

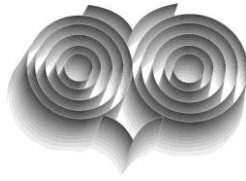
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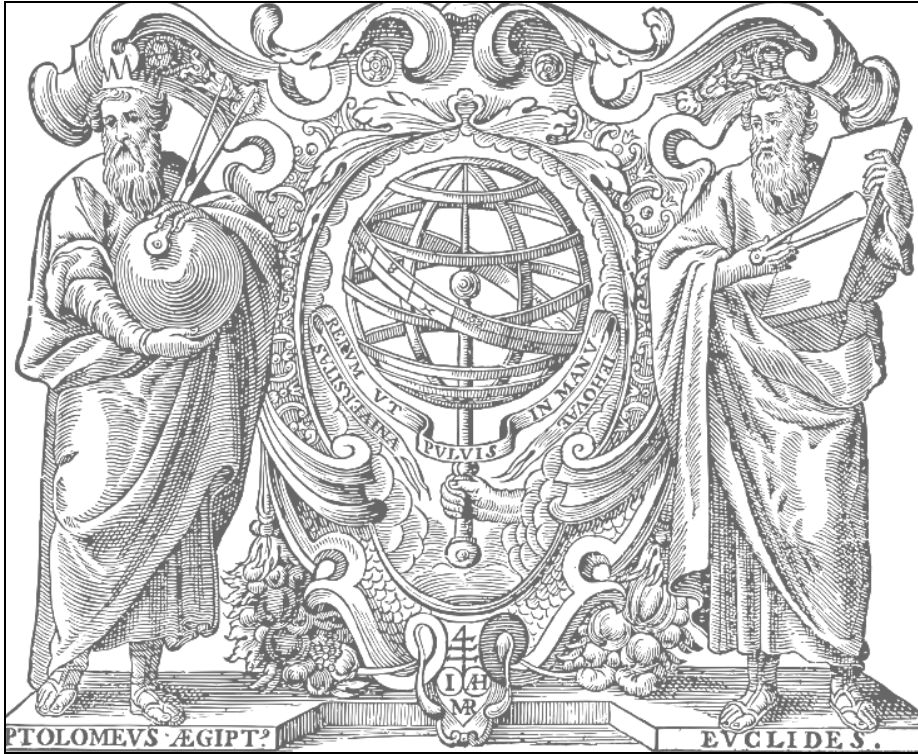
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History



THEORY OF COLOURS EXCERPT FROM LUCIAN BLAGA'S MEMOIRS ABOUT NICOLAE TITULESCU COMMENTED BY PhD NICOLAE MAREȘ

Abstract: *The Romanian Academy is the depository of many documents regarding the activity of the great Romanian diplomat - Nicolae Titulescu. I have published some of them in a separate volume.¹ I will refer below to the relationship between the two statesmen, Titulescu and Blaga, in fact to a speech given by Lucian Blaga, immediately after the WWII. Here is the story of the writer, philosopher, diplomat from Sebes.*

Keywords: *Lucian Blaga, WWII, Nicolae Titulescu, Titulescu, Goethe*

What you will hear today is not exactly a conference about Nicolae Titulescu, and not even a brief exposition on the activity of this politician and great diplomat. My ambition is different. I would like to make you a portrait of Titulescu based on personal memories. Having the advantage of being it more intimately known, I find it my duty to present to you first of all a figure throbbing in his every-day environment, a living man—as anyone fortunate enough to step on his threshold might have seen him . Allow me to warn you from the beginning of my modest intentions, so that you do not expect anything other than what I am determined to give you. I will therefore try to evoke some situations and moments, sometimes more solemn, sometimes more intimate, thanks to which the all too soon disappeared will come to life even in your imagination. And maybe I will manage not to disappoint those of you who would like to know not only Titulescu the man, but also his ideas.

In the spring of 1928, it was decided that I should be transferred from the legation of our country in Prague to the legation in Bern [1]. At that time, I was attached to the press for a while, a rather uncertain position, on the

¹ *Lucian Blaga* – the epistolary from the Romanian Academy, Altip Publishing House, Alba Iulia 2012 /115 p./ - volume about which the exegete Zenovie Cârlogea wrote with great precision in Portal-Măiastra.

side of diplomacy, which allowed the person who occupied it a very varied exercise. With this transference, one of the passionate thoughts that had possessed me since childhood was being fulfilled. About the beginning of April I found myself in the capital of Switzerland, which I was seeing for the first time in its more magnificent scenery than I had ever dreamed of.





Bern, Federal Palace of Switzerland(Bundeshaus).

I will never forget the first walk on the winding terraces of the city: behind me was the Middle Ages, with the sounds of centuries, of the citadel, and in front of me the alpine glaciers suspected in the geology of the mountains. The awakened chestnuts were showing their big buds, ready to burst. The wind-washed blue of the sky was almost unnatural. Unnatural especially for the usually very foggy city, where I was trying to take root. One of the days, my wife and I decided to go to Lausanne and Geneva, in order to get to know the other cities of Switzerland, the country that a great poet of the world had just then called "the gift of God". But not only making contact with the corners of this antechamber of the divinity was the purpose of the departure. I had found out at the legation that Niculae Titulescu, our country's foreign minister, contrary to his custom of not staying on the shores of Lake Geneva longer than the sessions of the League of Nations, was still in Geneva. What obstacles I would not have tried to overcome in order to one day appear before him, to know him! It was during the great trial of the Hungarian electors[2]. Titulescu, the valiant

defender of the Romanian thesis in this trial, who had filled the international press with his echoes, suffered a defeat in the January session. Now we were, as you said, in April.

Geneva showed its normal, proper, Calvinistic, somewhat numb appearance, which of course it could not have during the busy time of the League sessions, when the delegates and commissions of all the tribes of the globe assembled here, occupying all the hotels, and when the horns too many of the vehicles scared the seagulls flying over the lake. Now only the permanent officials, full of courtesy, of the institution circulated through the Palace of the League. Among the great figures of life, political and diplomatic, only Titulescu had remained in the locality. He had been ill for months. From time to time the rumors, escaping from the walls of the patient, stirred concern. Titulescu stays in a room at the Hôtel des Bergues, receiving only his few collaborators. No one, not even the most indiscreet of his friends, could have said what exactly was the disease that was consuming him. He was still sick. Heavily ill with an imponderable disease and without precise identity in medical treatises. Sick of the inner flame, which was burning him, reducing his existence to the limits of flickering. His genius could not bear the failure, which had intervened through the game of contingencies, and he was preparing, in the fever of a covered volcano, the rematch for the session that was supposed to take place in June. The serious creative temperature, the extreme sense of responsibility, the longing for revenge under the sign of a collective justice and the irresistible ardor of the possessed, did not give him respite, they had abolished his sleep and had problematized his very being: this was Titulescu's sacred disease.

In Geneva, my wife and I strolled the streets with historical memories, which start even from the time of Julius Caesar [3]. And I breathed in the thin air from the Lake Lemman quay. The landscape was wider, the ecstasy of the sap more advanced than in Bern. After a few hours of wandering, we finally stopped in the middle of the city, near a statue of Rousseau, on an island formed by the Rhône. My wife, a unique specialist in the games of expression of my physiognomy, saw me preoccupied with who knows what unspoken thought, which, as she had also remarked, received me at the very moment when we met the waters of the Rhone. "What do you have?" she asked me. "Look, what's up, - somewhere in the Theory of Colors, Goethe [4] talks about these places and mentions as an argument in favor

of his theories some strange effects of light and colors produced by the Rhone. The place must be right here, somewhere, and I can't identify it." "You're adorable," was the reply, "I wonder how theories still come to your mind, when you have light and colors in front of you!" "You're right." I say, and I began to see light and colors again, that is, universal lights and universal colors. I understood that I had to give up the identification of Goethean effects. The small island, where we were, was just in front of that old and elegant Hôtel des Bergues, where, in the calm penumbra, Titulescu was tortured, through free self-determination. But hadn't I come to Geneva with the hope of presenting myself at the hotel, in order to get to know him? After a few moments we entered the building. I asked for information. The porter told me: "The minister is sick". "Do you get it?" I ask. "Accept!" was the answer.

At the same moment, however, I felt that nothing gives me the right to disturb the creative fever, Titulescu's sacred illness. And I gave up in a heartbeat. We returned to Bern, with the hope that I will meet him in two months, during the session, when he will give his reply in the great trial.

Indeed, after two months we took the train to Geneva again. One of Titulescu's most valued collaborators prepared my first audience, which awakened in me all the potential for humiliation, under the burden of which I had always suffered. Titulescu was still in bed. The appearance was that of a sick person, but the verve - of a spirit pampered by an entire continent. He hardly allowed me to speak, which, given my invincible penchant for silence, was perfectly fine.

The man in front of me, alive as a flame put to the test of invisible breezes, this was Titulescu! He had an ageless "Asian" face, with some childlike features, but with indescribable glints in his eyes, where he gathered all his life. The disease of the body necessarily demanded such brightness, as a necessary complement. After some rigorous questions and answers, he let me talk about the voter process. Enter his domain with that certainty of movement that a secret homeland gives you. He showed me with ingenuous joy the ready-to-print volume, which he intended to launch on the day when the trial reached the League's debate. And he began to argue, raising, with wonderful ease, cyclopean blocks in front of me. I had to make the hardest efforts to be able to follow his dialectic, I, who was, in any case, quite used, from other fields, to the jumps from premises passed over in silence, to conclusions, which seem more surprises than

conclusions . Through the energy and subtlety of this dialectical game, through the vivacity of this crossing of swords with an opponent, who for him was always present, Titulescu gave me the impression of a being of a different order than the human one.

From where did he descend in front of me and due to what circumstances was he able to incarnate? Then, as later, in so many other situations where we met again, I said to myself: Yes, Titulescu is the most brilliant intelligence I have met in my life. A kind of embodiment of intelligence, understood as an archetype. On the same occasion, I realized for the first time his stylistic gift, facing any demands. Titulescu had a gift to define, an elegance and an economy of expression, which I could only compare with that of the philosopher Bergson [5]. Titulescu detained me for about two hours. He kept coming back to the process. Not only then, but also many times later, he also read to me from his notebooks with daily notes, where he wrote down, sometimes very dramatically, the conversations he had with the great statesmen of the time. (The history of the last decades will not be written without knowing these notes of Titulescu. Let's hope that the precious documents have not been lost!) When I left Titulescu's room, I said to him: "Mr. Minister , if

on the day of the debate, you will make a plea like the one just now, I think there will be no need to launch the volume!"

A few days later, the meeting in which the trial was to be debated took place at the League. The show was exciting. Everyone felt that the matter had reached a decisive turning point. On that memorable afternoon, the debate hall was packed. Only with great effort was I able to find a place among the correspondents of the newspapers from the four cardinal points. From the crowd I could still follow what was going to happen. Around the Council table there were delegations of various states, figures of the international chess game. Some big names, now are gone.



1928, Caricature Titulescu vs Apponyi

Count Apponyi had also made his appearance, tall, slender, slightly hunched over, with a sage's beard, with a very pronounced profile of an old eagle.

The count was without a doubt one of the most impressive figures, if only by his physical appearance. I was weighing the possible advantages and disadvantages - in the duel that was about to begin. I also knew Apponyi as a brilliant philosophical dialectician. He had taken

part, not long ago, in some discussions at a philosophical congress led by Count Keyserling[6], the head of the Darmstadt school. I also knew that the propaganda supported by the Hungarian landlords knew how to exploit with supreme skill the natural resistances, which the bourgeois laws of Europe opposed to a revolutionary act such as the agrarian reform in Romania[7]. Seeing Apponyi I said to myself: formidable opponent! And against such an opponent and in such an atmosphere, Titulescu will have to defend the legitimacy of the agrarian reform and justify the expropriation of Hungarian landowners, that is, landowners who had land in our country, but had opted for Hungarian citizenship.

Titulescu then entered the hall, tall and pale, with a controlled calmness. The crowd with hundreds of heads turned towards him and a thrill of curiosity passed over the banks of correspondents: Titulescu! I felt from this rumor the immense prestige that Titulescu enjoyed in international opinion. It was the first time, after four months, that Titulescu left the hotel room. The sacred disease was over.

The fight, which had announced itself to be as dramatic as the one in January, did not take place that afternoon, because the heavy, unheard fight had been taken outside the hall, in the hours preceding the meeting. We were only taking part in an epilogue of thunder after the storm.

In the meeting, Titulescu read a statement with a voice of noble metal and a conquering transparency, showing the Romanian point of view. The President of the League then rallied on behalf of the League Council to this Romanian point of view. Stunned by what was happening, Count Apponyi, obviously taken by surprise, raised his eagle nose and spoke as a kind of protest. But everything was in vain. The process of the optants really reached a turning point, from where there was no possible return. And if I'm not mistaken, Titulescu didn't have to release the volume.



Caricature, Titulescu Foreign Minister

That's how I met Titulescu. For years, then, I had frequent opportunities to follow and admire his activity on the international scene. At the League of Nations I saw him almost every session. Once, after a meeting, I had left the room in a corridor and was talking with one of his collaborators.

Our minister was also approaching us. Coming straight towards us, Titulescu said to me: "Listen, Blaga, did you just hear Stresemann's speech? He gave a quote from Goethe! In the afternoon I want to give him the answer. Find me, also in Goethe, a text that includes this idea..." And Titulescu clarified, adding: "It's impossible not to find this idea in Goethe as well!"

I immediately went to the library of the League, browsed, like the bear in the anecdote, through Goethe's works for a few hours. I did not find the

text, problematic in any case, that Titulescu would have needed to answer Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister[8]. In the afternoon, before the meeting, I regretfully had to inform Titulescu that I did not find what he wanted. But the answer given by Titulescu to Stresemann was brilliant enough and without the Olympic quote. However, due to grief, I did not sleep that night. Late, very late, at one of the small hours of the night, my wife asked me:

- All evening you seemed dejected. What do you have?
- Better ask me what I don't have.
- And this would be about what?
- Look, I have no luck with Goethe in Geneva.

The sphere of Titulescu's political and diplomatic concerns, spirit, in which realism harmoniously combined with the ideal elan, widened in touch with the object itself as international historical realities raised more and more varied problems. Around 1930, the economic crisis, triggered somewhere, had begun to swell like an expanding universe and was going crazy towards the most diverse forms of catastrophe. That world economic crisis was the disturbing sign of an overall situation. A misaligned humanity was preparing itself, little by little, perhaps without wanting to, but with the obstinacy of an adverse destiny, the most terrible surprises.

In Geneva, the international economic, political, financial conferences, variously labeled and supported by prodigious slogans, were held continuously. The proposed remedies turned out to be simple fictitious palliatives, doomed to remain buried in the archives of the League of Nations. The number of unemployed was increasing in the industrial countries, aspiring towards the great infinity; the prices of the products of the earth were falling in the agricultural countries, tending towards the small infinity. The solutions recommended in the debates called for wider international cooperation, but at the same time barriers and nationalisms were exalted in reality. The collapse of capitalism was prophesied, but at the same time secret preparations were being made along the lines of imperialism. In an atmosphere like this, troubled and equivocal, the Conference for disarmament also opened, this time even in the vast sound of the bells from all the churches in Geneva. That sound of bells, torn by a fierce wind, coming from Lake Lemman, I can still hear it in my ears, because instead of communicating any hope, it gives me, with its cadences of gloomy alarm, more soon the apocalyptic presentiment of the coming Fire.

At the Geneva conferences, especially at the economic ones, the delegates of different countries seemed perplexed, agitated, confused. It seemed that no reason had the necessary means to effectively impose itself. In people's heads, even the principles, the foundations, were beginning to shake.

In the fall of 1932, I had become a press advisor at our legation in Vienna. The transfer, desired by myself, had happened, by chance, just at a time when conditions in Austria promised to become particularly interesting to a foreign observer. I knew Vienna from my student days. However, 12 years had passed since I had left the university.

During this time, the former capital of the great empire of another time had turned, little by little, into a city, which made me experience the elegiac feeling of a civilization in decline. Talking to the local intellectuals, many of them unemployed, you were overwhelmed by some bitter affection in the face of decadence, in which most of them saw the beginning of the collapse of the West, about which Oswald Spengler spoke so convincingly to their melancholy[9]. Disappointed and desperate, these intellectuals threw themselves into the first whirlwind, which was gaining relief somewhere in social life. They had nothing to lose. When at the beginning of 1933 National Socialism took power in Germany, the situation in Austria suddenly worsened, turning into tumultuous forms. In the evening, from certain hours, it was very risky to walk through the streets, because at any corner you could get the nervous shock of an explosion. Titulescu, once again Minister of Foreign Affairs, after having been for some time only minister in London and representative to the League, demanded to be informed, day by day, about everything that was being prepared in Vienna. He had warned us that Austria would soon become the most sensitive point on the continent's skin and predicted that the most "symptomatic" events would take place here in the years to come. Compared to my rather precarious occupations in Switzerland up to that point, the new assignments that were given to me, among others that of keeping the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed about the internal situation in Austria, completely absorbed me, but they also fascinated me at the same time. For me personally, my activity at that time had been an opportunity to become much more useful than I could have been in Switzerland, which brought me even closer to Titulescu, who happily appreciated my new interests. In August 1933, I had the happy opportunity to stay for a few days again near the "Patron", as all those who loved him called him and who gave him the competition, each according to his powers.



August 1933, Bad Gastein.

Titulescu had come to Austria, to rest for a few weeks in Bad Gastein. The Viennese doctors had recommended such a rest. I was overjoyed when, one day, with a courier from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, several envelopes arrived at the legation that had to be urgently sent to Titulescu. I took them myself to Bad Gastein, where the Minister of Foreign Affairs, through a friendly and touching gesture of condescension, then detained me for a few days.

One afternoon he invited me to his place. From word to word, I realized that Titulescu had entered into a kind of exposition, very eloquent, on the international situation, which, after the failure of the Disarmament Conference, was evolving towards not exactly gratifying visions. No one

realizes the seriousness of the historical turning point reached in international life as well as Titulescu. But he only knew one goal, that of safeguarding peace. In the then phase of evolution and under the conditions of the moment, Titulescu tried to give as monolithic a character as possible to the Little Understanding (for which he also dreamed of a very solid buttress in a Balkan Pact), because only such an organization seemed to him could in the circumstances of the hour ensure the interests of the small states, placed at the gate of Nazi imperialism.

Titulescu had not shaken, in the least, the belief he had for years that peace could be saved through the League of Nations, provided that Russia also entered the Geneva Society[10]. Titulescu had become one of the protagonists who prepared the atmosphere in Western capitals for Russia's entry into the League of Nations. On this road, of saving peace through the Genevan body, Titulescu aspired to finally reach a detente in Eastern Europe as well. Titulescu was always looking for formulas that could become guiding slogans. He prepared and polished his formulas with the patience and zeal of a diamond polisher. He tried a thousand times all their shades, reflections, shadows, until the formulas began to pulsate with their own light. All the known efforts, which were made in the diplomatic activity, from those years, in order to legally define the aggression, are not alien either to Titulescu's suggestions or to the way of working. I would not dare to say that in the conversation I had in Bad-Gastein with Titulescu, he would have shown his ideas in words exactly, but his expositions, in which he calculated all kinds of eventualities and in which the most varied hypotheses, for which Titulescu, like any great diplomat, reserved a certain freedom of movement, his expositions, I say, moved along this line.

That's what Titulescu thought. He had the broad lines of a conception in his head, but, on vigorously sketched axes, he calculated with countless details, even unlikely, but not excluded, for which he fitted the totality of the conditioned reaction. In the scaffolding of his ideas, always bold, although they were most often of a defensive nature, he put an astonishing precision and legal prudence, and once again an exceptional passion for formulation. In new situations, Titulescu never limited himself to answering with used formulas. When the propaganda for territorial revisions, which threatened our integrity, had taken on proportions, Titulescu knew how to answer: not revision, but the sublimation, the spiritualization of borders! To complete the intellectual portrait I am drawing, I should add that Titulescu sometimes liked to have someone in front of him, to whom he could make such

expositions. He felt as if stimulated by even the most clumsy presence of someone, because he was thus encouraged to think of new and new possibilities.

I do not deign to pass over in silence one more detail with which our conversation ended, then in Bad Gastein, a detail that sheds a characteristic light on Titulescu's soul. When I left, he asked me what other intentions I had for that day. "I want to go for a walk," I answer. And then, he, passing easily from the most passionate concerns, said to me with a child's candor: "Yes, do you want to go for a walk?...Go then, walk – over there, on a path that leads through the fir forest. It's very beautiful. Don't forget to pick up some hazelnuts from the corner shop. When you pass through the forest, hold the hazelnuts in your open palm, you will see the squirrels come, jump on your shoulder, one after the other, and steal the hazelnuts from your palm!" "Well, right!?", I wonder. "Yes, that's right", answers Titulescu, "this is also proof that we are here in Europe!"

It is known that Titulescu traveled a lot. He preferred to stop at beautiful places, which he had no ambition to discover. In Geneva, where even assignments fixed him for a while and intermittently, he had hatched a nest. From here he sometimes went to Montreux or through other surroundings of current fame. In Switzerland, he particularly loved Saint-Moritz. It seems, however, that he preferred the Mediterranean to the Swiss landscape. That Cannes, with the aromas of seaweed and sea shells, that Cannes with the old buildings wearing the patina of the ages and with an atmosphere of sailors and fishermen, attracted him again and again.

Sometimes, in favorable seasons, he also stopped at Lido-Venetia, where he sunbathed. Titulescu didn't really trust the number of his red cells and wanted to tan, if possible even to African shades, to compete with the famous star Josephine Backer, as he often joked. Anyway, he didn't like traveling. When he himself was prevented from moving, he did not forget to impart this pleasure to his friends and collaborators in his immediate vicinity. While sitting in the room, in the warmth of the greenhouse, he made plans for a trip for his friends. I remember, thus, that once in Geneva, one afternoon, finding myself at my hotel, I woke up with a phone call: "Is that you, Blaga?...Would you like to take a walk to Montreux with Mme. Titulescu, with Mrs. and Mr.... X, with Ștefan Nenițescu [11] and Savel [12]?... Are you going to the top of the mountain, it's just the daffodil season... I live on then, or if not, I'll pick you up in the morning from Montreux..." He also surprised us with the project of a trip when we went to

Bad Gastein. This time we were going to leave in a more compact group, with several cars, through the surroundings with ancient villages and unforgettable landscapes. He agreed, to everyone's joy, to take part as well. After we set off, however, I noticed that Titulescu, otherwise always in high spirits, kept some distance from everything we saw and only gave tangential glances at Nature. Like anything possessed, he constantly relapsed into his preoccupations. In such moments of inner isolation, you could only hear him, addressing his closest collaborator: "Listen, Savel, what happened to that thing...?" The demons of the problems did not allow him a single moment of relaxation... He devoured problems and was devoured by problems. Seeing the fires that flickered in his eyes, you wondered, without wanting to, and with difficulty stifling a concern, how long that fragile body would resist its own ardor. But let me come back.

Passing through a region of profiles, sometimes gentle, sometimes violently alpine, we stopped to eat in a picturesque Austrian hunting village. The restaurant was waiting for its guests near a small church of a special charm, which was chosen for centuries. The organ could be heard from the little church. We all entered, called by the abrupt and bold sounds. In the shelter, we were met by the curiosity of about twenty boys, between 10 and 12 years old; they made up a group led by a master and had a medieval air: it was the famous "Wiener Sangerknaben" choir. There were also these children, whose voices I knew from the gramophone records broadcast all over the world, on a longer trip through the forests of their homeland. The trip was, with its cheerfulness, probably the reward for some new success carried by the choir. Leaving the little church, the master invited us to stop for a moment and placed his boys in a choral position like in a Van Eyck painting[13]. Dibuisse knew somehow that Titulescu was among us and decided to honor him in this way: he wanted to sing something for us. And the boys sing, with their seraphic, uplifting, heartbreaking heavenly voices, a hymn of joy by Mozart. I noticed, not only in Titulescu's eyes, but also in everyone's eyes, a pearl of emotion. Both the anthem and the truly angelic voices lifted us up, but of course also the unexpected gesture, so spontaneous, which so movingly illustrated the public sympathy and the magic atmosphere that was created everywhere around Titulescu's name.



May, 21, 1935, Vienna.

And now, to conclude, let me mention a few more memories, from later, which also bring their past to the emerging picture. In the spring of 1935, I was still in Vienna, in the same job at the legation. The political situation in Austria, which had not long been shaken by two short revolutions [14], continued to be uncertain and confused. Under the veil of apparent normalization, a latent lava smouldered. The Austrian government at the time, authoritarian, aiming to save a simulacrum of independence, which lived only by the grace of a foreign power, allowed with increasing goodwill the most obvious propaganda for a Habsburg restoration, while underground currents, after an attempt failed, they pushed for the Anschluss.

For any more expert eye, from the outside, the situation in Austria had really become, as Titulescu had predicted, the most sensitive barometer of international cyclones and anticyclones. Titulescu, endowed with an innate sense for identifying such barometers, continued to take a close interest in the reactions of homo austriacus, the frog that signaled the most imperceptible changes, which were occurring in the general atmosphere of the continent. We, the officials of the legation in Vienna, were forced by history on the march, to stay at our post, in endless tension. I think there was rarely a better school for young foreign diplomats than the

one offered to them in Vienna during that period of about five years before the Anschluss. Never has a situation put more into practice the power of divination of the diplomatic observer, from hour to hour. Titulescu, whenever he passed to the West, with his ministerial carriage, equipped with all the necessary comfort, not for the huzur, as it suited some to gossip, but only to facilitate office work and during the journey, he also stopped in the Austrian capital, at least for a few hours, when I gave him the last information and gave him a kind of summary verbal reports on political situations.



May, 21, 1935, Vienna.

No matter how tired he was, sometimes, from the inconveniences inherent in the journey, Titulescu, the bundle of nerves, quickly calmed down, as soon as he got off the station platform, and if he also took a ride in the legation's car around the city, he regained his usual manner, calmness and temperament . To those who accompanied him, he communicated something of his fickle euphoria, so that for days after his departure, we still felt Titulescu's spirit in the air of Vienna. On the occasion of such a descent, I think it was precisely in the spring of 1935, he had learned that only a few days before a Romanian politician had passed through Vienna, returning from Nazi Berlin, where he had groped for a rapprochement. Then I saw Titulescu in a moment of revolt, in the pose of prerogatives, to which his genius itself gives him a legitimate right. He

began to wither in words from the most lashing attempts aimed at a foreign policy beyond the line he could see, or against the actions he was undertaking. And it's as if I still hear his blunt words today: "...the new European war, if it breaks out, will repeat, of course not in details, but in broad terms, the First World War. The war will be long and hard. At first Germany will be successful, but in the end it will be defeated...". Then Titulescu calmed down. And he moved on to other matters. He was interested in how the "brotacelul" behaved, which announced the bad weather. At the station, when it was leaving for the West, I very timidly handed it to him, and only at the moment when the train started moving, because earlier I had not dared, a book of mine, which had appeared just then - the play Avram Iancu. He smiled at me: "You know I'm going to read it." For me, Titulescu's promise, that he would read, was sufficient satisfaction, although I was possessed by the conviction that he would never have time for such a thing.



May, 21, 1935, Vienna.

A few weeks have passed. When Titulescu returned to the country again, I set up again at the station. This time, he did not intend to stop in Vienna, except for the few minutes indicated in the usual itinerary of the express. I got into his carriage, I communicated some Austrian news, very hastily and nervously fearing that the train might not start.

He also told me some of his exploits. He had torpedoed I don't know what international combination, which could become dangerous for small states. Then I got off the platform, because departure signals could be heard. After I got off, I approached a window of the carriage, where Titulescu's head had appeared, calling me in a loud voice: "Blaga, come and tell you something..." and without any connection to what we had just discussed, Titulescu began, without any hesitation, to recite from memory some verses from Avram Iancu:

*In the forest,
All birds sleep
only one doesn' fall asleep,
dreaming to become a man*

"I don't know why, but I really like these lyrics", concluded Titulescu, as the train started to move.



May, 21, 1935, Vienna.

We waved to each other, then we didn't see him again. I remained for some time with my head uncovered, on the platform, with my thoughts far away. Titulescu had recited the verses in which I was talking about the great mythological bird from the Apuseni Mountains, which, in my play, stands guard near the heart of the nation. And today, so many years after what happened then, it seems to me that I suspect why Titulescu recited those lines: "In the forest all the birds sleep, only one does not sleep, which is to become a man"... Titulescu felt subconsciously, subconsciously, a kinship between the holy insomnia of that watchful bird and his insomnia. Because he also suffered from insomnia near the destinies of the country, from a cursed insomnia for him and for us, because it would destroy him before the time, so that today, at a crossroads like no other ever, when we would have such much need of his vigil, he is no longer among us.

November, 1945.

[1] For the entire political-diplomatic activity of Lucian Blaga cf. Constantin I. Turcu, *Lucian Blaga or the fascination of diplomacy*, Enciclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995, 261 p.; *Lucian Blaga, From diplomatic activity (Reports, articles, letters, requests, telegrams). Years 1927–1938*, vol. I–III, neat edition, foreword, notes, afterword and index of names by Pavel Ţugui, Eminescu Publishing House, 1995, 294 p., 324 p., 408 p.

[2] Nicolae Titulescu had an essential contribution in solving the issue of optants, debated before various international courts, from 1922 to 1930. Approximately 500 Hungarian landowners from Transylvania, who had opted for Hungarian citizenship (using the provisions in this sense of the Treaty of peace from Trianon), had been expropriated by the Agrarian Reform legislated by the Romanian Government in 1921. Dissatisfied with the loss of the land, they first addressed the Romanian courts, then the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris (1922) and the Council of the League of Nations, claiming the illegality of the expropriation in relation to the provisions of the Trianon Peace Treaty, as well as the unequal application of the law of expropriation in favor of the Hungarian owners. The "optants" also claimed an increased allowance for the lost land. From April 1923, when the problem was debated in the Council of the Society of Nations, and until its solution in 1930, Nicolae Titulescu defended, with

firmness and intelligence, the rights of Romania and achieved, in some memorable debates, with Count Apponyi as his opponent, some in-depth analyzes of the points in dispute. Finally, the dispute got a definitive solution through the Hague Agreements (1930), together with the regulation of debts and war reparations. His main interventions took place on 20 and 23 April 1923, 27 May 1923, 5 July 1923, 5 September 1925, 2 July 1927, 17 and 19 September 1927, 8, 9 and 12 March 1928. In essence, within these interventions, Nicolae Titulescu argued: full compatibility between expropriation from 1921 and the provisions of the Trianon Peace Treaty, including the Statute of Minorities; perfect equality of treatment in the application of the Agrarian Reform; the sovereign right of the Romanian state to proceed with expropriation; the positive role of the Agrarian Reform for maintaining and strengthening the social-economic structure of the country, as well as maintaining social order in an entire region of Europe.

[3] Caius Iulius Caesar (100–44 î.H.). Romanian politician, general, writer and orator.

[4] Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832). German writer, thinker and scientist

[5] Henri Bergson (1859–1941). French philosopher

[6] Herman Alexander von Keyserling (1880–1946). German philosopher and writer.

[7] On July 17, 1921, the law was adopted to finalize the Agrarian Reform in the Old Kingdom. According to the expropriation rules, established by the Alexandru Averescu Government, the expropriation of 6,008,098 hectares was ensured, of which 3,998,753 hectares are arable (in all of Romania), including Transylvania. On July 30, the Law for finalizing the Agrarian Reform in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș was adopted.

[8] Gustav Stresemann (1878–1929). German politician, statesman and diplomat. President of the National Liberal Party and, after the war, of the German Populist Party. Deputy in the Reichstag (1907–1912; 1914–1929). Chancellor (1923). Minister of Foreign Affairs (1923–1929). He pursued a policy aimed at revising the Treaty of Versailles. He linked his name to the international conferences in the field of reparations (the Dawes Plan - 1924 and the Young Plan - 1929), the Locarno agreements (1925), the entry of Germany into the League of Nations (1926), the signing of the Briand-Kellogg Pact of renunciation to war as an instrument of national policy (1928). In 1925 he signed with the USSR Government a Non-Aggression and Neutrality Treaty. In 1926 he shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Aristide Briand.

[9] Oswald Spengler (1880–1936). German philosopher.

[10] On September 15, 1934, Nicolae Titulescu signed, together with the representatives of 30 other states, the invitation addressed to the USSR to enter the League of Nations.

[11] Stefan I. Nenițescu (1897–1979). Romanian writer, beautician and diplomat. Professor in aesthetics at the University of Bucharest. Collaborations at: "Literary conversations"; "Spike"; "The European Idea"; "Flame"; "Lightning"; "Thinking"; "Truth" etc.

[12] Savel Rădulescu.

[13] Hubert și Jan Van Eyck (Hubert: n.?–1426).

[14] On March 15, 1933 – coup organized by Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss; July 25, 1934 – coup attempt organized by the National Socialists, Hitler's agents assassinate Engelbert Dollfuss.

**"ARDEALUL" – "ROMÂNIA", CHISINAU, 1917-1918
THE INVOLVEMENT OF THIS PUBLICATION IN THE
STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND UNION.
THE ROLE OF ONISIFOR GHIBU**

(II – Continued from ISSUE 7)

PhD Viorica MOISUC

"România Nouă" continues the activity of the newspaper
"Ardealul (Transilvania)".

In the context shown, the refugees in Russia from Austria and Hungary organized themselves politically for the national liberation struggle. A Committee of Nationalities from Austria-Hungary had been established which collaborated with the grouping of Transylvanians and Bucovinians from Odesa around Octavian Goga. On January 2, 1918, Onisifor Ghibu, present in Odesa, convened, together with Goga, a group of Transylvanian, Bukovinian, refugees from the region and laid the foundations, then, of the National Committee of Romanians subjugated from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; president was elected G. Baiculescu, former mayor of Braşov, and elected members, dr. G. Meţianu, dr. Ion Nistor, O. Goga, Dr. O Ghibu, O.C. Tăzlăoanu, Sever Bocu, M Popovici.

The adopted program provided, among other things: "live and intense propaganda for and until the complete solution of the Romanian national question"; the organization in Stockholm and Lausanne of some "Special Offices" that will collaborate with the already existing ones of the oppressed nationalities in Austria-Hungary for "the creation of a common battle front of all Romanians in order to destroy the dualist state"; the formation of a "new army of Transylvanian and Bucovina volunteers from the ranks of our prisoners in Italy" (Mihai Popovici, a member of the Committee, was delegated to go to Italy for this purpose); the members in France and the USA of the Committee "will act through the Romanian press there to

maintain in the bodies of Romanian volunteers full faith in the justice and victory of the cause for which they are fighting"¹.

In those days when the Bolshevik gangs were looting and terrorizing autonomous Bessarabia, the well-known tragic episode took place in the Chisinau train station where, on January 6, the 1000 Transylvanian volunteers arrived. Greeted by the Bolsheviks with bullets, they were disarmed and imprisoned; on January 13 they were released by the Romanian army.

In these circumstances, when in Bessarabia there were harsh confrontations between the national forces and the Russian and Ukrainian Bolsheviks, "Ardealul (Transylvania)" became a daily newspaper under the name "România Nouă", a propaganda organ for the Political Union of all Romanians. It comes out every working day." Director, Dr. Onisifor Ghibu. The management of the new Romanian newspaper was ensured by an Editorial Committee made up of Transylvanians, Bessarabians, Bukovinians, citizens of the Old Kingdom, Macedonians, and Timocians. It is significant that the first issue of the newspaper publishes a document of major importance for the history of that year of grace, 1918: the Chisinau Declaration of Romanian intellectuals from all territories inhabited by Romanians, considered to be the First Declaration of Union of all Romanians. The ideas - strength of this document elaborated by personalities of the Romanian culture a century ago have a strong current resonance.

"...Our people, deprived of a political union, have been condemned to eternal humiliation and oppression, and if they do not unite at least now, their future will be even more painful than the past full of tears and sobs - it was shown at the very beginning of this Declaration. Only the lost and sold out do not want to understand this and insist that our ancient lands remain in the hands of foreigners from now on. ... Led by these views, the Romanian refugees gathered around the "Ardealul" newspaper, joining hands with the youth of Bessarabia, considered that the time had come to enter into open struggle for the political union of all Romanians in one state... Starting with today, when all Romanians must celebrate the memory of the first union, accomplished in 1859 between two Romanian countries, new, the lowest ranked, we no longer count: Transylvanians, Bessarabians, Bucovinians, etc. d., and we no longer consider ourselves only as sons of the same people, but as citizens of the same Romanian unitary state, as citizens of the New Romania of all Romanians..." A

¹ For further details see Onisifor Ghibu, *Pe Baricadele vieții...*, p. 496-498.

significant appeal to the Bessarabians was included in the document : "...if until now it could mean a danger for someone to fight in Bessarabia for the unification of the nation, from here on, having the shield of the Romanian army, it would be a betrayal (sale) if the Bessarabians did not understand their highest national duty. The fear of strangers must disappear once and for all!" At the end of the Declaration, a solemn commitment was made: "For the realization of this Romania we will work, for its realization we will live, for its realization we will die if necessary".

This Declaration coincided with the historic Decision of the Council of the Country proclaiming the independence of the Republic of Moldova².

The progress of the works, the speeches given, the debates that took place, reported in "New Romania", highlighted the fact that "Proclaiming non-attachment is a political requirement of the time, because the Republic of Moldova can no longer expect anyone to arrange its life." Announcing the program of economic and social reforms, the Declaration of January 24 also referred to the importance of the presence of the Romanian army on the land of Bessarabia: "their presence on our land helps to establish order in the country...all the rumors, such as that the Romanians have come to take over our country and rule us, do not match the truth...the Romanian troops do not threaten our independence, freedom and the rights won through the revolution". It is worth noting that in the speeches given by the deputies in the meeting of the Council of the Country, the idea of uniting all Romanians in one state was emphasized. Recounting the celebration of the Proclamation of Independence, the "România Nouă" newspaper included the following comment: "...From now on, our nation has concretely begun its work of integration. We all have the hope that we will reach the days when our country will truly stretch from the Dniester to the Tisa". It is symptomatic that all the speeches given on this occasion "...talked about the unification of the nation and the idea of Latinity". On January 25, the newspaper published the telegram addressed by the Council of the Land to King Ferdinand "of all Romanians", accompanied by the following text: "New Romania Newspaper, published in Chisinau on January 25, under the leadership of a committee made up of Romanians from all countries, pays

² „România Nouă ”, no. 9 from January 27, 1918; „Cuvînt Moldovenesc”, no. 10 from January 29, 1918. Cf. *Basarabia Bucovina Transilvania ...*, doc. no. 61, p. 201-203.

you respectful tributes on the occasion of this day, showing its firm belief that soon we will be allowed to celebrate the day of the union of all Romanians in a new Romania, under the wise guidance of Your Majesty. On behalf of the committee. Dr. Onisifor Ghibu³.

The evolution of the events in Bessarabia in the days of December 1917 - January 1918, which attested to the perspective of their orientation towards the definitive break with the Russian federal conglomerate and the union with Romania, provoked harsh reactions from the Ukrainian Bolshevik authorities who were betting on the profit that could be obtained from the situation of an unprecedented severity in Romania, on the one hand, from the weakness of the Republic of Moldova - autonomous or independent - but which could not face the terrorism of the gangs alone armed Bolsheviks, the influence of anti-Romanian propaganda on an important part of Bessarabian society. Consequently, on January 23/February 5, the Central Executive Committee of the Rumcerod in Odesa, complaining to the diplomatic representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers accredited in Romania about the situation in Bessarabia following the "occupation" of the province by the Romanian army, requested the creation of a mixed commission made up of their representatives, the Rumcerod, the Military Mission and the Romanian Consulate in Odessa; this "will travel to the site to study all the events that took place in Bessarabia and on the territory of the Russian front, after which the representatives of Rumcerod and the neutral consulates will go to the Headquarters of the Romanian Government to communicate to it the minutes of the above-mentioned commission and to conduct official negotiations on the occupation of Bessarabia by Romanian troops as well as on the circumstances in which this occupation took place"⁴. Three days later, the Italian minister in

³ „România Nouă”, from January 25, 1918. Cf. Onisifor Ghibu, *Pe Baricadele vieții...p. 521*.

The newspaper also reported the concert given "in honor of the anniversary of the union of the Principalities" by the Cultural Society of Romanians from Bessarabia, when, Ghibu wrote, patriotic songs were sung, poems written by Mihai Eminescu, Octavian Goga were recited. In Iași, Mihail Sadoveanu, in the substantive article of the "România" newspaper of January 31, wrote about the celebrations organized in Chisinau on the occasion of January 24 by the "România Nouă" newspaper (Idem, p. 521-522).

⁴ ABAR, Fund XIV, file 1010, vol. 2, f. 5-7 (original in French). Telegram f.n. Odessa, sent by the consul general of Italy, Dévisart, to the Italian legation in Iași to be communicated to the ministers of the Allied Powers accredited in Romania.: contains the Note of the Executive Committee of the Rumcerod, signed by

Iasi, Fasciotti, communicated to Consul Dévisart in Odessa, the acceptance, in principle, by the Allied Powers of Rumcerod's proposals; The Romanian government agreed that three of its representatives, along with three representatives of Rumcerod and three representatives of the Allied Powers, would constitute a "commission of inquiry to investigate the complaints regarding the events that took place on Romanian territory"⁵.

As it turns out, the object of the commission of "investigation" would have been according to the Romanian point of view, completely different from the one supported by Rumcerod. But the Russian and Ukrainian anti-Romanian Bolshevik abuses continued in even more aggressive forms. The documents of those days contain data and facts of extreme gravity. For example, of special interest is the confidential and personal Report of January 21, 1918 sent to the Prime Minister I.I.C. Brătianu of the Munitions Directorate, regarding the events that took place in Odesa - where there were many Romanian refugees, including members of the Parliament, personnel serving the Romanian ships sheltered in the port of Odesa, employees of Romanian enterprises evacuated to the area, soldiers, consular employees. The food and armament warehouses were confiscated, the means of private transport and of the Romanian state were requisitioned, etc.⁶ On January 9, the maximalist gangs "that became aggressive" were

Judovski, the president of the Rumcerod, Terțiške, the president of the International Section, Hristov, secretary, addressed to Dévisart, the consul of Italy and dean of the consuls of the Allied Powers in Odessa. The note was sent to Iași accompanied by the following text: "Considering the seriousness of the situation in Odessa and especially the dangers that threaten the Romanian Consulate, the undersigned consuls, through their dean, ask the Italian Legation to have the kindness to transmit this telegram to the ministers of the Allied Forces in Iași and help them so that, in the shortest possible time, they can give an answer to the Note received from Rumcerod." Signed: Dévisart, Consul General of Italy, Grecianu, Consul General of Romania, Rapsonbel, Consul General of Greece, Rey, Consul General of the United States, Iserovitch, Consul General of Serbia, Vantier, Consul General of France, Landon Gerart, Consul General of Great Britain. Cf. Bessarabia, Bucovina, Transylvania..., doc. no. 59, p. 197-199.

⁵ Idem, loc. cit., f. 9 (original in French), Telegram f. n. Iasi, January 26/February 8, 1918 signed Fasciotti, to the Italian Consul in Odessa, Dévisart, reply to the latter's telegram of January 23/February 5, 1918.

⁶ A. BAR, Fund XIV, vol. II, file no. 656, f. 28-31. Confidential, personal report, no. 25 of 29. I. 1918 of the Central Directorate of Munitions to I.I. C. Brătianu, signed Director General, ss. I live Vintilă Brătianu notes on the first page of this document: "Report received by Mr. Iunian deputy. It will be communicated in copy to the Ministry of War, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the

arrested, Commander Pantazi, Captain Rosetti, Senators Cantili and Stavri Brătianu, confiscating two cars on that occasion; in the Razdelnaia station, the Transylvanian courier officers coming from Kiev, with all the mail they were carrying, were arrested"; following the protest of the consular corps, Commander Pantazi and Captain Rosetti were released. On January 10, the Romanian-Ukrainian joint commission that had been set up to investigate the action of the Romanian army in Bessarabia, was brought from Chisinau to Odesa, and the Romanian officers Colonel Ghenădescu and Captain Lukasiévici were arrested and kept on the ship "Sinope". On this occasion "the fund of almost two million lei was confiscated." Against a bail of 50,000 rubles, a group of arrestees was released, including Captain Rosetti - accused of espionage - and Major Protopopescu, the commander of the Aviation School "who had been arrested the day before while going to work". On January 13, street fighting began in Odessa, between "the maximalist and Ukrainian troops, who wanted to take control of the city" (Odessa).

The context was favorable for these abuses, because in Petrograd, the Supreme Soviet had decided to sever diplomatic relations with Romania, arrested the Romanian diplomatic corps and confiscated all the country's Treasury entrusted to the Russian "ally". Actions were carried out in Odessa, the purpose of which was not only simple robbery, but the annihilation of any possibilities of the former Romanian ally to survive in the conditions in which it was, using the goods that were still stored on Russian territory. Under the Bolshevik terror, "our posts everywhere were disarmed, their weapons were confiscated, the ammunition, weapons, sanitary depots, warehouses and wagons in the port were attacked... the Romanian Consulate was searched... The loaded barges in the port, the aviation park, the ship «Curator» which had arrived from Kherson with the parliamentarians, and our warehouses in Zastava and Odessa. In all of this, their sentinels were placed, while ours moved away". Also then, 30 Ford cars were confiscated. And the robberies continued. 18 wagons were loaded with ammunition and weapons from the Romanian warehouses in Karlovka "which they sent to Moscow, saying that the entire contents of the warehouses in Karlovka and Selestina will be shipped to Moscow and Petrograd". The robberies and abuses of the Bolshevik authorities in Odessa continued. On January 20, director general Vivescu together with generals Crăiniceanu, Cociaș and Cernescu addressed a Note to Rumcerod requesting the release of the arrested

Interior, for aknowledge". Signed: ss. V. Brătianu. (cf. Bessarabia Bucovina Transilvania..., doc. no. 63, p. 207).

Romanians and the restitution of confiscated goods. Rumcerod conditioned everything on the withdrawal of the Romanian army from Bessarabia; in the following days the biggest campaign of reprisals was unleashed:

arresting from their homes a large part of the parliamentarians and almost 40 officers from the various services in Odesa ... they occupied the offices of the Supply and Transport Commission, closing all the service personnel together with the officers, leaving only the offices of the French officers open ... Today, January 21, addressing us again to Rumcerod, he justified the arrests by the mistrust and fear they had following the news that the Romanian army, crossing the Dniester, was looking to advance towards Odesa. ⁷

The situation continued to deteriorate at the official level as a result of the strengthening of the unionist trend in Bessarabia, but also of the ever closer ties between the officials in Bessarabia and the government in Iași. When "România Nouă" published the Declaration of the teaching staff in primary education in Chisinau County, which expressed the desire for "unification of the entire Romanian nation"⁸, The Kiev Soviet addressed a five-point ultimatum to the Romanian Government with the request that it "give a categorical order to the Romanian troops that occupied the territory of the Russian Federal Republic"⁹

to withdraw to Romania's borders", specifying in point 5: "I allow 48 hours from the moment of your receipt of this request for the response of the Government from Iași regarding the withdrawal of Romanian troops to your garrisons. Failure to receive an affirmative response from your Government will attract the immediate opening of vigorous military action from the "Russian Revolutionary Army". ¹⁰

⁷ Ibid. After repeated protests and interventions by French diplomats, Rumcerod released the parliamentarians and the officers of the Commission, detaining the aviation officers and the artillerymen in the port of Odesa, at the same time asking for "assurances from the Romanian government that their demands will be satisfied" - that is, the withdrawal of the Romanian army from Bessarabia.

⁸ "New Romania", year II, no. 12 of February 2/15, 1918, Declaration of the primary education teaching staff in the Chisinau Region, signed: President of the Chisinau Region Teachers' Union, Podlesnâi, Secretary, Popescu. See also "Cuvînt Moldovenesc," no. 14 of February 7, 1918.

⁹ It was the territory of Bessarabia, considered by the Bolsheviks as "Russian territory".

¹⁰ Arch. MAE, Fund 71 / USSR, vol 133, f. 288-289, Kiev, February 2/15, 1918, Ultimatum addressed to the Romanian Government, Iasi, signed Supreme

According to some old traditions, the Russian expansionist plans did not even take into account the conditions expressed in the documents that belonged to them. On February 3 (old style), the Russian General Weber arrived in Chisinau with "the task of forming Russian armies on the territory of our Republic - wrote the President of the Council of General Directors, Ciuhureanu, to General Averescu, the head of the Romanian Government, in Iași - and to requisition the warehouses of all categories that the Russian armies left on our territory during their retreat"¹¹. Consequently, Averescu was requested "to order the Command of the Romanian troops in Chisinau to give us the competition in case of need to safeguard our great interests." This request was also made to General Prezan, the head of the Romanian General Staff. The situation being serious, an answer was expected from Iași the very next day, February 4¹². Averescu's answer is dated February 8/21 and has 4 points. Averescu's idea was that Muraviev's attitude was due to some "misunderstandings", because, the Romanian Prime Minister explained, "Romanian troops entered Bessarabia, following the formal request of the Government of the Republic of Moldova" (art. 1), Their purpose *it is exclusively to guarantee the security of the military warehouses we have in Bessarabia and to ensure normal traffic on the railways in Bessarabia!"* (art. 2). In conclusion, stated Averescu's answer, *"the aggressive attitude shown by the higher authorities in Kiev towards Romania is not justified"*¹³.

On the same day - February 8/21, 1918 - Fasciotti, the Italian minister (dean of the diplomatic corps accredited in Romania), sent Dévisart, in Odessa, nine telegrams with identical text to be communicated to all the consuls of the Allied and Associated Powers who were there. It was the

Commander ss. Muraviev, Chief of Staff, ss. Smirnov. Transmitted to the Romanian government by General Coandă.

¹¹ Through a previous Decision, the Council of General Directors decided that all Russian deposits remaining on the territory of Bessarabia should become the property of the state. It also banned the formation of Russian troops on its territory.

¹² A. BAR, Fond XIV, , vol II, file 1010, f. 7, Deciphered Telegram, Cipher Directorate of the MAE, Division 11, to Mr. General Averescu, February 16, 1918. The President of the Council of General Directors of the Moldavian Republic to the President of the Romanian Government, Iași.

¹³ Idem, f.18 (the original in French), Telegram f.n., Iași, February 8/21, Averescu to General Coandă in Kiev. To be communicated to Muraviev. Cf. Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania, doc. no. 69, p. 217.

firm support of the Romanian Government by all Allies regarding its position towards the Russian "ultimatum" signed by Muraviev on February 2/15.

We must protest vigorously against the attitude adopted by Rumcerod which takes no account at all of the state of the talks which we have undertaken at the request of Rumcerod himself, nor of the concerted proposals between their own delegates and the allied delegates. We particularly protest against the arrests of Romanians and the inhumane treatment they were subjected to. Communicating the above to Rumcerod, please insist with the greatest firmness for the release of the Romanians and for the resumption of talks.....as regards Bessarabia, you will be reminded that the intervention of the Romanian troops is a military operation without any political character, undertaken in full agreement with the Allies and the Bessarabian authorities, for the obvious humanitarian purpose and to ensure the supply of the Russian and Romanian troops, as well as the civilian population.¹⁴

At that time, the revolutionary effervescence was growing in Bessarabia. By definitively breaking away from the conglomerate of federative Russia on January 24, 1918, Bessarabia had two options:

- Survival as an independent and sovereign state in the immediate vicinity of federative Russia (in a state of war with Romania since January 13, 1918) and Ukraine (troubled by pro- and anti-Bolshevism movements but vehemently asserting territorial claims to the new independent state of Moldova and, implicitly to Romania, in connivance with the new allies - the Central Powers, making similar claims on Northern Moldova - Bucovina - simultaneously with Habsburg Austria); The Republic of Moldova needed, in addition to declarations of good intentions, enthusiasm, determination, means by which to resist external pressures, possible armed interventions, to ensure internal and external security, border guarding, the supply of everything necessary for the population, the army, the internal services. Or, all these priorities could not be satisfied under the given conditions. This aspect was also emphasized by General E. Broșteanu in the speech held in the Parliament of Moldova on the occasion of the festivity of January 15/28, 1918.

¹⁴ Arch. MAE, Fond 71/URSS, vol 133, p.204-205 (the original in French), Telegram, Iasi, February 8/21, 1918, Fasciotti to the Italian consul in Odessa, Dévisart.

- In this complicated and confusing context, the option for union with Romania quickly included more and more numerous categories of the population. The word of the youth of Bessarabia - mentioned at the beginning of this study, the Calling of the Romanians across the Dniester published by "Ardealul (Transylvania)" on December 30, 1917, the speeches given by the deputies in the meeting of the Council of the Country on January 24, 1918 when the independence of the Moldavian Republic was decided, the telegram sent to King Ferdinand expressing the same idea, Documents published, along with many others, by "Romania Nine", remains, over time, conclusive evidence of Bessarabia's march towards the Union.

On another level, the Government of Romania responded promptly to the urgent call of Chisinau attacked by armed Bolshevik gangs. The saving presence of the Romanian Army in Bessarabia brought the restoration of order and security. The solidarity of the Romanian government with the Council of the Country and the Government of the Republic - despite the threats and the almost imminent danger of a Russian armed intervention after January 13 - was supported by numerous actions of the Romanians from the other historical provinces in favor of the Union; The first Declaration of the union of all Romanians from January 24 of the leading intellectuals from all the Romanian provinces, published by "România Nouă" in its first appearance, triggered a wave of sympathy among the broad layers of the intelligentsia in Bessarabia. Mihail Sadoveanu, enthusiastic about the declaration of Bessarabia's independence, was then present in Chisinau with the troupe of the National Theater from Iași. In the evening of that historic day, the play Fântâna Blanduziei by Vasile Alexandri was presented, followed the next day by Răzvan and Vidra written by the Bessarabian B.P. Hasdeu. The actors came from Iasi, Bucharest and Craiova¹⁵. Relating the above, "România Nouă" wrote:

Our Moldovan brothers will be able to convince themselves better on this occasion, that the Romanians are not a laughing stock, as the Russians mocked them, but a cultured people. Ten days ago this proof was given by the disciplined Romanian army, which brought tranquility and peace to Bessarabia.

¹⁵ „România Nouă”, no. 9 from January 24, 1918.

Also then, M. Sadoveanu and the actors were offered a Parchment in which the belief was expressed that "Bessarabia will be an integral part of the New Romania of tomorrow, declaring: for us today there is no longer a border and there is no bridge over the Dniester except to pass to the half a million brothers there, who also woke up to national life"¹⁶.

In his capacity as President of the Writers' Society of Romania, Sadoveanu addressed an Appeal to Bessarabian Romanians in which he said: "...A century ago and better, hostile circumstances came upon us and between us, good brothers of the same blood, a wall of fog was erected. Oppressed by tsarist terror and darkness, without freedom and without light, you lived God knows how. Nothing could pass from our soul to yours.But the day of freedom came. A bridge was built over the cursed water of the Prut... The hour of fraternity has rung, in which brother and brother seek each other... The time has come, brothers, for the Moldavian nation to know no bounds for its love, for our sweet language. Culture, language and school, from now on must unite us forever, and inseparable we will remain until the end of the end!" The appeal was signed by a large number of leading Romanian writers, including Mihail Sadoveanu, Ion Agârbiceanu, George Ranetti, Ion Minulescu, Radu D. Rosetti, Mihail Codreanu, Claudia Milian, Isabela Sadoveanu, Ion Pilat, , D. Marmeliuc, Mihail Sorbul, Nichifor Crainic and many others.¹⁷

A special place in the cultural movement in Bessarabia had, in these times of hope and great dangers, the presence of George Enescu¹⁸ and his concerts in Chisinau and other localities. On the eve of the declaration of the Union with the Country, "România Nouă" announced the concerts to be given by Enescu in Chisinau "with the competition of the Royal Orchestra from Iasi", on March 24 and 25, 1918, specifying that the amount

¹⁶ „România Nouă”, no. 10 from January 30, 1918.

¹⁷ „România Nouă”, from February 1, 1918. Cf., Onisifor Ghibu, *Pe Baricadele vieții*, ...p. 523-525.

¹⁸ Ever since he was a student in Paris, George Enescu was part of the broad movement of Romanian students for the affirmation of the pan-Romanian creed. "During the years of the integration war, says O. Ghibu, he wanted to be present in the country of his birth, working all the time with extraordinary devotion to instill in the soul of contemporaries superior human feelings, to give a personal example of how a real man and a real Romanian should be, even in the most festive moments." Onisifor Ghibu, *Oameni între oameni. Memorii (People among people. Memories)*. Set text, chronological table and name index by Octavian O. Ghibu. Selection and Introduction by Ion Bulei, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest, 1990, p. 360.

of money collected will be donated to "the orphans of the dead soldiers of the war". "România Nouă" of March 23 wrote:

Here is a name so well-known and loved beyond the Prut, but completely unknown in Bessarabia... The Moldavians in Bessarabia knew nothing of everything that happened to the Romanians in other countries; they did not know the great people of the nation, not even those who came out of their midst, for example, Al. Donici, Al. Russo, B.P. Hasdeu et al. The Russians had taught them to believe that they had nothing of importance, neither language, nor literature, nor culture, nor science..."¹⁹

On March 25, in the Diocesan Hall in Chisinau, O. Ghibu presented the conference entitled "Transylvania", after which the Bucovina professor George Tofan spoke about Bucovina. Present at this event, George Enescu supported a musical program together with Veturia Ghibu and Nicu Caravia. After the third concert, on March 29, "România Nouă" published an article signed by I. Mateiu with the title, Un conqueror - George Enescu, and in the March 31 issue of the newspaper, George Tofan wrote: "We are witnessing a great revival of national consciousness, unique in its kind...Enescu's arrival in Bessarabia has an epochal cultural importance, increased by the circumstances in which it happened...he did, for awakening and strengthening national consciousness, for raising the national prestige of our nation, more than could have been done in years of persistent propaganda"²⁰.

A conversation with Master Enescu is the title under which "Romania Nouă" publishes on April 5 the interview given to Enescu by I. Mateiu:

The revival of Bessarabia, which we followed with interest in the columns of this newspaper - declared Enescu - is a beneficial comfort for our nation, especially after the sufferings and trials of the past... Bessarabia is a jewel for us in all respects and our duty is to help by all means, awakening the people to cultural and artistic life, seeking the sympathy of our Moldovan brothers and doing them all the good they have been deprived of for so long.

¹⁹ „România Nouă”, no. 53, March 23, 1918. Cf. Onisifor Ghibu, *Oameni între oameni...*, p. 365.

²⁰ „România Nouă” no. 59, March 30, 1918, the article Un conqueror - George Enescu, signed I. Mateiu; no. 60 of March 31, 1918, the article Culmi ale Romanian culture - On the occasion of the Enescu concerts, signed by George Tofan.

In context, Enescu emphasized the urgent importance of the development of cultural and spiritual life. mentioning the need to establish a National Conservatory of Music, a Symphony Orchestra, a National Art Museum, a Romanian University.²¹ In the following period, Enescu got to know the situation in Bessarabia more closely, traveling with his violin through its cities and villages. On April 14, he was in Bălți where he gave a great violin concert, the amount of 20,000 lei collected being donated to war orphans from Bălți and Soroca²².

Enescu's relationship with Bessarabia continued. On September 8, the same newspaper announced the Maestro's return to Chisinau for a few concerts. On October 9, he was received with ovations by an audience "in delirium" - reports "România Nouă". "This concert", said the chronicle published in the issue of October 11 - "is not only a great artistic event, but also a great patriotic act on the part of the master for all our Bessarabian brothers..."²³.

In his Memories, Onisifor Ghibu dwells at length on his relations with Enescu over the years, and his conclusion is impressive: *"I remained indebted to the beloved master, whose soul vibrated in unison with mine in those historical times for the completely selfless and selfless help he gave to those who had made the union of our entire race their supreme goal in life."*²⁴

All this showed that the process of state unification of the Romanians had entered a higher stage. "România Nouă" published in its columns, issue after issue, articles that expressed one and the same imperative: the union of Bessarabia with the Motherland. Elena Alistar, one of the leaders of the national movement, signed the article with the title Now or never in which she discussed a very current issue in Bessarabia: the mirage of the new Bolshevik regime in Russia with its false slogans and its influence on a good part of the population, so that there was a tendency to balance the supposed "advantages of the Bolshevik republican democracy" and the union with royal Romania. E. Alistar briefly showed the gloomy prospects of remaining in the Russian-Bolshevik conglomerate:

²¹ „România Nouă”no. 64, April 5, 1918.

²² „România Nouă” no. 81 April 29, 1918.Paper: *Maestrul Enescu la Bălți*.

²³ „România Nouă”, no. 187 October 11, 1918.

²⁴ Onisifor Ghibu, *op. cit.*,p. 379. *Enescu had donated a large sum of money for the purchase of the printing house in Galati.*

Russia is not dead - the author said with reference to the perpetuation of the imperial anti-national policy - in this new Russia, we will never be able to have a national culture, the only one that any people is able to understand.....; we see that even now that we have declared ourselves independent, they want to give us Russian schools. Imagine what will happen when we join Russia, be it even a republic". At the end of the article, Elena Alistar expressed an undoubted truth: "If we do not unite with our brothers now, then it is not known if such an appropriate time will come in the future and forever we will be cursed by our descendants, who, reading history, will see that we could have accomplished the act of union and we did not." I'm afraid of this blast and cry out loud: LET'S UNITE!²⁵

In the same line of thought, the substantive article of February 17 signed by O. Harea, a contributor to the "România Nouă" newspaper, is noteworthy, which is primarily addressed to Bessarabian intellectuals. Entitled The Duty of the Romanian Intellectuals from Bessarabia, the article emphasizes the fact that "a group of intellectuals, the Romanian student body from Bessarabia has said its creed - the integration of the Romanian nation from all sides-!" It recalls the declarations of union of teachers from Chisinau, Soroca and other parts and states:

For us, the Union of Bessarabia with the other Romanian parts is, first of all, a matter of our people's existence. Then secondly comes the matter of justice. It must be erased without the law made in 1812 by the Russian Tsar Alexander I. The people raised in historical circumstances completely alien to Russia, were glued to it and forced by the Russian whip to lead the same life as Russia... Now Bessarabia must return to the forms of life appropriate to its history...

O. Harea draws attention to the danger of propagating the ideas of "internationalism that wants nothing but a Russia from the frozen sea to the Adriatic with Constantinople and the Dardanelles. A Russia where everyone is Russian"; on the danger of falsifying the history of the Romanians - a means of distancing the people from the idea of the Union; the mission of the Bessarabian Romanian intellectuals emphasized by the

²⁵ *Idem, Editorial: Dr. Elena Alistar, Acum ori niciodată (Now or Never).*

signatory of the article was: "We must preach our idea for the union of all Romanian countries in one country"²⁶.

The process of the total separation of Bessarabia from Russia, politically, institutionally, psychologically and the explicit adoption, official and unofficial, of the option to establish, together with the other Romanian provinces, a unitary national state, encountered, in its final stage, the crisis triggered by the separate peace ultimately imposed on Romania by the Central Powers – a direct consequence of the separate exit from the war of Soviet Russia, of its collaboration with the former "enemies". The events that took place then, bringing Romania to the brink of collapse, are known and are not the subject of this study.

The negative effect on the situation in the independent Republic of Moldova, of what was happening beyond the Prut, was counteracted by the increasingly active unionist forces, but also by the position of the Romanian government which, although subjected to unprecedented pressures and interferences, did not give in to Russian and Ukrainian annexationist claims. "România Nouă" from February 17 (old style) 1918, analysis, in the substantive article entitled *What will Romania do?*²⁷ signed by Onisifor Ghibu, the situation of Romania in relation to the Russian imperial policy, with the participation in the war, with the policy of the Centrals in the context of the separate peace with Russia. The article began by stating an indisputable truth: "Sold three times by Russians in a year and a half²⁸ and today completely separated from the other companions²⁹ from West , Romania was forced to start peace negotiations with those enemy

²⁶ *Ibidem*, February 17, 1918, Editorial: *O Harea, Datoria intelectualilor români din Basarabia (The Mission of the Romanian Intellectuals in Bessarabia)*.

²⁷ „România Nouă”, year II, no. 24, February 17 / March 1, 1918. Cf. *Basarabia Bucovina Transilvania...*, doc. nr. 72, p. 221-223.

²⁸ Ghibu refers to: 1- the non-participation of the Russian army in the battles for the defense of Muntenia, of Bucharest, the defection in Dobrogea, Russia thus violating its commitments made through the political and military Conventions of August 1916; 2 - the confiscation of the Treasury deposited for safekeeping in Moscow, Russia violating the Protocols signed in July 1916 in Iasi regarding the evacuation, safekeeping and return of the Romanian Treasury; 3 - the separate exit of Russia from the war, by violating the provision of the alliance with France and England not to separate.

²⁹ Term by which the Allies were called.

powers³⁰, against which he rose on August 14, 1916". The author then explains, for the understanding of the general public, the general context in which these events took place:

*He wanted to gather together all the sons of our nation scattered under foreign dominions; he wanted to free Transylvania and Bucovina, which for hundreds of years have been under Hungarian and German pressure. She didn't want to take other people's land, but to rob her brothers. This holy right of hers over the countries beyond the Carpathians was recognized by all the peoples of the world except, of course, the Hungarians and their comrades who, like the Russians, wanted to live even further from the Romanian union.*³¹

After an account of the abusive way in which the Centrals seized the territories and resources of the Romanian land, Ghibu expresses a value judgment based on history and truth, cultivating the spirit of resistance and fighting for the justice of the Romanian national cause:

Shall we be removed from these places when we have a holy right to all our land? Will Romania be forced to conclude an unjust peace? Romania's current war may end, but the Romanians' war is not over. There can be true peace only when the cradle of Romanianism is given back to us. ...If we could not redeem Bessarabia with Transylvania, we will be able to redeem Transylvania with Bessarabia! And the Romanian nation will still have to be whole, in one place, or perish (Underlined in the original text).

The coercion of Romania by the Centrals in order to exit the war and accept an enslaving peace, in the known circumstances, was "completed" with the express claim of Bessarabia by the Soviet Ukraine. On February 11/24, 1918, the Rumcerod from Odesa addressed so-called "peace

³⁰ He had in mind the situation of total isolation of Romania from the Allies, together with Russia's separate exit from the war, the breakup of the Romanian-Russian front, the separate peace treaties of Bolshevik Russia with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. All these powers, now allies, ultimately imposed on Romania the separate exit from the war and the acceptance of an onerous "peace", with the character of dictation, signed in Bucharest in May 1918

³¹ Allusion to the Political Convention between Romania and the Entente Powers (France, England, Russia, Italy) of August 4/17, 1916 from Bucharest, which recognized Romania's right over its territories under the occupation of Austria-Hungary.

proposals" to the Romanian Government as a result of the offer to mediate the Russian-Romanian conflict made by the French and English military missions in Odesa. This issue, entered the informational circuit under the title "Averescu-Rakovski agreement" of March 5, 1918, has remained, from then until today, controversial, despite the clarity of the documents.

Point 1 of the Note addressed to the Romanian government by Rumcerod specifies:

The Romanian government undertakes to make a formal declaration regarding the progressive evacuation of Bessarabia by the Romanian occupying armies. First of all, the evacuation of Bender and Sebriani. The Romanian army of occupation must be reduced, within two months, to a detachment of ten thousand (10,000) men, whose service will consist of guarding Romanian warehouses and railway lines Russian military forces will occupy the evacuated points. The Romanian command renounces any interference in the internal and political life of Bessarabia...
It undertakes not to undertake military hostilities against the Russian Federation of Soviets... (Underlined in the original text)³²

The other points in this document related to the mutual release of prisoners and other matters of common interest. The note was signed by V. Iudovski, Brașevan, A. Voronski.

General Averescu, the President of the Council of Ministers, put the following resolution on this document: "All conditions are accepted except the first one. It will be demanded, even before the start of the negotiations, the release of the Romanian subjects from Odesa". The Romanian Government's response to Rumcerod's Note, dated February 23/March 8, 1918, stated in point I: "All the articles (clauses) of the aforementioned proposal are accepted...except for the condition included in clause I..." In point II, it is requested, among other things: to restore "without delay the freedom of General Coandă and his deputies detained in Kiev, as well as of all the Romanians interned in Odessa, giving them the opportunity to return to Romania..." Signed: "The President of the Council, General Averescu".

The so-called Averescu-Racovski "agreement", as well as the "Russian-Romanian Convention regarding the liberation of Bessarabia by

³² Arch. MAE, Fund 71/USSR, vol. 131. Exchange of letters Averescu-Racovski 20-23 February / 5-8 March 1918; Vol. 133, Debates in the Chamber of Deputies on August 18, 1918.

Romania" of March 5-9, 1918, published in Moscow in 1935, do not exist³³. Documente rusești și românești neîndoielnice , atestă acest lucru . Astfel:

- The radiogram sent by Cicerin (foreign minister of Soviet Russia) to the Romanian government, on March 12, states: "... The Soviet power, immutable partisan of peaceful solutions... has always taken advantage of every opportunity to amicably resolve all disputes with Romania. The proof is provided by the negotiations ... between the Soviet authorities in Ukraine and the Romanian government, in February 1918, negotiations that were thwarted only by the German and Austrian invasion".

- On February 27 / March 12, the German intervention troops arrived in front of Odessa; the Soviet revolutionary authorities – the Rumcerod, the Supreme Autonomous College, etc. – ceased to exist from that moment.

- On March 2/15, the aviator captain C. Andreescu, returned from Odesa from the mission he had had to obtain confirmation of Rumcerod's receipt of the Romanian Government's response to the Note containing the peace "offer" of February 11/24, submitted to the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs a report in which he recounted the situation in Odesa in the circumstances when the German troops were 10 km from the city: "The next day, at February 28, going to Rumcerod together with the Spanish consul to have a confirmation of the receipt of the Note of the Romanian government ... I found nothing there, any Bolshevik authority had disappeared during the night..."³⁴.

- However, there are also legal arguments that nullify the applicability of both the so-called "Russian-Romanian Convention - even if it had existed - and the alleged Averescu-Racovski "agreement" - even if it had existed -, namely: on February 9, 1918, the Peace Treaty signed in Brest-Litovsk by Ukraine and the Central Powers, specifying **the**

³³ Collection of Agreements and Conventions with Neighboring Countries, Moscow, 1935, p. 156-157. The convention would have been signed by Averescu, in Iasi, on March 5. and by Racovski, Brașevan, Iudovski and Voronski in Odesa, on March 9, 1918. It provided at point. 1: "Romania undertakes to liberate Bessarabia within two months". Such a document does not exist in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania. The sequence of events proves otherwise. the impossibility of its existence.

³⁴ *Arh. MAE, Fond 71/URSS, vol. 131, f. 128.*

territory that belonged to Ukraine, Bessarabia is not included in that territory; in the treaty signed at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918 with the Central Powers, Soviet Russia undertook to immediately make peace with the Ukrainian Republic, recognizing its territorial extent as determined in the Treaty of March 3 (ie without Bessarabia); also, in the January 12 Universal of the Rada of Kiev, through which the independence of the Republic of Ukraine was proclaimed, the borders of this state were specified, in the West, the border being delimited by the Dniester;

- These issues are also discussed in the Radiogram sent by the government of the Republic of Moldova to the government of the Ukrainian Republic at the beginning of March 1918: "In the draft of the organization of Ukraine of September 16, 1917, it is said that the territory of Ukraine includes the Governorates of Kiev, Podolia, Volânia, Holm, Chernihiv, Poltava, Yekaterinoslav and Taurida, without the regions inhabited by non-Ukrainians. The Universal of November 7, 1917 declares that the territory of Ukraine includes the governorates of: Kiev, Podolia, Volânia, Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkiv, Kherson, Yekaterinoslav and Taurida, without Crimea. The universal of January 12, 1918 declares the independence of Ukraine within the above borders. Considering all of the above, the Government of the Republic of Moldova considers that only it alone, without any outside interference, has the right to represent and defend the state interests of the independent Republic of Moldova."³⁵

- On March 7, the Government of the Republic of Moldova addressed a protest "by wireless telegraphy to the Rada in Kiev against the claims on Bessarabia" - General Zamfirescu communicated from Chisinau to the President of the Council of Ministers in Iași. "The Ukrainian Republic - he adds - had formally recognized the existence of the Moldavian Republic as an independent state and invited it on several occasions to the peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk. The last telegram of the Ukrainian Republic addressed to the government of the Republic of Moldova says: «Not receiving a response from the

³⁵ MAE Archive, Fond 71/ USSR, , vol. 133, , f. 193-195. Radiogram, Chisinau, March 1918, Government of the Moldavian Democratic Republic to the Government of the Ukrainian Republic, Cf. Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania ..., doc. no. 80, p. 253-255.

Moldovan government, we do not believe we are authorized to deal on its behalf».³⁶

- Finally, from January 24, 1918, Bessarabia was no longer either a "province" of Russia, nor an autonomous state within the Russian Federation, it was an independent and sovereign state over which neither Ukraine, nor Russia - revolutionary or not -, nor any other state had any right;

- The annexation claims, formulated by different means by the Ukrainian or Russian authorities, amounted to acts of force and threat of force against an independent and sovereign state. The Romanian Army, present at that time in Bessarabia, had been expressly called by the Government of the newly formed Republic, to help it restore order and security threatened by the Bolshevik, Russian and Ukrainian military incursions; it had no role as an "occupation" army. On March 1 (new style), the Council of the Country reverted to the previous requests and asked "the royal government to give orders to its army in Bessarabia not to allow the creation of Russian army corps on the territory of the Republic because the disorder and disobedience started again only as far as it was known ... of the formation of Russian military units."³⁷ *Romania itself was in danger of being occupied by German-Austrian and Bolshevik Russian military forces.*

The repercussions in the independent Moldavian Republic of the serious events in Romania in the spring of 1918 were reflected in the Bessarabian press through legitimate concerns and at the same time

³⁶ Idem, f. 210. telegram no. 71, Chisinau, March 8/21, 1918, signed General Commissioner Zamfirescu, to the President of the Council, Iași. In relation to Ukrainian claims on Bessarabia; it should be noted that during the preliminary peace talks at Brest-Litovsk, the question of Bessarabia was not discussed.

³⁷ A. BAR, Fund XIV, vol. 3, file 1010, f. 88, Deciphered telegram, Directorate of the Cipher Cabinet, Division 11, Iași, March 1, 1918, sent by the Council of State, Chisinau, to the Romanian Government. Signed by the Minister President dr. Ciuhureanu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, I. Pelivan. The Russian general Scerbacev, commander of the Russian-Romanian Front until he was dismissed by Lenin, tried to gather and organize detachments of Russian soldiers who remained loyal to Imperial Russia on the territory of Bessarabia. What followed was the outbreak of armed conflicts with Russian military groups that no longer recognized the authority of the general. The consequences of these confrontations were the deepening of the conflict situation in Bessarabia.

through the expression of faith in the temporary character of the exercise of the dominance of the Centrals and the victory of the Romanian ideal. On the very day of the signing, in Buftea, of the preliminary "peace" treaty between Romania and the Central Powers, in Chisinau "Nou România" publishes the substantive article entitled *Nu vom muri*³⁸ (*We will not Die*), under the signature of Onisifor Ghibu. In a few words, Ghibu presents the up-to-date picture of Romania's situation:

Entered into a holy war for the emancipation of millions of subjugated Romanians, overwhelmed by the brutal power of the Germans and sold three times by the Russians, our nation finds itself today at the decisive moment for its life in the future. Russia fell apart into dozens of pieces. Ukraine made peace with the Germans...so that Romania sees itself gathered from all sides in an iron circle by the most relentless enemy who wants to humiliate her...

Referring to the territorial annexations on Romania's account provided by the treaty, the author concludes:

But Germany is bitterly mistaken if it thinks that through any kind of measures of its own it will be able to tear us apart. No, we will not die! We love our language and land too much, we have shed too much blood for centuries for our ideal, the national consciousness is too strong in all Romanians, from the Tisa to the Dniester, so that today we are afraid that Germany will destroy us... therefore, any injustice will be done on our backs by those who think they are the victors today, we will fulfill our holy ideal...³⁹

Two days later, Onisifor Ghibu resumes the discussion on the treaty, in the editorial "*România Nouă*" and peace. The idea emphasized is that this peace is a "conjuncture" act, Romania "should not be considered a defeated country"; pleads for the moral mobilization of Romanians; the belief he strongly affirms is that "the Romania of tomorrow, which the Germans are creating in Bucharest, will remain only as a painful memory,

³⁸ „*România Nouă*”, year II, no. 27, March 5, 1918., paper *Nu vom muri!* (*We will not die!*) by Onisifor Ghibu.

³⁹ *Idem.*

because the general peace will, without a doubt, give us Romania to all Romanians"⁴⁰.

The interview that the newspaper "Sfatul Țării" takes with the President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Moldova, Gh. Ciuhureanu, upon his return from his visit to Romania⁴¹ contains important statements regarding the official relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova. Thus, when asked "what is the opinion of the political circles in Romania regarding the independence of Bessarabia and how do they see our Republic there?", Ciuhureanu answered: "... General Averescu and thus the entire Romanian Empire are for the non-dependence of our Republic. Romania is happy that a nation of the same blood has finally acquired its freedom and will be able to step unhindered by anyone on the path of its development. For their part, the Romanian brothers are ready to give us all their fraternal support, both morally and materially." Received in a long audience with the king, Ciuhureanu told the reporter of the "Sfatul Țării" newspaper:

I want to emphasize one fact, namely the reception given to us by King Ferdinand and Prince Charles....in a long conversation I told them about all the needs and wishes of our people. His Majesty, resolutely, said that he recognizes our right to govern ourselves and make the social reforms we need... drawing the Sovereign's attention to our difficult situation, from which need all of Romania will have to take us out,... The King replied that, although Romania itself is in a rather difficult situation at the moment, the fraternal help we need will always be given to us.⁴²

⁴⁰ „România Nouă ” no. 29, March 7, 1918, editorial : „ România Nouă ” și pacea de Onisifor Ghibu. Cf *Pe Baricadele vieții...*, p. 532.

⁴¹ A delegation led by President Gh. Ciuhureanu was in Iași in order to participate in the discussions taking place regarding the "peace" treaty with the Centrals. For objective reasons, the official participation of the Bessarabian delegation did not take place. Questioned by the reporter about this, Ciuhureanu motivated by triggering the ministerial crisis that would have caused the interruption of the debates.

⁴² "Sfatul Țării" from March 8 (old style), 1918, Interview given to Mr. Gh. Ciuhureanu, President of the Council of General Directors of the Republic of Moldova by reporter M. Minciună. Cf. Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania..., doc. 84, p. 258-260.

Therefore, the unaltered unity of views of Bessarabian Romanians with those of the Motherland - from the bishopric to the opinca -, in these days of difficult balance for all, explains to a good extent the intensification of the unionist movements in independent Bessarabia. The newspapers "România Nouă", "Cuvînt Moldovenesc" - which had switched to the Latin script - "Sfatul Țării" and others publish during this period information about the decisions of various organizations, local institutions expressing the will of the citizens for the union of Bessarabia with Romania. On March 13, "the small and big owners of the Soroca district, with the members of the Soroca commune, with the members of the clergy, with the members of the education and with all the citizens voted unanimously" The motion in which, after a short foray into the history of Moldova with direct reference to the period after 1812, states:

We solemnly proclaim today and before God and all mankind, that we declare the Union of Bessarabia with the Kingdom of Romania, under whose regime and under the protection of whose laws of democratic monarchy⁴³ we see the security of our national existence and economic and cultural prosperity.

In conclusion, the signatories of the Motion appeal to the assemblies throughout Bessarabia:

From Hotin to Ismail to unite by their vote to our Motion and send their delegations with representatives from all regional assemblies to lay at the feet of the Throne of Romania our tributes of devotion and faith to King Ferdinand I, King of all Romanians!⁴⁴

The motion is signed by a very large number of people, led by the mayor of Soroca, Șoltuz Vasile Bârcă and the president of the Duma of Soroca, Safonov.

Bălți County made the same decision on March 16. The motion was signed by 106 citizens, led by the mayor and the President of the local Duma⁴⁵. Such motions were adopted in many Bessarabian localities.

⁴³ According to the original.

⁴⁴ "Cuvînt Moldovenesc" no. 28 of March 28, 1918. Cf. Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania..., doc. 85, p. 260-263. Full text of the Motion and all signatures.

⁴⁵ „România Nouă”, an. II, , no. 48, March 17, 1918 ; „Cuvânt Moldovenesc”, no.27, March 22, 1918.

Union of Bessarabia with the Country. "What does Ukraine want?"

It was the eve of the proclamation of the Union: the Ukrainian annexationist plans were threatened. Kiev's reaction was prompt. On 16 March (old style), the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry sent a Note to the German, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, Bulgarian and Romanian governments expressing the Ukrainian government's "deep interest" in the "fate of Bessarabia".

The motivation: "Bessarabia, from an ethnographic, economic and political point of view, forms an indivisible unit with the territory of Ukraine" (subs. n.s. V.M.) supporting this statement on historical and statistical falsifications⁴⁶. The following argumentation is also interesting: "Possessing a good part of the Black Sea coast /where/ an important economic center is located, Odesa, with which the whole of Southern Bessarabia is connected, the Ukrainian government believes that any changes to the former Romanian-Russian border, especially in its northern and southern parts, deeply affect the political and economic interests of the Ukrainian Republic". Concerned by the fact that "a good part of the territory of Bessarabia is occupied by the Romanian armies" and the possibility that at the "peace" conference in Bucharest "the question of who Bessarabia will belong to in the future will be the subject of discussion", the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic "finds that the discussion on this issue and its solution can only take place with the participation and consent of the representatives of the Ukrainian government"⁴⁷.

It should be noted that Ukraine's claim - democratic or not - was placed outside the legal and civilized norms of interstate relations, because it claimed to decide in a conclave of foreign powers the political status of an independent and sovereign state - the independent Republic of Moldova between the Prut and Dniester - former governorate of the Russian Empire,

⁴⁶ "In the northern part of the territory of Bessarabia mostly Ukrainians live, and in the southern part (between the mouths of the Danube and the Dniester and the coast of the Black Sea) they have a relative majority".

⁴⁷ MAE Archive, Fond 71/ USSR, vol. 133, Telegram f. n., Kiev, March 16/29, 1918, signed V. Golubovici, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the German, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, Bulgarian and Romanian governments.

whose territory had been annexed by onerous means and possessed by force 106 years ago empire.

The reaction of the Bessarabian authorities was immediate and very categorical.

On the same day of March 16/29, the Council of the Country and the Council of General Directors of the Republic of Moldova, by virtue of the previously taken decision to establish official relations with the Republic of Ukraine, had formulated the following instructions for the Moldovan delegation that was going to go to Kiev for this purpose:

1. The delegation must demand the recognition of the complete independence of the Moldavian Republic within the borders of the former government of Bessarabia between the Prut, Dniester and Black Seas and the old Austro-Hungarian border.

2. The territory of the Republic of Moldova within the borders of the former Government of Bessarabia is indivisible and no part of the Republic of Moldova can be broken for the benefit of another state...⁴⁸. Semnat: Secretar al Sfatului Țării, B. Epuri.

The note, cited above, of Ukraine, addressed to the Central Powers that were discussing the terms of the so-called "peace" with Romania in Bucharest, required Chisinau, promptly informed about it, to reanalyze the situation and formulate an appropriate response addressed to the government of Ukraine on the same day. The text, drafted in very categorical, unambiguous, clear and precise terms, legally and historically argued, leaves no room for any other interpretation:

The Council of the country....learning about the tendencies of Ukraine on parts of the Republic of Moldova, especially on Hotin and the White Citadel, expresses its energetic protest to the Government of the Republic of Ukraine, the Central Rada and the entire Ukrainian people....The Council of the Country declares that the People's Republic of Moldova proclaimed itself independent and independent on January 24, in the borders of the former government of Bessarabia...

⁴⁸ *Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania....*, doc. 87, p. 265. Apud Ștefan Ciobanu, *Union of Bessarabia. Study and documents regarding the national movement in Bessarabia in the years 1917-1918*, Iasi; "Romanian Life", f.a., p. 157 (original in Russian).

Next, the Protest Note mentions indirect recognitions by Ukraine of Moldova's independence status⁴⁹. Emphasizing that:

Moldova's interests can only be represented by the Council of the Country, based on the historical past of Bessarabia which was formed in an indivisible unitary region, and on the other hand, considering the country's economic interests, it shows the Ukrainian people the injustice of Ukraine's interference in Moldova's affairs.

In conclusion, the document emphasizes again:

The Council of the Country strongly declares that the will of the peoples living in Bessarabia is to see the Republic of Moldova independent, unattached and indivisible, and any attempts from wherever they come against the independence and indivisibility of the Republic of Moldova, located between the Dniester, Prut, Black Sea, in the borders of the former government of Bessarabia, they consider as an unheard of violation against the right to self-determination of a people who won their rights with so many sacrifices" (emphasis in the text). Signed by the Secretary of the Council of the Country, B.Epuri.⁵⁰

The events described above had a wide echo in Bessarabia, amplifying the fear of the danger of new Russian-Ukrainian Bolshevik invasions that would have jeopardized the hard-won democratic conquests. "România Nouă" - continues to be the tribune of the fight for freedom and rights, for the realization of the national ideal - Union: What does Ukraine want? - editorial signed by Onisifor Ghibu in the issue of March 6 (new style) - "He wants to take the Land of Hotin and the Land of Akerman"⁵¹. The gazette release, in the same issue, under the title: *The lands of Hotin and Akerman do not want to be annexed to Ukraine*, the news after which "Official delegations from Hotin and Akerman have arrived in Chisinau and

⁴⁹ On December 17, 1917, Ukraine invited the Moldavian government (on December 2 the autonomy of Bessarabia within the Russian Federation had been declared) to form a "joint Russian government" in order to start the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk; on that occasion Ukraine declared that it "supports and recognizes the independence of the Republic of Moldova."

⁵⁰ MAE Archive, Fond 71/ USSR, vol. 133, f. 298. *Note of protest sent by the government of the Moldavian People's Republic to the Republic of Ukraine (original in Russian).*

⁵¹ „România Nouă”, no. 33, March 6, 1918.

declare that these lands want to remain as constituent parts of the Republic of Moldova and do not want to be annexed to Ukraine".⁵²

Under the title *Danger from over the Dniester – Ukraine wants to extend to the Prut*, Onisifor Ghibu analyzes the grounds by virtue of which Ukraine raises claims over Bessarabia:

...let's see what rights Ukraine has over Bessarabia? Historical right? Absolutely nothing! Ethnographic law? But 70% of the population of Bessarabia are Moldovans and barely 7% are Ukrainians....Political and national rights? But the land of Ukraine was saved by the foreign Austrian army... Cultural rights? But their culture begins and ends with Shevchenko! Then, with what rights does Ukraine demand Bessarabia on its account? With the same rights, - reminds Ghibu - with which Austria and Russia have kidnapped everything they could from their neighboring countries for many hundreds of years! And Ghibu's value judgment, with resonance over the years: "What Ukraine wants today is not only a desire for its own - we should say a Russian desire for usurpation⁵³, known in Eastern Europe for a thousand years; but it is also a characteristic proof for Austria's policy. Ukraine alone, unaided by Austria,. she would not have had the courage to think about extending her borders to the Prut...Austria wants the defeat of Romania, Ukraine wants the destruction of Bessarabia..!"

At the end of the article, Ghibu formulates a truth that spans the ages: **"However, Bessarabia also benefits from Ukraine's current behavior: it learns to know its neighbors better in whose hypocritical word it had trusted until now."**⁵⁴

In the days leading up to March 27, "New Romania" also turns its attention to Transylvania and Bucovina, where social unrest heralded major political and social changes.

*Soarta Ardealului*⁵⁵: *Tulburările naționale ale românilor din Transilvania au fost potolite cu multă cruzime. ...conducătorii au fost arestați și dați în judecată pentru ațâțare. În rândul întâi au fost arestați mulți preoți și învățători...Jandarmii au primit ordin să împiedice în sate adunările...Autorităților li s-a dat dreptul ca la nevoie să oprească și slujba dumnezeiască din bisericile românești. Fierberea în sânul poporului românesc este mare.*

⁵² Idem.

⁵³ According to original.

⁵⁴ „România Nouă”, Chișinău, anul II, nr. 52 din 22 martie 1918

⁵⁵ „România Nouă”, no. 30, February 24, 1918.

Songs from Transylvania: published alongside the description of some old historical monuments in Transylvania that attest to the antiquity and civilization of the Romanians in these places⁵⁶.

*Ce se petrece în Ardeal*⁵⁷: "The Hungarians persecute the Romanians with a unique savagery. Dozens of priests and teachers were thrown into prisons and many of them hanged. The gallows are in full swing in Transylvania".

*Looting works of art and books in Bessarabia*⁵⁸: "The Russian Bolsheviks plundered and destroyed with unprecedented savagery everything they encountered in their path. With the precious books from Mr. Vasile Stroescu's library, for example, these modern vandals made fire in the stoves for three days".

March 27, 1918 in the newspaper „România Nouă” debate

Editorial: Towards the day of justice. Bessarabia will unite with the Motherland, author, Onisifor Ghibu: an objective analysis of this crucial event in the history of the Great Union, an event characterized as "an act of political wisdom": "A small country, inhabited by a people whom painful circumstances kept away from a political and cultural life. without an army, without finance, without credit, without trade, without industry, it was natural for the «Republic of Moldova» to quickly end its history and merge with another country where the life of its inhabitants could be protected and guided along normal paths. But Bessarabia could not remain unscathed even because of Ukraine, whose appetites could be seen in recent weeks"⁵⁹.

This March 27, far from being a spontaneous act, a decision taken overnight or an act imposed from outside and based on the force of the Romanian army present, as is known, in Bessarabia to guard warehouses and communication routes, but expressly called by the Council of the Country and the Council of General Directors to annihilate the terrorist actions of the armed Bolshevik gangs, this decision - requested, as we exemplified in previous pages, by Bessarabian Romanians, was discussed,

⁵⁶ *Idem*.

⁵⁷ „*România Nouă* ” no. 44, March 13, (stil vechi).

⁵⁸ „*România Nouă* ”, no 30, February 24, 1918.

⁵⁹ „*România Nouă*”, March 27, 1918. Editorial: *Towards the day of justice. Bessarabia will unite with the Motherland*, by Onisifor Ghibu.

analyzed, prepared by Chisinau and Iasi. Reports from the Official Monitor⁶⁰ consider them entitled to provide the correct image of the official events that preceded and prepared the act of March 27. We read in the official publication of the Romanian government:

Following the consultations that took place in Iași between the members of the Romanian government and Mr. Incuț, the president of the Council of State..., Dr. Daniel Ciuhureanu, the president of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Halippa, vice-president of the Council, d. prime minister A. Marghiloman and d. Minister of War, General Hârjeu, accompanied by d. Mitilieu, the Secretary General of the Ministry of the Interior, Garoflid, the Secretary General of the Ministry of Domains, A. Corteanu, the Secretary General of the Ministry of Finance, General Mircescu and numerous senior administrative staff, went to Chisinau to make official contact with the Government and the Council of the Republic.

In the following two days ("Monday and Tuesday"), consultations took place between the two parties ("with the delegations of the factions in the Council, with the heads of the Romanian Orthodox Church, the heads of communities, the owners' union"); Marghiloman had talks with the marshals of the nobility from Bessarabia. In parallel, the Council of the Country carried out its work⁶¹, "in which all options were voiced with absolute respect for freedom of speech...". On Tuesday, March 27/April 9, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Marghiloman and General Hârjeu were received in the meeting room of the Council of the Country.. The unfolding of events in that memorable meeting is known. On the same day, King Ferdinand promulgated the law of Union of Bessarabia with Romania⁶².

The next day, March 28, 1918 (old style) "New Romania" was printed in a Special Edition devoted to the union of Bessarabia with Romania: ".....On this day History repaired the great injustice committed on May 12, 1812 when the body of Moldavia was broken in two and the part between

⁶⁰ *Official Gazette, no. 309, March 30-April 12, 1918. The official part, Iasi, March 29, 1918, p. 3769-3770.*

⁶¹ *A. BAR, Fund XIV, file 1010, vol. 7, March 27/April 9, 1918, Minutes of the Meeting of the Country Council.*

⁶² *Official Gazette, no. 8 of April 10, 1918, Royal Decree no. 842 Iasi, April 9, 1918, promulgation of the act of the union of Bessarabia with Romania. Signed Ferdinand, A. Marghiloman.*

the Prut and Dniester was given to foreign hands who sought to strangle it..." In the end of this short evocations, Onisifor Ghibu wrote: "May God take care of the New Romania and help them so that they can extend their borders from the Dniester river – now Romanian – to the Tisa river!" Next, the Declaration of Union was published.

On the sheet of newspaper on which the above article was printed, from the collection donated by Onisifor Ghibu to the Romanian Academy, he made a handwritten note stating: "This number appeared in two editions. The first is this, the second was changed by Mr. Marghiloman's censorship (censor Mr. Petre V. Haneş), replacing the words «from the Dniester – now Romanian – to the Tisza» with those «to where her right extends». The first edition spread in Bessarabia, the second in Moldova. Onisifor Ghibu: "The issue of censorship of the national newspaper appearing in Chisinau is part of the long series of obstacles encountered by the promoters of Romanian national interests, including the liberation of Bessarabia and its return to the original Romanian territory. The "Peace" from Bucharest in May 1918, which had placed Romania under the German-Austro-Hungarian dictatorship, was also reflected in the direct and indirect interference in the events in Bessarabia. The union of March 27 was against, from all points of view, the interests of the new allies - the Central Powers + Bolshevik Russia - Ukraine:

- Bessarabia had "escaped" from the clutches of the Russian-Ukrainian aggression, Romania's intervention had been salutary and had won the case against the offensive of the Bolshevik forces

- Romania, for its part, had annihilated both the action of the terrorist gangs of the former tsarist army that plundered and destroyed the country, as well as the coup d'état attempted in Iași by the agents of the Soviet Power;

- The anti-Romanian communist propaganda in Bessarabia had been curbed (but not annihilated) by the rising national movement;

- The official successive and finally definitive separation of Bessarabia from the Russian colossus - December 2, 1917 - autonomy within the Russian Federation -, January 24, 1918 - independence -, March 27 - Union with the Motherland - had made an enormous breach in the plans of the new allies to destroy Romania. The step towards the liberation of all the still subjugated Romanian provinces and the reconstitution of the unitary

Romanian state was visible. Then, in those hot days, when the confrontation between the progress of the Romanian national idea and the retrograde pro-Russian Bolshevik forces was at the last barricade, there was an attempt to minimize the importance of the act of the Union of Bessarabia and to suppress the means - the media and all the actions that propagated and supported what was then called "nationalization" (de - Russification in all areas of public life) - on the one hand, the promotion of an aggressive policy on external plan for the conquest of Bessarabia - on the other hand.

The events in Romania related to the imposition of a dictate called "peace" caused serious concerns in Chisinau. Thus, referring to this situation, "Romania Nouă" publishes an article signed by Ghibu in which he explains - within the limits of existing information - the meaning of the seizure of power by a government approved by the occupiers. "This government formed by Mr. Marghiloman, whose political views are known, seems to be - the author wrote - more of a guarantee requested by Germany that Romania will receive and support peace as its enemies demand.

We, who from here will continue on the path we have started, for the unification of all Romanians, in which we unwaveringly believe - we will however avoid things that would further embarrass Romania in its temporary misfortune."⁶³

It was clear that in Chisinau, not even at the level of the leaders of the unionist movement, they were not fully aware of the big problems that had imposed on the King and his close collaborators, the Marghiloman formula, in the idea of acceptance "without negotiations" - as suggested by Ion I.C. Brătianu in the Crown Councils - of the conditions of that "peace" imposed, thus giving it the character of "dictation".

But, in the extremely complicated situation in Bessarabia after the proclamation of Independence, keeping alive the orientation towards the union with Romania had become, all the more, an imperative of the moment. The specter of rejoining the eastern part of historical Moldova to Soviet Russia would have meant canceling all the democratic conquests made until then and returning to an oppressive regime. The realization of the union would have remained, perhaps for an indefinite time, in the realm of illusions.

⁶³ „ *România Nouă*”, no. 41, March 9, 1918. Cf. Onisifor Ghibu, *Pe Baricadele vieții...*, p.543.

An edifying example is the article entitled Protector of our ideal, *Bessarabia*⁶⁴ signed by I. Mateiu, censored article but kept in Onisifor Ghibu's personal archive: *In the new political circumstances created by the German "peace", the propaganda of our national ideal is no longer possible," the article stated. But the idea that Bessarabia then remained the only free Romanian territory where the struggle for unification continued, permeated the entire article.*

The same fate had the article of O. Ghibu, *Pacea de la Bucharest* published in the same issue, in a version accepted more or less by censorship (the original text was kept in the author's archive and is published later⁶⁵). "Almost everything was taken from us - we read in the original text -. Only one thing could not be taken from us: the consciousness that we did our duty and that in the fight we fought for a year and a half, justice and truth were on our side, although victory left us for a moment". With emotion and respect, we, those of today, read what was written a century ago at the end of the article: "Whatever the coming days may bring us, **we have to carry the burden with a strengthened soul that the truth never dies and will soon rise again, illuminating the vast Romanian land from the Dniester to the Tisa.**"⁶⁶ (emphasized by the author, V.M.).

Under the imposed "peace" regime, the government disbanded the Transylvanian and Bucovina volunteer regiments made up of prisoners in Russian camps, their situation becoming very critical. The "România" newspaper that appeared in Iași ceased publication, Nicolae Iorga's "Neamul Românesc" was subject to severe restrictions; Onisifor Ghibu was threatened for the orientation and content of his articles, and the order of the German occupier was that "New Romania" should never appear again", and Ghibu should disappear from Bessarabia. The coup d'état was intended to be the confiscation of the Romanian printing house that printed this newspaper and many other works. The last number printed in Latin letters was no. 82 of May 2, 1918, number dedicated to Barbu Delavrancea and George Coșbuc. The deer of Onisifor Ghibu could not be defeated, however. "România Nouă" continued to appear but printed in a printing

⁶⁴ „România Nouă” no. 43, March 11, 1918, *Ocrotitoarea idealului nostru : Basarabia*, by I. Mateiu.

⁶⁵ Onisifor Ghibu, *Pe Baricadele vieții*,..., p. 544-545.

⁶⁶ Idem.

house with Russian letters. At this time, O. Ghibu was in Iași looking for the possibility of acquiring an old printing house that was in a warehouse in Galati. In the discussion with Alecu Constantinescu, former minister of the interior in Brătianu's government, an agreement was reached on the financial solution: "List for helping the newspaper "România Nouă" - proposed by the former minister who subscribed with 5,000 lei. In a record time, through private donations (Nicolae Titulescu, for example, donated 20,000 lei, making a loan to the Bank of Moldova), the amount of 100,000 lei needed to buy the printing house in Galati was collected. In his memoirs, O. Ghibu recounts the enormous difficulties he encountered when bringing the printing press to Chisinau. In the last issue (85) of the newspaper printed with Russian letters, an appeal was made to the readers to wait a few more days until, in the new printing house, the printing with Latin letters will be resumed. Actually, on June 5, 1918, i.e. after a month, the publication of the "România Nouă" newspaper resumed with Latin letters. The article Going forward signed by O. Ghibu was a retrospective look at what the newspaper "Ardealul (Transilvania)" - "New Romania" had meant in the life of Bessarabia: "through the program and even through its name": it had - the author emphasized - the meaning of a "battle flag". "România Nouă" continued to appear, facing the hostility of the events that took place throughout the territory of Romania occupied by the Centrals, "until December 2, the day after the unification of Transylvania, with which the entire program displayed on the frontispiece of the newspaper, for the union of all Romanians, was fulfilled"⁶⁷

The day after the proclamation of the Union and the promulgation of the Royal Decree recognizing the Decision of the Union of Bessarabia with the Motherland, Ukraine's campaign to reclaim Bessarabia, which was now part of Romania, became extremely aggressive. Here are some examples:

⁶⁷ Onisifor Ghibu, *People among people, Memories*. Selection and introduction by Ion Bulei. Established text, chronological table and index of names by Octavian O. Ghibu, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest, 1990, p. 320.

"The Government of Ukraine to the Government of Romania, Kyiv, April 12, 1918⁶⁸

The Government of the Republic of Ukraine... transmits to you the decision taken on April 13, 1918 by the Parliament of Ukraine, the Central Rada, regarding the annexation of Bessarabia by Romania.

The Central Rada declares:

- he does not agree that the decision of the Council of the Country to incorporate Bessarabia into Romania...expresses the will of all the peoples who live on the territory of Bessarabia and demand that the regions where the population declared themselves Ukrainian.....be joined to the Republic of Ukraine..

*- The Central Rada ...addresses to Romania and the Central Powers a Note of protest against this system **of reprisals and violation of the rights of the nationalities living in Bessarabia**" (emphasized by the author, V.M.)*

*- It does not recognize the act of April 9 (the union decided on March 27 - old style) and the Rada "instructs the Council of Ministers to take all measures ... **to solve the problem of Bessarabia** (emphasized by the author, V.M.) by common agreement with the Democratic Republic of Ukraine..."* The representative of Ukraine, Galagan, a member of the Rada, had already left for Romania to solve the "Problem of Bessarabia". The protest note is signed by the President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Golubovici, by the Manager of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lubinsky.⁶⁹

The answer given to Ukraine on April 9/22 by the Romanian Government⁷⁰, document signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, C.C. Arion, is an example of a diplomatic act which, in few but well-chosen words, clearly, firmly, clearly, documented and categorically expresses Romania's point of view:

⁶⁸ A. BAR, Fund XIV, file 1010, vol. II, Note of Protest of the Government of the Republic of Ukraine, Kiev, April 13, 1918 addressed to the Romanian Government, Iasi.

⁶⁹ Idem, Cf. *Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania...*, doc. no. 97, p. 303-304 (original in French)

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, Fund XIV, file 1010, vol I, f. 80-84, Iasi, April 9/22, 1918, Response Note of the Romanian Government to the April 12 Protest of the Ukrainian Government. Cf. *Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania....*, doc. no. 100, p. 306-308.

1)attracts attention ... that Bessarabia was not annexed by Romania ... it united willingly with the Motherland, by virtue of an almost unanimous vote of the Council of the Country ... assembly which is the expression of the will of the Nation, therefore having the same origin as the Ukrainian Central Rada, representing, like the Rada, the sovereign power which gives it the right to final decisions..... The nationalities of Bessarabia being represented in the Council of the Countrymust obey the majority ...the Romanian Government considers ..that no one can dispute this principle...

2)...there is no meeting in Bessarabia in which the population...asked to join Ukraine.....The Romanian Government is confident that neither the Rada nor the Ukrainian Government set out to stir up minority agitations directed against the great Romanian majority....The Romanian Government draws attention to the fact that Ukraine itself is only a state made up of various nationalities that are in the minority compared to the Ukrainian majority - the same situation as in Bessarabia with a majority Romanian.

3)...Rada lost sight of the fact that at the peace of Brest-Litovsk, Ukraine did not claim any right over Bessarabia...it is regrettable that today politics tends towards conquests that neither the history of the past nor the principles of law legitimize"...

Recalling the territorial abduction committed by Russia in 1812, the Declaration of the Romanian Government specifies: "This abduction will not be repeated, neither in whole nor in part, **by the Democratic Republic of Ukraine in defiance of justice and legal norms.**" (emphasized by the author, V.M.)

4) "...following the example of the Ukrainian Government, the Romanian Government will in turn take all the measures at its disposal so that the problem of Bessarabia is considered solved forever".

5) The Romanian government rejects the accusations regarding acts of violation of the rights of minorities in Bessarabia, accusations "that are not based on anything serious". Expresses "a very sincere desire to maintain the most friendly relations with the new neighboring state, feeling that the new democratic republic has renounced the system of the old Russian empire of not recognizing the rights of other nations if they do not conform to its own interests or views..."⁷¹

⁷¹ *Ibidem.*

It can be said that even the Council of the Country and the Council of General Directors of Bessarabia gave a response to the claim policy of Ukraine by publishing the government program they had in mind: democratic reforms, the organization of ministries, public services, the army, schools, the operation of the Church based on the unrestricted use of Romanian languages, guaranteeing the rights to a free and equal life to all minority citizens⁷²; on May 2 "România Nouă" published a clarifying document issued by the Council of General Directors and entitled Notice of the Bessarabian Devolution for the People in which the meaning of the act of March 27, the mission of the Council of the Country and the Council of General Directors, the advantages obtained by the Bessarabian Romanians through the union with the Motherland was clearly understood. The main idea of this document is expressed right from the beginning: "By rejoining Bessarabia to Wallachia, we all form one country. But the rights of the inhabitants of Bessarabia are not diminished in any way, so all the freedoms acquired through the revolution are untouched.... The union of Bessarabia with Romania is a good for all the inhabitants of Bessarabia, **not only for Moldovans who are of Romanian descent, but also for the foreign nationalities who live among us and who do not lose any of their rights**" (emphasized by the author, V.M.). The document ends with a Call addressed to all the inhabitants of Bessarabia:

Twinned peoples of Bessarabia! The Union of Bessarabia with Romania was a commandment of history and a correction of the injustices that oppressed this tsar over a century. We suffered together as brothers under the old rule; now together we will enjoy all the public rights, the peaceful ordered and enlightened life!... (emphasized by the author, V.M.).⁷³ (emphasized by the author, V.M.).

⁷² „România Nouă”, year II, no. 72, April 14/27, 1918. Statement of the Board of General Directors. Cf.: Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania, ..., doc. No. 102, p. 310-313.

⁷³ "România Nouă", year II, no. 76 of April 19 / May 2, 1918, Notice of the Bessarabian Constitution for the people, signed by P. Cazacu- the president of the Council and director of Finance, G. Grosu - director of Justice, Ș. Ciobanu - director of Education, N Codreanu - director of Public Works, V. Chiorescul - director of Commerce and Industry, E. Cateli - director Agriculture, I. Costin - the director of The Home Office, I. Gherman - the general controller. Cf., Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania..., doc. no. 104, p. 314-316.

But Ukraine was not receptive to any such explanations. The annexation of Bessarabia in the shortest possible time was one of the major objectives of his foreign policy.

Formulates so-called "arguments" in the Note sent to the Romanian government on May 5:

- does not recognize the "validity" of the arguments "that try to justify the actions of the Romanian Government in Bessarabia, which led to the annulment of political autonomy and the Romanian Government's declaration of the annexation of Bessarabia to the United Kingdom of Romania"

- Bessarabia's declaration of independence "from Romania was confirmed by the Romanian government"

- "The decision of the Council of the Country taken in Chisinau under the pressure of the state of war, rigorously imposed at that time by the Romanian authorities of the whole of Bessarabia and under the influence of a propaganda in favor of the public vote, cannot therefore be considered as an expression of the authentic will of the population of Bessarabia"

- Romania acted as an "enemy country", giving an "ultimatum: it was clearly proposed, between voluntary union with Romania and annexation. The guarantee of the autonomy of the Republic of Moldova was refused, but also the lifting of the state of war..." – *"...it is well known that Moldovans do not constitute the majority of the population in Bessarabia, that this majority is represented by non-Moldovan peoples, among whom there are many Ukrainians"*

- *Currently the government of Ukraine "firmly refuses to recognize Romania's rights over Bessarabia and claims its own rights over this region...the vital interests of Ukraine – strategic and economic – require the Government of Ukraine to insist on the annexation of Bessarabia..."*⁷⁴ (emphasized by the author, V.M.) The document emanating from the Ukrainian government is signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Demetrius Doroshenski.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ A. BAR, Fond XIV, file 1010, vol II, p. 103-105. Note no. 2928, Kyiv, May 5, 1918, Government of Ukraine to the Romanian Government. Cf. Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania..., doc. no. 105, p. 317-320.

⁷⁵ This text was the subject of a communication presented, officially and publicly, in Bern by the representative of Ukraine.

So, "vital" strategic and economic interests "impose" the annexation of Bessarabia to Ukraine. The rest doesn't matter anymore! An endless string of untruths and twists.

Romania, subject to the rigors of the "peace" dictate of the new Central Powers-Soviet Russia coalition, faced this pawn of Russia, called Ukraine, interested in its turn in territorial expansion at the expense of Romania, already torn apart and surviving in extreme conditions. In the face of this real and not at all unpredictable danger, the Romanian government informed about the annexationist intentions of Kiev at the expense of Romania, the allied and neutral states. In the circular telegram to all Romanian embassies, the Minister of Foreign Affairs C.C. Arion said: "According to the latest information, the government of Ukraine seems to be resuming agitations in the Bessarabia issue. You will suggest the following explanations and considerations in your discussions".⁷⁶ Here are some of them:

- "We consider this Union forever and indissoluble" - a brief history of the rapture of Bessarabia follows.

- Ukraine "follows the example of the imperialist policy of tsarist Russia, which denied small states any right that it did not consider in accordance with its interests...Ukraine claims to exercise domination over an entire people of two million Romanians and over territories that never belonged to it".

- Referring to the intervention made by Ukraine in Berne, Arion declared: "Regarding the communication made officially and publicly in Berne, a month or so ago, by the delegate of the Republic of Ukraine, and which demands nothing more than a new accession of Bessarabia to the Republic, you will draw the attention of those in law that Ukraine has no quality to claim a country which, historically and ethnically, has always been Romanian. Bessarabia actually belonged, within its natural borders, the Prut, the Dniester, the Black Sea and the borders that separated it from Austria-Hungary, to the Moldavian Crown, ever since the founding of this Principality in the 14th century".⁷⁷

⁷⁶ A. BAR, Fund XIV, file 1010, vol I, p. 85-89. Cf. Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania..., doc. no. 107, p. 339-343, Circular telegram f.n., , Iasi, May 20/June 2, C.C. Arion, Minister of Foreign Affairs to all Romanian legations.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*.

This was followed, on June 19, by the official response (16 pages) that the Romanian government formulated to Ukraine's incriminating note of May 5. It represents a masterful historical, geographical, ethnographic, political and legal demonstration of Romania's inalienable rights over the territories inhabited by Romanians; starting with prehistory, then the foundation of the first Romanian state formations in the Carpatho-Danubian - Pontic space, the history of Moldova, relations with neighboring states, focusing on the events that took place in the 18th and 19th centuries; the demonstration dwells at length on the situation of Bessarabia torn from the body of Moldova by Russia. The history of Bessarabia's national awakening and the stages of separation from Russia. They then insist on an issue that, unfortunately, is still controversial today – Romania's right over Bessarabia:

*The Royal Government declares again, that it never had the intention to conquer, annex or incorporate Bessarabia, but also that it could not give up the historical rights of Romania over a Romanian land, rights that compelled it in an imperative manner to fulfill, **by virtue of the imprescriptible historical right, the desire of the immense majority of the population of Bessarabia and to accept the proposed union, which definitively guarantees the people of Bessarabia the fulfillment of the freedoms** of which it was deprived for so long and unfairly. (emphasized by the author, V.M) ⁷⁸.*

It is remarkable that the "arguments" contained in the above-mentioned documents, especially those regarding the "vital interests" of Ukraine that would "impose" the annexation of Bessarabia, were the subject of interesting debates in the "România Nouă" newspaper. For example, the article *Portul Odesa și Bessarabia*, written by Eugeniu N. Giurgea, demonstrates how Bessarabia was corseted by Russia in terms of trade possibilities with Romania: "Through this great port of the Black Sea - pointed out Giurgea - flowed all the wealth of Bessarabia, worth tens and hundreds of millions/ of rubles/ every year bought at low prices by various missionaries, Jews, Russians, Armenians or Greeks and sold by them at high prices, which made them realize enormous profits in a short time. The

⁷⁸ A. BAR, Fund XIV, file 1010, vol II, p. 156-170. Iași, June 6/19, 1918, The Romanian Government's Response to the Ukrainian Government's Note of Protest of May 5, 1918.

Russian government, under the impetus of these so-called big merchants and in the desire to bring Bessarabia as close as possible to Russia on the economic ground, sought to make transport easier for all the agricultural material of the Bessarabian owners, so that all this material could not go to the Romanian ports, but only to Odessa." The author of this article emphasized the fact that for Russia, Bessarabia was of great importance "being the gateway that opened the way, through our country, to Constantinople / and/ would have been able to... destroy any beginning of economic twinning between Bessarabia and Romania and the products to go to the port of Odesa". He believes that the return of Bessarabia to the Motherland changes the situation "because the Romanian customs on the Dniester are a strong barrier to the entire transport of Bessarabian products to Odessa, remaining to be directed to Ackerman, Galați and Brăila..."⁷⁹.

Ukraine's expansionist plans – be it "revolutionary" or not – aimed at Romanian territories, were not "limited" to Bessarabia. Equally, the northern part of the autonomous principality of Moldova, known as Bucovina - since its annexation by Austria in 1774-1775 - was traded again at this time, this time between Austria - Ukraine - Russia. As part of the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations, Austria had committed itself that, in exchange for a quantity of wheat that Ukraine would have provided, "to draw up, by July 15, 1918, a draft law by which to separate the territories of Eastern Galicia, whose population is mostly Ukrainian, from the present Galicia, and to unite them with Bucovina in a country of the Crown"⁸⁰. Bucovina Romanians spoke out against such a plan to dismember Romanian Bucovina in the Austro-Ukrainian interest: the "Viata Nouă" newspaper from Suceava published their protest on October 20, 1918, in which it was said: "Bucovina is a historical and geographical unit; it is pure Romanian land, not only from Suceava to the Prut, but also from Vatra Dornei to the Dniester. In this land, the life of the Romanian state was organized; Bucovina has remained our heritage, as it is, in its entirety, and we owe it to keep it intact for future times"⁸¹.

In the last months of 1918, events were recorded that marked fundamental changes in the political, social and economic reorganization of the Romanian space. The unity of action of the Romanians from all the

⁷⁹ „*România Nouă*”, Chișinău, year. II, no. 151, of August 24, 1918, the article The Port of Odesa and Bessarabia by Eugeniu N. Giurgea.

⁸⁰ „*Viața Nouă*”, Suceava, year. V, no. 12 of August 18, 1918. Statement made by deputy C. Isopescu-Grecu in the Vienna Parliament.

⁸¹ *Idem*, October 20, 1918.

Romanian provinces still separated from the motherland, asserted itself with power. "New Romania" - it was not only a mirror of the national struggle of the Romanians from Transylvania and Bucovina, but it participated in the actions taking place in these last months of 1918. The Romanian prisoners from the Austro-Hungarian army in the camps in Russia organized themselves into a strong body of volunteers, in three centers: Samara - on the Volga -, Celiabinsk - Western Siberia and Vladivostok - the Far East. The Romanian National Committee established in Celiabinsk on August 30, 1918 was responsible for the organization and coordination of the volunteers' activity. On October 29, an Assembly of thousands of Romanian volunteers took place in this center that proclaimed the separation of the provinces inhabited by Romanians from Austria-Hungary and their union with Romania⁸².

Also in those days, on October 6, in Iași, the National Committee of Romanians emigrating from Austria-Hungary "located on the territory of the Romanian Kingdom, Bucovinians and Transylvanians, in their name and of the subjugated brothers at home whose conscience is silenced and therefore unable to express themselves freely,...we demand to be freed from the yoke of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and we are determined to fight by all means and by all means for the entire Romanian Nation to be constituted in a single National and free State, under the rule of the Romanian dynasty.....all attempts at federalization by the House of Habsburg are desperate gestures of an empire doomed to disintegrate and perish...The fate of the Romanians in Austria-Hungary was decided by the war of the Romanian Kingdom and by the free will of the entire Romanian people and it will be confirmed by the General Peace Congress in which they will take part and the official representatives of the liberating Romania". The statement was signed by the President of the Committee, Al. Lapedatu and Octavian Tăzlăoanu- secretary ⁸³. A fost publicată de

⁸² *Basarabia Bucovina Transilvania...*, doc. no. 111, p. 364. Apud Transilvania, Banat, Crișana, Maramureș 1918-1928, Bucharest, National Culture, 1929, vol. I, p.126, Treaty concluded in Celiabinsk between the National Committee of Romanians in Siberia and the National Council of Czechoslovaks in Siberia.

⁸³ *The Great Union from December 1, 1918*, Library of the Bucharest Separation of the "Astra" Association, Bucharest, December 1, 1943, p. 22-23, Declaration from Iași of Romanians emigrating from Austria-Hungary, October 6, 1918. Memorandum sent to King Ferdinand, Iași.

cele trei ziare care susțineau activitatea Comitetului : „**România Mare**”, „**România Nouă**” și „**Lupta Ardealului**”. The declaration was also sent to King Ferdinand, with the title "Memorial", the basic text being completed as follows:

...The Transylvanian and Bucovina Romanians, who broke all ties with the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, swore allegiance to you; as citizens and soldiers are ready to make any sacrifice for the political union of all Romanians and for the Romanian dynasty, inextricably linked to the destinies of our entire nation.

*

The union of all Romanians in a single national unitary state, the final objective of the prodigious activity of the newspaper "Ardealul (Transilvania) - România Nouă" would be fulfilled in Alba-Iulia. On November 20, 1918, its last issue was printed, in which it was announced: "With today's issue, the newspaper "România Nouă" suspends its activity in Chisinau, remaining to appear in Alba-Iulia as soon as possible. Farewell!"

As a member of the Romanian Great National Council elected in the Alba Iulia Assembly on December 1, 1918, Onisifor Ghibu lived and saw the fulfillment of his dream. His name is inextricably linked to the first step of the Great Union, the reintegration of Bessarabia, after 106 years of occupation, into the Kingdom of Romania.

*

A "remember" of interest:

Gheorghe Brătianu on the "Secular Unity" of Bessarabia - "populated mainly with Ukrainians" - with the Republic of Ukraine".

In 1917-1918, Onisifor Ghibu was totally involved in the struggle for the liberation of Bessarabia and its Union with the Country; in 1940, when Bessarabia and Bucovina were annexed by the USSR, the historian and politician Gheorghe I. Brătianu explained to his contemporaries the "problem of Bessarabia" - within its historical borders - with arguments and judgments of indisputable value. Like Onisifor Ghibu, or Nicolae Iorga, Gheorghe Brătianu resorted to history and its teachings in order to make sense of the course of events that, in 1918, inexorably led to the separation of Bessarabia, in its entirety, from Imperial Russia and the Union with the

Country, opening the way for the national-state unification of Romania, and in 1940 they opened the process of the territorial disintegration of Greater Romania⁸⁴.

*

"The starting point of these researches - the author states right from the start - is the very text of the Soviet ultimatum from 1940, which eloquently summarizes the essential points of the opposing thesis; we will only try to oppose them with all objectivity, the testimony of the facts"⁸⁵.

Here is what is stated in the document sent by Molotov to the Romanian government on June 26, 1940:

In 1918, taking advantage of Russia's military weakness, the Romanian Government separated from the Soviet Union (Russia), a part of its territory, Bessarabia, thus breaking the secular unity of Bessarabia, populated mainly with Ukrainians, with the Soviet Republic of Ukraine (subl. ns. V.M.). The Soviet Union never came to terms with the fact of taking Bessarabia by force, which the Soviet Government declared more than once and openly in front of the whole world. Now, when the military weakness of the USSR is a thing of the past, and the international situation that has arisen demands a quick resolution of the issues inherited from the past in order to finally lay the foundations of a solid peace between all countries, the USSR considers it necessary and appropriate that, in the interest of restoring the truth, it steps together with Romania to immediately resolve the issue of the return of Bessarabia to the Soviet Union.

It is known that it was not only Bessarabia; Soviet claims went beyond the provisions of the secret Annex of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Non-Aggression Pact; the new claim - Bucovina - was "justified" by the aggressor in that it represented "to an insignificant extent, a means of compensation for that great loss that was caused to the USSR and the population of Bessarabia through the 22-year domination of Romania in Bessarabia". Molotov's thick pencil had drawn a new border line that

⁸⁴ Ghorghe I, Brătianu: *Basarabia. Drepturi naționale și istorice*. Preface by Ioan-Aurel Pop, Meteor Press, București, 2024.

⁸⁵ Idem, pp. 16-17.

covered "a considerable number of square kilometers from the territory of old Moldova, to the North-West of Dorohoi county".

So, the two main "arguments" formulated by the Soviet government in support of its claims were:

- "Secular unity" of Bessarabia with Ukraine
- Bessarabia "was populated mainly with Ukrainians"

In fact, the entire ultimatum "was populated" with historical falsehoods. Mr. Brătianu writes: "Regarding this thesis that invokes historical and national rights, we propose that «in the interest of restoring the truth» - but in the strict sense of this term - to demonstrate what the «secular unity of Bessarabia with Ukraine» consists of...and to what extent historical realities can confirm such a theory."

In 1656 - the author points out, the treaty between ruler Gh. Stephen of Moldavia and the Tsar of Russia specifying: "The localities, territories and fortresses that the Turks took from Moldova such as Cetatea-Albă, Chilia, Tighina and the province of Bugeac, the Tsar of Russia will regain them by force of arms and return them to the Principality of Moldavia jure hereditario. 1656 - specifies Brătianu - is also the time when the Muscovite state extended its power over Kiev, the capital of Ukraine! Here is a first confirmation - says the author - of the so-called «secular unity» of Bessarabia with Ukraine".

These historical borders - continued Brătianu - would be guaranteed again in an exhaustive and solemn way by the Russian-Moldovan treaty of April 13, 1711 between Dimitrie Cantemir and Petru I, namely: "The country of Moldavia with the Dniester shall be its border, and with Bugeac and all the fortresses shall also belong to Moldavia". The borders of Moldova are formulated even more precisely by Peter the Great in the Proclamation to the Moldavians.

Moreover, Brătianu specifies:

"The Russian text of the treaty provides, in Article XI, a strong and precise line of demarcation: «The borders of Moldova, in accordance with its old rights, are those formed by the Dniester (Căminuța, Bender with the territory of Bugeac), the Danube, Wallachia, Transylvania and Poland, according to the determination that was made» (...) Anyway, the Russian-Moldovan Treaty of 1711, which followed the one of 1656, recognizes, without equivocal, the importance of the Dniester, the eastern border of Moldova and considers Bessarabia, otherwise

known only under the Tatar name of Bugeac, as a province of Moldavia occupied by the Turks and which should be returned to the Principality of which it is an integral part". Another interesting idea: this treaty, "concluded with all legal norms, not with the Ottoman Empire, suzerain of the Moldavian Principality, but with Moldova itself, recognizes, through the signature of the founder of modern Russia, the «historical and national rights» of this Romanian state over its entire territory, which stretched without a doubt, up to the Dniester and the Danube. This first conclusion - writes Gh. Brătianu - he doesn't need any more comments."⁸⁶

It should be noted that at the time of signing this treaty, the Dniester was not a border between Moldova and Russia; in 1792-1793 the Russian expansion towards the Black Sea and the mouths of the Danube reached the Dniester.

1774 – the peace of Kuciuk-Kainardji had heavy consequences for the Principality – “coveted by both Russia and Austria.”⁸⁷ In the context of those events that took place, as is known, under the blessing of Russia, Austria and the Ottoman Gate traded the Upper Country of Moldavia, named, from then on, Bucovina, and Russia planned to constitute, from the Romanian Principalities, an entity, under the authority of Prince Potemkin. Commenting on this situation, Brătianu said: "However, it should be noted that the geographic and historical unity of the Romanian Principalities was once again recognized on this occasion."

The 19th century heralded a new stage of tsarist expansion towards the South, at the time of the Napoleonic wars. Napoleon - writes Brătianu - "was preparing to propose to his new ally and friend, the division of Europe; on February 2, 1808, Napoleon wrote to Coulaincourt, the French ambassador in Petersburg: «Tell the Emperor that I want what he also wants, that my political principles are irrevocably linked to his; that we won't be able to collide because the world is big enough for both of us; that they do not rush him to withdraw from Moldova and Wallachia; let him not hurry me to withdraw from Prussia either...»."

⁸⁶ Gh. Brătianu, op. cit., p. 28-29.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

Brătianu also note:

Great plans were taking shape; it was returning to the project once pursued by Paul I of a combined offensive of the Russian and French armies crossing Asia Minor on their way to Persia and India with the aim of striking at the sensitive point of the British forces. In this system - the author specifies - the Principalities became a simple bait thrown, like so many others, on the market of European transactions...Napoleon invaded the Iberian peninsula; Alexander, after having been satisfied for a while with «the land called Bessarabia and the fortresses of Bender, the White Fortress, Chilia, Ismail, and, in addition, the Fortress of Hotin» now wanted to extend his frontiers to the Danube and annex Moldavia and Wallachia in their entirety. The Russian consul in Bucharest, Kiriko, launched the rumor that «Transylvania was to be ceded to the House of Austria and united with Moldavia and Wallachia under the name of the Kingdom of Dacia and would belong to the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia»⁸⁸

It is known that in Erfurt it was agreed by the two emperors that France would recognize Wallachia, Moldavia up to the Danube as an integral part of the Russian empire - which would later be the border between the Ottoman and Russian empires.

In the context of strained Russian-Ottoman relations, the trading of Romanian lands continued: on May 28, 1812, the peace between the two empires was concluded in Bucharest and Bessarabia was assigned to the Russians. I continue to reproduce Gheorghe Brătianu's comment on these onerous transactions: "In reality, the territory ceded to the Russian empire meant much more than the name indicated: apart from Bugeac, the annexed province consisted of the counties of Moldavia in the East of the Prut and the fortress of Hotin, established in the Turkish «paradise» in 1774..... It was actually about the dismemberment of Moldavia by the Russian side on a much larger scale, after the annexation of Bucovina by Austria. And in one case and another, the procedure is equivalent to a fraud...". Brătianu deepens the analysis of Bessarabia's situation in relation to the interests of the great powers and discerns features that shed light on the importance the province had both for the Ottoman Gate and for the Russian Empire:

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

For the Russians, who wanted to annex the two Principalities and incorporate them into their empire, this solution of the Prut border was only a palliative, a last-minute concession taken in the face of the threat of hostility on another front.

The 1856 moment showed the intentions of the victorious coalition in the Crimean War to distance Russia from the Danube and the Black Sea. The three southern counties were returned to Moldova. Tsar Alexander II did not accept the rigors of this peace, humiliating for the empire, and he considered the imposed clauses "exorbitant". Foreign Minister Gorceakov put into work a diplomatic formula aimed at giving back to Russia the possibility of canceling the Paris peace clauses. In 1860, together with the French ambassador in Petersburg, he drew up the text of a Franco-Russian treaty in which "it was a question, no more and no less, of resuming, on a new basis, the problem of dividing the Ottoman empire". Russia's immediate claim was the reoccupation of the three Moldavian counties and the release of Russia from the restrictions resulting from the neutralization of the Black Sea and the naval clauses. In the circular sent to the European chancelleries, Gorceakov explained the reason for this Russian decision by the fact that "the revolutions in Moldova and Wallachia opened the way to unification and then the calling of a foreign prince"⁸⁹

Russian diplomacy won: the Reichstadt (Bavaria) agreement of July 1876 between Alexander II and Franz-Josef accompanied by the Foreign Ministers Gorceakov and Count Andrassy, respectively, included Russia's consent to the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary and this empire's consent to Russia's reoccupation of the three southern Moldavian counties. The specification in this treaty - initialed in Budapest on January 15, 1877 - was that Russia's territorial annexations in Europe should be limited to Bessarabia "which would restore the old borders of the empire before 1856". Thus, the author specifies, "for the third time in the course of a century, the issue of Bessarabia occupied the agenda of the negotiations between the European powers"⁹⁰

The issue of Bessarabia has a tortuous history during the years of the 1877-1878 war of independence. The Plevna episode and the commitments made by Russia towards Romania on the eve of the war had

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

no importance for Russia's annexationist plans. Gorceakov himself warned the Romanian foreign minister, Mihail Kogălniceanu - concerned about the future of the three counties in the south of Moldova - "not to have any illusions because these days / treaties / are nothing more than simple papers" The exchange of letters between Kogălniceanu and the Romanian diplomatic envoy in Saint Petersburg at this time is edifying: the foreign minister insisted that he insist on maintaining the decisions from Paris from 1856 regarding the south of Moldova; the Romanian diplomat replies: "From your letters I see that you still trust the good intentions of the Imperial Cabinet. You are wrong. . They are not considering any of our requests. And no action. They care little for the country's suffering and its destruction. We cannot expect and hope anything from them. We have a relentless enemy in Russia."⁹¹ *The Berlin Peace Congress fully confirmed the realism of these judgments.*

The historical period following the Berlin Peace Congress, when the south of Eastern Moldova is re-annexed to the Russian Empire, is extensively analyzed by the historian Gh. Brătianu. The Russian statistics made in Bessarabia show a paradoxical situation: as the number of inhabitants increases, the number of Moldovans decreases dramatically. Thus, in 1856, out of 990,274 inhabitants, 74% were Moldavian; by 1897, the population had almost doubled. According to the figures provided by the historian Nikolai Durnovo, out of the 1,935,412 inhabitants, only 56% were Moldovans. In 1912, on the occasion of the centenary of the annexation, the total number of the population was 2,496,054 inhabitants, but the number of Moldavians is not mentioned at all.⁹² Among the explanations of this phenomenon, mentioned by Brătianu are:

"the manipulation of censuses to establish nationality, the systematic displacement of the population, the emigration of the Moldavian element to other governorates - Cherson, Taurida, Caucasus, Siberia, etc."; to all this, the author adds: "The habit of registering as Russians or Ukrainians all those who understood Russian or Ukrainian even if they spoke Romanian at home had stopped. In addition, certain peculiarities of the Moldavian language were used, with the aim of raising it to the rank of a distinct language and opposing it to the Romanian language..."

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁹² *Vezi op.cit.*, p. 135-137.

Referring to the ethnic composition of the two annexed regions (Bucovina and Bessarabia) Gh. Brătianu demonstrates that "all the Ruthenian or Ukrainian population that we find settled today in large numbers in the north of Bucovina, in the county Hotin and in some neighboring areas is the product of a much more recent immigration, favored during the last century (XIX, note ns. V.M.) by the Austrian domination in Bucovina and the Russian one in Bessarabia. The same formula applies in southern Bessarabia. The region began to be colonized at the end of the 15th century by the Turks, who stole it from Moldova in order to establish here the Tatar horde of Bugeac". After 1812, a regime of massive colonization was applied. Of great interest to this day is the judgment of Gh. Brătianu on this phenomenon: "This artificial colonization does not give those who practiced it any historical or national rights"⁹³, *emphasizing: "The geographical unity of Bessarabia is indisputable and delimited by essentially natural borders"*.

Considering all these aspects listed above, Brătianu believes that "Bessarabia, an agricultural region par excellence....had no history until the beginning of the 20th century....Among all the Romanian provinces subject to foreign domination, Bessarabia offered the fewest chances for the development of a national consciousness". In this context, he analyzes the extraordinary effect he had on the Moldavian soldier, the direct contact with the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian army, with the allied Romanian army. "Suddenly he had the consciousness of the same language that exceeded the borders of the Russian empire, the consciousness of a wider, richer nationality, of which he is also a part."

When Brătianu wrote this book, two events with a major impact on Romania's relations with the USSR were not known to him or perhaps they were only intuited; it is first about the text of the mutual assistance pact initialed by Titulescu and Litvinov in Montreux in July 1936 (in the eve of the "reshuffle" of the Gh. Tătărescu government); Gh. Brătianu mentions in a footnote that he has the information about this document "according to a recent memo from a Romanian diplomat aware of these negotiations"⁹⁴. The political and public position of Gh. Brătianu of disapproval of Titulescu's political orientation regarding Romania's relations with the USSR. From the accounts of this episode, it appears that Brătianu was not aware of the

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 223.- 224.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.201.

official powers given by the Tatarescu government to the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the conclusion of such a pact with the USSR. Anyway, the judgments of Gh. Brătianu on the sidelines of such a pact would not have been different, even if they had known its content:

What would the application of this convention actually bring? It is enough to refer to the example of the Baltic states which, after concluding, in their turn, assistance pacts, whose qualification of «mutual» was only an ironic euphemism, were forced to accept, in 1939, Soviet garrisons, then to include communists in their governments, so that, in 1940, through «spontaneous» demonstrations, they were annexed to the Soviet Union.

As for Romanian-Soviet relations and the issue of Bessarabia, they - Brătianu considered - "remained at the same point where they were after the resumption of diplomatic relations in 1934". He inserts the information after which, at the 1937 Paris Universal Exhibition, at the entrance to the Soviet pavilion, there was a relief map of the Soviet Union, where "the broad line of the western frontier equally covered Bessarabia". Remaining in this political context, Gh. Brătianu formulated a value judgment that proved to be correct and valid, without any reservations.: "No matter how conciliatory the attitude of Romanian politics was towards the USSR..., the decision of the Soviet government was taken...in the summer of 1939 there was a real game of overloads in Moscow which was suddenly put to an end by the theater coup of August 23: a pact of non-aggression and consultation concluded between Germany and the USSR"⁹⁵

If the provisions of the secret Annex of the Non-aggression Pact remained for many years not only "secret" but also unrecognized by Moscow, its actions after September 1, 1939 fully proved what had been planned. After attacking and occupying the part of Poland provided for in the Secret Annex, "Soviet troops - says Gh. Brătianu - they encircled the Romanian territory north of the Dniester and advanced to the heart of the mountains in Galicia". Besides, Molotov's well-known statement of March 30, 1940 dispelled any doubt but also hope regarding Moscow's intentions.

Brătianu considered that the German "lightning offensive" in the spring of 1940 against the West "pressured Moscow to make up its mind". The analysis of the Soviet act of force against Romania in June 1940 leads Brătianu to think of what happened in the 19th century when, among the arguments used by

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

tsarist diplomacy to justify its annexationist claims, there was also that of "Russia's security threatened by the redoubtable Romanian imperialism": "Odessa, it seems, is too close to the Dniester border". Even the formula of "compensations" through the annexation of Northern Bucovina "as interest" for the capital invested in Bessarabia during the period of "Romanian occupation", reminded Brătianu of article 3 of the agreement between the Emperor of the French and the Russians, namely: "M.S. The Emperor of the French consents that M.S. The Emperor of all the Russias to continue to occupy the province of Bessarabia and to retain it to be reunited with the Russian Empire...as a legitimate compensation for the expenses occasioned by the occupation of the Principalities"⁹⁶.

The formula of the so-called "compensations" used by the Russian and then Soviet imperialists has been perpetuated until today, when the question of the return of the Romanian Treasury confiscated without any justification in January 1918, is artificially and illogically mixed with the so-called "debts" of Romania towards the USSR from the time of the first world war, from the period 1918-1940 when the Romanians "exploited Soviet Bessarabia" and, of course, from the time of the Second World War, when the Romanian occupier exploited Russian lands. Not even the conditions formulated in the ultimatum of June 26, 1940 were respected, the Soviet military invasion preceding the official response of the Romanian Government in which it stated that it "sees itself forced" to accept those conditions that were already implemented. "The Red Army - said Brătianu - occupied strategic positions in Bucovina and Northern Moldavia that allowed it, if necessary, to return without difficulty to the line of the Prut and to penetrate, along the valleys, all at once, to the heart of the Romanian territory". In addition, states the author of the study, "the day after the annexation, the Soviet threat only grew even more":

- Concentration of troops along the Prut. Border incidents provoked by the Soviets
- Occupation of some areas in the Danube Delta
- Dissolution of the European Commission of the Danube (CED)
- Inciting Bulgaria to claim all of Dobrogea
- "Encouraging Hungary's claims over Transylvania, massing its troops along the Moldavian border"⁹⁷

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

Let's also add the support given to Bela Kun's actions against Romania in 1919.

At the end of the documentation regarding the ordeal of Bessarabia during the Russian occupation for 106 years - from 1812 onwards - Brătianu formulates a strikingly topical value judgment. I reproduce it in full:

We get to the real bottom of the problem. In the conception of Tsar Alexander I, as in that of the leaders of the USSR, under Gorceakov, as in Molotov, Bessarabia was never anything but a means and not an end. Beginning in 1812, Russian policy aimed much further; she stopped on Prut but forced by circumstances. From this point of view, Soviet policy did not change its objectives: this was seen in the winter of 1940-1941, when the Russian armies threatened at every moment to cross the borders of Bessarabia and take possession of the entire lower course of the Danube, thus establishing a direct connection with the Slavic states of the Balkans. The /security/ argument invoked today/ 1940/ by Soviet diplomacy is, as far as Romania is concerned, as logical as the need to protect an elephant from a mouse.⁹⁸

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Concerned about the fate of his country after the end of the war he was living through, Gheorghe Brătianu expressed a truth with a long history: "Romania is not today, as it was not in the past, but a bridge to achieve other goals, which extend far beyond its territory and aim at the borders and access routes of Central Europe and the shores of the Mediterranean"; the hope of the author of these lines - who stood steadfastly, until the tragic end of his life, on the barricade defending the vital interests of his country - was linked to the possible "good intentions" of those who will dictate the future peace: "May all those who will decide, at the end of the Second World War, the fate of states and nations, be fully aware of this terrible reality! They should not forget, after so many experiences accumulated throughout history, that hatred and injustice carry their own condemnation and that the only solid basis of peace and sustainable creation is the objective investigation of reality."⁹⁹

It is known that precisely this "objective research of reality" was not done by the representatives of the Powers that drafted the peace

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 228..

⁹⁹ *Ibid*.,p. 231.

conditions of 1946-1947. The tangled tangle of territorial divisions, areas of interest and influence, the establishment of compensations on behalf of smaller nations - unconsulted - in the European and extra-European space, did not bring either general peace and security, or mutually beneficial interstate cooperation. Instability on all levels, insurmountable barriers between states and peoples, hierarchization of states according to sui-generis criteria, withdrawal of borders, artificial, which defied historical realities and broke the unity of nations, and many others, characterized that half century that passed after Versailles - 1947.

Because the subject of this study focused on the older and newer history of Eastern and Northern Moldova, let's not forget that Romania remained with the eastern and northern border as it was drawn in June 1940 by the Foreign Minister of the USSR, Molotov, with his thick pencil; the decision to this effect had already been taken long before the opening of the Paris Peace Conference. The peace treaty with Romania gave international legal status to this Decision, which became an article of the peace treaty. Let's say, invoking the spirit of Gheorghe Brătianu: "All those who will decide, at the end of this war, the fate of states and nations, should be aware of the interests of these peoples and their states, should research history and understand the realities of the time".

But the question remains: What role does the knowledge of history still have for the great politics of our days?

Curtea de Argeș, September 4, 2024

Summary

Moldova, an autonomous Principality under Ottoman suzerainty during the feudal period, lost, in 1812, its eastern part, between the Prut-Nistru-Danube, as a result of the Russian-Turkish transaction entered into in the terms of a treaty signed in Bucharest. The Ottoman Empire, as suzerain, did not have the right - according to the hatisherifs given by the sultan - to dispose of its vassal's territory in any way; thus, the treaty with Russia of 1812 was nullified from the spot. The part annexed by Russia was improperly called "Bessarabia" - a name given only to the southern part of Moldova which, in ancient times, belonged to the Basarab dynasty that ruled in Wallachia (Wallachia). Russian rule in the annexed territory, for 106 years (until 1918 - January 24), was characterized by the denationalization of Romanians, terror, forced Russification, deportations, lack of basic rights, isolation from the other Romanian provinces. This annexed territory became part of the Russian empire, as a "gubernia". Under the influence of the revolutionary movements in Russia, of the contacts established between Bessarabian Romanians and those from Romania, Ardeal, Bucovina, during the years of the first world war, the national movement was activated in Bessarabia as well. An important role in this process was played by Romanians from Austria-Hungary (civilians and soldiers) refugees in Romania and Russia, especially in Bessarabia. Prof. Dr. Onisifor Ghibu refugee from Sibiu, sentenced to death in absentia by the Habsburg authorities, along with many other Transylvanian Romanian refugees, was totally involved, through his entire activity, in the fight for the liberation of Bessarabia and its union with Romania. The newspapers he patronized, "Ardealul (Transilvania)" and "România Nouă" printed in the first printing press with Latin letters brought to Chisinau _ the capital of Bessarabia, from October 1917 to November 1918, became tribunes of the national movement for the liberation and union of Bessarabia with Romania. On December 2, 1917, Bessarabia proclaimed its autonomy within the Russian Federation; on January 24, 1918, it became an independent state, completely breaking away from Bolshevik Russia; on March 27, 1918, the Parliament of the Republic (Country Council) proclaimed the Union with the Kingdom of Romania. Bessarabia was re-annexed by the USSR following the ultimatum given on June 26, 1940, to the Romanian Government.

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MYTH FROM A HISTORICAL, FOLKLORIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

PhD Hernán Rodríguez VARGAS

Abstract: *This paper aims to clarify the concept of myth within a specific framework, distinguishing it from its classical interpretations in folklore and philosophy. While myths in the sense of Mircea Eliade or Joseph Campbell represent ancestral narratives deeply embedded in cultural traditions, the myths discussed here align more closely with the understanding proposed by Roland Barthes in *Mythologies*. Barthes defines myth as a form of speech conditioned by history, one that transforms complex socio-historical realities into naturalized, simplified truths.*

Keywords: myth, mythology, historical construct, re-mythologizing

1. Introduction:

The myth as a Social and Historical Construct

Myths, as Barthes suggests, do not emerge organically but are deliberately constructed and maintained through mechanisms such as media, education, and political discourse. They function as depoliticized narratives that mask historical contingencies as natural and eternal truths. This transformation, which strips events and figures of their original complexities, serves ideological functions by reinforcing established social structures and collective beliefs.

It is not only a novel effort to question a series of commonplaces that we take for granted, culturally speaking, but also to explore and collect a whole series of sources that sustain these commonplaces, privileging those that belong to visual culture, in order to enhance them under the methodical description of myths or expressions of cultural ideology. which survive today, in school textbooks, paintings, photographs, illustrated newspapers, poems, films, literary texts and, in general, in the most varied devices of social interaction.

2. The Role of Myth in National Narratives

The definition of the myth from the author's point of view

It is not so much about that marvellous and ancestral conception of which Mircea Eliade or Joseph Campbell speak and which is widespread in the folklore of cultures, although the national epic tends to present itself in this form as a secular religion. It is not the myth of Homer or the Bible, nor the myth of Plato in *The Republic*, although it retains the philosophical effort of standing on the side of error and starting a path towards truth. It is rather the myth included in "the meaning that designates something fictitious that is usually accepted as true, either partially or completely".

It is myth as conceived by Roland Barthes in his famous book *Mythologies*, where it is stated that myth is speech, but not just any speech, since "language needs particular conditions to become a myth"; the same thing happens with images. This, insofar as it is not a question of a concept or a concrete idea, but rather of a message, "it is a matter of a mode of signification, of a form." It is about the social, historical use of certain ideas or images over time and that endure thanks to effective mechanisms of production, mediatization, promotion and repetition.

The national epic often embodies mythological structures, presenting historical figures like Simón Bolívar and La Pola not as complex historical agents but as sacralized symbols of idealized patriotism. These figures are repeatedly re-mythologized through artistic and media portrayals that emphasize their heroism while omitting the socio-political nuances of their time. This process results in a history that appears self-evident, eliminating contradictions and dialectical tensions.

3. The Function of Myth in Historical Interpretation

By transforming historical struggles into moralistic tales of heroism and sacrifice, myths establish an illusion of continuity between past and present. As Barthes notes, myth provides a clarity that is not explanatory but confirmatory—it does not question but rather affirms a pre-established meaning. This mechanism simplifies complex historical developments and renders them accessible to broad audiences, ensuring their continued influence in shaping national consciousness.

Conclusion

This study highlights the necessity of deconstructing myths to reveal the underlying social and political forces that shape collective memory. By denaturalizing historical myths, we can foster a more critical and nuanced understanding of national identity and its ideological underpinnings. This approach challenges the assumption that myths merely reflect history; instead, it reveals them as active instruments in the construction and perpetuation of social imaginaries.

The author's conception of myth, from a historical, folkloric and philosophical perspective, can be consulted extensively in his work *Seven Myths about the Independence of the New Granada. (1810-1819)*", which will be translated and published this year, at the Publishing House of the Romania of Tomorrow Foundation.

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**PROFESSOR VIORICA MOISUC – ILLUSTRIOUS
REPRESENTATIVE, AT THE EUROPEAN LEVEL, OF
TODAY’S ROMANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, PERMANENTLY
ON THE BARRICADES OF REVEALING AND DEFENDING
HISTORICAL TRUTHS. ON THE OCCASION
OF HER 90TH BIRTHDAY**

PhD Stoica LASCU,
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Abstract: *The respectable nonagenarian of Romanian Historiography, Professor Viorica Moisuc (B. April 8, 1934) is a researcher and historian of European stature, with special contributions in the Contemporary History of Romania in a European context (especially the Interwar Period), in the evolution of International Relations, in the research and editing of historical sources from Romanian and foreign archives, embodied in massive documentary corpora; it boosted, offering new perspectives, the research of Romania’s International Relations from the first half of the 20th Century; she represented the Romanian historical science at numerous specialized international meetings and congresses. Is the author of 28 volumes (sole author: 17; coord. [ed.] /and author/: 7; co-author: 4), with historical themes (monographs, thematic works, syntheses, collections of documents); of over 110 studies in specialized magazines and collective volumes, from the country and abroad; author of prefaces (11) (as well as numerous interviews on Radio and TV). She sustained publication activity with a historical and socio-political character; attitudes in defense of national values and the place of the discipline of History – “a science based on the research of documents” – in the instructive-educational act.*

Keywords: Viorica Moisuc, Romanian Historiography, «Nicolae Iorga» Institute of History, «Ovidius» University of Constanța.

We showed five years ago that the renowned researcher of the historical past of the Romanians, in a European context, and valued Professor of the «Ovidius» University in Constanța (but also of the «Spiru Haret» University in the Bucharest) – who reached a venerable age this spring (b. April 8, 1934), precious anniversary of Romanian Historiography –, “represented and continues to represent one of the most authoritative voices – scientifically – in the field of research and writing of the interwar history of Romania, especially in the context of the evolution of it in the overall impact and dynamics of international relations”.

A synthetic picture of his life and scientific activity¹ was outlined, later, in the contents of *Enciclopedia reprezentanților scrisului istoric românesc* [the Encyclopaedia of Representatives of Romanian Historical Writing]² (an extensive work, in five volumes, published in 2021/2022 under the auspices of the Romanian Academy) – which we put, for wider dissemination of the profile of this genuine scientist and genuine patriot, (and) available to the wider public:

¹ On the 85th anniversary, a group of former doctoral students (Dorel Bușe, Constantin Cheramidoglu, Maria Costea, Traian Hristea, Mihaela Osorio, Nechita Runcan) and other servants of Clio, close to the distinguished Professor (Carmen Irène Atanasiu, Ion Calafeteanu, Valentin Ciorbea, Virgil Coman, Simion Costea, Andreea Paula Ibănescu, Constantin Iordan, Catinca Oncescu, Cezar Stanciu, Nicoleta Vasilcovschi) have published, as a sign of homage, a volume of studies – see Maria Costea (coord. [ed.]), *Diplomația României și geopolitica europeană. În onorem istoricului Viorica Moisuc* [Romania’s Diplomacy and European Geopolitics. In Honorem to Historian Viorica Moisuc], European Institute (Coll. *Academica* 322), Iași, 2019 /256 pp./.

² See – more recently – v o c e (signed by S.L. /Stoica Lascu/), in Victor Spinei, Dorina N. Rusu (coord. [eds]), *Enciclopedia reprezentanților scrisului istoric românesc. Românesc* (Academia Română. Secția de Științe Istorice și Arheologie). Coordonatori ... [Encyclopedia of Representatives of Romanian Historical Writing (Romanian Academy. Section of Historical Sciences and Archaeology). Coordinators ..., ... Vol. III (L-N), Editura Karl A. Romstorfer a Muzeului Național al Bucovinei, Suceava, 2021, pp. 273-274; an older v o c e (signed by T.U. /Traian Udrea/), in Ștefan Ștefănescu (coord.), *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești* [Encyclopedia of Romanian Historiography], Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1978, p. 225 [471].

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I. Born: April 8, 1934, Bucharest. High school studies: High School for Girls No. 9 (Today – “Gheorghe Șincai” National College) from Bucharest (1947-1951). Higher studies: Faculty of History of the University “C.I. Parhon” from Bucharest (1951-1956). Doctor in History at the University of Bucharest (1966), with the thesis *Diplomația României și problema apărării suveranității și independenței naționale în perioada martie 1938-mai 1940* [Romania's Diplomacy and the Problem of Defending National Sovereignty and Independence in the Period March 1938-May 1940] (published in 1971). Bibliographer at the Central State Library of Bucharest (1956-1958). History teacher at School No. 36 from Bucharest (1958-1961). Researcher (Trainee, Senior II) at the Institute of History “Nicolae Iorga” (1961-1968). Researcher (Senior II) at the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies under C.C. of P.C.R. (1968-1990). Researcher (Senior I) at the Institute of Southeast European Studies in Bucharest (1990-1995). University Professor at “Ovidius” University of Constanța (Faculty of History and Political Sciences) (1993-2014); PhD Supervisor; Director (1996) of the Center for History and Civilization of the Black Sea Area (19th-21st Centuries). Professor at “Spiru Haret” University in Bucharest. Documentation internships in archives abroad (Potsdam, Dresden 1966, Bonn, Munich 1968, Paris, Vincennes, Strasbourg 1971-2000, Geneva 1977, Amsterdam 1978, Vatican 1984, Montréal 1995, Rome 1998). Exhibitions at universities in Chisinau, Krakow, Brussels, Geneva, Paris, Milan. Participant in numerous international scientific meetings (Amsterdam, Ankara, Barcelona, Belgrade, Berlin, Brussels, Chisinau, Krakow, Geneva, Milan, Moscow, Paris, Poznan, Prague, Rome, Sofia, Strasbourg, Toronto, Venice, etc.). President of the Romanian Commission on the History of the Second World War, affiliated to the International Committee on the History of the Second World War (since 1990). Reporter at the International Congresses of History. Organizer of international scientific events. Member of the Romanian-Russian Joint Governmental Commission for studying the Romanian Treasury in Moscow (1992-2005); member of the National Commission for editing the National Collection of Diplomatic Documents (since 2004); member of the Mixed Commissions of History Romania–German Democratic Republic,

Romania–Federal Republic of Germany, Romania–Czechoslovakia, Romania–Poland, Romania–Bulgaria (1979-1989). Senator (2004-2008); Member of the European Parliament (2006-2008). “Nicolae Bălcescu” Award of the Romanian Academy (1972) for the volume *Diplomația României și problema apărării suveranității și independenței naționale în perioada martie 1938-mai 1940* (Bucharest, 1971).

II. Researcher, University Professor. Historian with special contributions in the contemporary history of Romania in a European context (especially the Interwar Period), in the evolution of International Relations, in the research and editing of historical sources from Romanian and foreign archives, embodied in massive documentary corpora; it boosted, offering new perspectives, the research of Romania’s International Relations from the first half of the 20th Century; represented the Romanian historical science at numerous specialized international meetings and congresses. Author of 26 volumes (sole author: 15; coord. [ed.] /and author/: 7; co-author: 4), with historical themes (monographs, thematic works, syntheses, collections of documents); of over 100 studies in specialized magazines and collective volumes, from the country and abroad; author of prefaces (11). Sustained publication activity with a historical and socio-political character; attitudes in defense of national values and the place of the discipline of History – “a science based on the research of documents” – in the instructive-educational act.

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<https://www.ziuaconstanta.ro/stiri/invatamant/aniversari-la-universitatea-ovidius-profosoara-viorica-moisuc-la-ceas-aniversar-permanent-pe-baricadele-relevarii-si-apararii-adevarurilor-istorice-688528.html>

... In recent years, the prolific Professor Viorica Moisuc, tireless at almost 90 years old – a rare case in the field of our Historiography today, an example for the younger servants of Clio –, has caused to appear, in addition to several studies and articles, and two more books: Volume II of *Calvarului românilor în lupta pentru eliberare și întregire națională* [The Ordeal of the Romanians in the Struggle for Liberation and National Integration], subtitled *Istoria românilor – adevăr și minciună (până la Conferința de Pace, 1919-1920)* [History of the Romanians – Truth and Lies (until the Peace Conference, 1919-1920)] (București, 2022); respectively, the 2nd Edition (the princeps Edition appeared in 1991), “revised and added”, of the Volume *Premisele izolării politice a României. 1919-1940* [The Premises of Romania's Political Isolation. 1919-1940] (București, 2023).

At this anniversary hour – and balance sheet no less –, the contents of the two volumes of *Calvarul românilor...* should be revealed, the lecturer interested in learning the truths of national history, *sine ira et studio* (as the author says) being able to be aware due to the methodological vision and the thematic consistency of the research of Professor Viorica Moisuc.

The content of *Vol. I (1600-1914)* – published in 2020: 290 pp. – is as follows:

De ce am scris această carte [Why I Wrote This Book] (pp. 9-16): “Today, every Romanian should know that the Greater Romania of a hundred years ago, built with patience, with incalculable sacrifices, with skill, with verticality and daring, not for one generation, but for tens and hundreds of generations that have endured on the ancestral land without leaving it, regardless of difficulties, without betraying it, this Romania that we like to talk about is no longer «big» or «strong», nor «vertical». It is, first, territorially mutilated: it only has a part of the historical Bukovina, less than half of the historical Moldova, a part of the historical Dobrudja.

You will say: «the Russians are to blame!» Yes, but not only them. An old Romanian proverb tells us that it is good to see the log in your own eye first and then the straw in the other’s eye! It applies to us too. Let’s take them one by one, so that we can understand the course of things” (p. 9).

Prolegomena (pp. 17-25)

Then, under the subtitle *Pro-Memoria: oameni – Idei – Fapte* [Pro-Memory: people – Ideas – Facts], 18 themes are developed:

I. *Simbolul Mihai Viteazul* [The Symbol of Michael the Brave] (pp. 27-45: “In this book there is only blood and tears”, Misinterpret of Romanian history in a new phase).

II. *Mihai Eminescu în apărarea drepturilor românilor din Ardeal și Basarabia* [Mihai Eminescu in defense of the rights of Romanians from Transylvania and Bessarabia (pp. 46-57: “Romanians from Hungary”, Romanians from occupied Bessarabia).

III. *Nicolae Bălcescu – doctrinarul Revoluției române de la 1848* [Nicolae Bălcescu – the Doctrinaire of the Romanian Revolution of 1848] (pp. 58-68: Speech Given by Nicolae Bălcescu to Romanian Students in Paris, on New Year’s Eve 1846, in the Conference Hall of the Romanian Library in Place de Sorbone no. 3 pp. 61-67/).

IV. *Simion Bărnuțiu – eroul de la Blaj, mai 1848* [Simion Bărnuțiu – the Hero from Blaj, May 1848] (pp. 69-90: Simion Bărnuțiu’s Speech of 2/14 May 1848 on the Relations of the Romanians with the Hungarians and on National Freedom. Extracts, Reprisals).

V. *Testamentul lui Eudoxiu (Doxaki) Hurmuzachi (1762-1857)* [Testament of Eudoxiu (Doxaki) Hurmuzachi (1762-1857)] (pp. 91-92).

VI. *Din nou la Blaj – Pronunciamentul – 3/15 mai 1868* [Again at Blaj – The Pronunciation – 3/15 May 1868] (pp. 93-95: Reaction of the Budapest Government).

VII. *Manifestul din martie 1868 al românilor ardeleni* [The March 1868 Manifesto of Transylvanian Romanians] (pp. 96-97).

VIII. *Memoriul lui Gheorghe Bariț – Blaj, 3 mai 1872* [Memoir of Gheorghe Bariț – Blaj, May 3, 1872] (pp. 98-104: The Action of the Hungarian Authorities for the Destruction of the Romanian Press).

IX. *Cestiunea Română în Transilvania și Ungaria. Replica Junimei Academice Române din Transilvania și Ungaria. Prigonirea publiciștilor Români* [The Romanian Question in Transylvania and Hungary. Reply of the Romanian Academic *Junimea* from Transylvania and Hungary. Persecution of Romanian Publicists (pp. 105-112: Political Lawsuits Filed Against Romanian Journalists and the “Reply” Trial).

X. *Memorandum-ul Românilor din Transilvania și Ungaria – Sibiu, 26 martie 1892*. Extrase [Memorandum of Romanians from Transylvania and Hungary – Sibiu, March 26, 1892. Extracts] (pp. 113-131: Memorandum from Romanians from Transylvania and Hungary to His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty Francis Joseph I, Emperor of Austria, Apostolic King of Hungary, King of Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Galicia, Ladomeria and Illyria, Archduke of Austria, Grand Duke of Cracow, Duke of Lorraine, Duke of Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Carneola, Bukovina, Upper and Lower Silesia, Grand Prince of Transylvania, Margrave of Moravia, Princely Committee of Habsburg and Tyrol, etc. Extracts, Memorandum Process: The Word of Dr. Ion Rațiu).

XI. *Istoria unui plan criminal al guvernului ungar împotriva Românilor – 1907. „Povestea unei cărți secrete”* [The History of a Criminal Plan of the Hungarian Government Against the Romanians – 1907. “The Story of a Secret Book” (pp. 132-142).

XII. *„Détruisez l’Autriche-Hongrie! Le martyre des Tchéco-slovaques à travers l’histoire” Edvard Beneš* [“I destroy Austria-Hungary!” Le martyre des Tchéco-slovaques à travers l’histoire” Edvard Beneš] (pp. 143-154: Terror in the Czecho-Slovak Countries, Collaboration between

Transylvanian and Czecho-Slovak Romanians in the Struggle for Liberation).

XIII. *Mihail Kogălniceanu – „actual și contemporan”* [Mihail Kogălniceanu – “Current and Contemporary”] (pp. 155-196: Pan-Romanian Creed – National Unity, Speech for the Opening of the National History Course at the Mihăileanu Academy Delivered on November 24, 1843 /Excerpts/, ... Short Remember ..., The Wishes of the National Party in Moldavia /Excerpts/).

XIV. *Cum a fost tranzacționată Bucovina de Austria, Turcia și Rusia: pe bani, pietre prețioase, aur, oglinzi venețiene, porțelanuri scumpe și asasinat politic* [How Bucovina was Traded by Austria, Turkey, and Russia: for Money, Precious Stones, Gold, Venetian Mirrors, Expensive Porcelain and Political Assassination] (pp. 197-211: “The Abduction of Bukovina According to Authentic Documents” (1875), “1775 , July 3; The Account of the Extraordinary and Secret Expenses that Were Incurred on the Occasion of the Signing of the Convention Regarding the Cession of Bukovina on May 7, 1775”).

XV. *Cum a cotoplit Imperiul rus, a doua oară, Basarabia românească* [How the Russian Empire Invaded Romanian Bessarabia for the Second Time] (pp. 212-237: G.I. Ionescu-Gion on the Action of Prince Carol, Ion Brătianu, and Mihail Kogălniceanu for the Defense of Romania’s National Interests in 1877-1878, Some Considerations, Mihail Kogălniceanu at the Peace Congress in Berlin – 1878. Plea for Bessarabia, Reflections on the Side of Kogălniceanu’s Speech).

XVI. *Văcăreștii și ideea românească* [The Văcărești and the Romanian Idea] (pp. 238-267: The Veil of Oblivion, Exile, Roots, the Seal of the Văcărești: “the growth of the Romanian language and the honorable Fatherland...”).

XVII. *„Calvarul nostru”: Octavian Goga, la Iași, dezvăluie atrocitățile seculare din Ardealul românesc* [“Our Calvary”: Octavian Goga, in Iași, Reveals the Secular Atrocities in the Romanian Transylvania] (pp. 268-280).

XVIII. *Consensul național: „Restitutio in integrum”* [The National Consensus: “Restitutio in integrum”] (pp. 281-289).

The contents of Volume II (subtitled *Istoria românilor – adevăr și minciună (până la Conferința de Pace, 1919-1920)* [History of the Romanians – Truth and Lies (Until the Peace Conference, 1919-1920)] (435 pp.) are:

Argument (pp. 7-26; specifying the date: *Curtea de Argeș, May 2022*).

In this short and exciting section, the historian-militant in defense of the ancestral – and perennial – rights of the Nation and the Country, writes some memorialistic aspects (possibly heralding a very useful and illustrious stand-alone volume), from which we reproduce, as an example:

“The time of the balance sheet.

As long as you live, you learn. The more you learn, the more you realize how little you know, you are overwhelmed by the smallness of your knowledge and the immensity of what you still have to learn... until Life finally puts an end to it. Then, and only then, the question will be answered: What and how much have you left behind?...” (p. 7).

After all, the French Revolution of 1789 destroyed inestimable values of culture, what can some research institute from Bucharest mean with its library and everything!? What does it matter that the revolutionary Prime Minister in a red sweater, Petre Roman [b. 1946], signed on March 7, 1991 the Government Decision by which he «decided», in his great wisdom and knowledge of the situation of historical research in Romania, to abolish this Institute for reasons of «parallelisms» – a blatant lie, because it was the only institute of Contemporary history from the country! The explanation of this decision is related, in my opinion and that of others, to the fact that the secret archive of the Central Committee of the PCR [Romanian Communist Party], as well as the archive of this Institute, which contained countless files inaccessible to the public, had to be either destroyed or placed in «safekeeping». That it is so, is proven by the fact that in those troubled days of late December–early January, in military trucks with a tarpaulin, pulled up in front of the entrance door to the Institute, soldiers brought loads of boxes with documents from this archive; the operation lasted for days. The trucks were leaving in a direction that I did not know at the time (...).

I went to the Romanian Academy every day with the hope that somewhere there would be a place for me too! Error! People who then reached the top of the pyramid, for «merits» known only to them, turned

their heads or hid so as not to be asked... about their health! Mrs. Zoe Dumitrescu-Bușulenga [1920-2006] was the only one amazed and outraged by what was happening! At the «Nicolae Iorga» Institute, where I had worked for ten years, I thought that, naturally, I would return. Error! Mr. Șerban Papacostea [1928-2018], anointed director after a former union leader, Anastase Iordache [1933-2009] and with another character, Stan Apostol [1933-2022], became revolutionaries overnight, started cleaning serious and, storming into the then director's office, acad. Ștefan Ștefănescu [1929-2018], they took his coat from the hanger, put it on his shoulders and threw him out into the street, simply. «Cleaning» was taken over by the new director, Șerban Papacostea, together with his friends! Fearing, of course, that those from the disbanded Institute would not bring any virus of communism into his «clean» institute, he quickly organized a large meeting with all the scientific staff and invited them all to sign a «Declaration», as well as the undersigned and several others, including Milică Moldoveanu [1937-1991], who had not yet been run over by the tram, will not be accepted into the Institute! They all signed. Who remembered back then about «competence», professional value, expertise, the baggage of works! Some trifles! In fact, contemporary history was not really done at «Iorga», it was reduced to materials prepared to order regarding the revolutionary activity of the Ceaușescu family! Since then, I haven't set foot at the Nicolae Iorga Institute, which was very dear to me.

Mrs. Dumitrescu-Bușulenga managed to obtain two researcher positions (one for me) at the Institute of South-East European Studies, where for years I was a member of the Scientific Council, the director being Prof. Mihai Berza [1907-1978], then Prof. Eugen Stănescu [1922-1989]. The atmosphere there was dominated by the wind that was blowing strongly at the time to replace the Romanian clothes – worn with such dignity and respect by the scholar Mihai Berza, the student of Nicolae Iorga, the founder of this Institute – with clothes from the rotten part of the West, motley, smelling of «odicolon» of Paris, London, Berlin, Budapest. There was also a strong, foggy wind blowing from the Vatican, and some, who could not keep their feet well, were carried aloft. And the name of the Institute has undergone changes, not South-East, not the Balkans, but Europe! I have not come to terms with any of this! Just as I did not come to terms with the atmosphere at the Faculty of History in Bucharest, which «resets» more aggressively than in the 1950s. Then, and there, as

everywhere, the world was filled with so-called «illegals» – characters of sad memory, profiteers of the «democracy» brought on the Soviet tanks. Now there was no more room for former «victims» of the communist regime, chameleons, who, in fact, in their vast majority had taken full advantage of the advantages offered to them by this reviled regime. For the mass of «naives», things soon became more and more difficult to understand. And so, they have remained – for many.

This is how I arrived at the new University of Constanța, «Ovidius», in the establishment of which, a former colleague of the Faculty, Adrian Rădulescu [1932-200] (director of the Museum of Archeology) had made a first-rate contribution. I obtained the teaching position following a competition with open lessons. We talked about *the Concordat with the Vatican*. I considered that I had tied the thread of the story started at Histria (within the student practice – our note) in 1952. But now it was 1993. Half a century had passed. A new beginning. But I was in Dobrogea again.

I had the desire to see the Faculty of History at the «Ovidius» University among the elite Faculties in the country. They were good teachers, increasingly demanding, disciplined, in addition to a great deal of enthusiasm. Many initiatives, projects, achievements, intense scientific life; colloquiums, international conferences, close ties, and collaboration with those from Bessarabia and Bukovina – colleagues and friends, working visits, joint research. We had, in those first years, a large influx of young people, from all over the country, including Bessarabia; at the entrance exam, many in one place. Doctoral theses must, from the very beginning, be reference works in the field addressed. The outlook was promising. However, the degradation process began much too quickly. The plague of corruption, upstarts, the favoring of incompetence, the marginalization and expulsion of the inconvenient – who happened to be the most valuable – was spreading. Characters from the area of «ordered service» told, through their specific means, their destructive plans (...)” (pp. 19-20).

After *Argument*, the actual content follows, with very explicit and clarifying thematic headings:

Partea I: *Istoria Românilor – adevăr și minciună*

[Part I: History of the Romanians – Truth and Lies] (pp. 27-218)

XIX. *În România ocupată de Puterile Centrale, Nicolae Iorga deslușește românii istoria germanismului* [In Romania Occupied by the Central Powers, Nicolae Iorga Explains to Romanians the History of Germanism] (pp. 27-49).

XX. „*Basarabia*” [“Bessarabia”] (pp. 50-60).

XXI. *Nicolae Iorga și „Basarabia”* [Nicolae Iorga and “Bessarabia”] (pp. 61-65).

XXII. *Nicolae Titulescu în „Apărarea Basarabiei”* [Nicolae Titulescu in “Defense of Bessarabia”] (pp. 66-89).

XXIII. *Tezaurul României – în paza „aliatului” rus; date și mărturii noi din arhivele Federației Ruse* [Romania’s Treasury – in the Custody of the Russian “Ally”; New Data and Testimonies from the Archives of the Russian Federation] (pp. 90-142).

XXIV. *Ardealul în malaxorul inventatorilor de istorie* [Transylvania in the Blender of History Inventors] (pp. 143-196).

XXV. *Marc Bloch, acum o sută de ani: în loc de „Concluzii”* [Marc Bloch, a Hundred Years Ago: Instead of “Conclusions”] (pp. 197-199).

XXVI. „*Imposibila*” *Austro-Ungarie – „soluție acceptabilă pentru popoarele care o constituiau”?* “Impossible” Austria-Hungary – “acceptable solution for the peoples that constituted it”? (pp. 200-218).

Partea a II-a: *Sine ira et studio*

[Part II: Sine ira et studio]

XXVII. *Ernst Gamillscheg: Limba română arhaică este „forma întinerită a latinei vulgare”* [Ernst Gamillscheg: The archaic Romanian Language is “The Rejuvenated Form of Vulgar Latin”] (pp. 219-224).

XXVIII. *Anonymus versus Rössler* (pp. 225-241).

XXIX. *Transilvania, istoria și oamenii ei în viziunea unui American: Milton G. Lehrer* [Transylvania, its History and People as Seen by an American: Milton G. Lehrer] (pp. 242-260).

Partea a III-a: „*Salvarea*” *Imperiului Habsburgic prin reformare*
[Part III: “The Saving” of the Habsburg Empire by Reformation]

XXX. *Chestiunea federalizării; interesele Rusiei; interesele Germaniei; situația României* [The Question of Federalization; Russia’s Interests; the Interests of Germany; the Situation in Romania] (pp. 261-284).

XXXI. *Aurel C. Popovici – „Statele Unite ale Austriei Mari” – 1906*
Aurel C. Popovici – “The United States of Greater Austria” – 1906 (pp. 285-312).

XXXII. *Reformarea Imperiului Habsburgic în viziunea Arhiducelui Franz-Ferdinand* [The Reformation of the Habsburg Empire in the Vision of Archduke Franz-Ferdinand] (pp. 313-348).

XXXIII. *O posibilă conciliere cu statul ungar a românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria în ajunul războiului. Francisc-Ferdinand și István Tisza* [A Possible Reconciliation with the Hungarian State of Romanians from Transylvania and Hungary on the Eve of the War. Francisc-Ferdinand and István Tisza] (pp. 349-362).

XXXIV. *Sarajevo și urmările sale* [Sarajevo and Its Consequences] (pp. 363-373).

XXXV. *Noua tentativă de menținere a Imperiului Habsburgilor reformat. Sixte de Bourbon-Parma și chestiunea „păcii separate”* [The New Attempt to Maintain the Reformed Habsburg Empire. Sixtus of Bourbon-Parma and the Question of “Separate Peace”] (pp. 374-403).

[Illustrations (photo., facs., maps.)] (pp. 405-435).

Deeply documented servant of the Romanian historical science, Professor Moisuc did not limit herself, in her activity, especially for the last three decades, only to writing and publishing works intended for fellow servants of Clio. In her view, the historian is also a man of the Citadel, the task of the professional – and honest – being also to disseminate the knowledge of history on their meaning to the broad ranks of citizens (not only students). Thus, in addition to numerous publicist articles – which address topics from the Contemporary History of Romania, in a European context –, Mrs. Professor also participated in numerous public conferences, gave interviews for Radio and TV, or various publications.

In the narrow margin of this synthesis, here are some considerations on History, extracted from an interview from September 2020 (appeared in the “Opinia națională” newspaper), under the title *Prof. univ. dr. Viorica MOISUC: History – the Science of Facts That do Not Repeat Themselves*:

“[Question] *Can history be defined as an exact science?*”

[Answer] Here the opinions are divided. Personally, after more than half a century of studies, research, analysis of tens of thousands of documents, I believe that history *is a science*, namely *an exact science*. With one condition: not to release information without verifying it from several sources, not to formulate value judgments without a solid basis of documentation and convictions based on certain data, not to formulate conclusions based on foreign interests other than those strictly subordinate to the knowledge of the truth in all its complexity. It is known, there is no «absolute truth», definitive, in any science. Whoever says he «knows everything» about a certain problem has a limited mind and is closed to progress. In fact, the more you know, the more knowledge you accumulate, the more you realize how little you know and how much you still have to learn, decipher, reanalyze, complete. Unfortunately, the sufficiency in terms of historical research is far too widespread, not only here, but everywhere. Progress – inevitable in any science – is incompatible with sufficiency, with the limitation of knowledge at the moment of the present, with the imposition from outside of so-called «immutable truths» or taboos subordinated to momentary interests. A matter that I would not like to go over *is the harmfulness of political interference in history, on the one hand, and the acceptance of this interference, on the other*. Who does not remember the times when, under the Soviet occupation, prefabricated theses *were imposed* on the history of the Romanians? And it wasn't the first time! The History of Romanians course, held by Mihail Kogălniceanu at the University of Iași almost two hundred years ago [1843], was suspended by order of the Russian consul in Moldavia. In Transylvania occupied by Hungary, the language and history of Romanians had no place in Romanian schools and other educational institutions. More recently, interests that have nothing to do with historical research have prohibited, under heavy penalties, even addressing the problems of the Antonescu period. It is nothing but a proof of gross cowardice, of betrayal of the interests of the Romanian nation, of endless bowing to foreign interests.

However, such practices have never stopped progress in knowledge. Not even the «Holy» Inquisition!

[Question] *In certain political circles, the idea that Romanians did not have and do not have a real role in history, that we did not have far-reaching leaders with European openness, that we did not contribute much to the culture of the continent, is wanted to be accredited. What do you answer them?*

[Answer] I have responded to such speculations all my life with what I have written, with what I have said from the students' chair, with what I have supported in numerous domestic and international scientific events. Whoever makes such statements is either stupid, or illiterate, or doesn't know what he's talking about, or has never crossed the threshold of a library, or is being sold to interested circles. If I listed here just a few illustrious Romanian names, I would fill several pages. The political circles you talk about pursue dishonest political goals, promote non-values, surrogates, lies. I recommend that you read the work of Louis Barthou (an illustrious French politician and a scientist of international value) *Le Politique* [edited in 1923 by Hachette, in collection *Les caractères de ce temps*], in which he masterfully described and analyzed what a «politician» is and what a «political man» is and the differences between them. Here, if you have arrived, through who knows what means, as a deputy, senator or have some position in the ministries or, more recently, you boast that you were the «advisor» of someone from the political world or from its periphery, you consider yourself a «man political», when, in fact, you are ... nothing!! You laugh when you hear such individuals saying: «I, as a politician...» That's why I say that the judgments of Louis Barthou are very current even today!"

A remarkable and professional personality of our Historiography for the past six decades – which she has represented at a higher scientific level and in various international conclaves –, Professor and researcher Viorica Moisuc, has been guided throughout her life by a set of principles which can be used as benchmarks for today's generations as well:

“I believe in these perennial values of the Romanian nation:

Autochthonism, Continuity and Permanence of Romanians living in the same geographical space,

Ancestral Christianity,

Cultural and Linguistic Unit,

State permanence,

Religious and ethnic tolerance,

The Romanian idea,

The aspiration for national and social freedom, independence, and political unity,

The pan-Romanian creed of national-state reunification,

Peace policy, international collaboration, compliance with Romania's international commitments,

Unconditional rejection of political interference in national and universal history.

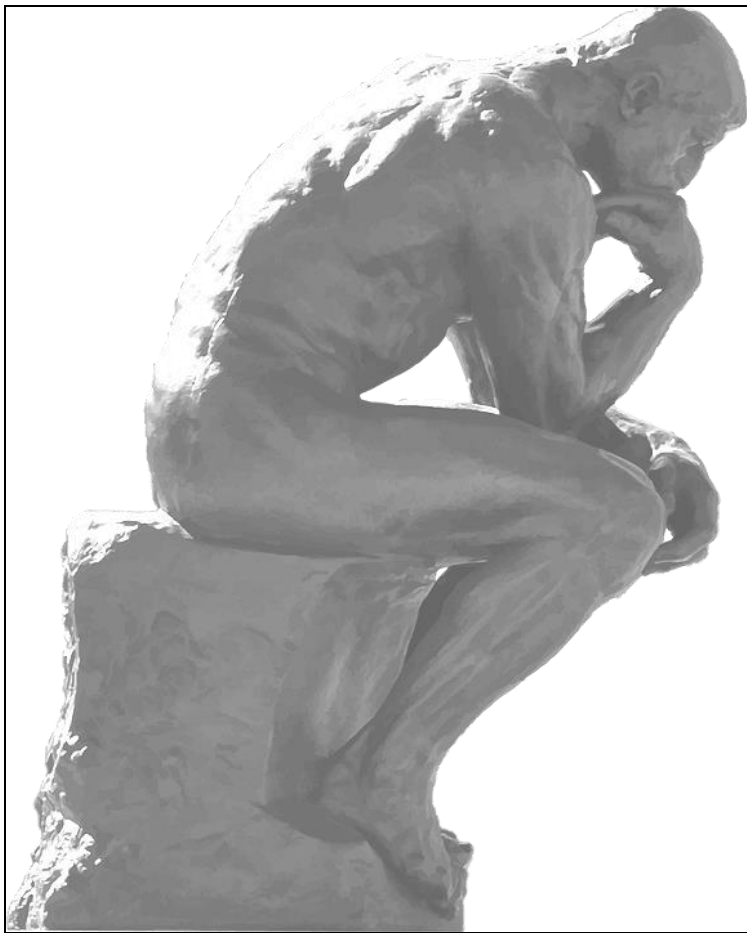
These are perennial truths, which long ago left the area of «controversies» based on political interests, they are fundamental truths for historians who respect their status as servants of scientific truth, for Romanians who do not deny their origin.

I was, am and will be on this barricade

(Calvarul românilor..., Vol. II, pp. 25-26).



Philosophy



ON COMPUTATIONAL INTELLIGENCE HISTORY

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Abstract: *Computational Intelligence history is the fusion of the history of its pillars: Neural Networks, Evolutionary Computation, Computational Swarm Intelligence, Imprecision Modeling (Fuzzy sets/logic/systems and extensions), and Immunological Computation.*

1. Introduction

In "Frames of Mind", Howard Gardner (1983) defines intelligence as "the ability to solve problems or to create products that are valued within one or more cultural settings". Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences argues that "people are not born with all the intelligence they will ever have", and that each person increases their intelligence level by processing information in a more specific/personalized way. He divides intelligence into nine different intelligences that include: Bodily-Kinaesthetic Intelligence, Existential Intelligence, Interpersonal Intelligence, Intrapersonal Intelligence, Linguistic Intelligence, Logical-Mathematical Intelligence (LMI), Musical Intelligence, Naturalist Intelligence, and Visual-Spatial Intelligence. Following Gardner, naturalistic intelligence is "the ability to identify, classify and manipulate elements of the environment, objects, animals or plants." However, to solve problems we need not only LMI, but also methods nature inspired as those promoted by the new field called "Computational Intelligence", mainly in the era of computing and Artificial Intelligence developments.

Computational Intelligence (CI) is a fascinating and broad field that intersects with many aspects of artificial intelligence (AI). Covering Neural Networks (NN), Fuzzy Systems (FS), Evolutionary Computation (EC), Swarm Intelligence (SI) and Artificial Immune Systems (AIS), CI is applied in optimization problems, control systems, robotics, and decision-making processes.

NN is also a subfield of Machine Learning (ML), while CI and ML have distinct focuses and methodologies. ML involves training algorithms on large datasets to identify patterns and make predictions. It uses statistical methods and data-driven approaches using various types of learning (supervised¹, unsupervised², and reinforcement³) to solve complex problems like image and speech recognition, recommendation systems, and predictive analytics.

According to Duch (2007), “CI studies problems for which there are no effective algorithms, either because it is not possible to formulate them or because they are NP-hard and thus not effective in real life applications”. In this paper, the pillars of CI are considered and historical aspects are discussed.

2. The history of CI

The history of CI has many intersections with history of ML and AI. Developments in CI have been and will continue to be influenced by IEEE Computational Intelligence Society (CIS). CIS was approved in 2004 and is oriented to bring together biologically-inspired computational paradigms for problem solving.

The first pillar of CI is considered to be NN, and the beginning of CI models can be found in 1943, when **Pitts** (an American logician) and **McCulloch** (an American neurophysiologist and cybernetician⁴) published the first mathematical modeling of a neural network to create algorithms that mimic human thought processes, called **MCP** (“**McCulloch – Pitts**”) neuron. They set out to understand how the brain can produce highly complex patterns using multiple basic cells linked together.

Even, the name ML was coined in 1952 by Samuel Arthur (a pioneer in the field of computer gaming), the learning principles were discovered by Hebb (1949) that explained how the brain activity is modeled by neural networks. The first NN, called SNARC, composed by 3000 vacuum tubes to

¹ Supervised machine learning uses labeled data, where each input comes with a corresponding correct output.

² Algorithms learn patterns exclusively from unlabeled data.

³ Perform a task through repeated “trial and error” rounds with a simulated/real field when maximizing a reward metric.

⁴ Cyberneticist

simulate 30 neurons was implemented in January 1952 by Marvin Minsky and Dean Edmonds. It uses Hebb synapses model and is considered to be the first artificial self-learning⁵ machine.

A theory of machine intelligence was developed by Alan Turing in 1950, but only in 1956, the term “artificial intelligence” was coined by McCarthy during the workshop at Dartmouth⁶, according to McCorduck et al (1977). When look to history of AI, a promoter of the field is the International Joint Conferences on Artificial Intelligence (IJCAI), founded in 1969. IJCAI conferences were held biennially in odd-numbered years since 1969 till 2015, and annually starting with 2016.

Between 1956 and 1969 much research was done in the field of mathematical modeling of biological neurons. The most important results were obtained on perceptrons by Rosenblatt⁷ and "ADALINES" by Widrow⁸ and Hoff⁹. In fact, the perceptron is an MCP neuron in which the inputs first pass through some "preprocessors", which have been called *association units*. These association units will detect the presence of certain features in the inputs. As the name suggests, the perceptron model has been designed as a pattern recognizer and the association units act as feature or pattern detectors. ADALINE (Adaptive Linear Neuron) is similar to the perceptron, but instead of a *step activation* function, it uses a *linear activation* function. This NN model consists of an input layer, an output

⁵ Self-learning systems are artificial entities that are capable of learning and correcting information on their own during a training session without supervision.

⁶ “John McCarthy won’t swear he hadn’t heard it before, but he was the first to apply it to the kind of work which was going on in this field, he promoted the term, and despite some other proposals and certain grumbling, artificial intelligence has stuck.”

⁷ Rosenblatt proved four main theorems. The first theorem states that elementary perceptrons can solve any classification problem if there are no discrepancies in the training set (but enough elements of type A and/or R.) The fourth theorem states the convergence of the learning algorithm if this elementary perceptron model can solve the problem.

⁸ Widrow has developed a reinforcement learning algorithm known as "penalty/recompensation" or "bootstrapping", which can be used to solve problems where supervised learning methods are impractical due to uncertainty about error signals.

⁹ In 1960, Hoff and Widrow published an improved learning rule for artificial neurons. Unlike the perceptron, where the error was defined based on the predicted outcome, here the result of the activation function was used to define a loss function or cost function. The purpose of this loss function is to find the minimum that corresponds to the optimal solution to the problem at hand.

layer, and a feedback layer that adjusts the weights of the input layer according to the result obtained by minimizing the *mean squared error* (MSE¹⁰) between the desired output and the actual result of the network.

Rosenblatt was very enthusiastic about the power of perceptrons, while Minsky was involved in symbolic artificial intelligence. So, in 1969, Minsky and Papert "caused a major setback" in research on artificial neural networks, as Engelbrecht (2007) explained. In the book entitled "Perceptrons: an introduction to computational geometry", they concluded that extending simple perceptrons to multilayer perceptrons would not improve computational power. This led to a decline in neural network research until the mid-1980s.

However, during this "winter" period, a few researchers, notably Grossberg, Carpenter, Amari, Kohonen, and Fukushima, continued to work on various aspects of NNs, according to Widrow and Lehr (1990).

Based on biological principle, Klopff (1972) developed a basis for learning in artificial neurons. Fukushima (1975) has developed a step-by-step trainable multilayer neural network for interpreting handwritten characters. Grossberg's research on neural networks culminated in 1976 with adaptive pattern classification and universal registration based on feedback and short-term memory.

Gail Alexandra Carpenter and Grossberg developed in 1987 a massively parallel architecture for self-organizing neural pattern recognition machine. By 1992, they had extended adaptive resonance theory (ART)-based learning algorithms to take fuzzy concepts into account, along with the fuzzy ART, ARTMAP and fuzzy ARTMAP projects. ART and ARTMAP neural networks were updated by Carpenter (1997) to support distributed learning, recognition, and prediction.

Self-organizing networks, which learn from externally given patterns or sequences of patterns as stimuli that remember some of them as stable steady states or state transition sequences, were introduced by Amari (1972). A special type of self-organizing network, called self-organizing map (SOM), was introduced by Teuvo Kohonen in the 1980s, as a type of artificial neural network which is trained by competitive learning, rather than the error-corrective learning (gradient descent learning based on backpropagation) used by other artificial neural networks.

¹⁰ The MSE is a metric used to measure the mean square difference between predicted and actual values in a dataset.

Hopfield networks are a type of recurrent neural network (RNN) invented by John Hopfield in 1982. These networks are capable of reconstructing modified information. Essentially, they allow storage and reconstruction of patterns. Geoffrey E. Hinton co-developed in 1986 the backpropagation algorithm that revolutionized the way neural networks are trained. His research spans diverse innovations including Boltzmann machines¹¹, deep belief networks¹², and the revolutionary AlexNet¹³, which significantly advanced image recognition technologies. For their contributions to artificial neural networks and advances in machine learning, John Hopfield and Geoffrey Hinton have been awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics in 2024.

EC is the second pillar of CI. Genetic or evolutionary search was proposed by Turing as early as 1948, a natural selection in which a combination of genes is sought, the criterion being survival value. In 1962, Bremermann (a German-American mathematician and biophysicist) was conducting computer experiments on "optimization by evolution and recombination". The roots of this way of thinking can be found in Darwinian Theory. In the 1960s, three different implementations of the basic idea were developed in different places: the USA (evolutionary programming introduced by Fogel and genetic algorithms introduced by Holland) and Germany (evolutionary strategies invented by Rechenberg and Schwefel). These fields developed separately, but since the early 1990's they have been regarded as different representatives ("dialects") of a technology that came to be known as evolutionary computation (EC). In the early 1990's a fourth stream emerged, namely genetic programming advocated by Koza (1982). Contemporary terminology calls the whole field *evolutionary computation*, the algorithms involved are called *evolutionary algorithms*, and considers evolutionary programming, evolutionary strategies, genetic algorithms and genetic programming as subdomains of evolutionary computation. Genetic Algorithms (GAs) are based on techniques such as

¹¹ "A Boltzmann Machine is a network of symmetrically connected, neuron-like units that make stochastic decisions about whether to be on or off. Boltzmann machines have a simple learning algorithm that allows them to discover interesting features in datasets composed of binary vectors."
(<https://www.cs.toronto.edu/~hinton/csc321/readings/boltz321.pdf>)

¹² <https://www.cs.toronto.edu/~hinton/absps/fastnc.pdf>

¹³

https://proceedings.neurips.cc/paper_files/paper/2012/file/c399862d3b9d6b76c8436e924a68c45b-Paper.pdf

mutation, crossover (the combination of features from two individuals in offspring), and selection to evolve solutions to optimization problems. GA is a subset of EC, where a final population of individuals is provided as candidates to the problem solution.

The next important pillar of CI is based on Nature Inspiring Computing containing SI. Swarm Intelligence (SI) is a term that was first introduced by Gerardo Beni and Jing Wang in 1989. SI is part of a large plethora of Nature inspired approaches, often referred to as nature-inspired algorithms, which are methodologies derived from natural processes to solve complex, non-algorithmizable problems. These approaches are particularly useful in optimization, ML, and other computational fields where traditional algorithms may fall short, or for solving NP-hard problems¹⁴. One type of biological inspired CI approach is the genetic algorithm, considered above. Some other types of nature-inspired algorithms that already proved value consists of:

- Particle Swarm Optimization (PSO): PSO mimics the social behavior of birds flocking or fish schooling. It optimizes a problem by iteratively trying to improve a candidate solution with regard to a given measure of quality. According to Sengupta et al (2019), the PSO algorithm uses a swarm of particles (traversing a multidimensional search space to find the optimal solution. It was formally introduced in 1995 by Eberhart and Kennedy through an extension of Reynold's work.
- Ant Colony Optimization (ACO): ACO was developed by Dorigo and Stützle (2004) and is based on the foraging behavior of ants and proved to be effective for solving computational problems which can be reduced to finding good paths through graphs, for example.
- Artificial Bee Colony (ABC): ABC is inspired by the foraging behavior of honey bees and is used for optimizing numerical problems.

¹⁴ In computer science there are two classes of problems, P and NP. A problem is said to belong to the class P if there exists an algorithm that can solve it in polynomial time in the worst-case. The NP class consists of problems that can be solved by some algorithm (without a statement about its running time), and any solution can be verified in polynomial time by another algorithm. Therefore P is a subset of NP.

- Firefly Algorithm (FA): FA was developed by Xin-She Yang (2007) and is based on the flashing behavior of fireflies; this algorithm is used for solving optimization problems by attracting other fireflies based on their brightness.
- Simulated Annealing (SA): SA is a technique inspired by the annealing process in metallurgy, and is used for finding an approximate global optimum in a large search space a search space (the collection of all points of interest including the solution we are seeking). SA was invented by Enrico Fermi and Stanislaw Ulam in the context of "Monte Carlo" simulations (1949).

PSO, ACO, ABC and FI are "Computational Swarm Intelligence" methods. Optimization algorithms inspired by nature and biology are usually designed after observing a natural process or the behavior patterns of biological organisms, which are then converted into a computational method. These algorithms are powerful because they can handle complex, multi-dimensional, and dynamic problems that are difficult to solve using traditional methods.

Another pillar of CI arise from solving the problem of representing fuzziness in logic, physics, linguistics and the questioning of the notion of a set. This challenge led to many of the first suggestions for fuzzy set theory. However, it was Lukasiewicz who, in 1920, published the first extension of two-valued logic in his work on three-valued logic - later extended to an arbitrary number of values, together with Moisil (see Lukasiewicz-Moisil algebra). But, it was Lotfi Zadeh who developed on *fuzzy sets* in 1965. Unlike classical sets where elements either belong to the set or do not belong to the set, fuzzy sets allow for degrees of membership, represented by a membership function that assigns a value between 0 and 1 to each element. Also, Lotfi A. Zadeh invented in 1965 the fuzzy logic as an extension of fuzzy set theory to provide a way of reasoning about data that is not exact, allowing more flexible and humane reasoning in computers. Fuzzy logic has been widely used in various fields such as control systems (fuzzy systems), decision making (fuzzy relations) and artificial intelligence (fuzzy expert systems).

Until 2000, *fuzzy systems* was an active field developed by Mamdani and Assilian (1975), Sugeno and Takagi (1985), and Zadeh (1994) who coined the *soft computing* term when refers to fuzzy logic and neural networks. With this occasion, Zadeh introduced MIQ ((machine intelligence

quotient) to describe a measure of intelligence of human-made systems. Therefore, an intelligent system should have a high MIQ.

In 1983, Atanassov presents the definition of Atanassov Intuitionistic Fuzzy Set (AIFS). Every element of an AIFS has both a membership degree, and a non-membership degree, but their sum can be below one, not equal to one as in the case of fuzzy sets. Smaradache introduces the concept of Neutrosophic Set in 2002. In Neutrosophic framework, every element has three attributes (membership, non-membership, and indeterminacy), but their sum can be above three.

Recently, a new pillar of CI was considered: Immunological Computation (IC). IC methods were developed in the framework of Artificial Immune Systems (AIS) taking into account the principles of Biological Immune Systems (BIS). Since 1985 there has been a major research interest in immunity-based techniques and their applications. According to Dasgupta and Niño (2009), some theories were established in time: 1) Burnet (1959) developed “clonal selection theory” to describe the “proliferation” of immune cells reacting to an antigen; 2) Niels K. Jerne (1974) developed the “immune network (IN) theory” to explain the formation of immune memory; 3) Bretscher and Cohn (1970) and Hoffmann (1975) considered the classical “self/nonself (SNS) discrimination theory” and its value for the “detection and recognition processes” used by the Danger Theory (1994), the self-assertion model (1999), and the integrity model (2000).

From computational point of view, the main characteristics of BIS to be modeled by AIS are: pattern matching, feature extraction, learning and memory, diversity, distributed processing, self-regulation and self-protection. In this way, AIS methods can be seen as ML approaches. The well known algorithms of AIS are Negative selection (1994, computational model of self/nonself discrimination) and Clonal selection (2000, similar to EC). Applications in software engineering were proposed by Popențiu and Albeanu (2017) when considering imprecision models in various contexts like fuzzy, intuitionistic fuzzy, and neutrosophy.

As it can be seen from above, CI is more than just “the study of the design of intelligent agents, it includes also study of all non-algorithmizable processes that humans (and sometimes animals) can solve with various degree of competence, and the engineering approaches to solve such problems using hardware and software systems”, as Duch (2007) remarked.

3. Conclusion

Computational Intelligence can be seen as inspired by the Naturalist Intelligence (of Gardner), but also as a set of computational methods inspired by nature to be used for Machine Learning approaches. Therefore, both Human Intelligence and Machine Intelligence may learn from environment, store knowledge, and adapt the behavior when solving problems or create products.

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COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE WAYS OF NEUROLINGUISTIC DECODING OF ENCRYPTED MESSAGES FROM EGYPTIAN AND EUROPEAN CULTURE WITH A FOCUS ON THE CARPATHIAN-DANUBIAN PONTIC REGION

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Abstract: *The Egyptian and European culture abounds in encrypted messages, graphic representations or written messages with hidden meaning. We can assume that many of these messages represented ancient ways of neurolinguistic programming and we consider it interesting to research comparatively the decryption method and the similarities existing in their writing. In order to explore these similarities, we will try to select representative symbols and scientifically argue their cultural role in the spaces chosen as the object of the research.*

Keywords: neurolinguistic programming, encryption, comparative analysis, decoding, message

Introduction / Preliminary considerations

The main symbols of the ancient Egyptian culture, but also of the ancient, European one, are of course related to the religious life and the mystical convictions of their promoters. Interestingly, as we will see below, geographically, climatically or socially the two cultural entities have almost nothing in common, the representative mystical symbols are common and represent random realities.

This fact demonstrates that the choice of symbols is not only related to the rendering of immediate reality or to the creation of graphic representations related to objects of common use, but is a much more complex operation, related to the choice of graphic symbols meant to

stimulate the human mind, to lead to predilection beliefs, to create certain predispositions or premises for a certain fundamental perception.

Of course, the choice of already familiar symbols is also linked to the concrete aspect of their knowledge and acceptance, but it is precisely their takeover in such diverse cultures and their quite similar interpretation that demonstrates their complex role. In fact, the analogies between Egyptian and European symbols, as well as the representation of similar psychological or spiritual processes, are also treated by the Swiss psychologist Carl Gustav Jung: "Archetypes are numinous structural elements of the psyche and have a certain autonomy and specific energy, thanks to which they can attract the contents of consciousness that suit them. [...] they are those forms or riverbeds, in which the flow of the psychic event has always moved."¹

I. Chapter 1

Common Symbols in Egyptian and European Culture and Their Decryption

The symbolism of ancient Egypt and Europe shares some fascinating parallels, largely due to cultural exchanges and the universal nature of certain symbols from different civilizations, but also because while these symbols often had distinct meanings in their original contexts, many have been adapted over time as ideas and motifs have traveled through the regions. However, as it results from the interpretation of their graphic representation, the ancient symbols, both European and Egyptian, were nothing more than elements of neurolinguistic programming, some of them even very effective it seems: "For it is a fact that the myths of our different cultures work on us, either consciously or unconsciously, as agents of energy release, of life motivation and direction..²

We will see in the following some key symbols and concepts that demonstrate similarities in symbolism between ancient Egypt and European traditions.

¹ Jung C.G. 2016. Symbols of Transforming. Ed. Three.

² Campbell J. 1960. MASKS OF GOD: PRIMITIVE MYTHOLOGY. LONDON: SECKER & WARBURG.

Symbol	Significance		Graphic	
	Ancient Egypt:	Europe:	Ancient Egypt:	Europe, the Danubian-Pontic Carpathian area
Sun	Central symbol in Egyptian mythology, representing life, creation and gods, especially Ra, the god of the sun, who was seen as the king of the gods and the source of life and energy.	In many European traditions, the sun also symbolizes divine life, power, and influence. In Greek and Roman mythology, the sun god was Helios (later associated with Apollo), who rode his chariot across the sky, bringing light to the world. Similarly, in Celtic and Norse traditions, the sun represented vitality and renewal.	Egyptian symbolism graphically represents the Sun as the eye of Ra, the god who watches over earthlings.	In Europe, the Sun is represented by a sphere, sometimes with rays, but often with a face, with a gaze that is directed towards the earthlings. Certainly for the Romanian people, more than for any other European people, the sun represents light, warmth, salvation (see the tradition of Lăsata Secului, "the wheel of fire") ³ But the sun also appears as the seat or eye of God. In popular graphic representations, the sun often appears in the form of a rosette, rhombuses, hatched squares or spheres divided by crosses, melted as protective representations. ⁴

³ BUHOCIU O., 1979, Winter Folklore, Ziori and Pastoral Poetry, Minerva Publishing House, Bucharest

⁴ PETRESCU P., 1971, Famous Decorative Motifs, Minerva Publishing House, Bucharest

Symbol	Significance		Graphic	
	Ancient Egypt:	Europe:	Ancient Egypt:	Europe, the Danubian-Pontic Carpathian area
Cross	The Ankh, often referred to as the "Egyptian Cross," symbolizes eternal life. It was commonly depicted in the hands of the deities, signifying their control over life and death.	The Christian cross is one of the most recognizable symbols of life and salvation, representing Christ's sacrifice and resurrection. While the Christian cross spread throughout Europe, the ankh influenced early Christian symbolism, with some early Christian arts incorporating elements of the ankh.	Taking into account the Egyptians' beliefs about life and death, the "Egyptian cross" contains a rounded ending, meant to represent infinity.	The European cross is composed of straight, intersecting lines, which symbolize the meeting of the two worlds, terrestrial and celestial. In Romanian symbolism, the graphic sign of the two intersecting lines is interpreted as a balance between the four seasons or between the cardinal points, this symbol being used since early pre-Christian times in the Carpathian-Danubian Pontic area. ⁵
Serpent	Uraeus, the growing cobra, symbolized divine sovereignty, protection, and authority. He was often depicted on the crowns of the pharaohs, representing the goddess Wadjet who protected the ruler.	In Greek mythology, snakes often symbolized healing and wisdom, as seen in the Rod of Asclepius, a symbol of medicine. However, the serpent also had a more ambivalent meaning in European culture, where it was often associated with temptation and evil, especially in Christian interpretations.	The serpent represented power and protection for the Egyptians. Interestingly, in Egyptian graphic representations, it often takes the form of infinity, thus opening the way to the neurolinguistic decryption of the message: the snake's venom becomes protective, the way to eternal life.	In the European mind, the snake has various representative valences: symbol of medicine and wisdom, of protection and power, but also of alipistism and evil. The graphic representations range from the symbolization of two snakes coiled parallel (duality) to the snake biting its tail (a sphere that emanates power, but represents danger). Extremely interesting is the representation of

⁵ ZAHACINSCHI M. and N., 1992, Easter Eggs in Romanians, Sport-Turism Publishing House, Bucharest.

Symbol	Significance	Graphic	Symbol	Significance
	Ancient Egypt:	Europe:	Ancient Egypt:	Europe, the Danubian-Pontic Carpathian area
		I (e.g., the serpent in the Garden of Eden).	.	snakes in Romanian symbolism: snakes can hide among the leaves, grow wings, become dragons and rise to the sky. ⁶
Eye	The Eye of Horus (also called Wedjat) was a symbol of protection, health, and restoration. It was believed to have protective powers and was used as an amulet to protect against evil.	The concept of the all-seeing eye, such as the Eye of Providence, became a symbol of divine oversight in European traditions, especially in Christian and later Masonic symbolism. Like the Eye of Horus, it represented omniscience and protection, especially from the higher powers.	In Egyptian symbolism, the eye is represented mainly by two different hieroglyphics: the eye of Ra and the eye of Horus. After the unification of the kingdoms of Lower and Upper Egypt, with the appearance of the cult of Ra, the graphic representation of the eye of Ra also appears: " ⁷ The eye is represented separately, precisely because it is not seen as a simple physical component of Ra, but as a weapon, a deity in itself.	In Ancient Europe, the graphic representation of the red eye, the dragon's eye, predominates, seen as a demonic power, which could subjugate any being. In Renaissance iconography, the eye appears surrounded by a triangle, an explicit symbol of the Holy Trinity. If we refer to the Pontic Danubian Carpathian space, the eye is represented in a much more explicit manner as a portal, an organ of perception but also of transmitting messages, with a dual beneficial or evil role, depending on the context. The eye is represented graphically either as the divine eye or as a symbol of the almalefic, but always in human form, more or less stylized.

⁶ Romulus A., 2016, Dictionary of Romanian Traditional Symbols and Beliefs, Tipo Moldova, Iași

⁷ www.ro.biography.name

Symbol	Significance	Graphic	Symbol	Significance
	Ancient Egypt:	Europe:	Ancient Egypt:	Europe, the Danubian-Pontic Carpathian area
			<p>With the fall from grace of the myth of Ra, the myth of the falcon god Horus is born, whose eye had been shattered by Seth in battle into six pieces, thrown to the ground. It is graphically represented very similar to a human eye, with two tails and pupil, an eyebrow and two graphic signs, representing the six pieces, but also the six human senses (taste, touch, sight, hearing, etc.).</p> <p>The dual graphics even allow the interpretation of the symbols as a complementarity (the left and the right eye), which reinforces the idea of the neurolinguistic role of the message: people completed themselves with their deities, they were called to take part in their work on earth, to constitute a body together.</p>	

Symbol	Significance	Graphic	Symbol	Significance
	Ancient Egypt:	Europe:	Ancient Egypt:	Europe, the Danubian-Pontic Carpathian area
Wings	winged deities such as Isis and Maat were often depicted with outstretched wings, symbolizing protection, divine power, and spiritual ascension. The wings were also used in the representation of the scarab beetle, which was linked to the sun god Ra and the afterlife.	Wings also symbolized divine power and freedom in European art, especially in depictions of angels. Angels are messengers of God, with their wings symbolizing spiritual ascension, protection, and guidance, mirroring the protective and divine connotations in Egyptian iconography.	In ancient Egyptian culture, the graphic representation of wings had a deep symbolic meaning, primarily associated with protection, divine power, and spiritual ascension. The wing motif frequently appeared in Egyptian art and religious iconography, related to gods, goddesses, and sacred symbols. Below are the key elements and meanings behind the depiction of wings in ancient Egypt: 1. Wings of the deities Isis: One of the most prominent uses of wings in Egyptian symbolism is the depiction of the goddess Isis. Isis is often depicted with outstretched wings, symbolizing her protective nature and role as a mother and healer. Her wings are also associated with mourning, as	The graphic representation of wings in European culture is frequently associated with symbols of angels, flight, and freedom. Wings are often used in religious art to symbolize divinity and protection. They can also be found in European mythology and folklore, emphasizing ideas of ascension, inspiration, and escape.

Symbol	Significance	Graphic	Symbol	Significance
	Ancient Egypt:	Europe:	Ancient Egypt:	Europe, the Danubian-Pontic Carpathian area
			<p>she is shown giving life to the dead, especially in her role in the resurrection of her husband, Osiris. The wings of Isis embody both protection and resurrection.</p> <p>Maat: Another goddess frequently depicted with wings is Maat, the goddess of truth, justice, and cosmic order. Maat's outstretched wings symbolize balance and maintaining universal harmony. In art, its wings often protect and envelop, representing its role in maintaining the balance of the world.</p> <p>2. The winged scarab The scarab beetle (Khepri) was a symbol of rebirth, regeneration, and the cycle of life. Often, the scarab was depicted with wings, which further emphasized its role in facilitating the sun's journey across</p>	<p>the sky and symbolizes the soul's flight into the afterlife. The winged scarab is a recurring funerary symbol in Egyptian tombs and amulets, symbolizing the transformation and protection of the deceased as they travel into eternity.</p> <p>3. The Winged Sun Disc The Winged Sun Disk is a powerful symbol that combines the life-giving energy of the sun with the protective and divine connotations of the wings. It often appears at the entrances of temples and tombs, symbolizing the protection of the gods and their omnipresence. The god Horus, associated with heaven and royalty, was often depicted in this form, representing divine authority and protection.</p> <p>4. Ba Wings In Egyptian funerary art, Ba, or the soul, is represented as a bird with a human head. The Ba wings</p>

Symbol	Significance	Graphic	Symbol	Significance
	Ancient Egypt:	Europe:	Ancient Egypt:	Europe, the Danubian-Pontic Carpathian area
			<p>symbolized the soul's ability to travel between the worlds of the living and those of the dead. The Ba bird represents the freedom of the soul and its ability to ascend to heaven or return to the body.</p> <p>5. Protective winged figurines Winged figures were often depicted in tombs and sarcophagi as symbols of protection. These could include the wings of the gods or deities, enveloping the deceased in a gesture of divine protection. The idea of outstretched wings symbolized an embrace of safety, protecting the soul on its journey through the afterlife.</p>	
The Tree of Life	Although not as central as in other cultures, the Tree of Life in Egyptian symbolism represented immortality and eternal sustenance.	The tree of life is a recurring symbol in European mythology, especially in Norse mythology as Yggdrasil, the great tree that	In ancient Egyptian culture, the Tree of Life was a symbol of eternal life, creation, and food. Although not as prominent as in other ancient cultures	In European culture, the graphic representation of the Tree of Life is a powerful symbol found in a variety of cultural, religious, and artistic traditions

Symbol	Significance	Graphic	Symbol	Significance
	Ancient Egypt:	Europe:	Ancient Egypt:	Europe, the Danubian-Pontic Carpathian area
	Sometimes, the gods were depicted drawing life-giving or nourishing waters from the tree.	connects the heavens, the earth and the underworld. It also appears in Christian iconography as a symbol of eternal life and the promise of salvation.	<p>such as Mesopotamia, the concept of the sacred tree appears in Egyptian mythology, especially in relation to the gods, the afterlife, and the maintenance provided to the dead. The most famous representation is found in the art of the tomb, where the gods and goddesses are shown offering fruit or water from the Tree of Life to souls in the afterlife.</p> <p>Key representations of the tree of life in Egyptian culture: Sycamore tree in Hathor: Hathor, the goddess of love, fertility, and the sky, is closely associated with the sycamore tree, which was considered a sacred tree in Egyptian culture. In the art of the tomb, Hathor is often depicted emerging from the sycamore tree, offering food – such as water and fruit –</p>	<p>It often conveys themes of interconnectedness, growth, immortality, and renewal. The concept of the Tree of Life arises in both mythological and religious contexts throughout Europe, often linked to ancient, pagan, and Christian beliefs.</p> <p>1. Celtic Tree of Life (Crann Bethadh) The Celtic Tree of Life is one of the most prominent representations of the Tree of Life in European culture. In Celtic mythology, the tree represents the connection between heaven, earth and the underworld, symbolizing the interconnectedness of all life. Its roots reach deep into the earth (representing the past and ancestors), and its branches reach out to the sky (representing the future and the divine). The graphic representation of the Celtic Tree of Life often features a tree with knotted or braided roots and branches,</p>

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			<p>to the deceased, symbolizing the eternal sustenance that would be provided in the afterlife. This image reflects the tree as a source of life, death, and rebirth.</p> <p>Persea Tree: Another sacred tree in Egyptian mythology is the Persea tree, which was believed to grow in the gardens of the gods and represent immortality. The fruit of the Persea tree was sometimes seen as a symbol of eternal life, and the gods were shown engraving the names of the pharaohs on the leaves of the tree, indicating their place in eternity.</p> <p>The tree of life in funerary texts: In various funerary texts and grave illustrations, the Tree of Life appears as a symbol of protection and renewal. He is often shown near the gates of the</p>	<p>creating a continuous loop that symbolizes eternity, harmony, and balance between the physical and spiritual worlds. The oak tree had a special meaning for the Celts, often seen as the cosmic tree that connected different realms of existence.</p> <p>2. Northern Yggdrasil In Norse mythology, the Yggdrasil World Tree is a central symbol. Yggdrasil is a huge ash tree that connects the nine worlds of Norse cosmology, from the heavens (the house of the gods or Asgard) to the earth (Midgard) and the underworld (Hel). The tree serves as a bridge between the realms, holding the universe together. Yggdrasil is often depicted with deep roots and towering branches, symbolizing life, death, and rebirth. The gods, as well as mythical creatures such as the eagle, snake, and squirrel, live around Yggdrasil, contributing to its</p>

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			<p>underworld, where he offers support to the souls of the dead on their journey to eternal life. The tree is a metaphor for the growth and continuity of life, reflecting the ancient Egyptian belief in the cyclical nature of life, death, and rebirth.</p> <p>Tree of Life Symbolism: The tree of life in Egyptian culture represented continuity, fertility, and eternal life. It was believed to provide not only physical sustenance but also spiritual nourishment, ensuring the safe passage of the deceased into the afterlife and their eventual rebirth in the world of the gods. The tree, often described as lush and fruitful, embodies the Egyptian understanding of life as a cycle that does not really end, with the afterlife offering an eternal continuation.</p>	<p>symbolic wealth. The depiction of Yggdrasil is usually complicated, with multiple branches and roots representing the interconnectedness of all beings in the universe. This Norse tree serves as a metaphor for the cyclical nature of life and the cosmos.</p> <p>3. The Christian Tree of Life In Christian symbolism, the Tree of Life appears in both the Old and New Testaments of the Bible, especially in the Garden of Eden. It represents eternal life and the divine source of sustenance and immortality. After the fall of Adam and Eve, access to the Tree of Life was forbidden, symbolizing the loss of immortality. Graphic depictions of the Tree of Life in Christian art often include a lush, fruitful tree, sometimes with cross-like elements, symbolizing both the sacrifice of Christ and the promise of eternal life. The Tree of</p>

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				<p>Life is sometimes juxtaposed with the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, highlighting themes of innocence, sin, and salvation. In medieval art, the Tree of Life often appears in the form of a vine or tree with symbolic fruit, connecting Christian teachings about eternal life with ancient nature-based representations.</p> <p>4. Renaissance and Modern Artistic Interpretations</p> <p>During the Renaissance, artists revised the symbol of the Tree of Life, incorporating it into philosophical and alchemical texts. In alchemy, the Tree of Life symbolizes the soul's journey and the search for enlightenment, linking it to the transformation process of alchemical work. In more recent times, modern European artists have used the Tree of Life to depict themes of personal growth, spiritual evolution, and environmental</p>

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				<p>awareness. A famous modern representation is the Tree of Life mosaic created by Gustav Klimt, which highlights both the decorative beauty and the deep symbolic meaning of life, interconnectedness, and renewal.</p> <p>5. The Kabbalistic Tree of Life The Tree of Life in Kabbalah, a mystical tradition in Judaism, has found its way into European symbolism. The Kabbalistic Tree of Life represents the structure of the universe and the path to spiritual enlightenment. It consists of ten spheres (Sefirot) that symbolize different aspects of God and the spiritual journey of the soul. Although rooted in Jewish mysticism, the Kabbalistic Tree of Life had a significant influence on European esoteric traditions, including Hermeticism and Renaissance occultism. It is often graphically depicted as a geometric structure</p>

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				<p>with interconnected spheres, symbolizing the balance between the divine and earthly realms. In Romanian folklore, the Tree of Life is associated with fertility rituals, home protection and the circle of life and death. The tree connects the past (roots), present (trunk), and future (branches), symbolizing the endless cycle of birth, life, death, and rebirth. This mirrors the belief systems of other cultures, but is uniquely expressed in Romanian folklore, often related to nature, growth, and the preservation of life. Mythological creatures such as the Fairy (fairies) or dragons in Romanian mythology are sometimes linked to sacred trees, and the tree serves as a guardian or gateway between worlds.</p> <p>3. Religious significance In the Orthodox Christian faith,, which has deep cultural roots in</p>

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				<p>Romania, the Tree of Life is closely linked to biblical images, especially the Garden of Eden and the concept of immortality. It represents Christ's sacrifice on the cross, as the Tree of Life is seen as both a source of spiritual nourishment and redemption. The cross itself, often called the "Tree of Life" in some religious contexts, symbolizes eternal life. Romanian churches, especially the wooden churches of Maramureș, sometimes incorporate stylized Tree of Life motifs into their architecture, blending Christian and pre-Christian symbolism.</p> <p>4. Traditional Painted Eggs The tree of life is also a popular motif in Romanian Easter egg painting. Intricately decorated eggs, known as painted eggs, often depict the Tree of Life as a central theme, surrounded by</p>

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				<p>other symbols of nature and rebirth. The motif represents new beginnings and the eternal cycle of life, deeply linked to the spring season and the themes of the resurrection celebrated at Easter.</p> <p>5. The tree of life in funerary traditions In funeral customs, the Tree of Life symbolizes the transition from the earthly world to the spiritual realm. It is commonly depicted on funerary landmarks and funerary crosses in Romanian cemeteries. This practice reflects the belief in the afterlife and the continuation of the soul's journey, guided by the eternal force symbolized by the tree.</p>

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Scarab beetle	The scarab beetle has been associated with Khepri, the god of the rising sun and rebirth. It symbolized regeneration, transformation, and the cycle of life, death, and rebirth.	Although the scarab beetle is not directly present in European symbolism, the idea of insects as transformative symbols—such as the butterfly representing metamorphosis or resurrection—has parallels in European traditions, especially in early Christian art and later Renaissance symbolism.	<p>culture, and its graphic representation has a deep spiritual and religious significance. The scarab was associated with the god Khepri, the deity of the rising sun, creation and rebirth. It was believed that Khepri renews the sun every day, pushing it into the sky, like a scarab beetle pushes a ball of dung. This cycle of the sun's journey has become symbolic of transformation, and eternal life.</p> <p>Key elements of the graphic representation of the scarab: Cockroach shape: The scarab was often depicted in realistic detail, with an oval, dome-like body, slender legs, and antennae. The cockroach's natural tendency to roll dung into a ball was seen as a metaphor for how the sun rolls across the sky, linking the insect to solar</p>	The scarab beetle, although initially an iconic symbol of ancient Egyptian culture, has also made its way into European culture, but with a different accent and meaning. Its representation in European art, literature, and esoteric traditions often stems from the fascination with ancient Egypt and the symbolism associated with rebirth, protection, and transformation. 1. Egyptmania in European art and jewelry In the nineteenth century, Europe experienced a period of intense fascination with ancient Egyptian culture, commonly referred to as Egyptmania. This was triggered by Napoleon's campaign in Egypt and the subsequent translation of hieroglyphics after the discovery of the Rosetta Stone. The scarab, as a powerful symbol in Egypt, became popular in Victorian jewelry and decorative

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			<p>and life-giving symbolism. In most graphic representations, the scarab appears as a wingless cockroach in relief sculptures, amulets, and sculptures. However, in other religious contexts, especially on the walls of the tomb, the scarab could be depicted with wings, symbolizing spiritual ascension. Winged beetle: regeneration, A common graphic depiction, especially in funerary art, shows the scarab beetle with outstretched wings. The winged scarab represents transformation and protection in the afterlife. These scarabs were often inscribed on the walls of the tomb or included in amulets placed next to the deceased to ensure their rebirth in the afterlife.</p>	<p>arts. Scarab motifs appeared in brooches, pendants and rings, often created in gold or semi-precious stones. They were not only decorative, but had a symbolic weight, representing luck, protection and transformation. For Europeans, the exotic origins of the scarab and its association with ancient Egyptian mysticism made it an attractive symbol of the mysterious and eternal.</p> <p>2. Esoteric traditions and occult symbolism The scarab also found its place in esoteric circles and occult practices in Europe, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Influenced by Theosophy and Hermeticism, the symbols of ancient Egypt, including the scarab, were adopted in magical rituals and practices. Aleister Crowley, a prominent figure in the occult, referenced</p>

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			<p>The wings usually extend symmetrically on each side of the beetle's body and can be brightly colored or stylized, often adorned with hieroglyphs or solar images, emphasizing the connection between the scarab, the sun, and immortality. Scarab Amulets of the Heart:</p> <p>In ancient Egyptian burial practices, the scarab of the heart was a particularly significant graphic representation. These scarabs were placed over the heart of the deceased to ensure that he would not betray them during the Weighing of the Heart ceremony, an essential part of judgment in the afterlife. These scarabs often included inscriptions of spells from the Book of the Dead, especially those designed to protect the deceased from having their hearts weighed with the feathers</p>	<p>ancient Egyptian symbols, including the scarab, in his works. The scarab was seen as a symbol of spiritual transformation and the cyclical nature of life – concepts central to many esoteric belief systems in Europe. In this context, the scarab came to represent the self-creation, renewal and eternal progress of the soul, just like its original Egyptian meanings.</p> <p>3. Literature and cultural symbolism In European literature, especially from the Romantic period onwards, the scarab was used to symbolize the mysterious and the old. Authors, poets, and scholars frequently used the scarab as a metaphor for resurrection, eternity, or arcane knowledge, drawing on its Egyptian roots. This symbolism can be found in Gothic literature and later in modernist interpretations of ancient symbols. For example,</p>

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			<p>of Maat, the goddess of truth and justice. Solar symbolism:</p> <p>The scarab is also frequently depicted as a symbol of the rising sun, often depicted with a sun disk, either leaning on top of the beetle or pushed by it. This graphic representation emphasizes the role of the scarab as a divine force in the daily renewal of life and its connection to the cyclical nature of existence. Hieroglyphic symbol:</p> <p>The scarab beetle also served as a hieroglyph, representing the verb "to become" or "to transform" (kheper). In writing, the scarab glyph symbolizes creation and transformation, often used in the name of pharaohs, reinforcing their divine role as</p>	<p>scarabs often appear in mystery novels and adventure stories centered on Egyptology, where they are portrayed as talismans or as part of ancient curses, reflecting both fascination and fear. 4. Scarab motifs in modern art In modern European art, the scarab continues to be used as a decorative motif and symbol of rebirth and protection. Scarab imagery emerged in Surrealist art and Art Deco-inspired jewelry design, which borrowed heavily from ancient Egyptian forms and symbols, especially after the discovery of King Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922. Salvador Dalí, for example, used the scarab in some of his surrealist works, not only for its symbolic value of renewal, but also as an exotic motif that blends ancient history with modern artistic expression. In Romanian culture, the</p>

Symbol	Significance Ancient Egypt:	Graphic Europe:	Symbol Ancient Egypt:	Significance Europe, the Danubian-Pontic Carpathian area
			<p>creators and protectors of their people. Symbolism and Significance: The graphic representation of the scarab in ancient Egypt is more than decorative. It symbolizes life, protection, renewal, and immortality. Whether in tombs, jewelry, or inscriptions, the image of the scarab was believed to protect individuals both in life and in the afterlife, ensuring their spiritual rebirth and eternal existence.</p>	<p>graphic representation of the scarab beetle does not have a deep-rooted presence, as it does in ancient Egyptian symbolism. However, elements of Egyptian iconography, including the scarab, made their way into Romanian art and culture primarily through the influence of Egyptomania and esoteric traditions popular in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Here's an overview of how the scarab beetle was incorporated:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The influence of Egyptomania In the nineteenth century, as in much of Europe, the Romanian elites became fascinated by ancient Egypt. This led to the adoption of Egyptian symbols, including the scarab, in decorative arts, jewelry, and sometimes in architecture. The scarab, along with other symbols such as the pyramid and the ankh, became

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				<p>part of artistic movements that emphasized mysticism and spirituality. Romanian jewelry or decoration from this period could feature amulets or scarab motifs, not because of a local tradition, but because of the influence of European trends and the fascination for Egyptian mysticism.</p> <p>2. Esoteric and occult influences The scarab appears in Romanian culture primarily through its connection with occult and esoteric practices. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Romanian intellectuals and artists were influenced by Western occult traditions, which often drew inspiration from ancient Egyptian symbols for spiritual and mystical purposes. In these contexts, the scarab symbolized protection, rebirth and eternal life, just like in Egyptian culture,</p>

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				although it was not a symbol rooted in the Romanian indigenous tradition. These esoteric interpretations have often featured the scarab in books, illustrations, and magical practices within the Romanian occult community.
Falcon and Eagle	The falcon was associated with Horus, the god of the sky and the protector of the pharaoh. She symbolized divine kingship, vision, and power.	In European traditions, the eagle has similar meanings of power, vision, and divine authority. The eagle was sacred to Zeus in Greek mythology and became a symbol of imperial power in Rome and later in European empires.	The falcon is usually depicted in a realistic form, either perched or flying, with outstretched wings. It is often adorned with the Double Crown of Egypt (Pschent), representing Horus' role as the unifier and ruler of both Upper and Lower Egypt. In hieroglyphics, the falcon often appears as a symbol of divine protection. Horus, in the form of a falcon, is often shown perched on or floating above the pharaoh's head, emphasizing his protective role over the ruler. headed god is also depicted in	Hawk Nobility and chivalry: In medieval Europe, the falcon was often a symbol of nobility and chivalry. It was often depicted in coats of arms, representing traits such as courage and strength. The sport of the falcon, a pursuit of the elite, further cemented the falcon's status as a symbol of nobility. Heraldry: Falcons appear in heraldry, where they symbolize bravery and readiness for battle. They are often shown with their wings spread, perched or in flight. The image of the falcon can signify protection,

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			<p>The falcon-temple statues and reliefs with a human body and a falcon's head, reinforcing the divine connection between heaven, royalty, and pharaoh.</p> <p>The Falcon is also depicted with the Eye of Horus (Wedjat), a powerful symbol of healing, protection, and renewal.</p> <p>2. Eagle (Nekhbet)</p> <p>The eagle was associated with the goddess Nekhbet, the patron goddess of Upper Egypt and a patron deity of the pharaoh.</p> <p>Nekhbet was seen as a mother figure who protected the king, often depicted alongside the cobra goddess Wadjet, who represented Lower Egypt.</p> <p>Graphic:</p> <p>The eagle is often depicted in hieroglyphics as a realistic bird in flight, with its wings extended protectively over the pharaoh.</p>	<p>watching over its upper realm.</p> <p>Notable examples can be found in the coats of arms of various noble families in Europe</p> <p>Artistic representations:</p> <p>In art, falcons are sometimes associated with goddesses and mythological figures. For example, Freyja, the Norse goddess, is often depicted with a falcon cloak that allows her to fly.</p> <p>Vulture</p> <p>Symbol of power and freedom: The eagle has long been a symbol of power, freedom, and authority. His image is frequently used to represent countries and empires. The two-headed eagle is particularly important in heraldry and is associated with the Holy Roman Empire, symbolizing the unity of church and state.</p> <p>National symbols: Many European nations have adopted the eagle as their national</p>

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			<p>This image symbolizes the goddess's protective embrace over the ruler. In royal royals, the eagle was part of the pharaoh's crown and the royal image. The eagle dress was a symbol of the protection worn by queens and goddesses, emphasizing maternal protection and royal authority. In many temple sculptures, Nekhbet is depicted as an eagle with outstretched wings, hovering above the king or holding the shen ring (a symbol of eternity) in her arms, signifying her role as guardian of both the pharaoh and the eternal order of the cosmos. Combined symbolism in Egyptian art: Both the falcon and the eagle often appear together in artistic depictions of pharaonic royalty, symbolizing</p>	<p>symbol. For example, the German coat of arms features a black eagle, while the Polish coat of arms features a white eagle. Both symbolize power, vigilance, and sovereignty. Religious and mythological contexts: In Christian symbolism, the eagle represents the evangelist John, emphasizing qualities such as spiritual ascension and divine understanding. In Greek mythology, the eagle was associated with Zeus, serving as his messenger and symbolizing divine authority. Artistic representations: the eagle is often depicted in sculptures, paintings and coins, where it is shown with its wings spread wide, giving majesty and strength. In medieval art, eagles often appear in scenes of heavenly glory, symbolizing the soul's ascension</p>

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			<p>unified dominion over Upper and Lower Egypt. For example, on the pharaoh's Pschent crown, the cobra (Wadjet) and the eagle (Nekhbet) appear together, symbolizing the pharaoh's dominion over both parts of the kingdom and the divine protection he received from both goddesses.</p>	<p>to the divine. Falcon (Falcon) In the Romanian tradition, the falcon is associated with nobility, speed and freedom. In some historical contexts, the falcon has been linked to the Dacian people, the ancestors of modern Romanians, who worshipped birds of prey as powerful spiritual symbols. Graphics: In folklore and oral traditions, the falcon symbolizes keen vision and intelligence. He appears in Romanian fairy tales as a guide or protector, often assisting the protagonist in difficult situations. The graphic representation of the falcon in these stories is usually like a fast-flying bird, sometimes with symbolic connections to the sun or sky. Heraldry: the falcon is a common element in Romanian heraldic symbols, especially among noble families, where it represents royal power,</p>

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				<p>independence and power. Its depiction is often stylized, with its wings spread wide, suggesting vigilance and freedom.</p> <p>2. Eagle (Eagle) The eagle has an even deeper meaning in Romanian culture, as it is one of the central symbols of the nation. The eagle has historical and mythological importance and appears in heraldry, religious symbolism, and folkloric narratives.</p> <p>Graphic: National symbolism: the most prominent representation of the eagle is found in the coat of arms of Romania. The eagle, often depicted with its wings spread wide, is a symbol of sovereignty, protection, and national identity. He holds a cross in his beak, signifying the connection between the nation and the Orthodox Christian faith, and sometimes a sword and a</p>

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				<p>scepter, symbolizing military power and justice.</p> <p>The symbolism of the Dacians: The golden eagle is related to the ancient Dacians, who regarded it as a divine creature. The Dacians believed that the eagle was a messenger of the gods, and its representation was part of their spiritual practices. In Dacian flags, a dragon-shaped standard called the Draco featured an eagle-like head, symbolizing both power and a connection to the sky.</p> <p>Folklore: In Romanian folk tales, the eagle appears as a symbol of strength and wisdom, often representing the bridge between earth and sky. In some stories, the eagle helps the heroes in their quests, embodying the qualities of vision, protection, and the ability to navigate different realms.</p> <p>3. Religious symbolism In Romanian</p>

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The pyramid and the symbolism of the mountain	The pyramid symbolized the ascension to heaven and was a monumental representation of the pharaoh's path to the afterlife.	The concept of mountains as sacred places is found in various European traditions, symbolizing the connection between the earth and the divine. In Christianity, mountains often serve as places of divine revelation (e.g., Mount Sinai).	In ancient Egyptian culture, both the pyramid and the mountain have deep symbolic meanings, often reflecting spiritual beliefs, architectural ingenuity, and the connection between the earthly and divine realms. 1. Pyramid Symbol of the Ascension and the afterlife: the pyramid is one of the most recognizable symbols of ancient Egypt, primarily associated with the tombs of the pharaohs. It represents the pharaoh's journey to the afterlife and their ascension to heaven. It is believed that the shape of the pyramid itself, with its sloping sides, symbolizes the sun's rays, guiding the deceased to the sky. Architectural significance: The most famous pyramids, such as those at Giza, are	Orthodox Christianity, the eagle is sometimes described as a symbol of spiritual ascension and divine authority. Churches often feature iconography in which the eagle represents the power of faith or the transcendence of the soul. The eagle is also associated with the evangelist John, symbolizing the higher spiritual vision. In European culture, both the pyramid and the mountain have rich symbolic meanings, often related to themes of spirituality, power, and nature. Their graphic representations can be found in various forms of art, architecture, and literature. 1. Pyramid Symbol of power and knowledge: In Europe, the pyramid often represents power, wisdom and enlightenment. It is sometimes associated with Masonic symbolism, where the pyramid

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			<p>architectural wonders, built to house the pharaoh's body and goods for the afterlife. The Great Pyramid of Giza, for example, was originally covered with smooth, white limestone by Tura, which would have reflected sunlight, making it shine brightly, resembling a celestial body.</p> <p>Graphic representations: In hieroglyphics and artistic representations, pyramids are often illustrated as simple triangular shapes, sometimes with inscriptions or symbols of the afterlife, such as Ankh (symbol of life) and Djed (symbol of stability).</p> <p>2. The mountain Symbol of stability and eternity: Mountains in ancient Egyptian thought were often considered symbols of stability, eternity, and the creation of the world.</p>	<p>signifies the pursuit of knowledge and spiritual ascension. The Eye of Providence, often depicted atop a pyramid, symbolizes divine guidance and understanding.</p> <p>Artistic representations: The pyramids appear in various artistic forms, including paintings and sculptures. They are often depicted in contexts that suggest a connection to the mystical or esoteric, emphasizing their role as symbols of knowledge. For example, the pyramid appears prominently in Renaissance art, where it can symbolize the search for enlightenment, often depicted in works with philosophical themes.</p> <p>Architecture: In modern architecture, pyramid-like structures are often used to create a sense of grandeur and spirituality.</p>

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			<p>They were seen as places where the earth meets the sky, representing a bridge between the two realms. Mythological significance: The primitive mound (Benben) was a key concept in Egyptian mythology, believed to be the first land to emerge from the waters of chaos at the beginning of creation. The pyramids have sometimes been associated with this mound, reinforcing their connection to the creation myth. Graphic representations: In art, mountains can be depicted against the backdrop of scenes involving gods and pharaohs, emphasizing their importance as sacred spaces. They are often depicted in a stylized manner, sometimes with flat tips, reflecting their status as the abode of the gods.</p>	<p>For example, the pyramid-shaped Louvre Museum in Paris is a contemporary interpretation of the ancient form, symbolizing the convergence of the old and the new.</p> <p>2. The mountain Symbol of spirituality and nature: In European culture, mountains are often associated with the sublime, representing the greatness of nature and the divine. They are often seen as sacred spaces that provide a connection to the heavens, reflecting a long-standing belief in their spiritual significance.</p> <p>Artistic representations: The mountains have been depicted in countless works of art, especially during the Romantic period, where artists such as Caspar David Friedrich and J.M.W. Turner celebrated their grandeur and beauty. In their paintings, mountains are</p>

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			<p>Visual connections Pyramid representations: The pyramids are often shown with the sun rising or setting behind them, symbolizing the connection to the divine and the afterlife. Artifacts, such as funerary texts and funerary paintings, frequently depict the pyramid as a focal point in the landscape, surrounded by scenes from everyday life or the afterlife. Representations of mountains: Mountains can be depicted in murals, serving as the backdrop for significant mythological events. They are sometimes illustrated with trees or water, illustrating the landscape around sacred places. Artistic depictions of mountains often emphasize their height and grandeur, reinforcing their role as divine realms.</p>	<p>often depicted as towering, majestic shapes, embodying both the beauty and terrifying power of nature. Literature and mythology: Mountains occupy a prominent place in European literature and mythology, often serving as abodes of the gods or settings for epic stories. For example, Mount Olympus in Greek mythology is described as the home of the gods, while the Alps and Himalayas are celebrated in various literary works as places of mystery and transcendence. Combined symbolism in art and culture Interconnected themes: The pyramid and the mountain can be represented together in works of art, where they symbolize the relationship between the earthly and the divine. This is especially prevalent in landscapes where pyramids appear</p>

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				<p>at the base of mountains, suggesting a path to spiritual enlightenment.</p> <p>Alchemical and esoteric symbolism: Both forms often appear in alchemical and esoteric traditions, symbolizing the journey of transformation and attaining higher knowledge. The pyramid represents the ascent to enlightenment, while the mountain signifies the challenges and obstacles that we must overcome.</p> <p>In Romanian culture, both the pyramid and the mountain have symbolic meanings that reflect historical, spiritual and artistic values. Their graphic depictions can be found in folklore, literature, and art, often embodying themes of identity, heritage, and connection to nature.</p> <p>1. Pyramid Symbol of eternity and spirituality: While the pyramid is not as prevalent in Romanian</p>

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				<p>cultural symbolism as it is in ancient Egypt, it still represents concepts of eternity and spiritual ascension. In a modern context, pyramids can be associated with new age or esoteric interpretations, where they symbolize the search for knowledge and enlightenment.</p> <p>Cultural references: The pyramid shape is sometimes used in contemporary art and architecture in Romania, reflecting the influence of global architectural trends. For example, the National Museum of Contemporary Art in Bucharest incorporates pyramidal structures into its design, symbolizing a link between tradition and modernity.</p> <p>2. The mountain Symbol of strength and heritage: Mountains are a prominent symbol in Romanian</p>

Symbol	Significance	Graphic	Symbol	Significance
	Ancient Egypt:	Europe:	Ancient Egypt:	Europe, the Danubian-Pontic Carpathian area
				<p>culture, often associated with national identity and folklore. The Carpathian Mountains, which cross Romania, are represented majestically and powerfully, embodying the spirit of the Romanian people. They represent the stability, resilience and natural beauty of the country.</p> <p>Folklore and mythology: In Romanian folklore, mountains often serve as a backdrop for myths and legends. They are depicted as sacred spaces inhabited by mythical creatures and deities. For example, Mount Ceahlău is considered a spiritual center and is often associated with various legends that highlight its mystical qualities.</p> <p>Graphic representations: Mountains are frequently represented in Romanian art, especially in landscape paintings and</p>

Symbol	Significance Ancient Egypt:	Graphic Europe:	Symbol Ancient Egypt:	Significance Europe, the Danubian-Pontic Carpathian area
				<p>traditional crafts. Artists such as Nicolae Grigorescu have captured the beauty of the Carpathians in their works, emphasizing their greatness and emotional resonance for the Romanian people.</p> <p>Combined symbolism In Romanian culture, while pyramids are not as deeply rooted, their depictions alongside mountains can evoke a sense of spiritual and natural harmony.</p> <p>Artistic representations: Both pyramids and mountains can be represented in art as symbols of the connection between the earthly and the divine. For example, in some landscape paintings, artists might juxtapose the solidity of mountains with the mystical qualities of pyramidal shapes to convey themes of balance and transcendence.</p>

II. Chapter 2. Neurolinguistic considerations on the interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphs and heraldic symbols in European and Romanian culture

We have of course observed, from the table above, the way in which symbolism intertwines and combines in the analyzed cultures. We could simply conclude that there are many similarities resulting from historical intertwining and undeniable influence, but have we thought for a moment about the practical aspect of these writings?

Knowledge occurred in the spaces examined on the path of faith and sovereignty. From this perspective, we can think that ancient peoples, as well as modern ones, sought means of subtle manipulation, not necessarily for petty purposes, but even for the purpose of coordinating society towards a constructive direction and implicitly of determining individuals to accept beneficial principles and ideologies.

From this perspective, the purpose of the present work is on the one hand to demonstrate that similarities do not come only through cultural exchanges, but also through the practical needs and purposes in which the messages were transmitted and circulated, but also to draw attention to the role of these messages in the development of the collective mind in geographically distant areas and to the way in which this mind has been transmitted to the present day.

III. Chapter 3. Conclusions

The role of neurolinguistic programming (NLP) in understanding the meaning of symbols in collective mental frameworks is a fascinating area of study, especially when comparing Egyptian and European cultures. Symbols play a crucial role in shaping perceptions, beliefs, and behaviors, and NLP provides tools for exploring these dynamics in both individual and collective contexts.

NLP is based on the premise that language and neurological processes interact to shape our experiences and perceptions. Symbols can evoke strong emotional responses and can be key in communication and cultural identity.

Hieroglyphics and sacred symbols: In ancient Egypt, symbols were an integral part of communication and spirituality. Hieroglyphs conveyed both

literal and symbolic meanings, allowing for layers of interpretation. Symbols such as the Ankh (representing life) and the Eye of Horus (symbolizing protection) have had deep cultural significance, influencing collective beliefs and practices.

The use of symbols in religious texts and tomb paintings helped to strengthen shared beliefs and cultural identity. The collective mental framework of the ancient Egyptians was significantly shaped by these symbols, which were believed to link the physical world to the divine, influencing society's values and rituals.

European cultures are also rich in symbolic representations, from the cross in Christianity to the eagle as a symbol of power and freedom. These symbols have evolved over time and are used in various contexts, including art, literature, and heraldry. The use of symbols reflects the collective consciousness and historical experiences of different European nations.

In NLP terms, the interpretation of symbols can influence societal behavior and norms. For example, the Renaissance brought a renewed emphasis on humanism, and symbols from classical antiquity were reinterpreted to reflect contemporary values. This change demonstrates how collective mental frameworks can adapt through the symbolic representation of ideas.

Therefore, both Egyptian and European symbols evoke emotions and memories that shape collective identities. The common meanings associated with symbols in each culture can affect how individuals relate to their heritage and cultural narratives. In both cultures, symbols serve as a means of communication beyond words, conveying complex ideas and emotions that may be difficult to articulate. This aligns with NLP principles, which emphasize the significance of non-verbal cues in communication. Impact on collective mental frameworks: The way symbols are used in each culture influences how communities construct their identities, beliefs, and values. This, in turn, affects how individuals interpret their experiences and navigate social structures. The role of symbols in shaping collective mental frameworks is significant in both Egyptian and European culture, as seen through the lens of neurolinguistic programming. By understanding how symbols work in these frameworks, we can better appreciate their impact on identity, communication, and societal values. The study of these dynamics highlights the strong connection between language, thought and culture.

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LEADERSHIP STYLES IN MANAGEMENT

PhD Stefano AMODIO, Teseo Institute, Italy

Abstract: *Leadership styles play a crucial role in shaping organizational dynamics and influencing team performance. This article explores three primary leadership styles—autocratic, democratic, and laissez-faire—based on the foundational works of Likert and Lewin. Additionally, it delves into various decision-making strategies identified by Kotter and Schlesinger, emphasizing the importance of situational adaptability in leadership.*

Introduction: Leadership is an essential aspect of management, influencing the success of teams and organizations. Different leadership styles can be employed based on the situation and the needs of the team. Three widely recognized leadership styles include autocratic, democratic, and laissez-faire, each with its own advantages and implications. The effectiveness of these styles depends on various factors such as time constraints, team competence, and the nature of the problem to be solved.

Leadership Styles:

1. **Autocratic Style:** In the autocratic leadership style, the leader makes decisions independently, determining what needs to be done, how to do it, and the required time frame. This approach does not involve consulting others, as the leader relies solely on personal judgment. Autocratic leadership is effective in emergency situations requiring quick decisions but may lead to disengagement and reduced morale among team members.

2. **Democratic Style:** The democratic leadership style encourages team participation in decision-making. Leaders gather input from team members, consider diverse opinions, and make collective decisions. This approach fosters collaboration, motivation, and job satisfaction, ultimately enhancing overall performance. While more time-consuming than

autocratic leadership, it strengthens communication and alignment between individual and organizational goals.

3. Laissez-Faire Style: Laissez-faire leadership is characterized by minimal direct intervention from the leader. The team is entrusted with decision-making, while the leader remains responsible for outcomes. This approach is effective when team members possess the necessary skills and expertise to handle tasks independently. However, it may lead to inefficiencies if team members lack direction or experience.

Situational Leadership Adaptability: Effective leaders adjust their leadership style based on the specific challenges they face. Key factors influencing leadership decisions include:

- Time available for decision-making
- Level of trust in the team
- Competence and expertise of team members
- Access to critical information for problem-solving
- Presence of conflicts within the team or external stakeholders

For urgent and high-risk situations, an autocratic approach may be necessary. Conversely, when complex problems require deliberation, a democratic style is more appropriate. Laissez-faire leadership is most effective when teams demonstrate autonomy and high competence.

Decision-Making Strategies by Kotter and Schlesinger: Beyond traditional leadership styles, Kotter and Schlesinger identify different strategies leaders use when introducing change and making decisions:

- **Involvement:** Engaging followers in the decision-making process to ensure their active participation.
- **Negotiation:** Seeking agreements with stakeholders who have vested interests in the organization.
- **Education:** Helping stakeholders understand the value of open communication and collaboration.
- **Support:** Providing assistance to stakeholders to reach a collective decision.
- **Manipulation:** Using indirect tactics to obtain necessary information for decision-making.

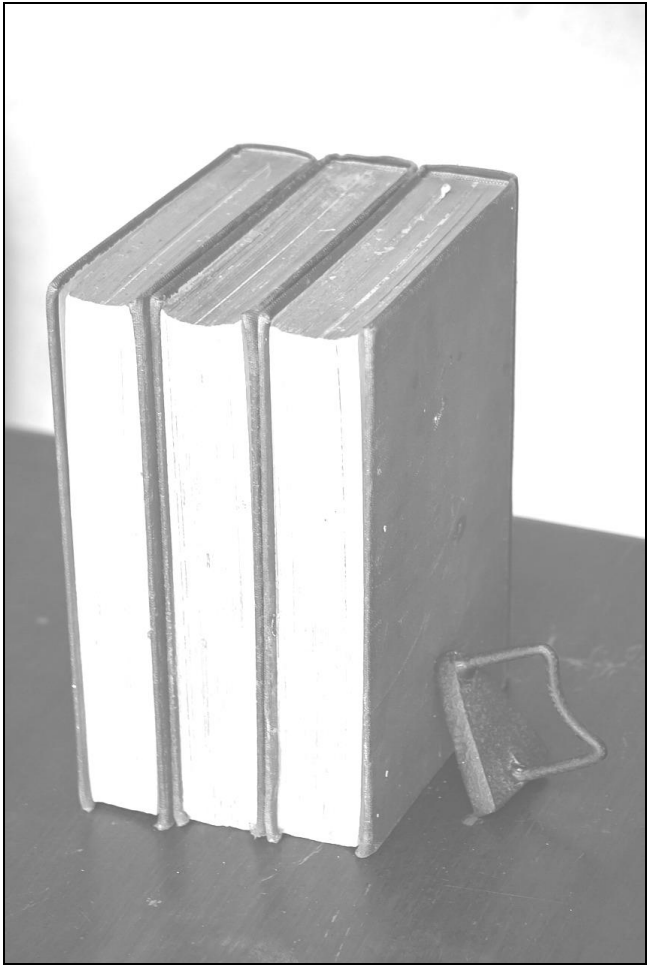
- **Threats:** Pressuring team members to comply with directives, often leveraging career consequences.

- **Co-option:** Creating an illusion of involvement while ultimately prioritizing personal or organizational interests.

Conclusion: There is no universally correct leadership style; effective leaders adapt their approach based on the situation. By understanding and utilizing different leadership styles and decision-making strategies, leaders can navigate complex organizational challenges and drive success. Leadership flexibility, combined with strategic decision-making, fosters a productive and engaged workforce, ultimately contributing to organizational growth.

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THE ABSENT STATE HIDES

Arturo CAMPANILE

Karl Emil Maximilian WEBER was a German philosopher, sociologist, economist and historian born in Erfurt on 21 April 1864 and died in Munich on 14 June 1920. In his writings he has stated, among many things, one that interests us closely in the course of the decline to which many of our beloved countries seem destined. The state reserved the use of force.



Arturo CAMPANILE

The state has reserved for itself the use of force and weapons. An extrapolated sentence indicating how it was necessary for the central power to independently manage internal conflicts between people present in its territory.

The State seems to be absent

In recent years it is painfully noted the continuous regression of central power in the protection of the citizen. The beginning of all this could be framed with the turning of the economy from statist to liberalist. Modern economists have increasingly liberalized as many services as possible, monetized and started to calculate everything according to the economic return. The trigger could perhaps be identified with the turning point initiated some time ago by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Margaret THATCHER. Now the state is collapsing. In hospitals, there are violent assaults on wards, with doctors increasingly

worried. The use of immediate and repeated violence for a simple theft of a purse by an extracomunitario. The increasingly reduced pension protection which has lost its original protective function. Murders of women and men are on the rise. Schools are increasingly violent and insecure, with armed youths and sometimes unstoppable parents.

Words only words

The feeling of never being protected by a central power. The dispute between two parties is no longer resolved by a duel between people, but by the intervention of the central power that ensures equity, justice, legality, support and protection. At the moment, the state is increasingly inclined to be surprised by what has happened (it is dismayed). To promise an effective round of repression (it is indignant). States that it is ready to enact effective laws (commits). To drop the thing only in words valid for the exclusive use of political propaganda. It all works on stereotypical political phrases.



Welfare means well-being

Problems of education, health, safety, protection, economic, everything works on paper but only in words. People with health problems are directed to seemingly linear routes that actually start with endless queues from the booking. It is necessary to turn to the private ones, paying, to have some hope, or better still elsewhere where a service worthy of such appellations is effective. In the past, the state provided for Welfare, Education, Health, Assistance, Safety, Work and Welfare. In the post-war period, the so-called Beveridge/Keines Plan protected citizens from birth to death. William Henry BEVERIDGE was a British economist and sociologist, famous for having written the "Beveridge Report" in 1942, a report on "social security and related services". Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services, for the reform of the UK welfare state and then adopted throughout Europe. Economists, first of all sociologists.

Economic Delusion, Anomia, Aporophobia

Sometimes some economists dream of consistently positive and rising graph lines. Others ruminate on it. Exalted believe it. Lowering here, eliminating there and closing the others, then the coefficient might work. Sector studies, taxes, reductions and more act in vicious circles transforming welfare from well-being to malaise. The perceived level of violence and abuse is increasing and palpable. Even in the offices representing the state, the situation is often at least chaotic with a not easy relationship with the public constituted by the citizens. Some words are present with force. Anomia, absence of law, rule or order. Aporophobia, the phobia that represents the fear for poverty, for the poor or even the repugnance or hostility towards the poor and/or the defenceless. Car murders, abandoned or killed children, violent men with knives or axes attacking innocent passers-by.



The state is hiding

Fyodor DOSTOYEVSKY in his works states that only beauty can save the world and therefore art remains one of the last resources.

In difficult times, every state, more or less civil, begins to forget its citizens. Some countries do not recognize a priori the rights of equality between gender differences but also elsewhere there is an external behavior rather than an actual social consciousness. Between an apparent attitude and a deep awareness, both the cultural and paradigmatic substrate on which the Society thrives comes into play. In the difficulties comes into play the protection of the person by the central power. If this does not happen, there is the Anomia, the lack of rules and order. Laws must be applied with certainty about legality. House arrest or imprisonment? Depends. Not the crime but the political utility, the citizen is then in difficulty.

Aphorophobia, the fear of poverty

Previous economists were thinking in social terms and saved the world in the post second post-war. The present ones have a safe in their heads with which they think instead of the heart, putting aside a brain that would offer them a human dimension. Everything that brings profit is right and good and the speculative bubbles multiply. Today we fear the poor, the destitute, the not fashionable. It is excluded, ridiculed, alienated. Then who wants to continue must make debts even with risky and destructive methods. Everything grows, costs more, increases and loses its original contents. This creates dangerous situations. The state hides.



The Speculative Bubble

In economics, the speculative bubble represents a particular stage of the market. It is characterized by an unjustified and considerable increase in the prices of one or more goods in the presence of a rapid and limited growth in demand over time. Unfortunately, in our times it is a kind of social fashion. Being there, in that room or context so as not to be excluded, without actually having the objective abilities, even without money. It is defined by the term bubble precisely because sooner or later it bursts. At the initial phase of its creation, birth and growth, we finally arrive at the phase of explosion of the same with the natural tendency to restore the original values of the good in question. Many have happened, many more will happen, and in the end one wonders how it all could have happened. Well-known and well-known banks have also been affected by similar internal and external experiences.



People can't communicate anymore. Difficulties of living together, sense of honor that moves from the virtual to the real, economic crisis that clouds the horizon of events creating anxiety that in turn triggers dangerous reactions. The ethical spirit of understanding, respect for one's neighbor, mutual help are fundamental and now they are increasingly absent and trampled by pride and vanity. Perhaps the ten commandments should be repeated thoroughly. The basic criteria of all religious denominations that see Man as being to be protected and not to be eliminated.

Even without religions if you know the ethics applies well.

Everyone knows or has heard about the biggest Speculative Bubble.

The Wall Street crisis of 1929 that dragged the whole world with it.
Disastrously.

Let's think about it.

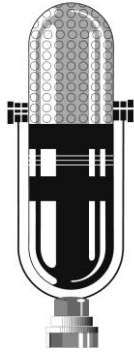
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Allowed and/or stock images, The absent state hides

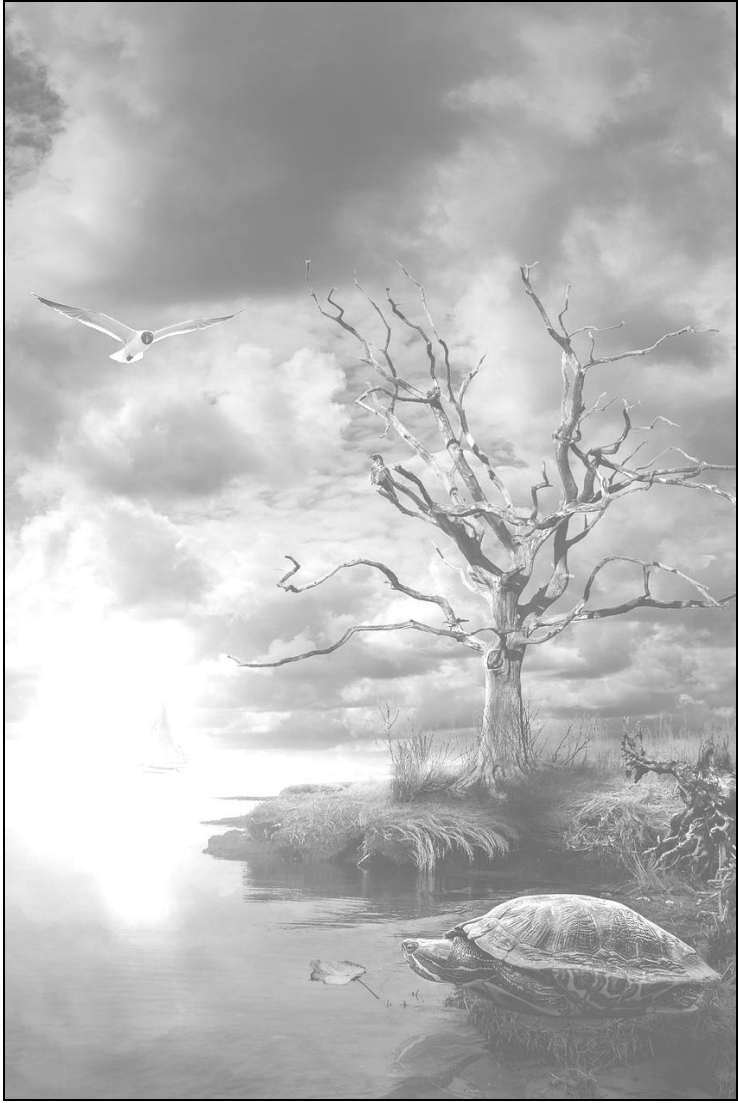
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**Free to say
what i think.
Interview**



RESISTANCE THROUGH CULTURE – GEORGIA AND THE SHAKESPEARE EXPERIENCE



Interview with Professor Manana Anasashvili Georgian film director, theatre director, Professor, Expert of National Endowment for Democracy (NED), Head of Georgian Shakespeare Association, and Head of International Relations at Georgian Film Academy. The interview was conducted on the occasion of Georgia's presence at the Craiova Shakespeare Festival, held in May 2024, in Craiova, by prof. phd. Alexandra Radu in collaboration with Radio Craiova correspondent Claudiu Vasile.



Manana Anasashvili was born on June 16, 1952. In 1969 She graduated from Tbilisi 42nd Ilia Vekua Mathematical School with honors (Gold Medal). While at high school, She became the author and proved mathematical theorem "Determining the last digit of a new number obtained by taking any number into any exponent". In 1975 she graduated from Tbilisi State Medical University with the degree of Doctor-Therapist. Concurrently with the medical school, She studied Art History at the Faculty of Arts at Tbilisi State University (graduated with honors in 1976). After finishing the medical school, she worked as a doctor during for several years. In 1981 Manana Anasashvili graduated with honors from faculty of Theatre Directing at Shota Rustaveli Theatre and Film University (Lily Ioseliani's studio). Her diploma Stage Production at the Tumanishvili Film Actors Theatre, In The Dark Room (1982) had a very successful run and was periodically staged at the Tumanishvili theatre for 23 years (one of the longest theater production runs in Georgian theatre history). During 1981–2001 and 2003–2005, She worked as an assistant professor and then as a full professor at the Shota Rustaveli Theatre and Film University, leading courses of TV/Film Directing and Acting. During 1983-1985 and 1988-2001 periods she worked as a TV/director and the host of TV-show Kinonostalgia at the Georgian Public Broadcasting Company. Between 1985 and 2001 She worked at the Georgian Film Studio Kartuli Pilmi as a cast director and then as a film director. During this period, she worked as a cast-director for an 69th Academy Awards nominated film A Chef in Love by Nana Jorjadze. In 2003 She graduated from the University of Wisconsin–Madison, USA with MA in Arts Administration. At the same time, she was leading the

undergraduate course of Acting by Stanislavski at the same university. In 2005 She won Scholarship from Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of US State department of State and Bradley Foundation scholarship for faculty development program in Liberal Arts teaching methodology and spent one semester as a visiting scholar at the Johns Hopkins University, USA. The same time she was invited as a guest lecturer to teach acting by Stanislavski at George Washington University, USA. Since 2005 she has been a professor of Michigan State University, Ilia State University and AGILE (American-Georgian Initiative for Liberal Education) Joint undergraduate program Liberal Arts , leading several Interdisciplinary courses as well as Shakespeare courses. In 2012 She has been consulting as an expert of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) at the NED Youth for Democracy Project. Between 2013 and 2015 she was the Deputy Head of the Georgian Union of Cinematographers. Since 2019 Manana Anasashvili is heading the International Relations of Georgian Film Academy. She was in 2020 Public Speaking and Voice Trainer at Euronews Georgia.

Professor's Manana's feature film "Only Once" was awarded at the many International Film Festivals.

AR: Dear Professor, you are the Head of the Georgian Shakespeare Association. Why did you take the initiative to establish this association in Georgia and what does Shakespeare represent for Georgia?

MA: - About a hundred years ago, the great Georgian director Kote Marjanishvili and the stage designer Petre Otskheli revolutionized the Georgian cultural world by introducing avant-garde performances of Shakespearean plays, translated into the Georgian language. Of course, their avant-garde initiatives did not please the Stalinist Empire, and Petre Otskheli became victim of oppression. However, Shakespeare continued to be translated and staged in Georgia, as demonstrated by the play that the Tbilisi Youth Theater presented at the May edition of the Shakespeare Festival in Craiova, which is also dedicated to the two great artists. Othello, in the presented vision, is a mixed performance of actors and puppets, which uses the sets and props created a century ago, and it is a production directed by Dimitri Khvtisiashvili and Giya Marghania. Shakespeare thus represents a dialogue between generations, being very current and

extremely often staged in Georgia, over 10 new Shakespearean productions per year. I had the initiative to establish this association some time ago, more than a year ago, and I started looking for conferences, festivals and other cultural events where we could perform with our own vision of Shakespearean theater.



AR: - In addition to the original staging of Othello, other Georgian initiatives and masterful works were presented at the Craiova Festival. Can you tell us what they are about?

MA: - Of course! We all visited with pleasure the exhibition of the Georgian Shakespearean Productions beginning from the 1898, organized and presented at the Festival by the Georgian Ambassade in Romania, through her Excellency, Ms. Ambassador Tamar Beruchashvili. Thus, we were able to understand the importance of translating the works of the great playwright from English into Georgian and we were able to observe the power that cultural tradition offers. As part of the festival, we also presented a documentary film that we made in 2009 about the life of the great Georgian film director Robiko Sturua.



AR: - The screening of the film about the life and career of Georgian director Robiko Sturua, made by you, ended with a wave of cheers from a hall packed with young Romanians, Georgians, French, English, etc. Did you expect such a strong reaction?

MA: - I know the impact that the power of the example of dedication of an established artist has on young artists, but, I must admit, I was also pleasantly surprised by the euphoria expressed by young people from so many different cultures in one voice. It is illustrative!

AR: - Your film illustrates a line from the Georgian director Robiko Sturua: "I'm fed up with this theater... It seems to me that it squeezed out all the best in me!" (n.AR: the Rustaveli Theater, where the great director was the artistic director for most of his career). What did the great director mean?

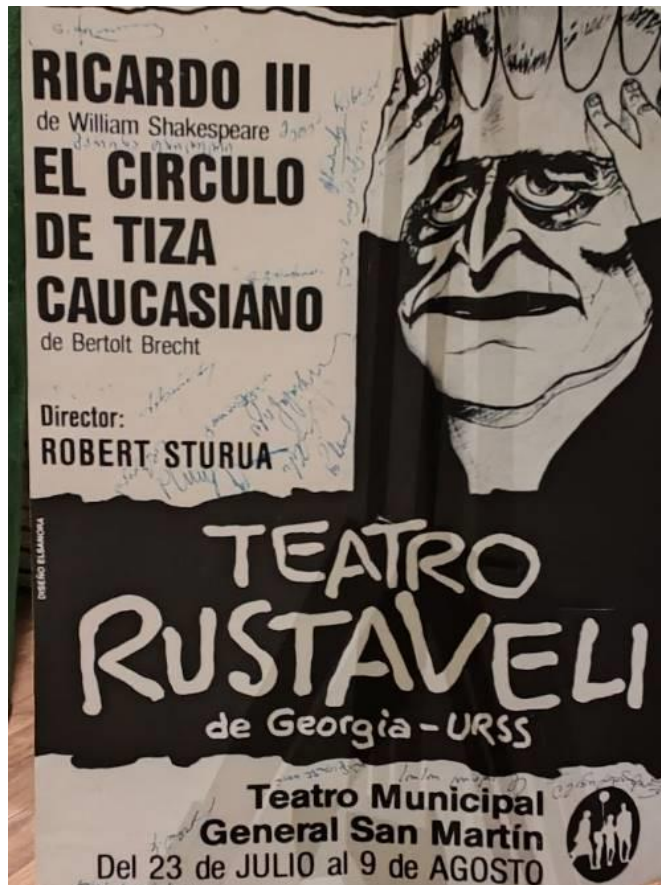
MA: - As Robiko Sturua states in the beginning of the film, it is about a "tradition of burning", we artists have no other way than to "burn" at the stake of creation... which "squeezes out" all the best in us.

AR:- You also visited the tribute exhibition "Silviu Purcarete – 50 years of theatre" in Craiova. What feelings did this visit awaken in you?

MA: - The feeling of rediscovery. It is basically an evocation that I also made in my film, with the same instruments and through the same universal language of emotion. Another great European director, a different Shakespeare...or the same..

AR: - How will your collaboration with Romania continue?

MA: - We have already arranged with the director of the Shakespeare Festival in Craiova, Vlad Drăgulescu, for them to visit us in Georgia. (n.AR: The National Theatre in Craiova participated in the Georgian International Festival of Arts in Tbilisi in November 2024). I am sure that there will be many other initiatives. It is not just about Shakespeare...









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