HIPERBOREEA JOURNAL

Journal of History
Vol. II, No. 2
December 2015

Bucharest
2015

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ISSN 2284 – 5666 ISSN – L 2284 – 5666 www.revistahiperboreea.ro

CONTENT

STUDIES AND ARTICLES

BOOKS REVIEWS

CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING BARROW BURIALS AND METAL DEPOSITIONS DURING THE EARLY BRONZE AGE IN THE CARPATHIAN-DANUBE AREA

Bianca Preda*

Abstract. *The beginning of the Early Bronze Age brought significant changes in the Carpathian-Danube Area, including new burial customs, a different economy and innovative technologies, most of them with eastern steppe origins. Thus~~,~~ burial barrows appeared in the landscape raised over rectangular grave-pits, sometimes with wood or stone structures containing individuals lying in contracted or supine position with flexed legs, stained with ochre, rarely accompanied by grave-goods like wares, ornaments or weapons made of stone, bone and precious metals. Among the metallurgical innovations, items such as silver hair rings, copper shaft-hole axes and tanged daggers are considered specific to the new era. However, a careful approach of the deposition contexts of these artifacts, as compared with the eastern space, indicates that in some cases the objects were not just adopted~~,~~ but reinterpreted and involved in different social practices. This paper aims to analyze the manner in which metal pieces were disposed of and to identify the rules governing this behavior*.

Keywords: *barrow burials, metal depositions, weapons, ornaments, Early Bronze Age*.

The plains landscape of southern and eastern Romania is dominated by thousands of burial mounds (also called barrows, kurgans or tumuli) containing inhumation burials, out of which only approximately 150 were archaeologically investigated. In terms of their absolute chronology, they were largely assigned to an interval between the last third of the IVth and the third quarter of the IIIrd millennium BC.

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North of the Lower Danube, this time frame is defined in various ways, despite extensive debates scholars have more or less convincing arguments for placing the beginning of the Early Bronze Age during different periods[1]. Some consider that the first phase of this time span was a transition from the Eneolithic to the Bronze Age, placing the rise of the new era together with the emergence of Zimnicea type elements[2], others state that the Baden-Coțofeni complex already displays the features that characterise the proper Bronze Age, for the beginning of which they propose a date around the half of the IV[th] millenium BC[3], while the Transylvanian archaeologists speak about the Final Eneolithic[4]. In regards to the end of the Early Bronze Age most scholars seem to agree it took place once the cultures of the Middle Bronze age, such as Monteoru, Tei, Verbicioara, Wietenberg and Otomani were fully consolidated[5].

The difficulty in defining this period, which will be named here the Early Bronze Age, comes from the very nature of its characteristics, profound changes in the ideological and technological background, the emergence of the tumulus as a burial monument, as well as new objects and materials. Seen from this perspective, the topic of metal pieces coming from both mound graves and depositions should prove fruitful, given that the occurence of certain categories of items starting with the second half of the IV[th] millennium BC considered typical of the Bronze Age, such as shaft-hole axes, tanged daggers or precious metal hair rings, were related to the kurgan burial phenomenon of the steppe[6]. Thus, besides a new set of funerary practices, from the eastern area also arrived technological innovations, the metallurgical ones playing a major role. Some of these artefacts were addressed in individual studies[7]. Up to the present day the scholarly literature has not come up with an overview on how metal goods were manipulated during the Early Bronze Age. Such

[1] See Heyd, 2013, Fig.1 for a discussion on the beginning of the Bronze Age in different regions of Europe, as seen by scholars; a detailed analysis of the research history and contemporary theories in Gogâltan, 1999; Ciugudean, 2000; Băjenaru, 2010a.

[2] Roman, Németi, 1978, 59; Roman, 1986, 30, 32.

[3] Vulpe, 1997a, 46; Vulpe, 2001a, 218; Vulpe, 2001b, 423.

[4] Gogâltan, 1999, 14; Ciugudean, 2000, 15.

[5] Băjenaru, 2010a, 203.

[6] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 28; Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 369;Szeverényi, 2013, 666.

[7] For shaft-hole axes see Bátora, 2003; Hansen, 2009; Băjenaru, 2010b; Szeverényi, 2013; Dani, 2013; Băjenaru, Frînculeasa 2014; for tanged daggers Băjenaru, 2010b; Băjenaru, Popescu 2012; for silver hair rings Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000; Popescu, 2010.

an approach should lead to the identification of certain patterns in the social practices in which they were involved.

The present analysis is focused mainly on the present day territory of Romania, following the necessity to delimit the studied area, even though such a border can only be artificial. However, observations regarding the manner in which these phenomena manifested themselves in neighboring regions is also included. This time frame is generally perceived as a period of intense circulation of goods and ideas in very wide areas. Thus, approaching the metal pieces that were characteristic products of the Bronze Age can only be accomplished in close connection with the notions of mobility, exchange and relations between distinct points placed at considerable distances from one another. The aim of this paper is to study the occurence of metal items within the already mentioned time span and space, starting from the following questions:

I. What metal items are to be found in burial mounds, respectively in depositions?

II. Are there some noticeable patterns in the use of objects in one context or another?

III. How can the presence of these items in specific contexts from the perspective of the social practices of human communities be interpreted?

From the beginning, an important aspect must be mentioned regarding the informational basis of this analysis, namely that it is constituted as a result of very different types of events such as: preventive or systematic archaeological research, fortuitous discoveries or destruction of archaeological sites. Therefore, the consistency and accuracy of data are not evenly distributed, depending on the discovery conditions. If burial mounds are usually archaeologically investigated and, at least in theory, they should be accompanied by a proper documentation, metal depositions are found overwhelmingly fortuitously. However, these preliminary observations are refined after a detailed assessment, taking into account that many excavations performed in barrows were not published properly, some of them are just mentioned, others are briefly described, while only a small part benefit from a complete documentation, including plans, drawings of the features, anthropological determinations, radiocarbon dating and other types of analyses. Despite these shortcomings, information regarding metal items from burials is much more detailed when compared to that available for depositions, especially axes. The fact that the last mentioned artefacts were generally found by accident and recovered after the moment of their discovery created significant lacks in the reconstruction of the archaeological context they were placed in[8].

Burial mounds – At the moment of their discovery the majority of these funerary monuments were assigned, in a broader approach, to the “red ochre burials” or the “Yamnaya culture.” This phenomenon spread over a wide area stretching from the Ural Mountains and the Caspian seashore in the east, up to Central Europe in the west, near the Tisza river[9], to the south-east the border is represented by the Caucasus Mountains, to the south by the northern shore of the Black Sea, while in the south-west mounds can be found reaching the Maritsa river[10]. It characterises the plains landscape or that vast region called the steppe belt of Europe. As can be seen in Figure 1, the region north of the Lower Danube is placed in the western area of this phenomenon of burials in earthen mounds.

Fig. 1 – map of the Yamnaya area (base map Cezar Buterez); map of mounds investigated in Romania, no scale (base map Bogdan Olariu); (following Motzoi-Chicideanu, 2011, fig. 31, redrawn)

A main issue in studying this archaeological phenomenon is the fact that it can be known only from graves, not from settlements, which led to the construction of a theoretical model of populations living a

[8] Băjenaru, 2010b, 152.
[9] Ecsedy, 1979; Dani, Nepper 2006.
[10] Motzoi-Chicideanu, 2011, 224; Alexandrov, 2011.

nomadic life, based on pastoralism, moving with the aid of wooden carts, therefore leaving traces that are difficult to identify using archaeological methods[11]. The visibly standardized funerary ritual defined by inhumationburials performed in earthen mounds, in rectangular pits, containing deceased placed in supine or crouched position, oriented predominantly to the west and stained with ochre, rather poorly furnished with grave-goods such as pottery and ornaments made of precious metals or bone, created a fertile ground for theories about a possible penetration/migration in Central Europe of successive waves of steppe populations, assumptions that were seriously amended subsequently[12].

Modern research states that infiltrations of steppe populations took place earlier, before the Yamnaya period, but a flow of lower intensity[13]. The definition of the kurgan burials phenomenon is now connected to terms such as circular migration or the Yamnaya package[14]. This latter concept[15] includes eleven defining elements related to the ideological field (the tumulus, the rectangular grave pit, the supine position of the deceased, ochre staining), the technology (the development of metallurgy indicated by the emergence of new objects such as shaft-hole axes, tanged daggers, hair rings), but also to the economic system (pastoralism, horse domestication, mobility) that had a significant impact including in Central Europe. Other scholars have different views, considering that "Yamnaya" should not be understood as an ethnic entity, but rather as the expression of a way of furnishing burials[16]. In Romania, even though more than 150 mounds were excavated up to present, the results were in many cases briefly published, only recent research provides detailed documentations and other types of analyses. However, some important approaches must be mentioned, that tried to integrate this phenomenon placed north of the Lower Danube in the wider frame of the eastern, western, and south of the Danube Yamnaya discoveries[17].

Metal depositions – The topic of metal depositions was largely debated in the scholarly literature, raising numerous questions and being interpreted in different ways as a result of the high variation in

[11] Morgunova, Khokhlova 2006, 304.
[12] Rassamakin, 2006.
[13] Harrison, Heyd 2007, 194; Heyd, 2011, 544, 548.
[14] Heyd, 2011, 536.
[15] Harrison, Heyd 2007, 196-197.
[16] Motzoi-Chicideanu, 2011, 226; Hansen, 2010, 311.
[17] Burtănescu, 2002a, 213-276; Motzoi-Chicideanu, 2011, 224-284.

dimensions and content~~,~~ but also in time and space of this practice[18]. Did metal objects end up into the ground or other environments such as ravines, rivers or marshes as a consequence of deliberate actions or by accident? Were the items selected for deposition, and if so, according to what criteria? What interpretation should receive the depositions of this recyclable material that would otherwise allow for endless reuse[19]? Was their character religious or economic? These are only some of the questions asked by scholars[20] which were very often answered in completely different ways despite starting from the same data set.

Detailed studies performed on clearly defined geographical regions showed that some types of objects were found only in certain contexts, avoiding others[21]. Furthermore, in several cases patterns of mutual association or exclusion could be noticed, the goods found in hoards were absent from burials[22], indicating the intentional, but also the selective and structured nature of depositions[23].

Intended or unintended? – When studying metal items a problem that must always be taken into consideration is the fact that the archaeological record contains only a small part of the total amount of objects produced and circulating in prehistoric times, namely the ones that were either lost, thrown away, or intentionally deposited, most of them were melted down for reuse[24]. The main difficulty lies in distinguishing between the intended or accidental character of events leading to the presence of objects in certain contexts which is very difficult if not impossible to overcome[25]. This issue of the intentional nature of depositions was frequently mentioned in the analysis of single finds, which were treated separately from depositions for a long time[26].

However, losing or throwing away the metal pieces so as to create patterns is very unlikely[27]. Furthermore, as already pointed out, it was their quality that mattered, not their quantity and there is no difference between depositing one or more objects as far as intention is concerned[28].

[18] Harding, 2000, 352.
[19] Hansen, 2011, 137-138.
[20] Harding, 2000, 352, 361; Fontijn, 2002, 7; Bruck, Fontijn 2013, 198.
[21] Fontijn, 2002, 5.
[22] Neumann, 2010, 238; Bruck, Fontijn 2013, 205.
[23] Fontijn, Fokkens 2007, 356; Țârlea 2008.
[24] Dietrich, 2015.
[25] Neumann, 2010, 237.
[26] Harding, 2000, 353; Țârlea, 2008, 68.
[27] Țârlea, 2008, 68-69.
[28] Harding, 2000, 361.

Anticipating the conclusions, the category of shaft-hole axes is represented mainly by isolated finds. This observation is valid for a wider area comprising the Carpathian Basin and south-eastern Europe, entitling scholars to consider that the occurence of these items was not the result of a coincidence, but of a specific type of cultural practice[29].

Selective and structured? - Accepting the intended character of depositions raises numerous questions regarding their functions and the identity of the persons performing them. In an attempt to encompass the variety of this phenomenon into analysable categories, scholars classified depositions according to their discovery context and content[30]. The distinction between different contexts was considered significant to defining their function, being estimated that hoards placed into water, a non-retrievable environment, were permanent and played a ritual role[31], while the ones from retrievable locations such as in the ground, were temporary and utilitarian[32].

In terms of their content, depositions were classified as follows: whole/fragmentary items, with one type/with several types of objects, economic/votive, and regarding their owners: traders', founders', male/female hoards etc[33]. Even though such efforts have the merit of trying to put in order an impressive amount of material, the question that arises is to what extent the created categories contribute to our knowledge, understanding and better interpretation on the meaning of depositions and are not just projections, in modern, economic terms, onto prehistory[34]?

This is all the more legitimate since in some cases assigning the hoard to a certain category automatically triggered an interpretation as well. Good examples are the so-called traders' hoards, which for a very long time have been considered as being hidden during unsteady moments and not retrieved subsequently[35]. However, during the last two decades approaches seem to have reached a common ground in interpreting depositions, their ritual function being nowadays widely accepted[36]. Even in some cases of hoards previously assessed as

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[29] Szeverényi, 2013, 667.
[30] Fontijn, 2002, 15.
[31] Fontijn, 2002, 16.
[32] Fontijn, 2002, 17, tab. 2.4; Gori, 2014, 274.
[33] Harding, 2000, 354;Țârlea, 2008, 64; Gori, 2014, 274.
[34] Harding, 2000, 354.
[35] Fontijn, 2008b, 5, 11.
[36] Fontijn, 2002, 5; Neumann, 2010, 238; Hansen, 2012, 8; Hansen, 2013, 179; Gori, 2014, 270;Dietrich, 2015.

economic or industrial such as traders' hoards, detailed analyses indicated votive purposes as being more likely[37].

Given the complexity of this phenomenon it has been suggested that in order to better understand it~~,~~ not only the context and content of the hoards should be carefully analysed, but also the way in which these two correlate in every particular case[38]. Nevertheless, studying the relationship between people, objects and places remains in many situations an impossible mission. Most of the depositions are found fortuitously and as a consequence there is a general lack of detailed information regarding the features of the landscape in which they took place, as already mentioned in the literature[39].

The other essential element is the content of depositions. In the opinion of M. Gori the existence of a pattern as the result of social practices involves the standardization of the practices themselves, probably having as a starting point social rules shared by prehistoric communities[40]. In other words, the relationship between people and objects determines their manipulation in specific contexts. During the Bronze Age this relation seems different from the modern one in which objects and individuals are completely separated, instead, the former were inalienable and contributed to the construction of the identity of the latter[41]. Thus, the selection of items in order to be included in or excluded from depositions or burials was a means of constructing specific types of characters during particular events[42].

Nevertheless, however varied, most of the interpretations started from the idea that metal objects were prestige goods at the beginning of the Bronze Age. They represented technological innovations, rare and exotic items, this pleading for their special status[43]. Belonging to either one person or even a segment of the population, as it was assumed for hoards containing a large number of items, their deposition was related to increasing the prestige inside the community[44]. Even though they were offerings to the gods, at the same time depositions could codify the

[37] Hansen, 2012, 8; Fontijn, 2008b, 15.
[38] Harding, 2000, 361.
[39] Fontijn, 2008a, 87; Neuman, 2010, 243; Hansen, 2013, 179.
[40] Gori, 2014, 272-273.
[41] Bruck, Fontijn, 2013 202.
[42] Bruck, Fontijn, 2013 205.
[43] Fontijn, 2008a, 87.
[44] Gori, 2014, 277, 282.

existing relationships between individuals within a group, contributing to the construction of collective identities[45].

These brief clarifications concerning the notions mentioned in the title of this paper will be followed by an analysis of the metal pieces relevant to the proposed topic. Metal objects were divided into ornaments and weapons, according to the traditional approach, the category of adornments being comprised of copper torques, spectacle-shaped pendants and hair rings, while weapons are represented by flanged axes, shaft-hole axes and tanged daggers.

Copper torque – The category of torques is represented by one single piece in barrow burials north of the Lower Danube, discovered in a tumulus excavated in Ariceștii-Rahtivani (Ricești IV), Prahova County. It was found in the main burial of the mound, containing three individuals, and it accompanied Gr.5B. The deceased was an adult male, aged between 35,2 and 38,4 years old. It was lying in a crouched position on the right side, oriented on the east-west direction. Near his head there was a small cup with raised handle and around his neck he was wearing the copper torque with rolled ends. Subsequently to excavations, a spiral hair ring made of silver wire was found inside his skull[46].

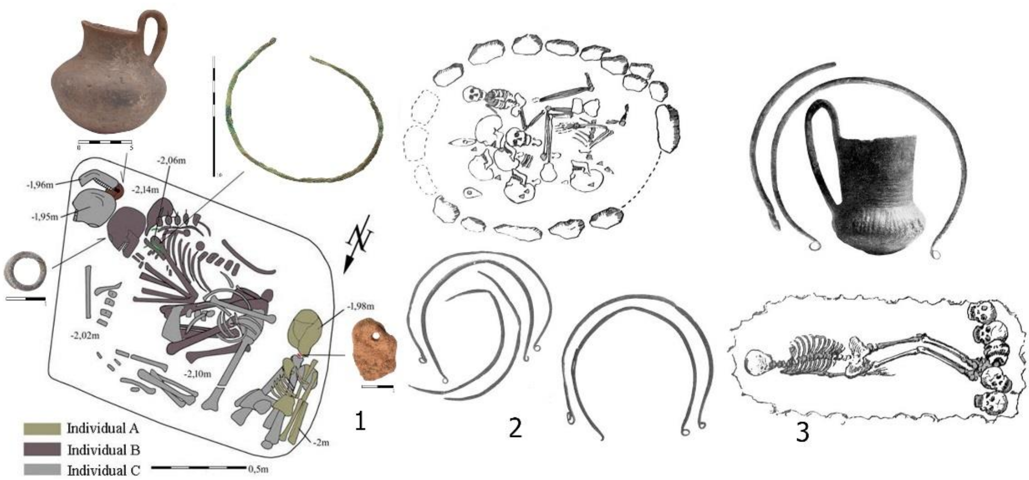

Fig. 2 - 1. Grave 5 from Aricești IV, with grave goods (following Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, Pl. 9-10); 2. Lichtenwörth 3. Leobersdorf (following Willvonseder, 1937, Abb 1-4)

[45] Neumann, 2010, 239.
[46] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 189.

The piece has rolled ends, it is circular in cross-section and has the body slightly twisted, the authors mentioned that at the time of discovery the torque was broken into three pieces[47]. The elemental analysis indicated the following composition: 98,4% Cu, 0,7% As, 0,5% Fe, 0,3% Ag, 0,1% Ni[48].

Given the unique character of this finding, analogies should be sought in other areas and a larger period[49]. The closest parallels to this grave, as shown by both the features of metal pieces and ceramic pots, are placed in Central Europe during the second half of the IVth millennium BC and are to be found in burials of the Baden cultural complex. Thus, copper torques with rolled ends like the one from Aricești IV come from graves unearthed in Leobersdorf and Lichtenwörth[50]. In Leobersdorf[51]the burial contained a whole torque along with a fragmentary one, a cup with raised handle and channelling decoration, a flint arrowhead and a necklace made of animal teeth, while the collective grave from Lichtenwörth was furnished with several torques, flint arrowheads and two stone shaft-hole axes[52].

Another piece found in Königshöhle[53]cannot be securely attributed given it was found in a multi-layered archaeological site and was assigned to the same period based on its typological similarity with the other torques[54]. Two more items found in a hoard from Vel`ká Lomnica[55] have twisted bodies, being the only two that share this feature with the Aricești IV torque[56]. Such pieces dating from the first half of the IIIrd millennium BC have not been discovered in Eastern Europe or at the Lower Danube until now[57]. The piece from Aricești IV, given its unique character in barrow burials up to present, does not allow a more complex discussion. However, it should be emphasized that it was found arounf the neck of an adult male associated with a silver hair ring[58].

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[47] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 201.
[48] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 201.
[49] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 201-202.
[50] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 202.
[51] Willvonseder, 1937, Abb 1, 3.
[52] Bognar Kutzian, 1963, 449.
[53] Ladenbauer-Orel, 1954, Taf. 1.
[54] Bognar Kutzian, 1963, 449.
[55] Novotná, 1984, 9, pl. 1.
[56] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 202.
[57] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 202.
[58] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 196.

Spectacle-shaped pendant – Another unique ornament found in a mound up to presentis the spectacle-shaped pendant (*Brillenspirale*) discovered during the rescue excavations of a tumulus from Ploiești-Triaj, Mound I (Prahova County), destroyed during the Second World War. This situation prevented the proper documentation of the unearthed features, thus the available information is limited to a brief description of the burials and grave goods. Drawings, plans or any stratigraphic details are completely missing. The *Brillenspirale* type pendant came from a secondary burial (Gr.3)[59],the deceased, probably a child, was lying crouched, accompanied by a fragmentary bracelet found near his right arm, a necklace made of flat kaolin beads and other tubular copper pearls, shell pearls and valves, a silver spiral hair ring and a pot placed near the lower limbs of the deceased[60]. The upper limbs and the abdomen were stained with ochre[61].

This category of adornments is found in a larger time interval, as they emerged in the Eneolithic and developed up to the Iron Age, covering wide areas in Europe[62]. The items from Romania were assigned by I. Matuschik to the „Danubian group" dated to the end of the Eneolithic and the Early Bronze Age[63], while C. I Popa distinguished a west-Transylvanian type within this "Danubian group" located in the Apuseni Mountains[64]. In earlier times, decorations reproducing such ornaments were noticed on Coțofeni pottery from Transylvania, in layers assigned to late phases. The use of these pieces by Coțofeni communities was assessed by scholars despite the fact that no actual pendants have been found for the moment[65].

Thus, the closest analogies are found in Transylvania and represent, when the discovery context is known, grave goods of tumular burials assigned to the Livezile group, dated to the Early Bronze Age[66]. Here must be mentioned the findings from Livezile *Dealu Sârbului*, Poiana Aiudului *Dealul Velii*, Ampoița *Peret* and Mada *Chiciorele*[67]. The items usually accompanied deceased lying crouched either on the left (Gr.4/Mound 9 from Poiana Aiudului *Dealu Velii*, Gr.5/Mound 3 from

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[59] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2013, 28-29.
[60] Comşa, 1998, 22.
[61] Zirra, 1960, 103.
[62] Popa, 2010-2011, 36.
[63] Matuschik, 1996, 20 ff.; Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 201.
[64] Popa, 2013, 80.
[65] Popa, 2010, 12, pl. 5; Popa, 2013, 80, pl. 7-8.
[66] Popa, 2010, 2.
[67] Vlassa *et alii* 1985-1986; Ciugudean, 1996; Rișcuță *et alii* 2009.

Mada *Chiciorele*), or on the right side (Gr.1/Mound 1 from Livezile *Dealu Sârbului*) oriented on the NE-SW or SW-NE direction, along with other grave goods such as pottery, stone axes, copper bracelets, saltaleoni or gold hair rings[68].

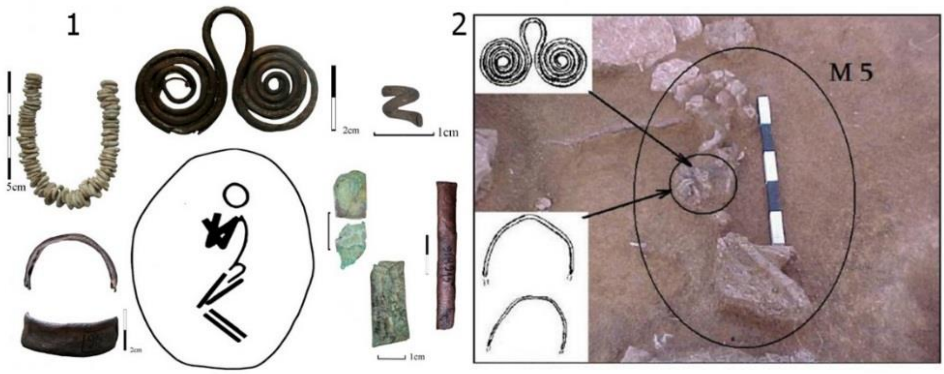

Fig. 3 - 1. Gr.3 from Ploiești-Triaj Mound I with grave goods (following Frînculeasa *et alii* 2013, pl. 17); 2.Gr.5 from Mada with grave goods (following Popa, 2010, pl. 4)

The function of these pieces and the way they were worn could be documented during archaeological research performed in the cemeteries from Livezile, Poiana Aiudului, Ampoița and Mada. At Livezile and Poiana Aiudului the item was placed at the chest of the deceased, indicating its pendant function, while in Ampoița it was found under the mandible[69]. Additional information comes from Gr.5/Mada-*Chiciorele*, where there were traces of the cord to which the pendant was attached, probably made of organic material[70]. As regards the Ploiești-Triaj pendant, there are no details regarding its place in the grave, but given that tubular copper pearls along with flat kaolin beads and shell pearls were also found, it should be expected they were all part of a necklace. A representation of a similar piece (Fig. 4) worn as pendant was depicted on a funerary stela (stela no.2) from Le Petit Chasseur (Sion, Switzerland), assigned to a time frame contemporary to the Corded Ware, the size of the pendant being over-represented as compared to the arms[71].

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[68] Ciugudean, 1996, 33, 50, 61-62, pl. 37/2, fig 21/7, fig. 31/12; Vlassa *et alii* 1985-1986, 61-62, pl. XI/3; Rișcuță *et alii* 2009, 265.
[69]Ciugudean, 1996, 33, 50, 62.
[70] Rișcuță *et alii* 2009, 270, fig. 9/1.
[71] Harrison, Heyd 2007, 156, fig. 19; Popa, 2010, pl. 6.

In numerous cases the *Brillenspirale* pendants were associated with other types of ornaments made of precious metals. In Ampoița and Poiana Aiudului two pairs of saltaleoni were found, that probably helped guiding the cord towards the loop of the pendant[72]; at Mada the funerary inventory was also comprised of two copper bracelets with round cross-section, while at Poiana Aiudului a flat copper bracelet was found on the left arm of the deceased, but there is no drawing or picture of the piece so we don't know if it was similar to the one discovered in Gr.3 from Ploiești-Triaj I.

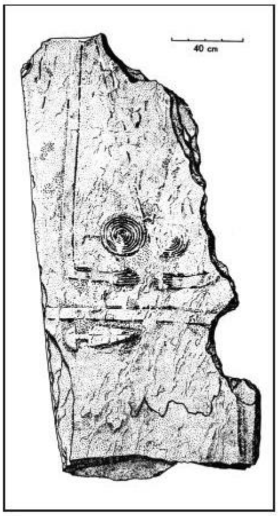

Fig. 4 - Funerary stela with the depiction of a pendant,Sion (following Popa 2010, pl. 6)

In the last mentioned burial a spiral hair ring was also found. Of particular importance are the two gold hair rings[73] found in Gr.1/Mound 3 from Ampoița *Peret*assigned to the Leukas type, with analogies in Montenegru in Velika Gruda[74]and in Bulgaria in Gr.8/Mound I from Târnava[75], dated to the first half of the IIIrd millennium BC[76].

In the eastern area two burials with *Brillenspirale* pendants are known. In Dobrovody (in the upper basin of the Dniester), in Gr.10/Mound 2, the grave pit was rectangular with rounded corners,

[72] Popa, 2010, 11.
[73] Ciugudean, 1996, 33, fig. 31/12.
[74] Primas, 1995, 83, fig 5.
[75] Panayotov, 1989, 88, fig. 46.
[76] Primas, 1995, 85.

covered by wooden beams. The deceased was lying on a mat, crouched on the right side, with his arms stretched to the knees, the pendants were discovered at his neck. The grave was dated to 3920±60 BP, calibrated to (2580-2200 BC)[77]. However, F. Gogâltan considers their presence in the western Yamnaya area as a consequence of contacts with the southern Poland region, not with Transylvania[78]. Two more pieces come from a tumulus unearthed in Krivaya Luka, on the Lower Volga, but there are no drawings of the burial[79].

Given the low number of these ornaments (it is not clear whether there are 4 or 6), found in approximately 200 burials attributed to the Livezile group, they were interpreted as prestige goods emphasizing the social rank of the deceased[80]. The general lack of anthropological determinations, except for the grave from Ampoița[81], which belonged to an adult male, makes it impossible to make any inference regarding the sex of the individuals wearing such pendants. Nevertheless, for the time being there are no indications that they were destined for women during the Early Bronze Age.

Hair rings – Hair rings made of precious metals are a category of pieces relatively frequently encountered in barrow burials, when compared with the general austerity that characterises these features[82]. Most of them are made of silver, more rarely copper or gold, being placed near the skull of the deceased. The silver ones are the most numerous, copper hair rings are only mentioned in few cases such as Gurbănești, Sultana and Glăvăneștii Vechi[83]. However, the lack of metallographic analyses imposes some reservations regarding these attributions. Some of the ones assessed as being made of copper, may in fact be silver hair rings, as was the case of the items from Gr.15/Ploiești-Triaj *Mound II* and Rahman I[84]. These types of adornments are considered among the oldest silver objects that occured in large number at the Lower Danube, their arrival being simultaneous with the spread of the barrow burials funerary ritual[85].

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[77] Bunyatyan, Nikolova 2010, 37, nr. 19, 40, fig. 10/6-7.
[78] Gogâltan, 2013, 53.
[79] Shishlina, 2008, 70, fig. 45/8.
[80] Motzoi-Chicideanu, 2011, 313, 315.
[81] Perianu, 1990, 244.
[82] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 197.
[83] Rosetti, 1959; Șerbănescu, Comșa 2012; Comșa, 1987; Comșa, 1989a.
[84] Ailincăi *et alii* 2014, fig. 5; Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 197, note 4.
[85] Popescu, 2010, 165-166.

Typologically, they were divided into several categories, each of them with sub-variants, as follows: spiral hair rings, with one and a half or more convolutions; round rings with touching ends and crescent rings (the Zimnicea type), with thinned ends that are either distanced, touching or overlapping[86]. The spiral ones are the most numerous and cover a wider area, from the Middle Danube to northern Caucasus, however focusing in two main areas, north-west of the Black Sea and in northern Caucasus[87]. The round hair rings were in the same area and context as the spiral rings[88].

Fig. 5 - 1. Gr.4/Aricești IV with grave goods (following Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, pl. 6); 2. Gr.3/Aricești I with grave goods (following Frînculeasa *et alii* 2015a, pl.2)

Crescent hair rings, or the "Zimnicea type" are much less frequent and their occurrence seems more limited both territorially and chronologically[89]. On the present day territory of Romania nine silver items are known (according to Annex 1), five from the Zimnicea cemetery, two from Ariceștii-Rahtivani and two from Zebil[90] to which can be added information regarding an unpublished item from Stelnica, and another one from Năieni, but assessed as being made of copper[91]. This type of hair-rings was also documented in Bulgaria, Hungary and the

[86] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 28; Popescu, 2010, 166.
[87] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 29; Popescu, 2010, 166.
[88] Popescu, 2010, 167.
[89] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 31; Popescu, 2010, 167; Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 198.
[90] Popescu, 2010, 167.
[91] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 56.

Republic of Moldavia where they were also found in barrow burials[92]. Crescent hair rings generated debates concerning their origins, some scholars consider they were local products, created in the metallurgical centres that developed during the III[rd] millennium BC using silver brought from regions such as the Aegea or Anatolia[93], while in the view of others the above-mentioned areas were the origin spaces of the finished products, not only of the raw material[94]

Items that were typologically similar to the Zimnicea hair rings, but made of gold, were the ones attributed to the Leukas and Mala Gruda types, represented by several findings from Bulgaria in Târnava, Transylvania in Ampoița, but also Dobrudja in Jurilovca, for the last-mentioned discovery the archaeological context being unknown[95]. They were attributed to the Leukas type along with the ones discovered in the burials from Velika Gruda[96]. In the opinion of I. Motzoi-Chicideanu, the Leukas and Mala Gruda types are in fact variants of the crescent hair rings, only more elaborated and covering a smaller area[97].

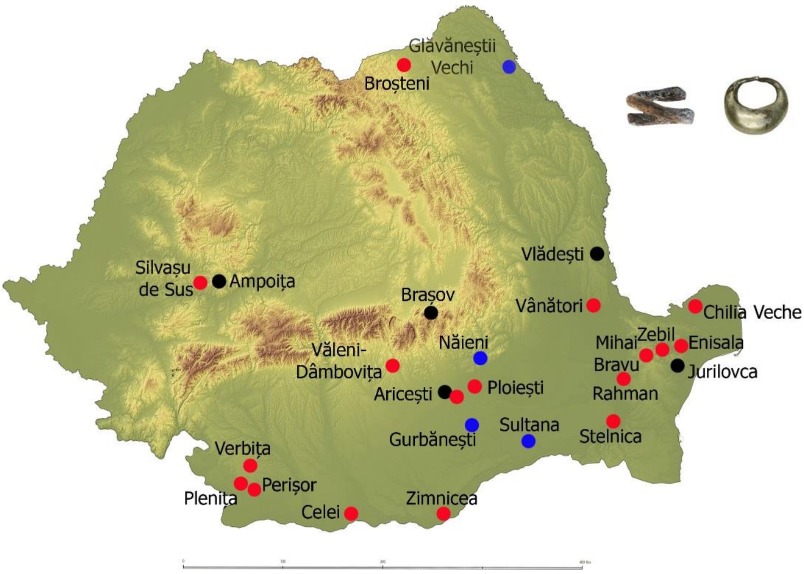

Fig. 6 – Hair rings from Romania (black - gold; blue – copper, red - silver) (following Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, fig. 5, redrawn); (base map Bogdan Olariu)

[92] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 30; Popescu 2010, 167.
[93] Popescu, 2010, 172; Dani, 2013, 216.
[94] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 31.
[95] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 30; Vasiliu, 2007, 122-123, fig. 4/2.
[96] Primas, 1995, 83.
[97] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 31.

The association between crescent and spiral hair rings was documented in Zimnicea and Goran-Slatina[98], indicating a chronological contemporaneity, at least partially, of these two ornaments. Gold hair rings, but spiral-shaped, were found in a burial from Vlădești[99], but also in the Schneckenberg settlement from Brașov[100]. In Gr.1/Aricești I it was discovered a silver spiral hair ring that had attached a gold sheet[101].

Site name	**Grave**	**Sex**	**Age (years)**	**Pathologies**	**Height**	**Literature**
Aricești I (Prahova County)	Gr.1	Ind	20-30	Caries	-	Frînculeasa *et alii* 2013, 35
	Gr.3	M	20	*Cribra cranii*, calculus	165-166 cm	
Aricești IV (Prahova County)	Gr.4B	F	19.4-25	caries; osteo-arthrosis	154 cm	Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 196
	Gr.5B	M	35.2-38.4	caries, abscess; osteo-arthrosis; *cribra cranii*	-	Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 196
Plenița (Dolj County)	Gr.1	M	>40	Severe attrition of the teeth	-	Firu *et alii* 1956, 99-102
Rahman I (Tulcea County)	Gr.2	M	20-23	Osteo-arthrosis	173 ±5 cm	Constantinescu, Soficaru, 2013, 489
Sultana (Călăraşi County)	Gr.1	M	17-21	-	-	Şerbănescu, Comşa, 2012, 26
	Gr.5	M	45-50	-	-	Şerbănescu, Comşa, 2012, 26
Vânători (Galați County)	Gr.13	M	20-22	Slight abrasion of the teeth (1)	>175 cm	Perianu, 1988, 132

Table 1 – Graves with hair rings and anthropological determinations excavated in Romania

[98] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 31.
[99] Brudiu, 2003, 69, fig 32/4.
[100] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 58, nr. 38.
[101] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 198.

Hair rings occured overwhelmingly in funerary contexts, except for the items from Celei, where in the 2c layer two spiral hair rings along with a gold pendant were found inside a pot with oblique rim[102], and the gold item from the Schneckenberg settlement in Brașov[103].

Although relatively well represented in barrow burials, when compared to the general lack of inventories in such features, hair rings were prestige goods during the Early Bronze Age, being meant only for a restricted number of persons. This is suggested by the fact that they occured in a very small percent of the total number of unearthed burials, somewhere around 5%. Unfortunately, establishing a correlation with the age and sex of the deceased turns out to be very difficult, given that in Romania performing anthropological determinations of the osteological remains has been rather an exception than the rule of archaeological research until recently. However, taking into account those graves for which there is available information regarding the age and sex of the deceased (Table 1) it can be noticed that hair rings occured more often in male burials.

Shaft-hole axes are considered among the most important items characteristic to the new era. They occured at the Lower Danube at the beginning of the Bronze Age in more rudimental shapes and then developed typologically within the entire Carpathian Basin during the III[rd] millenium BC[104]. For the Carpathian-Danube area the typology of copper/bronze age shaft-hole axes was established by Alexandru Vulpe and it is generally still in use today, although recent approaches proposed a reassessement of the criteria taken into account when building typologies, their adaptation to the research goal and the use of typologies as a starting point for the analysis, not as an end in itself[105]. Thus, Alexandru Vulpe assigned to the Early Bronze Age several types of axes, namely Baniabic, Fajsz, Corbasca, Dumbrăvioara and Veselinovo[106]. Among them, the Baniabic and Dumbrăvioara types will be addressed in this study given they serve best the proposed topic.

The items attributed to the Baniabic type were considered amid the oldest shaft-hole axes and were defined as “heavy axes, with simple shapes, whose shaft-hole is not detached from the body of the axe. The

[102] Nica, 1982, 24.
[103] Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 58, no. 38.
[104] Băjenaru, 2010b, 152.
[105] Popescu, 2006, 432-433.
[106] Vulpe, 1970; Vulpe, Tudor 1970, fig. 1.

blade is rectangular in cross-section, with slightly convex sides”[107].An argument in favor of assigning them to an early time frame is the fact they had been cast in open bivalve moulds, which belonged to an older phase in the development of the axe casting technology, unlike the more evolved ones with hexagonal cross-section, indicating their casting into close moulds[108].

For A. Vulpe the typological ordering of artefacts was only the first step, once formally defined, the type “must be pursued within its geographical distribution and sought its connections with the material cultures in the area of which it is spread”[109]. In his approach the author offered a significant role to the geographical factor, avoiding to establish relationships between “types that are similar in shape, but are placed in areas very far apart”[110]. Vulpe also considered that formal similarities, especially in the case of simple shapes, can be the result of coincidence or of shared development stages, without necessarily involving their contemporaneity[111]. Therefore, even though he noticed the resemblances between the Baniabic type and northern Caucasus axes, because of the large distance and the lack of findings in the intermediate space, A. Vulpe did not agree there was a connection between the items from these two regions[112].

In the current state of research there is a generally accepted view among scholars that shaft-hole axes were part of a set of technological innovations emerging in northern Caucasus during the second half of the IVth millennium BC, where they were found in Maykop burials[113]. Their dissemination into Southeastern Europe, through the North Pontic steppes overlapped the spread of burial mounds in the same time interval, a significant role in mediating the transmission of metallurgical knowledge to the west being conferred to Yamnaya populations[114].

However, an important aspect of this process must be noted, already repeatedly stressed in the literature, namely the existence of differences in their use in the various regions where they occured: the northern Caucasus, the steppe area and the Carpathian Basin. This could

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107 Vulpe, Tudor 1970, 419.
108 Vulpe, 2001a, 235; Szeverényi, 2013, 666.
109 Vulpe, Tudor 1970, 418.
110 Vulpe, Tudor 1970, 418.
111 Vulpe, Tudor 1970, 418.
112 Vulpe, Tudor 1970, 418; Vulpe, 1974, 249-250.
113 Bátora 2003; Hansen, 2011, 143; Dani, 2013, 204;Szeverényi, 2013, 664; Băjenaru, Frînculeasa 2014, 14.
114 Dani, 2013, 218; Băjenaru, Frînculeasa 2014, 14-15.

be noticed from the different contexts of their deposition, indicating they were involved in other practices. As already mentioned, in the Caucasus area axes were generally found in lavishly furnished mound burials. The most famous example is Gr.5/Kurgan 31 excavated in Klady, assigned to the Maykop culture[115]. The outstanding grave inventory was composed, among others, of six metal pots, six axes of different types, nine daggers, a sword, precious metals beads, rings and pendants, pottery[116]. Two of the axes had typological characteristics also found in Baniabic type items. The proposed dating of this burial assigned it to the last quarter of the IVth millennium BC[117]. Another burial, dated to the half of the same millenium, was unearthed in Maykop and also contained an axe of this type, along with a dagger and other grave goods[118]. In the North Pontic steppe area the percent of axes in Yamnaya burials is smaller , but it does not completely disappear[119].

In Central and Southeastern Europe none of the axes was found in funerary contexts or settlements, most of them were discovered as single items or in exceptional cases in hoards. However, they were never associated with other types of pieces that could ease their chronological assignment[120]. In one case, at Izbucul Topliței in Transylvania, two Baniabic axes were discovered in the same context with human bones, the authors stating that “somewhat distanced from the burials, they come from their inventory”[121]. The illustration shown in the article doesn’t help clarifying the relation between these pieces and the graves, but the available data are not sufficient to justify these allegations[122].

In the Carpathian-Danube area as well, Baniabic axes (Annex 2) were fortuitously found, generally as single items, much more rarely in hoards. A significant number come from the Intra-Carpathian region, where the most important finding was the Baniabic (Vâlcele) hoard, discovered in 1928[123]. It wascomprised of somewhere between 32 and 55 axes, being one of the largest hoards dated to this time frame[124]. Given

[115] Hansen, 2010, 301.
[116] Hansen, 2010, 301.
[117] Hansen, 2010, 303.
[118] Hansen, 2011, 143.
[119] Băjenaru, 2010b, p. 155.
[120] Băjenaru, 2010b, 154; Hansen, 2010, 305;Hansen, 2011, 143;Szeverenyi, 2013, 664, 667; Băjenaru, Frînculeasa 2014, 14.
[121] Halasi, Emodi 1985, 232.
[122] Băjenaru, 2010b, 154; Motzoi-Chicideanu, 2011, 319.
[123] Roska, 1933.
[124] Szeverényi, 2013, 661-662.

the pieces had been made in the same workshop, perhaps in the same batch, and show no traces of wear, this was interpreted as an indication of their production especially for deposition[125]. In Transylvania, similar axes were found in Cheile Turului, Colțești, Cubleșul Someșan, Sebeș and Toplița[126]. In the Extra-Carpathian region these findings were less numerous, in the east in Rădeni and Rotunda[127], in Dobrudja in Mahmudia and Izvoarele[128], in Muntenia a piece was mentioned in Ploiești[129], while in the south-west there was only one discovery, in Dănceu[130]. Nevertheless, the spreading area of these axes was larger and included the entire Carpathian Basin and the area south of the Danube[131].

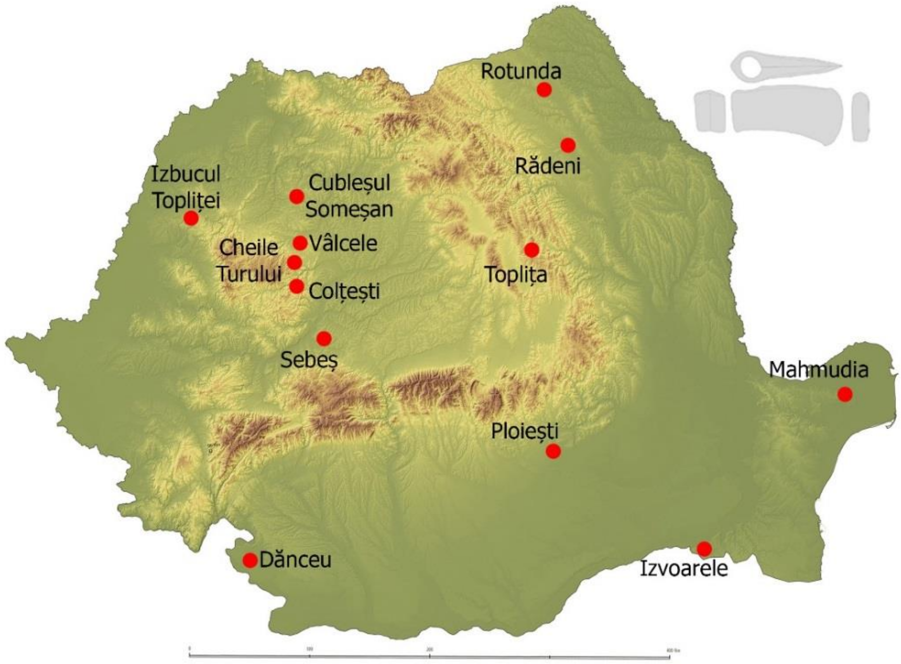

Fig. 7 – Map of the Baniabic axes from Romania (following Dani, 2013, fig. 1 redrawn; Băjenaru, Frînculeasa 2014, fig. 1) (base map Bogdan Olariu)

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[125] Băjenaru, 2010b, 153.
[126] Vulpe, 1970.
[127] Dumitroaia, 1985, 465; Burtănescu, 2002b, 172.
[128] Vasiliu, 1996, 27; Irimia, 1998, 37.
[129] Băjenaru, Frînculeasa 2014, 14.
[130] Crăciunescu, 1998, 146.
[131] Dani, 2013, fig 1; Băjenaru, Frînculeasa 2014, 14, note 5.

Given that in most cases these items were discovered fortuitously, lacking any information regarding their deposition contexts, and when such data was available it wasn't usually chronologically relevant, the attribution of Baniabic axes to a certain time frame proved to be a difficult task, the only useful criteria being the typological ones. Based on analogies with pieces from the north Caucasian area, which were dated starting with the second half of the IVth millennium BC, the axes from the Carpathian-Danube area were assigned to the same interval. Typologically, they were related to the Maykop 2 and 3 axes (or the Novosvobodnaya type) according to the typology made by S. Korenevskij[132], the closest findings being the ones from the Dnieper area[133]. In the opinion of S. Hansen the Baniabic axes can be related to the Baden culture, a hypothesis also issued by A. Vulpe[134]

As already stated, the major difference between the areas where such items occured consists in their manipulation within different social practices. While in northern Caucasus they were usually grave goods, in the Carpathian Basin they were placed in the ground, generally as single items, very rarely in hoards. This was considered a social innovation, a special type of practice, the aware selective deposition as a hoard comprised of one single object[135].

How can it be explained this transformation of the way in which axes were used, that took place along with the spread of the new technology? It's been suggested that the process of adopting new material forms by a community involves several aspects: on the one hand the "technological domestication" meaning the control over all the stages of the production of objects, and on the other their "translation" into that society's own language, in other words the integration of their social and cultural meaning into its structure, all of these causing changes[136]. Thus, the value and meaning of objects are not considered as being static, determined by inherent qualities, but are rather contextual, changing the context sometimes producing different meanings of those objects[137]. In the particular case of shaft-hole axes, the object was not just taken from the steppe area into Central and Eastern Europe along with its original function and meaning, but rather seems to have been reinterpreted, in the

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[132] Korenevskij, 1974.

[133] Szeverenyi, 2013, 665-666.

[134] Hansen, 2010, 305; Vulpe, 1997a, 44; Vulpe, 2001b, 422.

[135] Hansen, 2010, 304, 306; Szeverenyi, 2013, 667.

[136] Gori, 2014, 272.

[137] Țârlea, 2008, 66.

new environment it was no longer used in constructing identities during burial practices, but was deposited in ritual contexts[138].

How can it be understood the use of axes in depositional practices and what function did they fulfill during this period, given than metal objects were rare and exotic goods? In the interpretation of the archaeological record the presence of weapons was usually connected with martial values and warrior identities. If they were part of the funerary inventory, as was the case of the lavishly furnished burials from the northern Caucasus, the warrior identity was displayed or perhaps even constructed during funerary rituals by the mourners, but if the rule was to use them in other contexts, the warrior identity seems deliberately eliminated from the burial practices, being instead consituted through other types of practices[139].

Most of the interpretations had as a starting point the idea that copper axes were prestige goods. The Bronze Age was seen as a time when the competition for power was connected including to the individuals' capacity to prove they had access to exotic goods and technologies[140]. Thus, owning such items and giving them up deliberately in a ceremonial frame during depositions could have been a way to express social status, to maintain or increase prestige[141]. They have also been connected to practices such as gift exchange and bringing offerings.[142] Other interpretations gave a more collective meaning to these depositions, stating they are relevant for the relationship between objects and communities, as oppsed to placing axes in burials which would be indicative of the individual-object relationship[143].

The Dumbrăvioara type as defined by A. Vulpe, is characterised by "the pronounced profiling of the shaft-hole. The upper edge is straight.The blade's cross-section is pentagonal, but unlike the Fajsz and Corbasca types, the top of the pentagon is facing down. On some of the pieces from Transylvania it can be noticed a decoration made of facets, on the shaft-hole (Sf. Gheorghe and Jimbor) or on the entire surface of the axe (Mura Mare)"[144].

Some observations must be made in what these axes are concerned. In the Carpathian-Danube (Annex 3) area they were the

[138] Băjenaru, 2010b, 155; Szeverenyi, 2013, 667.
[139] Fontijn, Fokkens 2007, 354; Bruck, Fontijn 2013, 201.
[140] Szeverenyi, 2013, 667.
[141] Popescu, 2006, 445.
[142] Hansen, 2011, 145.
[143] Băjenaru, Frînculeasa 2014, 14.
[144] Vulpe, Tudor 1970, 420.

products of the local metallurgy, as demonstrated by the discovery of casting moulds during excavations performed in the settlement from Leliceni (Harghita County) attributed to the Jigodin group[145]. This archaeological group was assigned to a time frame contemporary with the final phase of the Glina culture, anchoring Dumbrăvioara axes in a more advanced stage of the Early Bronze Age[146]. This dating was supported by some of the items found into more relevant chronological contexts. Thus, the one from Blănoiu was found while digging a hole, in a Glina feature[147], and one single Dumbrăvioara axe was found in a settlement, during research performed in Sfântu Gheorghe, Örkö, probably placed in a Jigodin context[148]. The item from Răcătău, discovered in a Monteoru Ic3-Ic2 settlement, was placed in a context that could be dated a millennium later[149].

As in the case of the Baniabic axes, none of the Dumbrăvioara pieces discovered in the Carpathian-Danube area were placed in burials. The axes from Mura Mare and Jimbor were fortuitous discoveries and had faceted surfaces, similar to an item found in Topolie, but also to the one from Mala Gruda[150]. This aspect along with the already mentioned gold hair ring of the Leukas type, from Ampoița and Velika Gruda, attest the connections between the two regions[151].

In this register of connections with other areas should be mentioned a burial excavated in Szczytina (Gr.4)[152], attributed to the Corded Ware, in which the deceased was lying crouched, accompanied by an axe assigned to the Dumbrăvioara type along with a copper torque and other grave goods, indicating the existence of relations between south-eastern Poland and eastern Transylvania, which might explain the presence of the corded decorations present on pottery of the Jigodin group[153].

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[145] Roman *et alii* 1992, taf. V/10-11, 78.
[146] Vulpe, 1997a, 44; Vulpe, 2001b, 422; Burtănescu, 2002b, 187.
[147] Băjenaru, 2010b, 154; Băjenaru, 2014, 239.
[148] Băjenaru, 2010b, 154.
[149] Băjenaru, 2010b, 154; Burtănescu, 2002b, 188.
[150] Vulpe, 2001b, 422.
[151] Vulpe, 2001b, 423.
[152] Czopek 2011, 249, no. 64.15.
[153] Dani, 2013, 209.

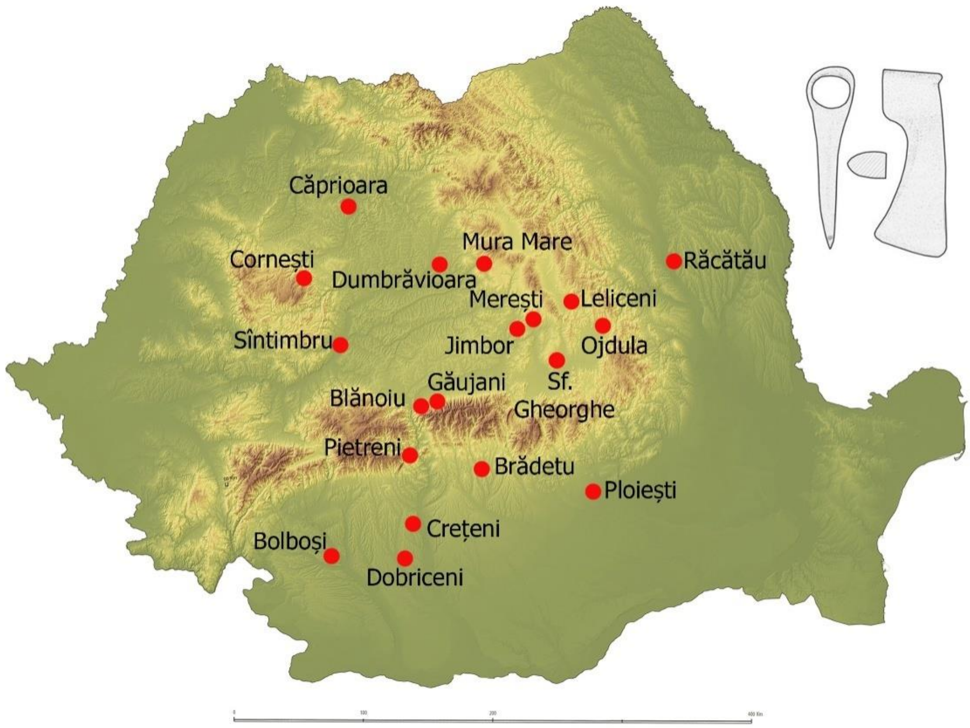

Fig. 8 – Map of the Dumbrăvioara axes from Romania (following Dani, 2013, fig. 5, redrawn); (base map Bogdan Olariu)

Tanged daggers occured at the Lower Danube during the Early Bronze Age and are considered specific to this period, unlike the ones with a hafting plate and rivets which existed from an earlier time frame, so this study will only focus on the former[154]. As in the case of shaft-hole axes, the emergence of tanged daggers was connected to interactions with the north-Pontic steppes[155]. They have an axtension of the blade's body, but clearly delimited, used for attaching the handle[156]. The attribution of items to this type was problematic, as they were sometimes called: daggers, swords, short swords, knives, knife-daggers, however, nowadays daggers are defined as blades with two edges whose maximum length reaches 30 cm[157].

[154] Băjenaru, 2010b, 155; Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 364.
[155] Băjenaru, 2010b, 155.
[156] Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 366.
[157] Băjenaru, Popescu 365.

The tanged daggers found in Romania were discussed in detail in terms of their typology and chronology[158]. This paper will only provide a synthesis of data available on this category of items, as a background for the analysis that will be performed. For the Early Bronze Age, 12 tanged daggers were cataloged, although their chronological attribution was sometimes uncertain, given the lack of typological expressiveness of items[159].

Among the set types, the Yamnaya one is of particular interest to the topic addressed here because it occured in the Carpathian area along with the barrow burials attributed to those communities.The noticeable difference between the origin area and the one in which this object was adopted lies in their deposition contexts. If in the north-Pontic area daggers were part of funerary inventories, found in Yamnaya and Katakombnaya burials, at the Lower Danube they were not usually placed in graves[160].

Among the characteristics of these items are their small size (10-12 cm), the flat, biconvex cross-section of the blade, the thin tang[161].The following pieces were assigned to this type: the Băile Herculane, Odaia Turcului, Mihai Viteazu and Crăciunel daggers, although for the latter there is a controversy regarding its dating[162]The dagger from Mihai Viteazu came from a destroyed barrow and will be addressed later along with other weapons from Yamnaya burials. The daggers from Romania were placed in the 4th group, following the typology of S. Korenevskij[163] and were dated to the end of the IVth and the beginning of the IIIrd millennium BC.

[158] Băjenaru, Popescu 2012.
[159] Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 380.
[160] Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 387; Băjenaru, 2010b, 156.
[161] Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 387-388.
[162] Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 388.
[163] Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 390-391; Korenevskij, 1978, 42, fig. 8.

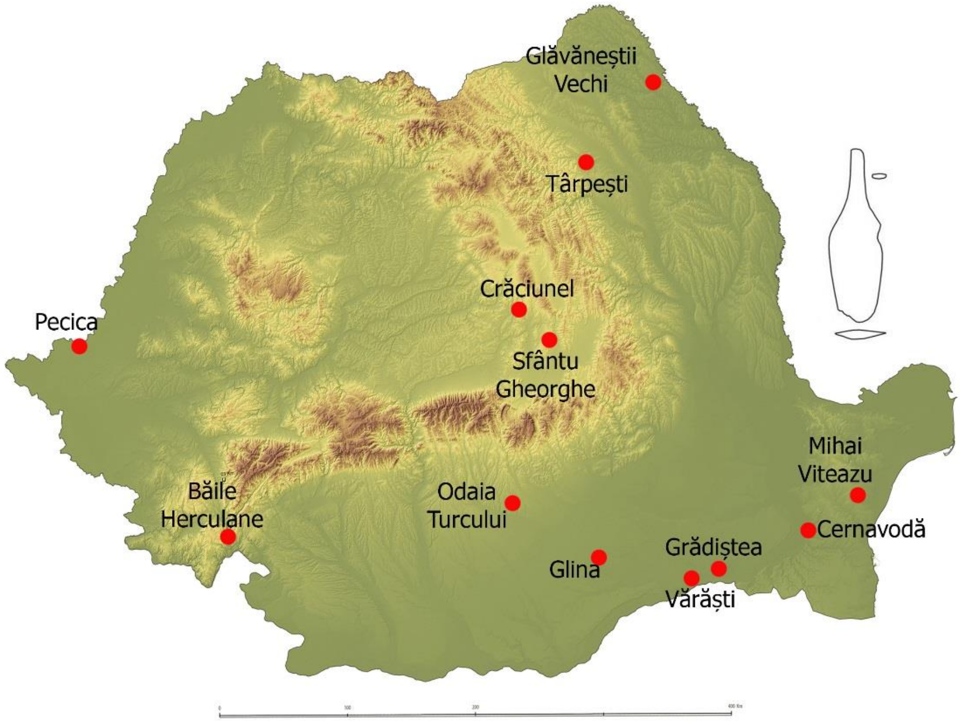

Fig. 9 – Map of the Early Bronze Age tanged daggers from Romania (following Băjenaru, Popescu, 2012, fig. 1, redrawn); (base map Bogdan Olariu)

Ar regards their discovery context, out of the 12 tanged daggers attributed to the Early Bronze Age (Annex 4), 7 were found in settlements, 3 in burials and two came from isolated discoveries, indicating their occurence especially in settlements and less as grave-goods, but also the fact that none of the daggers from the Carpathian-Danube were associated with other categories of objects from depositions[164].

During the IIIrd millenium BC the tanged dagger became an important piece of the burial standard in most of Europe, in the west through the Bell Beaker and in the north-Pontic area through the Yamnaya phenomenon[165]. In the Danube area, however, the interpretation of the archaeological record doesn't lead to the identification of a pattern regarding the use of these items by prehistoric communities[166]. It should be stated that the few daggers that came from burials were in fact fortuitous findings, the pieces being recovered after the destruction of

[164] Băjenaru, 2010b, 156; Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 399.
[165] Băjenaru, 2010b, 156, Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 401-402.
[166] Băjenaru, 2010b, 156; Popescu, Băjenaru, 2012, 402.

graves, so the information regarding the burial ritual could not be recovered[167]. In terms of their function and functionality, daggers were traditionally interpreted as weapons, even though the characteristics of some pieces make them completely ineffective from this perspective[168]. Another hypothesis is that they were used during animal sacrifices or to slice meat[169]. It was also stated that they could have changed their function over time, given the variability of contexts in which they occur[170].

As can be seen from the analysis of both the Early Bronze Age shaft-hole axes and daggers, the category of weapons is under-represented in Yamnaya barrow burials at the Lower Danube, an aspect already noticed in the scholarly literature[171]. However, although rare, there are some features that should be mentioned.

An isolated finding was the flanged axe discovered in Gr.4/Ploiești Triaj I. It was a double burial and it was considered the primary grave of the mound, along with the *Randleistenbeil* type axe the deceased were accompanied by tubular copper pearls and a necklace made of bone pieces, placed between the two individuals. A small lump of ochre was found near the tibia of the deceased that also had the flanged axe[172].

In the typology of flanged axes, the item from Ploiești was included into the Șincai variant along with others from Araci, Sighișoara, Valea lui Mihai, Banat, Târpeşti, Hlăpeşti, Grădina, Moldova Veche, Bretea Mureșană, Vârghiș, Sânzieni[173]. The piece from Ploiești-Triaj was the only one found in a burial context, all the others come from fortuitous findings or settlements[174]. South of the Danube analogies in mound burials were unearthed in Bulgaria in M3/Gr.8 from Goran Slatina[175].

On the current territory of Romania there is one single dagger found in a bronze age mound, in Mihai Viteazu. The dagger was found close to a destroyed skeleton[176]. South of the Danube there is an analogy in the kurgan from Lovech[177] and possibly Yambol[178]. In Bulgaria it was

167 Popescu, Băjenaru 2012, 402.
168 Băjenaru, 2010b, 157.
169 Skak-Nielsen, 2009, p. 352.
170 Harding, 2006, 506; Băjenaru, 2010b, 157.
171 Motzoi-Chicideanu, 2011, 277.
172 Zirra, 1960, 103; Comşa, 1976, 43; Comșa, 1998, 22; Frînculeasa *et alii* 2013, 29; Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 200.
173 Vulpe, 1975, 66-67; Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 201; Băjenaru, 2014, 237.
174 Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 201.
175 Panayotov, 1989, 140-141.
176 Irimia, 1981, 347.
177 Băjenaru, 2013, 125, no. 334.
178 Băjenaru, 2014, 244; Băjenaru, 2013, 252.

also excavated one of the most lavishly equipped burials from the western area, in Kamen. The main burial of the mound contained four individuals accompanied by two flat axes, two tanged daggers, two silver spiral hair rings and another one made of copper[179]. Another grave containing a dagger was unearthed in Hungary in the mound from Sárretudvari-Őrhalom/Gr.7 having as grave goods along the dagger, a shaft-hole axe and two hair rings, one made of silver and one of gold[180].

Two other pieces considered weapons found in Yamnaya burials are the axes with cylindrical butt from Fălciu (Vaslui County) and from Cuconeștii Vechi in the Republic of Moldavia. In Fălciu the burials were destroyed, Gr. 1 was the burial that contained a copper axe, a flint axe, a stone axe, two flint spearheads, flint blades and chips[181]. There are no information regarding the position and orientation of the deceased, however the presence of ochre could be noticed.

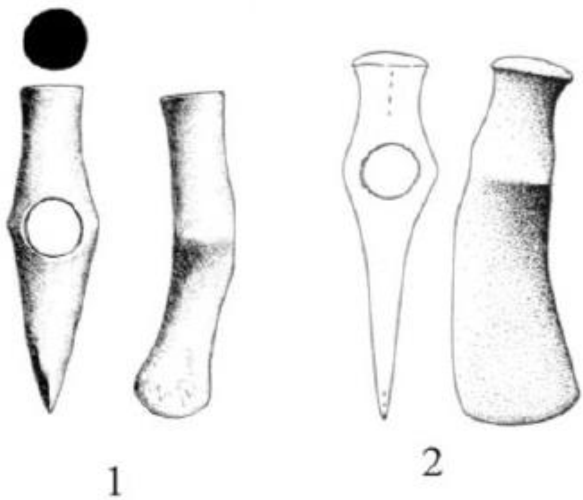

Fig. 14 – Axes with cylindrical butt : 1. Fălciu, 2. Cuconeștii Vechi (following Vasile, Ciubotaru 2015, fig. 2)

Given that the area had already been excavated before archaeological observations could be performed, it is not clear whether the graves were part of a mound or not[182]. Analogies to the copper axe with arched body, cylindrical butt, which closely resembles stone battle

[179] Băjenaru, 2013, 109, no. CXXXV.
[180] Dani, Nepper 2006, 34, fig. 5.
[181] Popușoi, 1987-1989, 15.
[182] Popușoi, 1987-1989, 17.

hammer-axes, are to be found in the Șiria type[183], however the axe was assigned to the Cornești type, the Fălciu variant, along with another piece from Cosmești[184]. One more item comes from Argeș, but for this axe, as well as for the one from Cosmești there are no information regarding the discovery context[185].

Fot the axe from Fălciu the author stated that it had yellow stains, indicating that it might have been covered with a thin layer of yellow metal[186]. It was dated to the late IV[th] or the early III[rd] millennium BC[187]. Both axes from Fălciu and Cuconeștii Vechi have analogies in grave 5 from Klady, these findings being considered chronologically closed[188]. This could suggest that in the particular case of these artefacts the initial meaning was preserved[189].

Final Remarks

The second half of the IV[th] millennium BC was the beginning of significant changes in the Carpathian-Danube Area, with consequences for the whole III[rd] millennium BC, including new burial customs and innovative technologies, most of them with eastern steppe origins. Thus, burial barrows appeared in the landscape, raised over rectangular grave-pits, sometimes with wood or stone structures, containing individuals lying in contracted or supine position with flexed legs, stained with ochre, rarely accompanied by grave goods like pottery, ornaments or weapons made of stone, and more rarely of metal. Among the metallurgical innovations, items such as silver hair rings, copper shaft-hole axes and tanged daggers are considered specific to the new era, and their occurence at the Lower Danube was connected to the so-called Yamnaya populations of the north-Pontic steppes[190]. This period coincided with the first phase of the formation of the circumpontic metallurgical province, as defined by Chernych, a phase in which the Carpatho-Danubian area was not included, as it was still part of the desintegrating Carpatho-Balcanic province, only during the III[rd]

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[183] Popușoi, 1987-1989, 18.
[184] Mareș, 2002, 107.
[185] Diaconu, Ciubotaru 2015, 157-158.
[186] Popușoi, 1987-1989, 16.
[187] Vulpe, 1997b, 273.
[188] Hansen, 2010, 304.
[189] Popescu, 2006, 446.
[190] Szeverényi, 2013, 666; Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 369; Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 28; Băjenaru, Frînculeasa 2014, 14-15; Popescu, 2010, 172.

millennium BC being completely integrated within the circumpontic metallurgical province through the existence of production centres[191], which had a major rol in spreading metallurgy to the west[192]. It was during this time period that local items were produced in south-eastern Europe, such as more developed types of shaft-hole axes or tanged daggers, as indicated by the existence of casting moulds[193].

However, at the end of the IV[th] millenium BC the area north of the Lower Danube was only adopting new technology, as a consequnece of the mobility and exchange relations covering wide areas that characterised this time frame. Some of these objects were not just adopted along with their original meaning, but given a new one, being involved in other social practices as could be seen from their different discovery context. This was the case of shaft-hole axes, which in their origin area in northern Caucasus were generally used during burial rituals to create martial identities of the deceased, while in Central and Southeastern Europe most of the axes were placed in the ground as single items or more rarely in hoards[194], probably during ceremonies. Many of the interpretations regarding this type of practice had as a starting point the idea that metal items represented prestige goods, their foreign provenance and novelty giving them a special status and relating them to power[195]. Either belonging to one individual or to a group, as it was supposed for hoards containing a large number of pieces, the deposition of metal items during special events was a different manner of obtaining, maintaining and expressing personal prestige and social status within the community[196], not connected with the display of these goods during burial rituals, a practice well known in the eastern area.

As regards tanged daggers, often associated with shaft-hole axes in burials in the northern Caucasus, they occur in the Carpathian-Danube area in various contexts, more often in settlements, only sometimes in burials or as isolated items, not associated with other types of artefacts that can be found in depositions[197]. This variability of the discovery contexts of tanged dagger was seen as a consequence of the multiple

[191] Chernych, 2008, 79.
[192] Dani, 2013, 210.
[193] Băjenaru 2010b, 152; Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 190.
[194] Băjenaru, 2010b, 154; Hansen, 2010, 305;Hansen, 2011, 143;Szeverenyi, 2013, 664, 667; Băjenaru, Frînculeasa, 2014, 14;.
[195] Fontijn, 2008a, 87; Szeverenyi, 2013, 667.
[196] Popescu, 2006, 445; Gori, 2014, 277, 282.
[197] Băjenaru, 2010, 156; Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 399.

ways in which they were used, maybe changing their function along time[198].

When metal weapons did occur in barrow burials north of the Lower Danube they were not Baniabic or other type of shaft-hole axes attributed to the Early Bronze Age, but flanged axes (Gr. 4/Ploiești-Triaj I), or hammer-axes with cylindrical butt (Gr. 1/Fălciu), only in one case a tanged dagger in Mihai Viteazu. Unfortunately, all of these findings came from destroyed burials, thus our current knowledge regarding the presence of weapons in Yamnaya burials in this area, which are rare, as already noticed[199], is even more scarce due to lack of information regarding the stratigraphic positions of burials in mounds or the funerary ritual. Given the significant presence of burials equipped with weapons in Bulgaria and Hungary, it is possible that future research will provide a slightly different picture.

Ornaments such as copper torques, spectacle-shaped pendants, but mostly hair rings appeared în burials, and even though the anthropological data are very scarce, they seem to be associated mainly with male individuals as was the case of the copper torque found in the main burial (Gr. 5) from Aricești IV, placed at the neck of an adult male aged between 35,2 and 38,4 years old along with a silver hair ring[200], or the cases of hair rings from Aricești I, Plenița, Rahman I and Vânători, as shown in Table 1. The spactacle-shaped pendant from Ploiești-Triaj I/Gr.3 was placed in the grave of a child, thus no information regarding the sex of the deceased is available. These metal items were very rare during this time frame, the copper torque and spectacle-shaped pendant are unique discoveries up to this moment, while silver hair rings, although more common, occur only in approximately 5% of the total number of investigated burials and were considered among the earliest silver object that reached the Lower Danube area[201]. It seems these were prestige items, destined only for a small number of individuals, probably part of a specific costume and way of looking portrayed by mourners in order to create a certain identity of the deceased[202].

These observations regarding the burial ritual might be refined along with a better understanding of the chronology of Yamnaya burials in this area, meaning that once identified certain stages in the

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[198] Harding, 2006, 506; Băjenaru, 2010, 157.
[199] Motzoi-Chicideanu, 2011, 277.
[200] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014, 196.
[201] Popescu, 2010, 165-166.
[202] Fontijn, 2008a, 90.

development of this phenomenon that covered almost a millennium, this could lead scholars to distinguish certain peculiarities of these different phases. However, the absolute chronology of mound burials in Romania is the subject of very recent concerns[203], which renders impossible a more detailed analysis for the moment.

Finally, to answer the questios that were the starting point of this analysis, in the area north of the Lower Danube starting from the last third of the IV[th] millenium BC up to the second half of the III[rd] millenium BC, the image reflected in burials is quite different from the one pictured in metal depositions, there seemed to exist a pattern of selecting or excluding certain objects for and from different practices. Ornaments appearedin graves as a part of the deceased’s costume, while shaft-hole axes were deposited mainly as single item hoards, clearly avoiding funerary contexts. This is even more intriguing if we take into account that shaft-hole axes, but made of stone are to be found in several mounds, of which Grave 2 from Ploiești III[204] and Grave 32 from mound 2 investigated in Ciulnița are only two examples[205].

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[203] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2013; Frînculeasa *et alii* 2014;Ailincăi *et alii* 2014; Frînculeasa *et alii* 2015a.
[204] Frînculeasa *et alii* 2015a, 234.
[205] Marinescu-Bâlcu *et alii* 199521-23.

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Annexes

ANNEX 1 - List of the hair rings found in Romania:

A. Copper

1. Glăvăneştii-Vechi

a. mound I/1949 – Gr.10, one spiral hair ring (Comșa 1987, 372, fig. 11/2, 12/3)

b.mound I/1949 – Gr.12,one hair ring with distanced ends (Comșa 1987, 374, fig. 11/1)

c. mound II/1949 – Gr.3, 2 spiral hair rings (Comșa 1989a, 93, fig. 8/1-2);

2. Gurbănești

a. mound I – Gr.2, one round hair ring with distanced ends (Rosetti 1959, 793, fig. 15/3)

b. movila II – Gr.7, one spiral hair ring, the material is not mentioned (Rosetti 1959, 798, fig. 15/1)

c. movila II – Gr.9, one spiral hair ring (Rosetti 1959, 800)

d. movila II – Gr.12,one spiral hair ring (Rosetti 1959, 801, 15/2);

3. Năeni – 1 hair ring of the Zimnicea type (Vulpe, Drâmbocianu 1981, 2, 176, fig. 6, 8/4)

4. Sultana

a. Movila Mare – Gr.1, 2 spiral hair rings (Șerbănescu, Comșa 2012, 24)

b. Movila Mare – Gr.5, 2 spiral hair rings (Șerbănescu, Comșa 2012, 25)

B. Silver

1. Aricești I

a. Gr.1 – 1 spiral hair ring (Frînculeasa 2007, 185, pl. 3/1)

b. Gr.3 – 2 Zimnicea type hair rings (Frînculeasa 2007, 185, pl. 3/3, pl. 4/4,5)

2. Aricești IV

a. Gr.4A – 5 spiral hair rings (Frînculeasa *et alii*, 2014, 192, pl. 6/4)

b. Gr.5B – 1 spiral hair ring (Frînculeasa *et alii*, 2014, 192, pl. 9/3, pl 10/3)

3. Broșteni – 1 spiral hair ring (Zaharia, 1959, 113, fig. 4/1,)

4. Celei – 2 spiral hair rings (Nica, 1982, 24, fig. 6/1-4)

5. Chilia Veche – Mound I/Gr.89 – one spiral hair ring (Vasiliu, 1995a, 54, pl. IV/4, Pl. VI/3)

6. Enisala – Mound 4/Movila săpată, 2 circular hair rings (Vasiliu, 2003-2004, 124)

7. Mihai Bravu – Mound 1/Gr.3, one spiral hair ring (Vasiliu 1995b, 142, pl. VI/4)

8. Perișor – one spiral hair ring (Nestor, 1933, 67)

9. Plenița

a. Măgura Mare – Gr.1 - one spiral hair ring (Nicolăescu-Plopșor, 1923, 84)

b. Măgura din via lui Ion Bârțan – one spiral hair ring (Nicolăescu-Plopșor, 1923, 85)

c. Mound 2 – Gr.1, 2 hair rings (Berciu, 1952, 164-165, fig 21)

10. Ploiești-Triaj

a. Ploiești-Triaj I – Gr.3, one spiral hair ring (Nestor, 1944, p. 30)

b. Ploiești-Triaj II – Gr.15 one spiral hair ring (Comșa, 1989b, p. 183)

c. Ploiești-Triaj II – Gr.20 one spiral hair ring (Comșa, 1989b, p. 185)

10. Rahman I – Gr.2 one spiral hair ring (Ailincai *et alii*, 2014, 143, fig. 5)

11. Rahman II – Gr.3, 2 spiral hair rings (Micu *et alii*, 2014, 188)

10. Stelnica – one Zimnicea type hair ring (Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000,56, nr. 23)

11. Silvașu de Sus – one hair ring in a mound (Luca *et alii*, 2011, 122)

11. Văleni-Dâmbovița – one spiral hair ring (Motzoi-Chicideanu, Olteanu 2000, 57, nr. 29)

12. Vânători – one spiral hair ring (Brudiu, 1985, 239, fig. 3/2)

13. Verbița – Gr.1, one round hair ring (Berciu, Roman, 1984, 15-16, fig. 1/3)

14. Zebil – two Zimnicea type hair rings (Vasiliu, 2007, 123, fig. 4/4-5)

15. Zimnicea

a. Gr.4 – one spiral hair ring (Alexandrescu, 1974, pl. 8/6)

b. Gr.9 – five Zimnicea type hair rings (Alexandrescu, 1974, pl. 8/10-14)

c. Gr.11 – two spiral hair rings (Alexandrescu, 1974, pl. 9/1-2)

d. Gr.16 – two spiral hair rings (Alexandrescu, 1974, pl. 8/3,4)

e. Gr.20 – two spiral hair rings (Alexandrescu, 1974, pl. 8/1,2)

f. Gr.24 – two spiral hair rings (Alexandrescu, 1974, pl. 8/5,7)

C. Gold

1. Aricești I – Gr.1, one spiral hair ring with gold sheet (Frînculeasa, 2007, 185, pl. 3/1)

2. Ampoița – Mound 3/Gr. 1, two Leukas type hair ring (Ciugudean, 1996, 33, fig. 31/12)

3. Brașov – one spiral hair ring (Zaharia, 1959, p. 114, fig. 12/9)

4. Jurilovca – one Leukas type hair ring without archaeological context (Vasiliu, 2007, 122-123, fig. 4/2)

5. Vlădești –Mound 343/Gr.2, one spiral hair ring (Brudiu, 2003, 69, fig 32/4)

ANNEX 2 -List of the Baniabic axes from România:

1. Cheile Turului (Vulpe 1970, 27, nr. 34, Taf. 3.34)
2. Colțești (Vulpe 1970, 27, no. 37, Taf. 3.37)
3. Cubleșul Someșan (Vulpe 1970, 27,no. 35, Taf. 3.35)
4. Dănceu (Crăciunescu 1998, 146)
5. Izbucul Topliței (Halasi, Emodi, 1985, 232, Fig. 5a)
6. Izvoarele (Irimia 1998, 37, 39, fig. 2-3)
7. Mahmudia (Vasiliu 1996, 27-30, Irimia 1998, 39)
8. Ploiești (Băjenaru, Frînculeasa 2014, 16, fig. 1)
9. Rădeni (Dumitroaia 1985, 465-466, fig. 4a, Burtănescu 2002b, 172, Pl. 1.1)
10. Rotunda (Burtănescu 2002b, 172, pl. 1.2)
11. Sebeș (Vulpe 1970, 27, nr. 36)
12. Toplița (Vulpe 1970, 27,nr. 33, taf. 3.33)
13. Vâlcele/Baniabic (Roska 1933, Vulpe 1970, 27, nr. 1-32, taf. 1, taf 2, taf 3. 25-32)

ANNEX 3- List of the Dumbrăvioara axes from România:

1. Blănoi (Petre-Govora 1983, 288-289, Fig. 2. 1)
2. Bolboși (Vulpe 1970, p. 31, nr. 55, taf 4. 55)
3. Brădetu (Vulpe 1988, p. 210, fig. 1. 4)
4. Căprioara (Vulpe 1970, p. 31, nr. 49, taf. 4. 49)
5. Cornești (Vulpe 1970,p. 31, nr. 50, taf. 4. 50)
6. Crețeni (Vulpe 1970, p. 31, nr. 56, taf. 4. 56)
7. Dobriceni (Vulpe 1970, p. 31, nr. 48, taf. 4. 48)
8. Dumbrăvioara (Vulpe 1970, p. 31, nr. 48, taf. 4. 48)

9. Găujani, Boișoara-Vâlcea (Petre 1976, 262-264, fig. 1. 2)
10. Jimbor (Vulpe 1970, p. 31, nr. 53, taf 4, 53)
11. Leliceni (Roman et alii 1992, taf. 78, taf. 79. 2, 5-8)
12. Mura Mare (Vulpe 1970, p. 31, nr. 54, taf. 4. 54)
13. Ojdula (Vulpe 1970, p. 31, nr. 51, taf. 4. 51)
14. Pietreni (Vulpe 1970, p. 31, nr. 58, taf. 4. 58)
15. Ploiești (Vulpe 1988, p. 210, fig. 1. 5)
16. Sfântu Gheorghe (Vulpe 1970, p. 31, nr. 52, taf. 4. 52)
17. Sîntimbru (Aldea, Ciugudean 1989, 71, pl. I. 2)
18. Răcătău (Burtănescu 2002b, 187-188, Pl. II. 7)

ANNEX 4 - List of the tanged daggers from Romania:

1. Băile Herculane (Roman 1976, 17, pl. 8/26)
2. Cernavoda (Berciu 1965, 64, fig 11/4)
3. Crăciunel (Székely 1955, 860, fig. 9/4, Székely 1997, 67, pl. 91/7)
4. Glăvăneștii Vechi (Junghanset alii 1968, 238)
5. Glina (Nestor 1960, 91, fig. 17/5)
6. Grădiștea (Culică 1975, 521, fig. 2/1)
7. Mihai Viteazu (Irimia 1981, 347, fig 2/2)
8. Odaia Turcului (Băjenaru 2006, 133, fig1/1)
9. Pecica (Mareș 2002, 276, pl. 55/5)
10. Sfântu Gheorghe (Székely 1970, 205, fig. 2/1)
11. Târpești (Marinescu-Bâlcu 1981, 104, fig. 215/6)
12. Vărăști (Băjenaru, Popescu 2012, 379 cu bibliografia)

A NON-REFERENTIAL AND NON-COGNITIVE THEORY OF TRUTH, IN VIJÑĀNAVĀDA BUDDHISM

Ovidiu Nedu[*]

Abstract. *Vijñānavāda Buddhism claims all kind of experience, including knowledge, is "mere ideation" (vijñaptimātra), being devoid of any objective counter-part, of any objective value. The experience of knowledge is determined solely by the individual predispositions of the knowing subject (his "imprints of the linguistic constructions – abhilāpavāsanā) and not by an alleged "external reality".*

Nevertheless, the school is able to claim the existence of a "truth", even in the absence of an objective reality that could account for this "truth". The truth of Vijñānavāda philosophy does not mean, in an Aristotelian or realistic manner, the concordance between subjective representation and objective reality but a mere consonance of the various subjective knowledge experiences. What determines such a truth are the so-called "shared" (sādhāraṇa) seeds (bīja) of experience, which inflict a certain degree of similarity to the experiences of various individual subjects. Hence, the truth has no cognitive value, being rather a state of Karmic tuning, i.e. the consonance of the experiences engendered by the "shared" part of the Karmic imprints of each individual being.

Keywords: *Buddhism, Mahāyāna, Vijñānavāda, truth, idealism, Karmic imprints, vāsanā.*

I.The subjective origin of the categorical system

Vijñānavāda Buddhism claims all kind of experience, including knowledge, is "mere ideation" *(vijñaptimātra)*, being devoid of any objective counter-part, of any objective value. The experience of knowledge is determined solely by the individual predispositions of the knowing subject (his "imprints of the linguistic constructions – *abhilāpavāsanā*) and not by an alleged "external reality".

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The categorical system originating in “the imprints of the linguistic constructions” *(abhilāpavāsanā)*

For Vijñānavāda, the categorical system has no grounds at the level of the objective reality; the relation between the conceptual construction of a cognitive subject and the reality beyond him is not a representational one. The conceptual schematization, being similar to imagination, fantasy, finds its origin only at the level of the cognitive subject.[1]

Vijñānavāda relates conceptualization to the so-called “imprints of the linguistic constructions” *(abhilāpavāsanā)*; these represent the seeds *(bīja)* which, in case of an individual, give birth to the conceptual constructions experienced by him. Although the term *„abhilāpavāsanā”* - “imprints of the linguistic constructions” or, in a looser translation, “imprints of the concepts”, is the one consecrated for referring to the seeds which give birth to conceptual experience, one can also come across other terms, such as *“vikalpavāsanā”* (“imprints of the conceptual discrimination”), *“prapañcavādavāsanā”* (“imprints of the discursive manifestation”) and so forth.

„Hence, Mahāmati, those who cling *(abhiniviṣṭa)* to the imprints of proliferation *(prapañcavādavāsanā)*, of the philosophical *(tīrthya)* [constructions], [imprints] which are devoid of a temporal beginning *(anādikāla)*, [those] cling *(abhiniviś)* to the statements *(vāda)* of identity *(ekatva)*, alterity *(anyatva)*, existence *(astitva)*, non-existence *(nāstitva)*, [their] thinking *(mati)* not having established *(avadhārita)* that [everything] is only *(mātra)* perception *(dṛśya)* of one’s own consciousness *(svacitta)*.”[2]

„32. Consciousness *(citta)* engenders *(saṃbhū)* diversity *(vicitra)*, being determined *(baddha)* by the imprints of conceptual discrimination *(vikalpavāsanā)*. Although [diversity] is only consciousness *(cittamātra)*, to the worldly *(laukika)* people *(nṛ)* it appears *(ākhyā)* as external *(bahiṣ)*.”[3]

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[1] For a study on the entirely subjective causes which lead to the categorical discrimination of the object, see Forman, 1989, 399-400!

[2] *„evameva mahāmate anādikālatīrthyaprapañcavādavāsanābhiniviṣṭāḥ ekatvānyatvāstitvanāstitvavādānabhiniviśante svacittadṛśyamātrānavadhāritamatayaḥ”* *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, chap.II, Nanjio, 1956, 90.

[3] *„32.vikalpavāsanābaddhaṃ vicitraṃ cittasaṃbhavam /*
bahirākhyāyate nṛṇāṃ cittamātraṃ hi laukikam //”
Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, chap.III, verse 32, Nanjio, 1956, 154.

„407. Due to the imprints *(vāsana)* and the seeds *(bīja)* of externality *(bāhya)* conceptual discrimination *(vikalpa)* is produced *(saṃpravṛt)*. The dependent *(tantra)* [own-being] is perceived *(gṛh)* through this; that which perceives *(gṛh)*, that is the constructed *(kalpita)* [own-being]."[4]

„Mahāmati, what are words *(rūta)*[5]? A «word» is said to be the discrimination *(vikalpa)* associated *(saṃyoga)* to speech *(vāc)* and letters *(akṣara)*, to inter-personal *(paraspara)* verbal communication *(jalpa)* which is issued *(viniḥsṛta)* from the teeths, jaws, palate, tongue, lips and the cavity of the mouth, and which has as [its] cause *(hetu)* the imprints of conceptual discrimination *(vikalpavāsanā)*."[6]

„XI.38. The apparition *(vikhyāna)* of an object *(artha)* having constructed *(parikalpita)* characteristics *(lakṣaṇa)* is due to the imprints *(vāsanā)* caused *(nimitta)* by conceiving *(saṃjñā)* an object *(artha)* which conforms to verbal expressions *(yathājalpa)*."[7]

Therefore, the conceptual discrimination represents the actualization of a certain tendency existing at the level of an individual consciousness.[8] This tendency is assumed by a certain individual along with appropriating a certain personal identity; in general, Vijñānavāda texts consider that the act of appropriating a certain personality consists of the appropriation of the body and its organs *(sendriyakakāya)* as well as of the appropriation of certain specific seeds *(bīja)* which will later become responsible for the tendencies of that particular individual, including the tendency of applying a certain categorical system.

[4] *"407. bāhyavāsanabījena vikalpaḥ saṃpravartate /*
tantraṃ hi yena gṛhṇāti yadgṛhṇāti sa kalpitam //"
Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, *Sagāthakam*, 407, Nanjio, 1956, 317.

[5] „Words" or „concepts"; in Buddhism thinking, word and concept are closely connected, the word being only the public expression of concept.

[6] *„tatra rutaṃ mahāmate katamat? yaduta vāgakṣarasaṃyogavikalpo dantahanutālujihvauṣṭhapuṭaviniḥsṛtaparasparajalpo vikalpavāsanāhetuko rutamityucyate"*
Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, chap.III, Nanjio, 1956, 154.

[7] *„XI.38. yathājalpārthasaṃjñāyā nimittaṃ tasya vāsanā /*
tasmādapyarthavikhyānaṃ parikalpitalakṣaṇaṃ"
Asaṅga, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, XI.38, Limaye, 2000, 187.

[8] Waldron, 2003, 2-3 states, in agreement with certain recent results of the cognitive sciences, that the "object" would be nothing else but a certain type of stimuli that are repeatedly produced. The "object" is nothing but an "instrument" the human being, due to his higher mental capacity, has created, in order to deal in a better way with experience, to be able to pursuit his own interests more easily.

Consequently, the categorical discrimination is more related to the personality, to the individual self, appropriated by the consciousness rather than to the objective manifestation. The fact that, later on, the conceptual experience will be related to the objective manifestation represents an erroneous act *(viparyāsa, mithyā)* of consciousness; the conceptual discrimination is superimposed *(adhyāropa)* on the objective manifestation in the absence of any natural connection between them.

Therefore, conceptual knowledge is a mere subjective experience; Mahāyāna texts often compare the experience of conceptual knowledge with the experience of dreams and hallucinations, arguing that the situations are the same in the case of the conceptualized knowledge as in the production of the dreams, which is determined only by causes related to the subjectivity of the individual, without being influenced at all by what exists objectively, outside the individual consciousness. Explaining the occurrence of the conceptual knowledge does not resort to its possible referentiality, but it is simply a causal explanation applied to the sphere of the human psychic; this type of knowledge is produced simply when certain subjective conditions are met.

„65. A thesis *(pratijñā)* is caused *(kāraṇa)* by some conditions *(pratyaya)*, causes *(hetu)*, apparitions *(dṛṣṭānta)*, as a dream *(svapna)*, as the [town] of the Gandharvas, as a circle *(cakra)* [of fire], as a mirage *(marīci)*, as the rays of the sun *(somabhāskara)*."[9]

Arguments for the subjective nature of the categorical discrimination

The subjective nature of categories results also from the frequently noticed tendency of the Buddhist texts to operate classifications of the objects of experience on soteriological grounds. The objects of experience are classified according to their role within the soteriological approach; the identity of the objects depends on this role they fulfil.

[9] *„65. pratyayairhetudṛṣṭāntaiḥ pratijñā kāraṇena ca /*
svapnagandharvacakreṇa marīcyā somabhāskaraiḥ //"
Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, *Sagāthakam*, 65, Nanjio, 1956, 272-273.
The sankrit text is slightly problematic, since literally it states that a thesis is produced *through* a dream *(svapna)*, the [town] of the Gandharvas, a circle *(cakra)* [of fire], a mirage *(marīci)*, the rays of the sun *(somabhāskara)*, the corresponding sanskrit workds being in the Instrumentative. Nevertheless, we interpreted the statement more freely, as a comparison.

It is obvious that, in this case, the categorical framing process is based solely on subjective grounds, the soteriological approach requiring an individual subject as reference point. Mahāyāna does not consider this type of classification as a special case, in which the subjective reasons would interfere only accidentally with the objective ones; on the contrary, the reasons on the basis of which any classification, any categorical framing is made can be only subjective, the classification on soteriological grounds being simply a common case of classification. In doing so, Mahāyāna anticipates certain tendencies that manifest in the cognitive sciences of today, which claim that the categorical system reflects not so much the structure of reality as the interests of the subject operating the categorical framing.[10]

Another argument in favour of the subjective nature of the categorical system and, implicitly, of any theoretical construction, is the obvious remark that they appear at the level of an individual being, at the level of a limited subject, and therefore can not elude the limited, particular perspective they are compelled to by their specific support. Therefore, the conceptual knowledge always carries with itself, intrinsically, the discriminatory attachment towards an individual self and the limited perspective to which they are compelled by the limited nature of the self at whose level they appear. The conceptual knowledge appears at the level of the mental consciousness *(manovijñāna)* which, on its turn, is determined by the mind *(manas)*. But the mind, according to Vijñānavāda, is the one responsible for the appearance of the error of the individual, limited self *(ātman)*. Because mental consciousness is determined by the mind, the error, the limitation, the subjectivity specific to the mind are inherent to it and, implicitly, this error will also characterise any form of conceptual knowledge that appears at the level of the mental consciousness. To put it differently, due to the fact that it appears at the level of an instance affected by the error of individuality, of subjectivity, conceptual knowledge possesses a certain inherent subjective, limited nature.

„I.21. The mind *(manas)* represents corruption *(pradoṣa)*; [its] nature *(prakṛti)* is corrupted *(praduṣṭa)*, and, therefore, whatever conforms to words *(yathāruta)* has an incorrect *(ayukta)* nature *(rūpa)*."[11]

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[10]Dasgupta, 1928, 38-39 shows how the mind *(manas)* and the operational consciousnesses *(pravṛttivijñāna)* are the ones responsible for the production of the conventional construction *(vyavahārika, saṃvṛti)*, under any of its aspects.

[11] *„I.21. manaḥ pradoṣaḥ prakṛtipraduṣṭo ['yathārute cāpi] hyayuktarūpaḥ /"*
Asaṅga, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, I.21, Limaye, 2000, 19.

The equally altered nature of the affective-volitive experience and of the conceptual experience

According to Vijñānavāda, there is a tight connection between the attachment to the ego, on the one hand, and the presence and the intensity of the tendency towards conceptual discrimination, on the other. As the tendency towards conceptual discrimination is related to the subjectivity of a certain individual, to a certain personality, the intensity of the attachment to the individual ego determines the intensity of the tendency towards conceptual discrimination. The same way the seeds of afflictions *(kleśa)* can be found at the level of the individual self *(ātman)* and of its tendencies, the seeds of categorical discrimination can be found in the sphere of the ego as well. For Vijñānavāda, the categorical discrimination does not have a more objective or a less altered status than the value discrimination depending on the preferences of the individual self. In the same way in which to constitute an object of desire is determined by purely subjective reasons,, to constitute an object *(artha, viṣaya)* of a certain type, with a certain categorical identity *(parikalpita svabhāva)*, is equally the result of a decision made on subjective grounds. The altered nature of the erroneous discrimination of the individual self *(ātman)* can be found not only in the sphere of value judgements, but, equally, in the sphere of conceptualisation.

Realistic philosophy operates a sharp dichotomy between the subjective sphere, to which thirst/desire *(tṛṣṇā)*, afflictions *(kleśa)*, and value determinations *(vyākṛta)* belong to, and the objective sphere, to which conceptual knowledge, notions would belong to. But, for Vijñānavāda, both afflictions, the attachment to a certain individual self, on the one hand, and the adherence to a certain categorical system and the making of certain categorical discriminations based on this system, on the other, are equally related to subjectivity and alteration. The objective sphere of manifestation is constituted only of the amorphous flux of the dependent origination *(pratītyasamutpāda)*.

Moreover, as the afflictions determined by the ego illusively and erroneously inflict the appearance of the self-other duality *(sva-para)*, the categorical discrimination determined by the ego also erroneously inflicts the appearance of some dualities, of the multiplicity inherent to it. In

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The words *„'yathārute cāpi"* are missing from the Sanskrit text preserved until today, as a result of the corruption of the manuscript. They represent only a reconstruction done by Bagchi, 1970. *Apud*. Limaye, 2000, 19.

doing so, similar to afflictions *(kleśa)*, conceptual knowledge falsifies reality and inflicts the state of bondage. Vijñānavāda considers that the objects of conceptual knowledge, the "knowable objects" *(jñeya)* represent, just like afflictions *(kleśa)*, obstructions *(āvaraṇa)* on the path to eliberation, the texts of the school frequently discussing about these two types of obstructions: obstructions consisting of the knowable objects *(jñeyāvaraṇa)* and obstructions consisting of afflictions *(kleśāvaraṇa)*.[12]

„Oh, Lord *(adhipati)* of Laṅka, the practice *(yoga)* of the philosophers *(tīrthya)* is produced *(pravṛt)* due to the clinging *(abhiniveśa)* of the philosophers to the individual self *(ātman)*. The ugly *(asaumya)* practices *(yoga)* of the philosophers *(tīrthya)* are due to the perception *(darśana)* and the clinging *(abhiniveśa)* to [considering] the own-nature *(svabhāva)* of consciousness *(vijñāna)* as a dual object *(dvayārtha)*."[13]

„206. .... Equally *(samatā)*, the apparitions *(ākhyā)* of knowledge *(jñāna)* and of afflictions *(kleśa)* preclude *(vivarjita)* liberation *(vimukti)*."[14]

„The propensity for discrimination of this consciousness will be intensified by both the intellectual defilement of holding fast to perverse views and the affectional defilement of indulgence in passion."[15]

The "obstructed" *(nivṛta)* nature of the conceptual knowledge

The Vijñānavāda texts assign to the conceptual discrimination an "obstructed" *(nivṛta)* nature, i.e. they consider that it is affected by the illusion of the determined individuality, by the illusion of subjectivity, which obstructs the absolute and liberated condition of reality, characterised by universality, non-determination. Subjectivity and individuality obstruct this condition because they involve at least the dichotomy between subject and object *(grāhaka – grāhya)*, self and other

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[12] The two kinds of *āvaraṇa*-s, the obstructions of the afflictions and those of the knowable objects, along Buddhist Mahāyāna tradition, in Muller, 2013, 1195-1197, 1200-1208. A detailed discussion on the obstructions of the knowable *(jñeyāvaraṇa)*, in Swanson, 1983, 52-54, 63-65.

[13] *„tīrthyayogo hi laṅkādhipate tīrthyānāmātmābhiniveśātpravartate / vijñānasvabhāvadvayārthānāmabhiniveśadarśanādasaumyayogastīrthakarāṇām /"* *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, chap.I, Nanjio, 1956, 11.

[14] *„206......samatājñānakleśākhyā vimuktyā te vivarjitāḥ //"* *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, chap.II, verse 206, Nanjio, 1956, 135.

[15] *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda*, part.3, Hakeda, 1967, 79.

(sva-para). In Vijñānavāda texts, the function of giving birth to obstructions is ascribed to the mind *(manas)*, as its own essence, the mind being responsible for the illusory appearance of the ego, of the individual. However, the mind, through the determination relation it exerts upon the mental consciousness *(manovijñāna)* and upon the conceptual experience that is engendered at its level, transfers the "obstructed" *(nivṛta)* nature to the mental consciousness as well.[16]

„Again, the obstructed *(nivṛta)* and the [valorically] non-determined *(avyākṛta)* ones are ..... those associated *(saṃprayukta)* to the mental consciousness *(manovijñāna)*, which are born along *(sahajāta)* with it, namely the view of the reality of the body *(satkāyadṛṣṭi)* and the view of perceiving extremes *(antagrahadṛṣṭi)*."[17]

II. A non-referential and non-cognitive theory of truth

The similarity between the individual experiences of various subjects accounted by means of the "similar karma" *(tulyakarma)*

Although Vijñānavāda denies all cognitive value to conceptual knowledge, reducing it to a particular type of subjective experience, the school does not slip into a form of absolute solipsism. Truly, Vijñānavāda claims that any type of conceptual knowledge simply represents a subjective phenomenon, with no cognitive value and no corresponding object; it also considers that the apparition of a certain conceptual experience is determined by entirely subjective causes, which are related only to the individual identity *(ātman)* appropriated by consciousness. Nothing else but the karmic imprints *(vāsanā)*, the seeds *(bīja)* appropriated by the consciousness along with the appropriation of an individual identity, have a role in engendering conceptual knowledge.

However, despite their entirely subjective nature, the conceptual experiences of various subjects may have a similar content *(tulya)*, and this is explained through the similarity of the karmic imprints

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16 Tillemans, 1990, 245 (note 216) mentions a fragment from Candrakīrti which says that the consensus received by a thesis, by an opinion, represents the same kind of attachment as the attachment towards one's native places.

17 *„nivṛtāvyākṛtaṃ punaḥ .....*
manovijñānasaṃprayuktasahajātasatkāya[dṛṣṭy]antagrahadṛṣṭi"
Asaṅga, *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, Pradhān, 1950, 21 apud. Sparham, 1995, 118, note 3. „Perceiving the extremes" *(antagrāha)* refers to any kind of conceptual representation which delineates between what is included in the sphere of a concept and what remains outside of it.

(tulyakarma), through the so-called "common karma" *(sādhāraṇakarma).* Since the categorical system and the conceptual representations are determined by the karmic content, it is obvious that the similarity of these karmic imprints leads to a similarity of the conceptual experiences of the individuals as well. This is how Vijñānavāda manages to explain the common experience of a phenomenal "truth", of the existence of a similarity among the experiences of various individual subjects.[18]

„All the dead *(preta)* which are in the situation *(avasthā)* [resultig from] the maturation *(vipāka)* of a similar Karma *(tulyakarma)* see a river full of pus and not only few of them."[19]

„Since they are governed *(adhipatya)* by the maturation *(vipāka)* of some similar *(samāna)* own Karma *(svakarma)*, their torment by these [infernal entities] was established *(siddha),* although the Hell guardians and the others are not real *(asat).*"[20]

Interpreting in this way the existence of a certain similarity among the conceptual experiences of various individuals, Vijñānavāda manages to avoid the postulation of a phenomenal "truth" having cognitive value. Such a cognitive "truth" would have compromised its own theories regarding the non-referentiality of the conceptual knowledge, the absence of any cognitive value of all conceptual constructions.[21] The similarities between the conceptual representations of various individual beings is not due to the fact that they would intend a unique objective reality, which thus could have represented the standard for the truth value of these experiences. According to Vijñānavāda, the similarity of representations is explained simply through the similarity of the causes generating these experiences. The similarity of the conceptual

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[18] A detailed discussion on the possibility of experiencing a „common object" even in an idealist context, in Kochumuttom, 1999, 168-169. His discussion is based on the arguments Vasubandhu brings in *Viṃśikā,* 4-5 (Anacker, 1998, 414). See also Prasad, 1993, 426, for an analysis of the way the common experience of beings is engendered. An interesting approach of the concepts of „similar Karma" *(tulyakarma)* and „shared world" *(bhājanaloka)*, in Chung, 1993, 63-69. See also Waldron, 2003, 239-241, for a neuroscientific approach of the issue of trans-individual experience as determined by cultural conventions.

[19] *„tulyakarmavipākāvasthā hi pretāḥ sarve 'pi pūyapūrṇāṃ nadīṃ paśyanti naika eva /"* Vasubandhu, *Viṃśikāvṛtti,* ad. 3c, Anacker, 1998, 414.

[20] *„.......taiśca tadbādhanaṃ siddhamasatsvapi narakapālādiṣu samānasvakarmavipākādhipatyāt /"*
Vasubandhu, *Viṃśikāvṛtti,* ad. 4c, Anacker, 1998, 414.

[21] Wright, 1986, 21-23 denies the "truth" nature of the conventional truth and reduces it to a non-cognitive category: that of the "common sense". His study relies especially on texts belonging to the Hua-Yen branch of Vijñānavāda Buddhism.

representations is explained in the same manner as the similarity of any other phenomena; the explanation is a purely causal one, which appeals only to the similarity of causes and not to any cognitive, referential aspects. In case of the realistic theories of truth, the similarity of the conceptual representations experienced by different individuals is explained on the grounds of their cognitive, referential charge, i.e. on the grounds of the fact that all these pieces of knowledge intend a unique reality. Vijñānavāda, however, considers conceptual knowledge, in its entire variety, as simple phenomena, as simple experiences which, having similar causes, display a certain degree of similarity themselves. The conceptual representations of various individuals do not converge towards a unique reality but rather they are in tune with each other, are characterized by a certain consonance; although consonant, they still remain parallel experiences, without aiming any common "object". The sphere of common representations does not have objectivity but it is only something constituted through the consensus of the subjects, something "established by the world" *(lokaprasiddha)*.

„III.12.Worldly *(loka)* acceptance *(prasiddha)* is from the unity *(eka)* [of the consent];

[*Bhāṣya*:] regarding the constructed own-being *(parikalpitasvabhāva)*. Regarding an object *(vastu)*, there is a similarity *(tulyatā)* of the perceptions *(darśana)* of all the worldly *(laukika)* [people], through the fact that [their] intellects *(buddhi)* conform *(anupraviś)* to some common *(saṃstava)* conventions *(saṅketa)*, such as «this is earth *(pṛthivī)* and not fire *(agni)*», «this is a shape *(rūpa)* and not a sound *(śabda)*» etc."[22]

„169. The naming *(abhidhāna)* of all entities *(sarvabhāva)* has always [took place], along hundreds of births *(janma)*, through the fact that, mutually *(paraspara)*, discrimination *(vikalpa)* has repeatedly taken place *(abhyas)* and is repeatedly taking place.

170. If there were no speaking *(kathyamāna)*, the whole world *(loka)* would fall *(āpad)* into confusion *(saṃmoha)*; therefore, with the goal *(artha)* of eliminating *(vyudāsa)* confusion, naming *(nāman)* is done *(kṛ)*."[23]

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[22] *„III.12. lokaprasiddhamekasmāt /*
[Bhāṣya:] parikalpitasvabhāvāt / yasmin vastuni saṅketasaṃstavānupraviṣṭayā buddhyā sarveṣām laukikānāṃ darśanatulyatā bhavati pṛthivyeveyaṃ nāgnīrūpamevedaṃ na śbda ityevamādi //"
Asaṅga, *Madhyāntavibhāga*, III.12; Vasubandhu, *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya*, ad. III.12, Anacker, 1998, 441.

[23] *„169. abhidhānaṃ sarvabhāvānāṃ janmāntaraśataiḥ sadā /*

„13. Due to the similarity *(sāmānyavattva)* of the ideations *(jñapti)*, there is a commonly *(sāmānya)* shared *(bhājana)* element *(dhātu)*."[24]

„ .... It's not about the existence *(sattā)* of some real objects *(bhūtārtha)* since these are [only ideations] existing in common *(sādhāraṇyaya bhāva)*."[25]

Thus, the problem of truth is transferred from the cognitive level to the level of simple experience. The truth of a sentence does not mean anything else but a certain consonance with the statements of the other subjects; when qualifying a sentence as true or false, the only thing that accounts for its truth-value is the totality of the subjective conceptual representations. There is no objective authority to establish what the truth is; all truth-related matters are about consensus, convention and practice.[26] The Sanskrit term used to refer to this type of truth, i.e. *"vyavahārasatya"*, utterly reveals its subjective status, its status of "practice", of "convention".[27] *"Vyavahāra"* does not carry any cognitive meaning but it refers simply to a certain human practice or, more exactly, to a social practice, a convention.[28]

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abhyastamabhyasantaṃ ca parasparavikalpayā //
170. akathyamāne saṃmohaṃ sarvaloka āpadyate /
tasmātkriyate nāma saṃmohasya vyudāsārtham //"
Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, *Sagāthakam*, 169-170, Nanjio, 1956, 287.

[24] *„13. jñapteḥ sāmānyavattvācca sāmānyaṃ dhātubhājanam /"*
Asaṅga, *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, 13, Levinson, 2001, 31.

[25] *„ ....bhūtārthasattā naivāsti sādhāraṇyaya bhāvataḥ //"*
Asaṅga, *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, 17, Levinson, 2001, 38.

[26] The „conventional truth" *(saṃvṛttisatya)*, according to Vijñānavāda, in Lusthaus, 2009, 113-116. The relation between truth and human conventions, in Lusthaus, 2009, 115-116.

[27]Wright, 1986, 23-24 ascribes the conventionality of the "conventional truth" *(vyavāhārika)* to the conventional, constructed, artificial character of language. The conventional truth would be nothing else but a mix of conventional linguistic expressions.
Waldron, 2003, 162-169 points to the connection between language and the constitution of common experience. Both language and the shared experience of the world are produced by the common Karma and, thus, their ontological statuses are quite similar. Waldron considers common experience as an "experience moulded into linguistic shapes"; the trans-individual nature of language bestows to the linguistically moulded experience an equally trans-individual character.

[28] Williams – Monier, 1997, 1034, col.1: *„vy-ava-hṛ"* - „to transpose", „exchange", „to act", „proceed", „behave towards or deal with", „to be active or busy", „work", „to carry on commerce", „trade", „deal in", „to manage", „employ".

„23. The constructed [own-being] *(kalpita)* is of the nature *(ātman)* of practice *(vyavahāra)...*”[29]

„The conventional [truth] is a kind of truth because a person is not lying when he calls a pot «a pot», and as far as conventional designations are concerned, he is using them properly.”[30]

The mind and the storehouse consciousness as the bases *(āśraya)* of the operational consciousnesses *(pravṛttivijñāna)*

Vijñānavāda manages to offer a further detailed presentation of the manner in which the existence of a similarity among the conceptual experiences of different individuals is possible. This is done by means of a theory dealing with the "bases" *(āśraya),* with the factors which determine the operational consciousnesses responsible for the apparition of conceptualised experience. These theories are, to a certain extent, heterogeneous, at least in the way they are formulated if not in their content as well.

„Visual consciousness is born depending on the eye, form and store-house consciousness.”[31]

„Which are the supports *(āśraya)* of the visual consciousness *(cakṣurvijñāna)*?

The eye *(cakṣus)* is its simultaneous *(sahabhū)* support *(āśraya).* The mind *(manas)* is its immediately preceding *(samanantara)* support. The store-house consciousness *(ālayavijñāna),* possessing all the seeds *(sarvabījaka),* appropriating the [individual] basis *(āśrayopādātṛ),* gathering together *(saṃgṛh)* the [Karmic] maturation *(vipāka),* is the support of the seeds *(bījāśraya).*”[32]

Irrespective of the manner in which they are exposed, the theories about the conditionings of the operational consciousnesses state the conditioning of conceptual experience by two factors. On the one hand, it

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„Vy-ava-hāra” - „doing”, „performing”, „action”, „practice”, „conduct”, „behaviour”, „usage”, „custom”, „ordinary life”, „common practice”, „activity”, „adherence to law or custom”, „the use of an expression”.

[29] *"23. kalpito vyavahārātmā......"*

Vasubandhu, *Trisvabhāvanirdeśa*, 23, Anacker, 1998, 465.

[30] Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośabhāśya*, VI.4, Potter, 1999, 560.

[31]*Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*, V.5, Lamotte, 1935, 186; Vasubandhu, *Mahāyānasaṃgrahabhāṣya*, ad. *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, I.5, Lamotte, 1973, 15.

[32]*„cakṣurvijñānasyāśrayaḥ katamaḥ / cakṣuḥ sahabhūr āśrayaḥ / manaḥ samanantara āśrayaḥ / sarvabījakaṃ āśrayopādātṛ vipākasaṃgṛhītam ālayavijñānaṃ bījāśrayaḥ /”* *Yogācārabhūmi*, 4,5ff, in Schmithausen, 1987, 110.

is conditioned by the mind *(manas)*, by the various components of the individuality appropriated by mind; on the other hand, it is conditioned by the seeds existing within the storehouse consciousness *(ālayavijñāna)*. This means that responsible for the experience of the operational consciousnesses are both the factors that were appropriated by the mind as own self *(ātman)*, and the trans-individual sphere of the storehouse consciousness. The apparition of the conceptual experience of an individual, the experience engendered by his operational consciousnesses *(pravṛttivijñāna)*, requires the cooperation of two factors: the appropriated seeds, which are strictly individual, and the seeds that could be "shared" *(bhājana)* by other individuals as well, seeds which are not imprinted in a certain individuality but in the trans-individual sphere of the storehouse consciousness.

This does not bestow any objective value to the individual experiences, but only a trans-individual one. The individual experience is still subjective, similar to fantasy, devoid of an objective counterpart, without representational value. Nevertheless, there can be a certain similarity among the subjective representations of different individuals because some of the conditions that determine these representations are "shared" *(bhājana)*.

This approach presents significant philosophical importance since it can lay the foundations of a theory of the empirical truth which could be applied to the knowledge engendered by the operational consciousnesses (the sensorial consciousnesses and the mental consciousness). Since the experiences of the operational consciousnesses *(pravṛttivijñāna)*, i.e. the perceptual contents put in a conceptual mould by the mental consciousness, are caused by the trans-individual component of the storehouse consciousness *(ālayavijñāna)*, by the seeds *(bīja)* stored within it, these experiences acquire a certain trans-individual dimension and hence they are saved from being only subjective imagination *(parikalpa)*.

The experiences of the operational consciousnesses are entirely subjective since they are determined by the mind *(manas)* and appear at the level of the individual self *(ātman)* appropriated by the mind[33]; however, sincet they are also determined by the trans-individual component of the storehouse consciousness, they also acquire a certain degree of trans-subjectivity.

[33] For a study upon the dependency of the six operational consciousnesses on the appropriation of an individual identity, see Waldron, 2003, 97! For the dependence of the mental consciousness on the mind, see Waldron, 2003, 227-228 (notes 72-74)!

Taking his stand on the trans-individual element that is involved in their apparition, one may elaborate a theory to explain their "truth value". Of course, this "truth value" would not have any cognitive significance but it would rather reflect the degree to which the trans-individual conditions are those who determine the apparition of these experiences. Therefore, the truth would be determined by the relation between the determining trans-individual component of the storehouse consciousness *(ālayavijñāna)* and the determined operational consciousnesses *(pravṛttivijñāna)*. The source of "error" would be the mind *(manas)*, the individual seeds appropriated by it, which, through their contribution to the apparition of the knowledge experience, diminishes the role of the trans-individual elements within this process.

The strictly causal interpretation of the relation between the seeds of the storehouse consciousness *(ālayavijñāna)* and the mental consciousness *(manovijñāna)* in classic Vijñānavāda

Despite the fact that the determination relation that the storehouse consciousness *(ālayavijñāna)*, including its shared contents, exerts upon the operational consciousnesses *(pravṛttivijñāna)* was known to the authors of Vijñānavāda ever since the old period of the school, the early and the classic authors do not realize that this determination relation could account for the existence of a certain similarity between the individual experiences of various beings. They seem to totally deny the existence of such a trans-individual dimension of the individual experiences of various beings, sliding into a form of solipsism. At times, the dependence of the operational consciousnesses on the storehouse consciousness, on the condition consciousness *(pratyayavijñāna)*, is stated[34], but, more than this, their dependency on the appropriated part of the storehouse consciousness draws their attention. These philosophers rather stress on the dependence of the operational consciousnesses on the mind *(manas)* and, through this, they highlighted their subjective side.

Classic Vijñānavāda authors often restrict themselves to generally stating the dependence of the operational consciousnesses on the storehouse consciousness without detailing on the nature of this relation. They hardly approach in different ways the dependence of the operational consciousnesses on each of the two components of the storehouse consciousness: the common *(sādhāraṇa)*, shared *(bhājana)*

[34] For the conditioning of the six operational consciousnesses *(pravṛttivijñāna)* by the storehouse consciousness *(ālayavijñāna)*, see Chatterjee, 1999, 106!

component and the non-common *(asādhāraṇa)*, appropriated *(upādāna)* one.[35] This neglection suggests that the classic authors of the school were not aware of the philosophical bearings the relation between the operational consciousnesses and the shared side *(bhājana)* of the storehouse consciousness might have had.

„15. The five [consciousnesses] appear *(udbhava)* in the root-consciousness *(mūlavijñāna)* according to conditions *(yathāpratyaya)*."[36]

In *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣyaṭīkā*,[37] Sthiramati notices the dependence of the individual experiences engendered by the operational consciousnesses on the trans-individual factors, on the so-called "exterior domains, such as the manifestation of forms and of others" *(rūpādipratibhāsaḥ bāhyam āyatanam)*, on "the manifestation, by the storehouse consciousness, of the common objects" *(ālayavijñānasya sādhāraṇārthapratibhāso)*. He also remarks that this dependence relation must be understood only as the "production of the manifestations of the operational consciousnesses having the exterior domains as their regent condition" *(pratibhāsasya pravṛttivijñānasyotpattāvadhipatipratyayatvād bāhyamāyatanam)* and not as the dependence of their content on something trans-individual. The relation between the operational consciousnesses and the storehouse consciousness is, in Sthiramati's opinion, a strictly causal one and he does not investigate whether the storehouse consciousness determines also the content of the individual experiences. Even if the experiences of the operational consciousnesses *(pravṛttivijñāna)* are caused by and appear in dependence on the manifestations of the storehouse consciousness *(ālayavijñāna)*, their content, their object, is not determined in any way by the fact that all of them share a unique storehouse consciousness as their condition ("*na tu tad viṣayatvād...."* – "do not have it as their object ..."). Sthiramati accepts a strictly causal theory of perception, according to which perception is determined by something exterior to the individual consciousness experiencing it. This strictly causal relation between the storehouse consciousness and the operational consciousnesses is, in fact, the only relation that the authors of the classic period seem to accept. Only the act of apparition of the individual experience seems to depend

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[35] A discussion on the common *(sādhāraṇa)* and the non-common *(asādhāraṇa)* object of the storehouse consciousness, in Waldron 2003, 161-162.

[36] *„15. pañcānām mūlavijñāne yathāpratyayamudbhava"*
Vasubandhu, *Triṃśikā*, 15, Chatterjee, 1980, 96.

[37] Sthiramati, *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣyaṭīkā*, 146.5 ff, in Schmithausen, 1987, 415-16, note 769.

on the storehouse consciousness, on its trans-individual component, not also the object of this experience, its content, whose nature is, in the opinion of the authors of the classic period of Vijñānavāda, entirely subjective, similar to imagination, fantasy.

„The external fields *(bāhya āyatana)* representing the manifestation *(pratibhāsa)* of forms *(rūpa)* and of others by the operational consciousnesses *(pravṛttivijñāna)*, are the manifestation *(pratibhāsa)* of the common *(sādhāraṇa)* object *(artha)* of the store-house consciousness *(ālayavijñāna)*, ... moreover, those represent the perceived object *(grāhya)*........ [It is stated] that the fields *(āyatana)* are external *(bāhya)* because they are the regent condition *(adhipatipratyaya)* for the apparition *(utpatti)* of the operational consciousnesses *(pravṛttivijñāna)* and not because they would have them as an object *(viṣaya)*."[38]

The "immediate" object and the "remote" object of the operational consciousnesses

It is only the late texts that debate the problem of the existence of a consonance relation between the content of the individual experiences, of the experience of the operational consciousnesses of various individuals, and the trans-individual seeds, the shared seeds from the storehouse consciousness. Late authors remark that, since there is a trans-individual, shared, element involved in the determination of the

[38]*„ .... pravṛttivijñānasya rūpādipratibhāsaḥ bāhyam āyatanam / ya ālayavijñānasya sādhāraṇārthapratibhāso .... so 'pi grāhya ...... pratibhāsasya pravṛttivijñānasyotpattāv adhipatipratyayatvād bāhyam āyatanam ucyate na tu tadviṣayatvād iti /"*

Sthiramati, *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣyaṭīkā*, 146,5 ff apud. Schmithausen, 1987, 415-16, note 769.

The first part of the quotation seems to state that the „external fields" *(bāhya āyatana)* represent both the object of the operational consciousnesses and of the store-house consciousness. Both the terms *„pravṛttivijñāna"* and *„ālayavijñāna"* are in the Genitive and they determine the syntagm *„bāhya āyatana"*. Therefore, the text seems to state that the „external fields" would stand in the same relation towards the operational consciousnesses and the store-house consciousness, i.e. they would be equally the objects of the store-house consciousness and of the operational consciousnesses. Nevertheless, the last part of the quotation utterly rejects the possibility of such an interpretation.

operational consciousnesses, then the content of their experiences might have a trans-individual, shared, element as well.

„The sixth [consciousness, namely the mental consciousness], is not the object *(ālambana)* of the five [sensorial consciousnesses] since these five are established only[39] in the object component *(nimitta)* of the eighth [consciousness]."[40]

A more elaborate discussion of this matter is found at Hiuan-Tsang, although the manner he formulates Vijñānavāda doctrine is not entirely the classic one and, consequently, his theory about the "immediate" and the "remote" object of a consciousness rises problems when one has to integrate it into the classic doctrine of Vijñānavāda.

Hiuan-Tsang starts by exposing the fact that every consciousness, by its status of "consciousness", involves an "immediate" object *(sākṣāt)* of its experience. This one represents simply what consciousness perceives in a representation that appears at its level.

„That factor *(dharma)* that doesn't exist separately *(avisaṃyukta, avinirbhāgin)* from the consciousness that is focused upon him *(ālambaka),* upon which it is established and through which it experiences the representation component *(darśanabhāga),* that is the «immediate object » *(sākṣādālambana).* Every consciousness *(vijñāna)* has this kind of object since no consciousness can exist without being established on an inner object, without perceiving such an object."[41]

However, at the same time, the consciousness may also have another type of object, i.e. an external one, standing in a tight connection with the internal object, with the "immediate" object, whom it determines. This outer object represents the object "intended" by the consciousness, which the "immediate" object reproduces at the level of consciousness.

„That factor *(dharma)* which, although existing separated from consciousness, nevertheless represents the pattern, the object component *(nimittabhāga),* which is able to engender the representation component *(darśanabhāga),* the one in which [the representation component] is established and through which it is perceived, that is the «remote object»[42]."[43]

[39] „Only" is here demanded by the context and its presence does not preclude the determination of the operational consciousnesses also by the mind *(manas).*
[40] Hiuan-Tsang, *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun,* Poussin, 1929, 469.
[41] Hiuan-Tsang, *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun,* Poussin, 1929, 445-446.
[42] The Sanskrit term for „remote object" is difficult to restore; the dichotomy immediate object – remote object is not found in any of the Sanskrit texts of Vijñānavāda that have

Not every consciousness necessarily has such a "remote object"; the consciousness may experience also in the absence of such an external counter-part of its perception. The common human experience reveals the cases of hallucinations, dreams, imagination, where the absence of an intended external object is obvious.

„Not every consciousness has this kind of object *(ālambana)* since a consciousness can exist even in the absence of an external pattern, of a corresponding object component *(nimittabhāga)*."[44]

This distinction is important when applied to the ideatic experiences of the operational consciousnesses because, in their case, in most situations, there is a corresponding remote object and the relation between that remote object and the immediate one accounts for their truth value.

„The five [operational] cosnciousnesses, before being revoluted, are gross, weak, feeble; that's why they depend on a pattern and hence they always have a remote object."[45]

Even if Hiuan-Tsang does not go into details about this relation, the fact that he accepts it creates the possibility of claiming an "empirical truth" and saves the experience of the operational consciousnesses from the status of pure imagination.

The theory about the "immediate" object and the "remote" object of the storehouse consciousness *(ālayavijñāna)* considered in relation to the overall doctrine of Vijñānavāda

This theory regarding the existence of an "immediate" object and of a "remote" one, of a consciousness, can not be found in the early or classic literature of Vijñānavāda, but only in the late texts of some Chinese authors. Sometimes, the later versions of Vijñānavāda present significant shifts from the classic Vijñānavāda. The theory itself raises some noteworthy problems, such as the possibility of applying the distinction between the immediate and the remote object to the storehouse consciousness. There are, however, some formulations of the theory which present it in such a way that it becomes possible for it to be integrated into the whole system of thought of Vijñānavāda. The relation

survived until today and, therefore, even *„sākṣāt"*, as the Sanskrit equivalent of „immediate", is only a reconstruction.

[43] Hiuan-Tsang, *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun*, Poussin, 1929, 446.

[44] Hiuan-Tsang, *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun*, Poussin, 1929, 446.

[45] Hiuan-Tsang, *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun*, Poussin, 1929, 448.

between this theory and the overall Vijñānavāda doctrine is though one of consistency and not one of implication, as this theory supplements the classic doctrines of Vijñānavāda and not just details them.

Applied to the mind *(manas)*, this distinction between the remote object and the immediate one always reveals the existence of a remote object which the afflicted mind focuses upon and appropriates.

„The mind *(manas)*, before its revolution *(parāvṛtti)*, has always a remote object *(ālambana)*. Being always inborn *(sahaja)* and never appearing as constructed *(parikalpitodbhava)*, it never acquires its own immediate object otherwise than by depending on an external pattern."[46]

The specific activity of the mind *(manas)* is never simply the creation, through an inner act, of a specific object; the mind rather appropriates a pre-existing object being "established" in the experience of the storehouse cosnsciousness *(ālayavijñāna)*. This pre-existing object represents its remote object which, once appropriated, once represented as the individual self *(ātman)* becomes its immediate object.

The storehouse consciousness, at least when considered according to the classic Vijñānavāda, i.e. as "the one holding all the seeds" *(sarvabījaka)*, can have only an immediate object and never a remote one. Due to the universal nature of the storehouse consciousness, nothing can exist outside it.

However, Hiuan-Tsang mentions the existence of three distinct opinions about the alleged existence of a remote object of the storehouse consciousness. One of them states the impossibility of the existence of a remote object of the storehouse consciousness and this position is the only one compatible with the classic system of thought of Vijñānavāda. The other two theories, which support the possibility of the existence of such a remote object even in the case of the storehouse consciousness, are based on the presupposition that the storehouse consciousness is one for each individual person. Not having an absolutely universal nature but being limited to the level of one person, any storehouse consciousness can have and must have an external object, a remote object, as clearly revealed by the situations when it perceives elements which are related to the experience of another person's storehouse consciousness. However, this manner of considering the storehouse consciousness, as an entity circumscribed to an individual, is not really compatible with the classic Vijñānavāda and thus the possibility of the existence of a remote object of the storehouse consciousness may be claimed only within the framework of a slightly modified version of Vijñānavāda.

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[46] Hiuan-Tsang, *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun*, Poussin, 1929, 447.

„Regarding the object *(ālambana)* of the eighth consciousness, there are three opinions:

1) The eighth [consciousness] has only an immediate object, since it manifests its objects in a spontaneous way, under the determination of Karma, of some intrinsic causes;

2) The eighth [consciousness] also has a remote object. When it manifests the body of another person, in doing so, it must establish itself upon the manifestations of the eighth [consciousness] of the other. Hence, it manifests an ideation which represents its immediate object.....

3) None of the two theories are precise ..... We must say that the eighth consciousness, either in case of those under bondage either in case of the enlightened ones, can either have either not have a remote object."[47]

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[47] Hiuan-Tsang, *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun,* Poussin, 1929, 446-48.

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THE ROLE OF UDRIȘTE NĂSTUREL IN MATEI BASARAB'S CHANCELLERY

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Abstract. *Udriște Năsturel was the second chancellor during all of Matei Basarab's ruling. The testimonial evidence reveals that Udriște was a man with extraordinary culture and due to him, the role of the second chancellor gets a new, more powerful meaning. He was Matei Basarab's intimate and most trusted adviser.. Udriște Năsturel had important contributions in both cultural and political activities of that epoch.*

Keywords: *Matei Basarab, Wallachia, 17th century, Udriște Năsturel, chancellor.*

The main activity of Wallachia's Chancellery was the issuance of official acts according to the decisions made by the ruler (Rom. "domn", Lat. *dominus*) and the country's council. Its members were the ones who wrote and validated those documents. In historiography, some aspects related to Chancellery's activity have been subject to several studies.[1] These aspects included Chancellery's internal organization, personnel tuition (chancellors and clerks) as well as development of diplomatic wording and standardized types of documents. Due to lack of clear information, the moment when this service was set-up or the manner in which it was created remained unclear so far.

Chancellery's internal organization developed in time. Relevant data regarding this evolution needs to be searched within the Chancellery's official acts, as they state the members and their hierarchy. The Chancellery was led by a boyar called Chancellor ("logofăt"). He is

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Research funded by the **"MINERVA – Cooperare pentru cariera de elită în cercetarea doctorală şi post-doctorală"**. Contract Code: POSDRU/159/1.5/S/137832, project financed from the European Social Fund through the Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007-2013.

[1] Giurescu, 1927, 25-37; 91-108; Stoicescu, 1968; Văcaru, 2006.

firstly stated in a document of December 27, 1391.[2] He was referred to as the last boyar in the country's council, which shows he did not occupy an important role at that time. But his importance increased rapidly in timeand starting in the second half of the 15th century, he occupied the third position among the most important boyars of the country's council.

As the Chancellery developed and the number of personnel increased, the Chancellor started to be named as the First Chancellor, as to be identified separately from their subordinates. Afterwards, he was to be called the Great Chancellor, a title which appears for the first time in a document from April 3rd, 1478[3] and this shall remain the dedicated term for most important member of the Chancellery. He checked the work of the scribes and in some special cases himself wrote the text of the documents. Being the guardian of the ruler's sealing, the Great Chancellor was the one who validated the official acts. Among the duties of this dignitary was also the shipment of the voivode's correspondence.

The development of social activities resulted in an increase oin documents needing to be prepared, resulting in a reorganization of Chancellery staff responsibilities. Therefore, in the middle of 15th century appears a second chancellor and then, at the end of the same century a third chancellor. This boyars came up next in the Chancellery's hierarchy. The second Chancellor, was called Small Chancellor in documents dated at the end of 15th – beginning of 16th century.[4] He is attested for the first time in a document dated June 5th, 1494.[5] Even in this period he was an important boyar, being mentioned as a member of the country's council. During the 17th century there were attested two persons occupying the position of a Second Chancellor – this was also the case of Matei Basarab's Chancellery. The two persons attested with this position in were Sima Păușescu and Udriște Năsturel.

Due to Udriste, the role of second chancellor gets a new, more powerful meaning. One of the most remarkable figures of his times, Udriște Năsturel had an important contribution in both cultural and political activities of that epoch. The testimonial evidence reveals that Udriște was a man with extraordinary culture. He is known in history as being the second chancellor during all Matei Basarab's entire ruling. He

[2] D.R.H. B I, 1966, 36-39.
[3] D.R.H. B I, 1966, 261.
[4] The documents of September 7th and 10th, 1508 refer to Stan as being the second Chancellor (in the first document), and also as being small Chancellor (in the second document).
[5] D.R.H. B. I, 1966, 407-408.

was Matei's most trusted person, an intimate adviser and his ideas were always taken into account.

Udriște descends from an old family of boyars whose origins goes back from the time of Vlad Călugărul (1482-1496)[6]. His father was Radu Năsturel (*postelnic* and then first chancellor) and his mother was a "noble lady Despina" as P.V. Năsturel characterizes her. They had four children, three boys: Șerban, Căzan and Udriște, and a girl, Elina, who will become Matei Basarab's wife. Testimonial evidence regarding Udriște's personal life are not sufficient to establish the main key moments of his existence. He was born in the second half of the 16th century, the exact year of his birth being unknown. P.V. Năsturel proposes the year 1597 but then, after taking into consideration the date of Radu Năsturel's marriage and the years of birth and death of Elina (the youngest child of Năsturel family), he thinks that the year of Udriște's birth was 1596[7].

The year of his death is also unknown. P.V. Năsturel thinks that the last testimony of Udriște being alive is the inscription from Nămăiești cross, dated May 5th, 1659. The genealogist thinks that after that year, Udriște will retire to his Fierăști mansion, interrupting his contacts with public activities and died not too long after that[8]. Dan Horia Mazilu, in his book "Udriște Năsturel", contradicts the above theory, expressing the belief that the crosses inscription was not made by Udriște. Mazilu thinks that the cross was made after Udriște's death as a sign of gratitude[9]. Nicolae Stoicescu had another perspective. He thought that he was *spătar*[10] under Mihnea the Third, between December 9th, 1658 and June 12th 1659 when he was the victim of a revenge[11]. From my point of view this theory cannot be accepted. As documents reveal, Udriște was second chancellor for about 25 years, even when the ruler of the Wallachia was Matei Basarab, his brother-in-law. He never desired to have any other role in the country's council. To conclude, the year of his death still remains unknown. Nevertheless, what can be stated with certainty at this moment is that the last chancellery document written by "Udriște, second chancellor from Fierăști" is dated July 12th, 1658.

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[6] Mazilu, 1974, 42.
[7] Mazilu, 1974, 44.
[8] Năsturel, 1910, 326.
[9] Mazilu, 1974, 46.
[10] Important rank in country's council, the *spătar* was the one who commanded the army in absence of the ruler.
[11] Stoicescu, 1971, 215.

Regarding other aspects of his personal life, documents reveal that Udriște had two marriages. His first marriage with Maria, daughter of the Vintilă Corbeanu, was over during Alexandru Vlad Cuconul's ruling (1623-1627)[12]. From this marriage Udriște had a son, Mateiaș, who was adopted after his mother died, by Lady Elina (Udriște's sister and Matei Basarab's wife). But the life of Mateiaș was short, and in 1645, when he was only seventeen, his death is attested.

Udriște was then married with Despa and together they had two children: Radu, sometimes called Radu-Toma or Toma-Radu, and Marica or Maricuța, the future wife of Alexandru Ghiormescul[13]. About his son Radu we know that he had an extraordinary career, reaching the highest rank in the country's council[14]. Radu Năsturel was one of the most educated persons of his time, being the one that founded the school of Câmpulung.

As far as Udriște's cultural formation is concerned, we know that he was familiar with the Slavonic and Latin, having certain knowledge of Greek and maybe Hebrew[15]. There aren't any clues to indicate how his intellectual training was carried out. Most probably, his father, Radu Năsturel, provided him and his brothers an exceptional education based on foreign teachers. In sustaining this theory we can remind Udriște's testimony according to which he mentioned learning Latin after being a teenager, at home, with a teacher[16]. We can assume that when he started his career, at approximately 30 years old, his main intellectual formation was completed.

He is first attested as a scribe in Alexandru Cuconul's chancellery when he writes the documents from February 8th and March 14th, 1625.[17] In the same year he wrote in Latin on the East wall of St George church in Hârlău, using for the first time the name Uriil. We don't know for sure what the purpose of his trip to Moldova was, but we can assume that he followed Radu Mihnea for his new ruling. He won't stay there for long, being back in Walahia before June 21st, 1627. On that date he writes a document for Pana from Pietrari who sells a part of his land from Voinești to grand chancellor Hrizea. He signs that document "Udriște Năsturel from Fierăști"[18].

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12 Năsturel, 1910, 325.
13 Mazilu, 1974, 44.
14 *Ibid.*
15 Năsturel, 2000, 202-203.
16 Mazilu, 1974, 49.
17 D.I.R. B. IV, 1954, 482-493; 486-487.
18 D.R.H. B. XXI, 1965, 415-416.

During Alexandru Iliaș's second ruling we find Udriște writing official chancellery documents (on February 14th, 1628, March 6th and 11th 1628[19]). It is interesting that during the same year we find him attested as the second chancellor in an official act dated July 6th, 1628 among other witness boyars[20]. Before that date, there is another private act in which Udriște signs as the second chancellor (dated June 30th, 1628)[21]. We cannot find any other document from that year written by Udriște, but in 1629 we can find him attested again as second chancellor on May 14th[22].

All the above mentioned documents can make us think of a fast promotion of the young chancellery scribe, which is not impossible at all if we think about his intellectual capacity. But we need to have certain precaution in arguing this because, in the same period, he writes a Slavonic document given by Alexandru Iliaș in which he states his rank "it has been written by the faithful scribe, Udriște Năsturel … May, 23rd day, the year of God 1629"[23].

Some historians like Petre V. Năsturel and Dan Horia Mazilu thought that the document from February 13th, 1632 corresponds to the moment when Udriște became second chancellor. I think it is necessary to reconsider this date and think as a possibility that Udriște became second chancellor since 1628 when he is attested with this position in both a personal document and in an official act. Still, the lack of a consistent certification in this position should raise a question mark and make us see with certain doubts his fast promotion in the chancellery. Again, that will not be so absurd if we think that we are dealing with a man of remarkable culture, far exceeding those he worked with.

Since the beginning of his activity in the chancellery, Udriște wrote documents in Slavonic, and this custom will be maintained during all his activity. The language he uses is a precious one, introducing many new terms in the chancellery documents, terms which were not used before in such acts. I consider it important to be emphasized that all documents written by Udriște as a chancellery clerk, before and after Matei Basarab ruling, are in Slavonic. This comes in contradiction with what other historians considered. For example, Dan Horia Mazilu wrote in his book that Udriște Năsturel wrote official chancellery acts in

[19] D.R.H. B. XXII, 1969, 23-24, 51-55, 66-68.
[20] D.R.H. B. XXII, 1969, 269-273.
[21] D.R.H. B. XXII, 1969, 264-265.
[22] D.R.H. B. XXII, 1969, 517-519.
[23] D.R.H. B. XXII, 1969, 528-532.

Romanian. One example he gives is the document from Leon Tomșa dated April 3rd, 1630[24]. But this document is only a copy and not an original document so it may not be considered relevant. All the other documents he mentioned from Alexandru Iliaș ruling are written in Slavonic. This author was convinced that after all documents from this era will be revealed, there will be certainly more documents written by Udriște in both Romanian and Slavonic. This belief turned out to be wrong because all documents that cover the period of Udriște's activity were published in the collection *Documenta Romaniae Historica* and no original official act written by him in Romanian was found. Nevertheless we need to say that there are two personal acts written by Udriște Năsturel in 1627 (June 21st and 24th) and one personal act from January 15th, 1630 written in Romanian. But then again, those are personal acts, not official chancellery acts for which Udriște used a very beautiful, clean and clear Slavonic. Moreover, he fights to promote this language in the chancellery documents in an epoch in which the Romanian won a stable position in this institution.

From the erudite people's point of view, Slavonic had the aura of tradition. It was still used in churches, and this language, if it was used for publishing, could assure the transfer of cultural values created in Wallachia at the other orthodox slavonic counties near by. This would increase and consolidate the county's prestige. He translated and printed in Slavonic the medieval writting *De imitatio Christi*. The fact that he had a preference for Slavonic does not mean that he was against the usage of Romanian. Therefore he translated in Romanian *Saints Valrlaam's and Ioasaf's lives* but this translation remains unpublished. Also unpublished remain the Romanian versions of *The teachings of Neagoe Basarab for his son Theodosie or Patriarch Nifon's life* – texts translated by a person close to Udriște[25].

Udriște Năsturel tried to write Slavonic documents with the Moscow form of Cyrillic letters, seeking to replace the cursive script that was popular at the beginning of that century[26]. But this attempt had no continuation in future chanchellery documents.

The second chancellor writes in this ellegant manner, and the documents he signes are special in terms of calligraphy, inks and miniatures used. In this regard, we can give as an example the document dated December 8th, 1640, given by Matei Basarab to several monasteries

[24] Mazilu, 1974, 194.
[25] Mazilu 1974, 290.
[26] Vârtosu, 1968, 36-48.

he founded. In completing the caligraphy and decoration of that act, Udriște had as an ispiration the West printings. Based on that model he realised the shape and style of the frontispiece capital letters, that were 5.3 centimeters high. The rest of the document is written in a cursive Baroque, of Polish-Ukrainian influence[27]. Other documents he wrote in Matei Basarab chancellery were dated January 18th, 1638;[28] October 16th, 1640[29] and February 28th, 1645.[30]

As a second chancellor during Matei Basarab's rulling, Udriște Năsturel was in charge not only with writting official acts. He is also mentioned as the *ispravnic* of 51 documents. (According to Wallachia documents, *ispravnicul* was the one to manage the process of preparation and issuance of documents. He was thus overseeing the conceiving, writing and reviewing the written text. So, after the decision was made, it was communicated by the *ispravnic* to a Chancellery clerk who became responsible for writing the document). This is very useful information because from those documents we realise that Udriște was together with Matei Basarab on various expeditions. We can find him as the *ispravnic* of a document written in Sadova on June 1st, 1638[31] then in a document issued in Campulung on June 25th, 1638[32]. The last chancellery act in which we can find Udriște accompanying the ruler in an expedition is dated August 21st, 1643, written at Brâncoveni.

Another interesting observation that we can make is that from all 51 chancellery acts that had Udriște as their *ispravnic*, 32 are written by Dumitru Boldiciu and 9 by Soare logofăt. We can assume that the second chancellor had an influence in selecting the scribes of the documents for which he was the *ispravnic*. The clerks that he preferred and that I have mentioned before were two of the most important chancellery writters.

What is interesting to underline is the fact that not only once but several times, Udriște signs himself *Uriil*. Emil Turdeanu wrote that archangel Uriil is as important as Mihail, Rafail and Gavriil. He was thought to be God's intimate advisor, and likewise Udriste consider himself the ruler's most trusted person[33]. Perhaps here we should seek the explanation of Udriște choise to sign certain documents as Uriil.

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27 D.R.H. B. XXVII, 2013, XIV-XV.
28 Ciucă, Duca-Tinculescu, Vătafu-Găițan, IV, 1981, 505.
29 D.R.H. B. XXVII, 2013, 586-588.
30 D.R.H. B. XXX, 1998, 72-75.
31 Ciucă, Duca-Tinculescu, Vătafu-Găițan, IV, 1981, 545.
32 Ciucă, Duca-Tinculescu, Vătafu-Găițan, IV, 1981, 550.
33 Năsturel, 1995, 24,

Udriște's role and attributions in the chancellery exceded by far the duties of a second chancellor. He welcomes and introduces foreign messengers in front of the ruler, discusses with different ambassadors and missionaries or he presents the ruler diplomatic letters. As an example, among more others of course, Udriște is present at the visit that monk Arsenii Suhanov pays Matei Basarab. The Moscow monk himself recounts the events: „Coming chancellor Udriște, read the Tsar (Alexei nn) letter to ruler Matei Basarab"[34].

He had excellent relations with senior prelates of the Greek Church and missionaries of Romanian Church – with whom Udrise discusses, in a preparatory phase, certain issues that would condition the union of Wallachian orthodoxy with Rome – as well as with other religious figures from the South of Danube, Mediterranean church or the Orthodox East. On the other hand, his skills were used more than once to handle delicate diplomatic issues. In this respect, Paul Cernovodeanu has a well documented and complex study, called *The Diplomat Udriște Năsturel*. From its pages it reveals that Udriște had several diplomatic missions in Vienna, Poland, Transylvania and Ukraine. He also negotiated the truce with Moldova (and ruler Vasile Lupu) in 1644[35]. All these diplomatic actions highlights the confidence that Matei Basarab had in Udriștes skills not only related to culture but also diplomacy.

These are a few of the relevant aspects regarding Udriste Nasturel's activity in Matei Basarab's chancellery. Given his complex personality, I only briefly made certain remarks which are not directly related to his chancellery activity, namely aspects concerning his private life, cultural and diplomatic activity.

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[34] Bezviconi, 1947, 54.
[35] Cernovodeanu, 2003, 341-352.

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ROMANIANS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEATH IN THE VISION OF THE FOREIGN TRAVELERS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Carmen Alexandrache[*]

Abstract. *This study shows the Romanians' attitude towards death, which was expressed through the discourses and practices of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. We used the notices of the foreign travellers who through the Romanian Principalities in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Thus, we note that for Romanian society, death and dying have had a social dimension.*

Keywords: *religion, discourse, religious attitudes, mentality*.

The Christian teachings are encouraging the believer to see death as a passage from life to *The Real Life* (a passage through „The Gates of Heaven"[1]) or from one state to another[2]. Therefore, death is associated to the worldly life to which it gives value and fullness[3]. Man must be in control of his life and he must get ready for *the Coming* and *Judgment of Christ*. Still, death has continued to raise fear in the heart of any believer towards the moment of passage, fear towards the judgment of one's deeds, and also a certain attraction for the way in which others perceived it. Thus, death as a fact and dying as a result of living one's life have lead to two perspectives for analysis: the religious one (this perspective nuances relationship between man and God, in the Christian vision) and the social perspective (which emphasizes the significance of their community life)[4].

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[1] Dumitran, 2007, *passim*.

[2] To see Ariès, 1996; Idem, 1975; Nicoară, 2004, 20-23; Barbu, 1994; Dobre-Bogdan, 2002; Stăniloae, 1987; Galeriu, 1991.

[3] There exist differit ways to define the deadh, this is caused by impossibility to have an universale establishment of his simolistics, see Weber, 2006, 123.

[4] We recall a some of these contributions: Ph. Ariès, M. Vovelle, J. Delumeau, P. Chaunu, R. Sabatier, J. Le Goff, G. Duby, Em. Le Roy Ladurie, J. Huizinga (belong the Occidental historiography) and A. Pippidi, L. Boia, Șt. Lemny, D. H. Mazilu, C. Dobre-

Hiperboreea Journal, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2015), pp. 83-93

For the Pre-modern Romanian Extra-Carpathian society, death had more of a social dimension, then a personal one, so for a foreigner, “the great passage” was seen as a good occasion to define the identity of the Romanian community. Even if fragmented and subjective, the Other’s, the foreigner’s perspective proves to be quite useful in the attempt to fill in and understand the profile of the Romanian sensibility. Thus, we want to emphasize some of the foreign travelers’ perspectives over the way in which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Romanians from Moldova and Wallachia used to perceive and live the approaching death. By this phrase we designate all persons who passed through or lived for a while in the Romanian space, for random or purposeful reasons, out of personal or “job-related” interest. We hope in this case to contribute to the collective consciousness Romanian analysis of that time and that place.

We consider that the notes of the foreign travellers (consisting of memoirs, diaries, reports or correspondence, referring to less known situations) are literary rather than historical sources due to their style, their continue and the intentions lying at the basis of their writing. This kind of literature[5] must be taken with reticence[6], due to their subjective and fragmentary vision[7]. They proved equally important because their authors, getting directly in touch with the Romanian society, opened new perspectives in the understanding the life of the Romanians. These are the writings where we can see the Romanians’ attitude towards the different “faces of death”[8].

1. **Death seen as a punishment** (“**the well deserved death**”) – it is perceived as quite severe from the Christian point of view because it was believed that it was given by the divine justice. God was allowing the physical disappearance of those who were threatening the order of things. Death meant getting all the things done by the punished one, right; therefore it had to be echoed in the conscience and memory of the community. So, the death punishment needed to be transformed into “a show” filled with teachings[9] which could serve as an example and as proof of authority (mounds, crosses, churches, cemeteries etc.). This

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Bogdan, M. Grancea, T. Nicoară, I. Țighiliu, A. Dumitran (belong Romanian historiography.

[5] We have used the notorious volumes of *Călătorilor străini prin Ţările Române* (*Foreign travellers through the Romanian Principalities*) (coord. Maria Holban).

[6] See Cristea, 2005, 13-25.

[7] Cernovodeanu, 2004, 7-40.

[8] This expression is taked from Dobre-Bogdan, 2009, 54-77.

[9] An aplicated analise to see in Lazăr, 2007, 249-265.

could be turned also into *a social death*, because it involved the out-casting of the guilty one and gaining of "a bad name".

In this sense, we will recall the episode from the story written by Paul Strassburg, the counselor confidential of King of Sweden, regarding his voyage in Wallachia, in the 1632, the lord Leon Tomșa (1629-1632) "was complaining about the wickedness and evilness of his subjects" and he was pointing, in sign of victory, "towards the graves of those who were murdered and towards all of the crosses that were being raised"[10]. Also, the monk Niccolo Barsi from Lucca noted that whenever someone was being punished to have his head cut off, his body "was left to lay on the naked ground for three whole days so as for all those passing to leave money which were used for his burial"[11]. In this situation we must emphasize the fact that the capital punishment meant also the loss of the fortune, the family of the guilty one losing all their rights to it.

Generally, in the writings of the foreign travelers, the lord is presented as having unlimited authority over his people, death punishment being a direct proof of this. Marco Bandini in the 1644 year justified the power of lord from the judicial point of view because as the lord said "if your deed is punishable by death, then you will die"[12].

2. **The good death**was *an expected one* (*"**the wanted death**"*), "a party" long time prepared by the one embarking on this journey and also by those who, left behind, will help him cross over. This type of death is of most interest for the foreign travelers, mainly due to the religious and popular practices it was accompanied with. Still we must not neglect the fundamental importance attributed by the Romanians to death. For instance, P. Bonici in „The letter to the patriarchal vicar of the Orient, Giovanni din Frata" (24 April 1630) was complaining of the growing number of Catholics converting to Orthodoxism because "they had no priests, especially in time of death"[13].

3. **Death as a social fact**was presented in the context of the burial ritual, at which the community was always taking part. The foreign travelers found it quite similar both in Moldova and in Wallachia[14] and despite some specific details due to the social differences, the burial ritual was consisting in the following staged:

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[10] Paul Strassburg, 1973, 66.
[11] Niccolo Barsi, 1973, 77.
[12] Marco Bandini, 1973, 342.
[13] Paolo Bonici, 1973, 17.
[14] Paul de Alep, 1976, 123.

a. ***Letting everybody know that a Christian from the community has died*** („Anunțarea morții”).

This was done by ringing the church bell[15]. Paul de Alep, the patriarchal attendant, describing the his „Travellingcommitted in Moldavia”, noted that the sound of the big bell meant that someone important from the community has died, someone rich or a church founder which was about to be buried in the monastery. Thus, all the priests from the town were to gather and participate at the burial. But if the dead person was a poor one, then the family “would bury him without ringing any bells so as no one to know”[16]. Paul de Alep referred to the ritual burial who corresponded to the status of capital held by the deceased and his family.

b. ***The preparation of the dead man’s body and its wake*** („Pregătirea pentru trecerea la Viața de Dincolo”).

After the ritual of “cleaning” the body, the dead man was laid on “a nasal in the middle of the hallway”[17] and thus the wake was starting („priveghiul”). The dead man was being watched at candle light for the whole three days. In the case of lordly burials, the body was being laid under a baldachin, on a “parade bed”, with many candles around him. On a side table, there were found many Psalter books from which the priests used to read[18]. Even in the case of Lady Bălașa (12/22 March 1657), the body was laid “with great honors under a baldachin in the royal court” (…), it was carried around the church (…), all those present have received a great amount of money (…) and a great feast was offered to all (…), be they poor or rich. The same happened on the ninth day”[19].

Also it is mentioned the Romanians’ custom to keep the dead man inside the house “with his face uncovered”[20] and with candles burning around him day and night[21]. In this time, the dead man’s family used to offer “food to the poor and to travelers and to sing at instruments”[22].

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[15] Paul de Alep, 1976, 71.
[16] Paul de Alep, 1976, 70.
[17] „A wood nasal”, see *Ibidem*, 300.
[18] De La Croix, 1980, 363-364. Similar to Cantemir, 1956, 223.
[19] De La Croix, 1980, 174.
[20] Erasmus Heinrich Schneider von Weismantel, 1983, 363.
[21] Paul de Alep, 1976, 123. It say that the candly helps dead man to shows him in front the Lord; if the dead man has not the light, he has o „dark death”, see Simeon Florea Marian, 2008, 24. The lit candly dont permite the bad spirits to approach the dying, see Teodor T. Burada, 2006, 16.
[22] Niccolo Barsi, 1973, 77.

c. ***The mourning of the dead***[23] („Bocirea mortului”).

The custom which most fascinated the foreigners was *the mourning* („*bocirea*” / „*jelirea*”) of the dead. The Swedish officer Erasmus Heinrich Schneider von Weismantel, in his „Diary” (1710 -1714) was noting with irony the Moldavians’ custom to hire “mourners” which were laying next to the dead man and “were loudly crying after him and were asking him the reason for his death, if he lacked something or if someone envied him, and they used to cry after him even when the body was being laid in the ground: Oh God, oh God, my dear, why did you have to die? Did not you have enough sheep or oxen?”. During all of this time, all the priests “are standing next to the dead man” and “at the dead man’s feet, the gypsies and the fiddlers were constantly singing at their instruments”[24].

d. ***The funerals*** („Înmormântarea”).

In the day of the burial, after the praises said by the priests in the dead man’s house, the body, accompanied by a large cortege (priest, mourner, singer of instruments, relatives, neighbors, those who knew him and other community members[25]) was being taken to the church for the funeral services and then in the cemetery for the burial[26]. When the Gospel was being read, the women and girls were sitting on their knees, under the Gospel[27], while the men were standing with their heads uncovered. When saying goodbye to the dead man, „the last kiss”, the priests and all those present, were kissing the icon sitting on the dead man’s chest; the relatives were kissing his hands and face, while the rest of the people were kissing only his hands[28].

There were many services held for the commemoration and salvationof the dead man during which they were singing psalms, were burning candles and were offering alms: wafers, wheat boiled with honey, raisins, nuts[29]. These last ones were being offered inside the church by the priest to all those present and they were keeping some for themself also in order to “eat them in loving memory of the deceased one, as it was Christian like to do”. For the Protestants, these rituals were despised (these were considered superstitions) because “all their

[23] For details see Ion Constantin Chițimia, 1959, 642.
[24] Erasmus Heinrich Schneider von Weismantel, 1983,363.
[25] Niccolo Barsi, 1973,77; see also Robert Bargrave’notice, 1973, 494-495; Paul de Alep’notice, 1976, 124.
[26] Paul de Alep, 1976, 300.
[27] Paul de Alep, 1976, 125.
[28] Paul de Alep, 1976, 124.
[29] For the significance of alms in Romanian’mentality, see S. Fl. Marian, 2008, 109.

Christianity and their life have a sinful beginning and continues to be this way until their very end"[30].

The social differences are highlighted even when sharing the alms (for the poor people, these were being rapped "in paper, while for the rich, in embroidered kerchiefs, and all were invited to eat in the dead man's house"[31]). The sharing of alms was accustomed even between the poor. After burying the dead, they used to offer alms and bread to the people present and to pray for forgiveness[32], a "much appreciated" custom[33].

On the way to the cemetery, the cortege used to stop a couple of times for the passage of the so called "bridges", while the priests were continuing to pray[34]. At the grave, a short prayer was being said and the tomb was being sealed by throwing earth on the coffin. Erasmus Heinrich Schneider von Weismantel was writing ironically that "sometimes, they put bread and money alongside the dead man so as to – as they claim – not die of hunger on his long journey towards the eternal life; and in order for him to see even at night, they put a candle in his hands, and by the end of the night they also bring lit cinders at the grave with which the dead man will lit his candle. And even if you will not see this on every grave, you will definitely find them on the fresh ones, because dead men are kind and they do not mind sharing with others until they reach together their final place of rest and, according to their belief, the eternal life[35]".

The burial ritual was keep also in the death of the lord Matei Basarab (1654): pulling the bell of church, weeping and wailing dead (especially by women), incensing, prayers and kissing the deceased[36].

Sometimes the funeral ritual was linked with an older tradition, an aspect pinpointed by Englishman Robert Bargrave in „The Diary" of the him Travel (1650): "the burial ritual is similar to the past traditions when the dead men were being accompanied to their grave by singers. The him sword, boots and hat were hung a dead horse conducted by the halter; the fiddlers were walking ahead of the cortege and were singing, his relatives

[30] Erasmus Heinrich Schneider von Weismantel, 1983, 363.
[31] Paul de Alep, 1976, 70-72.
[32] Paul de Alep, 1976, 209.
[33] Erasmus Heinrich Schneider von Weismantel, 1983, 363.
[34] More about this practice, see Nicolae Cojocaru, 2012, 560.
[35] Erasmus Heinrich Schneider von Weismantel, 1983, 363.
[36] Paul de Alep, 1976, 137-139.

were riding next, while his body was being laid in an open coffin, just in the middle”[37].

To emphasize the sensational present in the Romanians’ attitude towards death, in *A Curious Descriptionof Moldova and Wallachia* (1699) written by an anonymous writer, being actually a fragment from a brochureinspired by the political situation of 1699, the funeral ritual was reduced at: “before the funeral and before burying their dead, they mourn them, then they take them to the grave[38] with lit candles and icons, and they bury them with all sorts of things („puppeteers”- „păpuşării”). Some of them place needles, thread, patches of baize and cloth, a driving money, bread and many things like these, alongside the dead man so as to have how to spend their time in the grave while on their way to the so called paradise”[39].

e. ***The commemoration of the dead*** (the unceasing care of those left outside of live). After the funeral, in the dead man’s house, was being organized “a meal („praznic”), both for men and women, rich and poor, for people of all kinds” at which the priest was present also “in order to bless the food”[40].

The reformed man Erasmus Heinrich Schneider von Weismantel noted a custom a little bit different: “after burying the dead, they organize a great feast in his honor, even if it means sacrificing their last cattle, and they offer alms to the poor for the wellbeing of the deceased. Four weeks later and after a year, they do this again as this marks the moment when the dead man must have reached heaven, no matter how long his journey was”[41].

The connection with the dead man is rendered by mourning, a period of sadness („doliu”), of wailing and of taking care of the soul. Mourning is something met in the tradition of other peoples as well, the specialists explaining this as “a threshold period for the survivals”,

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[37] Robert Bargrave, 1973, 494-495.

[38] See also Niccolo Barsi, 1973, 77.

[39] A *Curious Descriptionof Moldova and Wallachia,* in *Foreign travellers through the Romanian Principalities,* 1983, 634.

[40] Paul de Alep, 1976, 72, 125. They eat „only fish” and they explain that „they do this thing for show the punishing of their body and their own pain for the dead man”; „but they drink some win and beer”, see Niccolo Barsi, 1973, 77. Also, to see a meal who commemorating the death of Lady Balașa, Constantin Șerban’wife (Paul de Alep, 1976, 174).

[41] Erasmus Heinrich Schneider von Weismantel, 1983, 363.

marked by separation rituals and by trying to reintegrate in society („lifting mourning rites”[42]).

In the case of the Romanian society, the mourning period was not constant: usually, the men’s mourning meant walking for six weeks with their head uncovered, while women were wearing black kerchiefs; the relatives of the dead were walking with their head uncovered for 15 days[43].

Mourning was also perceived as a change in the social status. Tommaso Alberti, after his journey through in Moldavia (1612) noted that „in order to show that his wife has died, the widower was walking with his head uncovered for several days”[44].

The Church prayers had to be said for the dead man’s soul even after his burial, when the alms were being blessed periodically, on sacred holidays or on specific days from the Christian calendar[45]. So did lord of Wallachia Matei Basarab who after the religious service went to the grave of the recently deceased, Lady Elina (August 1653) and buried in The Biserica Domnească from Târgovişte. There “prayers were said and the sign of the cross was made above the lordly alms that were later on shared with all those present”[46].

Such gestures in honor of the dead are complementary to the days of requiem that are well established after 3, and 9 days[47] and 40 days since the burial, when candles and alms are being offered to priests and to all those present”[48]. Also, the same author has rendered another moment which shows the preoccupation to obtain “the forgiveness” of the dead man’s sins and also to show the respect for his will expressed while he was still alive. He told how, after the dead man’s will to be exhumed after three years in order to obtain the forgiveness for his sins, the family has solicited the patriarch to say “the usual prayers for the dead”; there was a special sermon and “the body was splashed with holy water”; then followed the requiem hold at the refectory where incense was used on all of them while saying prayers for the dead man and while sharing the alms.

Another custom, perceived as superstitious was linked to the fact that on Maundy Thursday, it is believed that the souls of the dead are

[42] Arnold Van Gennep, 1996, 132.
[43] Paul de Alep, 1976, 125.
[44] Tommaso Alberti, 1972, 361.
[45] Niccolo Barsi, 1973, 76; Paul de Alep, 1976, 86, 125; Marco Bandini, 1973, 343.
[46] Paul de Alep, 1976, 112.
[47] Paul de Alep, 1976, 70.
[48] Paul de Alep, 1976, 123,125.

returning back to their families “for food”. Therefore, “at dawn, father of the family and / or mother of family, they make a fire in front of their front door, they place next to it a stool covered with a clean cloth on which they place bread, food and drink for their parents and grandparents to feast their soul”. „The ridiculousness” of this superstition was unveiled of course by a Catholic from Baia, a place where such a feast happened to be taken by a dog. Witnessing the scene, he cried out laughing: “Here is the soul of your four legged, shaggy hear and fangs grandparent who is running away with the good food!”[49].

The concern for the tomb was also very important for the Romanian society. Thus, foreigners cannot be buried on these lands. A Swedish officer was declined by some Moldavian villagers the right to bury his dead in the local cemetery[50]. The care for the dead was cultivated even at the level of the central authorities, the lords confirming periodically the relief of debts for all the grave-diggers („ciocli”) “only to make sure that they take care of the dead as it is accustomed”[51].

In conclusion, we support the idea that even if the foreign travelers’ writings are exaggerations and somewhat tendentious interpretations, they prove the main preoccupation of the Romanian society for the afterlife which was also built on the principle of solidarity. This observation proved also the preservation of the burial ritual whose change would have affected the dead man’s destiny. In this way, we can support also the existence of a fine distinction between devotion and the reinterpretation of religion which took place in the Pre-modern Romanian society.

Foreigners’ writings have helped us grant a greater value to the social dimension of the Romanian’s attitude towards death. The passage into the other world was „helped” by society. The death of one of the community members has determined a continuous activation of the social links. Thus, someone’s death meant an occasion to transmit the social codes, to show off one’s social status, a re-actualization of the idea of disappearance and a means to manifest one’s belief.

[49] Marco Bandini, 1973, 344-345 .

[50] Erasmus Heinrich Schneider von Weismantel, 1983, 355.

[51] Ioan Caproșu, 2000, Doc. no. 60. 51 (11 August 1693); Doc. no. 256, 218 (11 Februarie 1704: „only they have care the borns of dead men”), Doc. no. 405 (25 Decembrie 1710): „they („cioclii”) gather the bodies of the dead men”). Their importance is biggest during the disasters and the pandemics.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN ROMANIA

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Abstract. *Researches from the domain of our journalism's history have been focused especially on literary press, monographs of certain publications, precise studies related to a historical moment or a historical stage, and article analysis. The economical problem, probably the most important, kept being bypassed even if it still submits proof of a matter-of-course relationship between demand and supply.In this historical sketch I sought to emphasize precisely the costs for the existence of certain publications in hopes that other researchers will find this point of view as interesting.*

Keywords: *journalism, mass media economy, editorial rates, press history.*

1. Introduction

The press releases emerged rather late in the Romanian cultural space as compared to other countries. A first reference is *Calendarul* published by the priest Petcu Șoanul[1], in 1731 at Brașov. This is about a publication under direct labor operations, as we could say, which means at the expense of the typographer/publisher. We know very little detail on the print run, costs etc., yet since we are talking about a crafted or

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[1] "Father Petre", as Petcu Șoanul had been called, was born at 1706 in Scheii Brașovului, where he served as a teacher, then as a priest, at the "Sf. Nicolae" church starting 1730. He might have had Aromanian or Serbian origins since he was a student of Statie Gridovici, he was ordained by the Serbian lord Nicanor Proin, "bishop of Cruședoiu" (1735) and he knew the Serbian language, a fact that enabled him to translate in the Romanian language the Serbian calendar (1731), a calendar translated as well from Russian. This is considered to be the first periodical from the Romanian culture ("Calendari acum întâi rumânesc alcătuit de pe cel sârbesc aşezatu s-au pe limba rumânească…"). Starting with 1737 he will hold a chapel where he will print religious books especially. He dies in Brașov, on May 31, 1741.

primitive print, we may assess the summed print runs of all three editions to several hundred.

Besides, the printed materials of that time were published by loaning the publisher by the purchasers – the offer was made public through printed pamphlets and also through announcements presented at the religious sermons, and later in the press. If a sufficient money amount was raised, the paper would be released; if not, the appropriate amounts would be reimbursed or other books in storage would be offered to the purchasers. A similar relationship has been applied to press editing, as we shall show in the following.

The pioneering press period did not mean any significantly print runs scales, especially in the central and eastern European area, further information confirming this assumption. For instance, the first Hungarian newspaper, *Magyar Hírmondó*, published in Bratislava in 1780, had had 318 subscribed purchasers; as for the revue *Kassai Magzar Muzeum*, founded in 1790, had 137 subscribed purchasers. The *Uránia* newspaper (founded at Vác by Kármán József, 1794), while addressed to a diversified audience, had had around 100 subscribed purchasers; the *Orpheus* newspaper had, in its first year of release, about 200 subscribed purchasers[2]. Therefore, very few publications managed to withstand for a long time, even when they were assisted by authorities through subscriptions or subsidies.

On the press in Transylvania and Banat for example, István Berkeszi stated that he had a rather challenging appearance, partly because of the language - "the very few literate individuals were reading in Hungarian, German, Latin or French. For this reason, none of the products published during the country has been successful, the number of its readers being too small. At the end of the previous century, it was common for an aristocratic environment consisting of eight to ten people, to speak three or four languages simultaneously.

A German traveler wrote about the previous century’s Hungary that those who want to communicate and be understandable (...) should hire a carriage for personal translators".[3] The same author emphasized that most difficulties were generated by censorship and the fact that a number of potential readers refused the media -" ladies of noble rank were rather reading French books, especially novels ".[4]

[2] Berkeszi, 2013, 86.
[3] Berkeszi, 2013, 83.
[4]*Ibid*.

2. Wallachia

Regarding the Romanian language media, it made its debut under the sign of challenges of drafting, printing and registry.

For instance, the draught of our first newspaper edition, *Curierul Românesc* (Bucharest, 1829) had only 280 prints in its first year of publishing, and the list of subscribed purchasers ("subscribers") of the *Albina Românească* newspaper (Iaşi, 1829) included 117 persons, mostly bishops and high officials. Please note that in the early years of development of the Courier its editor Heliade Ion Radulescu obtained from Baron George Meitani approval of paying no postal charges for dispatching his newspaper, a priviledge renewed in 1839 also by the Baron Cristodor Sachelarie, entitled as Postmaster General.

This privilege arised from the publication's statute, that of a semi-official journal, and also from the publisher's statute who was equated with a high state official[5]. In order to encourage the publisher, even the General Kisseleff[6] incurs five subscriptions in 1831, and certainly in the next years as well[7]. In 1829, *Curierul Românesc* appeared on Thursdays and Sundays, yet there were no persons employed for distribution, so that readers had to go to the Metropolitan Church Chapel to pick up the desired copies.

It was difficult in a Bucharest haunted by plague. It was only towards the end of 1829 when two newspaper "allocators" have been hired; also at that moment it appears that from the nearly 300 people who had received the newspaper subscription, since they had promised that they would pay the subscription, only 45 of them had paid actually.

Not only they were facing economic difficulties, but also editorial ones. More specifically, there was hardly anyone who wrote texts or read the press in Wallachia. This is the context in which I. Heliade Rădulescu published in 1830 a notice announcing that

"Whosoever shall have or wish to make any kind of materials that can be considered to be for the benefit and the advancement of the

[5] I. H. Rădulescu was the owner of a document which ensured him exclusivity to publish and hold typography releases as a layman for 10 years (the other chapels belonged to the Church).

[6] Pavel Dmitrievici Kiseliov (Kisseleff), count, general and Russian diplomat (during 1788-1872). He led the Russian military administration of Wallachia; chairman of the Moldavian and Wallachiann councils of state.

[7] The General's gesture should not be regarded as an act of generosity since the press was used by his agents in order to detect hostile individuals towards Russia, as reflected in the documents published by Varta Ion and Tatiana, 2002.

Ruman spirit, either political or literary or of agriculture can send them to our office". It means that everything that appeared in *Curier* was censored by officials of the Secretariat of State, an over censure being carried out by the representatives of Russia.

In 1830-1832, in order to achieve a minimal profit there were needed 200 payers – public or private subscribers – as shown by the many calls of the publisher. We should refer in this connection to, the "Notification from the Editorial Office"[8], from 1832, in which Heliade stated that 200 newspaper subscribers would ensure continuity of the publication, continuity endangered most of the time by the lack of financing translated through the indifference of potential newspaper readers.

Subsequently, in "Prospectus for *Curierul Românesc* for the year of 1832" the publisher indicated that due to cholera[9] and other factors he was unable to comply with the frequency of the newspaper (two issues per week), pledging that this time he would honor the promise and retrieve news from *Journal de St. Petersbourg, Journal d'Odessa, Monitorul Otoman, Journal de Franckfort, Telegraful*, from literary journals and from *Albina Românească.* Everything for four "royal coins", plus six Lei for the shipping and handling expenditure, per year[10]. In the same year, *Curierul românesc* ceases appearance for lack of funds, although it was like I mentioned, a semi-official publication, the authorities (central or local) being obliged to subscribe. However, the minimum 200 subscribers who would have ensured the continuity, were missing. That was about 800 ducats.In 1833, after approximately 60 days of cessation of its activity, the publisher of *Curierul* reprehends it as " a school of politics, ethics and literature" and he expresses his regret that the revue has not earned its echo as it was worth of.

The editorial costs are becoming higher every year, so in 1836, to cover all charges, at least 300 subscriptions were necessary. If we were to specify only the publications from which I.E. Rădulescu retrieved foreign news, it would be would be enough to realize that these had cost quite a lot for the publisher - *Mercure de Souabe, Journal des Debats, Journal de Paris, Gazette d' Augsbourg, Gazette de Francfort, Journal de St. Petersbourg, Morning Post, Diario di Roma* and others. Also some reconsiderations of the content and regularity have been imposed. For instance, in 1839, the publisher announced that he will provide six

[8] *Curierul Românesc*, year IV, no. 80, 10 Novermber 1832, 1.
[9] In 1831, in Bucharest have died of cholera 2.170 persons.
[10] *Curierul Românesc*, year IV, no. 1, 28 January 1832, 1.

appearances of *Curierul* per week as follows: on Mondays and Thursdays, with news; on Tuesdays and Fridays, the Official Gazette; on Wednesdays and Saturdays he will issue sciences, arts, literature, industry, and so forth.

This editorial formula apparently did not have a long service life since on November 8, 1839 the Secretariat of State prohibited the appearance of *Curierul* published by "cavalry commander Ion Heliade", as on no. 165 "he soiled the honour of the Head of censure", which is why local authorities were required to confiscate all copies of this edition. In fact, the authorities's anger had no political fundament, but one of hubris – Eliade submitted to the Censorship some censorious articles about some translations published by newspapers such as Romania and others. The state claimed to be entitled to scrutinize everything, including the topic and the controversy's position, in order not to speak of the truth contained in those prohibited texts. Returning to the efforts of publishers to find ways of optimizing the investment in the media and in books, recall that on 1837, for example, C.A. Rosetti opened a reading office in Bucharest, i.e. a small private library where newspapers and periodicals both from abroad and around the country were offered. In Craiova, L. Bodorlo announced that he opened a "national Casina", namely a space where one can read press materials[11]. Also at Pitești has been inaugurated, in 1845, such a local place containing press materials in Romanian, Greek and so forth, as well as books.

By the end of 1838, in Bucharest "The noble circle of natives and foreigners"[12] was established, an of association whose intent was "the lection of newspapers, journals and national or foreign books (…) The newspapers that were to be found for the time being were: *Le Moniteur, Le Journal des Debats, Gazette de France, Le Temps, Le Currier, La Presse, La Gazette des Tribunaux, Le Charivari, La Mode* (in France), *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung, Ostreichischer Beobachter* (in Geneva), *Le Journal de St. Petersbourg, Le Journal d'Odessa, Galignanis Messenger* (in the Great Britain) (…) *La Gazette de Smyrne, Le Moniteur Ottoman,* an Italian newspaper and a Serbian one, the Romanian ones added to the list. The journals were also: *La Revue Britanique, La Revue des Deux Monde, La Revue Francaise, La Revue de Paris* (all French)".[13]

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[11] *Cantor de Avis și Comers,* year I, no. unspecified, vol. 1837-1838, 62

[12] "National and Foreign Circle" was called in the French version of the announcement. See *Supliment la Curierul Românesc,* year IX, no. 11, 29 December 1838, 45-48.

[13] *Ibid.*

Noteworthy that such titles of periodicals, which have been joined by several books, dictionaries, maps, etc. were available at the opening of the institution, similar to the lection offices that have functioned modeled on the Western Europe offices. Subscriptions could last for at least a year and cost 12 "Dutch ducats" (royal ducats), i.e. “half of a large French newspaper subscriptions”.[14] Further details regarding the activity of the Circle could have been read in the Regulation (operating program, loan prohibition, etc.).

It is difficult to tell how successful such enterprises were, for the sources investigated were not generous in informations. Anyway, it seems to have been crystallized a specific interest in press lection, judging by certain articles published in the few available papers. For instance, under the title "Romanian journals" in *Curierul Românesc* appeared a note about the progress of the media: “What works extends the reading the taste of. Presses are growing between Romanians and is also a useful occupation. Romanian Land has five printing houses now: three in Bucharest, one in Buzău and one in Craiova. Next spring will be opened two more: one of the National College of St. Sava[15] and another in Brăila. The gazettes take a short time to extend which will be of great use among Romanians, that will not fail to give a greater development and advancement of these public sheets…”.[16]

Back in Wallachia, we find that in 1838, in its second year of publication, the magazine *Cantor de Avis și Comerț* had a record number of 500 subscribers, for the price of four rubles per year.[17] We could explain the success of this magazine by the fact that it provided its readers market informations – small advertising as we call it today, therefore with value in use and it was written "in common language so that everyone may understand it (...) for this journal will not rectify the language as a literary publication, this will be a piece of news".[18] Starting with the year of 1842, *Cantorul* will obtain the right to publish "all bids of the State", meaning it will turn into a following version of *the Official Gazette*, which led to reduced revenues to other newspapers

[14] *Ibid*.

[15] Here had been established the “House of *Curierul*…”, i.e. editorial office. For example, in the editons of 1836 it was mentioned that in the College of St. Sava resides the “Editorial House”, where where one could contract subscriptions, pay for advertising messages, and so forth. The college was located across the street of the University of Bucharest’s Palace (the present area behind the statues).

[16] *Curierul Românesc*, year X, no. 12, 24 January 1839, 1.

[17] *Cantor de Avis*, year II, 1838, 169.

[18] *Cantor de Avis*, year VI, 1842, 378-379.

and magazines, from advertising provided by the central government of the Wallachian state.

In order to obtain profits, it was practiced the trade with beer, horses, carriages, flowers and even men (servants) right at the editorial or administrative office of a publication. For example, one could read the following notice: “At *Cantorul de Avis* a dozen of Porter English beer arrived, 12 demijohns for 16 dimes. Those who would like to buy a demijohn shall pay a dime and a half”.[19] The notice will be repeated several times. Or “As the editor of the newspaper *Cantorul de Avis*, fond of trees, flowers and vegetable plants, put all his effortss into bringing here within the Principality some things of the most famous gardens of Austria, seeds and roots, of the most beautiful flowers, and the most exquisite and delicate vegetables…”.[20] He was selling everything, including the mulberry trees for silk worms, cabbage, carrots, lettuce, radishes, spinach, beans, peas. Finally, “A Gypsy laundrywoman and cook, thirty years old, is for sale. Those interested shall contact the Editorial Office” as it was advertised in *Vestitorul românesc*, at 19 November 1843. The editorial offices obtained advertisement notices or a percentage out of this type of trade.

A formula of expanding the addressability of a publication consisted in "Additions" supplements. In terms of content, they were more homogeneous for audiences clearly defined, but not always resisted. For exmple, *Gazeta Teatrului Naţional*, the supplement of *Curierul Românesc* (founded in 1837) withstands with difficulty, so there is another supplement in 1840 - *Curierul de amândouă sexele.* In fact there have been just a few newspapers that may not have experimented the supplements formula, some successful, others failing.

Returning to the financing of periodical publications, let us trace a balance sheet presented on March 1, 1839, of I.H. Rădulescu's own publication – *Curierul Românesc* (from 10 years of establishment). From its text – “ Expenses of a gazette” we learn the elements of costs for a periodical of "100 sheets per year", meaning: press - 10.000 Lei; paper – 2.000 Lei; at least 150 Lei per month payment of an employee, i.e. 1.800 actual Lei; 80 Lei per month payment to a newspaper distributor, hence 960 Lei per year. For shipping the copies, more expenses were necessary, as in the “writers” case, those who would write addresses on envelopes, the paper, the red wax (used to seal envelopes) and others, which meant 60 Lei per month and 720 per year. Subscriptions to foreign media: at

[19] *Cantor de Avis şi comers*, yearII, no. 77, 30 May 1838, 312.
[20] *Cantor de Avis şi comers*, year VI, no. 16, 28 February 1838, 63.

least 1,000 Lei annually, "carrying newspapers and letters" – 40 Lei monthly and 480 Ley per year; rent for the building in which the editorial office would operate - 1,000 Lei annually. The result is a total of 17.960 Lei.

However "the income of a gazette what goes up to more than 150 subscribers by paying four ducats" is 600 ducats, i.e. 19,200 Lei. If from this amount is counted against those 17,960 Lei (expenses), there will be still 1,240 Lei left as "earnings to fill with them the money loss, the extraordinary expenses, hansoms and others…".[21] "Money loss" means, actually, copies sent to certain individuals who were not required to pay for them. Faced with such a review, the publisher decided to boost the sale of the *Curierul,* announcing both the older and the newer subscribers that they would receive bundles free of charge from the "Romanian Grammar", written and printed by himself. There were made even some editorial improvements by hiring C. Bălăcescu as policy manager for the publication and A. Popovici as engineer for heading the "Varieties" section.

In the years that followed, the editorial staff has experimented various forms to stimulate reading, in the sense that he diversified the content so as to enhance the targeting of his articles. In 1843, for example, it is experienced and assimilated gestures of public relations strategies namely imaging, as was the decision to contract five discounted subscriptions for each county, for the benefit of the flood victims gathered after a large fire in Ploiești.

Also, among the marketing innovations stands the editors' gesture to use several illustrations on the *Curier de ambe sexe* (from 1840), mainly "fashion figures", to boost sales and when they come to a reasonable profit level the "figures" are discarded, meanwhile strengthening the editorial staff. Such a decision can hasten bankruptcy - a loyal audience to a certain type of content can leave a publication whether it keeps "innovating", as it happened with the above-mentioned title.[22]

As the editorial costs were increasing - see the call of the engineer Alexandru Popovici, to get at least 500 subscriptions in order to print the magazine *Dacia Veche și Nouă* (at Craiova) – part of the solution was the expansion of the market for the printouts carried out in various regions.

[21] *Curierul Românesc*, year X, no. unspecified, 1 March 1839, 1.

[22] *Curier de ambe sexe* is considered the first literary journal in the Wallachia, published in Bucharest between 1837-1847, edited by Ion Heliade Rădulescu. The texts for the female audience had a significant share in this journal.

For example, in 1844 publishers in Bucharest, Sibiu and Iaşi decided to contract subscriptions, on a reciprocal basis, so that through *Gazeta de Transilvania*, the Transylvanians could subscribe to *Curier de ambe sexe*, from Bucharest, for instance.

Also, in 1844, the magazine editorial office of *Curier de ambe sexe* conducted a survey about the letters used in printing, out of which 616 readers showed they wanted using the Latin alphabet and 27 have opted for Cyrillic letters. The transition to the Latin script, at the insistence the approximately 600 subscribers has made the the lection salon from Paris called "Monpensier" to request copies of the *Curier* (in 1845), to be read there as well. It is difficult to estimate how many French have read it, yet the Frenchman's request worked as a prestigious argument to promote *Curierul de ambe sexe*.

There were also situations in which major publications as *Dunărea* edited by M. Cugino, would disappear from the market, in spite of the editor's efforts to maintain on the market "a mercantile journal", i.e. special informative issues. For Cugino, the administrative offices of Bucharest, Iași and Sibiu's newspapers have provided support, however without having obtained any more than 87 subscriptions (in 1847).

One of the editorial problems was – as much since then to these days – the press distribution (or media broadcasting). Also as the owners of carriages were playing with the prices, Wallachian police published ”measures over the resolute price for the walks per hour”,[23] with the help of a carriage, in brief for two coins (considering that the cabmen used to pretend up to five coins). This is how the Inner Department, by the Commandment No.12.235/ 1846 decided that "if in the future these coachmen dare to take even a dime more per hour, they will not only be beaten, but they will also be denied to practice this service".[24]

We should note that as the political groups are crystallized, both the flow of information and the printout market mature, the distinction between the ”mercantile journals”, the political and literary ones (often supported by various benefactors) becomes increasingly clearer. Basically, only the first category survived on sales because it provided various and accurate information on current events from the country and from abroad.

Listening to the market demands, descending to the mid-level readers has been and remained a controversial topic. For instance, in

[23] *Vestitorul Românesc*, year X, no. 99, 17 December 1846, 395. The document bears the signature of the Chief of Police, I. Manu and was issued on December 14, 1846.
[24] *Vestitorul Românesc*, year X, no. 99, 17 December 1846, 395

1848, Ion Heliade Rădulescu found himself constrained to respond to I. Maiorescu, the one who asserted that the Romanian publications are "masks without brains".[25] Our publications meet every real needs and they have their readers, the very experienced publisher argued by offering as example *Curierul Românesc,* that went from 150 to 1400 copies in ten years.

In the year of 1848, remained in history as the year of the revolution, but also as the year of cholera, 17 periodicals appeared regularly in the Romanian Principalities, according to the editors from *Albina Românească*,[26] which meant very few.

Once again about money. In 1851 we learn that a press distributor cost the editorial office 100 Lei per month, as it was for the *Romanian Herald*: "At the newspaper editorial office (...) it is necessary to have a newspaper distributor to D.D. subscribed purchasers, twice per week, whose salary will be 100 Lei per month, especially around the New Year he has to have a salary from 300 up to 400 Lei from D.D. subscribed purchasers; those interested to be entrusted with this job, should show themselves at the chancellery of our editorial office which can be found on the street of Şerban-Vodă".[27]

A pass to a restaurant where one could read various newspapers and journals cost 110 Lei per month, an example found in the newspaper being "Hotel de France" from Bucharest: "in the middle of the Mogoşoaia bridge, the city's center, corresponding to one's needs, as it has at its gate a station with hansoms, and in the yard it has the diligences cantor following the roads of Giurgiu and Braşov. This hotel is recommended to travellers who come in the Principality, for it includes a café-restaurant, where one may read French, German, Italian and Romanian journals…".[28] The restaurant had a menu à la carte ("breakfast, dinner and soups were to be regulated by the chiefest daily book"), the monthly pass going up to 110 Lei (piasters).

The need for information could be seen not only in newspapers but also in the texts of opinion published at the time. Referring to the Bucharest press during 1852-1853, an editorial office collaborator of *Voinţa naţională*, who recommends himself as "Barbu" published a

[25] I. Eliade, "About D. Maiorescu's letter from *Foaea Literară*, No. 6", in *Curierul Românesc*, year IX, no. 18. 1848, 3-4.
[26] "Romanian Journalism", in *Albina Românească*, year XX, no. unspecified, 1848, 7, 20, 36.
[27] *Vestitorul Românesc*, year XVI, no. 35, 9 May 1851, 140.
[28] *Vestitorul Românesc*, year XVI, no. 50, 2 July 1851, 200.

periodical entitled “In Bucharest”, in which he laments about the journalist’s situation, who does not have breaks as in the other professions, but – as he stated - “ What do you want? The newspaper became even for us an object of consuming of prime necessity as well as bread, meat and wine.

A somewhat cultivated man can not sleep at night until he laid eyes on a newspaper; he’d rather be willing to stand suppressing his tobacco or broth than letting anyone to take away his information and his newspaper aticles. Let alone the articles, the information is much more important! The information! Here is the daily bread that our audience asks for. Most readers would bother with those articles of Mr. Panu or with the written findings of Mr. Costică Boerescu from *Naţiunea*, as much as the cats would be interested in the Impressionism School’s paintings. What else is new? Here's the question you hear every street corner, in every cafe, for ten, a hundred times a day, wherever you are. How are things in Bulgaria? Will it be war or peace? Did it rain in that said town or not? (…) When I was still young, it was a rarity to see someone reading newspapers…”.[29]

In 1857, the first year of the newspaper *Românul*, as A. Ștefănescu-Galați noted, "the newspaper business was not what it is today” (in 1916 –a.n.); it was poor. The two or three newspapers[30] managed to print out of a few hundred copies up to a maximum of two thousand; and only *Românul* reached this number, yet not earlier than 1875 (edition– a.n.).

For a newspaper to be able to maintain such circumstances, the one who was devoted to it had do everything, to be even its editorial secretary as well as an editor, a reporter and an interpreter, also a proofreader, and even the administrator; thus C.A. Rosetti was working with one or two employees who helped him.

No professional journalists were mentioned back at that time: it was considered to be a mission, not a job. Politicians practiced journalism in order to preach their own ideas, yet only a few of them managed to struggle for a long time with a newspaper’s necessities.

”C.A. Rosetti himself died while still writing”.[31] We have not found any documents showing the editorial costs, however from the

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[29] *Voința națională*, year II, no. unspecified,17 July 1887, 2.

[30] A newspaper would appear twice a week.

[31] A. Ștefănescu-Galați, "C.A.Rosetti", in his commemorative volume dedicated to C.A. Rosetti, third edition, Study Circle Journal of the National Liberal Party, Bucharest, 1916, 30.

testimonies of the contemporaries it is shown that around 1880 a daily newspaper editorial board had a director, two editors, a translator and a proofreader, an endorser as well as other six distributors. We haven't added on the list the accountant, the printers and other employees whose number ranged according to the size of the printing company as well as its materials. Frequently students were employed to translate texts from foreign publications or as reporters. *Românul* had an average circulation of 2,500 copies in 1876 and about 3,100 during 1877-1878; approximately 1900-2450 copies were printed, on average, in 1883; 2,350 copies in 1885, except for the editions from 9 to 12 April 1885, in which it was brought to public knowledge the death and the funerals of C.A.Rosetti, 4000 copies being printed out.[32] This was the situation of one of the main liberal Romanian newspapers.

If the publisher will be into agreement with the market's expectations, the printout number will increase as well, as indicated by the statistics published by G. I. Lahovari, in 1898: "there are newspapers these days in Bucharest which have constant daily printout range of 15, 20 of 35.000 copies. In the days with large events, the range increases (...) there are four advertising agencies (…) 30 newsstands…".[33] Let us note that at that time, the population stood at around 250,000 inhabitants in Bucharest.

There have also been equilibrated publishers who quickly understood that displaying a political choice could compromise an edition, as in Luigi Cazzavillan's case. One of his fellow journalists used the following statements about him: "In 1884, in a little house from Calea Dorobanţilor, appeared the first number of *Universul*, edited, corrected and shipped by the young and enthusiastic Luigi Cazzavillan. His editorial board was composed of him only (…) Of the 300 or 400 sheets sold at the beginning, it came to 100 thousand copies".[34] From the Editor in Chief it reached 20 editors and a total of 100 employees; held an editorial board and administration palace for *Universul* on Brezoianu street, owned ten printing presses worth 100.000 Lei and so on. It was the most spectacular evolution of a periodical title in Romania.

About the plights of other publications, on to the following lines. At 25 May 1869, the head of the magazine "The woman. Non-political journal" He complained about the difficult situation from the economic

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[32] A. Ștefănescu-Galați, op.cit., 286.

[33] George Ioan Lahovari et alii, The great Geographical Dictionary of Romania, vol. I, The printing venue at Socec, Bucharest, 1898, 764.

[34] "Luigi Cazzavillan", in *Foaia populară*, year III, no. 27, 5th of September 1900, 3.

point of view. After six months of monthly appearance, " we print 1000, share six hundred copies but then we have received only 60"[35] (subscriptions – a.n.). In Bucharest, for instance there were only 35 subscribers.

In the same registry of disappointment we learn ten years later about head of newspaper Mary Flehtenmacher's laments regarding *The Romanian Woman. Social, literary and homely newspaper,* however referring to the entire Romanian media: "... there is a single scientific journal printed in 600 copies, yet we do not know whether 200 are paid regularly. There is only one literary sheet which has only from four to 500 readers. The artistic ones don't even exist (...) if we were supposed to believe these statistics, there should be only 200 Romanian men and women educated and lovers of national progress, and about four hundred families who love and encourage the Romanian literature out of 200,000 Romanian people in Bucharest. So, what do the other 199.300 Romanian families read? <The dramas of Paris>, a literary one (...) which often spoils the taste and the morals of the young souls. < The dramas of Paris > is printed in 5000 copies; meanwhile *The Scientific Magazine* and *The Romanian Woman* which include sciences, housewifery, instructions, literature, retrieved from reliable writers, are printed only 500 of them"[36] (copies). The owner of the magazine *Femeia* will soon discover that she will not be able to sustain the newspaper with sober, cautionary or excessively regulative texts. Shortly after, she will issue supplements and will follow the taste of the audience, for the purposes of publishing several texts on fashion (mostly Parisian), columns with attractive titles as "The Harem", "The Banker", "Love, women and marriage" and so forth, miscellaneous facts ("varieties"), household tips, illustrations, and even changes the journal's cover graphic.

Furthermore, the editor published in each issue "The Black List", meaning a list of names of those who received the magazine, but have not paid the subscription. It was a mourning section with full names and towns where the debtors were living. The practice of subscribing by force, sending a publication even to those who have not requested it, then put pressure upon them to pay for it was widespread at the time. The subscription was a form of credit, after all, allowing management decisions for six times over the following 12 months. The target of the editor was not only to recover the amount invested, but also expanding

[35] *Femeia. Jurnal nepolitic*, year II, no. 6, 25 May 1869, 1.

[36] Maria Flehtenmaher,"The schools and the literature", in *Femeia Română*, year II, no. 123, 7th of June 1879, 1.

the business to 1,000 subscribers. It seems that the strategy adopted has been successful - in 1880, the government had its own typography (on Domnița Anastasia street, no. 27).

A "publication for the people" entitled *Comoara satelor* defined itself since its founding (in 1905) as a ”national institution that wishes to belong to its people, to exist for its people, both supported and protected by them.

The amount offered to support it shall be given for enlightenment for the light of the people is able to protect, so no sacrifice can be too great to this duty"[37]. Well, at the beginning of 1906 the publisher noted incurring significant losses: "Please notice. With this number we have canceled sending our magazine to more than 3 500 subscribed purchasers who are still in debt since two years ago and others who haven’t paid ever since the first edition.

The large expenses we have to support for this sheet that has no other support than the one of its readers, does not allow us anymore to ship the magazine unpaid beforehand".[38] What else have the editors not tried yet? Catchy messages, prizes etc. For instance, the regular readers would receive as a gift replicas of "historical events" such as "Popular lawful gathering from 1831" or "The circumstantial trials of 1857" (Wallachian and Moldavian), or representing " The Legislative Assembly of 1859". However, in 1906 it ceases its publishing just to return to the market half of year later.

From the informations available and the numerous texts in which the publishers deplore the media’s state suggests there were not enough readers. They could hardly be, since in 1909, for example, almost 60% of Romania’s population were illiterate. Around 19% of them could read and write and 9,5 % attended the school; only 2,2% graduated the upper classes.[39] It wasn’t the school that had the main role to cultivate people, but the Church.

On the other hand, neither the suggested formula by the most publications did not seem to find readers – it came to an abundance of fiction, literature, texts giving as little information as many columns and

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[37] *Comoara satelor,* year III, no. 3-4, 15 January-1 February 1907, 61. Note. The magazine has been founded in 1905 or 1906 in Bucharest, first edition series; it appears again in 1907-19016. A similar magazine has been published in Blaj, starting with 1923.
[38] *Comoara satelor*, year III, no. 3-4, 15 January-1st of February 1907, 62.
[39] Petre Zaharescu, "Our primary school is fictional", written in *Săptămâna politică și culturală*, year II, no. 29, 23 June 1912, 11.

so on. Too many metaphors, passions, emotions, not enough information of useful value.

To this end I find relevant the testimony of Constantin Stere, who in 1917 published an article admitting that "I am not a journalist by profession", after 100 editions of the newspaper *Lumina*, he was running. This happened after he edited the monthly publication of *Viața românească,* for 10 years, meanwhile, like others did, he had doubts regarding the quality of his press materials. It is a moment of awareness: the journalist is other than the writer:

"In the publishing business of a magazine where the informational based only part has relatively less significance, the writer still masters his quill He selects his facts, processes them, underlines them, he draws out of them what he thinks necessary for the purposes he has. Thus he can afford literary pretensions, and he can nurture his illusion that he produces a lasting <opera>... The journalist however is a mere small wheel of a tremendous machinery, which does not turn off neither night nor day, or an increasingly insatiable tanner always demanding <materials>, only the forthwith news, fapte inedite, that will master the public attention even for a moment. The newspaper does not like to know anything of literary claims, mocks all preferences; whatever is not <fresh> anymore, occured in more than the last 24 hours, has no more value for it; the machinery keeps working, and it needs constantly <materials>; and it fails to take account of neither the preferences nor the individual concerns, it disregards the writer's <mood>, his fatigue or his aphasia...".[40]

3. Transylvania

The situation did not seem to be better in Transilvania also because, as we could learn from the 1838's editions, when *Gazeta de Transilvania* appeared, Ioan Lupaş wrote: "A Romanian audience, accountable for sure, able to support the appearance of a newspaper, here (in Transylvania – a.n.) did not exist yet. Those who have felt the necessity of newspapers in order to be updated with the events from the country or abroad, were the few educated people and the usual – and that should be emphasized - of foreign school (...) We had no high nor midrange clergy formed yet. As for our society broad and heavy layers

[40] C. Stere, "101", *Lumina*, yearl I, no. 101, 11 December 1917, 1.

(...) they were in a sad state of ignorance, the most primeval stage of the intellectual culture".[41]

Indeed, the economical difficulties faced by George Barițiu were plenty, right from the start of *Gazeta de Transilvania*. In order to obtain a minimum profit, for example, the publisher needed at least 500 subscribed purchasers, something that unfortunately did not happen. "It is enough to note that before 1848, *Gazeta de Transilvania* had more readers in Wallachia and in Moldavia than in Transylvania or Hungary",[42] noted Aurel A. Mureșianu, referring to the beginning of the Transylvanian media using Romanian language. In fact, *Gazeta* had aproximately 500 subscribers on the eve of of the 1848's Revolution, 300 from the Principalities and about 200 in Transylvania. The issuing volumes will increase their number after 1849 when the number of the Transylvanian readers will exceed the number of those from the Principalities, reaching approximately 1000 readers.

This explains the scarcity of publications in Romanian. In 1846, the Romanian editors retrieved an article from *Allgemeine Zeitung* in which were presented the results of an analysis of the media, from which Transylvania faced an unprecedented situation, where to 2.5 millions of Romanian there were only leading publications issued – *Gazeta de Transilvania* and *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură.*[43]

Bariţiu was the one who opposed the project of a new publication[44], which was to appear in Vienna in 1861 - "German word newspaper to defend the nation's interests and our homeland Transylvania. That newspaper would have been out three times a week in the format of No. 6 (…) and would have cost about 16,000 fr.[45] per year".[46] The reason? Also an economically one -" so as not to be

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[41] Ioan Lupaș, From the Romanian media's past, Typ. Diocesan, Arad, 1916, 112.

[42]Aurel A. Mureșianu, " Romanian press before and after 1848", *Țara Bârsei*, year III, No. 2, March and April 1931, 103.

[43] "Printing and journalism in our countries", *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, year IX, 1846, 75.

[44] G. Bariţiu, "Familiar Letters", in *Transilvania*, yearl II, no. 2, 15 January 1869, 1.

[45] In this study the abbreviations are used as in the articles mentioned. It is the monetary units that have circulated at that time - the filler, representing one centime (a hundredth part) of the Austrian crown, and the hundredth part of a forint in Hungary. The Florin - silver coin with the value of two crowns in Austria-Hungary, equivalent to two fr. and 10 coins. Sometimes the reference concerns the franc - a monetary unit with a varying value that circulated also in our country. For instance, the subscription for that circulated also in our country. For instance, the subscription for the newspaper of Transylvania (Braşov, 1869) cost two florins a month for the publishing association members, three for non-members and 10 francs (including mail) abroad.

[46] Short v.a. used in the original article denotes the total amount used.

repelled, or whether anyone likes it, we shall not have a terrible loss, which however, in this case, it would seem to be the same ".[47]

Here is a business plan from October 1865 of all the cost components, representing a new newspaper that would have followed to appear in Braşov, on the initiative of Bariţiu: "1) That new newspaper should be completely independent, therefore necessarily submit warranty. 2) To have a liberal program pronounced. 3) Not to limit itself to work for the sole interest of the Romanian nation, but also for the country that the nation would collapse without. 4) Common language; smooth style. 5) To handle not only matters of the day related to the inhabitant nations from this side, To handle not only matters of the day related to the nations inhabitant from this side, but also from the Romanian Independent Principalities while for European affairs to come in the third line or category, even more the ones that could have stout ill will upon our young people. 6)To have belletristic and varieties series for the feminine audience preferences. 7) To come out for now thrice in the format of No.6 on clean white paper, with a fresh new pattern. 8) To maintain the price of 9 fr. instead of 10 while shipping it".[48]

If this was the program and the composition of the newspaper, here are all the elements of charge: "The annual charges required for a newspaper's size and quality to that described above would be, for 156 copies: The paper and printing to 30 fr. per sheet - 4.680 fr. overall; the stamps to 156,000 sheets per year for one cr.-1.560 fr.; Shipping was 105 cr. for every 100 sheets -1.638 fr. overall; Address printing and consignment charges – 400 fr.; Provisioning, percentages, losses, correspondence, charges of the chancellery -1.000 fr.; 5 major foreign newspapers 20 fr. each-100 fr.; other 5 less significat newspapers 12 fr. each, 60 fr. overall; The benefit of the Chief Editor was 20 % out of the gross income, about 2.000 fr.; the benefit of a contributor was 10% - about 1.000 fr.; 12.438 fr. in general".[49]

To these are added the rent of a room (office), the purchase of books, fees for foreign correspondents, which no matter how reduced would still reach 500 fr. The result is a total of 12,938 fr. The author's conclusion is that to fit within the listed expenses it would take 1,400 subscribers, and if the subscribers would be fewer he had to to rise the price of its subscription up to 12 fr. per year, as the Hungarian newspapers cost in Cluj, or from other cities, every one having three

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[47] G. Bariţiu, "Familiar Letters", în *Transylvania*, year II, no. 2, 15 January 1869, 1.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] Bariţiu, G., "Familiar Letters", in Transylvania, year II, no. 2, 15 January 1869, 1.

issues weekly. However, “by not having any hope of realising here this preliminary, it has been thrown under the mattress on my behalf as well…”.[50]

He abandoned the idea, but “God gave in 1866 at Vienna the chance for *Albina* to come out, and in 1868 *Federaţiunea,* at Pesta …”,[51] publications ensuring to the Romanians access to information. However, in 1869, Barițiu noted that “to all the European mailing offices it can be listed not only how many newspapers come out in different languages, but also how many copies should be sent. Well, we boast that we are all eight million or ten million; but there were 35 political periodical sheets and non-political ones, many that came out until this day in our language, hardly shipping around 30 thousand copies. Let us say we are reading in place of publishing the respective sheets for another 10,000 copies, ie 40 000 overall”.[52] Compared with other nations, he noted that our situation was rather difficult…

About the magazine *Albina* expenses (Vienna, 1866) we learned from Vasile Grigoroviţă. The author[53] evokes the founders – Andrei, George, Anton and Alexandru Mocioni, who start with their own money this publication, then to the costs of publishing for 12 months, resulting that between April 1866 - March 1867 they went up to 9.950 fr., and the revenues from their subscriptions were of 5.750 fr.. Therefore, the founders "made a subsidy of 4,200 f.”. It is strange that instead of reducing the subsidy, it grows in the following period - from April 1867 to 31 December 1868 (22 months), the costs were:

I. Charges: The typography (presses, paper, stamps, addresses and advertising)- 9.500 fl.; The editorial board (the editor, the contributors and the correspondents, rent of the chancellery, supplies and mailing) – 4.650 fl.; The shipping (plus the postage stamps) – 3.200 fl. Overall: 17.350 fl.

II. Incomes: Subscriptions up to 700 and 820 (“posing them in exchange for free up to 100 copies”); Advertisements –

[50] *Ibid*.
[51] *Ibid*.
[52] *Ibid*.
[53] Vasile Grigoroviţă, “The expenses and the incomes from Albina”, in *Albina*, year III, no. 128, 19/31 December 1868, 3-6. About the editorial difficulties of some Romanian publications Alexandru Roman also talks in *Federaţiunea* – see year I, no. 180, 13/25 December 1868, 1.

> 10.350 fl.; The founders' subsidy – 7.000 fl. There will be a total of 17.350 fl.

The author's conclusion is that " for two years and three fourths, ever since there was *Albina* founded, the Romanian audience helped to support it with 16.100 fl., while the illustrious founders with 11,200 fl. That is the full cost of the 33 months since *Albina*'s first edition, 27.300 fl".[54] Please note that their annual subscription fees cost 8 fl. for Austria, 18 fl. for Romania and other countries. It was published three times a week, "according to the circumstances' moment" that which means a variable number of its pages.

About an editor's difficulties also talks the owner of *Archivu pentru filologie și istorie,* in 1868." The editor of this paper"[55]- as Cipariu noted - "never signed just as an editor, but only as publisher (…) An editor, like all the authentic editors, has to pick his materials and to put them into order; he has to write sometimes even a general tpic based article, so to speak, and he should also add a small observation. That's the true occupation of the right editor, or editorial staff, where are several editors. Whether I shall be the editor, where are my materials from which to choose, to put in order and make up the sheet numbers, like everyone else, baptized - or unbaptized - editors? Please inspect, dear subscribers, the following 20 editions enrolled in 50 large sheets, for the last two years; please also count how many articles have been submitted? (…) you will be convinced that there we could not talk about the editorial board itself, because there was no material from which to choose and which to draft, but the editor was required to compose and write one on its own"[56]. Cipariu said that not even the hundreth part of the texts published would have been sent by others than the philology or history specialists. His explanation concerns the lack of of payment of collaborators – "the present editorial board is not in wealth to promise incomes through these sheets in order to earn correspondents", that "days of this organization shall be counted down".[57]

[54] Vasile Grigoroviţă, 1868, 3-6.

[55] Timotei Cipariu, "Declaration", in *Archivu*, year II, no. XX, 25 November 1868, 399-400. See also, "Information taken from three regular sheets respectfully to the Romanian publicity", in *Transilvania*, year II, no. 2, 15 January 1869, 14

[56] Timotei Cipariu, 1868, 399.

[57] Timotei Cipariu, 1868, 400. Note. *Archivu pentru filologie și istorie* has been published during 1867 and 1870 and in 1872 was the first Romanian phylology magazine.

The journal resisted difficulties with the irregular appearance until November 1870, the final edition being printed in November 25, 1872. The lack of collaborators, subscribers, editing and dispatch from Blaj (given that it was printed in Sibiu), health of the publisher- editor have resulted, taken together, the disappearance of our first philological magazine.

I should finish this quickly on a successful title - *Gazeta de Duminică*, founded in 1888 by A. Mureșianu as a supplement of *Gazeta de Transilvania*, had printout ranges of 3.000-4.000 copies[58], the highest achieved by a publication from Transylvania, back then (to have a subscription available it took two florins per year).

4. Moldavia

We found in Moldavia a comparable situation to the one in Wallachia, in terms of publishing. Although he was the holder of the privilege to edit the press and to hold a typography as a nonclerical man and so on, Gheorghe Asachi will not record what is known as a commercial success with his publications. And neither by books. On June 1st, 1829 he begins editing, printing and selling *Albina Românească.* Later he will publish a literary supplement entitled *Alăuta Românească*.

The year 1832 will find the two publications right at the moment when the owner noticed that for the six million Moldavian Romanian people were only two newspapers, the "most ignoble analogy" compared to media development in the surrounding countries.

It is the year in which requires support to buy a modern typography as a nonclerical man, a request that prompted the marshal N. Şuţu to inquire "What does lord Asachi need for a mechanical press for two sheets that appear twice a week, one of them being supported by the government nd the other having less than 200 subcribers?"[59]

Although it was a semi-official publication *Albina* shortly ceases its appearance, due to lack of readers: "After the publisher’s notice regarding *Albina Românească*, sadly announce that its much needed editor after its most damaging diligence of four years was at last constrained to cease publishing these useful and honor bringing publication for the Moldavians "[60], announced the editors of *Curierul*

[58] Aurel A. Mureșianu, "Romanian press before and after 1848", *Țara Bârsei*, year III, No. 2, from March to April 1931, 116.
[59] Nicolae Șuțu, 1957, 185, *apud* Vintilă-Ghițescu, 2012, 256.
[60] *Curierul Românesc*, year V, 1838, 133.

Românesc, from Bucharest, in 1833. It is difficult to judge whether the failure could be explained by the scarcity of its readers or by the unattractive content of the newspaper. The gestures in which they attempted to resume publishing after 18 months have been - the introduction of some more interesting chain stories, the introduction of a field of fashion and maintaining the price of two ducats to six Lei quarterly for the subscribers.

Slightly more financially stable seemed to be the magazine *Foae sătească pentru Prinţipatul Moldovii* (1839), a publication allowed by the Public Association Assembly and by the ruler. According to his founding report, the publisher had to print as many sheets as the number of villages there were. Actually, it was established already the requirement that there had to be a at least one subscription for every village of at least 50 inhabitabitants, and it was required to be read by the priests on every Sunday because the publication contained commandments from the ruler, as well as notices regarding outbreaks, ad sales, auctions, prices and others. The partners of Kogălniceanu will be Teodor Albineţ, the secretary of *Foaea* and the typographer Adolf Berman.

As the number of literate people increases the taste for reading is manifested by purchasing newspapers and magazines. In June 1881, appears in Iași *Contemporanul. Revistă ştiinţifică şi literară,* of a great impact over the history of our culture. The first two editions were printed in 700 copies each[61], the third, fourth and fifth editions 1.000 copies each, and starting with the seventh edition the printout goes up to 2.000 copies.[62] By mid of the second year of occurrence it had approximately 3.000 subscribers and the print run of 4,500 copies, which meant a very good circulation then for such publication; in the third year due to economic difficulties, the appearance becomes unregulated, so until 1887 it needed the help of a specialist in editorial activity, Israel Kupermann.[63] However, the market did not accept more, so in the tenth year of *Contemporanul* it ceases its publishing.

5. Romanian Media, a debt of the scientific community

The economic size of local journalism remains, as noted above, one of the researchers arears. It is true that too many documents have

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[61] This was also the print run for *Espatriatul*, published by Cezar Bolliac, the abbot Snagoveanu and Constantin Bălcescu, in Brașov, in 1849.

[62] *Contemporanul*, year I, no. 7, 1881, 226.

[63] Al. Hanță, 1983, 34.

remained in the archives, but focused research, in large documentation funds, both civil and military archives, private archival funds and so on, could lead to the drafting of a economical history of the press in Romania.

As an example, here is information indicating how publications were prioritized from 1936 starting from the advertising prices charged. The advertising charge reflects the print runs, the prestige, the broadcast area and others. In 1936, newspapers like *Lupta* and *Rampa* had the cheapest charges for such services – 5.00 Lei, followed by *Ora* with 6.00 Lei, *Facla* with 8.00 Lei, *Epoca* and *Curentul*, 9.00 Lei each; *Ordinea* and *Porunca vremii* 10.00 Lei each; *Adevărul, Argus, L'Independance Roumaine*, *Tempo* și *Viitorul* 12.00 Lei each, tariffs going up to 20.00 Lei per text column, as practiced by the major newspapers with the largest print runs– *Universul* and *Dimineața*. The last two collected 80.00 Lei for an advertising line "by text".[64]

Even the newspapers from counties had significant receipts from advertising: *Satu Mare* – 15.00 Lei per advertising line; *Dobrogea Jună* – 12.00 Lei, *Curierul Basarabiei de Sud* – 10.00 Lei; *Dacia* (Constanța) - 10.00 Lei.

Romania had 687 periodicals – 324 newspapers and 363 magazines, according to the "Catalogue of the press in Romania", edition of 1936. These were distributed as follows: 123 in the Old Kingdom, 166 in Transylvania, 19 in Bessarabia and in Bukovina 16. In Bucharest 56 newspapers appeared, followed by 21 newspapers in Timişoara, in Cluj 20, in Chișinău and Cernăuți 16 newspapers each, 12 Oradea, Galați 11, Sibiu and Arad 10 each, Târgu Mureș 8 and so on. (The newspaper, in this context didn’t really mean a daily publication, rather with a frequency between daily and twice a month, the content being the major element – they were not literary works, but the current socio-political, economic, cultural ones etc.). The newspapers print runs with a national scale had 60,000 to 150,000 copies, the counties being more modest: *Bacăul* – 3.500 copies, *Opinia din Iași* - 26.000 copies etc. A magzine such as *Realitatea ilustrată* had 70.000 copies.

During the Second World War, the state will be the one to adjust the paper consumption, advertising rates, circulation and even decide what publications are useful or not. More specifically the state abolished periodicals while founding some others that respond better to the propaganda interests of the moment. At this stage it deserves to be understood from a financial perspective.

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[64] *Catalogul presei din România*, 1936.

By the communist regime, as it is known, the opposition's media gets eliminated, the only periodicals approved being those who served the official ideology. In this case may also be saved the personal information held by the archives, requests can be made for the purposes of speeding up processing the funds held by the public archives, so that documents should be accessible. The greatest difficulties were recorded in disseminating the literary press. This explains why regular meetings were held at the General Directorate of Media Broadcasting, as it was the one from July 1959 they have analyzed the sales of 10 literary magazines published by the Writers Union – *Gazeta literară, Viaţa românească, Luceafărul, Utunk, Steaua, Igasz Szo, Iaşul literar, Neue Literatur, Scrisul bănăţean* and *Novi Jivot*. Their budgets were very small compared to the 32 central and local newspapers which had a circulation amounted to an appearance of 2,400,000 copies. However, as the authorities considered, in order to limit the losses it was necessary to reconsider the content and sales strategy. Some magazines, such as *Viaţa românească* and *Steaua* would sometimes appear very late, other newspapers did not understand that "the masses of readers of the literary journals require that they publish works with a rich content of ideas, imbued with a deep sense of political party written with a high level of mastery as they deserve great topics for which they are devoted".[65]

One of the major newspapers of the period was *România liberă*, which in 1971 had 340.000 printouts per edition. The average print run for an appearance in the years of 1945-1948 was of 80,000 -140,000 copies, rising to 174,135 copies in 1949; 183,467 in 1950; 302,150 in 1960; 322 040 in 1970 and so on.[66]

Again, as an example, here follow some informations from the personal archive. For instance, in 1984 the budget for the local daily paper *Dobrogea nouă*, noting that it appeared for 310 times and had average print run of 32,000 copies daily: I. Incomes. Revenues from distribution: 4.954,0 Lei; revenues from advertising: 1.950,0 Lei; other incomes: 3,0 Lei. Overall: 6.907,0 Lei. II. Expenses. Paper: 667.0 Lei; typography: 667,0 Lei; distribution: 751.0 Lei; editorials: 1.701,2 Lei; advertising: 25,0 Lei; a part of the administrative charges: 188,7 Lei. Overall: 3.999,9 Lei. III. Profit: 2.907, 1 Lei.

A few explanations on two sections of the budget. "Editorial expenses" included wages of employees, taxes on salaries, displacements,

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65 Barbu Gruia, "Some problems of disseminating the literary magazines ", in *Gazeta literară*, year V, no. 31, 30 July 1959, 3.

66 Vasile Dochia, *România liberă*. Cataloguing data, 13 August 1971. Personal archive.

the purchase of books and periodicals, repairing, maintenance expenses, teaching materials and laboratory. Similar was the structure to chapter "administrative expenses" – salaries, taxes on salaries, displacements,, maintenance expenses, corresponding to the administrative staff. As for the wages ("retribution charging") in the media, here was the situation in the 80s. The staff of an institution was composed of three categories of personnel: 1 editorial and technical team; 2. specialized execution; 3. administrative and household. The first category included: the chief editor, with a salary of 5,110 Lei, plus an allowance between 280 and 720 Lei; the deputy chief editor, with 4,670 Lei salary and an allowance from 220 to 510 Lei; the chief of section, with a salary from 3,670 to 4,890 Lei. And they were the 'senior management'. In the second tier followed: the debating publicist; section editor, with wages from 3.350 to 4.890 Lei; main editor - from 2780-4020 Lei; editor - among 2,560 to 3,500 Lei; main typewriter - from 2,180 to 2,910 Lei; a corrector with higher education - among 2,240 and 2,910 Lei; a corrector with medium education - among 1,770 and 2,180 Lei; photographer, reporter - from 1,940 to 2,380 Lei. The editorial management was considered the typist (the secretary) with the salary between 2,000 and 2,380 Lei. The administrative and household staff were regarded as: manager of publication, from 2380 to 3050 income Lei; administrator for 2-4 four publications among 2670 and 3500 income Lei; the economist - 2.240 or 2.910 Lei; the accountant - 1.880 and 2.380; Accounting - auditors 1,620 to 2000 Lei; the chief accountant - 2470-3200 Lei. The courier, the guardian and keeper had a monthly wage between 1,450 and 1,620 Lei; janitor, 1425-1570 Lei and the trainee editor (1-2 years activity) - 2060-2310 Lei.

A medium-sized editorial office had 32 employees as the one that daily published *Dobrogea nouă* (311 issues per year) and the seasonal newspaper *Litoral* (104 issues per year), including 21 staff team, six directors and five staff workers.

It is difficult to say how much the State spent for publishing the Romanian press. Estimates can be made based on numbers above, from regular labor laws at that time, printing costs, transportation etc.. The largest editorial office in the country was the one of the newspaper *Scânteia* – the number of the employees was not known (some of whom were officers of the State Security Department), yet the recent documents show that in 1965 wages had reached 5,880,274 Lei. However, the biggest expenses were not the salaries, but the distribution of the newspaper: 20,050,864 Lei.[67]

In 1987, for example, in Romania there were about 500 newspapers and magazines, with an average print run of over 12,500,000 copies for an appearance[68]. According to a survey conducted by The Journalists Council and the Party Committee, coordinator of the Press and Publishing Groups Section, in 1987, 3,613 employees were working in the media – in the domains of press and publishing, excluding the Radio and the Television who had a particular status - of whom 1,891 editors, 263 book lecturers, 201 secretaries of the editorial board, 155 typewriters, 80 translators, 50 proofreaders, 94 photographers and other 879 professionals. For example, in the National News Agency Agerpres there were 215 editors, 956 county press editors and so on.

One of the major problems of the communist Romanian media was broadcasting them. For example, in 1987, the central newspapers were distributed by 22 trains that had attached 23 wagons, 12 passenger jets (from April 1 to October 30), a snare car in Valcea county, having 10 mailing tracks for the Giurgiu , Călărași, the Oltenia region and the Agricultural District of Ilfov, as well as 10 passenger transport (buses) for localities around the Capital From the storage points, the press was shipped via cars, boats, bicycles and even carriages in some localities. Please note that the newspaper *Scânteia* had an average print run of 1,430,000 copies per issue, in the year of 1987, out of which 1.24 million were subscriptions and 190,000 copies sold at the newsstands or via the street hawkers. On national level, approximately 70% of the publications were sold by subscription, 30% were sold through selling points.

Turning to distribution costs, we note that the newspapers *Elöre* and *Neuer Weg* were printed in the afternoon, in Bucharest and were sent by 28 trains that had attached 30 mail wagons and 10 cars. In Bucharest the press was distributed starting at 3:00 am via 7 cars that carried large amounts of press materials, to 14 sales departments, where 40 other cars cast in 500 units for sale, 50 street hawkers and 45 post offices; 31 cars would transport subscriptions from Casa Scânteii to over 1.150 companies and institutions which ordered at least 50 copies by

[67] Central Historical National Archives, Bucharest, responsible Committee for Press and Printings, File no. 40/1965, sheet 94, File no. 42/1965, sheet 109, File no. 44/1965, sheet 92 and File no. 46/1965, sheet 171.
[68] Information related to the structure according to age and staff accreditation from the Central and Local media and Publishing Groups. Personal archive

subscribing; 10 cars transported press materials to the 45 postal offices from where they were distributed by postmen.

At noon, 30 vehicles were transporting *Informația Bucureștiului* from the typography to over 600 selling points, post offices, hotels, hospitals, restaurants and department stores, street hawkers, etc. Although the efforts of the authorities to ensure proper distribution of media were considerable, newspapers such as *Informația Bucureștiului*[69] they were losing out of print runs every year – from 285,000 copies in April 1973 to 215,000 in April 1987; the number of street sellers dropped from 120 to 45, hence the need to employ only approximately 100 hawkers in Bucharest.[70]

Subscriptions that appear in the above statistics but also other documents do not reflect the wish of the readers, but instead were, in most cases, obtained by constraint. Depending on the area of employment, profession, age and so on, citizens were required by the political authorities of the time – leading organizations pioneers of the youth organizations of the Communist Party, of trade unions an so on- to contract subscriptions. In some situations – pupils deprived of material resources – it was allowed that a subscription to be contracted by two students. Therefore, the circulation of the communist press did not reflect the actual demand, but a demand of the authorities built through intimidation. Some publications as *Magazin, Magazin istoric, Flacăra* etc. were appreciated by their readers, so it is possible that their print runs reflect the actual demand.

6. Final thoughts

We conclude this historical sketch, with the hope that we have provided a theme for reflection for researchers in journalism, cultural history, but also for researchers in economy. Appearance and a good deal of development in the Romanian cultural media was marked by challenges, lack of perception. A mostly illiterate and poor population will prove itself no matter in which province of Romania, to be uninterested in the press offer. Only after the Revolution of 1848, as the political environment developed, the printing technology improved itself as well as the information streamline, and also the number of the literate

[69] *Informația Bucureștiului* was the only lunch newspaper published in Romania. On 21 December 1989 it was renamed as *Libertatea*.
[70] Note covering some issues and shortcomings of the transportation and distribution of press, 7 May 1987. Personal archive.

people increases and so on. Both the newspapers and magazines get a larger print run scale so that it is possible now to obtain a minimum profit turned into the publication's future editions.

We also pointed out the opportunity to exploit the documentary sources, including the personal ones from the communist period in order to scan the propaganda mechanisms not only in terms of indignation, but also in financial terms.

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BUCHAREST DURING THE PEACE OF 1812

Ana-Maria Lepăr*

Abstract: *The year 1812 remains in the history of the Romanian Principalities as the year when the peace treaty to end the Russian-Turkish war is signed. Bessarabia was acquired by the Russian Empire from Moldavia as a consequence of the warfare. The peace treaty was signed in Bucharest, at Manuc's Inn, who was owned by Manuc Bei. He was an important Armenian merchant in Bucharest, who played a key role during the negotiation. The diplomats who participated in the peace have left travel journals depicting aspects of the city organization, how the peace talks were held and the role of the host in preparing the discussion sessions. This article describes the city, using testimonies left by Count Langeron Andrault, by the Russian general Mihail Kutuzov and by the English Attached Ambassador at the Ottoman Empire, Sir Robert Thomas Wilson. It article also encompasses diplomatic and consular reports from the volume Consular and Diplomatic English Reports about the Danubian Principalities, 1800-1812, coordinated by the historian Paul Cernovodeanu and from the "Hurmuzaki" collection of documents. The purpose of the research is to analyze the following aspects: the image of the city, the impact of the peace organization on residents, the role played by Manuc Bei in the negotiations and the consequences of the peace treaty on the local population.*

Keywords: *Peace of 1812, Manuc Bei, Manuc's Inn, Alexandre Langeron, Mihail Kutuzov, Sir Robert Thomas Wilson.*

The Balkans represented between the 18th and 19th century an area of interest for three expanding empires in Central and South-Eastern Europe: Russian Empire, the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Empire. The Romanian Principalities, due to their position at the crossroads of these three powers, were a theatre of war and they acted as exchange coins between neighbours. The fate of the Principalities has been following this pattern during the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812. In the first stage of the conflict, due to the Russian occupation, they were

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Hiperboreea Journal, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2015), pp. 122-132

transformed into a venue point on Russian troops. After the Peace concluded in Bucharest, the territory of Moldavia was dismembered in favour of victorious Russia, which enclosed the region between the Prut and Dniester, now known as Bessarabia.

As a radiography of the events between 1806-1812 at the edge of Europe, it can be said that “This war was the longest military conflict between the these two great empires, worn on two theatres of military operations – the Danube and the Caucasus (secondary), but it was mainly represented by the diplomatic disputes, including secret diplomacy, than by the military confrontations. It was a war between the three Ottoman sultans (Selim III, 1789-1807; Mustafa IV, 1807-1808, Mahmud II, 1808-1839) and the ambitious Alexander I (1801-1825), behind which stood the ubiquitous Napoleon I Bonaparte”[1].

This paper is not focused on the presentation of the military and political events of 1812, but on the Romanian capital city, which has became the place for the peace negotiations.

The cause of the conflict was apparently simple, as recorded in his memoirs by Admiral Paul Ciceagov[2]: the dismissals from the Romanian Principalities of the rulers – Ypsilanti in Wallachia and Moruzi in Moldavia by the Ottoman Empire – thus breaking the treaty signed with Russia, where it was stated that households were appointed for 7 years. Also an unofficial reason was the attraction of Turkey in Napoleon’s projects against Russia[3].

Along with military events, peace talks began in November 1811 in Giurgiu, at which attended among others the following: Andrei Italinski[4], Ivan Vasilici Sabaneev, Joseph Fonton[5], Anthony Fonton, Peter Fonton, Bobrov, from the Russian side and Selim, Hamid and Galib-Efendi[6], from the Ottoman Empire’s part. At the thirteenth meeting on 21st of November / 2nd of December, 1811, the representatives of the Gate proposed Prut River as border between the two empires and that the Ottoman Empire to continue to posses the cities Chilia and Ismail.

[1] Mischevca, 2012, 17 - 22.

[2] He was appointed in April 1812 Danube army commander by Tsar Alexander I in order to speed up the peace and organize the withdrawal of Russian troops from the territory of the Principalities.

[3] Bezviconi, 1947, 182.

[4] He was the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, during Tsar Alexander I (1801-1825).

[5] He was advisor and translator (*dragoman)* for the Russian embassy from Constantinople.

[6] He was the head of Turkish plenipotentiaries.

Unfortunately, there was not an agreement between the two parties, due to the fact that the “the return to the initial discussion on the European side of the border (Siret and Prut) was considered contrary to Russian friendship and M. Kutuzov[7] himself, being quite surprised, remained very pained”[8].

Negotiations were moved to Bucharest after one month[9]. They were advancing slowly, due to different views as regarded the border between the two empires. The prerequisites of peace were signed on 5th/17th of May 1812, after many sessions and confidential meetings[10]. The following points were specified in the six articles accepted by both Kutuzov from Russia and Ahmed Pasha from the Ottoman Empire: the border between the two countries was established on the Prut River, Chilia arm was common, Ismail and Chilia fortresses were to be demolished and Russia was obliged not to build in their place other fortifications, the Caucasian border remains as they were before the war, the Serbians received general amnesty and the right to autonomy, the conventions of privileges before the War for Wallachia and Moldavia were again available[11]. The last article mentioned the start of the final peace negotiations that took place immediately after the signing of the preliminaries. It has been scarcely applied on 16th/28th of May 1812, when the peace treaty was officially signed at Manuc’s Inn. The treaty had 16 base articles and 2 remained confidential[12]. Regarding the fate of the Romanian Principalities, it decided that the territory between the Prut and Dniester (Bessarabia) is annexed by the Russian Empire. Note that the peace was not underwritten by Kutuzov, or vizier Ahmed Pasha, although they were in town. Among the signers were from the Turkish side Galib Edendi, Zade-Ibrahim, Selim Efendi and Abdul-Hamid Efendi, and from the Russian Italinski, Sabaneev and Joseph Fonton[13]. The

[7] He was appointed commander of Ismail fortress. He served as Russia's ambassador to Constantinople in 1791 and he was among the favorites Tsar Paul I. He ordered the Russian troops during the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812 and he was replaced in April 1812 by Admiral Ciceagov as the Tsar held responsible for the delay in signing the peace.

[8] Jarușchi, Mischevca, 1992, 146-147.

[9] Iorga, 1912, 144-148.

[10] At these negotiations took part only the Russian supreme commander Kutuzov, the Russian State Councilor Joseph Fonton and Galib Efendi (from the Ottoman side).

[11] Jarușchi, Mischevca, 1992, 162-163.

[12] Jarușchi, Mischevca, 174 – 175.

[13] Bezviconi, 1938, 24.

minutes of the final meeting were drafted by Alexandru Sturdza[14], whose father, Scarlat Sturdza, received the Governor of the province of Bessarabia[15].

The participants at this political event recorded impressions of capital and especially about the Manuc's Inn, where they conducted the negotiations and finally signed peace.

The owner of the inn is a controversial figure in history, playing an important role in the economical and political life from Wallachia. He was born in 1769, at Rusciuc, in a family of Armenian merchants. Many aspects of commerce he learned from an Armenian trader in Iasi, where he was sent by his father. In 1785 he returned to Rusciuc, where he was among the richest people, and lent money to even the governor of the city, Tersenicli-Oglu. Because of the wealth he collects, he creates relationships in elite circles, borrowing with large sums of money important personalities, like Bairactar Vizier and the ruler of Wallachia, Constantin Ypsilanti. In this context is easy to understand how he receives some noble titles from Ypsilanti: in 1802 he becomes sirdar (*serdar*) and in 1803 cupbearer (*paharnic*)[16]. During this time, he acquires land in Bucharest, including the former prisons and some properties from the Old Court that were on sale[17]. In their place he started the building of an inn "which becomes one of the most famous inns from Bucharest from the first half of 19th century"[18].

Manuc is used by both sides during the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812: Sultan Selim III and Grand Vizier Bairactar receive loans from him and the Russian commander Kutuzov receives information. According to Gheorghe Bezviconi, "Manuc Bei was the man who decreases the French influence; he was a friend of Galib-Efendi, the head of Turkish plenipotentiaries and he was the organizer of intimate festivals for emissaries"[19]. He was rewarded by both empires because of his activity: in 1809 he became translator holder to the Ottoman Empire, and a year later he received the decoration Cross of Saint Vladimir gr. III. As

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[14] He studied history, theology and philosophy in Germany. He entered into diplomacy with the help of Capodistria, capturing the attention and appreciation of Tsar Alexander I, who sent as a delegate to negotiate peace both in Bucharest in 1812 and at the Congress of Vienna 1815.
[15] Bezviconi, 1938, 24; Bezviconi, 1943, 48.
[16] Bezviconi, 1938, 15-20.
[17] These places have been sold out since 1798 by Prince Constantine Hangerli, who needed revenue to cover the investment made to become a leader in Wallachia.
[18] Bezviconi, 1938, 20.
[19] Bezviconi, 1938, 24.

appears from a report on August 30, 1811, Manuc Bei played a dual role, because he was also mandated by the Turks to treat for peace with the Russians, the latter enjoying a huge consideration[20]. In fact, the peace was standing in the way Manuc directed negotiations between the two empires. In 1815 he moved to Kishinev, in Bessarabia, where he raised a mansion at Hânceşti. He passed away here, two years later[21].

During the war, the Manuc's houses from Podul Târgului din Afară were exempted from requisition, which has facilitated their transformation since 1808 in a "diplomatic premise" where different Russian and Ottoman officials were hosted[22]. The inn had a similar status, because some officials were hosted here and the peace negotiations were kept here. This accomplishment lasted only a year, since a document from 1804 states the purchase of shops inside the inn. Initially it was called Old Court Inn (*Hanul Curții Vechi*)[23]. It was a magnet for Western travellers: having carved arches, wide staircases and ornaments above doors and windows. Illustrating traditional Romanian style, it was totally different from the other inns in town, that were imitations of Italian style, *i fondacchi*: "The two verandas supported by wooden pillars, balconies on the second floor, the stairs gave a great turn north façade of the inn, rhythm from sin II arches and tall, wavy shingle roof, all these architectural elements, stucco twin masters of fine sculptures modelled and columns embroidery, printed building an atmosphere of peace and rest that comes from the harmony of shapes and volumes"[24]. The inn was a "mixture of dirt and luxury and opulence indolence"[25]. Various officials were hosted in the inn's suites during the peace negotiations. Among them we can mention: the Turkish envoy, Numan Efendi and Count Italinski, Russian ambassador in Constantinople[26]. The Russian general Kutuzov spent his free time at the inn's restaurant in an oriental atmosphere.

The discussions from the 15th of December 1811 were held in the right wing of the inn and the signing of the treaty took place in the inn's reception hall on 16th/28th of May 1812[27]. On this occasion, the buildings in the city centre were decorated with garlands, and at night, the bridges

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[20] Bezviconi, 1938, 24.
[21] Grigoruță, Ioniță, Marcu, 2005, 7.
[22] Ionescu, 1976, 110.
[23] Ionescu, 1976, 32-34.
[24] Ionescu, 1976, 33-34.
[25] Ionescu, 1976, 151.
[26] Ionescu, 1976, 147.
[27] Ionescu, 1976, 154-158.

were illuminated following the orders given by the Russian commandment. The author of this decoration was none other than Alexander Sturzu: “A fig tree branch shone forth: <<Semper colatur et vigeat>>... In her right hand, the lodestar: <<luceat orbi>>, and to the left, crescent: <<crescat unita>>”[28].

Contrary to the expectations, the population reaction to the peace decisions was peaceful, residents not knowing its content. They were happy that they escaped the war and the foreign occupation. Russian evacuation was done a few months after the signing of peace, in October.

The Bucharest image of this period can be reconstructed from memories of the foreign travellers. In this case are being relevant the journal of the French General from Russian army, Alexandre Langeron, Kutuzov's letters and the *Private Diary of Travels* written by the British General, Sir Robert Thomas Wilson.

The French general, Alexandre Andrault Langeron, focuses on the military and diplomatic aspects of the conflict along with issues on the behaviour of Russian soldiers that arrived in the Principalities. His attention was kept by the corrupt officials that came to make fortune and taste the luxury. Most of them were Greeks from Fanar, established in Bucharest, which influenced the residents in a negative way with their habits. The governors appointed by various means less honest were interested in the town’s luxury, squandering theirs fortune quickly. After this, they tried to obtain a new job and the cycle repeated. This landscape is complemented by local boyars – a mixture of Greeks and Romanians. The War of 1806-1812 showed even more duplicitous character of the elite who seek the protection of the occupants or of the French or Constantinople agents. Also from Langeron, we find that Wallachia is divided into districts, each of them beeing headed by an *ispavnic*[29], a job that brings an income of about 7000-8000 ducats a year. The head of Bucharest police was called *aga* and it was considered a help of thieves, because after Langeron, he would conceal the thefts[30].

An eternal objector of the system imposed by the Russian with the occupation of the Principalities, it highlights the mistakes made by the tsarist administration: “By occupying the two provinces, our Court has committed an unforgivable mistake, with fatal consequences; the mistake was represented by the fact that we haven’t kept their privileges, we have

[28] Bezviconi, 1938, 25-26.
[29] He had both administrative functions and legal and tax, being basically a governor the County who had been appointed.
[30] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 335 – 336.

let them theirs disastrous administration and we have not set a provisional government as the Austrians did in 1788. [...] Under the direction of rulers, abuses are still smaller and sometimes repressed louder than in the time the two countries were under the Russians domination. But because the Russian government is always too lenient, boyars have never known any bridle and unfortunately, they were able to buy protection from the ones who surrounded the generals or even among the generals themselves. Resulting from inexcusable blindness, boyars have let go to their immorality and to their villainy shamelessly and without fear of punishment"[31].

He presents also the political preferences of the boyars in Bucharest, grouped in multiple packs where everyone was, ultimately, the enemy of the other and vice versa. Receiving a job by a boyar quickly becomes a reason of conflict with the others, even if they are relatives. For the French general the social elite of the Bucharest is only a set of corrupt individuals without any moral qualities that arrived on various functions using obscure means. This impression is extended to both Principalities[32].

Langeron considers the move of the peace talks from Giurgiu to Bucharest a mistake, because the Turks attitude changed. A staunch critic of the Russian commander Kutuzov known for his libertine lifestyle, the French considered Giurgiu too boring for the Russian, where he would have been deprived of the pleasures offered by the Wallachia's capital[33]. The Russian transformed his residence from Bucharest into a real brothel, whose mistress was madam Giuliano, a wife of a Romanian boyar[34]. On this occasion, we learn and how the local elite interacted with the Russian administration, during the Kutuzov administration. Starting with 1811, using lady Giuliano, many Romanian boyars were able to obtain administrative jobs in Wallachia: Count Dudescu – General Governor of Oltenia and boyar Filipescu - Bucharest aga. These appointments were not long since Wallachia's government was changed again in hopes of a better organization and supply. Langeron was among the contributors to these changes and he hoped to improve the situation, but this was difficult, because "the new administration found the country ruined with

[31] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 336.
[32] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 337 – 339.
[33] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 354.
[34] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 355.

a 500,000 piasters duty and without possibility to pay or to prevent military needs in case of war"[35].

Fortunately, the much desired peace was signed after nearly half a year of negotiations. Originally an enigma for the French, it was clear that the end of the conflict between the two empires was determined by the Tsarist's army reorganization in the context of Napoleon's campaigns – the Russians "were afraid if the war continues, we will be forced to use against the Turks a lot of our troops needed in vain, giving thus Napoleon more opportunities to destroy our power and afterwards that of the Crescent"[36].

Information about the economic life and about the measures taken by the Russian government in Bucharest can be found in letters addressed by the Russian Field Marshal Mikhail Kutuzov Ilarionovici, the tsarist army commander of Principalities in 1811 to various Russian officers.

In his letter to N.P. Rumyantsev from 1st of June 1811, Kutuzov records that, in the capital, shops, numbering 2981, were divided into four classes by the Divan (central administration of the city): 2215 belonged Romanians, 126 to French, 172 to Austrians and 268 to Russians. Initially, the tax rate was fixed depending on the quality and quantity of goods sold, requiring annual gathering of 98,410 lei. Finally, it was considered a fixed amount for each shop. Those who opposed the new pay tribute were chastised: the shop was closed. They were forbidden to do trade anymore and they were placed under the supervision of Agia in order not to trade in secret. If a merchant was caught illegally selling merchandise, his business was seized, the goods were sold at the public fair, and the proceeds deposited in the treasury. The imposition of this new tax caused tension between the Russian government, on one hand, and Austria and France, on the other, since the subjects of these powers enjoyed certain privileges in the Principalities, including some tax exemption[37]. From a subsequent letter, dated on 10th of June 1811, we find that the tax on the shops was not paid equally by all merchants, despite the initial decisions. The most advantaged were the French, who received "the weighted price [...] that are happy both the consul and the townsmen"[38].

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[35] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 358.
[36] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 359.
[37] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 420 – 423.
[38] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 426.

On the 7th of August 1811, Kutuzov shows to general Steter[39] one of the Bucharest's most sensitive issues, *the quartering*, which generated discontent among the population, with the poor being the most disadvantaged. Although initially were affected by this measure only native habitants, Kutuzov extended it to the foreigners, removing a considerable number of privileges exemption. The process has not been received favourably, mainly due to Agia abuse. Therefore, to improve the situation and avoid a riot, it proposes "to completely exempt owners [...] like in the first case: if the owner has two houses and one is taken entirely from the hospital barracks or other military needs; in the second case: if the owner has a large family and you will be convinced personally that he is unable to provide entirely a room or two"[40].

In the same document Kutuzov brings into attention the petitions written by residents of Bucharest who do not agree to pay the fee for street pavement, if their homes were not having street access[41]. He advises Steter not to consider their complaints, since the measure is in "the benefit of all citizens"[42].

Observer of society where he had been introduced, Kutuzov recorded some aspects of daily life. From his correspondence with Lisanka, we find the impression left by the capital of Wallachia - "a city so large that surpasses all Russian cities except the capital. Across the bustling crowds […]"[43]. In this landscape, Kutuzov noticed the variety of women-some of them with modern customs and culture, other beautiful, more but also some Russian women "full of pretensions"[44]. We find that there is a growing interest for balls, as a place of socialization and recreation, but also for drama. He reminded the Polish theatre, found by Ms. Bennigsen terrible and splendid by Countess Manteuffel[45].

These changes from the Bucharest society are due the tsarist army officers who led women emancipation and modernization. Relevant in this regard is the description of one of the balls from 1810 hosted by the boyar Constantin Filipescu where Western influence can be seen: besides the Moldavian Cotnar makes its way the famous Bordeaux, the oriental

[39] He was appointed military governor in Bucharest, while Kutuzov has gone to Giurgiu.
[40] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 426.
[41] There was a local law which provides for payment only ones who had the house bordering the street.
[42] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 427.
[43] Bezviconi, 1947, 176.
[44] Bezviconi, 1947, 178.
[45] Bezviconi, 1947, 179.

dances are left past and replaced the European, most of them from Paris, the oriental clothes gave way to dresses and tuxedo[46].

Some aspects of the townspeople can be found in the *Private Diary of Travels* written by the British General Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, who is sent on 27th of July 1812 by Ottoman Empire to implement the provisions of the peace concluded on 16th/28th of May 1812. From his point of view, the capital is "a delightful city, if streets were not paved with logs"[47]. In the same manner with Kutuzov, he presents the women from Bucharest, who wear funny clothes with many ornaments and are used to being admired: "I have never read about the beauty of the women of Wallachia, but they are of known and feared rival of the institutions of Venus"[48]. He notes the hospitality, being invited to an epicurean lunch with a variety of well-cooked dishes[49]. For Wilson the most attractive places from the city are the boyars' houses and the public places for walking.

From the above sources, it appears that there isn't more information about the organization of the city, but more impressions, which differ from one author to another, depending on the experience that had a space and provenance. During the Russian occupation, Hartingh officer creates a detailed plan of the city, marking the major buildings and 113 churches (which is a very large number)[50]. Anything of this issue is not recorded by any of the travellers mentioned above. Also some information does not reflect objective reality, for example the number of shops that Kutuzov mentioned in one of his letters that does not correspond to what emerged from the 1810/1811 census – only 914 merchants are mentioned in the 5 out of the existing 7 divisions[51].

There are some common elements captured by the three travellers: large influence of the Greeks from Fanar, come to make wealth, burdensome taxes that the population was not intending to pay, the women's charm and their desire for emancipation and modernization fuelled by soldiers with Western origin from the Russian army. These are irreversible trend towards modernization and contribute to creating a different mentality, which leads to decrease of the Ottoman influence in the lifestyle and in the fashion in the coming decades.

[46] Ionescu, 1976.138 – 139.
[47] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 556.
[48] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 557.
[49] Filitti *et alii*, 2004, 557.
[50] Giurescu, 2009, 491.
[51] Cernovodeanu, Panait, Gavrilă, 1990, 705 – 723.

The information provided is especially useful in order to understand how people in Bucharest were perceived by foreigners. It is also useful because it permits us to restore some of the aspects of life during the course of peace talks held in Bucharest.

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FRÉDÉRIC MISTRAL, PROVENÇAL POET AND FRIEND OF THE ROMANIANS

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Abstract. *Frédéric Mistral (1830-1914) was a significant poet and scholar from France in the mid-nineteenth century. Born in southern France, he fought all of his life for the cultural rights for local people, safeguarding the language and culture of Provence. He was also a promoter of the unity of the European nations with Latin origins, fighting for their close collaboration, integrating Romania in this project. In our study we try to present summarily the work of this remarkable poet who was also a great friend of Romanians.*

Keywords: *felibri, Provençal, Romanians, poets*.

On September 8, 1830 Etienne Joseph-Frédéric Mistral, the only child of spouses Frédéric Mistral and Adelaide Poulinet, sees daylight for the first time. The place of his birth is the village *Maillane*, located halfway between Avignon and Arles, in Provence, southern France. The future poet will spend his childhood on his parents' farm called *Mas du Juge*. The memory of his happy childhood homeland will mark him for life. "*Maillane* is beautiful, it is wonderful, I will never forget *Maillane*," he exclaimed at the very beginning of his memoirs, quoting a song from site.[1] His first book was a natural history, children discover with delight the plants and insects described in the manual. The first feat which he recalls is when he was 4 or 5 years old, he fell into a pit filled with water (that reached to his throat) while trying to pick flowers from the garden. History repeats itself when chasing a butterfly.[2] Mistral's memories are full of such occurrences in which he had a cheerful, fun childhood and reminds us of another writer, but from Romania, who had a happy childhood: Ion Creangă. Regarding the work of the two writers, we can not make a comparison, because Mistral is a poet, and Creangă an excellent storyteller. However, common things can be found in their

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[1] Mistral, 1915, 2.

[2] Mistral, 1915, 17.

Hiperboreea Journal, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2015), pp. 133-142

childhoods. Both writers spent their early years in the countryside, with fairytale landscapes, a place that will always be blessed in their memory. The Provençal poet, and the Romanian storyteller will be inspired in all their work from the local folklore; transposing on paper legends, songs, and local proverbs. Creangă's writings are full of regionalisms and archaisms while Mistral wrote in the local dialect and bringing it to the public attention and entering it into French literature.

In 1838 Frédéric Mistral starts elementary school as a schoolboy at the school of Donat professor installed in the abbey *Saint Michel de Frigolet*, which was two leagues from his native village. One year later he continued his studies at boarding school *Millet* in Avignon. He is brought by his uncle Bénoni, a younger brother of his mother. The same uncle leads the adolescent to the theater in Avignon, through viewed tracks are several popular theater plays fashionable then.[3]

Avignon feels like a slightly hostile new environment, and he begins expressing nostalgia for his homeland. In his family, his mother is the one who has initiated in the mysteries of the Provençal dialect in him. Mistral will remain in that school until 1845 when they moved to another educational institution in Avignon, boarding school Dupuy. Here, the teenager will meet Joseph Roumanille, "a young teacher with a black goatee," who will encourage the poetic inclinations and the passion for the Provençal dialect. Just a year before, Mistral had sent a letter with several poems in Provençal to Jasmin, a famous local poet, but he did not give an answer to the teenager. In 1847 Mistral gets his bachelor's degree at Nîmes then returns home. After that, he writes elated to Roumanille at August 18, 1847: “I took the bachelor's degree! Farewell algebra, mathematics, the Middle Ages! I make the tour of the city Nîmes for joy. The Avignon does not compare with him. "[4]

During the Revolution from 1848 he sent lyrics (in French) to the republican newspapers from Avignon and at the same time, wrote his first important work (in Provençal,) a pastoral poem in four chants *Li Meissoun* ("The Harvest.”) After this, he sent a letter to Roumanille on March 10, 1848, with the formula "Freedom! Equality! Fraternity!" and *Vive la République!*[5] Enthused by the proclamation of the Republic he started to scream: ”Vive Marianne!” and dancing *Carmagnola*, to the indignation of the royalists from Maillane and his father, but then expresses horror for the crimes committed during the revolution. By May

[3] Mistral, 1915, 68-69.

[4] *Correspondance Mistral-Roumanille*, 1981, 4.

[5] *Correspondance Mistral-Roumanille*, 1981, 12.

13 he had already changed his attitude and critiqued in another letter sent to Roumanille the excesses committed by revolutionaries and especially the leaders. He goes on to accuse that there are some "false prophets, full of lies, pride and vanity." He will however continue to defend the Republican correspondences he had with Roumanille (who is a convinced monarchist) until in the summer of 1850. In another missive, sent from Maillane at March 12, 1852 he says that he quit politics and sacrificed to the art, especially to the god Pan.[6] About those troubled times, over the years, he will remember: "The days from June, with their crimes, their massacres, they have a frightened nation. Moderates were withdrawn, fanatics were hardened much more, and over my youthful dreams of a Platonic republic seated fog."[7]

In the same revolutionary year, he is attending the University of *Aix en Provence* where follows the courses of Faculty of Law. Here he will get to know Anselme Mathieu, a young poet with an open nature and cheerful, who would later be one of the founding members of the movement *felibri.* In 1851 several of Mistral's poems appear edited in an anthology by Saint-René Taillandier and a year later he recieves a Degree in Law and return to Maillane. Back home, he starts to develop *Mirèio,* a poem, elaborating that summer three chants. While working on *Mirèio news* comes "like a bombshell" of the *coup d'etat* of Louis Napoleon in December 1851. Mistral is outraged by this political movement that "violates the oaths made before the law and then will destroy all my illusions about federalism that could sprout in the French Republic" as he later says in his *Memoirs.* In August 1852 he participated at the Congress of the Provençal Poets at *Arles*, where he was quarreling with Roumanille, due to divergences over the Provençal orthography. This dispute will be long and will be very present in correspondences between the two poets. The dispute began in a letter sent by Mistral on March 24, 1851 from *Aix-en-Provence* and continues even in 1853, when Mistral had sent a letter to Roumanille (March 15, 1853,) which explains in detail his opinions on spelling and grammar and again on May 23 and June 11. Mistral gave him advice, made suggestions, and corrected him.

A year later, in 1853, the two friends reconciles, during another Congress of Provençal Poets, held this time in *Aix-en-Provence*. On May 24, 1854, a beautiful Sunday day (the day of the Saint Estela, will be the patron of young provençal poets,) Mistral founded the movement *Felibrige* (or poets *felibri*) designed to protect, promote and preserve

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[6] *Correspondance Mistral-Roumanille*, 87.
[7] Mistral, 1915, 114.

cultural and linguistic heritage of southern France and especially the Provençal language. He, along with six friends, founded the group at Castle Font Ségugne, nearby, Avignon. The name *Felibrige* was designated at Mistral's proposal, the association and the work that it was intended to accomplish, and received the name of *felibri* poets. Mistral will devote all of his life to that goal, trying through movement and his work to regain the cultural rights of the *langue d'oc* speakers from France. *Felibre* etymology (*felibru*) is highly controversial. The word, probably comes from the Vulgar Latin, from *fellibris* (nurseling,) being used as a metaphor. *Felibri* is one who is inspired by the muses, the artist. What is certain, the word was discovered by Mistral in an old Provençal song from his village, *Maillane.* As the researcher Maria Platon observed, the word, in any case, lends itself to numerous puns: *foi-libre, faire libre, faire des livres*etc.[8] The seven poets who founded the movement were: Frédéric Mistral, Joseph Roumanille, Théodore Aubanel, Anselme Mathieu, Paul Giéra, Alphonse Tavan and Jean Brunet. All were good friends, and later~~,~~ some of them even became in-laws. All were Provençal, which explains the insistence of the movement, at least in its early period, for this region from southern France. Among the seven poets two are seperated from the rest, Frédéric Mistral and Joseph Roumanille. Mistral will be–the unofficial leader of the movement from the beginning, but it will eventually be formalized. Joseph Roumanille (1818–1891) was Mistals teacher in high school in Avignon where the two became friends. In 1862 the group formally adopted the first *Statutes* of the movement and the meetings began to turn into more than serious friendly agape.

The aim of the movement was to preserve the Provençal language, defend, love and worship. In the Statutes of the movement the obligations of its members was clearly listed, to defend the language, the specifics and the freedom of Provence. The movement is organized into 7 sections: science, history, painting, music, a section for society's friends and two sections of *gaie-science* (the science of joy, of living life, borrowed from the troubadours.) Also, the made the decision to edit a magazine, *L'Armana Provençau* ("The Provençal Almanac") that will have a long life (1855-1920.) The first issue of the magazine will appear in November 1855. The magazine opened with the song of felibres written by Frédéric Mistral, who will publish multiple times in the magazine, under various pseudonyms (*Felibre dou Mas, Bello-Visto* and *Gui de Mount-Pavon*.) *Armana Provençau*it was initially printed in 1854

[8] Platon, 1980, 50.

with a starting run of 500 copies, and the magazine having 112 pages. Two years later it was printed in 10.000 copies.[9]

In the first years of his activity, the association is pretty shy. It will gradually expand in Languedoc and Gascogne gaining some upsurge during 1864-1865. The one who will succeed to become well known in France will be Frédéric Mistral. He retired in his native village, after his father's death in 1855, and will work for 3 years on the epic poem *Mirèio. H*e had started to write it in 1851. It is, perhaps, his best creation. The opera is a true epos of Provence. The heroine, a young peasant girl in love with a basket maker, symbolizes the entire south. Alongside his tribulations of Mirèio he described the lands of Provence, the people, places, fauna, flora, and made subtle incursions and trenchant into French history in the southern provinces. Mistral documented for his poem information he received from Siboul, a woodcutter from Montfrin, that gives details about the navigation on the river Ron, about streams, lagoons, river islands, vegetation and its flora. Another local man, Xavier, it gives the names of plants and grasses in Provençal.[10]

In 1855 a writer with Provençal origins (he was born in *Vaucluse*) Adolphe Dumas (1805-1861) is commissioned by the minister of National Educationat that time, Hyppolyte Fortoul (1811-1856, and he was born in the south, at *Digne*, in Auvergne) to go in Provence and to collect folklore in the area. The next year, Dumas meets Mistral at Maillane where he reads (in Provençal) fragments from the poem *Mirèio* on which he’s still working. Dumas is excited. In 1858 Mistral finished writing the poem and, at the suggestion of Louis Legré, goes to Paris to let his friends know in the Capital. In advance, he revises the text, and at the suggestion of Jean Reboul, translates it into French. In Paris, Mistral meets with Adolphe Dumas who makes a presentation flattering the poet and his work in an open letter published on August 26, 1856, in the old and the influential daily *Gazette de France.* Note that, at that time, Adolphe Dumas was the secretary of the great poet Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869.) By means of Adolphe Dumas, Mistral's work manuscripts reaches Lamartine in 1858. Lamartine is one of the leaders of the romanticisma well known personality and appreciated at the time. He read the entire poem (which has 12 chants) in one night and was enthused immediately by the creation of the ”Bard from Maillane” presented by Adolphe Dumas ”the new Virgiliu from the Provence.” Lamartine published laudatory articles in the newspapers from Paris and

[9] Roche, 1954, XVIII.
[10] Mistral, 1915, 139.

Mistral met him. In a letter from September 2, 1858 addressed to Roumanille, the poet from Maillane reveals how the meeting with Lamartine went, when he was read the poem *Mirèio.* The meeting was attended by Jean Reboul and Adolphe Dumas, then came a grand-daughter of Lamartine and the Countess Peyronnet (an English woman) with two daughters.After the partial reading of the poem, Lamartine questioned Mistral at length about his native village, the life he leads in Provence and other things. At the end, Lamartine says to Mistral that is indispensable that they print their work.[11]

The praises of Lamartine at Frédéric Mistral's address did not cease: ”its simple appearance, modest and pleasant, he had nothing from haughty of that tension of the traits or from that superiority of sight which characterize, often, these men, more vain than genius, we named folk poets… A perfect decency, a perfect instinct for moderation in all circumstances which gives, both shepherds and kings, dignity and distinction in behavior and conversation, dominating his whole being…[12] As for Mistral's work, deeply impressed, Lamartine ends downright dithyrambic: ”O, poet from Maillane, you're the aloe of the Provence…your poetic soul perfume Avignon, Marseille, Toulon, Hyères and, soon, the entire France…[13]

On February 2, 1859 Mistral's book appears in Avignon at the printer Séguin. His friend Joseph Roumanille took care of the editing.The first printout from *Mirèio* is sent to Lamartine. He then sends a letter to Jean Reboul in which he compares on Mistral with Homer.[14]

The book is a success and the author is celebrated with great pomp at Nîmes and Marseille where he reads fragments from the poem. At Marseille he reads Chant I from poem in front of 2.000 people. The newspapers from Paris joins the chorus of eulogies–with the southern press and soon the book will be published in many foreign languages: German, English, Italian, Spanish etc.

Also in 1859 Mistral goes back to Paris and meets with Lamartine. In 1846 he also publishes a monthly so called *Course familiar of literature* in the form of *Conversations.* Lamartine says to Mistral that to consecrate the fortieth conversation, about 115 printed pages, published in April 1859, the poem *Mirèio* will be featured, as well as its

[11] *Correspondance Mistral-Roumanille*, 1981, 202.
[12] Platon, 1980, 52.
[13] Platon, 1980, 52.
[14] Mistral, 1915, 217-218.

author. Also, Barbey D'Aurevilly wrote two enthusiastic articles at Mistral's address in the newspaper *La Pays.*

In 1861 he was enshrined for his success, the French Academy awarded him the prize for literature for the poem Mirèio. Also this year, Mistral write *I Trubaire Catalan* ("The Catalan Troubadour") a poem that is dedicated to counterparts from across the Pyrenees in which it proposes to collaborate on "revival and flowering of a branch of our language."[15] It is a first step towards meeting and collaboration between the two movements, Provençal and Catalan. A year later, Mistral begin work on *Lou Tresor dou Félibrige* ('The treasure of the Félibrige") a huge dictionary of Provençal language, which he will toil with for 15 years. The dictionary will begin to be printed in 1878 and editing it will last until 1886. In the end, he will have two volumes with over 1.100 pages and it will appear in Paris and Aix-en-Provence.

In 1867 there is an important event for Frédéric Mistral and the whole movement from Provenve, *Calendau* an epic poem, is published by Mistral at Avignon. The poem has 12 chants, like *Mirèio,* and Mistral worked on it for 7 years. The poem itself has sparked great reactions, but the preface, written by Mistral, produced a storm. In this preface, Mistral makes frequent references to the history of France and Provence and issues opinions that were perceived by many as hostile to the French state, lamenting the way in which the South was annexed. Through the voice of Mistral, the provençals wanted to obtain from the regime of Napoleon III (and after its fall in 1870, from the government of the Third French Republic) a status of cultural and economic autonomy for the provinces of *langue d'oc,* working towards a federalist type project, like the Swiss cantons or the federal states in the United States of America. Paradoxically somewhat, Mistral, however, refused ever to play any political role or have political claims, always limiting his demands to cultural and economic rights, always complaining that their ideas are distorted and that he is unjustly accused of separatism and even anti-national attitude.[16] His claims were primarily for linguistic rights, advocating for the reinstatement of rights for the Occitan language, represented by its Provençal dialect. "Who has the language, holds the key that unlocked the chains that keep him handcuffed"[17] said Mistral. In 1873 Mistral wanted to create a confederation of people with Latin origins. With the help of the Catalan federalists they will gain a foothold

[15] Mistral, 1915, 75.
[16] Roche, 1954, XLII.
[17] *Ibid*.

at the south of the Pyrenees. He will then return to Italy. One of the his friends and collaborators, an important personality in Provence, poet and historian, Léon de Berluc-Perussis (1836-1902,) takes the initiative to celebrate at Avignon 500 years from the birth of the great Italian poet Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374.) This celebration will take place next summer, in 1874, and will be a great success. In1875, after the celebrations dedicated to Petrarca, L*Société des langues romanes* (”The Society of the romanic languages”) which was part of the movement of *felibri,* organized another event in Montpellier named the Congress of Poetry, Prose, and Philiology to which cultural personalities from France, Italy and Spain were invited. At the end of the contest they announced the establishment of a prize which will be awarded at the next edition of the competition. Mistral announces that it will occur in 1878, in Montpellier.

At the poetry contest in 1878, the first prize will be won by the Romanian poet Vasile Alecsandri (1821-1890) for the poetry *Cântecul gintei latine*. Although the Romanian poet could not come personally to Montpellier because of the the war of independence in Romania, that event marked the beginning of a real friendship between the poets from the movement of *Félibrige* and Romanian cultural personalities.

In addition to Alecsandri, Mistral will maintain close correspondence with personalities like Mihail Obedenaru (1839-1885,) distinguished Romanian diplomat, who was present at Montpellier, V.A. Urechia (1834-1901) minister of Education and famous scholars. In 1882, Vasile Alecsandri succeeds in coming to southern France to meet with Mistral, thus reinforcing a beautiful friendship.

In 1890, Mistral published the tragedy in 5 acts *La Rèino Jano* (”The Queen Joanna”) which has Queen Joanna I of Naples (1326-1382) as a protagonist, who was Countess of Provence, leaving beautiful memories to the provençals. Mistral paints in lyrics the turbulent life of this woman who has been married 4 times and represented an important piece on the political map of Western Europe in the second half of the 14th century. Also this year, Mistral receives the award *Jean Reynaud* for the paper *Lou Tresor dou Felibrige.* (”The treasure of the Félibrige.”). The *felibres* from Montpellier are invited by the Romanian diplomat George Moroianu (1870-1945) for a conference about ”The sufferings and aspirations of the Romanians from Transylvania” for the present of the difficult situation of the Romanians in Transylvania, severely persecuted by the Hungarian authorities.

To give a greater amplitude to their movement, Mistral and his companions will contact the nationalist movements from Catalonia, Italy and Romania, with the desire to make a common front of the Latin peoples against the danger of the pangermanism ideology promoted by the German authorities. There will be speeches, congresses, and conferences where the occitans conducted by Mistral will fight for the rights of oppressed peoples and for the unity of the Latin nations. For these ideals he will fight his entire life, these aspirations mirroring his entire poetical work as well the extensive correspondence, waged with various personalities of the time, both French and foreign.

Even if, ultimately, he will fail in his fight; Frédéric Mistral (the provençals will not receive the required rights and the union of the Latin nations will not be achieved) the *Felibrige* divide~~s~~ and collapse due to numerous internal tensions, the incontestable poetic merits and talent will be recognized, both in France and internationally. Thereby, his works (*Mirèio*, *Nerte*, *The poem of the Ron*) are awarded by the French Academy and the poet is invited to be part of this prestigious forum and in 1904 he will receive the Nobel Prize for literature. The motivation of the jury that awarded the prize is as follows: ”as a recognition of his originality full of freshness and inspiration of true poetic creation,which reflect faithfully the views of the his country and the authentic soul of the his people and also, as a recognition of his significant activityas Provençal philologist.”[18]

The old bard, the fighter for the cultural independence of the Provence, the man who fought a lifetime for the revival, the language, the litterature and the traditions of the southern France and the unity of the Latin nations, this great friend of the Romania, died on March 25, 1914, following the flu, at his birthplace of Maillane. In 1930, when celebrating the centenary of his birth the French authorities organized sumptuous celebrations in the honor of the Provence poet. At these celebrations a Romanian delegation headed by Nichifor Crainic and Pamfil Șeicaru were in attendance. Romanians brought their tribute to this great poet and friend of the Romanians who was Frédéric Mistral. The Mistral's poetic works were translated, largely, in Romanian, and his great achievements (the poems *Miréio*, The *Poem of the Ron, The Queen Joanna*,*Calendau*) are accessible for the Romanian reader.

[18] Ulici, 1983, 21.

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THE NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM IN HUNGARY REFLECTED IN THE ROMANIAN QUOTIDIAN CRIȘANA (1968-1969)

Carmen Ungur-Brehoi[*]

Abstract. *A major economic reform that took place in the People's Republic of Hungary started during the end of the 1960s. It was called The New Economic Mechanism or the NEM. The initiator of it was the Hungarian communist leader János Kádár.*

The government introduced economic regulators, i.e. indirect financial, fiscal, and price instruments used to influence enterprise activity. It also introduced a profit tax and allowed enterprises to make their own decisions concerning output, marketing, and sales.

In a period of control and censorship, much information regarding the Hungarian NEM could get to the reading public of Oradea. The articles contanting all the concerning data presented in the newspaper Crisana, between 1968-1969, are analysed in the following study.

Keywords: *NEM, János Kádár, Crisana, communism, censorship.*

The New Economic Mechanism (NEM)[1] was a major economic reform launched in the People's Republic of Hungary, starting with the year 1968. The project has some roots in the years 1956-1969, when many economic reforms occured in Eastern Europe, in countries like The German Democratic Republic, The Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia, who adopted a new economic policy through new economic reforms.

The beginning of these transformations in Hungary was marked by the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 which resulted in János Kádár's placement as the communist leader of the People's Republic of Hungary

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Research funded by the **"MINERVA – Cooperare pentru cariera de elită în cercetarea doctorală şi post-doctorală"**. Contract Code: POSDRU/159/1.5/S/137832, project financed from the European Social Fund through the Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007-2013.

[1] Pölöskei *et alii*, 2004, 339.

and the creation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP)[2]. The new Hungarian measures were applied to stimulate agriculture, so therefore economy. After five years of harsh repression, Janos Kadar launched a policy of reconciliation[3], he purged the party of „dead wood" and allowed free discussion of the economic reform. This policy allowed many non-party experts to enter the administration and some came to occupy managerial posts in the economic sector. The government realized that the policy for industrial expansion was in desperate need for change. The living standard and economy of Hungary were growing but returns from industries were diminishing and they still greatly lagged behind those of the West. Therefore the government introduced new economic standards, in order to improve enterprise efficiency and make its goods more competitive on world markets.

In December 1964, a Central Committee plenum was formed to provide fundamental guidelines for the economic reform in Hungary. Hungary manages to export food, and in November 1965 the autonomy of enterprisesesis more and more visible [4]. In 7th May 1966, the Central Committee approved a reform package called the "New Economic Mechanism" (NEM), in which many of its elements would be phased in during a preparation period, but its central features required the introduction of a new price system, which was set for January 1st, 1968[5]. With the NEM, the government sought to overcome the inefficiencies of central planning, to motivate talented and skilled people to work harder and produce more, to make Hungary's products competitive in foreign markets, especially in the West, and, above all, to create the prosperity that would ensure political stability.

The NEM decentralized decision making and made profit, rather than plan fulfillment, the enterprises' main goal. The government introduced economic regulators"which were indirect financial, fiscal,

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[2] Kristó *et alii*, 2002, 589-599.

[3] During the 1960's the priority on the government was to expand the industrial sector, the chemical and engineering branches. The communist government forced rapid industrialization after the Stalinist pattern in an effort to encourage a more self-sufficient economy. The reconciliation began in 1961, with Kadar's slogan: "He who is not against us, is with us".

[4] The new planning for some economic reforms began in 1964. These reforms followed the lines of the „New Economic Model", proposed by Polish economists in 1957-58, i.e. decentralization, production on a socialist profit basis, and the expansion of private enterprise.

[5] Konrád, 1995, 253-267.

and price instruments[6] used to influence enterprise activity. It also introduced a profit tax and allowed enterprises to make their own decisions concerning output, marketing, and sales[7]. Subsidies were eliminated for most goods except basic raw materials and the government decentralized allocation of capital and supply and partially decentralized foreign trade and investment decision making. Agricultural collectives also gained the freedom to make their own investment decisions and the economy's focus moved away from heavy industry to light industry and to the modernization of the infrastructure.

After its implementation in 1968, in a few years, Hungary seemed to be the most prosperous state in the bloc. However, this was due to the leeway given to profitable food and other consumer production on collective farms, and to small private enterprise, particularly in the service sector. But economic reform was not implemented in heavy industry. Still, the Hungarian dissent was minimal due to the rising standard of living and progressive liberalization. Travel abroad was virtually unrestricted and even long-exiled Hungarians were able to visit their country without difficulty. Like the Poles, Hungarians re-established their cultural and scientific ties with the Western world. By 1970, Hungary gained the status of a medium-developed country and its light industry was producing 40 to 50 percent of gross domestic product. The focus of the economy finally moved away from heavy industry and to light industry and modernization.

Even if the initial results of the NEM were positive, the reform however was not as sweeping as originally planned. The reform failed to dismantle the highly concentrated industrial structure, which was originally created to facilitate central planning and still inhibited competition under the New Economic Mechanism. Other problems were with the enterprises within Hungary, that continued to bargain with the

[6] A system of free prices reflecting market conditions was implemented. The government wanted flexibility, but also to combat inflation. The new practice of price controls was introduce, so an item's price could have been fixed-because of the good's impact on the economy and the overall need to ensure stability (the material and basic intermediate goods), limited (to particular products or products, such as bread) or free (luxuries).

[7] Giving the enterprises more freedom in deciding which products and technologies to invest in and manufacture, the decentralization provided the opportunity to align better with the world market. Firms were paid for exports in the Hungarian currency equivalent of the foreign currency they earned, as the government aimed to involve enterprises in foreign markets and in improving the quality of goods produced. The new plan established direct connections between the foreign and domestic markets on the basis of an appropriate exchange rate.

government for financial resources; the corruption was still evident in the Hungarian government. Opposition from government and party bureaucrats was supported by enterprises and workers who perceived the NEM as a threat to their privileged positions. The income of the large enterprises dropped after the introduction of the NEM, they worried about the competition of the smaller enterprises for materials and labor[8]. In November 1972, the Central Committee introduced a package of new measures to recentralize part of the economy, but the NEM was not fully abandoned at this time. New restrictions were placed to the smaller enterprises, wages rose, prices came under central control, and price supports were introduced.

The Hungarian economy, however, failed to meet the challenge of the world economic crisis after 1973. The dramatic price increases for oil and modern technology created a large external trade deficit, which led to increasing foreign indebtedness. Growth slowed down and inflation rose, leading to a period of stagflation.By 1978, a restructuring of the Hungarian economy took to bring consumer prices in line with world market prices and producer prices were reformed to bring more rational use of energy and raw materials. However, by the end of the 1980s, one-third of the gross domestic product (services, construction) was being generated by private business.By the end of the Kádár regime, the nation's gross foreign debt to the West had passed the $18 billion mark.

The NEM reflected in *Crisana*

Crisana, is a local newspaper, written in Romanian, founded in Oradea, in the year 1945. The original name of the newspaper was *Viata noua* (i.e. "*The New Life*")[9]. In 1945, the journal only appeared in four pages, on Tuesdays, bringing news from the Second World War. The address of the editorial office of *Viata noua* was Oradea, "D. Szilagyi no. 5". In those ages it cost only "50 filler – 15 lei". The name is changed into *Crisana* in 1946[10], inspired from theregion with the same name[11].

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[8] Mulcahy, *The New Economic Mechanism: Causes and Consequences*, in http://econc10.bu.edu/economic_systems/Economics/Command_Econ/Reforms/comec_reform_nem.htm, 20.12.2014

[9] See Appendix 1

[10] See Appendix 2

[11] Crișana (in Hungarian: Körösvidék; in German: Kreischgebiet) is a geographical and historical region divided in 1920 between Romania and Hungary, named after the Cris River (Körös) and its three tributaries: Crisul Alb, Crisul Negru and Crisul Repede. The region consists of the current Romanian counties of Arad, Bihor and some parts of Salaj,

From now on, it is published daily (even on Sundays), into six-eight pages, with varied subjects - from political to social fields, from cultural to easy adverts[12]. *Crisana* is known as one of the longest journals in Romania, with a continuous appearence for 70 years[13]. It is probably the most famous quotidian in Oradea, Bihor county even nowadays[14]. Until 1989, *Crisana* was “the organ of The Communist Party – The Bihor County Committee and of The People’s Council County”, an official voice of the state and of the party, an instrument of propaganda for the old regime. The editorial office was in Oradea, Romana street, no.3 and the administration was also in Oradea, on Moscovei street, no. 5, 6-8[15].

Crisana is the perfect reflection of the history of the Romanian communism[16], with all its phases: the moment of getting the power (1945-1948), the Stalinist era of the 1950s, the Gheorghiu-Dej period, a post-Stalinist type of communism, the Ceausescu’s era, starting with the second half of the 1960s. Later on, in the 70s *Crisana* follows the Korean type of socialism, during “The Cultural Revolution”, set up by Nicolae Ceausescu. Control over society, the media and *Crisana* became stricter and stricter in the 80s, when all the information, photos, the editing and printing processes were ruled by the state censorship – The Press and Print General Directorship[17]. After December 22nd 1989, *Crisana*

Satu Mare, and Hunedoara. Some of the most important cities are Oradea, Arad, Salonta, and Beius. It is bounded to the east by the Apuseni Mountains, to the south by the Mures River, to the north by the Somes River, and to the west by the Tisza River. Nowadays it is sometimes considered part of the historical region Transylvania, although it did not fall fully within the boundaries of the historical principality.

[12] The address of the newspaper is in the same place, only that the name of the street is changed into „Sindicatelor”. The public could talk with the journalists on the phone, *Crisana* having two different telephone lines. The price of it is now 100 lei.

[13] It has the longest appearence in the North-Western part of the country. www.crisana.ro/stiri/eveniment-14/la-multi-ani-cel-mai-longeviv-ziar-din-nord-vestul-tarii-crisana-70-de-ani-151046.html, at 17.01.2015

[14] Petcu, 2000, 164. During communism, Bihor county was considered the third most developed county after Cluj and Timis, in the media field, because of the great number of prints, publications and newspapers.

[15] On the bottom of each number of *Crisana* during the 60s appeared also the numbers for the readers to call: 1-27-29 (the editorial office) and 1-27-34 (the administration).

[16] A Hungarian edition of *Crisana* was the newspaper *Faklya,* that also appeared in Oradea. *Faklya* contained the same images, texts and format as *Crisana,* the materials being simple translations of the Romanian version.

[17] In Romanian, *Directia Generala a Presei si Tipariturilor* (DGPT), an organism that regarded the censorship of the newspapers and of the publications, that prohibited many things in all the fields of the communist life: arts, cinema, prints... The main techniques were control, manipulation, propaganda, deceit. The personnel was formed of censors or

becomes *Crisana libera*[18], as it appeared on the frontispiece of the newspaper„independent quotidian". *Crisana* appears also now, it can be read as a newspaper or online.

In the communist period, *Crisana* had four pages (rarely six), from Tuedsay to Sunday, in an A3 format, tipically for the communist press. It was a black-and-white journal, occasionally blue, when the articles were about the top figure of The Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu[19], or with red bolded titles, when the subjects were about The Congresses of the Communist Party. The motto of *Crisana* was the political slogan ”Workers of the world, unite!”[20], encountered under the name of any Romanian newspaper or magazine, during communism. It cost only 25 bani, i.e. a quarter of one leu.

On the first page the subjects of *Crisana* during 1968-1969 were about the national problems, focussed on the popular figure of the communist leader, Nicolae Ceausescu. The pictures were of great format, usually one per page, in the upper corner on the right part of the page, but some numbers of *Crisana* also had up to three photos per appearence. The photos were about the ruler couple or about factories, workers, sportmen or communist meetings and events. On the second page were the local subjects, from agriculture, industry, reportages about workers and different units (manufactories, enterprises, ...). There was also presented the information regarding the schedule of the theatres, of the puppet plays and cinemas from Bihor county, the radio and TV emission program. The public could find out interesting things from the rubric *Sfatul medicului* (*The doctor's advice*). Few advertisements could be found in this second page. The next page was dedicated to literature, poetry and to declarations and speeches of the president or of other important persons from the government or from the party. The fourth page was full of information from abroad, from all kind of countries, not

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readers, persons that were involved in the media process; they dictated the themes of the articles, their structure, the persons that could appear in the writtings or not, the texts (they cut or added information) and the photographies. Zainea, Ungur-Brehoi, 2013, 375-386.

[18] In English, "The Free *Crisana*".

[19] Usually the first page of the newspaper had in center the image of the communist ruler. The texts were tributes for his activity, described with huge photos were he appeared with his wife, Elena Ceausescu, in different visits in the Romania factories or in official meetings with other presidents.

[20] It is found in *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. In German sounds like this "Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!", literally in English as ”Proletarians of all countries, unite!”. See Appendix 3.

only from the communist block[21]. There were some permanent columns like *Actualitatea internationala* (*International actualities*), *Stiri pe scurt* (*Brief news*) or *Telegrame* (*Telegrams*).

On this last page, with news from all over the world. Hungary and it's main events were also described in the permanent colums. *Crisana* had an Agerpres[22] correspondent, that transmitted the most important changes from the neighbouring country to the journal from Oradea. His name was Alexandru Pintea. The first article regarding the so-called „The New Economic Mechanism in Hungary" is found in *Crisana* at the beginning of 1968, in the number from January 3rd[23]. It was a direct reference to the new mechanism and it was called *Rearanjari depreturi in R.P. Ungara* (i.e. *Prices rearrangements in The Hungarian People's Republic*). The text stated that from the first day of 1968, in the Hungarian shops all the products had new prices[24], „just as announced before" in the last session of the State assembly. „The New Economic Mechanismwas happening". This meant that some of the prices of the foodstuff were reduced: „a kilo of sugar was reduced from 10,60 forint to 9,60 forint", „a kilo of butter was reduced from 66 to 50 forint". The article notices that not only the foodstuff was cheapened. Clothes were having more economical prices as well: „the woolen goods", „some ready-made clothes", but also the shoes were cheaper. The Hungarians could also buy low-priced TVs and radios. In the same time, other external products and services were marked up, such as „the fabrics of synthetic fibers", „the imported clothes", „furniture", and „the chemical products"[25]. The article was put on the middle of the page, in the left, it was a small one, and was more an informational one then a journalistic remark.

The next articles regarding this mecanism are not expressed directly to this phenomenon, they speak about some trade protocols

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[21] The spectacular was that the public could read about Yemen, Turkey, Afganistan, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Peru, even Maldine, coutries quite far from the RSR. Normal news were those from Paris, London, Rome, Budapest or Moscow.

[22]I onescu, 2001, 58. Agerpres was the Romanian national news agency, who officially functioned for the communist system during 1949-1989, having a Soviet model organization. Agerpres transmitted the information to the censorship, and then, with all the visas, to the whole Romanian media.

[23] See Appendix 4.

[24] The price reform was also parte of the NEM, and allowed for prices to reflect better the cost of production and the valuation by the market, and to correspond more closely to some measure of socially necessary inputs.

[25] *Crisana,* no. 3/1968, 4.

between Hungary and different countries. One such text is *Dezvoltarea schimburilor comerciale dintre Ungaria si Turcia (The Hungary-Turkey trade development),* about a protocol for goods exchanges between the two until March 31st, 1969. Hungary had to deliver „chemical and mettalurgical products”„„machine tools”, „electrical equipment”, and Turkey had to export „cotton”, „leather”, „tobacco”, „feed”, and „tropical fruits”[26]. *Infiintarea unei intreprinderi comune ungaro-engleze (The setting up of a common Hungaro-English Enterprise)* is transmitted from Budapest, by the same correspondent Alexandru Pintea. The Hungarian Tannimpes, a foreign trade enterpris, set up the deal to create a common Hungaro-English enterprise called Richmond, who had to “bring Hungarian products on the English market”. The same article[27] states that the Hungarian factory Viscoza, and Hungarotex and Chemolimpex enterprises started the collaboration with the Austrian enterprise Stickstoffwerke. The last one was supposed to delived to the Hungarian enterprise 5000-6000 tones/year of Akril raw materials, for the manufacture of synthetic fibers. The alliance between the three was fixed on a period of ten years. These articles are short in 1968, included in a little column called *Pe scurt de peste hotare* (i.e., *Briefly from abroad*). One such material regards the collaboration with Polland, another one with Czechoslovakia (both in May 1968), and another with Finland (in October 1968). We find out that the Hungarian Enterprise Tungsram had signed a contract with Fiat during 1968, for whom it had to deliver for a year, „reflectors and lighting for cars”, at the value of 700.000 dollars.

The material *Semnarea protocolului cu privire la schimbul de marfuri si plati intre Romania si Ungaria*[28] is about the economical exchanges between The Hungarian People's Republic and The Socialist Republic of Romania. After many negociations between the two states, in December 4th, 1967 was signed the Trade Protocol in Budapest. Our country was supposed to delived „machine tools”, „trade wagons”, „construction machinery”, „cars”, „wooden products”, different „chemical and sodium products”, „salt”, „building materials”, „furniture”, „foodstuff” and other trades. In exchange, Hungary had to export: „machine tools”, „electrical machinery and equipments”, „hoists” and „transporting machinery”, „wagons restaurant”, different

[26] The article was printed in *Crisana,* in February 3, 1968.
[27] *Crisana,* no. 18/1968, 4
[28] The article appeared in 5th of December 1968, in *Crisana*. The title in English is *Signed protocol of the exchange of goods and payments between Romania and Hungary.*

„measurement and control devices", „medical technology" and „Roentgen"[29], „radio technology", „laminated products", „steel pipes", „refractory products", „different chemical products" and „medicines", „pharmaceuticals", „cotton fabrics", „consumer goods" and others. The protocol was for the year 1969, and included an increase with 12 per cent of the trade exchange (compared with 1968), and with 37 per cent (compared with the long term exchange protocol)[30].

In the next year, also at the column *Pe scurt de peste hotare,* appears a short news about the first Hungaro-Yugoslav banking session, where was decided the „funding of the locomotives' production" at the Hungarian enterprise Ganz-Mavag and at the Yugoslav factory Djuro Djakovici. In March 1969, *Crisana* reports that Hungary „acquired some foreign licenses" and „cooperates with many countries in order to develop its engineering industry" for agriculture devices. In this way, with a French license, Hungary had started to produce machines for the maize harvests, in collaboration with Yugoslavia.

Another article in *Crisana,* other new details regarding the New Economic Mechanism in Hungary. From *Sesiunea Comisiei comerciale mixte ungaro-italiene (The Session of the Mixed Hungaro-Italian Commercial Commission)* we find out that between April 21st and May 3rd 1969, at Budapest, took place the works of the Session of the Mixed Hungaro-Italian Commercial Commission, where was a protocol for the goods exchange between the two countries during 1969. „The lists of goods attached to the protocol presents an augmentation of both incomes and outcomes" said the article. During the second part of the year 1969, Hungary tries to have economic relations with the USA and with Peru. The two titles are *Realizarea unor intelegeri intre Ungaria si SUA (Achieving the agreement between Hungary and the USA)* and *Incheierea convorbirilor ungaro-peruviene (The Conclusion of Hungarian-Peruvian talks).* The first article speaks about some understandings between the Americans and the Hungarians, and how they settled the prices for the goods. The second article was about the Hungarians' desire to create in Peru some „mixed Hungarian-Peruvian enterprises to extract and commercialize metals and molybdenum"[31].

[29] A unit of measurement for ionizing radiation, for the exposure of X-rays and gamma rays, named after Wilhelm Röntgen.
[30] The article also states that the Romanian ambassador at Budapest, Dumitru Turcus, offered a cocktail on this occasion.
[31] *Crisana,* no. 56/1969,4 and no.62/1969, 4.

As a conclusion, even in the case of a foreign event, the media could present some details regarding it. It is nice to see that a local newspaper, not even the one from a metropola or from the capital of our country, could reflect so good the reality and could keep up with the economic and financial events, in times when communication was made with more difficulty, the information didn't had the speed that exist nowadays, and every word was controlled and monitored by censorship (both Hungarian and Romanian ones).

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Annexes

Appendix 1[32]

VIATA NOUĂ

Oradea — COTIDIAN DEMOCRATIC — Telefon 27-27

Trupele mareșalului Coniev au străpuns frontul german la vest de Vistulă

Bătălia pentru Budapesta se apropie de faza finală

Înaintare aliată pe frontul din Ardenii

Germanii distrug sistematic Budapesta

După generalul Gudrian a sosit în Ungaria și mareșalul Keitel

Frontul de Vest

A murit Romain Rolland

Extremul Orient

The newspaper *Viata noua* in 1945.

[32] All the photos are reproduced from the editions of the newspaper *Crisana*, preserved in the collection *Periodice(Periodicals)*, at Serviciul Informare Comunitara (The Community Information Service), from Biblioteca Judeteana Gheorghe Sincai (The County Library Gheorghe Sincai), from Oradea, at. 12.10.2015.

Appendix 2

CRIŞANA

ZIAR DE INFORMAŢIE ŞI LUPTĂ DEMOCRATICĂ

Zeci de mii de cetăţeni ai Oradiei au manifestat pentru guvernul Groza la 6 Martie

Prima aniversare a guvernului de largă concentrare democratică o adevărată sărbătoare populară

30.000 de cetăţeni participă la adunarea din piaţa Malinovski

„Noi avem încredere în forţele noastre în forţele poporului"

Discursul d-lui general Paul Alexiu

Cu ocazia zilei de 6 Martie

Dl dr. Petru Groza a rostit un important discurs în sala „Aro" din Bucureşti

Some of the first numbers of the newspaper from 1946 with the new name *Crisana*.

Appendix 3


PROLETARI DIN TOATE ȚĂRILE, UNIȚI-VĂ!

Crișana

ORGAN AL COMITETULUI REGIONAL AL P.C.R. ȘI AL SFATULUI POPULAR REGIONAL CRIȘANA

VIZITEI TOVARĂȘILOR

AE CEAUȘESCU,

The frontispiece of *Crisana* during communism (1968-1969).

Appendix 4

fost precedate de o pregătire de artilerie şi mortiere.

Potrivit agenţiei France Presse, lupte deosebit de violente s-au desfăşurat în Valea Que Son, la 40 kilo-

cendiat un depozit cu 15 000 litri combustibil; aproximativ 16 vehicule militare au fost scoase din funcţiune, şi peste 60 de soldaţi americani ucişi.

preluarea puterii de militari în Grecia, ar jena realizarea unor pr se pe calea cooperării telegerii în Europa.

Reaşezări de preţuri în R.P. Ungară

BUDAPESTA 4 — Corespondentul Agerpres, Al. Pintea, transmite: —

Din primele zile ale anului nou, în vitrinele magazinelor din Ungaria au apărut noile preţuri pentru produsele de consum. După cum s-a anunţat, la ultima sesiune a Adunării de Stat, în cadrul reformei mecanismului economic, de la 1 ianuarie 1968, în R.P. Ungară are loc o reaşezare a preţurilor. Potrivit acesteia, au fost reduse preţurile la unele produse alimentare, ca de exemplu la zahăr de la 10,60 la 9,60 forinţi kg, la unt — de la 66 la 50 forinţi kg şi la altele. S-au redus, de asemenea, preţurile la stofe din lînă, la unele confecţii, la încălţăminte, la unele tipuri de aparate de radio şi televizoare. În acelaşi timp, la unele produse, printre care unele ţesături din fire sintetice, la stofe de import, la mobile, la produsele chimice şi la unele servicii preţurile au crescut.

Noi greutăţi în calea programului

DIN VIAŢA ECONOMICĂ INTERNAŢIONALĂ

seara reuniunea Consiliului naţional de dezvoltare economică. După cum s-a anunţat la o conferinţă de presă, care a urmat acestei reuniuni, Consiliul a examinat programul guvernamental de „economii severe". Reducerea cheltuielilor guvernamentale în cadrul acestui program este de un miliard de lire sterline. Aceste mijloace guvernul intenţionează să le folosească pentru a lichida deficitul balanţei de plăţi a ţării. Suma depăşeşte de două ori pe cea iniţială anunţată în declaraţia lui Wilson în legătură cu devalorizarea lirei sterline.

Înfăptuirea prevederilor acestui program întîmpină însă noi greutăţi ca urmare a măsurilor anunţate de preşedintele Johnson în vederea îmbunătăţirii balanţei de plăţi a Statelor Unite, care înregistrează, de asemenea, un deficit cronic. Se consideră că aceste măsuri vor înrăutăţi condiţiile comerţului S.U.A. cu ţările europe-

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The first article from *Crisana* about the NEM in Hungary (January, 1968).

Professional frictions among Hungarian and German secret agents within the Eastern bloc

Jobst Ágnes, *A Stasi működése Magyarországon - A keletnémet és a magyar állambiztonság kapcsolata 1955-1989*. Budapest: Jaffa Kiadó, 2015, 256 pp*

Eperjesi Zoltán**

Eastern European state security organizations, which were more or less subordinated to Moscow, acted with shocking cruelty against their own citizenry. If they did not act in such a manner, then initial misunderstandings were often developing into strong disagreements among themselves. This was the case regarding the official relationship between Stasi and the Hungarian state security services. It is an illustrative example as the Stasi complained that Hungarian authorities have treated far too humanely a GDR family at the beginning of the 1980s. There have been several Hungarian authors up to now who have searched to process intricate communist legacies by concentrating on the past of certain secret agents and co-workers. As a consequence, the readership already had the possibility to read about interesting issues as infiltrated secret police spies in artist's or sportsmen's world or bugged living residences or about the well cached triangle connection between the nomenclature and ministry of internal affairs inclusively intelligence services and similar subjects. This list is enriched now by the latest research of Ágnes Jobst[1] as she is addressing a rather unexplored topic in her new book by presenting various hidden operations carried out by the

* Ágnes Jobst, *The functioning of the Stasi in Hungary – The relationship of the East German and Hungarian state security 1955-1989*. Budapest: Jaffa, 256 pp.

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[1] Ágnes Jobst was born in Budapest in 1959. She visited the Árpád High school in Butapest between 1974−1978. Jobst absolved teacher training by studying Hungarian language and literature combined with book science at the Eötvös Lóránd University from 1979 to1984. She earned her PhD degree at the same university in the field of philology in 2007. After that she worked as librarian, museologist and was teaching media history at the Eötvös Lóránd University. Since 2003 she works as librarian at the Historical Archives of State Security Services in Budapest.

Hiperboreea Journal, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2015), pp. 157-164

Stasi on the territory of Hungary. More precisely, the historian[2] deals with the relationship between the East German (Stasi) and Hungarian state security.

The photo of the cover page of the book with the partially accident-damaged Trabant is a successful attention getter. After a short introductory section the volume is separated into five main chapters with corresponding subdivisions as shown below: I. The splitting of Europe,[3] II. The cooperation between the state securities of the Hungarian People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic,[4] III. To go or to stay?,[5] IV. The Hungarian opening policy,[6] and finally V. The East Germans and Hungarian border opening.[7] Jobst's work also has an Appendix with the following subtitles: The organizational structure of 1989 of the East German Ministry for State Security (Ministerium für Staatssicherheit – Stasi), Pictures of the leading circles of the Stasi and finally Pictures of the members of the operative group of the Stasi in Hungary. After the next section (The list of book references) there are two additional practical parts (Notes and Name index), which are offering detailed references and orientation to persons, places and time.

The basis for argumentation of the author is mainly declassified intelligence source that is a valorous and immense archival material.

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[2] Ágnes Jobst has the following main research topics: - the international aspects of the East German state security collaboration, - press and history of public relations and the language of media, – the medical historical and historical aspects of history of civilisation.

[3] Subchapters of the first chapter are as follows: The iron curtain, The Hungarian section of the iron curtain, The division of Germany, The establishment of the political police of the German Democratic Republic and finally The closure of the inner German border and the Berlin Wall.

[4] Subchapters of the second chapter are as follows: The creation of the Hungarian residency in Berlin, Cooperation in the field of counter-intelligence and intelligence service and finally Cooperation in the field of operational technical improvements.

[5] Subchapters of the third chapter are as follows: The criminalization of border crossing, Another back home: refugees, immigrants or resettling people? Over the hills and far away, The operative group of the Stasi in Hungary, The "Balaton-brigade" and finally Problems in cooperation and Hungary through the eyes of the Stasi.

[6] Subchapters of the fourth chapter are as follows: The reform process, Decision on the breakdown of technical enclosures, The repercussions of the Hungarian opening in the GDR, The reception of the border opening in Austria and finally Joining the Geneva Convention on Refugees.

[7] Subchapters of the fifth chapter are as follows: The East German refugees and Hungarian authorities, Protest and picnic against the division of Europe, The impossibility of the protection of the western border, Wait and see attitude, The border opening, The consequences of the border opening in the GDR and finally Rundown.

Accordingly, Jobst examined the relevant documents of 1955 to 1989 of the Hungarian state security (ÁBTL) and Stasi (BstU). As stated in the introduction of the volume, the historian puts emphasis on various political factors, which generated the breakdown of the Iron Curtain as this red line leads to the first stage (the symbolic border opening) and then to the second stage, thus, the factual opening of the Hungarian-Austrian border. Jobst thinks and stresses that the suitable dealing with the situation of East German refugees was crucial concerning Hungary's international reputation and its internal transformation by the turnaround time of 1989/90. Indeed, it was a highly complicated task for Hungarian authorities to answer to a mixture of challenges and make the best decisions related to thousands of citizens who quit the GDR maybe forever with the confident hope to resettle in the Western World (pre-eminently in the FRG). Jobst states the following in the introduction: „After the responsible decision of the Hungarian political leadership, the issue of the East German asylum had a successful final outcome. With the opening of the western frontier of Hungary, it became possible to circumvent the Berlin Wall, and thereby a new era had begun in the European history of the 20th century."

The narrative of the book begins with the story of the eastern and western separation of Europe (and the world), continues to the emergence of the Iron Curtain and then the author includes various facts about the construction of the Berlin Wall. This is not the only sequence of the volume which makes the viewer consider the often too extensive historical accounts. Another example of this is the presentation of the changes and fine points of the asylum law. Such complex explanations are not necessarily directly related to the Stasi and its secret operations executed on Hungarian territory. Central Europe was a popular tourist destination for visitors all over the world and beside a high number of East Germans there were several West German citizens who were often spending their holidays in certain regions of Hungary. Therefore, it frequently happened that Germans of the two separated states (FRG and GDR) were coming into contact with each other on their vacations to Lake Balaton or other favourite locations. Officials of the former East German state have seen serious national risks in such spontaneous or pre-organized appointments of their citizens, because they were quitting the GDR on a massive scale. Beside the enormous loss of highly qualified personal and human capital they perceived such mass exodus strictly ideologically and tried to misuse German-German migration for propaganda purposes as well. Thus, Stasi agents intensively verified its nationals in multifaceted clandestine operations and precast setups in order to artificially prevent by all means transmigration to the west.

However, spies of the Stasi were not only dispersed in Hungarian key regions, but they were also operating in other target areas within the Eastern bloc countries such as Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. In spite of all that, the initial cooperation between the East German and Hungarian state security services was at first perfectly managed but, from the 1970s and especially in the 1980s there were repeatedly serious frictions between the two sides. In line with this, it gradually becomes clear that most of the undercover agents of the Stasi and their basic network in Hungary had been mainly commissioned with the task to prevent the escape of its citizens to the west. The name of the German operating secret unit in Hungary was the “Balaton-brigade”. The historian focuses above all on this famous operational unit of the Stasi and step by step it comes out that the official observers and unofficial informants of the famous secret police were nearly all over the country, especially where East German citizens were spending their holidays. The Stasi had a conspiratorial apartment even in Pécs (the fifth largest city) located in the south-west of Hungary, close to the border with Croatia.

Although there are issues addressed as "Cellophane-69" and "Steam-68" in the blurb of Jobst’s book, the reader will hardly receive further details about the letter opener device later in the text of the book. However, the issue is roughly concerned indirectly by the author and one can only read about the circumstance that German and Hungarian specialists of the interior ministry were consulting about electronic data processing and the utilization of the optical spectrum analyzer. Regardless of the imbalance between certain too short or too extensive accounts, it is to see that author searches to construct a bigger picture of the historical proceedings, backgrounds and she successfully collects highly scattered data into a harmonious whole or more precisely puts the various puzzles together in the frame of a complete book. More to the point, specific records and statistics related to the special subject cannot be traced neither in secret archives of Budapest nor Berlin, thus concerning the argumentation strategy of the historian presented in this volume it is to admit that it is a life's work. Following this, it is to observe that the language is rather subject-specific and the composition of the text lacks any kind of light reading material that could be of interest for the larger public.

Lake Balaton and its area are often addressed by author as it was the most desired excursion destination of German tourists from both states. However, the relation among Stasi and Main Division State Security was developing into a strong conflict in the meantime. That happened mainly because of the intensive operation line of the German “Balaton brigade” in Hungary that was strongly focused on discovering and preventing escape attempts of its (GDR) citizens to the FRG. There was a case when the Stasi suddenly wanted to spy on fellow countrymen on houseboats from the lake, but the Hungarian interior ministry concisely refused to approve the proposal on the grounds that such constructions would be greatly conspicuous for other tourists, simply because such vehicles are quite atypical for the Balaton. Unfortunately the author only touches superficially on this attention-grabbing critical incident. It seems probable that this circumstance originates from the fact that relevant documents are missing as they were destroyed, or still undetected or even kept secret.

A permanent conflict among executives of the two state security agencies was because the East Germans considered that the Hungarian authorities were not doing enough in order to prevent the escape of GDR citizens to the FRG or other western destinations. Moreover, the Stasi accused the Ministry of the Interior and the Hungarian state of not being sufficiently cooperative to hand over all sensitive information about West German citizens (taking a holiday in Hungary) who were directly or indirectly helping to organize the flight of East Germans to the Occident. There were hundreds of people who were suspected of taking part in illegal border-crossing attempts at the end of the 1980s in Hungary and they were deported on a massive scale back to the GDR in order to be made responsible for their “punishable act”. Now it is time to learn about the rigorous criminalization of illegal border crossings as East German citizens caught on escape risked a prison sentence from two to five years in the GDR. Prosecution was considering as very aggravating factors if somebody was trying to leave the country in a group, was hiding in a car or was destroying the technical installations of the border protection staff.

Nevertheless, the Hungarian government merely granted permission for the activities of professional Stasi officers of the Balaton brigade. They not only authorized secret missions but also recruited civilians as agents and informants for the Stasi in Hungary. Such people gathered insightful information about relevant interactions without the consent of the Ministry of the Interior. Moreover, unofficial Stasi co-workers were collecting data on several occasions about crucial Hungarian domestic affairs as well, which were seen very suspiciously by officers of the Main Division State Security. Notwithstanding the above, the German Balaton brigade was a rather complex network: a small part of Stasi informants already lived in Hungary before being officially commissioned or studied there getting jobs as language teachers or they were well-integrated in several other ways. As an example, there were more than 20 people in such positions from 1987 to 1989 around the Lake Balaton, whereas the majority of them arrived at the face on intermittent basis for special missions mainly during the summer peak tourist season. The operations of the German Stasi network in Hungary can be subdivided into certain aiming points as follows: most of the monitoring activities were made in the region of the Lake Balaton, then in Budapest (around 30%) and finally in other built up areas of the country (roughly 10%).

Indeed, Hungarian authorities were more indulgent concerning the above presented matter, because they did not want to destroy the outside image and the tourist industry of their own country through the complex risks by practicing surveillance against West German holiday-makers. Despite all the care taken, the Stasi remained continuously very curious about West German citizens as well, because they were actively helping East Germans to quit the GDR individually or in organised groups. Moreover, it can be also observed that the Hungarian side practiced a zero tolerance policy via Stasi officials' special desires concerning espionage on West German nationals. However, the Ministry of the Interior remained reluctant to spy on citizens of the FRG with the aim to make data transfer to the GDR. This circumstance was not the only mistrust among Stasi and local officials as Hungarian specialists were usually also criticized by the Eastern secret agency members to be no real experts in performing certain fine tasks in security issues. According to Jobst (interview about the book in the Múlt-kor magazine), the relationship between Stasi and Main Division State Security staff can be well characterized by another estimation of East German state security officers as they often spoke among themselves about their Hungarian counterparts as "chekists of the coffeehouse". It is readily identifiable that the reader learns quite a bit about the German Balaton brigade, but predominantly about particular issues such as: where they were delegated in Hungary, how many agents were involved in some clandestine operations, how much convertible currency they get for secret missions and what kind of official responsibilities were allocated to commissioned officers and civilian co-workers as well.

It makes sense that Jobst offers special summaries of several key figures, because this brings very close the events and people of that time to the reader, but such significant details are at the very end of the book. The author introduces various undercover players of the period, for instance the public educator “David” who was taking landscape and nude photos in his spare time; - In turn he was recording a whole series of anti-communist graffiti in campsites and outbuildings for the Stasi. More to the point, there is the case of “Steffen”, who not only teaches mathematics but is also interested in foreign touristic services. He was recruited in 1969 by the Stasi and after an upgrade training course he was getting the managerial position of the East German travel agency in Budapest. However, the official status of “Steffen” or W.W. was that of an unofficial co-worker by the East German secret police being delegated in special missions abroad. Despite this status, “Steffen” belonged to the line of German experts in particular foreign affairs within internal circles of the Stasi. He had been tasked, among other things, with the operational observation of his own travel agency and adjacent branches, which covered the verification of all staff members, which also meant the observation of their leisure activities. Moreover, “Steffen” worked closely with the internal operative group of the Stasi that carefully followed the activities of West German travel agencies. Therefore, he was collecting relevant data about where the West German tourist offices were opening their branch offices in Hungarian key regions and reported about business-related operations as well. Finally, “Steffen” also informed the Stasi about current Hungarian political events. As he was spending most of the year abroad, “Steffen” allowed the Stasi to use his own apartment in Hungary as conspiratorial device for secret missions. “Steffen” was charged with the management of the East German travel agency of London beginning with 1977.

Perhaps another interesting codename is that of the dentist “Maca”. He was working as undercover agent for the Stasi in Sopronhorpács. Disappointingly, there are no further particulars about “Maca”, thus also this operative profile remains rather underexplored. One would also learn more about agents as ”Berger, Uwe” (U. S.), ”Dröse, Joachim” (N. H.), ”Lubinski, Barbara” (M. B.), ”Paulsen, Rolf” (G. P.), ”Schwalbe, Horst” (H. F.) or concerning the ambiguous case of ”Wien, Ernst”. The reader can only guess why only a few facts about agents are disclosed. Outlines of officers are sometimes linked with interesting operative situations in a quite short narrative and yet other profiles such as”Stern, Gertrude” (1933, R. L.) or „Thieme, Bernd” (1921, K.-E. P.) are described at some length. It may happen because of strict data protection regulations or missing archival material...

To sum up, it is noticeable that the volume can be used as proper tool in order to see behind previously “top secret” institutional structures of the communist regimes in Hungary and GDR. It becomes clear that there were relevant structural differences between the Stasi (which was independent of the ministry of internal affairs, being close to the Soviet centre) and Main Division State Security (was directly subordinated to the interior ministry). Likewise, one must not forget that the Stasi was a very powerful organisation in comparison to the Hungarian division and some other smaller eastern secret police agencies. The Stasi obtained far more financial resources and means as its counterparts in Central Europe. Certain shortcomings of the book related to the details of secret agent profiles or the shift of priorities concerning the detailed information flow about the asylum law are definitely not originating from an investigative slip-up by the author. Reading between the lines one realizes that Jobst is an expert concerning documents of the two secret services, which is proven by the well-constructed tables including meaningful and new findings. The well-chosen photos harmonize perfectly with the messages of the strictly non-fictional text. Accordingly, it would be interesting to read a more expanded version of the book or maybe a continuation of the story where the language of the narrative could be even more general and if possible literary-historical. Taken as a whole, it can be stated that the book is rather scientific because author seems to avoid bookish written language. Finally, this work gives precisely accurate information about particular historical conditions, thus, how the relation of the Stasi and the Hungarian state security organ really were, respectively how exactly German secret agents operated within the Balaton brigade. All this increases the present value of this special history book.