

Analele Universității din Craiova. Istorie, Anul XXVII, Nr. 1(41)/2022

**ANNALS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CRAIOVA**

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Analele Universității din Craiova. Istorie/Annals of the University of Craiova. History  
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Phone / Fax: +40351403140  
Email: [history.annals@yahoo.com](mailto:history.annals@yahoo.com)  
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## CONTENTS

Călin Ioan Dușe, <i>EASTERN MONASTICISM FROM ITS INCEPTION UNTIL THE 10<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY</i> .....	7
Iulian Oncescu, Laura Oncescu, <i>JEAN-LOUIS CARRA AND THE ROMANLIANS</i> .....	21
Porfirio Sanz Camañes, José María Rodríguez Jiménez, <i>REVOLUTION AND COUNTERREVOLUTION IN SPAIN AND IN SPANISH AMERICA. RIEGO'S FAILURE AND THE LIBERAL TRIENNIUM (1820-1823)</i> .....	43
Cristian Ploscaru, <i>THE DANUBLIAN PRINCIPALITIES (1829-1835): AUTONOMY AND CONSTITUTIONAL FEATURES IN THE COMPARATIVE EUROPEAN CONTEXT</i> .....	55
Marilena Rizescu, <i>U.S. TRADE STRATEGY (1890-1909): PROTECTION AT HOME VERSUS FREE TRADE ABROAD</i> .....	73
Patrick Magloire Essomo Ngossia, <i>GEOPOLITICS OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES ON THE CAMEROONIAN COASTS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PRECARIOUS MECHANISM OF CUSTOMS SERVICES BY THE GERMAN COLONIAL ORDER: (1884-1916)</i> .....	87
Majlinda Peza-Perriu, Ilirjana Kaceli (Demirlika), <i>ACTIVITIES OF THE ALBANIAN DIASPORA IN ROMANIA IN SUPPORT OF THE ALBANIAN NATIONAL CAUSE</i> .....	101
Emanuel Copilaș, <i>DEVELOPMENT, SECURITY, STRATEGY: THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT IN RETROSPECT</i> .....	111
Willy Didie Foga Konefon, <i>DISCUSS BORDERS IN AFRICA DIFFERENTLY STORIES, IMAGINATIONS AND ALTERITY IN THE BORDERLANDS BETWEEN CAMEROON AND NIGERIA</i> .....	121
Pilar Giménez Armentia, <i>HISTORY OF FEMINIST THOUGHT: THE BIRTH AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE MOVEMENT</i> .....	135
Mihaela Ionescu, Adina Dorina Glodeanu, Sanda Mihaela Popescu, Iulia Roxana Marinescu, Alin Gabriel Ionescu, Veronica Mercut, <i>A BRIEF HISTORY OF DENTAL IMPLANTS</i> .....	149



**EASTERN MONASTICISM FROM ITS INCEPTION  
UNTIL THE 10<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

*Călin Ioan Dușe\**

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***Abstract***

In the East, monasticism took three main forms, which appeared in Egypt around 350, and are still found in the Eastern Church. From Egypt, which is considered the homeland of monasticism, these forms of monasticism spread very quickly in Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Bithynia, but also in the West. The first form of monasticism is that of hermits, ascetics, who lived a contemplative life practicing the most rigorous asceticism, living isolated (in caves, huts, or in individual cells), and St. Anthony the Great (250-350) is considered the founder of the Christian monasticism. The second form of monasticism is that of community life (or chinovial), where monks live together, following the same rules, in a monastery. The most representative was St. Pachomius the Great (292-346), followed by St. Basil the Great (330-379). The third form of monasticism falls between the two, with a life of semi-isolation, a kind of "middle way", where instead of a single superior organized community, we have a group of small settlements, composed of two or six members, living together, under the guidance of an older monk. After the beginnings of monasticism, monasteries for women were soon established, and over the centuries monks and nuns have played a very important role in the history of the Church. Monasticism spread to almost all regions of the East and West, and between the 5th and 9th centuries its development reached its peak.

**Key words:** *Christianity, monasticism, spirituality, rules, asceticism*

**Introduction**

Since its inception, monasticism has played an important role in Eastern spirituality. The word monk comes from the Greek *monos/monachos*, which means one, alone or solitary. In Romanian, the word monk or nun comes from the Greek expression "kalogeron", which means "nice wise old man" (*Istoria bisericească universală*, (2021) Vol. I Ediția a II-a, revizuită. Coordonator: Ioniță, V., Benga, D., Chifăr N., Gabor, A., Leb, I. V., Pătuleanu, C., București: Basilica: 319). So, one of the simplest and most spectacular ways to leave the outside world, was to leave it for solitude, anahoresis (KAPLAN, M. (2010) *Bizanț*, București: Nemira: 225). The life of the first Christian communities in the pagan world, was separated from the public life: theater, circus and all its holidays; the limited space in which their lives took place convinces us about the "monastic" nature of early Christianity, lived in the world but was in fact separated from it. As Christianity developed and was embraced by the pagans, the decline of moral life began to appear at the end of the second century. In this situation, within the Church, there was a growing monastic tendency of those who wanted to live a life in accordance with evangelical principles, and so we have many examples of these ascetic isolations as early as the third century (Schmemmann, A. *O istorie a Bisericii de Răsărit*, București: Sophia: 145).

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\* Lecturer PhD, University Babeș-Bolyai of Cluj-Napoca, Faculty of Greek Catholic Theology in Oradea, Specialisation Patristic theology Address: Str. Parcul Traian, nr. 20, Oradea, Bihor. RO 410044, Phone: 0744809082, Email: calin\_duse@yahoo.com, calin.duse@ubbcluj.ro

For Christians, the absolute model for an ascetic life was the Savior Jesus Christ Himself, who, before beginning his preaching work, fasted in the wilderness for forty days: “*Then Jesus was led by the Spirit into the desert to be tempted by the devil. He fasted for forty days and forty nights, and afterwards he was hungry*” (Mt. 4, 1-2). Another model for Christians was St. John the Baptist. “*John wore clothing made of camel’s hair and had a leather belt around his waist. His food was locusts and wild honey*” (Mt. 3, 4). Therefore, St. John the Baptist was a model of ascetic life for Christians (*Istoria bisericească universală*: 2021: 320).

Asceticism comes from the Greek word *ascesis*, which was used for athletic training. Christian writers, especially the spiritual monks of the fourth and fifth centuries, took it from the athletic description first used by St. Paul the Apostle when describing the hard training to which competitors were subjected for ten months who participated in the Olympic Games: “*Do you not know that the runners in the stadium all run in the race, but only one wins the prize? Run so as to win. Every athlete exercises discipline in every way. They do it to win a perishable crown, but we an imperishable one. Thus I do not run aimlessly; I do not fight as if I were shadowboxing. No, I drive my body and train it, for fear that, after having preached to others, I myself should be disqualified*” (I Cor. 9, 24-27). Therefore, the winners of these competitions were rewarded with a crown made of pine branches, which was the sacred tree of Poseidon (Dușe, C. I. (2020) *Imperiul Roman și creștinismul în timpul Sfântului Clement Romanul*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană: 413). We note that the Holy Apostle Paul urged Christians to observe strict rules such as sexual abstinence, fasting, and giving up material possessions in order to obtain an immortal crown.

### **The beginnings of monasticism**

The ascetic movement within Christianity is already present in the books of the New Testament, which develops apocalyptic themes, contrasting the life lived in accordance with evangelical principles and not with the comfort of worldly life. This Pauline ascetic message was consistent with Hellenistic ideas about the “temperate life” of the sage (*sophrosyne*), but also for the most part with the writings of the first two Christian centuries, such as the *Didache/Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (50-70), the two *Epistles to the Corinthians* of St. Clement the Roman († 101) and *The Shepherd of Herma* (145-154). A strong impulse came from Tertullian (160-240), whose writings speak of many men and women of his time who practiced asceticism in the Church of Carthage (McGukin, J. A. (2014) *Dicționar de teologie patristică*, Iași: Doxologia: 45). Therefore, the most privileged place for asceticism became the desert. (*eremos*, in Greek language) where the word hermit comes from. The Savior Jesus Christ also retired to the wilderness, where he fasted for forty days and forty nights before beginning his preaching work (Kaplan, 2010: 225).

Monasticism is the best way to understand Eastern spirituality, because it played a key role in its formation, and from the fourth century it became an institution in the Church (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 321). Thus, the ascetic writings of Saints Pachomius the Great (290-346), Basil the Great (330-379), John Casian (360-435) and Benedict of Nursia (480-543), who were the great organizers of monasticism, transcended the boundaries of monasteries and spread among the faithful, enriching and beautifying the piety of Christian life (Sfântul Teofan Zăvorătu, (2002) *Rânduilele vieții monahale. Sfântul*



*Vasile cel Mare, Sfântul Pabomie cel Mare, Sfântul Ioan Casian, Sfântul Benedict*, Ediția a II-a, București: Sophia: 5).

Thus, monasticism reminds us of brilliant names that influenced its development. Among these we must mention the name of St. Anthony the Great (250-350), who is considered the founder of Christian monasticism (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 321). Thus, through the monastic communities St. Anthony the Great is considered the forefather of the monasticism in Thebaida and at the foot of Mount Colzim/Kolizim/Qolzum, by the Red Sea. There were about six thousand of them (Telea, M., (2021) *Istoria și spiritualitatea Imperiului Bizantin Vol. 2. Civilizația, cultura și spiritualitatea Imperiului Bizantin*, Alba-Iulia, Reîntregirea: 93). Due to the fact that they lived alone, they called themselves monks, and their communities were called lavres (Voicu, C., Colda, L.D. (2015) *Patrologie II*, București, Basilica: 267). Also, St. Anthony the Great became the Lonely Monk Model (*Eremit or Anaboret*), thus he is considered to be the founder of this Christian ascetic lifestyle (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 322).

Saint Athanasius the Great (295-373), who was the disciple of Saint Anthony the Great, wrote *The Life and Order of Saint Anthony/Vita Antonii*, between 357-358. This book was widespread in both East and West, and thus it made a great propaganda for hermitism (Kaplan, 2010: 225). *The life and order of St. Anthony* has a moralizing character, it describes the life of the great Egyptian hermit, and in the *Prologue* to the book St. Athanasius the Great says that he often poured water on his hands: "I was his disciple and, like Elisha, I poured water on the hands of this new Elijah" (Voicu et al., 2015: 96). St. Jerome tells us that Saint Anthony the Great wrote to several monasteries seven epistles of great spiritual depth, but the most important is the one he wrote to the inhabitants of Arsinoe (Egypt). Due to his life full of holiness, Emperor Constantine the Great (306-337), but his sons also, respected and appreciated Holy Anthony the Great: "The monk Antony, whose life was honored by the Alexandrian bishop Athanasius in a significant volume, sent, according to the Egyptian custom, to the various monasteries seven epistles with in meaning and apostolic speech; they were translated into Greek, and the most chosen of them is sent to the Arsinoites. It was revered in the time of Constantine, but also when his sons ruled. He lived one hundred and five years" (Sfântul Ieronim, (2021) *Despre bărbații iluștri, Despre viețile Apostolilor, Despre cei doisprezece învățători*, Ediția a II-a București, Paideia: 82).

St. Pachomius the Great (292-346), who was a contemporary of St. Anthony the Great, founded in 320/325 at Thebes/Tabennisi, Schenesit (Kenoboshion, now Kasr-el Sayad) (Telea, 2021: 93), near Thebes, on an island of the Nile, in Upper Egypt, a community of monks. He taught them to live in the same place in a common, cenobitic life, in which there was a community house. Thus, its colony will be called *chinovie*, being already a monastery, thus laying its foundations, it becoming the first monastery in the history of the Church (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 323). The monasteries founded by St. Pachomius the Great were under the spiritual guidance of a teacher, a parent (*abba/avva*) in the Aramaic language, whence the term abbot, abbot or leader in Greek. He leads a life together (*koinos bios*), in Greek, and this is cenobitism (Kaplan, 2010: 225). Therefore, through the community founded by St. Pachomius the Great, the foundations of the cenobitic monasticism were laid, which was different from the hermit monasticism, founded by St. Anthony the Great, because the monks lived in the community.

St. Pachomius the Great founded these communities of monks, due to the fact that he saw how many hermits in the desert failed, because being alone, they failed to cope with the trials. Thus, St. Pachomius the Great thought that if the monks lived in communities, they would help each other. Among the very strict rules which he had laid down concerning the disobedient were the observance of the common space, the wearing of the uniform by all monks, strict discipline, and obedience to the superior. The daily program of the monks alternated prayer and manual work, and this will later be the basis of monasticism, with the formula *ora et labora* (pray and work). Meals in common were also served at fixed hours, and in the communities founded by St. Pachomius the Great, caring for the sick and the elderly took a prominent place, which impressed many people (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 323-324).

Since the monasteries were organized according to this new system, their number increased quickly, so that during the life of St. Pachomius they reached eight Voicu et al. 2015: 68, or even nine, twenty one of men and two of women (Kaplan, 2010: 225).

For those who embraced monastic life, St. Pachomius the Great wrote in 325 a collection of 194 *Monastic Rules*. Out of these, 142 are rules that have a restricted character, and 52 are additions and explanations of the fundamental rules, all of which are mandatory for those who wanted to practice the way of life established by him. According to the information of Palladium (364-431) from the *Lausian History/Lawsaicon*, during the life of Saint Pachomius the Great, seven thousand monks lived according to his Rules in Egypt (Telea 2021: 94). So, these famous teachers of experimental knowledge learned the sensitive art of living according to evangelical principles. Monasticism must be understood, first and foremost, as the most radical revolt against evil, in that it most categorically says "no" to any compromise and to any conformism. Its spiritual force necessarily requires a courageous waiver to the confusing forms of this world and the creation of a fortress of monks at the edge of this world; its angelic service, the nostalgia of the Kingdom of heaven opposed the very poor character of the Roman/Byzantine Empire (Evdokimov, P., (1996), *Ortodoxia*, București, Institutul Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române: 23).

### **The forms of Eastern monasticism**

In the East, monasticism took three main forms, which appeared in Egypt around 350, and are still found in the Eastern Church. From Egypt, which is regarded as the homeland of monasticism, these forms spread very quickly to Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Bithynia, and also the West.

The first form of monasticism is that of hermits, ascetics, who led a contemplative life practicing the most rigorous asceticism, living in isolation (in caves, huts, or in individual cells). Due to the life they led, they were called *anchorites* (anchorites, anachorites, hermits). This way of life has been practiced by many Christians since the second and third centuries. Thus, the first known hermit was Paul of Thebes/Hermit (234-347) (Telea, 2021: 90). The most representative of these was St. Anthony the Great, who is considered the father of monasticism.

The second form of monasticism is that of community life (or quiovial), where monks live together, following the same rules, in a monastery. The most representative was St. Pachomius the Great, continued by St. Basil the Great (330-379).

He was attracted to monastic life from a young age, and after completing his studies in Athens he retired to the banks of the river Iris in Pontus, where he founded a monastery in 355. To better know the monastic life, St. Basil the Great visited the most famous monks in Egypt and Palestine. His ascetic writings exerted a great influence on Eastern monasticism, especially through the *Great Rules*, which were written in the form of questions and answers. They deal with the main problems of monastic life and were written between 358-362. St. Basil the Great also wrote the *Small Rules* 313, also in the form of questions and answers, in which he deals with various problems of monastic life, most of which are cases of conscience. The *Little Rules* are concrete advice, rich in teachings. They were written according to the *Great Rules* (Voicu et al. 2015), and these writings remain valid to this day (Ware, T. *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe*, (1997) București: Aldo Press: 42-43). St. Basil the Great states that the monastic exhortations and rules are not written for the accomplished ones, but for beginners (Sfântul Vasile cel Mare, *Regulile Mari*, (1989) scrieri partea a doua, în: col. Părinți și Scriitori Bisericești, vol. 18, București: Institutul Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române: 243). Thus, he was a follower of the cenobitic monastic life, and through his writings he contributed decisively to the organization of Eastern monasticism, emphasizing its ecclesial and community character (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 324). The rules of St. Basil the Great were the basis for the organization of Eastern monasticism and were, at the same time, a source of inspiration for the *Rules (Settlements)* of St. John Casian (369-435) and the *Rules* of St. Benedict of Nursia (480-543) (Telea, 2021: 102).

Monasticism began as a secular movement, because neither Saints Anthony the Great nor Pachomius the Great had a hierarchical rank; they considered the monastic life to be incompatible with the priesthood and, moreover, with the episcopate. Over time, monasticism became an official and even higher calling of the Church, so that in Byzantium, only monks could become bishops (Schmemmann, 141). The two forms of monastic life (hermit and cenobitic) coexisted until XII, and their representatives were Saints Anthony the Great and Pachomius the Great (Telea, 2021: 91).

The third form of monasticism falls between the two, with a life of semi-isolation, a kind of "*middle way*", where instead of a single superior organized community, we have a group of small settlements, composed of two or six members who lived together under the guidance of an elder. The great centers that practiced this monastic form in Egypt were: Nitria and Schetis who, at the end of the 4th century, gave illustrious monks, such as: Amon, the founder of Nitria, Macarius The Egyptian/Great (295-392), Macarius of Alexandria/the Younger (300-395), Evagrius of Pontus (345-399) and Arsenius the Great (354-449) (Ware, 1997: 43), but also other monks who influenced monastic life. In *The History of the Monks of Egypt*, the author tells us that: "*He saw an endless crowd of monks, men and women of all ages in the wilderness and in the country, in such a large number that no earthly emperor could gather such an army*" (Festigière, J. (1961-1965), *Les moines d'Orient*, vol. IV/1, Paris: 8). Egyptian monasticism left to Eastern spirituality the *Patericum* or the *Apostegms of the Desert Fathers*, which: "*is a compendium of Christian politeness, kindness and civility; it is at the same time a textbook for revealing insignificant things, trifles, dry dogmatism, which envelop the soul and make the air around us unbreathable*" (*Patericul sau Apostegmele Părinților din pustiu*, (2007) Iași: Polirom: 22).

After the first beginnings of monasticism, monasteries for women were soon established. At first, they did not lead a hermit life, but later we find cases of this, like that of Mary of Egypt (344-421) (Rămureanu, I., Șesan, M., Bodogae, T., (1997) *Istoria Bisericească Universală* Vol. I (1- 1054), București: Institutul Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române: 448). and others who followed her example. Due to its monasteries, fourth-century Egypt was considered a second Holy Land, and those traveling to Jerusalem felt that their pilgrimage would be incomplete if they did not visit ascetics on the banks of the Nile. Therefore, monks and nuns played a very important role in the history of the Church (Špidlík, T., (2000) *Spiritualitatea răsăritului creștin. III. Monahismul*, Sibiu: Deisis: 7).

For those who did not enter monasticism, but wanted to practice monastic life and were married, St. John Chrysostom addresses the following exhortation: “*Please seek the eternal and immortal goodness, seek the life that does not ever age. You can live in the city and live the life that the monks lead in the wilderness, put their philosophy into practice, you can have a wife, you can live in the house and in the world, but pray the holy ones, be with a broken heart. Those at the beginning, who were taught the Christian doctrine by the Apostles, lived in cities, but they had the same godliness as those who lived in the wilderness, others had workshops, like Priscilla and Aquila, all the prophets had wives and houses, like Isaiah, Ezekiel, Moses; and this has not harmed their virtue in any way. Let us also imitate them, let us continually thank God, let us live in purity of soul and body, and let us take care of the other virtues; to bring to the cities the philosophy of the wilderness, that we may be pleasing to God and valued by men, and have the good things of the life to come*” (Sfântul Ioan Gură de Aur, (1995), *Omilii la Matei*, LV, 6, Scrieri partea a treia, în: col. Părinți și Scriitori Bisericești, vol. 25, București: Institutul Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române: 643-644).

### **The influence of Eastern monasticism on that of the West**

Eastern monasticism was spread in the West by St. Athanasius the Great through his writing *The Life and Order of St. Anthony/Vita Antonii*, but also personally during his years of exile in the West. Also, the two Holy Fathers from Scythia Minor (today's Dobrogea), Ioan Casian (360-455) and Dionysius Exiguus/Dionysius the Humble (470-544) also contributed to the organization of Western monasticism. He was the creator of the Christian chronology (the system of counting the years since the birth of the Savior Jesus Christ) (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 326).

Saint John Cassian was one of the most important representatives of Western monasticism. He was born in 360 in Scythia Minor and was attracted to monasticism from a young age. Thus, together with his sister and his friend Gherman, they went to Palestine, in order to better understand the secrets of the cenobitic life. His sister will remain permanently in the convent of nuns in Bethlehem, and the two friends will enter a convent, which was close to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. After a stay of a few years, St. John Casian and his friend Gehrman will go to Egypt, where they will become acquainted with the monastic and cenobitic monastic traditions. They will reach the desert of Scetis, where they will live for seven years near the great spiritual parents Moses and Paphnutius. After a short stay in Alexandria, due to the Origenist controversies, the two will leave the city and head to Constantinople, attracted by the

great personality of St. John Chrysostom. He will ordain St. John Cassian as a deacon and thus they participated in the missionary actions on the Danube.

After St. John Chrysostom was sent into exile in 404, St. John Cassian was sent to Rome in 405, along with other believers, carrying a letter from the clergy of Constantinople asking for the pope's support. Innocent I (401-417) (Sfântul Teofan Zăvorâtul, 2002: 339). In Rome, St. John Cassian will meet the future Pope Leo I the Great (440-461). After being ordained as a priest by Pope Innocent I in 410/411, St. John Cassian will leave for Marseilles where in 415, he founded a convent for monks and a convent for nuns. These monasteries were organized having the Eastern model, with the necessary adaptations, specific to the area. They were thus the first monasteries with monastic rules in the West. Therefore, through the establishment of these monasteries, St. John Casian was a connecting factor between Eastern and Western patristic theology.

In 426, St. John Cassian wrote a book for monks entitled: “*On the Settlements of the Cenobes and the Remedies of the Eight Capital Sins*”. The first four books describe the organization of the Chinovial monasteries in Palestine and Egypt (the novitiate, the rules of life, the dress of the monks, the hours of prayer during the day and night). In the next eight books, St. John Cassian goes on to describe the sins that endanger the lives of monks: Thus, he speaks of: greed, fornication, love of money, anger, sadness, laziness, vanity, and pride. St. John Cassian also writes about the remedies of these sins, which are: fear of God, heartbreak, renunciation, humiliation, mortification of passions, renunciation of vices, purification of the heart, and Christian love.

St. John Cassian wrote in 429 a book entitled *Conversations with Parents*. It contains twenty-four books, which record the conversations that St. John Cassian and his friend Germain had with the famous monks of Egypt, about the internal life of the monks, but also about the means by which perfection can be achieved. These are: contemplation, asceticism and mysticism, prayer, virginity, the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, about the purpose of life, the distinction of spirits, about mortification and repentance (Voicu et al. 2015: 441-443). Theological work of Saint John Cassian promotes dialogue between East and West (Brezeanu, S., (2007) *Istoria Imperiului Bizantin*, București: Meronia: 53). According to St. John Cassian for the Westerners, these rules of Eastern origin were composed in the sixth century by St. Benedict of Nursia (480-547). He founded twelve monasteries for monks, in which he placed twelve monks each (Sfântul Teofan Zăvorâtul, 2002: 382). In 530, St. Benedict of Nursia founded the monastery on Mount Cassino on the site of a temple of Apollo. For his monastic community, St. Benedict of Nursia wrote the *Rule Monachorum (Regula Monachorum)* in 540, also known as the *Rule of Benedict (Regula Benedicti)*. These rules for monks had a Prologue and seventy-three chapters (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 327). In writing this, St. Benedict of Nursia used the *Rules* of Saint Basil the Great, which were translated into Latin by Rufinus (345-410), the writings of St. John Cassian, St. Pachomius the Great, and *the Letter CCXI* of St. Augustine (354-430) (Voicu et al. 2015, 63). Soon there will be two monastic orders in the West: the strict order of the Basilian monks, who obeyed the old rules of the east, and the order of the Benedictine monks, who used the lighter rules given by St. Benedict of Nursia (Rămureanu, Șesan, Bodogae, 1997: 447).

### Eastern monasticism in the 5th-7th centuries

After spreading to almost all regions of the East and West, the development of monasticism reached its peak between the 5th and 7th centuries. From Egypt, monasticism spread rapidly in the Byzantine Empire, reaching Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine (Kaplan, 2010: 226). St. Ephrem the Syrian (306-373) was the most representative figure of Syrian monasticism. He was attracted to monasticism from a young age and was the disciple of Bishop Jacob of Nisibi † 338, who appointed him head of the local catechetical school. After the city of Nisibi was ceded to the Persians in 363, St. Ephrem the Syrian retired to Edessa, where he lived the latter part of his life, being considered one of the founders of the famous Catechetical School in this locality, also called the Persian School. In 370, St. Ephraim the Syrian visited St. Basil the Great at Caesarea in Cappadocia (Telea, 2021: 94-95).

In the 5th-6th centuries, the supremacy of the monastic movement was taken over by Palestine, thus being the "centuries of Palestinian monasticism" par excellence. In Palestine there were two important monastic centers: one in the desert of the Jordan; Gaza Tradition considers Saints Chariton (275-345) and Hilarion the Great (291-371) to be the founders of Palestinian monasticism, and great personalities of Western Christianity came and founded monasteries around Jerusalem. Thus, the Elder Melania (342-410) and her niece Melania the Younger (383-439) supported the monastic centers around Jerusalem, and Melania the Younger and her husband Pinian founded two monasteries on the Mount of Olives, and St. Jerome (347-420) lived the last years of his life as a monk in a small cave next to the Nativity in Bethlehem (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 544).

St. Euthymius the Great (377-473) and his disciple St. Sava the Great (439-532), two Cappadocians, also gave a new impetus to monasticism (Ducellier, A., (1997) *Bizantinii*, București: Teora: 43). The monastery founded by St. Sava in the Jordan Valley still exists today and this is the community that gave the great theologian St. John of Damascus (675-749). John Moshu (550/570-634) living in the Faran Lavra gathered in his writing *Leimonarium/Linonariul (Spiritual Orchard)* the lives and teachings of the monks of Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Sinai. Unlike Syrian and Egyptian monasticism, Palestinian monasticism was more aristocratic. This is because a large part of the monks came from the cities, from the direct relations they had with the patriarch of Jerusalem, but also from the fact that the monasteries in which they were forced were near the localities of Jerusalem, Caesarea of Palestine, Scythopolis and Gaza, where an intense intellectual life took place. In the following centuries, the great liturgical synthesis will appear here, the *Typicon/Typical* of Saint Sava, which has remained valid until today in the Eastern Church. It was the basis on which the Constantinople tradition would later develop the liturgical ordinances. Also, monks such as St. Andrew the Cretan/of Crete (660-740), St. John of Damascus (675-749) and St. Cosmas of Maiuma (706-760/787), who were of Savait origin, developed the hymnography and Christian poetry, and later they were constituted in the *Octoechos*, the *Triodion*, and the *Pentecostarion*, books which are in use to this day in the Eastern Church (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 545-546.)

Monasticism also spread to the cities, so that from the year 350, there will be many monks in Constantinople, of whom only a few led a cenobitic life, most of them being wanderers. They lived in the homes of those who were willing to listen to them,

or at worst, on the streets among the needy. In this situation, they were not subject to any authority, and they created a real network, which tried to show its influence, sometimes intervening in dogmatic debates. Over time, they will become an unbearable factor of disorder in Constantinople, which was already a difficult city to govern (Kaplan, 2021: 226-227). So it was in 449 at the Council of Ephesus, when the Egyptian monks, who were summoned by Bishop Dioscorus of Alexandria were very violent, and Pope Leo I the Great (440-461) called it the "Council of Thieves" (*Ephesinius non iudicium, sed latrocinium*) (Chifăr, N., (2007) *Istoria creștinismului* I, Sibiu: 187).

Therefore, in order to prevent such disorders, the Council of IV Ecumenical of Chalcedon in 451, several canons were given, concerning monastic discipline. Constantinople monasticism was Chinovitic and Basilitic, being very active in the social field, carrying out many charitable works. The monasteries of Constantinople were located between Chalcedon and Chrysopolis, and their monks played an important role in formulating the dogmas of the Ecumenical Councils, but also in the liturgical creations (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 547).

After groups of extremist monks were expelled from Constantinople, it became possible again to establish monasteries in the capital. Thus in 460, the consul Studios built in an almost deserted area near the Golden Gate, a cenobitic monastery dedicated to St. John the Baptist. In three centuries, Studion Monastery will become the most famous and the most powerful in Constantinople, with several hundred monks (Kaplan, 2010: 227). Emperor Justinian (527-565) is the one who founded the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai between 548-565, exactly where it is believed that Moses saw the Burning Bush (Retrieved 14. 05. 2022, from [https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C4%83n%C4%83stirea\\_Sf%C3%A2nta\\_Ecaterina\\_din\\_Muntele\\_Sinai](https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C4%83n%C4%83stirea_Sf%C3%A2nta_Ecaterina_din_Muntele_Sinai)).

This monastery became a powerful monastic center, which exists today (Ware, 1997: 43). To this day, many monks have lived here, leaving a chosen life. St. Catherine's Monastery has stood the test of time for centuries, being a veritable monastic island in the midst of the Muslim world, as it is today the oldest monastery in the world with uninterrupted liturgical life. The monastery is dedicated to the Mother of God, although it is called Saint Catherine, this being the second patron saint. Soon, many Christians who wanted to retire came to the monastery from several regions: Armenia, Georgia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Egypt, Constantinople, and Rome. The popes of Rome were constantly sending aid to build a hospital here. Thus, Pope John III (561-574) sent a large sum of money between 561-568 to build this hospital. Also, Pope Gregory I the Great (590-604) became closely interested in the Sinai settlements and corresponded with the abbot John and the priest Palladium. Saints Nile the Ascetic/Sinai † 430 and John of the Ladder (579-649) were the most important representatives of Sinaitic monasticism (TELEA, 2021: 97). In this monastery, the tradition of ancient Egyptian monasticism was perfected in the synthesis made by St. John of Sinai/of the Ladder/Klimacus (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 544).

He lived a rigorous ascetic life for forty years in the wilderness, after which he was elected by vote as the abbot of St. Catherine of Sinai Monastery. St. John of the Ladder wrote a work called *Ladder*, at the request of the abbot John of Raithu Monastery, who asked him to give the monks a written rule, based on which they would

live and thus be able to ascend to heaven as a ladder similar to the one which Patriarch Jacob saw in a dream.

In this writing, which has thirty *Words*, St. John of the Ladder describes the ascent to heaven as thirty steps, thinking of the thirty years that the Savior Jesus Christ lived before the beginning of the public preaching activity. Thus, the Ladder is a series of thirty virtues and their opposite sins, by which the monk ascends to perfection as on the steps of a ladder (Voicu et al. 2015: 130).

Therefore, *the Ladder* summarizes the whole patristic spirituality up to it, placing it under the sign of a very suggestive symbol, that of the ladder and the steps which, if anyone ascends step by step, may attain to perfection and union with God (Ioan Scărarul, *Scara Raiului*, (1994) Precedată de *Viața pe scurt a lui Ioan Scolasticul și urmată de Cuvântul către Păstor*, Timișoara: Amarcord: 10).

In *Novella* 133, Emperor Justinian shows that monastic life and contemplation are a holy thing, which is useful to all citizens because of their purity and intercession or prayers made by monks for the common good. Due to this importance, but also to the influence that the monks had, over time they sometimes faced certain opponents and thus, they needed defenders. Saint John Chrysostom (354-407) was one of them. Thus, in 378, he wrote a three-book treatise entitled *Against the Opponents of Monastic Life* and another entitled *Comparison between a King and a Monk*. They are pleadings for monastic life, and in the second one, he makes a comparison between the two lives, concluding that the life of a monk is far superior to that of a king (Voicu et al. 2015: 270). St. John Chrysostom says that the title of "king" fits better for the monk, because he is at war with the real enemies, thus freeing the world from their power. The monk controls his passions and does not have loose women in his service, but heavenly angels (Špidlík, 2000: 8).

### **Eastern monasticism in the 8<sup>th</sup>--9<sup>th</sup> centuries**

After Palestine and Sinai fell into the hands of the Persians and Arabs, and the great lavra in the East were destroyed by them, and the escaped monks took refuge in the safer areas. Thus, the monastic supremacy of the Byzantine Empire was taken over in the VIII-IX centuries by the monasteries of Constantinople and its environs. The monks of these monasteries, such as Saints Maximus the Confessor (580-662) and Germanicus of Constantinople (634,730), played an important role in clarifying the dogmas of the Church and the liturgical creation (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 547).

During this period, monasticism on Mount Olympus in Bithynia, Asia Minor, developed. Several monasteries from the 5th century were founded here: Triglia, Chenolaccos, Sakudion, St. Michael Maleinos and others. In these monasteries famous monks lived, among whom are worth mentioning: Saint Hilarion the Younger (775-845), Plato (753-813), uncle of St. Theodore the Studite), St. Theodore the Studite (759-826), St. Joanichie the Great (752-846), Saint Euthymius the New (823-898), Saint Luke the Stilith (879-979), Saints Cyril (826-869) and Methodius (815-885), the future apostles of the Slavs or Saint Athanasius the Athonite (920/925-1001/1003). They were on Mount Olympus in the ninth century, with over forty monasteries that needed several thousand monks and nuns. They practiced all public life, as well as having the anchorite life, in the center of their life in search of inner peace (*isibia*) (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 662).



During the iconoclastic period, the monks from Studion Monastery, the fact that they defended the cult of icons, were persecuted and expelled from the monastery, so it was abandoned. After the death of Emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741-775), the monastery gradually began to repopulate, and its abbot, Sava, participated and signed the acts of the VII Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 787. In the 9th century, the Studion Monastery in Constantinople began to play an important role in Eastern monasticism. It became famous after its leadership was taken over by St. Theodore the Studite, under the auspices of Empress Irina (797-802) (Kaplan, 2010: 227). Thus, because of the rapid advancement of the Turks of Selgiucid in Asia Minor, Empress Irina decided, in 797, the transfer of the monks, from the Sakkudion Monastery in Mount Olimp-Bithynia, headed by the Platon and his nephew, Theodore, in Constantinople, in the monastery Studion. Along with them came other monks and thus, the monastery became the most important monastic center in Constantinople, remaining so until the end of the Byzantine Empire.

During the period when St. Theodore the Studite led the Studion Monastery, he wanted to remove the Church from the influence of political power, protesting the emperor's interference in matters of dogma. He wanted to make the Studion Monastery a strong center for the defense of morality, but also of the true faith. Thus, St. Theodore the Studite gave the monastery a new, thorough organization, which was known as the studied reform. This was a return to the conception of the great Fathers and organizers of monastic cenobitic life, as it was ordained by Saints Pachomius the Great and Basil the Great. Thus, the powerful monastic community of Studion proved to be innovative in the way it managed to combine manual labor and prayer with care for the intellectual development of the monks, thus exemplifying the monastic ideal in the cenobitic setting.

After taking over the leadership of the monastery, Saint Theodore the Studite managed to gather in a short time over a thousand monks, whom he organized in groups, each group having a leader. At Studion Monastery, the rule was that the monks should be placed alternately in one of three groups: the prayers, the workers, and those who were resting. In addition, the monks studied theology, copying manuscripts, calligraphy, and painting icons (making an important contribution to the reconstitution of icons after their destruction during iconoclasm, and to the establishment of pictorial ermine). He also had a music school at the Studion Monastery, where several hymnographers and melodists were active, whose productions were included in the service books of the Triodion and the Pentecostarion. The organizational and reforming foundations, which were laid by St. Theodore, have been preserved throughout the history of the studied community, and they remain inscribed in a place of honor in the *Settlement* of this monastery (Telea, 2021: 105-106).

In this regard, he wrote several ascetic works in which he gave more guidance to the monks. Among these the most important are the following: The *Small Catechesis*, consisting of one hundred and thirty-four chapters, in which are recounted the conversations that St. Theodore the Studite gave to the monks three times a week. In this writing he talks about the duties of monks, giving them parental advice about the ideal of Christian accomplishment. Another writing is the *Great Catechesis*, which at first consisted of three parts and of which only seventy-seven catechesis have been preserved, but we do not know to which part they belong. In the *Great Catechesis*, St.

Theodore the Studite continues the advice he gave in the *Little Catechesis*, with the difference that some have a more developed content. *The Typicon of Studion Monastery* has not been preserved in its entirety, and its present form is a later processing. In this writing are given the typical rules, which St. Theodore the Studite gave regarding services, fasts and clothing. St. Theodore the Studite also wrote the following works for monks: *On fasting times*; *The Order of the Pre-Sanctified Liturgy*; *Questions and answers about canonical problems*; *Punishments given to monks for non-fulfillment of duties*; *Commentary on the work of Saint Basil*; *Ascetic ordinances*; *About food delight and restraint*; *The Will*, in which, after making a confession of faith, he gives certain commandments for the abbot and for the monks (Voicu, et al. 2015: 213).

Saint Theodore the Studite is in the depths of his soul, an official with a good talent for organizing, who knows how to evaluate the relations of political power. Thus, he points out that the misfortunes that the monks suffered are due to their inability to defend the right faith, poor organization, anarchist tendencies of the anchoritic ideal, but also insufficient socio-economic roots. Saint Theodore the Studite will defend the priority of the cenobitic life, looking for the social power, which will confer an economic independence based on a sufficient and privileged endowment. He insisted that a learned monk fulfill three important qualities. First, he emphasizes chastity, because contacts with women, which the monk cannot completely avoid in the aristocratic context, will be strictly controlled. Second, St. Theodore the Studite emphasizes stability, as wandering monks were one of the great endemic evils of monasticism. The third quality that the monks had to fulfill was poverty, and in this sense, a monk had to have nothing that belonged to him, not even the slightest material object, and every week the clothes were redistributed regardless of the condition or their size. At the Studion Monastery, the minimum age for admission to monasticism was between sixteen and seventeen (Kaplan, 2010: 228-229).

The studite, as the monks of this monastery were called, dealt not only with the rigorous monastic life, but also with the very diligent study of theology (Rămureanu, Șesan, Bodogae, 1997: 448). Because of this, they soon became highly respected and played an important role in the church life of Constantinople. The monks came to represent an important religious and political force, being convinced that they had been entrusted with the mission of maintaining, without any compromise, the independence of the faith and of the Church. Having this belief, they did not hesitate, after 858, to join the papacy, against the patriarch Photius (858-867), appointed by Emperor Michael III the Drunkard (855-867), replacing Ignatius (847-858), who was one of theirs (Ducellier, 1997: 44).

Therefore, we could see that after the first iconoclastic period ended, in Eastern monasticism there is a revival of monastic life, due to the reforms initiated in the ninth century by the monks of the Studion monastery. The role of the monks in the triumph of Orthodoxy over iconoclasm demonstrates their traditional involvement in the theological disputes in Byzantium, from the earliest Christian centuries. Thus, Eastern monasticism appears not only as a school of spiritual accomplishment, but also as a body that feels responsible for the teaching of the faith, but also for the fate of the Church in general (Telea, 2021: 107).

## Conclusions

The emergence of monasticism in the history of the Christian Church marked a moment of major importance not only for the Christian life in general, but also for the concrete way of living, implementing and transmitting the evangelical message. Through this new form of life, Christianity has found not only a new form of externalizing of its purpose, that of personal salvation, but also a concrete way of identifying and reporting the believers to the Church, to the community of origin and obviously to society, with all its forms of manifestation. Starting with the third century, but especially in the fourth century, monasticism was established as an institution in line with the natural evolution of the ascetic forms existing, since the establishment of the Church. Thus, over the centuries, monasticism has managed to gain a large number of practitioners, with moral authority and influence in the Church. If at first the monks were not part of the clergy, over time they exerted an increasing influence on the Church and the life of the Byzantine state. Gaining great popularity among the faithful, the monks came to lead the entire Christian Church (Telea, 2021: 907).

Monasticism must be understood, first and foremost, as the most radical revolt against evil, in that it most categorically says "no" to any compromise and to any conformism. This spiritual force necessarily requires a courageous waiver to the confusing forms of this world and the creation of a city of monks at the edge of this world; the angelic service, the nostalgia of the kingdom of heaven opposed the too deformed character of the Roman/Byzantine Empire (Evdokimov, 1996: 23). Over time, the monks managed to enjoy the faithful of a special prestige, which was based on the belief that they were the most intermediaries fit for salvation. Compared to the ordinary believer, who was considered an amateur, the monk was considered a professional, who spends his whole life in the faith. The popularity of the monks among the faithful made its members make their presence felt in other areas of life. Thus, in some areas monasteries have come to play a decisive role in economic life (especially in agriculture), but also in intellectual and social life (Telea, 2021: 108).

In addition, Eastern monasticism made an important contribution to the spread and affirmation of the spiritual life, to the development of the culture of the peoples, by translating, multiplying and spreading religious texts in the languages of the peoples in which it carried out its activity (*Istoria bisericească universală*, 2021: 328). Also, over the centuries, monks have played an important role in the development, defense, and clarification of Christian dogmas in the seven Ecumenical Councils.

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## JEAN-LOUIS CARRA AND THE ROMANIANS

*Iulian Oncescu\**

*Laura Oncescu\*\**

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### **Abstract**

One of the Western travellers that went through the Romanian area during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was the French Jean-Louis Carra (1742-1793). Orignary of Burgundy (France), he travelled in Europe on several occasions. He reached Moldavia as well in the year 1775, when he came to serve the Reigning Prince Grigore III Ghica (whom he had met in Russia), as a teacher of his sons and as a secretary for the French correspondence. He remained here for a year (1775-1776), and during this period he seems to have travelled to Wallachia as well. In the spring of the year 1776, Carra left Moldavia heading to Poland. A year later, in 1777, there appeared in Buillon, not in Iași, as it is written on the title page, *Histoire de la Moldavie et la Valachie* (History of Moldavia and Wallachia), a work that was to be published in the same year in Paris as well and then in its second edition in Neuchatel, in the year 1781. Our paper aims to bring into focus Carra's works together with all the controversies it triggered in the course of time in the Romanian historiography.

**Key words:** *Jean-Louis Carra, foreign testimonies, French traveller, Moldavia, Wallachia, 18<sup>th</sup> century*

### **Introduction**

Out of the numerous foreign testimonies left behind by foreigners about the Romanians in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the most important are those of the French, which are also the most numerous. In general, the rhythm of elaboration of the writings on the Romanians, and implicitly of travelogues, is in harmony with the evolution of the French-Romanian relations in general, which are directly connected to the evolution of the French Oriental politics, with the increasingly strong interest of France in the SE European area. Out of the French travellers who wrote on the Romanians in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we shall mention: the chevalier de Bellerive, La Motraye, Guedeville, Jean Claude Flachet, Charles de Peyssonnel, baron Damseaux, Jean-Louis Carra, Alexandre de Launay, baron Francois de Tott, count Alexandre d'Hauterive, Charles Joseph de Ligne, Roger de Damas, count de Ferriere, count de Salaberry, Emil Gaudin, Louis Joseph Parant (Oncescu, 2013: 33-38).

We estimate that, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the French writings on the Romanians might be divided into several stages: 1. until 1770-1774, they were rarer, rather occasional, as the interest of the French writers concerning the Romanians increased beginning with the time of the Russian-Turkish war of the years 1768-1774, concluded with the peace of Kuciuk Kainargi. 2. 1774-1800, when these writings and travelogues bloom on the background of the Austrian-Russian-Turkish wars of the end of this century, and also on the background of the increasing interest of France in the

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\* Professor PhD., „Valahia” University of Târgoviște, Faculty of Humanities, Department of History, Lt. Stancu Ion Street, No. 34-36A, Târgoviște, 130105, Dâmbovița County, 0245206105, Email: iulian\_oncescu@yahoo.fr

\*\* Lecturer PhD., „Valahia” University of Târgoviște, Faculty of Humanities, Department of History, Lt. Stancu Ion Street, No. 34-36A, Târgoviște, 130105, Dâmbovița County, 0245206105, Email: oncescu\_e@yahoo.com

Romanian Principalities, especially after the French Revolution of 1789, substantiated in the creation of the French consulates of Iași and Bucarest (1798) - (Isar, 2005: 8; Oncescu, 2013: 36)

Among the works of French travelers about the Romanians from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century particularly interesting are those created by Jean-Louis Carra (1742-1793), and Alexandre d'Hauterive (1754-1830) - (*Istoria Românilor*, vol. VI., 2002: XXXVIII; D'Hauterive, 1902; Oncescu, 2013: 38).

### **Jean-Louis Carra (1742-1793) - few biographical details**

Jean Louis Carra was born in Pont de Veyle, in Burgundy (France), on March 9, 1742 (*Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. X, part I., 2000: 234; Mihordea, 1939: 229). Becoming an orphan at the age of 8, as his father died, he studied at the Jesuit College in Macon. In this town, when he was 16 years old, he was accused (indirectly) of theft and, even though he had run away, he was captured and imprisoned for two years, yet without any trial (1760). He wandered afterwards in Europe, in Austria and Prussia, and in 1768, when he arrived at his birthplace, he declared to his acquaintances that he was living in Paris and he held the position of secretary for Marquis d'Argeson. He participates to the editing of the works: *Encyclopedie* and *Encyclopedie Supplements* (1770), at the recommendations of the astronomer Lalande and of Voltaire. He comes into conflict with both the editor of the first work, the bookseller Fortunato Bartolomeo Felice from Yverdon and the editor of the second work, Jean Baptiste Robinet. Beginning with 1722 he publishes a pamphlet, a philosophic novel and a brochure. It seems, according to some information, that, until 1775, Carra had been wandering again, visiting Italy, Greece, Turkey and Ukraine. It is not known for sure if these voyages were real, especially because he was a „farseur” as far as the information on the front pages of his works is concerned (London, Iassi, Constantinople), these being actually published in Bouillon or in Paris (*Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. X, part I., 2000: 234).

After three years of absence, Jean Louis Carra appears in his new phase in life as an „impartial observer” and „cosmopolitan philosopher”, having as a publicly assumed aim to contribute, with suggestions and his own combinations, to a new division of Central and South-Eastern Europe, during the dismemberment of Poland and awaiting the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. During this period he writes two more works, out of which one is referring to the Romanians and the Romanian territory: *Histoire de la Moldavie et la Valachie avec une dissertation sur l'état actuel de la Moldavie et de la Valachie*, published in Bouillon, in 1777, and not in Iassi, as it appears on the front page, and the brochure *Essay particulier de politique dans lequel on propose un partage de la Turquie européenne*, published also in Paris in 1777, and not in Constantinople, as it appears on its front page (*Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. X, part I., 2000: 234-235).

In this period of his life (1775-1777), Jean Louis Carra travelling to Russia, Moldavia, Poland and Germany, reaching afterwards Paris (France). Carra had arrived in Sankt Petersburg (1775), and there he met the former Prince of Wallachia, Grigore Alexandru Ghica. At the recommendation of the minister plenipotentiary of France, Durand, Carra this French *adventurer* arrives together with Grigore III Alexandru Ghica, who had been named Prince of Moldavia, in Iassi, being a teacher for his sons and a secretary of the Moldavian Prince for the French correspondence (*Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. X, part I., 2000: 235; Mihordea, 1939: 229; Trenard, 1983:

183; *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VI., 2002: XXXVIII).

Jean Louis Carra had lived in Iassi for one year (1775-1776), and during this period of time, according to his confessions, he also took a trip to Wallachia. It seems that he was not in cordial relations with the Moldavian Prince Grigore III Alexandru Ghica. In the foreword of his work about the Romanians, Carra is complaining that the Moldavian Prince would have refused to pay him half of the amount agreed in the contract for his services. In this context he expresses a series of defamations in relation to Grigore III Ghica and to his family, but also to the Romanians in general, whom he had not had the opportunity to know yet (Mihordea, 1939: 330).

He left Moldavia during the spring of 1776, travelling to Poland and Germany, reaching afterwards Paris (France), where he publishes the two works mentioned above: *Histoire de la Moldavie et la Valachie avec une dissertation sur l'état actuel de la Moldavie et de la Valachie*, Buillon, 1777, and *Essay particulier de politique dans lequel on propose un partage de la Turquie européenne*, Paris, 1777. After a series of attempts of joining the diplomatic service and after a short period of time when he was a secretary of the Prince de Rohan (1778-1783), starting with 1783 up to 1789, Jean Louis Carra held a position of attaché at the Royal Library of France. He then participated in the French Revolution but was guillotined in 1793 (*Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. X, part I., 2000: 236-240; Mihordea, 1939: 230-234; Trenard, 1983: 193-194; Lemny, 2000).

„The author of the work *Histoire de la Moldavie et la Valachie*, published in 1777, Jean Louis Carra, is a personality known to the researchers, to a certain extent, for he was the first to write a book meant to inform the Western public opinion in an accessible language, and also, for his participation at the French Revolution events, where he found his end”. (Mihordea, 1939: 229).

The same author who took care in the Romanian historiography of Carra's biography, Vasile Mihordea, states that he spent his life keen on adventure and extraordinary facts, and it was in order to satisfy this thirst that he had traveled to Europe (Germany, Switzerland and England). These trips were taken, according to Carra's testimony, to quench his thirst of knowledge and to collect information on the form of government of these States to make himself useful to the French State by the experience gained (Mihordea, 1939: 229).



**Jean Louis Carra (1742-1793)** - (Portrait from the collections of the National Library of France)  
- [https://data.bnf.fr/11895291/jean-louis\\_carra/](https://data.bnf.fr/11895291/jean-louis_carra/)

**Jean-Louis Carra: *Histoire de la Moldavie et la Valachie* (Istoria Moldovei și a Țării Românești)**

The work of the French traveler Jean Louis Carra, *Istoria Moldovei și a Țării Românești* (The History of Moldavia and of Wallachia), first edition (published in French and printed in Bouillon, in the year 1777), has as major parts: *the historical part* and *the dissertation*. The historical part of this work is not without importance, yet the information about the history of Moldavia has been taken over almost totally from Dimitrie Cantemir, and the information about the history of Wallachia from other contemporary authors of his time (especially since it seems that in Wallachia he had not even traveled and had not known it directly). Thus, after a small historical introduction about Wallachia and Moldavia (Carra, 1777: 3-5), Carra dealt with the history of the two Romanian Principalities approaching in parallel diverse aspects structured under the form of chapters such as: *Despre Moldova* (About Moldavia) (old geography, enthronement of the reigning princes)-(Carra, 1777: 6-26), *Despre Țara Românească* (About Wallachia) (old geography, recognition of the Turkish dominion, reigning princes' authority)-(Carra, 1777: 27-60), *Familia Cantemir* (Cantemir Family)-(Carra, 1777: 61-86), *Familia Ghica* (Ghica Family)-(Carra, 1777: 87-92), *Familia Petriceicu, Duca și Cantacuzino* (The Family Petriceicu, Duca and Cantacuzino)-(Carra, 1777: 93-100), *Continuarea istoriei Moldovei și Țării Românești* (Continuation of the History of Moldavia and Wallachia)-(Carra, 1777: 101-110), *Familia Mavrocordat* (The Mavrocordatos) (who reigned sometimes in Wallachia, sometimes in Moldavia, up to this point)-(Carra, 1777: 111-137), *Familia Brâncoveanu* (The Brancovan Family)- (Carra, 1777: 136-148), *Urmarea istoriei Moldovei și Țării Românești* (Sequel to the History of Moldavia and Wallachia) - (Carra, 1777: 149-161).

Beside these historical aspects, in the second part of this work, entitled *Disertație asupra stării actuale a Moldovei și a Țării Românești* (Dissertation on the Present State of Moldavia and Wallachia), Carra presents, beside other information (population and habits, governance and justice, princely dignitaries, about the character of the Moldovians and the Wallachians, political reflections), also some observations regarding the physical-geographic particularities of Moldavia and Wallachia (their delimitation, their physical-geographic position, their vicinities, the main rivers, their climate, soil, flora and fauna), and significant details about agriculture and the rural economy, accentuating in this context the rich economic resources of the Romanian Principalities (Carra, 1777: 162-187; Cernovodeanu, 2004: 11).<sup>1</sup>

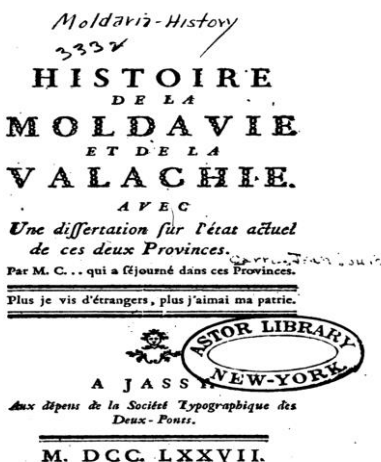
Thus, *Disertația* (The Dissertation) was divided by the author into several chapters and subchapters presenting and dealing with: *Geografia modernă* (Modern Geography)-(Carra, 1777: 162-164), *Clima* (Climate)-(Carra, 1777: 166-167), *Solul* (Soil)- (Carra, 1777: 168-171), *Populația și obiceiurile* (Population and Customs)- (Carra, 1777: 172-178), *Agricultura, economia rurală, negoțul și artele* (Agriculture, Rural Economy, Trade and Arts)-(Carra, 1777: 179-187), *Venituri* (Revenues)-(Carra, 1777: 188-189), *Cârmuirea și dreptatea* (Governance and Justice)-(Carra, 1777: 190-197), *Dregătorii domnului* (Măreția Curții sale) (The Reigning Prince's Dignitaries. The Greatness of His Court)-(Carra, 1777: 198-208), *Despre firea Moldovenilor și a Valahilor* (About the Character of the Moldavians and the Wallachians)-(Carra, 1777: 209-219), *Reflecții politice asupra Moldovei și a Țării Românești* (Political Reflections about Moldavia

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<sup>1</sup> See Annex - Jean-Louis CARRA, *Disertație asupra stării actuale a Moldovei și a Țării Românești* (Dissertation on the Present State of Moldavia and Wallachia).



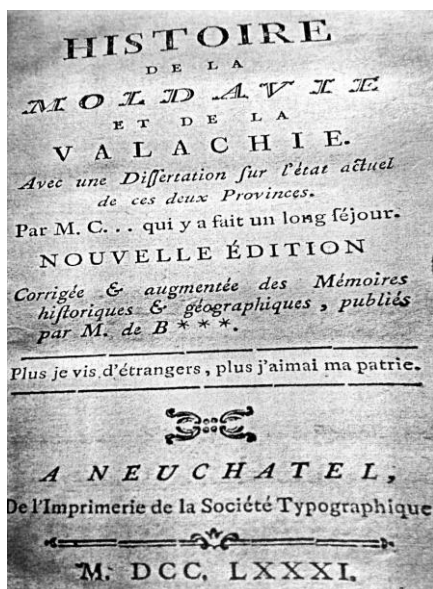
and Wallachia)-(Carra, 1777: 220-223). The work of the French traveler Jean Louis Carra, *Istoria Moldovei și a Țării Românești* (The History of Moldavia and of Wallachia) has, beside these constitutive, essential elements (the historical part and the dissertation) a Dedication (*Epistolă închinătoare*)-(by which this work is dedicated to Prince Louis de Rohan)-(Carra, 1777: V-VIII), and a Preliminary Discourse (*Discours preliminar*)-(Carra, 1777: X-XXX), followed by Contents (*Cuprins*)-(Carra, 1777: XXXI-XXXII).



Cover of the work of Jean-Louis Carra, *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie, avec une dissertation sur l'état actuel des ces deux Provinces*, Iassy, 1777 (first edition 223 p.)

As we have already mentioned, *Istoria Moldovei și a Țării Românești*, was published in several editions in French (Paris-1778, Neuchatel-1781) and had several translations in German and Russian (1789, 1791, 1821). There are also translations in Romanian of Carra's work: one realized in the year 1857 by N. T. Orășanu, published in Bucharest, and a more recent one, of the year 2011 by Veronica Grecu published in Iași (Carra, 2011, 197 p). Fragments of Carra's work, especially of his dissertation, were translated in Romanian as well in the corpus dedicated to the foreign travelers about the Romanian countries (*Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. X, part I., 2000: 242-255), and his dissertation appeared in French in the same monumental work (*Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. X, part I., 2000: 1369-1379).

We shall remind here that Jean-Louis Carra's work *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie. Avec une dissertation sur l'état actuel des ces deux Provinces*, second edition, published at Neuchatel in the year 1781 has included in its composition also *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur la Valachie* (*Historical and Geographic Memoirs about Wallachia*) of the German Friedrich Wilhelm von Bauer (Carra, 1781: 203-368). Similarly Bauer's *Memoirs* can be found included also in the Romanian translation published in Iași in the year 2011 (Carra, 2011: 109-197). The French man's work does not represent a history, as its title suggests, and neither is Jean Louis Carra a historian or even an encyclopedist (in the more general sense of the term), yet this work has been in the attention of those who have been and are interested in the image of the Romanians, as it appears delineated by the foreign travelers (Carra, 2011: 7).



Cover of the work of Jean-Louis Carra, *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie. Avec une dissertation sur l'état actuel des ces deux Provinces*, Neuchatel, 1781 (second edition 368 p.)



Cover of the work of Jean-Louis Carra, *Istoria Moldovei și a Țării Românești*, translation by Veronica Grecu, notes by Veronica Grecu and Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, foreword by Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, European Institute, Iași, 2011, 197 p. (translation into Romanian of the second edition of Jean Louis Carra's work published at Neuchatel in the year 1781)

The merit of this work, which is not, as we have just stated, a history, is that it represents the first *history* written in a language of international circulation (French) and which makes known and accessible to all, its information about Wallachia and Moldavia during an epoch when they were little known in Europe and in the World and arousing at that moment the interest of more and more European powers. The too short time that he spent in the Romanian area (1775-1776) did not permit Jean Louis Carra to know the Romanians well enough and this is why his work represents a compilation, especially in its first part, where it is devoid of originality. It is not an erudite work, but just a work of a French traveler who passed through and lived a short while in Moldavia and was not able to understand deeply the Romanian realities, the triggers of an area situated at the boundary between two fundamentally opposite worlds, the Western one and the Eastern one (Carra, 2011: 8, 12, 14).

### ***History of Jean Louis Carra in Romanian historiography***

The work of Jean Louis Carra, *Istoria Moldovei și a Țării Românești*, as a whole, his life and activity, in general, his presence in the Romanian area, diverse aspects related to the taking over of the historical information from Dimitrie Cantemir, the criticism of his work benefited of increased attention from the Romanian and foreign historiography throughout time (Șadoveanu, 1910: 328-332; Mihordea, 1939: 239-234; Pascu, 1940: 1-80; Iorga, 1981: 379-381; Trenard, 1983: 183-193; Iorga, 1995: 32-35; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. X, part I., 2000: 234-242 (*Critical observations*), 255-259; Isar, 2005: 12-14; Carra, 2011: 8-14; Lemny, 2000).

A quite objective criticism of Jean Louis Carra's work came especially from the Romanians' greatest historian, Nicolae Iorga. The Romanian historian admits the special importance of the French who arrived as teachers (preceptors) or princely secretaries in Moldavia and Wallachia, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, their special role in spreading the European civilization and culture, the French language and civilization. However, among these French preceptors taking care of the education of the Romanian rulers' sons, there was also one who wanted to take revenge on those who - according to his own testimony - had not rewarded him enough for his services and so he wrote, following his experience in Moldavia (1775-1776, in the service of the reigning prince Grigore-Alexandru Ghica (1774-1777), a work entitled *Istoria Moldovei și Țării Românești* (The History of Moldavia and Wallachia), appeared in the year 1777. This French man, who later on was one of the contributors and pamphleteers of the 1789 Revolution and ended up on the scaffold, an episode putting an end to an agitated and discontent life - shows Nicolae Iorga, was called Carra. Thus, the author of the *History...*, according to the opinion of the Romanian historian, believed himself an erudite, making appreciations and observations about the history and ethnography of the Romanian lands, without knowing anything more but the Iași (the capital of Moldavia) and the roads leading to this city. The French traveler showed that that the Wallachians and the Moldavians, even though they believed they had Italian blood in their veins, this was actually only the blood of some Italians deported for their crimes and who, consequently, had left as heritage to their followers only vice and cowardice (Iorga, 1995: 31-32).

„The author believes himself an erudite concerning the history and the ethnography of these lands out of which actually he only knows the Moldavian capital, Iași, and the great roads leading to it. He consequently speaks about the Dacians and about the Romans; he affirms that, if the poor Wallachians have Roman blood in their veins, they owe it to some miserable Italians who, like the mine convicts of the Antilles and Cayenne, had been deported for their crimes and had left as a heritage to their lineage vice and cowardice.” (Iorga, 1995: 31-32).

Nicolae Iorga shows in this context all the mistakes of Jean Louis Carra, mentioning that he took over without discrimination the geographic information from Dimitrie Cantemir, from *Descriptio Moldaviae*, without checking them, taking over, in this context, also the errors and the mistakes, which are therefore accentuated by his ignorance, the history of Moldavia being known to the French author only from a manuscript of an incomplete chronicle of Miron Costin dating from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and from some anecdotes circulating during the period contemporary to him, and that of Wallachia from the information taken over from Bauer. Other aspects noticed by the Romanian historian in Carra's work are related to the disproportion of certain chapters, appreciating that the work as a whole represents a pamphlet that could only lead to the formation of a *strange idea* about the Romanians' history. Nicolae Iorga does not overlook either the mistaken comparisons and the negative appreciations made by the French author regarding the Romanian villages and towns, the social realities in Moldavia and Wallachia, the way of living and the life, all these being, evidently, completely different from the Western ones; the French author actually does not understand the state of affairs existing in the European East, which had been for a long time under Ottoman dominion, he does not understand the fact that here, in the Romanian area, there were frequent conflicts between Russia, Turkey and Austria, which troubled and affected the normality of life. The Romanian historian shows, in this way, that often the offenses expressed by Carra against the Romanians are unfounded and unjustified.

The French traveler does not like the Romanian dances, which seem to him naive, the dancers' costumes, which seem ridiculous to him, the Romanian music which he does not understand, the language which, despite having Latin resonance, is *barbarian*, the peasants whom he considers *lazy and unsociable*, without knowing their true problems. Carra criticizes in the pages of his work, according to Nicolae Iorga's opinion, which is partly true, almost the entire Romanian world, reproaching to it the Eastern despotism of the ruler, the boyars' traffic of influence, the judges' venality, expressing severe criticisms regarding the institutions, the boyars' lack of culture, not understanding actually the Romanian tradition, the Romanian customs, not understanding the fact that, here, there was another world, continually submitted to exterior pressures and to the will of others and a part of these defects of the society were present in the West as well. Moreover, the French traveler shows that these Romanian provinces should rather belong to Austria or Prussia. The Romanian historian shows, in this context, that actually a personal problem that the French traveler Carra would have had with the ruler of Moldavia who had hired him and to whom he had answered with ingratitude, triggered consequences on a whole people (Iorga, 1995: 32-34).

„This was the condition of the poor Danubian countries described by Carra; this was their horoscope made by him for them, but this is not just because he takes pride in his revolutionary liberalism, but because he was trying to take revenge on Grigore Ghica, a Phanariote with a rather Romanian education who had used his Moldavian rule to try some reforms in the sense of the Western philosophy, a patriot who fell victim to the Austrian politics because he tried to prevent the abduction of Bukovina. Carra spares no accusation at the address of his former master: according to him, Ghica is the creation of the king of Prussia, who indeed had recommended him in order to be appointed, who lets himself be corrupted and overpasses smilingly proved corruption acts; he is a mean thrifty man who hides his silverware and tablecloths putting in front of his guests broken glasses and dirty napkins; he is unable to give laws to protect the artists as his neighbor of Wallachia, Alexandru Ipsilanti, does; he boasts to have founded a secondary school where he called the best Greek teachers and he only uses there but two or three ignorant monks. But maybe, in order to be able to appreciate with impartiality the merits of those whom you have served, you need to start by not being ingrate to them.” (Iorga, 1995: 34-35).

Other historians and researchers have shown, in time, even before Nicolae Iorga, the defamatory character of Jean Louis Carra's work but also the despising words uttered, consequently, against the Romanians (Sadoveanu, 1910: 328-332; Mihordea, 1939: 239-234; Pascu, 1940: 1-80; Trenard, 1983: 183-193; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. X, part I., 2000: 234-242, 255-259; Isar, 2005: 12-14; Carra, 2011: 8-14).

### Conclusion

Among the works of French travelers about the Romanians from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century particularly interesting are the one elaborated by Jean-Louis Carra (1742-1793), coming from Burgundy (France), a novel writer with philosophical preoccupations who worked for the Moldavian reigning prince Grigore III Alexandru Ghica in the year 1775-1776, and who wrote *Histoire de la Moldovie et de la Valachie* (printed in Bouillon and not in Iași, as it appears on the title page), in the year 1777, with new editions respectively in Paris, 1778, and Neuchatel, 1781, and German translations printed respectively in Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1789, and Nürnberg, 1821, and a Russian one, in 1791.

The work of the French traveler Jean Louis Carra, *Istoria Moldovei și a Țării Românești* (The History of Moldavia and of Wallachia-1777), first edition (published in French), has as major parts: *the historical part* and *the dissertation*. The historical part of this work is not without importance, yet the information about the history of Moldavia has been taken over almost totally from Dimitrie Cantemir, and the information about the history of Wallachia from other contemporary authors of his time (especially since it seems that in Walachia he had not even traveled and had not known it directly).

Beside these historical aspects, in the second part of this work, entitled *Disertație asupra stării actuale a Moldovei și a Țării Românești* (Dissertation on the Present State of Moldavia and Wallachia), Carra presents, beside other information (population and habits, governance and justice, princely dignitaries, about the character of the Moldovians and the Wallachians, political reflections), also some observations regarding the physical-geographic particularities of Moldavia and Wallachia (their delimitation, their physical-geographic position, their vicinities, the main rivers, their climate, soil, flora and fauna), and significant details about

agriculture and the rural economy, accentuating in this context the rich economic resources of the Romanian Principalities. The work of the French traveler Jean Louis Carra, *Istoria Moldovei și a Țării Românești* (The History of Moldavia and of Wallachia) has, beside these constitutive, essential elements (the historical part and the dissertation) a Dedication (*Epistolă închinătoare*)-(by which this work is dedicated to Prince Louis de Rohan), and a Preliminary Discourse (*Discurs preliminar*), followed by Contents (*Cuprins*). As we have already mentioned, *Istoria Moldovei și a Țării Românești*, was published in several editions in French (Paris-1778, Neuchatel-1781) and had several translations in German and Russian (1789, 1791, 1821). There are also translations in Romanian of Carra's work: one realized in the year 1857 by N. T. Orășanu, published in Bucharest, and a more recent one, of the year 2011 by Veronica Grecu published in Iași.

Fragments of Carra's work, especially of his dissertation, were translated in Romanian as well in the corpus dedicated to the foreign travelers about the Romanian countries, and his dissertation appeared in French in the same monumental work.

We shall remind here that Jean-Louis Carra's work *Histoire de la Moldovie et de la Valachie. Avec une dissertation sur l'état actuel des ces deux Provinces*, second edition, published at Neuchatel in the year 1781 has included in its composition also *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur la Valabique* (*Historical and Geographic Memoirs about Wallachia*) of the German Friedrich Wilhelm von Bauer. Similarly Bauer's *Memoirs* can be found included also in the Romanian translation published in Iași in the year 2011. The French man's work does not represent a history, as its title suggests, and neither is Jean Louis Carra a historian or even an encyclopedist (in the more general sense of the term), yet this work has been in the attention of those who have been and are interested in the image of the Romanians, as it appears delineated by the foreign travelers.

The merit of this work, which is not, as we have just stated, a history, is that it represents the first *history* written in a language of international circulation (French) and which makes known and accessible to all, its information about Wallachia and Moldavia during an epoch when they were little known in Europe and in the World and arousing at that moment the interest of more and more European powers. The too short time that he spent in the Romanian area (1775-1776) did not permit Jean Louis Carra to know the Romanians well enough and this is why his work represents a compilation, especially in its first part, where it is devoid of originality. It is not an erudite work, but just a work of a French traveler who passed through and lived a short while in Moldavia and was not able to understand deeply the Romanian realities, the triggers of an area situated at the boundary between two fundamentally opposite worlds, the Western one and the Eastern one. A quite objective criticism of Jean Louis Carra's work came especially from the Romanians' greatest historian, Nicolae Iorga.

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Annex - Jean Louis Carra, *Dissertation the current state of Moldavia and Wallachia (1781)*

### Modern Geography

The neighbor provinces, Moldavia and Wallachia are situated between the coordinates 41 and 47 degrees Eastern latitude and 44 and 49 degrees Southern longitude. Siret River divides and cuts these two provinces from north-west to south-east. Nistru River, Podolia and Polish Pocuția delimitate Moldavia to the north-east, Bessarabia and Danube to the south-east, and Wallachia and Transylvania to the south-west. Wallachia has to the south and south-east Danube River and Bulgaria, to the north-west Transylvania and to the north-east Siret River and Moldavia. The extension of these two provinces is almost equal in length and width. Wallachia can have around eighty French leagues in length on seventy in width.

Moldavia has almost the same. The Prut River known by the antiques under the name of Hierasu, is the greatest river of Moldavia, which divides this province in two, from north-west to south east, going to discharge in Danube, at a few miles from Reni, city of Bugeac or Bessarabia. Wallachia has a greater number of rivers, mostly all of them coming from Transylvania's mountains, cross the Principality, also from north-west to south-east, and go to discharge, some of them in Danube, others in Siret. Iassi, situated on the river banks of Bahlui, which discharges in Prut six miles far from it, and not on the Prut River, as all the geographers had considered before, is the capital of Moldavia and the residence of the Prince. Bucharest, situated on river banks of Dâmbovița, which discharges in Danube, is the capital of Wallachia and also the residence of the Prince. Grigore Ghica, fifty years old and who was first the ruler of Moldavia, by will of God and Prince of Persia, still rules over this country. Alexandru Ipsilanti, almost thirty-five years old and who was made ruler by clemency of God and his own money rules over Wallachia. These submitted rulers come from Greek families. Both of them were great dragomans or translators of the Porte. We shall talk about the intrigues at their courts and about everything that can help form a clear and correct idea about the ruling of the two provinces. Let us start by knowing the climate, the soil, inhabitants, customs, agriculture, rural economy, trade and the present state of the physical things from this almost unknown part of Europe.

### Climate

The climate is almost similar as in Burgundy or Champagne, but slightly colder in winter and warmer in summer. The air has no either that flexibility, nor the strength that defines our Western climates. You can understand this from the melancholy and lethargy of the inhabitants. The multitude of moors and standing waters from plains and vales, the thickness and depth of the forests, the natural humidity of so many uncultivated lands, that are all the time covered with the dried and putrid grass of the past year, are other causes that damage the air in these types of climate. The main causes come from the position of the country which faces the sun, that makes the difference between the customs, dispositions and tastes of the peoples living in a clement region or who are closer to the poles or the equator.

### Soil

The plains 'and vales' soil is, usually, composed of of black and clayey soil, less fertile than the ones from Ukraine, Poland or Russia, therefore being good for grains, especially for the wheat culture. (...). The hills', flanks'and mountains' soil is generally turning to grey, this meaning a greater mixture of saltpeter and sand, being less rocky; it is arid only on the mountains which hide inside them minerals; all over in other region, the land's surface is covered with herbs, flowers and little trees. In the region near Bassarabia and Transylvania there are flanks covered with hornbeams, roses, plum trees, apple trees, cherry trees, pear trees, malberry trees and wild grape vines, mixed randomly, and plains covered with thousands of flowers, mainly marigolds, pasque flowers, basil and so on. This diverse and indefinite mixture of so many riches, the simple and bright aspect of the



wild nature inspires a deep regret to the sensible traveler: the one to see this beautiful country in the Turks' hands; the Prut river banks offer an enchanting view, because they are almost all adorned with tall trees; endlessly looping, either alongside the banks, or through the middle of a deep and thick forest, the river seems that he comes back all the time, as if doesn't want to leave these wonderful places. I have seen almost all the Europe's regions, but, truly, I do not know any other region in which the division of the plains, hills and mountains to be so good for agriculture or with such a view like in Moldavia or Wallachia. The nature is greater and more grandiose in Switzerland, but here is sweeter, more beautiful, if this phrase can be used. There can be seen very few pines or fir trees, an endless ornament of the Russia's and Moscow's plains, where nature has a wild and sad face. Forests are full of wild strawberries and violets, of nut trees and blackthorns; here there are a lot of high trees, good for ship building; the alder, the maple tree, the elm, the field ash and the oak are very often seen here; the majority of the woods situated in the plain have from place to place clearings where the gypsies live, kind of wanderers who live in tribes like Tatars. Among the mountains that shelter minerals, the ones that separate Transylvania from Moldavia and from Wallachia are the richest, but the Turks do not allow to be exploited. The Motru and Bistrița rivers have tiny gold wires which the gypsies look for, an occupation that facilitates their annual tax pay.

### **Population and traditions**

On an area of 560 leagues, which is the total surface of Wallachia and Moldavia, there are only one hundred seventy thousand tax payers, seventy thousand in Moldavia and one hundred thousand in Wallachia. The number of inhabitants, men, women and children, in these two provinces can amount to approximately five hundred thousand. The biggest towns are not at all surrounded by walls and they barely resemble the poorest towns in France or Germany. The villages are nothing more but several cottages, put together, with a width of six or seven feet and having the same height, scattered in a valley or a forest and, usually, without a garden, a well or a yard. The houses in the town are built with beams put together with clay and cow dung and they are plastered, both on the inside and on the outside, with a sort of grey-white clay; the bigger houses, those of the boyars, especially in Iași and Bucharest are built in stone; most of them have the shape of a cross and they have only one floor with a long hall in the shape of a cross which, at each corner, has a small apartment where the owner and his family live. As furniture, they have wooden boards covering two thirds of the room, at height of one foot or one and a half foot from the ground covered with wool or straw mattresses, according to the man's wealth, coated with fabric or painted linen and with pillows from the same fabric. Some have wooden chairs or tables, but this is an European luxury, reserved for the foreigners; because the Moldavians, Wallachians and Greeks spend their day with their legs crossed on the sofa, eating around the table, with their back arched, looking like monkeys in the jungle, which is very funny to watch. Their food is usually very bad cooked, with a lot of butter and sheep grease, often sweet to the taste and not very flavoured. They almost never eat stake, except venison, which is so dry that it cannot be eaten, no matter how hungry you might be.

After they eat, they smoke their cigars and then they go to sleep. If a wedding happens to take place or it is a day of public entertainment or a day spent with the family, they get drunk, kiss, dance and fight. Their dance is very funny; they reunite in a circle, men and women, holding hands and stepping to the front; the men's long and red pants hang on their legs and their heels making them look like barred pigeons; the ladies, covered from their shoulders to their waist with fur with hairs on the outside, grotesquely pushing their bellies to the front; in this position, their arms have regulated moves, as if they were pulled by a thread from behind; their feet move to the front, to the back, to the back, to the front; their backs are crooked, their necks are stiff and their look is dumb, they follow the rhythm, from right to left, from left to right, dancing slowly and awkward like a tired mule that spins grinding censers. I confess that since the moment I saw this new type of dance, I have always wondered if Moldavians are the ones who taught the bears how to dance or vice versa.

I had the honour to see prince Repnin and a few gentlemen of the embassy when they attired in Iasi, in 1775, politely mingling with these bear dancers after a great feast. This sight made me see things and I was on the verge of believing in Ovidiu's metamorphosis. It can easily be understood that the music is as awful as their dance, some gypsies having the task to tickle their ears. The violin, the kobza and a pan-pipe, which they pull up and down in their lips, are the instruments of the country. The peasant's clothes are thick abas with a shade of grey, cut as a shirt with long sleeves. The townsfolk, the merchants and the Greek, Moldavian and Wallachian boyars wear short coats and a sort of very long caftans, with loose trousers and yellow or red shoes. Their hats are shaped like a cylinder and they are ended in four flatted corners which are decorated with small skins of Astrakhan lambs sacrificed at birth. All this shows bad taste and encourage natural laziness of these peoples and I find it very repulsive. As a matter of fact, an extremely amusing thing that the slaves in fur coats have is the fact that they consider their clothing to be the most noble and wonderful; they say that the other Europeans resemble acrobats on a rope with their short coats like acrobats on a rope. A Greek on his horse, with the iron set too high for him and the knees held like a triangle, moving his head like a plaster dummy, thinking he is the most important person. At the court of the Moldavian and Wallachian rulers it is not allowed to wear a hat having the same colour as the ruler or his sons, which is white. I saw a young Moldavian boyar sitting fifteen days in prison and enduring almost two hundred whips lashes for wearing more tasteful clothes than Grigore Ghica, while this poor slave, dressed like a prince (as field marshal Romanzov used to say) leaves homicide and theft unpunished in exchange of several hundred coins; that much did the gluttony and barbarous ignorance of these ridiculous kings spread.

#### **Agriculture, rural economy, trade and arts**

The cereals that are usually grown in these provinces are wheat, rye, barley and maize, a sort of Turkish wheat. The way in which land is chosen and worked is so much ignored that it is not a surprise the fact that the crops and the quality of the soil are moderate. At most, forty percent of the land is fallowed and made into tillable land. The peasant barely gets what he needs so that he does not starve. Poverty and idleness or better said the annihilation of the human being in this place seem to be unreal when you see that the forests, fields, pastures, rivers, ponds, mountains are shared.; it is no wonder that this happened, taking into consideration the effects of the Eastern despotism, refined by the Greeks, both slaves and tyrants. As soon as wheat is harvested, they step on it on the field with their horses and gather it in holes dug in the ground. Before the last war, the keel of wheat, the unit of the country, which weighs two hundred sixty okas, that is five hundred eighty-five pounds, as two pounds weighed a quarter of an oka, was sold for two Turkish piastre or five French pounds; a keel of rye, one and a half piastre and a keel of barley, one piastre. After the pace, all these goods doubled their value. The vine is significantly grown and traded in this country; the wines are light and watery, but they taste good. Odobești wine from Moldavia and Piatra wine from Wallachia are the best. Especially that they can be improved, because the vine grower does not know what it means to bury the vine or to hoe it up two or three times a year like it is done in Burgundy; he only raised a little bit the soil around the stump once a year and then lets grass grow all over the place. The biggest wine trade is made in Poland and Ukraine, the wine being sent even in Moscow.

Here you can also find a lot of melons, watermelons, plums, peaches, apricots and other fruits; the best are found near the villages of *Orikert*, *Zafert și Krutchna*; in Constantinople trade it is made with dried fruits. In Wallachia, tobacco is grown; the one from *Mountain* and *Berzan*, near Siret is twice as expensive as the one in Poland, an oka having a value between four and five coins, that is six or seven French livres. The sales in Turkey, the country of Tartars and Poland are significant. Flax and hemp are also grown, but only for the country. The plant called *weyd*, used to obtain blue paint, grows well in the two provinces, also the plant called sumac, which is used to prepare the

morocco, grows well here or the one known as the *yellow grass*, a sort of wild strawberry used to paint morocco in yellow. This yellow grass grows on the banks of Prut, near Fălciu, not far from the land of Tatars. Here there are also a lot of herds kept by Armenians or Jews. Almost thirty thousand cattle leave from Walachia to Bosnia and from Bosnia to Constantinople; twenty thousand cattle and five, six thousand horses leave Moldavia, passing through Poland to Silezia, Moravia and Brandebourg. The cattle, both big and small, and the horses are left in the open air, both in summer and in winter. From time to time they are lead to places with food and salt. The price of regular horses varies between twelve and twenty piastre; the one of a hussar horse is between thirty and thirty-five piastre; there aren't any big horses here.

Two oxen cost between twelve and fifteen piastre, two big and fat oxen, between twenty-five and thirty piastre, and an oka of meat sells in Iasi for three or four Turkish coins.

The sheep herds are countless, but they are kept more for their milk, out of which butter and cottage cheese are made, than for their wool which is long and thick. Nevertheless, near Vlașca, in Wallachia, a sort of wool can be found which is used for the manufacture of felt with a length of thirty cubits for each piece. This felt is made in Afumați, in Wallachia, three leagues from Bucharest. Several million of sheep are sold each year in Constantinople with the price of one leu per capita. In Moldavia there are very few pigs, but in Wallachia there are many and important trade is made with Hungary. In Wallachia, trade is also made with rabbit skin with the Germans and England. The bees, which are carefully looked after, have their swarms in forests or tree trunks. Their honey, which is almost entirely white, is sold in Constantinople and the wax in Venice; but, a wonderful product of this country is a type of green wax, produced by a type of bees smaller than the regular ones. This wax is taken from a species of trees where those insects lay it. Scented candles are made from it and when they are lit they give a delightful smell. This wax is very rare, but more could be collected by growing trees from which it is collected and attracting these bees in the right places. Up to one hundred thousand boulders of salt can be extracted from the salt mines of Moldavia, each weighing approximately one hundred okas. Salt is sold in the country and in Poland and many ships with salt go to Constantinople, too. Twelve leagues from Bucharest, the salt that is sold in Anatolia and Constantinople can be found. It is transported on Danube. There are three salt mines in Wallachia and one in Moldavia; the mountains at the border are rich in pyrite out of which brimstone can be extracted and vitriol is produced. Near Bucharest there is a village where felt is made, felt that has a length of twenty-two cubits and which is generally painted in blue or grey. This village is called Afumați, the one that was previously mentioned.

The gypsies are the only blacksmiths of the country and they have a sort of smithcraft which they carry with them. Several thousands of these poor souls live on woods and make wooden plates and spoons which are sold to the merchants for their shops. They weave their own slippers with a wooden hook. There are no other foreign artisans except those who left the country; in Bucharest and Iași there are wheelwrights, tailors, surgeons and shoemakers according to the European fashion. Nitre is everywhere on the two provinces; the one in Moldavia is better than the one on Poland. The forests are full of wood taken down by the wind, but no one seems to have thought of creating a factory. The good wood for the manufacture of ships is generally used only to obtain coal which is taken to Constantinople.

Brăila, on the Danube, is the most important port in Wallachia and Galati, once having the name of Ancyre Galatium, situated on the same river, is the biggest port in Moldavia. In these two towns, trade has the most significant value.

### **Income**

The regular income of Moldavia amount to approximately three million Tours livres. The ones of Wallachia are a half bigger; each of the two rulers pays the High Porte a tribute, the first one pays one thousand bags, that is one thousand two hundred Tours livres, and the second, one thousand five hundred bags, that is one thousand eight hundred livres, without counting the gifts

that they are force to give to the high officials of the seraglio to keep their ruling. This income sometimes amounts to even bigger values, depending on the ruler's will and wit. For example, Grigore Ghica, had already had the idea to collect three taxes after peace from the inhabitants of this poor country, although that the Turks and the Russians specified in the treaty that no taxes shall be asked from the two provinces for a period of two years and the sultan did not ask anything from the ruler. Here it is, in detail, the regular income of Moldavia:

-the tax on the Odobești vine, four Turkish coins for ten okas, brings every year 140 000 Turkis piastre

-the tax on the other vines, almost 100 000

-the tax on big and small cattle approximately 200 000

-the tax on horses approximately 30 000

-the tax on bees, the other cereals and other small things 30.000

-the customs in Galați, Mohilău and Soroca, approximately 200.000

-salt mines, approximately 100.000

-annual tax 250.000.

.....  
1 050 000 piastre

### **Ruling and justice**

Anyone who knows something about Eastern despotism can imagine how the ruling that I am about to describe was; There is no point trying to make a clear impression about it; they had to be a witness of it to understand how much these practices can be refined by the corrupt and debased Greeks.

Moldavia and Wallachia and all the Ottoman Empire, have no written or printed law. All judgement is made according to the whim or interest of the prince or according to the plans of its ministers; the one who pays more to the favourite of His Highness wins. All reasoning, all fair proofs in a cause have no weight for the judges. The sentences are orally given and very rarely they are written. If somehow they are written, it does not acquire great importance, as there is no clerk or office to keep them. Seeing the same judgment started 10 times under different rulers was nothing out of the ordinary. I shall remind some examples of the sort of justice that is made at the court of Grigore Ghica. A merchant from Iasi, Nicoletti, called before the ruler one of his debtors, for the amount of six hundred gold coins, amount that was concluded and signed; with this proof, the debtor firstly receive the sentence from the ruler himself to pay the aforementioned amount. The prime minister, who protected the debtor, made the allusion that, in order to get revenge on his creditor and to erase the debt, all he had to do was to pay three hundred gold coins. This calculation concluded and signed in Mr. Nicoletti's registry was declared false by the same person who decided that it was fair. The three hundred gold coins are divided between the ruler, the first and the second minister and the poor creditor was reduced to silence so that he could keep the rest of his fortune. A second example: a young Moldavian boyar, named Balș, who travelled in the German Country and who had the misfortune of not being fair, that is as treacherous as the ruler, calls to justice one of his friends for the lease of the salt mines, for the amount of fourteen or fifteen thousand piastre which was owed to him. At the first indictment of the opposite party, Mr. Balș, without even being listened, was convicted *on his highness own authority* not to receive anything. This young conspirator who knows how the Greek justice works, goes to meet the second minister of the ruler and offers him two hundred gold coins if he can help him win the trial in which the justice, indeed, was on his side. This second minister succeeded in allowing Mr. Balș to defend himself.

His proofs convince all the judges of the Divan; the ruler himself is persuaded and orders Mr. Balș's friends to pay the amount. Then, the prime minister who protected Mr.

Balș's enemies advise them to arouse the interest of the prince's doctor, a student from Constantinople, by giving him one thousand five hundred ducats; they do this thing. The final decision is not known because he had not arrived there yet when I left these fine men. A third example: a French officer who made great favours to a Greek, his brother in law, who was living in Kronsdat, in Transylvania ever since the war, was called by this Greek in Iași, at the beginning of peace, promising him that only the best things would happen. He gives him an untitled piece of land for a period of five years for the amount of four hundred piastre per year with the right to build whatever he wanted. The gentleman himself concludes this agreement in writing for the French officer. The officer spends almost two thousand piastre to fallow, sow and build on the land. He opens a tile factory; this deserted land is transformed by the French officer, but the old Greek, his protector and so-called friend, gets sick, loses his mind and dreams that all that was made was his and that the French officer is a simple lessee. After six months he tells him to calculate the amount that he had to pay him for everything that he had done, notifying him that he would pay in good faith all the money that was going to be taken from the rural economy which had not brought him any income yet and from his factories that were opened only two months ago.

Amazed by such a method, the French uses his logic, invokes the gratitude that the Greek owed him, the agreement they made, the rights he had, the trust that was given to all foreigners attracted in another country and, finally, the honour, his word, all the words that were good for the Europeans, but pure sophism for Greeks; they do not know what honour is, they don't even have a word for it in their language, and they never appreciate gratitude; all was in vain for the poor French officer. He sent memoirs to the ruler against his brother in law. No one dared to interfere in this matter; I was the only one who took his side. I told his highness that if he wanted to take the factories and arrangements, he should at least be compensated with their value in money. The ruler agreed to all my proofs, but still the cause cannot be solved. Finally, suspecting that the decision was too difficult for such judges, I wrote a judgement letter which they followed as such and with which the prince consented to. So, here it is, the opposite party had to pay the French a sum of money. This judgement had no effect, though; the French officer's brother in law swore he would not pay anything and he would go to Constantinople, to reveal to the High Porte all the treachery that he had done in favour of the Russians during the last war. Then I left his highness who, in order to show his Greek gratitude, kept for himself half of the amount that he agreed to give me for the way back. After this, if Mr. Rousseau ever comes to say that the barbarian peoples are better than the civilised ones, I shall ask him to live one more year in the forests of Moldavia.

### ***The ruler's officials***

#### **The Grandeur of His Court**

The rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia have the title of Serene Highness which was given by the Republic of Venice and which, from that moment on, the other princes of Europe cared to give it to them, although that they could only be seen as simple lessees of the Ottoman Empire and not as the equals of the Italian and German princes. Their first official is called *the great court marshal* and he is a sort of prime minister. His daily job is to enter and leave incessantly the big room where the ruler is holding a big and black scepter with a silver club on top with which he makes noise. All this to-and-fro happens because it is necessary to inform the ruler on the decision of the Divan, composed by twelve boyars, which is held in a neighboring room and to inform the Divan of the ruler's decision. When he gets tired of these walks, he rests in a separate room where he receives guests and grievance. There is a second and third court marshal and they too have a scepter; but they are subordinate officials. The second minister is called *căminar*, he does not have a black scepter and he has the duty to know the political secrets of the ruler; then the great logothete or the great chancellor, without a chancellor is next. There is a second and third logothete who are a sort of

rapporteurs of the judgment causes; the great steward or the great treasurer who have the duty to pay from the treasury; there are the second and third stewards who have the duty pay from the prince's treasury the amounts of money that he approves. The great chamberer or the first chamberlain has the duty to buy fur and slippers for his highness and his family; the great and small cupbearer or the persons who pour into the prince's glasses one a year; the great equerry whose job is to take care of twenty or thirty horses that are in his highness' stables

The first and second steward are a sort of intendent of the ruler's house; the great ataman is the general of the cavalry who can use whistlers, drummers, lieutenants, officers and under-officers to twenty-seven, twenty-eight people dressed in blue; the great cavalry commander who was previously mentioned; in Wallachia, this high office is known as the great ban; he has the same honours, but a greater power. Aga or the general lieutenant of the police whose duty is to rob the merchants, the craftsmen and courtesans and to bow three times before his highness, kissing the sole of his boot when he goes to walk on his white horse. This Aga always has a regiment of the soldiers, dressed in green and another eighteen dressed in red, form together with the cavalry, an army of seventy-seven people armed with muskets, most of them without a plate and with knives and without handles. The artillery has three iron cannonballs. When the ruler goes to church or for a walk to show himself to his subjects, he is usually followed by the entire army and all his officials. Except this procession of the Franciscan monks from the great monastery in Milan, I know nothing greater and more solemn than this march of this *Goodman* of Moldavia. Except these officials of the ruler, there are two bailiffs, a sort of ushers who always have half a cubit gallon of gold attached to a small silver rod; their only duty is to take the tenth part from the litigation money which is paid or received by ruler's decision. The great and small viziers are officers of his highness' police and those who imprison and apply punishments. In the antechambers of the ruler's palace, every hour of the day there are two buffoons whose duty is to shake a silver bell, to make faces and to laugh when his highness goes from one apartment to another.

The rest of the servants in the palace are boys who serve coffee, comfiture and bring the chibouk; one has to spend a specific number of years among these boys to be able to have the function of official and state minister. The two provinces are divided in twenty-four counties, each having an administrator chosen by the ruler. All of them and the other public servants and servant from the court have no other pay the liberty to cheat and rob everything they can. Here the Greek spirit shine: when these servants do not earn enough, they make up a judgement or misunderstanding on a rich merchant or a wealthy townsman and when the victim is in their hands, the only way to get away is with money. If an unfortunate soul, who was robbed, comes to complain to his highness about one of his servants (which rarely happens), his highness laughs and then asks how much money has been taken from him; the man answers: oh well, his highness adds, he can cry whatever he wants, the money is with us. This brutal and unjust philosophy is the cause for which the merchants and townsmen give gifts to the ruler and his officials, for fear they might be punished one day to pay a bigger amount. The palace in which the ruler of Moldavia lives today is an old castle which used to be a stable and infirmary for the Russians during the war.

This ruler had the walls painted and white paper glued on the cracked windows. The apartments are very big, but only the bedroom of his highness has furniture. Household saving is so extreme in the ruler's palace that they put napkins at the table only once every fifteen days and the glasses that are set are broken; when this ruler wants to show off, (which only happens on his birthday) the tables are full of silverware and porcelain. The unusual thing about these tyrants of Moldavia and Wallachia is that all their wealth, money, jewellery, clothes and furniture are in trunks and travel chests as if they have to leave in any moment; and, actually, I am not mistaken, because they are constantly afraid that they might be relegated, kidnapped or killed. Being this cautious, their family can at least save their most valuable objects. All male

children of the ruler are called *beizadele*; they keep this name all their life, but it does not give them the right to the throne of Moldavia; only money matters to the High Porte. The destiny of these children is often sadder than the one of a craftsman; many of them are in Constantinople, in Bucharest and in Iași, poor with small allowances from the rulers that are not enough for a decent living. The city of Iași can have thirty thousand inhabitants and the Bucharest has approximately sixty thousand. These cities are not surrounded by walls and the houses are scattered. The palace of the ruler of Wallachia is not greater than the palace of the ruler of Moldavia, but the capital of the first has many churches, monasteries and private buildings. In both of them you can find Turkish cafes and shops full of textiles and troggin. Both rulers set up in each capital schools which they named secondary schools and in which two or three illiterate monks taught Latin, Greek and Religion.

The difference between the two, Alexandru Ipsilanti, the ruler of Wallachia and Grigore Ghica, the ruler of Moldavia is that the first one is interested in arts and has the desire to have a code of particular laws for his Divan and for the one of the county governors; for this, he attracted in the country several educated people and told them to draft this code which he would undoubtedly publish if the restless despotism of the High Porte stopped it.

#### **About Moldavians and Wallachians**

Moldavians and Wallachians are usually strong and tall, their clothes, which are light and loose, do not clasp their arms, legs or wrists; horse riding is the only exercise they like and often, in the summer, the young men are seen throwing spears, as the Turks did. Except learning Greek, they have no other education.

The young boyars, who are to take jobs, either at the court of the ruler, either in the country, try to learn Turkish, Latin, French and Italian; but few master foreign languages. The moral of the priests and Aristotle's philosophy are the only sources of vague ideas about vice and virtue; however, I have to confess that beyond this general and stupid ignorance which the two peoples have, there are a few talented and educated people who could join the most important of our scholars. I could name four of these whose names are worth being known: three of them live in Iasi and the fourth lives in Bucharest; the first is a famous doctor named Theodorati who speaks, writes and translates perfectly from French, Latin, Greek, Turkish and Italian; but his greatest talent is that of being very skilled at Geometry and Algebra; his smallest talent is that of being the most artful doctor in the Ottoman Empire. He knows Boerhave and Astruc as well as he knows Homer; nothing is new to him except the absurdities of the superstitions and scholastics. The second, named Saul also knows well six languages and the history of his country and knows perfectly the Turks' policy; this man is the most important person that the ruler of Moldavia has. The third is Bogdan, who comes from one of the oldest families of the country, a delightful person who is eloquent, reasonable and who also knows foreign languages and for whom the Moldavian people have the utmost respect. The fourth is *Carataja*, great court marshal of Wallachia, a man who is educated, pleasant, a great politician and very honest. It seems like fate wanted to compensate this poor country by throwing a few remarkable people in the barbarian and clumsy crowd of monks, people and boyars.

A quality of these peoples which the military policy can use is that of being great soldiers when discipline is imposed. The ruler approved it; the sovereign has several regiments with Wallachians in his army and these Wallachians are very skilled and quick; it is worth mentioning the fact that all peoples first learn the art of destroying and killing its people. The Wallachians' personality is more cheerful than the one of the Moldavians. They are smarter and braver; but it cannot be said that the two peoples have the tendency to steal or kill; they show respect for hospitality with a sort of gratitude; they were in a way distanced from kindness; and if the simplicity of their habits was corrupted, this can be blamed on the Greeks who, like despicable harpies that destroy everything they touch so that they can be the only masters,

come from Turkey and the islands of the Archipelago to steal from these two provinces leaving behind the marks of their vice and gluttony.

The Moldavian and Wallachian women are generally beautiful; they have white skin, but their face is pale. Few of them are blonde, but there are plenty of brunettes, with beautiful black eyes. The women from these regions have the culture of love: there have been examples while the Russian troops stayed in Moldavia and Wallachia; each soldier and officer had a mistress; girls, women, widows, all of them left their family and village to follow these defeatens of Turks. The women's clothing is a sort of long dress, without creases, which tightly covers the body from the neck down, thus showing all their shapes and roundness. They put on top of this dress a fur coat which they wear every time they go out, even in the summer. The peasant women who cannot afford silk or cotton dresses, wear an embroidered shirt and an apron which they tie like a belt on their waist from the navel to their thighs; they braid their hair in long tails or in a bun under a kerchief looking like they have a helmet. They often add feathers, diamond-like jewellery and other stones. Jewish women from these provinces, instead of adopting this hairstyle, which would not be suited for him, because they cut their hair, they embellish their hair with a string of yellow coins around their face; the peasant women braid their hair and make a wreath on their heads. The quality of the women from these provinces is kindness. Slaves of their parents, husbands and of their lovers, Moldavian and Wallachian women know no other greater law or will than the one of men; although they are free, they rarely go out and they are never alone; the deep languor and ignorance in which they live are, apparently, the causes of their faith and obedience; as a result, jealousy rarely shows its face; the husband speaks and the women kiss their hand and ask for forgiveness.

I do not think that there is a woman, not even the princess that rule today in Moldavia and Wallachia, who knows how to read and write; in this regard, Greeks claim that women should know whatever their husbands want them to know. Young girls are hidden from men until the marriage is concluded and they join them in their nuptial bed. Before this, their only occupation is to cry for the husband that they are destined to have; up until that moment, they can only imagine the pleasures of love and the madness of voluptuousness. The civil marriage contract is made before witnesses; the deed is signed in two copies by the husband's relatives or friends, without any other formality for the boyars than the signature of the ruler and the metropolitan. The ordinary people get married without a contract; all they need is the blessing of God, that is, the priest. On the day of the marriage, the bride covers herself with a veil weaved in gold and silver which falls creating large creases from the head to the waist; they decorate it with a black feather ornament, taller than the one the French ladies have. Dressed this way, four women take her by the arm and slowly take her to church as if she were a tortured wrongdoer. Once they reach the church, the priest makes her promise trust and faith to her future husband, put his hand in the hand of his future wife, then they kiss each other hands and then they sing *Kyrie* which lasts two hours. After this, being less sad, the spouses are taken home. The feast is next. They get drunk, dance all night and the wife and husband see themselves for the first time and go to bed together. With a difference of only a few words, the language of Wallachia is the same as the one of Moldavia. This language is mostly derived from Latin, for example the words bread - *pâine* - pane, tomorrow - *mâine* (mane), water - *apa* - aqua, wine - *vinum*, etc., from Slavic or Russian, for example servant - *slugă* (servitor) and from Polish like *vaivoda* (vaivode, prince). Also, a number of Turkish and Tatar words was introduced and together they make a barbarian and corrupted language which lacks energy, taste and any abstract idea. The hand written and typed letters are mostly Greek, Russian and Tatar. Ordinary Greek is the civilised language of the ruler's court and of the governors of these provinces. Italian and French are also spoken there; the ruler and several boyars of the country have books in French; the works of art of Mr. Voltaire are in the hands of several young boyars; and the French authors' books would be an object of trade in these provinces if the patriarch of Constantinople had not threatened all those who read Roman-Catholic books and especially the Voltaire's books with the wrath of God.



### Political reflections on Moldavia and Wallachia

If the success of well applied policy could pass the ruling of the two provinces to the emperor or King of Prussia, or would be easy to foresee and explain how this beautiful country might become one of the most pleasant region of Europe. The colonies that would be sent here would not nit have to fear the difficulties and misery endured by Astrakhan because the distance is not that big and they can hope to the support of civilised Europe. Thus, the difficulties to which the locations in Banat have been subjected to could be avoided by better choosing the housing land; the parts of Moldavia and Wallachia on the Danube are more favourable and the soil is richer. The only thing that has to be done is to irrigate the field and to drain the stagnant water to clean the place and to make the soil better for crops. Exploiting mines, forests, breaking up the soil , the improved ways of growing vine and fruit would be some things that, in twenty years, could make two hundred thousand families rich, exposed in another part to laziness and poverty and they would bring the ruler sixty million livres. The soil of the fields and hills has generally such good qualities that they could grow rice, tobacco, sugar, crops that are not known on our continent, but they are suited for this type of land, in this area of Europe almost all objects of trade and agriculture can be gathered. The dessert which spreads on the area between Iași and Nistru and to the borders with Podolia offers the best soil on a surface of twenty leagues in width and thirty leagues in length. This type of soil, on which wheat, barley and fruit gardens are grown, can be found only here. In this place there are no trees and the soil is covered by tall grass and rich vegetation; the land has small hills with many springs; nothing would be easier than to plant orchards and forests; everything would be great. On the other hand, these two provinces offer a new trade direction for the other nations of Europe. Bounded by the Danube and Nistru, both of them emptying in the Black Sea, their ports wait the ships on the Mediterranean which can arrive in three days from the Bosphorus of Thrace to Galați and Brăila and the boats of Bavaria, of Austria or Hungary which can descend there in a very short period of time. The foreigners did not attempt to make trade in this part with the Moldavians and the Wallachians; the Greeks and Turks were the only ones who traded up until this point, but unsuccessful. The time that brings all revolutions, must undoubtedly bring one in the two provinces whose history is described here; but does this revolution depend on the fate of the Ottoman Empire in Europe? We shall find out later in time.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The translation from English of Jean Luis Carra's *Dissertation the current state of Moldavia and Wallachia (1781)*, was made according to the translation in Romanian (from French) of the second edition of Jean Louis Carra's work published in Neuchatel in 1781 (Jean-Louis Carra, *The History of Moldavia and Wallachia*, translated by Veronica Greucu, notes by Veronica Greucu and Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, foreword by Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, European Institute, Iași, 2011, p. 86-108.



**REVOLUTION AND COUNTERREVOLUTION  
IN SPAIN AND IN SPANISH AMERICA. RIEGO'S FAILURE  
AND THE LIBERAL TRIENNIUM (1820-1823) \***

*Porfirio Sanz Camañes\**  
*José María Rodríguez Jiménez\*\**

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***Abstract***

The liberal triennium is presented as a crossroads in the History of Spain and in much of America. A crossroads where the trajectories of the European and American continents converge. In these years, respect for the freedoms of the citizens was demanded. The right to freedom under the law, freedom of opinion and association, freedom of political action and choice. These movements have a predominantly liberal and nationalist political-social character. The different national projects of the overseas territories have an explanation and the possibility of building a liberal regime on the Peninsula under the protection of the Constitution of Cádiz depart for the future. Rafael de Riego's coup against Ferdinand VII of Spain, was one more in the long chain of those that took place in the period 1814-1820. Majority of them failed but Riego finally achieved the objective. The liberal faction reached the power to carry out a series of political, social and economic changes from an ideological base opposed to that of the Old Regime. The French invasion took place, which came to reestablish the absolutism, Riego led the resistance in Andalusia at 1823 but he was defeated, captured and executed. Riego's dream disappeared.

**Key words:** *Revolution, Counterrevolution, Rafael de Riego, Spain, Spanish America, 1820-1823*

**Introduction**

In Central and Western Europe after 1815 the liberalism survived thanks to the principles spread among the bourgeoisie and the middle class, both individually and collectively. The echoes of the liberal revolution have not disappeared among the European and American peoples and are expressed through law and thought. Issues such as the notion of dynastic legitimacy and the institutions they inspire were denounced by the liberal heirs of rationalist and revolutionary thought (Martínez Carreras, 1985: 170).

In these years, respect for the freedoms of the citizens is demanded: the right to freedom under the law, freedom of opinion and association, freedom of political

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\* This contribution have been done according to the Grupo de Estudios Modernistas (G.E.M.) of the University of Castilla-La Mancha. We offer in this work mainly an historiographical approach.

\* Professor, PhD., University of Castilla-La Mancha, Faculty of Letters, Department of History, Avda. Camilo José Cela, s/n. 13.071-Ciudad Real (Spain), Phone: 0034926295300, Email: Porfirio.Sanz@uclm.es

\*\* Associate Professor, PhD., University of Castilla-La Mancha, Faculty of Letters, Department of History, Avda. Camilo José Cela, s/n. 13.071-Ciudad Real (Spain), Phone: 0034926295300, Email: JoseMaria.RodriguezJ@uclm.

action and choice. There is a certain cult for the French Revolution and a series of literary, historical and philological works appear that condemn the arbitrary distribution of peoples decided by the Congress of Vienna and affirm the right of nations to their unity and independence (Hamnett, 1985).

In Europe, on the one hand, some people and territories under Empire domination aspire to independence, such as Greeks, Belgians, Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, and on the other hand, some separate regions aspire to unity, like Italians or Germans (Carantoña, 2014). The first revolutionary movements took place around 1820, having a light consequences in Europe, and majority of them were easily dominated by the immediate absolutist reaction. For example, the first declaration of independence of Wallachia in 1821 made among others by Tudor Vladimirescu has become a symbol of the Romanian national liberation.

These movements have a predominantly liberal and nationalist political-social character (Ochoa Brun, 2017).

They begin chronologically in Germany, where a strong agitation arises, especially in the university sphere and with the political purpose of forcing the various German governments to grant Constitutions, although Metternich's repression stifled the movement before it became widespread.

In Spain the revolutionary movement started by the troops of General Rafael de Riego that forced Ferdinand VII to reestablish the Constitution of 1812 (Castells, 1989). In Italy some revolts were successful. In Naples a revolt broke out in July 1820 and in Piedmont the revolutionary agitation of March 1821 forced the establishment of the Constitution, but in both cases Austrian troops reestablished the absolutist order. In France, the Duke of Berry was assassinated in February 1820, attempting the uprising of different garrisons but that failed. In Russia, the last country reached by this revolutionary wave, after the death of Alexander I, the insurrection of December 1825 took place, which intended to transform the autocratic regime into a constitutional one, but which failed due to lack of preparation and organization, continuing the absolutist monarchy with the new Tsar Nicholas I (Martínez Carreras, 1985: 173-174).

The liberal triennium is presented as a crossroads in the History of Spain and in much of America. A crossroads where the trajectories of the European and American continents converge. A crossroads from which the different national projects of the overseas territories have an explanation and the possibility of building a liberal regime on the Peninsula under the protection of the Constitution of Cádiz depart for the future (Rújula y Chust, 2019: 15).

### **The Riego's coup d'état**

In 1820 the second liberal „push” took place (Cánovas Cervantes, 1930). Somehow, the liberals have learned the lesson of 1814, without support of the army was no possible to modernize the political system (Novales, 1976). Once again the hope of overthrowing the absolutist chains was renewed, relying on the Constitution of 1812 in the face of a Ferdinand VII who was no longer „The desired one”.

With the Riego expedition aborted, which was to bring aid of men and material to the armies fighting the insurgents, without the political or economic possibilities to reorganize a new one, the only thing left was the hope that the new regime established in

the American territories would be encouraged to lay down arms and return to obedience with a just government. There was no other way to preserve overseas possessions because an unpopular war could not be sustained between the armies that gave the liberals victory, with an absolute lack of economic means and a navy incapable of protecting trade.

Pacification was attempted with the cessation of hostilities and through negotiation through the overseas authorities, with a parliamentary representation, the dispatch of commissioners by the dissidents and the dispatch of emissaries with extensive instructions to reach provisional agreements on the unalterable basis of its union with the metropolis. While the Peninsula was preparing to undertake a fast process of political reforms, it was imagined that America would abandon the insurgency by embracing the new framework of Constitutional freedoms as a renewed pact of coexistence within the Hispanic Monarchy (Rújula y Chust, 2019: 10-11).

This public acknowledgment that a positive solution was far from being reached and the exclusion of the budgets of flows that were not those of Cuba, suggests that in some way the colonial empire was considered lost no matter how many efforts were made. In the dilemma between a dignified peace and a civil war of indeterminate duration and uncertain success, the first option was chosen without great security or hope of achieving it. Anyway, the declarations of the co-institutional system as a remedy against dismemberment responded, from this point of view, more to the need to keep the morale of the country and of the authorities that had to try it high than to the conviction itself, transmitting a faith that they did not have and maintaining the last hope.

The year 1821 marked a before period and after. The Spanish defeat in Carabobo in 1821 allowed the control of Venezuela by Morillo while in Mexico (Frasquet, 2008: 153-180), Agustín de Itúrbide relaunched the war process that would end with the first American military dictatorship. Gunpowder and bayonets reappeared in South America (Rodríguez, 1996; Idem, 2005). The American silver and gold sent to the Peninsula stopped flowing. The liberal Treasury was forced to increase the fiscal pressure, its situation worsened by the bad harvests of that year, and the royal insurrection began to take shape. In Europe the absolutist powers began to press for a constitutional reform in a conservative sense (Rújula y Chust, 2019: 11).

A distant coup in southern Spain that of Rafael de Riego, began the movement of 1820. At the beginning, it was unsuccessful, just as generals Francisco Espoz y Mina (1814) had not succeeded in previous years. Juan Díez Porlier (1815) and Luis Lacy (1817) or the so-called „conspiracy of the Triangle” (1816). However, in this opportunity, the neutralization was delayed in time, allowing the echo of the uprising to be spread (Rújula y Chust, 2019: 17).

Rafael de Riego (González-Pola de la Granja, 2006: 271-286), who had fought against the French in the War of Independence (1808-1814), revolts with his troops (the Asturias battalion) on January 1st in Cabezas de San Juan and advances towards Arcos de la Frontera, while Quiroga did the same with another rebellious army corps on the island of Leon and San Fernando. Anyway, the rebels couldn't enter Cádiz (Parente Rodríguez, 2013). The supports are small but also the resistance. The atmosphere of 1820 was not the same as that of 1814, and discontent was widespread. Riego proclaims the Constitution of 1812 taking advantage of the difficult situation in the Army joined to embark to America in doubtful ships and with the uncertain objective of ending the American insurrection. The important gathering of men and military supplies in the

Cádiz area created the best conditions for the coup d'état. In these first moments, neither the King has the strength to suppress the uprising, nor the rebels to triumph.

Some few weeks later the rebellion broke out in La Coruña, Barcelona, Pamplona, Cádiz and Madrid. The King ordered General La Bisbal to suppress the riots in the capital, but he turned his soldiers against the monarch and his clique. The Army systematically refused to obey the repressive orders and slogans of the throne. Two months later, on March 6, 1820, and when he was clearly losing ground, the King decided to accept the Cádiz Constitution, as can be seen in his famous manifesto of Ferdinand of March 10: "Spaniards: When your heroic efforts managed to put an end to the captivity in which the most unheard-of perfidy held me, everything I saw and heard, as soon as I set foot on homeland, came together to persuade me that the nation wanted to see its previous form of government resurrected (...) You have made me understand your desire to reestablish that constitution that was promulgated in Cadiz in 1812 amidst the roar of hostile weapons (...) I have sworn that Constitution for which you sighed and I will always be your strongest support (...) *Let us march frankly, and I the first, along the constitutional path*"<sup>1</sup>.

The King's response was a new turn to his behavior, that of opportunistic monarch, who in private harshly prosecuted the liberal ministers who, with Argüelles as the Head of the government, formed the first constitutional government that aspired to lay the foundations of a bourgeois society. On the other hand, with the outbreak of the revolution there had been a cantonal proliferation and federalism sprang up everywhere, organizing local Government Boards. Thus, the new government had as its first task to reorganize the national unity based on centralism.

Riego was favored to achieve his leadership (Martín Arranz, 1987; Idem, 2021; 306-329; Natera, 2001; Idem, 2014) by the historical circumstances that surrounded him, in particular by Romanticism and liberalism (Sánchez, 2018; Idem, 2021; Lloréns, 1979; Marco, 1998). He dedicated his speeches, his oratory, his proclamations and even his anthem to exalt the value of the people, for this reason he was committed to what his followers demanded (Flitter, 1995; Romero, 1994; Navas, 1990; Safranski, 2009).

Riego formulated a shared vision, an achievable and ambitious goal that pushed. He was unable to form an operational or decisive command profile, although he did initiate one of the most important revolutionary waves of the 19th century (Salinas Guirao, 2021; 318). To sum up, Riego -in the words of M. Alvargonzález Fernández (2017: 77-94)<sup>2</sup> - was a modern public figure, the object of a popularity that allowed him to personify the desire of many for a truly radical change.

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<sup>1</sup> The Spanish version is as follows: "*Espanoles: Cuando vuestros heroicos esfuerzos lograron poner término al cautiverio en que me retuvo la más inaudita perfidia, todo cuanto vi y escuché, apenas pisé el suelo patrio, se reunió para persuadirme que la nación deseaba ver resucitada su anterior forma de gobierno (...) Me habéis hecho entender nuestro anhelo de que restableciese aquella constitución que entre el estruendo de las armas hostiles fue promulgada en Cádiz el año de 1812 (...) He jurado esa Constitución por la que suspirabais y seré siempre su más firme apoyo (...) Marchemos francamente, y Yo el primero, por la senda constitucional (...)*". ([http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/manifiesto-de-fernando-vii-a-los-espanoles-madrid-10-marzo-1820-986278/html/ad51f1c7-f35c-4cd3-81ca-451b091b5128\\_2.html](http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/manifiesto-de-fernando-vii-a-los-espanoles-madrid-10-marzo-1820-986278/html/ad51f1c7-f35c-4cd3-81ca-451b091b5128_2.html))-[check it, 28 February 2022].

<sup>2</sup> The exalted defense, although always legalistic, that he made of those rights and freedoms made him the enemy of some moderate deputies and politicians who sought to establish another

### **The revolution in progress**

Dissentions would soon arise in the liberal faction. Moderates and radicals had different points of view about the governance of the country. On the one side, the moderates were in favor of checking the Constitution of 1812, seeking to introduce an Upper House (Senate) in the political structure that would counterbalance the radicalism of the Cortes and also respect the personal prerogatives of the monarch. On the other side, radicals and progressives believed that it was morally necessary to preserve and protect the Constitution of Cádiz. In fact, the moderates came to power while the progressives remained on their periphery.

The three-year years did not give enough time to deepen the changes that Spanish society needed (Comellas, 1963). Many of its provisions have the desire to link and continue the revolutionary work of Cádiz, truncated when Ferdinand VII returned to the Peninsula. Among the tasks on which the triennium focuses, the following stand out:

- a) The elaboration of a penal code that responds to the egalitarian legal concept that had been defended in Cádiz;
- b) The territorial division into provinces is carried out;
- c) Ordinances are approved to improve commerce and agriculture;
- d) Tolls and customs duties were abolished to achieve lower prices of popular consumer products (but in 1823 it reimplemented them before the threat of bankruptcy of the Treasury);
- e) The economic management was based on knowing, first, the true situation of the country, for which it was necessary to collect reliable data and repair the losses caused by the war (Moral Ruiz, 1975). For this reason, the new Treasury plan was based on direct contributions, placing the burden on the large owners, but it was necessary to create new consumption taxes that made basic necessities more expensive;
- f) There is self-recognition as a power of second order and maintenance of peace, both externally and internally, as well as with overseas possessions.
- g) The socio-religious legislation charged against ecclesiastical privileges with measures such as: the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the reform of the regular orders, the reduction of the tithe by half, the confiscation processes on monasteries of extinct orders and the definitive suppression of the Inquisition.

The radical sector of liberalism rested on different bases:

- a) A sector of the Cortes. They ask that the legislative power protect the monarch and declares itself competent in various judicial proceedings;
- b) Patriotic societies (Gil Novales, 1976; Idem, 1980): they were accused of being inspired by the French clubs of the revolution, but there was a Spanish background. In these revolutionary clubs the Constitution and liberal newspapers were read, politics were discussed, and the absolutist ideology was pursued;
- c) The army of the island of León and San Fernando. It was an armed reserve that guaranteed the maintenance of the Constitution. Budget problems to maintain it caused difficulties later.

Many decisions were made in support of the people, in matters of justice and taxation, which ultimately became harmful to the most depressed sectors (Sánchez,

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liberalism agreed with the former privileged and governed by a text infinitely more conservative than the Constitution of 1812.

2012). The consequences of the measures adopted led to a decrease in income, in part due to the decline in economic activity, aimed at relieving the taxpayer and favoring production, exchanges and increased income. The country went into debt to carry out these reforms, but the short duration of the new regime, which failed to relaunch economic activity, prevented economic recovery and the reforms remained unfinished (Rújula y Frasset, 2020).

Under the protection of the split of the liberals, political clubs and secret societies arose. In fact, liberals split into two groups: *doceañistas* or moderates and exalted. In the first, some prestigious personalities from the Cortes of Cádiz appear, among them: Toreno, Martínez de la Rosa, Muñoz Torrero. In the second, in general, those who had not participated in the previous Cortes: Romero, Alpuente, Quiroga, Flórez Estrada, who adopt more radical positions to definitively eliminate the absolutist danger. For the popular masses, accustomed to centuries of tyranny, the political and dialectical openness between moderates and progressives was hardly an understandable novelty. On February 18, 1822, the King appointed Martínez de la Rosa as Head of Government, a hard-line moderate who sought the introduction of electoral limitations. When it seemed that certain political stability was being ensured, the monarch himself began to conspire. On July 7, the Royal Guard staged a coup that failed due to the indecision of the monarch. In other parts of the country, the restorative or absolutist uprising was also defeated.

### **The realist counterrevolution and the French invasion**

The existence in Spain of a liberal government, in a Europe plunged into the revolutionary wave as a result of the definitive Napoleonic (Castells y Roca, 2004) defeat, was a source of great concern in the foreign ministries, to which at various times requests came from the Spanish monarch about the need for a European intervention. Spain was a crack in the compact body of post-1814 Europe and seemed the “last stronghold of freedom”.

The king, who did not feel his person's safety guaranteed, soon became an element of the counterrevolution. The economic situation continued in decline and the country increased its national debt. The Cortes carried out two important administrative reforms that had as a common key the imposition of a much more demanding centralism than the Bourbon. The first of these was the division of Spain into 49 provinces, practically the same ones that Javier de Burgos would establish on the death of Ferdinand VII, and the strengthening of the corresponding bodies, councils and treasuries, which should allow better and greater tax collection. The second was the Law of Public Education, which established the three stages of education that became classic, primary, secondary and higher, setting the number of universities at ten and establishing identical study plans for the all country.

Three different elements that were normally dispersed acted in this counterrevolution. In the first place, we must consider the king, who throughout the triennium lived his experience as a constitutional monarch without the slightest desire for understanding with the Cortes and with the government. In the exercise of his constitutional functions, he favored the most moderate political options and tolerated



the subversive initiatives of the Royal Guard and used the veto to the limit permitted by the Constitution.

According to the doctrine of the Holy Alliance (or Santa Alianza), in the Congress of Verona, the European powers decided to restore order in Spain. Emboldened by the situation, Ferdinand VII dismissed Prime Minister San Miguel at the beginning of February, although a few days later he had to appoint him again to avoid a popular uprising. However, on April 7, 1823, the The Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis (Cien Mil Hijos de San Luis)- (Rújula, 2010), crossed the Spanish-French border with the aim of destroying the Spanish bourgeois revolution (La Parra, 2007).<sup>3</sup> With an unresponsive Army, a favorable clergy, an enthusiastic nobility, a divided liberal political faction, and a bewildered people, foreign troops under the French Duke of Angoulême practically strolled the Peninsula. At that time the king was, in fact, a prisoner and was freed in exchange for the promise of the invaders to enact an amnesty.

The French invasion of the Peninsula in 1823 not only intended to restore Ferdinand VII in his power, as a part of the counterrevolutionary policy defined in the congresses. It was also part of a prestige policy promoted by the Bourbon monarchy to reclaim its place on the international scene (Martínez Carreras, 1985: 168). The manifesto of Ferdinand VII was produced suspending the Constitution and, in the midst of terms of theocratic and absolutist resonances, declared “null and of no value all the acts of the so-called constitutional Government”, in other words, everything that has been done since March 7 of 1820.

The liberal government was forced to evacuate Madrid and moved to Seville together with the Cortes and the king, despite the fact that the latter had alleged an attack of gout. The defeat of the government forces near Jaén forced a new transfer to Cádiz, which could be done by declaring mental health problems in Ferdinand VII and creating a regency in charge of the executive power. Once in Cadiz, the only battle between the French troops took place, after which the Cortes decided to let the king go free and negotiate directly with the Duke of Angoulême (Prados de la Escosura, 1979).

Ferdinand VII erased all the commitments acquired on the island just a few days before, opening a new time of blind and vengeful Counterrevolution that led the Liberals into exile or prison (Simal, 2012). Restoration without concessions was not the best for a sovereign who was about to exercise power in an absolute way (Martínez Carreras, 1985: 178).

The Liberal Government was dissolved after obtaining from the Monarch a promise that there would be no reprisals. With his usual duplicity, Ferdinand VII broke his promise. On October 1 he annulled the constitution and unleashed a relentless this time against the Liberals. One of his first victims was General Riego (Alvargonzález, 2017), who, unlike other high officials, was unable to escape through Gibraltar. Transferred to Madrid and tried for having voted to disqualify the King, Riego was found guilty of high treason (Alarcó Lecuona, 1999: 417- 440; De Burgos, 2013).

With the restoration of absolutism, Spain had to face a continuous crisis in which four types of problems appear (Fontana, 2006). The dynastic problem, which will

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<sup>3</sup> The 110.550 men, called Sons of Saint Louis, headed by the Duke of Angoulême, supported themselves by dividing the population itself. The Spanish were not as united as in 1809 and the French, as Bertier de Sauvigny pointed out, “came this time to defend the same cause as the guerrillas of 1808: the legitimate king and holy religion”.

have the Carlist party as its background. The political problem that has the liberals in the focus of repression and that divides the absolutists on the occasion of the amnesty. The religious question after the recovery of the influence of the Church and its struggle to dismantle the disentailment process of the triennium. And, finally, the economic problem that has as a backdrop the loss of foreign trade with the colonies in America and that will lead to an increase in foreign debt.

In other words, the Riego's Spain came to an end (Pérez López Portillo, 2005). After the victory of the absolutism, the revenge in this second stage of his reign was even more brutal than the previous one. Ferdinand VII opened a period known by the expressive name of the „ominous decade” (década ominosa). The so-called „White Terror” (Pérez Galdós, 2005), quickly claimed its victims, many of them among young 16-year-old adolescents. The return to order was being represented through a dramatization of the return of the monarch after the „captivity” of the Liberals and the recovery of the monarchical legitimacy that had been suspended while the Constitution was in force (Ramírez, 2014).

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the Europe that came out of the Congress of Vienna was threatened by the progress of liberal and national ideas. The three revolutionary phases (waves) of 1820, 1830 and 1848, caused multiple concerns and tensions in the middle classes and the popular people.

Riego's coup was one more in the long chain of those that took place in the period 1814-1820. Majority of them failed but Riego finally achieved the objective they all pursued: that the liberal faction reached the power to carry out a series of political, social and economic changes from an ideological base opposed to that of the Old Regime. To the discomfort of the Army and the country in general we must add not only the disappointment of the liberals of 1814, but also that of those who thought that the king would fulfill the promises made in Valencia and, even, the discontent of some royalists that they were not in agreement with the policy carried out. The Liberals saw in 1814 how the structure created by them in Cádiz was collapsing and a result of it they were punished.

The king and the church played an important role during those years and became central factors in the defense of the Old Regime, and they could explain much of the processes studied. The liar and ambiguous king, Ferdinand VII, behaved with remarkable political skill, especially not to make any mistake that could be fatal to his interests. The experience of his uncle Louis XVI in Varennes, France, was very fresh and he did not want to be expelled from the throne before he had the opportunity to carry out a new coup. The clergy, on the other side, contributed to delegitimize the regime, reducing intellectual and moral support for liberalism. At the same time, it should not surprise us that the Holy See at Rome aligned itself with the absolutist powers and numerous clergymen formed among the ranks of the insurgents pursuing the horizon of an American Church.

When the French invasion took place, which came to reestablish the absolutism, Riego led the resistance in Andalusia at 1823; but he was defeated, captured

and executed by hanging.<sup>4</sup> After his death, Rafael del Riego reached a level of political mythos (Díaz-Carrera y Natera, 2021; 300-322), unknown until then in Spain. His symbolic role was crucial in the Spain of the first third of the century, rising as the character with the most charisma in the country (Álvarez Junco, 1987), until the political rise of Baldomero Espartero, with whom he was compared and who lasted longer (at the national level) because the effects of the triumph of this in the war were more durable and he himself outlived them (Cañas de Pablos, 2021:143-173).<sup>5</sup>

When the French invader gone, the fight for freedom became a civic cult for many Europeans, although the specific use made of Riego was adapted in each case to the needs of each national context and each specific political moment. It can be affirmed that Rafael del Riego serves as a reference figure when studying how the military martyrs of freedom were extolled based on their political involvement in the struggle to achieve such a goal during the nineteenth century in the European context and how he built a myth around them in which attributed qualities, real or not, converged with a legend based on political actions and behaviour (Cañas de Pablos, 2021: 168-169).

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<sup>4</sup> Over time, however, what survived in popular memory was his figure like a mythical hero in favor of the fight for freedom. The march that his troops played during the events of 1820, known as the “Riego march or Riego hymn”, continued to sound as a revolutionary anthem throughout the 19th Century and was declared the national anthem of Spain by the Second Republic between 1931 and 1939.

<sup>5</sup> The news that reached the European capitals about the vindictive policy of Ferdinand VII in 1823 generated a significant rejection in the liberal circles of different countries, which collaterally helped to widen the myth of Riego martyr outside his country with greater international projection.

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**THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES (1829-1835):  
AUTONOMY AND CONSTITUTIONAL FEATURES  
IN THE COMPARATIVE EUROPEAN CONTEXT**

*Cristian Ploscaru\**

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***Abstract***

The main themes covered in this study concern the changes in the political and juridical status of the Danubian Principalities (Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia), following the Treaty of Adrianople, in the sense of defining their internal autonomy, as well as the institutional transformations that followed, which shaped the modern architecture of the state, but also the means of interference and control of the protecting power, Russia. Analysed in a European constitutional context, the Organic Regulations of the Romanian Principalities and the "constitution" projects drafted in the Principality of Serbia tended to establish a political regime of *mixed monarchy*, of real modern substance, but also suitable for Russian interests in the Lower Danube region.

**Key words:** *autonomy, constitutional charter, organic law, Romanian Principalities, Serbia*

The Russo-Turkish war that ended with the Treaty of Adrianople was a turning point in the history of the Orthodox peoples under the domination of the Ottoman Empire, marking a new phase in the transition to the modern state for Romanians, Serbs and Greeks, both in terms of the international political and juridical framework and the internal institutional organization. The research of this topic requires an interdisciplinary type of analysis, combining the history of international relations with constitutional history and political history. The extent to which Moldova, Wallachia, Serbia and Greece acquire a more precise definition of their political-juridical state identity, from the perspective of the modern concept of sovereignty, and their internal organization through institutional reform accumulates (or not) constitutional features (in the sense of this term proper to the European political culture of those years), are the main themes of our investigation.

Until 1829, despite continuous Russian pressure, the Ottomans systematically refused to make any reference to "capitulations" in the treaties with Russia or in the Akkerman Convention, claiming that this "capitulations" did not exist (Maxim, 1987: 159). At the same time, the Balkan area inhabited by Serbs and Greeks, subjects of the Porte, was considered an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, the status of the territories controlled by Milos Obrenović being one of provisional administration, dictated only by the circumstances of the Serb rebellion, without formal recognition of the existence of a Christian principality (Yakschitch, 1907: 400-403, 409-413). In the

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\*Professor, PhD., Alexandru Ioan Cuza University, Faculty of History, Str. Păcurari, no. 52, Iași (Romania), Phone: 0040740536029, Email: [cploscaru@yahoo.com](mailto:cploscaru@yahoo.com)

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case of the Greeks, who wanted their independence, the intentions of Russia, the main Great Power that diplomatically supported the Greek insurgents, were clear: in the confidential project of January 1824, revealed by the press in June ("Exterieur", 31 May 1824: 1; Extrait d 'un mémoire du cabinet de Russie, 17 June 1824: 341-343), the organisation of one or three Greek principalities, with a regime of privileges like those of Wallachia and Moldavia, but also a political autonomy as a "Christian principality", similar to that projected for Serbia ("Mémoire du Cabinet de Russie", 9 January 1824: 67) in the Treaty of Bucharest and in the subsequent negotiations, interrupted in 1821 ("Depeșa trimisă de Minister baronului Stroganov", 17 Mars 1820: 427-428; Vianu, 1963, 109-116).

### **The question of the Romanian Principalities autonomy**

After the defeat in the war of 1828-1829, being forced to make concessions on many levels, the Ottoman delegation that signed the Treaty of Adrianople agreed for the first time that "the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, on the basis of a capitulation, are under Ottoman suzerainty" ("Tratatul de la Adrianopole", 14 September 1829: 321). The use of the word *suzerainty* itself, which is inconsistent with the substance of Islamic law, marks a change in the status of the Principalities, of a qualitative nature, but the Principalities continued to be described as "provinces" (Panaite, 2013: 19-20). In the definition of state identity, compared to the text of the Akkerman Convention, the Treaty of Adrianople included certain clarifications which gave legal consistency to features which the legal doctrine of the first part of the 19th century (Barthélemy, 2006: 25-26), especially the German doctrine, attributed to the modern state: a territory, a community and a internal public authority (Alexianu, 1930: 66; Drăganu, 2000: 127). In the treaty, some essential attributes of the modern state, in the understanding of the practice of international relations of the time, are explicitly formulated: "The principalities will have the free exercise of their religion, perfect security, an independent national administration and complete freedom of trade" ("Tratatul de la Adrianopole", 14 September 1829: 321), and in the Treaty of Petersburg, the Organic Statute was called "constitution" ("Tratatul de la Petersburg", 29 January 1834: 338).

The change in the political and juridical status of the Principalities was a premeditated action taken by the Russian officials before the end of the war, of course, on the orders of Tsar Nicholas I. The internal component of state sovereignty was clearly reflected in *Projet d'acte séparé au de Convention spéciale sur les Principautés de Moldavie et de Valachie* (Sturdza, 1829: 363-385), drafted by Alexander Sc. Sturdza shortly before May 1829 (Colecția Microfilme Rusia, 1829, Sturdza to Nesselrode, 10/22 May 1829: 361)<sup>2</sup>. The author proposed the reign for life of a prince "selected among the boyars of the country", and following the death of the first princes, a Moldavian successor, chosen by the "electoral assembly of Wallachia" and a Wallachian in Moldova, would be "eligible and permitted"; the right of indigeneship of Moldavians in Wallachia and of

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<sup>2</sup> In that letter, Alexander Sturdza informed Nesselrode that he had concluded the draft of the Russian-Turkish convention concerning the Principalities, prepared by order of the Russian Vice-Chancellor.



Wallachians in Moldova (art. III); the General Assemblies of the Divans had to elect the princes and to participate in the drafting of laws, as consultative bodies, on the basis of the provisions of a Regulation Act, "which shall be considered as part of the present" Convention (art. VIII); the demolition of the fortresses of Turnu, Giurgiu and Brăila, with the restitution of the villages held by these fortresses (art. IX), the establishment of quarantine along the Danube border (art. X), full freedom of trade, with the Porte retaining a right of preemption for the purchase of grain and sheep, but at market price (art. XI) (Sturdza, 1829: 366-382). A direct right of control over the exercise of internal autonomy by the suzerain and protective powers resulted from art. V, which provided that elections for the prince had to be validated under Russian-Ottoman treaties and conventions (Sturdza, 1829: 368-370).

Russia received a great advantage through the *extra fines imperii* clause of art. XIV, which granted property rights to Russian subjects in both principalities, under the authority of the laws of the state from which they came (Sturdza, 1829: 282)<sup>3</sup>. Certainly, only a part of the clauses of this project will be found in the text of the *Separate Act relating to the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia* in the Treaty of Adrianople (Tratatul de la Adrianopole, 14 September 1829: 326-328), but reflects a clear conception of Russian patronage over the development of the Principalities, including in the event of their union, to the advantage of Russia, someday, coming from the political thinking of a Russian intellectual and high official with Moldavian origins. Of course, much less was to be expected from other figures, without the sensitivities that can still be discerned, from place to place, in the case of Alexander Sc. Sturdza.

#### **Between uprising and diplomacy: the autonomy of the principality of Serbia**

After the outbreak of the Serb uprising, led by Milos Obrenović, and the negotiations with Marshali Pasha (Yakschitch, 1907:357-364; Ćirković, 2004: 190), Serbia was to receive a special status, with its own "internal administration", in relation to the Ottoman Empire, through the Treaty of Bucharest, in a rather ambiguous political and legal manner, which should have been clarified later (Tratatul de la București, 28 May 1812: 300). Instead, the Treaty of Adrianople stipulated the Christian character of the new principality and the substance of its autonomy in relation to the suzerain power, guaranteed by the Russian protectorate. The rights of the "Serbian nation", prefigured in 1826 by the Akkerman Convention – the freedom of faith, election of its own rulers, independence of its internal administration, reunion of the districts separated from Serbia [after 1813], unification of the various taxes into one, renunciation in favour of the Serbs of the administration of property belonging to the Muslims, with the obligation to pay compensation together with the tribute, freedom of trade (Act separat relativ la Serbia, 7 October 1826: 317) – were confirmed by the 1829 Treaty, without any additional provisions on the internal organisation (Hacisalihoglu, 2018: 46).

On the basis of the 29 August 1830 s *batt-i sberif*, the new Principality's border was drawn and the quarantine regime established, the abuses by the Ottoman pashas

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<sup>3</sup> About the juridical notion of *extra fines imperii*, more often used in the 16th-17th centuries, in line with the theories about the state, which later became obsolete, see (Allen, 2013: 416).

residing in the border garrisons were eliminated, and, above all, the restrictions on Muslim faith and the transfer of property (the old Muslim *timar* were to be sold within five years to private Christians - the Serbian *baština* - or to the Orthodox Church or to the state) (Noradounghian, 1900: 197-200) were achieved with difficulty, requiring new negotiations and a new sultanal act, the s *hatt-i sherif* of 1833 (Kršljanin, N., 2017: 33).

The Treaty of Adrianople and the Porte's *hatt-i sherifs* provided the international political and juridical support necessary for the organisation of Serbia into an autonomous state with appropriate institutions, overcoming the provisional regime and princely authority based on military loyalties and patronage relations (Dragnich, 1978: 16)<sup>4</sup>, resulting from the successful revolt against the suzerain, but without the creation of stable institutions to replace the Ottoman ones. Despite the opposition of Prince Milos, who wished to prolong the old, ad hoc form of power, the pressure of the Great Powers and the internal opposition led to the gradual institutionalisation of the government (Ćirković, 2004: 195; Popović, 2019: 12-13), on the basis of a future legislation adopted by Prince Milos in collaboration with an Assembly composed by elected deputies (Jokanović, 2022: 27-28).

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The involvement of the Great Powers in the resolution of the "Greek question" entered in a new phase, of acceleration of its solution, after the accession to the throne of the new Tsar, Nicholas I, a strong personality, even voluntarist, compared to his predecessor, Alexander I. Thus, the Anglo-Russian protocol of 4 April 1826 explicitly stipulated the establishment of a Christian principality in the Peloponnese and the relocation of the Muslim population resident there, followed by the transfer of properties to the local Christians (Óreñç, 2011: 178). This new principality, tributary to the Porte, was to benefit from internal autonomy similar to that desired by Russia for Serbia - the Greeks "shall be governed exclusively by authorities chosen and appointed by themselves, but in the appointment of which the Porte shall have some influence" and "the Greeks shall enjoy full freedom of conscience and commerce" (Noradounghian, 1900: 115). To these specifications, in the *First Protocol of London* (6 July 1827) the three signatory powers (England, France, Russia) added clauses on the territorial extent of the new state, distinct from the Ottoman territory by the attributes of self-government and a character as Christian principality (Noradounghian, 1900: 132).

As a result, Western commentators noted that "in fact, the line of armed separation [quarantine] between the Ottoman Empire and its dependent northern provinces" turned the suzerainty into a legal fiction (Quin, 1835: 178; McNeil, 1836: 105-106). The debates between diplomats on the legal meaning of the terms of the Treaty continued, as in the case of previous treaties, and were resumed by jurists and historians of law in the second half of the nineteenth century (Becker Lorca, 2010: 506-511, 538-539), but the historical reality shows that these sterile discussions did not prevent Russia from extending its occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia for five years and imposing

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<sup>4</sup> The rulers of Serb-controlled districts were appointed by Milos Obrenović from among his relatives and comrades-in-arms, ensuring in this way the loyalty of the administration.

its will, as an *act of power*, by the Treaty of Petersburg (art. II) (Tratatul de la Petersburg, 24 January 1834: 338). In the cases of Serbia and Greece the situation proved different, explained by the absence of military occupation and, not least, by the different scale of Austrian and British involvement.

The clarification of certain structural ambiguities of the political regimes in the Danubian Principalities before 1848 requires not only an investigation of their internal situation and Russian strategies of political interference, but also a comparative analysis in relation to the conceded constitutional acts in Europe in the same period. The modern character of the various constitutional texts until 1848 remained a territory of dispute between authors, for methodological reasons. From the perspective of the theory of law, the constitution must meet two mandatory criteria: it must limit the powers of the rulers, guaranteeing the rights of the individual, because "any society in which the guarantee of rights is not assured, nor the separation of powers established, has no constitution" (Constitution Française, 3-14 September 1791: III) and be endowed with legal supremacy over all other laws (Jellinek, 1913: 179-182; Barthélemy, 2006: 60-75). Law theorists have insisted on a canonical configuration of the modern constitution: sovereignty of the people, inviolable individual rights, separation and balance of powers, independence of the judiciary, ministerial responsibility, etc (Dippel, 2005: 160-162). Other authors, especially among historians, have pursued a more flexible approach to the coverage of the principles, concerned mainly with the transforming power of constitutional acts on the political regimes and societies under investigation (Vick, 2014: 254-255). Pierre Rosanvallon called the years 1814-1830 the "Age of Reason", the golden age of political reflection in France, in search of a balance between political stability and the protection of liberties after the excesses of the previous period (Rosanvallon, 1994: 7-8).

### **Constitutional typologies in Europe (1814-1830)**

The current idea of the constitution in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century was not necessarily congruent with the classical political theory of the modern constitution, a legacy of the Great French Revolution (Drăganu, 1991: 39-40; Prutsch, 2013: 1-2). In the legal doctrine of the time, the conceded charter was attributed features of a constitution, such as the *French Charter* (1814), the *Constitutional Acts* of the Kingdoms of Bavaria and Württemberg, the Duchy of Baden (1818) or the *Charter of the Kingdom of Portugal* (1826) (Drăganu, 2000: 75-76). Moreover, the charter was in harmony with a central concept of political theory in the first half of the nineteenth century, the *mixed constitution*, having as intellectual references the ancient Aristotle and Polibius, and as a concrete example, the British political system (Velde, 2018: 43-44). In the British case, the idea of a *mixed constitution* defined the balance between the three branches of political power - the King (monarchy), the House of Lords (aristocracy) and the House of Commons (democracy) - according to a famous formulation of Henry John Bolinbroke, adopted and validated by theorists such as William Blackstone, William Paley and Jean de Lolme (Foley, 1999: 18). The model was extended on the continent as an ideological reference point in France during the Restoration years

(Benjamin Constant, Germaine de Staël) (Steven Vincent, 2012: 51-52)<sup>5</sup> and in the German states, especially after 1815, through the *theory of constitutional dualism* (Hummel, 2014: 1-3). The latter presupposed the monarch's singular control over the executive power and the balance of power between the king and the two parliamentary chambers, the first of which was aristocratic, only in the legislative sphere (Ertman, 1999: 38-40).

However, according to some authors, there are significant differences between the various constitutional acts of 1814-1830. A first category, starting with the French charter, represents *self-limiting monarchy*, the only legitimate source of power being the monarch, who concedes part of his exercise of power of his own free will. The second category is defined as *mixed monarchy*, "a dualistic system in which the exercise of authority is shared between the monarch and states or classes invested with concurrent legitimacy" (Lauvaux, 1996: 32), especially where the monarchy was elective, even if only for the founder of a dynasty. Although this election often involved the interference of the Great Powers, the *mixed monarchies* evolved more rapidly towards representative monarchy and a genuinely parliamentary political regime (Lauvaux, 1996: 35-36; Domingues, Moreira, 2021: 92-97; Viaene, 2001: 25-36).

Unlike the French constitutional charter of 4 July 1814, which confirmed the legitimist principle of monarchical sovereignty in an unequivocal manner ("Louis, Par la grâce de Dieu, Roi de France") and the doctrine of "Divine Providence" as the legitimate source of public power (Charte Constitutionnelle, 4 June 1814: CXII). a different interpretation was applied in German-speaking area, in defining the sovereignty, the profile and role of a constitution. The state was considered the personification of the legal and social order, its functioning being determined by a unitary system of rules (Barthélemy, 2006: 27-28). The Romanian jurist G. Alexianu masterfully described the difference between the French (in fact, Anglo-French) and German (Austro-German) doctrine of the rule of law: "the French doctrine places the individual before the State [...] and limits the authority of the State only within the margins set by the rules established by the general will [the constitution], the German doctrine places no limit on the State's right to legislate, but only obliges it to respect its own rules" (Alexianu, 1930: 139-140). He also inserted the observation that the Organic Regulations were drawn up according to the "German doctrine" – which was in the process of being established (Wilson, 2000: 112)<sup>6</sup> – and judged according to the demands of the "French doctrine".

An entire bibliography on the subject, at that time and later, validates Gheorghe Alexianu's judgments, showing that, in Europe, conceptions of the constitutional state in the first half of the 19th century did not respond to a unified set of ideas, eventually of "French revolutionary inspiration" (Guțan, 2020: 151-153)<sup>7</sup>. It does not follow a

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<sup>5</sup> Essentially, the argument of these two thinkers, who are part of the "liberal pluralism" movement, revolves around the utility of a political system in which power is shared between the monarch and the people, as a safe solution to avoid the tyranny of the monarch or of the masses.

<sup>6</sup> The rationalism of 18th-century German cameralism, rooted in the theory of natural law, explains both the preoccupation with legislative codification in the Habsburg Empire, Prussia, Bavaria and other German states, and the adherence to the model of a powerful government capable of imposing common rules.

<sup>7</sup> See Manuel Guțan's remarks on the methodology of "constitutional transplantation" in his

straight line, are many "deviations, crossroads, contradictions, uncertainties, returns" (Barthélemy, 2006: 36; Grotke, Prutsch, 2014: 3-4; Hensen, Bock, Dircksen, Thamer, 2012). Alongside the liberal doctrines based to a large extent, but not exclusively, on the political and constitutional experiences of the years of the French Revolution, and the doctrine of self-limiting monarchy, also of French origin (1814), there was, at the beginning of the 19th century, a etatist doctrine, with an impact in the Habsburg Empire, in some German states and in Russia. This doctrine places the state above the individual and 'civil society' as the sovereign guarantor of the social order, using older (autocratic) or newer (rationalist) forms of political legitimation. For instance, Hegel used his famous analytical method to explain the role of the state: the citizen is the thesis, civil society the antithesis, and the state the synthesis, the only one that can rationally guarantee the harmonization of the fundamental contradiction between citizen and civil society (Lev, 2014: 129-136).

The establishment of charters in the German states began in 1816, when Karl August, Duke of Saxe Weimar, granted a constitution. It was defined as "a pact between the prince and his subjects" and provided for the creation of a Landtag, independent courts and a free press (Kater, 2014: 32-33). The series of granted charters or constitutional pacts continued in 1818 in the southern part of the German Confederation with those given by the kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, together with the Duke of Baden. The emergence of these constitutional charters cannot be separated from the history of international relations, of relations between the Great Powers, in this case Austria, Prussia and Russia, in the establishment of a functioning political order in the German Confederation. Paradoxically, the initiators of these constitutional charters, the princes from southern Germany, were to be encouraged towards their adoption by Austria, by Metternich himself (Nafziger, 2002: 194-195), as a reaction to Karl von Stein's initiatives to persuade Tsar Alexander I to support a 'constitution' of the German Confederation, which would strengthen Prussia's political influence and prestige among the German states (Seeley, 1879: 62; Prutsch, 2013: 84-102).

Inspired to a certain extent by the draft "constitution" for Poland prepared by Alexander I, the constitutional acts of the kingdoms of Bavaria (19 May 1818) and Württemberg (25 September 1818), as well as of the Duchy of Baden (22 August 1818) (Ward, Prothero, Leathes, 1907: 362) appear in the same year when in Constantinople Baron Stroganov, the new Russian ambassador, proposed to the Porte the elaboration of a regulatory settlement for the Romanian Principalities, as a basis for the reorganization of internal institution (Stroganov, 9 January 1819: 68). Moreover, as Victor Taki observed in a recent book, in an attempt to find a common ground for

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analysis of the correlation between "actors, causes, models, means, modalities, goals and effects of the constitutional modernization process". On the one hand, the Western influences on ideology, vocabulary and constitutional language must be correlated with the power interests of the elite in order to explain the features and dynamics over time of certain constitutional solutions, refining Lovinescian evolutionary dialectical approach (revolutionary thesis, reactionary antithesis, modern synthesis). On the other hand, "the Romanian constitutional-political developments of 1800-1866 must be approached from the perspective of the balance and interaction" between "two distinct agendas of modernization", the internal one, specific to the Romanian elite, and the external one, managed by the Great Powers.

dialogue with the local elites, establishing a political order based simultaneously on the force of law and the political traditions of the region, Tsar Alexander allowed the drafting of constitutional charters, influenced by the arguments of Ioannis Capodistrias, and the use of a language of reform by Russian officials which, in the view of its promoters, was capable of harmonising the demands of monarchical legitimacy with the expectations of local elites for enlightened, rational and civilised government (Taki, 2021: 73-79). At the same time, these "constitutional" transformations were intended to ensure Russian imperial influence and interests in Poland, Bessarabia (*The Settlement of the Oblast of Bessarabia*, 1818) and the Romanian Principalities, or, in the case of the German states mentioned above, Russia's role as arbiter in the competition for influence between Austria and Prussia in the German Confederation.

All these charters explicitly affirmed the unity of power in the state, coming from the monarch, in other words, from the *principle of monarchical sovereignty*, without, however, using the rhetoric of legitimation present in the French charter. The main political aim of these charters was to associate the nobility, the other privileged states, the army and the bureaucracy to the exercise of power, on a legally founded basis and for the benefit of the state (Hummel, 2014: 4). The new charters were also intended to give structural unity to states that had received new territories with different characteristics and traditions following the Congress of Vienna (Hummel, 2014: 5-6). Another relevant illustration of the etatist doctrine results from the revision procedures, absent in the French charter, which required both a two-thirds majority of the deputies of the states and the absolute veto of the king/duke in order to reach a political agreement in the best interests of the state (Jellinek, 1913: 201-202).

The diversity of constitutional solutions in post-Napoleonic Europe and the role played by circumstances in the adoption of a particular model are perfectly illustrated by the constitutions of three Scandinavian state entities: Norway, Sweden and Finland. The Norwegian constitution, adopted in May 1814, is historically credited as the cornerstone of the nation state and a monument of *French-inspired liberalism* (Michalsen, 2014: 213-214). By contrast, Sweden, whose political elite had promised the Norwegians a liberal constitution if the union was accepted, had a constitutional charter since 1809. Despite a strong pre-modern tradition of "Swedish liberties" and the existence of a parliament with long-standing and strong powers, in which the peasants were also represented (*Riksdag*) (Nordin, 2011: 29-37), and an aversion to the absolutism of the last Swedish monarchs, the solution proposed by the committee that drafted the new constitution was an ad hoc mixture of Enlightenment principles (separation and balance of powers) and conservative governance mechanisms: the king controlled executive power without interference from the Riksdag, the privileges of the nobility were explicitly confirmed in the constitution, the idea of collective sovereignty was carefully avoided, but the sanctity of monarchical power was proclaimed (Stjernquist, 1975: 55-64).

In the same year, the constitutional history of Finland, which became an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire, began. Here, Tsar Alexander I "magnanimously" confirmed the Swedish constitutional acts that represented the Finnish legislative tradition (the Swedish *Code of Laws* from 1734, Gustav III's "constitution" of 1772 and the *Act of Union and Security* of 1789) (Nordin, 2011: 37-38; Einhorn, Logue, 2003: 38), but the Diet was never called until 1863, following a tactical

pattern of Russian "constitutional" formalism that was reserved for the European border provinces (Suksi, 2018: 25). Instead, Tsar Alexander I established in 1810 a Senate as an executive body with two departments: an administrative one composed of an "army" of bureaucrats, Finns and Russians, which effectively ran the Duchy under the authority of a Russian governor; the other, judicial, drafted legislation approved by the Tsar and functioned as a court of appeal (Kekkonen, 2004: 172-173). The historical period between 1809 and 1855 was called by Finnish historians the "bureaucratic era", marked by the gradual infiltration of Russian legal and administrative practices into Finland, the introduction of censorship, severe punishment of "subversive" actions and an educational and cultural model based on loyalty to the imperial crown and devotion to a paternal state (Kekkonen, 2004: 173-175). This political and constitutional trajectory of Finland contains similarities with the history of the Organic Regulations introduced in the Romanian Principalities.

### **Organic regulation, constitutional charter?**

The research of internal sources, associated with the comparative analysis of several constitutional models in operation at European level before 1831 (the year of the completion of the organic law), led us to the conclusion that the etatist doctrine and the welfare state model, in the variants assimilated by the Russian political and legal culture, also present in the political thinking of a part of the native boyars from the Principalities, played a crucial role in the architecture of the Organic Regulations. From a general perspective, we can see that the ideological foundations of the Organic Regulations, present especially in *The Petersburg Instructions*, revolve around the definition of the powers and needs of the state, the preservation of its proper functioning, in the name of a rational, organised and efficient administration (Ploscaru, 2014: 843; Guțan, 2020: 165-166).

Without an explanatory preamble, like in the case of the French charter of 1814, or a first "title" concerning the sovereignty and individual rights, like in the charters of Baden, Bavaria, Portugal (Laferrière, 1869: 151-153, 219-220, 488-489), the organic law inserts a single reference to the source of public powers, in article 55, where "the privileges of the Principality, treaties and *batt-i sherifs* concluded in its favor" by Russia and Ottoman Empire are mentioned, with reference to the external component of sovereignty (Reglement organicesc a Moldovei, 1831: 176). On the other hand, some ideological references to the legitimacy of public power appear in *The Instructions of Petersburg*, with the fundamental idea that "le droit d'élection des Princes de Moldavie et de Valachie par le corps des boyards avec *l'accord general des habitants*" (Enstrucțiunile ce a primit Comitetul din București, 1829: 18). This statement must be associated with the provision of art. V of the Treaty of Adrianopole, referring to the fact that the Romanian Principalities will enjoy "une administration nationale independante" and with the indication from the same *Instructions* that the Extraordinary Public Assemblies for the election of princes should be formed "dans chaque Province du haut clergé, des boyards de la première classe, d'un certain nombre des boyards de la seconde classe, des députés provinciaux choisis par les notables de chaque district au nombre de deux, enfin des députés des villes et des corporations et peut être aussi de quelques autres notables du pays" (Enstrucțiunile ce a primit Comitetul din București, 1829: 19). On the basis of this

information, it is quite clear that the original intention was for the regulatory political regime to have the profile of a *mixed monarchy*, with a representative character comparable to that of the German charters mentioned and with a territorial and corporatist character. Why, in the end, the regulatory regime created by the organic law took a different shape is a question for future research.

Following the same comparison between the texts, if in the organic law the "provisional council" (căimăcămia) was composed by "the great logothete [of justice - n.n.], the minister of the interior and the president of the High Divan", an institution with appointed members (Reglement organicesc a Moldovei, 1831: 166), in the *Instructions* the *elective character of the institution* it replaced, the kingship, was preserved, since the Ordinary Public Assembly „sera aussitôt assemblée pour choisir dans son rein, séance tenante au scrutin secret et à la majorité absolue des suffrages, trois caimacams auxquels la gestion de toutes les affaires administratives sera confiée jusqu'à l'installation définitive du nouvel Hospodar” (Enstrucțiunile ce a primit Comitetul din București, 1829: 20).

How can these changes be explained? The difficulties of Pavel Kiselev's collaboration with the boyars, the turmoil in Moldova caused by rumours about the content of the Organic Regulation and the outbreak of the Polish insurrection (Taki, 2021: 196-209) completely removed from the final text of the organic law (Reglement organicesc a Moldovei, 1831: 161-163) politically important provisions from the *Instructions*, replacing them with simple technical descriptions, without constitutional value, of the election of the deputies of the Extraordinary Assembly or of the Ordinary Assembly. The experience of the years of military occupation and the internal resistance to the organic legislation led to the fact that the two essential political issues on which the future of the regulatory political regime depended - *the question of the election of the princes* and *the procedures for the revision of the organic legislation*, an essential component of internal autonomy, guaranteed by the Treaty of Adrianople (Tratatul de la Adrianopole, 14 September 1829: 321) – were decided in a manner consistent with Russian interests of political control of the situation in the Romanian Principalities (Colecția Microfilme Rusia, 1830, Minciaky to Kiselev, 2/14 April 1830: 379). Initially, the revision was assigned to an Extraordinary Public Assembly, a solution agreed in the "committee of reforms", as it clearly emerges from a report of Minciaki. He was against the presence of this provision in the final form of the Organic Regulations, because the free election of the princes would generate intrigues and internal tensions, fed by the consuls of the other Great Powers, with unpredictable results, and the prerogative of revising the Regulations would allow the boyars, over time, especially in Moldavia, to alter the foundations of the regulatory regime (Colecția Microfilme Rusia, 1830, Minciaky to Kiselev, 2/14 April 1830: 380-381).

### **Serbia's first "constitution" (1835) - charter or organic act?**

The issue of the organisation of the institutions of autonomous Serbia proved to be delicate and marked by tensions, both between Russia and Prince Milos, and between the latter and the internal opposition, which wanted reforms and saw Obrenović's personal government as a transitional phase, justified only until the Ottoman Empire formally recognised the existence of the new Christian principality in the Balkans (Ćirković, 2004: 190-195). On the basis of the provisions of the Treaty of



Adrianople, Russian diplomacy became more involved than before as an intermediary and arbiter of Serbian-Ottoman relations on the materialisation of the regime of "independence of internal administration", wishing to avoid a situation similar to that of 1815-1821, when Milos Obrenović negotiated directly with Marshali Pasha the limits of Serbian autonomy, to the discontent of the Petersburg government (Jelavich, 1991: 102). On the other hand, Russia's position of strength was not as clear as in Moldavia and Wallachia, which were under military occupation, explaining Russia's somewhat more concessive approach towards the Serbs, including the recognition of Milos Obrenović as hereditary prince of Serbia in 1830 (Popović, 2019: 11).

Initially, the data revealed by the correspondence between Milos Obrenović and Russian officials show the tendency of the protective power to impose the introduction of a Council with broad executive powers, a kind of "government" or *ministerium*, similar to the Administrative Council from the Romanian Principalities, as an intermediary institution between Prince Milos and the National Assembly (Jelavich, 1991: 102-103). This Council was to replace the Chancellery established by Prince Milos, a kind of secretariat, whose members were appointed and entrusted with various public tasks directly by Obrenović. A delicate subject for negotiation, the Council was intended to provide Russia with institutional instruments to control the power of the prince and the work of law-making, which was absolutely necessary, but Obrenović invoked, with obvious hypocrisy, the idea of "ministerial responsibility" in order to give the Assembly, over which he had more influence, legal authority over the members of the Council, perceived in principle as rivals in the exercise of public power (Dragnich, 1978: 19). The truly relevant aspect of the November 1830 *hatt-i sherif* of the Porte, namely the right of the Assembly to dismiss members of the Council only for crimes of "high treason against the Sublime Porte or violation of the laws and regulations of this country", with the prior consent of the suzerain and protective powers (Popović, 2019: 12). Aware of the Russian intentions, materialized in a draft for the organization of the institutions of the new principality, quite similar to the Organic Regulations, Milos Obrenović postponed the application of these provisions of the *hatt-i sherif*, with the tacit complicity of the Ottoman suzerain.

Nevertheless, at the domestic level, two drafts of a "constitution", dated in 1831, were written and circulated in some limited political circles. The first draft, *Plan of a Constitution (Plan Konstitucije)*, proposed the establishment of a Senate, consisting of eight members, appointed by the National Assembly, but irremovable for a five-year term, who could be removed by the Assembly for misconduct in public office (Popović, 2019: 13). The project seems to propose an alternative to the Russian intentions, and it is possible that it was drafted by a close associate of Prince Milos, using as model the Organic Regulation of Wallachia, which favoured the princely power. The second draft, called *The Constitution (Ustav)*, defined the relations between the four main institutions - the Prince, the Administrative Council, the Senate and the National Assembly - in a completely different way. Executive power was exercised by the prince through the Administrative Council, while legislative power was shared by the prince, the Senate (which drafted laws) and the Assembly, which passed the laws by deliberative vote (Popović, 2019: 13-14). In other words, we can speak of a genuine *constitutional charter*, which proposed the establishment of a *mixed monarchy* in Serbia.

This intention materialized with the adoption of the *1835 Constitution*, a curious, eclectic document, a combination of liberal principles (sovereignty of the people, citizens' freedoms, proclamation of the separation of powers in the state) and a complicated mechanism of government, the result of a political compromise, through which Prince Milos accepted the involvement in government of the district leaders, an important part of the Serbian social and military elite, who had risen in the context of the uprising between 1804 and 1818. The establishment of the Council of State, composed of 22 persons (two for each district), with legislative and judicial powers (supreme court) and from among whom the prince was to choose the six ministers, did not essentially undermine princely authority, but placed it within legal frameworks, quite similar to those existing in the Organic Regulations (Ubicini, 1871: 11-14; Svirčević, 2010: 105-108). The unusual opposition of Russia, the main Great Power which opposed the entry into force of this constitutional charter, protesting vehemently and threateningly through the extraordinary commissioner sent to Belgrade, Baron Rückman, was due both to the "subversive" liberal principles which it proclaimed, but above all to the manner in which it confirmed, from a legal point of view, the supreme authority of Prince Milos over the political system in Serbia, contrary to Russia's wishes (Yovanovitch, 1871: 66-67). Unlike in the case of the Romanian Principalities, where Russia wanted to limit the power of the "disturbing aristocracy" by the Organic Regulations (Papadopol-Calimah, 1886-1887: 92), in the case of Serbia the protective power wanted to limit the power of the prince in order to control the political situation, using the opposition of the other local leaders (Hehn, 1986: 23-24).

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In an attempt to pursue the comparative investigation further, the brief review of several political regimes with constitutional features prior to 1830-1831 suggests the *existence of some typologies in continental Europe*. A genuinely modern constitutional route was to be followed by France (1830) and Belgium (1831) as independent kingdoms. The German states mentioned above, the Netherlands, Portugal, Piedmont and Greece would benefit from monarchical political regimes with some constitutional features comparable to those of Sweden. In contrast, Finland, Poland and the Danubian principalities will endure political regimes of foreign domination, *with constitutional rudiments*, supported by strong bureaucratization, discursive and repressive control of the public space, cultural and legal "colonization". However, in the case of Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia there were some political and legal ideas specific to the local elites, due to a complex of traditions and influences, but Russian power interests and reform plans played a significant role, detectable especially through the use of the critical historical method. Nevertheless, in the two Romanian Principalities and in Serbia the legal nature of the state and the transition from patrimonial domination to the modern bureaucratic state are consistently reflected in the famous *Petersburg Instructions* and in the organic legislation, and the political form, paraphrasing Pierre Rosanvallon's definition, took shape as a mixed monarchy, although the rule retained the attribute of ruling power.

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**U.S. TRADE STRATEGY (1890-1909):  
PROTECTION AT HOME VERSUS FREE TRADE ABROAD**

*Marilena Rizeșcu\**

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***Abstract***

American trade strategy is defined by a combination of economic interest groups and competition between political parties. In the economic acts passed by Congress the almost infinitely divisible nature of the tariff, which often allowed the charges to be tailored to particular producers, created a norm of mutual noninterference and a process of legislative award in which virtually all claimants could be satisfied. As a result, the American tariff aimed for equality and uniformity in universally applied taxes. The role of political parties fluctuates depending on the interest group. The Republicans, who had an electoral base in the Northeast and Midwest, were identified as the party of protection, and the Democrats, relying increasingly on the traditionally trade-dependent South, asserted themselves as the party of free trade. From this perspective, tariff fluctuations were explained by changes in party dominance. There were multiple rapid and dramatic changes in American trade strategy; after the Civil War and before 1887, the United States was a relatively passive and highly protectionist nation-state. The rates set were high, non-negotiable and non-discriminatory. The transition from America's passive protectionism of the mid-19th century to its active liberalism of the mid-20th represents an extreme turning point. During the period 1890-1909, there was no unidirectional position regarding American trade strategy on a regular or periodic basis. Rather, trade strategy oscillated and was inferred from debates over tariff policy, the central trade issue of the age and the main instrument through which the strategy was implemented. Trade strategy is, however, different and more general than tariff policy; two (or more) tariff acts may differ in their details, but reflect a single commercial strategy. During this period, five tariff acts were passed by Congress: McKinley Tariff (1890), Wilson-Gorman Tariff (1894), Dingley Tariff (1897) and Payne-Aldrich Tariff (1909).

**Key words:** *American trade strategy, protectionism, free trade, political parties, tariff acts.*

United States transformed its tariff plan from a passive instrument of protection to a more active instrument that could protect the domestic market and help expand American exports. The two national political parties were bitterly divided over the tariff plan during this period. Between 1887 and 1897, the United States transformed its tariff plan from a passive instrument of protection to a more active instrument that could protect the domestic market and help expand American exports. Also, during this period,

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\* Postdoctoral researcher, University of Craiova, Faculty of Social Sciences, History Specialization, No. 13, A.I. Cuza Street, Dolj County, Phone: 0040251418515, Email: rizescumarilena1@gmail.com  
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American trade strategy was designed to expand exports to Latin America, largely aided by the favorable context created by Great Britain. After 1909, the United States maintained and increased this interest, but increasingly focused its attention on retaining and expanding its markets in Europe, especially France and Germany. (Becker, 1982: 26)

President Grover C. Cleveland, a Northern Democrat, abandoned the prevailing protectionism after the Civil War in his 1887 Annual Message to Congress, imposing duty-free status on raw materials. In the ensuing debates, the tariff was internationalized and conceptualized as a more active export promotion tool. While maintaining the essential structure of internal protection, both the McKinley Act of 1890, passed under the Republican administration of Benjamin Harrison, and the Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894, passed during Cleveland's second term, sought to promote relations special trade agreements with Latin American countries by reducing tariffs on a selected and limited number of raw materials. Both parties involved hoped that these new trade relations would expand American exports to the region at the expense of British and European merchants. Thus the United States sought and easily obtained both import protection and export expansion.

The second phase of American trade strategy, between 1897 and 1909, the United States continued to pursue its extreme protectionist policies and became more active in the international economic arena. Specifically, there was an expanded bilateral negotiation strategy adopted for the first time in the McKinley Act that included the increasingly protected countries of continental Europe. For the first time, in the Dingley Act of 1897, the United States offered continental Europeans reciprocal tariff reductions for the first time and threatened punitive tariffs against certain Latin American countries unless they granted trade concessions to American exporters. This new attitude reflected confidence in the ability of the United States to compete on equal terms in world markets, the Payne-Aldrich Act of 1909 granted lower tariffs to all countries that did not unduly discriminate against American goods. However, despite their differences, both tariff acts rejected the liberal principles of free trade and actively sought to exploit the national trade strategies of other countries. (Stanwood, 1903: 117).

The two national political parties were bitterly divided over the tariff plan during this period. Democrats often called for tariff-free raw materials, while Republicans campaigned for classical protectionism and, after 1890, the expansion of trade through bilateral reciprocity agreements. (Terrill, 1973: 68) However, despite their differences in rhetoric, the two political parties pursued common goals and trade strategies in the early 1890s, namely to maintain the „American system” of moderately high protection. Both parties also sought to expand American exports, particularly to Latin America, by lowering tariffs in the United States on a select and limited number of raw materials. The issue facing Americans at that time was not free trade versus protection, but how best to expand American exports while causing the least disruption to the American system. Despite their already intense rivalry, Republicans and Democrats offered surprisingly similar answers and solutions.

Between 1887 and 1897, the United Kingdom was the largest nation in the international economy, being the most productive country, although its lead over the United States gradually declined. Despite the recent rise of protectionism in Europe and elsewhere, Britain remained committed to free trade and a liberal international

economic regime. Correspondingly, tariffs were low, as they had been since 1846, and Britain continued to support open-door or non-discriminatory policies. at home, abroad and in its colonies. It was not until 1896, at the end of this first phase, that a significant tariff protection movement would emerge in the United Kingdom. (Hirst, 1925: 44). Despite asserting liberalism abroad, the UK introduced tariff protection in Europe and encouraged liberal trade policies towards its main competitors, and increasingly turned to developing markets in Asia, Latin America and Africa, where his political and economic superiority was more secure. (Hobsbawm, 1968: 76).

The opportunity to maintain both protection and export expansion was created by the United States' position as an opportunistic pawn within an international economic structure of British hegemony. America's rising relative industrial productivity generated both the capacity and the incentive to expand exports, and Britain's openness and leadership in the international economy left the United States free to adopt domestic protection. As an opportunist within a structure of British hegemony, the United States had the ability and opportunity to rule freely. Thus, they were able to achieve the preferred outcome of protection at home and free trade abroad with little direct cost to themselves. The United States consciously accepted this opportunity. (Hobsbawm, 1968: 67). The commercial openness of the British market left the country vulnerable to the policies of competitors, where each nation tried to obtain the greatest possible protection for its own industries and at the same time the greatest possible access to the markets of its neighbors. For the United States, the international economic structure of British hegemony established an era of almost unparalleled opportunity. As a result of Britain's commitment to free trade, the United States was able to pursue and achieve its preferred trade strategy. Absorbing about half of all American exports at this time, the opening of the British market largely satisfied the United States' desire for free trade abroad. The asserted passivity of the United Kingdom also allowed the United States to increasingly exploit British politics. The United States was able to build a tariff wall around its domestic market to protect its profit-growing industries from competitive imports without fear of British retaliation and Germany exploited similar opportunities, having strong preferences for protection at home and free trade abroad. As long as England and her colonies remained open, France and Germany could freely export those products in which they specialized. Also, under Britain's passive trade strategy, France and Germany could maintain high tariff barriers at home without fear of retaliation. (Percy, 1920: 66)

With an extensive and dynamic domestic market and the security of natural resources, the United States was one of the few countries in the late 19th century that could have chosen to pursue an autarkic trade strategy. Indeed, American foreign trade averaged only 14% of Gross National Product at this stage, compared with 45% for the United Kingdom, 50% for France, and 30% for Germany. (Waltz, 1979: 212). However, in contrast, the United States also had the second most productive economy and was potentially competitive in a relatively wide range of agricultural and manufactured goods. It could also have withstood the rigors of international competition associated with free trade policies. However, despite this wide range of viable policies, the trade strategies under discussion in the United States were considerably narrower and strongly influenced by the country's position in the international economic structure.

To understand the American commercial strategy, society plays an important role, being conceptually divided into four groups and not necessarily homogeneous or exclusive, namely: producers (capitalists and workers), financiers, farmers and consumers. The political importance of the trade industry increased dramatically throughout the era. In 1890, 65% of the population of the United States lived in rural areas, so there was therefore little manufacturing activity. By 1930, rural residents had fallen to 44% of the population. Similarly, the share of manufacturing in national income rose from 18.2% between 1889 and 1899 to a peak of 21.9% between 1919 and 1929. (Becker, 1982: 65). Although not direct measures, these percentages indicate the growing political power of vested interests industrial in the United States.

Proposals to expand exports were increasingly common in Washington and the rest of the country, great progress was made in the development of ports, canals, and railroads, and the tariff remained a passive instrument of pure protection. However, as America's relative labor productivity and international competitiveness greatly increased, the opportunity costs of failing to expand exports increased, ultimately leading to a shift in the focus of the policy debate. Fortunately for the United States, greater free trade was not necessary as long as Britain remained committed to economic openness and a trade strategy without retaliation. By the late 1880s, the foreign policy executive—with little pressure from society—had recognized the potential benefits of expanding exports and sought to reorient the tariff accordingly. However, to do so would be giving up the benefits of expanding exports. Likewise, a free trade strategy was also possible, which would have led the market to gradually increase American exports. (Williams, 1969: 106).

Both Great Britain and the United States have found in Latin America an area of particular expansion of exports, primarily due to the relatively high level of economic development of the region, as well as well-established commercial models. Very important to the United States was the region's geographic proximity, which provided an economic advantage and fit into a broader political strategy of American regional dominance. Most American products entered Latin American markets on roughly equal terms with those of Great Britain and other European producers. In several cases, especially in railway equipment and in building and shipbuilding, equality of opportunity was insufficient to replace special trade relations between British manufacturers and their Latin American consumers, and the United States speculated on favorable or preferential access to these markets. Given the existing situation, especially in agriculture, the Europeans had not yet developed the market or established trade because they had no comparative advantage, and in these areas, the United States had to cultivate its own export markets without European assistance. Moreover, the path to the expansion of American exports to Latin America had already been created by Great Britain, and American trade had only to reshape itself to suit its own requirements.

Despite sharply divided directives, both the Republican and Democratic parties focused on the goals of American trade strategy between 1887 and 1897. Exports were to be expanded abroad and protectionism maintained at home. In the short term, these objectives were to be met by reducing the tariff for a selected number of raw materials. The Democrats called for duty-free raw materials, but only removed the tariff on raw wool. This policy was to expand American exports—primarily agricultural products, steel,

and railroad materials—to the wool-producing regions of the world, although it was de facto limited to Latin America. The Republicans advocated certain bilateral treaties of reciprocity between the United States and several Latin American countries, in which the former would admit sugar, coffee, tea, and raw hides duty-free, while the latter would in return grant preferential duties on a specified list of Americans relating to agricultural and manufactured articles. Focusing on Latin America, trade expansionists sought to redirect the trade of that region—previously dominated by Great Britain—away from Europe and toward the United States. Foreign policy leaders, in other words, tried to preserve America's protectionist system but change the policies and actions of Latin American countries. This combination of international activism and domestic protectionism is the distinguishing feature of American trade strategy in this first phase (U.S. Tariff Commission, Reciprocity and Commercial Treaties, 1910 p. 368).

#### *The McKinley Tariff Act*

In the Great Debate of 1888, Republicans reaffirmed their commitment to protectionism. To fulfill campaign promises, the Republicans submitted a tariff bill to Congress in 1890, intended „*to be a protective measure from its enacting clause to its concluding paragraph*”. The explicitly protectionist nature of the bill was appreciated and supported by William McKinley (R.-Ohio), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee: „*We make no secret of the purpose of this bill - we want our own countrymen and the whole mankind to know him. We want to increase production here, diversify our productive enterprises, broaden the field and increase the demand for American workers*”. (U.S. Senate, Committee on Finance, Customs Tariffs, 1909: 244). In drafting the Act McKinley Tariff, he wanted to impose duties on any article that could be produced in the United States and to admit duty-free those goods that Americans could not produce at all or in sufficient quantities to meet domestic demand. As a result, tariff levels were actually increased from those in the last tariff act passed in 1883. The McKinley Act raised the tariff on dutiable imports from an average of 45.1 to 48.4 %. Items on the free list (goods that entered without paying any duty) were expanded from 33.6 to 50.8 %, reducing the duty rate on all imports from 29.9 to 23.7 % (Eckes, 1995: 98)

The McKinley Act remains perhaps best known for its proposed reciprocity provisions. Secretary of State James G. Blaine believed that reciprocity, as contained in the tariff of 1890, was not a substitute for protection, but a system of reciprocity that was not in conflict with, but in addition to, a protective tariff. Therefore, reciprocity was an extensive and external protection for American trade. Therefore, the first reciprocity agreement was signed with Brazil on January 31, 1891. Agreements were also concluded with Spain for Cuba and Puerto Rico; with the United Kingdom for Barbados, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, Trinidad, the Windward Islands and British Guiana; and with Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala. (Laughlin, 1903: 186). Each agreement offered tariff concessions by the foreign country on live animals; grains, especially oats, barley, rye and corn; meat products; bridge construction materials; cotton seed and related products; railway wagons, wagons and other materials; and timber and shipbuilding iron.

The major objective of these agreements was to gain an advantage in Latin American markets at the expense of European producers and to admit free into the

United States sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and raw hides— merchandise that were not produced at all or in quantity sufficient in the United States. Therefore, reciprocity in the McKinley Act was a form of coercion since the Americans did not offer a differential advantage to the countries concerned, only a differential disadvantage (Lawder, 1892: 125). The United States also sought to negotiate reciprocity agreements with Austria-Hungary and the German Empire, allowing beet sugar produced in those countries duty-free in exchange for explicit tariff concessions the two nation-states had recently granted each other. The United States' intention was not to gain new trade advantages through these agreements, but merely to maintain the market access it had previously enjoyed. The expected result was the signing of these two European reciprocity agreements that were side effects of the McKinley Act: the extension of reciprocity to European beet and sugar producers was not considered in the legislative debates, but Europe was specifically excluded because the manufactures of that region will enter into direct competition with American producers.

*The Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act*

The Wilson-Gorman Act of 1894 added several important raw materials to the tax-exempt list, including wool, coal, iron ore, and lumber. Hides and raw sugar, placed in the McKinley Tariff of 1890, remained unratified in the House version of the bill. As it passed the House, the bill also faced greater opposition in the traditionally more protectionist Senate, where Democrats held only a slim majority. When the bill finally made it out of the upper house, after adding 634 amendments, only wool and timber remained on the duty-free list (Rhodes, 1967: 420).

Of these various raw materials, wool was the most important, and duty-free coal and iron ore could benefit only a few manufacturers in New England and the Pacific Northwest, where geographic proximity and ease of ocean shipping gave foreign manufacturers a small cost advantage. Sugar and hides were quite important, but the political battle over these products had already been fought under the Republicans, although, strangely, the verdict on free sugar was reversed under the Senate Democrats. As for wool, the situation was critical. Given its importance to the burgeoning American textile industry and its pivotal position in the protectionist coalition, if the Democrats had not obtained this important proposal, their efforts would have been considered a total failure. Thus, wool was placed on the free list and the goal was to reduce taxes on wool products, which meant a revolutionary step in tariff reform actions (Smith, 1926: 97-169). The United States had established itself as a fairly high-cost producer of raw wool. Even under economic protection, American wool producers could not meet the growing domestic demand, and a significant amount of raw wool continued to be imported. A real benefit to the agricultural sector was the raw wool tax, which was the only item in the tariff that helped soften farm opposition to the tariff as a whole.

The McKinley Act Tariff provided for a specific tax of 33 cents per pound roughly equivalent to the raw wool tariff and an ad valorem duty of 40% on woolen cloth which was not worth more than 30 cents per pound. Under this mixed tax system, both the wool grower and the producer could benefit at no additional cost to

the other. The Wilson-Gorman Act eliminated both the raw wool tax and the specific countervailing duty.

Seen from the liberal commercial strategic point of view, it does not matter which category of goods imports increase, but under the hypothesis of bilateral balancing, the tariff-free raw materials program becomes mercantilist. In the Democrats' hypothesis regarding bilateral balancing, an expansion of exports to certain regions and countries was desired. Therefore, the commodities selected for inclusion in the program—in this case, raw wool—were of significant importance. The United States mainly imported raw wool from the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Russia, South America, China, and Turkey. However, almost all of the wool imported by the United States from the United Kingdom came from one of Britain's main suppliers: Australia, New Zealand, the East Indies, South Africa, Russia, Turkey, South America, and France (Mitchell, 1962: 194). Through the provisions of the Wilson-Gorman Act, imports of raw wool from Latin America increased more rapidly than from any other region. Imports rose up to 18% from Australia and New Zealand, 21% from China and 13% from Turkey, but fell 59% from Russia. Raw wool imports from Uruguay and Argentina increased by 60 and 90% respectively. As Democrats expected, US exports to South America also rose substantially. According to the Wilson-Gorman Act, exports as a whole fell by about 15%, largely due to the third downturn of the Great Depression between 1893 and 1897. (Hoffman, 1970:5) Similarly, exports to Europe also fell by 21%, and those to Latin America fell 4 %, but exports to South America actually rose 9 %. Thus, despite what might now be recognized as a possible erroneous assumption of bilateral balancing, the democratic policy of tariff-free raw materials succeeded in its objective of expanding exports to Latin America. Despite the free trade rhetoric often associated with the tariff-free commodity platform, it should be noted that the Wilson-Gorman Act was not an attack on protectionism.

In 1895, 70 %, of the total value of domestic exports was composed of agricultural products. The products of the fisheries and of the forest and mining, partaking of the qualities of agricultural products in being subject to the law of diminishing returns, raised the proportion to 77 %, leaving about 23 %, contributed by American manufactures. The articles of food and the crude materials of manufactures are exported to countries which have developed industrial rather than agricultural systems, and which need the food to support their laboring populations, and the raw materials to feed their industries (Depew, 1968: 21). So long as the United Kingdom held almost the monopoly in the great manufacturing industries where machinery has superseded hand labor, our export trade was chiefly with that country. Within twenty-five years the rise of large manufacturing interests on the Continent, and the extension of merchant marines of continental countries, have been reflected in the direction of American exports. What would formerly have gone to Great Britain and thence been distributed throughout continental Europe is now-sent to the continental countries direct.

To sum up, the United States export trade contributes the cotton used in cotton manufactures wherever the industry is developed; by its bread-stuffs and provisions it contributes a necessary element to the support of the industrial peoples of other lands, supplying a cheap and wholesome food; its mineral oils are to be found

everywhere, giving a cheap and safe light to peoples who have lived heretofore in semi-darkness; its tobacco has always been appreciated, as have its naval stores; its agricultural implements and tram-cars, its clocks and watches, and its rubber goods are evidences of a superior inventive ability. The lines of the export trade of the United States are so broad and well defined that nothing within the reach of human possibilities can destroy their main features.

American agriculture supported most of the exports, the growth of cotton cultivation and its rapid expansion in the South, were the main features of export development for several decades. In 1900, the estimated population of the country was 76,212,168, and the land area of the country was 2,970,000 square miles. The value of domestic exports per capita in the last decade of the 18th century was slightly less than 6 USD; per capita exports in 1895 were over \$11. The productive capacity of the country was thus sufficient to feed, clothe, and support in increased comfort a population which had increased in number seventeen times; and in time furnished a surplus which doubled the relative importance of the export trade, and increased fifty or sixty times in absolute value, for the \$800,000,000 in 1895 represents an enormous trade (1900 Census, retrieved from <http://www.1900census.com/>).

The United Kingdom received 48 % of the exports and contributed 22 % of the imports. No other country approaches this percentage in American trade. The natural advantages of the harbor of New York long since pointed it out as a great commercial center; while the enterprise and liberality of State and citizens in making internal improvements have enabled it to maintain a dominant position in the face of intense and apparently almost destructive competition. Canals and railways and banking institutions having foreign connections have made the city what it is. Two thirds of the entire imports are received through New York, and more than one half of the exports are sent out through that port. The main geographical characteristics of the foreign trade of the United States are represented in the following table:

<i>Imports and exports in 1895 by geographical division</i>					
	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent of imports and exports</i>
Europe	\$383,645,813	52.4	\$627,927,692	17.7	65.72
North America	133,915,682	18.3	108,575,594	13.4	15.74
South America	112,167,120	15.3	33,535,935	4.2	9.46
Asia	77,626,364	10.6	17,325,057	2.2	6.17
Oceania	17,450,926	2.4	13,109,231	1.6	1.98
Africa	5,709,169	0.8	6,377,842	0.8	0.79
All other countries	1,454,891	0.2	696,814	0.1	0.14
<i>Total</i>	<i>\$731,969,965</i>		<i>\$807,538,165</i>		<i>100.00</i>

(Depew, 1968: 23)



Although still a hegemonic leader in the international economic structure, the United Kingdom declined rapidly in the period 1897-1912. Between 1890 and 1900, Britain's share of world trade fell from only 18.5 to 17.5 %. From the turn of the century to 1913, the United Kingdom's share of world trade fell from 17.5 to 14.1 %. More importantly, the United States surpassed the United Kingdom in relative productivity as early as 1897, creating an important shift in the international economic structure. For the first time since 1846, during this period of decline, protectionism re-emerged as a major political force in British politics (Sykes, 1979: 212). Anglo-American trade, traditionally based on the existing complementarity between the resource-rich United States and industrial Britain became less central. The British market could no longer suit American needs, a conclusion reflected in trade patterns: in 1888 the United States shipped 52 % of its exports to the United Kingdom, and by 1897 Britain's share of American exports had fallen to 46 %, and by 1912, to only 26 % (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1975: 903).

<i>Foreign Trade of different countries in Million Sterling</i>												
<i>Countries</i>	<i>1720</i>	<i>1750</i>	<i>1780</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>1820</i>	<i>1830</i>	<i>1840</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1880</i>	<i>1889</i>
Great Britain	13	21	23	67	74	88	114	169	375	547	698	740
France	7	13	22	31	33	41	66	95	167	227	339	311
Germany	8	15	20	36	40	46	52	70	130	212	294	367
Russia	8	14	17	30	22	28	33	40	48	103	131	118
Austria	2	4	6	8	10	15	22	29	47	83	107	92
Italy	3	5	7	10	15	20	30	38	52	66	91	94
Spain	10	14	18	12	10	7	10	11	25	41	50	59
Portugal	2	3	4	4	3	3	4	5	8	10	14	18
Scandinavia	2	3	5	5	6	8	12	18	27	48	64	72
Holland and Belgium	4	6	8	15	24	30	45	61	86	136	237	310
Switzerland	1	2	3	5	6	8	10	20	30	45	60	60
Turkey,etc	2	3	4	5	6	7	10	20	29	55	49	72
<i>Europe</i>	62	103	137	228	249	301	408	576	1,024	1,573	2,134	2,313

(Depew, 1968: 23)

As America's export horizons expanded far beyond Great Britain and Latin America it aimed to include Asia and continental Europe in its commercial strategy. Therefore, Germany and France proved to be troublemakers for American policymakers. After abandoning free trade in 1879, Germany subsequently negotiated bilateral tariff treaties with Austria-Hungary in 1891, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland in 1892, Russia in 1894, Japan in 1896, and Spain in 1899. Each so-called "Caprivi treaty," lowered duties on a wide variety of products and generalized these concessions to all nation-states with which Germany possessed unconditional most-favored-nation (MFN) treaties (Percy, 1920: 60). Because the United States adhered to only the conditional MFN principle, these concessions were not automatically extended to American goods. France followed Germany in the direction of proposed discriminatory trade practices and increased protection in the Meline Tariff of 1892. Significantly raising tariff levels in France, the Meline Act established minimum and maximum tariffs, the latter to be applied to all countries that discriminated against or placed high taxes on French products. Most European countries have secured their tariffs; only Portugal joined the United States.

*The Dingley Tariff Act*

In its substantive provisions, the Dingley Act of 1897 is characterized by important similarities to the McKinley Act of 1890, addressing both protectionism and reciprocity. However, although we encounter the successful policies of the first phase, the Dingley Act introduced the new concern of the United States to expand into European markets. In the Dingley Act, reciprocity was expanded and established as a powerful tool of trade policy. In implementing their respective provisions, both chambers agreed that reciprocity should be extended to facilitate American access to European markets.

Although it greatly revolutionized American tariff policy, the fourth section of the Dingley Act—which gives the president the power to negotiate tariff reductions of up to 20 % on any product in exchange for comparable concessions—was not successful. The treaty with France was the first to be negotiated in terms of the Dingley Tariff Act, substantially the most important, and perceived as a „test case” for the other European states. The negotiations were launched by a French proposal that the United States grant their country the full 20 % discount authorized in the bill on the entire range of goods imported into the United States in exchange for France's minimum tariff on all American goods (Terrill, 1973: 200).

John A. Kasson, appointed special reciprocity commissioner by President McKinley, seriously considered this proposal, but it was rejected. In the final treaty signed on July 24, 1899, France extended to the United States minimum tariffs on all but 19 of the 654 items listed in its tariff. Of the 19 items, only boots and shoes and machine tools were of expected importance. All these concessions had already been granted to France's most favored nations. The United States, in return, agreed to cut tariffs on 126 items by 5 to 20 %. Most importantly, Kasson refused to consider cuts to the wool program, which was of prime importance to France. None of the reductions granted to France had been granted to any other country at that time. The treaty with France, and especially Kasson's failure to secure the entire minimum program, caused considerable controversy in the United States, especially among boot and shoe manufacturers in Massachusetts. Without the president's active support, the treaties died quietly. Discouraged, Kasson resigned on 9 March 1901 and no further treaties were negotiated (Younger, 1955: 369).

*The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act*

The Payne-Aldrich Act of 1909 was the most liberal tariff enacted since the Civil War. Like the Dingley Act, the Payne-Aldrich Tariff was aimed at eliminating discriminatory tariffs in continental Europe. However, it instituted more active maximum-minimum tariff programs and embraced the liberal rule of non-discrimination – or the “open door” – in international trade. However, despite these reforms and its slightly more liberal design, The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act remained protectionist oriented.

Approaching a new challenge in its ability to compete in international markets, the United States adopted an open-door or non-discriminatory trade strategy in the Payne-Aldrich Act of 1909, which granted lower tariffs to all states that did not discriminate against American goods. In both tariff acts, the United States avoided using

liberal principles of free trade and actively sought to exploit the trade strategies of other countries to achieve the preferred outcome of protection at home and free trade abroad.

By accepting the open-door principle, the United States showed its newfound confidence in its ability to compete in international markets. Because of its position as the most productive nation-state in the international economy, the United States no longer had to rely on the special favors or unilateral advantages that reciprocity often produced to expand exports abroad. In this second phase, the United States gradually recognized that all it needed to reign supreme in the export competition was „*a fair domain without favor*” (U.S. Tariff Commission Reciprocity and Commercial Treaties, 1920: 371). President Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich Act into law on August 5, 1909, and immediately directed the State Department and the Tariff Board to investigate foreign tariff laws and their effects on American exports. He also started negotiations with foreign countries. In exchange for the implementation of the minimum program, Germany agreed to grant the United States the full minimum program. Portugal and Austria-Hungary made similar agreements. In exchange for the minimum schedule, France tripled the number of American products that received the minimum tariff. In total, the United States has successfully negotiated twenty-three agreements. By April 1, 1910, President Taft was able to certify that the United States faced no unjustified discrimination from any country and that each country's goods would receive the benefits of the minimum program (Presidents' Papers Index Series, 1972: 274).

Since its founding, the United States has constantly oscillated between a desire to retreat into the domestic market and a desire to trade in the international economy. In the described period, neither the desire for protection against imports nor the desire to expand exports was clearly stated in American politics. Faced with a growing desire to participate in the international economy and reap the benefits of steadily increasing productivity, the United States modified its traditional strategy of high tariff protection and international passivity after 1887. As the previous consensus declined, America had to decide how and to what extent trade in an international economy could not be controlled. Despite their political systems and the specific antagonisms between their tariffs, both Republican and Democratic foreign policy leaders pursued the same trade strategy. Both Republicans and Democrats sought to maintain domestic market protections and expand exports by eliminating tariffs on selected raw materials imported primarily from Latin America. Although previously seen as a passive instrument of protection, the tariff has been internationalized or reconceptualized as a more active instrument of both protection and expansion of exports. The political parties focused on the tariff policy, and according to this vision, the Republicans were the protectionist party, and the Democrats the party that promoted free trade. Variations on tariff policy are therefore explained by changes in party power, but maintaining common aspects in trade strategy.

Both the imports and exports of the United States represent the expression and measure of the development of its trade relations with the nations of the world, the importance and development of trade being proportionate to the economic growth and assertion of the political power of the country. For long periods of time, trade was restricted by economically limited markets, as well as by the impossibility of developing nations under colonial dependencies or monopolized production. Trade was a matter

of speculation generated by the long distances and relatively infrequent voyages of traders that set fluctuating prices and questionable profits.

The American commercial strategy was carried out by the government method regarding the achievement of one or more objectives established within the international economy related to the import or export of tangible goods. The assertion of American trade was rather a strategic one, characterized by interactive decision making at the lowest level: every import is another country's export. Thus, almost by definition, trade strategy referred to government policies that were conditioned by the actions of other nation-states or that aimed to manipulate the preferences and policies of others. Commercial strategy was defined by two dimensions. The first dimension concerns international market orientation, which indicates a country's willingness to allow the international market to control its trade patterns. This liberal strategy promotes free trade, based on the market as the main determinant of the pattern of international trade. A protectionist or mercantilist strategy, on the other hand, regulates trade flows set by the government in the form of tariffs, non-tariff barriers to trade, barter arrangements, or centrally planned trade. The second dimension, the degree of international political activity, denotes a country's willingness to influence the international economic order and policies of others. In a passive strategy, policies are typically directed inward, toward the country's own domestic economy; an active strategy seeks to influence the economic order and policies of other countries.

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**GEOPOLITICS OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES  
ON THE CAMEROONIAN COASTS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT  
OF A PRECARIOUS MECHANISM OF CUSTOMS SERVICES  
BY THE GERMAN COLONIAL ORDER: (1884-1916)**

*Patrick Magloire Essomo Ngossia\**

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***Abstract***

The notion of customs is not foreign to African civilization. Long before Western penetration on the Cameroonian coasts, traditional societies practiced it there according to their socio-cultural and economic considerations. Struck by the natural wealth that was exposed by the pre-colonial coastal peoples on the trading posts, this very quickly aroused the race and the greed of the European powers on the Cameroonian coasts. Portuguese, Dutch, English, Spanish, French and Germans clashed over their economic interests on the Cameroonian coasts. It is in this perspective that Germany, which annexed Kamerun on July 12, 1884, quickly set up a customs service. Because she knew that customs regulated trade and was considered one of the real catalysts of modern economies in this sense, it is thanks to it that a country can ensure its commercial development as well as the protection of its industries in times of crisis. From primary, secondary and iconographic sources, our reflection will show how the German colonial machine had set up a customs service not to develop their new colony but rather to exploit it economically.

**Key words:** *Customs - colonial order - Germany - Cameroonian coasts - rivalries of economic interests - colonial powers.*

**Introduction**

The interest of taxing goods entering or leaving a territory was perceived very early on by States. In pharaonic Egypt, the conquered states were forced to pay a tribute which was mainly made up of cattle, gold and various other precious objects. This trend will spread centuries later through the territories of Europe and America to create a climate of protectionism where each State wanted to maximize its profits by protecting its areas of influence.

However, it is to the Persian language that we owe the origin of the word “customs” which was translated by the Arabic “dioun” and later by the Italian “doana dogana” (Montoussé, 1999: 112-113). This word originally defined the place where the financial administrators met; definition that will evolve in the modern period to designate the administration responsible for collecting duties on goods imported and exported in a territory. Moreover, customs is now asserting itself as being one of the true catalysts of modern economies in this sense, it is thanks to it that a country can ensure its commercial development as well as the protection of its industries in times of crisis. Most of the European powers had analyzed this trend so well that from the beginning of the 20th century, we are going to witness a veritable rush towards new territories, Africa in particular. This rush was intended to put in place a certain number of mechanisms which were to guarantee the imperialist powers a monopoly in

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\*Senior Lecturer, Department of History in University of Douala, Street Ange Raphaël, POBOX: 2167, Republic of Cameroon, Phone: +237 695044831, Email: [tsangopatrik@yahoo.fr](mailto:tsangopatrik@yahoo.fr)

commercial exchanges. These included customs structures whose main role was the collection of funds from foreign trade. Germany, which was the first colonial power to annex the Cameroonian coasts, accentuated this commercial activity by improving the quality of food production on the one hand, and on the other hand, by developing the communication infrastructures (roads, rail, ports) necessary for the commercial development of the territory to better exploit this new territory which had fallen under its colonial yoke.

To better illustrate our point in this analysis, we will first illustrate the commercial geopolitics between coastal peoples and Europeans before German colonization and secondly, we will focus attention on the first economic mechanisms set up by Germany to regulate customs activities on the Cameroonian coasts.

### **The riches of the Cameroonian coasts and the geopolitics of commercial activities before colonization**

The Cameroonian coast was not unknown to European navigators. It was indeed at the beginning of the 5th century that the Carthaginian Hanno discovered Mount Cameroon in the midst of a volcanic eruption. He will call it “Chariot of the Gods” (Mveng, 1963: 10). It is again the splendor of the mountain that will attract the attention of the crew of Fernando Pô who will thus penetrate the bay of Biafra and go up the Wouri estuary to discover the “Rio Dos Camaroes”. Struck by the splendor and wealth of these wild territories, it was wise to exploit them as quickly as possible. It is in this perspective that the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, the English, Germans and French animated the commercial activities on the Cameroonian coasts well before the advent of colonization.

### **The Portuguese period and the beginning of commercial activity on the coast of the Oil River Cameroon**

Between 1472 and 1885, Cameroon experienced the influence of Portugal, Spain and Great Britain. These different nations have developed at the level of the coast, a commercial traffic whose importance will result in the increase in agricultural production and the advent of a market economy, based on currency to the detriment of barter. (Etoga Eily, 1971: 63). As far as Portugal is concerned, this naval power has dominated trade in the Bay of Biafra and particularly on the Cameroonian coast between the 16th and 17th centuries. By far the most practiced activity was the slave trade. The Portuguese structured and organized it; the merchants with the help of the local chiefs left for a real expedition which lasted long weeks through the neighboring territories thanks to the captures, raids and other kidnappings, the slaves were piled up in the converted counters, a kind of deposits which served as a store, beyond, the local chiefs received their counterparties which were mainly made up of “manillas” a kind of brass and copper bracelets, rum, salt, fabrics. Towards the end of the 16th century, we noticed the increasing practice of the use of cowries which served as currency. (Etoga Eily, 1971:69). Little by little, the Portuguese abandoned the Cameroonian coast in favor of the Indies; the Spaniards and the Dutch will monopolize the slave trade.

### **The Spanish and Dutch period**

This period goes from the end of the 16th century to the beginning of the 17th century. The slave trade will keep the same configuration as during the Portuguese period. The asiento will pass under the control of the Spanish then the Dutch who, thanks to their powerful and fast ships will arrogate the monopoly of the exchanges in



the coast. The principle was the same, the slaves were exchanged according to the method of barter by products which came from Europe and the East. Only, the slaves of the Cameroonian coasts reputed for their rebellious spirits as noted by E. Mveng were not at all appreciated by the Portuguese and Dutch (Mveng, 1963: 90). With the beginning, the emergence of the philanthropic movements in favor of the abolition of the slave trade in the XVIIth century, the presence of the Spaniards and Dutch begins to lose importance.

### **The English period**

This period, which dates from the end of the 16th century, is marked by the appearance on the Cameroonian coast of the ships of Bristol and Henry King. The latter, a quaker and a convinced philanthropist, came to found a company supplying and transporting goods (Etoga Eily, 1971: 76). With the total ban on the slave trade on the African coasts in the 19th century, the English set up a new exchange system called "Trust". Different from barter, which consisted of give-and-take exchanges of goods, the "trust" consisted of exchanges of goods on credit. In this system, Europeans left goods to local chiefs who then undertook to supply them as soon as following trip a corresponding quantity of palm oil, ivory, kola... the goods left by the Europeans consisted of machetes, gunpowder, guns, salt, loincloths and tobacco. A calculation system was put in place for lack of currency, the English calculated by equivalence of the product in other markets. So, for example, a ton of ivory was valued at 240 pounds (Essomo, 2005: 35). This sum was estimated as follows: for a ton of ivory the English gave 15 kg of salt valued at 15 pounds; 17 barrels of powder corresponding to 51 pounds, 50 rifles equivalent to 30 pounds, 54 cotton goods at 61 pounds, 2 barrels of brandy at 20 pounds, 30 copper utensils at 22 pounds, and various other products at 41 pounds. This gave a total of 241 pounds (Essomo, 2005: 37). The "trust" system necessarily had its limits, the goods recovered on the coast were sold 4 to 5 times more expensive in mainland France. The coastal chiefs like King Bell and King Akwa or Malimba received in the 19th century taxes on the circulation of products, in return, they guaranteed the commercial monopoly of the English. This tax, called "dash", consisted of 40 books, 60 muskets, 2 large measures of rum, 1 ceremonial jacket with epaulettes, 1 sabre. Various other taxes were levied, in particular the tax on the berthing of ships and on the unloading of goods (Etoga Eily, 1971:76).

Meanwhile, the English had continued to fight against the slave trade which continued to be carried out in secret. The climate was becoming more and more explosive between the Europeans and the local populations required rapid regulation. It is in this perspective that was signed between the English Consul Hutchinson and the local leaders Douala (Etoga Eily, 1971:97). The treaty of January 14, 1856 established the creation of a Court of Equity whose role was to judge commercial disputes between Europeans and natives, also the law of 1856 set up a tariff which ships had to pay after their anchorage with local chiefs. The tariff was fixed at 10 Krus/100 T for boats and it was to be determined for residents on the ground. In addition, the shopping fee was set at 4 Krus which the trader paid in advance (Essomo, 2005: 40) .

It is noted that one cannot consider this treaty as being a true customs regulation but, one can grant to him the fact that it constituted the first true base of a commercial activity of great importance; because in the space of 20 years, that is to say in 1876, commercial activity will experience an increase never equaled in the past.

Products from the hinterland flock to the coast Florian Etoga speaks of “a peak”. It is also the period of the advent of other commercial actors such as France and Germany with the firms Woerman, Jantzen und Thormeln. It is also finally the period of the English hesitations about the definitive annexation of Cameroon, an annexation however desired by the local chiefs but which was finally carried out by Germany thanks to the treaty of July 12, 1884 (Mveng, 1963: 168; Owona, 1996).

### **The colonial period: German colonization in Cameroon**

The Germans who took possession of Cameroon as early as 1884 had first, in accordance with the act of the Berlin conference<sup>2</sup> visit and pacify the hinterland in Cameroon before developing it, to then exploit the immense wealth of the territory. We will immediately see how the Germans laid the foundations of a real commercial policy by first studying the development of the customs territory, then the beginnings of exploitation and commercial traffic.

The end of the pre-colonial period was marked by the submission of African countries to European powers. In Cameroon, the Germans were the first to undertake development trials. The English and French inherited this experience with the concern inherent in any colonial enterprise, as Jean Suret Canale pointed out: "The goal of colonization is to carry out advantageous transactions, to sell the products of European industry and to obtain in exchange raw materials or foodstuffs" (Canale, 1962: 79). It is thus a question of seeing how Germany organized its customs activity starting from the development of the territory on the agricultural and industrial level.

### **The economic activities that conditioned the establishment of a precarious customs service in Kamerun**

To fuel the territory's commercial exchanges with the outside world, the Germans undertook the development of the agricultural, forestry and mining sectors. This was first the work of the commercial companies present in the territory and a little later of the colonial administration.

### **The development of the agro-pastoral and mining sector**

As far as commercial companies are concerned, the Woerman firm, through the Chamber of Hamburg, put real pressure on the executive bodies of the imperial empire to push for the granting of capital and territorial concessions in the colony. Other larger companies soon appeared, these were the Nord West Kamerun Gesellschaft in 1890 which received a concession of 100,000 km<sup>2</sup> stretching from the Sanaga to the British border (Mveng, 1963: 74), the Sud Kamerun Gesellschaft appeared in 1898 created by Scharlach and Shalto Douglas, influential men of the empire, this company always received according to E. Mveng, five million hectares, which was reduced to 1 million and a half in 1905 (Mveng, 1963: 74).

The day after the signing of the Germano-Douala treaty, the Germans took possession of Cameroon (Essomo, 2005). The need to supply metropolitan industry with raw materials prompted them to carry out an ambitious cultivation program (Mveng, 1963: 74). Thus, from 1884, the Germans undertook development as a policy of exploitation of Cameroon. This policy was to go through the systematic exploitation of the country's wealth and establish structures responsible for animating the

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<sup>2</sup>This act stipulated above all the principle of the hinterland to penetrate the interior of a colony until it encounters a natural obstacle or a border of a territory signatory to the Berlin Act.

agricultural sector on the one hand industrial on the other (Owona, 1996: 76-77). and because of the favorable conditions for agricultural practice in most regions of Cameroon, the Germans had developed an agrarian policy. They proceeded first by creating large concessions with the intention of doing development by chartered companies. Thus, the territory was divided into two large concessions: the Gesellschaft Sud Kamerun and the Gesellschaft Nord-West Kamerun (Chazelas, 1931: 55).

**Photo n° 1: German plantations during the colonial period**



Source: Essomo, 2005: 15-25.

The Gesellschaft Sud Kamerun or the Southern Cameroon Concessionaire Company was established on November 28, 1898 (Etoga Eily, 1971: 182). Its founders were Julius Scharlach and Schalt Douglas. Located in the virgin forest of southern Cameroon, this concession had 7,200,000 ha. It produced in 1908 1214 tons of rubber for an estimated value of 4,780,000 marks (Etoga Eily, 1971: 183). From 1909, the production of rubber increased considerably to 1517 tons, the value of which was estimated at 7,751,000 marks. (Etoga Eily, 1971: 183). In 1912, he brought in the Southern Concession, 11.5 million marks.

The Gesellschaft Nord West-Kamerun or Northwest Cameroon Concessionary Company was founded in 1890. It stretched from the Sanaga to the British border in the West. But its exploitation was confronted with many financial difficulties. It is for this reason that the Germans abandoned the policy of large concessions to devote themselves to that of large plantations (Mveng, 1963: 120). inside hence the question of development. They proposed to divert towards the West of the territory the commercial currents which tended to take shape either towards the North or the South. However, apart from this strategic objective, the mission assigned to the companies benefiting from the large plantations was reduced to: the exploitation of the land, (Etoga Eily, 1971: 363).

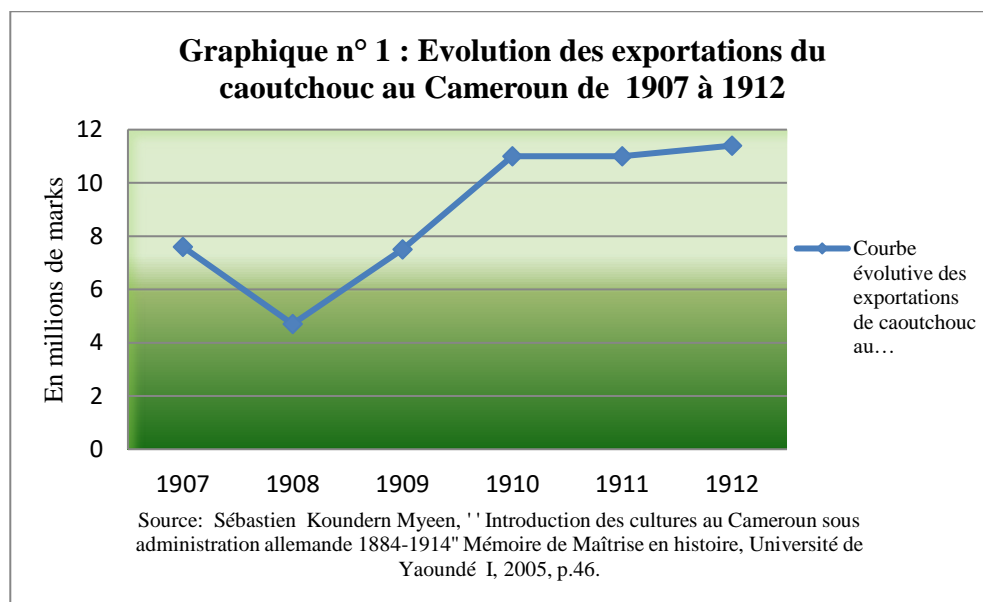
Among the companies of plantations, one quotes: the company of Victoria founded in January 1895 with a capital estimated at 2.500.000 marks. The Victoria Society Bibundi created in 1897 whose capital was estimated at 1500,000 marks. The

West Afrikanische Pflanzung Gesellschaft Victoria founded in 1897, with an area of 15,000 ha and an estimated capital of 3 million marks (Etoga Eily, 1971: 363). Alongside these large plantations there were a multitude of small plantations<sup>3</sup>. In these plantations, rubber was grown. It was for a long time the cash crop of the German protectorate in Cameroon. These exports were regular from 1907 to 1912. In 1913, the official directory of the colonies indicated that the plantations of Cameroon covered 28,225 ha, of which 11,395 were in production for the cultivation of palm trees, 5,044 ha for the cultivation of bananas and 2,164 ha for cocoa, coffee tobacco and rubber (Famechon, 1916: 46).

**Table n° 1: Evolution of rubber exports in Cameroon from 1907 to 1912**

Years Nomenclature	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
Value in millions of marks	7.6	4.7	7.5	11.0	11.0	11.4

**Source:** Sébastien Koundern Myeen, "Introduction of cultures in Cameroon under German administration 1884-1914", Master's thesis in History, University of Yaoundé I, 2005, p. 46.



<sup>3</sup>Among these, one could mention the Oechehausen plantation with an area of 2050 ha, the Ekona plantation of the Deutsche Kautschuk Aktien-Gesellschaft which had 4000 ha, the Méanja plantation, that of the Palottin fathers of Tiko and that of the Afrikanische Frucht Kompagnie which exploited banana trees. In 1913, German plantations in Cameroon covered an area of 28,225 ha, of which 11,395 were already exploited.

From this table, it appears that the first three years mark a phase of cultural experimentation. While the last three mark a period of prosperity for this culture.

Speaking of cocoa, it was grown in the regions of Mount Cameroon and Kumbo, Kribi (Baudeau, 1969: 73). This culture was intended to revolutionize the economy of Cameroon.

**Table n° 2: Areas occupied by cocoa plantations in 1912**

<b>Nomenclature Regions</b>	<b>Number of hectares</b>
<b>Mount Cameroon</b>	6.587
<b>Kumba</b>	529.5
<b>Kribi</b>	116
various	390.5

Source: Etoga Eily, On the paths of development, p. 196.

The largest cocoa plantation in the territory at the time was that of the WestAfrikanische Pflanzungs Gesellschaft Victoria (WAPV) whose production was 1600 tons in 1912 for a value of 1,600,000 marks. Coffee had also been the subject of great hopes for the plantations of Mount Cameroon. It was introduced in 1905 under Von Puttkamer (Baudeau, 1969: 73). But the tests undertaken did not bring the expected results because of the Brazilian coffee which was rampant on the world market. The banana benefited from favorable ecological conditions, the banana tree seemed to find in Cameroon one of the best lands for cultivation. From 1907, the Germans developed this crop from varieties found locally through the Afrikanische Frucht Cie of Hamburg (ANY. APA10247, 1931; ANY. APA113/C, 1930; ANY.APA1185, 1936).

Peanuts, a crop in the forest zone, were hardly developed. Groundnuts were grown as a vegetable and not as an export product. Thus, its yields hardly reached 500 kg (ANY.APA1185, 1936: 2-5). The oil palm in Cameroon as on the whole western coast of Africa, the oil palm seems to have developed since ancient times. It came in the form of a natural plant. The Germans were however going to develop this culture in the maritime zone: the palm-blet in Edéa and in the Mungo. Regarding tobacco, the Germans tried to develop it. The first tests illustrate this perfectly. They would later create the Bibundi plantation in the Mungo region (Etoga Eily, 1971: 401). Other cultures of less importance were practiced such: the rubber tree, the sisal were promised with a beautiful future. The following table shows the agricultural situation of the entire German colonization.

**Table n° 3: Agricultural situation of the entire German colonization**

<b>Nomenclature Products</b>	<b>Areas (ha)</b>	<b>Number of plants</b>
<b>oil palms</b>	5044	1,257,569
<b>Banana trees</b>	2164	1,921,345
<b>Cocoa trees</b>	13.161	7,791,078

<b>Coffee trees</b>	107	115.564
<b>Tobacco</b>	153	2,052,000
<b>Ficus</b>	43	41.150
<b>Collaborators</b>	164	17.659
<b>Kicksia</b>	3.588	4.6963.909
<b>Cassava</b>	175	116.721
<b>Rubber vines</b>	---	20.350
<b>rubber tree</b>	3.589	1,143,803
<b>Castilla</b>	07	2.584
<b>Sisal</b>	30	26.015
<b>Total</b>	28.225	19.202.747

Source: Etoga Eily, *On the paths of development*, p. 199.

The analysis of this table shows that Cameroon under German colonization had exploited 28,225 ha for 19,202,747 plants. The most cultivated crops were: cocoa, oil palm, Kicksia, banana and rubber tree.

For industry, the Germans had thought of development as a policy for the exploitation of Cameroon. This policy was to go through a systematic exploitation of the country's wealth by relying on the large German commercial firms: Woerman and Jantzen und Thormahlen (Owona, 1996: 75-76). However, despite this commercial flowering, even a local processing industry was struggling to develop. From 1905, the Germans had thought of developing some industries. These were made up of wood and palm oil factories, bakeries and brickyards. For Adalbert Owona: "Most of them were ancillary businesses of the Northern Railway Company and some palm oil, soap and brick factories (Richard, 1996: 41).

However, each factory specialized in a specific job. Bakeries ensured the marketing of bread and products such as biscuits, rusks, croissants and cakes (Owona, 1996: 78). Rail developed through the timber industry in the Wouri estuary where mangrove trees abounded (Tabi, 1978: 60; ANY. APA 12358, 1921-1950). Fishing was hardly left out. It developed through the Wutembergisches Kamerun Gesellschaft (Etoga Eily, 1971: 293-294).

The colonial authority, for its part, initiated research aimed at identifying the agricultural potential of each region. Thus, Zenker carried out research in Yaoundé, Von Stein in Lolodorf and Passage in Adamaoua (Noumi, 1992: 11). Vast plantations appeared all over the territory, in Petit-Batanga, Lolodorf, Ebolowa, Ngoulemakong, Victoria. Bananas, cocoa, rubber, coffee, cotton were grown there. The slopes of Mount Cameroon were also exploited, the Moungo region was covered with oil palm. Selected plants and seeds of new plants were distributed to the natives to promote the expansion of agriculture. The agricultural sector alone required the employment of 200,000 workers (Mveng, 1963:77). Logging and mining are not left out. The German colonial authority developed and exploited the rich ores of iron and bauxite as well as rare species of wood such as mahogany, ebony. This is how the general state of the agricultural aspect of Cameroon presented itself in 1913.

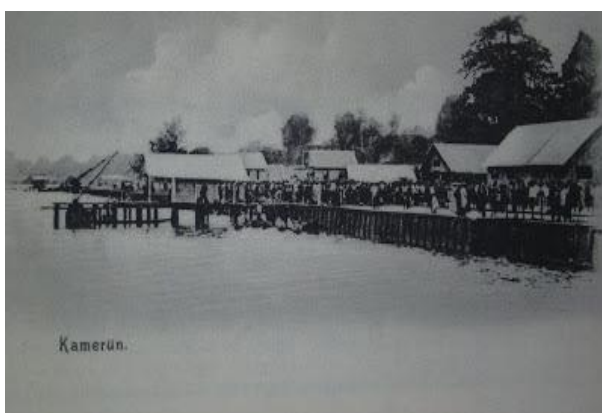
With regard to mining, the extraction of mineral resources has remained very limited in Cameroon despite the presence of large deposits of bauxite and iron (Kima,

1999: 2-3). It was in 1920 that the government of the territory began to apply the decree on mining regulations in Cameroon. This same decree made applicable the provisions of the decrees of August 4, 1901, March 19, 1905, January 8, 1916 and July 28, 1918 regulating mines in continental African territories other than Algeria and Tunisia (Mimier, 1943 : 89). Decrees on mining regulations would later be promulgated in Cameroon on March 20, 1928, and modified by the decree of February 5, 1935 (Direction de la Géologie Minière, 1969: 5-25). Operation

#### **The development of communication infrastructure in Kamerun**

The construction of the port of Douala was the real catalyst for the establishment of a customs system by the Germans in Cameroon. The development of the bank of the Wouri, near Douala, was undertaken by the firm Woerman Linie, following the first agreement with the Douala chiefs (Canale, 1962: 79). The following photo shows us the first developments of the port of Douala at that time.

**Photo no. 2:**the bank of the Wouri and the first developments of the port of Douala during the German colonial period (1890-1891)



Source: Viallet Michel, Douala in the past. Collection of old postcards of Douala, Paris, Atlantica, 2002, p. 47.

These works were indeed carried out by the administrator E. Brauchitsch, under the authority of the governor Jesko Von Puttkamer and this administrator was considered as the builder of Douala (Owona, 1996: 75-76), he transformed the traditional African village in the modern city: laying out of wide streets, draining of the Bonaku swamp, improvement and expansion of the port, construction of the dyke (raised passage) between Joss and Akwa, draining of the swamp between Akwa and Deido, beginning of the water channeling current in Douala (Famechon, 1916: 4). The Germans intended to make the port of Douala the most modern port on the West African coast, believing that the absence of a bar gave it a decisive advantage compared to the other ports on the coast (Gouellain, 2002: 48).

#### **The development of communication infrastructures**

Given the lack of adequate means of communication, the Germans had contented themselves with portage. This system, which consisted in the transport of goods and various products on the backs of men and over a more or less long distance, was not able to generate the expected profit, this because of the time that was put into the evacuation of the products from the premises of production to the places of production. The Germans therefore undertook to develop road, rail, river and maritime communication infrastructures.

With regard to land transport, the road was perceived as being the only real means that could allow access to the most remote corners of the hinterland. The German colonial authority first proceeded to the construction of a motorable road network, the South which was an important economic region saw the first motorable road 286 km long; it connected Kribi to Yaoundé and was completed in 1912 (Mveng, 1963: 78).

Similarly, the Kribi-Ebolowa branch was to be completed the same year. An automobile company whose role was to accentuate the development of road equipment and the setting up of road construction projects was created. The eastern sector was equipped, Kribi was connected to Douala with a branch to Edéa, we also had the Tiko-Buéa road. Thanks to the automobile company of South Cameroon, all the regions of Cameroon in 1914 were equipped with an appreciable road network.

The northern railway was to connect Douala to the important plantations of Moungo (Nkongssamba) starting from Bonabéri heading towards the mountainous massifs of Manengouba. This railway, which should normally be pushed north, will be confronted with enormous natural difficulties, in particular that of the very rugged terrain of the Nkongssamba region.

In 1911, it was completed and the inauguration took place on April 11 of the same year, as noted by E. Mveng, its equipment consists of: “six locomotives, nine wagons, sixty-one vans, fourteen special wagons with a staff of twenty Europeans and one hundred and ten Cameroonians”<sup>4</sup>. The central railway was to serve the southern and south-eastern regions located mainly in the forest zone rich in oil palm, rubber and above all favorable to the cultivation of cocoa and coffee. In 1914, 174 km were open to traffic from Douala to Eséka. It is in this perspective that the German colonial authority developed a precarious system of customs services in Kamerun.

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<sup>4</sup>Mveng, History of Cam..., p. 78.



### Commercial traffic and the beginnings of a customs system

In view of the German surveys and the many assets that Kamerun presented, the various commercial companies and the administration came together to put in place the structures responsible for controlling commercial traffic. It should be noted that it was in 1879 that the imperial empire set up a customs code which was readjusted in 1885 after the Berlin conference for the needs of the colonies (Nkoti Bohale, 1986: 17). It is in this perspective that the Germans implemented a customs policy which was to promote the spirit of exchanges, contained in the final act of the Berlin conference in its article 26. This article recommended that freedom of trade and of navigation on the conventional basins of the Niger and the Congo which would remain free for merchant ships of all nations, both for the transport of goods and for men. It is on the strength of this conception that the Germans set up in Cameroon a customs policy called “open door” with non-preferential tariffs which were levied ad valorem on imports (Nkoti Bohale, 1986: 17). In other words, countries that signed the Berlin Final Act could sell and buy in Cameroon. To regulate this commercial activity, which promised to be intense, the administration set up the economic committee or Kolonial Wirtschaftliches Komitee in 1898 (Mveng, 1963: 70). This committee, which was attached to the Kolonial Gesellschaft (colonial society) in 1902, played a leading role in the promotion of German foreign trade. This chamber of commerce, the Kolonial Wirtschaftliches Komitee had the role of promoting foreign trade through the organization of exhibition fairs:

- Popularize Cameroonian commercial products in mainland France;
- Diversify Germany's economic partners;
- Publish books, maps and brochures promoting Cameroon in other countries.

This policy had conclusive results insofar as there was a noticeable increase in commercial activity. The table below shows the evolution of foreign trade in German Cameroon from 1903.

**Table n° 4: Evolution of the foreign trade of German Kamerun 1903-1913**

Years	Imports	Exports	Total trade
1903	9,638,000	7,565,000	17,203,000
1904	9,378,000	8,021,000	17,399,000
1905	13,467,000	315,000	22,758,000
1906	13,305,000	9,946,000	23,251,000
1907	17,297,000	15,891,000	33,188,000
1908	16,789,000	12,163,000	28,952,000
1909	17,722,000	15,447,000	33,169,000
1910	25,580,000	1,923,000	45,503,000
1911	29,317,000	21,250,000	50,567,000
1912	34,241,000	23,336,000	57,577,000
1913	43,000,000	36,000,000	79,000,000

Source: CC. Foreign trade 1944-1950 (summary), year 1944

A careful examination of this table shows generally between 1903 and 1913 that the commercial activity of the German Cameroons is clearly increasing. The years 1903-1904 were not very important because of the lack of means of communication. From 1907, imports and exports reached the 15,000,000 mark, with 17,297,000 mark/gold for imports and 15,891,000 mark/gold. Between 1912/1913, commercial traffic reached the record base of 34,241,000 and 43,000,000 mark/gold for 23,336,000 and 36,000,000 mark. This with a trading total of 79,000,000 mark/gold. Nevertheless, a general observation can be made: the trade balance of German Cameroon is constantly in deficit. Between 1903 and 1913, the imports are higher than the exports this is due to the fact of the enormous cost of the heavy materials necessary for the equipment of the territory. Of all the German colonies, Cameroon was the one that received the smallest subsidy. In 1912, it was at 71,144,000<sup>5</sup>marks.

### Conclusion

At the end of our analysis, it was a question of knowing how the geopolitics of natural resources and the commercial activities on the Cameroonian coasts had aroused the rush of the Western maritime powers of the 15th century and later the establishment of a customs system. by the Germans who annexed Kamerun in 1884. Throughout this analysis, it has been noted that the hinterland of pre-colonial Cameroon was full of many natural resources. Commercial transactions between the pre-colonial peoples of the hinterland and those of the coast were intense and permanent. It is in this perspective that the coastal peoples positioned themselves as intermediaries between those of the interior and the Europeans in terms of commercial transactions. Consequently, the natural resources they displayed on the trading posts successively attracted the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, the English and the Germans to the Cameroonian coasts. An intense commercial traffic was born to the point where when Germany annexed Kamerun by the Germano-Douala treaty of July 12, 1884. Thus to particularly regulate foreign trade in its new colony, the Germans began to develop communication infrastructures, especially maritime as was the case of the port of Douala, the road and rail network. The Germans implemented in Cameroon a so-called “open door” customs policy with non-preferential tariffs which were levied on imports. To regulate this commercial activity which promised to be intense, the administration set up the economic committee or Kolonial Wirtschaftliches Komitee in 1898 (Mveng, 1963: 70). This committee, which was attached to the Kolonial Gesellschaft (colonial society) in 1902, played a leading role in the promotion of German foreign trade. When the First World War broke out in 1914, Germany had already set up an embryonic customs service in Cameroon, which was later developed by France, which was the new occupier of Cameroon.

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<sup>5</sup> Etoga, On the roads..., p. 255.

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ACTIVITIES OF THE ALBANIAN DIASPORA IN ROMANIA  
IN SUPPORT OF THE ALBANIAN NATIONAL CAUSE

Majlinda Peza-Perriu\*  
Ilijana Kaceli (Demirlika)\*\*

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*Abstract*

Under the circumstances of the Ottoman rule in Albanian territories during 18-19th centuries, an important role in supporting the Albanian national cause was given by the Albanian colonies in Romania, Bulgaria, Egypt, the USA, etc. The largest and earliest Albanian colony was established in Bucharest, Romania. It mostly consisted of Albanian emigrants, who had settled in Romania in the second half of the 19-th century. Most of them began to organize themselves in associations, strongly supporting the movement for the Albanian language and culture, as a good opportunity to support Albanian patriots operating in Albania. The first created associations, despite their appearance as demonstrating cultural profile, in essence they were engaged in political activities, in support of the Albanian national cause. Initially, these associations maintained close ties with the Istanbul Association which had an important contribution the spread of the Albanian language and culture and also to the creation of the first associations in Romania. The first association established in Bucharest was named "Drita" would split into two branches, forming two new associations. The process of creating the first Albanian associations in Romania, would not be easy and it was conditioned by objective and subjective factors. They faced difficulties of various natures, ranging from financial difficulties, internal contradictions between their members, the obstacles of the Greek Orthodox clergy as well as the interventions of the *Sublime Porte*. The consequence of these difficulties would as well be the birth of different groups within these colonies, reorganization and the creation of new associations. Despite the dynamics of their activity, these associations held the same attitude when national interests were violated. We aim to analyze these issues by using and analyzing document of the Central State Archive, as well as the publications of academic institutions of the communist and post-communist periods as a comparative approach between them.

**Key words:** *Albanian Diaspora, cultural associations, Statute, "Drita", "Dituria".*

**Introduction**

In the second half of the 19th century, after the suppression of the League of Prizren, there was a new wave of emigration from all parts of Albania, Kosovo, and Macedonia. The wave of emigration was so large, due to the slow and one-sided development of capitalist agrarian relations in Albania. Their position was worsened by the lack of communication and the uncertainty of the movement of people and goods (Dermaku, 1983). This is the period when the exiled Albanians settled in Romania, Egypt, Bulgaria, etc., expanding the network of old colonies in these countries. The peasantry constituted the main mass of emigrants, but alongside them, some Albanian craftsmen and merchants immigrated from cities such as Korça, Berati, Gjirokastra,

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\* Centre of Albanological and Balkan Studies "Aleks Buda". University of Elbasan "Aleksander Xhuvani", Elbasan, Albania, ORCID: [orcid.org/0000-0002-4846-7609](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4846-7609), E-mail: [majapeza@yahoo.com](mailto:majapeza@yahoo.com);

\*\* Department History-Geography, Faculty of Human Sciences, University of Elbasan "Aleksander Xhuvani", Elbasan, Albania, ORCID: [orcid.org/0000-0002-8228-9789](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8228-9789), E-mail: [ilirakaceli@gmail.com](mailto:ilirakaceli@gmail.com);

Pogradeci, Vlora, Prizren, Prishtina, etc. The placement of a large number of Albanians in the Romanian lands, who have rightly called it their "second homeland" has had a rather large impact. Albanians had found better conditions to live and work in Romania, but also the freedom to organize and contribute to the good of Albania. Taking advantage of these existing freedoms, in neighboring countries, they created the first colonies in exile to act legally economically, culturally, and politically. Even though associations with a cultural character were created in these colonies, their real purpose was activation in the Albanian national movement, helping directly to the development of the culture of the Albanian Renaissance and the liberation of the homeland from Ottoman rule. Among the largest Albanian colonies in the Balkans in that historical period was the Albanian colony in Romania.

### **The First Albanian Associations In Romania**

The Romanian state, formed by the unification of the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldova (1861), after the victory of independence in 1878, became the main settlement of emigrants coming from different provinces of the Ottoman Empire, as well as Albanian emigrants. In Bucharest, Iași, Craiova, Kostanta, Braila, etc., the development of industry took off, the construction of roads and railways, the exploitation of underground resources, etc. This development required, among other things, workforce (Myzyri, 2004).

The earliest and most important Albanian colony was formed in Romania. Orthodox Albanians from the province of Korça, had settled in the Romanian capital, Bucharest (Skëndi, 2000). Most of them, working as merchants or craftsmen, managed to accumulate considerable wealth, while gradually, they began to free themselves from the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church by increasing their attention on the Albanian language and culture. Meanwhile, Romanian diplomacy also supported the Albanian national cause for two reasons; firstly, because of the traditional ties between the two peoples and secondly, because of the common political interests in the Balkans ( Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, 2002) .

In the new political circumstances created after the suppression of the League of Prizren, *Shoqëria e të Shtypurit Shkronja Shqip*, (the Association of Printing the Albanian Letters) which was established in Istanbul several years ago, could not continue its activity. Some of the members left it and the rest together with the president of the society Sami Frashëri continued their individual activity in a completely illegal way. As early as 1880, the Istanbul Association had sent one of its active members Jani Vreto to Bucharest, with the mission to establish a branch of the association there (Skëndi, 2000). Thus, in the meeting organized by the Albanian Diaspora in Bucharest, in 1881 the first association was created. It was known as the "Branch of the Istanbul Association", whose main representatives were Jani Vreto and Pandeli Sotiri. There is an opinion that, in the first years of its creation, this association functioned as a branch of the Istanbul Association, and not as an independent association. This is due to the fact that the Istanbul Association continued to be active, despite operating illegally ( Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, 2002). In Istanbul in August 1884, the first edition of the cultural magazine "Drita" was published under the name of an Albanian Orthodox, but the real publisher of the magazine was Naim Frashëri. After the resignation of Petro

Poga, as a result of the pressures of the Greek patriarchate, the magazine continued to be published under the name "Dituria" by Pandeli Sotiri (Skëndi, 2000). This magazine was also short-lived, due to the many difficulties encountered in the capital of the empire, so at this time the presidency of the Istanbul Association would be established in Bucharest, and in January 1885 its branch ("Branch of the Society of Istanbul") was named "Drita" (Skëndi, 2000). Meanwhile, in another source, the formation of the "Drita" association is given in December 1884, in the assembly convened in Bucharest (Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, 2002).

The cultural association named "Drita", was organized on the basis of a genuine program, based on the Statute and created its Steering Committee. Anastas Avramidhi Lacke, a rich man from Korça, was elected president of the society. The first decision that was taken at the meeting for the establishment of the "Drita" association, was gathering funds for the purchase of a printing house, to enable the printing of books in the Albanian language. Meanwhile, its chairman promised a sum of 100 thousand francs and that he would bequeath his property to the association in question. The aim of the association "Drita" for the development and advancement of the Albanian language, was defined in the first article of its statute, while in the second article, it was stated that the association would not be engaged in political activities. The main goal would be the printing of books in the Albanian language, aiming at the opening of Albanian schools in Albania in order to increase national awareness among Albanians. Article 3 of the statute required that the Turkish language be optional in Albanian schools. Meanwhile, according to article 4 of the statute of the society, for the writing of the Albanian language it was decided to use the Istanbul alphabet of the Frashëri brothers, which also proved the close connections with the association of Istanbul. The statute of the association "Drita" had 43 articles, which also regulated its relations with branches that would be established in other cities (Clayer, 2009).

One of the main achievements of "Drita" association was the purchase within two years of a printing house, where books and newspapers would be printed and published in Albanian and then they would be sent to Albania. Among the closest collaborators of this association were Sami and Naim Frashëri, Jani Vreto, who also prepared the first textbooks that were published in 1886 in the printing house of the association "Drita". The "Drita" association asked the Ottoman Government to transform foreign schools in Albania into Albanian schools. But, being unable to fulfil this request, at least, this association asked the Ottoman government to allow teaching the Albanian language in these schools. The "Drita" association created a new era of thinking for Albania, by opening an enlightenment path for the Albanians (Instituti i Studimeve Historike "Lumo Skëndo", 2017).

The creation of the "Drita" association and the fact that it was mostly composed of Orthodox emigrants from Korça, did not go unnoticed by the Greek chauvinist circles, which had claims on Korça and all of Lower Albania (Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, 2002). In the pages of the Greek press of the time, the creation of this association and its demands for the delivery of the Albanian language, were considered extremely dangerous, for the final secession of Albania from Greece. (Myzyri, Levizja Kombetare shqiptare ne vitet 1882-1895, 1985) Also, for a long time there were several Greek associations and newspapers affiliated with the Istanbul

Patriarchate, which were strongly committed to prevent the activity of the "Drita" association by using various forms to incite the contradictions that brought about the contradictions between members of this association. Thus, very soon two currents were formed in the bosom of this association. Also, the president of the association "Drita" Anastas A. Lakce, who was decorated for "loyalty" by the king of Greece, was the first to abandon the mission and scope of the association. In these circumstances, the association "Drita" in 1886 would be dissolved and in its place would be created two other associations named "Drita" and "Dituria", which, not finding agreement between them, continued their activity independently of one another.

### Reorganization of the cultural "Drita" association

In January 1887, with the proposal of a group from the "Drita" association, there was created a new association with the same name, led by Nikola Naço (Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, 2002). The group that created this society is considered to be the discordant group of the old association, because there were also Romanian personalities on its board (Skëndi, 2000). N. Naço, considered as very dangerous for the activity of the association "Drita", the influence of the Greek ruling circles and Pan-Slavism operating in Romania and the Balkans. He pays great importance to the cooperation of the Albanians with the Vlachs of Albania, Macedonia and Pindus, because according to him, only through this cooperation could Romania's support to the Albanians be ensured. But N. Naço's views, in order to secure outside support in favour of the national cause, were considered to be dubious. There is an opinion that N. Naço was for the merging of the Albanian National Movement with that of the Vlachs (Skëndi, 2000). As for the writing of the Albanian language, Nikola Naço supported the idea of an alphabet entirely in Latin letters and that could bring about the unification of all Albanians, opposing the Istanbul alphabet and adopting an alphabet based on that of the Romanian language. There is a conviction that the association and its governing body were funded by the Romanian government.

The "Drita" association expanded its activity by creating new branches in several other cities of Romania, such as Constanta, Pitești, Braila, etc ((AQSH), Shkresa është bazuar mbi vendimin e marrë që në 15 nëntor 1886., 1887). From the Albanians in Braila, Romania, we are informed about the creation of the Bucharest branch of the association, asking of its members for the association's charter, membership diplomas and books in the Albanian language. Initially, in this city, about 300 Albanians were ready to become part of the branch of the Bucharest society.

In a letter of N. Naço to the Albanians who lived in the city of Pitesti, the importance of the promulgation of the Albanian language was propagated, and support was sought for the opening of schools in the Albanian language. Seeking the cooperation of the Albanians in this city, N. Naço continued by reminding them *that it was the Albanians who had helped the Greeks to form their kingdom, who, when they need us, call us brothers and when they overcome difficulties, they call us Arvanites. The Turks call us "pis Arnaut" (filthy Arnaut). Here in Wallachia some call us Greeks, some call us Bulgarians, they curse us worse than the eunuchs. This disease was brought to us by the darkness that has plagued us and we do not look at it. So, we have to brush away the darkness. The nation that has a written language is not lost. I remind you that Slavic has penetrated Gegeri, both from the liturgy and from school, they started to*



*learn Slavic and little by little they were being assimilated. He claimed that in Wallachia there were 20 thousand Albanians, who with the income that could be collected by contributing just one franc, there could be published as many books as to fill the towns and villages in Albania ((AQSH), Shqërite Shqiptare ne Rumani., 1888).*

With the creation of the new "Drita" association, it was agreed that the old typography would also be officially transferred to this society, accompanied by the relevant minutes and the decision according to which this typography would be used only for cultural purposes ((AQSH), Shkresa është bazuar mbi vendimin e marrë që në 15 nëntor 1886., 1887).

The support given by the Albanians who were in these cities to the "Drita" association, enabled the publication of some works of didactic character in Albanian. The branch of the "Drita" in Braille in 1887, published a literary-scientific newspaper called "Drita" (Lumina) which published 11 issues. Meanwhile, an important achievement was the publication of the first issue of the newspaper "Albanian" (Albanezul) in August 1888, a weekly newspaper in Albanian, Romanian and French (Skëndi, 2000). In the first issue of the newspaper "Shqiptari" ("The Albanian"), under the title "Çfarë kërkohet" ("What we seek") was also introduced the program of the "Drita" association, where it was requested:

1. The use of the Albanian language in schools and churches
2. The foundation of cultural associations and the opening of Albanian schools
3. The development of the national language, history and literature
4. The publication of textbooks, magazines and newspapers in the Albanian language. Through the pages of this newspaper, Albanians were called upon, regardless of religion, to stand up together to contribute with their work, wealth, knowledge, words with mind and heart and even with their lives to eradicate slavery of the Albanian people.

Through the pages of this newspaper, Albanians were called to unite regardless of religion, to contribute together with their work, wealth, knowledge, words with mind and heart and even with their lives to eradicate slavery of the Albanian people.

Through the printed sources of the time, we get informed about the correspondence between Nikolla Naco and the linguist from Elbasan Kostandin Kristoforidhi, who had been struggling to publish an Albanian language dictionary, which he has worked upon for some several years. In 1888, Kristoforidhi expressed his worries confirming the fact that with the initiative of Jani Vreto from the Albanian of Wallachia, Romania and Egypt a considerable amount of funds had been gathered for the publication of his dictionary, but unfortunately this money was not used for this purpose. Thus, Kristoforidhi was directly accusing Nikolla Naco for such an injustice, because referring to him, that sum of money was used for the establishment of the Albanian Association of Bucharest instead, and such an action was taken without his knowledge. He exclaimed that except from the Albanian people of Wallachia, another considerable financial contribution for the establishment of the association was given by the Albanians in Egypt. Also, Kristoforidhi criticized the fact that part of the funds raised in his name, destined for the publication of his dictionary were used for the publication of books in the Albanian language from the "Drita" association "stating: ... *they intended to build a wall, without constructing its basis* (Shqiptar, 1889).

Through the articles in the newspaper "The Albanian", he suggested that *Europe cannot have other more secure and reliable factors in the Balkans than the Albanian-Romanians* ((AQSH), Shoqërite shqiptare ne Rumani, 1890). N. Naço was for the creation of a joint Albanian - Vlach state. According to him, in order to face the Slavic threat and ensure peace in the Balkans, the Great Powers had to oppose the claims of the Balkan states (Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro). Referring to its program, the "Drita" association was not for the secession of Albanians from the Sultan, as long as there was a risk of fragmentation of Albanian territories by the Balkan states. This view was expressed by the Arbëresh Jeronim De Rada years ago, who saw the fate of the Albanians as closely linked to the Ottoman Empire (Bozborra, 2002). Such an attitude, we think, should be seen in the context of the regional geopolitics of the time. Optimistic about the legitimate right of Albanians to be free and independent, he considered autonomy under the Ottoman Empire as a temporary but necessary phase that would precede the creation of an independent Albanian state. The same opinion with De Rada was shared at this time by the Romanian princess of Albanian origin Dora d'Istria, who will best complement the continuation of J. De Rada's opinion through the words... *that otherwise Albanians could be exploited by the interests that are quite unknown* (Teuta Hoxha, Kujtim Nuro, Arta Nika, Almira Bubsji, 1987)

One of the most important achievements of the Albanian "Drita" association was the creation of the first Albanian-Vlach school for learning not only the Albanian language but also Vlach, and for the preparation of Albanian teachers. In this school, initially at least 15 teachers would teach, whose expenses would be covered by the "Drita". The teachers who would teach in this school would be from Albanian but also Macedonian territories. The basic subjects in the approved program were:

- a. Orthodox, Mohammedan and Catholic religions
- b. Ottoman, Albanian and Romanian languages
- c. Hekëtor i çunave, (Pedagogy, Saying and Doing) (Theory and Practice)
- d. History and general Geography mostly of the Ottoman Kingdom.
- e. Counting meters (Mathematics)
- f. Knowledge of Nature (what is in the sky)
- g. Codes ruled by the Ottoman Empire
- h. Orthography and spelling
- i. Music: singing and instrumental music
- j. Games:) gymnastics

The program also included the teaching of three religions, while lessons would be conducted in three languages; Ottoman, Albanian and Romanian.

N. Naço's activity at the head of the "Drita" association would not pass without being noticed by the Romanian authorities. In a letter from the Secretary General of the Kingdom of Romania a year after the opening of the school, Nikola Naço was praised and congratulated for his activity at the head of the "Drita" for the benefit of the homeland ((AQSH), Shoqërite shqiptare ne Rumani, 1893).

Albanian Renaissance in the last decade of the 19-th century, had started a movement to create an Albanian independent church with Albanian priests and if this was not possible, they would aim to introduce the Albanian language in church services.

According to Sami Frashëri, this effort was considered the second most important one, after the Albanian language. Undoubtedly, achieving these objectives of the Albanian Renaissance at that time was impossible, so the creation of an Albanian church abroad was seen as an alternative. Bucharest was considered one of the most suitable places for the establishment of an Albanian church. Exactly, it was the "Drita" of N. Naço that as the first point of its program had the separation of the Albanian church from the Greek Patriarchate and the introduction of the Albanian language in the liturgy.

Despite the fact that the associations established in Bucharest appeared in their program as associations of a cultural character, illegally they also carried out political activities. The members of the "Drita" association under the leadership of N. Naço, made a maximum of efforts to sensitize public opinion and European diplomacy about the importance of the Albanian cause, as an opportunity to establish balance in the Balkan region. In a letter that N. Naço sent to the King of Italy Umberto I, he outlined the difficulties that Albanians had to face for their national development, asking for support and assistance for the Albanian cause. N. Naço requested the intervention of the King of Italy to mediate at the Sublime Porte to alleviate the obstacles that hindered the Albanian national cause.

In 1904, in correspondence with the representative of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in Bucharest M. Pallaviçin, N. Naço asked for support for the reopening of Albanian schools in the villages of Kolonjë, support that they had had before (Skëndi, 2000). In his study, Stavro Skëndo appears contradictory when he states that the activity of the "Drita" association in the political field, did not succeed while in the cultural one, the achievements were insignificant. While it is stated that the association "Drita" had few Albanian and Vlach members, he continues to write that: *The Drita association was supported by the overwhelming majority of patriots and cooperated with other Albanian organizations, avoiding cooperation with any foreign power* (Skëndi, 2000). He also evaluates the newspaper "Albanian" published in Albanian, Romanian and French by N. Naço, as the oldest newspaper in Romania.

### **"Dituria" Association**

In the middle of 1887, the rest of the members who were not included in the "Drita" association created another association called "Dituria". The essence of the contradictions between the two new Albanian associations, lay in their disagreement, about some of the approaches they had with the development of the Albanian National Movement. The "Dituria" defended the view that the Albanian National Movement should rely on the Albanian forces, without needing any outside support, unlike the association "Drita", which considered the support of a great power as fundamental to the success of the Albanian cause. Referring to Stavro Skëndo and his study, the "Dituria" association was established in 1887 as a result of the reformation of the association "Drita", two years after its creation (Skëndi, 2000).

The name of the "Dituria" association was related to the name of the second Albanian magazine published in Istanbul. The majority of Albanians in Bucharest joined the "Dituria" and Kristaq Duro was initially placed at its head. The activity of this society, as well as the "Drita", included publications of books and manuscripts that were mainly sent by Naim Frashëri and his brother Samiu. Due to financial difficulties, this

association could not establish its own branch like the "Drita" ( Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, 2002) .

An important moment for the "Dituria" association marks the year 1896, when Pandeli Evangjeli was elected as the head of this association, whose leadership and organizational skills would significantly improve the framework of its activity. Vice head of the association was elected Mr. Kristaq Naumi and the secretary was Sotir Terpo (Maj-dhjetor 1898). In January 1896, the statutes of the association were modified, by so creating a seniority of 14 representatives, a governing committee, a treasurer, a clerk and nine advisors. The members of the association, based on their contributions in the association could be classified into four groups: the everlastings (the members who paid their dues each month), the founders (those who gave away 1-3 Albanian books to be published), the benefactors and the gift givers.

During 1896-1899, when Pandeli Evangjeli was at the head of the "Dituria" association, it developed greater activity than before. This activity coincided with the improvement that the Albanian National Movement received during these years, giving a new impetus and a further rise to the entire development of its patriotic activity (Dermaku, 1983).

This association made a great contribution to the support of schools in the Albanian language, mainly in the region of Korça, by constantly sending books in the Albanian language free of charge and financially supporting the teachers who contributed to the teaching of the Albanian language. The organ of the association "Dituria" was the newspaper Albania published under the direction of Visar Dodani, a rich man and at the same time an honest patriot from Bucharest. In 1898, this newspaper opened the debate about the discussion of the Albanian alphabet, which was a very sensitive and very controversial issue in the circle of Albanian Renaissance representatives (Dodani, 1898).

As far as the issue of the Alphabet was concerned, referring to Visar Dodan, the association "The statute of the "Dituria" association can be found in the personal archive of Kristaq Pepo, which is a document submitted as a call of this association published in May 1901. Among other things, this call also reflected the structure of the association that resulted; with a chairman, an advisor, treasurer, and clerk. The aim of the society was to print Albanian books, and by 1901 it turned out that about 25 books had been published. According to the society's regulations, each of the members of the association had to deal with the distribution of books that would be printed by the association but also of other books that were published for free. Also, each member of the society had the mission to teach the Albanian language to those who could not read and write, thus aiming to expand the society with new members (Petraq Pepo, Mihallaq Pela, 2007).

### **The "Shpresa" Association of Bucharest**

On September 12, 1900 in Bucharest, the third cultural association of Albanians was established under the name "Shpresa" (Skëndi, 2000). It consisted of university students, but due to lack of financial income, its active activity would start after two years. In 1902, the number of members of this association increased to 150 members. The vice head of the association was the poet Asdreni, while the secretary was an

energetic literature student at the University of Bucharest Kristaq Daku. The purpose of this association was to enlighten the Albanian people. But its activity as an independent association did not last long. Kristaq Daku, had represented the two associations before their merger at the Congress of the Subjugated People of Turkey held in Vienna in 1902. In the program presented at this congress he demanded:

1. The establishment of Albanian schools throughout Albania and in the localities of Turkey where the majority of the population was Albanian, schools were maintained with taxes in the respective districts.
2. Religious services in all Orthodox churches to be conducted in the Albanian language.
3. A general amnesty for political prisoners (Skëndi, 2000).

Just as the "Drita" association had addressed the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the King of Italy to support the Albanian cause, the "Shpresa" association also called on the French Minister of Foreign Affairs T. Delcasse to urge Turkey to grant to the Albanians what it had already given to the other peoples; learning their language (Skëndi, 2000). But as S. Skëndi writes, the members of the association "Shpresa" were enthusiastic nationalists, but being young, even the diplomats of Vienna considered them immature to deserve any help from Austria-Hungary. From the merger of the "Shpresa" and the "Dituria" association was formed a new association headed by Kristaq Daku.

Meanwhile, it is proved that the association "Shpresa" has led a considerable activity about the establishment of an Albanian church in Bucharest. For the realization of this aim, a committee was founded. However, referring to same information, such a decision was not realized because even two years after the same proposal resulted to have been made again (Skëndi, 2000).

### **Conclusions**

Despite the many problems that the Albanian associations created in Romania, had in their organization, they converged on a common point, which was related to the continuous contribution that they gave in support of the cultural emancipation of the Albanians who were under the Ottoman Empire.

The process of their organization went through two phases; The first phase at the end of the century XIX was accompanied by contradictions between the members of the Albanian associations created in Romania, while in the second phase, starting from the years 1905-1906, a prudence and quality improvement at the organizational level is observed, strengthening the cooperative framework between them. So, in December 1906, the three associations; "Drita", "Dituria" and "Shpresa" came together, creating a single association called "Bashkimi". Despite the fact that even this association in its statute was presented as an association of cultural character, its activity would focus mostly on activities of political character. This association maintained close connections with the Committee of Monastery. One of the most active representatives of this Committee was Grigor Cilka, whose mission and responsibility was gathering funds from the Albanian Diaspora in Bucharest and Sofia. He would create the proper conditions to send in Albania magazines and books in the Albanian language. Due to security reasons, the centre of the Committee "For the Liberty of Albania", in 1906 would be transposed to

Bucharest, where its activity would be more active. Nikolla Naço would be appointed as the secretary of the Committee. In May 1906, Bajo Topulli accepted the influence of the Committee of Monastery and the movement led by it not only on Ioannina, Gjirokaster, Berat, Vlorë, Mallakastër, Kolonjë, Korçë, Tiranë, but also in Elbasan. Through the trip that the secretary of the Hidden Committee of Monastery Nuci Naçi took in the main Albanian cities in 1906, it is noticed that the longest stops he had had, were in the cities of Elbasan and Shkoder. He published the first impressions of Elbasan in the journal "Kombi" ("The nation") by using the nickname *Shkumbia*. What had impressed him more and he would always remember were the national feelings that predominated in this city, not being influenced of the religious affiliation.

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**DEVELOPMENT, SECURITY, STRATEGY:  
THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT IN RETROSPECT**

*Emanuel Copilaș\**

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**Abstract**

Drawing from the latest findings in Romanian archives and also from recent works in Romanian historiography, beside several important international bibliographic resources, this essay is centered around the Sino-Soviet conflict and its immediate aftermath in the communist world from three major perspectives, already announced in the title: development, security and strategy.

**Key words:** *hegemony, Marxism-Leninism, Yugoslav socialism, Cold War, national interest*

**Introduction: ideology and beyond**

Drawing from the latest findings in Romanian archives and also from recent works in Romanian historiography, beside several important international bibliographic resources, this essay is centered around the Sino-Soviet conflict and its immediate aftermath in the communist world from three major perspectives, already announced in the title: development, security and strategy.

Although the debate between the two major revisionist powers in the postwar era was addressed in Marxist-Leninist terms, I argue in the following pages that their dispute should not be interpreted by exacerbating the ideological dimension of the entire affair and by placing on a secondary position concrete matters related to the developmental vision of local communist elites, as it was done in Western works published especially during the Cold War (see for example Brzezinski 1971, 397-432), or like I myself did in a previous article on this topic (Copilaș 2009).

Due to the fact that ideology is unavoidable in social sciences due to its omnipresence, one should renounce striving for axiological neutrality, as Max Weber argued, in favor of what Immanuel Wallerstein referred to as axiological transparency (Wallerstein 2011). Consequently, as Cold War capitalist ideology possessed its own distinct brands of liberalism, conservatism, social-democracy and so on, the ideology of the 'socialist camp' was also divided between various types of state socialisms that reflected its internal diversity, although it was not as broad as in the case of capitalist ideologies and, like the 'socialist camp' itself, was younger and less experienced than the latter. Still, because ideology matters so much, it should not be abstracted from the concrete conditions of social, political and economic development and converted into some sort of metaphysics, as it happened in the majority of Sovietology studies produced in the Western world in the second half of the XXth century (Lewin 2005, 271).

This is why the present essay endorses the contribution of other factors, both internal and external, in understanding the evolution and also the aftermath of the Sino-Soviet split, the most important being economic development, political

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\* Ph.D. in International Relations and European Studies, West University of Timișoara, Vasile Pârvan 4, Timișoara 300223, Email: emmanuel.copilas@e-uvvt.ro, Phone: +40726724983

consolidation and international predictability and stability. Each actor involved in this political phenomenon entailed particular strategies in order to ensure either the prevalence of its own developmental line (China, the Soviet Union), either to cope with the traditional (Soviet) or the alternative (Chinese) model of socialism: Albania, Romania, the rest of East-European socialist countries, some of the Asian socialist countries like North Korea and Vietnam, and, eventually, all the communist parties in the world.

Consequently, the conflict did not necessarily 'stand[] out as the most monumental failure of the capacity of the Communist ideology to create a stable international order, thereby refuting one of the most cherished utopias of committed Communists' (Brzezinski 1971, 432), but as a proof of the adaptability and of the resilience of global socialism in order to achieve various types of modern developments in national contexts while explicitly refuting the capitalist paradigm. Even if in the long run this ambitious aim proved to be an utter failure, it managed however to mobilize huge resources of energy and expectations in the hope that one day, a society freed from the brackets of profit may become possible. As Moshe Lewin argued about the Soviet Union, which offered the world the first model of socialism, with all its failures but also its accomplishments –

Reflection on the USSR has been marred – and still is – by two frequent errors (...). The first is to take anticommunism for a study of the Soviet Union. The second – a consequence of the first – consists in 'Stalinizing' the whole Soviet phenomenon, as if it had been one giant gulag from beginning to end.

Anti-communism (and its offshoots) is not historical scholarship: it is an ideology masquerading as such. Not only did it not correspond to the realities of the 'political animal' in question, but waving the flag of democracy, it paradoxically exploited the USSR's authoritarian (dictatorial) regime in the service of conservative causes or worse. In the United States, McCarthyism, or the subversive political role played by the FBI head Hoover, were both based on the communist bogey. The unsavory maneuvering by some of the German Right to whitewash Hitler by foregrounding Stalin and his atrocities entails such use and abuse of history. In defense of human rights, the West proved highly indulgent towards some regimes and very severe with others (this is not to mention its own violation of those rights). Such behavior did not serve to enhance its image and certainly did not aid an understanding of the Soviet experience and related important phenomena (Lewin 2005, 378).

One such phenomena is, of course, the Sino-Soviet conflict.

### **The main divergence points: de-Stalinization, peaceful coexistence, the transition from capitalism to communism and the Third World**

Although frequently placed in 1956, at the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and publicly declared in 1960, during the third Congress of the Romanian Workers Party (RWP) – it is very likely that the first



divergences between communist China and the Soviet Union appeared earlier, during the Korean war (1950-1953). When China stepped in in order to help North Korea, after Stalin's partial reluctance to do so and in order to avoid the difficult neighborhood of a unified capitalist Korea, the Soviet Union demanded payment for the military and logistic assistance offered to China, thus pushing it deeper into an economic crises that was very troublesome for the newly instated communist regime. The Koreans resented the American military occupation of the southern part of the country, thus giving the communists from the north, who already achieved the status of national heroes during World War Two, when they organized a resistance movement against the Japanese occupation– the opportunity to peacefully unify the country under a communist regime. However, Washington was not prepared to renounce a strategic geopolitical point in the Far East and decided to push back North Korea, which eventually opted for a military offensive in the pursuit of reunifying the country. Mao Tse Tung, fearing the political stability of China was on the line, decided to intervene (Kissinger 2003, 423; Croitor 2014, 19-36).

Furthermore, the Chinese communists did not forget Stalin's support for the nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek during the long civil war that started in the 1920s, and neither the Soviet critics with reference to the revolutionary strategy deployed by Mao in this process, who was accused of overemphasizing the role of the peasantry at the expense of the working class. Of course, Stalin was conveniently putting aside the fact that the Bolshevik revolution itself became successful after winning the support of the peasantry, the most important social force in tsarist Russia (London 1966, 207-208).

After Stalin's death in 1953, the Sino-Soviet relations gradually improved, Moscow offering a serious economic aid to a China that was still underdeveloped and vulnerable. But the de-Stalinization process initiated in 1956 will put an end to the Sino-Soviet rapprochement. Although Stalin personally had his disagreements with the Chinese communists and had occasionally treated them with contempt, Stalinist economic and social policies were considered by the Beijing leadership as the only instrument available for the rapid development of China. The Soviet Union, already an industrialized country that started to loosen the reins of accumulation in favor of consumption in order to gain a proper popular and also international legitimacy - may allow itself the liberty of criticizing Stalin and his legacy for motives like immorality, extreme political repression, paranoia and the shameful cult of personality staged with his own approval and frequent implications; China, which endorsed extreme accumulation in attempting to overcome as fast as possible the underdevelopment and chronic economic and infrastructural shortages – did not. Indeed, the Chinese communists interpreted de-Stalinization as a threat to the development of their country and also to its political stability. The fact that Nikita Khrushchev, the first secretary of the CPSU, did not consult them regarding the opportunity of presenting his famous „secret speech” against Stalin made them even more anxious and susceptible. Still, at least for the moment, the disagreements between the two parts remained a private affair (Croitor 2014, 86-95; Croitor M.; Croitor S. 2019a, 291-292, 336-338; Croitor M.; Croitor S. 2014a, 81-85, 118-119; Croitor M.; Croitor S. 2019b, 414; Croitor M.; Croitor S. 2020, 249-250; Cătănuș 2011, 94, 155, 194).

Regarding peaceful coexistence, the new Soviet approach of international relations, Khrushchev emphasized that it proved Moscow's commitment to a new international order, one in which, due to the threat of nuclear arms, the competition between socialism and imperialism must put aside military aspects in favor of economic, social and cultural ones. Peaceful coexistence was, beyond its ethical appeal, a strategy employed by Moscow for reducing the number of military troops stationed in different parts of the world and involve them mainly in the Soviet agricultural sector, which Khrushchev considered to be functioning under its potential. However, for the Chinese leadership, peaceful coexistence meant something very different. Namely that Moscow will emphasize Soviet developmental priorities at the expense of strengthening the 'socialist camp' per se. A more relaxed international environment was creating a context in which the allies of the Soviet Union and their national interests could be neglected, and their efforts to supersede underdevelopment threatened. Therefore, an ideologically polarized world, with the prospect of war not totally out of reach, coerced the superpowers into consolidating their allies, while a world united in the quest for peaceful coexistence did exactly the opposite. Furthermore, the specter of war served Chinese communists for maintaining the hard pace of economic accumulation and keeping the population submissive and prone to whatever sacrifices the rulers decided to subject them to in the name of the country's overall progress (Croitor 2013, 32-37, 41-42, 50-51, 57; Croitor M.; Croitor, S. 2019a, 286; Croitor M.; Croitor, S. 2019b, 58; Kardelj in Jacobs 1979, 261-264; Croitor, M.; Croitor, S. 2020, 207-208, 234, 333-335, 339-340, 401, 404-409, 465; Adjubei et. al. 1960, 507-513).

It follows that the gradual expansion of capitalist countries from capitalism to socialism and eventually to communism could not exclude war. In his works, and also in the official documents of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Mao argued that until now, the expansion of global socialism was inextricably related to war: the Bolshevik revolution was made possible by the First World War, and the expansion of socialism into Eastern Europe and Asia by the second. One should not exclude the possibility of peaceful transitions to socialism, although one should not credit it too much either. Taking into account the development of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union stressed the importance of a peaceful and prudent advance of global socialism: adventurous military policies could inflict irreversible losses on the 'socialist camp' and on the whole world as well, bringing about the end of the modern civilization as we know it. In this point, the different security strategies employed by both Soviet Union and China were taking their toll: while the first was already a nuclear power more or less satisfied with the global *status-quo*, the second was not; its ambition to become one signaled its readiness to challenge the international and also the socialist order in doing so (Croitor, Borșa 2014a, 206-211; Croitor, M.; Croitor, S. 2020, 320-321, 324-331, 345, 355-356, 619, 725-726, 1024-1025; Fursenko; Naftali 2006, 327-328; Shepilov 2007, 380-386).

A very interesting remark in this regard is China's astute ideological reproach towards the Soviet Union with reference to the CPSU and the Soviet state, which were no longer considered by Khrushchev weapons of the proletariat in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and against reactionaries of all sorts, but political

institutions in which every Soviet citizen was welcome. But, the Chinese communists argued, in socialist regimes there cannot be a ‘party of the entire people’ and a ‘state of the entire people’, simply because the transition to communism is not yet completed; on the contrary, it may be more vulnerable than ever. This is why, using the old Stalinist thesis according to which class struggle intensifies along with the building of socialism, the Beijing leaders condemned Moscow’s peaceful and opportunistic tactic of gaining popular legitimacy at the expense of revolutionary acumen and, eventually, at the expense of Leninism itself (Croitor, M.; Croitor, S. 2019b, 188-190, 590-600). One again, the use of propaganda and of the Marxist-Leninist ideology is made compatible with the developmental priorities of each of the two socialist powers. Shortly after, Albania and Romania will follow the same strategy, although their objectives were of course not so ambitious as China’s and the Soviet Union’s.

Finally, the Third World represented another major point of disagreement between the two parts. For the Soviet Union, peaceful coexistence did not exclude class struggle, as China argued, but on the contrary, made it one of its main pillars; however, when it came to the Third World, it was Moscow who accused Beijing that while endorsing anti-colonialism and the national liberation movements in Africa and Asia, it was actually renouncing class struggle in the name of national independence struggle and by arbitrarily separating bourgeois from proletarian nations. But not all national movements from the Third World were democratic or socialist, Moscow warned; after all, the main contradiction of the Cold war was that between socialism and capitalism, not that between the Third World and capitalism (Croitor, Borșa 2014a, 29-32, 55, 124, 157-159, 215-221; Croitor, M.; Croitor, S. 2020, 336-337, 422-423; Tsetung 1971, 139-140; see also Croitor, Croitor 2021, pp. 109-112.).

### **Revisionism, dogmatism and the question of Yugoslav socialism**

All these important disagreements propelled both China and the Soviet Union to quickly label one another as ‘dogmatic’ and, respectively, ‘revisionist’. In the first case, Moscow argued that Beijing was too inflexible and was pushing for a reckless behavior in international affairs which sometimes was referred to as ‘ultraleftism’. In the second case, Beijing considered the post-Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union to be too eager in accepting the international *status-quo*, without pushing for a revolutionary change, like a true revolutionary power should.

As previously mentioned, China and the Soviet Union were adapting Marxism-Leninism to their own developmental priorities. Consequently, both ‘revisionism’ and ‘dogmatism’ are justified characterizations that ultimately reflect the inner diversity and the adaptability of the ideology of the ‘socialist camp’; however, more importantly, they reflect different stages of development and different strategies of achieving, respectively expanding it. There are no right or wrong ideological positions in the Sino-Soviet conflict; there are only developmental priorities best served by a Stalinist or a non-Stalinist strategy: underdeveloped China opted for the first, while the incomparable more developed Soviet Union chose the latter.

Why is Yugoslav socialism important in the context of the post Stalin fragmentation of the ‘socialist camp’? After Stalin excluded Yugoslavia from the ‘socialist camp’ in 1948, Khrushchev started to normalize the relations with

Belgrade, true to his doctrine of peaceful coexistence. But the Hungarian revolution from 1956 once again cooled down this shy process of rapprochement: Tito blamed Moscow for the repressive manner in which the Hungarian political experiment, deeply influenced by Yugoslav socialism, was brought to a halt, while other socialist countries were worried not to be confronted themselves with this kind of consequences that de-Stalinization made possible. Among them was China, which resented the Yugoslav experiment from the beginning and even more so one year after the Hungarian revolution, when Mao's propagandistic campaign of 'one thousand flowers' ended in a considerable strengthening of the opposition towards Chinese socialism (Griffith 1963, 27-28). As a direct defiance of Stalinism, Yugoslav socialism was a worrisome alternative for the accelerated developmental strategy implemented by the Beijing leadership, proving that a more relaxed and consumer-oriented type of socialism was possible. The Soviet toleration of Tito's Yugoslavia under the banner of peaceful coexistence made China anxious (Croitor, M.; Croitor, S. 2020, 439; Croitor, M.; Borșa, S. 2014a, 61-62, 103). But it truly enraged Albania, for which Yugoslavia was not a distant and small country, like it was for China, but a close and powerful neighbor who decided in the past and could decide once again the fate of Albanian socialism.

#### **Consequences of the Sino-Soviet split: amplifying Albanian insecurity**

A small country, Albania's history in the last centuries represented a permanent occupation by one of the neighboring powers. This entailed a deep sentiment of insecurity that, coupled with a vehement xenophobia, offered Albania a distinct and virulent blend of communism that came into the open at the beginning of the 1960s, once the Sino-Soviet conflict became public.

Until 1947, the Albanian Communist Party (ACP) was, in general, a creation of Yugoslav communists, and was divided by different factions competing for power. Enver Hodja, an 'intellectual', was the undisputed ruler of the country, but, after the Second World War was over, Tito started to favor Hodja's rival, Koci Xoxe, who represented the 'proletarian wing' of the ACP. The Soviet-Yugoslav dispute came just in time to allow Hodja to dispose of Xoxe and his supporters and to join the Soviet Union in denouncing the 'Titoist clique'. Albania broke ties with Yugoslavia and became an economic, beside a political satellite of the Soviet Union (Griffith 1963, 19-21; Brogan 1990, 176-178).

But Khrushchev's peaceful coexistence challenged Hodja's supremacy within the ACP due to its tolerant posture towards Yugoslav socialism (Croitor, M.; Croitor, S. 2020, 16-17, 380-381, 384-385, 517-530). After Stalin's death, the Albanian trade with the Soviet Union begun to shrink as a result of Moscow's more favorable attitude towards Tito, and Hodja was forced to find new economic partners. China stepped in as one of the most important ones (Griffith 1963, 22-23; Croitor, M.; Croitor, S. 2020, 95, 169, 195, 490-491).

The new context favored the internal opposition of the ACP against Hodja; after all, Tito had every reason to try to replace him with a pro-Yugoslav leader. But the Hungarian revolution allowed Hodja's comeback, along with the opportunity to make visible the first signs of discontent against de-Stalinization. However, Albania

adopted a prudent tone on this affair, especially since Moscow increased once again the volume of trade with Albania, fearing that China may replace the Soviet Union as the first economic partner of Albania. However, at the beginning of the 1960s, when the Sino-Soviet conflict became public, Albania, although reluctant, was forced to choose China's side (Griffith 1963, 29-34, 41).

As in the case of China, military matters, alongside economic ones, represented some of the key factors that drove Albania away from Moscow (Croitor, M.; Croitor, S. 2020, 281-285, 382-383, 391-393, 486-487, 491-492, 511-515, 533-535, 902-903; Prifti 1973, 241-266), forging an alliance that soon became quite influential in the socialist world and also among communist parties of the West. A coherent and more and more powerful brand of anti-Soviet socialism was now available for all socialist forces that were unhappy with Soviet hegemony; in time, this type of socialism will massively infuse the nonaligned movement, an alliance of Third World countries that tried to develop avoiding both Western capitalism and Soviet socialism. China, as well as Yugoslavia, were representative members of the nonaligned movement.

### **Opportunities of the Sino-Soviet split: maintaining Romania's development strategy**

At first, Romania sided with the Soviet Union in condemning China's and Albania's 'dogmatism' but, as Moscow was planning a more integrated economic policy within the 'socialist camp' with the help of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), one that would reserve Romania and Bulgaria the role of agricultural suppliers for the rest of the camp and thus challenging the prospects of further industrializing the country – Bucharest baked off (Croitor 2012, 68-84, 198-205, 345, 357-358; Croitor, M.; Borșa, S. 2014b, 200-203, 207, 210, 212-216, 241, 244, 254, 259-260, 266-267, 333-335, 337, 484, 510). Even if the Romanian leader Gheorghiu-Dej did not adhere to the Chinese brand of socialism (Cătănuș 2004, 65-67, 70-79, 109, 123), he took the opportunity offered by the Sino-soviet dispute to advance Romania's developmental agenda and to continue the industrializing process.

Offering to mediate the dispute, with no real effect whatsoever, Romania was actually trying to get closer to China and to improve its commercial relations with it (Croitor, M.; Borșa, S. 2014c, 130-132; Croitor M.; Croitor, S. 2019b, 282, 289, 356-357, 369, 370; Fischer-Galati in London 1966, 261-276; King 1972, 373-393; Cătănuș 2004, 275-287, 313, 322, 409-410). In the same time, due to its geographical position and limited resources, Romania could not afford more than a dissident position towards Moscow; an open break, like China and later Albania endorsed, was a too big of a challenge to its security. Due to its successful economic defiance against the Soviet Union, which became clear in 1964, Romania's development line emphasizing heavy industry was maintained without a real challenge to its security. For now, that was enough.

**Conclusion: the Sino-Soviet conflict as a confirmation of the plurality of global socialism, not of its failure**

The Sino-Soviet conflict occurred within a challenging international environment, one in which the positions of the Soviet Union were weakened by uninspired events like the Cuban missile crisis or the West Berlin problem (for the latter, see Croitor M., Borșa, S. 2013, 49-53, 135-149). Not long after the split between the two most powerful socialist states, Khrushchev was dismissed from power by his own colleagues; among his political shortcomings, the alienation of China was not forgotten.

Still, as I argued at the beginning of the present essay, the Sino-Soviet conflict was not necessarily an example of ideological failure, but a confirmation of the diversity, flexibility and adaptability of the ideology of socialist states in pursuing their own paths of development, choosing their security priorities and endorsing their own strategies in order to achieve the desired outcomes. Ideology was important in this whole political phenomenon, but it did not represent its main stake. The age of socialist polycentrism, as the Italian communist leader Palmiro Togliatti referred to it (Togliatti in Jacobs 1979, 248-249), was opened by the challenge of Yugoslav socialism, but it truly came into being several years later, when it was endorsed by the Chinese socialism.

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**DISCUSS BORDERS IN AFRICA DIFFERENTLY  
STORIES, IMAGINATIONS AND ALTERITY IN THE BORDERLANDS  
BETWEEN CAMEROON AND NIGERIA**

*Willy Didie Foga Konefon\**

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**Abstract**

Many studies have been devoted in recent years to the *border studies* in Africa, particularly on the issue of historical conditions for the constitution of borders; border disputes; illegal migrations; cross-border crime; cross-border cooperation; flow control; the militarization of borders; the rise of shipwrecks and sub-Saharan migrations at the gates of Europe. Admittedly, this research is interesting, but it has remained mostly limited to the geographical and material dimension of the border. A border is not only limited to a line, a barrier, a checkpoint or a political construction and the result of a balance of power that was resolved in a negotiated or conflictual manner. Beyond its socio-cultural, political and economic animation by human groups, it is also important to note that the influences of political events, the nature of interstate relations affect the imaginations of these populations settled in the borderlands in relation to the border. Based on an ethnographic approach carried out from the 2010s until July 2018 and the collection of primary and secondary data in some cross-border areas between Cameroon and Nigeria, it is a question in this analytical framework of scrutinizing the mental geography of these human societies before colonization relative to the border, then to show how the "clash of civilizations" with the colonial order upset the African borders providing a vision of the world. From another perspective, there is a heuristic interest that is raised in this discussion, that of discussing how the mental images of the local populations settled in these borderlands have acted, interacted and varied in relation to these geopolitical spaces marked essentially by globalization and its consequences. geopolitical and geostrategic changes.

**Key words:** *History; perceptions; cross-border spaces; Cameroon; Nigeria; Otherness; Colonization; Globalization.*

**Introduction**

At the start of the new millennium, we are witnessing a strong comeback of borders all over the planet (Fourcher 2008; Agier 2013; Mbembe 2016). They are more prominent in the political debates and the various agendas of many chancelleries on the international scene with the question of the migratory crisis, the violence on the bodies of migrants designated as undesirables at the gates of Europe and above all the rise in power of crime linked to the phenomenon of crime and terrorism in the borderlands in Africa. Nowadays, when we evoke the notion of border, it refers to hedges, walls, enclosures; a place of insecurity and above all of exclusion and exercise of the power of authority which is expressed through the control of movements and flows (Boudou, 2017; Boudou, 2018; Mbembe, 2020). Beyond its physical and material aspect, it crystallizes the passions, affects, fears, many modes of believing and thinking. All these stories about the border have a common thread: the border is a place of underdevelopment; it is the turn of the warlike; a metastasized area (Foga Konefon,

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\*Assistant lecturer , PhD, Department of History, section of International Relations in University of Douala and researcher at Street Ange Raphaël, POBOX: 2167 , Republic of Cameroon, Phone: +237 671082215, Email:[willydidie@yahoo.fr](mailto:willydidie@yahoo.fr)/ [willyfoga29@gmail.com](mailto:willyfoga29@gmail.com)

2015); a territory of circulation of illicit wealth and the reign of warlords; a difficult crossing space where men lose their humanity in so far as the security dimension has taken precedence over the other functions of international boundaries, in particular with questions of contemporary migration (Amilhat-Szary, 2020). In such contexts, the dynamic of the generalization of fear on the borders has become generalized. However, it has multiple dimensions the border. From what precedes, it is important to know what a border is without falling into exhaustiveness. In current representations, the idea of the border refers to interstate demarcation line, that is, as the boundary of the territory of the states. It is a contact line for interstate sovereignties. In other words, the borders are political constructions and the result of a balance of power that is resolved in a negotiated or conflictual way. Their route meets various criterias, which may be historical, economic, ethnic, ideological or cultural. To go in the same direction, borders are not simply traces on a map, a one-dimensional geographical place of political life, where one state ends and another begins. They are institutions established by political decisions and governed by legal texts. The border has been and, in many senses, remains a basic political institution: in an advanced society, no regulated economic, political or social life could be organized without it (Anderson, 2006). In this definition, we note that in the idea of border, the notion of spatiality and the state stands out. Hence, the intimacy between the border, space and the State. If it is true that in the imaginaries and the regimes of contemporary thought that the barrier, the line of separation, a place of restriction of freedoms; a space of exclusion and confinement remain a fixed idea as a representation of the border, it must be recognized that nowadays, the border is in the process of multiplication, it seems to have become a ubiquitous notion that is enriched with new dimensions and meanings, thus gaining more and more in complexity (Bennafla, 2002: 134-146). The borderlands between Cameroon and Nigeria bear witness to this historical liveliness. Beyond the lines that demarcate the sovereignty of these different territories; identities and atavistic nationalisms, we note that the populations of yesterday to today located on the edge of these border peripheries have contested the borders, scars of colonization and until today defy all the geopolitical upheavals to which face their different states.

With the aim of renewing the debate on borders as a space where we can think about living together, our first point of analysis will be to show the “clash of civilizations” between the colonial order and that of the traditional societies located in these different borderlands mentioned above in relation to their models of vision on the border. In our second analysis grid, we will focus attention on the imaginations and actions of these populations in these geopolitical spaces in the marked context by globalization and its geopolitical and geostrategic changes.

### **"The clash of civilizations" between the colonial order and the traditional societies of the borderlands between Cameroon and Nigeria on the vision of the border**

The notion of borders is as old as the world. It is a universal concept and a strategic variable that has played a role in all human civilizations. This allows us to say that the border is not a strange thing in African history. It has indeed been at the heart of geopolitical upheavals and multiple reconfigurations on the social, demographic, diplomatic, military, cultural and economic levels of traditional African societies. So the

borders are old in the history of colonization in Africa. They provide of a vision of the world which took into account the African perception of these borders, their roles and also the peaceful management of these which did not respond to the same criteria and characteriology as those forged in the West.

**Representations of the border in the imaginations of traditional societies before the establishment of the Cameroon-Nigeria border: spaces of connected circulation, economic solidarity and living together**

The geographical space that serves as the contemporary border between Cameroon and Nigeria long before colonization is charged with many historical dynamics that have intertwined and collided. Based on historical data such as long-distance trade; the movements of people and goods, the connections between trans-Saharan cities and the spaces between Cameroon and Nigeria, we are able to affirm that the notion of connected history was not alien to these geopolitical spaces long before colonization. They essentially inform us about the African philosophy of the notion of borders as a space for migratory circulation (Foga, 2015), connected commercial networks (Sourna, 2020), economic solidarity (Fanso, 1982; Onana Mfege, 2004) and a military front and refuges (Thierno, 1985).

The border in these different spaces before colonization was a confused, complex and catch-all concept. Representations of the border had several meanings. They referred to the territorial boundaries that demarcated two or more political entities, villages, clans, tribes, etc. Borders marked the difference between large ethno-cultural groups that shared the same civilizations and the same geopolitical experiences to the detriment of other cultural groups. This is the reason why in the northern part of the current border between Cameroon and Nigeria, we find the same peoples such as the Mambila, Kwanga, the Mandara, the Gueraleba, the Goudé, Kapsiki, the Fulani, the Kanuri, etc. In the part of the former English Cameroon<sup>2</sup>, there were also a multitude of people with the same History, the same cultural and ancestral values. By way of example, we can cite the case of the Ejaghams who are currently found near Mamfe in Cameroon in the district of Eyumodjock in the department of Manyu and likewise in Ikom in Nigeria at Acampa Odukpani in the State of cross-River (Foga, 2015: 102-103). For this people, all this space took on several representations at the same time cosmic, metaphysical, ontological, cultural, anthropological, social and cultural. Hence, their contestation of the border imposed by the colonial conquerors because, it was out of the question for an Ejagham who remained in Nigeria not to go and perform his ritual practices and customs in the Keaka area not far from Mamfe as the supreme traditional authority of the Ejagham of the village Big Kwa in the city of Calabar did regularly. (Achou Etta, 2008: 4). It was a sacrilege and an abomination.

In the imaginations of traditional African societies of the spatial segment which currently serves as territorial limits between Cameroon and Nigeria, it should be noted that borders have been the driving force behind several historical dynamics and numerous

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<sup>2</sup>It is important to emphasize that Cameroon has experienced a triple colonization. The first period which is German was spread out from 1884 to 1916. During the Second World War, the Germans were driven out by the French and the English. And consequently, the latter shared the former German territorial possession. The English took 1/5th of the territory and France took 4/5th of the territory. Hence the appellation, French Cameroon and English Cameroon.

geopolitical upheavals. They were changing, due to wars of conquest, territorial expansion, wars of religion, the thirst for power of certain sovereigns and issues related to competition and competition for natural resources (Thierno, 1985; Saïbou Issa, 2000; Abdouraman Halirou, 2006). Indeed, in this geopolitical space, several pre-colonial political hegemonies emerged and therefore had a particularly warlike view of the idea of the border. Among those, we can mention the most prominent such as the Fulani emirate of Sokoto, Kanem, Bornou, the kingdom of Wandala and the principalities of Kotoko. Examining the history of these pre-colonial states created and located on the southern shores of Lake Chad, we see that war was omnipresent in all the narrative models of their respective origins. As we mentioned previously, the extension of the borders was at the center of several geopolitical but above all economic issues, namely the practice of slave raids (Abdouraman Halirou, 2006: 49-52).

In the same order of ideas, the border was considered as places of refuge, strategic-tactical retreats and defence. To this end, the space occupied by the Cameroon-Nigerian dyad has been for centuries a hotbed of instability and geopolitical tension between the multiple pre-colonial hegemonies as we indicated in the previous lines. Consequently, forced migrations have been a constant historical fact in this geopolitical space. For reasons of survival, the search for peace, inter-tribal wars, the borders, namely the lake islets and certain hostile natural environments made up of plant fortifications, as was the case around Lake Chad, were sites shelters for local people. In this perspective, several authors (Seignobos, 1980; Thierno, 1985; Saïbou Issa, 2000, Abdoul-Aziz Yaouba, 2006; Abdouraman Halirou, 2006; Sourna, 2020) demonstrate with arguments bearing an irrefutable seal how the military supremacy of the different sovereignties, as was the case of Bornu under the aegis of Idriss Aloma between the 15th and 16th centuries, incited the Sao, the Boulala, the Talala to migrate in a forced way to the waters of Lake Chad, where they mixed with other refugee groups to constitute the Boudouma people (Saïbou, 2000: 58). In view of the foregoing, there are two significant historical facts relating to the notion of the border. At first, the military expansion of Idriss Aloma served him to extend the territorial limits of his empire to secure the living spaces for the Bornuans who were considered his subjects. In addition, we also note that the notion of refugee is not strange in African pre-colonial history. In fact, certain hostile environments of the Chad basin where we currently find certain local populations is not the result of chance. This phenomenon is due to the historical reality that we have described and also to the fact that for these refugee populations, these hostile environments of the waters of Lake Chad were considered as refuge sites.

During this precolonial period, the territorial perimeter that characterizes the border between Cameroon and Nigeria today was the subject of intense activity of economic solidarity, peaceful coexistence and tolerance between the cultural communities that lived in this space. . In fact, the border had a whole other meaning to the detriment of that of the sovereign and postmodern order. It was a territorial network interconnected with several localities of the empire of the great empires of West Africa, the Hausa cities, Fezzan, Tripoli, the Ottoman Empire, the Old Calabar kingdoms, principalities which emerged in Central Africa, etc. The notion of itinerancy or the phenomenon of circulations has always characterized this geopolitical space. In reality,

there was the encounter, the interference, the shock, the harmonies and disharmonies between different cultures in this space. This collision and collusion is particularized by the circulation of objects, goods, people, endogenous knowledge, *savoir-vivre*, religions, culinary arts, languages, fashions of dress, dances, songs, music, tales, proverbs, aesthetics, imaginations, mode of perception of others (judgments, clichés, stereotypes) and interpretation of the world, memories, etc. It is this cultural hybridity and creolity that we have designated “Migrafritude” to designate the logics of circulation in precolonial Africa and which necessarily integrated it into international circuits in the first ages of globalization. Merchants, slaves, weavers, pilgrims, explorers, adventurers, soldiers, fishermen, breeders, Arabs,

Beyond all these characteristics, it is necessary to integrate that if these borders aimed to differentiate a collective identity from another, it is necessary to integrate that in these spaces, the border also made it possible to recognize the presence of the Other. They were spaces for socialization between different cultures. The place where there was the place of the other in intercultural relations. Unfortunately, the advent of colonization with its various imported programs upset the geopolitical, cultural and societal order of traditional African borders to the point of still having consequences today.

#### **The Berlin Conference (1884-1885) and the revision of the precolonial borders between Cameroon and Nigeria: geopolitical and cultural upheavals and challenges to traditional societies**

Contrary to the different conceptions of traditional Africa on the question of borders, according to the West, the border conveyed a whole program and another vision of the world. In reality, it corresponded to a very particular conception of the modes of organization of politics that of an international system structured around political entities of the same nature: the States. This idea emerged in the seventeenth century as a result of the peace created by the Treaties of Westphalia in 1648. These treaties put an end to the Thirty Years' War and therefore symbolised the victory of absolutism and its centralising territorial model over feudalism, which was characterised, conversely, by the fragmentation of political authority, both functionally and territorially (Duez and Simmoneau, 2018: 37-52). Thus, the frontier referred to a highly symbolic and strategic spatial marker that delimited the sovereignties that exercised absolute and definitive political, military, fiscal and jurisdictional authority over a given territory and its resident population.

This western importation from the frontier materialized in Africa at the time of colonization. To delimit their different spheres of influence and avoid rivalries between the colonial powers in Africa, the German Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck convened the Berlin Conference which took place from November 15, 1884 to February 25, 1885. It was at the origin of the “scramble of Africa” (Suret-Canale, 1985: 133-162). It was during this conference that Africa was divided into European “spheres of influence”. Articles 34 and 35 of the Berlin Act indeed stipulated the effective occupation of the land. This occupation was to be materialized by the delimitation of the borders with other powers colonialism and the securing of the latter. This was the case between Germany, which took possession of Kamerun by the German-Douala treaty on July 12, 1884, and Great Britain, which had been omnipresent in Nigeria for more than a century. With compasses, squares and pencils, these two colonial powers separated their two spheres of influence

from the Anglo-Germanic agreements of April 29-June 16, 1885; the German-British agreements of July 27 – August 2, 1886 and the German-British agreements of March 11, 1903 relating to the delineation of the Cameroon border-Nigeria: from Yola to the sea and navigation on the Cross-River (Foga , 2015: 145-161).

The following table lists the legal agreements signed between Germany and Great Britain regarding the Cameroonian-Nigerian border.

**Table No.1:** inventory of legal instruments relating to the birth of the border between Cameroon and Nigeria from 1885 to 1913

Instruments	Comments
1. German-British Exchanges of Notes April-June 1885	Delimitation of Germany's spheres of influence and Great Britain from the Gulf of Guinea.
2. German-British Exchanges of Notes July-August 1886	Extension of the border to the north up to the level of Yola
3. Anglo-German Treaty of July 1, 1890	Adoption of a provisional demarcation line between the Cameroonian sector German and the British Nigerian sector of the Gulf of Guinea at Rio Del Rey
4. Anglo-German Agreement of April 14, 1893	Right bank of the Rio-Del-Rey defined as the border between the possessions of the two parties.
5. Anglo-German Agreement of November 15, 1893	Extension of the border to the waters of Lake Chad.
6. Anglo-German Agreement of March 19, 1906	Redefining Yola's Boundary at Lake Chad
7. Archibong Protocol of March 20, 1906	Redefinition of the demarcation line between Cameroon and Nigeria from South. The border moves from Rio-Del-Rey at the Akwayafe River
8. exchanges of notes of February 22 and March 5, 1909	Confirmation of the demarcation of the two sectors of the Gorege/Lake Chad border and uba/mayo Tiel
9. Anglo-German Agreement of March 11, 1913	Course of the border between Cameroon and Nigeria by Yola to the sea. Articles 18, 19, 20, and 21 specify the "Camerounity" of the Bakassi peninsula
10. Obokoum Memorandum of Understanding of April 12, 1913	Yola border demarcation at the Cross River (Sector 2) eight reference maps are attached to the MoU.

Source: Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs relating to the file on the course of the Cameroonian-Nigerian border.

This new territorial division had been imposed on the local populations who lived in this geopolitical space. Consequently, ethnic, sociological, historical, geopolitical and geostrategic realities of the pre-colonial political hegemonies that existed there had not been taken into account at the time of the colonial partition between these two powers. In the same vein, the zonality, orality and instability, the main characteristic of precolonial

borders, were replaced by the linearity and fixity of the boundaries between Kamerun and Nigeria (Abdouraman Haliru, 2006: 127). This new border brought new political and geostrategic challenges. It performed new functions that deserve special attention:

**A tax function and surveillance of goods and people**

Both colonial powers were aware of the geopolitics of economic activities during the pre-colonial period that had prevailed between the spatial marker that dematerialized them. Thus, in the objectives targeted by the establishment of the new border, it was intended to collect the currencies to financially supply the colony for the needs of administrative conveniences, its exploitation and the enrichment of the architects of the colonial enterprise. Thus, the border was intended to collect taxes, taxes for all people, goods and objects that crossed it. It was also around the border that the customs activities that regulated foreign and domestic trade were organized. It is in this perspective that Germany created border posts all along the border between Cameroon and Nigeria to control the flow of commercial activities that took place there. For example, Dr. Alfred Mansfeld who replaced Graf Von Pückler Limburg had the mandate to create the first border posts with Nigeria in the Upper Cross-river region. He thus created border posts at Nsanakang, Okarikang, Agborkem and Tinto (Nso Atem, 2008: 54). This decision was intended to counter the economic inclinations of the British on the edge of the western border of Kamerun and also to control the flow of goods and monitor the movement of goods and people. For example, in 1909 the Upper Cross river area had a tax collector, fifty soldiers and sixty police officers assisted by the District Officer of the town of Mamfe (Foga Konefon, 2017:59-60). In the Tinto area, precisely to the north of the Upper Cross River region, there was a chief of police assisted by 25 soldiers, 4 messengers and 5 brigadier guards (Nso Atem, 2008: 54). The role of the latter at the border was to thwart the path of smugglers who crossed the border illegally. This was also the case in the northern part of Cameroon which suffered the hegemony of Calabar The role of the latter at the border was to thwart the path of smugglers who crossed the border illegally. This was also the case in the northern part of Cameroon which suffered the hegemony of Calabar The role of the latter at the border was to thwart the path of smugglers who crossed the border illegally. This was also the case in the northern part of Cameroon which suffered the hegemony of Calabar and Yola, two major commercial cities in Nigeria.

This restriction of the movement of people and the imposition of customs taxes were against the populations of this border perimeter who had a whole different way of life in these borderlands. For example, the populations of Isangelé, the Ejaghams had a millennial tradition of trading with the populations who were in the bay of Biafra. This latter area was considered a hub for trade in the Gulf of Guinea (Fanso, 1982). So, it was an absurdity for these populations to be forced into a space line which imposed taxes on them and restricted their movements and circulations. Hence, the contestation of this idea of the border, as a spatial barrier and resistance against the new colonial predators. For this purpose, given the porosity of the borders between Cameroon and Nigeria, the various trade flows and cross-border populations have generally materialized through clandestinity and illegality. Through dissimulation and several logics of circumvention, all these cultural communities settled in the borderlands of these two countries have challenged the new border line. In fact, the border was

considered a resource, a place of supply, exchange and supply (Fanso, 1982; Foga, 2015; Sourna, 2020). This dispute was also followed by fierce resistance from the local populations in the face of the imposition and domination of the colonial conqueror.

The border also had a health and military function.

### **A health and military function**

Beyond spatial differentiation, the idea of the border in representations of the West also had an ideological-military and health significance. Health was also part of the policy of securing borders in German Cameroon. Germany was afraid of tropical pathologies and its contagion effect on local populations. Thus, any foreign person in the territory of Kamerun had the obligation to have a health check (Foga, 2017). Indeed, after the pacification of Cameroonian resistance against German colonization, Germany's objective was to exploit the territory. For that, they needed a work force. This health policy of the international borders of Kamerun aimed not only to preserve the health of the local populations, the foreign workers and sustain the workforce affected in large plantations. Kamerun, in the 1900s, had been confronted with numerous epidemics such as: smallpox, leprosy, sleeping sickness, dysentery, typhus (Owona Ntsama, 2006: 73). It was therefore necessary to control the entry of foreigners into its territory. The traditional authorities also had the task of detecting these foreigners to bring them to the German colonial administration, not only to make vaccines so as not to contaminate the local populations against possible diseases, but also to ensure that they were not smugglers. This was also the case against epizootics, at the Cameroon-Nigeria border. This border was the subject of animal health concerns during the colonial era. In fact, this space was a transit perimeter for sick animals (Sourna, 2020: 221).

The border also had a military significance. In fact, to understand the dialectic of war and peace in the history of modern Europe, the idea of the border has played a considerable strategic role. In reality, the very idea of an international border arose in international law at the time of the negotiation of the Peace of Westphalia treaties (1648) following the Thirty Years' War. It was to guarantee territorial stability and lasting peace (Amilhat Szary and Amaël Cattaruzza, 2022). Borders play a particular role in the alphabet of space in that they sediment the balance of power and therefore induce, in a very powerful symbolically way, states of affairs stemming from ancient wars. It is in this register of thought that this order was deployed in a differentiated way in the territories structured by ancient European powers but also in the spaces that they colonized, having previously declared them *terra nullius*, that is to say land not occupied or whose sovereignty could not be recognized. The drawing of borders has therefore marked the emergence of a world respectful of a post bellum status quo, their objective being to lay down the conditions for maintaining peace through law (Amilhat Szary and Cattaruzza, 2022). Hence the link between wars and peace in the idea of the border.

One can easily understand from the historical and political context which prevailed between Germany and Great Britain, the two powers were rivals. Germany was aware that England had expansionist tendencies on its territory because, Great Britain not only estimated that a part of the South-West of Kamerun was a natural complement to the "old Calabar but also that part of North Kamerun was also a surplus of the territory of "old Adamawa" (Foga Konefon , 2015:59-60). Hence, a deep and



sacred attachment to the Westphalian line which marked them out between Kamerun and Nigeria. And, it is in this perspective that Germany and England set up a policy of securing their common border to monitor the movement of goods, people; fight against smuggling and also to defend against any external aggression.

From all the above, we can say that the cutting of the border between Kamerun and Nigeria according to the Western model had significant geopolitical, socio-economic and cultural upheavals on the historical dynamics of these people located at the edge of this border. On the political level, European tracing gave a crushing blow to the evolution of pre-colonial political hegemonies that straddled these two geopolitical spaces. In other words, colonization had not taken into account certain old political and cultural parameters to carry out this territorial division. Rather, it contributed to the political and societal disorganization of a system of suzerainty and vassalage between these pre-colonial peoples that had been in place for centuries. Many works illustrate this historical reality of this colonial tracing in the destabilization of traditional political entities and many inter-lamidale relations (Abdouraman Haliru, 2006: 140-142). The new African borders resulting from colonization between Kamerun and Nigeria have also upset the cultural and economic geopolitics of the local populations who lived in these spaces. These new borders have fragmented large cultural areas and scattered certain ethnic groups from their natural biotope to other cultural spaces which did not take into account certain parameters endogenous to the cultural and political history of this large geopolitical entity. For example, the pre-colonial Fulbe found themselves in the same spatio-cultural complex. However, with the new territorial delimitation imposed by the new colonial predators, they found themselves at the end of the colonial partition between German Cameroon, Nigeria and Chad. This reality is valid for all other peoples such as the Mambila, the Kanuri, the Isangélé, the Ejaghams, to name but a few. The consequences of this territorial redevelopment had strong scars in the political destiny of these different regions after independence, particularly with the question of national integration, land disputes, inter-tribal wars, etc. the Kanuri, the Isangélé, the Ejaghams, to name but a few. The consequences of this territorial redevelopment had strong scars in the political destiny of these different regions after independence, particularly with the question of national integration, land disputes, inter-tribal wars, etc. the Kanuri, the Isangélé, the Ejaghams, to name but a few. The consequences of this territorial redevelopment had strong scars in the political destiny of these different regions after independence, particularly with the question of national integration, land disputes, inter-tribal wars, etc.

Also, we can see that the border is a universal concept that is not foreign to African history. It has indeed played a strategic role in the multiple reconfigurations of human societies in Africa. The African vision of borders was not that of the Western model. Hence, the shock of the local populations settled in the borderlands between Kamerun and Nigeria at the time of colonization. This is the reason why, despite the efforts of the colonial administration to secure their various respective borders, Germany and Great Britain faced illegal immigration, smuggling, security problems, etc.

After the independence of Cameroon and Nigeria, this border was the subject of many sources of friction between the two countries, as was already the case between colonial administrators (English, Germans and French). However, the populations

located in these border peripheries have domesticated the border and made it a space where multiple activities and very dense networks of economic sociability are played out.

**Domesticating the border despite security, geopolitical upheavals and nationalist tensions: the borderlands, a resource for transnational cultural communities between Cameroon and Nigeria**

African borders are the subject of much controversy and lively debate in the international literature devoted to borders studies. They have a bad reputation as they are accused of being schizophrenic and murderous. This is due to the numerous rivalries that they generated between the States in the aftermath of their independence but also because of the numerous illicit activities which prospered in these spaces and consequently served as fertile ground for the emergence of criminal gangs, armed and terrorist organizations. The border between Cameroon and Nigeria is both repulsive and attractive. It appears as a concrete example where the populations bordering this border have always marked the distance in the face of the geopolitical tensions which have opposed their two countries for years. They also worked their imaginations to find alternative solutions in their fight for daily survival to circumvent the obstacles linked to insecurity on this border corridor in all its globality and complexity.

**On the territorial margins between Cameroon and Nigeria: between geopolitical tensions, insecurities and illicit trafficking**

Yesterday as today, History plays the same card again in the border areas between Cameroon and Nigeria. Issues of insecurity, illegal migration, land disputes and illicit trafficking are back on the agenda as was the case in pre-colonial times, during the colonial period up to the present day. Following the principle of the intangibility of borders adopted by the Organization of African Unity in 1964, the Member States of this institutional framework had decided not to modify their borders inherited from colonization, yet they bore many scars and indelible scars that did not fail to impact the dynamics of cooperation in these countries. In reality, the Cameroon-Nigerian border, 1728 km long and characterized by porosity carried within it the seeds of conflict and destabilization. Parameters such as the inaccuracies relating to the colonial course of the border, the armed incursions of Nigeria into Cameroonian territory and the issues of insecurity and illicit trafficking in these border areas have disrupted bilateral relations between Cameroon and Nigeria at the dawn of their independence.

For many years, the sound of boots and cannon shots have multiplied along this border following the expansionism of Nigeria in Cameroonian territorial waters; the dispute over the floating border islands as was the case of the island of Darak and the poor treatment of Nigerian nationals by the Cameroonian army in certain border areas such as the Bakassi peninsula. Without claiming to be exhaustive, we can mention the muscular incursion of the Nigerian army into the Cameroonian creeks of Abama, Isangele, Atabong, Bamuso during the Biafra conflict (1967-70) with a view to tracking down the Ibos whom she considered to be the troublemakers of this war<sup>3</sup>. This was still the case in 1983 and 1987 in the islands of Lake Chad and mainly in certain localities of Karakaya, Tchoukouféa and Niméri in the district of Hilé Halifa and villages such as

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<sup>3</sup>NAB, Original file: TC 1968/4 Nigerian conflict, incursion of Nigerian soldiers and atrocities in Cameroon Town like Abana, Isangele, Atabang, Bamuso, also Ibos atrocities 1968-1970, West-Cameroon.

Farancia, Ndiguili I and II, Katikime, Darak I and II, Balgaram, Kafouram, Kassaoua Maria, Naga, Gore Saguir, Gore Kendi, Tchaika where the Cameroonian populations were attacked by the Nigerian army and the Cameroonian flag torn and burned<sup>4</sup>. In the same perspective, this border has been the subject of a historic dispute between Cameroon and Nigeria following the dispute over the Bakassi peninsula and certain islands in Lake Chad from 1993 to 2008. Fortunately, this border crisis between the two neighboring countries found a favorable outcome at the International Court of Justice.

It cannot be overlooked that the absence of a border policy on the side of the Cameroonian State in the border areas with Nigeria has inevitably generated illicit trafficking such as smuggling; insecurity and the rise of maritime piracy and the Boko-Haram phenomenon. Beyond all these nationalist tensions and these questions of insecurity that are tied to the Cameroonian-Nigerian border, we note that cross-border communities have always domesticated the border and made it a space of cross-cultural solidarity and anti -crisis.

### **The border areas between Cameroon and Nigeria: places of possibilities, resources and opportunities**

By carefully scrutinizing the border peripheries between Cameroon and Nigeria, the dominant paradigm on African borders as delusional, schizophrenic and murderous zones is strongly nuanced. They make it possible to thwart received ideas about the border in order to apprehend it as spaces of possibilities, resources and opportunities. Faced with the weakening of their various states and the severe economic recession that prevailed in the 1980s following the imposition of structural adjustment programs, the border areas between Cameroon and Nigeria have been remodeled by becoming autonomous economically. Many transnational economic networks have settled and flows of goods and people have made this place, a large space of circulation and connected to the capitals of the world. It is a real laboratory of cosmopolitanism where merchants, traders, peasants, fishermen, missionaries, religious proselytes, criminals, weavers, the trafficker-retailer, smugglers, transporters, porters, farmers, tourists, terrorists, soldiers, young people, children, marabouts, etc. meet and clash. As in precolonial times, this geopolitical space replays the same geoeconomic cards between the different cross-border communities today. With the emergence of border markets in the northern part of Cameroon such as Sabon Gari, Limani, Banki, Amchidé, Gambaru, Kerawa to name but a few, commercial activity characterised by smuggling networks has intensified in these areas. Consequently, this border constitutes a strategic lever in the economic cooperation between Cameroon and Nigeria. The multipositionality of the transnational ethnic communities found along the border corridor between Cameroon and Nigeria is a historical fact that has always played a role in socialization, rapprochement despite the differentiating effect of the border and the geopolitical and security upheavals to which their submits this common border.

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<sup>4</sup>Memory of the Republic of Cameroon introduced at the International Court of Justice, on the case of the land and maritime border between Cameroon and Nigeria in 1995

### Conclusion

The idea that guided our questioning from the beginning of this study was to know: what lessons should we draw from the meditation of the experience of the confrontation between the two visions of the Western and African world on the Cameroon-Nigerian border in about the future on Africa? It is clear from this reflection that African borders had a history prior to those imposed during the colonial period. They were of geopolitical and geostrategic values. The philosophy of these borders was based on the cultural model and worldview of Africans. However, the Berlin Colonial Project held from November 1884 to February 1885 not only triggered the rush of voracious predators to the Dark Continent. The latter have broken up large cultural groups into small portions of territories and consequently imposed the representations and practices of the border according to the European model in the system of traditional African societies. This has aroused the frustration of people across the continent. They contested by fiercely opposing this new forced cultural baptism which was characterized by new lines, barriers and frontiers. Because they imposed on them demands, hassles and oddities that did not correspond to their daily anthropology. For traditional African societies, the border was a resource, an open space, a place of sharing, solidarity and tolerance. Despite the many geopolitical shifts and inter-state tensions between Cameroon and Nigeria over the border, the cross-border populations have overcome these various crises and by making the Cameroon-Nigeria dyad a space that does not exclude, separate or create social apartheid.

This boundary has remained an open space where many opportunities are offered to all social strata and different nationalities. A good border management policy in the various economic and regional communities would work for an exceptional renewal of economic growth and the free movement of individuals in the black continent as dreamed by the founding fathers of African unity.

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## HISTORY OF FEMINIST THOUGHT: THE BIRTH AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE MOVEMENT

*Pilar Giménez Armentia\**

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### **Abstract**

Any cause which challenges the established order faces an uphill battle and history has demonstrated that it is a long road to success, particularly if the goal is nothing less than equality among human beings. This paper offers an overview of the first steps of the modern feminist movement and its eventual successes, tracing the history of feminism from its initial unity to later atomisation due to the conflicting liberal, socialist and communist ideologies that swept Europe and America throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The movement, in the modern sense of the term, began in 1789. By the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the feminist cause had achieved notable successes thanks to its ability to unite countless individuals, while overcoming ideological divisions, to achieve a single objective: women's right to vote. Subsequently, within the new international order arising out of the Second World War, these latent divisions played out on the international stage. However, gender equality and the rights of women has now become a central issue in international debate.

**Key words:** *history of feminism, women, rights, equality, United Nations*

### **The struggle for women's rights**

In April 2020, the General Secretary of the United Nations, Antonio Guterres, warned governments that the recent Covid-19 pandemic jeopardised the limited advances in gender equality and women's rights of recent decades. Although Sustainable Development Goal 5 of the UN's 2030 Agenda, to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls, the situation of women around the world is extremely disparate.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789 declared "Men are born free and equal in rights", dismissing, as is well known, any recognition of the political rights of citizens without a minimum level of wealth or education, while entirely depriving women and slaves any right to political participation. It was the primary goal of feminists to secure equal political rights for both men and women.

It is difficult to offer a comprehensive overview of the political movements fighting for equal rights for women socially, politically and in public life. But, before remarking on the speed with which these goals are being achieved, it is important to contextualise the long and torturous path travelled thus far and the principal milestones *en route* to the present. For this we will start at the dawn of the Contemporary Era.

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\* PhD, Professor *Anthropology*, Universidad Francisco de Vitoria, Madrid, Spain, Phone: +34 654386793, Email: [p.gimenez.prof@ufv.es](mailto:p.gimenez.prof@ufv.es)

### The French revolutionary parenthesis

The French Revolution was undoubtedly a tumultuous era, unstable, unprecedented and often terrible. “It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness” (Dickens, 2003). But it was also a highly favourable moment, after the annihilation of the *Ancien Regime*, for the public airing of issues and the raising of voices hitherto silenced. A time of supposedly fraternal equalitarianism, later also becoming fratricidal, spurred the rational discussion of ideas. People debated in taverns, lodges, sanctums and in the public squares. The cult of reason, the ideas of the Encyclopaedists and the Enlightenment fomented a climate of open and pluralistic debate within which a number of women made significant contributions to deliberations in the Constituent Assembly. Their participation in the revolutionary ferment gave them authority and an unprecedented opportunity to participate in political debate and voice their egalitarian aspirations for the political rights and emancipation of women (Roig Castellano, 1982). It seemed logical that if they could participate in forging the new regime, they could also participate in political debates. Furthermore, the popular demand for liberty, equality and fraternity legitimated reflections on the principles of equality in the forging of the new social and political order. In fact, this posture was entirely in tune with the spirit of the times and a logical consequence of the eradication of the *Ancien Regime* (Duran, 1986).

As a result of this atmosphere, the first women’s publications, women’s clubs and important female public figures and personalities emerged, such as Théroigne de Méricourt, Etta Palm and Olympe de Gouges, who would become a key figure among proto-feminists. Gouges (1748-1793) was involved in a multitude of causes, from the eradication of slavery to the rights of orphans and unwed mothers but she is most known to history for the Declaration of the Rights of Women and of the Female Citizen. This was a feminist version of the declaration by the French National Constituent Assembly which included very progressive rights for the time, such as equality in the treatment of marital and extramarital children and the equality of black citizens. Gouges’ most decisive contribution to the feminist cause was to call into question the representation and expression of the French popular will, that is, the representativity of the Assembly, without the decisive and essential participation of women. Olympe was a protagonist and a victim of her time. She was arrested, sentenced to death and guillotined in 1793.

Nevertheless, Gouges won fame for her feminist activism, her demands for women’s representation in public and social life. She appealed to women’s consciousness and recognition of their place in the world and the need for women to act together to achieve full political and social equality with men. As a result of this political associationism - and the exclusion of women from political clubs which were either exclusively masculine or merely permitted the presence of women as observers without the right to vote – exclusively female political clubs were formed, no doubt the first manifestation of feminine political associationism, an early form of “lobbying”.

However, the Terror unleashed by Robespierre and the antifeminist prejudices of the Convention would result in the closure of these incipient centres for meetings and debate (Cantera, 1994). During the parliamentary debates of the 9<sup>th</sup> Brumaire, 1793,



the Convention decreed the closure of these clubs. The Deputy Amar received loud applause by the members of the Convention, all men, when he proclaimed: “in general, women are not capable of great conceptions or serious reflections” (Gárriz et al., 1990). The reaction of the heteropatriarchy was implacable, effectively expelling women from public life for more than a century.

The cause of women had no notable allies or defenders among the leading figures of the era and, with the exception of Condorcet, famed intellectuals such as Montesquieu, Voltaire or Diderot not only took scant interest in the cause “but rejected any alteration in the traditional status of women, a rejection symbolised above all by Rousseau” (Gárriz et al., 1990). The philosopher justified the subordination of women to men, claiming that the natural, pre-social sphere of women was housekeeping and raising children while men were concerned with supporting the family (Rousseau, 1754).

Hegel would later deny any possibility of women participating in public life, the sciences or politics, de facto relegating them to the *three K's*: *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* (children, kitchen, church). The German philosopher’s exclusion of women from political, economic, and cultural life, as with Rousseau, was based on the notion of the supposed natural inferiority of women who, according to Hegel, were weak and passive by nature (Ballesteros, 1989).

The Napoleonic period of reaction was equally unsympathetic to revolutionary ideas and women would be banished from French political life. The Napoleonic Code expressly excluded women from political life, declaring them unable to exercise their civil rights independently, without the permission and supervision of a man. Women unable to buy or sell property could hardly be permitted to vote. The Napoleonic Code legally bound and subjugated women to the power of men, preventing them from acquiring the status of citizen able to exercise their political and civil rights (Saraceno, 1988).

### **Reception of revolutionary ideas in England**

This does not mean that the contributions of the French had no lasting impact. Their ideas spread rapidly throughout Europe, taking root in educated minds, stirring an awareness of the inequality of women and the difficult road ahead.

In England, the revolutionary ideas from France had a direct impact on the thinking and writings of Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797). The English author advocated for equal rights and opportunities among men and women, especially equal access to education. The absence of any demand for political rights has often been faulted, and Wollstonecraft has been alternatively dismissed as a bourgeois or a misogynist. However, contemporary interpretations have emphasised the originality and radicalism of her thought given the historical context in which she lived (Ford, 1989).

Wollstonecraft approached the problem of equality not as a political question but as a social one. In her essay “Vindication of the Rights of Women” of 1792, she refuted the views of Rousseau on women, on the basis of the same philosophical presuppositions and revealing the blatant contradictions of the author of “Emile”. If natural rights are inherent to every human being, then we must conclude all human beings are equal. There can be no justification of the radical inequality between men and women. If everyone enjoys the same natural rights, surely all human beings share

the same social rights. Consequently, girls should receive the same education as boys (Bedia, 1989).

In contrast to the egalitarian revolution in France, Wollstonecraft proposed evolution towards similar goals through education for both boys and girls, a slow but irreversible process which can change society and achieve equality. Women were in a subordinate position, no doubt, but through the denunciation of unequal access to education this unjust situation could be redressed. Eliminating the barriers to education would lead to a more just and equal society. Female exclusion from public affairs is due, according to Wollstonecraft, their inability to discourse, a failure to cultivate the mind and intellect enabling them to have a vision of the world and to articulate their ideas effectively and on an equal footing as men. It is not a congenital weakness but rather a circumstance that could be corrected through education. Ultimately, for Wollstonecraft, education was the most valuable tool for the empowerment of women and full equality with men. All of these ideas would be further developed and pursued by the English suffragette movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Feminism and social movements**

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen by the National Constituent Assembly in 1789 is a milestone that marks the beginning of the Contemporary Era. Although Article 1 of the Declaration states: “Men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect of their rights”, the generic term *Men* did not include women who, as noted above, were excluded from politics. The 19<sup>th</sup> century began with vast movements of the oppressed and marginalised who progressively gained social awareness and mobilised to defend their interests. The Industrial Revolution would accelerate this process, with feminism becoming one of several movements gaining momentum. We referred earlier to the *iusnaturalista* justifications of Hegel for the separation of men and women into different roles, positions and spheres. This was the reality. The Industrial Revolution would drive vast numbers of peasants and farmers into industrial cities, creating new forms of interaction and a new urban reality that separated the workplace or factory and the home. Men worked outside the home while women worked at home (Astelarra, 1982). This separation extended to the public sphere, reserved for men while the private, domestic sphere became the domain of women. Hegel had accurately diagnosed and described the status quo but the feminist movement would rebel against its theoretical underpinnings, challenging the assumptions that relegated women to a subordinate role and giving primacy to men.

Within this context various social groups began the struggle for social and political rights, and this period marks the origin of the feminist cause as a genuine social movement, that is, a movement founded on social principles, sustained by an ideology and with pragmatic proposals for social change. All of these aspects would be brought together in the suffragette movement (Astelarra, 1982).

Here we find the origins of modern feminism, a term coined in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and becoming increasingly pervasive after the first Feminist Congress held in Paris in 1892 (Offen, 1991). Some authors have sought to trace much more remote origins of the term, even back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Anderson & Zinsser, 1991). In any case, by the 19<sup>th</sup> century the term “feminism” came into popular usage, substituting the earlier

“women’s movement”, articulating the concept of equality between men and women (Gahete, 2016).

The suffragist movement first arose in England in the fight for women’s right to vote; both active, the right to vote, and passive, the right to be elected. It was primarily a movement of middle-class women of certain education and social status, like Christine de Pisan, accustomed to participating in social causes, such as the abolition of slavery or Chartism, who joined the struggle for political rights (Anderson & Zinsser, 1991).

The main key to the success of the suffragette movement was its focus on a single cause, women’s right to vote, as an essential precondition for any other improvement. However, middle class women commonly involved in philanthropic causes, played an essential role in raising the political awareness of working-class women (Gahete, 2016). Within the broader movement was the prominent Women’s Social and Political Union (“WSPU”) (Grant, 2011).

Of note was the philosopher John Stuart Mill and his wife Harriet Harry Taylor who used their fame to promote the suffragette cause and to broaden its objectives to include improvements in education, demands for profound legal reforms including birth control to free women from domestic duties and offer them greater autonomy. However, the great benefit of a single, easily identifiable and expressed issue is that it helps galvanise wills in achieving a common objective, permitting a degree of cohesion among a multitude of ideologies and political attitudes in securing legal equality. Thus, both in England and in Scandinavia, feminist movements succeeded in introducing their program into the political platforms of liberals, socialists, syndicalist and workers’ movements with the support of women from all classes and conditions (González, 2007).

#### **1.4. The atomisation of the feminist movement**

The feminist movement was not immune from the political tensions of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe, a turbulent time of social and political upheaval and violence, including the Bolshevik revolution and two world wars. During this period the ideological conceptions of mankind and society were extremely polarised, and the divergent strategies proposed to achieve social gains, revolution or evolution, also impacted the feminist cause. Hence, there began a process of atomisation and disintegration of paths, discourses, and achievements of emancipation, becoming more divergent when one examines events in different countries and even particular regions within nations. In fact, some authors suggest an end to the feminist movement as such, assigning ideological labels to the evolution of feminist thought: bourgeois feminism, socialist feminism, or movement for the liberation of women (Elejabeitia, 1987). Broadly speaking, these movements can be grouped or categorised as liberal, socialist or more radical and revolutionary (Astelarra, 1998).

Of course, it is impossible to condense a century and a half of history into a few pages. The following is a broad outline of the main currents of the feminist movement and the most significant authors within each current who have had the most lasting impact. Liberal feminism can be understood as arising out of a constitutional democratic outlook, compared to more revolutionary or radically anti-systemic movements, seeking the emancipation of women through their self-affirmation of equality with men. This implies, firstly, a departure from the domestic sphere and entry

into the professional world; secondly, the possibility of establishing a life with or without a husband (divorce) and the securing of reproductive rights, that is, the right to decide when to become pregnant or to terminate a pregnancy. These rights are to be fought for and achieved through the law, that is, complete legal equality between men and women.

“The Feminine Mystique” (1963) by Betty Friedan exemplifies the presuppositions of liberal feminism: women must abandon the domestic sphere and join the working world, since a housewife is little more than a slave. This incorporation of women into professional life is a central goal of the movement. The notion of femininity itself is deconstructed and subjected to critical revision since prevailing notions of womanhood and femininity constitute a symbolic repression from which the modern woman must free herself (Friedan, 1963).

The liberal movement is not associated with any political party or ideology; its adherents are further their political and social goals from within whatever organisation they may find themselves and legitimating western liberal political values. This is a powerful lobby which aspires to integrate and work from within any political party or democratic institution.

When referring to socialist currents within feminist, we must differentiate between early utopian socialism from the pragmatic socialism which arose with the publication of the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels in 1848. Of particular note within utopian socialism is the figure of Flora Tristan, who decried the oppression suffered by proletarian women for being a woman. “Women are the proletariat of the proletariat. Even the most oppressed of men wishes to oppress another: his wife”.

In this case the authority and iron discipline imposed by political parties demanded that socialist feminists toe the line in supporting the party and committee positions. Utopian socialist theories of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Saint-Simon, Owen) have their feminist correlation in Flora Tristan and her famous statement: “Women are the proletariat of the proletariat. Even the most oppressed of men wishes to oppress another: his wife”, denouncing the non-remuneration of household work as another symbol of female oppression, something which escaped the notice of Karl Marx in his exhaustive work “Das Kapital”; as did Engels in his later works (Bellucci & Norman, 1998). The publication of the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels no doubt marks a turning point in these movements. With all its nuances and peculiarities, Marxist socialism offered an analysis of reality and a necessary and uncompromising program for action to eliminate injustices and inequalities. From this perspective, the dual oppression suffered by women, socioeconomic and gender, could only be overcome by prioritising one struggle over another. The triumph of socialism would bring economic and social equality. The dictatorship of the proletariat would put an end to the class struggle and bring harmony and equality between the sexes, the ideal of a “paradise on earth” and the end of history. Broadly speaking, we can distinguish the two paths followed by the movement by looking to events in Germany and in Russia.

The German socialist Clara Zetkin affirmed: “Just as male workers are oppressed by capitalism; women are oppressed by men and will continue to be so until they achieve economic independence. Work is the indispensable condition of economic

independence” (Anderson & Zinsler, 1991). The oppression and inequality of the sexes is nothing more than a feature of capitalism.

Given the individualist posture of liberal feminism, which sought the emancipation of women in a rational and political confrontation, one-to-one, between men and women and the socialist position that the existing power structure doubly oppressed women (capitalist oppression and patriarchal oppression) there arose the radical feminist revolution, a true revolution led by women. The leading exponent of this was Simone de Beauvoir, who turned the personal into the political and coined the famous phrase: “One is not born a woman but becomes one”. This celebrated phrase decoupled sexual gender from gender role in order for women to freely enter masculine spaces, signifiers, and dominions. Other important demands of radical feminism included the right to abortion, sexual freedom, lesbianism, and complete autonomy for women. The critique of maternity and the conventional family as being limitations on the full development of women are also found within the thinking of Beauvoir and her followers.

### **Global responsibility in achieving gender equality**

The new international order created in the wake of the Second World War established forums for dialogue and means for nations to resolve their differences peacefully. Once established, new voices would begin shifting the focus from Western perspectives towards a new vision that put global inequalities on the agenda.

It was not until thirty years after the end of the WWII that the UN issued its first formal declaration on human rights, created specialised agencies to address global issues, ended colonialism and welcomed new nations into the UN, that women’s rights became an international issue. The first World Conference on Women was held in Mexico in 1975, year of the United Nations International Women’s Year. This international conference was the first to be exclusively centred on improving the condition of women. The United Nations reviewed its policies and actions in this field, recognising that advances in improving the situation of women have been slow and uneven, requiring greater efforts on the part of the UN and member states.

This international approach broadened the focus from developed countries which had taken actions to promote gender equality to other countries where decisive measures were required to raise awareness and address the situation of women. The Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace recognised the need to remove obstacles to equality between men and women, calling on states to create the conditions necessary for the full integration of women into society (Women’s Institute, 1999).

The World Action Plan was ratified by the 133 countries participating in the conference, recognising the widespread discrimination against women throughout the world and proposing, as a top priority, measures to achieve real equality among men and women.

The conference resulted in the declaration of the United Nations Decade for Women, from 1976 to 1985 during which 14 goals were established. Furthermore, the United Nations established two new organisations with the mission to ensure the achievement of the proposed goals and to create a space for research on women and

development: The International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

Finally, one highly important aspect of the conference that it actively promoted the participation of women in its deliberations, with the participation of over 4,000 women from a broad range of non-governmental organisations. Of the 133 national delegations attending the conference, 113 were led by women (United Nations, 2000).

In late 1979, shortly before the start of the second World Conference on Women to be held in Copenhagen the following year, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women was adopted. It was initially ratified by twenty countries with additional adherents totalling 100 by the end of the decade. Currently, over 176 states have ratified the Convention and signatories have committed to permitting the monitoring of the achievement of the agreed goals and submitting reporting every four years to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women to assess progress and make recommendations for improvements. This document has been described as an “international bill of rights for women” (Women’s Institute, 1993).

In 1980 the Second World Conference on Women was held in Copenhagen, where there was an assessment of compliance with the goals agreed in the Mexico Conference. It was found that advances were limited and the some of the principal obstacles to real equality were identified, including the lack of political will or recognition of the contribution of women to society, the insufficient representation of women in positions of responsibility, the lack of economic resources to address inequalities, difficulties in accessing credit, the lack of awareness of the plight of women on the part of men and women themselves (UN Women, 2016).

The Copenhagen Conference adopted a Program of Action aimed at concentrating efforts over the next five years on three priority areas: equal access to education, equal access and opportunity in the labour market and health care. Just as the feminist movement had become fragmented along ideological lines in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a similar process was happening at the national level: the strategies and programs seeking the integration of women met with cultural resistance and the deliberations of the Conference did not reach the desired consensus as a result of political tensions and disagreements which, in fact, were more about international power relations than the issue of gender equality.

Nairobi was chosen as the site of the Third World Conference on Women of 1985, ten years after the first conference and with all the policy experience acquired over the course of the decade. By 1985, more countries had joined the global effort and 157 countries attended the conference while over 15,000 representatives from non-governmental organisations participated in a parallel event. At the Nairobi Conference it was again found that limited progress had been made and that further obstacles to achieving the goals of equality, development and peace must be identified. Furthermore, for the first-time objective criteria were established to verify the achievement of these goals. It was found that gender equality impacts all areas of human life and that greater participation of women was essential in all areas, not only in those directly related to gender issues (Women’s Institute, 1987).

The Nairobi Conference resulted in the “Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women to the Year 2000”, a document agreed by consensus for the first time. Participating countries agreed that prejudices and cultural stereotypes perpetuate gender inequalities and issued a call for the elimination of these barriers through education. For the first time, it was also agreed that there is no basis for considering the domestic sphere, home, and family, to be the exclusive domain of women. This has been considered the most important international recognition of feminism, understood as a disassociation between traditional female roles and gender. The Nairobi Conference has often been hailed as the birthplace of global feminism. No doubt, it signalled the definitive and worldwide refutation of Hegel, Rousseau and all those who advocate for the “natural” relegation of women to the domestic sphere for supposed anthropological reasons.

Importantly, the conference established the notion of “empowerment”, a word that would finally be used at the Cairo Conference and included in the Beijing Declaration of 1995 (Vázquez & Villalba, 1997). The last conference specifically dedicated to women was held in Beijing in September 1995. The importance of this event can be measured not only by the number of participating countries and NGOs, the largest international conference ever held by the United Nations, a historical milestone (Solana & Rodríguez, 1995:35), but also by the number of certified informers, over 3,200, almost triple the number at the Nairobi conference (Gallagher, 2000).

At the Beijing Conference the question of culturally attributed roles was examined, introducing the concept of gender as a social construct of roles assigned to men and women and the consequences of this in terms of diverging opportunity, discrimination, and oppression. The conference also consolidated the notion of the “empowerment” of women, understood as the adoption of positive measures aimed at redressing the under representation of women in positions of authority in government, ministries or other institutions and organisations. These barriers to executive positions must be eliminated through positive, proactive policies that establish parity in positions of authority (Pellicer, 1995).

Since the Beijing Conference the issue of women is no longer relegated to specific conferences but is now part of all United Nations events dealing with environmental, human rights, development, and population issues, with specific sections analysing these issues from the perspective of gender. Thus, in November 2000, the United Nations held a global conference culminating in the Millennium Declaration, in which signatories committed to the elimination of extreme poverty and hunger, establishing eight goals subdivided into 18 objectives to be achieved before 2015.

Two of these goals were specifically aimed at reducing gender inequality: to promote access to primary, secondary, and higher education for both boys and girls and to achieve parity in parliamentary representation or access to paid agricultural work (Martínez, 2005). Goal 3 of the Millennium Declaration aimed to promote gender equality and women emancipation. Additionally, Goal 5 was to improve maternal health, reduce women’s mortality rates through better health and reproductive care. Although the results were uneven in different countries, the accumulated experience made it possible to take gender issues into account in each and every one of these goals.

In 2015, the UN took a further step towards shared global goals in the reduction of inequality through the adoption of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), calling on all developed countries and social agents such as NGOs, companies, associations and individual citizens, to take part in their achievement. On this occasion the number of goals was greatly expanded, with sub-objectives and measurements where gender issues and environmental sustainability were fully incorporated into each of the SDGs. Specifically, Goal 5 is aimed at achieving gender equality.

The first SDG clearly suggests that the ambitious Millennium Goals were not entirely achieved, although significant advances were made, reducing global extreme poverty by 50%. Nevertheless, it is a long road to eliminating hunger as a daily reality for millions of people in developing countries. The sub-objectives of SDG 5 are clearly oriented towards improving the situation of women, including the guaranteed universal access to sexual and reproductive health services, including family planning, information and education and the inclusion of reproductive health into national health strategies and programs, also part of SDG 3 for “Good health and Wellbeing”. The multiplication of objectives, measurements and evaluations should, at the very least, offer a clear assessment of the progress in achieving these goals (Fernández et al, 2019).

### **Conclusion**

In this article we offer a review of feminist thought and the long path throughout history to achieve the equality of women. Evidently, from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when the first lone voices were raised in favour of equality, to the UN declaration of Sustainable Development Goals, much has been achieved.

The fight for women’s right to vote launched by the suffragettes in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century successfully stirred women’s awareness of injustice and sense of shared purpose, galvanising the enthusiasm of enough women and men around a just cause. It was clear that activism can achieve its goals and also that it requires social and political alliances at all levels of society and internationally.

The maturity of the movement was revealed when feminist thinking confronted other issues: new ideologies are applied to feminist demands, further contributing to securing the political rights of women. We see how socialist thinkers broadened the focus of gender inequality, pointing to the inequalities caused by poverty and emphasising the importance of equality in education and the workplace. Liberal feminists took a more conciliatory approach, seeking to influence political debate within the system without radicalisms and disruptions. In contrast, radical feminism demanded immediate changes, without delays or concessions, with a radical program with which they wholeheartedly identified calling for egregious injustices to be stopped immediately. Their efforts focussed on the total emancipation of women and real equality, synonymous with sexual freedom and reproductive rights, abortion and the release of women from the domestic sphere.

The consolidation of the feminist movement parallels the new international order which arose after WWII and decolonisation. During this period, the internationalisation of the feminist cause created forums for engagement and permanent dialogue among those involved, further extending the vision of gender issues



to encompass other global problems such as poverty, inequality, climate change, water scarcity and global sustainability in general.

From the 1970's onwards, the feminist movement found solid arguments to deny that established gender roles are natural, that is, women being relegated to the private, domestic, family sphere while men participate in public and professional life. With this widespread conviction it was possible to identify the causes of gender inequality. The Conference on Women held in Mexico in 1975 served to bring to the political forefront the problems faced by women and firmly establish these as a priority on the global agenda.

The United Nations has not only created a forum for debate but has also served to bring women together to build networks and alliances, exchange information and compare strategies to continue advancing the rights of women.

The cause of gender equality has become firmly established in international forums. Today, few countries defend radical inequality of rights between men and women. Thus, at least a formal, albeit tenuous, equality has been achieved. In successive international conferences under the auspices of the United Nations, an ample consensus has been reached on fundamental questions; it was only ten years from the first international conference when the Nairobi Conference recognised that cultural prejudices and stereotypes, considered 'natural' a hundred years earlier, at a key factor in perpetuating gender inequality.

These intuitions crystallised the notion of the gender gap, the objective statistics of inequality. If men and women are equal and aspire to participate in the public sphere, why are there such disparities in representation? It is no longer sufficient to voice support for equality; it must be translated into statistics which show inequality is receding, into equal access to education girls and boys, into ending higher mortality rates among women, into more women in parliament and on corporate boards of directors, into an end to physical and sexual violence against women.

Formal equality is not sufficient. Real equality must be secured through specific legislation to eliminate obstacles and establish positive, proactive policies that reduce real inequality. These issues were first addressed in the year 2000 when equal access to education and parity in parliamentary representation were established as priority objectives around the world. These objectives were renewed in 2015 as part of the broader objectives of the Sustainable Development Goals. Furthermore, the concept of gender perspective has been incorporated, in that an analysis of any of the SDGs of the 2030 Agenda are viewed through the prism of gender inequality. This perspective allows global inequalities to be contextualised using an inclusive approach that recognises that, in today's world, global problems impact men and women differently and that global dialogue is more necessary than ever.

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## A BRIEF HISTORY OF DENTAL IMPLANTS

Mihaela Ionescu<sup>†</sup>, Adina Dorina Glodeanu<sup>2†</sup>, Sanda Mihaela Popescu<sup>3†</sup>, Iulia Roxana Marinescu<sup>4†</sup>, Alin Gabriel Ionescu<sup>5†</sup>, Veronica Mercut<sup>6</sup>

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### Abstract

Teeth replacement through dental implants represents one of the oldest practices in the entire history of dentistry, being supported by archaeological findings and dedicated chapters in old medical textbooks. Ancient civilizations like Mayans, Egyptians, Phoenicians, or Chinese used amazing methods of implantology, and interesting materials like shells, bamboo, porcelain, iridioplatinum, or cobalt-chromium-molybdenum, connected using ligature wires made of gold, silver, linen or silk, or even real teeth, of human or animal origin. Over the time, dental implantology has evolved from rudimentary attempts to replace missing teeth, to experimental treatments with various materials, until reaching the point where implant-supported prostheses represent a highly predictable rehabilitation option. This historical perspective starts from ancient civilizations and emphasizes the main findings in every important phase of evolution of dental implants, providing a tour of the materials that were used, the main contributors and experiments that defined the science of implantology through time.

**Key words:** *dental implants, missing teeth, prosthetics, oral rehabilitation.*

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<sup>1</sup> Lecturer, PhD, University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Craiova, Faculty of Dental Medicine, Department of Medical Informatics and Biostatistics, No. 4-6, Petru Rares Street, Dolj County, Phone: 0040351443500, Email: mihaela.ionescu@umfcv.ro [0000-0001-8655-9320]

<sup>2</sup> Lecturer, MD, PhD, University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Craiova, Faculty of Medicine, Department of Internal Medicine, No. 4-6, Petru Rares Street, Dolj County, Phone: 0040351443500, Email: adina.glodeanu@umfcv.ro (corresponding author) [0000-0002-2469-9261]

<sup>3</sup> Professor, MD, PhD, University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Craiova, Faculty of Dental Medicine, Department of Oral Rehabilitation, No. 4-6, Petru Rares Street, Dolj County, Phone: 0040351443500, Email: sanda.popescu@umfcv.ro (equal contribution with the first author) [0000-0003-3011-6322]

<sup>4</sup> Lecturer, MD, PhD, University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Craiova, Faculty of Dental Medicine, Department of Oral Rehabilitation, No. 4-6, Petru Rares Street, Dolj County, Phone: 0040351443500, Email: roxana.marinescu@umfcv.ro (equal contribution with the first author) [0000-0002-1254-7201]

<sup>5</sup> Lecturer, MD, PhD, University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Craiova, Faculty of Medicine, Department of Medical History, No. 4-6, Petru Rares Street, Dolj County, Phone: 0040351443500, Email: alin.ionescu@umfcv.ro (equal contribution with the first author) [0000-0003-4588-0251]

<sup>6</sup> Professor, MD, PhD, University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Craiova, Faculty of Dental Medicine, Department of Prosthetics, No. 4-6, Petru Rares Street, Dolj County, Phone: 0040351443500, Email: veronica.mercut@umfcv.ro [0000-0003-3573-7128]

Corresponding author: Dr. Adina Dorina Glodeanu

<sup>†</sup> These authors contributed equally to this work

### Introduction

Complete dentures represent a very important element in our lives, both from a functional, as well as from an aesthetical point of view. The loss of one or more teeth determines various problems like the worsening of chewing efficiency, a less attractive aesthetic look associated with a decrease in psychosocial wellbeing, or even problems regarding the capacity to pronounce correctly various sounds. Therefore, the necessity of replacing the missing teeth is obvious, in all periods of time, and it represents a constant preoccupation for humanity. No matter the time in history, a missing tooth would always represent an issue and a solution must be found – that tooth, by all means, has to be replaced. This represented a true priority for physicians from ancient times, and nowadays, implant-supported prostheses represent essential key elements in current modern dental medicine.

The origin of dental prostheses dates back a long time ago, since missing teeth have always posed two major problems: on one hand, eating may be more difficult, especially if more teeth are missing, and changes in the current diet may be applied, turning towards soft foods; on the other hand, a smile with missing teeth is hardly irresistible. In the dawn of humankind, the lack of an effective bite and the loss of the capacity to masticate food that was, at that time, minimally processed, represented a real threat for survival (Rajput, 2016). As time went by, food become more processed, softer, and posed less challenges for the human dentures. Missing teeth would no longer represent a life-or-death issue but would simply affect the variety of foods that one could consume. Still, it was a strong motivation to identify solutions to replace the lost teeth. When facial aesthetics also become an important factor related to self-confidence, self-esteem, and claimed self-handicapping, even more effort was put in maintaining one's denture, and in searching of reliable, functional, and aesthetically pleasant replacements teeth (Block, 2018). In fact, besides dental extractions which result in partial dentition, replacement of teeth using dental implants represents the oldest practice in the overall history of dentistry (Ali, 2019).

Potential solutions involved bridges, ligatures, or external teeth (either natural or artificial) placed in the space created by one or more lost teeth. Early procedures were performed either post-mortem, or during the patients' lifetime, but in this case, they would have been extremely painful, quite barbaric, with a major risk of death due to infections and contagious diseases, that were hardly controllable at that time, without proper medication. In fact, initial failures came from the lack of antibiotics, anti-inflammatory agents, and anaesthetics. In specific time periods in our history, dominated by religious restrictions, moral taboos regarding the intervention upon the human body also deprived patients from proper treatment (Hinds, 1979). So, the lifespan of a replaced tooth could have been expressed in days or months. It was not until the discovery of biocompatible materials and the development of less traumatic procedures, that dental implants could become more reliable, durable, and efficiently attached to the surrounding jawbone. In fact, the modern definition of a dental implant (also known as endosseous implant or fixture) refers to a surgical element that interfaces with the bone of the jaw and represents the support of a dental prosthesis (crown, bridge, denture, etc.). It is an artificial piece inserted directly in the jawbone following an invasive procedure, therefore a more appropriate definition could be that

of an artificial root (Pal, 2015) with the role to maintain various prosthesis in position and integrate them within the patients' natural denture. So, the key element is biocompatibility, which was difficult to accomplish in ancient times (Arun, 2021).

Moreover, in ancient times, the right to health services was usually reserved for rich persons, as materials were expensive (gold, silver, ivory), so only the privileged had access to treatments and procedures, no matter how rudimentary they were at that time. In modern times, dental implants as generic health services are accessible for everyone, but potentially not affordable for a significant part of the world's population (Alghamdi, 2020). Tooth loss represents a true global health issue, and it is a burden to society, from an economical point of view (Righolt, 2015). The dental implant market is characterized by a constant increasing trend, and it is estimated that it will reach the value of 13 billion dollars by 2023 (Alghamdi, 2020). This trend will be maintained, since the world overall population is aging, as the number of elderly persons is increasing rapidly (Christensen, 2009). Partial or complete loss of natural teeth is generally correlated with an increased age, especially in associations with diseases like obesity, diabetes mellitus, osteoporosis, with various medication, which may affect the bone regeneration process around the dental implants (Volponi, 2018). Interdisciplinarity is the key element in our time, so mixed teams of scientists put all their efforts in finding efficient and durable dental implants.

### **Ancient Period**

The first documented attempts of dental replantation and transplantation are found in Allen's report, which was published in London in 1687 (Kawahara, 2008; Allen, 1687). These attempts date back as early as 3000-2000 BC, during the ancient Egyptian and Chinese civilizations. Being limited by the available materials and technology, they mainly had two basic approaches: in the site of the missing tooth either add a simple replacement at gingiva level, secured with metal wires to the remaining teeth situated on the left and right sides, or place an implant directly into the oral tissue (the very beginning of oral implantology).

Both Egyptians and Phoenicians used ligature wires (usually made of gold) to stabilize teeth in position, using either sculpted ivory, metal, or animal teeth (Bremner, 1954; Coleman, 1970). Obviously, gold and ivory were expensive resources, so they were used only by rich people, and teeth were likely used for less functional and more aesthetic purposes. Unless there is a strong connection between the jawbone and the replacement tooth, which would hold it in place and assure stability, it is unlikely that the replacement would take over the entire functionality of the former tooth, given the occlusal forces that would impose a significant level of stress over it. Chinese early dentists also used carved bamboo pegs as replacements. Still, all these materials were not biologically compatible, therefore all attempts probably faced early failures (Abraham, 2014). Also, early dental implants were most likely placed post-mortem, for religious or aesthetic reasons, as the pain suffered during and after the procedure would have been extreme. This is probably the case of an Egyptian king who had a copper peg that had been hammered into his upper jawbone (around 1000 BC), or the Celt discovered in France who presented a false iron tooth (around 300 BC) (Kawahara, 2008; Atilla, 1993).

Written recommendations regarding early implantology procedures are found both in Hippocrates and Celsus works. Around 5th century BC, Hippocrates described the use of gold or silk threads to put back in place teeth lost from injured mandibles, connecting them to the gums or to the remaining fixed teeth (Rodríguez, 2002). In the 1st century AD, Cornelius Celsus wrote “De Medicina”, and described the possibility to replace missing teeth by placing other ones taken from living persons or from cadavers (Pasqualini, 2009).

There is evidence of implants placed during the lifetime of early patients that restored the functionality and aesthetics of the missing teeth with an unprecedented success. Around 600 AD, Mayans used seashells to develop dental implants as replacements for three missing mandibular incisors. The shells were processed as to mimic the shape and structure of the teeth. This discovery was made in 1931 by Dr. Wilson Popenoe and his wife Dorothy Popenoe. But it was not until the ‘70s that the full impact of this discovery would be unveiled: radiograph investigations indicated the presence of compact bone around these primitive dental implants, just like the bone that develops around modern blade implants (Abraham, 2014; Asbell, 1988; Anjard, 1981) This proves that osteogenesis was present around the three implanted teeth which were probably very stable and had been inserted with a technique similar with the current ones. The X-ray investigations also suggested that this mandibular fragment belonged to a 20-year-old woman (Pasqualini, 2009). Therefore, seashells acted like natural biomaterials that restored the ability of that person to eat and carry a relative normal life. From that period, archaeologists also discovered a stone implant that dated from around 800 AD, placed in the mandible of a Honduran early patient (Kawahara, 2008; Ring, 1995).

### **The Middle Ages**

This period is mostly characterized by written recommendations and procedures’ description in various medical books. Artifacts that confirm the real practice of these procedures have not been found so far.

According to Andrews R, the Arab physician Abulcasis (936–1013) wrote extensive chapters regarding dental surgery in his work “Kitab al Tasrif” dedicated to surgery and recommended the replacement of missing teeth with either natural or artificial teeth, secured with gold ligatures inserted through the gingiva (Andrews, 1893). Similar procedures concerning tooth replantation are described by Guy de Chauliac (1300–1367), in 1363 in “Chirurgia Magna”, chapter 25 (Nunziante, 1968), Michele Savonarola (1384–1461) (Casotti, 1955) and Nicolò Falcucci (d. 1412) (Zampetti, 2005). The later two suggested linen, silk, or simple metal ligatures for keeping the replacement teeth in place (Pasqualini, 2009).

### **The Scientific Revolution**

During the ancient period and in the following centuries, early dental implants discovered in the jaws of unearthed skulls were made from various materials, like wood, metal, rare gems such as jade, ivory, oxen bone or shells. But it was also common, especially in Europe, between the 1500s until the beginning of the 1800s, to use animal teeth (heteroplastic implant) or human teeth (homoplastic implant),



however the rejection rate would have been huge, due to infections that may even turn out fatal for that patient. Besides local infections of the gingiva associated to the phenomenon of foreign body rejection, there was a risk of secondary infections, like tuberculosis or syphilis (Dahle, 1990; Block, 2018).

Pierre Fauchard, considered the father of modern dentistry, wrote in his magnificent work “Chirurgien-dentiste ou Traité des dents”, about replantation of avulsed teeth and also about transplantation of teeth from one person to another, and keep them in place with gold, silver or linen threads that would be maintained until stabilization (Spielman, 2007; Guerini, 1976). Human teeth were commonly bought from resurrectionists. They obtained them either from donors who had to sell their healthy teeth (usually poor people), or they used to steal them from corpses during wars or directly by robbing graves (Abraham, 2014; Asbell 1988 2). Before the 1800s, historical sources describe the documents made by of Dr. John Hunter, who performed extensive observations regarding the anatomy of mouth and jaw, following his direct work with resurrectionists (Colyer, 1920; Abraham, 2014). Among his scientific preoccupations, teeth transplants played a special role: he suggested that teeth which are not fully developed may be transplanted from one human to another. He even performed an experiment by implanting an incompletely developed tooth within the comb of a rooster and documented its evolution, which was truly surprising. The blood vessel of the rooster extended and grew into the living pulp of the tooth; thus, the tooth was in the end strongly embedded to the comb of the rooster (Ring, 1985; Asbell, 1988).

Implantation in dentistry concerned not only missing teeth, but also aimed to repair various defects of the cleft palate. The first evidence dates back to 1565, as Petronius attempted to use a gold plate to replace missing portion of the cleft palate (Hinds, 1979; Brettle, 1970). In 1579, the famous French physician Ambrose Pare also recommended plates of gold or silver for filling cavities in the cleft palate, on the condition to be thick as a French crown and a little larger than the cavity itself (Rajput, 2016). In the same period, Gabriel Fallopius (1523–1562), an Italian physician from Padua, recommended gold plates as replacements for any skull defects (cranioplasty) (Sanan, 1997; Aciduman, 2007). Gold was already used since ancient times in Incan or European civilizations, as it was characterized by malleability, and so was silver (Reeves, 1950; Sanan, 1997). But, besides the fact that these are highly valuable metals, expensive and clearly affordable only for rich persons, many important figures like Fallopius, Pierre Franco or Ambroise Pare, considered that these metals could be stolen by the physicians, instead of using them for the patient (Reeves, 1950; Sanan, 1997).

The post-scientific revolution period came with the early development of modern surgery, proper medical documentation under the form of scientific papers, early data about sterilization and disinfection (Kawahara, 2008). Until then, the main reason for dental implant failure was clearly the rejection of the foreign element by the human body. So, scientists began to orient towards other materials, like gold and alloy, porcelain, or platinum to develop new implants. Dr. Maggiolo J, a French dentist, laid the path of modern implantology in 1809, with his reference book “*Le Manuel de l'Art du Dentiste*”. He was the first person to describe a modern technique based on an

implant made of 18-karat gold alloy, with three branches that would penetrate the jawbone, and a porcelain crown as a superstructure. The gold tube was placed into a fresh extraction site, and then the site was allowed to heal naturally. The crown was added afterwards, but the whole procedure failed, as the patient experienced extensive inflammation at the gingiva level (Abraham, 2014; Maggiolo, 1809). In fact, gold alloy was not a biocompatible material, also containing copper, which was cytotoxic. With the technology available at that time, Maggiolo had no possibility to shape a metal structure that would fit perfectly in the patient's socket, nor to perform follow-up checks regarding any wall fractures, or possible apical granulomas. Nonetheless, the lack of anaesthetics and anti-inflammatory agents contributed to the final failure of his procedure. It was not until the late 19th century that anaesthetics delivered via inhalation and various antiseptic practices would emerge in the medical field, thus increasing the chances of successful procedures (Harris, 2014).

Still, failures motivated scientists to continue the research for the ideal material that would not be rejected by the jawbone. Both Znamensky and Hillscher, in 1891, used implants made of porcelain completed with gutta percha (Znamensky, 1891; Hillscher, 1891), or porcelain embedded with a platinum disk; Scholl created a root-form porcelain implant designed with a corrugated structure, that would incorporate a wire meant to ensure a connection with the original tooth (Rajput, 2016; Ring, 1995); Payne also used gutta percha to fill in gold plated tin capsules (Payne, 1902), while Greenfield attempted to insert endosseous implants composed by hollow latticed iridio-platinum cylinders (Greenfield, 1913). Often, failures were encountered, as materials like gold or lead devices, corrugated porcelain, iridium tubes or silver capsules, needed to fuse into the bone and not to be rejected by the body (this process is known as osseointegration - a direct contact between the implant and bone, analysed at light microscopic level) (Block, 2018; Shulman, 1985; Shulman 1995).

### **Modern times**

Early in the 20th century, physicians concluded that gold had low complication rates, but it was too expensive to use, and not strong enough to maintain its shape and provide adequate results; silver was taken into account as a replacement, as it was not expensive, it was easy to shape, but it was also found too soft and it was responsible of the skin discoloration in the surrounding areas, due to oxidation (Sanan, 1997).

A breakthrough step was taken in 1930 by Alvin and Moses Stock, two brothers who studied Vitallium, a new material previously used in hip bone implants, and created the first biocompatible implant based on a cobalt-chromium-molybdenum alloy, which was the first endosteal implant placed successfully into the jawbone. Another innovative element was also the shape of the implant designed in a "screw" style (Kawahara, 2008; Linkow, 1991). Eight years later, Adams P.B. successfully patented an endosseous cylindrical implant, with a smooth gingival collar, internal and external threading, and healing abutment (Arun, 2021; Block, 2018). The new implant's spiral design created by the Stock brothers was improved by Raphael Chercheve, who added burs to ease the insertion of the implant and thus to obtain the best fit.

The first attempt of a subperiosteal implant that sits on top of the bone rather than aiming for osseointegration, was performed by Dahl in 1940, after M. Formiggini and F. Zepponi created a spiral post-style implant fabricated from stainless steel (Rajput, 2016). Dahl introduced the concept of flat abutments and screws, that lay over the crest from the alveolar ridge (Linkow, 1991), which was later on perfected by Gershkoff and Goldberg in 1948, who created a cobalt-chromium-molybdenum implant that included the external oblique ridge (Goldberg, 1949).

It was not until 1952 that the foundation of modern oral implantology has been laid, through an accidental observation. Dr. Per-Ingvar Branemark was an orthopaedic surgeon and also a research professor. While studying the bone healing and regeneration processes, he conducted an interesting experiment on rabbits, regarding the microcirculation of blood in hard tissues, after placing titanium chambers in their femurs (Pal, 2015; Branemark, 1969). At the end of the experiment, he was unable to remove the titanium pieces, as they were fully embedded in the bone. Noticing that titanium had completely fused with the bone of the rabbits, he defined the term osseointegration to describe this unique interface between metal and bone and extended its use in dental implants applications. Also, titanium seemed to be resistant to fracturing, as if a fracture occurred, through further experiments, it was always between bone and bone, and never between the bone and the implant (Pal, 2015; Branemark, 1985). The discovery of titanium implants represented the significant breakthrough in the dental industry, which is still oriented nowadays in this same direction.

In early 1960s, Branemark and his team designed titanium screws and implanted them in several dogs' jawbones. About four months later, the results indicated that all the titanium screws were firmly attached to the bone. The strength of this connection was proved by suspending in the air dogs weighting around 20-25 kg, after tying one single implant with a strong metallic wire (Pal, 2015). Five years later, after further experimentation in this domain, a human volunteer, with congenitally missing teeth and misaligned teeth, which led to jaw and chin deformities, received four titanium dental implants (Adell, 1981; Branemark, 1983). Crowns were inserted over the screws, after a six-months period of healing in which the titanium implants fused to the mandible. The patient used the implants for the following 40 years (Branemark, 1977). As it was later proved, dental osseointegration achieved very low infection rates, likely due to the gingival tissue (Hoellwarth, 2022).

With these attempts, the first phase in the development of modern oral implantology had been set in place, with pioneering research and unique clinical procedures. The second phase concerned systematic and fundamental research, as well as planned clinical applications. The first criteria regarding successful implant dentistry were issues in 1978, with the Dental Implant Consensus Conference (Rajput, 2016), and in 1982, after the Toronto Conference on Osseointegration in Clinical Dentistry (Abraham, 2014). In the meantime, progress was visible from the technological point of view. New types of implants emerged: a hollow implant with a threaded piece strategically placed in it, which helped in engaging the bone; implants with hydroxyapatite coating (Arun, 2021); implants with a titanium surface spray designed to improve the interface surface area, and enriched with an intra-mobile detail within it, to replicate the mobility of natural teeth (Sullivan, 2001); or the implant with specific

plasma-sprayed cylinders and screws that are designed to be placed in a single-stage procedure (Pal, 2015). The third phase regroups clinical controls, randomized studies, as well as extended clinical applications, especially after 1993, when Dr. David Scharf published an article in the *Journal of Oral and Maxillofacial Implants*, showing that dental implants may also be installed in a dental office, not only in an operating room (Rajput, 2016).

In 2002, the American Dental Association published the results of a survey, indicating that dental implants represented the election treatment for missing teeth, identifying thus the fact that dental implants have become an indispensable treatment option in clinical dentistry (Arun, 2021). It was an important milestone in the long thousand-years journey of dental implants, ensuring them the proper place in history, even if this journey will probably never end.

### **Smart dental implants and IoT – is this the future of oral implantology?**

Nowadays, prostheses on dental implants represent an efficient and attractive solution from an aesthetic and functional point of view, for the replacement of missing teeth due to various dental diseases. Although they are designed to be durable, most often they require replacements after 5-7 years, due to inflammation of the gingival tissue, or bone loss caused by occlusal overload (Arciola, 2018). An optimal alternative is LED phototherapy, which promotes the regeneration of different parts of the tooth and gums and reduces microbes over time. Through this procedure, low-level red light is dispersed at certain wavelengths to increase blood flow, accelerate the cell recovery process, increase circulation, and repair damaged tissue (Gokmenoglu, 2014).

Technological advances now allow the combination of the two procedures, by creating an intelligent dental implant, with the following features: it is made of barium titanate (BTO), a material with piezoelectric properties that generates electricity through the natural movements of the oral cavity, such as chewing or brushing; the material resists the colonization of bacteria, generating a negative electrical charge on the implant surface that repels bacteria with negatively charged cell walls; the implant has a built-in LED light source, also powered by electricity generated by BTO, which performs phototherapy and thus protects the gingival tissue, without the need for external sources of electricity (Atul, 2021).

Thus, technology can support patients' oral health through state-of-the-art equipment, modern treatment methods and smart devices. A series of sensors may be embedded in prostheses, offering data regarding the patient's activities, the presence and signs of bruxism, the frequency and accuracy of brushing process. A smart implant may also take initiative in making recommendations: request dental floss when the tartar level is high, suggest a visit to the dental office when problems occur in the oral cavity, or generate a warning when it is not well placed in its socket.

## Conclusion

The journey of dental implants began thousand of years ago, paved by intelligent ancient physicians that understood the need of functional and aesthetic dentures, and it reached a point where implants become essential elements in the treatment for missing teeth, with a very high success rate in modern times. Early physicians used a large range of materials in their attempts to functionally replace missing teeth, varying from shells, bamboo, gold or silver ligature wires, ivory, cobalt, chromium, even platinum or iridium. The shape of dental implants also evolved during the years, from simple pegs, tubes connected with wires, stainless steel spirals, screw-type implants, double helical forms or endosseous root forms, all in the search of the best shape that would fill the place of the original missing tooth. All the discoveries during this period of great efforts were important elements that contributed to the functionality and aspect of replacing teeth, however the achievements of the 1950s represented the real foundation of modern implants, especially since the historical context was rather difficult. The use of titanium as artificial root material was a significant step forward, favouring the osseointegration process and offering an impressive stability and durability for the implant. Still, the work does not stop here, there is an obvious need for further progress in this field, in the search of the optimum biocompatible material that would actively stimulate the process of new bone formation.

Scientific progress in many various fields has been embedded in the evolution of dental implants, in order to offer the best option to restore a patient's ability to smile, to talk and to eat properly. The following years will surely provide new materials, innovative shapes, and special coatings for the implants' surface, to offer the patient the very best regarding teeth replacements and treatment options.

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**Petre Gherghe**

**– The researcher for whom the notion of pensioner does not exist**

As is well known, in modern times and in advanced democracies, in the appreciation of a society, the elements related to respect for human rights, which reflect a high level of civilization, and of appreciation of scientists, researchers in general, which means caring for progress, constant prosperity and maintaining competitiveness. And this is true for all sciences, from abstract to applied, from technical to humanistic. A researcher is extremely difficult to train, the process summing up the instruction done at maximum levels, with a total dedication to a field, with a lot of work and the ability to integrate into all the concerns for a topic. The experience accumulates over a long period of time and perhaps that is why many discoveries are made by older people, and the researcher remains dedicated to his ideas and work all his life.

The above notes undoubtedly fit the distinguished historian, archaeologist and university professor Petre Gherghe, appreciated throughout his career for seriousness, openness to professional collaboration, appreciation of colleagues and students, empathy or a special elegance in behaviour.

The historian Petre Gherghe was born on January 1, 1947, in the Buicești village, Butoiești commune, Mehedinți county.

He attended his first classes in his native village, then, for grades V-VII, he travelled daily, like almost all the children from the rural area of that time, in the commune centre, in Butoiești. He attended high school in Filiași (the Mixed Middle School was the name at the time), then became a student at the Faculty of History-Philosophy, specializing in History, at Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca. He continued his training through specialization courses for museographers in the field of "archaeological excavations" (1975 and 1981). He obtained the academic title of PhD of History, in 1995, with the thesis *Contribution to the knowledge of the Geto-Dacian civilization from Oltenia*, at the National Institute of Tracology, Bucharest, scientific leader prof. Univ. Phd. Dumitru Berciu.

He participated in the interacademic exchanges between the Romanian Academy of Social and Political Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences, on issues of Latène Archeology (Poland, 1984) and in various other professional development programs, between 1986 and 1990.

He started his professional activity as a museographer at the Gorj County Museum. From 1981 he became an archaeologist, then chief archaeologist, at the Romanian Academy - Center for Social and Political Sciences (today the Institute of Socio-Human Research "C.S. Nicolăescu Ploșor", Craiova). During 1988-1990 he was Director of Dolj County Museum Complex, and in the years 1990-1991 he worked as a Counsellor and specialized inspector at the Inspectorate for Culture and Art of Dolj County. He then followed the didactic career, at the history department at the faculty of the Faculty of History-Philosophy-Geography of the University of Craiova: university lecturer (1991), associate professor PhD (1998), university professor PhD (since 2001). In the period 2000-2012 he held the positions of scientific secretary and vice dean.

His activity as an archaeologist aimed at researching the civilization of the Dacian, Roman and Roman-Byzantine eras in 31 archeological sites, of which 14 in Gorj County, 6 in Dolj, 4 in Mehedinți, 2 in Olt and 2 in Vâlcea County. To this, he also brought his participation on 2 construction sites in Dobrogea (Adamclisi - scientific manager prof. Ion Barnea and Capidava - scientific manager prof. Radu Florescu) and on the construction site at Sarmizegetusa Regia in Orăștiei Mountains - scientific manager prof. Hadrian Dicoviciu).

Bachelor's degree courses: *Ancient History of Romania, Introduction to Archeology, General Prehistory, General Museology* (specializations in History and History a foreign language), *History of human society* (specialization in Sociology, 2005-2008) and Master's courses: *Dacia and the Roman*

*Empire, Roman Archeology and Museology* (specializing in Research and Preservation of Historical Testimonies), *Archaeological Testimonies and Greco-Roman Sources Relating to the Carpatho-Danubian Space* (specializing in Receiving Greco-Roman Antiquity in Greco-Roman Culture - Faculty of Letters).

He is the author of over 160 studies and articles published in specialized publications (local, national and international), collective volumes, press, cultural and popular magazines and has participated in over 280 scientific sessions, symposia, colloquia, national and international congresses.

He was present to communicate the results of archaeological research at Radio Oltenia, Radio Bucharest, TVR, Tele Universitatea Craiova, TV Oltenia, Terra Sat and others.

In the period 1968-1981 he participated in the organization of new collections or museum points, in different communes of Gorj county, among which Arcani, Lelești, Runcu, Groșerea, Turburea, Siacu, Bărbățești, Stoina.

He works as a member of the editorial board or as a referent of several specialized magazines, including: *Litua. Studies and research*, Târgu Jiu; *Thracological Symposium*, Craiova, 1983; *Oltenia. Studies and communications*, vol. VII-VIII, Craiova, 1989; *Drobeta*, History series, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, after 1990; *Oltenia. Studies. Documents. Collections* (Founding Director of C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, 1923) since its reappearance, in 1998; *Annals of Spiru Haret University*, History Series, Bucharest, 2007-2013. Editorial Secretary General, Editorial Secretary and member of the Editorial Board of the *Annals of the University of Craiova Magazine*, History Series, Craiova, 1996-2012.

He has been a member of Craiova Branch, of the National Institute of Tracology, since 1986 (during 1986-1989 he was its secretary); co-founding member of the "Romanian Archaeological Society", Bucharest (since 2000); co-founding member of the *History Society of Oltenia "Izvoarele"*, Craiova; co-founding member and head of the Archeology Department at the *Society of Friends of Science "Gb. Titeica"* Craiova, member in the National Commission of Archeology within the Ministry of Culture and Cults (2000-2008).

Printed books: *The illustrated history of Craiova* (collaboration), Dova Publishing House, Craiova, 1996; *Geto-Dacian settlements and fortresses from Oltenia* (with an Opening speech signed by Prof. PhD Dumitru Berciu.), Universitaria Publishing House, Craiova, 1997; *Monuments of Craiova* (collaboration), Helios Publishing House, Craiova, 1998; *Repertory of information and archaeological discoveries in Oltenia. Latène Epoch*, Editura Universitară, Craiova, 2001; *The historical dictionary of the localities from Dolj county* (collaboration), 3 volumes, Alma Publishing House, Craiova, 2004; *Faculty of Socio-Human Sciences* (2000-2008). Monograph (co-author), University Publishing House, Craiova, 2008; *Ancient History of Romania*, 2nd Edition, University Publishing House, Craiova, 2009; *Faculty of Social Sciences* (2000-2010). Monograph (co-author), University Publishing House, Craiova, 2010; *History of Craiova. Archaeological and numismatic testimonies* (in collaboration with Lucian Amon), Universitaria Publishing House, Craiova, 2010; *Roman and Roman-Byzantine lamps discovered in the territory of Suceava* (in collaboration with Mirela Cojoc), Universitaria Publishing House, Craiova, 2011; *Repertoire of information and archaeological discoveries from Mehedinți County* (Petre C. Gherghe, Romeo A. Popa), Sitech Publishing House, Craiova, 2013; *The Geto-Dacian settlement and necropolis from Spabii-Câmpul Spabiului, Gorj county*, Măiastra Publishing House, Tg. Jiu, 2015; *Lucian Rosu. The beginnings of art in Romania* (neat post-mortem edition, with updated text and *Instead of Preface* by Petre Gherghe), Sitech Publishing House, Craiova, 2014; *Roman lamps from Acidava and Rusidava, Olt County* (in collaboration with Mirela Cojoc and Laurențiu Comănescu), MJM Autograph Publishing House, Craiova, 2019.

Author of six university courses: *General Prehistory*, Reprographics of the University of Craiova, Craiova, 1994; *Introduction to Archeology*, Reprographics of the University of Craiova, 2000 (second edition 2008); *The Ancient History of Romania*, vol. I, Reprographics of the University of Craiova, 2003; *General Museology*, 2008; *Ancient History of Romania*, vol. II, Reprographics of the University of Craiova, 2010 (2nd edition at Mirror Printing House, Craiova, 2012).

References in: Aurel Golimas, Cristache C. Gheorghe, *Romanian Numismatic Bibliography*, Bucharest, 1984; xxx, *Studies and researches of ancient history and archeology*, INDEX, 1950-1984, 1-2, volume 36, Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 1985; Eugen Comșa, *Bibliography on the Second Iron Age in Romania*, Bucharest, 1993; Constantin Preda (scientific coordinator), *Encyclopaedia of Archaeology and Ancient History of Romania*, A - C, Encyclopaedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1994; Sever Dumitrașcu, *Romanian Archaeology at the end and beginning of the millennium. 101 archaeologists*, Oradea, 1995; C. Avram (coordinator), *Oltenian spiritual interferences*, Craiova, 1999; xxx, *Personalities from Oltenia. Dictionary*, Craiova, 1999; xxx, *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Mebedinți County*, Prier Publishing House, Drobeta - Tr. Severin, 2003; Toni Dârțu, *Romanian personalities and their deeds, 1950-2000*, Iași, 2003; *Faculty of Socio-Human Sciences (2000-2008)*, Universitaria Publishing House, Craiova, 2008 (second edition 2010); *Who is who in Romania*, Encyclopedia and online platform with biographies of personalities, 2012; Rodica Pospai Păvălan, *People and books from Bălăciței Piedmont*, Romanian Writing Foundation Publishing House, Craiova, 2019; Ileana Roman, Tudor Rățoi, *Dictionary. Mebedinți County Encyclopaedia*, Prier Publishing House, Drobeta Turnu Severin, 2021; Romanian Academy, *Encyclopaedia of representatives of Romanian historical writing* (coordinators Victor Spinei and Dorina N. Rusu), Karl A. Romstorfer Publishing House of the National Museum of Bukovina, Suceava, 2021.

Nevertheless, there comes a time when people, after decades of work, move on to a lighter life, by retiring and changing their register of concerns. However, the professor, but especially the archaeologist Petre Gherghe, does not fit into such a characterization, because he has not detached himself, even now, from the old preoccupations. Every summer he is present on the archaeological sites from *Sucidava-Celei* (Corabia) and *Romula-Reșca* (Dobrosloveni commune), both in Olt county, concerned with the continuation of excavations and the training, together with colleagues from the university, of student groups, who come into internship. At the time of writing, he is working with several researchers on the processing of archaeological materials from the last decades of excavations in Sucidava, to send to print a new work on the exceptional archaeological remains here. He is, as I said from the beginning, a way of understanding the purpose of the researcher, for which there should not be the notion of pensioner, but only the idea of putting in the service of society, all the life, gained science and experience.

**Ph.D. Mircea Pospai**  
**Ph.D. Rodica Păvălan**



**A.U.C.H. Manuscript Submission**

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**Reference citations**

**I. Reference-List Entries for Periodicals (APA Style)**

**a. An Article in a Journal with continuous paging**

Harrison, R.L., & Westwood, M.J. (2009). Preventing vicarious traumatization of mental health therapists: Identifying protective practices. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, 46, 203-219.

In-text citation (Harrison & Westwood, 2009)

**b. An Article in a Journal with separate paging**

Damean, S.L. (2013). The Royal Family of Romania and the National Reunification War. *Analele Universității din Craiova. Istorie*, 23(1), 43-50.

In-text citation (Damean, 2013: 50)

**c. An article in a monthly magazine**

Madu, C. (2010, March-April). A cure for crime. *Psychology Today*, 43(2), 12.

In-text citation (Madu, 2010: 12)

**II. Reference-list entries for books and other separately published materials**

**a. A book by one author**

Damean, S.L. (2004). *România și Congresul de Pace de la Berlin (1878)*. București: Mica Valahie.

In-text citation (Damean, 2004: 49)

**b. A book by two or more authors**

Rosenthal, R., Rosnow, R.L., & Rubin, D.B. (2000). *Contrasts and effect sizes in behavioral research: A correlational approach*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

First in-text citation (Rosenthal, Rosnow, & Rubin, 2000: 230-231)

Subsequent citations (Rosenthal et al., 2000: 232)

Scafes, C., Șerbănescu, H., Andonie, C., Scafes I. (2002). *Armata română în războiul de independență. 1877-1878*. București: Sigma.

First in-text citation (Scafes, Șerbănescu, & Andonie, 2002: 150)

Subsequent citations (Scafes et al., 2002: 151)

**c. A book with no author named**

*The Blackwell dictionary of cognitive psychology*. (1991). Oxford, England: Blackwell.

In-text citation (*The Blackwell dictionary*, 1991: 98)

**d. Multiple works by the same author**

Sternberg, R.J. (1990). *Metaphors of the mind: Conceptions of the nature of intelligence*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Sternberg, R.J. (2003). *Psychologists defying the crowd: Stories of those who battled the establishment and won*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Sternberg, R.J. (2003). *Why smart people can be so stupid*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Sternberg, R.J. (2007). *Wisdom, intelligence, and creativity synthesized*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

In-text citation

The 1990 book: (Sternberg, 1990: 45)

The first 2003 book: (Sternberg, 2003a: 23)

The second 2003 book: (Sternberg, 2003b: 25)

The 2007 book: (Sternberg, 2007: 139)

All four works in the same citation: (Sternberg, 1990, 2003a, 2003b, 2007)

Damean, S.L. (2004). *România și Congresul de Pace de la Berlin (1878)*. București: Mica Valahie.

Damean, S.L. (2008). *Diplomați Englezi în România (1866-1880)*. Craiova: Universitaria.

In-text citation

The 2004 book: (Damean, 2004: 77)

The 2008 book: (Damean, 2008: 55)

**e. Reference to a chapter in an edited book**

Ghițulescu, M. (2014). Evoluția instituțiilor politice în timpul regimului comunist. În Damean, S.L. (coord.) *Evoluția instituțiilor politice ale statului român din 1859 până astăzi*. Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun.

In-text citation (Ghițulescu, 2014: 111)

**III. Archival Documents and Collections**

**a. Collection of letters from an archive**

Benomar, Fr.M.C. (March 1875-December 1876). Legación en Berlin. Correspondencia confidencial y reservada con los Ministros de Estado. Cartas a los mismos (Tomo I, Signatura 9-32-7-7401). *Royal Academy of History*, Madrid, Spain.

In-text citation (Benomar, Fr.M.C., 1875-1876, Benomar, Fr.M.C. to F. Calderón Collantes, June 5, 1876)

**b. Unpublished papers, lectures from an archive or personal collection**

Suțu, C.N. (1863). *Propunerea lui C. Șuțu în numele lui D. Jose de Salamanca*. Fond Ministerul Lucrărilor Publice (dosar 100). National Historical Central Archives Service, Bucarest, Romania.

In-text citation (Suțu, 1863)

Universidad Central (1868). *Espediente Vizanti y Basilio Andrés*. Universidades, Sección Filosofía y Letras (Signatura 6887, expediente 1). National Historical Archive, Madrid, Spain.

In-text citation (Universidad Central, 1868)

Gullón E. Iglesias, P. (1898, April 18). *Memorandum adresat de Guvernul Spaniei Puterilor prietene asupra insurecției cubane*. Fond 71 (Problema 21, Dosar 69). Diplomatic Archives Unit of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bucarest, Romania.

In-text citation (Gullón E Iglesias, 1898)

**IV. Reference to a web source**

J.G. (2016, April 11). 7 Deadly Environmental Disasters. Retrieved April 25 2016, from <http://www.history.com/news/history-lists>

In-text citation (<http://www.history.com/news/history-lists>)



