice to my Country and Romanian Kind; / I swear listening and obedience to the Guard of the Country; / So help me God!”. The formulas for the promise oath and the pledge will be established by the Commandment of the Guard of the Motherland.

Also, the Guard of the Motherland supervised the nourishment and hygiene of the youth, in coordination with interested departments, and in collaboration with Social Service will elaborate and execute the programme for social work in community’s interest for youth, according to age, capacity, physical constitution, training, competence and the specific of the area where that social programme was deployed.

In the vision of the protagonists of the monarchic authority regime, The Guard of the Motherland represented the main institution complementary to the school, which targeted the education of youth. While the school contributed to formation of the personality by contact with cultural values, enriching the knowledge, developing intelligence, understanding the things and life, the Guard had as objectives development of the national solidarity spirit, doing practical things, development of the will, perseverance and formation of the youth’s “soul”<sup>12</sup>. The coordinated activity of the two institutions had to have as overall objective imposing some new behaviour role models and formation of new mentalities in the youngster’s ranks so that the end result will be the creation of a “new man”, of some citizens in the way stated by the Constitution, loyal to the Country and King, that will ensure in the future the persistence of the regime<sup>13</sup>.

The Guard had to capture the entire energy of the youth and channel it towards actions of national and social interest, the main points of the guardian’s programme were: Christian-Orthodox

<sup>11</sup>Organisations under the control of the Guard of the Motherland were: Union of Sports Federations from Romania, The sportive Federations in the Country, Association of Romanian Archers, Association Carpathian’s Hawk, The Christian Association of Youth and Christian association of Women.

<sup>12</sup>C[onstantin] I. Băicoianu, *Studii economice, politice și sociale 1898 – 1941*, București, 1941, p. 838-839.

<sup>13</sup>Department Dolj County of the National Archive (following, will be quote: D.C.N.A., Dolj), fund Rezidența Regală a Ținutului Olt, Administrative Service, File No. 38/1938, f. 40.

religion, the cult for traditions, for the actions of heroes, for the Motherland, flag and King. The guardian's motto: "Faith and work for Country and King"<sup>14</sup>. The guardian's activities pursued also the development of "a high social conception", which will have as fundament: work for development of Romanian village, camaraderie, civic devotion, deep respect for public goods, for village's dignitaries, priests, scholars and village elders. In the same time, the guardian's programme had to deliver "a change of the way to be of the children: will teach them an ordinate life, will develop their discipline of mind, and will harden their bodies". Putting into practice of the guardian's doctrine had to bring, in the end, the birth "of the new man – the heroic man of tomorrow's Romania"<sup>15</sup>.

An important documentary material to analyse "the educational process" (with its moral, national-patriotic, social and physical dimensions) done in the Guard, is represented by the programme and instructions issued by the Guard of the Motherland for the year 1939-1940 (for the period between 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1939 and 31<sup>st</sup> of August 1940)<sup>16</sup>. These, extremely detailed and valid for the entire country, including Olt County, had numerous aspects, some of them being: the ceremony for lifting and taking down the national flag (pavilion); attributions of the commander and the units on duty; the activity of the nest at home; dividing and organisation of the guardian's meetings on trimesters; various details regarding the activity during a guardian's meeting (recreation, gathering and report, starting of the work ceremony, matters of hygiene and first aid, national songs and dances, physical education – gymnastic, games, sport, practice of the marches and parades etc.); psychic training; instructions for the main activities from guardians meetings for that year (passive defence, social assistance, traffic signs and rules, agricultural activities, care for the animals and birds, gathering and preservation of vegetables and fruits, economical advises, various house activities – manual labour, kitchen; work in the city/village, excursions and visits, contests, camps and guardians colonies, customs and folklore, national and guardian's holidays, Week of the Guardians).

From the diversity of the guardian's activities for our article are relevant the ones destined to create the sentiment of national and social solidarity, discipline, love and devotion for country and King and, in the same time, to create a social ritual that, corroborated with the one imposed to the adult social categories and transposes into public space, to give local communities or national

<sup>14</sup> „Monitorul Oficial”, part I, No. 292, 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1938, p. 5942.

<sup>15</sup> *Enciclopedia României*, vol. I, *Statul*, coordinators: Dimitrie Gusti, Constantin Orghidan, Mircea Vulcănescu, Virgiliu Leonte, Edition I, București, Imprimeria Națională, 1938, p. 489 (following, will be quote: *Enciclopedia României*, vol. I, *Statul*, ...).

<sup>16</sup> *Straja Țării*, Direcția Îndrumării, *Program și instrucțiuni 1 septembrie 1939 – 31 august 1940*, f.l., Vreamea, 1939 (following, will be quote: *Straja Țării*, Direcția Îndrumării, *Program și instrucțiuni 1 septembrie 1939 – 31 august 1940*, ...).

community, the image of united “front” around the Dynasty, loyal to the authority regime of King Carol II. In this sense, we chose to analyse 3 types of guardian activities: the activity of the nest at home; the ceremony for lifting and taking down the national flag/pavilion and preparing for participation at national/local festivities (great national holidays, Royal Family’s anniversaries and main religious holidays).

According to the law of organisation and functionality of the Guard of the Motherland from 1938 (art. 26), The Guard of the Motherland was the one that will ensure “the unity in mind, filling and action of the guardian movement”, and the secret was, in the conception of the protagonists, the cellular type system used as a base for organisation<sup>17</sup>.

“*The activity of the nest at home*” was considered by the promoters of the carlist regime to be essential for the entire youth movement. The nest (formed out of 6 guardians) was the smallest unit in the hierarchy of guardian’s organisation but, in the same time, was considered to be the most important, and regarded as “the smallest cell of social solidarity”<sup>18</sup> or “the small cell of synchronizing the individual with collective interest”<sup>19</sup>. It was considered that, if “workshop of labour” was well organized, the entire assembly will work well<sup>20</sup>. In other words, if the spirit of social solidarity was “correctly” formed inside the cell, the carlist protagonists had the conviction that this spirit will extend at the level of the entire nation:

„We want to create a spirit that, from the cell’s solidarity will become a filling of national solidarity; from the pride sentiment of the small units, to the pride sentiment of the Kind”<sup>21</sup>.

In this context, in the programme done by Guidance Direction from the Guard of the Motherland for the year 1939-1940, it is recommended that the activity of the nest at home will be encouraged and monitored by the proper persons. These meetings will be organized, by rotation, at the houses of every member, in the spare time during the week, in the holidays, in vacations and

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<sup>17</sup>The Guardian units where organized in: Phalanx (The Guardian male’s Phalanx and the Guardian Female’s Phalanx), counties (10 counties matching, territorial speaking, to the administrative – territorial units created on 14<sup>th</sup> of August, 1938), legions (had under the control all guardian units in the county), cohorts (had under the control all guardian units from a city or community), *stol* (a *stol* had under control all youth grouped in a institution, school, plant, factories etc.) and centuries (a century was for a class in the school), and under units in groups (one group had 2 up to 4 nests), nests (one nest had 6 guardians and had 2 small nests) and small nests (one nest had 3 guardians), “Monitorul Oficial”, part I, No. 292, 15<sup>th</sup> of December, 1938, p. 5944.

<sup>18</sup>Straja Țării, Direcția Îndrumării, *Program și instrucțiuni 1 septembrie 1939 – 31 august 1940*, ..., p. 21.

<sup>19</sup>*Enciclopedia României*, vol. I, *Statul*, ..., p. 488.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibidem*.

<sup>21</sup>Straja Țării, Direcția Îndrumării, *Program și instrucțiuni 1 septembrie 1939 – 31 august 1940*, ..., p. 21.

even in some hours from the day reserved for the guardians meetings. In these meetings, the guardians could have the following activities: preparing the school lessons, lectures and comments on the “useful” books, preparing the celebrations, games, sports, guardian assistance works, visit of a museum, doing a trip etc.<sup>22</sup>

Very important was the ritual from the beginning and the end of each meeting. This way, the nest meeting started with the sign of the Holy Cross and expression “God Help”, then the guardian’s Motto: “Faith and work for Country and King” and the Creed. The Creed formula was:

„I believe in God and the Church of my ancestors. I believe in the Country’s King, The Great Guardian, [and] the ruler of the faith of Romanian people. I believe in work and sacrifice, devoting my entire being for the elevation and prosperity of the Motherland. I believe in the Guard of the Motherland, the warrant for the unity of our kind, borders and Romanian soul”<sup>23</sup>.

The end of every nest meeting was: the head of nest said the formula “Our thoughts are always with M.S. The King, Our Great Guardian. Long Live!”, and the rest of the members, standing in attention position, shouted “Hooray!” 3 times<sup>24</sup>.

*Lifting and taking down the national flag* represented another point from the guardian’s programme, important for practicing a pre-established pattern by the authorities that was done in a wide frame (in guardian stols, cohorts, camps or colonies etc.).

The *ceremony for lifting the national pavilion* had 8 stages with the following succession: gathering in square; report; royal anthem, intonated in the same time with lifting the flag; the orthodox prayer: “The Lord’s Prayer” (intonated by everyone present, but said out loud by the guardians that belonged to unorthodox confessions); the biblical text (a short verse of more from the bible, that has a whole idea, read by a priest of another person appointed before, without being interpreted); the Motto and Creed (having identical formulas with the ones from the nest’s activity); guardians anthem (during the intonation of that one the assistance and the guardian unit, standing in the attention position, had to look at the national flag) and the commander’s speech<sup>25</sup>.

According to the instructions of Guidance Direction within Guard of the Motherland, the Motto and the Creed had to be spoken in a specific way: “The Motto and Creed will be spoken out loud, rare, explicit and with accent on the words in such way that, every time will produce powerful

<sup>22</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 21-22.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 10.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 22.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 4.

effects”<sup>26</sup>. Also, “The Commander’s Speech”, the last stage of the ceremony for lifting the national flag, had to be short, not more than 5 – 6 minutes, but had to “produce a powerful educational impression over the units” of guardians: “That speech will have a national, moral and social content, being achieved by either using short suggestive stories (without drawing conclusions and lessons from it, those being drowned implicitly by everyone), or enthusiastic exposers”<sup>27</sup>.

*The ceremony for taking down the national flag* had nine stages (gathering in the square, report, communications, change of shift, The Motto and Creed, Out Anthem, The Evocation, prayer, Royal anthem with taking down the Pavilion), of which 5 were identical with the previous ceremony. Had, as extra, various communications regarding the outfit, programme guardian’s behaviour etc.; changing the shift between units and also an important educational moment called “The Evocation”. That moment had to offer to the youth “straightening of life” using examples that, thru their suggestive power, to push the youth towards similar actions. This is way they had to mention personalities from national culture and history or the ones coming from local communities; important events from national history and even aspects regarding the carlist regime. The actual operation of taking down the national pavilion represented the last stage from the ceremony and was done while the Royal Anthem was intonated. After the flag was down the guardian unit will leave the place in parade/march formation, singing various songs<sup>28</sup>.

The ceremony for lifting and taking down the national pavilion was executed with different periodicity, respective weekly, daily of in exceptional cases, depending of the situation/event. Lifting the flag meant, in fact, starting of something. This is why, in schools, boarding schools and factories organized after guardian’s system, the pavilion was lifted Monday and taken down Saturday. In the guidance centres and training camps of the Guard of the Motherland, the full ceremony was done daily. In exceptional cases, the national flag ceremony was done with the occasion of main national and guardian holidays.<sup>29</sup>

*Preparation for participation on the national or local festivities.* The activities within the guard regarding festive events were considered very important, and preparing the guardians was a continuous process. At the beginning of the guardian’s year, special meetings were established for these kinds of activities, considering that the youth had to have “in every moment material already prepared to face any kind of situations”<sup>30</sup>. In this sense, during the special meetings, the guardians

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<sup>26</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 10.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 11-14.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 16.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 179-180.

learned and rehearsed patriotic songs, selected, learned and recited patriotic poetries and various skits etc.

In general, the pattern used to deploy the main festive events, in which the guardians participated, had the following stages: the service done in a church from the city/village and the speech of the Church's representative; the national flag ceremony and the speech of the guardian unit's commander regarding the importance of that day; parade while singing patriotic and guardian songs and occasional rest<sup>31</sup>.

Important moments from guardian's life, like appointment, promise oath, pledge, receiving stars for seniority or given prizes to the ones that extinguish themselves in the guardian's activities, were included in the programme of national holidays and Royal Family's anniversaries or in the one of religious holidays. Therefore, the appointment<sup>32</sup> of the new comers into a unit was done during the festivities from 8<sup>th</sup> of November (the birth day of heir prince Mihai, the Great *Voievod* of Alba Iulia), 24<sup>th</sup> of January (Day of Unification of the Principalities) and 23<sup>rd</sup> of April, the celebration of "St. Gheorghe", the patron of Guard of the Motherland.

Also on 23<sup>rd</sup> of April, the promise oath was taken or, if the case, the pledge. The formula for the promise oath, compulsory for the youth age between 7 and 14 was: "*I believe in God and I promise to follow the teachings of the Guard of the Motherland to become a good guardian of our Country, Kind and King*", and the formula for the pledge, compulsory for the that became over 14 years old during the year was: "*I pledge myself to God to live in the faith of my ancestors, and dedicate my work to the Guard of the Motherland, ready for any sacrifice for our Country, Kind and King (our underline)*"<sup>33</sup>. Appointment, promise, pledge and oath (for the ones over 18/21) were done after divine service, more precise between the special prayer and the speech of Church's representative.

On 16<sup>th</sup> of October, when the entire country was celebrating the birth day of King Carol II, on the last stage of the ceremony of lifting the national pavilion – "The Commander's Speech" – were granted seniority stars to the ones that on September 1<sup>st</sup> had a year of guardian activity. Also, the occasional rest, were given prizes to guardian's units that distinguish themselves at the contests organized between 8<sup>th</sup> of June – 16<sup>th</sup> of October<sup>34</sup>.

In the programme elaborated by the Guard of the Motherland for the year 1939-1940, "The Guardian's Week" (1<sup>st</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> of June) which ended with "The Holiday of Youth and Restoration" (8<sup>th</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>32</sup> The formula for investment was the following: "In the name of the Great Guardian, I invest you as Guardian. Be a guardian worth the and with dignity" (*Ibidem*).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 181.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 180.

of June) received detailed planning. The Guardian's Week was considered "the result of work in a guardian's year" Every day was dedicated to a specific problem that had to be lived intensely, in every one of its characteristic aspects"<sup>35</sup>, as follows:

- June 1<sup>st</sup> was "Day dedicated to the city/village", when the guardians had to contribute thru work on promotion of the village, district or city (cleaning the gardens around public monuments, help the projects on going for holy places or other institution of local interest, cover the holes on public roads, cleaning in front of the house etc.). During the same day they also had to rehearse the programme for 8<sup>th</sup> of June.

- on 2<sup>nd</sup> of June – "Day dedicated to church and family". The guardians, with their families, after lifting the pavilion, went to church, where "the commander will read «The Apostil», and the guardians will say «The God's Prayer», «The Creed» and will answer questions from the Holy Book". In the same day, the guardians had to show their love and gratitude towards their parents by small gifts, by taking the cares of the house or by other actions.

- on 3<sup>rd</sup> of June – "Day dedicated to nature and health", when older guardians, previously selected, participated in sports contests, and the small ones on field trips, during which they played games, dances and sports, specific for their age. In the same day medicinal plants were gathered.

- on 4<sup>th</sup> of June– "Day dedicated to guardian solidarity", when the guardians give aids, like clothes, food, fruits, flowers etc. to the poor families and to the ones with many children, to old people in asylums, to sick people in hospitals etc. In the same day, the guardians had to make donation and also gather donations from other people.

- on 5<sup>th</sup> of June – "Day dedicated to preparation of the great celebrations from June 8", when the last rehearsals for the celebrations from June 8 were done, in the presence of authorities, families and friends of the guardians.

- on 6<sup>th</sup> of June – "Day dedicated to heroes and great men". The guardians had to participate at the ceremony of the programme established by the Society "Cult of Heroes" (religious services at the cemetery of Heroes of at the monument of Heroes or in front of the churches, putting flowers, intonation of: "Hero's anthem", "On our flag", "Our anthem" and "Royal anthem", parades etc.). In the afternoon, the guardians visited Romanian artist's displays, participated at celebrations in which were showed "the deeds of great men borne in the city/village", visited the birth places of those personalities etc.

- on 7<sup>th</sup> of June – "day dedicated to guardian's work and soul", was considered "the payment day for work, after a year of guardian activity", when prizes were awarded, obtained on

<sup>35</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 203.

various contests that took place between 16<sup>th</sup> of October and 5<sup>th</sup> of June. Was the day when were highlighted the guardian's achievements "from everywhere and from the city/village and will be spoken of the guardian's soul in the action of ascension and straighten of the Kind"<sup>36</sup>.

„The Guardian's Week” was ended with the day of 8<sup>th</sup> of June, when it was celebrated “The great Holiday of Youth and Restoration”, when a special programme had to be elaborated, especially because, in 1940, is been 10 years of reign for King Carol II. In this day “*the guardians everywhere will raise an altar of worship to the Great Protector and Ruler of our national destinies (subl. n.)*” and “the entire manifestation will take place in a frame of imposing greatness”<sup>37</sup>.

The general pattern/scenario for 8<sup>th</sup> of June had 3 major stages: in the mornings takes place the highlighted of the guardians units, ceremony for lifting the national pavilion, demonstrations of physical education, choirs and national dances; in the afternoon – sports celebrations in open air, and in the evening retreat with torches and rest by the fire<sup>38</sup>.

The activity of the nest at home, the ceremony for lifting and taking down the national flag and preparation for main national or local festivities represent only a part of the complex activity of the Guard, but it is relevant for our study.

The learned and practised ritual by the youngsters within the Guard ere eloquent to show the way the carlist regime's supporters thought to shape the youth. On long term, it is very likely that learning from childhood (starting with the age of 7) and rehearsing the guardian's ceremonies could contribute to the achievement of the official objective: creation of future citizens that will obey “consciously” the King and his regime.

On short term, however, these rituals became useful to the regime in the propagandistic sense, especially, with the occasion of great national holidays or Royal Family's anniversaries, of which organisation and deployment became, starting with February 1938, a state monopoly. The ritual practised by youth within the Guard represented a component of the festive ritual, showed in public space, with the occasion of festive events, by the representatives/members of various existing professional categories of the time.

The Great national holidays, the Royal Family's anniversaries and important religious holidays were turned into propaganda instruments of the carlist regime's ideology, of worshiping “the saviour opera” of King Carol II. The public space was transformed into a favourable for “the citizen's education” according to the carlist ideology.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 203-207.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 182.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 208.

Thru pre-established ritual, these kinds of events had to create the image of “national front” united around the Dynasty and confirm the regime as one of order and discipline. In the same time, the festive events represented, according to the official logic, moments in which the actors involved in the pre-established programme had the opportunity to give the wide public examples of manifestation of their solidarity with the regime of King Carol II<sup>39</sup>.

Eloquent, to demonstrate the joint participated of the guardians and representatives of the various professional and cultural categories existing in those times, is the following document regarding the agreement established between the Minister of National Education, The Guard of the Motherland, Social Service and the Inspectorate for pre-Military Training. That agreement was transmitted, on 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1939, to the schools directors, by the chief general inspector of the Regional Inspectorate of Schools Craiova. The collaboration norms regarding the festive events, established by the four mentioned institutions were:

“The great national holidays will be organized under the supervision of local authorities, which represents the government. For their success all institutions will collaborate with their own elements. School and Guard of the Motherland will organize them with youth from primary and secondary school, and also with the rest of the youngsters until 18, respective 21 years of age. The pre-militaries will organize the events with youngsters above 18 years old, according to its special law, and the Social Service with his mature elements, that are out of the care of the other institutions. The regular celebrations will be organized separately by every institution with no interference. Joint celebrations will be done only after a previous agreement of every organisation and in full collaboration. The Guard of the Motherland had established previously, in agreement with the Minister of National Education, that all schools celebrations will be organized within the Guard”<sup>40</sup>.

Information coming from archived documents, regarding the festive policy of the carlist regime, demonstrates the fact that, within Olt County, the units of guardians were present in the local community’s life with the occasion of various national holidays, Royal Family’s anniversaries or important religious holidays (like: “Day of the Nation” – 10<sup>th</sup> of May; Day of “King Carol II” Constitution – 27<sup>th</sup> of February; “Restoration Day” – 8<sup>th</sup> of June; Hero’s Day – celebrated in the same time with the religious holiday “Ascension of God”, having variable date; Unification

<sup>39</sup>D.C.N.A., Dolj, fund Rezidența Regală a Ținutului Olt, Administrative Service, File No. 20/1939, f. 184v, 202-203.

<sup>40</sup>Idem, fund Liceul Elena Cuza, File No. 1/1938-1939, f. 454.

celebrations – 24<sup>th</sup> of January, 1<sup>st</sup> of December; birth day of King Carol II – 16<sup>th</sup> of October; Labour Day – 1<sup>st</sup> of May, that became from 22<sup>nd</sup> of February 1940 “labour and Good Joy Day” etc.). The correspondence between central and local authorities or between different local authorities, that took place with the purpose of establishing in detail the programme of deployment of national holidays, and also various reports regarding the actual deployment of those events in the area of Olt County demonstrate the fact that local units of the Guard of the Motherland special reserved moments within the pre-established programme.

For example, according to the programme- model regarding the celebration of a year from passing the “King Carol II”<sup>41</sup> Constitution, sent, on 22<sup>nd</sup> of February 1939, by the royal resident of Olt County to all authorities under his command, next to the representatives of various professional categories, The Guardians had to be also present. Suggestive in that sense, is the fragment from the mentioned programme-model:

“[...] At 9 o'clock, in every school of any grade conferences will be held, in which it will be highlighted the greatness of the day and multiple good actions of the King Carol II Constitution. The conference will be preceded by “Royal Anthem” and will be ended with the “Royal Anthem”. At 10:30 the guardian stols will go toward the Cathedral and be deployed all the way following the instructions given by the County’s guidance Command centre. At the Cathedral will be brought and deployed on the left flank of the Company of Honour, all the flags of the stols in Craiova. In the Cathedral only the Army Flag and its Guard will get inside. [...] After the service and the speech of Commander General to the troops, the authorities, associations and guilds, will walk in procession towards the Unification square, where the parade will take place in the following order: guardians; pre-militaries; army (following the indications of Commander General); associations, guilds and allegoric chariots. After the parade from Unification square, the guardians, pre-militaries and all associations, groups and guilds will remain in the Unification square arranged after a plan made by Police, in agreement with the Commander of the square of Craiova Garrison”<sup>42</sup>.

Eloquent, for our analyse is also the report regarding the deployment of the national holiday “Constitution Day”, in Craiova, that second administrative inspector, Gheorghe Buldur, has sent to

<sup>41</sup>Diana-Mihaela Păunoiu, *Propagandă și festivitate în timpul regimului carlist. Studiu de caz: Ziua Constituției „Regelui Carol al II-lea”*, in vol. „Destin de istoric: in onorem Dinu C. Giurescu”, ed.: Cezar Avram, Dinică Ciobotea, Vladimir Osiac, Foreword by Dan Claudiu Dănișor, Târgoviște, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2012, p. 509-524.

<sup>42</sup>D.C.N.A., Dolj, fund Liceul Carol I Craiova, File No. 7/1938-1939, f. 196-196v.

the Ministry of national Education on 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1939. According to that document, the guardians had participated at festivities according to the programme:

“[...] In the nicely arranged city, in the general atmosphere, the stols of guardians, with the proper ceremony, have celebrated with the correct fast, the passing of the new Constitution. Some of the teachers, with warm and glorious words, after they pointed out the characteristic of the new Constitution and its purpose in the settlement of the new times, praised H.M.S. the King (...).

Towards 11 o'clock delegations from every stol, nicely equipped and with necessary discipline, went towards Cathedral St. Dumitru, where all authorities and guilds were gathered, following the programme established by the County and Army Commander. The rest of the schools, under the command of guardian commanders, were sent on all the streets, where the procession of authorities and guilds with allegoric chariots will pass through towards the Unification square, in front of the presidential palace, where the commemoration gathering will take place, after the divine service from the Cathedral. Here, after the usual service, The Bishop Irineu spoke to the assistance, (...) and in front of the Cathedral, addressing to all delegates of the guardians The Commander of the First Army Core will held a speech (...). Everyone will go towards the presidential palace. Here the first one will be the parade of guardians, army, guilds and ploughs with their allegoric chariots (...).

In the afternoon, inside community home in the city (M. Eminescu) was a nice celebration with contest, part of it of the guardians (...).

Eventually, they sing popular and patriotic songs, with the choir “Song of Oltenia”, recitals and poetries suitable for the moment, instrumentation songs, by the students from different schools and most important the gracious and elegant dances by the teams from secondary girls schools. All ended in a general good atmosphere, and at 10 o'clock the crowd has assisted the beautiful retreat with torches, to finish like this *the commemoration of the saviour day (our underline)*<sup>43</sup>.

From the documents regarding the involvement of the guardians in the public festivities, that took place within Olt County, we notice also the instructions of the Guardian Legion Dolj, regarding the celebration, in 1939, of “Day of 24<sup>th</sup> of January” – Unification of the Romanian Principates. These instructions, based on the orders received from the central command of Guard of

<sup>43</sup>Idem, fund Reziđența Regală a Ținutului Olt, Administrative Service, File No. 20/1939, f. 82-82v.

the Motherland, were sent, on 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 1939, to the guardian commander of “Carol I” high school in Craiova. According to those:

“Morning: 1. During the lifting of the National pavilion, the Stols will organize a celebration, following guardian’s instructions, one of the teachers-commanders will held a speech to the guardians about the meaning of the day. 2. Every Stol will supply a Century, formed out of 6 nests, guardian way fully and correctly equipped – preferably from the superior class – that will be in front of National College “Carol I” under the command of a guardian commander and 10:30 precise, to join the column towards Cathedral St. Dumitru, where we have to be before 10:45. (...) the order in line will be by seniority in the Guard (...)”<sup>44</sup>.

The parade of the guardians had to be done on a pre-established course, as follows:

“Thru the front of the Police, Madona Dudu and the street that goes thru the back of the Cathedral; the entrance to the alley from the street St. Dumitru towards Minerva. – Occupying the left side of the alley until the military music and the girls the right side. The march formation is the one in the march column and ones we arrive at the destination we will do a right turn (the girls a left turn) the centuries having formation in line of nests by flank of twos. – The commanders on the right flank of the centuries”<sup>45</sup>.

From the Cathedral, the guardians had to parade up until the presidential palace (today, the headquarters of the Prefecture), where:

“(...) the occasional speech of the Professor Commander Papagheorghe will be held, followed by the Royal Anthem, with music. The Unification Dance is next, the girls forming an interior circle and the boys and exterior one. At the stopping signal the entire detachment will align as a column and head the direction of Carol I College from where every unit with its commander will go to school”<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>44</sup>Idem, fund Liceul Carol I, File No. 7/1938-1939, f. 129.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibidem*.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibidem*.

In the afternoon, in the hall of Theatre of “Carol I” College, had to take place a celebration “given by all stols of Guardians”, under the supervision of the Royal Resident of the Olt County and with the assistance of Royal Cultural Foundations, Region of Oltenia<sup>47</sup>.

The youth within the Guard of the Motherland was included in the programme of various national holidays in the period of 1938-1940<sup>48</sup>. In general, the youth followed the dispositions regarding the patterns by doing the pre-established programme by the competent authorities. There were also cases when some youngsters tried to run from the obligation to participate at the main anniversary events. In this sense, eloquent is a notice issued by Inspectorate of Scholar Region of Craiova, on 14<sup>th</sup> of May 1940, and sent to the schools directors from Olt County and which specify the following:

“The Commander of the Guard of the Motherland, in his desire that guardians will participate in great numbers at the demonstrations for 8<sup>th</sup> of June (Day of Youth and Restoration – author’s note), has given in this sense dispositions to all schools. Seeing that some students are trying to avoid the programme of 8<sup>th</sup> of June by different means, we ask you to give dispositions to the schools in your County that these students will be first examined by the school’s doctors, being allowed to miss only with the agreement of them”<sup>49</sup>.

The analyse we have done, allows us to conclude that activities learned and practiced by the youth within the Guard, and the ceremony of lifting and taking down of National flag, parades exercises, specific songs, impeccable outfit of the guardians etc., represented constant moments in deployment of the main festive events. In this context, the local guardian units contributed, next to other social categories (public functionaries, members of various cultural associations etc.) to propagation, in the wide public rank, of the image of united “nation” around King Carol II and the filling of devotion towards carlist regime. From this point of view, we can say that the Guard of the

<sup>47</sup>*Ibidem.*

<sup>48</sup>See, for a detailed analysis, Diana-Mihaela Păunoiu, *Celebrarea „Zilei de 10 Mai” în timpul regelui Carol al II-lea în Ținutul Olt (1938-1940)*, in vol. „Stat și societate în Europa”, vol. 4, Târgoviște, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2012, p. 229-244; Idem, *Dimensiunea festivă și propagandistică a plebiscitului de la 24 februarie 1938. Studiu de caz: Oltenia în „Arhivele Olteniei”*, New Series, No. 25/2011, Craiova, Editura Academiei Române, p. 141-154; Idem, „*Mother’s Day*” in the Year 1939 – Opportunity for Celebration and Propaganda: Olt County, in „Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane «C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor»”, Craiova, No. 12/2011, p. 96-104; Idem, *Sărbătoarea Muncii, între tradiție și reformă în timpul regelui Carol al II-lea (1938-1940)*, in „Arhivele Olteniei”, New Series, Craiova, nr. 26, 2012, Editura Academiei Române, p. 215-232; Idem, *Propagandă și festivitate în timpul regimului carlist. Studiu de caz: Ziaua Constituției „Regelui Carol al II-lea”*, in loc. cit.

<sup>49</sup>D.C.N.A., Dolj, fund Liceul Elena Cuza Craiova, File No. 1/1939-1940, f. 310.

Motherland represented an important instrument for official propaganda. Never the less, we cannot deny the fact that, in certain way, the youth's education within Guard of the Motherland also had positive effects, given the youth a set of values and behaviour role models in their way towards adulthood.

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## A POLITICAL POWER STRUGGLE IN ROMANIA: GHEORGHE APOSTOL VERSUS NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU

OPRIȘ Petre\*, AVRAM Cezar\*\*

**Abstract.** *The struggle for power in communist Romania was evident both during the reign of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, and during the takeover and consolidation of power by Nicolae Ceaușescu. On the basis of archive documents, the authors bring into debate the removal of political life of Gheorghe Apostol, who, according to the wish of Gheorghiu-Dej, had to take the reins of power in the party and the state.*

**Keywords:** *committee, letter, party, state, leader.*

During the past 20 years several hypotheses have been circulated regarding the Soviet secret services driving some Romanian Communist Party veterans against Nicolae Ceaușescu's decisions – first Constantin Pârvulescu's actions on 14<sup>th</sup> of February 1968<sup>1</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup> of November 1979 (at the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress of the RCP<sup>2</sup>) and at the beginning of the year 1989 (on the occasion of drafting “The Letter of the Six”) as well as the actions carried out by Gheorghe Apostol a few moments after the RCP's 10<sup>th</sup> Congress and 14 years later before the start of the RCP's 13<sup>th</sup> Congress, maybe even simultaneous with the generals (Ion Ioniță and Nicolae Militaru's) preparations for the coup d'état planned for October 1984, and also at the beginning of the year 1989 (the famous “The Letter of the Six”).

It is obvious that the Soviets had good reasons for causing troubles to Nicolae Ceaușescu, at least at the propagandist level, both at the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress and at the 13<sup>th</sup> Congress of the RCP, on account of the harsh attitude displayed by the Romanian leader at the meetings of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (especially that in Moscow, 22<sup>nd</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> November 1978). At the same time, the political, economic and diplomatic game initiated by Nicolae Ceaușescu in the spring of 1984, at the start of the discussions about extending the *Warsaw Treaty* validity period had irritated the Moscow authorities and, in order to punish the Romanian leader, the Soviet secret services could call on either the Romanian generals who had studied in the Soviet Union in the fifties or the R.C.P. veterans, gradually eliminated by Nicolae Ceaușescu from all the leading positions held during the dictatorship of his predecessor, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

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\*PhD, Lieutenant Colonel.

\*\*PhD 1<sup>st</sup> Deg. Scientific Researcher „C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor” Institute for Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities, Craiova, Romanian Academy.

<sup>1</sup>For details, see Gavriil Preda, Petre Opriș, *România in Warsaw Treaty Organization. Documents (1954-1968)*, volume II, The National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, Bucharest, 2009, p. 336-343.

<sup>2</sup>For details, see *The 12<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Romanian Communist Party*, 19-23 November 1979. Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1981; *The History of Romania in Dates*, coordinated by Dinu C. Giurescu, Encyclopaedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 675; Vasile Toma Vlase, “Pârvulescu Incident” at the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress of the RCP, in “*The Dossiers of History*”, year XI, no. 2 (114)/2006, p. 20-22; Petre Opriș, *Communist, but anti-Ceaușescu: “Pârvulescu Case”*, in “*The Dossiers of History*”, year XI, no. 11 (123)/2006, p. 33-36.

In our opinion, the historical research on Gheorghe Apostol's activity against Nicolae Ceaușescu can start with the interview given in February 1990 by the former prime secretary of the Romanian Workers Party. At that time Gheorghe Apostol declared to the journalist Ion Jianu that "in 1984 very probably, seeing that no congress had discussed the issues contained in that letter of 3 pages (drown up and sent to Ceaușescu after the RCP's 10<sup>th</sup> Congress – P. Opriș). I decided to make a summary of it "I send a letter of 17-18 pages to Ceaușescu, in which I was requesting that it should be analyzed at the 13<sup>th</sup> Congress. I was also pointing that if the contents of the letter were going to be discussed by the Executive Political Committee, I should also be called to take part in that discussion. I did not get any answer and that is why after receiving the permission to return to my country [in 1988], I took the liberty of taking action (our underlining)"<sup>3</sup>.

Obviously, Gheorghe Gheorghiu felt deep resentment towards Nicolae Ceaușescu after the ending of the contest for succession to the Romanian Workers Party leadership and we can suppose that Gheorghe Apostol was influenced by these feelings when he first discussed with Silviu Brucan about a draft of "the letter of the six".

Then, during the meeting of the Executive political Committee on 18<sup>th</sup> of August 1989 Nicolae Ceaușescu stated that Gheorghe Apostol "had got in touch with the foreign secret services and, driven by those, he had worked out several letters (our underlining)"<sup>4</sup>. The supreme leader of the R.C.P. may have remembered the letter received in 1984 from Gheorghe Apostol, letter mentioned by Silviu Curticeanu in a volume of memoirs<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup>Ion Jianu, *Gheorghe Apostol and "The Letter of the Six"*, Old Court Publishing House, Bucharest, 2008, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup>See the full quotation in Annexe no. 1.

<sup>5</sup>The former chief of the Office section of the C.C. of the R.C.P. mentioned the following: "The moment of Ceaușescu's coming to power has been described in various ways, but it failed to interest me. Much later I learned, absolutely by chance, a few of the things that had happened then from a letter written by Gheorghe Apostol, commented and annotated by Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu, during a discussion that took place at Snagov.

It seems that Gheorghe Apostol was among those first and foremost affected by Ceaușescu's having been elected in the year 1986 or 1987, I don't remember exactly (the correct year is 1984 – *ours note*), Apostol, ambassador in Brasil at that time, wrote a long letter to Ceaușescu, on that subject. [...].

In that letter, in essence, Apostol blamed Ceaușescu for the fact that after Dej's death he had «usurped» the position of prime-secretary of the party's Central Committee.

As far as I remember, his arguments were the following:

*Dej explicitly nominated Apostol as his successor to the position of prime-secretary; Ceaușescu learned about that and, taking advantage of his status within the party and using the pretext of medical orders, managed to cut any contact of Dej with the other members of the Permanent Bureau.*

On hearing this accusation, *Ceaușescu stated in a firm but calm way: «He is lying! Dej didn't have the right to determine who would be elected at the top of the party!» [...].*

In order to get that position, [Nicolae Ceaușescu] *benefited from the treason committed by Maurer, repeatedly characterised in the letter as a true «political swindler».*

At this remark, *both of them (Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu – ours note), almost simultaneously burst into prolonged gales of laughter, which seemed never-ending to me [...].*

At the end of the talk, Ceaușescu coldly concluded: Apostol has been a weak man; nobody wanted him because he would have remained in the wake of «those people» and «would have let the country go to rack and ruin».

As one can notice from the stenogram of the meeting of the Executive Political Committee on 18<sup>th</sup> of August 1989, it was Nicolae Ceaușescu who initiated the forming of a group of “reliable comrades” who were to discuss with Gheorghe Apostol and determine him to admit that he had betrayed the country and the party he belonged to. The respective method was by no means new and both Gheorghe Apostol and Nicolae Ceaușescu may have remembered the identical way in which Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej – the supreme leader of the Romanian Workers’ Party – had acted in the autumn of 1953, on the occasion of the interrogation of Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu<sup>6</sup>, designating Constantin Pârvulescu to discuss with their former party mate in order to obtain a self-evident declaration about the betrayal Pătrășcanu had allegedly committed – a declaration to be later used in the trial which took place between 6-13 April 1954.

The same method was used in the years 1953 and 1956, when a commission made up of (*nota bene!*) Gheorghe Apostol, Alexandru Moghioroș, Petre Borilă și Constantin Pârvulescu interrogated Ana Pauker<sup>7</sup>.

Incidentally, two documents from the former archives of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party confirm the fact that Gheorghe Apostol was no longer among Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej’s most important collaborators, almost two years before the death of the party’s supreme leader. For instance, during the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers’ Party on 5<sup>th</sup> of June 1963, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej nominated Nicolae Ceaușescu to travel to the U.S.S.R. in order to hand to Nikita Hrușciiov an important letter (Moscow, 8<sup>th</sup> June 1953) from the part of the Politburo and to invite the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.) to undertake a working visit to Romania. In the stenogram of that meeting it was mentioned: “[Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej] I propose that comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu should go with this material. Do you agree to this proposition? (All comrades agree – our underlining)”<sup>8</sup>.

Two weeks later, the Politburo meeting on 21<sup>st</sup> of June 1963 discussed the formation of the Romanian delegation that was to participate in the discussion with Nikita Hrușciiov at Scroviște (24<sup>th</sup> of June 1963). Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej suggested they propose to the supreme leader of the

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As always, Elena Ceaușescu used a much more «learned» choice of words: «*That pig, drunkard, fornicator, he has always been good-for-nothing!*» (our underlining)”. Silviu Curticeanu, *The testimony of lived history. Overlapping images*, Historia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2008, p. 337-340.

<sup>6</sup>For details concerning Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej’s proposition and Petre Borilă’s and Miron Constantinescu’s opinions expressed at the meeting of the Politburo of the CC of the RWP on 2 September 1953, a meeting in which Gheorghe Apostol also participated, see Mircea Chirițoiu, *Between David and Goliath. Romania and Iugoslavia in the balance of Cold War*, supervision of the volume, introductory study: Silviu B. Moldovan, editor: Gheorghe Buzatu, Publishing House „Demiurge”, Iași, 2005, p. 209-211.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 268-269; 281.

<sup>8</sup>The Central Historical National Archives (C.H.N.A.). *The fund of the C.C. of the R.C.P. – the Office – dossier no. 25/1963*, f. 24.

C.P.S.U. that all the Politburo members of the C.C. of the R.W.P. (Central Committee of the Romanian Working Party) should take part in the meeting with their counterparts from Moscow. Being directly involved in organising this event, Emil Bodnăraș and Nicolae Ceaușescu each held the opinion that two possible delegations should be prepared<sup>9</sup>.

Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej agreed to the idea and the stenogram of that meeting recorded the following:

*Cde. Gh. Gheorghiu Dej:* Yes. What about the other possibility? That Dej, Maurer, Ceaușescu, Chivu, Bârlădeanu, Bodnăraș and Răutu participate.

*Cde. Chivu Stoica:* Shouldn't Gaston [Marin] also be there?

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* Let him be too.

*Cde. Gh. Gheorghiu Dej:* Yes.

*Cde. Ion Gheorghe Maurer:* The most chances are that the whole Politburo participates.

*Cde. Alexandru Bârlădeanu:* He [Hrușcirov] likes the audience to be as large as possible.

*Cde. Gh. Gheorghiu Dej:* Then let us consider the matter settled"<sup>10</sup>.

The enumeration by the party's supreme leader of his most important collaborators is very interesting as Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (involuntarily, in our opinion) mentioned a hierarchy probably already existent in his subconscious and then reinforced in March 1965 – when Nicolae Ceaușescu took over the party's leadership with the help of Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Chivu Stoica and Emil Bodnăraș.

<sup>9</sup>*Idem*, dossier nr. 33/1963, f. 22; 25.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibidem*, f. 25-26. It is interesting to mention that the American diplomats in Bucharest and Moscow tried to get details about the Romanian-Soviet dissensions and about when the meeting between Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and Nikita Hrușcirov was going to take place. For instance, the telegram sent to the American Secretary of State by William A. Crawford (chief of USA legation in Romania) on 28 June 1963 had the following content: „A reliable source of the Legation informed us that Gheorghiu-Dej had been seen in a restaurant in Bucharest on 26 June, late in the afternoon. Though less than 24 hours have passed since his departure from Bucharest by a Soviet plane, it is still possible that he had paid a short visit to the Soviet Union”. *William A. Crawford, Minister Plenipotentiary (Romania), to David Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, Bucharest, Romania, June 28, 1963*; File: 9 POL 15 Government RUM, p. 9; Box 4028; POL 6 PROMINENT PERSONS, RUM 2/1/63, POL RWANDA (Pol Prominent Persons Rum Rwanda); Central Foreign Policy File, 1963 (CFP File 1963); General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59 (RG 59); National Archives at College Park, College Park MD (NACP).

On his turn, the American ambassador Foy David Kohler wired from Moscow to the USA Secretary of State (2 July 1963) in order to inform him that the deputy chief of the Romanian diplomatic mission in Moscow had talked to a Western diplomat (speaker of Romanian) in the afternoon of 1 July 1963 and pointed out that Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej had not attended the ceremonies organised in Berlin by the East-German authorities, but had sent a telegram of congratulations. At the same time, the Romanian diplomat refused to answer the question regarding a possible meeting between the Romanian leader and Nikita Hrușcirov, only mentioning that Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej had not travelled in Romania lately. *Foy David Kohler, Ambassador (the Soviet Union), to David Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, Moscow, USSR, July 2, 1963*; File: 9 POL 15 Government RUM, p. 7; Box 4028; Pol Prominent Persons Rum Rwanda; CFP File 1963; RG 59; NACP.

**18 August 1989**

The protocol and stenogram of the meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the C.C. of the R.C.P. on 18<sup>th</sup> of August 1989, during which there were discussions about Gheorghe Apostol's letter addressed to the Central Committee of the R.C.P. and to the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania (extracts)

ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

No. 2340

*The Archives  
of the Executive Political Committee  
of the C.C. of the R.C.P.  
No. 1332/04.09.1989*

Protocol no. 17

of the meeting of the Executive Political Committee [of the C.C. of the R.C.P.]  
on August 1989

The meeting was presided by comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party.

The meeting was attended by the following comrades: Bobu Emil, Ceaușescu Elena, Ciobanu Lina, Coman Ion, Constantin Nicolae, Dăscălescu Constantin, Dincă Ion, Dobrescu Miui, Fazekas Ludovic, Mănescu Manea, Olteanu Constantin, Oprea Gheorghe, Pană Gheorghe, Popescu Dumitru, Rădulescu Gheorghe, Andrei Ștefan, Bălan Radu, David Gheorghe, Gere Mihai, Giosan Nicolae, Milea Vasile, Mureșan Ana, Pacoste Cornel, Petrescu Barbu, Postelnicu Tudor, Radu Constantin, Radu Ion, Stoian Ion, Toma Ioan, Totu Ioan, Ursu Ioan.

Comrades Curticeanu Silviu, Sîrbu Ion, ministers and other leadership members mentioned in the annexe had been invited.

The meeting started at 10.30 and ended at 11.25.

The agenda:

- I. Certain matters regarding the preparation of the XIV<sup>th</sup> Congress of the RCP.
- II. Report on attaining the main approved technical and economic parameters for the industrial production capacities in the second quarter of the year.

III. Certain external matters.

IV. Other matters.

I. – III. [...]

IV. The Executive Political Committee also approved:

1– 3. [...]

4. The Executive Political Committee was informed about the content of the letter through which Gheorghe Apostol, guilty of breaking the laws of the country and of disregarding the duties of a Romanian citizen, pleads the party leadership and the State Council for clemency. Regarding this, the Executive Political Committee decided that propositions be submitted concerning the measures that should be further, also for informing the party members about Gheorghe Apostol's serious deviations.

ss. Nicolae Ceaușescu

*The Archives of the Executive Political Committee of the C.C. of the R.C.P.*

*No. 1332/04.09.1989*

#### Stenogram

of the meeting of the Executive Political Committee

of the CC of the R.C.P. on 18<sup>th</sup> August 1989

The meeting was presided by comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party.

The meeting was attended by the following comrades: Bobu Emil, Ceaușescu Elena, Ciobanu Lina, Coman Ion, Constantin Nicolae, Dăscălescu Constantin, Dincă Ion, Dobrescu Miu, Fazekaș Ludovic, Mănescu Manea, Olteanu Constantin, Oprea Gheorghe, Pană Gheorghe, Popescu Dumitru, Rădulescu Gheorghe, Andrei Ștefan, Bălan Radu, David Gheorghe, Gere Mihai, Giosan Nicolae, Milea Vasile, Mureșan Ana, Pacoste Cornel, Petrescu Barbu, Postelnicu Tudor, Radu Constantin, Radu Ion, Stoian Ion, Toma Ioan, Totu Ioan, Ursu Ioan.

Comrades Curticeanu Silviu, Sîrbu Ion, Emilian Dobrescu, Gheorghe Fulea, Ilie Văduva, Dumitru Apostoiu, Constantin Mitea, Eugen Florescu, Nicolae Mihalache, Nicolae Ionescu, ministers and other leadership staff mentioned in the annexe had been invited.

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* Have you seen the agenda, comrades?

Haven't you got other problems? No.

NUMBER 1

Matters concerning the 14<sup>th</sup> Congress  
of the Romanian Communist Party

Actually, in 10 days the meetings of the local Party organisations are to start and so all the propositions for the delegates to the congress and for the Central Committee members which are to be discussed during the party meetings should be finalised.

The commissions formed by the Plenary meeting have dealt with all these problems, have worked, have brought several improvements and, at present, the propositions for the Central Committee delegates in accordance with the norms established by the Central Committee Plenary, have been finalised. We are going to have 3328 delegates, out of whom 380 are central ones, as compared with 375 at the previous congress. It is a small rise. On the whole, there is a rise of 200 delegates.

With party activists, the number stays the same: 50-50, with State machinery 165-165, people of science 100, with local delegates, the number has risen from 2750 to 2946, workers: from 1064 to 1230 and accordingly, in the other fields. With peasants, from 465 to 490. With clerks it is a smaller rise, from 457 to 460. There is a bigger increase with workers.

Party activists have remained the same in number: 450-450 and similarly, in the other fields there are no big changes.

The number of women has risen from 36,25% to 38%, with German nationality from 92,05 to 92,06%, with Hungarian nationality from 6,65 to 6,85%, all these numbers are in relation to the number of party members.

There is also a corresponding distribution in the counties, in relation to the number of party members. Likewise, the central delegates are distributed in the counties in the same measure as before, plus the presents rises, 5 central delegates, which does not represent a great change.

From this point of view we could give instructions to the counties that the local Party organizations should start the concrete work of discussing the propositions.

As for the Central Committee, taking into account what we decided at the Plenary, the commission has submitted the proposition to increase the number of Central Committee members with ten, that is to have 465 and we will see why this is necessary? [...].

Regarding central candidates, a reduction is proposed from 183 to 157, while the number of local candidates rises from 263 to 308. At the same time the number of central party activists [is decreasing] from 39 to 38.

Taking into account the modifications, the party machinery staff decreases from 82 to 60, with the mass organisations from 15 to 13, men of science [decrease] in number from 35 to 34, the officers have been and have remained 12.

Apart from the above-mentioned increase, a modification appears with local candidates. As compared with the situation at the 13<sup>th</sup> Congress, when the workers directly involved in production were 9, now we propose 45. I mean people who work directly in the field of production. We have discussed that the number of workers working directly in production should increase. The number of peasants should be 20. In fact, these are the changes. We had in mind to ensure a larger number of workers working directly in production. Consequently, this led to a reduction of party activists from 145 to 135. We are talking about local party activists.

The number of enterprise managers has remained the same and, correspondingly, there is the distribution at the level of counties, in keeping with our principles. The essential fact is this rise by 10% and the proposition for increasing the number of workers and peasants.

Taking into consideration all these, I would propose that the future rise in number of workers and peasants should also be mentioned in our official statement, namely the fact that we have analysed decided on this. This is important both for us and for the others, where the number of workers is diminishing. We had in view to underline the necessity of saying this, that within the party the activists who are workers by trade represent 70%, but we have to emphasize that the number of workers directly involved in production is increasing, in order to maintain a character of a workers' party.

This is the matter I wanted to bring forward and the problems I wanted to discuss, related to the propositions for delegates and members of the Central Committee at the 14<sup>th</sup> Congress.

If you agree or if you have other suggestions?

- All comrades agree.

[...]

## NUMBER 7

### Note regarding participation in the annual meetings of I.M.F.-BIRD

[*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:*] Those who usually participate here are the ministers of finance. It is going to take place in September.

*Cde. Ioan Totu:* On 21<sup>st</sup> of September.

*Cde. Elena Ceaușescu:* On this occasion we should clarify several problems related to them. We have enough problems with these organisations, that should be cleared up because we have even gold there. You haven't presented everything.

*Cde. Ioan Totu:* By 27-28 August we will display our point of view.

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* Let's agree to the participation and also to our measures and position regarding the problems and activity of these organisations.

- All comrades agree.

These points have been on the agenda.

We have another problem, comrades, - a staff problem.

For the position of prime secretary of Botoșani county party committee, comrade Nae Elena is proposed, who was previously prime secretary in Sibiu and now works as deputy chief of the Organisational Section [of the C.C. of the R.C.P.]. Do you agree to this proposition?

- All comrades agree.

Comrades, there is still another problem. Gheorghe Apostol has recently sent a letter to the Central Committee of the party, in which he admits his espionage activity and is now asking for clemency. We set a group of comrades to talk to him.

It might be good that comrades Constantin Nicolae and Ion Coman who had talked to him together with a group of former underground fighters should inform the Executive Political Committee.

*Cde. Ion Coman:* Comrade Constantin should inform, because we have drawn up the material together and I agree with him.

(*Cde. Constantin Nicolae* reads out the material concerning the discussions with Gheorghe Apostol.)

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* It is the letter addressed by him to the Central Committee that ought to be read, not this material. Give the letter to me, please.

*Cde. Elena Ceaușescu:* The letter, as the rest is unimportant.

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* Among others in the letter, he says that he had disregarded his duties as a Romanian citizen and his obligations to observe the laws of the country, that he feels a deep regret and addresses a plea for clemency to the party leadership and the State Council. He says he realizes he had infringed the Party rules and had got to the grievous situation of having placed himself in the employ of those people whom he had once fought against.

He herself (*sic!*) admits he had got into touch with the foreign espionage services and, driven by these, had drawn up several letters.

*Cde. Elena Ceaușescu:* This is the essential.

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* He placed himself in the service of imperialist and Soviet espionage. This is the reality. It is admitted by him and, at the request of those people, he, like any traitor, had drawn up all kinds of materials. This is the essential point.

And now, after promising not to do that again, yesterday he said in front of the comrades that he realized what he deserved [:] “capital punishment”. This is the essential of what he put in his letter.

Anyone can come and say whether they have an opinion or another, but it is he who is the main culprit. It is known, [Silviu] Brucan is an old agent. They placed themselves in the employ of the foreign secret services and organised all kinds of actions.

Of course, now he declares he repents and begs forgiveness.

*Cde. Elena Ceaușescu:* That is what he should have said.

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* That is why I said that some comrades who are familiar with these things should go and talk to him. That’s it.

Certainly, we will finally have to inform the party – in a way or another – about this treason and see about the way to act. Treason is treason; placing oneself in the employ of foreign espionage is inconsistent with the position of party member. The problem concerning the capacity of party member was solved long time ago, but we shall see about the measures to be taken so that, however, people shouldn’t consider that someone can betray the country, the people, without being held responsible for that.

In this case, self-criticism is no longer of value. The questions of treason can’t be solved by self-criticism. You can’t solve the betraying of your country through self-criticism.

*Cde. Elena Ceaușescu:* He who betrays should answer for it.

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* We wanted to inform the Executive Political Committee about this problem. We will continue to clarify the matter to the end, based on the confession, because they addressed letters.

It was a good thing that the former underground fighters discussed, because they know the way we worked in the past and they have a fair attitude to the party.

*Cde. Coman Ion:* With Apostol it is the more serious as before writing the letter he was warned not to get in touch with Brucan, who is a spy in the service of American imperialism. I had called his attention to the fact that he can be punishable by law.

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* He came from abroad. He had already been recruited abroad and here he executed what he had been told.

*Cde. Elena Ceaușescu:* He was recruited abroad long time ago.

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* There he became an agent of foreign espionage.

*Cde. Elena Ceaușescu:* And here he went on with his activity.

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* Moreover, when coming to the country, he stopped to England, German Federal Republic.

*Cde. Constantin Nicolae:* In England he gave an interview to the BBC, on condition that it should be broadcast only after his death.

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* In fact, he stopped there in order to be instructed how to carry out his activity.

This is the problem and it means that we really have to adopt a firm position on everything and everybody that break the laws of the country. You have seen the way they acted in Cuba, and even in China, in the case of traitors, as we can't call them otherwise.

It is not about rushing things. Still we need to have a clear position, to draw conclusions and take firm measures.

*Cde. Elena Ceaușescu:* We must inform the Party.

*Cde. Nicolae Ceaușescu:* That is why I wanted us to inform the Executive Political Committee and, let's see, after 23 August, inform the whole Party.

And now, comrades, we could wind up the meeting, let's do our duty and greet 23 August with best results. There are only a few days left.

All right, with this we wind up the meeting.

- C.H.N.A., *fund C.C. of the R.C.P. –The Office*, dossier no. 56/1989, f. 2-4; 12-13; 17-19.

**Note:** The documents have been selected and registered in the Archives of the Executive political Committee of the C.C. of the R.C.P. In order to show these details, we used italics.

31<sup>st</sup> May 1989

Gheorghe Apostol's letter, through which he pleaded for the clemency of the members of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. and of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

[Handwritten notes:] *IV-4*

The Office of C.C. of the R.C.P.

*2193/19.[0]8.1989*

*Nr. 2382 22.[0]8.1989*

*The Archives of the Executive Political Committee of the C.C. of the R.C.P.*

*No. 1341/04.09.1989*

To

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY  
THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

The undersigned Gheorghe Apostol, please allow me to submit to your attention the following:

It is my duty to point in all sincerity that I have a large responsibility regarding the letter sent to the West by Silviu Brucan and read in March 1989 on the foreign radio stations, as it was I who organised and attracted other people to this action.

Though I was aware that, through what I had initiated, I would support the foreign propaganda against our country and determine actions of slandering and denigrating the party and the state, I did not hesitate to put my intentions into practice, being driven by personal ambitions and selfish interests.

By what I had done, I placed materials at the disposal of foreign circles and dens of reactionary propaganda, materials which, though without a real basis, supported their hostile actions.

I am aware that through my actions I disregarded my obligations as a Romanian citizen and the laws of the country; I deeply regret everything I did and plead for clemency with the party leadership and the State Council.

Now I fully realize that I had seriously infringed the provisions of the Romanian Communist Party statute offending against the duties of defending the party's unity, of supporting the achievement of its political direction and of showing intransigence towards the actions hostile to our socialist order and towards those who plot against the interests of the people.

Lucidly and responsibly analysing the attitude I had and the deeds I committed, I have come to the conclusion that the negative character traits, the careerist ambitions and the vainglory had brought me to the grievous situation of having placed myself in the employ of those whom I had once fought against.

Being aware that my position and actions have been exploited in an attempt to discredit the party's and state's policy, the socialist regime in our country, I deeply and fully regret the acts I have committed.

I realize that, by what I have done, I also brought great shame on my own past, giving up the ideals to which I had devoted the years of my youth.

As I have already pointed out, I put my own interests above the state's and party's interests and for my personal narrow aims I didn't hesitate to collaborate with elements in the employ of my country's enemies.

My actions were the result of mistaken conceptions and directions, as well as of mentalities foreign to the moral and political portrait I should have had as a party member.

Likewise, without trying to exculpate myself in any way, I admit that during the long period I was away from the country, with a blameworthy levity I was influenced by the external reactionary propaganda, thus renouncing the principles and norms of a communist work and life.

Now I am ashamed that, at my age, I can no longer be dignified in front of my former fight companions, in front of the citizens of the country.

At this moment, being my own judge, I commit myself for the rest of my life to proving complete devotion to the party and the country.

I ask the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the State Council to give me the opportunity to rehabilitate myself morally and prove that in the future my behaviour will no more offend against the party's and country's interests.

I promise not to undertake anything any longer that might jeopardize the policy of our party and our state, that I shall not have any relations whatsoever with persons that denigrate the country, thus becoming a loyal citizen and taking up a firm position against any attempt of disregarding or breaking the laws of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

I assure that the Central Committee of the party that I totally repudiate the actions I did and for my deeds I apologise to the party, the Romanian people, the party's and state's leadership. At the same time, taking into consideration my advanced age, I ask for clemency.

Yours truly,

Gheorghe Apostol

31.05.1989

- C.H.N.A., *fund C.C. of the R.C.P. – Office*, dossier 56/1989, f. 94-96.

#### Notes:

1. The document was sealed and registered at The Office of the C.C. of the R.C.P. and the Archives of the Executive Political Committee of the C.C. of the R.C.P. but it does not have Gheorghe Apostol's original signature. In order to show these details we used italics.
2. For details regarding the contents of the letter mentioned by Gheorghe Apostol (known as „The Letter of the Six”), see Silviu Brucan, *A Biography Between Two Revolutions: From Capitalism to Socialism and Back*, Nemira Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998, p. 196-203; Pavel Câmpeanu, *Ceaușescu, the Years of the Countdown*, Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 2002, p. 287-289.
3. For the surprisingly indulgent methods used by the Securitate officers during the interrogation of Gheorghe Apostol, as a consequence of the interview he had given to a BBC reporter in London in 1988, as well as after the publishing in New York in “The Universe” newspaper (run by Aristide Buhoiu) of an article criticizing Nicolae Ceaușescu's policy, see Liviu Țăranu, *Gheorghe Apostol's “dialogue” with the Securitate (1989)*, in *The Archives of the Securitate 4*, The National Council for Studying the Archives of the Securitate, coordinated by Silviu B. Moldovan, The Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2008, p. 649-670.

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