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SOME CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING THE BEGINNINGS OF ROMAN LIFE AT ROMULA

*Mircea Negru**
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Abstract
The beginnings of Roman life in Romula are difficult to identify. The traces of habitation are ephemeral, probably, many of them were destroyed by the refurbishing of the following periods. Since the first war between Dacians and Romans, in 101-102, a marching camp was built in Reşca (Dobrosloveni commune, Olt County). In terms of archaeological structures, the elements of the fortification in the central area, the two *fossae*, the *berm* and the two enclosure walls stand out. To this is added a building in the central-northern area of the Central Fortification, which had a wooden plank floor. In the Northern Sector, a Roman cultural layer appeared, with building materials (spikes) and other objects that can be dated with coins issued in the early 2nd century AD.

Key words: *Roman Period, fortification, wooden construction, unburnt bricks, Romula.*

Anyone who looks at the map of the Lower Danube and Lower Olt River will wonder about the reason the Romans settled in Reşca-Romula. They first made a marching camp there, then a city, which was the residence of the governor of Dacia Inferior Province (Malvensis), which later reached the rank of colony, the highest in the Roman world.

The archaeological site of Reşca-Romula is located on the western high terrace of the Olt River, at approx. 40 km north of the Danube. The stream of Teslui flows through, which meets its tributary Potopin, which runs east of the site. From the banks of Teslui, it flows the drinking water from 10 springs. The north of the site soil is rich in clay, and the timber was probably found in the nearby forest, which still guards the east of the site, in the wide meadow of the Olt River.

Since the first war between Dacians and Romans, in 101-102, a marching camp was built in Reşca (Dobrolosveni commune, Olt County). Around it, as usual, a civilian settlement of military families was established. Then, the number of inhabitants increased, and the founding of Romula municipality by Hadrian (Tudor 1978: 188-189; Tătulea 1994: 72) paved the way for a spectacular evolution of the settlement, which reached the rank of colony (Tudor 1978: 189; CIL III, 7282; ILS 315).

Romula is the most relevant Roman city in the Roman province of Dacia Inferior (Malvensis), by number of inhabitants, economy and trade, but also from an administrative and cultural point of view.

The first half of the second century was difficult to identify until recently, with research over the past decade. Although they are few, stratigraphic evidence begins to appear, but also archaeological structures that can be attributed to the first half of the

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2nd century AD, archaeological materials in these contexts from the Central Fort (Fig. 1: 1) and Northern Sector (Fig. 1: 2).

The central area of the archaeological site presents a complicated stratigraphy, starting from the post-Roman period and reaching the first decades of the 2nd century AD, respectively the Neolithic period (Negru, Gherghe, Amon 2020).

Trench S. 9/2015 (Fig. 2)

From a stratigraphic point of view, habitation structures were captured in the trenches S. 9/2015, respectively S. 9/2013-2017.

The first quarter of the 2nd century AD was captured from depths of 1.20/1.25 m to 1.50/1.60 m, a layer of greenish-blackish dirt (S.U. 9029).

Below it, in grids 3-4 was identified a wooden plank floor (S.U. 9031), which crosses the trench perpendicularly, to the NE-SW direction, and has a preserved width of approx. 1.20 m (Fig. 3: 1-2). A preserved gravel agglomeration could indicate the presence of an exterior setting-up of the building, called B. 8/2015 (Negru et al. 2016: 29).

Chronologically, the structure can be dated to the first quarter of the 2nd century AD, if we take into account that it is under the layer in which a Roman coin from Hadrian was discovered.

Regarding the usefulness of this building, we can think of a possible military barracks, but it is only a working hypothesis, its destination requires the expansion of research in the future.

Second quarter of the 2nd century AD

In trench S. 9/2015 (Negru et al. 2016: 26), at depths of 0.90-1.20 m, a dark grey layer of dirt was identified in grids 0-5, with frequent fragments of burnt wood (S.U. 9028). Under it, grid 0-3, from 1.20 to 1.40 m deep is a layer of dirt of grey colour (9028a). In grid 7-8, at a depth of 0.90 m, a sediment of yellow colours was discovered (S.U. 9032).

Under S.U. 9028a in grid 6, there were found traces of an accidentally burned clay wall, demolished on the spot (S.U. 9033) under which there was a layer of blackish burnt pigments containing pieces of burnt wood, and, at a depth of 1.30 m, traces of wooden beams (S.U. 9033), superimposed by a mass of unfired adobe (S.U. 9029).

Based on the plan captured in the trench and the stratigraphy, we can find that there was a building (B. 7/2015), which was built of clay walls. Regarding the functionality of these buildings, for information, it would be necessary to expand the research (Negru et al. 2016: 28).

The stratigraphic units and structures shown can be dated with a coin from Hadrian in the second quarter of the 2nd century AD.

The southeastern part of the Central Fortification (Fig. 4: 1-2)

Archaeological structures and stratigraphic information regarding the first half of the 2nd century AD at Romula, have appeared, in recent years, in the southeastern area of the Central Fortification.

The first quarter of the 2nd century AD was captured stratigraphically in connection with the first defensive system in this area of the site, namely the fortification elements of the first Roman camp.

Thus, in trench S. 1, grids 4-5 at a depth of -2.01 m, at a depth of -2.55 m a layer of brown, compact, clay earth containing brick fragments (6) was observed, respectively from a depth of -2.55 m, at a depth of -3.34 m a grey, medium solidified layer with building materials was identified (7). It continues in S. 14, grids A5-E5, from a depth of -1.63 m to a depth of -1.96 m.

In trench S. 14/2017, grids A 1-3, from a depth of -1,14 m to a depth of -1,17 m, a light-brown, compact, medium-solidified layer with ceramic fragments and coal pigments was observed (14). Next, in the same grid, from a depth of -1.50 m to a depth of -1.75 m, a blackish layer with ash, coal pigments and small fragments of brick continues (8).

The chronology is supported by a sestertius from Hadrian (125-128), discovered in S. 14, g. B4, -1,10 m.

The archaeological contexts identified in trench T1 are related to the defensive structures of the Roman camp. From east to west, these are the two fossae, the berm, and the two enclosure walls of unfired brick.

Fossa No. 2 (Fig. 4: 26) is the one at the eastern extremity of the Roman defensive system at this point, in S. 1, g. 1.

Within trench T1, from a depth of 2.30 m, the second ditch of the Roman fortification was only partially captured. In profile, the ditch had a triangular shape, oriented upside-down. It was partially identified, because part of it is under the current communal gully and road, protruding outside the area that can be investigated.

In this ditch, at a depth of 2.90 m, there was discovered a Roman coin from the beginning of the 2nd century AD, a denarius from Trajan (103-114), which is a clear indication of its arrangement in the first decades of the 2nd century AD.

Fossa no. 1 (Ctx. 12/2017) was identified in grids 3-5 of trench S. 1. It has a triangular shape in profile, with the tip down. Its maximum opening in this trench is 3.40 m, and its maximum depth cannot be specified because it was affected by the subsequent implantation, at the end of the 2nd century AD, of a fired-brick wall. Over time, the fossa was filled with archaeological materials, being finally flattened after the decommissioning of the Roman fortification.

The berm of the fortification (Ctx. 11/2017) was identified in grids 4-5, from a depth of 0.36 m to a depth of 2.16 m. Within it, the blackish and brownish earth dirt layers alternate with fragments of unfired Roman bricks collapsed from the first enclosure wall.

The first enclosure wall (Ctx. 9/2017) was identified in grids 5-6 on the northwestern profile of trench S. 1. From a depth of 0.36 m, unburned clay bricks of yellowish colour were discovered. It had a width, identified, on the profile of about 2 m.

Traces of an archaeological structure were also identified in trench S. 14, grids A, 4-5, from a depth of -1.75 m to a depth of -1.91 m. This was a medium solidified blackish-brown layer with yellow dirt lenses. Concerning its functionality, it would be necessary to expand the investigated area.

Second quarter of the 2nd century AD

The second enclosure wall (Ctx. 10/2017), discovered in grids 7-8, from a depth of -0.36 m, was made of unfired bricks of *sesquipedales* type. They were 46 cm long, 28 cm wide, and 7 cm thick. It is later than the first mentioned one and can be dated stratigraphically to the second quarter of the 2nd century AD.

Stratigraphically, they were observed in trenches S. 1/2013/2017 and S. 14/2017, respectively, in the layer conventionally called Roman V.

Northern Sector (Fig. 1: 2)

Within the Northern Sector, there are three objectives of archaeological interest: the North Necropolis, the ceramic production district and the Wall of Philip the Arab (Popilian 1997; Negru 2023).

The archaeological structures within the Pottery Production District in the Northern Sector were generally dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD, and the first half of the 3rd century AD (Popilian 1997).

Nonetheless, the archaeological research in 2003 brought new elements indicating the presence of earlier structures in this sector. During research, in the western part of the investigated area, it was practised trenches S. 6 and S. 8 /2003 (Negru et al. 2004: 257).

Within this trench, in layer II A, from depths of 0.63/0.71 m to depths of 0.82/0.85 m, numerous fragments of burnt clay and iron spikes were found, indicating the presence of an archaeological wooden structure (Negru et al. 2004: 257). At this level, it was discovered a denarius of Nero (years 63-68 AD) and a fired bronze coin, issued in the time of emperors Nerva or Trajan emitted between 98-102 AD (identified by Dr. Viorel Petac).

In layer II B, from depths of 0.51/0.57 m to depths of 0.62/0.70 m, fragments of adobe and iron spikes were discovered, indicating the existence of a wooden construction. In this layer of culture (Negru et al. 2004: 257-258), at a depth of 0.65 m, it was found a bronze coin from the time of Emperor Hadrian emitted between 125 and 128 AD (identified by Dr. Viorel Petac).

These findings indicate the presence of archaeological structures in the area, since the beginning of the 2nd century AD. To what extent they are related or not to ceramic workshops, remains a problem to be solved by future research.

The discovered archaeological materials

In addition to coins, several ceramic materials (ceramic vessels, lamps) and building materials appeared in the course of research. They were discovered in the contexts of the Roman IV layer dated to the second quarter of the 2nd century AD.

Transport ware is represented by Roman amphorae of Zeest 90 type (Fig. 5: 1-2). They were produced during the 1st-4th centuries AD (Dyczek 2001: 193), and were used to transport olive oil (Ardeț 2006: 108).

Production centres for this type of amphorae could have been at Herakleia Pontike, in the Roman province of *Pontus et Bithynia* (Ardeț 2006: 112), respectively in the Aegean region (Dyczek 2001: 183; Jevremović 1987: 56, type IV: 10; Suceveanu 2000: 174, type LXI).

One fragment belongs to an amphora of type Dressel 6B (Fig. 5: 3). In the province of Dacia, these amphorae have a northern Italian origin. In the province of Dacia, they were dated especially to the beginning of the 2nd century AD, being used to transport olive oil, but also wine (Ardeț 2006: 68-69).

Fine ware

During the research, a fragment of a Conspectus 10 plate (Fig. 5: 4) was discovered, which has analogues to Romula in the first third of the 3rd century AD (Negru, Streinu 2016: 39, Pl. 31: 3689), respectively in archaeological sites in Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior, where they were dated to the 2nd-4th centuries AD. (Jevremovic 1987: type I:55; Sultov 1985: type 6, Pl. XXVIII:1).

Furthermore, to this ceramic category belongs a porringer with a conical body and long vertical rim (Fig. 8: 5), with analogues in the 2nd-3rd centuries at Romula (Popilian 1976: 120, 210, Pl. XVIV:777; Negru, Streinu 2016: 42, Pl. 36: 3706, 2349, 2641).

Coarse ware

Common coarse ware accounts for the overwhelming majority of pottery discovered in archaeological contexts from the second quarter of the 2nd century AD.

Amongst the many forms, we mention the fragment of a plateau with a short body, rim in continuation of the walls and flat base of Popilian type 4, No. 849 (Pl. 5: 6-8) which was dated to Drobeta, in the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century AD (Popilian 1976: 124-135, 214, type 4, Pl. LXIX:849).

Platter with the short conical body, arched walls and slightly everted rim of Popilian type 1976, type 2, No. 894 (Pl. 6: 1). Similar vessels were dated at Romula from the 2nd century AD, to the middle of the 3rd century AD (Popilian 1976: 127; Negru, Streinu 2016: 40, Pl. 32: 3153; p. 41, Pl. 32: 2842), at Slăveni in the 2nd century AD (Popilian 1976: 126-127, Pl. LXXI: 894). Similar vessels were discovered in Dacia Superior (Apulensis) at Napoca, dating back to the Hadrian-Antoninus Pius period (Rusu-Bolindeț 2007: 345-346, type IR 1, B3, Pl. LXXXVIII, 412). A similar vessel discovered at Histora in Moesia was dated to the 1st century AD (Suceveanu 2000: 39-40, type IX, Pl. 11: 1, 3), and at Knejne, Ljubica, in Moesia Superior, in the first half of the 2nd century AD. (Nikolic 1987: 237, Pl. 5: 7).

Also, plates with carinated bodies imitating the Curle 23 type (Pl. 6: 2) were discovered, which were dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, at Romula (Negru, Streinu 2016: 41, Pl. 33: 2126; Negru 2022: 84-85, Pl. 53:191) and Napoca in Dacia, respectively at the end of the 2nd century AD at Durostorum, in Moesia Inferior (Mușețeanu 2003: 60, type 6, Pl. 23: 176).

Another fragment comes from a short conical plate of Nikolic III:5 type (Pl. 6: 3), dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD at Romula and the first half of the 2nd century AD at Kneginje Ljubice, in Moesia Superior (Nikolic 1987: 237, type III/5, Pl. 5: 3).

A fragment comes from a plate with a hemispheric body and an outside everted rim (Pl. 6: 4). It imitates Dragendorff 42 type vessels has analogues in the 1st-2nd centuries in Pannonia (Brukner 1981: 182, type 6, Pl. 72: 34), respectively in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. In Dacia Inferior (Popilian 1976: 125, 215, Pl. LXX: 868-871; Negru

2022: 81, Pl. 53: 192-193), Moesia Inferior (Mușețeanu 2003: 60, type 6, 2003, Pl. 23: 174) and Moesia Superior (Jevremovic 1987: 55, type I: 61, Pl. III).

Among the discovered porringers, the most common are those with an arched body and outsplayed rim, which belong to the Popilian type 3, Nos. 821-829 (Fig. 6: 5-7), being dated to Romula in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. (Popilian 1976: 123, 212-213, type 3, Pl. LXVII:821, 824, 826-829; Negru, Streinu 2016: Pl. 35: 2698, 3357, 2281), respectively at the end of the 1st century AD, and in the 2nd century AD, in Lower Pannonia (Brukner 1981: 181, type 50, Pl. 79: 26).

The fragments of conical porringers imitating the Dragendorff 44 type (Fig. 6: 8; 7: 1-2) are also numerous. They have analogues dated to Romula in the second half of the 2nd century and the first third of the 3rd century AD (Popilian 1976: 118-119. 209, type 1, Pl. LXIII: 766, 769; Negru 2022: 101, 107-108, Pl. 62:280-282; 65:315), respectively in the 2nd century at Sirmium, in Pannonia Inferior (Brukner 1981: 181-182, type 14, 73: 52, 54), in 2nd-3rd centuries AD, in Moesia Inferior (Mușețeanu 2003: 52, Pl. 15: 12, 16, 20).

From the bowls, we mention the one with a deep hemispheric body and an everted rim that imitates the Dragendorff 35 type (Fig. 7: 3). It has analogies to Romula from the second half of the 2nd century to the middle of the 3rd century AD (Popilian 1976: 125, 215, Pl. LXX: 868, 870, 871; Negru, Streinu 2016: 41, Pl. 33: 2532; Negru 2022: 85, Pl. 53:192), in 2nd-3rd centuries AD in Moesia Superior (Jevremović 1987: 55, type I: 61, Pl. III), respectively in the second half of the 1st century AD, and the 2nd century AD (Brukner 1981: 182, type 6, Pl. 72: 34).

The pots are also well-represented in the coarse tableware.

Two-handed pot with bulging body and tall, almost vertical rim, slightly everted (Fig. 7: 4), of Popilian type 1, Nos. 382-393 has analogues to Romula in the 2nd century (Popilian 1976: 91, 183, Pl. XXXXVIII: 3), respectively the second half of the 2nd century – the first third of the 3rd century AD (Negru 2022: 88-89, Pl. 14: 236-237, 15: 238).

Vessel with bulging body and obliquely everted rim, Popilian type 11, No. 366 (Fig. 7: 5). Similar vessels were discovered in Dacia Inferior (Malvensis) at Locusteni, where they were dated to the end of the 2nd century AD (Popilian 1976: 89, 182, Pl. XXXVI: 366), respectively in Moesia Superior, at Diana-Karatas, where they were dated to the 3rd-4th centuries AD (Jevremovici 1987: 57, type II: 34, Pl. VIII).

The pot with the rim everted (Fig. 7: 6) of type Negru 2003, type A.1., is wheel-made. Similar vessels were discovered in Dacia Inferior (Malvensis) at Locusteni, where they were dated to the 2nd century AD, in its hand-made version (Popilian 1980: 15, 103, Pl. 3, M13, 2). In Moesia Inferior, on the territory of Nikopolis ad Istrum, similar vessels were dated to the 2nd-4th centuries AD (Sultov 1985: 89, Pl. XLV: 3, wheel-made), and in Moesia Superior, at Diana-Karatas, where they were dated to the 4th century AD (Jevremovic 1987: 56, type VI: 10).

During the research, a fragment of a pot, with a bulging body, Popilian type 1, Nos. 321-323 (Fig. 7: 7) was also discovered. Similar vessels were discovered at Romula, in earlier archaeological campaigns, where they were dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD - the penultimate decade of the 2nd century AD (Negru 2022: 101, Pl. 64: 302), respectively to the middle of the 3rd century AD (Negru, Streinu 2016: 55, Pl. 56: 3104).

Kitchenware includes pans, saucepans and pots used to prepare the food.

The pans with a short conical body of Popilian type 2, No. 832, (Fig. 7: 8-9; 8: 1-2) are common. They have analogues to Romula in the 3rd century AD (Popilian 1976: 123-124, 213, type 2, Pl. LXVIII:832; Negru, Streinu 2016: 53, Pl.3432, 4000), in the 2nd-3rd centuries in Moesia Inferior, at Argamum (Honcu 2018: 94, type II, Pl. XVIII:170), respectively in Moesia Superior, at Cibalae, where they were dated to the 2nd century AD (Rogulić 2007: Rei Cretariae Romanae Acta 40, 2007, 1, CRB 1, fig. 4).

There also was discovered a pan with conical body, obliquely everted rim and flat base of Popilian type 2, Nos. 833-835 (Fig. 8: 3). Similar vessels were discovered at Romula, where they were dated to the last decade of the 2nd century AD, and the first third of the 3rd century AD (Negru 2022: 94, Pl. 61:266), respectively to the middle of the 3rd century AD (Negru, Streinu 2016: 47, Pl. 43: 2160). In Moesia Inferior, at Argamum, they were dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD (Honcu 2018: 94, type. II, Pl. XVII: 191-194).

A platter with oblique wall, inwards turned rim, flat base of Popilian type 2, No. 888 was found (Fig. 8: 4). Similar vessels were discovered at Romula, where they were dated to the 2nd century AD (Popilian 1976: 126-127, 217, Pl. LXXI: 888-884), respectively in the last decade of the 2nd century AD, and the first third of the 3rd century AD (Negru 2022: 79, Pl. 49: 152).

Conical body saucepans, Popilian type 4, Nos. 780-786, and type 5, 787-789 (Fig. 8: 5-7; 9: 1-3) were discovered. Similar vessels were discovered at Romula, where they were dated to the second half of the 2nd century and the first decades of the 3rd century AD (Popilian 1976: 120, 210, type 5, LXIV:780-782, 785-786, LXV:788-789), respectively in the first half of the 2nd century AD (Negru, Streinu 2016: 53, Pl. 53:3781, 2660, 2370). Similar vessels have also been discovered at Sucidava (Popilian 1976: 120, 210, type 5, LXIV:783), Stolniceni (Popilian 1976: 120, 210, type 5, LXIV:784), Slăveni (Popilian 1976: 120, 210, type 5, LXIV:787), where they were dated to the second half of the 2nd century – the first decades of the 3rd century AD. In Dacia Superior (Apulensis), at Napoca, similar vessels were dated to the Trajan period (Rusu-Bolindeț 2007: 405, type CC 8 B, PL. XCCII/550). In Moesia Inferior: at Durostorum, they were dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD (Mușeteanu 2003: 104-105, type I, Pl. 38:50-52), the same as at Ibida (Honcu 2018: type 2, 86-87, Pl. XV:142). The type of vessels continued in Lower Pannonia at Vojka, from the 3rd century to the first half of the 4th century AD (Brukner 1981: 181, type 77a, Pl. 89:113).

Pots with bulged bodies, maximum diameter at the top, of Popilian type 2, Nos. 330-331 were frequently (Fig. 9: 4-7). They have analogues to Romula, where they were dated to the 3rd century AD (Popilian 1976: type 2: 87, 179, Pl. XXXIII: 330-331).

Some fragments belong to the pots with two handles, a bulged body, everted rim, with a groove on the inside of Popilian type 1, Nos. 382-393 (Fig. 10: 1-3). At Romula, this type of pot was dated to the 2nd century AD (Popilian 1976: 91, 183, type 1, Pl. LV: 386-387), to the last decade of the 2nd century AD, and the first third of the 3rd century AD (Negru 2022: 92, Pl. 59: 253-255). In the 2nd century AD, similar vessels discovered in lower Pannonia were dated at Rittium, Sirmium, and Teutoburgium, dating in the 2nd century AD (Brukner 1981: 182-183, type 7, Pl. 101, 16-20).

Pot with slightly bulging body, long everted rim, of Popilian type 7, Nos. 353-355 were frequently (Fig. 10: 4-7). Similar vessels were discovered at Romula, where they were dated to the middle of the 3rd century AD (Negru, Streinu 2016: 56, Pl. 57: 2202, 2303), at Stolniceni and Râureni in Dacia Inferior (Malvensis), where they were dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. (Popilian 1976: 88, 181, type 7, Pl. XXXV:353-355). They were also discovered in Moesia Inferior at Durostorum, where they were dated to the end of the 2nd century and the first decades of the 3rd century AD (Mușeteanu 2003: 111, type 5, Pl. 37:36; Honcu 2018: 65, type XIII, Pl. IX:83), respectively in Moesia Superior, at Diana-Karatas, where they were dated to the 3rd-4th centuries AD. (Jevremovic 1987: 57. type II:47, Pl. IX).

Furthermore, there were discovered a few ceramic tubes for heating (Fig. 10: 8-10) and a piece of pavement (Fig. 10: 11).

Conclusions

The archaeological structures from the first half of the 2nd century AD, are difficult to identify because they were made, in many cases, of wood and clay, which can sometimes be difficult to distinguish, and there is also the phenomenon of compaction with ancient soil or later layers.

The archaeological research in the sector of the Central Fortification of Romula suggests the existence of two early Roman layers at this site, called layers IV and V (Negru 2020). Layer IV refers to the second quarter of the 2nd century AD, and layer V refers to the first quarter of the 2nd century AD.

In terms of archaeological structures, the elements of the fortification in the central area, the two *fossae*, *the berm* and the two enclosure walls stand out. To this is added a building in the central-northern area of the Central Fortification, which had a wooden plank floor.

In the Northern Sector, during archaeological research in 2003, a Roman cultural layer appeared, with building materials (spikes) and other objects that can be dated to the early 2nd century AD, during the reign of emperors Trajan and Hadrian.

The discovered archaeological materials consist of fragments of ceramic vessels and lamps, respectively pavement pieces and construction materials (bricks and tubes for hot air). The ceramic vessels discovered are mostly of local production, without missing the imported ones, as well (amphorae, vessels from the repertoire of fine ceramics), but they are less numerous, which indicates the existence of a ceramic production centre, since the first decades of the Roman presence in Romula.

The chronological framing is based both on the materials discovered, coins mainly, and on the stratigraphic method.

The beginnings of the Roman life in the cities of Dacia province are difficult to identify. The traces of habitation are ephemeral, probably, many of them were destroyed by the refurbishing of the following periods. In the plain areas, as is the case of Romula, we have the problem of using a perishable material, clay, for constructing most of the buildings. It is difficult to say whether it is the precarious economic situation or the lack of brick craftsmen, who would produce the well-known Roman brick, in sufficient quantities.

Perhaps both variants are correct. To which there was added the fact that it was normal for things to be like this in a new province. Wealth increases, grows, and requires a consistent internal market, and then an external one. Yet, they were not at a high level, at the beginning of the 2nd century, in the new Roman city of Romula, on the northeastern border of the Roman Empire.

Explanations of the figures

Fig. 1. 1. Central Fortification. 1. Trench S 9/2015. 2. Trenches S 1/2013 and S 14/2017. 2. Location on Northern Sector. 3. Trenches S 6 and S 8/2003

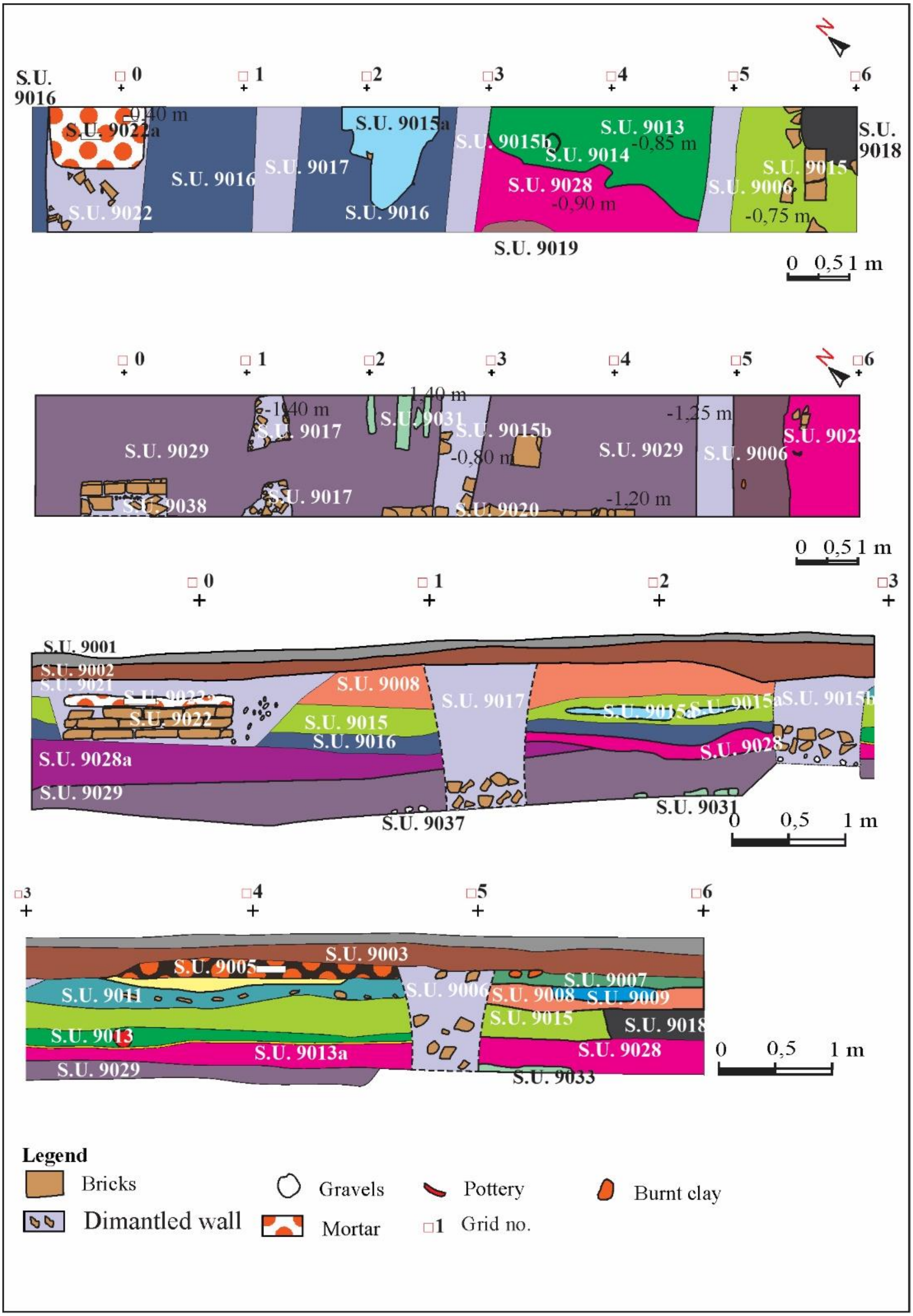

Fig. 2. Central Fortification. 1-2. Planes of trench S 9/2003. 3-4. The profile of the trench S 9/2015

1

2

Fig. 3. 1-2. An image of a wooden floor from the trench S 9/2015

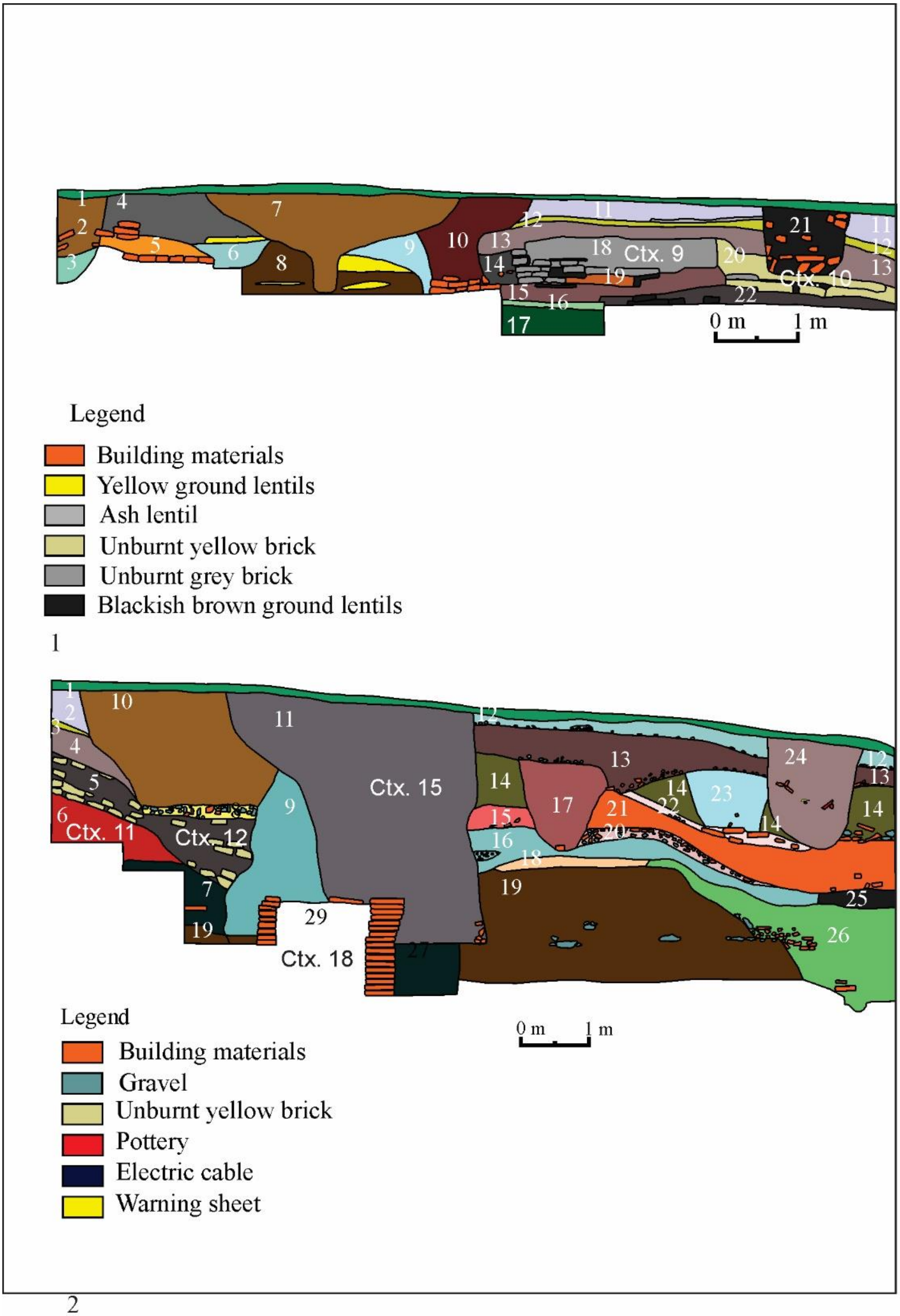

Fig. 4. 1-2. Central Fortification. Northwest profile of the trench T1/2013

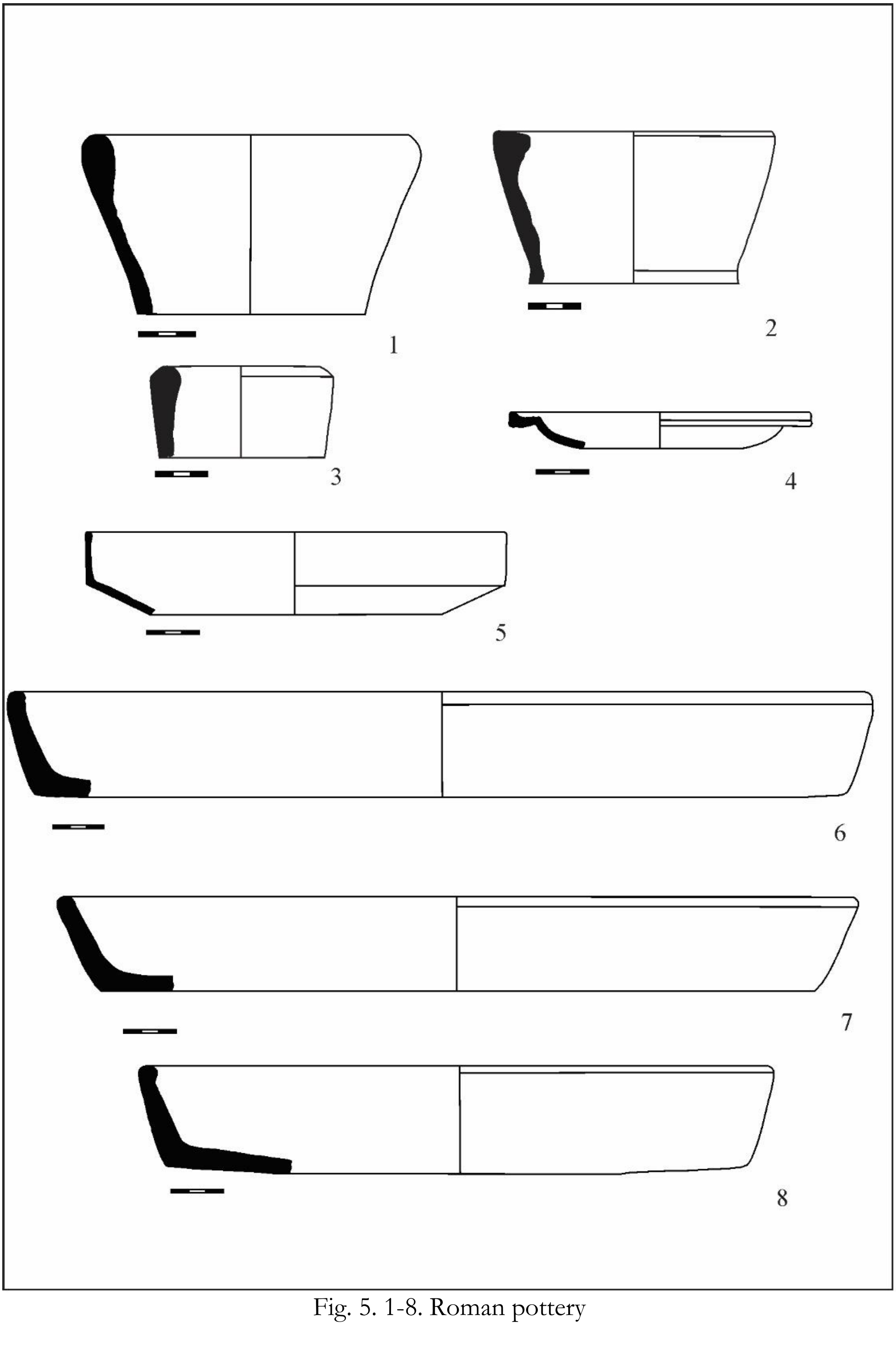

Fig. 5. 1-8. Roman pottery

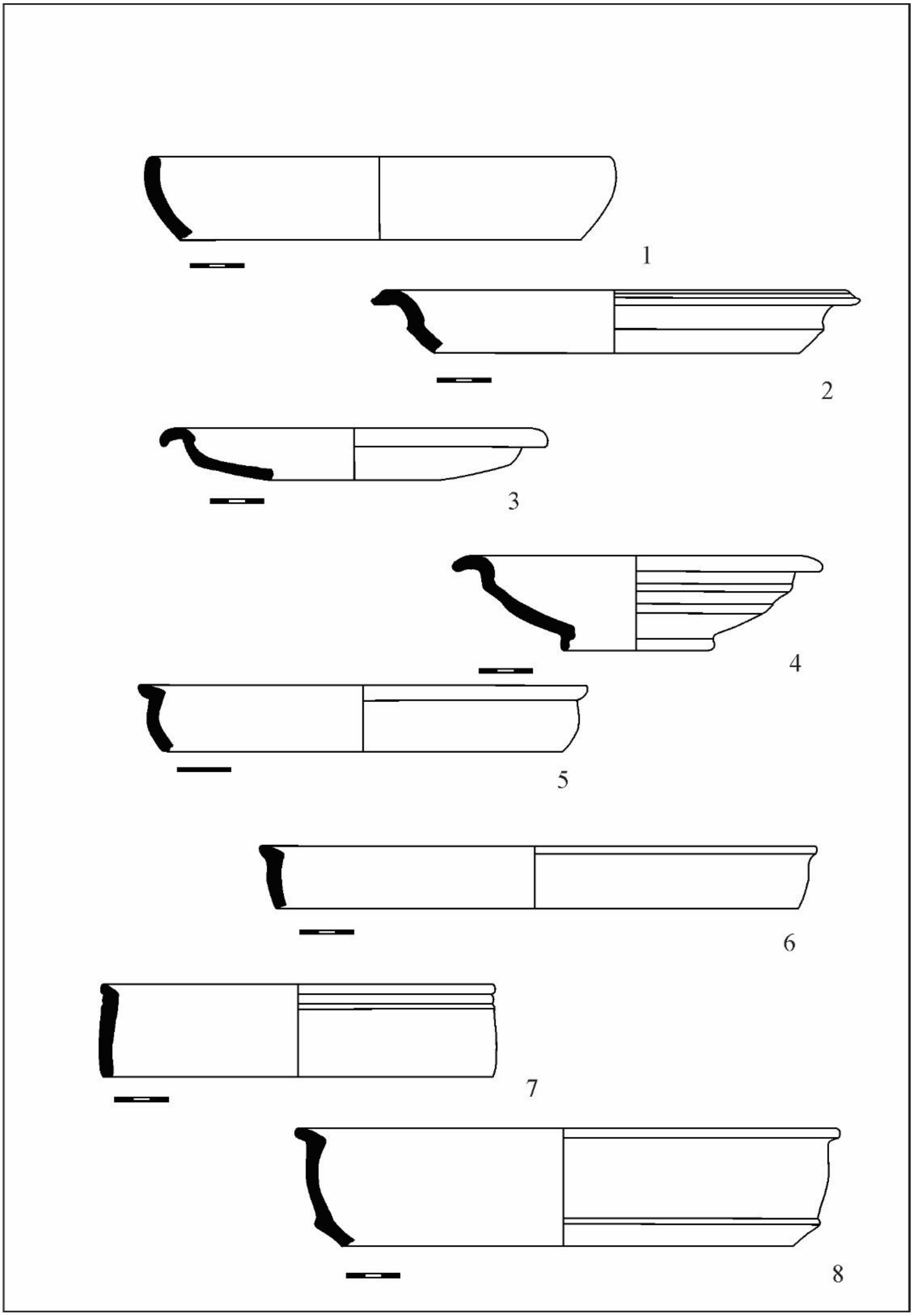

Fig. 6. 1-8. Roman pottery

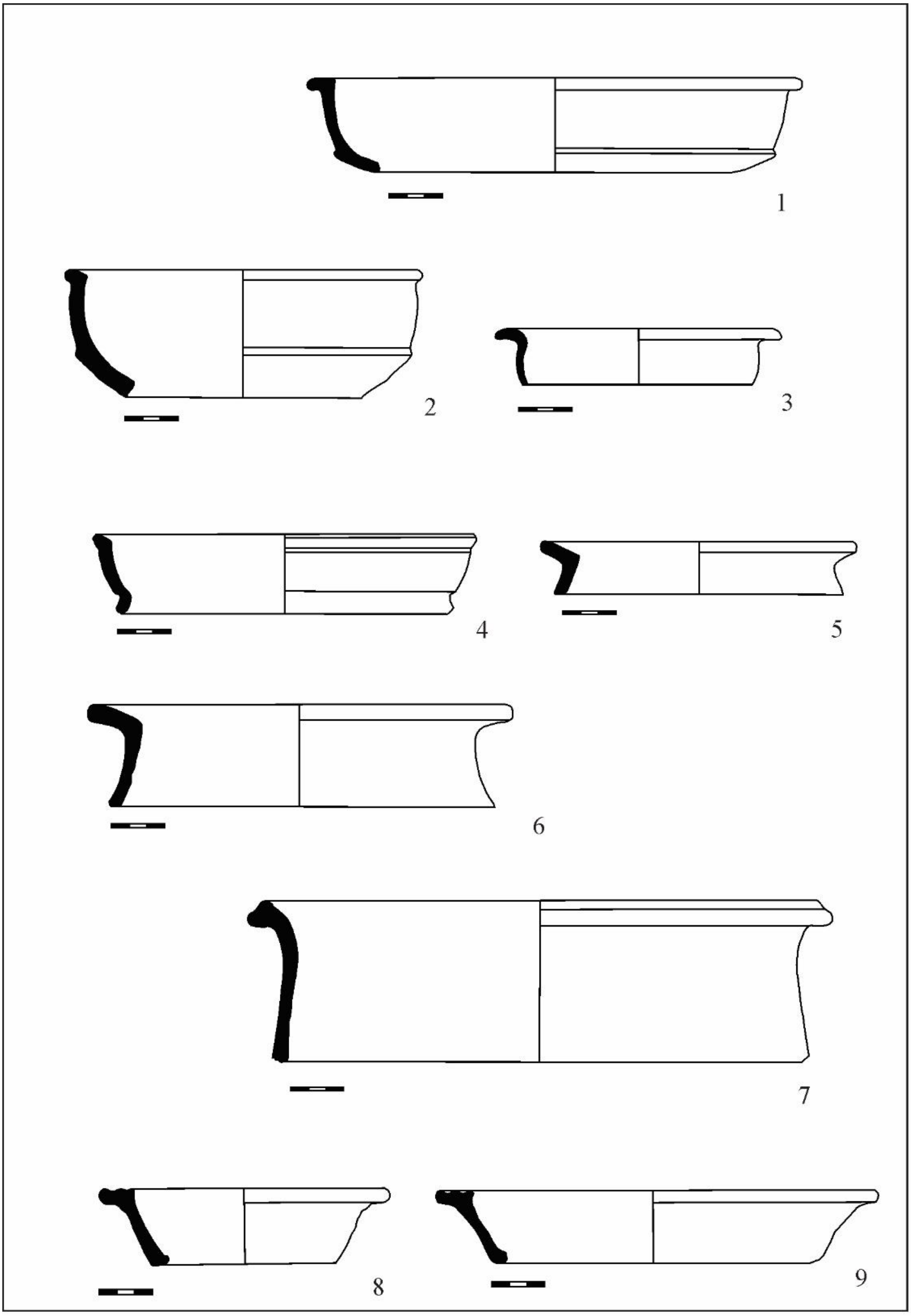

Fig. 7. 1-9. Roman pottery

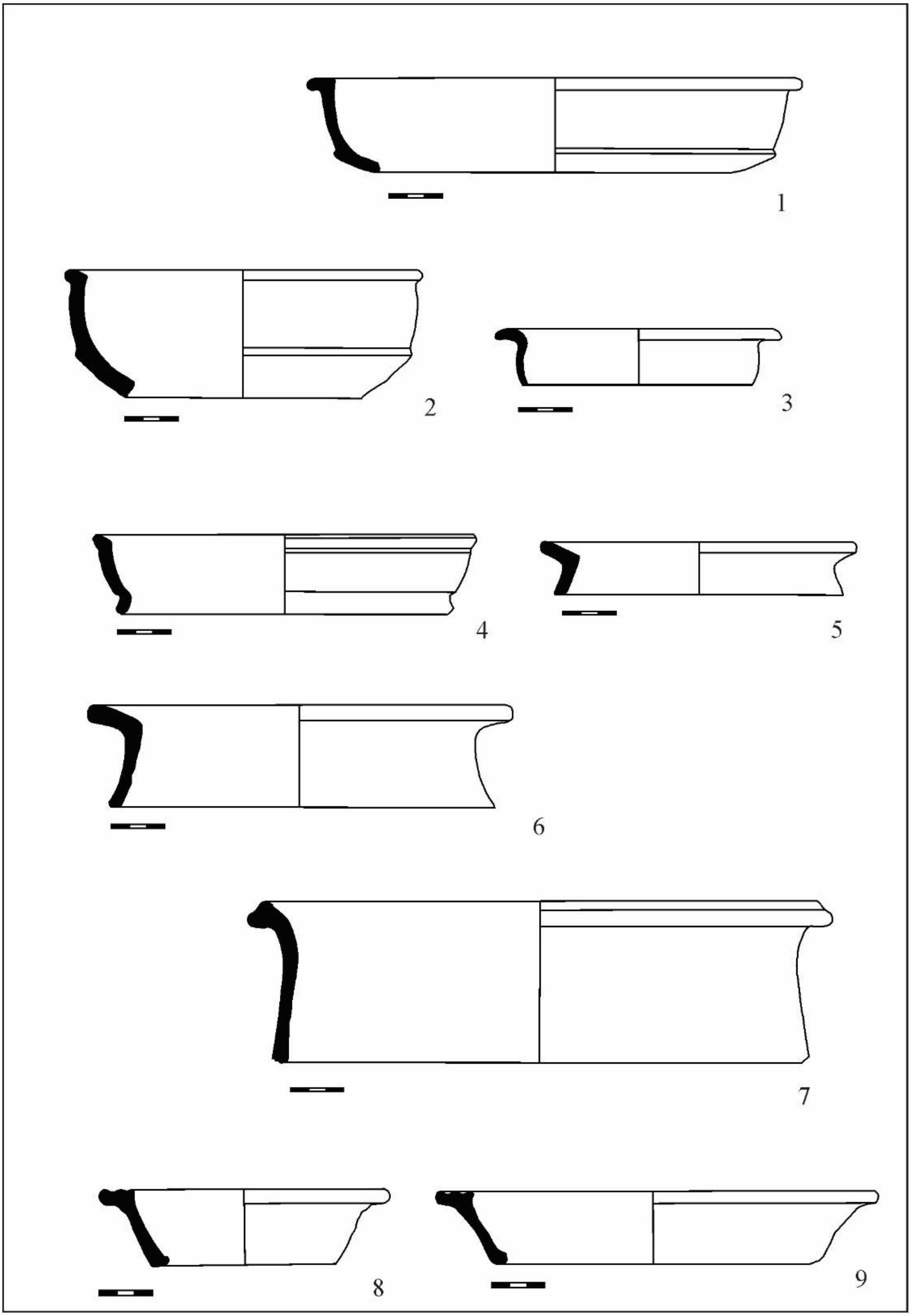

Fig. 8. 1-7. Roman pottery

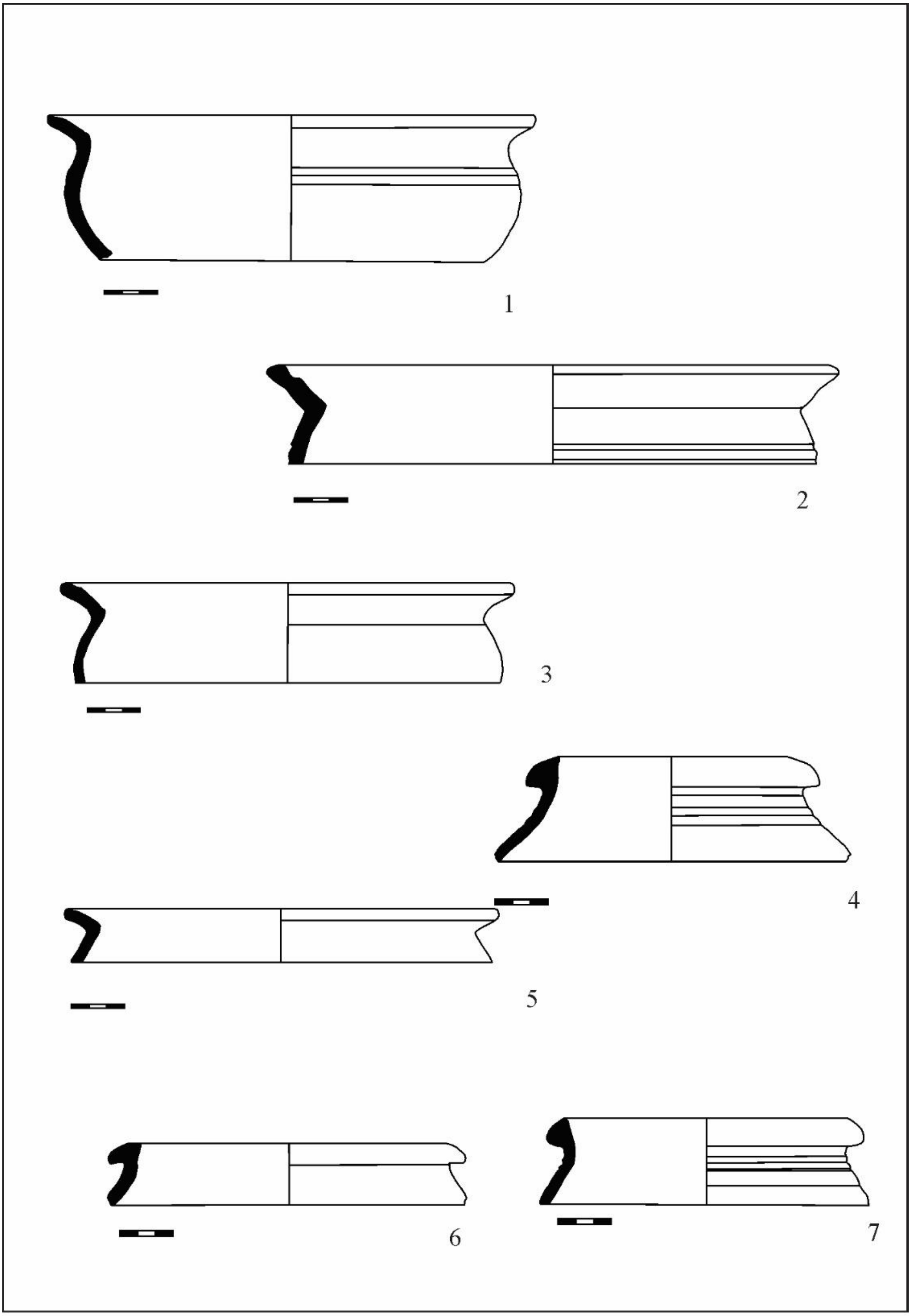

Fig. 9. 1-7. Roman pottery

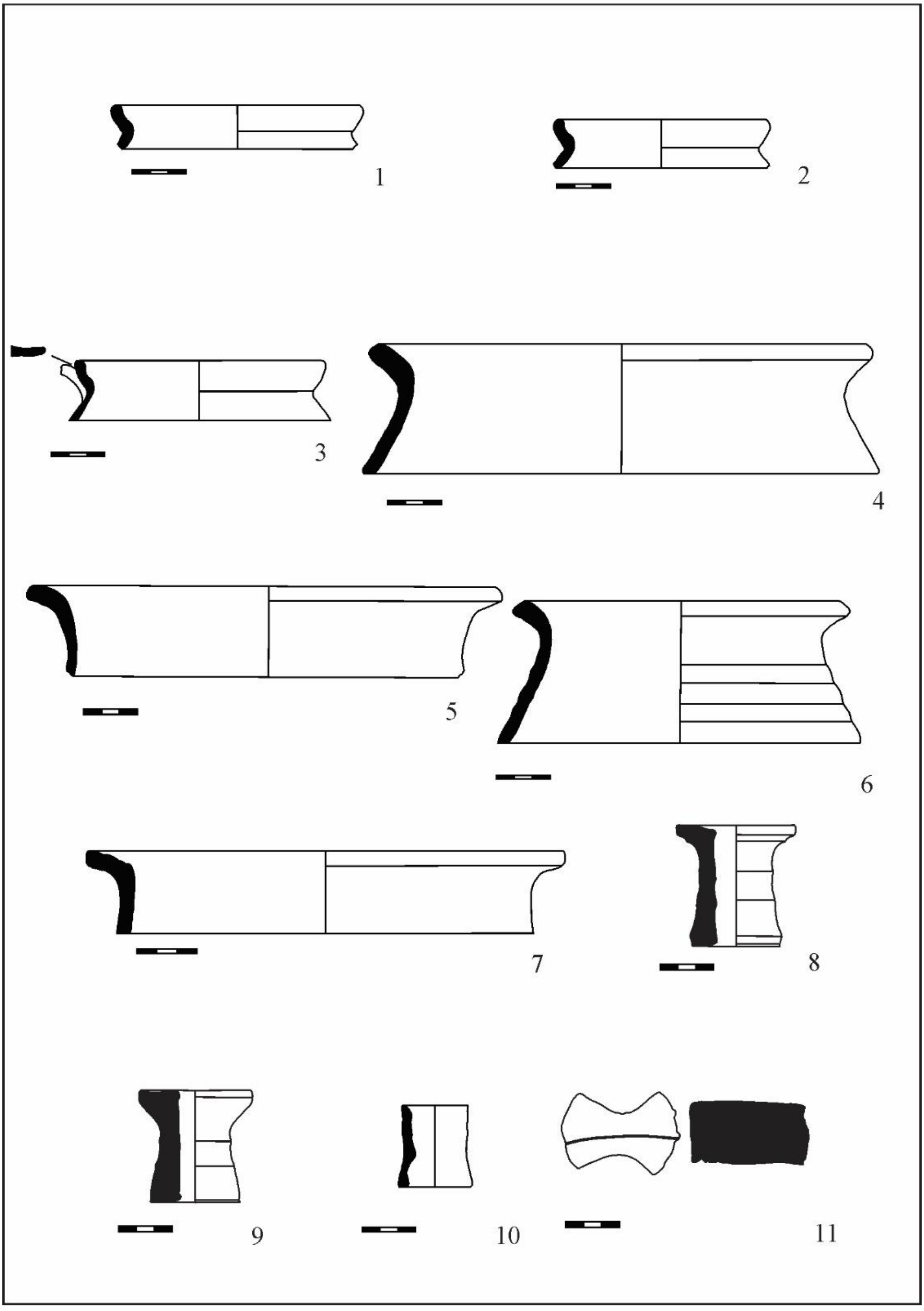

Fig. 10. 1-11. Roman pottery

Abbreviations
S.U. = Stratigraphycal unit
S. = Section (trench)
B. = Building
Ctx. = Context
g. = grid

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REACTIONS TO MODERN RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE ROMANIAN TERRITORY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY UNTIL WORLD WAR I

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Abstract

The presence and emergence of Neo-Protestant cults on Romanian territory beginning with 19th aroused several reactions both from traditional churches and from civil authorities. The attitude towards the "newcomers" was different, taking various forms of manifestation. These reactions varied in intensity: from opposition to persecution. They also differed from one territory to another. The authorities (civil and religious) have acted independently of each other and in synergy. Most often the association was led by the pressure from the religious authority towards the political authority. These reactions also produced several effects among the modern religious movements. This presentation will show some of them. It is also worth emphasizing the attitude of civil society where it existed and was preserved in historical sources.

Key words*: Protestantism, Neo-Protestantism, persecutions, Church, religious liberty.*

The emergence of neo-protestant cults in the Romanian territory, starting with the nineteenth century, aroused several reactions from the native population, especially from traditional churches but also from civil authorities. The presence was provocative, determining an attitude that took various forms of manifestation towards the "newcomers". Religious influence and the loss of parishioners were real fears for the native churches, especially for the Orthodox Church, which, along with the Roman Catholic Church, had overcome the confrontation three centuries earlier against traditional Protestant movements (e.g. the Roman Catholic Church in the face of the penetration of Lutheranism and Calvinism in the Transylvanian territory). The presence of the new wave of *neo-Protestants* prompted different reactions in intensity: from opposition to persecution. Civil authorities often reacted to pressure from religious authority. However, these reactions also produced effects among the neo-protestant churches, paradoxically, most of the time in their favor. Some of these will be shown in this presentation. At the same time, it is also worth highlighting the attitude of civil society where it existed and was preserved in writing. The newspapers of the time, when reacting, maintained a detached attitude towards religious matters, but found an inappropriate form of reaction.

The modern religious movements that appeared in the Romanian territory from the nineteenth century until the First World War were the Baptist Church, which entered starting with 1856, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, 1869-1870 and the Christian Evangelical Church - 1890. Reaction to the emergence of these cults has been largely negative, especially from traditional and indigenous religious authorities. The

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naming of these cults as sects has continued until today[2], although the term is used less and less frequently after the communist period due to negative connotations (Dobrincu and Mănăstireanu, 2018:23). These religious, neo-protestant movements[3] were born in the Romanian territory in a hostile religious context. Their perception was linked to the religious leaders of the time and seen as a potential danger to national identity as well. For example, the O*fficial magazine of the Diocese of Arad, The Church and the School,* stated about the Baptists, in the 12th issue from *March 18, 1912*, amid a donation from count Károlyi Gyula, for the construction of the Baptist church in Curtici, the following*: "the gesture of the count strengthens the nail in the ribs, because baptism is the nail driven by our enemies in our side, a sect persecuted differently by the Roman Catholic Church."* (*Church and School*, March 18-31, 1912:1). These (Baptists) are enemies not only of the religion but also of the Romanian people: *"The Romanian Church is targeted. Baptist sectarianism is a destructive element of national character, thereby destroying the national character of the church."* (*Church and School*, March 18-31, 1912:1). This argument has long been used not only before the Union of 1918 but also after it. It is true that this second aspect was also formulated after World War I, therefore after the Union (Dobrincu and Mănăstireanu, 2018: 51).

The political context, however, was more favourable. In the first Constitution of Romania published in the Official Gazette on July 1, 1866, it was stated in Title II*, On the Rights of Romanians, art. 5, that* Romanians enjoy freedom of conscience, *and in art.* 21, "*Freedom of conscience is absolute. The freedom of all religious denominations is guaranteed because, however, their celebration does not prejudice public order or morality." (Constitution of Romania*, 1866*)* It is true that at that time the neo-protestant churches did not yet enjoy their recognition as cults, but the fact that, along with the Orthodox religion, which was recognized in art. Art. 21 of the Constitution as "the *dominant religion of the Romanian State*", offers freedom to other denominations (Roman Catholic Church, Traditional Protestant Churches, etc.), which offered an open framework for the future.

The analysis of the reaction and attitude towards these churches in their early period in the Romanian territory leads to six observations:

First of all, the attitude was influenced by the **ethnic aspect**. In the first years of religious activity of these neo-protestant churches, the mission developed mainly

[2] For example, in his book *The Guide to the Orthodox Christian Today*, priest Vasile Răduce makes this distinction between Protestants and neo-Protestants in Romania: the Protestant churches (Lutheran, Reformed and Unitarian) are part of the historical churches of the Reformation and are somewhat recognized as the legitimacy of their existence. Neo-Protestant churches are perceived and defined as *cults*.

[3] Although the term *evangelical – evangelical churches* currently has a wide acceptance among historians (See: Dorin Dobrincu and Dănuț Mănăstireanu, *The Evangelical Man – An Exploration of Romanian Protestant Communities,* Polirom Publishing House, Bucharest 2018, p. 23.), it can be confusing, because it designates German Lutherans. Therefore*,* the term *neo-protestant* (although it may also confuse modern Lutheran Protestantism) is most appropriate because these cults are a historical continuity of classical Protestantism, manifested in the modern period, bringing new theological aspects but within the same Protestant mold. For using the term neo-protestant for these churches, including the Baptist church (see: Vlad Bogdan Cristian, *Modern religious movements in the Romanian space. Are evangelical cults in Romania historically neo-protestant?,* Acta Marisiensis, Seria Historia, 4, University Press, Târgu Mureș, 2022, pp. 27-44).

among the German and then Hungarian communities. The Baptist mission in Bucharest began with a group (which later became a church) of Germans. As long as the Baptist religion remained within the ethnic framework, the authorities did not react. The German Baptists in Bucharest also addressed the Germans and were even advised and warned by the authorities not to preach the Baptist faith among Romanians. The leaders of the German Baptist church were repeatedly summoned to the Capital Prefecture and the Capital Police to ask them to refrain from missionary work among Romanians, otherwise being threatened with closing of their church and punishment (Bunaciu, 2011: 37).

The situation was similar in Dobrogea where the Baptist mission among the Germans coming from Russia did not attract opposition and adversity. Later, with the mission and conversion of the first Romanians, persecution and resistance appeared. In Jegolia the first Romanians, Haralambie and Dobre Toancă were baptized by the Baptists in 1909. After their baptism, they were visited in the same year by a Baptist missionary, named Maxa Comloșan. He was reported to the authorities. Brought to the gendarmes' station in Jegolia, Maxa Comloșan, with three local Baptists, were investigated and sent to the town hall of Roseti. Here they were arrested and sent to the prefecture of Calarasi and then to the gendarmerie where they were subjected to horrific mistreatment (Popovici, 2007: 102). Then Maxa Comloșan was expelled to Transylvania. In Arabagii they also witnessed persecution, at first in 1902-1903. The notification of the authorities occurred after the first conversions among Romanians. The mayor and notary summoned the first Baptists and sympathizers of the Baptist faith (Romanians), being threatened with land sequestration. Despite the measures in 1903, 5 more people were converted to the Baptist faith (Bunaciu, 2006: 37).

On the Bihor side, along with their mission to Romanian-speaking localities, Hungarian Baptist preachers began to face opposition and persecution that they had not experienced in Hungarian areas. Thus, Mihály Kornya is persecuted in Gurbediu (1890) and thrown in the middle of winter, all night in a stable that had no bridge, with an unleashed half-wild bull[4]. In Tăut (1891) the local priest appealed to the gendarmes to stop the baptism of the Baptists, only the mass intervention of the locals who came to the river stopped the action of the gendarmes (Bunaciu, 2011: 37).

The situation was similar among the mission of Christians according to the gospel. The first religious activities were implicitly addressed to foreigners: in Bucharest the missionary Francis Berney rented a house (82 Teilor Street), arranging it for religious assembly. Outside the building was an advertisement with the inscription: "*Every Sunday at 2 p.m., prayer meetings and preaching the Gospel in French are held here.*" (Oprea and Ionescu, 2020: 53). On October 1, 1899, he started religious gatherings held in French, not attracting much attention. The first persons were young Swiss and French women and later also Romanians who knew French. Barney wrote, "*Here is such a great number of French-speaking Protestants who have been deprived of worship and assembly.... And some of them rejoiced at our arrival*" (Radut, 2019: 71). Beginning in 1901, preaching in Romanian began in November (Oprea and Ionescu, 2020: 54). With the first conversions among

[4] He miraculously escapes until morning, much to the disappointment of the mayor, priest and village teacher.

Romanians and implicitly the development of the mission, the ecclesiastical authorities intervened and thus, under pressure from the Orthodox Church, the Ministry of the Interior summoned Berney, on July 25, 1909, accusing him of "religious propaganda" giving him a week to leave the country (Răduț, 2019: 115).

Also, the missionary work of Christians according to the Gospel was initially addressed to the Germans in Dobrogea and Transylvania. For example, in Râșnov, between 1901-1903, Francis Berney and E. H. Broadbent addressed the Saxons, forming prayer groups and then an assembly. When an identical work was attempted among Romanians, the initiative aroused much opposition. Romanians who were invited to meetings organized by evangelical missionaries were threatened with beatings and persecuted. However, finally, after a few years, a Romanian language assembly was organized in Râșnov (Oprea and Ionescu, 2020: 70-71).

In Bessarabia, too, baptism penetrated through German colonists (Filat, 2021:180). Unopposed and enjoying freedom, the number of German Baptists in Bessarabia increased, as well as churches. Until 1907 in most German colonies around Odessa there were German Baptist communities (Filat, 2021:182), which were part of the union of German Baptists in southern Russia. In 1914 there were thus over 30 German Baptist communities with more than 1000 members in Bessarabia (Filat, 2021: 183) [5].

Opposition in Bessarabia began with the first conversions among the Russian and Romanian -speaking population. For example, Archip Romanenko, from the village of Sagani in Bessarabia. after several periods of persecution by villagers and authorities, in 1874-1875, moved to Cişmele in 1876 and later became the first pastor in Cişmele, Ismail County[6]. Once the ethnic border was crossed, persecution was also carried out in Bender, Chisinau and Tiraspol.

Thus, the manifestation of neo-Protestantism within the German and Hungarian ethnic communities in the Romanian territory enjoyed freedom. With the mission's departure from ethnic boundaries, reactions were not long in coming. It is true that in the Romanian territories of Dobrogea, Bucharest, the religious changes among German Lutheran communities could not disturb the Orthodox Church (similar situation to the Orthodox Church in Bessarabia compared to German communities of Stundists), but it should be noted that the Orthodox Church in Romania and Bessarabia felt more threatened by the conversion of Orthodox to neo-Protestantism than the Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed Church in Transylvania (Hungary at that time), to the conversion of their own believers to these neo-Protestant denominations[7].

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[5] The numerical situation evolved until 1939 when Germany signed the nonaggression pact with Russia, following which a joint commission was created in September 1940 that organized the resettlement of Germans from the territories occupied by the former USSR to Eastern Europe (including Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina), being displaced in about two months over 93,000 Germans from Bessarabia. With this exodus the German Baptists also left, and with them ended a chapter in the life of the German Baptist communities in Bessarabia.

[6] At that time the Cismele (today Strumok) was located on the geographical border of Bessarabia with the Odessa region.

[7] The reasons for resistance can be multiple. For example, the form of government and organization of the Protestant, Lutheran, or Reformed church is less centralized than that of the

Secondly, reactions to neo-Protestantism took **various forms**. From the mildest to the harshest, neo-Protestantism has experienced many faces of persecution. Among the easiest reactions are found in *public debates* used especially in Bessarabia. They consisted of summoning new Baptists or prominent missionaries by Orthodox clergy at various hierarchical levels to interfaith "dialogues" in the villages or localities where they converted. These theological and faith debates, while ostensibly providing a neutral framework for arguments on both sides (churches), were in reality dominated by the Orthodox Church, giving Baptists very limited time to answer questions and accusations. For example, in Soroca, in front of 800 people, the Baptists were allowed only two short interventions in defense of their faith, they were interrupted each time, and finally the crowd present was instigated by the priests against them and only thanks to the police "they were not torn to pieces." (Filat, 2021: 202-203). After the debate, Orthodox Hieromonk Gurie Grosu recorded only the interventions of the Orthodox side, so that those who were not present and subsequently wanted to read about the debate would notice the "lack" of arguments of the Baptist side. The situation was repeated in Chilia, Cişmele, Şabo and Popuşoi (Filat, 2021: 199), causing the Baptist leadership to refuse to attend these debates.

Another form of reaction was **defamatory literature**. For example, in Kishinev, the diocesan anti-sectarian missionary for Bessarabia regularly attended Baptist services on Sundays, both morning and afternoon, and during the week he wrote sermons that punctually contradicted the teaching preached to the Baptists on the previous Sunday. The following Sunday he distributed the printed sermon. He distributed thousands of such sermons in June-September 2012 (Filat, 2021: 214). The following year the same priest modified the method: in the morning he went to the Baptist church and in the afternoon, he organized the service at the Orthodox Church and built his sermon on combating the teaching heard in the morning at the Baptist church (Filat, 2021: 215).

After the two forms of reactions, the **obstruction of worship services** followed in intensity. In Chisinau, at the request of the Orthodox Church, a guard policeman guarded the building where Baptists met, allowing access only to those already baptized. Guests from other denominations were banned and threatened with imprisonment. In Tiraspol the Baptists rented a building in 1911. It was immediately imprisoned and sealed off by police under pressure from Orthodox clergy and forbidden meetings (Filat, 2021:218) [8]. Similar situations occurred among

Orthodox Church, and the encouragement of the study of Scripture and theological themes is freer, being based on the principle of universal priesthood of every believer. Although there has been persecution throughout the history of the Protestant church against other religious groups, yet the Protestant structure and doctrine makes them less intolerant. At the same time, the Orthodox Church invoked not only the religious aspect, but also the ethnic aspect. The theory of the plot of foreigners against Romanians was used. For example, baptism is considered "*the Trojan horse introduced by Hungarians among Romanians*", as the way of denationalization and weakening of national sentiment.

[8] Only after interventions from the governor of Kherson did the situation return to normal, until then the Baptists met at their homes, on a rotating basis, under various pretexts such as birthdays or various holidays.

Adventists. In Ploiesti in 1912, the meeting convened by the Adventist leaders had to be canceled during its unfolding due to a counterdemonstration, in front of the rented hall, by a considerable crowd of people, led by some of the clergy of the Orthodox Church in Ploiesti.

Increasing in intensity*,* **workplace interventions** were a slightly harsher form: in Soroca, at the insistence of the Orthodox Church, the paramedic of the Soroca hospital, Filip Radonenko, was dismissed in 1912 and five medical staff from the Chisinau hospital were fired (one of the doctors, Hizhnyakov, had eight children!), because they became Baptists. Similar case was Anton Lebedenko who worked in a bank and was fired after becoming a Baptist, at the request of the Orthodox priest (Filat, 2021:212). The case of the Aslan family from Pitesti should also be remembered. After they became mostly Adventists and opened in their home the first Seventh-day Adventist church (1870), the businesses of this merchant family suffered, the reason found would have been the opposition of the locals to their new religious orientation, and then were forced to transfer their business to Bucharest.

The expulsions *followed*: the Baptist missionary Maxa Comloșan was expelled from Dobrogea in 1909 (Popovici, 2007: 102), the Adventist pastor J. F. Hinter was expelled from Romania also in 1909, the Adventist pastor Constantin Popescu was expelled from Cernăuți in 1911 (Popa, 2008: *735-748),* and the evangelical missionary Francis Berney was expelled from Romania in the same year 1909, and in the following years all foreign missionaries of the Christians according to the gospel (Radut, 2019: 75).

The closure of houses of prayer was another, harsher form of persecution. For example, in Bessarabia on July 4, 1894, through the efforts of Konstantin Pobedonostsev, high prosecutor of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, a law was issued persecuting neo-Protestants. Religious gatherings were banned, colporteurs of the British Bible Society for Abroad were banned, adoption of Orthodox children by neo-Protestants was banned, property purchases were banned. Evangelical leaders were also arrested and deported to Transcaucasia (Filat, 2021:229).[9]

Forms of violence represent other harsh forms of persecution. Beatings/tortures, for example the beating of Adventists by counterdemonstrators (Ploiesti 1912) or the torture of the Baptist pastor Vasily Pavlov (1894-1895) are conclusive examples. Beatings and other violence were also recorded in the commune of Pârlita, where Stefan Ivăncică got to feel the anger of the authorities instigated by religious representatives. The blows received publicly from gendarmes on three occasions did not discourage him (Popa, *2008: 565).* In Aliman commune, Baptists Radu Taşcă and Nicolae Taşcă were arrested and sent from post to post to Medgidia, where they were beaten by gendarmes and sent back to Cernavoda. Baptist missionary Mihály Kornya also suffered several beatings and violent treatments in his mission among Romanians (Kirner, 2009: 117-119).

[9] There were cases following the new law when Baptist children were taken from families and forcibly baptized or taken to monasteries or Orthodox families.

Murders were in the list of these acts of violence: in Talpoș (1890) the Baptist Lazar Ioan Sab died, as a result of persecution and beatings (Popovici, 2007:40).[10]

Reactions were also influenced by the aspect **of relationship/collaboration between religious and political authorities.** The authorities were both independent of each other and in synergy. Most of the time this association was determined by the pressure and intervention of religious authority over political authority. Regardless of the territory we are talking about, in the Romanian territory, at that time[11] the ecclesiastical authorities always pressured the state to intervene in limiting and stopping the mission of these cults. Whenever this synergy was achieved, reactions were harsher, and persecution took more intense forms. Thus, besides the examples already shown above, to the harsh forms of persecution, we also mention in Bihor County, in Tăut (*1891),* the local priest appealed to the gendarmes to stop the baptism of the Baptists, only the mass intervention of the locals who came to the river stopped the action of the gendarmes (Popovici, 2007:39). The appeal to the authorities was also used in Chisinau. As already mentioned, at the request of the Orthodox Church, a guard policeman guarded the building where the Baptists met and allowed access only to those already baptized. Guests of other denominations were banned from entering and threatened with imprisonment. The use of authorities was also highlighted in 1912 when a group of 25 people were prepared for baptism and the police chief managed to prevent baptism after the Orthodox priest identified the place and people to be baptized (Filat, 2021: 214). In Bessarabia, collaboration could be extended between authorities in several localities and over a longer period of time. It took the form of pursuit under pressure from religious authority. Mikhail Kashtanov, the Baptist carpenter, after leaving Soroca was followed with the help of state authorities, at the notification of Orthodox hierarchs, both in Kiev, Dimiekva and Chisinau. Wherever he settled in these locations, the state authorities warned the local Spiritual Consistory of his presence and address of residence. Subsequently, the Orthodox authorities tried to limit his influence (Filat, 2021: 204).

Collaboration between civil and religious authorities also manifested itself in Tâmboiești, Vrancea County, in 1912, when a group of 13 Adventists are brought before the Orthodox Church (Popa, *2008: 474)* and are mistreated and forced to renounce their "Jewish ideas" (alluding to Saturday keeping and abstinence from "unclean" meat, pork).

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[10] Considered the first martyr of the Baptists in Transylvania, Lazar Ioan was severely beaten by a teacher from the confessional school in Talpos, right in the schoolyard. Dragged and thrown into the communal prison, a makeshift cellar, Lazarus John died shortly after they pulled him out of it.

[11] From 1856, the date when the first religious movement (the Baptist church) made its presence and until 1918, the Romanian space was under the rule of various states and powers: *Transylvania was in* 1856 a Principality that was part of the Austrian Empire and from 1868 to 1918 it became incorporated into the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Empire, the Danubian Principality (a preferred term in international historiography) - *Wallachia* next to *Moldavia* formed Romania in 1859, *Bukovina* in 1849 was called a duchy subject to Austria and *Bessarabia* was under the domination of the Tsarist Empire since 1812.

Collaboration between authorities was also carried out at the level of higher officials. The expulsions of 1909 were against this background and are an eloquent example. (Maxa Comloșan is expelled from Dobrogea in 1909 (Popovici, 2007: 102), Adventist pastor J. F. Hinter is expelled from Romania also in 1909, Adventist pastor Constantin Popescu is expelled from Cernăuți in 1911 (Popa, 2008: *735748)* and evangelical missionary Francis Berney was expelled from Romania in the same year 1909. As for evangelical Christians, all foreign missionaries were to be expelled in the coming years (Radut, 2019: 75).

Another example is the interpellation of the Minister of Religious Affairs in the Romanian Parliament in 1912 against the Adventists against the background of the events in Ploiesti (counterdemonstration against the conference of Adventists that was supposed to take place in a rented public hall) in October of the same year (Popa, *2008: 491).*

Society's reaction to "newcomers" is another aspect that needs to be analyzed. First of all, on a personal level, from the ranks of society, of the population, were conversions; So for this category *the reaction was positive*. People from different social classes were attracted by the characteristics of neo-Protestantism which, through its call to authentic Christianity, through the revival of early Christianity, to a simpler, more enthusiastic, and participatory Christianity, imposed itself in many situations on "*traditional and ceremonial ballast that drowned out worship and the carrying of piety*." (Popovich, 2007: 13). It was within these terms that the neo-Protestant pioneers carried out their mission.

Also, among the population, of society, whether in urban or rural areas, there were also people who offered to help the authorities, especially religious ones, to silence the activity and influence of these cults through a **negative reaction**. For example, in Tâmboiești, acts of violence against Adventists, instigated by religious authorities, with the consent and in the presence of state authorities, were exercised upon village people. Another example is in Ploiesti, also in 1912, when, during a Conference of Adventists that was supposed to take place over several days in the cinema hall of the Cooperative Passage, on the very day of the beginning of the Conference, a counter-demonstration was organized in front of this hall rented by Adventists, on behalf of a considerable crowd of people, led by some of the clergy of the Orthodox Church in Ploiesti.

Thirdly, society's reaction was also **neutral**. To this event in Ploiesti, immediately the press of the time had an ironic reaction satirizing the counterdemonstration: the magazine Veselia published in the next issue (October 26, 1912), an article with what happened under the title "*The skirmish between the Adventists and the Teachers of Ploiesti*"[12]. Indeed, the event of counter-demonstration by people instigated by Orthodox priests, gathered in front of the cinema hall in the Cooperative Passage also turned into violence. The then Adventist leader, P. P. Paulinii, along with other decision makers, decided to immediately discontinue the conference and free the public hall by the approximately 200 Adventists. To avoid a confrontation, the Adventists walked out of the building in small groups. The

[12] This issue of the magazine is in the personal archive of the former President of the Union of Seventh-day Adventist Churches in Romania, Dumitru Popa.

incidents apparently occurred among the last groups to clear the hall. An Adventist, who was with his three sons, were assaulted with clubs and clubs and were hit and their heads broken (Popa, *2008: 489).*

The article also contained a poem about the incident. The lyrics are valuable because they express the attitude (at least) of the intellectual class composed of both the editors of the magazine and the subscribers. The attitude, in a note of humor, reflected the secular spirit of this category and the non-interference in detail aspects between cults. Also, in a spirit detached from such religious conflicts, there is slight irony against the Orthodox Church, which was responsible for generating the conflict[13]. Here are the lyrics that need no further comment:

"*Look, in Ploiesti, just like in the Balkans, there was war.*
For the cross fought / Citizens as heroes.
For in the City of Liberty, / Together with oil,
Boulevard and brandy, it is / Someone with a great role.
It's a sect, an insect, / - Who knows what they are –
Adventists, they are called / And worship other gods.
And the Pravoslavnic Christians / What they have traditions from Christ,
Violation they don't want the law / And I tell them they're antichrists.
And therefore, there is fighting, / One day when the Adventists.
He wants the world to speak... / Without calling the vardists.
For Christians protest, / Priests and chapel workers
With rods instead of rifles... / They flatten the monshers.
And they set out to attack... / But the enemy withdrew,
With new troops, the offensive / A popa Năstase took it.
And with the band strengthened / From through the square and start again.
To the redoubt with the insect / And in attack you destroy it.
Destroy!... This is the news / From the official source,
The truth is different / And it's more original.
He broke their heads, for they willed / Christian Pravoslavniks
Out of him to draw their creed / Lost by the Adventist.
And it was like you saw / In Ploiesti pure war...
Lord, for the cross-now / All the way there are heroes."

Dălacomplect – Veselia Magazine, October 26, 1912
(Popa, *2008: 490-491).*[14]

The incident was also discussed in the newspaper *Adevărul* in October 1912 (Popa, *2008: 752-755).*[15] In the article *The Strange Idea* signed by *Dr. Urechie*, a parable was used on the situation and efforts of the Orthodox Church to counter the Advent

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[13] Following the trial, it could be proved that the action of the counterdemonstrators was started by the Orthodox clergy from Ploiesti.
[14] The issue of the magazine is in the personal archive of the former President of the Union of Seventh-day Adventist Churches in Romania, Dumitru Popa.
[15] The issue of the magazine is in the personal archive of the former President of the Union of Seventh-day Adventist Churches in Romania, Dumitru Popa.

mission[16] through an image in the field of food trade: an old restaurant *La Fleica lui Traian,* also called *La Costică*, loses customers to a new competitor: La *Schnitzelul Vienez* aka *La Fritz* (probably the name was an allusion to the fact that Adventism came to Romania through Germany, pastors Conradi and Hinter were Germans, and Stefan Demetrescu, the pastor from Ploiesti, had recently returned from Germany from his studies and mission in Berlin). In the face of competition, *La Costică* restaurant did not find a professional way to turn the "flies" from *Viennese Schnitzel* to Romanian Flange*, because* "it is not good at commerce and does not know how to beat its competition". So to bring the musketeers back to his shop, *"the orthodoxy merchant used the club... but they found themselves scoundrels of flies who even with broken heads did not consent to consume Orthodox merchandise and continued to prefer Adventist merchandise*". The article continues the parable by criticizing the actions of the representatives of Orthodoxy: seeing that he did not succeed with the bat, the merchant questioned the Minister of Religious Affairs to take measures by the Government *"to defend the Orthodox Meatloaf from the Adventist Schnitzel*".

Finally, the author of the article asks rhetorically, amending these steps: "*How are you, Orthodox religion, weak enough to tremble at the slightest Adventist wind and have to ask for the protection of the Romanian Gendarmerie? But did Christ, Christ in whose name thou hast opened with the help of the gendarmerie, did He impose His doctrine?*" Since this event in Ploiesti, the article alludes to several interventions of Orthodoxy with the authorities, also recalling the expulsion of Pastor Hinter from Romania in 1909.[17] Thus, in critical words, they ask "*how do you, religion of our ancestors, instead of seeking victories with the goodness of your nature, with the height of your teachings, you appeal to the bat of those from Ploiesti, to the shackles of gendarmes, to the decrees of expulsion?"*

This reaction reveals a neutral position on the part of this magazine regarding the dissensions between the traditional church and the newly arrived denominations that promoted it to the masses of readers. At the same time, the attitude of this category of authors/readers reveals a critical spirit to the way the majority church reacts and urges it to change methods: "*You cannot fight with such weapons, you must fight. Look for others, hurry up, or not, the last flies will leave you, and on the shutters drawn... reason will write: Bankruptcy.*"

The last, fifth aspect to be emphasized in these reactions to neo-Protestants is the **effects in neo-Protestantism.** These were also observed through personal decisions of some leaders, but also through measures taken by the cult. For example, in the Adventist Church, pastor Stefan Demeterescu, who was pastor in Ploiesti in 1912 and host of the Adventist congress that ended, as already shown, later, after several years of pastoral and administrative activity within the Adventist church, He enrolled in law school to become a lawyer. After graduation he joined the bar as a lawyer, engaging in Adventist trials (Starling, 2019: 138).

At the cult level, this kind of events, which began in the first years of mission, were transmitted to world leaders in several parts of the world, including Romania, and

[16] The incident in Ploiesti in 1912, as well as the fact that immediately after it, the Minister of Religious Affairs was heckled in Parliament asking him to take action against Adventists are two of the approaches of Orthodoxy.

[17] Pastor Hinter, due to his intense missionary activity, was expelled from the country by the authorities in 1909.

determined the Adventist Church to invest human and financial resources by establishing a religious freedom department.

Religious liberty issues within the Adventist church also began in the United States. In **1864**, the Adventist Church was forced to intervene with officials to protect the Adventist community during the Civil War. First, efforts were made to ensure the non-combatant status of its members. Adventist leaders have worked tirelessly on this (especially John N. Andrews, who as early as 1851 understood the importance of working to promote religious freedom). The same thing happened in **1880**: Adventist leaders reacted when the National Reform Association had legislative initiatives, including that the U.S. state introduce national Sunday laws (in some states they had already begun to be introduced and Adventists were in serious trouble, including being prosecuted for violating state-mandated Sunday observance). Adventist pioneers believed it was their duty to defend the legacy of such prominent American founders as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Beginning in **1884**, the Adventist Church published a journal*, Sabbath Sentinel*, which laid out ideas about the need for religious freedom. 500,000 copies were printed. In **1889** the Church established the National Association for Religious Liberty *with the aim of promoting freedom of religion and conscience and defining within this freedom the relationship between Church and State. In the declaration signed by 110 founding members, he declared: "We deny the right of any civil government to legislate in religious matters. We believe it is the right and should be the privilege of every man to worship according to the dictation of his own conscience.*" (*Minutes of the Meeting of General Conference Committee*, March 11-21, 1889: 14, 15, 39 and https://www.religiousliberty.info/history). The association printed materials to promote religious freedom. He also collected in **1890** no fewer than 250,000 signatures that were submitted to the U.S. Congress to protest the religious legislation of that time. Beginning in 1893 he decided to print a monthly magazine "*The Advent Review,* January 17, 1893: 47).

Following numerous signals coming from the world, including Romania, with the expansion of the Advent mission, the National Religious Liberty Association, out of the need and "*desire to expand its sphere of influence and make the whole world its mission field*", changed in March **1893** to *the International Association for Religious Freedom* IRLA (*The Advent Review,* March 7, 1893: 158), making it the oldest religious liberty association worldwide to bring together representatives from other religious denominations (Baptists, Jews, Mormons, etc.). Later, in **1901, the Department of Religious Liberty was organized at the level of the Adventist World Church (PARL), which in** 1906 **began publication of** Liberty: A Magazine of Religious Freedom. Today it is the oldest publication to appear continuously worldwide, currently advocating for religious freedom for all and separation of church and state (https://www.religiousliberty.info/history and https://www.irla.org/what-is-the-irla accessed May 11, 2023).

Currently, among the neo-Protestant and Protestant churches, Seventh-day Adventists have the most developed department (PARL) in this regard, and through IRLA (recognized by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations) have representatives at the United Nations in New York and Geneva as well as at the annual meetings of the Human Rights council. The official magazine published by IRLA is *Fides et Libertas,* holding several events in Romania in collaboration with the Department of Religious Freedom (https://www.irla.org/search-results?search=romania&id=1488 accessed on 19 July 2023).

Conclusions. The attitude of the indigenous and traditional religious authorities was predominantly negative and did not differ from one area to another for the "newcomers". The Orthodox Church, regardless of territory, reacted most vehemently. Although the civil authorities were different at that time (the Romanian territory being under the rule of several powers - the Romanian State, the Russian Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire), collaborated in most situations with the religious authorities. Most of the time, this association was determined by the pressure and intervention of the authority, thus causing a harsher reaction. Also, in some places there was no continuous pressure on religious groups[18].

The ethnic criterion mattered more than the area. Although apparently the reaction was different and milder in Transylvania compared to Romania[19], Bessarabia and Bukovina, the ethnic aspect still had weight. The early period of the three neo-protestant movements (Baptist, Adventist, and Evangelical Christianity) enjoyed this ethnic aspect regardless of the territory: the church took root not among Romanian speakers, but among German, French and Hungarian speakers in all areas of the Romanian territory. After the first conversions among Romanians, opposition was attracted, but already the nuclei of several churches (German, French, Hungarian speaking) were already well organized and offered support later.

The intensity of the negative reactions unfortunately ranged from the mildest (literature defamatory of neo-Protestants) to the harshest (killings).

Civil society, especially at the level of the press, was neutral and ironic to the negative reactions and, detaching itself from religious issues between denominations, mocked the situation.

These reactions had two positive aspects towards the "newcomers": in most cases they gained sympathy from witnesses to the persecutions, the number of sympathizers increased where the persecution was greater[20].

Finally, despite civil or religious opposition, one by one the main religious movements received official recognition (http://culte.gov.ro/?page_id=57 (accessed July 19, 2023)).

[18] Repeating the situation of the first part of the eighteenth century: religious movements in Bessarabia (especially the Molokans) under Tsar Alexander I (1801-1825) enjoyed a window of peace during his reign. Subsequently, the situation changed.

[19] In Romania, too, a difference in reactions can be sustained between rural and urban areas and between Bucharest and Dobrogea, or Bucharest and Moldova.

[20] The Adventist Church benefited from moments of opposition such as the one in Ploiesti in 1912. The acid reaction of the press increased interest in this church and its teachings. Another example can be recalled that after the incident in Tâmboiești Adventism strengthened even more in this city, and even more the Adventist mission was carried to the neighboring places: Bordești, Dumbrăveni, Dumitrești, Dănulești, Dedulești, Bordeștii de Jos – where, due to the rapid growth of Adventists, a church of 30 members is organized – and today Adventists are the second numerical cult, after the Orthodox.

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WOMEN OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN ROMANIA AND THE ART OF WRITING AND TRANSLATION

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Abstract

Romanian history, from ancient times until today contains numerous events, facts, events that can be analyzed from a complex perspective. However male and female personalities bear the imprint that was involved throughout the passage of time. The article intends to follow, chronologically, biographies of the firrst women writer-translator or journalist in Romania's history.

Key words: *Romania, history, writer, journalist, women, historiography.*

It is a dominant theme in history and historiography that a woman held various positions, mother, wife, princess, priestess, queen, queen, royal, artist, writer, poet, intellectual, workers, farmers.

At first, there were occupations become the exclusive reserve of men, however, women have gradually come to be involved in their exercise, even excel.

From this point of view, no Romanian history is no exception. Historical sources assists presence of women from ancient times until today. From their analysis revealed the following elements that we considered fundamental elements of any scientific research:

• woman in society
• origin and rise of the idea of feminism in Romania
• cultural projection of feminism
• woman and cultural life
• woman and the arts
• woman and performance of cultural, political, economic thinking.

The medieval Romanian, which is par excellence a time of occurrence of the state, strengthening it and driving the idea of belonging to the medieval state of the same national identity, see how wives of rulers, whatever their origin, Romanian, Italian, Byzantine , Serbian identify primarily with the sphere of decision-making. They replace their husbands, are in diplomatic trips, or in exile, ensures regency minor children at the time of dying of their husbands.

Romanian rulers wives are distinguished by exceptional capacity for regeneration, the use of intuition, diplomatic means. They are trying to achieve Alanta dating, which themselves or their offspring can accede to power.

Romanian system of succession to the throne has been mixed, elective, hereditary, so the marriage of a contender with a descendant of a royal family was the sine qua non of political success.

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They have also realized that the world can influence political leaders including through matrimonial alliances.

Modern Age marks in history a series of special situations. Women in Romania are writers, artists, wives of rulers, revolutionary poet.

In this era we find in the forefront of the feminist movement. Sorgine Romanian society was patriarchal one, the role of women was the defender of family heredity insurance, education and training of young generations.

Romanian women understood that they can fight for their rights. First the fundamental right to vote was based on qualification in modern Romania, women may participate in the vote, only after the adoption of the 1923 Constitution, which was the culmination of a democratic political regime in the context of the era.

A particularly important for Romanian culture was the promotion of folk, crafts by representatives of the political elite, as well as Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mary.

Elina the Wife or the Ruler Matei Basarab of Walachia

Born in 1598, Elina was the daughter of the "seneschal" Radu daughter, her father being married with a woman of high society, Ms. Calea Calomfirescu. Her maternal grandfather was one of the worthiest captains of armies of Prince Michael the Brave. She was the sister of the great scholar Udrişte Năsturel. Both children received a good education, on the family estate Hereşti (Fierăşti) of Ilfov, as having a material worthy of the richest families of the West. Knowledge acquired from childhood Slavonic and Greek. She became Matei 's (Chief of Police) wife, in 1612, when she was 14 and Matei, the future ruler of Walachia, 33 years.

The ruler Matei Basarab became two decades later, in 1632 ruler of Walachia. Their only son, Mateias died in his early childhood. With no other children during marriage four decades, Mrs. Elina was dedicated to cultural activities and the founding places of worship, with her husband (over 46 in number, surpassing Stefan cel Mare in Moldova, although the reigns of Matei Basarab not only totaled 22, compared with 47 years was king Stefan cel Mare na). Did the adopted son of her brother, all Mateiaş baptized, but he died at 17, in 1643 (Iorga, 1932: 57-67).

She assured the country leadership when her husband went to Constantinople to get the edict of investiture.

Ms. Elina was busy promoting the science, the art of printing in Country Romanian continuing the efforts of Catherine Salvaresso. Thus, Govora monasteries, Dealu and Campulung will be enriched each with a printing press.

Certainly the "Rules of Govora" during Prince Matei Basarab, one of the major sources of Romanian law was created with the support of Lady Land, 1640.

Ms. Elina can be regarded as being among the first writer of Romanian Country. He spent a lot of time helping to write and translate books by his famous brother. In addition to financial support printing, herself wrote the preface of a book entitled "Imitatio Christi" (following of Christ), signed by Thomas Kempis, that her brother Udrişte Năsturel translated it from Latin, the language Slavonic. The book was published on 15 April 1647 so almost 470 years ago, actually recorded history including Nicolae Iorga. In 1932 Nicolae Iorga has dedicated an article Ms Elina Romanian Literary Patroness.

She died in 1653, her husband was crying (he ordered that on the tombstone of his lady to be noted that four decades they have been married), which will conclude its reign and life in the coming year, 1654.

In 1655 after a series of actions that resulted in their original grave desecration from Targoviste and the bodies of her husband Mrs. country were displaced Arnota monastery, founded their Valcea county.

Ermioni Asaki

Ermioni Asachi was a Romanian cultural life personality born on December 16, 1821 in Vienna. Her father was a great scholar and historian Gheorghe Asachi. She had the life of a nobleman's daughter, keeping the tradition of marrying at 18 years, so in 1839, she had a started a marriage with a nobleman, Alexander Mourousis. The two did not had a good relationship, so that the young couple will separate and she will go to France, where the revolutionary spirit grew in intensity. Arriving in Paris in 1845, Ermioni Asachi will join the circle of forty-eighters future. After the failure of the European revolution of 1848-1849, Ermioni Asachi will continue to support cultural emancipation principalities. In 1852, the year Balcescu's death, proclamation as Emperor Napoleon III, Ermioni Asachi becomes Mrs. Hermione Quinet, by marrying great friend of the Romanians, the Frenchman Edgar Quinet (Breazu, 1935: 1-5).

Between 1852-1870, Quinet and his wife were exiled in Belgium and Switzerland, disagreeing with the policy of the Emperor Napoleon III. In Moldova, Ermioni Asachi has translated into French works great scholar Gheorghe Asachi. She translated many works of famous written by foreign authors and contributing to popularize the capital works of Benjamin Frankin. She signed articles in "Albina Românească", "Moldovan-Romanian Spicuitorul". However, her name appears in an impressive series of letters to the great names of France, Victor Hugo, Louis Blanc, Jules Michelet.

Ermioni Asachi wrote theological works of analysis based on the Bible for young people in Moldova and Muntenia, published exile family experiences Quinet, a fundamental source for those who want to understand the evolution of Europe after 1848-1849 Revolutions. Ermioni Asachi had written half a century matters how long her husband's friendship with Jules Michelet, another supporter of the Romanian case. She died in Paris on December 9, 1900.

Mary Grant Rosetti

We all admired the portrait "Revolutionary Romania " poet painted by C. D. Rosenthal. A young brown-haired, dressed in costumes, with traditional ie, long black hair. You can say that the painter captured the beauty typical of a Romanian woman. However, the pattern painted by C. D. Rosenthal (Frunzetti, 1955: 28) is not of itself a Romanian woman but of a European women, Romanian became by marriage to a Romanian.

It's about Scottish-French Mary Grant, born in Guernsey, UK, in 1819. Her father was Scottish and his mother was Edward Grant Frenchwoman Marie Levasseur. Mary Grant raised in France, in beautiful Provence region. Through his brother, Effigham Grant (born in 1821, in 1837, so at 16 he became the man of confidence

Consul General British Scotsman Robert Gimour Colquhoun an) employee Secretary Consul General British in Bucharest, she met that Rosetti, whom he loved and who will become his wife in 1847 (Călinescu, 1986: 653).

To mention the fact that it has become, and that history textbooks do not remember hardly before marrying forty-eighters C.A. Colonel John Rosetti children governance Odobescu officer who fought alongside John Solomon arrest provisional government in June 1848 in Bucharest. So by his relations, it can be anticipated that loyalist mişcprile, which could only help the Revolution. Putting the equation and Ana Ipătescu intervention in the summer of 1848 we can see that paşoptiştii well knew their enemies from within.

Since 1847 his name was intertwined with riots forty-eighters whose emblem has become, thanks to painter C.D.Rosenthal, who used it as a model in 1850 painting "Romania Revolutionary" and "Romania breaking and shackles on the Field of Liberty".

Their daughter Sophia received the name of freedom. When fortyeighters were arrested in September 1848 and embarking on Caicos Turkish to Serbia, Mary Grant, disguised as a peasant, and kissed her husband to divorce, but as a genuine revolutionary has slipped during the kiss and note the detainees knew who would expect to escape from custody, then to flee to Transylvania, helped by the British consul. There followed long years of exile, who întprit marriage of the two. Maria Rosetti has published articles in the French press.

Forty-eighter C.A. Rosetti was a politician, revolutionary and powerful publicist. He created "The Romanian" national newspaper, where Mary Grant, became Maria Rosetti became editor in 1857. So Mary Grant / Maria Rosetti is the first journalist in Romania. She founded the publication "Mother and Child" (1865-1866), where he published articles about how to and nourished children immediately after birth, about how to take care of women during pregnancy, during and after pregnancy as needed to educate their followers to turn then into mature responsible people.

In the War of Independence, set aside up to establish "Women's Committee" in order to make subscriptions to helping Romanian Army and hospitals campaign. One of these was conducted in southern Danube even by Maria Rosetti.

Maria Rosetti died on February 14, 1893 in Bucharest. Her brother was naturalized in Romania was related to his descendants Golescu, inheriting large properties in Bucharest, in the Bridge Grant today near Giulesti, the construction of which attended one of their direct ancestors of Effingham Grant, Robert Effingham Grant, engineer. The area was owned by Effingham Grant, who in 1863 established a foundry, and the next year a tobacco factory.

Belvedere Garden, inherited through marriage to Zoe Racoviţă downward empty, next to Golescu's house was partially sold by Effingham Grant, brother of Maria Rosetti workers at the tobacco factory. Therefore today a district of Bucharest, is called "Regie" because tobacco was part of the State Monopolies, where he Lucat I.L.Caragiale himself as an officer.

Dora d'Istria

Dora d'Istria was born in 1828, on 3 February, the family of the ban Dimitrie Ghica. In childhood, up to 9 years she had managed to learn no more than 10 languages.

He studied painting, piano. In 1849 was married to a Russian prince, living in Tsarist Russia and painting, his works being exhibited at the Hermitage Museum.

Dora d'Istria was located in position pro-French and pro-British during the Crimean War, was severely punished by the authorities. Because of his revolt against the Status of Women in Russia, she left, separating from her husband. It was established in Switzerland. Here was marked by his passion for mountaineering and climbing. In 1855 she went on the Moenich top, which hoisted a flag Romanian, becoming the first Romanian climber.

She has lived her rest of her life traveling around the world, and reaching North America, South America.. She wrote works dedicated feminist movement wrote a paper about Grigore III Ghica, ruler of Moldavia assassinated in 1775 for refusing to allow the cession of Bukovina by the Habsburgs. She has written in several languages, history books, memoirs, of which liberates national and social problem of the Romanian Principalities (Clayer, 2007: 209).

She adopted the pen name of Dora d Istria, in memory Istru-ancient name of Danube, the river that waters the earth Romanian in his drmul relentlessly towards the Black Sea. She would remain established in Florence, where she held correspondence including Giuseppe Garibaldi, proposing a kind of "Balkan Federation".

She died on 17 November 1888 in Italy. He left his entire fortune Pantelimon Hospital in Bucharest.

Queen Elisabeth of Romania

Queen Elizabeth, Princess of Wied was born in Germany on 29 December 1843. She became the wife of Prince Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen on 15 November 1869 becoming Lady Land. On 14 March 1881 after the proclamation of the Kingdom of Romania became the first Queen of Romania. Since her marriage to King Charles resulted in an only daughter, Princess Mary (1870-1874), who died at an early age, being the victim of an epidemic of scarlet fever that made then raging in Bucharest. Regina suffered rest of his life because he had no children. King Carol I and forbade any involvement in political life, so that Elisabeth was dedicated to charitable works and writing, promoting Romanian cultural heritage, in the tradition of Alotau wives reign of Romanian history. He was a poet and writer, taking the pseudonym Carmen Sylva. Until his death he signed no less than 50 volumes.

She could speak fluently several languages, including Greek and Latin. Mihai Eminescu, the great poet had criticized the queen when she had presented him read a poem. Queen to reply that it is still "Queen of Romania", coming as a result of Mihai Eminescu's critics made on the quality of poetry, the poet replied that that creation does not confer the status of "Queen of Poetry". Queen Elizabeth has promoted and supported the assertion of many men of culture, artists, poets, writers (Cioroianu & Mihăilă, 2019:14-20).

Queen Elizabeth was involved in the War of Independence, is called "Mother of the Wounded". With her husband she ws among the founders of churches of Romania.

In 1909, she founded Asylum for the Blind "Queen Elizabeth", for which funding was directly ocuat. Only in 1909, King Charles I asked Ionel Bratianu

Government to pay 500 000 lei for the outstanding debt to be extinguished and finish building this protection institution.

Queen Elizabeth preferred to recreate in a pavilion built by her husband in Constanta, reciting poems about sailors who left the port on board the vessels. She wrote in Romanian, English, French, but also in his native language, German. She supported through advertising promoting the Royal Family, the Queen became the image of a manufacturer of typewriters. In addition, a cigarette manufacturer, has launched a brand called "Carmen Sylva", as it seems that, like her husband, Queen Elizabeth was smoking.

Queen Elizabeth has included Romania in the international tourism circuit. Thus the famous "Orient Express" will stop in Sinaia, travelers coming from Paris, going to Constantinople can visit Peles Castle. In addition, all Romania's participation in major exhibitions of art from the nineteenth century had direct involvement Queen Elizabeth promoting Romanian folk costumes and fabrics, traditional crafts. It was animated by feminist ideas within the boundaries of the rigid husband. In 1912, she coordinated an exhibition dedicated to women in art and craft, held in Berlin.

Queen Elizabeth has been involved in a political scandal, supporting her heir Prince Ferdinand affair with Elena Văcărescu, descendant of the great noble family of Văcăreşti in the winter of 1890 and spring of 1891. King learned and put an end to direct adventure. King imposed status as heirs Royal House officials do not contract marriage with descendants of the families of Romanian boyars. Fine connoisseur of history specialist and Carol knew that instability reign in the Principalities had been caused by fighting between candidates who make use of their noble ancestry "ţandură bone holy royalty" Boyar families who had lords of Moldavia and Wallachia. Văcăreştii House kinship with the royal dynasty would mean that under the sign of disputes between medieval.

It is said that Queen Elizabeth insisted over King Charles, whom he rushed to help himself . Lascar Catargiu, former Lieutenant Royal and help King Charles during the political crisis of 1870. He uttered, "Your Majesty, that could not happen"! Relying on that brother Prince Ferdinand was not approved by Carol, Catargiu raised and said that Ferdinand may withdraw from the depiction of heir to the throne, following his love to Elena Văcărescu, which gave grist to the mill of King Charles I, finally putting his foot down it.

Elena Văcărescu was exiled in Paris and Ferdinand sent on a journey of "recovery" was forced to take her as his wife Princess Marie of Edinburgh, granddaughter of Queen Victoria of Great Britain and cousin of Russian Tsar Nicholas II century, a decision that will decisively influence Romania's foreign policy after 1914, when King Charles I and the beginning of the year the First World War ().

Queen Elizabeth had towards the end of life serious health problems, being hospitalized repeatedly in sanatoriums known abroad. Reports diplomatic envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary ministers accredited in Bucharest even talk of mental health problems.

King Charles I ordered his wife to be well-groomed. Elisabeth of Wied died on February 18, 1916, surviving her husband two years. She sleeps his eternal sleep in the Cathedral of Curtea de Arges, with her husband, King Charles I.

Iulia Hașdeu

Daughter of the great historical Hasdeu, Iulia was born on 14 November 1869 in Bucharest. It was a true prodigy. At the age of 8, she graduated from primary school and high school at age 11 to "College St. Sava" in Bucharest. She studied at the Bucharest Conservatory and at 16 became a student at the Sorbonne. She had a natural talent in foreign languages. He wrote poetry, prose, drama, stories, more in French. She wore a special correspondence with her father.

She died due to tuberculosis, to nearly 19 years in Bucharest on 29 September 1888 the first signs of illness appear in the spring of 1887 (Coloșcenco, 2013: 3).

Heartbroken, Hasdeu, her father was sought to highlight his work, almost all creations, diary and correspondence appearing posthumously.

Sliding side of spiritualism, Julia's father built at Campina in 1896, a castle as a museum and arranged a tomb in Bellu cemetery, claiming that followed the exact wishes of Julia, communicated through seances.

The great historian survived until 1907 and never completely nerevenindu after losing its sole daughters.

Sofia Nădejde

Romania's modernization entailed the involvement of women in politics, occupation at the time was seen as a privilege of men. Sofia was the peinter Octav Bancila sister. Sofia Băncilă, born on 14 September 1856 in Botosani, was relatively wealthy daughter of peasants who could study at early retired "Glowaska 'hometown. In 1874, she became the wife of Ioan Nadejde, politician, journalist socialist orientation, six children resulting from their marriage.

Sofia Nadejde was not happy to be a mother, wife, housewife, she became a powerful publicist. In the pages of "Romanian Woman" she has campaigned actively for feminism. Public fame came after he dared to give Maiorescu's reply, this great literary critic and activist for change and modernization is an incorrigible misogynist. He held open the inferiority of woman to man, because "born woman would have a smaller brain" than the man. Sofia Hope took the open position, arguing scientific falsehood Maiorescu's thesis.

Iasi, coordinates "literary event" in 1884, then in the same year decided to settle in Bucharest, where lectures workers in the newly established socialist clubs.

In 1897, after several such lectures, gains great popularity, becoming President of the fourth congress of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Romania. Thus came the first woman elected as leader of a political party congress (Atanasiu, 1924: 175).

In time, this lady was called "Mrs. Pica". She supported her husband in college elected socialist III, but the predominance vote based on qualification and innovative ideas within the program of the National Liberal Party that the party did not have crossing among workers and peasants who had no right to vote. Ioan Nadejde finally passed in the group "honest liberals", a dissident branch of the Liberal Party, which led the Romanian political death of socialism, in the conditions of Russian socialist radicalism and the outbreak of the First World War (Atanasiu, 1924: 371).

Sofia Nadejde was noted as a writer, her work being composed of short stories, plays and novels. She died at 90, on 18 June 1946 in Bucharest.

Olga Gigurtu

Olga Gigurtu was the niece of great revolutionary leader and historian Nicolae Balcescu (daughter of Barbu Bălcescu). She was born in Craiova on 13 March 1855. Her debut dates back to 1913 editorial in the journal "branches" with the story "How many have disappeared when she remembered going."

Olga Gigurtu recalled scenes from the cultural life of Romania, including the emotions experienced by Caragiale, then a young playwright at the premiere of "Stormy Night" from January 18, 1879.

A military occupation of Craiova witnessed during the First World War, she worked at a hospital under the administration of the Red Cross.

By 1927, she published several stories, including her uncle's memory, Balcescu. In 1927 he published "Memories" also known as "Memories and icons of the past" (Gigurtu, 2015: 5-7).

Gigurtu Olga was married to General Petre Gigurtu. The couple had several children, including the last prime minister during the reign of King Charles II, before the appointment of Ion Antonescu, Gigurtu, during which occur Rapture territorial tragic summer of 1940: Bessarabia Northern Bukovina, Herta, Transylvania Northwest Quadrilateral. Olga Gigurtu died in 1940, in Bucharest, in the house of his daughter valerica. Her son would be condemned to die in communist prisons.

Queen Mary of Romania

Princess Mary of Edinburgh was born on 29 October 1875 in Eastwell Park, Kent, England. After father was Duchess of Edinburgh, Queen Victoria's granddaughter direct and maternal his cousin Tsar Nicholas II, his mother, Maria Alexandrovna, the Grand Duchess of Russia and the daughter of Tsar Alexander II.

Maria spent her childhood on the family, preparing for a specific life of young noble families, which is common in marriage was a crowned head of Europe ((Săndulescu, 2008: 101-112).

After 17th birthday on December 29, 1892, Mary married Prince Ferdinand, nephew of King Carol I of Romania and crown prince, freshly recovered from the relationship stormy Elena Văcărescu, located in suite Queen Elizabeth interrupted power by King Carol I, although Queen Elizabeth and the ladies of his court obviously had supported.

Queen Mary has come therefore for 17 years in a Romania that militate for their entire territory, to defend independence. Romania was caught in a political alliance imposed by circumstances beyond 1878 with Austria-Hungary and Germany, which included, along with Italy from the Central Powers. England and Russia, the countries from which their parents came, along with France, "eternal friend" of Romania had signed a treaty to create the "Entente" and began to see the young princess as a heavy piece in attracting Romanian diplomatic gear the Entente.

King Charles I was tough, rigid, had kept away from politics his wife, but Princess Mary was by nature quite rebellious, authoritarian, which might influence her husband, Prince Ferdindand that without an incapable leader, has always been shy and inclined towards introversion.

Death of King Charles I in October 1914, under which Romania remained neutral at the onset of World War I in the summer of 1914, brought her in the position of Queen of Romania.

Queen Mary was the decisive factor in the war on the Entente side entry. She supported the action of Ionel Bratianu at the expense of the Conservatives. King Ferdinand I gave six children, Carol, Nicholas, Elizabeth, Mary, Ileana, Mircea last dying in early childhood.

Regina saw his occupied country in December 1916 but during refuge in Iasi was involved in helping the wounded, in diplomatic correspondence in discussions with the heads of the army, with General Berthelot (Săndulescu, 2008: 113-120).

The victories of 1917 and 1918 separate peace did not destroy hope. She tried to temper the adventures of her son, Charles, who defected from the front, then after Entente victory in November 1918, was personally involved in negotiations with Georges Clemenceau, demanding Transylvania and replicating them it so, "like the lion, Transylvania, so he came to his cousin, the tiger "

After the Union, the Queen Mary has implemented a politico-bed project which has attracted the nickname of mother Balkans. He was her son married the daughter of the King of Greece, Elena and Elizabeth heir to Greece. Marioara married his daughter to a King Alexander of Yugoslavia.

Thus, she created a dynasty in the Balkans coalition, paving the major negotiations with Britain and France to support the results of the Great Union. However, the building they crashed soon being assassinated King Alexander, Elizabeth divorced the king of Greece, and his son despărținndu the Princess Elena and renouncing the throne. King Ferdinand's death led to the imposition of the Regency in the name of King Michael, a six-year-old son of Prince Charles and Princess Elena. She wanted to be involved in the regency, but the suspicious death of Ionel Brătianu opposition Liberals and desire to seize power led to the Restoration of King Charles II. He looked at his mother as a personal enemy and isolated from the political scene. Increasingly ill, the Queen Mary made a trip to the United States, was dedicated to writing, works of charity, taking refuge in Balchik, in the Quadrilater region of Southern Dobrogea, where he raised a castle in Bran, Transylvania. She wrote a story book for US children and also, she wrote her memories, in which he exposed her political vision (Săndulescu, 2008: 121-126).

Wounded, several years before, apparently by a bullet fired by Charles to his brother Nicholas and received her who threw himself to defend his son, Queen Mary died as a result of suffering unhealed wounds completely at 18 July 1938, the Pelişor, living to see his son establishing of authoritarian monarchy.

National funeral of Queen Mary was somehow boycotted by his son that he reserves only for pomp public exits.

Conclusions

Most women in Romania, reached the position of having a financial situation than average, have tried through donations, wills, donations, support the culture, art, education, scientific research, wanting others to not go through the experiences they had part. Romanian women have managed to achieve world premieres, recognized and valued as such. Thus, Romania's name came to be that had been read to be appreciated and promoted.

There were few cases of women who were born in Romania or they came in our country and they married to Romanian, or who have come to live in Romania, becoming an emblem of Romania, innovative spirit, ideas that you have sent and followers.

All these figures are truly outstanding representatives and ambassadors of Romania in the world.

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CONFERENCES HELD IN ROMANIA (1930-1942) ABOUT THE REFORMS AND MODERNITY OF THE STATE FOUNDED BY KEMAL ATATÜRK (OCTOBER 29, 1923). WITH THE OCCASION OF THE CENTENNIAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

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Abstract

In our historiography, in the study of Romanian-Turkish relations, circumstantial in the interwar period, the call, in more detail, to contemporary testimonies can also be enriched by highlighting the public conferences held by personalities of scientific or public life (N. Batzaria, Gheorghe I. Brătianu, Petre Gheață, N. Iorga, Ion Gr. Periețeanu et al.), in Bucharest and in other cities of the country; they present to the Romanian reader, above all, the image of the modernizing achievements of the new Eurasian republican state – the Kemalist Turkey. This is the approach we propose, in summary, in the following lines.

Key words: *Centennial Turkish Republic, Kemal Atatürk, Interwar Conferences on Republic of Turkey, N. Batzaria, Ion Dragu, Ion Gr. Periețeanu, Petre Ghiață.*

Introduction

October 29, 1923, represents one of the most important landmark dates in the contemporary history of Europe – a new state was born, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938) (Ghiață, 1975: *passim*; Guboglu, 1981: 89-110) with a republican form of government – on the ruins of the late Ottoman Empire –, whose secularism and continuous transformation, towards prosperity and ensuring national-territorial security, marked its evolution until today.

The progress – truly historic – of the *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti*, towards institutional modernization and the morals of the members of the society, her imposition on the international level, gradually becoming a great power – were revealed in conferences (only that of the great Romanian historian N. Iorga, from 1940, is the only one that does not explicitly refer to republican Turkey /Țăranu, 2019: 1229-1250/, but only reveals its premises), by Romanian publicists and intellectuals (but also of two foreign lecturers), during the period interwar period – as the reader can get to know, punctually, through the few period testimonies below.

At the Centenary of the Republic, Turkey – with which the Romanian State had, from the beginning, the most amicable relations, with official visits at the highest level and close cooperation in maintaining a climate of peace and regional cooperation (Ekrem, 1993: *passim*; Anghel, 2014: 435-450; Cojocaru, 2014: *passsim*; Boșcan, 2021: *passim*; Gemil, 2022: 183-195) – presents itself as a state with a development, on multiple levels, truly extraordinary, and, no less, as an increasingly distinct voice among the Great Powers of the contemporary World: „The great victory of the Turkish people, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in its fight for national liberation and for the

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creation of a modern Turkey on one hand, and on other the completion of the process of the shaping of the national united Romanian state (on December 1st, 1918) underpinned and directed the development of new relations between the two states in the interwar period" (Gemil, 2022: 183).

The New Turkey

Mr. N. Batzaria's Conference at the Romanian Social Institute

[*Noua Turcie. Conferința d-lui N. Batzaria la Institutul Social Român*]

Mr. N. Batzaria was a militant in the revolutionary action of the Young Turks. That movement of 1908 was the expression and even the creation of the Macedonian revolutionary spirit and brought through its successor, the Macedonian Mustafa Kemal Pasa, to the current republican regime (in an absolutist manner) of Mustafa Kemal.

Today there is a nationalist, republican state called New Turkey. In the complex of post-war states, it represents a special formation. That's why the Romanian Social Institute consecrated a conference for such political experimentation, which saved the Turkish state from the serious confusion in which the absolutist monarchical regime had brought it. Mr. N. Batzaria was entrusted with the treatment of this subject, for his competence in the matter, given the effective collaboration he had in the action of the Turkish juries.

The old state of absolutist Turkey is well known, in which the sultan, "the shadow of Allah", considered himself the master of his estate. The prototype of the Turkish sultan was embodied by Abdul-Hamid, about whom Mr. Batzaria gave some interesting characterizations. The dethronement of Sultan Abdul-Hamid by the Young Turks, in 1909, meant the enthronement of the constitutional regime, i.e., the inclusion of Turkey among the European states; they created the New Turkey, and their work was perfected and deviated at the same time by their successor and student, Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Mr. Batzaria emphasized that Mustafa Kemal, from a political point of view, backed away from the libertarian and rigorous constitutional regime of the Young Turks, because he limited and reduced constitutional freedoms.

The new Turkey must be understood as a modern national state. This concept is also due to the Turks, who modified from the beginning the old concept of the state, medieval absolutist from the time of the sultans.

On the other hand, where under the old regime the state did not have an official name, the capital did not have a name and there was no national language – the Young Turks introduced the name of the state, and Mustafa Kemal fixed the national language, as well as the name the capital of Stambul.

What characterizes a modern state, national consciousness and feeling, is due to the Young Turks for the New Turkey; they gave the Turkish people the national ideal for the future.

All of these are undisputed facts, which lead to Mr. Batzaria's conclusion that New Turkey is the work of Young Turks.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha is the national hero who saved the Turkish state and who was given, as a reward, the leadership of the republican state. The monarchical regime was abolished, and the republican personal regime was introduced. As the basis of all the reforms made by him resides the desire and the will of the man of action to bring the Turkish state closer to the European states of democratic-constitutional form. This acceptance is a recognition – emphasized Mr. Batzaria – of the superiority of the Christian culture and spirit. The success of President Mustafa Kemal also lies in the luck of ruling over the gentle, honest, and submissive Turkish people.

His reforms are: the abolition of monarchism, the abolition of polygamy, the prohibition of wearing the fez, the abolition of the veil for women. But the most daring reform is the replacement of the Mohammedan religious code – the "golden law" – with the Swiss civil code. Among the great reforms, the adoption of the Latin alphabet instead of the Arabic one is included.

The great change and upheaval will result from the economic consequences of the population exchange between the Turks and the Greeks. Through the peace treaty between the two states, it was decided that the population of the Orthodox religion in the Turkish state should pass to the Greek state, and the Mohammedan population in Greece should pass to Turkey. This exodus of human masses immediately produced disturbances, which will be accentuated in the economic field. Economic laws do not know political or other considerations. The experiment with the exodus of the Arabs from Spain and the Huguenots from France was not taken into account. With this phenomenon, serious problems have arisen for the Turkish state, especially economic ones, and they require heavy efforts, enormous expenses. The other innovations are not based on tradition, added Mr. Batzaria. Anyway, Turkey's life is assured from now on because it has become a nation state. The future of the political regime – dictatorial, personal, and absolutist republic – is an open book. *V.G.* ([Batzaria], 1930: 5).

„Friends of Turkey" Academic Society Conferences

New Turkey, the Creative Force. *Mr. Ion Dragu's Conference*

[*Turcia Nouă, forța creatoare. Conferința d-lui Ion Dragu*]

On Thursday, March 9, at 9 o'clock in the evening, in the hall of the Carol I University Foundation, under the patronage of the rector of the University of Bucharest, is opened the series of conferences on Turkey today, organized by the "Friends of Turkey" academic society.

In the presence of members of the delegation led by His Excellency Hamdullah Suphi bey, the Minister of Turkey, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representatives of the university teaching staff and a large audience of intellectuals, freelancers and students, Mr. Ion Dragu held his conference on: "New Turkey, Creative Force".

The lecturer wanted to show, in this year in which the definitive settlement of the Turkish Republic closes its decade, how, under a burning breath of work and progress, a nation strengthens its renewed life in a modern State that rises on the plateaus of Anatolia assaulted by workers and engineers.

Evoking the times of a quarter of a century ago, when Europe saw in Turkey only the "sick man" when the country and the people of the Osmanli were the object of a summary judgment, invented by greed, supported by contempt, transmitted by ease, adopted by laziness and peddled by each without taking into account the real characteristics of the nation, Mr. Ion Dragu outlined the story of the awakening efforts by restoring society and renewing Turkish thinking under the action of the Young Turks, the birth of the New Turkey after the Great War, in Anatolia, above the ruins and medieval reminiscences. The lecturer then showed how Mustafa Kemala made the daring plan of establishing a purely Turkish secular and national state, through the Turk people, in the ethnic territory, how the great patriot developed his wonderful qualities as a master of people, stimulating the people's enthusiasm, while also acting on behalf of nation, according to the fundamental principles of democracy.

Mr. Dragu depicted the successive actions of the one who was first the liberator, then the creator, the congresses in Erzerum, and Sivas with the proclamation of the "national pact", the fight for the cleansing of the territory of the homeland, in the West against the Sultan's troops, in the East and South against the English and the French, especially the cruel, heroic struggle against the Greeks, which would, after bloody sacrifices on both sides, end in the reconquest of Smyrna and the abandonment of Asia Minor by the Greek population.

One by one, the lecturer showed the achievements of Marshal Mustafa Kemal Gazi for the definitive gain of independence, the recovery of Constantinople occupied by the allies, the dethronement of the Sultan, the consecration of Turkey's autonomy through the Treaty of Lausanne, finally the proclamation of the Republic, under the presidency of Gazi Mustafa Kemal.

In order, to clarify the work done since then and to judge the creative force of the New Turkey, Mr. Dragu evoked by contrast what Ankara, the center of human energy, means to Constantinople, the symbol of renunciation in world politics.

In the heart of harsh Anatolia, like a new conquest over nature reigns the ceaseless activity, the constructive fever, it is the victory of the creative spirit of Ankara over the paralyzing spirit of Stambul.

The lecturer then presented and explained the successive reforms carried out by the will of Mustafa Kemal, for the social, economic, and cultural transformation: the suppression of the Caliphate and the secularization of the Turkish State with its corollary the suppression of the fez and the veil on the face, the emancipation of women, the reform of the codes, the replacement of the Arabic alphabet with the Latin etc. and so on. He insisted on the new intellectual orientation of Turkey and the work of the famous *"câlamuri turcești"* (Turkish-Hogeac) in which the spiritual unity of the nation is worked on, and the treasures of the best Western experiences are collected, in order pour them into the pattern of the Turkish soul. Here, Mr. Dragu revealed the wonderful work done by Mr. Hamdullah Bey, the minister of Turkey in Bucharest, former president of these homes, their animator and guide, former minister of education of Turkey during the hardest hours of the history of Kemalism.

Mr. Dragu showed the achievements of the New Turkey, in the household field, since it was torn from economic phobia, the great works done, then outlining Turkey's foreign policy, he insisted on the role of the first plan, an active, conciliatory, and peaceful role that Turkey plays today in the Near East and the Balkans.

In conclusion, Mr. Dragu showed that Turkey is moving more and more towards a democracy with normal functioning, that the Gazi is only thinking about consolidating the homeland, he who, as a leader elected by the people, is the servant of this people, that the work done so far, in a few years alone, it proves what a creative force resides in the collective will to work and progress under the command of a superior discipline ([Dragu], 1933: 2).

Relations between Romanians and Turks
The Conference of Mr. C.C. Giurescu

[*Relaţiile dintre români şi turci. Conferinţa d-lui C.C. Giurescu*]

Saturday evening, in the Hall of the Carol I University Foundation, the "Friends of Turkey" academic society under the presidency of Mr. M. Livadaru, inaugurated the second cycle of conferences about Turkey, through the conference of university professor Constantin Giurescu. In the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Hamdullah Suphy Bey, the Minister of Turkey in Bucharest and a select and large audience, the lecturer first shows the importance of the work done by Mustafa Kemal, who must be considered the most significant figure in Turkish history since Suleiman the Magnificent. A political, military and organizing spirit, he is the founder of the Turkish national state, a state profoundly different from the old empire.

It then deals with the relations between Romanians and Turks, meaning by Turks not only the Ottomans, but the Ural-Altaic peoples in general, and shows the duration and intensity of these relations. He mentions the ties that existed with the Cumans, who left lasting traces in the toponymy of the Romanian countries, then moves on to the ties with the actual Turks. The Ottoman political domination over the Principalities is not based on the treaties or capitulations invoked so many times in our country at the end of the 18^{th} century and during the 19^{th} century. These treatises or hatisherifs turned out to be late 18th century forgeries.

Maximum Turkish influence on us in the political order is in the Phanariot era.

The consequences of our relations with the Turks can be seen in many areas. If from an ethnic point of view, these consequences were not too significant, which does not mean that we do not have Uralo-Altaic blood in our veins at all – from a language point of view, they are considerable. Almost a fifth of the words of our language – several thousand in total – are of Uralo-Altaic or Turkic origin.

In any field of activity, in housing, in clothing, in food, in trades, in social life, we find a significant number of terms of this origin. Onomastics and toponymy also show an appreciable Turkish influence. And in the political field, our ties with the Turks had significant consequences.

As things stand, it is a duty for the Romanian culture to have thorough knowledge of Turkish history, language, and literature. That is why the Academy took the happy initiative of establishing a scholarship for their study. It is also necessary, concludes the lecturer, to establish a department of Oriental Studies at one of our universities ([Giurescu], 1933: 4).

<u>Conference of the “European Thinking” association</u>
From the Spirit of Stambul to the Spirit of Ankara

[*De la spiritul Stambulului la spiritul Ankarei. Conferința asociației „Gândirea Europeană”*]

The “European Thought” cultural association, under the presidency of Mrs. Elena Văcărescu, organized a festive conference on occasion of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic on Friday, Oct. 27, at 9 p.m., in the hall of the Carol I Foundation.

In front of the numerous assistance in which I noted Mr. Hamdullah Suphy-Bey, Minister of Turkey and Ms. Von Schullemburg, Chargé d'affaires of Germany, Robeff, Minister of Bulgaria, Ms. Alexandrina Cantacuzino, Tutunaru, Darvari, Ella Negruzzi , Mrs. Trancu-Iași, Simeon Mehedinți, Prof. Gh. Marinescu, etc. Mr. N. Batzaria, Victor Eftimiu, and Cuza Hotta spoke, and Mrs. Floria Capsali did a study of eurythmy, based on verses written by Mr. Sandu Eliad.

The Work of New Turkey' Preparation

Mr. N. Batzaria showed, first of all the ethnic elements of the Romanian-Turkish friendship, after which he went on to a brief history of our relations with the Sublime Gate, emphasizing that the Turks, although they ruled the whole of Eastern Europe, did not denationalize anyone respecting the faith subjects, against what the interested historians asserted.

The lecturer then moves on to the movement of the Young Turks, in which the speaker carried out a fruitful activity, and which overthrew Abdul Hamid's reign of terror, laying the foundations for the organization of the new Turkey.

Batzaria ends his conference emphasizing that the policy of the great Gazi is the policy of the modern world of progress and civilization and that the Romanian-Turkish friendship, recently sealed by the friendship pact in Istanbul, confirms the peaceful feelings of the people of the crescent.

Turkish Poetry

Mr. Victor Eftimiu spoke about new and old Turkish poetry, the source of inspiration for so many oriental versifiers. He then read from the works of several Ottoman poets: Mustafa II, Vasif Ender Uni, Selim I, and finally he read an admirable spring poem thanks to E.S. Hamdullah Suphy-Bey, Minister of Turkey in Bucharest.

Mister Cuza Hotta's Confrence

The subject that had to be addressed by Mr. Ion Dragu, absent due to his mission to Mr. Titulescu, was dealt with by Mr. Cuza Hotta.

She showed that the historical development of the events that led to the proclamation of the Turkish republic were unleashed by the antagonism between the spirit of Stambul and the spirit of Ankara. On the one hand, the rot of anarchy, and on the other the creative force of a national movement that addressed the unaltered forces of the Turkish people and somewhat fatally ensured a complete victory.

The celebration of the ten years since the proclamation of the Turkish republic, concludes Mr. Cuza Hotta, is the triumph of a people friendly to us and of the greatest European chief.

A series of devices followed, with admirable views of the new Turkey, which were explained by Mr. Batzaria.

The festive evening ended with Mrs. Floria Capsali's eurythmy study (xxx De la spiritul Stambulului, 1933: 7).

"Mustafa Kemal and the New Turkey".
The Conference of Lawyer Eugen Cialîc in Călăraşi-Ialomiţa

[*„Mustafa Kemal și Turcia nouă". Conferința dlui avocat Eugen Ciolac la Călărași-Ialomița*]

The Section of the Cultural League from Călăraşi, after a long series of sessions, at which distinguished cultural personalities from here and from the Capital gave lectures, closed the winter cycle of intellectual events that he organized, with the conference of lawyer Eugen Cealîc, the former mayor of the city, who spoke about Mustafa Kemal's Turkey.

The lecturer, an excellent speaker, told the audience, which filled the hall of the communal theater, about that work of gigantic intensity, which the present-day ruler of Turkey carried out alone and against everyone, in order to create a new country and a new people.

The child of Ali Riza, the modest customs official, Mustafa Kemal had a brilliant career as a citizen, along which he proved will, courage, understanding for the situations in which he was placed and above all a deep love for the country and the people, in the midst of which he lived.

Trapped from the beginning in the network of nationalist societies, which long wanted a new Turkey and shaken from the yoke of old traditions, he knew how to act in such a way as to join his struggle with all the active factors of the nation, in order to make the great reform of the Turkish soul and create a national state, within natural borders.

The lecturer evoked the stubborn struggle that Kemal led in the steppes of Anatolia, in order to ignite in the soul of the blasé Turkish people the flame of a new life and without any connection with the past full of sins of the Turkey of the Sultans.

He then presented all the reforms that he gradually carried out in order to create the new Turkey: the abolition of the sultanate, the abolition of the caliphate, the secularization of the state, the introduction, instead of the old Islamic laws, of the modern codes of Switzerland, Italy, Germany, then, the realization of the republic, of the parliament and, finally, the reform of morals, with the abolishment of the fez and the yaşmak, the introduction of the Latin alphabet and a Western administration, in a Turkey where, until 15 years ago, the morals and sins of the Middle Ages still persisted.

The lecturer ended by showing that Mustafa Kemal's situation is unique and unlike that of other dictators. If Mussolini, Stalin, or Hitler each found in their country an organized nation, with recognized borders, army, budget, etc. the master of Turkey had to make his own country and people, and which is profoundly different from the people of the past.

So, Mustafa Kemal can be considered less of a dictator, but undoubtedly a great creator. The conference, beautifully organized, elegantly delivered, and full of passages of admirable literary character, was long applauded by the fine audience of the League's members ([Cialîc], 1934: 9).

Our Ties with the Turks. ***A Conference by Mr. Gh. Brătianu***

[*Legăturile noastre cu turcii. O conferință a d-lui Gh. Brătianu*]

Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu held an interesting conference on Saturday on the radio about "Our Ties with the Turks".

Given the circumstance that the foreign minister of the Turkish Republic has visited us twice lately, in order to establish some important diplomatic relations, the conference of Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu has acquired a lively topical character.

She insisted on this matter, researching in the light of the lessons of history, the possibilities of future development of Turkey's foreign policy and economic relations with us.

The Influence of the Ancient Turks on the Principalities

Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu began by establishing the exact definition of what is meant by the name "Turks", showing the influence that the ancient Turks, special peoples of Arab-Altaic origin, had on our more distant past. Stopping at a more thorough research of the past of the Osmanli Turks, "the nation that founded the great empire of modern times, from which the last among the national states of our time, the Turkish Republic of today, developed", the lecturer notes that despite so many wars who made us enemies – and the last of which was the great European slaughter – "it cannot be said that the Romanian people have kept that hereditary enmity towards the Turks that we find today at the root of so many other conflicts between the peoples of our continent". On the contrary. "In the minds of our people, the word Turkish corresponds to the concept of a feared but valiant enemy, fierce but not disloyal, cruel to anger and easily inclined to cruelty, yet worthy of respect and to a great extent also of trust".

Going further, Mr. Brătianu shows that the Romanians and the Turks were not always in opposing camps. Recalling the battles of Radu Vodă, allied with the Bulgarians and the Turks in 1377 against Louis of Hungary, the lecturer quotes from a Turkish chronicle, recently discovered, the circumstance when Baiazid had by his side in the great battle of Angora in 1402 against the emperor of the Tatars "the mountain contingent of the Sultan's army, the last one left on the battlefield".

Moving on to the period of subjugation, the lecturer recalls the historical researches of the late Constantin Giurescu which proved that "the so-called capitulations of Moldova were political fabrications of our struggle for emancipation".

However, the Romanian lords redeemed the peace of the country through the pêchesses at the high Gate, which at the beginning were no more a burden than the coupon of a modern loan. Continuing, Mr. Brătianu reaches the more oppressive period of Turkish domination, which translated into an economic guidance, as a result of which the Romanian principalities suffered a lot. The privilege of the sole buyer, which Constantinople had secured to the detriment of Romanian economic development, lasted three centuries and only the Adrianople treaty of 1829 abolished this arbitrary regime. But this "directed economy" belongs to a cosmopolitan empire, heir to Byzantium and Rome.

Turkey Today

What followed was nothing but the fulfillment of the laws of history which, says Mr. Brătianu, "the Turkish nation of today, liberated with such determination from the prejudices of the past, fully understood”. In the fact of moving the capital to Ankara, the lecturer sees the release of the free Turkish people, in control of their destiny, from historical fatalities that guided the development of the Ottoman Empire”.

Highlighting the special value of the conception that put an end to the millennial enmities between Greeks and Turks, Mr. Gh. Brătianu emphasizes the significance of the profession of faith made in Bucharest by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Turkish Republic, who recognized that the current politics of the republic is a point diametrically opposed to that of the empire.

Mr. Gheorghe I. Brătianu ended his interesting conference as follows:

Current Relations of Romania with Turkey. The Need to Tighten Relations

“With the Turkish nation animated by a regenerated spirit, our nation can only maintain relations of close friendship, which strengthen the important economic interests we have in these parts of the world, and which we have neglected for too long, to the great detriment of our oil industry and the entire Romanian economy. But the new Turkey can still be an example for other countries. When fatal restorations are being attempted in Central Europe, when the resurgence of the oppressive dualisms of the vanished monarchies is increasingly being heard, when the national states, committed to the will of the peoples and treaties, see the old tyrannies rising, the determination of the Turkish nation constitutes a great lesson.

May others also understand, as Turkey has understood, that the road of history does not turn back, that the evocation of ghosts can only disturb the life and peace of the world, and that the future is based on national realities and not on the prejudices of the past, which development wanted to remove them forever ([Brătianu], 1934: 5).

New Turkey. The Conference of Mr. I.Gr. Perieţeanu

[*Turcia nouă. Conferinţa d-lui I.Gr. Perieţeanu*]

Under the auspices of the “Association of Magistrates and Lawyers” (A.M.A.) Mr. I.Gr. Perieţeanu, a former minister, delivered an interesting conference on the new Turkey on the evening of February 27, at the Carol Foundation.

Today we reproduce the first part of the documented conference, following that in our issues tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, we will publish the rest.

Before talking about the new Turkey – the distinguished lecturer began –, it is absolutely necessary to evoke for a moment the image of that old Turkey, which most of us, from hearing or seeing, were used to reduce to the main object of our concerns: the city of Constantinople and its delightful surroundings.

We were attracted by the millenary citadel of the Paschals, located on the European coast of the Bosphorus with its monumental mosques, which proudly projected their minarets against the azure of the eastern sky; the exuberant vegetation and the appearance of cypresses and persimmons called us - all that magnificent panorama, which the light, at certain times, pastelizes, makes transparent, giving it an almost unreal appearance.

A fairy-tale setting, mysterious, crossed in the evenings by the plaintive song of the muezzins, in the middle of which ant, multicolored and exotic, a world unknown to us. We were tempted by the secret of harems, the feminine beauty hidden under the folds of sleeveless cloaks; we liked to discover, under the fern, dreamy faces, languid or sparkling eyes.

Accompanied by the inevitable dragomans, the affected characters, who, according to Mr. Herriot's happy expression, solemnized the tip, we witnessed quite impressive and shocking performances for us.

Our attention was held by the dervishes, who danced for hours to the sound of flutes and cymbals, spinning in a frenzy, intoxicated by the rhythm, while their white skirts took the shape of bells; others, swaying their heads back and forth, chained themselves between them and turned scarlet. The dragoman then made us witness the Friday selamlac, when the sultan visited the mosque, with his entire procession of dignitaries, who carried in their suitcases their uniforms of change. Black eunuchs guarded the odalisques, lounging in carriages. You could barely tell the generals from the cavass. After finishing the service, the sultan would quickly return to the palace, followed by the same courtiers, who lost their breath after his phaeton. And after satisfying other exotic curiosities, at night under the lunar spell, our gaze glided far along the glittering waters and deepened into the world of fairy tales.

Today, the exotic charm has largely disappeared from the decoration, along with the disappearance of fess, turbans, salwars and the removal of feregeas.

Selamlac no longer exists, for, as Mr. Herriot observes in the *Orient* the sultan made himself invisible; the dervishes no longer spin and howl, because they are no longer dervishes. In the absence of figuration, the foreign traveler remains only with the landscape, which by itself still inclines us towards dreaming.

As I took care to reveal from the beginning, this old Turkey known to us, and concentrated by our imagination in the old city of Constantinople, was only the apparent old Turkey, because very few of us knew the real one.

Anatolian Turkey

Messrs. Deny and Marchand, who compiled a remarkable manual on the new Turkey, were able to affirm, with the right word, that only when the European war tore all the veils that hid the reality of the Muslim world, Europe became aware of the existence of an Anatolian Turkey in Asia Minor, that is, of an essentially Turkish country, whose national aspirations, military vigor and human resources, had once been hidden from him.

This is Turkey, from which the sailing breath would start.

I will try to sketch you, in general lines, without comparisons and without parallels, the structure of the new Turkey, as it came out of the elaboration of its great creator, gas Mustafa Kemal. The German thinker Oswald Spengler (*The Decisive Years*), referring to the German national revolution of 1933, when the event cannot be justly appreciated, only when it has become for us a distant past, and when its successes or failures are of for a long-time fact".

"A great event, says the same author, has nothing to do with the appreciation of its contemporaries. History is those who will take on this task, when none of those who took part in that event will be alive anymore".

There is of course a lot of truth in this statement of Spengler. But if the contemporaries have to resign themselves to leave to the future the appreciation of the great events, in which they participated or witnessed, from far or near, nothing prevents them, to evoke them simply, in order to draw from them, at least, a relativity of education.

And then there are achievements, so impressive, by the force and rapidity of their development, that the facts they contain speak for themselves, and make appreciation or interpretation unnecessary.

In this category is placed the formidable work of destruction and political-social reconstruction, from which the new Turkey emerged, a successor state that exists and evolves in a completely different framework than that of the former Ottoman Empire.

A Cosmopolitan Criteria

Within the limited limits of this conference, I will not deal with the antecedents of the Kemalist revival, except in a brief and suggestive characterization, which I borrowed from René Grousset's work, *Le Réveil de l'Asie*:

"It could be argued, without excessive paradox, that until 1908 there was no Turkish empire, but only an Ottoman empire, a kind of Muslim Austria-Hungary, an international state made up of 20 enemy races.

Undoubtedly in this disparate empire, the dynasty was Turkish, but the army partly Albanian, the clergy partly Arab, Greek, Armenian and Jewish trade, Armenian and Greek diplomacy, instruction in the cultured classes, Persian and French.

In this cosmopolitan empire, add Messrs. Deny and Marchand, the Turkish people still had their land, Asia Minor.

This domain, the «Turkish patrimony of Anatolia», was encumbered in the eyes of antebellum Europe by an Armenian mortgage, which was aggravated by the Kurdish question. These two opposing ethnic elements maintained an endemic revolt whose echo perpetuated in the West an endless hostility towards the old Turkey, so-called unitary and tyrannical".

Because of this the old Turkish state was nicknamed. The "sick man" whenever he was talked about in the chancelleries of the West and prophesied without restraint his near end.

From 1908 until the outbreak of the World War, Turkey was the theater of an uninterrupted series of political and social turmoil. I will limit myself to stating the most important ones: the revolution of July 24, 1908, in which Enver Pasha played the role of the Turkish Robespierre, and the establishment of the Young Turk regime; the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the former Austro-Hungarian Empire (October 5, 1908); the proclamation of Bulgaria's independence, the replacement of Abdul Hamid with an sultan in figuration: Mehmet V (April 27, 1909), who was succeeded by Mehmet VI, the last of the sultans.

All these political events, with great resonance, accompanied and followed by deep and incessant internal struggles, to which the failures of some wars imposed by circumstances were added, had a doubtful and disastrous result: the weakness of governments, foreign interference in the internal affairs of the heterogeneous and disoriented state, and, finally, the reduction of the European territory of Turkey to Constantinople and the Straits (May 30, 1913).

The man, through whose magic the radical transformation of Turkey would later be operated, had only episodic roles during this period of time.

His hour had not yet called.

After the Armistice

In this situation, the European war of 1914 broke out. Turkey, under the impetus of Enver Pasha, sided with the central powers and the result is known: after Bulgaria laid down its arms on September 29, 1918, Turkey, in October of the same year, signed the armistice at Mudros, whose main stipulation was contained in art. 7, the allies reserved the right to occupy, as they chose, certain strategic points for their safety.

To the 100 plans for the division of Turkey, conceived throughout the ages, another, discrete and quite obvious, was about to be added. In this critical situation, the unionist leaders fled. General Liman von Sanders and the German officers withdrew.

For Mustafa Kemal Pasha, however, this painful occasion marks the first magnificent hour of his career, as Dr. Herriot observes.

I am quoting the text from his writing *Orient*:

"Mustafa Kemal, after securing the withdrawal to Aleppo, remained on the front the only morally intact leader, as a living symbol of this Turkey to which he devoted his entire existence.

At the head of Yldirm's army group, he was no longer a man but a flag.

A flag that did not bow before the liberals or the unionists, too politicians, nor before the hideous cowardice of the Sultan".

Meanwhile, the allies, citing the lack of diligence in the execution of the armistice clauses, on November 13, 1918, had sent their squadrons to the Bosphorus.

This event determines the formation of various associations for saving the Turkish homeland, in Constantinople, Erzerum, and Harput.

Internal political struggles intensified intrigues increased. Taking into account the troubled political atmosphere, Great Britain, which occupied Mosul since November 1918, settled in Cilicia and Urfa in January 1919.

The Kemal Pasha Front

In response, Mustafa Kemal organizes a resistance front in Adona and other national defense gangs, which he procures weapons for. However, by virtue of the same stipulation contained in art. 7 of the Armistice, Greece was authorized to occupy Smyrna (today Izmir). This invasion, which took place on May 15, 1919, causes Mustafa Kemal, the next day, to leave Constantinople and go to Samsun, a port on the Black Sea, to organize the national defense. Starting from this date, the personality of the man, meant to create the new Turkey, is designated. "Concentrating in himself, writes d. Herriot, all the resources of his patriotism and energy, the chief had suddenly understood that salvation could not be in Constantinople, the city mined by panic, shaken by fear, torn by intrigues. He realizes that escape can only come from the old ancestral land, from Anatolia".

Mustafa Kemal! He is the one who, as a child, under the simple name of Mustafa (humble from the name of the prophet with the meaning of "chosen"), while he was on a familiar farm near Thessaloniki, had the opportunity to fall in love with the land and the countryside and to conceive the idea of clearing the "stables of Augias" from his homeland in time. Mustafa, to whom, later, when he was doing his first military studies in Thessaloniki, his mathematics teacher, Captain Mustafa Efendi, to avoid any confusion, added the name Kemal (which in Arabic means "perfection").

The chosen and accomplished Mustafa Kemal, who after finishing the courses of the military preparatory school in Monastir, entered as a second lieutenant, at the age of 20, in the war school (Pancaldi/Istanbul), where once he completed his military studies, he would continue to work with the research of revolutionary themes.

Convict

Mustafa Kemal, who thanks to this activity, once he obtained the certificate of captain of the general staff (Dec. 29, 1904), was sentenced to prison, from which he was released after three months, to be exiled to Syria, under the pretext that his presence is necessary for the operations military operations taking place in that distant region.

Mustafa Kemal, who after taking part, in Syria, in the expeditions against the Druze, led a life full of tribulations, intertwined with brilliant military acts and revolutionary agitations, always having Enver Pasha as adversary on his way.

The same Mustafa-Kemal, who, during the World War, having only the rank of lieutenant-colonel, but commanding a division, brought back in the battles of the Gallipoli peninsula, the victories of Ari-Burnu and Anafearta, which made him considered the true savior of the Dardanelles.

And he is also the one who, after the re-embarkation of the allied troops, fought bravely on the Caucasian front, where he received the well-deserved rank of brigadier general, and then became, one by one, the commander of the 12th and the 7th lea army corps.

After the armistice, on the same day that the Greeks landed in Smyrna (Izmir), Mustafa Kemal was appointed inspector of the 30th army (Northern area) and governor general of the Eastern provinces.

On May 16, 1919, he left Istanbul.

On May 19, 1919, he landed in Samsun and from this day the Turkish national struggle began. The national hero was then 39 years old. When Mustafa Kemal landed in Samsun, Turkey only had about 50,000 men under arms, divided into three armies.

In order to escape the surveillance of the English troops, located in Samsun, he retreated to Amasya, where he conceived the plan to form a new state in Anatolia, and established contact, for this purpose, with the commanders of the other armies.

On June 18, 1919, he addressed a letter to the commander of the first army in Edirne in which he talked about a future congress in Sivas intended to ensure the union of the national movements in Thrace and Anatolia to proclaim loudly to the world the rights of the Turkish people.

The integrity of power threatened

Then, on June 22, 1919, he sent a confidential circular from Amasya signaling:

That the integrity of the homeland and national independence are in danger and that the nation has the duty to react. As a result, he requested that each vilayet secretly send three delegates to Siva, to meet in congress and announce that another congress of the Eastern vilayets would meet in Erzerum.

This summons obtained the support of the military leaders. Mustafa Kemal left Amasya on June 27, 1919, and went to Siva where he was given a warm welcome. However, as the news from Istanbul was not good, and he was informed of his dismissal from command, he immediately left for Erzerum (July 3, 1919) to prepare the new congress. On the night of July 8-9, 1919, he sent his resignation to the Sultan, not only from his position, but even from the army.

A little later, the Erzerum branch of the association for the defense of Eastern provincial rights named him chairman of its executive committee. (Continuation in calling from tomorrow) ([Perieţeanu], 1935: 4).

“New Turkey”

From the Regime of the Pashas to the Regime of Kemal Atatürk

The Struggle Led by a Man Endowed with Extraordinary Skills for the Realization of Today's Democratic and Civilized Republic

[*„Turcia nouă”. De la regimul paşalelor la regimul lui Kemal Atatürk.*

Lupta pe care a dus-o un om dotat cu însuşiri extraordinare pentru înfăptuirea democraticei şi civilizatei republici de azi]

We publish below the continuation of the conference of Mr. I.Gr. Perieţeanu about “New Turkey”:

The Erzerum Congress met on July 23, 1919, and lasted 14 days (until August 6). Mustafa Kemal was elected president of this congress and a regulation-programme, and a proclamation were drawn up under the inspiration of the following fundamental principles:

The homeland contained within the national borders is one and indivisible.

In case of weakness of the Ottoman government, the nation will defend itself against any foreign occupation or interference. The formation of a provisional government and the establishment, as quickly as possible, of a National Assembly are announced.

A second congress, held in Siva on September 2, 1919, adopted the Erzerum program with the specification that the voted clauses would apply throughout Turkey. It was fatal, however, that the nationalist movement in Anatolia would cause thunder and lightning in Constantinople, and, consequently, cause the government to retaliate, which manifested itself in diverted ways and in different forms.

A certain Ali Galip was commissioned to raise up the fanatical Kurds, against the congress at Siva; the priests were urged to incite the people, to reawaken loyalty to the Caliph and the throne, and thus the civil war was unleashed. A solemn decree removed Mustafa Kemal and his partisans from under the shield of the law, excommunicated them and sentenced them to death, as traitors.

Disturbing News

Captain Armstrong, the former English military attaché in Turkey, admirably describes the circumstances in which the tumultuous news was received, and the effect it produced:

“These news arrived in Angora, on a spring evening when the chills of winter were still floating. Mustafa Kemal sits in an armchair, in the hall of the agricultural school, a poor stone house, located on one of the hills that surround the city; beneath it were the ruins of a model farm, all dilapidated and empty for many years.

Next to him, sitting by the window, is the famous Turkish writer Halideh Edib, in whom he used to see a mascot, her husband Adnan and Ali Fuad. Ismet, leaning on the windowsill, looked out.

The sun had set, and the gray twilight was falling over the vast and empty plains of Anatolia.
In the hearth, there were a few sticks covered with ashes. No one thought to hang them. The corners of the hall were already dark.

They commented on the news, in whispers; everyone furtively turned his head to make sure that no agent of the Sultan or some fanatical priest had entered the halls ready to commit the sacred assassination. In every shadow they saw danger. They were heretofore outside the law, some condemned to death; their assassination would have been seen as a virtuous act; they felt the weight of condemnation weighing heavily on their shoulders.

The Civil War

All the news was bad. The Greeks advanced again towards Smyrna, massacring and burning everything in their path. The French had won several victories in the South. In the East, the Sultan's agents had rebelled against the Kurds. Civil war was raging everywhere.

A fire that had been smoldering and whose flames rose suddenly here and there. In Bolu, a new uprising had arisen; the rebels were a few leagues from Angora.

Several times the telegraph wires of the great headquarters had been cut. Two officers sent to appease the people had been stoned, imprisoned, then sent to Constantinople and hanged as traitors. A division which had attempted to quell the rebellion had been scattered; the 24th division, sent to Handelk, caught in an ambush, had been destroyed.

Everywhere the Caliph's army was victorious. He had occupied Ismid, captured Bigar and was in front of Brusa. Konia, Adabazar, a dozen other cities had declared for the Sultan.

The division had started even in the troops of the national party. The 15th division in Samsun had run away. General Kiazim Kara Bekir was displeased and the vilayets of the East threatened to engage in a separate action. In the mountains, in front of Smyrna, the irregular gangs, apart from parties, refused any discipline. Edhem the Circassian, one of their chiefs behaves as an independent sovereign. A wave of defeatism was rising. On that very day, a delegation of women from Angora came to the agricultural school to protest: "Our men were killed at the Dardanelles. Do you want us to be massacred in Angora under the pretext that the English are in Constantinople? Let Constantinople do as it will. The fight is impossible. We want peace!"

Sinking into his armchair, Mustafa Kemal remained silent, wrapped in his gray cloak, with a gray astrakhan fringe pulled up to his eyebrows, his head bowed, his gray furrowed face, he looked before him unwillingly. General without an army, head of a provisional government without power, without money, without administration, he evoked the beautiful plans he had dreamed up to enslave Turkey, to make it great and free. Now, Turkey was torn apart by civil war, in the clutches of foreigners. And he was an outcast, a harassed rebel, his head was at stake!

It was now night outside. Behind the curtain of acacias, in the cold sky, above the black shadow of the mountains, the silver sickle of the new moon was beginning to rise. In the farm, below, Karabaş, the wolf dog, barked at the moon. Mustafa Kemal stood up, stretched like a wild animal, and grunted, the howl of the gray Angora wolf...

shaking off his discouragement. He wants to fight. His energy fills the room and gives his companions new hope. You command light to be brought to dispel the shadows. He had sent for Arif, the general staff, someone to write down the orders and another to start the fire in the hearth.

He wants to fight. He wants to save Turkey and make it great and free".
He would not fear death. Trajan, when he was just a simple general, said to those who advised him to beware of the plots of his enemies:

No one killed his successor!

These heroic words, writes Maeterlinck, are uttered, deep down, by all those who, kings, chiefs or mere mortals, sacrifice their lives to do their duty. Gazi Mustafa Kemal probably uttered these heroic words in his heroic soul.

He knew, moreover, from past experience that a magical force enveloped his body with an invisible and impenetrable network, which protected him from the danger of enemy bullets and shell shrapnel.

Counteroffensive

From this moment, Mustafa Kemal, with all the illness that often tormented him, organizes the defense, which he transforms into a veritable counteroffensive, shows the people and the troops, through his orders and speeches, the confidence and energy, lost for a moment.

"A nation, he said, which is capable of any sacrifices for its life and independence, can never be defeated. If she were defeated, she would perish".

These words were the vibrant expression of that telluric force, about which Kaiserling speaks, bursting from the burning land of Anatolia and concentrated in the soul of the man whom providence had destined to carry out one of the most formidable political-social reforms.

The wave of defeatism gave way, as if by magic, to a strong unleashing of anger and patriotic enthusiasm. The Turks understood that escape could only come from them, through armed resistance. Men and women of all categories enlisted: peasants to carry supplies and weapons, bourgeois to care for the wounded and sew uniforms.

The bronze statues that adorn the pedestal of the equestrian monument, later erected in his honor, in Ankara, depict a woman bent under the burden of a shell. Impressive symbol of patriotism ignited by its magic.

All Turkey turned their eyes on him. However, if the danger caused by the internal fighting was removed for a moment, through his energy, a new wave of discouragement swept over the country, at the moment when the Greek troops resumed the offensive, on June 23, 1921, and advanced victoriously. This new and unfavorable situation would give him the opportunity to test his military genius once again and to create a solid pedestal for his future political activity.

A Serious Accident

He left Ankara, to immediately take the direction of military operations and prepare the line of defense at the Sakaria River. A fall from a horse broke three of his ribs; the kidney disease he was suffering from worsened.

However, this does not prevent him from manning his troops to carry out the defense works and to go to the front. He slept a little, without undressing, and ate at the horse's mouth. At night, by the light of an acetylene lamp, he recapitulated the situation, moved the small flags on the map, weighed all the possibilities, predicted the future cures and how to resist. The situation was critical. If he had been beaten at Sakaria, he would have had to retreat far to the mountains to the East, to abandon Ankara.

This would have meant the end of Turkey.

The Greeks had 88,000 rifles, 7,000 machine guns, 300 cannons, 1,300 swords and 15-20 planes. The Turks had 40,000 rifles, 700 machine guns (ten times less than the Greeks), 177 cannons, 2,715 swords and 2 planes. Except for the cavalry, the numerical inferiority of the Turkish forces was obvious.

In these conditions of inferiority, at the beginning of September 1921, after 14 days of continuous fighting, the situation was still undecided, but Mustafa Kemal realized that the decisive moment was approaching.

He tells the troops that he will take command of the last assault; ordered all the reserves to be thrown into battle in the North, and beyond that the enemy's line of retreat be threatened.

Descended on the front. According to his custom, as in the battles of Gallipoli, he mingled among the soldiers, living like him in the trenches, exposing himself to enemy fire, without taking any precautions.

As at Gallipoli, while soldiers fell around him, he remained untouched by bullets and shrapnel. On the twelfth day, the Greek army retreated, taking care to completely destroy and burn in its path and return to the positions occupied before.

Mustafa Kemal gave up the pursuit, the moment he realized that his troops were nothing more than a simulacrum of an army.

The prudence of a tried commander aware of his responsibilities.

Victorious

On September 19, 1921, the Great National Assembly in Ankara awarded the savior of Turkey the military title of marshal of the new Turkey and the honorary name of "Gazi", which means "victorious" in Muslim countries.

He had been the soul of the national resistance and the soul of the famous battle, considered as a Marne of the Turks. The people recognized him as their ruler. Congratulatory telegrams arrived from Russia and Afghanistan, from India and Italy.

After this victory, which without a doubt had not yet put an end to the war, there followed a mediation of the powers of understanding, which, however, remained without effect.

Mustafa Kemal made every effort to reorganize and strengthen the army. In 1922, the Greek army consisted of 130 thousand rifles, 8,060 machine guns, 348 cannons and 1,300 swords, and the Turkish army numbered 98,770 rifles, 1,864 machine guns, 232 cannons and 5,286 swords.

On August 22, Gazi secretly left Ankara by car, arrived at the Akchehir Headquarters and, after conferring with Izmet Pasha, arranged for the offensive to begin on the morning of August 26, with the following order of the day: "Soldiers, the objective yours is the Mediterranean. Before!" On September 9, the Turkish army triumphantly entered Smyrna (today Ismir), and at the end of this month, Western Anatolia was completely cleared of Greek troops.

The events that followed: the armistice of Mudania (October 11, 1922) and the Franco-Turkish agreement in Ankara (October 20, 1922), did nothing but facilitate the great political and social work, which Gazi Mustafa would carry out Kemal, under the auspices of his military glory.

Abolition of the Sultanate

from the National Assembly. The abolition of the Sultan [October 30, 1922], thus opening the door to future reforms, which would change the foundation of the structure of the Turkish state. In October 1923, after the evacuation of Constantinople (Istanbul) by the allies, the Great National Assembly voted a law by virtue of which Ankara became the capital of Turkey, proclaimed the republic and in March [1924] voted to abolish the Caliphate [the institution of the Caliphate dating from 1517] and at the same time to secularize education , the suppression of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Pious Foundations as well as the Ministry of the General Staff. The legal texts voted were short, but significant. They involved the suppression of the old legislations.

On November 1, 1922, it obtained schools of religious education and the distinction between the courts of human law and those of divine law. Caliph Abdul Mechid Efendi [Halife İkinci Abdülmecit Efendi] was expelled on March 4 [1924], that is, the very day after the law was voted, with all the members of his dynasty.

This is how the current political regime of the new Turkey was developed and strengthened. It remains now to briefly analyze its institutions and legislation, which defined the current regime ([Perieţeanu], 1935[1]).

„New Turkey"

The Radical Reform of Justice

Adoption of the Swiss Civil Code. One of the Most Remarkable Modernizations

[*Reforma radicală a Justiție. Adoptarea codului civil elvețian. Una din modernizările cele mai remarcabile*]

We publish below the continuation of Mr. I.Gr. Perieţeanu's conference on "New Turkey".

We will start with the new Turkish law and the organization of justice. The new Turkish legislation was taken entirely from Europe: The Criminal Code from France, the Code of Civil and Criminal Procedure from France, the Commercial Code from Germany. The Civil Code is that of the canton of Neufchâtel from 1925, i.e., the most modern in Switzerland.

In addition to this, the National Assembly adopted, since 1926, an interesting statute for the judiciary, by virtue of which magistrates, judges or members of the Public Prosecutor's Office are not appointed, but elected by an elective commission, which functions under the Ministry of Justice.

This commission is composed of 9 members, directors in ministries and advisers of the Court of Cassation, under the presidency of a vice-president of that Court, who replaces the Minister. The advancement of the magistrate also depends exclusively on this commission, whose decisions are automatically subject to the signature of the minister, then the president of the council and the president of the republic.

To reach the Court of Cassation, the magistrate must climb 6 hierarchical steps and in each of them he must work for 3 years, which represents 18 years of service. The Elective Commission may reduce by one year the duration of the internship in each grade, to reward exceptional service. She can, likewise, if she considers that a magistrate is insufficiently prepared, to keep him for 3 additional years in the same rank, but after 6 years, he must either be promoted to a higher rank or put on ex officio retirement. Any magistrate who, after 3 years of experience, to some degree, does not see himself listed in the promotion table, can appeal the commission's decision to the Court of Cassation. Candidates who have completed their studies at the law faculties of Istanbul, Paris, Friebourg, and Geneva can ask to be appointed right to the second degree. For appointments to the Court of Cassation, the Minister presents to it, when a list of candidates appears, of course of the 6th degree, from which its new member is chosen.

The Court of Cassation is composed of 8 sections, each with a vice president and 7 councilors. There is a section for heavy punishments, 3 criminal sections – the Turkish penal code does not recognize the distinction we make between misdemeanor and crime – 3 civil sections and a section for commercial reasons.

The Minister directly chooses the general prosecutor from among the members of the Court of Cassation and the first president from a list of 3 vice-presidents presented by the Court.

Jury Courts

Turkey today has 84 Jury Courts, of which 22 judge exclusively criminal cases and 62 judge at the same time criminal trials and competition trials of the courts of first instance.

There are 436 courts of first instance, of which 413 have a single judge. There are 141 justices of the peace and 16 special courts. According to the latest statistics, the number of civil and criminal cases tried by all these courts amounts to one million annually.

There are no Courts of Appeal. A case goes from the first instance directly to the Cassation. The courts are, in principle, composed of 3 members in the important centers, but in the localities where the trials are few, a single judge works.

In the penal principles, likely to attract heavy punishments, which in our country are the competence of the Jury Court, the tribunal is always composed of 5 members. The jury institution does not exist in Turkey.

Finally, there are commercial courts in important centers, especially in Istanbul and Izmir. In each Kaza, there is a prosecutor and in each vilayet a general prosecutor. The summons must be signed by the investigating judge, the prosecutor, and the president of the court. No suspect can be interrogated except in the presence of his lawyer outside unless he waives this right. The right of pardon belongs to the National Assembly. The president of the republic can only sign release decrees due to serious illness.

According to statistics, it is found that in the Muslim population the most frequent convictions are for beatings and injuries.

Convictions for theft are very rare and do not reach an important figure except in Istanbul, where they are applied, above all, to the non-Muslim element (Jews and Greeks). Among the Turkish population, very few convictions are pronounced against women; the proportion of the latter does not exceed half a percent of the number of detainees.

The Most Important Reform

The radical reform of the Turkish Justice and the adoption of the Swiss civil code, constitute one of the most remarkable modernizations of the new Turkey, it now offers the maximum guarantees that can be claimed by a state in today's international life. This was recognized by the decision of the Court of Justice in The Hague in the approach known as "Lotus". Otherwise, as noted by Baron Aloisi, former Italian ambassador, in the dictionary of the International Diplomatic Academy:

"Foreign legal advisers who worked in the Turkish Republic during the five-year period (imposed by the Treaty of Lausanne, as a guarantee of the legislative modernization on which the definitive abolition of the capitals had been conditioned) had a very easy task and, restricting themselves, was able to note and proclaim the rapid progress achieved by Turkish legislation".

From the point of view of the penitentiary regime, the reform was no less significant.

Among all the institutions of the old empire, the prisons were the ones that were distinguished above all by the total absence of any idea of progress, or rather of any humanitarian sense. Under the regime of the absolute monarchy, the dominant concept in this field was the essentially primitive one of punishment, the harsh application of the punishment law without any softening, by improving the prisoner's moral level.

In the cases of political crimes, especially, the director of the prison who hastened the end of the prisoners entrusted to his guard, was sure that by doing so he was faithfully interpreting the secrets of desire from Yildiz-Kiosc.

But even within the framework of common law crimes, the detainee ceased to be considered as a member of the social body.

Officials, of all ranks, sought to profit from the small funds intended to satisfy the most basic needs of the convicts, who were hounded by phthisis and all the consequences of continuous malnutrition. The abject contacts and the abuse of narcotics completed the work of destruction. After the constitution of 1908 and, especially, after the proclamation of the republic, numerous and generous efforts were made to remedy this harmful state of affairs. The guiding ideas of the penitentiary system were deeply revised; the legislator was convinced that what interests the collectivity, first of all is not the punishment, but the fine of the guilty, his moral recovery, intended to transform a dangerous criminal into a useful element of society. Consequently, modern prisons were built in the big cities, especially in Istanbul and Ankara. The Italian government was asked to communicate the regulations it applies in this field and information on the facilities in prisons and preventive institutes.

The current government is even thinking of dedicating the island of Emir-Ali İmralı in Marmara to common law prisoners, where they will be subject to a special regime, likely to allow gradual moral recovery and to awaken in them the desire for remunerative work.

In the Economic Realm

In the field of economic life, the republican regime favored an important development of industry, through a series of rational measures, thanks to the establishment of an industrial property section in the Ministry of National Economy, which, completely reorganized, is itself a creation of the republic.

The number of factories, mills and factories of all kinds has increased considerably.

Machine factories and agricultural implements were established.

Industrial enterprises in Turkey constitute four categories: state-owned, in participation with the state or subsidized, manipal, and mostly private.

The premiums are paid directly by the Bank of Mines and Industries, which has its own autonomous budget and whose capital is constituted by the respective enterprises.

In the enterprises of the second category, the Bank is represented in the board of directors according to the importance of its participation.

The government, which at the beginning granted the Bank a subsidy to encourage industry, ended up withdrawing all financial support to force it to work by its own means and thus cause an acceleration of the rate of development of the national capital. The number of joint-stock companies has also significantly increased, a tangible manifestation of the capital pooling process, which operates in the country where the economy and credit grow in parallel.

The new law on companies, which established the existence of limited liability companies, which did not exist before in Turkey, put them all, without exception, even cooperatives, under the control of the state, the establishment of any company requiring a prior authorization.

Situation motivated by the current economic conditions, which called for a systematic coordination of commercial and industrial activity (directed economy).

The peasant economy gained considerable momentum, thanks to the agricultural credit cooperatives and the aid granted to farmers by the Agricultural Bank, established specifically for this purpose.

State revenues were increased by establishing new monopolies.

A ministry of customs and monopolies was even created.

In order to balance the budget, in order to ensure the civil servants a sufficient remuneration, services were rationalized, and the number of staff was reduced.

The main items of the expenditure budget are those devoted to national defense (approximately 36% of the total), railways, the construction of which required a sustained effort of approximately twenty-five million Turkish lira per year, the development of ports, the establishment of the telegraph and telephone network.

The expenses required by public instruction were not neglected either.

The reorganization of finances was based on a radical overhaul of the tax systems.

The first concern was to improve the lot of the peasants, who today constitute the most solid support of the republic.

The old tax system had as its main basis the tithe; in other words, the peasantry worked for the city, which took over a privileged situation; the republic, on the contrary, considerably relieved the villages, burdening, instead, rather heavily, the cities, especially in the field of commercial benefits and that of real estate.

Later, in order to relieve urban activity to a certain extent, the turnover tax was replaced by a tax on the first buyer and the last seller, in other words on import and export, agricultural products being exempt from import tax, by virtue of the principle that what has not been transformed does not pay, and on the other hand all articles subject to a monopoly are entirely exempt both on import and export. (The following and the end of the conference in the Monday issue) ([Perieţeanu], 1935[2]: 4).

Social Reforms. Suppression of the Feregale, the Fez, the Modernization of the Port, the Introduction of the Latin Alphabet
[*Reformele sociale. Suprimarea feregelei, a fesului, modernizarea portului, introducerea alfabetului latin*]

We publish below the end of the documented conference of Mr. I.Gr. Perieţeanu.

The peasant is currently taxed first on the land (six thousandths of its value). The total product of this tax, which exceeds nine million lire, is divided into eight, three-eighths go to the Agricultural Bank, whose capital is thus constituted for the entire rural population, then to the primary instruction.

Then comes the cattle tax (28 piasters per sheep, half a pound per cow and one pound per horse). This tax amounts to a total of thirteen million pounds per year.

Finally, the peasant is also subject to a road tax.

As for agricultural exploitation, it is hit only for export, in the proportion of about 21/2 percent. If there is a nickname, which the republican government has well deserved, it is that of the "railway" government, which is usually given to it by the Turkish people. In truth, his first concern was to Europeanize Anatolia under this ratio and thus allow the valorization of its riches, as well as its rapid economic development.

After the complete restoration of the Istanbul-Ankara line (580 km), completely destroyed by the Greeks during the war of independence, new railway networks were built, a construction that required important works, the establishment of a large metal bridge over the Kizil-Irmak River, and he was digging numerous tunnels. Parallel to the vast network of railways, which completely changed the previous appearance of Anatolia, to the extent that it turned it into a world communication center, another line of 400 km was created to connect Ankara directly to the Black Sea, allowing the immediate intensification of the exploitation of the rich coal basin. In the same vein of railway policy, the government pursued and is pursuing the redemption of the concessioned railways.

The development of maritime trade took remarkable proportions.

The number of parcel boats is constantly increasing. A shipbuilding company has established a special ship repair yard in Istanbul, where a thousand workers work.

There, the republic modernized its best cruise ships, equipped today with luxury cabins, winter gardens and covered terraces.

The Turkish Republic did not want to be left behind even in the aviation report. Several important centers are today connected by several regular air services, when a few years ago there was only "Didna" as a regular line, which connected Istanbul with the Balkans and with central Europe and the interior thanks to the Istanbul-Ankara line.

Tourism was not neglected either. The various existing tourist organizations, which make up a national group, bring their valuable collaboration to the Ministry of Public Works for the development of the road network and contribute, in close contact with this ministry, to the establishment of a network of roadways, which will connect the main cities.

Certain new roads have been built according to all modern requirements.

There are more than 30,000 km in Turkey today of the roads, suitable for the circulation of all vehicles and even for automobile traffic.

Finally, modern comforts for tourists were created at various points and the thermal resort of Yalova was highlighted, whose waters were known since the time of the Romans, for their therapeutic properties, especially for the treatment of rheumatism.

The Abolition of the Feregale

In the social field, Gazi Mustafa Kemal managed to achieve an important reform, without having to resort to reprisals, proclaiming the abolition of the veil, under which the woman's face was hidden from view. In one of those popular interpellations, through which he used to prepare the public opinion with the great reforms, which he wanted to make understood and accepted by the people before carrying them out, the Gazi one day asked the following question, categorical and explicit: "An honest person has nothing to hide. Doesn't the Turkish woman have the right to wear her forehead uncovered?"

The women answered in unison: yes.

In the conversation that Gazi had with Mr. Herriot, on the occasion of his visit to Ankara, he told the former French prime minister the following: "in terms of women's veils, I relied on coquetry; I let it fall without forcing its suppression".

It was not the same with the suppression of the fez and with the modernization of the port. The historic phrase he uttered in the National Assembly on this occasion is memorable: "Ladies and gentlemen, the international attitude of civilized peoples suits our nation perfectly.

We will put on shoes and boots, we will wear trousers, vest, hard collar, tie, and coat, we will put on a hat!

We will wear a jacket, a frock coat, a tuxedo, a tailcoat and – be careful! – if some will remain undecided, I will tell them that they are ignorant, with a dark mind".

The assistance froze, but the proposal was unanimously approved.

As a result, the Italian factory Borsalino had a shipload of bowler hats, top hats and soft hats of all colors set off from Geneva.

The Koran fanatics locked themselves in the house, raising imprecations; many had committed suicide in order not to take off their hair.

The recalcitrant and obstinate preferred to be pursued to the mosque and thrown into prison; the fezs shops were guarded by the Kemalist volunteer militiamen; the fezs disappear from circulation in the blink of an eye.

And thus, after he had his martyrs, he gave way to hats.

The benefits of the Turkish republican program also extended in other directions, organizing institutions for the protection of maternity, children, the elderly and the infirm.

Schools were created for professional education, preventive schools.

Modernization of Education

University education was expanded and modernized; the chairs were entrusted to numerous foreign professors.

The University of Istanbul has a faculty of letters, a faculty of law, a faculty of science, another faculty of medicine with an advanced dental school and an advanced pharmacy school, as well as advanced courses for midwives; finally, a faculty of theology.

There are 300 professors at this University and over 3,000 students. The Faculty of Law in Ankara has more than 600 students, since 1926, of which about 100 receive housing and food, with the obligation to do a 5-year internship at the Ministry of Justice, after finishing their university studies.

There is also a higher normal school at Koniah and Istanbul, a school of political science (three years of courses and free boarding), a school of fine arts, institutes of history, geography, anthropology, physics, and chemistry and turkology.

One of the most daring and profound reforms of the republic was the adoption of the Latin alphabet and the reformation of the Turkish language, undertaken in parallel. It brought with it a disturbance which a less energetic will might have met, for it necessitated the reprinting and revision of all books, schoolbooks, dictionaries, and of course caused a momentary disturbance in popular education.

All these shortcomings had to be defeated, because the European characters, making it easier for the masses to read and write, would determine the progressive disappearance of illiteracy, and break down the wall that the Arabic alphabet had erected between the Turks and the other civilized peoples.

Finally, the Turkish army, regularly trained by severe maneuvers and long prepared by the general staff, is especially equipped with heavy cavalry, which is in reality mounted infantry, the idea of Mustafa Kemal!

At the first call, it can put on a war footing a minimum of 600,000 men, who, commanded, trained, and equipped as they are today, represent a serious force, sufficient in any case to repel any foreign attack.

I stop here. The new Turkey is a complex of huge achievements, the complete examination of which exceeds the framework of a conference.

An unprecedented work, as Mr. Herriot very well expresses it, carried out by the will of a single man, whose name, accompanied by the nickname of "Atatürk" (Father of the Turks) recently conferred by the National Assembly, history will inscribe him among those of the great founders.

A great lesson can be learned from this brief sketch of the new Turkey, which is confused with the biography of Gazi Mustafa Kemal.

The most tragic events, befalling a nation, can become for it a source of prosperity, if luck detaches from its bosom in time the thoughtful statesman, who knows how to light his illuminating torch at the sacred fire of pure and self-sacrificing patriotism and, if above all, he is guided by faith ([Perieţeanu], 1935[3]: 4).

The Political and Social Reforms in Kemalist Turkey.
Mr. H. Hartmann's Lecture at the European Southeast Institute

[*Reformele politice și sociale din Turcia Kemalistă. Conferința d-lui H. Hartmann la Institutul Sud-Est european*]

Under the auspices of the South-Eastern European Institute under the direction of Prof. N. Iorga, Mr. H. Hartmann, a Swiss journalist (at the Neuenfürischer Zeitung) and a zealous researcher of current Turkish relations, on which he published (*Die neue Türkei*, 1933) and announces some studies for the future. The lecture begins with the exposition of the events that Kemal Pasha took advantage of to organize the new Turkey at the same time as the victories that strengthened his political authority from a military point of view. The Treaty of Lausanne consecrating his revolutionary work makes him master of Turkey freed from the tyranny of the Ottoman dynasty. A whole work remained to be done: the Europeanization of Turkey, which Gazi carried out with a lot of energy but also with a tact that would ensure an even more brilliant victory in his difficult undertaking. The executive body of his will was the republican party of the people, organized in a dictatorial manner, as a single, exclusive organization of citizens capable of political activity.

The lecturer analyzes the organization of this strange unique party, which emerged from a patriotic association founded by Kemal in 1919; his activity is strictly regulated and the deputies, who are his emanation, obey the authority of the supreme council of this party. But in the hands of the dictator is the party, and the political life of the country is summed up in this party – any opposition being suppressed.

With the help of this statist party, obedient to the creator of modernized Turkey, Kemal Gazi carried out all his reforms. He proceeded very tactfully in this work, without sudden things. The lecturer then explains some of the essential reforms that transformed the political and social order in Turkey: the abolition of titles and the introduction of the new onomastic regime, required by the relinquishment of titles and the needs of the recently introduced Civil Code. When, for example, Kemal Pasha, will be called Kemal Atatürk, the national problem was solved either by the excesses committed on the allogenes (Armenians) or by the exchange of populations with Greece, except for the Greeks of Thrace and Constantinople. Closely related to the national question was the religious one, which was resolved by the abolition of the Caliphate and the purification of religion from traditional formalism – the separation between the "church" and the State – eliminated any ambiguity in public life. In connection with this, the caliphate, monasteries, religious orders, tribunals, and religious schools – even the ecclesiastical costume – regardless of denomination were abolished. In this way, the republic was completely secularized, and the medieval theocratic state was definitively abolished. The introduction of codes from Western countries completed the transformation of Arab-Mohammedan life into a national one. The consequences are very important especially for the civilian regime (the abolition of harems and the emancipation of the Turkish woman – who proved her social qualities during the revenge war).

The abolition of spiritual tribunals and religious schools, as a result of the introduction of these codes, raised the issue of the organization of justice and education. Illiteracy of 85 and 95% is being fought seriously – and successfully especially since the introduction of the Latin alphabet. Mr. H. Hartmann concludes his interesting analysis by posing the question of whether this political and social resolution will be only external or will penetrate deep into psychological and intellectual life. Indications can give us the current development of literature and arts that have not yet found a decided character and remain only in simple speculations. However, the new generation that is rising will be able to break the chains of a medieval heritage under a leadership; her role is to be the mediator between the East and the West – she will also be the harbinger of the new Turkish culture ([Hartmann], 1935: 1).

Reform Trends in the New Turkey

[*Tendințele de reformă în noua Turcie*]

Mr.dr. Neumark, professor at the University of Istanbul, gave an interesting conference yesterday evening, in the Hall of the Academy of Higher Commercial Studies and Industries in Bucharest, in front of a select audience, on: „Tendencies of Reform in the New Turkey".

Dr. Neumark was introduced to the audience by Professor I. Răducanu, who expressed his full gratitude to the lecturer. She emphasized the qualities of Prof. Neumark, showing his scientific activity both in the field of public finance and in that of economic theory, an activity appreciated by our circles of specialists.

The lecturer began by outlining the reform trends in the new Turkey in the political, cultural, and economic realm. Although the geographical and demographic center of Turkey today is in Asia, the lecturer emphasizes in the introduction, in its current form, Turkey aims to become and will become the bridge between Eastern and Western culture. Regarding the political character of Turkey today, it tends to become a democratic republic.

Atatürk himself recently refused to introduce dictatorship in Turkey. But he is the one who, thanks to his prestige and energy, as the president of the Turkish Republic and the only existing political party (the People's Party), can decide the political fate of this country. The democratic character of the constitution does not allow any kind of privilege. The Turkish constitution recognizes only Turkish citizens, regardless of religion or race. Here the secularist principle is highlighted once again, that along with democracy, republicanism, statism, nationalism, and revolutionaryism constitute the pillars on which the State and political parties rest.

The lecturer shows that with all the nationalism that the leaders of Turkey are inspired by today, they reject any absolutist tendencies. The pacifist sentiments they are animated by are reflected in the foreign policy of recent years, which led to the conclusion of the Balkan Pact, thus strengthening friendly relations with all neighboring States.

The trends of cultural reform can be seen especially in the fact of removing the dominant position of Islam and replacing it with the new principle of secularism (separation between the State and the Church). Of particular importance is the emancipation of women who were recently granted the right to vote.

The lecturer then deals with the reform trends in the legal and educational fields. He mentions the interesting reforms regarding the language, the innovations regarding the introduction of the family name, the reform trends in the field of music and others.

The new economic policy of Turkey is compared by the lecturer to European mercantilism. Its goal is an industrialization strongly encouraged by the state and with pronounced autarky tendencies. However, Turkey will remain for a long time an agricultural country par excellence.

After a detailed description of the current situation of agriculture and its importance for export, the lecturer insists on the achievements as well as the future plans of the industrialization policy. In the end, the trend of nationalization in the field of transport is highlighted and the situation of the commercial, financial, and monetary policy is outlined ([Neumark], 1936: 3).

Academic Extension Conferences

Through Atatürk's Turkey

[*Conferințele Extensiunii Academice. Prin Turcia lui Atatürk*]

The "Academic Extension" of the teachers from the Academy of Advanced Commercial and Industrial Studies "King Carol II" Cluj, inaugurated its activity for the academic year 1937-38, through the conference of Mr. Prof. Sabin Opreanu, who treated with great skill about "Ataturk's Turkey". The conference was all the more interesting as it was with projections, through which the audience made a clear image of what the Turkish renaissance really means in Kemalist Turkey.

The lecturer started by showing the geographical and climatic situation, then the economic situation conditioned by the mentioned elements. After reviewing the situation of the Ottoman Empire, the "sick man of Europe", which collapsed under familiar circumstances, he shows us how, under the energetic and wise leadership of Atatürk, Turkey was reborn from its own ashes.

It is enough to recall that old Turkey imported grain, a trade balance that was always passive, with approximately 3,000 km of railway, all foreign. Today, Turkey has enough grain, its trade balance is active, it has about 7,000 km of its own railway. After the expulsion of the Greeks (1923) in the cities of the Aegean coast, work began for the realization of the Turkish state. So, in Smyrna, which is the main export port, Atatürk began a policy of urban renewal. He moved the capital to Ankara from which he made a real modern capital, isolating the state services from the ideas of the influences from the cosmopolitan Constantinpol.

Through the projections he shows us, he walks us through the most characteristic and picturesque corners of Turkey.

The lecturer was loudly applauded at the end when he showed the figure of Kemal Atatürk, highlighting that everything new and good in Turkey is achieved by this energetic man, good leader, the true father of the Turks ([Opreanu], 1937: 3).

New Turkey

Mr. Nicolae Batzaria's Conference

[*Turcia Nouă. Conferința d-lui Nicolae Batzaria*]

Mr. Nicolae Batzaria, lectured this year [in Vălenii de Munte] on "New Turkey". The lecturer presented a history of everything that could mean the Turkey of yesterday, i.e., the absolutist Turkey, and what the New Turkey means, i.e., those of our times, amazing by the progress made under the leadership of the admirable man, Kemal Atatürk. The lecturer divides the history of the Turks into two periods: a) In which they fought to conquer and b) In which they fought to lose those they had conquered.

The causes of the decline and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire:

I. The Sultan's wrong conception of the state, considering himself the owner of the land he ruled. The Ottoman Empire was not a collectivity of aspirations. There was a state, a people, a capital, and a language without a name.

II. The Turks did not have a middle class, merchants and industrialists were the foreigners. A country without a middle class is subject to destruction, and when we want to have a national middle class, we are not anti-Semitic but pro-Romanian. The government of ancient Turkey had a devouring basis, the Koran being the very foundation.

Here, however, is what Kemal Atatürk achieved:

He abolished religious education and the position of head of Islam;

He created a nation, because the Turks did not have a national consciousness;

He abolished fez considered as a cradle of prejudices;

He abolished polygamy;

He replaced the Arabic alphabet with the Latin one and introduced the Swiss civil code.

These great reforms brought about a great and powerful New Turkey ([Batzaria], 1938: 2).

The Life of Kemal Atatürk
Monday Morning's Tribute Session in the Dalles Hall

[*Viața lui Kemal Atatürk. Ședința omagială de Luni dimineață din sala Dalles*]

On the occasion of the funeral of the great president Atatürk, in the framework of the friends of Turkey preceded by a lively introduction of Mr. Nicolae Batzaria, former minister in Turkey before the World War, Mr. Emil Riegler Dinu spoke on Monday morning about the personality and work of the creator of modern Turkey.

The legend, as the lecturer said, tends to simplify the figure of Atatürk into that of Gazi, conqueror of the Greeks. It would be false to stop at this characterization. Atatürk was a complex personality. From the conqueror of the Greeks, he became their friend and that of all his neighbors, signing alliance treaties one by one, the Balkan Pact and then the Asian. From a general he became a politician. He knew how to dominate the war, using the prestige he had acquired. Through his policy, breaking away from the government in Istanbul and convening a national assembly in Ankara, he removed the other enemy from within, the sultan and the caliph. He proclaimed the republic, secularized the wealth, schools, hospitals and monastic libraries, and hand in hand with the success of the Lausanne peace, through which, thanks to the diplomacy of Prime Minister Ismet Inönü, he regained the lost Turkish provinces, he proceeded to the radical reforms that would change the face of Turkey.

The great president visited villages and towns, urging the people to adapt to the benefits of Western culture. He suppressed the veil for women and the fez for men, he suppressed the harem, enthroning monogamous marriage together with the new code copied from the Swiss one. He raised the state of agriculture and industry by building new roads and communication routes, built a new capital, rationalized taxes, and brought prosperity. Later he introduced the Latin alphabet, purifying the Turkish language from Persian and Arabic neologisms. The national assembly, grateful for these reforms that suddenly brought western culture to Turkey, which was illiterate until then, proclaimed him the first teacher of the republic.

The lecturer read some of Atatürk's proclamations and then the characterizations of the writer Ahmet Hasim and those of the current president, His Excellency Ismet Inönü, which shed light from different sides on the indomitable energy and ever-renewed work power of the great reformer Under the impulse of Kemal Atatürk a major state of historians, ethnologists and archaeologists, convened in the conference under the presidency of the Gazi, established the noble origin of the Turks, not from the Mongolian race, but from the white Hittites from Asia Minor, in whose old settlements works of art dating back to 1200 years before Christ.

He never stopped leading the destinies of his homeland, cultivating the closest relations with his neighbors. Romania's friendship was recently proven by the surprisingly long and cordial meeting that took place last year on board the presidential yacht in the Bosphorus, between Atatürk and M.s. King Carol II. A man of delightful simplicity, authoritative, but also friendly among the people he liked to mingle with, an example of selflessness, hard work, and generosity. Atatürk, like many other great people, lived as a widower, without a family. His works are also his true children. They remain a beautiful legacy, a considerable legacy left to the younger generations who will have to learn from his life the task incumbent upon them to preserve and increase the patrimony of the imperishable Republic of Turkey ([Riegler-Dinu], 1938: 3).

Mr. Petre Ghiață's First Conference About Atatürk

[*Prima conferință a d-lui Petre Ghiață despre Atatürk*]

Mr. Petre Ghiață started at "The Dalles" the series of conferences aimed at presenting the life and work of President Atatürk, who died last November at Dolma Batche, in the white palace on the shores of the Bosphorus.

Little is known about Atatürk, and vaguely. Not so much about his youth.

The son of Ali-Riza and Zubeida, Mustafa Kemal, the creator of modern Turkey, had a sad childhood. He kept only one memory, later, from the fog of these years: his mother's tender love. Against her will – she wanted to make him mufti – he enrolled at the Cadet School in Thessaloniki.

Even then, young Kemal harbored ambitions far too exaggerated for his age and modest origin. At the military school in Monastir, where he entered without difficulty and even among the first, he is appreciated for his exceptional skills. From the comrades he knew, a shy admiration, but that's all. He was not loved. He was capricious and solitary, proud, but also aloof, devoted to his studies and self-confident. He is discovered active in a revolutionary movement, the famous "Vatan" organization, which had established a nucleus right in the officers' school.

Until the world war, when his military skills are confirmed in the battle of Gallipoli, the officer Mustafa Kemal goes through a series of unbelievable adventures, arrested countless times, two steps away from being shot.

Dr. Petre Ghiață still said many more, from the vicious youth of the great reformer, events that merge into legend, the preludes of a festive life, which is more like a story that you can't believe, which nevertheless it happened, under our eyes without us knowing it.

The second conference of Prof. Petre Ghiață: "Hero, from Gallipoli", the second stage in Kemal Atatürk's life of great reforms, will take place on Sunday 26 crt. ([Ghiață], 1939: 11).

Mr. N. Iorga's Conference at the "Cultural League"

[*Conferința d-lui N. Iorga la „Liga Culturală"*]

The attitude of the West towards Turkey and what Turkey represents at the beginning of the great war formed the subject of last night's conference, what is remarkable is the total ignorance of the Western diplomats towards the new Turkey, which diplomats did not in the least realize that the problem can be solved from there. So little was it known to the diplomacy of the past – a diplomacy that never traveled – that a hundred plans had been made for the division of the Ottoman empire, the "sick man" who was to die, the inheritance of Constantinople to fall to Russia. Of course, if Russia had come to Constantinople, the English and French fleets would also have come before this port. It was also known at that time - very vaguely – that German instructors had come to Turkey, one von Sanders and others. As for information, we have very little: the works of the Swiss officer Egli, the memoirs of the American ambassador in Constantinople, [Henry] Morgenthau, would be almost the only sources.

Another proof of the insufficient knowledge of Turkey by the Westerners was the defeat at the Dardanelles. The Allies imagined that they would be able to open the straits very easily.

The revolution of the "Young Turks" was more Masonic in character: a military movement with some local connections, not a national movement. The Westerners, who knew how to deal with the old Turkey where everyone had his fare and even Abdul-Hamid – with all his cunning, with all his intelligence – often fell into their nets, the Westerners did not understand how to behave with the "Young Turks", especially since these "Young Turks" were not old enemies of Abdul-Hamid.

Osman's dynasty in its last years had nothing of its former appearance: there were sultans a few incompetent men, an Abdul-Aziz, a Mahmud-Resid – or other perfectly Western-bred princes. On the contrary, Enver Bey had nothing to do with the West, but neither with the Turkish people. He did not come from Asiatic Turkey – the real cradle of the Ottoman Empire, but from Macedonia, and as a political tendency he was an international liberal. In the name of the Masonic idea of brotherhood between peoples, friendships were won for the ideal of the "Young Turks", first for the constitutionalizing, then for the expulsion of Abdul-Hamid. At first, the movement was uncertain: Macedonian soldiers were poorly trained, something was expected from the population, not much. But what sustained the "Young Turks" was the ideal of reconstituting the old Ottoman, "Anatolian" empire in place of Suleiman the Magnificent's empire of international essence. This belief, extraordinarily strong, reminds of those, so fanatical, of the people of '89, the people of the French Revolution. These people, so little informed, lived in the most tempting illusions, which illusions led them to a catastrophic result.

At one point, the Turks wanted to win over us, hoping to draw Romania into a war alongside Germany, with which the "Young Turks" had more or less sincere ties; a new proof of the naivety of the "Young Turks". It was also hoped that, as soon as the Ottoman empire regained its power, the Christian peoples would consent to be the auxiliaries of the regenerated Turkish race. And the "Young Turks" – people from the upper class, who had so little pure Turkish blood – left Bucharest convinced that Romania was won. The people of the West were before a superficial form over a living people; they have dealt very much with the superficial form – there are whole reports of the English and French diplomats at Constantinople on the organization of the Turkish banks, as are the very detailed reports of someone very clever, the French ambassador Constance – but the living people have not seen it.

And here, the prophecy of Professor Iorga, from the end of volume V of the *History of the Ottoman Empire*: "Turkey, in order to renew itself, will have to return to its Asian national base, relying on its admirable peasantry". *Rodica Ciocan* ([Iorga], 1940: 1).

From the Popular University "N. Iorga" in Vălenii de Munte /Dr. Nicolae J. Sarru's Conference/

[*De la Universitatea populară „N. Iorga" din Vălenii de Munte. /Conferința Dr. Nicolae J. Sarru/*]

During the courses and conferences of the above institution, Dr. Nic.J. Sarru, the director of the general secretariat and of the staff of the Council of Patronage of Social Works, held, on July 18, a conference about the national and social positions of the Council of Patronage", showing what the activity of this Council consists of, under the active presidency of Mrs. Maria Marshal Antonescu.

On July 20, she held the second conference, speaking about "Atatürk's Turkey". The lecturer, a Romanian-Macedonian who knew the Turkey of the Sultans and Kemalist Turkey, showed the causes of the decadence of the Turkey of the Sultans and what is the immortal work of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the first President of the Turkish Republic ([Sarru], 1942).

Conclusions

As could be seen from the summary of the conferences, the Romanian public was presented with the essential coordinates of the development of interwar Turkey - republican and secular regime founded by Kemal Mustafa Atatürk. It is an invigorating image of the Republic of Turkey, in a continuous process of modernization, of increasing its role in international life and in the context of good relations between it and the Kingdom of Romania:

"The new Turkey must be understood as a modern national state. Mustafa Kemal Pasha is the national hero who saved the Turkish state and who was given, as a reward, the leadership of the republican state. The monarchical regime was abolished, and the republican personal regime was introduced. As the basis of all the reforms made by him resides the desire and the will of the man of action to bring the Turkish state closer to the European states of democratic-constitutional form"; "The Turks, although they ruled the whole of Eastern Europe, did not denationalize anyone respecting the faith subjects, against what the interested historians asserted. The policy of the great Gazi is the policy of the modern world of progress and civilization and that the Romanian-Turkish friendship, recently sealed by the friendship pact in Istanbul, confirms the peaceful feelings of the people of the crescent"; "The New Turkey means, i.e., those of our times, amazing by the progress made under the leadership of the admirable man, Kemal Atatürk" (*N. Batzaria*: 1930, 1933, 1938).

"Mr. Dragu showed that Turkey is moving more and more towards a democracy with normal functioning, that the Gazi is only thinking about consolidating the homeland, he who, as a leader elected by the people, is the servant of this people, that the work done so far, in a few years alone, it proves what a creative force resides in the collective will to work and progress under the command of a superior discipline" (Ion Dragu: *1933*).

"It is a duty for Romanian culture to have thorough knowledge of Turkish history, language, and literature. That is why the Romanian Academy took the happy initiative, establishing a scholarship for their study. It is also necessary, concludes the lecturer, to establish a department of Oriental studies at one of our universities" (*Constantin C. Giur*escu: 193*3*).

"Mustafa Kemal's situation is unique and unlike that of other dictators. If Mussolini, Stalin or Hitler each found in their country an organized nation, with recognized borders, army, budget, etc. the master of Turkey had to make his own country and people, and which is profoundly different from the people of the past. So, Mustafa Kemal can be considered less of a dictator, but undoubtedly a great creator" (*Eugen Cialîc*: 1934).

"But the new Turkey can still be an example for other countries. When fatal restorations are being attempted in Central Europe, when the resurgence of the oppressive dualisms of the vanished monarchies is increasingly being heard, when the national states, committed to the will of the peoples and treaties, see the old tyrannies rising, the determination of the Turkish nation constitutes a great lesson" (*Gheorghe I. Brătianu*: 1934).

"Then, there are achievements, so impressive, by the force and rapidity of their development, that the facts they contain speak for themselves, and make appreciation or interpretation unnecessary. In this category is placed the formidable work of destruction and political-social reconstruction, from which the new Turkey emerged, a successor state that exists and evolves in a completely different framework than that of the former Ottoman Empire"; The radical reform of the Turkish Justice and the adoption of the Swiss civil code, constitute one of the most remarkable modernizations of the new Turkey, it now offers the maximum guarantees that can be claimed by a state in today's international life"; "In the field of economic life, the republican regime favored an important development of industry, through a series of rational measures, thanks to the establishment of an industrial property section in the Ministry of National Economy, which, completely reorganized, is itself a creation of the republic. The number of factories, mills and factories of all kinds has increased considerably. Machine factories and agricultural implements were established"; "In the social field, Gazi Mustafa Kemal managed to achieve an important reform, without having to resort to reprisals, proclaiming the abolition of the veil, under which the woman's face was hidden from view" (*I.Gr. Perieţeanu*: 1934).

"With the help of this statist party, obedient to the creator of modernized Turkey, Kemal Gazi carried out all his reforms. He proceeded very tactfully in this work, without sudden things. The lecturer then explains some of the essential reforms that transformed the political and social order in Turkey: the abolition of titles and the introduction of the new onomastic regime, required by the relinquishment of titles and the needs of the recently introduced Civil Code"; "The new generation that is rising up will be able to break the chains of a medieval heritage under a leadership; her role is to be the mediator between the East and the West – she will also be the harbinger of the new Turkish culture" (*H. Hartmann*: 1935).

"Although the geographical and demographic center of Turkey today is in Asia, in its current form, Turkey aims to become and will become the bridge between Eastern and Western culture. Regarding the political character of Turkey today, it tends to become a democratic republic. Atatürk himself recently refused to introduce dictatorship in Turkey. But he is the one who, thanks to his prestige and energy, as the president of the Turkish Republic and the only existing political party (the People's Party), can decide the political fate of this country. The democratic character of the constitution does not allow any kind of privilege" (*Fritz Neumark*: 1936).

"Today, Turkey has enough grain, its trade balance is active, it has about 7,000 km of its own railway. After the expulsion of the Greeks (1923) in the cities of the Aegean coast, work began for the realization of the Turkish state. So, in Smyrna, which is the main export port, Atatürk began a policy of urban renewal. He moved the capital to Ankara from which he made a real modern capital, isolating the state services from the ideas of the influences from the cosmopolitan Constantinople" (*Sabin Opreanu*: 1937).

"The great president visited villages and towns, urging the people to adapt to the benefits of Western culture. He suppressed the veil for women and the fez for men, he suppressed the harem, enthroning monogamous marriage together with the new code copied from the Swiss one. He raised the state of agriculture and industry by building new roads and communication routes, built a new capital, rationalized taxes, and brought prosperity. Later he introduced the Latin alphabet, purifying the Turkish language from Persian and Arabic neologisms. The national assembly, grateful for these reforms that suddenly brought western culture to Turkey, which was illiterate until then, proclaimed him the first teacher of the republic" (*Emil Riegler-Dinu*: 1938).

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VIZITA LA CRAIOVA A REGELUI CAROL AL II-LEA ȘI A PRINCIPELUI NICOLAE CU OCAZIA UNOR EVENIMENTE LOCALE SOLEMNE (26 OCTOMBRIE 1933)*
THE VISIT TO CRAIOVA OF KING CAROL II AND PRINCE NICOLAE ON THE OCCASION OF SOME FESTIVE LOCAL EVENTS (OCTOBER 26, 1933)

*Alexandru Cernat***
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Abstract
The autumn of 1933 marked a festive moment for the city of Craiova, a royal visit made by King Carol II and Prince Nicolae with the aim of celebrating a series of local events such as: the consecration of St. Dumitru's Church, the inauguration of the „Carol al II-lea" Stadium as well as the celebration of 100 years of existence of the „Carol I" High School. The local authorities treated the event carefully, the preparation for October 26, 1933 involved a great effort. The day turned out to be a real success. Although a short visit of only one day, it was full of solemn events. The moment of October 26, 1933 remained recorded as an important day for the history of Craiova.

Key words: *Carol II, Craiova, royal visit, St. Dumitru church, Carol I high school.*

Toamna anului 1933 a adus Craiovei un moment cu totul special, o vizită regală în vederea organizării căreia autoritățile locale au desfășurat un efort susținut, importanța momentului fiind dată de marcarea a trei evenimente solemne desfășurate la nivel local: serbarea centenarului Liceului „Carol I", sfințirea Bisericii „Sf. Dumitru", cât și inugurarea stadionului „Carol al II-lea". Documentele păstrate în număr generos stau mărturie efortului organizatoric. Deși se poate indica principalul moment al vizitei ca fiind legat de sfințirea Bisericii Sf. Dumitru, vizita propriu-zisă a cuprins și evenimentele mai sus amintite ce vor fi detaliate în cele ce urmează.

Pentru liceul „Carol I", ziua de 26 octombrie 1933, ziua vizitei Regelui Carol al II-lea la Craiova, a reprezentat găsirea momentului potrivit în vederea serbării centenarului liceului, cu o notabilă întârziere de 7 ani. În documentele epocii pot fi regăsite și o serie de motive ce au stat la baza respectivei amânări: „*Liceul Carol I, împlinind în 1926, 100 de ani de existență, trebuia să-și sărbătorească centenarul în acel an. Deoarece prin dărâmarea amfiteatrului, școala nu avea sală unde să organizeze festivitatea centenarului, s-a amânat această sărbătorire până când anul acesta Comitetul Școlar a luat inițiativa terminării sălii de spectacole, construite în locul amfiteatrului. Ea va fi gata pentru ziua de 26 octombrie, când s-a hotărât sărbătorirea centenarului, odată cu târnosirea Bisericii Sf. Dumitru din oraș* (…)" în continuarea adresei trimisă ministrului Instrucțiunii, Cultelor și Artelor, se contura rugămintea

* Material ce a stat la baza unui subcapitol al tezei de doctorat: *Vizitele Familiei Domnitoare/Regale a României la Craiova 1866-1947*

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participării acestuia la eveniment, dar și invitarea Regelui Carol al II-lea la momentul festiv (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 17, 21). Documentele stau mărturie efortului prelungit pe mai mulți ani în vederea găsirii unui context favorabil marcării centenarului liceului, înainte ca acesta să se stabilească definitiv pentru ziua de 26 octombrie 1933. Astfel, încă din toamna anul 1930, în cadrul unei conferințe plenare organizată de profesorii liceului, s-a luat hotărârea serbării centenarului pentru primăvara anului 1931, ca tot în acea toamnă, să se pună în discuție și realizarea unei monografii a liceului (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 3, 9). Planul a prins contur, în decembrie, într-un proces verbal, se contura structura monografiei liceului, vizată special pentru a marca momentul centenarului. Prima parte a monografiei urma a cuprinde: **1**. Partea administrativă (profesori, personal administrativ). **2**. Intreținerea școlii (instituții culturale). **3**. Localul (internatul). **4**. Biblioteca. **5**. Materiale didactice, programe școlare, inspecții etc. **6**. Anuarele începând cu 1914-1915. **7**. Activități extrașcolare, conferințe etc. **8**. Liceul în perioada ocupației 1916-1918. În ceea ce privește partea a II-a a monografiei, aceasta urma a conține scurte biografii dedicate profesorilor și directorilor celebri. Totodată, în procesul verbal se menționa și dispunerea unei alocări de fonduri din bugetul pe anul 1931 pentru susținerea realizării monografiei (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 10). Se poate observa așadar efortul constant din partea liceului în vederea găsirii unui moment favorabil celebrării centenarului, moment găsit însă cu o întârziere de 7 ani de la împlinirea a 100 de ani de existență a școlii.

Apropierea momentului vizitei Suveranului la Craiova a condus la conturarea unui program oficial al respectivei zile din perspectiva organizatorică a liceului. Așadar, în ziua de 26 octombrie 1933, ora 5 p.m. avea să se țină o serie de cuvântări de către: directorul Mihail Paulian, președintele Comitetului Școlar N. D. Fortunescu, elevi, un profesor al liceului cât și de ministrul instrucțiunii. La ora 9 p.m., la teatrul liceului, se avea în vedere un festival. Programul se contura astfel: Imnul Regal (corul liceului și orchestra); un poem simfonic dedicat Suveranului (cor și orchestră). În partea a II-a a festivalului, o dramă istorică *Aripi Frânte* de D. A. da Herz, directorul teatrului național din Craiova, pusă în scenă de artiștii teatrului. A III-a parte a festivalului consta în cinci tablouri prin care se reprezentau istoricul școlii românești și liceului, ca mai apoi tabouri alegorice *Povestea neamului*, iar în cazul în care se aprobau, se aveau în vedere și spectacole de gimnastică și dansuri naționale. Utimul punct al programului era marcat de *Centenar-Marș* de J. C. Postupe, intepretat de orchestra liceului (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 20). Pregătirile erau în plină desfășurare, iar din partea liceului s-a trimis către direcția Muzeului Th. Aman din București, rugămintea de a permite fotografului Barasch realizarea unei copii a tabloului reprezentând vechea clădire a liceului la 1857, tablou pictat de Th. Aman, respectiva copie fiind necesară liceului în vederea momentului festiv (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 23).

Pentru a propaga știrea privind serbarea centenarului, liceul a realizat și un anunț care să apară în ziare, aducând la cunoștință tuturor absolvenților liceului, părinții elevilor în curs, precum și toți doritorii, că în ziua de 26 octombrie 1933, în prezența

Regelui Carol al II-lea, urma a avea loc serbarea centenarului. În ceea ce îi privește pe foștii elevi care nu locuiau în Craiova, se recomanda ca aceștia să anunțe până pe data de 20 octombrie intenția participării, pentru a li se pune la dispoziție găzduire și locuri în sala teatrului (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 31). Pentru momentul artistic, și anume tablourile alegorice *Povestea Neamului*, liceul a rugat comandantul regimentului 26 infanterie să pună la dispoziție 40 de soldați, 4 gorniști, 1 plutonier, 1 fanion, făcându-se totodată precizarea că vor trebui să vină și la repetițiile din zilele de 17, 18 și 19 octombrie, ora 5 p.m. Printr-o adresă, profesorii liceului erau chemați în ziua de 18 octombrie, în cancelarie, ora 5 p.m., în privința stabilirii „*ultimelor măsuri în vederea serbărilor centenarului de la 26 octombrie 1933*”, profesorii chemați fiind: Ioan Dumitriu, Ioan Dongorozi, D. Dănescu, A. Vasculescu, Gh. Tomescu, C. D. Fortunescu, C. Iliescu, N. Gh. Dinculescu (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 34-38). O serie de telegrame trimise diferitelor personalități stau mărturie efortului organizatoric al liceului (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 39-42). Invitațiile standard aveau următorul text: „*Stimate Domnule, Direcțiunea și Comitetul Școlar al Liceului „Carol I” din Craiova, vă roagă să binevoiți a lua parte la sărbătorirea Centenarului Liceului și la festivalul de gală, în ziua de 26 octombrie 1933. Festivitățile vor fi onorate cu prezența M. S. Regelui Carol al II-lea. Dacă dvs. doriți să participați, vă rugăm să ridicați de la Secretariatul Liceului, în zilele de 22 și 23 octombrie a.c. între orele 10-12 și 17-19 invitațiile ce vi s-au rezervat*” Semnat directorul liceului, Mh. Paulian, și președintele Comitetului Școlar, N. D. Fortunescu (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 51).

Unele personalități ce au avut o legătură cu liceul, uneori ca foști absolvenți, au primit invitații speciale, în textul cărora le erau arătate contribuțiile și legătura cu liceul. A fost și cazul Dr. Constantin Angelescu, precizându-se în invitație ajutorul pe care liceul l-a primit când respectivul a fost ministru al Instrucțiunii Publice, cât și strânsa legătură cu școala ca fost elev al acesteia (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 66). Din partea primăriei Craiova s-a trimis directorului liceului „Carol I”, Mh. Paulian, invitația la serbările ce urmau a avea loc în ziua de 26 octombrie, în prezența Suveranului, în text punctându-se totodată momentele de sărbătoare pe care orașul Craiova le-a marcat atunci, și anume sfințirea Bisericii „Sf. Dumitru”, inaugurarea stadionului „Regele Carol al II-lea”, cât și centenarul Liceului „Carol I”. Odată cu invitația a fost oferit și programul acelei zile, dar și cinci invitații, precizându-se că numărul invitațiilor pentru serviciul religios de la Biserică cât și pentru dejunul la Palatul Administrativ era limitat, în acest sens solicitându-se confimarea participării până la 23 octombrie (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 69-71).

Unele instituții școlare au dat curs invitației în vederea participării la centenarul liceului din Craiova, fiind și cazul liceului de băieți „Radu Greceanu” din Slatina, care a transmis mulțumiri pentru invitație, comunicând participarea din partea liceului din Slatina a profesorilor I. Lăzărescu și Arist. Pârcălăbescu (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 82). Un răspuns mai puțin pozitiv a fost transmis de Școala Superioară de Comerț din Calafat, precizând că instituția se va afla cu tot sufletul alături, dar este in imposibilitate de a trimite reprezentanți pentru festivitatea centenarului de la Craiova (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933:

83). Prin adresa nr. 1965 din 21 octombrie 1933, din partea Serviciului Statului Major al Corpului I Armată, clasat ca foarte urgent, s-a trimis directorului liceului solicitarea de a se comunica până la data de 23 octombrie ora 12 cel târziu, situația teatrului liceului, mai precis dacă acesta va fi gata, informația urmând a fi trimisă Mareșalului Curții Regale. Din partea liceului s-a răspuns la respectiva adresă că „*sala teatrului este amenajată provizor, așa că se poate sărbători centenarul în ziua de 26 octombrie la orele 17 d.a., și seara va avea loc festivalul tot în această sală*" (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 92-93). Având un format deosebit, conținând mai multe pagini, tipărit la editura „Scrisul Românesc" din Craiova, s-a realizat *Programul Festivalului de Gală* cu ocazia serbării centenarului (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Liceul Carol I, dosar nr. 3/1932-1933: 117-119).

Autoritățile locale, prin diferitele ramificații instituționale, au pus treptat la punct mult așteptatul eveniment. Primarul Craiovei a trimis o adresă chestorului poliției privind dispunerea ca circulația autovehiculelor grele, încărcate cu fân sau cărămidă, să fie oprită, atât pe strada Gării unde urma a fi garat vagonul regal, dar și pe bulevardul Știrbey unde se afla marele cartier general, avându-se în vedere direcționarea circulației pe alte străzi, pentru păstrarea orașului curat (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Chestura Poliției Craiova, dosar nr. 20 bis/1933: 202).

În privința unei părți a costurilor pregătirilor pentru vizita Regelui, decorul orașului, costul materialelor dar și manopera, suma era estimată la 1980 de lei. Respectivul deviz reprezenta costul materialelor ce urmau a se cumpăra, acestea fiind în limita a 1600 de lei, iar restul sumei mergea către manoperă, unele elemente de decor trebuiau vopsite, apelându-se la firma *Acuratețea*, onorariul fiind de 280 de lei. Suma propusă de serviciul tehnic al primăriei Craiova a și fost aprobată, precizându-se că banii urmau a se lua din bugetul primăriei pe anul respectiv, anul 1933 (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Primăria Craiova, Serv. Administrativ, dosar nr. 56/1933: 35, 37). O altă sumă necesară decorului a fost înaintată de către serviciul tehnic al primăriei, primarului, pentru aprobare. Suma era mai mare, 9000 de lei, vizând printre altele: pânză tricoloră, șnur roșu, mosoare cu ață, cuișoare albastre, sârmă arsă, cuie, lănteți, scânduri, bronz galben, tinctură de bronz, zinkweiss, englrot, ulei fremmess, vopsea albastră, clei tâmplărie etc., suma ce de asemenea a fost aprobată (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Primăria Craiova, Serv. Administrativ, dosar nr. 56/1933: 38-40).

Deosebit de interesante sunt documentele ce stau mărturie activității de filmare și fotografiere a vizitei, putând constata detalii valoroase privind atât costurile cât și procedeele tehnice ale epocii. În acest sens, de către firma Chaland & Paltour din oraș, s-a emis o factură în valoare de 48.060 de lei pentru realizarea a 534 metri film cinematografic „*reprezentând vizita M. S. Regelui la Craiova, Sființirea Bisericii Catedrale Sf. Dumitru și inaugurarea stadionului -Regele Carol al II-lea- în ziua de 26 octombrie 1933*". Un proces verbal stă mărturie recepției filmului vizitei, recepția fiind realizată de membrii Comisiei de recepție alături de șeful serviciului tehnic al orașului Craiova, arhitectul O. Hasselmann-Carada. Firma executantă a fost Chaland & Paltour, constantându-se că s-au realizat 534 metri film, executarea filmării fiind în condiții foarte bune. Inițial propunerea viza utilizarea a 500 metri film, oferindu-se ulterior un „*supliment*" de 34 de metri, rezultând 534 metri film executați (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Primăria Craiova, Serv.

Administrativ, dosar nr. 56/1933: 49-52). Pe lângă partea de filmare, s-au realizat și fotografii, acestea căzând în atribuțiile atelierului fotografic E. A. Krauss. Un proces verbal de recepție aproba acordarea sumei de 4300 de lei firmei mai sus amintite, ce realizase 43 de fotografii în contextul sfințirii Bisericii Sf. Dumitru, constatându-se totodată că respectivele fotografii au fost executate în bune condiții. De același atelier fotografic E. A. Krauss s-au executat și 15 fotografii de la manevrele regale, făcându-se și pentru acestea recepția, suma ridicându-se la 1500 de lei (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Primăria Craiova, Serv. Administrativ, dosar nr. 56/1933: 55, 57). Diferite alte facturi întregesc imaginea generală a costurilor necesare punerii la punct a unei astfel de vizite la cel mai înalt nivel, cum a fost cea din toamna anului 1933 (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Primăria Craiova, Serv. Administrativ, dosar nr. 56/1933: 59, 61).

O adresă a primăriei Craiova către Mareșalul Curții Regale, generalul Constantin Ilasievici, datată august 1933, ilustrează pregătirea autorităților locale în vederea tatonării evenimentului. În acest sens, mareșalului îi este adus la cunoștință faptul că lucrările bisericii Sf. Dumitru erau aproape gata, aceasta putându-se a fi sfințită în contextul hramului de la 26 octombrie. În continuarea textului se oferă și o scurtă istorie a bisericii, precizându-se că este o veche ctitorie a Domnitorului Matei Basarab, fiind din temelie refăcută de arhitectul Lecomte du Nouy, un important sprijin moral și financiar dându-se de către Regele Carol I. Piatra fundamentală, se preciza în document, a fost pusă de Regele Carol I, biserica fiind considerată „*o ctitorie a familiei noastre regale*", la intrarea în biserică fiind reprezentată pe o parte Voievodul Matei Basarab împreună cu familia, iar pe cealaltă parte Regele Carol I cu familia regală. Se preciza de asemenea că biserica era proprietate a orașului, fiind cedată acestuia prin legea specială din 1932, alături de terenurile din jurul acesteia, transformare în parc public. Un al doilea punct al adresei viza faptul că în toamna respectivului an se putea inaugura și stadionul „Regele Carol al II-lea", de asemenea proprietate a orașului, urmând a fi în curând finalizate lucrările la acesta, piatra fundamentală fiind pusă de Regele Carol al II-lea, în contextul unei vizite la Craiova, fiind pe-atunci Principe moștenitor. Al treilea punct era marcat de serbarea centenarului liceului „Carol I". În text se sublinia fericita întâmplare ca cele trei evenimente să coincidă în timp, putându-se sărbători simultan, indicându-se zilele de 24-26 octombrie ca potrivite vizitei Regelui la Craiova. Din text s-a putut observa inițierea tatonării terenului, încă din luna august, în vederea fixării unei date a vizitei regale. Confirmarea acceptării vizitei din partea Regelui Carol al II-lea a venit oficial în luna septembrie, din partea Mareșalului Curții Regale transmițându-se autorităților craiovene îmbucurătoarea veste a acceptării invitației de a vizita Craiova, rămânând a se stabili ulterior o dată precisă a acesteia (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Primăria Craiova, Serv. Administrativ, dosar nr. 98/1933: 2-3).

Serviciul religios de sfințire a Bisericii Domnești Sf. Dumitru se avea în vedere a fi realizat de Episcopul Vartolomeu al Râmnicului-Noul Severin, cerându-se Mareșalului Curții Regale a înfățișa Regelui respectivul program în vederea aprobării acestuia (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Primăria Craiova, Serv. Administrativ, dosar nr. 98/1933: 4-5). Din partea Mareșalului Curții Regale s-a confirmat către primăria

Craiova ziua fixată pentru vizita Suveranului, și anume 26 octombrie, fiind alăturat și un program al vizitei:

Joi, 26 octombrie, ora 10 jumătate dimineața, la gară, întâmpinarea oficială a Regelui. La respectivul moment de la gară se aveau în vedere ca participanți: miniștrii, primarul orașului care oferea tradiționala pâine și sare, prefectul județului. Din partea armatei diferiți comandați de brigăzi, regimente, corp armată. Onorurile erau date de către o companie de onoare cu muzică și drapel. În aceea ce privește vestimentația, ținuta civililor era formată din frac, decorațiuni, cordon, iar cea a militarilor era cea de ceremonie, decorațiuni, cordon. Deplasarea de la gară a cortegiului regal trebuia să se realizeze în următoarea formație: un escadron al regimentului 1 călărași, trăsura șefului poliției, trăsura M. S. Regelui, trăsura Mareșalului Curții, un escadron al reg. I călărași. Suveranul trebuia a fi flancat, la stânga și la dreapta trăsurii, de către un ofițer al reg. I călărași. Persoanele oficiale care asistau la primirea de la gară aveau să își facă deplasarea pe un drum scurt (nu cel al Regelui), la Biserica Sf. Dumitru, trebuind să fie deja prezenți acolo la momentul ajungerii Regelui. La 10:45 momentul sfințirii bisericii. La biserică, de asemenea, prezența unei companii de onoare cu drapel și muzică. După sfințirea bisericii, lumea prezentă de-a lungul drumului va fi trecută în revistă de Suveran pe jos. La ora 13 avea a ține dejunul organizat de orașul Craiova, ca la ora 15:30 prezența să se mute la stadion, acolo unde ținuta militarilor trebuia să fie de serviciu, albastră, iar a civililor, jachetă. La ora 17 momentul festiv al centenarului Liceului „Carol I". În aceea ce privește activitatea de seară, o notă în program preciza faptul că Regele acceptă a fi prezent la serata de gală de la teatru, în cazul în care este gata, autoritățile locale trebuind până cel târziu în dimineața zilei de 24 octombrie să informeze Mareșalul Curții dacă serata se va ține. În privința detaliilor vestimentare pentru serată, se preciza ca militarii să fie în ținută de seară albastră, centură de mătase, epoleți, decorații cordon, iar în ceea ce îi privește pe civili, frac, decorații, cordon (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Primăria Craiova, Serv. Administrativ, dosar nr. 98/1933: 16).

Pregătirile au fost atent realizate și la nivelul discursurilor, documentele stând mărturie acestora (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Primăria Craiova, Serv. Administrativ, dosar nr. 98/1933: 22-34). Pentru marele eveniment nu s-a neglijat nici amenajarea stradală, în acest sens, din partea serviciului tehnic al primăriei, s-a cerut aprobarea primarului privind repararea străzii Sf. Dumitru, necesitând o reparație generală pe zona cuprinsă între strada Unirii și strada Elca, totodată fiind necesară și refacerea traseului bordurilor. Costul total se ridica la suma de 35.000 de mii de lei, lucrarea fiind necesară de urgență, oferindu-se și un deviz prin care se detalia lucrarea (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Fond Primăria Craiova, Serv. Administrativ, dosar nr. 126/1933: 2-3).

Presa epocii a relatat pe larg evenimentele, mai mult, în proximitatea Craiovei, în acel început de octombrie 1933, au avut loc și manevrele regale, ocazie cu care s-au realizat și unele deplasări la Craiova. Astfel, se menționa că prima zi a manevrelor regale a început la ora 5 dimineața, desfășurându-se până în după-amiaza zilei. Din punct de vedere strategic, Muntenia, „*partidul albastru*", a asaltat râul Olt în vederea trecerii, ca Oltenia „*partidul roșu*" să distrugă în prealabil sistematic podurile, în mod fictiv, împiedicând trecerea inamicului. Deși podurile distruse, trecerea s-a realizat pe un pod de vase. Informațiile furnizate au surprins și prezența Principelui Nicolae la Craiova, locuind în vagonul regal și deplasându-se la operațiunile desfășurate încă de la startul acestora, survolând chiar și din avion câmpul manevrelor. Operațiunile au fost îndeaproape urmărite și de Suveran, după finalizarea acestora luându-se masa alături de Principele Nicolae, la conacul Marian de lângă Piatra Olt. După-masa, la ora 3 jumătate, Suveranul s-a deplasat la Craiova, conturând aspectele strategice ale manevrelor (*Adevărul*, 7 octombrie 1933). Activitatea militară în contextul desfășurării manevrelor a continuat și în ziua următoare, confruntarea dându-se între Olt și Jiu între trupele albastre și cele roșii. Aviația trupelor roșii a bombardat podurile de peste Olt, îngreunând acțiunea militară a trupelor albastrea, acestea reușind însă înaintarea peste Olt (*Adevărul*, 8 octombrie 1933). În a treia zi a manevrelor s-au desfășurat operațiunile până aproape de Craiova, trupele albastre ajungând cu desfășurarea până la 20 km N-E de Craiova. Manevrele au fost atent urmărite de către Suveran, iar Principele Nicolae a urmărit cu avionul desfășurările frontului (*Adevărul*, 10 octombrie 1933). Sfârșitul manevrelor regale a prins cele două armate încleștate în conflict, ultima zi a manevrelor fiind atent urmărită de către Regele Carol al II-lea chiar de pe front, inspectând diferite comandamente și divizii. După finalizarea acțiunilor Suveranul alături de suita sa au luat masa la Craiova, tot în a doua parte a zilei, în jurul orei 5 p.m., generalii Paul Anghelescu și Antonescu au mulțumit ofițerilor pentru buna desfășurare a manevrelor, pentru implicarea și efortul depus. În următoarea zi s-a ținut defilarea trupelor pe platoul de la Balta Verde, lângă Craiova (*Adevărul*, 11 octombrie 1933).

Capitala Olteniei a fost de asemenea implicată direct în operațiunile desfășurate cu ocazia manevrelor, în cursul unei nopți simulându-se bombardarea orașului Craiova. În acea noapte și-au făcut prezența pe cer numeroase avioane, câteva zeci, antiaeriana de la sol declanșând țintirea acestora, iar din avioane aruncându-se rachete luminoase ce țineau loc de bombe adevărate. Deși o simulare, cetățenii orașului au resimțit impactul neliniștii dat de un potențial bombardament. Informațiile furnizate subliniază și un incident petrecut: „*din greșeală, o petardă a aterizat pe acoperișul unei case, sfărâmându-l complet*”, punctându-se în continuare faptul că astfel de petarde se lansau din avion, având dispuse o mică parașută, în cădere, parașuta se deschidea iar printr-o lumină pe care o aveau, se puteau observa în noapte. Craiova a fost curprinsă de un val întreg de astfel de luminițe în respectiva noapte, craiovenii gândindu-se cu teamă la situația în care în locul luminițelor erau bombe reale. Totodată, pe lângă interesantele informații, s-au publicat și o serie de frumoase fotografii de la manevre (*Realitatea ilustrată*, 19 octombrie 1933) imagini cu sfârșitul manevrelor publicându-se și în „Ilustrațiunea română” (*Ilustrațiunea română*, 18 octombrie 1933). Manevrele, desfășurate cu succes, au implicat eforturi mari de organizare, acțiunile fiind desfășurate în Muntenia și Oltenia, mai precis în zona dintre Pitești și Craiova. (*Grănicerul*, 1 noiembrie 1933).

După sfârșitul manevrelor a urmat mult așteptata zi de 26 octombrie 1933, vizita Regelui Carol al II-lea la Craiova, un moment solemn marcat de diferitele evenimente locale precizate anterior, pentru care autoritățile locale, așa cum s-a observat mai sus, se pregătiseră temeinic. Dacă până acum autoritățile se ocupaseră de organizare, urmau să vadă în sfârșit finalitatea desfășurării evenimentului. Fiind o practică în epocă, biletele C. F. R. pentru persoanele care s-au deplasat la Craiova cu ocazia vizitei Suveranului au fost reduse. În acest sens, conducerea C. F. R. a aprobat o reducere de 50% a biletelor în intervalul 25-29 octombrie, cu precizarea că reducerea s-a aplicat la întoarcere, și anume spre Craiova prețul a fost plătit întreg, iar la întoarcere din gara Craiova se vor viza biletele folosite la venire, călătorii fiind nevoiți a prezenta un certificat emis de comitetul organizator (*Adevărul*, 15 octombrie 1933). Pentru Regele Carol al II-lea deplasarea spre Craiova s-a realizat după încheierea unui alt mare eveniment ce a avut loc la Turnu Severin, și anume serbarea centenarului orașului, moment la care Suveranul a participat. În presa epocii vizita de la Craiova s-a prezentat în principal prin evenimentele sfințirii Bisericii Sf. Dumitru și inaugurarea stadionului (*Adevărul*, 25 octombrie 1933).

Solemnitatea primirii s-a realizat în cele mai bune condiții. Ziua de 26 octombrie 1933 a găsit orașul Craiova pregătit de sărbătoare, împodobit cu ghirlande de flori, drapele, arcuri de triumf, ferestrele și balcoanele fiind de asemenea decorate, totul într-o pregătire generală a așteptării Suveranului. La ora 10:45 trenul regal și-a făcut apariția în gara orașului, mulțimea întâmpinându-l cu urale. Trenul era condus de inginerul Bucur, de la direcția generală, și de Vintilă Brătianu, șeful gării Craiova. Carol al II-lea a coborât din tren în ținută de general de artilerie, iar fratele său, Principele Nicolae, în uniformă de general de aviație. Acestora le-au urmat generalul Islasievici, aghiotanții regali colonelul Râmniceanu, comandorul Fundățeanu, colonelul Urdăreanu și căpitanul Petrovici. Întâmpinarea de la gară a fost una deosebită, Suveranul fiind primit de primul ministru Vaida, ministrul instrucțiunii D. Gusti, directorul general P. T. T. Pitulescu, dr. Angelescu și V. Potârcă, o serie de personalități militare precum generalii Lăzărescu, Angelescu, Nanu, Mihail, coloneii Aldea, Gorciu, Petre Urziceanu, M. Magereanu, colonel dr. Dobronescu, colonel Germnăneanu. În ceea ce îi privește pe oficialii civili, printre ei pot fi enumerați: secretarul general al ministerului cultelor Em. Bucuța, inspector general administrativ Ilie Gănescu, prefectul Dolj-ului Nicu Iovipale, primarul orașului Constantin Potârcă, Maria Pop ajutor de primar, dr. Eschenasi, chestorul poliției Pârvulescu, Raliu Georman din direcția siguranței generale, cât și mulți alții, inspectorul general al siguranței statului, Vintilă Ionescu, inspectorul general al siguranței din Oltenia dl. Anghelescu, senatorul Vulcănescu. De asemenea o serie de figuri politice precum Constantin Neamțu, George Cantacuzino, Iancu Isvoreanu, N. Goanță și nu numai. Reprezentați în număr mare a fost și corpul avocaților, condus de decanul Stoenescu, dar și diferiți medici precum inspectorul regional al serviciului sanitar dr. Viorel Popescu, medicul spitalului Filantropia dr. Bolintineanu. Corpul didactic a fost de asemenea prezent în număr mare, inspectorul șef Ioanid fiind de asemenea prezent. La eveniment au participat și alte personalități din zona administrativă, din curprinsul Olteniei, precum primari sau prefecți. (*Adevărul*, 27 octombrie 1933). Primarul Craiovei a oferit Suveranului tradiționala pâine și sare, rostind un discurs în care sublinia că la doar câteva zile de la terminarea manevrelor regale, Craiova avea ocazia de a-l avea din nou ca oaspete pe Rege. Primarul, pe parcursul discursului, a amintit de devotamentul oltenilor pentru Suveran, aducând aprecieri populației pentru faptele de vitejie pe care le-a cunoscut în timp de război, văzând în

Rege „*siguranța zilei de azi, nădejdea zilei de mâine*". Cortegiul regal odată format, a urmat deplasarea de la gară direct spre Biserica Sf. Dumitru în vederea oficierii serviciului divin pentru sfințire (*Adevărul*, 27 octombrie 1933).

De menționat că Biserica Sf. Dumitru din oraș, de mare însemnătate pentru locuitori și nu numai, a avut șansa generoasei implicări a Regelui Carol I în privința reclădirii sale, pentru Carol I fiind un demers cunoscut deja, alte biserici intrând de-a lungul timpului în atenția sa, precum: Mănăstirea de la Curtea de Argeș, Trei Ierarhi, Sfântul Niculai, Mitropolia și cetățuia din Iași, Stavropoleos, Domnița Bălașa din București cât și altete (Xenopol, 1912: 19), intrând în atenția Regelui Carol I desigur și frumoasa Biserică Domnească din Craiova, Sf. Dumitru, mărturie fiind, printre altele, pisania din pridvorul bisericii care amintește de primul Rege al românilor și inteția sa dusă la bun sfârșit de reclădire a bisericii (Pătroi, Osiac, & Joița, 1997: f.p.)

Revenind la desfășurarea vizitei, odată ajuns cortegiul regal la biserică (*Neamul Românesc pentru popor*, 1 noiembrie 1933) la ora 11 și jumătate, în acea zi de 26 octombrie, s-a oficiat serviciul religios de către episcopul Vartolomeu alături de întregul cler, Suveranul fiind așteptat cu sfintele moaște la ușa bisericii. Clopotele bisericilor din oraș au fost trase, realizându-se ocolul bisericii cu sfintele moaște în sunetele cântecelor bisericești. În timp ce biserica s-a ocolit, corul cântăreților bisericești și cel din Rm. Vâlcea au intonat „Înoiește-te noule Ierusalim". Un număr mare de preoți, de aproximativ 100, au asistat la serviciul religios. S-a cântat de asemenea „Ridicați boieri porțile voastre", urmând ca după aceea Suveranul să taie panglica ușilor de la intrarea în biserică, pășind în biserică. Serviciul religios a fost oficiat de Patriarhul Miron Cristea, Mitropolitul Nicolae al Ardealului, Episcopul Vartolomeu al Râmnicului, Episcopul Nichita al Argeșului cât și de Episcopul Nifon al Hușilor. După un ceremonial atent realizat, a urmat așezarea moaștelor. Episcopul Vartolomeu a ținut o cuvântare, apreciind solemnitatea resfințirii bisericii și subliniind totodată etapele istorice ale lăcașului de cult, cât și importanța acestuia pentru olteni și nu numai. Pe parcursul slujbei religioase Suveranul a purtat odăjdiile înaltului rang bisericesc, ocupând locul în altar alături de ceilalți ierarhi ortodocși. Primarul Craiovei a oferit în dar Regelui Carol al II-lea o miniatură a bisericii, realizată din argint. După realizarea slujbei, Suveranul alături de fratele său, Principele Nicolae, au vizitat Casele Băniei cât și parcul din jurul bisericii. După consumarea momentului, Principele Nicolae a plecat cu avionul spre capitală, Suveranul rămânând pe mai departe la desfășurarea evenimentelor. A urmat la ora 1 p.m. un banchet oferit la Palatul Administrativ de către primăria orașului, context în care primarul Potârcă a ținut o cuvântare. În a doua parte a zilei evenimentele festive au continuat (*Adevărul*, 27 octombrie 1933).

În privința machetei bisericii mai sus menționate, oferită Suveranului, aceasta a fost realizată din argint la Liceul Industrial de băieți „Regele Ferdinand I" din Craiova. Într-un număr ulterior al revistei „Realitatea Ilustrată" din anul 1938 apare o fotografie a respectivei machete (*Realitatea Ilustrată*, 30 martie 1938). De asemenea, tot în amintita revistă, într-un număr ce tratează și subiectul vizitei, au fost publicate superbe fotografii de la ceremonialul sfințirii bisericii și nu numai (*Realitatea Ilustrată*, 2 noiembrie 1933). Revenind la șirul evenimentelor vizitei, în jurul orei 5 p.m. s-a ținut inaugurarea stadionului municipal, un stadion de o importanță aparte nu doar pentru oraș cât și pentru Rege, deoarece acesta pusese piatra de temelie a stadionului în anul 1922, fiind Principe Moștenitor pe-atunci. Un numeros public a asistat și la evenimentul inaugurării stadionului, Suveranul fiind întâmpinat de primarul Potârcă dar și de prezidentul stadionului, colonelul Aldea. Regele a ținut să mulțumească pentru frumoasa primire, luând foarfeca pe care în prealabil primarul i-o înmânase pe o tavă de argint, iar prin tăierea panglicii tricolore de la tribuna oficială, s-a marcat momentul inaugurării. Tribuna oficială a fost ocupată de personalități marcante, primul ministru Vaida, ministrul instrucțiunii Gusti, generali, ofițeri superiori și nu numai, începând apoi manifestațiile sportive. Echipele sportive ale școlilor secundare de băieți au defilat într-o frumoasă ținută, realizându-se ulterior exerciții libere, participând echipele liceelor: „Carol I", liceul militar „Dimitrie Sturdza", liceul „Frații Buzești", desfășurându-se și dansuri naționale. A doua parte a evenimentului a fost completată de un meci de fotbal între echipa Universitatea Cluj și echipa stadionului local din Craiova. Toate momentele sportive au fost îndelung aclamate, primind aprecierea publicului prezent. Cercetașii „Preda Buzescu", conduși de profesorul Popescu, au realizat o tabără de cercetași în miniatură alcătuită din șapte corturi, moment apreciat de public cât și de Suveran (*Dimineața*, 29 octombrie 1933).

După momentul inaugurării stadionului, s-a realizat deplasarea Suveranului alături de suită, de membrii guvernului și de autorități, către Liceul „Carol I", fiind pentru instituția școlară un mare moment de sărbătoare marcat de aniversarea centenarului. Momentul festiv s-a desfășurat în amfiteatrul liceului ce fusese în prealabil amenajat ca o sală de teatru. Suveranul a luat loc pe scenă, în dreapta sa fiind primul ministru Vaida Voevod, iar la stânga ministrul Gusti, ministru al instrucțiunii publice. Publicul a fost numeros. Ministrul Gusti a ținut un discurs, fiind cuvântarea de deschidere. Acesta a subliniat importanța sărbătorii centenarului, subliniind totodată faptul ca Ion Maionescu a fost directorul liceului, contiuând discursul prin înfățișarea importanței și prestigiul liceului nu atât pentru Craiova, cât pentru întrega țară (*Universul*, 29 octombrie 1933). Directorul Liceului, Mihail Paulian, a ținut un detaliat discurs, punctând principalele etape ale evoluției istorice a instituției de învățământ, dar și meritele multor generații de elevi și profesori. În ceea ce îl privește pe Suveran, acesta a amintit în discursul său de importanța momentului, apreciind valoarea a 100 de ani de existență pentru o școală, totodată creionând și meritul incontestabil al dascălilor. Serbarea a fost una larg apreciată de public, făcându-se totodată anunțul ridicării liceului la rang de colegiu, al doilea din țară după Sf. Sava. Directorul liceului, Paulian, cât și profesorul Fortunescu, au fost decorați de către Suveran. A urmat pentru Carol al II-lea o masă intimă dată chiar în trenul regal, apoi un festival de gală organizat de liceu, în prima parte a acestuia fiind cântate diferite muzici de către corul liceului, condus de profesorul Anastasiu, cât și de orchestra regimentului 26 Rovine, condusă de locotenentul Savel Horceag. În cea de-a doua parte a festivalului au fost reprezentate diferite piese de teatru, jucate de artiștii teatrului din Craiova, ca ultima parte să fie atribuită reprezentării diferitelor scene din istoria liceului, executate de elevi ai liceului dar și de actorii teatrului, conducerea fiind realizată de Emil Bobescu, director de scenă al teatrului național. Festivalul s-a încheiat cu exerciții de gimnastică de C. Ionescu și Jena Constantinescu, urmând tablouri alegorice de Em. Bobescu, reprezentând povestea neamului, puse în scenă de eleve ale liceului „Elena Cuza”, ale școlii normale de fete cât și de către elevi ai liceului „Carol I”, cu acestea festivalul ajungând la final (*Curentul*, 29 octombrie 1933).

Ziua de 26 octombrie 1933, o zi plină de evenimente, a ajuns la finalul serbărilor, marcând o vizită încărcată de însemnătate a Suveranului la Craiova, cât și a Principelui Nicolae, aceștia fiind prezenți în capitala Olteniei în prealabil și cu ocazia manevrelor regale, așa cum s-a amintit. De la Craiova, alături de suită, Regele Carol al II-lea a plecat spre Sinaia, acolo unde a ajuns a doua zi, 27 octombrie, la ora 9 dimineața (*Adevărul,* 28 octombrie 1933).

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REZULTATELE ARHEOLOGIEI BULGARE ÎN ANII '80 AI SECOLULUI TRECUT PRIN PRISMA DEPARAMENTULUI SECURITĂȚII STATULUI DIN ROMÂNIA

THE RESULTS OF BULGARIAN ARCHEOLOGY IN THE 80′S OF THE LAST CENTURY THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE STATE SECURITY DEPARTAMENT IN ROMANIA

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Abstract

The 80' are marked by a broad nationalist in historical research in Romania, a situation similar to that in Bulgaria. A large number of Romanian archaeologists have chosen to collaborate with the Department of State Security (DSS). There is a great diversity of notes made available to the DSS by them, but the ones discussed in this study draw attention to the concern of the DSS towards the results of archaeological research in Bulgaria and their use as arguments in possible future territorial claims. The case of Bulgaria is not unique in ACNSAS documents; the Hungarian archaeological research was equally focused, with the same arguments.

Key words (cuvinte cheie): *archaeological research (cercetare arheologică), nationalist (naţionalism), territorial claims (pretenţii teritoriale),*

Anii '80 sunt marcați de o amplă abordare naționalistă în cercetarea istorică din România. Este vorba de accentuare procesului început prin Programul Partidului adoptat la Congresul al XI-lea, din 1975, a minimalizării conceptelor marxiste şi a alunecării comunismului românesc în naționalism, element ce avea o relație directă cu abordări din cercetarea istorică interbelică, era un amestec de model sovietic al socialismului și afirmarea principiilor politicii de independență (Constantiniu, 2007: 339). Această reorientarea a afectat direct şi activitatea muzeelor, în cadrul expoziţiilor acestora trebuia să se ţină cont de prezentarea *marilor cuceriri* obţinute de poporul român, iar cercetarea arheologică trebuia orientată aproape exclusiv către demonstrarea continuităţii şi persistenţei factorului autohton (Cosac, 2022: 310-323). Informațiile disponibile în Arhiva Consiliului Naţional pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securităţii (ACNSAS) în problema Artă-Cultură, unde Departamentul Securității Statului (DSS) includea cercetarea arheologică şi activitatea muzeelor de istorie, atrag atenţia asupra implicării directe a DSS în supravegherea interpretării datelor arheologice conform *adevărului istoric*, dar şi a focusării asupra rezultatelor obţinute în cercetarea arheologică din statele vecine socialiste, pentru ca acestea să nu susțină eventuale pretenţii/revendicări teritoriale asupra statului român.

Informațiile din muzeele de istorie erau colectate de DSS prin vasta sa rețea, alcătuită la începutul anilor '80 din 271 de surse, colaboratori și surse folosite cu aprobarea organului de partid, la un personal de „*circa 1.600 persoane, dintre care 1230 cu studii superioare*” (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 3: 260). La acești colaboratori se adaugă

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„150 de surse ale altor compartimente de muncă ori ale organelor de miliție" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 3: 260). Institutul de Arheologie din Bucureşti era acoperit în anii '80 de cel puţin trei surse (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 008857, vol. 13, 15), uşor identificabile prin natura informaţiilor oferite.

Participarea arheologilor români la sesiuni ştiinţifice sau documentări în străinătatea era condiționată de avizul favorabil al DSS. De exemplu, în anul l982, o atenție sporită a fost acordată în *„pregătirea contrainformativă individuală a peste 100 de persoane înaintea plecării temporare în străinătate*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 3: 262). Unii dintre aceştia au oferit note informative asupra discuțiilor purtate cu cercetătorii participanţi şi măsura în care datele arheologice prezentate puteau fi utilizate în pretenții/revendicări teritoriale asupra statului român.

Contextul. Arheologia bulgară din anii '80 ai secolului trecut se încadrează în continuarea şi reluarea unor teme naţionaliste din secolul al XIX-lea, iar de la instituţionalizarea sa la începutul anilor 1970, tracologia a fost unul dintre principalele instrumente culturale ale guvernului comunist de propagandă, atât în ţară, cât şi în străinătate (Marinov, Zorzin 2017: 86-87). În România, în 6 iulie 1979, se înfiinţează Institutul de Tracologie, având unul din obiective *„popularizarea cunoştinţelor despre traco-geto-daci în rândul maselor*", iar director al acestuia este numit arheologul Dumitru Berciu. Nu întâmplător, Dumitru Berciu a avut o colaborare îndelungată şi constantă cu DSS, primind numeroase însărcinări oficiale de un real profesionalism, ca arheolog, fiind totodată un veritabil orgolios (Opriş, 2004: 34). Dosarul său de colaborarea cuprinde note informative despre majoritatea arheologilor ce au activat în perioada comunistă (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 29782, vol. 1, 2).

Prezenţa DSS în cercetările arheologice din perioada comunistă este neglijată în mod neaşteptat de istoriografia actuală din România. În schimb, studiile s-au concentrat pe interferenţele ideologice în interpretare datelor arheologice (Anghelinu, 2004; Dragoman, Oanţă-Marghitu, 2013; Curta, 2020) şi pe repercusiunile suferite de arheologi în fazele iniţiale ale instalării comunismului în România (Opriş, 2004, 2006). Situaţia este asemănătoare şi în Bulgaria, unde discuţia se poartă din aceeaşi perspectivă, a presiunilor ideologice (Baylei, 1998; Marinov, Zorzin 2017) şi nu asupra constrângerilor sistemului în cercetarea arheologică.

Informaţiile. Sursa *Horia*, arheolog în cadrul Muzeului Judeţean Constanţa, a participat, în anul 1988, la *„Simpozionul de arheologie de la Tolbuhin, intitulat "Rolul Mării Negre în preistoria Europei"*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 365), iar la revenirea în România a transmis Securităţii două note informative, cu referire la două volume primite din partea organizatorilor. Este vorba despre *„Istoria Dobrogei, vol. I, Sofia, 1984, Editura Academiei Bulgare de Ştiinţe*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 366) şi *„Scurtă istorie a Dobrogei, Varna, 1986*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 368). Ofiţerul responsabil preciza faptul că, în cursul participării la lucrările simpozionului amintit, sursa *Horia* a avut o atitudine *„de ripostă luată împotriva cercetătorilor bulgari care susţineau că descoperirile arheologice de pe teritoriul Dobrogei sunt bulgăreşti, vorbind astfel despre "Cultura Varna" care s-ar extinde pînă în nordul Dobrogei"* (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 369), rezultat al efectului *„pozitiv al pregătirii contrainformative"* (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 369).

Prima lucrare analizată, *Istoria Dobrogei*, *„nu ţine cont de realităţile politice actuale din Dobrogea, lăsînd de la bun început să se înţeleagă faptul că acest teritoriu este pe nedrept divizat. De* *fapt, pe coperțile interioare există câte o hartă mai mare, în care un cerc roșu cuprinde N-E. Bulgariei și o bună parte din Dobrogea românească*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 366). Abordarea perioadei paleoliticului este absentă, „*numai pentru că în "Dobrogea bulgărească" acesta nu există. Ori dacă autorii își propuneau o "istorie" a întregii Dobroge, nu puteau (nu trebuiau) amintite numeroasele descoperiri din această perioadă (Albești, Cuza Vodă, Castelu, Mamaia, Gherghina, etc.) Factorul geografic care a contribuit la evoluția istorică a Dobrogei este corect prezentat*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 366).

Autorul notei informative remarcă absenţa atitudinilor politice în cazul abordării perioadei neolitice, specializarea sa, mai degrabă „*numai chestiuni de "orgoliu" național*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 366), „*amplu prezentată, mai ales grație descoperirilor de la Duranculak. Dar pe baza lor se încearcă formularea unor denumiri de culturi (Varna) sau faze culturale (faza Varna a culturii Hamangia), care să aibă denumiri bulgare și care deci să acopere și teritorii românești*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 366). Abordarea unitară a spațiului geografic al Dobrogei „*reprezintă preambulul viitoarelor interpretări și pregătesc cadrul geografic (întreaga Dobroge) pentru desfășurarea unitară a istoriei în întreaga regiune*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 366).

Prezentarea romanizării spaţiului Dobrogei ridică, din punctul de vedere al autorului notei informative, o serie de probleme grave. Se susține că „*romanizarea, după autorii volumului, nu a fost de profunzime si amplitudinea reală. În sec. V-VI populația din Dobrogea nu avea nicidecum un caracter "heteroclit" ci era puternic și ireversibil romanizată. Popoarele migratoare, care veneau în contact cu autohtonii romanizați, se romanizau la rîndul lor, întrucât acești autohtoni beneficiau de un grad de civilizație superior*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 366). Intenția era de a „*crea pentru bulgari un spațiu neromanizat (prin care de altfel au trecut numai, şi nu s-au stabilit)*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 366), iar remarca după care „*pătrunderea triburilor de slavi, protobulgari, avari (nu în sec. V e.n. cum spun autorii), schimbă "configurația etnică" a Dobrogei*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 366), este considerată tendențioasă. Volumul se încheie cu evenimentele politice de la începutul „*sec. VII e.n., deși înainte de 679 - pătrunderea bulgarilor conduși de Asparuh. Ultimele pagini care fac trecerea la vol. II sînt pline de interpretări eronate, abuzive, tendenţioase. Cea mai grosolană afirmație este aceea că într-o serie de așezări viața dispare pentru ca odată cu venirea bulgarilor (care bulgari, cele câteva zeci de mii?) aceste localități să revină la viață, dar "în noile condiții economice și sociale ale statului bulgar" ?!?!*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 366-377).

A doua lucrare analizată de sursa „Horia", *Scurtă istorie a Dobrogei*, acoperă întreg spațiul geografic al Dobrogei. Dacă abordarea până în sec. III p.Chr. este considerată corectă, după această perioadă consideră că este vorba de expunerea tendențioasă, eronată, ce „*debutează odată cu tratarea fenomenului de romanizare, care nu este pe deplin și în toată amplitudinea prezentat. El este substanţial diminuat în folosul teoriei, după care aici există o populație foarte amestecată odată cu năvălirile popoarelor migratoare, care au schimbat substratul etnic al provinciei romane*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 368).

Dintre afirmațiile neconforme cu realitatea istorică sunt menționate:

„*- În sec. VI e.n. Moessia (Schytia Minor) se afla o compactă populație slavă și bulgară.*

- Fondarea statului bulgar în 781 a cuprins și Dobrogea, care a fost unul dintre teritoriile "fundamentale" ale statului bulgar incipient.

- "De-a lungul secolelor Dobrogea a fost o regiune interioară (?!) a statului bulgar" ceea ce ar însemna că era înconjurată și de alte teritorii bulgare.

- Regele Samuil al Bulgariei reia (981). Dobrogea de la Imperiul Bizantin.

- În Dobrogea era o populație bulgară în sec. X-XI. Alte elemente etnice nu sînt pomenite. Este absolut aberant.

- Frații Asan erau bulgari și ei au răsculat întreg poporul bulgar (se lasă să se înțeleagă că în sudul Dunării erau numai bulgari) la luptă împotriva bizantinilor. Elementul Vlah din sudul Dunării nici măcar nu este pomenit

- În sec. XIV Dobrogea era dependentă de regatul Bulgar. Era practic parte a acestui regat.

- Pentru epoca medievală se vorbește de bulgari, de colonizările de tătari în Dobrogea, dar nu se pomenește nici un cuvînt despre români, despre continuitatea de viață a populației romanizate de aici" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 368).

Informaţii interesante, asupra rezultatelor şi implicării statului bulgar în cercetările arheologice, ne sunt oferite de Maria Comşa (1928-2002), arheolog în cadrul Institutului de Arheologie, în raportul întocmit la întoarcerea din călătoria de documentare ştiinţifică întreprinsă în R.R. Bulgaria, în perioada 16.10 – 8.11.1988 (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 008857, vol. 15: 334-339). Maria Comşa considera că „*asemenea contacte între colegi sînt utile, ele ajută la o cunoaștere reciprocă mai bună, la soluționarea corectă a unor probleme contradictorii și chiar la strîngerea relațiilor între popoare*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 008857, vol. 15: 339). La Sofia a „*vizitat expoziția Muzeului Național (avînd secție de istorie, etnografie, artă ș.a.) din Sofia, ale cărui materiale sînt expuse după ultimele reguli muzeografice*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 008857, vol. 15: 337), iar din discuțiile purtate cu directorul Muzeului a aflat că această instituție „*primește anual 2.500.000 leva (= 25.000.000 lei) de la stat pentru întreținerea, în condiții optime a exponatelor și pentru editarea anuarului muzeului, în care sînt publicate numeroase articole, unele referitoare la tehnici de vîrf pentru conservarea obiectelor, pentru întreținerea temperaturii optime, pentru diverse analize*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 008857, vol. 15: 337). În comparaţie, „*Muzeul de Istorie al RSR, fiind pe autofinanțare a fost nevoit să suspende anuarul său "Muzeul Național", ca atare nu este posibil un schimb de publicații între cele două muzee și nici cu muzeele naționale din alte țări*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 008857, vol. 15: 337). Maria Comşa constata că arheologii bulgari „*fac frecvente călătorii în vest pentru participare la Simpozioane și Colocvii Internaționale*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 008857, vol. 15: 337).

Raportul a fost înaintat iniţial de Maria Comşa Academiei de Ştiinţe Sociale şi Politice, nu Institutului de Arheologie, respectiv directorului instituției, Constantin Preda, fapt ce adus la apariţia unei situaţii conflictuale (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 008857, vol. 13: 170-171): „*Directorul i-a reproșat că nu s-a axat asupra concluziilor științifice, ci s-a ocupat de consemnarea unor observații care nu intrau în preocupările sale*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 008857, vol. 13: 170). Disputa asupra conţinutului raportului ne este amplu prezentată într-o notă informativă, înaintată de un colaborator al Securității din cadrul Institutului de Arheologie (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 008857, vol. 13: 170-171). Sursa relatează că Maria Comşa „*se ocupa* [în raportul înaintat] *de cântărirea parității muzeelor naționale din cele două țări privind schimburile de publicații și în general culturale, în care noi am fi fost mult sub nivelul a ceea ce așteaptă colegii bulgari. Că în Bulgaria toate muzeele sunt păzite de milițieni de seara până dimineața, de la cele mai mici până la cele mai mari*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 008857, vol. 13: 170). Maria Comşa a declarat sursei: „*Ce vrei să fi scris că mi s-a spus de către colegii bulgari că sunt puși și ei să scrie ca și noi. Dacă i-au oamenii salariul de la o instituție, pot să facă altfel decât li se cere? I-am cerut mai multe amănunte în acest sens! Ce să vă spun, mi-a răspuns, când am văzut materialul arheologic, i-am întrebat de ce nu l-au descris ca atare, de ce nu l-au publicat* *în întregime (în alte situaţii), preferând să scrie altfel decât adevărul ştiinţific şi, bineînţeles, împotriva intereselor ţării noastre şi pentru a conveni mai mult lor. (Deci a pus o asemenea întrebare, este de remarcat desigur curajul său). Răspunsul bulgarilor a fost cel amintit, în sensul că trebuie să facă şi ei în aşa fel să nu-şi piardă salariul. Problema este dacă ceea ce mi-a exprimat mie să nu fi spus şi bulgarilor, invocând că şi nouă ni se impune să scrim istoria după anumite comenzi. Ca să fiu sincer, îmi este teamă de o posibilă afirmaţie în acest sens, cunoscând-o pe tov Comşa*[2]*, amintindu-mi că este unguroaică şi că a susţinut cândva cu tărie slavismul în istoriografia noastră*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 008857, vol. 13: 170-171).

Concluzii

Muzeul Județean Constanța beneficia în anii '80 de o rețea complexă de informatori ai DSD, trei muzeografi, în „*vederea asigurării acoperirii informative a persoanelor, locurilor şi mediilor din problemă, în perioada ce urmează vor fi recrutaţi 2 informatori, 1 persoane de sprijin*" (ACNSAS, dos. nr. 13367, vol. 6: 363) şi, aşa cum precizam, Institutul de Arheologie era acoperit de cel puţin trei informatori. Există o mare diversitate de note puse la dispoziția DSS de către aceştia, dar cele discutate acum atrag atenția asupra preocupării DSS față de rezultatele cercetărilor arheologice din Bulgaria şi utilizarea acestora ca argumente în eventuale viitoare pretenții teritoriale asupra statului român. Cazul Bulgariei nu este singular în documente ACNSAS, cercetarea arheologică maghiară a fost la fel de focusată, cu aceleaşi argumente.

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[2] Sursa afirmă că aceasta face parte din generația „*să-i zicem în prag de pensie care a început să dea cam multe bătăi de cap în Institutele de cercetare, să devină o reală frână în menținerea unei atmosfere mai destinse de muncă, atât de necesară activității de cercetare … Nu înțeleg în nici un fel eforturile generale ale țării, refuzând să accepte să se supună rigorilor actuale să înțeleagă că fiecare din noi trebuie să facem ceva pentru a le depăși. Vor în schimb numai drepturi*" (ACNSAS Vol. 13, 171)

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THE GENEALOGY OF CAMEROON'S COLONIAL DEBT NEGOTIATION

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Abstract

Negotiation is a process of communication and exchanges between at least two parties whose object concerns the organization of a relationship or the settlement of a problem between them. During the decolonisation, France and Cameroon decided to share the assets and liabilities located on the territory of Cameroon. This distribution, a consequence of negotiation, started before independence, was the way to peacefully settle questions of the State's debts. Alexander-Nahum Sack, jurist and specialist of the State's succession, thinks that negotiation is the appropriate way to peacefully settle financial issues such as infrastructure management and colonial debts during the territorial separation of the former colonial power from the former colony. This historical essay therefore intends to show that, instead of asking for cancellation, France and Cameroon authorities agreed for distribution after several negotiations. So, the imputation of the debt contracted by France in Cameroon on January 1, 1960, is the consequence of an agreement. It is within this framework that on April 16, 1957, the two parties set down in a first document which was to serve as a compass for subsequent meetings, the legal bases relating to the postcolonial management of foreign investments in Cameroon, while laying down the milestones for their future bilateral cooperation. Based on a variety of documentation, the aim is to show that France and Cameroon, after negotiations, have choosen the distribution of the existing assets and liabilities. France, like Cameroon, as well as international creditors, had an interest in agreeing. Cameroon had to negotiate, so as to make a good impression with Foreign Direct Investors and external creditors needed Cameroon's cooperation for the protection of localized investments on its territory. Even though those debts were incurred in the exclusive interest of Cameroon under French administration, it agreed to negotiate.

Key words: *Negotiation, State's Debt, State, France, Cameroon, international creditors.*

Introduction

Following the various ravages caused by the Covid-19 pandemic which all States without exception are facing, donors such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were considering in mid-April 2020, under pressure from international civil society, the possibility of canceling part of the external debt of some twenty of the most affected Third World countries. On this subject, during a televised speech in April 2020, Emmanuel Macron called for a massive cancellation of the debt of the African countries most affected by covid19 (www.lemonde.fr, April 14 2020; www.france24.com, April 14 2020; www.financialafrik.com, 13 April 2020). This decision was reminiscent of that taken at the end of the First World War by the winners. In the 1980s and 2008, at the height of the global economic crisis, namely to wipe the slate clean of the economic and financial past of the "States wrongfully indebted" (Vienna convention and Debts, 1983).

If the creditors gave the impression of giving into the demands for outright cancellation, the reality on the ground was different. As in previous years, the debtor

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States decided by mutual agreement with the bilateral and multilateral creditors, after several exchanges and meetings, on a rescheduling instead of a direct cancellation. This is how France and Cameroon proceeded in 1956, choosing the path of distribution after negotiation. What justifies France's choice to negotiate with Cameroon? Why did Cameroon agree to negotiate with France? What do creditors gain by agreeing with the new State of Cameroon? The answers to those questions make it necessary to analyse, in turn, the progress and stages of the Franco-Cameroonian negotiations, and the contractual determinants of recourse to distribution instead of cancellation.

The progress and stages of the Franco-Cameroonian negotiations

Beginning in 1956, the negotiations took place in turn at the French government and National Assembly, at the Council of the Republic, at the Assembly of the French Union, in France, on the one hand, and at the Legislative Assembly of Cameroon, on the other hand.

The French negotiators's claims and interests

The French representatives, as Jacques Marette, insisted on the sharing of financial burdens, and the preservation of certain achievements and prerogatives in Cameroon due to the weak state of France's finances (Official Journal of French Republic, Parliamentary debates, from 1956 to 1959).

The distribution of financial charges between Cameroon and France

The French representatives of the Finance Committee had above all insisted on the transfer of part of the financial burden hitherto borne by the French to the Cameroonians. It is in this context that on March 21, 1956, Jean-Marie Louvel, then rapporteur for the opinion of the Finance Committee, apostrophes the French National Assembly in these terms: "Your committee, as was its role, focused mainly on the articles of the draft presenting a more particularly financial or economic." (Official Journal of French Republic, Parliamentary Debates, National Assembly, 1956). He adds by saying that: "the Finance Committee has studied in particular the articles which may have economic and financial repercussions and on which it has asked the Minister of Overseas France for additional information." If the finance commission recognizes the merits of article 3 of the bill which advocates the access of Cameroonian civil servants to the public service, nevertheless, it was concerned about the financial repercussions which would arise as a result of the application of the measures envisaged. Also, "It is this somewhat paradoxical situation that the Government, rightly, wants to remedy by establishing a precise distinction between State services and territorial services: State services, under the authority of the State and remaining in his charge; territorial services, coming under the authority of the territories and remaining at their expense" (Official Journal of French Republic, n 33, 1956).

On March 23, 1956, the deputies recognized that the application for a single college in Cameroon would entail new financial burdens (Official Journal of French Republic, n°33, 1956: 958). It was on March 28, 1956 that the Commission for Overseas France of the Council of the Republic took up the case. Indeed, during the discussions, Mr. Paul Longuet, rapporteur for the Finance Committee, insisted on the financial repercussions of the transfer of powers on the metropolitan and Cameroonian budgets. With regard to the metropolitan budget, he said to this effect that: "The administrative reform provided for in article 3 will have indisputable repercussions, although difficult to quantify, on our next metropolitan budgets" (Official Journal of French Republic, n°33, 1956: 960). He also warns ministers and senators about the risk of additional expenditure for the metropolitan budget because of the maintenance of the advantages guaranteed to French civil servants in place in Cameroon. He also added that special attention should also be paid to French and foreign capital which was reluctant to invest locally. The Minister for Overseas France was asked to take steps to reassure savings and likely to facilitate the investment of French capital.

During the parliamentarian session of June 7, 1956, if no distinction was not made between the State services (France) and the territorial services (Cameroon), a precision was nevertheless made about the distribution of the financial charges (Official Journal of French Republic, n°33, 1956: 955- 958) : "State services will be borne by the State budget, and territorial services by territorial budgets. In order to put it into perspective, speaking of the aims of the framework law, Gaston Defferre, Minister for France overseas, reminded the senators that: "The bill submitted to you is not intended to modify the volume of public investment, the importance of which you know, or to rectify its orientation, but to adapt a certain number of institutions already in place in order to increase their efficiency" (Official Journal of French Republic, n°33, 1956: 982). Although he acknowledged that the credits paid by the metropolis sometimes did not reach the populations concerned, he pointed out that this allowance represented "a heavy burden for metropolitan taxpayers. Moreover, the framework law sought greater financial involvement from Cameroon.

Even if it was rejected on April 4, 1957, the amendment of the deputy Maurice Plantier called for the preservation of French economic interests by the creation of a second assembly of economic preference in Cameroon. The majority of economic interests were in the hands of the French. Although elected to the single college, this second assembly would have included a large proportion of French people, who would thus have been able to give their opinion on economic or financial questions. The creation of this assembly would have given confidence to private capital, which would have invested more willingly (Official Journal of French Republic, Parliamentary debates, National Assembly, 1957). The change of sovereignty in Cameroon induced by the transfer of powers certainly risked discouraging the arrival of French private capital on the spot. Moreover, those who were already there threatened to leave Cameroon if nothing was done to protect them and their property.

Transmitted to the Council of the Republic on April 11, 1957 (returned to the Overseas France Commission), under Decision No. 594, the Council of the Republic adopting it in turn that same day (Decision No. 249), and also confirmed, after a serious debate, the decision of the National Assembly. However, it was adopted without modification by the Council of the Republic and transmitted to the National Assembly on April 12, 1957 (Decision n°640) which in turn voted it almost identically. On April 16, 1957, the amendment of Senator Fousson André on the enumeration of services and financial charges incumbent on France, will finally be integrated into the final decree proclaiming the status of Cameroon, yet rejected on April 11, 1957 [2].

[2]See Article 50 of the Statute of Cameroon. His amendment to article 49 tended to use for this text the wording adopted by the French Parliament for the other territories of the French Union (p. 1005).

In 1960 at the French National Assembly, some deputies and soldiers insisted for the maintening of the french controle on this Air and maritime infrastructures. Otherwise, France should ask for more compensatory measures. Similarly, collaboration with the new Cameroonian authorities proved necessary, in order to guarantee the payment of the financial charges due. For General Bourgund, rapporteur for the opinion of the National Defense and French Armed Forces Committee, if all the propositions voted on so far were generally satisfactory, the reading of the Franco-Cameroonian treaties on defense submitted for ratification to the French National Assembly, nevertheless revealed a major flaw (French National Assembly, 78th session, 2nd session of December 12, 1960 : 4535) . The communist deputies demanded a departure of France and an abandonment of French prerogatives in Cameroon, because the French hardline was costing the French taxpayer a little more. French finances would be better off if capital were repatriated to French soil, a place that was easy to control.

In short, everything had to be done to share between the French and Cameroonian budgets the financial charges that mortgage the assets transferred to Cameroonians. Let us analyze in the paragraph below the infrastructures as well as the costs inherent to them which remain the responsibility of France.

The control of French citizens, air and maritime infrastructures

Article 50 of the decree of April 16, 1957 (French National Assembly, 78th session, 2nd session of December 12, 1960 : 4535) provided that, constituted civil services and charges of the French Republic remained at the expense of the French budget : the high commissionership and his office, the heads of administrative districts and their deputies, the services of justice under French law, criminal justice and the judicial police, the administrative courts, the services maritime safety, maritime registration and port captaincies, the labor and social law inspectorate in its advisory role, aeronautical services of general interest and air safety, existing stations or to create the general radio-electric network, the submarine cable network and the radio-broadcasting service, the external affairs services (external relations, foreign exchange office, foreign trade services, customs control), financial control expenses of the French Republic, etc. Short, everything related to the French citizens and the French nationals in French Cameroon.

The Service of the Treasury of the State of Cameroon, that is the provinces, the communes and the public establishments depending on these communities, continue to be ensured by the Service of the Treasury of the French Republic, subject to a repayment by the budget of Cameroon equal to a quarter of the actual cost of operation of the said service. The Treasury of the French Republic could grant cash advances to Cameroon. These advances would be deducted from the appropriations opened respectively under article 70 of the law of March 31, 1932 and article 34 of the law of December 31, 1953. On December 31, 1958, the two parties made changes to the distribution made in 1957, by signing seven agreements. The convention which in our opinion deserves our attention is that relating to the management of international infrastructures such as meteorology, maritime and air traffic control.

To this end, the operating and equipment expenses of the meteorological service stay under the French budget. These are administrative and technical expenses within the framework of the administration and technical control of the said service entrusted to France by the Cameroonian government. This service included, in addition to the direction and the installations of Douala belonging to this service, a network of stations of general interest. The payroll of all the people assigned to this service was henceforth covered by the French budget, such as those working in meteorological assistance to air and maritime navigation, in the preparation and dissemination of forecasts and analyses, in the preparation, concentration and dissemination of meteorological information for technical and scientific purposes.

The convention for technical cooperation in maritime subjects in its article 3, stipulated that: "maritime signaling installations of an international nature under the responsibility of the French services include the Kribi lighthouse and Buoy A of the access channel to the port of Douala. […] " (Archive National of Yaounde , Official Journal of the State under the Trusteeship of Cameroon, January 1, 1959: 8). The French government undertakes to have its buoy vessel, which will remain based in Douala, carry out the maintenance and operation of the local facilities under the Cameroonian services. It emerges from article 5 of the same agreement : "The additional budget for ports and inland waterways will ensure the payment of all the expenses of the French services of maritime interest. The French budget will transfer to it in return the costs to its charges the sums corresponding to the expenditure of personnel of State executives and of the beaconing services already covered by the French budget (pay of the captain and the chief engineer of the beacon), as well as the expenditure of material of the maritime signaling establishments international in character." (Archive National of Yaounde , Official Journal of the State under the Trusteeship of Cameroon, January 1, 1959: 9).

Picture 1: Kribi Lighthouse 2021

Source: Photo taken Guedem N. Christelle N., July 3, 2021.

In civil aeronautics, the French aeronautics service retained broad prerogatives, and the charges attached to them. Placed under the authority of the High Commissioner of the French Republic, he was responsible, among other things, for ensuring the equipment and operation of the Douala aerodrome as well as air navigation aids and the organizations and installations necessary for the air traffic control attached to it. It was to ensure, in agreement with the Cameroonian government, the creation, equipment and operation of all the installations which would appear necessary for the control of general air traffic. But the organization and control of international transport falls to it in particular.

The infrastructures, institutional and political powers transfer to Cameroonian

French and Cameroon governments have agreed that some administrative, institutional and political powers and some infrastructures located in Cameroon must be transfert to the local authorities.

Administrative, institutional and political powers

During all the parliamentary debates in France, the Cameroonian representatives had particularly insisted on the transfer of the management of the cameroonian affairs to Cameroonian such as the police, vote of local budget, the extension of the power of the deputies, in short, the management on of administrative infrastructure.

For example, Njoya Arouna's demands of June 7, 1956 focused on broad administrative decentralization and deconcentration, but above all the possibility of managing internal affairs and the economy, administering it to Cameroonian executives (Official Journal of French Republic , n°33, Friday June 8, 1956, parliamentary debates, Council of the Republic, meeting of June 7, 1956: 972) in the opinion of the deputy Sourou-Migan Apithy, the framework law aimed to establish the distinction between the services incumbent to France whose financial charges will weigh on its budget and the territorial services like those of Cameroon, whose charges will fall on its budget. In fact, according to him, it was important to know whether the Minister of Economic and Financial Affairs was going to agree to bring to the budget of France the financial burden corresponding to the functioning of the State services carrying out their activities in the overseas territories (Official Journal of French Republic, n°33, March 22, 1956, Parliamentary debates, National Assembly, 1st session of March 21, 1956).

During the same session, Pierre Kotouo demanded the creation of a government council identical to that of Togo, and of the single college in the Cameroonian assembly, while specifying that: "Cameroon if it rejects for the moment, in its largest majority, the idea of immediate independence, seeks, on the other hand, sometimes noisily, the possibility of participating directly in the management of its own affairs and of becoming a State, with its parliament, its government, its administration and its services [...]." (Official Journal of French Republic , n°33, March 22, 1956, Parliamentary debates, National Assembly, 1st session of March 21, 1956 : 989).

At the Assembly of the French Union, Alexandre Douala Manga Bell and Njoya Arouna had asked for an armistice. It was adopted by 67 votes for, 14 votes against and 8 abstentions 5 (Official journal of the debates of the Assembly of the French Union, session of March 21, 1957: 468-469). André Marie Mbida the transfer of police and security powers to Cameroonians on March 21, 1957. The following month, André Marie Mbida during the first and second sessions of April 4, 1957 at the French National Assembly had again pleaded for the exclusion of immediate independence, the maintenance of international supervision, the delegation of urban police powers and rural areas, but above all the maintenance of French aid to Cameroon (Official Journal of French Republic, Parliamentary Debates, National Assembly, Verbatim Report of Sessions, Written Questions and Ministers' Answers to these Questions, 3rd Legislature, 158th Session, 1st and 2nd Session of Thursday April 4, 1957, n° 46, 1957:2029-2100). A week later, on April 11, 1957, at the Council of the Republic, Njoya Arouna, Pierre Kotouo and André Marie Mbida spoke in turn. Pierre Kotouo insisted on the establishment of institutions specific to Cameroon viewing the budget in place. Speaking to the Minister for France overseas, he affirmed: "I know that his major concern, like that of all Cameroonians aware of their duty, is to see the success of the institutions that we have decided today to give to this country[...]" (Official Journal of French Republic, Parliamentary Debates, Council of the Republic, 2nd session of April 11, 1957:1007).

The Cameroonians negociators also asked for the non interference in the "projet de loi" voted by the Legislative Assembly of Cameroon. They had insisted on respecting the project they were presenting in April 1957. They argued that it reflected the Cameroonians's wishes, because it was the result of the vote of their deputies. So, French parlementarian and government cannot modify it. Explaining the urgency of the vote of the statute on April 11, 1957, they said that they were not authorized to modify the project adopted by the Cameroonian assembly (Official Journal of French Republic, n°49, April 12, 1957, Parliamentary Debates, Council of the Republic, 2nd session of April 11, 1957: 1000). They also claimed that a modification would impose additional shuttles between the different powers, which Cameroonians could not tolerate. As representatives of the people and in the face of pressure from the UPC, they had to come back with what they had promised to the people.

With regard to the power of police and security, André Marie Mbida had always demanded its transfer to Cameroon, from January to April 1957. Supported by Léopold Sédar Senghor, he said the stability of the country was at stake. To this end, he said : "You cannot conceive of a government that cannot directly appeal to the police. We do not live in dangerous territory, but there will certainly be some members of metropolitan origin to try to create difficulties for the Cameroonian government. If the police are in the hands of the metropolitan authorities, what can the Cameroonian government do?" (Official Journal of French Republic, n°46, April 5, 1957, Parliamentary debates, National Assembly, 2nd session of April 4, 1957: 2057). Cameroonian deputies also asked for the total transfer of powers From January 28 to February 22, 1957.

Elected on December 23, 1956 to the single college, the Legislative Assembly of Cameroon gave her opinion on the institutional reforms prepared by the French government. On February 22, 1957, after multiple and long in-depth discussion sessions both in the Legal Commission (February 4, 1957-February 16, 1957) and in the plenary assembly, it adopted the draft statute, with a favorable opinion issued to a very strong majority, after having amended it. Sixty Councilors out of seventy, including the President of the Assembly, had adopted it. The other eight, represented by Paul Soppo

Priso, had disapproved and rejected it. Many amendments were proposed. There were more than fifty of them, the vast majority of which were retained in the final text (Gonidec, 1957: 610)

The powers concerned were: the voting of loans and projects to be financed, greater immunity and more salary benefits for Cameroonian MPs, the strengthening of the authority of the Cameroonian government. Thus, unlike Paris, which required less than two-thirds to force the government to resign, they instead proposed a two-thirds majority for the adoption of a motion of no confidence, in order to force the cabinet to resign.

In addition, the Cameroonian assembly demanded that the heads of administrative districts and their deputies be henceforth appointed after the agreement of the Cameroonian Prime Minister. At the request of the deputies, article 37 of the initial draft was deleted, which allowed the dissolution of the Council of Ministers of Cameroon by decree taken in the Council of Ministers of the French Republic. The exclusive granting of legislative competence to Cameroonian deputies, in legal, economic and financial matters is required. In addition, Cameroonians, as well as foreigners, were entitled, much more than the French, to both agricultural and mining concessions. A redefinition of the regulations regarding the granting of plots of Cameroonian land to settlers was passed.

On February 16, 1958, Ahmadou Ahidjo took over the negotiations as head of government. On June 12, 1958, a motion of the Legislative Assembly of Cameroon, adopted by thirty (30) votes against one (01), asked France to transfert all skills for the management of its internal affairs. On October 24, 1958, the Legislative Assembly voted a resolution proclaiming the will of the Cameroonian people to achieve full independence on January 1, 1960 and thus asking for the abrogation of the trusteeship of the UN This was following the vote of this resolution that the French Government informed the United Nations that France, in agreement with the Legislative Assembly and the Cameroonian Government, requested the lifting of the trusteeship regime as of January 1, 1960. On December 31, 1958, a series of conventions and treaties were signed by Ahidjo, to gradually transfer to the Cameroonian authorities the liabilities, but also the assets located in Cameroon. We can cite in this respect, decree n ° 57/501 of April 16, 1957 on the status of Cameroon, the Franco-Cameroonian convention on the exercise of reserved powers, transfers and intergovernmental cooperation of December 31, 1958 and the cooperation agreements of November 13, 1960. With regard to subsoil resources, the law of June 17, 1959 on state and land organization provided for this purpose, in its article 2 that "subsoil resources belong to the State of Cameroon."

Sum overall, the Cameroonian representatives, unlike the French representatives, had not addressed the problem of the financial burdens weighing on the heritage transferred within this bipartite assembly, for a global discussion.

Some infrastructures and public debts imputed to Cameroon

The exploitation of the archives of the Cameroonian National Assembly dated 1963 highlights the typology of public debts imputed to Cameroon due to the colonial public compagnies located in Cameroon, and because the shareholders were both cameroonian and french. It's about:

- the debts of the Republic of Cameroon in respect of its contribution to the expenses of the local section of FIDES, the last repayment of which ended in 1984;
- debts guaranteed by the colonial state of Cameroon (1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1947);
- borrowings by public enterprises from the CCFOM from 1949-1959, including December 24, 1949, June 21, 1951, May 27, 1952, August 14, 1952, January 16, 1953, January 16, 1953, December 4, 1954, September 5, 1955, 30 December 1955, June 2, 1956, September 16, 1958, and December 8, 1959;
- Loans and bonds for "Studies and works" for the years 1931, 1932, 1933 and 1934, the repayment of which ended in 1983;
- Miscellaneous loans contracted with the Caisse Centrale by the budget of the Republic of Cameroon;
- Loans contracted with the Caisse Centrale by various local authorities like mayors for the construction of rooms with participation from the budget of the Republic of Cameroon.

All these loans had been used on the territory of Cameroon. They were used to constitute the capital of public enterprises controlled by French colonial power, such as REGIFERCAM, ALUCAM, ENTRELEC, CREDICAM, CIMENCAM, enterprises with public capital. Some loans, the smallest parts), were used as grants in the fight against diseases and bulding of hospitals. So, despite independence, many companies remained the French properties, until the end of the existing concessions.

To conclude, with regard to the categories of debts imputed to Cameroon, but also to the various Franco-Cameroonian meetings, one could believe that the drafters of article 38 of the Vienna Convention of 1983 were inspired by the mode of distribution of debts adopted by France and Cameroon, which states that: "When the successor State is a newly independent State, no state debt of the predecessor State shall pass to the newly independent State, unless an agreement between them provides otherwise in view of the link between the State debt of the predecessor State connected with its activity in the territory to which the succession of States relates and the property, rights and interests which pass to the newly independent State." The Convention was adopted on 7 April 1983 and opened for signature on 8 April 1983 by the United Nations Conference on Succession of States in Respect of State Property, Archives and Debts. The Convention remained open for signature until June 30, 1984.

Basically, the State debts of the predecessor State cannot be transferred to the successor State, unless there is a link between the State debts of the predecessor State in relation to its activities in the successor State, and the property, rights and interests transferred to the successor State.

The contractual determinants of recourse to distribution

The choice of distribution was justified by the maintenance of old financial ties despite the independence of the former colony, but also by the advantages.

Maintaining of old financial ties on former French power despite Cameroon's independence

Despite Cameroon's independence, the original debtor and owner of colonial investments remains France, and the unamortized colonial debt remains insured by the heritage established in Cameroon.

France remains the main debtor and owner

For William Edward Hall, an English specialist in the law of the succession of States, debt falls into the category of personal obligations. The new State has nothing to do with the rights acquired and the obligations contracted by the old State. The old state has not, strictly speaking, disappeared (Hall, 1917: 93- 95). The scope of the obligation is limited solely to the debtor's relationship with the creditor. It is therefore a relative obligation, in the sense that the beneficiary, who is none other than the creditor, cannot avail himself of a kind of erga omnes enforceability of his corresponding right. In private law, only the debtor's patrimony, as it is composed at the time when the creditor undertakes to obtain the execution of the service from which he benefits, is liable for his debt. The relationship between a debtor and a creditor is personal, especially with regard to the external creditor. In the relationship of creditor to debtor, there is no doubt that personal considerations intervene which play an essential role in the formation of the contractual bond as well as in the performance of the obligation.

It should be specified that the debtor on the contract was not the State which became independent, because this new State was at the time of the contraction of the colonial loans, a territory under colonial domination. It was the power with the mandate to administer it that had been borrowed, because international creditors could not negotiate with a territory under colonial domination. And in case they happened to do so, he was required to have a guarantor who would pay the debt in the event of default by him, a dependent territory. In the case of Cameroon, for example, even if it was stated in the contract that he was the borrower, this detail mainly referred to the location of the investments, the territory that would benefit from them. As a result, even if the charges of the colonial debt fall on the Cameroon budget under French administration, in fact, it was on the budget of France that these charges of the colonial debt fall legally. Cameroon was an integral part of the French colonial empire, it was she who answered for all her actions at the international level. This is the reason why, as far as creditors are concerned, there cannot be an automatic debtor succession, unless there is an agreement between all the parties, but especially with the creditor. The jurist Alexander-Nahum Sack went in the same direction.

He indeed explained that the newly independent State, even if the colonial debt mortgages its financial resources, is not obliged to pay the said colonial debt, because it was not he who had borrowed it. Moreover, even if these loans had been used to finance projects on its territory, nothing obliges it, at least contractually, to repay these loans. Despite its change of status, the debtor continues to be the former colonial power; because of the contractual link which subsists between it and the creditors. Notwithstanding the fact that the colonial debt follows the territory on which it was originally encumbered, this does not automatically make him the new debtor. Until the accession to independence from the former colonial possession, it is the colonial power that represents it on the international scene in all aspects of its life, and therefore within financial institutions, because the competence to borrow fell to him.

However, the former colony may become the secondary debtor in the event of written deeds of transfer between the former colonial power and it, with if possible a change of names, and consequently, a formal acceptance by the latter to pay the unamortized colonial debt. This had to be done with the consent of the creditors, who had the free choice to accept or refuse it. A precarious financial situation of the new debtor, namely the new independent State, could lead them to refuse the agreement. In any case, an acceptance of the agreement does not relieve the original debtor of its previous financial responsibilities, which ultimately remains the principal debtor. This is an integral part of the security clauses. In this regard, the French Civil Code provides, in the case of assignments of debts, that "A debtor may, with the agreement of the creditor, assign his debt. The transfer must be recorded in writing, on pain of nullity. The creditor, if he has given his agreement in advance to the assignment and has not intervened therein, may only be opposed to it or rely on it from the day on which it was notified to him or as soon as he has taken note. If the creditor expressly agrees, the original debtor is discharged for the future. This means that the execution of an assignment of debt depends not only on the solvency of the debtor, but also on various considerations related to his good faith. It is therefore understandable that a creditor is repelled by a change of debtor.

In the case of bilateral debts as international debts, that is to say those due to nationals French nationals and (French publics and private compagnies) and international creditors, the assent of the creditor to any arrangement between the initial debtor and the secondary debtor is required and necessary. In the case of Cameroon, the context of independence was going to weigh on the choices of the creditor. For example, the situation of political instability which has prevailed since 1955 in Cameroon could lead him to refuse the transfer of debtor, judging that the Cameroonian government is very busy overcoming the upecist rebellion. In addition, this climate of instability could be harmful to the profitability of said investments, and therefore requires the experience of the original debtor, which is France. In addition, the inexperience of the new administrators in the administration and management of investments such as the port of Douala, companies such as the Electric Companies of Cameroon, the Aluminum of Cameroon, was a risk factor for the reimbursement, in the event of novation in matters of debtor. Thus, it may be that on the basis of all these threats to the security of its investments, the creditor refuses any modification of the debtor, or else requires security mechanisms. If it is recognized by all that the territory which has become independent will be burdened with the State debt automatically, the payment is not made automatically as we will see later.

In addition, in French Cameroon, the primary borrower was above all a French national, who had contracted debts with banking establishments for the realization of a project of public interest located in Cameroon. These debts were guaranteed by France, which had to in case of default of its national, evade him from the bankers. It was therefore in a way the colonial power that borrowed. Independence could not alter this contractual situation.

Furthermore, the impact of the nationality of the creditors on the settlement of the colonial debt should not be overlooked. A distinction must be made between debts owed to creditors other than the predecessor State and its nationals, and debts owed to the latter. With regard to the debts owed to the predecessor State or to its nationals, we find ourselves in the presence of bilateral relations which are often regulated by conventions the execution of which takes place in a climate of cooperation which can attenuate the rigor of the obligations imposed at the expense of the successor State. On the other hand, debts owed to third States or their nationals posed delicate problems of tripartite relations. The creditor of his debts could moreover recognize as debtor only the predecessor State, which raises the problem of contractual liability. The debt devolution agreement concluded between the successor and predecessor States is not opposable to the creditor third State. No novation of the obligation by change of debtor can take place without the consent of the creditor (United Nations, Yearbook of the International Law Commission, "Succession of States in matters other than treaties", vol. II, 1968: 112) .

Moreover, the colonial debt was a set of private law obligations. It was therefore not possible for the primary debtor to be substituted automatically, following a political or territorial transformation, although it follows the fate of the territory which detaches itself from the primitive state to become independent.

The unamortized colonial debt remains insured by the assets located in Cameroon

For various reasons, the independence of the former colonial possession does not entail the ipso-facto disappearance of the unamortized colonial debt which encumbers its territory, in spite of its change of status. Here's why:

During the colonial period, the unamortized debt already burdened the colonial territory, that is to say that financial charges emanating from this colonial debt weighed on the colonial heritage of the borrower. The colonial power, which was the debtor, had in a way mortgaged its colonial territory. This situation could not therefore change automatically following the independence of the former colony. The jurist Sack explained in more detailed terms what he meant by the expression "the debt encumbers the territory of the debtor State": For him, it is the financial resources of the State (resources under private law – State domains and enterprises – and resources subject to public law – taxes, monopolies, etc.) within the limits of the determined territory which are encumbered.

Thus, the colonial patrimony consisted not only of the estates and other properties and property of the State, but also and above all of the financial means of the colonial State, coming under the jurisdiction of the government, which was exercised within the limits of this clearly defined colonial territory.

This is the reason why, unless there is a written agreement notified to the creditor, and hoping for his cooperation and approval for the transfer, he is not yet the owner of the public enterprises, ports and airports which are on the territory on which it was formed. And therefore, it does not yet have international recognition

Mortgage debts, for example, encumber a specific asset, the terms of which have been agreed upon by the debtor and the creditor during the negotiation of the loan. The change of status of the territory cannot put an end to the mortgage or automatically modify the agreement that prevailed. This is why this property will continue to be subject to a mortgage despite the disappearance of the former sovereignty. The mortgage will end only with the total payment of the debt for which it constitutes security; and with the agreement of the creditor of course.

Before the dismemberment, the unamortized debt encumbered the territory of the debtor State. In the event of erection of the ceded territory into an independent territory, the unamortized debt follows this territory previously belonging to the colonizing State. In the event of dismemberment, the newly independent State could therefore not automatically inherit State debts, because it was backed by assets belonging to specific legal and physical persons. In the case of Cameroon, almost all the companies belonged to the French State, to French and European nationals. Let us quote for example the Regifercam, the Waters of Douala, the ports and airports, the forestry exploitations of a certain surface, the mining exploitations and the banking establishments like CREDICAM and UNIBACAM.

Thus, the taking of the reins of power by the Cameroonians did not change the fact that France continued to have a right of inspection over the financial resources of the said investments allowing it to honor its debts vis-à-vis the creditors. Cameroon, in return, did not have real sovereign management power within the companies created during colonization. At the very least, he shared it with France. Moreover, an investor such as the IBRD, the USA or those of the European common market would find it difficult to negotiate directly with the new independent State without the prior agreement of the former guardian; or he could be reluctant to negotiate directly with the new Cameroonian authorities, because he does not know them. This is the reason for an agreement between France and the new authorities of Cameroon.

The risks of a refusal to negotiate

The refusal to negotiate exposed Cameroon to a mortgage of future financial aid and the risk of relocalisation of foreign companies outside Cameroon .

The mortgage of future external assistance

When Cameroon gained independence, the new government faced economic and financial problems. He badly needed to resort to international capital. Henceforth, the leitmotif that guided Cameroon's domestic and foreign policy was the quest for funding from whatever source, often even to the detriment of the future consequences on the economic future of the young State (Collections of presidential speeches, 1957-1968: 197).

Ahidjo recognized the need to extend aid from France, when he declared that: […] We are overwhelmed with operating expenses, in particular personnel expenses, while our investment budget is notoriously poor. *Cameroon for its industrialization needed private capital, French assistance, its capital*. By force of circumstance, he was therefore obliged to postpone indefinitely the severance of relations with France, which had until then provided him with the support of FIDES. It was necessary to think of an association with this one, to quickly remedy the situation.

The aid that Cameroon received as a territory associated with France and within the framework of the common market was not negligible. It generally focused on clearly defined sectors : public health, education, agriculture. For the year 1959, Cameroon had received nearly 2 billion CFA francs. Alongside this financial assistance, there were the advantages offered by the common market for Cameroonian products. On this subject, Ahmadou Ahidjo underlined that Cameroon had an advantage in joining the Common

Market because it made it possible to sell products which, if they were launched on the world market, would encounter very tough competition. In addition, France and other Common Market countries grant a preferential tariff to Cameroonian products. This is why a sudden break with France undoubtedly risks further complicating Cameroon's already precarious economic environment.

Pure and simple nationalization of French companies could lead to sanctions as in Guinea in 1958. Until 1960, almost all of Cameroon's exports were directed to France and the French Community, but only 28% of imports came from France. Only the Commonwealth could at that time, it seems, take the place of France, without any restriction or prohibition. Communist parliamentarians had decried this economic agreement which they considered an injustice with regard to French industries, and particularly French farmers located in France. France was paying for this shortfall with a massive outflow of its currencies, which would have been more useful to it if it had bought better quality products from the European Union and the United States a scheme which was almost impossible given the reciprocity agreements which bound the European States. Despite the advocated free trade, there was a policy of quotas (French National Assembly, 3rd session of November 9, 1961, case n°11991, October 4, 1961: 492).

Furthermore, Article 16 of the economic cooperation treaty signed between France and the Cameroonian Republic provided for the entry of goods originating in and coming from Cameroon into France free of duty. Ahidjo needed this opening of the European space to sell Cameroonian production which he intended to boost, especially since France was buying Cameroonian exports at prices which were higher than other European countries. Communist parliamentarians had decried this economic agreement which they considered an injustice with regard to French industries, and particularly French farmers located in France. France was paying for this shortfall with a massive outflow of its currencies, which would have been more useful to it if it had bought better quality products from the European Union and the United States. As a result of reciprocity, European markets would automatically be open to it. In short, what can a so-called sovereign state really do without finance. In the midst of negotiations on the amounts of financial damages to be attributed to Germany, we have seen the American bankers Lodge, Morgan, Dawn bend American and European policies. To avoid a paralysis of international exchanges, but above all to avoid the wrath of the latter in search of funding for reconstruction, France, Great Britain, Belgium and Italy, etc. were forced to comply with the wishes of their creditors.

Risk of a relocation of foreign companies outside Cameroon

When negotiations are taking place, there are no less than two hundred foreign companies established in Cameroon, such as agro-industrial, commercial, mining and energy companies (The Directory of Colonial Companies, 1953: 1-976). A massive and sudden departure could complete the disorganization of the country's shaky economy. About three hundred companies supported hundreds of thousands of Cameroonians and the taxes generated represented approximately more than half of the Cameroonian tax authorities. But if they closed, trade would be paralyzed, unemployment would increase, prices would skyrocket (www.entreprises-coloniales.fr , , online on January 19, 2014, last modification on December 28, 2015).

As agricultural concessions, we had for example: Banaramie in Penja (mainly banana growing), Les Plantations Collinet de Monsieur Collinet (Sangmelima), Compagnie Française du Cameroun (Bonepoupa), Plantations of SPROA, Plantations of the Société des Palmeraies de la Ferme Suisse (SPFS) and its own oil mill, Les Cafés du Cameroun (operation of two agricultural concessions), IRHO Plantations (oil mills in Dibombari and Edéa), peanut oil mills in Bertoua and Pitoa. Others combine agriculture with forestry. Examples include the African Forestry and Agricultural Society (SAFA), Les Bois du Cameroun (LBC), the Agricultural and Forestry Company of Cameroon (CAFC), the Central African Society for Trade and Industry (SOCACI), the National Society of Cameroon, and the African Forest Industries Company (CIFA).

In the field of energy, the figurehead is Compagnie camerounaise de l'Aluminium Péchiney-Ugine (ALUCAM), which is controlled and directed by the French aluminum and chemicals circles. It was set up with a capital of 5 billion CFA francs together with a low-interest loan of 3 billion CFA francs by the Caisse Centrale de Cooperation Economique. If in 1959 Cameroon held only 2.99% of shares in ALUCAM, it had 8% at the beginning of the 1970s. The French State, represented by the Caisse Centrale de Coopération Economique (CCCE) owned 15%, private capital including Pechiney 51%, Ugine 12%, COMAL (Cameroonian Aluminum Company) 12%, and Sadacem 2%. The following years saw a new distribution of shares: Pechiney: 48%, Ugine: 12%, Cobea: 10%, and COMAL 30%.On the side of ENELCAM, the Cameroonian State had been able to buy back 41% of the shares, very far from the 12% of 1959. The French Republic, represented by the CCCE 47%, and EDF 5%, continued to be the majority shareholder. ALUCAM came last with 6%.

Serepca (Société de Recherches et d'Exploitation des Pétroles du Cameroun), born in September 1951, became Elf-Serepca in 1965, resulting in a redistribution of shares: Petroleum Research Office 64.70%, Central Fund for Economic Cooperation 19.57%, Federal Republic of Cameroon 10.73%, Finarep and Cofirep 5% Crédit du Cameroun (CREDICAM), a bank based in Douala, was a State company established by a decree of May 25, 1949, with a capital of 100 million CFA francs subscribed by the territory of Cameroon. In 1961, it became Banque Camerounaise de Développement (BCD), when it took over from Crédit du Cameroun, and its capital was increased from 600 million CFA francs to 1,000 million CFA francs. The distribution of shares was 61% in the federal government, 31% in the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation (CCCE) and 8% in the Central Bank. In 1963, the capital of the BCD was increased to 1,500 million CFA francs, and the Bremer Landes bank took a very small stake (10 million CFA francs). At the end of the 1960s, the Federal Republic of Cameroon held the largest share with 75.5%, followed by the Caisse Centrale de Cooperation Economic with 15.5%, the Central Bank holding 8%, and the Bremer Landesbank with 1.0%. Apart from its share capital, BCD had three main sources of funding for its operations: central bank rediscounts, foreign loans and deposits. Foreign loans, which were the BCD's main source of long-term funds, came from the Caisse centrale and the Kreditanstalt.

In view of the above, a denunciation of the imputed debt was not at all possible for Cameroon. Sharing the management of said coveted infrastructures was always preferable with the former colonial power.

Conclusion

The choice of negotiating a distribution instead of cancellation by Cameroon, a former colony, and France, a former colonial power, is based on several parameters, the most important of which was the desire to maintain the confidence of international creditors. This agreement resulted in written acts specifying the transfer of part of the colonial public heritage (assets and liabilities) to the new Cameroonian authorities. These legal provisions thus marked very clearly the desire of the two States to remove any ambiguity as to the future management of the colonial debt, of the colonial heritage to which the Independent State of Cameroon had succeeded. These two States had to protect international investments for the well-being of their respective populations, but also for international peace. The reality behind the debts imputed to Cameroon was that all the parties involved in the succession of colonial debts had negotiated for the reimbursement of these and the protection of the infrastructures born from them. It is the confirmation of an interdependence between States and providers of funds, an interdependence which contributes to their collective security. It would therefore be suicidal for the States, the main applicants and beneficiaries of the huge funds available to these financial players, as well as for the external creditors, who have to make a profit, not to agree in the event of a territorial modification or change of sovereignty, for the reimbursement of the debt contracted by the predecessor State. It is true that at the time when the negotiations are being held, Cameroon is not an independent state, and the freedom to act of Cameroonian negotiators can be questioned; but this cannot hide the fact that the postcolonial management of colonial investments was the consequence of multiple bilateral discussions.

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THE CONTEMPORARY EDUCATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORIC EUROPEAN RESIDENTIAL COLLEGES: A STUDY OF SPANISH COLEGIOS MAYORES

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Abstract

The European residential colleges, which originated in the Middle Ages, are institutions that had a major impact on the evolution of the Western university. Throughout the centuries, and especially in the Modern Age, they played a decisive role in educating many who went on to occupy important political, ecclesiastical, and academic positions. Vestiges of these residential colleges still survive today in institutions such as the Italian *Collegi di Merito*, the Hungarian *Szarkollegiums*, the Spanish *Colegios Mayores Universitarios,* or the Portuguese *republicas de estudantes*. However, despite their great historical importance, the educational value of these institutions is largely unknown. This research investigates the educational value of historic Spanish *Colegios Mayores* and their differential value compared to other residential alternatives. To this end, a cross-sectional quantitative study was carried out with the participation of 393 students using the validated CUEVU questionnaire. The results indicate that students in *Colegios Mayores* perceive greater educational opportunities regarding comprehensive education than those in other types of accommodation. The effect size was also larger when students attended public universities. No significant differences were found according to the type of *Colegios Mayores* in which the students resided. To sum up, centuries after their creation, the *Colegios Mayores* continue providing much more than mere accommodation, offering valuable educational space to those living there.

Key words: *residential colleges; university housing; humanities; character education.*

1. Introduction

European residential colleges are a little-studied area of research, despite the historical importance these institutions have had in developing the European university and promoting higher education institutions in Latin America, and in implementing the residential model in American universities. Indeed, the history of many of the world's most renowned universities, such as the Sorbonne, Oxford, Cambridge, Bologna, Alcalá de Henares, and Coimbra, is closely linked to residential colleges (Eguía, 1957; Lario, 2019). Over the years, these residential colleges have also been the cradle of numerous prominent personalities from the cultural, political, ecclesiastical, and artistic worlds, demonstrating the solid educational impact of these places. Over the centuries, these educational institutions have evolved in different ways, which have been preserved to the present day. Thus, traces of these ancient residential colleges can be found today in the Portuguese *republicas de estudantes*, the Italian *collegi di merito*, the English Colleges or the Spanish *Colegios Mayores Universitarios*, among other European institutions, which

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continue to preserve the rich intellectual and community life that characterized these institutions from the beginning of their existence (Cinque, 2012). Today, when very different voices point to an excessive shift of the university towards the professional training of its students as the goal of university educational action (Barkas & Armstrong, 2022; Barrio Maestre, 2022; Esteban Bara, 2019; Haidt & Lukianoff, 2018), residential institutions open a debate on the function of the university institution: whether this is reduced only to the mere acquisition of a professional degree, or whether it also includes a broader training related to the ability to inhabit reality (Marín, 2012) fully. As Deresiewicz points out:

> College is not the only chance to learn to think. It is not the first; it is not the last; but it is the best. One thing is certain: if you haven't started by the time you finish your BA, there's little likelihood you'll do it later. That is why an undergraduate experience devoted exclusively to career preparation is four years largely wasted. The purpose of college is to enable you to live more alertly, more responsibly, more freely: more fully […]. A real education sends you into the world bearing questions, not resumes (2015: 82).

European residential colleges in their current form still retain this capacity to help students ask the big questions and discover the importance of community amid an individualistic society. However, the formative impact of these residential colleges is often overlooked and they are quite often reduced to another option in the range of university accommodation. Even though some research has begun to highlight the formative impact of these institutions on aspects related to character education, liberal education, or the development of personal or professional skills (Cinque, 2012; Dabdoub, Salaverría, & Berkowitz, 2023; Ibáñez Ayuso, 2023; Martín Rodríguez-Ovelleiro & Jutard, 2019; Naval, 2022; Villar, 2018), most of which address this impact from a theoretical analysis or through interviews with the managers of these institutions, these studies are very scarce compared to the long historical trajectory of these institutions and the large number of students who reside in them each year. This lack of empirical studies offers an interesting research horizon. A research horizon that in the United States, unlike in Europe, has a long history that has led to the discovery of the benefits of certain residential models for students' adaptation to university life, for reducing dropout rates or for improving academic performance, among other things (Blimling & Schuh, 2015; Bronkema & Bowman, 2017; Brown, Volk, & Spratto, 2019; Graham, Hurtado, & Gonyea, 2018; Konyar & Nguyen, 2022; Lopez Turley & Wodtke, 2010; Ong & Chu, 2021; Parameswaran & Bowers, 2014; Schroeder & Mable, 1994).

2. European residences: their impact on the history of the university and their educational relevance today

The origins of residential colleges can be traced back to the foundation of the *Collège des Dix-Huit* near the University of Paris in the 12th century. This institution would be the seed of the collegiate movement that would later and rapidly spread to other European cities, such as Oxford, Cambridge, Coimbra, or Bologna, to provide talented students of low economic means with the necessary opportunities to complete their education (Hinterholz & de Freitas Ermel, 2023; Lario, 2019). It was during the modern era that these institutions experienced their most extraordinary splendor. In Italy, for example, from the last third of the 14th century, many colleges appeared in cities such as Bologna, Perugia, and Padua, the founding of which was closely linked to the Catholic Church (Ibáñez Ayuso & Ruiz-Alberdi, 20-23; Mattone & Brizzi, 2010). It was also in Italy, at the end of the same century, where the first Spanish Colegio Mayor was founded, the Colegio San Clemente, and later, from the 15th century, the collegiate movement moved to Spain through the foundation of numerous Colegios Mayores in Spain (Carabias, 2013; Eguía, 1957). Also, in the 15th century, the collegiate movement awakened in Eastern Europe with the founding of colleges in places such as Cracow, Prague, and Leuven (Lario, 2019). The importance of Spanish residential colleges in promoting university systems in the Americas is also worth noting. The Spanish Colegios Mayores played a key role in the foundation of numerous universities in Latin America, such as the University of Mexico and the Colegio de San Ildefonso (Mexico), the University of Cordoba and the Colegio Máximo (Argentina), or the University of Caracas and the Colegio de Santa Rosa (Venezuela) (Lascaris Comneno, 1952). On the other hand, the English residential system had a notable influence on early American residential systems, especially the Yale and Harvard model, which was later exported to numerous American campuses (Ryan, 2001).

In the modern era, all these institutions played a key political and ecclesiastical role, as monarchs looked to them for people who would later occupy positions of power, such as general inquisitors, viceroys, ambassadors, or deans (Eguía, 1957). Examples include President of the Council of the Indies Jerónimo de Valderrama (16th century), Archbishop of Santiago Juan de Lierma (16th century), Cardinal Luis de Belluga (17th century), Chaplain to Philip III Andrés Fernández de Cepeda (17th century), the Rector of the University of Granada Juan Fernández Crespo (XVII century), the politician Domingo María Ruiz de la Vega (XVIII century) or the politician Manuel Seijás (XIX century) (Carabias Torres, 2009; Real Colegio Mayor San Bartolomé y Santiago, n.d.). However, from the 19th century onwards, these institutions began to lose their importance and even vanished in some countries, only to be reborn in an updated form during the second third of the 20th century, offering educational spaces of great pedagogical relevance.

In Portugal, for example, residential colleges still exist today in the form of the so-called *republicas de estudantes*, which can be found near prominent Portuguese universities, but are particularly numerous at the University of Coimbra - Alta e Sofia. Their self-governing character and the importance of community life make the different republics spaces of personal growth for the students. Each republic has its own name and characteristics, although they all promote their members' cultural, sporting, and social life. Each academic year, the different republics organize numerous educational activities, many of which are open to the entire university community, such as music concerts, study days, or charity projects (Associação Académica de Coimbra, 2022; Carreiro & Madeira, 2009; Hinterholz & de Freitas Ermel, 2023). However, in the 21st century, real estate speculation and the ignorance of the educational value of these spaces has led to the closure of many of these republics, which have now been replaced by privately managed university residences that offer students accommodation with numerous amenities, but with little interest on their formative character (Amaral, 2023; García, 2014). The self-managed character of the *republicas de estudantes* is also present in the residential colleges of certain Eastern European countries such as Romania, Hungary, or Poland, with the Hungarian *Szarkollegiums* being a great exponent of students' active role in the *kollegiums*' governance. In fact, in these *kollegiums*, it is the students themselves who are in charge of the administrative aspects of the institution as well as of ensuring its educational nature and, in particular, the academic excellence of its members. These *kollegium* are built around three pillars: first, the professional preparation of their residents. To this end, students complement the training received in the university classrooms with seminars, workshops, and lectures, existing a minimum number of which they must attend to continue in the *kollegium*. Secondly, the community. These *kollegiums* attach great importance to interaction among their members through various activities. Third, social responsibility. *Kollegium* students are actively involved in improving their communities through social projects, mainly educational or sustainable projects (Cinque, 2012; Rajk László College, n.d.). Student involvement in the dynamization of collegiate life is also notable in the student dorms of Ljubljana, where the 7500 residents coordinate through a system of collegiate representation to organize cultural, social, and sporting activities for all those housed in the dorms and thus enrich their university experience (Studentski Dom Ljubljana, n.d.).

Both the Italian *Collegi di merito* and the Spanish *Colegios Mayores Universitarios* are also noteworthy for their formative character. As the name suggests, the Italian *collegi* are notable for the importance given to academic merit, not only in terms of admission to the center but also in the demanding educational project on which the residents embark. Italian *collegi* depend on the MIUR (Ministero dell'Istruzione e del Merito), which sets demanding requirements for residential institutions wishing to acquire the status of the college, as well as for students who wish to obtain the *collegi´s* diploma at the end of their stay (Avalle, 2007; Ibáñez Ayuso & Ruiz-Alberdi, 2023; Monti & Lorenzelli, 2018). In these institutions, great importance is given to the humanities, the development of transversal competences, and the internationalization of their students thanks to a varied educational offer and the accompaniment of students by a tutor. The educational project of the Italian *collegi* has many points in common with the Spanish *Colegios Mayores Universitarios*, where a broad training of the residents is also promoted thanks to a rich cultural, sporting, social, or charitable activity offer (Ibáñez Ayuso, 2023), as well as the involvement of students in the dynamization of the life of the centers. Although in Spain, these institutions lost importance at the beginning of the 21st century, the latest legislative provision (Ley Orgánica del Sistema Universitario) has defended the particular nature of these centers and the differential value for a student to reside in them (Consejo de Colegios Mayores Universitarios de España, 2022b). However, these centers have also been criticized for aspects related to the differentiation of students by sex in some of these institutions (Grupo Parlamentario Izquierda Confederal, 2022; Silió, 2022) or for practices such as hazing, against which the Colleges are carrying out numerous campaigns for their total eradication (Díaz, 2022; Mérida, 2021). These controversial phenomena, together with the scarcity of empirical studies on the educational value of these institutions, have led to a lack of awareness of the differential nature of these accommodations and the enrichment that living in these accommodations entails for university students. Likewise, the proliferation of numerous residences promoted by investment funds, given their high economic profitability, is a trend that is present in several European countries, which makes it urgent to explore the educational character of the different university residential offers (de la Cruz, 2022; Meneses, 2022).

Therefore, this research aims to explore the educational opportunities that students perceive in their university environment according to the accommodation they live in. These educational opportunities are related to the experience of the university from a comprehensive educational perspective that involves three main aspects: a broad education that is not limited to knowledge specific to the degree and that expresses the search for the truth characteristic of the university institution; the experience of the community as interactions between students from different degrees and courses, as well as the promotion between students and teachers; and, finally, opportunities related to the experience aspects related to the common good. After reviewing the literature, we expect to find statistically significant differences in favor of students in *Colegios Mayores Universitarios* compared to those who live in other types of accommodation (flats with relatives, flats with friends, university residences, etc.).

3. Methodology

3.1. Research design

The research was carried out according to a cross-sectional quantitative design (Ato, López-García, & Benavente, 2013) through the application of the validated questionnaire CUEVU (Questionnaire of University Life Experiences), which has reliability measured by Cronbach's alpha of .957. The questionnaire, consisting of 21 items and some *ad hoc* questions, was completed through an online form. The research was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Complutense University of Madrid.

3.2. Participants

A double sampling technique (convenience and snowball sampling) was used to select the participants, resulting in a total of 393 university students. Participants were informed of the purpose of the study, gave their informed consent, and received no compensation for their participation. The anonymity of the participants was guaranteed, as they were not asked for any personal data that could identify them. Concerning the sample, it should be noted that the sample was balanced in terms of the type of university and the gender of the participants. Thus, 52.4% studied at a private university and 47.6% at a public one. Of the respondents, 52.2% were women, and 47.8% were men. Regarding the place where they lived during their time at university, 38.2% lived with relatives in the same city where they had studied for their baccalaureate, 33.6% lived in a *Colegio Mayor*, and 27.7% lived in other accommodation (mainly student residences and flats shared with peers). It should be noted that there was an even distribution concerning the type of accommodation (mixed 33.6%, female 32.8%, or male 33.6%).

3.3. Analysis of the results

In order to achieve the research objective, the following three hypotheses were formulated:

- Hypothesis 1. Students living in a *Colegio Mayor* will perceive themselves as having greater educational opportunities than those living with relatives or in other living arrangements.
- Hypothesis 2. The effect size will be smaller if participants attend a private university than if they attend a public university.

- Hypothesis 3. There will be no statistically significant differences in the perception of educational opportunities according to the type of *Colegio Mayor*.

In order to test the hypotheses with a single independent variable divided into more than two levels, the assumption of homogeneity of variances was first tested using Levene's test. If the assumption was met, the ANOVA F test was used; if not, the Welch's W test was used. On the other hand, the Chi-square test was used to test the hypotheses concerning categorical variables.

4. Results

4.1. Perception of training opportunities according to housing type

With regard to hypothesis 1, the assumption of homogeneity of variances was first tested using Levene's test, which indicated that the assumption was not met [F (2;390) = 9.669; p <0.001]. Therefore, Welch's test was applied, indicating the existence of statistically significant differences in training opportunities according to housing type [W (2; 247,852) =70.053; p<0.001]. A posteriori tests, according to Scheffé's method, showed statistically significant differences only when comparing the scores of students living in a *Colegio Mayor* with those living in an apartment with relatives (p <0.001) and when comparing the scores of students living in a *Colegio Mayor*, with those living in other types of accommodation (p <0.001). As seen in Table 1, students living in *Colegios Mayores* have a significantly higher mean than those living in other types of accommodation. Hypothesis 1 was, therefore, fully supported. The effect size was 0.234, i.e., 23.4% of the differences found in the perception of educational opportunities are explained by the accommodation type.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics on educational opportunities according to housing type

Accommodation	N	AVG	SD
Flat with relatives	150	53,96	21,22
Colegio Mayor	134	76,48	15,19
Other	109	56,46	18,42

4.2. Perception of educational opportunities according to both the type of accommodation and type of university

With regard to hypothesis 2, for students attending a private university, the assumption of homogeneity of variances was tested using Levene's test, which indicated that the assumption was met [F (2;203) = 1.578; p = 0.209]. Therefore, the ANOVA test was applied, indicating the existence of statistically significant differences in training opportunities according to the type of housing [F (2; 203) =10.944; p <0.001]. A posteriori tests according to Scheffé's method showed statistically significant differences only when comparing the results obtained by students living in a *Colegio Mayor* with those living in a flat with relatives (p = 0.001) and by students living in a *Colegio Mayor* with those living in other types of accommodation (p <0.001). As seen in Table 2, students living in *Colegios Mayores* have a significantly higher mean score than those living in other accommodation types. The effect size was 0.097, i.e., 9.7% of the differences found in the perception of educational opportunities among students attending private universities can be explained by the accommodation type.

For students attending a public university, Levene's test showed that the assumption of homogeneity of variances was fulfilled [F (2;184) = 0.579; p = 0.562].

Therefore, the ANOVA test was applied, which indicated the existence of statistically significant differences in educational opportunities according to the type of housing [F (2; 184) = 93.342; p <0.001]. A posteriori tests, according to Scheffé's method, showed statistically significant differences only when comparing the scores of students living in a *Colegio Mayor* with those living in an apartment with relatives (p <0.001) and when comparing the scores of students living in a *Colegio Mayor* with those living in other types of housing (p <0.001). As seen in Table 2, students living in *Colegios Mayores* have a significantly higher mean than those living in other types of accommodation. The effect size was 0.504, i.e., 50.4% of the differences found in the perception of educational opportunities among public university students are explained by the accommodation type.

Therefore, hypothesis 2 was supported in the expected sense, as the effect size was higher in public than private housing.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics on educational opportunities according to the type of accommodation and type of university

University	Accommodation	N	AVG	SD
Public	Flat with relatives	72	66,50	18,86
	Colegio Mayor	71	77,14	16,09
	Other	63	64,16	16,92
Private	Flat with relatives	78	42,38	16,15
	Colegio Mayor	63	75,73	14,20
	Other	46	45,91	14,94

4.3. Perception of educational opportunities according to the type of Colegio Mayor

With regard to hypothesis 3, Levene's test showed that the assumption of homoscedasticity was fulfilled [F (2;131) = 1.662; p = 0.194]. Therefore, the ANOVA test was applied, indicating no statistically significant differences in training opportunities according to the type of *Colegio Mayor* [F (2; 131) = 0.191; p = 0.827].

Table 3. Descriptive statistics on training opportunities according to the type of *Colegio Mayor*

Colegio mayor	N	AVG	SD
Female	44	77,55	13,09
Male	45	75,56	17,34
Co-educational	45	76,36	15,08

5. Discussion

Firstly, the results allow us to confirm that students who live in a Colegio Mayor perceive that they have greater educational opportunities in terms of comprehensive education than those who live in other types of accommodation, with an effect size of 23.4%. The confirmation of the first research hypothesis is essential in light of the erosion of the humanities in higher education institutions, which has been denounced by numerous voices in recent years (Barrio Maestre, 2022; Deresiewicz, 2019; Esteban Bara, 2022; Haidt & Lukianoff, 2018; Nussbaum, 2010). In this sense, taking into account the items of the questionnaire, students from *Colegios Mayores* perceive that it is easier for them to attend conferences, gatherings, or meetings not directly related to their studies; to encounter culture through experiences such as music, art exhibitions, theatre or great books; or to have moments that invite them to ask themselves the big questions. In this sense, as theoretical studies have pointed out (Ibáñez Ayuso, 2023; Naval, 2022; Torralba, 2022), the *Colegios Mayores* emerge as a space for liberal education, with practices that deserve to be studied in greater depth in order to transfer them to other educational settings. In addition, students were also asked about their perceptions of the extent to which their university environment allowed them to interact with students from different majors and courses and with university professors outside the classroom. In this sense, we believe that the *Colegio Mayor* is reminiscent of the 'cultured coexistence' proposed by thinker Newman when discussing the university institution (Newman, 2014). Given these interactions between students of different years in projects outside the classroom, it is not surprising that different studies have explored the educational potential of these institutions for the development of transversal competences such as teamwork or leadership (Cinque, 2012; Garay, Romero, & González, 2017; Pedrosa & Fernández, 2007; Villar, 2018). Finally, students were also asked about training opportunities related to the common good, so given the importance of training people who are critical and committed to the challenges of their time, a research horizon opens up to find out about the proposal of *Colegios Mayores* in this regard. Similarly, given the interest in the renewal of university tutoring (Esteban Bara & Caro Samada, 2023), due to its great formative potential, it is worth looking at the support and follow-up students receive in these institutions.

Secondly, this research has compared the size of the effect of the type of accommodation according to the type of university that students attend, showing that living in a *Colegio Mayor* is much more significant when students go to public universities. In this sense, it should be noted that public universities, especially in large cities, tend to have their faculties more dispersed due to their larger size and age, while private universities, being smaller, favor, for example, greater interaction between students from different programs. In any case, it is considered essential to be aware of the impact that a *Colegio Mayor* can have if he attends a public university, in both the selection of students who enter the *Colegios* (by giving preference to students from public universities) and in the support given to the *Colegios* by the public universities, by continuing the line of work reflected for example on the Santiago Declaration on the differential value of student residences supported by many public universities (Consejo de Colegios Mayores Universitarios de España, 2022). Similarly, given the influx of investment funds into the sector, whose interests are more economical than educational, it is necessary to continue to emphasize the educational nature of the *Colegios Mayores* and to protect them legally following the latest university regulations (Consejo de Colegios Mayores Universitarios de España, 2022b).

Thirdly, in recent months, an intense debate has arisen in Spain about the differentiation of students by sex in the *Colegios Mayores* attached to public universities, claiming that all these *Colegios Mayores* should be mixed in order to eliminate supposed segregation and favor equality between men and women (Grupo Parlamentario Izquierda Confederal, 2022; Parra, 2022). However, following Vidal Prado (2021), we can affirm that in order to be able to speak of segregation in an educational system, there must be a reduction either in the educational opportunities of students or in the educational background with which they finish their studies. The corroboration of the third hypothesis is that there seems to be no evidence that in all-male or all-female *Colegios Mayores*, students' educational opportunities are diminished, since students in *Colegios Mayores*, regardless of the type of it they live in (female, male, or mixed), perceive themselves as living in an educationally rich environment. For this reason, given this problem, which is part of the wide-ranging debate on differentiated education in Spain (Carazo Liebana, 2022; Navas Sánchez, 2019; Navas Sánchez, 2021; Rodríguez Moya, 2022) it seems that there is no evidence to suggest that the defense that *Colegios Mayores* must be compulsorily co-educational, because there are no differences on the educational opportunities of students in differentiated *Colegios Mayores*, especially if we take into account that residents of differentiated institutions attend university classes with students of the other sex and that both regional and national associations of *Colegios Mayores* organize numerous activities that allow for coexistence between the two sexes.

Finally, as the literature review has shown, studies on the educational potential of residential colleges are minimal and, in the case of Spain, most have focused on exploring their educational potential from a theoretical point of view (Ibáñez Ayuso, 2023; Naval, 2022) or through surveys of management teams (Dabdoub et al., 2023) or by exploring the formative impact of educational practices in specific colleges (Garay et al., 2017; Villar, 2018), so measuring the educational impact of the college experience through quantitative and qualitative studies is an area that remains open. In this sense, it is worth continuing to study certain aspects that can promote better use of collegiate life, as shown by various studies in the United States, where, in addition to studying the impact of different types of housing on student participation, academic life, and dropout rates (Blimling & Schuh, 2015; Graham et al., 2018; Schroeder & Mable, 1994; Thompson, Samiratedu, & Rafter, 1993), other variables such as the impact of the architectural design of residential facilities on student interactions (Bronkema & Bowman, 2017; Brown et al. , 2019) or the influence of student background on the collegiate experience (Chu et al., 2019) have been observed, providing further insight into how to create a richer formative experience through residential institutions.

6. Conclusion

Residential colleges are institutions that have played a significant role in the historical development of the European university. Despite their long history and survival in current educational systems, there is a significant lack of knowledge about their educational value. In this sense, it is necessary to look more closely at the educational potential of these spaces, mainly because of the emergence of new actors in the European student accommodation sector, motivated more by economic profit than by the educational potential of these spaces. Therefore, it is essential to try to clarify, through empirical studies, the educational value of the different housing formulas, not only to evaluate their work but also to be able to identify factors that allow a more outstanding educational impact. To this end, this research has focused on the Spanish residential colleges known as *Colegios Mayores*. However, it would be of great interest to carry out similar studies in other European countries that also have residential colleges to obtain a European overview of the educational impact of these institutions in the different countries.

Furthermore, this research seems to point to the relationship of residential colleges with liberal education and character formation amid a university panorama in which, in the face of an excessive emphasis on the labor market, various voices are once again firmly asserting the humanizing function of the university through the encounter of students with the culture and the community.

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RECENT HISTORIOGRAPHIC AND CONCEPTUAL VIEWS ON DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY AND RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

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Abstract

The present paper examines the main approaches of the recent historiography focusing on democratic society and religious pluralism by centring the idea of freedom of religion and the relationship between church and state. The question of how the relationship between state, democratic society and religious pluralism evolved in the last decades has challenged two focuses: (*a*) the models of governance and the societal outcomes and (*b*) the political features and the institutional assessments. Therefore, the current contribution focuses on two objectives: (*1*) to renew attention to the latest conceptual and analytical insights of the recent decades and (*2*) to individualize relevant themes of research describing the relationship between governance, society and religious pluralism. In conclusion, the results and findings of the research of the independences between concepts engaging historical development and governance of religious pluralism.

Key words: *society, state, religion, institutions, governance, religious pluralism.*

Introduction

The question of governance, society and religious pluralism developed in the public sphere emergent subtopics attributed to the policy agenda, social transformation or specific legal provisions. However, despite the increasing debates on the subject, scientific research rarely focused on the conceptual and normative views in the last two decades within the framework of a historiographic analysis. From these conceptual assessments, one of the major pathways that emerged in the last decades points to the relationship between policy directions, decision-making processes and social outcomes setting the discussion in the context of a research debate about governance-rights relationship. In the last two decades, many recent conceptualisations have introduced a functionalised approach to contemporary society pointing to the increasing number of religious expressions focusing on religious norms and visions, state governance, social pluralism, religious beliefs and political participation (Bretherton, 2006: 371-392; Evans, 2014: 145-163; Greenberg, 2000: 377-294).

The assessment of the relationship between the governance of the religious pluralism and society implies also the recent interpretations based primarily on the relationship between state and church and the social links of religious beliefs. Therefore, the current paper discusses a threefold approach: (*i*) the acknowledgement of the detailed discussion of governance and faith relationship (Cavanaugh, 2006: 299-321; Driskell, Embry & Lyon, 2008: 294-314; Beard, Ekelund, Ford, Gaskins & Tollison, 2013: 753-777; Cadge, Griera, Lucken & Michalowski, 2017: 226-233); (*ii*) the latest understanding of how society and religious pluralism evolved in the last

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decades exploring the well-individualized dualities: state and church, religion and society, local and urban, faith engagement and community participation, religious communities and social engagement (Gibelman & Sheldon, 2003: 5-23; Müller, De Graaf & Schmidt, 2014: 739-759; Richardson, 2015: 1-19; Audi & Smith, 2023: 42-51; Christodoulakis, 2021: 735-744; Reichenbach, 2010); (*iii*) the complementary perspectives of religious beliefs and civil liberties (Katnik, 2002: 14-38; Bielefeldt, Pinto & Petersen, 2022: 1-12; Tadros: 2022: 96-108; Galla, & Gershevitch, 2011).

The three interpretative frameworks address the social and historical interpretations from the contemporary studies surrounding the governance, state and religious pluralism characteristic features. More specifically, the current research focuses on the latest narratives of the linkages between society, dialogue and religious beliefs.

Methodology

However, while the research on the relationship between governance, society and religious pluralism has been evolving, some missing topics from this debate need to be addressed and documented concerning the state and local governance levels. Thus, the research is carried out from the recent scientific literature perspective as the first section adopts the interdisciplinary research and the comparative assessments. Moreover, in the first section of the paper, the state governance and faith relationship is addressed by interrogating a multi-dimensional approach to the interactions between social action, community participation and individual choices.

Tracing the descriptive and analytical framework, the second section of the paper challenges the two lines of analysis of the comprehensive study in terms of the public and private sphere. However, if the first section assesses the descriptive and analytical framework using recent literature published between 2000 and 2023, the second section uses the analysis of the recent sources launched between 2010 and 2023 setting the conceptual categories and values incorporating social, theological and cultural practices. The third section of the research focuses on the normative visions by projecting the analysis of recent sources used to evaluate the nature of the protection of religious beliefs and civil liberties using a qualitative approach to contemporary studies launched in the period 2004-2022.

According to this methodological framework, the research implies an analytical and interpretive approach examining the recent conceptual foundations of the state governance and faith relationship (Section I), the theoretical determinants and the epistemology of the society, dialogue and religious pluralism interactions (Section II) and the qualitative inquiry of the recent scientific advances of the historical and theological realities of religious beliefs and civil liberties (Section III). While the three sections map the links of the theoretical elements with the recent historical analysis, the research also assesses three overlapping reflective stages: (*1*) the approach to the historical roots and narratives of state governance, faith and religious communities (Section I); (*2*) a theoretical and conceptual bridge between society, dialogue and religious pluralism (Section II) and (*3*) a historical and social inquiry of the particular settings of religious beliefs and civil liberties (Section III).

Section I. Recent historical narratives of state governance and faith

State governance and decision-making processes are important elements of the relationship between church and state (Davis, 2010; Lienesch, 2014). More specifically, the recent scientific literature filled the gap through the linkages between (*a*) the individual and community level; (*b*) the social and administrative systems (Clevenger & Cadge, 2015) and (*c*) the policy patterns, the diplomatic and historical roots in a given context (Damean & Oncescu, 2015; Greenberg, 2000: 377-394; Damean, 2012: 184-192). To take an example, Chapman and Lowndes argue a broader approach for the functional relation between faith groups and urban governance (Chapman & Lowndes, 2008, 57-75). From an analytical point of view, Chapman and Lowndes stimulated in 2008 the discussion of faith and local governance setting the lines for the examination of the policy agenda and faith engagement (Chapman & Lowndes, 2008, 57-75). Moreover, the authors point to a deep-based foundation of social action stipulating (*a*) the role of community participation and engagement; (*b*) the approach to community services and community leadership; (*c*) the engagement of the "faith-based actors" and "faith activists" (Chapman & Lowndes, 2008, 57-75). Much of the research advances in the scientific literature also chart the role of the faith community and the approach to social-based discourse and cohesion assessing the patterns of religious communities and religious discourse in public life (Bretherton, 2006: 371-392).

Furthermore, in the course of the last decades, other authors defined the basis of the state governance standards implying the patterns of the faith and the historical roots of political participation (Driskell, Embry & Lyon, 2008: 294-314). Therefore, Evans mentions that the analytical framework of state governance and faith evolved too giving way to the analytical framework of the relation between religion and decision making processes (Evans, 2014: 145-163; Greenberg, 2000: 377-394).

Correspondingly, two outcomes emerge from this perspective. First, empirically observing, the state governance acknowledges the particular relevance of political engagement and individual attitudes and choices (Campbell, 2004). Consequently, Beard *et al.* establish the linkage between religion and political choice by advocating for the normative content of political behaviour and religious attachment (Beard, Ekelund, Ford, Gaskins, & Tollison, 2013: 753-777). Moreover, Beard *et al.* utilize factor analysis to analytically separate the consequences of political behaviour and the individualized outcomes of social secularism. Furthermore, Djupe & Grant show in 2001 the envisioned dimensions of the relationship between religious institutions and political participation (Djupe & Grant, 2001). Additionally, in 2017, Cadge *et al.* analyzed a large sample of concepts approaching religion and public institutions and examined the historical role of faith and religion (Cadge, Griera, Lucken & Michalowski, 2017: 226-233). Cadge *at al.* also state the normative model of the relationship between religion, spirituality and public institutions shaping a systematic analysis of the jurisdictional and social elements (Cadge, Griera, Lucken & Michalowski, 2017: 226-233).

Nieuwenhuis is particularly focused in 2012 on indicating the establishment values of norms implying the free exercise of faith and democratic commitments. However, the normative framework of the relationship between state and church calls for legitimacy and rule of law regarding three dimensions: social services, cultural organizations and government policy (Nieuwenhuis, 2012: 153-174). Here, Nieuwenhuis clarifies the relation to the social theory of the democratic societies illustrating the role of religious discourse, religious tolerance and education and raising two important issues: the patterns of a pluralistic society and the place of religion in private and public life (Nieuwenhuis, 2012: 153-174).

Moreover, other guiding perspective of the governance-faith relationship is the status of the state capacity and the legal provisions of religion (Buckley & Mantilla, 2013: 328-348). If approaches to social services and cultural organizations followed the conceptual views of the social theory of democratic societies (Driskell, Embry & Lyon, 2008: 294-314; Bretherton, 2006: 371-392; Chapman & Lowndes, 2008, 57-75), in the study of Buckley and Mantilla (2013: 328–348), the authors argue for a new direction of research and analysis such as the role of development for the religion-state relations (Buckley & Mantilla, 2013: 328-348). Other complementary approaches regard the doctrine aspects and the practice patterns. Specifically, Salomon (2023) notes the approaches to history, political systems and doctrine impacting society, community and different groups. From this perspective, the recent literature also states the role of historical legacies and scientific research by studying four variables: (*a*) the patterns of sovereignty and politics; (*b*) the religious orientation; (*c*) the faith communities; (*d*) the local histories and the narratives of dialogue (Salomon, 2023: 802-805; Billingham & Chaplin, 2020: 279-283). The four clusters of variables individualize the model of Salomon (2023) of the relationship between religion, state, governance, sovereignty and the response to historical and political changes. This type of methodological reasoning is recently used to provide new directions of research of the interactions between cultural changes, community engagement and institutional arrangements. By extending this methodological mapping, the second section of the research enriches the theoretical and historical analysis by reflecting assessments of the scientific research during 2010s and 2020s.

Section II. Society, dialogue and religious pluralism: considerations for an interpretive research

The notion of religious pluralism is of central relevance in recent literature prevailing on the conceptual advances of four related approaches: (*a*) religious pluralism and ethics (Audi & Smith, 2023: 42-51) (*b*) religious pluralism and interreligious dialogue (Christodoulakis, 2021: 735-744); (*c*) religious pluralism and religious liberty (McGraw, 2016); (*d*) ethical encounters and religious studies (Miller, 2022).

In this sense, a dynamic research area of in the relationship between the societal context and religious pluralism is the interreligious dialogue (Christodoulakis, 2021: 735-744). In the course of the last two decades, the term and related concepts have been questioned as a concept basis for interfaith relations and dialogue. A particular expression approaches the historical background emphasizing "church", "dialogue" and "state" and the role of the ecumenical councils (Christodoulakis, 2021: 735-744). In fact, the historical and social analysis of religious pluralism and interreligious dialogue often seeks to achieve two empirical findings. The first goal is to take into account the correlations between the historical, social, theological and political circumstances and the individual options by revealing the effects of the institutional choices. The second issue often focuses on using the method of the historical case study and historical examples aimed to develop a structural and theoretic framework to assess the role of the doctrines, community standards, church and institutional choices illustrating the future trajectory of the relationship between church and state (Audi, & Smith, 2023: 42-51; Son, 2023; Mayer, 2023: 389-408; Reichenbach, 2010; Melve, 2015: 213-221).

Based on these findings, other studies engage a second approach setting "society" and social dialogue as necessary conditions of the religious pluralism (Audi, & Smith, 2023: 42-51). A further level of analysis is though multi-approach network including: (*a*) social-based initiatives and the awareness of religious diversity (Son, 2023); (*b*) social cohesion and state actors; (*c*) social governance and the decision-making processes; (*d*) governance model and social integration; (*e*) the legal framework of the church-state separation; (*f*) the role of religious organizations in the public area and the social context (Mayer, 2023: 389-408); (*g*) the religious traditions and religious dialogue (Reichenbach, 2010); (*h*) the role of social movements and the dynamic of religious diversity; (*i*) latest religious institutions, socialization and interreligious dialogue (Müller, De Graaf & Schmidt, 2014: 739-759; Richardson, 2015: 1-19).

Following these approaches, the last two directions, namely the role of religious organizations and the social context, are recurrent approaches pointing for the ecclesiastical reform and the narratives of a new interpretative landscape (Melve, 2015: 213-221). More in this direction, Melve provides two interpretative frames. In the first sequence, the approach to political history and the alternative networks link the social context, ecclesiastical reform, community-based initiative and public discursive developments (Melve, 2015: 213-221). In the second sequence, the demand for the analysis of related concepts and terms namely: "pluralization", "ecclesiastical reform", "social aspects", "power", "public" and "private" identify the guiding principles and values focused to reveal the findings of the society, dialogue, religious pluralism and interreligious relations (Miranda, 2010).

Another master approach is concerned with the institutional history and analytical level by developing a complex outlook on the role of society and dialogue in public debate. Nevertheless, there are further considerations meant to underpin the "religious socialization" and the outcomes of the social and family contexts (Müller, De Graaf & Schmidt, 2014: 739-759). Therefore, a major analytical concern was launched by Christodoulakis in 2021 by discussing two structural approaches to religious dialogue: religious teaching and religious traditions (Christodoulakis, 2021: 735-744). From this interpretation, the secular framework of the state-society-religious pluralism relationship is marking the cultivation of values and norms in pluralistic societies by associating new semantic concepts such as: "truth", "doctrine", "confession", "religious experience", "human freedom", "human beings", "interfaith dialogue", "social teachings", "values") (Christodoulakis, 2021: 735-744). At the same time, the prevalence of the concepts of "dialogue" and "culture" indicates the societal and historical significance of religious pluralism connecting the discussion of the emergence of the presence of religious beliefs and religious pluralism in contemporary society (Christodoulakis, 2021: 735-744).

Bowling addresses in 2022 the narratives of religious literacy and interreligious dialogue seeking new contributions to the society, dialogue and religious pluralism relationship (Bowling, 2022: 4-18). Therefore, the emerging debate on religious pluralism is based on public reasoning, religious traditions and religious studies by identifying the patterns of social, spiritual and cultural life (Bowling, 2022: 4-18). In this direction, Bowling shows the role of social practices and processes approaching tolerance, religious understanding, freedom of expression and interfaith work and development (Bowling, 2022: 4-18). Bowling also explores the consolidation of social values and indicates the guiding principles of the "pluralism orientation" and "religious diversity" (Bowling, 2022: 4-18). Moreover, it focuses on the findings of the "positive attitudes toward religion" demonstrating the particular considerations of the "appreciative knowledge" and "religious literacy competencies" (Bowling, 2022: 4-18).

Drawing on religious pluralism and religious equality, Tadros developed in 2022 a framework for the analysis of religious equality, pluralism, freedom of religion and freedom of belief (Tadros, 2022: 96-108). Thus, the research of society and religious freedom finds new approaches in the public sphere articulating the right to freedom of belief. Therefore, Tadros describes the correlation between religious pluralism, freedom of religion and international development by examining five alternative levels of analysis: (*a*) religious inclusion and assistance; (*b*) government policies and engagement; (*c*) religious actors and policy dialogue; (*d*) the emerging development agenda at various levels; (*e*) community engagement and social cohesion; (*f*) religious affiliation and experiences (Tadros, 2022: 96-108).

In assessing the impact of community engagement and social cohesion, the third section of the paper raise awareness on the interpretive approach to religious beliefs and civil liberties entailing subsequent subtopics: religious faith, right to freedom of religion, freedom of religion, cultural pluralism etc.

Section III. Religious beliefs and civil liberties: recent normative accounts

The theme of religious beliefs and civil liberties created a complex centrality in the last two decades considering the legal basis for the protection of religious beliefs, but also the social evaluation of religious beliefs and civil liberties. This theme of discussion is centred on three central principles playing a major role in guaranteeing the freedom of thought, religion and expression, such as equity, universality and tolerance (Bielefeldt, Pinto & Petersen, 2022: 1-12). However, Bielefeldt, Pinto & Petersen (2022: 1-12) precisely express the religious faith and human rights addressing the theoretical and practical framework of freedom of religion and human rights ranging from the establishment of the normative patterns to the normative expression of the cultural diversity and freedom of beliefs. At the same level, Bielefeldt *et al.* (2022) explore the multi-dimensional background of the nature of rights raising awareness about the role of individual commitment in the area of religious beliefs, religious practices and civil liberties.

Other interpretations refer to the complex assumptions of the overlaps between interreligious dialogue and religious beliefs building on the position of religious institutions and actors in society and the basis of religious equality (Tadros: 2022: 96-108). Moreover, the idea of religious equality was often associated with social practices and the new dimensions of cultural practices, cultural expression and religion. Thus, Abdulla (2018) demonstrates the complementary between judicial protection and normative visions when advocating for the relationship between culture and religious practices. More specifically, the first approach explores the framework for understanding the religious beliefs and traditions implying the state-society-religion relationship and referring to a contemporary interpretation of the freedom of expression and the necessary condition and evaluation of "the right to freedom of religion or belief" (Petersen, 2022: 40-48). The discussion of religious beliefs and civil liberties is incomplete without outlining the empirical investigation of the cultural policies and cultural heritage. The second issue approach promotes the role recognition of rights and freedoms taking note of the complex expansion of social and cultural pluralism. Therefore, this expression argues the comprehensive analysis of how the social, cultural and policy topics individualize the domain of cultural policies and cultural heritage. Other impressions shape a further understanding and interpretation of the cultural ideas and religious beliefs (Galla & Gershevitch, 2011) advancing a normative and conceptual matrix of the freedom of religion and belief. This includes the role and activities of the cultural institutions, public discourse, religion and arts (Galla, & Gershevitch, 2011).

For Audi (2020), culture and religion are the keys to investigate the linkages between democratic values and religious convictions as a result of three narratives: democratic governance, ethics of citizenship and individual citizens. According to Audi, the relation between religion and democracy accentuates the need to understand the social background and historical framework ranging from the institutional issues to ethics of religion (Audi, 2020: 5-24). In addition to the five aspects ("democracy", "government", "normative authority", "social norms", "religious liberty" and "equality"), Audi adds the display of two categories of analysis ("governmental policy" and "constructive citizenship") (Audi, 2020: 5-24). Therefore, the new focus of the scientific literature stimulates new directions of research reflected by "nonjudicial governmental contexts" and "reasonable political conception" with a specific emphasis on the perspective of comprehensive theories and doctrines of liberal democracies (Audi, 2020: 5-24).

From this direction, a recent relevant finding is the circumstance of faith and civil liberties. This dialectic approach covers the relations between individual choices, social and democratic context and the emerging arguments of showing a new knowledge of the governance, society, and religious pluralism. Second, this issue transcends the insights argued by Bielefeldt *et al.* (2022) as the new interpretative approach looks beyond the classical units of analysis (e.g. state, citizen, faith etc). Moreover, other authors note that the relationship of religious beliefs to civil liberties relates also to individual choices raising questions about the centrality of religious groups and the centrality of religious beliefs (Stackhouse, 2004: 275-293). Stackhouse envisages that religious beliefs and civil religion require also ample attention of political theology, civil society and "public theology" (Stackhouse, 2004: 275-293). Furthermore, an analogical approach is developed using the criteria of the determination of the "civil religion" (Stackhouse, 2004: 275-293).

Linked to the religious beliefs, civil religion, civil liberties and subsequent concept of the "common life", Stackhouse proposes an explanation of the role of "public theology", civil society and common life. Such an extension basically provides the convergence in social, legal and policy analysis of the religious beliefs approaching the tangible domain of individual liberty and civil liberties. The research outcomes allow for an in-depth appreciation of the democratic societies pointing to the concepts of "religion", "governmental policy" and "civil society" (Stackhouse, 2004: 275-293). The reason for this analytical and chronological extension facilitates debate and constitutes the basis for further research on religious beliefs and civil liberties.

Conclusions

The conclusions of the research allow for the reexamination of the relations between governance, society and religious pluralism and the analysis of the secular views of faith and tradition. Further, the paper develops an analysis of the normative views of religious beliefs and civil liberties sharing the common ground of legal protection and social development (third section of the paper). As emphasized, the historical background is essential for understanding the conceptualization and contextualization of the relation between society, dialogue and religious pluralism. Therefore, the second section of the paper casts dialogue and religious pluralism framing religious freedom and human rights. The first section of the research examines the findings of the analysis of state governance and faith concluding with the discussion of religion, spirituality and individual choices.

The results of the historiographic and conceptual analysis demonstrate that when the research assesses the democratic society and religious pluralism relationship using an analytical framework of related concepts and views, the interrelated results indicate the importance of the multi-level approach to social thinking and historical legacies.

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