

## Language of Slavery trade advertising in the Romanian Principalities

### Le langage de la publicité pour le commerce avec des esclaves, dans les Principautés Roumaines

#### Limbajul publicității pentru comerțul cu robi, în Țările Române

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#### Abstract

*It has been written and discussed about the Gypsies plenty of times after 1989, but several issues have been left untouched by the researchers. For instance, the slave trade or, to be more specific, the advertising used for this trading type, the transaction's arrangements, the prices, the employment areas where Gypsies could be found etc. I sought to clarify in this study how does this type of trade show itself in our press during 1837-1850.*

*The Gypsies were documentary certified on the actual territory of Romania at 1385, being the subject thorough the legal settlements established once with the Organic Statutes (1831), the documents that foresaw the disposal of nomadism, the allocation of land parcels per family and so on. In fact, the authorities' purpose was their division and uptake. After 1830, the Gypsies topics were intensified – see Ion Câmpineanu's attempt to free the inherited slaves, then several acts of gradually freedom brought to the various categories of slaves. In Moldavia, for example, during January- February of 1844, royal servants or the ones from monasteries were freed. On the eve of the 1848 Revolution, the servants of the monastic establishments from Wallachia were also released. However, this state of freedom caused by the change of the 1848 political system does not last long enough, especially after the revolution's suppress and the restitution of the old regulations. This is how in October 1856 slavery is abolished by law in Moldavia, every slave owner being indemnified by the State, for four to eight ducats per slave. In Wallachia slavery is abolished on the day of February 20th 1856, the indemnifications meaning 10 ducats per slave. Please note that not the slaves were indemnified, but their owners! Moreover, once with the free citizens statuses, the Gypsies were obliged to pay taxes.*

*The question is: who would have been dealing this type of trade? The slave owners – the Church, the landowners, the State behind its institutions, and the press offices of newspapers which often had the role of intermediaries. Possessing Gypsies meant possessing power.*

#### Résumé

*On a beaucoup écrit et parlé, après 1989, à propos des roms, mais beaucoup d'aspects sont restés non abordés par les chercheurs. Par exemple, le commerce avec des esclaves, ou surtout la publicité pour ce type de commerce, les modalités de transaction, les prix, les zones professionnelles où les roms esclaves etc. J'ai essayé à clarifier, dans cette étude, comment ce type de commerce apparait dans notre presse, entre 1837-1850. Les gitans sont attestés dans les documents, dans le territoire actuel de la Roumanie, en 1385, faisant l'objet de certains règlements juridiques rigoureux dès les Règlements organiques (1831), documents qui prévoyaient l'élimination du nomadisme, l'attribution des lots de terre à chaque famille etc. Pratiquement, le désir des autorités était leur division et assimilation. Après 1830 les discussions à propos les gitans s'intensifient - voir le geste de Ion Câmpineanu de libérer les esclaves hérités des parents, puis les lois qui donnent graduellement de la liberté à des diverses catégories d'esclaves. En Moldavie, par*

*exemple, en janvier - février 1844 sont libérés les esclaves des monastères et ceux des seigneurs. La veille de la révolution de 1848, les esclaves des monastères de Muntenia sont aussi libérés. Mais l'état de liberté généré par le changement de régime politique de 1848 n'est pas de longue durée, surtout après la répression de la révolution et la reprise des anciens règlements.*

*C'est ainsi qu'en octobre 1856 on dissout par la loi l'esclavage en Moldavie, chaque propriétaire d'esclaves étant indemnisé par l'Etat avec des sommes entre quatre et huit argents pour chaque esclave. En Muntenia, l'esclavage est dissout le 20 février 1856, les indemnités étant de dix argents pour chaque esclave. A retenir : les propriétaires étaient indemnisés, pas les esclaves ! En plus, dans leur nouvelle qualité de citoyens libres, les gitans étaient obligés à payer des impôts.*

*Qui s'occupait de ce genre de commerce ? Les propriétaires d'esclaves – l'Eglise, les nobles, l'Etat par ses institutions, des rédactions de journaux ayant fréquemment le rôle d'intermédiaires. Posséder des gitans était une marque du pouvoir.*

## **Rezumat**

*Despre romi s-a scris și s-a vorbit mult după 1989, însă au rămas multe aspecte nefrecventate de cercetători. Bunăoară, comerțul cu robi, mai precis publicitatea pentru acest tip de negustorie, modalitățile de tranzacționare, prețurile, zonele ocupaționale în care sunt întâlniți romii robi etc. Am căutat să clarific, în studiul de față, cum apare acest tip de comerț în presa noastră, în perioada 1837-1850. Țiganii sunt atestați documentar, în actualul teritoriu al României la 1385, ei făcând obiectul unor reglementări juridice riguroase odată cu Regulamentele organice (1831), documente ce prevedeau lichidarea nomadismului, atribuirea unor loturi de pământ fiecărei familii ș.a.m.d. De fapt, dorința autorităților era divizarea și asimilarea lor. După 1830 se intensifică discuțiile despre țigani – a se vedea gestul lui Ion Câmpineanu de a-i elibera pe robii moșteniți de la părinți, apoi legiuirile care pun treptat în libertate diverse categorii de robi. În Moldova, bunăoară, în perioada ianuarie-februarie 1844 sunt eliberați robii mănăstirilor și cei domnești. În ajunul revoluției de la 1848, robii așezămintelor mănăstirești din Muntenia sunt, de asemenea, eliberați. Dar starea de libertate generată de schimbarea regimului politic din 1848 nu este de durată, mai ales după reprimarea revoluției și reinstituirea vechilor reglementări.*

*Așa se face că în octombrie 1856 se desființează prin lege sclavia în Moldova, fiecare proprietar de robi fiind despăgubit de stat, cu sume cuprinse între patru și opt galbeni pentru fiecare rob. În Muntenia, sclavia este abolită la 20 februarie 1856, despăgubirile fiind de 10 galbeni, pentru fiecare rob. De reținut, nu robii erau despăgubiți, ci proprietarii lor! Ba mai mult, în noua calitate de cetățeni liberi, țiganii se vor vedea nevoiți să plătească impozite.*

*Cine s-a ocupa cu acest tip de negoț? Proprietarii de robi – Biserica, boierii, statul prin instituțiile sale, redacțiile de gazete având deseori un rol de intermediari. A poseda țigani era o marcă a puterii.*

**Key words :** *language, advertising, slaves, Gypsies*

**Mots – clé :** *langage, publicité, esclaves, gitans*

**Cuvinte cheie :** *limbaj, publicitate, robi, țigani*

## Slaves for sale

No matter how strange it seems, it hasn't been known the precise number of the Gypsy slaves before their transition to the taxpayer status. As a proof, there are many statistical references where the numbers were rounded, something that rarely happened, even for animals' evidence. The British diplomat William Wilkinson, located in the Romanian territory at 1800, said that *Wallachia and Moldavia hold circa 150 000 Gypsies used more than in other countries, being held in a state of governed slavery (...)* Most of them are covered in some tatters, and their children walk naked

during almost every season. They have not acknowledged a specific religion (...) They disposed of the religious marriage ceremony although many of them live together as spouses being united only by carnal connections. [1]

We owe Wilkinson other testimonies as well (which will be proved to be wrong, as we shall see) about the Gypsy population: *There isn't a regular trade with these (slaves) at the fair, nor is it used to expose in public those who are going to be sold. Both the sale and the purchase are made in private, [2] the usual price for a slave being about five to six hundred piasters, regardless their gender. The number of Gypsies owned by the two dominations (Wallachia and Moldavia- n.n.) amounts altogether to eighty thousand including the women and the children. They are allowed to go (...) as long as they would take an oath to never leave and to pay an annual tribute worth forty piasters [13] for every man who overcomes the age of fifteen. [4]* After he describes them as vendors of rough iron tackles, chimneys and other wooden things as well, William Wilkinson noticed their ease of learning how to sing, to build, to work as cooks at the landowners' mansions and other crafts. With all of the Gypsies sins and performances, *their slave statuses are acknowledged by the surrounding nations; those who would flee to them are returned when they are reported as private property. [5]* The unfeasible escape must have been extremely dramatic.

If we come down to Bucharest, we should note that *a census from December 1831 shows us that only those designated as <<noble>> were about 3.386. In 1860, the French artist Lancelot (...) assessed the Gypsies of Bucharest to be <<nine thousand>>.[6]*

#### The press offices as slave markets

There was a widespread accepted praxis in the Romanian Principalities that the publications' offices would mediate the slavery trade, the slaves not being differentiated by other trade items. For example, in the very year of our first advertising publication's foundation, **Cantor de Avis și Comerț** (1837), there could be read messages as: *Two more house Gypsies of almost 40 years old and two unmarried girls, plus a boy of almost eight, for sale, whosoever will purchase them please come to negotiate at Cantor de Avis. [7]* Or later: *Grand Mr Officer Alexandru Belu owns a hand of Gypsy souls, all crafty, for sale. This is why it shall be made known to the community for those willing to purchase these Gypsies either all at once or only the special families. Customers shall head to Grand Mr Officer Alecu Belu [8] on the Mogoșoaia bridge from eight to ten o'clock in the morning and by negotiating they will consent to the sale. [9]*

The "skilful" Gypsies were those who have learned a job like crafting wooden spoons or like being tinkers or silversmiths and so on. Even though it wasn't mentioned their or their families number indicates, according to the sale announcement, a large number of slaves – "a hand of souls" couldn't be infinite. The vagueness of the announcement is often met (in some cases it is possible that the owner would not know the number, nor the age of his slaves).

There were cases where the trade would be made on an individual basis, consisting in separating a daughter from her mother or the taking the children away from their parents. Here is an advert from 1838: *a 18 year old house Gypsy, unmarried, is for sale. Her merit is that she knows to sew well and that she knows all that house chores. Customers should head to Cantorul de Avis...[10]* Or: *An unmarried Gypsy as young as being 20 who knows to cook and house chores is for sale, customers head to Cantorul...[11]* It was something usual, as Mihail Kogălniceanu showed, to see *the woman taken her man, the daughter snatched from her parents, infants taken from the breast of their birth givers and scattered (...) sold like cattle to various buyers, around the four borders of Romania...[12]*

The advertisements were poor in information regarding the price of these slaves. Bargains or bids were proposed mostly for them. Scarcely ever would the seller reveal the price of the slaves, just like I learned from the following advertisement: *A 29 year old Gypsy is for sale, married, is a good coachman, he can drive four horses. People willing to buy him should go to the merchants' slum to Mr Medelniceru Alecu Boronescu. His price is 40 ducats. [13]* A ducat was the equivalent to 32 lei, which meant that the price of a 29 year old man was equal to 20 guitars or 10 season

tickets to a newspaper like *Curierul Românesc* per year. Or equal to the price of a fair upright piano. [14]

The documents reviewed by George Potra made possible some equivalences – in 1600, a good to labor Gypsy valued as much as a horse; in 1682, a Gypsy woman valued as much as two mares with foals; in 1760, three Gypsies valued as much as a house; in 1814, the Snagov Monastery was selling a Gypsy under the price of four oxes. Still, there were situations when the slaves were sold according to their weight – two ducats per pound. [15] Also, there were Gypsies sold for honey barrels, deposited as pledge, made as a gift, listed in the dower papers.

From the available information we can conclude that a slave Gypsy was costly since for their retrieve there were important amounts paid to the editorial board (the counter value for the announcements made). Hereinafter is such an announcement: *On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June one of Mr Costache Ștefanopolu's Gypsies from Bucharest ran, the real name of this Gypsy is Simion, but in a changed name he is called Gheorghe, his signs are the following: tall, swarthy face, thick eyebrows, a bit too thick-lipped, big black eyes, he's shaving his chin, his moustache and beard are dark, still, maybe they shaved him, his mouth a bit left to the side, short-haired, dressed in a German-style, with thin brown suiting frock-coat, with fine grey suiting pants or thick cloth pants, on both sides enclosed, with a brown fabric waistcoat and a cotton cloak (...) that is why it has been made known and we ask you that no matter where would he be found, he is to be sent well guarded to the honorable department as it was published in the country's board since 8<sup>th</sup> of June 1838 No.44.* [16] Please notice the absence of the reward for whoever was going to capture the fugitive.

We should notice also that this type of announcements would appear, on the newspaper pages, among the sales for lands, vineyards, lost dogs and so on. For instance, here is an sample of a such announcement from 29<sup>th</sup> August of 1838: *a small dog with white and curly fur, his ears hanging down half-black, it was trimmed behind, with a shaggy tail, it has been lost; whoever is going to find it should bring it to Manuc's Inn to the merchant Bașa, where he'll receive 20 lei.* [17] The descriptions are relatively comparable, in the second case being also a reward.

#### The emancipation of the slaves, started and (un)completed

The sequence of events relative to the slaves' fate, we should note that back in the fall of the year 1838 has been published a document according to which 'the Reign's Gypsy slaves'[18], to be more specific, the Gypsies in custody were going to be freed – *this class of people after they have gathered from their nomadic life according to regulatory settlements, and after they have settled in villages with their homes in line by the persistent endeavours of Mr Colonel Herescul (...) governor of the prisons, they now have entered under the category and the rights of all the free and the taxpayer Romanians* [19] *(...) the children of these people should be baptized by Romanian villagers so that being kin and close to one another by kinship church to begin to mimic and to share the gentle and civilized habits (...) they are considered free like the other villagers and they are not under the category of private Gypsy slaves, under any circumstance.* [20]

We do not know the effect of the gesture of the Wallachian ruler – if the Romanians baptized the slaves' children, if the Gypsies have been integrated. The fact is that the slave trade has continued, under the protection of authorities – the landowners' slaves, especially.

In May 1840 we find among the *Cantor's* pages the following message: *A young Gypsy in her 20s, with the following qualities, a cook, cook sews embroidery, dresses and shirts, good laundress, good for stiffening and ironing clothes, fork spins and weaves the cloth, has been taught all throughout the chores of the house of Mr Hristache Mariuțeanu, is for sale. Customers should find the owner (...) at home, so they will haggle.* [21] Often the estates were sold with the slaves and all, so they were an advertising argument, among others: *The Mărculești land with 8 mill wheels and a fabric weaver, 80 slaves and 30 Gypsy families, all belonging to the land, gallstone inn and others* was for sale, then: *The Țerdari mansion with 20 Gypsy families, the Luciu land with 40 Gypsy families...* were given on lease for three years or more. The customers were asked to go to *Mr. Alexandru and Ioan Lenș every day from morning up to 10 hours after noon...*[22]

By the 1841, the 'wholesale' continued - *15 Gypsy families of Mr. Hristache H. Parascheva are for sale, either completely or per family. Those interested to buy them should head to the owner at the Anastase Polizu's Inn.* [23] Here is a retail trade with a few more arguments: *A 32 years old Gypsy named Floarea with her 17 year old son Niculae, owned by a Lipsyani merchant, are for sale; the woman knows to sew, to wash, to iron the clothes and to cook food, and the boy can be used as a coachman. Those interested should head to Cantorul de Avis.* [24]

Although we have not identified at this stage of our research, also in the Moldavian media must have been published such 'trades', since they occur in various documents. In 1841, traveling through the Romanian principalities, the Swiss Guehart Carol had to note: *someone should judge my surprise when, arriving in Moldavia, the first thing that struck me was the slavery, established, orderly, protected by law, buying and selling people (being) practiced on a daily basis as the easiest and most insignificant transaction (...) they are called Gypsies, their price ranges from 8 to 12 ducats (94-145 francs) per man.* [25] Traveller's surprise was even greater when he learned that Gypsies could be whipped and even killed without the owner suffering severe penalties. Just as surprised was even the Italian Domenico Zanelli, who said that the principalities hold together 250 000 Gypsies [26], but there is also quite widespread the prostitution, the theft, so that he noted in his journal: *Oh! Unhappy nation who lives in a religion powerless to turn it moral ...* [27] Moral, as in the referred context, must have meant something other than what today means. All the monasteries, hermitages, owned Gypsy families. And since talking about the Gypsies from the monasteries, they had lived a bearable slavery, compared to those held by various landowners. Let us note that the priests and scribes (notaries) were required to read Sunday after the Liturgy the announcements regarding the runaway slaves that appeared in the press. G. Barițiu says it in the evocation of the press beginnings stating in the Official Gazette from Wallachia that he was reading in the church so that those present learned about *hiding so many Gypsy souls of the landowner lordache or lady's Smaradița.* [28]

There have been cases where a debtor sold his slaves to escape from lenders. For example, in 1842 the Commercial Court of Ilfov announces that *45 Gypsies have to be sold by auction from Mrs. Efrosina Stoenescu who has them working at her land and her yard, so all these will be enough to pay the debt of 442 royal ducats to Mr. butler Aleksandrescu. Also, it is made known that for the papers* [29] *of these Gypsies, no matter who they will belong to in any circumstances, at the time of the auction those shall be brought to the Local Court where the Court shall notify the officers.* [30]

The situation was similar in other major cities in Wallachia, such as Craiova, where *there are several Gypsy families for sale, the Gypsies are all hearth skillful, younger and elderly, men and women. Those interested should head to Craiova to Mr. seneschal Nicolae Scafes and to Mr. scrivener Dincă Plopșoreanu, from who they will find the price.* [31]

Finally, we should conclude this sequence of commercial messages with another one as dramatic - two brothers are sold by an owner who has chosen to remain anonymous: *A 23-year-old Gypsy with skillful masonry and coachman, along with a sister that's 11 years, is for sale. Customers should go to Cantorul de Avis where they will find the owner.* [32]

This was the context in which Vasile Alecsandri wrote the poem *Emancipation of the Gypsies* (in Iași, at 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1844), when in Moldavia the slaves from the monasteries were freed and, by law, they were given the right to marry with Romanians. Also, following the example of the Wallachian noble Ion Câmpineanu, Alecsandri will free the slaves from his own land.

"...Veacuri multe de durere au trecut cu vijelie,  
 Sub asprime plecând capul unui neam în osândire!  
 Dar românul cu-a sa mână rumpe lanțul de robie,  
 Și țiganul, liber astăzi, se deșteaptă-n fericire!  
 Azi e soarele mai falnic! lumea azi e mai voioasă!  
 Azi în pept inima-mi crește! azi e viața mea frumoasă,  
 Căci la glasul libertății văd Moldova deșteptată

*Și la glasul Omenirei o simțesc înduioșată (...)  
O! Moldovo, țară mândră! tu, ce dai sfânta dreptate!  
Brațul tău ce sfarmă astăzi un jug aspru de robie,  
Ție însăși pregătește viitor de libertate!” [33]*

That didn't mean that after 1844 the slavery trade would have ceased. On the contrary, from various reasons it is increasing, especially in Wallachia. Here is a sale with a 'discount': *The sons and heirs of the deceased Grand Officer Nicolae Nica from the Sf. Vineri suburb of the Capital have for sale 200 Gypsy families good for many craftmanships, like: land laborers, goldsmiths, musicants and silversmiths. Those interested to buy will bargain with the owners at their place from the suburb mentioned above, and those Gypsies are sold up to more than five families only; the price per each name will decrease with one royal ducat, from what other owners are selling now.* [34]

We find also that there is a particular interest of the owners for runaway slaves, as shown in the announcement below: *Mr. Officer Teodorache Ciuflă Ghimpețeanu asks for finding of one of his slaves, namely Dumitru, much likely 15 year old, tall, his hair and eyebrows black, he has in his mouth two currishly teeth, dressed with a waistcoat and a blue pair of pants. This is why all the honorable governors are asked to catch him and hand him guarded to this honorable department.* [35]

A necessary clarification in this context: the sale of the properties were made entirely, adding roads, houses, mills, slaves and fief workers. A comparable fate of the Gypsies had also more than once the Romanians, who were not officially slaves but fief workers. For instance, during the fall of the year of 1844 it was sold the Bălcănești land, close to Vălenii de Munte, which meant 2 200 trees by wholesale, the owner having here as fief workers [36] 85 Romanians and 40 Gypsies. [37]

The events of 1848 will give hope to many once with the "Fundamentals of the country's constitution", in which at the section 14 is proclaimed *The Emancipation of the Gypsies by indemnity.* [38] Only that, as stated above, the defeat of the revolution led to the cancellation of the provisional government's rules, so for a while Gypsies continued to live under difficult conditions.

After another seven years, the press announced that the ruler of Moldavia, Grigore Ghica, signed the *Enactment for the abolition of slavery, regular indemnification and transition of the emancipated to the taxpayers.* According to the document, *the communal Gypsies that were privately owned, are emancipated. No longer is anyone forgiven from today on in Moldavia to buy men and own slaves.* [39] In 1847, in Bucharest it is published the law which foresaw the release of the Gypsies owned by all the public institutions (monasteries, bishops etc.) and the possibility of the marriages between Gypsies and Romanians. [40]

According to the prof. Ian F. Hancock [41] (University of Texas), even at 1852 the monasteries from Wallachia continued the slavery trade. He brings as evidence a leaflet with the following text: *There is about to be sold a prime shelter of servants or Gypsy slaves by auction at noon at the Sf. Ilie Monastery, at 8th of May 1852, which consists of 18 men, 10 boys, 7 women and 3 girls in delicate condition.* [42]

A release – let's call it 'authentic' - was going to be accomplished by the reforms of 1856 and 1864, when the Gypsies received plots of land from the state.

The advertisements starting with the phrase *looking for master* were going to remind for long time of the slave Gypsies, even freed, passed among debtors to fiscal institutions.

## References

- [1] William Wilkinson, "On the relations between Moldova and the Romanian Country principalities" in *Romanian foreign travelers to countries in the nineteenth century*, Volume 1, 1801-1821, new series, ed. Georgeta Filitti et al, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2004, p 656.
- [2] It is an error - the slave trade was public, each owner being allowed to sell directly or through auction, whether announce the release so or not. See, in this regard, many advertisements of Romanian courier, *Cantorul of Avis and Trade* etc.
- [3] Piaster - Turkish monetary unit, variable value, which circulated in the Romanian area.
- [4] William Wilkinson, loc. cit.
- [5] Ibidem.
- [6] Constantin C. Giurescu, *Bucharest History: from ancient times to nowadays* Literature Publishing House, Bucharest, 1966, p 275.
- [7] *Cantor Avis and Commerce Cantor* year I, no. 36, September 8, 1837, p.4. Note: The text reproduced in the September 11 edition Transcription was done to achieve a comprehensible writing (not all forms of expression have been updated).
- [8] Alexander (Alec) Belu (1796-1853), a nobleman of high rank, will be great chancellor of Wallachia.
- [9] *Cantor Avis and Trade*, year II, no. 54, March 3, 1838, p 114 (4).
- [10] *Cantor Avis and Trade*, year II, no. 61, March 28, 1838, p 142 (4).
- [11] *Cantor Avis and Trade*, year II, no. 64, April 11, 1838, p 154 (4).
- [12] View Mihail Kogălniceanu's speech at the solemn meeting of the Romanian Academy, April 1, 1891.
- [13] *Cantor Avis and Trade*, year II, no. 88, June 8, 1838, p 352.
- [14] We calculated from the Romanian courier journal budget year 1839, which amounted to 19,200 ducats £ 600, according to the editor. Membership was expensive, since the editor only found 200 subscribers per year (among them being some state institutions).
- [15] George Potra, *Contributions to the history of Gypsies in Romania*, King Carol I Foundation, Bucharest, 1939, p. 94
- [16] *Cantor Avis and Trade*, year II, no. 3, August 8, 1838, p.12.
- [17] *Cantor Avis and Trade*, year II, no. 9, August 29, 1838, p 36.
- [18] *Albina Românească*, year IX, no. 77, September 29, 1838, p.1. The text is taken from the Romanian courier who in turn took the information in the Official Gazette no. 62/1838
- [19] Dajna - paying taxes, tributes, taxpayer.
- [20] *Albina Romaneasca*, year IX, no. 77, September 29, 1838, p.1.
- [21] *Cantor of Avis and Trade*, year IV, no. 72, May 25, 1840, p 288.
- [22] *Cantor Avis and Trade*, year IV, no. 85, June 23, 1840, p 340.
- [23] *Cantor Avis and Trade*. Nr. 52 th year, June 8, 1841, p 208
- [24] *Cantor Avis and Trade*. Nr. 52 th year, June 8, 1841, p 208
- [25] *Romanian foreign travelers about countries in the nineteenth century*. Coord. Daniela Busa, New Series. Volume 4 (1841-1846), Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007, p 198.
- [26] 35,000 Gypsy families existed in Moldavia and Wallachia, 1840, according to Xavier Marmier - see *foreign travelers about Romanian countries in the nineteenth century*. Coord. Daniela Busa, New Series. Volume 4 (1841-1846), Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007, p.12.
- [27] *Romanian foreign travelers about countries in the nineteenth century*. Coord. Daniela Busa, New Series. Volume 4 (1841-1846), Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007, p 51.
- [28] Barițiu, G., "Familiar Epistles" in *Transylvania*, year II, no. 1 Brașov, January 1, 1869, p.7.
- [29] SINET - document, paper, deed.
- [30] *Cantor Avis and Trade*, year VI, no. 2, January 6, 1842, p.8.
- [31] *Cantor Avis and Trade*, year VI, no. 8, January 31, 1842, p 32.
- [32] *Cantor Avis and Trade*, year VI, no. 37, May 16, 1842, p 148.

- [33] Praising lyrics gesture for the release of the Gypsy slaves.
- [34] *Vestitorul Românesc*, year VIII, no. 39, May 20, 1844, p 156. This ad appeared in several days in the same form (n.a.).
- [35] *Vestitorul Românesc*, year XVIII, no. 52, June 4, 1844, p 208.
- [36] Clăcașii were also called roboțași, Rumanians or serfs. Peasants were forced to work the land of owners (churches or boyars) for subsistence, some work representing the rent for that plot of land.
- [37] *Vestitorul Românesc*, year XVIII, no. (illegible), August 26, 1844, p 268.
- [38] *Vestitorul Românesc*, year XII, no. 46, June 12, 1848, p.1.
- [39] *Vestitorul Românesc*, year XIX, no. 100, December 31, 1855, p 398.
- [40] *Vestitorul Românesc*, year XI, no. 13, February 15, 1847, p 50.
- [41] Ian F. Hancock, *The Pariah Syndrome: An Account Of Gypsy Slavery And Persecution*, Karoma Pub, Michigan, 1986, p. 46.
- [42] Ibidem.

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