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Biographical note

Irina Calotă (Popescu) earned her PhD in Architecture, and is researching urban history, history of urban development and history of architecture, with several articles and chapters (in journals and edited volumes) and two books published in the aforementioned fields. She is also teaching theory of architecture and history of settlements and architecture.

URBAN PATTERNS IN TRANSITION. STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL LAYERS OF MODERNIZATION IN 19TH CENTURY WALLACHIAN TOWNS

Irina Popescu

Abstract

The paper is focusing on the development of five Wallachian towns, aiming towards understanding and explaining how their urban form morphed from pre-modernity to modernity during the 19th century. It discusses the actual structure of the settlements, its main areas and elements and the relations established between them. This paper represents a first step in a broader research interest aiming towards identifying recurrent patterns or principles of development in Romanian towns, both in pre-modern and modern era. The plans I publish in the paper are graphical representations that depict in a conclusive way the information I include in the text. They are the result of the interpretation of the cartographic sources, that comes from the graphical georeferenced superimpositions of all available analyzed documents, doubled by the redrawing of the plans, with adjustments, where needed.

Keywords: history of urban form, medieval Romanian towns, modern urban development in Romania, urban development patterns

1. Introduction

This paper is a first step of a broader research that aims towards identifying and understanding the various urban development patterns or recurrent principles followed by the evolution of Romanian towns throughout the centuries. It also pursues the objective of unweaving the way these towns transitioned from pre-modernity to modernity, how, whether, or to what extent their medieval heritage shaped their modern development or, on the contrary, how the modern development erased some core attributes of the pre-modern towns.

Nowadays Romania is composed of different provinces with distinct history and evolution and, moreover, with medieval boundaries which do not necessarily overlap modern ones. Therefore, this study required setting territorial limitations, since this first stage of the research focuses on towns developed in the historical province of Wallachia, leaving aside the provinces of Transylvania and Banat (included in the Hungarian Kingdom since the beginning of the second millennium), Dobruja (part of the Byzantine Empire and included in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 14th century, after being part of Wallachia for only a couple of decades) and Moldavia.¹

Furthermore, the towns in Wallachia do not exhibit similar conditions of development or similar general evolutions: for instance, there are towns which ended up under direct foreign control during the medieval period (the case of Giurgiu, Turnu and Brăila, occupied by the Ottomans in the 15th and 16th century), whereas some medieval towns significantly regressed or even completely disappeared (for example, Târgșor, Gherghița or Floci). All these instances were excluded from this stage of the research, as I chose to focus on towns evolving under Wallachian rule that had an important pre-modern evolution, and which continued to evolve as important urban settlements during modern times. Out of the 12 resulting towns, I chose to focus in this study on the evolution of five: Buzău, Craiova, Pitești, Ploiești, and Târgoviște. All of them are settlements that had a significant spatial development (as they are not small towns – Craiova and Ploiești are actually large settlements² among Wallachian towns at the beginning of the 19th century) and all of them exhibit a complex structure, based on different functional and structural axes (as shown by some preliminary studies I conducted).

From a chronological point of view, my investigation into the transition from the premodern to the modern city will stop at the end of the 19th century. For Romanian extra-Carpathian principalities, the year 1831 is widely accepted (in a conventional way) as representing the beginning of the modern age. The period preceding that moment is considered as an extension of the medieval age or, in other words, pre-modern.

A study focusing on the overall modernization process of the urban fabric in Wallachian towns is yet to be published, therefore still leaving room for new research to be conducted, in several areas and domains; this study focuses on the physical configuration of urban fabric and on the relations established between its main elements and areas.

The available scholarship lacks consistency from several perspectives: many of the studies were written by historians, mainly focusing on events and historical facts and less on the evolution of the urban structure, lacking planimetric interpretations and representations; for the premodern period, most of the research focused on the 14th-16th centuries,³ often neglecting the subsequent period; even if a few studies on premodern evolution were written by architects, they are generally lacking thematical consistency and failing to address the topic in an unitary and comprehensive way;⁴ on the urban development of the 19th century, most of the available studies address modernization from various single perspectives, far from being comprehensive (especially as most of them focus on the development of Bucharest, or on architectural aspects);⁵ many monographic studies were published but, on one hand, they are qualitatively uneven⁶ and, on the other hand, as they focus on one single town, they are addressing the general topic or urban development in a disconnected and inconsistent way.

When it comes to other kind of sources, for the pre-modern stages of development important impediments show up. On one hand, few of the medieval documents were preserved, most of them being lost during wars or hazards, which often and repeatedly destroyed the towns. What's left is only able to partially depict the history of the settlements and other related topics. On the other hand, the general stage of the archaeological research is not sufficient to provide answers to many questions historians raised decades ago, if not even before. In addition, the situation of cartographic sources is also far from optimal – as I will discuss below.

Major destruction of the historical urban fabric took place during modern times (especially in the 20th century), when successive interventions reshaped the image of the city centers and peripheries. The greatest demolitions took place during the late stages of the communist regime, even if several types of interventions altering the image of the cities and dealing with the pre-existing urban fabric in an artificial way also happened during the previous decades. The assertion that Romanian towns are supposedly chaotic and lack any type of visible structure and identity became the claimed reason for the major interventions the regimes undertook in the historic fabric of Romanian cities, aiming towards redesigning city centers according to the ideology and the general context of the period. Consequently, aside from the shortage of sources mentioned before, in many cases, even the urban fabric itself does not exist anymore.

Although this urban modernization process represented a sudden shift towards a development based on new Western modern principles, it nevertheless remained mainly gradual and “quiet”, only accelerating towards the year 1900. Both the premodern and the modern layers held a certain degree of organicity, with the latter being linked to – and even constrained by – the former, subsequently raising the bigger question of what were, in this case, the paths of the modernization process and where the limit between tradition and modernization lies. Given the specificity of Romanian towns, finding the answer to this question requires a sensitive and careful read of the urban fabric, at different scales, going beyond the greater interventions and outstanding development (which are usually the focus when it comes to discussing modernization) and starting from the minor transition processes - many times underestimated in their importance and even ignored and dismissed from the investigations. I uphold that the key for understanding the specific early modernization of Romanian towns stands first and foremost in understanding these minor processes, and only subsequently in the more obvious and remarkable urbanistic gestures.

From a methodological point of view, I chose to focus on the physical configuration of the analyzed urban settlements, on their main areas and elements and on the relation established between them. Given the specificity of the research, I start the investigation from the cartographic sources, integrating previous scholarship and aiming towards an innovative interpretation, looking at how pre-existing urban patterns have been integrated into the new, modern city of the 19th century.

In general, the main available scholarship was extremely important for the pre-modern times, in order to identify and map different elements (as, for example, the market places or, in some cases, the boyar streets or the different changes of use of some ensembles etc.). For modern times, as the data resulting from cartographic sources is far more relevant than for the previous periods (because of the shortage of maps or plans before 19th century – see below), the main available scholarship was used to clarify chronological issues, to back up the information provided by the plans or to provide information that they do not contain or, sometimes, to explain some contextual issues, if needed.

As a general objective, I focus on the articulation of the premodern and the modern layer (not prioritizing the latter one, but taking both into consideration, in a balanced way, and aiming to emphasize how the transition process took place). On one hand, I am interested in identifying relevant patterns (or development principles) in the premodern

layer focusing on the specific elements and structure of the towns at the beginning of modernity and going backwards to understand their configuration in connection to landscape or infrastructure (e.g., main roads, rivers and other landforms) and their historical development. I focus on the general configuration of the settlements and on their main urban elements and areas – such as the commercial area, the market square, the administrative court, inns, fairs, boyar residences, churches, monasteries (and their settlements of dependent or enslaved people). On the other hand, I am interested in unveiling 19th century layers of modernization by identifying and mapping specific interventions for all the analyzed cases. I will focus both on the more visible processes and on what happens to the pre-existing fabric, urban areas and amenities, in order to also identify and understand the more hidden layers of a modernization taking place at the smaller level of the minor fabric, slowly transforming and following the general modernization of urban life. For the first category, I will consistently follow the emergence and development of the new headquarters of administration (town administration, county administration and the court house), education infrastructure (modern elementary schools, gymnasiums, high schools), hospitals, military amenities, railway stations, boulevards, parks and public gardens.

Last but not least, I am interested in how these two layers interacted, this actually being the main goal of the study - how the urban fabric morphed from premodernity to modernity, how the medieval inherited patterns shaped modern development in its early stages, and how modern development erased or, on the contrary, enhanced some of the core specific attributes. This will be based on the analysis conducted during the first two steps, linking them together and approaching the modernization process at different urban scales.

The plans I publish in this paper are graphical representations that depict in a conclusive way the information I include in the text. They are the result of the interpretation of the cartographic sources, that comes from the graphical georeferenced superimpositions of all available analyzed documents (doubled by the redrawing of the plans - including with adjustments, where needed). On the other hand, another kind of interpretation was often needed, especially in those instances when the depicted fabric presented errors or when the superimposition proved to be impossible because of major deformations that the plans presented. The information available in the plans were subsequently enriched with

important data resulting from the bibliographical research, that was fully integrated to the cartographic investigation.

1.1. Cartographic Sources

As stated before, the cartographic documents represent main sources for this study, as it focuses on the physical configuration of the urban fabric. The sources I used are both already known plans and maps and some newly available ones. However, when we examine these sources more closely, it becomes clear that there are no realistic representations of the urban fabric in extra-Carpathian towns (including Wallachia) before the late 18th century. The cartographic documents that do exist from that time depict the settlements during a period of major destruction and decline - due to military conflicts, earthquakes, fires, or epidemics - showing towns that were depopulated and physically damaged. Consequently, even if they provide some information, they cannot represent reliable sources, especially if used alone and with no additional information that comes from other sources.

The next comprehensive document on all Wallachian settlements is the "Second Military Survey of the Habsburg Empire" (ca 1855-1857) which represents the first detailed and conclusive map that depicts the towns in a unitary and detailed way. Even if it also presents some additional and important disadvantages, such as lacking accuracy and not always providing all the information needed (due to the interests of its financiers), it still remains one very important and reliable document, especially when corroborated with other local representations. Even if it is a late map, we can still consider it relevant for the pre-modern development of towns, given the fact that in the mid-19th century Romanian towns were still at the dawn of the modern ages and, therefore, still evolving in a more or less traditional way, with no major modern interventions and expansions.

Other cartographic sources from before or during the first decades of modern times are available only for some towns. Craiova - as being a big and important settlement - represents an exception, because it benefits from a detailed plan from 1790, depicting the main urban fabric elements (streets, buildings and plots) and the landscape in a sufficiently comprehensive manner. Additionally, a plan from 1830 also exists, recently made available by Mihai Anatolii Ciobanu and Laurențiu Rădvan, as well as another one from the early modern decades (1845). The latter is a very detailed and trustworthy representation of all the main urban

elements (and with additionally written information on the plan regarding some main amenities). Târgoviște also benefits from an 1831 Russian plan, which provides important information regarding the expansion and the characteristics of the urban fabric, similar to the 1830 plan of Craiova. They both depict the built and unbuilt environment in a conventional and somehow simplified manner (alongside some written data regarding amenities), but still provide important information about a moment in time that is not usually depicted by the available common cartographic sources. Additionally, the town of Ploiești also benefits from a mid-19th century plan, showing the expansion of the settlement, the street network and information on some important amenities and landowners.

Starting with the final decades of the 19th century, valuable military maps are available for the whole Romanian territory; they generally depict the towns in a detailed (though not complete) way. There is a collection available online (the so-called "Planuri Directoare de Tragere" collection, c. 1890-1920) and, additionally, the collection available at the Archives of the National Geographical Institute of the Army. The latter was the one that I used most - as it contains more information and is also of higher graphical quality – for the towns of Buzău (1895), Pitești (1900) and Târgoviște (probably c. 1902); the town of Craiova is poorly depicted on the map, focusing only on its main streets, as it was a developed settlement and the detailed representation of the urban fabric did not represent a priority in this case, given the efforts it would have required; for Ploiești I had access to a more detailed plan from 1902-1904 (see below), that made the use of the military plan unnecessary. These plans share the advantages of depicting urban fabric in a unitary way and, furthermore, of providing information not only about the street network, but also about the plots and the built fabric, alongside some data on land use inside and outside of the towns and about property owners outside the settlements. On the downside, they depict the configuration of the minor fabric (buildings, plots) in a simplified way, therefore not being able to actually provide typo-morphological information on these elements, other than the distribution of different categories of buildings inside of the towns, based on some conventional way of representation. For the town of Ploiești, a very detailed plan from 1902, drawn by the Geographical Institute of the Army at the request of the City Hall is also available. It depicts the urban fabric in a detailed way, at all its levels and in all its elements, providing accurate information about the configuration of the minor urban fabric,

alongside data regarding some types of land use inside the settlement (but no information about the surrounding settlements and areas).

Besides the aforementioned sources, I based my research on some additional street-plan-type of cartographic documents, that provide information only about the position (sometimes also configuration, in a more or less accurate way) of some main urban amenities (administrative, educational, military, medical, religious etc.). The accuracy of these plans varies a lot, therefore many times a precise superimposition over other more accurate sources proved to be a real challenge, if not even impossible.

1.2. Towns, Territory, and Landscape

Before starting the main part of the study, some general consideration must be stated, in order to set the grounds of a better understanding of the topic I will detail in the rest of the paper. I will start with the ones regarding the relation between the settlements and their territorial and landscape context.

At a territorial scale, the map presented below already points out that all five analyzed towns emerged at the intersection of two main landforms - the Sub-Carpathian Hills and the plains – benefiting from access to different types of products, coming from both regions. Moreover, all of them developed at the intersection of multiple commercial roads and in the proximity of a main river or of an important tributary. Usually, the commercial roads followed the direction of the rivers, therefore they both have to be taken into consideration together, as they are susceptible to generating a development axis in the settlement.

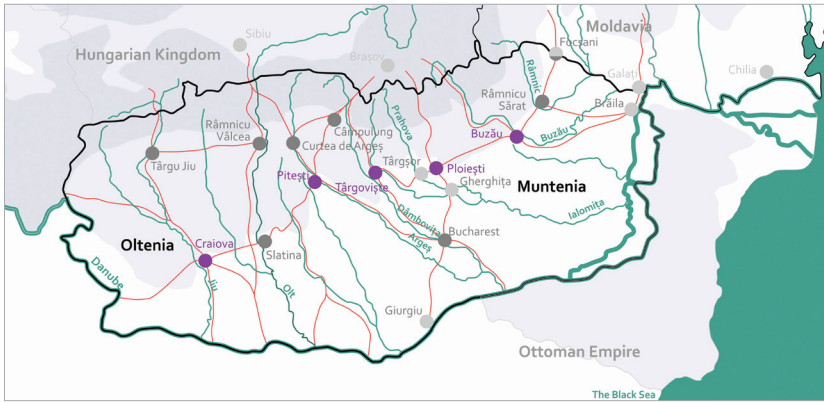


Fig. 01. Map of Wallachia, depicting the towns included in this study, alongside the main landscape, important rivers and main commercial routes (the latter, after Gheorghiu & Bica, 2015, pp. 30-31) [drawn by the author].

Pitești developed along the Argeș River between the hills and the waterway. Craiova developed on the high cornices of the large riverbed formed by the Jiu in that region. Both Târgoviște and Buzău evolved next to some artificial waterways deviated from the main rivers (Iazul Morilor, deviated from Ialomița for Târgoviște and Vadu Morilor, deviated from Buzău for Buzău), but still next to the main rivers. Ploiești emerged on the Dâmbovița River, a tributary of the more important Prahova River. For all five towns the rivers or the riverbeds represented limits for the expansion of the settlements both in premodern times and during the 19th century (sometimes with suburban settlements developed over the watercourse, as it happened with the Mahalaua village next to Târgoviște).

Both Ploiești and Buzău developed on mostly flat terrain, for the former its configuration being irrelevant, as it lies mostly in the fields, but still close to the Sub-Carpathian Hills, to its north. The others developed on more hilly landscape, all of them emerging on the higher and more flat cornices in order to both prevent floodings and to provide the better landscape for an efficient physical development of the settlement. Their configuration follows the direction of the river in different ways: a clear development along the river for Pitești; the development of the older part of the settlement along the river, and of a main axis along it during the later centuries, as the town expanded, in the case of Târgoviște; for

Craiova, the landscape played a more complex role – on one hand the main north-south axis of the settlement follows the direction of the river and the town is mostly limited by the high cornices, with only some local expansions towards the riverbed; on the other hand, two small tributaries flowing perpendicular to the River Jiu divided the urban settlement in three main terraces – the middle one was occupied by the main part of the settlement and the roads to Râmnicu Vâlcea (and Transylvania) and to Bucharest followed (completely or partially) the valleys created by these tributaries.

For those towns where the position of the princely court is known, the ensemble emerged next to the river, on the cornice. Among the analyzed cases, the commercial area sometimes followed the direction of the river, as it happened in the case of Pitești and Ploiești (for both, on the direction of the road towards Transylvania), and in the case of the old commercial area of Târgoviște (re-located – see below; at first on the direction of the road towards Moldavia, in the opposite direction from the princely court). In the other instances, the commercial area develops on a direction perpendicular to the river, as it happened for Buzău and for the second commercial area of Târgoviște, both following the direction towards Bucharest. In Craiova, it also developed perpendicular to the river, but following the landscape configuration, as it evolved on the main terrace between the tributaries, on a direction between the one towards Râmnicu Vâlcea and Transylvania and the one towards Bucharest.

1.3. Some Considerations on the Development of the Towns

Besides the topic tackled above, there are also others that need to be briefly discussed. The first one refers to the fortifications, because most of the Wallachian towns evolved without them. Except for Târgoviște (with the defensive enclosure built at the middle of the 17th century), all the other towns developed, after the 16th century, without fortification walls. It is not even known if the towns had general enclosures during the early centuries or not.⁷ Besides the late walls of Târgoviște, if the fortifications existed in other towns, they took rudimentary forms, such as earth embankments, moats and maybe wooden palisades. The defensive role was taken by some urban ensembles (monasteries, courts), alongside an underground network of shelters (Gheorghiu, 2017, p. 18). Without the physical limitations of the enclosures, Wallachian towns expanded almost freely towards the surroundings, their expansion being limited by other

factors, such as the landscape, or connected to a certain status enjoyed by the surrounding territories (for example, the case of the monasteries and their estates limiting the expansion of the towns in certain situations; see also below in the study). In any case, a significant degree of freedom in expansion existed, which resulted in a specific image of the towns, with a low density of buildings, spreading over large areas (in comparison to other medieval towns with enclosures, and relative to their number of inhabitants) and including large areas used as gardens, orchards and vineyards (Rădvan, 2011, p. 202). Except for some dense fabric (erected especially in connection to the commercial function), the residential areas had an extremely low density, as did the street network in the peripheral area. This reality was still visible until at least the last decades of the 19th century, leaving an obvious mark upon the development of the urban fabric during modern times.

As for the urban expansion, by superimposing the consecutive maps of the analyzed towns, we can observe that they didn't exhibit major territorial expansion during the 19th century. In all analyzed settlements we can notice some new urban fabric emerging along some pre-existing streets – a way of expansion that prolongs some pre-modern urban practices, along the main roads connecting the settlement with the territory – and a certain densification, within the already developed structure. In general, the situations of real expansion - generating more than some fabric emerged strictly along a pre-existed street or densification in a new direction - are rare and they are mostly illustrated by Ploiești and Buzău. Nonetheless, the new fabric holds a certain degree of modernity in comparison to the more organic one previously developed by the towns. It is more geometrical, with more or less rectangular plots and more unitary in its features. Nevertheless, it also presents some less modern features: the plots are narrow and long and are usually occupied by small houses, that turn narrow facades towards the street and are placed near or on one side of the property (typically oriented towards the south). Commonly referred to as “wagon-houses” (because of their elongated configuration, which results from rooms being added over time), they create a modest appearance from the street. This type of urban fabric (that starts to emerge in the second half of the 19th century and spreads rapidly, mostly in the peripheral areas of the towns) will be widely criticized by administrations, architects, urban planners and theorists during the next century, because of its lack of modernity, in a context in which the aspiration towards

providing a new modern image in Romanian towns was seen as a major necessity (the topic is widely debated in Calotă, 2017).

One final topic I will address in this part of the study concerns the suburban settlements. In Buzău, Bulgarian population was colonized starting in the 18th century. They settled in the western part of the town, initially forming a suburban settlement called Sârbăria (which could be translated as “Serbian area”), which was included in the urban settlement in the following century. Although Bulgarian neighborhoods also existed in other cases, they remained outside of the towns during the 19th century. In Târgoviște, a Bulgarian population settled along the road to Buzău, around 1850, in an area that had begun to develop in the previous decades and remained a suburban area until the end of the century, referred to as the Serbian neighborhood (“Mahalaua Sârbească”) (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 444; see also the plans of 1831 and c. 1902). In Ploiești, in 1829, a Bulgarian population settled down across the river, to the north-west, forming the settlement of Slivna Nouă. It existed for about a decade, as in 1838 the population moved within the city limits and the suburban settlements disappeared (Debie, 1969, pp. 92, 95). Other suburban settlements also emerged in connection to the towns, as it will be discussed later in the study (such as Mahalaua in Târgoviște and Simileasca in Buzău). For Buzău, the development of the Sârbărie settlement had an important outcome on its elongated configuration in an east-west direction. From a morphological point of view, the 1895 plan clearly depicts a different kind of urban fabric, with larger plots than in the rest of the town, still showing its distinctive origins and evolution.

2. The Medieval Administrative Ensembles

Since early times, administrative courts (princely, boyar etc.) were fortified ensembles, enclosed by stone walls or by simple wooden palisades, surrounded by a ditch (moat) and earthen embankments. Therefore, they were separated from the rest of the settlement. The urban fabric developed next to them, as commercial suburbs, served the needs of the court and of the inhabitants of the surrounding region (Rădvan, 2011, p. 140). The courts were complex ensembles, containing, aside from the residence itself (solid stone building, sometimes – in the early stages – built as a donjon) and its outbuildings, also the court chapel – often an important,

prominent church within the settlement, which was placed next to the residence, but in a separate enclosure, attached to the main one.

Historians uphold that all important towns emerging during the first centuries after the formation of Wallachia must have had a princely residence. They also show that, from the 16th century onwards, rulers started to be less mobile, preferring longer stays in the capital city (or in other newly formed towns - see below, for example, the case of Ploiești), some of the courts being thus abandoned or turned into monasteries (including into Metropolitan and Bishopric ensembles) (see, for example, as reference Rădvan, 2011, pp. 136, 138). Even if the administrative ensemble was an important factor in triggering the development of a settlement, there is not enough information about its position and evolution for many towns in Wallachia – among the researched settlements within this study, the position of the court is known for sure only for the towns of Târgoviște and Craiova.

In Târgoviște – a town that played the role of capital city starting with the first half of the 15th century – the princely court was built around the year 1400 and it partially overlapped a pre-existing one, established at the end of the 13th century or at the beginning of the 14th. The princely court was built as a fortified ensemble, surrounded, in the beginning, by earth ramparts and wooden palisades and by a moat (Rădvan, 2011, p. 305). More recent archeological investigations⁸ showed that the court was rebuilt as a fortified ensemble with stone walls and towers after the middle of the 14th century and went through several interventions of modernization and expansion over the pre-modern centuries. The position of the court is in the proximity of the river Dâmbovița, on its right side (the higher side of the valley).

The town of Craiova depicts a different administrative and political situation, as it developed in the 15th century on boyar land and in connection with the existence of a boyar court, which was transformed into a local administrative court (the headquarters of the regional institution called “Bănie”, controlling the territories of Oltenia, subordinated to the princely administration) (Rădvan, 2004, pp. 420-422). In the second half of the 16th century, the land of the settlement became princely property, and it was only after this moment that Craiova was recognized as a town (and the inhabitants received the usual privileges, including the holding of a permanent market). This change in status triggered an important development, Craiova becoming the second largest urban center in Wallachia (after Bucharest) at the beginning of the 18th century (Rădvan,

2004, pp. 426-427, 428-429). The court was positioned on the high cornice of Jiu River, along the road linking Transylvania to the Danube, close to its crosspoint with the one leading to the towns of Pitești and Bucharest. Towards the middle of the 17th century, after Craiova became a princely town, prince Matei Basarab replaced the first boyar church with a new one, perhaps as a gesture reflecting the new status of the settlement.

For Pitești and Ploiești the existence of a princely court is documented, but no precise location is known. In addition, there is also the case of Buzău, where some historians suppose there was such an administrative ensemble (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 103), but no documents certify its existence so far.

The town of Ploiești developed in direct connection with the establishment of a new princely court by Prince Michael the Brave in the last decade of the 16th century (Sevastos, 1935, p. 3). Some sources state that the settlement evolved within a few years from the moment when the court was established, developing a permanent market, and gaining specific town privileges (Zagoriț, 1915, pp. 29, 33), which were recognized in 1597 (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2011, p. 140). The location of the princely court is unknown. It is known that the medieval village of Ploiești (out of which the town developed) lay in the eastern part of the modern settlement, towards the river (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2011, p. 119). In the same area two princely churches were built, one at the end of the 16th century and the other one in 1639 (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2011, p. 119; Stoicescu, II, 1970, p. 496). Additionally, some foreign texts from that time seem to indicate that the court was not far from the market square (the old one, located towards the east of the town, see below), but also not in its direct vicinity (see the reproduction of the text in Zagoriț 1915, p. 31). Although all this information might suggest a possible location of the court in this area, a solid hypothesis has yet to be formulated, as no other relevant data is currently available.

In the case of Pitești, the existence of a princely court is confirmed by documents, but there are still controversies about when it was built, due to some unclear and interpretable mentions within these medieval documents. Anyhow, it certainly existed at the beginning of the 16th century, being built or rebuilt by prince Neagoe Basarab at that time. Even if the privileges of the urban community were confirmed by the documents only starting with the second half of the 16th century, historians uphold that most probably the settlement had already had this status since the end of the 14th century (Rădvan, 2004, p. 468) or since the following

century (Greceanu, 1982, p. 26-27). Regarding the position of the princely court in Pitești, there are two main hypotheses. One of them places the court outside the settlement, to the south-east (Greceanu, 1982, p. 30), where documents repeatedly mention the existence of a princely property (therefore similar in terms of position to the hypothesis formulated for the other two towns, where the princely ensemble was also placed outside of the settlement, but on the site later occupied by the Bishopric, and predating it). The second hypothesis places the court in the commercial area, where a princely church was built in the mid-17th century, possibly on the site of a pre-existing, older one (Rădvan, 2011, p. 291; Gheorghiu, 2017, p. 153).

Although the existence of a princely court in Buzău is not proven by the documents, historians lean towards believing it existed (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 93, 103) and do not exclude the hypothesis of a preceding court, which may have been overlain by the princely one (Rădvan, 2011, p. 264). Although the documents certify the privileges of the urban community only in the 16th century, the town most likely existed earlier, as suggested by the establishment of the Bishopric headquarters here, around the year 1500 by Prince Radu the Great (Rădvan, 2011, p. 264). As for the presumed princely court, two hypotheses were formulated: it could either lay under the Bishopric ensemble (if the princely court had been transformed into a Bishopric at the beginning of the 16th century), or where the eastern church of the commercial area was placed (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 103). Regarding the latter hypothesis, there is no information indicating that any of the two churches limiting the trading area was a princely intervention, but some medieval documents indicate the existence of two princely churches in the vicinity of the nearby commercial area. The current ones might have superimposed both or one of the old princely churches (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 93).

3. The Commercial Area, the Market Square(s), and the Fair(s)

All Wallachian towns developed with at least one market square, around which a specific commercial area emerged. The latter expanded over time, including during the 19th century. This commercial fabric came to resemble, in its main attributes, similar areas in the *intramuros* areas of central and western European towns – high density of mixed use buildings (dwellings with shops / workshops, with the latter being placed on the

ground level, towards the street), built on narrow plots and forming a continuous street frontage (terraced houses). Other commercial fabric can also be found in the more peripheral parts of the towns, in general without forming any continuous areas. In this case, the buildings are usually only one story high, with the shops or workshops positioned towards the street and the dwelling extending towards the back of the plot.

Alongside the inner market squares, inside the towns or in their vicinity other kind of markets – bigger ones – emerged. These generally functioned until the first decades of the 20th century and were referred to by several names. When located outside the towns, they were often simply called “The Outer Fair”. These were not permanent markets but were organized with a specific frequency, a fact sometimes reflected in their names – for example, the “Weekly Fair” in Craiova. If linked to a certain celebration, they were named accordingly, such as the “Drăgaica Fair” in Buzău. The cattle market (usually named “Obor”) could be accommodated by the outer fair or, in later periods (see below), could form a distinct market, sometimes located within town limits, as in Târgoviște and Pitești.

The main commercial area in Buzău depicts an elongated configuration, on the east-west direction. The main axis developed between two churches mentioned by medieval documents but only hypothetically identified by historians (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 94). The area expanded during the 19th century to a more irregular one, “opening up” towards the fair and expanding towards the Bishopric ensemble, to the north.

The market square was located next to the commercial axis, on its southern segment, and was mentioned by the documents as a permanent market since 1571 (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 69, 93). During modern times, in 1874, a second marketplace was established. It was meant for vegetable trade and was named “Sf. Îngeri”, taking after the nearby church. In the structure of the urban fabric, this square is positioned at the eastern end of the commercial fabric.

The documents from 1624 prove the existence of the fair (“The Lower Fair” or the Cattle Fair) located in the northern part of the settlement (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 73), between the commercial area, the Bishopric and the Vadu Morilor waterway. In the second half of the 18th century, a second fair emerged south to the town, on the direction to Bucharest and close to Poșta village (a small settlement that began to form around the middle of the 19th century outside the limits of the town; Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 78, 130). Up until the middle of the 18th century, the fair was held in another location (in the northern hills) and its relocation to Buzău

was first mentioned in 1778 (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 78). The 1892 plan of the town indicates its location and shows that it was still in place at that time (with some unstructured urban fabric emerging next to it), as was also the Cattle Fair from the northern part of the settlement.

In Pitești, the main commercial area has a clear elongated shape, starting from the market square and the princely church, and unfolding towards the north, along the road to Curtea de Argeș and, further on, to Transylvania. A secondary axis (shorter and with lower density) developed towards the east, also starting from the market square and following the street leading, in medieval times, towards Câmpulung and Bucharest, after bifurcating on the other side of the river. The main commercial area depicts a lenticular shape, as it unfolds on two quasi-parallel streets, that bifurcate in front of the market square and reunite again, where the dense specific fabric ends.

The existence of a weekly cattle fair in Pitești is known since the 17th century. The commercial function was still in place at the beginning of the 19th century, being known as the Upper Fair ("Târgul din Deal") (Popa et al., 1988, pp. 70-71) and located outside the settlement, on the road to Topana and Râmnicu Vâlcea (Greceanu, 1982, p. 63). On the other side of the river, on the road to Bucharest, another fair functioned, called the Hill Fair ("Târgul Dealului") (Greceanu, 1982, p. 63), but which was only held once a year, in the fall, whereas the Upper Fair had a weekly activity (Popa et al., 1988, p. 71). It is known that, starting with 1833, various actions were taken to relocate the fair, but the process unfolded over the following decades. In 1863, the fair was functioning in its new location, in the south-eastern part of the settlement, close to the river.⁹ It also accommodated the cattle fair, and it was called either the Lower Fair ("Târgul din Vale" – in opposition to the former Upper Fair), or the Outer Fair (or sometimes only as the Cattle Fair). Some new commercial fabric emerged along the street linking the new fair to the market square. Even if it is not depicted by the 1855 plan of the town and neither in the one from 1900 (at least not in a clear way), it is visible nowadays, depicting obvious attributes consistent with the ones of a typical 19th century (or early 20th century) commercial fabric. Nonetheless, the reposition of the fair in this part of the town induced a typical evolution, triggering the emergence of the commercial fabric and of a short secondary commercial axis.

In Craiova, the boyar court on the cornice of Jiu River served as the nucleus of the future town, as the market square and the commercial area developed in front of it (Joița 1977, p. 19; Rădvan 2004, p. 427). A

plan of the central area of the town was published by G. Croitoru (2011, p. 209), with the market square positioned north-east of the court, in its direct proximity and with the Hurezi Inn on its northern side. The 1845 plan shows that a second square emerged before that time, in the area mostly occupied by high-class residences and which is depicted with the name of “Boyars’ Square”. Towards the end of the century, another market square emerges (Piața Marșeu or Piața Nouă – The New Market) (Popescu-Criveanu et al., 2020, p. 139), on former estates of Gănescu Church.

As the 1790 map of Craiova depicts, by the end of the 18th century the commercial area developed mainly in a linear way on a long axis heading eastwards from the market square, and it illustrates an interesting situation, with a certain degree of complexity. This development of the commercial area was strongly informed by the position of the weekly fair (mentioned in documents starting with the 17th century; Rădvan 2004, p. 426; see also Joița 1977, p. 34), as it developed as an axis unfolding between these two main functions of the pre-modern town: the market square (alongside the administrative ensemble next to it) and the fair. On one hand, being an outer fair, it developed at the limit of the settlement. On the other hand, taking into consideration the landscape (depicted by the historical plans and maps), one main direction of expansion of the settlement was towards the east, as the main part of the town evolved on a higher cornice, limited to the west by the large river bed of Jiu and towards north and south by smaller valleys of some minor tributaries (but yet important in shaping the urban fabric – as it will be discussed also below) of the main river. The relation with the territory also played its part in this direction of development, as the road to Bucharest was heading towards the east. Therefore, as the town developed, it expanded towards the east, also prompting the relocation of the fair. In this way, its constant replacement also triggered the development of the commercial area, along a clear axis.¹⁰

The later map of 1845 depicts some expansions of the commercial fabric beyond the axis mentioned before, on the quasi-parallel street unfolding to the north. The commercial area expanded also during the next decades, mostly to the north, but still mainly following the direction towards the fair, established since the medieval period.

In Ploiești, the first market square emerged in the eastern part of the settlement. Around 1800 the commercial activities were moved towards west - closer to the shepherds’ road (“Drumul Oii”) - where a new

marketplace started to function, at first as an outer fair (Debie, 1969, p. 83). The old market square kept on sheltering some temporary commercial activities for a while,¹¹ but during modern times it was superimposed by residential fabric. This new market already existed in 1825, and the commercial fabric was forming around it (Debie, 1969, p. 91). At the beginning of the modern era, the town already developed in connection with this new commercial area, as it is shown by the reconstruction of the 1830-1840's urban fabric done by C. N. Debie and published by Tomozei (2024, p. 294). Around this time, another bigger marketplace also emerged to the north – the cattle fair. The market square kept on being called, for a while (before 1852), the Outer Fair (because it originated in this kind of commercial amenity) and after the emergence of the bigger market place (the fair to the north) it began to be referred to as the “Lower Market” (“Târgul de Jos”, in opposition to the on-going developing Upper Market (“Piața de Sus” or the Big Square - “Piața Mare”) (see these references at Debie, 1969, p. 96).

Together – the Lower and the Upper Market (or Fair) – triggered the development of the commercial fabric towards north-west and along the newly established – in 1840-1847 (Debie, 1969, pp. 95, 97) - important road connection on Prahova valley, towards Brașov (Transylvania). Even if the commercial area in Ploiești depicts a more irregular configuration, developed around the market square and the fair, with a density that gradually decreases from the market square towards north-west, we can still consider that it generates a commercial axis, based on its clear orientation and expansion.

The first market square (the one located to the east of the settlement) leaves almost no traces in the urban fabric of the late 19th century, as it was superimposed by residential fabric. Even so, a certain type of densification is still visible on the plan from 1902, with some of the proximities occupied by long “wagon-houses”, therefore depicting a kind densification that is not visible (in this way) in other parts of the town.

The town of Târgoviște shows a special situation, as both the market square and the fair moved in time. The settlement developed an early permanent trade area (14th century), located on the commercial road along the river, in the southern part of the first Saxon settlement (Diaconescu, 2009, p. 64, pl. 53). South of it, superimposing some built fabric, the first court was built, which was subsequently replaced by the first princely residence in town (Rădvan, 2011, p. 305). Due to the increasing importance of the trade activities with the Balkan Peninsula, in the second

half of the 15th century, the importance of the commercial road towards Giurgiu also starts to increase (Diaconescu, 2009, p. 25). This will trigger the development of the settlement along this road, heading south-west from the princely court. Around the middle of the 16th century, a second market square emerged along this road (Diaconescu, 2009, p. 73, pl. 57), which encouraged the development of some commercial fabric around it. At first, most probably, this commercial area was mainly a linear one, unfolding from the market square towards the Metropolitan Ensemble (established here at the beginning of the 16th century), along the street linking it to the princely court. The 1831 plan of the town states the existence of some shops or workshops along this axis, in the next proximity of the market square and some more dense fabric southern from it. After the emergence of this second market in the area – referred to as the “Lower Market”, while the old one was known as the “Upper Market” (as it was laying on the higher terrains along the river and in opposition to the new one). In the 17th century both market squares were still functioning (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 289, 466).

Initially, the fair developed as an outer one and its existence was mentioned at the beginning of the 18th century. The 1831 plan of the town provides its exact location, right outside the ramparts, next to the Câmpulung gate, and, therefore, on the direction heading towards this important Wallachian town and Transylvania. In 1834 a church was built next to the fair. At the end of the same decade the idea of changing the location of the fair was raised (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 466), the commercial activities being moved inside the town in 1847 (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 456). The 19th century plans indicate that the new fair (also accommodating a cattle fair) was placed next to the Metropolitan Ensemble, and thus in the proximity of the commercial area the town developed starting with the 16th century onwards. The cartographic sources also indicate that between 1831 and 1855 the built fabric expanded towards the Metropolitan Ensemble and the newly established Weekly Fair, and until the beginning of the 20th century they also went through a process of densification, as specific commercial fabric emerged in connection to the fair activities. In 1902, the expanded commercial area has an irregular shape, straying eastwards from the initial axis and opening towards the fair (as the plan of that year indicates).

4. Monasteries and Other Main Religious Ensembles

In the early centuries, monasteries did not appear inside the towns and neither in their proximity. They only started to arise in the proximity of the urban settlements in the 16th century, only to be later admitted inside towns. The princes started to endow them with parts of the towns' estates (previously in the free usage of the urban community), mills along the rivers, properties in the market area and even to allow them to collect the market custom taxes in some cases. The princes themselves also started to own more and more property both inside towns and on communal estates (Rădvan, 2011, pp. 195, 202-203, *passim*). This attitude of the prince regarding the monasteries and their rights reflects a change in the involvement of the central authority in town's affairs, as the autonomy of the urban settlements progressively diminished starting with the 16th century, a process which peaked in the 18th century (Greceanu, 1982, p. 25).

From an economic point of view, this situation had a clear effect upon the incomes and revenues of the urban community. An additional major consequence came with this change of status of some large estates in the proximity of the towns: by not being at the disposal of the urban community anymore, they started to represent limitations for urban growth, the town not being allowed to expand on those properties.

Moreover, settlements of dependent people or even slaves were often established around the monasteries, the latter category usually being represented by the gypsies ("țigani"; the princely or boyar courts were also served by gypsy slaves, and sometimes so were some members of the urban community). When monasteries started to emerge in the vicinities of towns, they also developed this type of settlements around them (called "Țigăanii") (Rădvan, 2011, pp. 212-213), which imposed a similar physical limit for the town.

The Bishopric Ensemble in Buzău was founded around the year 1500, north of the settlement and, only some short decades afterwards, the sources also show that a settlement of dependent people ("Țigănia") was already in place (even the documents mention this area as a neighborhood – "Mahala" – in 1679) (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 67-68, 75). Later, in 1571, another religious ensemble was built in Buzău – the Banu Monastery – (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 69), placed towards the south, outside the limits of the settlement at that time. By analyzing the expansion of the town at the middle of 19th century, it shows that these ensembles

represented a limitation for the urban fabric, as they still appear at or towards the extremes of the built environment.

In Târgoviște, the Metropolitan ensemble was founded at the beginning of the 16th century (Stoicescu, 1970, p. 643). It was built along the road heading towards Bucharest, on its eastern part, and it owned land in this area. Stelea Monastery was built at the end of the same century (Stoicescu, 1970, p. 648), along the road heading towards Buzău (and Moldavia), but in the proximity of the Metropolitan properties. Judging on the development of the town at the beginning of modern times, besides the clear expansion of it along the road following the river, we can easily observe that the urban fabric had minor expansion in the area occupied by these two religious ensembles. It developed primarily on the other side of the road heading towards Bucharest, where the street network depicts a concentric pattern of development, originating from the main intersection of the roads (close to the princely court) and gradually expanding across four concentric streets. The fabric here exhibits smaller dimensions of the blocks (therefore with higher density of the street network) and higher density of churches. On the other hand, the presence of the Metropolitan ensemble there triggered the development of the main commercial axis on the direction of Bucharest (as mentioned above).

The monastic ensembles in Craiova and Pitești were built in later periods, around the middle of the 18th century. The Obedeau Monastery in Craiova was built in 1748-1753 (Stoicescu, 1970, 222). As the 1830 plan of the town shows, at that time it was still at the limit of built fabric, even if close to it. There is information about another monastery, containing the Gănescu Church (built in 1757; Stoicescu, 1970, p. 220). This one is located in a denser fabric, as the 1830 plan of the town indicates. Both of them emerged outside the commercial area, and at the limit of the area occupied by the boyar residences (as the information resulting from superimposing the several plans of the town indicates; see below about the boyar area). There is information about other two important monasteries that emerged in the vicinity of Craiova – Coșuna-Bucovăț Monastery and Jitianu Monastery – but their position far outside the settlement makes them be less relevant for our interests.

In Pitești, the most relevant religious ensemble (for the goals of this study) is Buliga Monastery, built in 1745 (Stoicescu, 1970, p. 487), between the commercial area and the western hills unfolding along the town, therefore having a peripheral position during premodern times. As the town grew at the beginning of modern times, this ensemble came to

some importance in the positioning of some new central modern amenities (as it will be shown below). Another monastery emerged outside the town – Trivale Monastery, built at the end of the 17th century, along the road towards Craiova and Oltenia, on which the Upper Fair also functioned. Some leisure activities appeared around it, in connection to the interventions aimed at transforming the Trivale Forest into a leisure area (see below).

As far as available scholarship indicates, there were no monasteries built in Ploiești.

5. Boyar Residences

There is some available information on the location of the boyar courts for all the towns included in this study. The archaeological investigations and the scholarship show that since before the middle of the 16th century the boyar courts in Târgoviște were already grouped north to the first market square of the settlement, along the main street following the commercial road towards Brăila. Up until the 18th century other boyar residences emerged southern to the princely residence (Diaconescu, 2009, pl. 54, 57), following the same general direction, but towards the south-east, therefore creating a residential axis along the river, and which remained also during modern times one of the main development axes of the settlement.

In Craiova there are some documented boyar courts north of the administrative court and the market square, but more information is available by studying the map of the town from 1790. Through morpho-typological research, we can identify a large number of ensembles with a configuration consistent with the characteristics of a residential ensemble: enclosed ensembles, developing on large plots, with a building positioned more or less in the central part of the plot (and which shares the specific characteristics of boyar houses of 17th-18th centuries)¹² and some outbuildings usually positioned towards the limits of the plot. In Craiova, this type of ensembles occupies large areas, mostly along the cornices – some of them followed the main direction of the high cornice of River Jiu, both towards the north and the south. But the majority of them were located north of the commercial area, on both sides of the northern tributary (nowadays drained) and expanding towards the west along its cornices.

In Pitești, the boyar residences developed mainly on a street parallel to the commercial area, heading towards the north (Greceanu, 1982, pp. 34-35), also inducing a residential axis in the structure of the settlement. A similar situation can also be found in Buzău, where the boyars built their courts on an axis south to the commercial street, and more or less parallel to it (as the information on the plan published in Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 115 indicates).

Boyar residences were also localized in the proximity of the old market square in Ploiești and along an axis heading towards the west and the location of the new market square (see above), as the reconstructive plan elaborated by eng. N. Debie (and published in Tomozei, 2024, p. 294) is showing. After the repositioning of the market square, the area inhabited by boyars remains as a residential development axis in the structure of the settlement.

Some other towns besides Ploiești exhibit similar situations, with boyar properties positioned in the central part of the town, in the vicinity of the market square. It is the case of Craiova, as the plan published by Croitoru shows (2011, p. 209), and also the situation of the town of Buzău, where a boyar court is mentioned west to the market square, in its vicinity¹³ (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 76).

6. The Education Infrastructure

I chose to tackle the topic of the development of education infrastructure next because it represents a clear case of an urban amenity that starts in pre-modern times and continues to develop during the 19th century in a modern way. The education function appears inside the towns since pre-modern decades, functioning in connection to a religious ensemble or a church. In Buzău, a Greek school was functioning in the Bishopric ensemble since 1775 (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 136). In the first half of the same century a school was functioning at Sf. Gheorghe princely church in Pitești and, starting in 1751, another one started its activities at Buliga Monastery (Popa, 2014, p. 137). At the middle of the same century, a school also started its activity at Sf. Dumitru princely church in Craiova and another one was functioning at Obedeianu Church (Popescu-Criveanu et al., 2020, pp. 25, 135). In the 1820s schools were also founded at Sf. Gheorghe and at Buna Vestire churches in Ploiești (Debie, 1969, pp.

89, 92). In Târgoviște, the school was functioning at Stelea Monastery (Stoicescu, 1970, p. 648).

After the reforms that accompanied the Organic Regulations from 1831, elementary public schools started to function in all Romanian towns, as education became a legally assumed duty of the administration (even if private schools continued to exist). In several cases, they continued to function for some years (or even decades) in rented (sometimes owned) existing buildings, which were not designed to accommodate educational activities.

In 1832, national schools were founded in Ploiești and Buzău. They former functioned in a rented house until 1834, when it was moved to a bigger residential building; afterwards, it moved in another rented house, where it remained until 1905, when the new school building was constructed on the same site (Debie, 1969, p. 94). In Buzău the school first functioned in an inn, but received its own new building early, as one was provided in 1833 or 1839. It was located next to the commercial area and close to the market square, and it was superimposed by a new educational building in 1865, which sheltered the Gymnasium after the latter was founded in 1867, and has since been demolished (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 125, 127, 148). In 1833, the first national school started to function in Pitești, in different locations (in a private house, and then in some annexes owned by the Bishopric; Popa, 2014, p. 140). A new modern building was also provided early (in 1841), placed on the boyars' street (Popa et al., 1988, p. 186), close to the commercial area, to its north-eastern extremity, as the 1885 plan of the town is showing. The school in Târgoviște was founded in 1833, and it also had an early designated building, as it was built during the first half of the 19th century (and rebuilt in 1882) in the center of the town, next to the commercial area (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 226). In Craiova, the building of the first national school starts as early as 1833. It was a classical monumental building¹⁴, located close to the commercial area, to its north-west, within the area that was mainly occupied by boyar residences. The building was demolished in the 1890s to make room for the new building of the high school (Georgescu, 1977, p. 162).

For the three decades that followed, I came across the following information about schools founded in: Buzău, in 1852, functioning in a rented house, as it also did in 1858 (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 131-132); Pitești, where the first girls' school started its activities in 1860, in a rented house, and then functioned for a while at Buliga Monastery, and

had its own designated building starting only in 1894 (Popa et al., 1988, p. 188); Craiova, where a girls' school was founded in 1858, followed by two others, and also a boys' school in 1860 (Georgescu, 1977, p. 164).

The Education Act of 1864 represented a strong incentive for the emergence of new schools in towns, but usually the new modern buildings were provided only later, during the last two decades of the century. Although not efficient, from an economic perspective, to use rented buildings, for the first decades after the reforms, the administration had to focus on other major investments in the country, and therefore did not intensively deal with the education infrastructure (Caramelia, 2020, pp. 35-36).

Boys' School no. 2 was founded in Pitești right after the Education Act of 1864 - it functioned in rented premises and had its own building starting with 1884 (Popa et al., 1988, p. 188), located in the same building as the Gymnasium (according to the plan of 1885), built along the western street following the direction of the main commercial axis. Boys School no. 3 was founded in 1882 (Popa et al., 1988, p. 188) and it had its own building on the boulevard (as the 1885 plan is depicting). Girls' School no. 2 was founded in 1867 (Popa et al., 1988, p. 188), having its own designated building after 1885, superimposing the site it occupied until that year (as the plans from 1885 and 1943 are showing). Girls School no. 3 was founded before 1885, functioning in a rented house (as the plan from that year seems to be showing). In Buzău, a mixed modern school was built in 1888 in a peripheral area of the town, towards the south-east, but within the already urbanized perimeter of mid-19th century (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 152; see also the 1892 plan; it was rebuilt after 1944). Another mixed school emerged on the boulevard heading towards Crâng Park (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 154; see also the plan mentioned above), whose modernity stands not only in the building itself and its attributes, but also in the fact that it was designed with a green in front of it, part of the boulevard landscaping composition. In Târgoviște, more designated educational buildings also started to appear in the 1880s (Boriga et al., 2012, pp. 449-452), positioned along the boyar axis (Calea Domnească) south of the princely court, or close to it towards the north. For Craiova, there are mentions of six schools that started their activities by the end of the 19th century (Georgescu, 1977, pp. 164-165). As the plans of the town indicate, most of the new modern schools emerged north of the commercial area, within or right next to the area occupied by boyar residences; another one was placed towards the fair and another one south

of the commercial area, along an important axis. Ploiești represented a special case, as it developed an extensive network of modern educational buildings, with many new schools built in the peripheral neighborhoods (mostly the northern ones). It also depicts in a clear way a specific habit of the 19th century, with mirrored buildings – one for boys and one for girls – built across the street one from another or back-to-back on the same plot (as the 1902 plan of the town clearly shows).

A distinctive topic is represented by the gymnasiums and high school buildings, as they are generally thought to have been designed as monumental, impressive buildings, with clear modern urbanistic and architectural attributes. During the first decades after the education reforms of 1864, many of them did not function in specially designed buildings, but being sheltered in a classroom of one of the elementary schools or even in the buildings of the local administration (Ilie, 2008, p. 38).

Both in Târgoviște and Buzău, the Gymnasium was sheltered by modern buildings, but which were initially designed to accommodate elementary schools. The Gymnasium in Târgoviște was founded in 1874 and it started functioning in the school, placed at the extremity of the commercial area, on the other side of the street from the church built there in pre-modern times (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 236). The school, rebuilt in 1882, has a symmetrical composition, it is a standalone building, positioned in the middle of the plot and is detached from the street, thus providing an ample garden in front of it (and, consequently, not following the morphological rules of the surrounding fabric). In Buzău, the Gymnasium (founded in 1867) was accommodated in a modern educational building from 1865 (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 125, 148; nowadays demolished), positioned at the limit of the commercial area, to its south-east. A similar situation might have occurred also in case of the Gymnasium in Pitești, as the plan of 1885 presents its building as also sheltering the Boys' school no. 2. Nonetheless, the building site was along the boulevard, right next to the public garden to its south-east. In Ploiești, the Gymnasium was built in 1865 (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2016, p. 661), between the commercial area and the river, along the old direction towards Buzău and Moldavia. The first gymnasium in Craiova was founded in 1854, followed by the second one in 1882, and which was transformed into a high school in 1901 (Georgescu, 1977, pp. 162, 165).

High schools were built in towns only towards the turn of the century. In Craiova, it was founded in 1885 and it had its own designated building starting with 1895, superimposing the first modern school in Craiova

(1842), demolished to make room for this new educational building (Carol I). The second high school of the town (Frații Buzești) was founded in 1901, taking over the activities of the gymnasium established in 1882 (Georgescu, 1977, p. 165), and located at the end of the boulevard heading towards Mofleni Park, inside the town. The high school in Târgoviște was built in 1892 (Boriga et al, 2012, p. 166) on the main axis of the town, along the river, south of the princely court (as the plans of the town show). It is a monumental symmetrical building with an inner courtyard, positioned on a large plot and with the main façade towards the main street. In Pitești, the high school was founded in 1894 (Popa, 2010, p. 209) and built in 1897-1899 (Popa et al., 1988, p. 160) on the former properties of Buliga Monastery, towards the north-west of the settlement. Even though it was not placed on the boulevard, we can consider its position in connection with the boulevard, as the new modern axis triggered the modernization of the fabric in this area. The building is a modern one, symmetrical and monumental, and deeply detached from the street, making room for a green area in front of its main façade. Both in Buzău and Ploiești, the high schools were built at the beginning of the boulevard heading towards the railway station. The one in Buzău was finished in 1891 (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 152) and – because of its architectural composition in connection with its localization – it marks the intersection from where the boulevard starts. The one in Ploiești was built in 1895-1899 (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2016, p. 671), along the boulevard towards its northern end, as a monumental building with the main symmetrical façade facing the public space.

7. The Hospitals

Like the schools, the hospitals also had an early development, at the beginning functioning in relation to religious ensembles. At the middle of the 18th century a hospital was functioning at Obedeaneu Church in Craiova (Popescu-Criveanu et al., 2020, p. 135)

At the end of the 18th century a hospital starts to function at Gârlași Church in Buzău, which was built a couple of decades before (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 79, 97). The hospital was closed between 1828 and 1865, when it was reopened in some residential buildings (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 99). In Târgoviște a hospital was also established in an early period, in 1822, built by the inhabitants (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 433), but about whose location I have no information.

The 19th century is a period marked by the appearance of new “secular” hospitals, distancing themselves from the religious function. We have information about the “Filantropia” Hospital built in Craiova in 1811 (Popescu-Criveanu, 2020, p. 31) and, according to the 1845 plan of the town, the building that was sheltering it at that time was a modern building, and not a re-used one. It was located in the area mainly occupied by boyar residences, on the other side of the northern valley from the commercial area. At the dawn of modern times, in 1831, a hospital was built in Ploiești by boyar Boldescu¹⁵, on its properties located in the northern peripheries of the town (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2016, p. 661).

Scholarship shows that after the Organic Regulations, the healthcare institutions entered a completely new stage, as they started to take over the responsibility of dealing with public health in general. Before that, hospitals were founded by monasteries and churches or by private persons, and they were mainly dedicated to poor people (more as a social welfare service) or to sheltering the ones excluded from society (such as population with mental or sexually transmitted diseases, with leprosy etc.). For the rest of the population, healthcare was provided at home and within the families (Trăușan-Matu, 2011, pp. 27, 46-47, 52).

In Târgoviște, the modern institution was founded in 1833, and it functioned in different locations (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 433), one of them being indicated by the 1886 plan of the town, although it is not clear if it was a modern designated building or a rented one. As this cartographic source depicts, it was a two-story high building, located on Calea Domnească, in the proximity of the princely court and next to the ruins of catholic church (nowadays demolished). Between 1886 and 1899, a new hospital was built on the perimeter of the princely court (Boriga et al., 2012, 433) right next to the ruins of the first church of the ensemble. It was demolished during the interwar period, but the satellite view of the area depicts its traces, indicating a symmetrical building, positioned in a random way in connection with the surrounding fabric (therefore not presenting any compositional relation to it).

Filantropia Hospital in Craiova was rebuilt starting with 1845 (Popescu-Criveanu et al., 2020, p. 137), as a symmetrical building with an open courtyard towards the street. In 1852 a mental care hospital was founded by the Madona Dudu Church (Popescu-Criveanu et al., 2020, p. 69). The T.I. Preda Hospital was built in 1870 towards the town limits, along the road to Bucharest and, in 1896, the Hospital for Contagious Diseases was built along the same street, more in the outskirts

(Popescu-Criveanu et al., 2020, p. 69; see also the plans of 1906 and 1916 of the town).

The first national hospital in Pitești started to function in 1833-1838¹⁶ (Popa et al., 1988, pp. 124, 208), most probably in a rented location (yet unknown). The modern hospital is built in 1886 (Popa et al., 1988, p. 210) and, as the 1900 plan of the town shows, it was placed outside the town, on the road to Curtea de Argeș, and was built as a pavilion-based ensemble.

In Buzău, a modern ensemble started to be built in 1895, integrating the residential building in which the first hospital was moved from Cârlași Church in 1865 (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 135, 153). It developed into a pavilion-based ensemble, positioned towards the south, in an area undergoing rapid development and adopting more modern urbanistic features (see below, in connection to the railway boulevard). The County Hospital in Buzău was founded 1872, started its activity in rented houses and, since 1896, functioned in the newly built hospital, placed on the boulevard heading towards Crâng Park (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 149, 154).

Besides Boldescu Hospital, mentioned before and which continued its activity during the 19th century, two new other hospitals were built in Ploiești. One of them was placed in the denser area of the town, south-east from the commercial area. It was built in 1893-1895 (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2016, p. 661) as a single volume building, with its symmetrical main façade turned towards the street. By the beginning of the next century, another hospital emerged in the peripheries. It was built as a pavilion-based ensemble, in the southern part of the settlement, but in no connection to any major development axis (pre-modern or modern), as the 1902 plan of Ploiești is showing.

Judging on the information provided above, the hospitals emerged inside the settlement and closer to the center are single volume buildings (Craiova, Ploiești, Târgoviște). They are subordinating from different points of view to the features of the urban fabric, but as they incorporate modern architectural compositional attributes, they also induce a more modern image in the urban fabric when it comes to how they are perceived from the public space. Regarding the ones that emerged in the lower-density peripheries or outside the towns, we can easily observe that they occupied larger plots and were designed as pavilion-based ensembles (Craiova, Pitești, Ploiești, and even in Buzău) based on geometrical rules of composition and sometimes even on symmetry (as in Pitești and Ploiești).

8. The New Headquarters of Administration

The basis of the new administration was set by the Organic Regulations, founding the new - and modern for those times - institutions, starting with 1831. They went again through a restructuring process in 1857 and then again in 1864, in the years that followed the first unification of the country in 1859. Even if the name and attributions changed over the 19th century, I will not get into the topic of the administrative reforms themselves, focusing only on the new administrative headquarters and their position inside the towns.

According to sources, for most of the 19th century, the majority of the administrative headquarters did not function in new modern buildings, designed and built with this purpose, but instead they conducted their activities in rented (sometimes, owned) previously existing buildings. This kind of information is repeatedly available within the scholarship, for all the analyzed towns.

For the municipal administration in Buzău, we have information that in 1857 and 1887 it was sheltered in rented houses (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 132, 152); in Ploiești, it was in an inn in 1831, then in a residential building next to the cattle fair in 1832, in a rented house in 1837, from where it moved to another rented residential building in 1847 (Debie, 1969, p. 94); in Târgoviște it was sheltered by various residential buildings until around 1870, when a two story high building was bought in order to accommodate it (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 376); in Craiova it functioned in rented or owned houses for the whole 19th century and also until the end of the interwar period (Popescu-Criveanu et al., 2020, p. 136). The 1845 plan of Craiova provides the location of the institution, next to the commercial area of that time, to its north.

In a similar way, the county administration in Buzău was accommodated by a rented house in 1831, by some shops in the commercial area (owned by Gârlași Hospital) in 1861 and then again by a rented house in 1872 (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 124, 134); in Ploiești it functioned in a boyar house next to the first market square of the town until around 1850, when it moved to another rented or bought building (Debie, 1969, p. 96) and after 1868 it was sheltered by another boyar house, in front of the first modern City Hall (see below) (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2016, p. 661); in Târgoviște, it functioned in rented buildings until 1886, when a pre-existing building was bought in order to accommodate it (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 236).

The courthouse in Buzău functioned in various rented houses in 1831, 1836, 1866, 1879 (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 124, 126, 131), and after that in a building in the southern part of town, close to the hospital from where it was moved in 1912 (Brăcăcescu & Mirea, 2017, p. 72) to the new headquarters of the City Hall (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 150); in Ploiești it was accommodated by an inn in c. 1850, as it was also in Târgoviște (Boriga et al., 2012, pp. 474-475), from where it moved to a house (as the 1886 plan of the town is showing); in Pitești it started functioning in an owned building in 1892, after being accommodated by rented houses (one of them located at the northern end of the commercial area, along the main pre-modern axis of the town, as the 1885 plan of the town is indicating).

Before 1874, the Fire Department functioned under the authority of the municipal administration¹⁷ (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2016, p. 661), therefore it is common to find it next to or included in the City Hall for that period. It is the situation of Buzău (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 131) and also of the new modern building of the City Hall in Ploiești, which included the headquarters of the Fire Department and also had a fire tower. In other cases, they functioned on a different site, like it happened in Târgoviște, with the Fire Department that was accommodated by the cells of Stelea Monastery, but the first project for the City Hall in 1866 (remained unbuilt) also included this function (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 415).

In general, only after the administrative reforms that followed the unification of 1859 (and mostly towards the end of the century), towns started to have modern administrative headquarters, built specifically to shelter this function. Taking after the 19th century terminology, I will refer to them as: the Communal Palace, for the headquarters of the municipal administration (the City Hall); the Administrative Palace, for the headquarters of the county administration; and the Palace of Justice, for the judicial activities.

According to scholarship, the first to be built was the Communal Palace in Ploiești which has existed since 1868, but for which a project was drafted two decades before (Debie, 1969, p. 96). It was located close to the commercial area, to its east, and it also accommodated the Fire Department. A small green area was built in front of it, therefore adding to its modern image for that time. By the end of the century, in 1894, a new Communal Palace was built, located in the market square, inserted in its northern façade (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2016, p. 661). In Târgoviște, an early project was also developed for the Communal Palace, as in 1866 it was supposed to be built next to Stelea Monastery, but the

new headquarters were actually built towards the end of the century, in 1896, and in a different location (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 376). The Communal Palace in Târgoviște overlapped the site of the upper market square, therefore being located in the center of the town. It was designed as a stand-alone building, detached from the limits of the plot (therefore, different from a typo-morphological point of view than the usual fabric of the commercial area) and exhibiting a small green area in front of it. Similarly to the case of Târgoviște, these new modern headquarters were usually built only during the last quarter of the century, as it happened in the case of the Communal Palace in Pitești, built in 1886 (Popa et al., 1988, p. 160) along the boulevard, to its north, and the one in Buzău, built in 1899 (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 154) in the heart of the commercial area, superimposing previously-existing commercial fabric. Both of them are modern and stand-alone buildings with the main faade turned towards the street.

Modern Administrative Palaces were built in Târgoviște in 1894 (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 236), on the old boyar street, next to the princely court, and in Pitești in 1898-1899, on the former Buliga Monastery properties, right after the religious ensemble was demolished in 1898 (Popa et al., 1988, p. 160), therefore being located in front of the public garden of the town and, as such, connected to the boulevard (see below about the garden and boulevard).

The Palace of Justice in Ploiești was built in 1879, and it was located next to the first Communal Palace (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2016, p. 661). The Palace of Justice in Craiova was built in 1890-1894, after the Gănescu Church (or Monastery?) was demolished in 1884, superimposing it. It is a stand-alone monumental building, placed in the center of a whole block (therefore completely detached from the rest of the fabric), next to the commercial area to its north and right next to the new marketplace which was built on the lands of the church in 1890 (Popescu-Criveanu, 2020, pp. 136, 140). In Târgoviște, the Palace of Justice was built in 1902, on the boyar street, next to the Administrative Palace (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 475), with its symmetric main faade turned towards the street.

9. The Military Amenities

The most important modern military amenities built in towns were the barracks, usually occupying large plots and being localized in the

periphery of the settlements. Sometimes they could also be accommodated in more central parts of the towns.

In Craiova, cartographic sources indicate the existence of a military barrack built in pre-modern times. It is depicted by the 1830 plan (but not by the one from 1790) as a detached building in the middle of an unbuilt area that we can consider a square. It was positioned in the south-east periphery of the settlement. The function remained in place during the whole 19th century, even though the building went through modernization interventions. Besides this one, the other military buildings or ensembles we know about developed during the modern period. Some single buildings emerged in that area of the town that was widely occupied by the boyar courts, superimposing previously existing residential fabric. The most important military ensembles were grouped in the south-east part of the town, starting in 1881-1885 (Popescu-Criveanu et al., 2020, p. 139), next to Bibescu Park (as the plans of the settlement indicate). Because of the concentration here of several big barracks and military headquarters, storage facilities and the military hospital, this can be considered, from a zoning point of view, a military area inside the town. As the plans of the settlement show, other military barracks were built before 1905, in the northern periphery of the town.

The first modern military amenities in Târgoviște were built next to the Metropolitan ensemble, superimposing their previous gardens and some private plots that were expropriated. The actions started in 1864 and took place over the next two decades (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 66). The plan of 1886 shows that some military barracks were functioning inside a residential building, on the main street passing in front of the old princely court (Calea Domnească). By the end of the 19th century, a large ensemble of barracks was built outside the town, along the main road heading north-west (as the c. 1900 plan of the town shows).

The barracks in Pitești were also developed early, starting in 1868 (Popa et al., 1988, p. 148), in the north-west part of the settlement, in an unbuilt outer area, and in the proximity of the former Upper Fair. In Buzău, a similar large ensemble was built outside town in 1892 (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 153), on the road towards Ploiești and Bucharest, as the plan from the same year indicates.

A similar kind of ensemble was also built in Ploiești by the end of the century, at the edge of the mid-19th century town, between the road to Târgoviște and the one heading towards the former town of Târgșor (as the 1902 plan is showing). Another military ensemble, built as a pavilion-based

one, also existed within city limits since before 1870, in the proximity of the old market square (translocated, see above). The barracks superimposed a previously existing boyar court, that also used to shelter the administration during late pre-modern times (the institution of “Isprăvnicat”).

10. Railways and Some Considerations Regarding Industrial Amenities

An important new modern urban amenity in the 19th century was the railway station (and, in general, the railway infrastructure). It had significant influences upon the configuration of the towns because they triggered the emergence of new urban axes (and, sometimes, also the emergence of the station square), but this topic will be discussed below, in a designated chapter. In this part of the paper, I will limit myself only to providing some chronological information regarding these interventions and to discussing some aspects of the presence of the industry in the analyzed towns.

As the railways were built at the edge of the towns (because of obvious financial reasons), the stations were also placed in the peripheral areas of the settlements. Moreover, the railways represented limits for the expansion of the towns in the next decades after they were built, many times the urban fabric emerging beyond this limit only after World War II.

In Ploiești, the railway was built in the southern part of the town, cutting into some low-density pre-existing urban fabric (therefore depicting an unusual situation, as in general the railways were built outside the built environment). The station was inaugurated in 1872 (Popescu, 2014, p. 122) and was placed in a median area in comparison to the development of the town at that time.

In Pitești, the railway follows the direction of the river, placed between the urban fabric and the riverbed. The railway station, also inaugurated in 1872 (Popescu, 2014, p. 147), was built downstream from the settlement, therefore to its south-east, along the river but at a significant distance from it.

In Buzău, the railway was built in the southern part of the settlement, disconnecting the town from a sub-urban settlement - the Poșta village - that started to emerge at the middle of the 19th century (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 130). The station was built in 1874 (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 149), in relation to the direction of a pre-existing street of the town.

In Craiova, the railway unfolds on the east side of the town, therefore limiting it on the side opposite to the riverbed and to the first development nucleus of the settlement. The station was built in 1875 (Popescu, 2014, p. 145), on the north-east limit of the town.

In Târgoviște the railway crosses the river and limits the town along the direction of the north-east side of the fortification and then it surrounds it at a certain distance from the limit of the pre-modern walls, also including the fabric emerged in the proximity of the outer fair (see above) and continuing more or less along the main direction of development of the settlement, parallel to the river. The railway station was inaugurated in 1884 (Popescu, 2014, p. 141) and was located near the road to Bucharest, but south-east from it.

In case of the town of Ploiești, the railway had an important influence on the emergence and localization of industry inside the town, as the 1902 plan of the settlement depicts. The industrial ensembles (the great majority of them, oil factories) emerged only in the southern part of the town, inside its 1900's administrative limit, on both sides of the railway (but with a majority situated south from the lines, towards the limit of the town).

I cannot point out similar situations for the other analyzed towns, though I can provide two different, but recurrent situations for the position of industry within the urban fabric, both illustrated by Târgoviște and Buzău. On one hand, for both towns, the corroborative information provided by the plans (and some bibliographical sources) indicate the emergence of industrial ensembles outside the settlements, along important roads linking them with the territory: on the old roads towards Câmpulung, Bucharest (modern – Pitești) and Buzău / Moldavia (modern – Ploiești, București) in Târgoviște; and on the roads towards Brașov / Transylvania, Râmnicu Sărat / Moldavia and Brăila / Danube for Buzău. On the other hand, for both towns we can observe some concentration of the industry in suburban villages with pre-modern development: the Mahalaua village in Târgoviște (emerged over the river) and the Simileasca village in Buzău (emerged along the road to Brașov).

11. The New Parks and Public Gardens

Among the analyzed towns, modern public parks (in the true sense of the word) were built only in Buzău and Craiova (the latter actually developing

two of them). In the rest of the towns, we can identify smaller green areas or public gardens, alongside some interventions made in nearby forest, to transform them into leisure amenities for the inhabitants, as it will be shown below.

In Buzău, the initiative of creating Crâng Park arose in 1850, when the forest was designated by the prince for this new public use. Even if the first minor interventions took place in 1852, the real transformation of the forest into a modern park will have been the accomplishment of the year 1887 (Gheorghiu, 2019, pp. 129, 131, 151). The park is situated outside the town, at a certain distance, towards the west. In Craiova, the external park of Mofleni was also situated towards the west, outside the town (in the large riverbed of Jiu), but its project was designed at the end of the century, in 1898. The project for Bibescu Park was made in the same year and the park was built until 1903 (Popescu-Criveanu, 2020, p. 140). It is situated at the southern end of the town, superimposing the previously existing Bibescu Residence's private gardens (of much smaller dimensions). As it will be shown below, in the case of both towns, the emergence of the modern parks has triggered other important interventions upon the urban fabric.

In Pitești, some interventions took place during the 19th century in Trivale Forest next to the town, to its north-west, in order to transform it into a leisure place for the inhabitants (Popa et al., p. 163). In Craiova, some similar interventions also took place in the second half of the century, in a forest outside the town (in the place called "Hanul Doctorului") where the inhabitants were already gathering for leisure activities since the middle of the century (Popescu-Criveanu, 2020, p. 138). None of them trigger any other major transformations upon the urban fabric, or at least not ones that fall within the objectives of this study.

No major modern parks were built in Ploiești, but it still represents an interesting case, as the railway boulevard (see below) was doubled by significant green strips on both sides (towards the south, so in the part that was not crossing the denser fabric of the town), which received the role of public gardens to the benefit of the settlement. The public garden in Pitești also appears in connection to the new modern boulevard, but in a completely different way. The first actions towards establishing a public garden started in 1859 and they gained more importance after the expropriations of the monasteries' estates in 1863, as it was designated to be built over the Buliga Monastery properties inside the town, located between the main commercial area and the western hills. The new

public garden was set up in 1869-1870 (Popa et al., 1988, p. 147), simultaneously with the emergence of the modern railway boulevard (see below). Therefore, it was designed in connection with the new modern axis, being an integrative part of it, this relation being clearly shown by the compositional relations between them.

Other green spaces also appeared in Ploiești, Craiova and Buzău. For the latter, a public garden was created in front of the Bishopric Ensemble, which became the first public garden in Buzău (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 134). During the second half of the century, the Mihai Bravu Public Garden was built in Craiova, superimposing the Boyar Square seen in the 1845 plan. In a similar way, in Ploiești, a green area also superimposed a previously existing square – the Vegetable Square, which remains mentioned by this name on the plan from the beginning of the 20th century. Because of its position within the urban fabric, we have to take it into consideration as being in connection with the new boulevard towards the railway station, as it represents its starting point. In this way, by building this green area, it provides a more representative image for the starting point of the new modern axis of the town. In a similar way we can also discuss the public garden in front of the Bishopric in Buzău, as it was built at the northern end of an important axis of the town – the one that links the religious ensemble to the railway station, but which was, in this case, mostly a pre-existent axis, which mainly only went through modernization interventions.

In a narrow consideration, these green areas superimposing previous squares had less important effects inside the towns. In a broader perspective, we should consider them alongside other interventions that used green areas, such as the use of plantation on the modern boulevards, on other streets or even roads (for the latter, see for example the new road heading towards Dealu Monastery, close to Târgoviște – as the plans depict it). Together they emphasize another specific topic of 19th century modernization – the use of vegetation with an aesthetic role in the public space and its effect upon the image of the towns – which should subsequently be taken into account alongside the modern aesthetics brought by the new public gardens and parks, in general under a classical or romantic stylistic influence.

12. The New Boulevards

The boulevards represented new modern and monumental streets, that were built throughout European towns mostly starting with the 19th century. In Romanian towns, their emergence was made possible by the new expropriation legislation issued in 1864, when works regarding the street network were declared as being of public utility.¹⁸ Even though the needed legislation existed, building activities often faced delays, some of the new boulevards being completed only in the last years of the 19th century. There were two main types of boulevards that commonly appeared in the towns: the boulevard linking the centers of the towns with the newly built railway stations and the one linking the town to the new public parks, where such amenities were provided by the administration. As both of these urban functions were of great modernity for the 19th century towns all over Europe, they had the power to trigger the emergence of new modern axes in the structure of the towns, which were not built only for answering a functional need (infrastructure) but were also perceived as tools in providing a new and modern image in Romanian urban settlements. They were straight and wide streets, designed with green areas in the middle and/or on the sides. In case they were crossing the towns' centers, building prescriptions were impelling several stories high buildings, placed on the frontal property limit and many times forming continuous facades towards the public space. The buildings that were to be built on the boulevards in the center were either the ones accommodating the new modern urban functions (such as administration, financial institutions, hotels etc.), or apartment buildings. In the periphery, they had a different configuration, becoming the so-called "residential boulevards", accommodating urban palaces and other upper-medium and upper-class single-family houses.

As the railways were built at the edge of the towns, the stations were also placed in the peripheral areas of the settlements. The parks were also placed at the limits of towns or even at a distance outside them, where there was plenty of land available.

Park boulevards were only built in Craiova and Buzău, as these were the only towns where new, modern parks were developed (the other analyzed settlement depicting other situations, as shown above). Craiova illustrates a special case, as in 1898 these two boulevards were designed as part of a belt road, completely integrated within it (like the boulevard towards Bibescu Park) or only partially (as it was the case of

the one linking the town with Mofleni Park, for which only the eastern segment was limiting the urban fabric). Because of this, these new axes were built at the limit of the town, but distanced from it, leaving some unbuilt terrains between them and the already existing built fabric. At the beginning of the 20th century the terrains along these two boulevards were used as orchards and grasslands, as the 1916 plan town shows. In Buzău, the park boulevard cuts instead through the fabric, therefore illustrating a more common situation. Although a link between the town and Crâng Park already existed, the boulevard was built in 1881-1887 (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 151). By the end of the century, a modern school was built along this boulevard (as shown above), where a small square was also designed. Both the modern architecture of this building and its relation to the public space make up for a localized modern image along this new axis. The new building of the Communal Palace was erected in 1899, at the end of the boulevard, thus providing an important modern architectural element in its axis.

The towns of Craiova and Buzău share another common feature in connection with the topic of this chapter, as the railway boulevard built in both of them partially superimposed previously existing streets. In Craiova, the link with the railway was made through a main street developed in the direction of Râmnicu Vâlcea (and Transylvania). A completely new segment of only 500 meters was built at the end towards the station (Popescu, 2014, pp. 145-146). Modernity is noticeable only at the scale of the street itself (wider and with plantations along the axis) but does not trigger any major functional changes in the fabric along the street, as it is mainly composed of traditional houses (wagon-houses, alongside some simple urban boyar houses and even some rural-like houses, for the more peripheral area) with only very few other modern insertions. By the end of the century, no modern fabric emerged along the newly constructed segment of the boulevard either. The aerial photography of 1944 still depicts unbuilt areas and some urban fabric that follows the orientation of the surrounding one, previously developed, which indicates that no systematization interventions took place along this segment of the street.

A project for the railway boulevard had existed in Buzău since 1870. The expropriations started during the following year and the first segment was built in 1873, but the construction process unfolded over the next two decades, until 1893 (Gheorghiu, 2019, p. 148). As the railway station was placed in the southern part of the settlement, the boulevard also extends in that direction, mainly following a street that already existed, whose

trajectory was somehow modified and straightened. The boulevard is narrower than others built in the same period and with minor plantation along it, therefore with a less modern image. Besides the high school that was built right at its starting point towards the center of the town, the fabric along it is the common peripheral one. As it will be shown below, more modern fabric did emerge in the surroundings, as an expansion of the town towards the railway, but the one along the boulevard remained mainly a traditional one (both in terms of type of houses and shape of the plots). This axis did not develop as a “residential boulevard”, therefore further reducing the modernity of this axis.

Both for Craiova and Buzău, the squares built in front of the stations are more modern because of the juxtaposition of an urban square and a modern building – the station. Moreover, the former was designed in direct compositional relation to the latter (symmetry, axiality in connection to the building of the station) and, therefore, is emphasizing its importance and monumentality.

In the case of Buzău, the development of the railway triggered an expansion of the town towards it. Even if it was a direction in which the town had already started to develop, the new fabric holds a certain degree of modernity, as being a result of a planned intervention, that generated the trident of streets emerging from the railway station square and some additional subdivisions of the land towards the east. Besides this, and even if the built fabric is the common peripheral one (based mainly on wagon-houses), the configuration of the fabric is geometric (therefore with a certain degree of modernity), in terms of street network, shape and orientation of the plots and orientation of the buildings.

In the other three towns the boulevards were built as new axes, cutting into pre-existent fabric. In Ploiești, the boulevard unfolds towards the south, crossing some of the marginal fabric of the late-medieval settlement and continuing in a very low-density area, towards the station. On the segment towards the center (the one that crosses the late-medieval fabric), some modern residential buildings of the upper-class were built, alongside the high school building and the headquarters of the National Bank in Ploiești, triggering the emergence of some new modern amenities along it. Even if the building of this boulevard began in 1878, the process unfolded over the next two decades, being completed only in 1900 (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2016, pp. 676-677). But there was not enough time for it to trigger any development of the fabric along those segments, located in periphery of the town. The 1902 plan of the town clearly depicts this

situation, showing the plots maintaining the elongated configuration and the previously existing orientation, with no significant buildings emerging in this area (besides an oil factory and some minor common residential fabric).

From a morphological point of view, the modernity of the intervention consists mainly in the look of the street itself, with its straight orientation and an ample width, with vegetation along it and green areas at intersections, which took the role of public gardens in that period and the one that followed. Besides this, it should also be pointed out that, as the boulevard unfolds towards the south, it does it in an opposite direction to the main development the town had during the rest of the 19th century. Even if it did not trigger a new development axis during this period of time, it would do so in the next century.

The preparations for building the railway station boulevard in Târgoviște started in 1884, but the project was approved only 11 years later, and the works were completed in 1898 (Boriga et al., 2012, p. 116). The new modern axis continues the direction of the main commercial axis, cutting through the town fabric on the direction of the old road to Bucharest (to Pitești, in modern times), which represented an axis of development since pre-modern times (as the urban fabric depicted by the 1830 plan indicates). It was built both through the fabric inside the medieval fortifications and outside them, crossing the line of the previous walls next to where the Bucharest Gate existed (as the information resulting from the superimposition of the plans of the town shows).

By the end of 19th century some residential fabric emerged along the segment that was built inside the old limits of the settlement. It presents characteristics consistent with the ones of the modern 19th century residences – bigger in dimensions, with the main façade turned towards the street, positioned more or less in the median part of the plot, at a distance from all its sides – starting to contain the usual attributes of a residential boulevard. The segment developed outside the former walls remained completely unbuilt until the end of the century, as the plan of 1902 depicts.

In Pitești the boulevard cuts through the whole town, from the north-west to the south-east – so along the direction of the river and of the main commercial axis – between the denser area of the town and the south-west hills along it. If we analyze the position of the new modern amenities (researched in this study) we can easily observe that they emerged on the stripe between the main axis of the town (containing also

the commercial area) and the hills. They were positioned either along the boulevard (the Communal Palace, the Gymnasium and two other modern schools, the public garden), or along the pre-existing street that unfolds to the south-east, under the hills, parallel to the boulevard (the Highschool and the Administrative Palace). Several factors contributed to this situation: the proximity to the main commercial area and the town center; the early emergence of the boulevard (as it was completed between 1870 and 1874; Popa et al., 1988, p. 146); the existence of the Buliga Monastery in this area, whose lands were subsequently used in order to accommodate new modern amenities inside the town (as shown above) after the reforms of 1863. Nonetheless, even though the boulevard follows in a clear way the main development direction of the town, its emergence had turned the development of the settlement towards the area along the hills, therefore in the opposite direction to its pre-modern secondary direction of expansion, which was mainly towards the river, perpendicular to the main direction.

13. Conclusions: a becoming based on adapting

I will conclude by revisiting the information in three main terms – *lost-use*, *maintained-use* and *new-use* – and I will discuss them taking into consideration mainly two analytical topics – *location* and *function*. Additionally, I will also take into consideration *urban morphology*, in order to discuss the degree of modernization from a compositional standpoint and to emphasize its outcome upon the urban image. I will not consider the architectural level, because the topic of the modernization of the architecture itself did not represent a focus of this study.

At the intersection of these terms (*lost-use*, *maintained-use* and *new-use*), another important one emerges – *re-use* – as towns often exhibited situations of maintained-use and new-use at the same time, from distinctive points of view, therefore exhibiting situations of adapting and reusing elements or patterns from the past. All these situations will be considered instances of re-use, as will be those ones for which we can argue partially maintained-, lost- or new-use in at least two out of three analytical topics (location, function, morphology). Some situations represent only partial instances of lost-, maintained- or new-use (or, in other words, a partial re-use) of one or more of the analytical topics listed above. If this partial re-use can be observed only in one of these three analytical topics, I will not consider that situation an instance of re-use.

Opposed to that, if that partial re-use can be proven for at least two of the analytic topics, I will consider that situation as one of re-use (even if it does not exhibit a total re-use on at least one topic, but partial ones on two of them instead).

The pre-modern period also exhibited all the instances mentioned above. Like everywhere and at any time, some functions were maintained inside the towns (even keeping their original location), some functions disappeared over time and some new functions emerged. Additionally, there also were instances of re-use. The relocation of the market squares, for example, is an instance of functional re-use; the hypothesis of lost princely courts laying under the religious ensembles could also be an instance of functional lost-use and of maintained-use in terms of location (as they keep on being representative ensembles inside the towns), but with a new functional use (and therefore, a re-use). Of course, many other examples could be provided, but it is not the aim of this part of the study, as its focus is on the transition from the pre-modern configuration of towns to the modern one, discussing the four instances listed above – maintained-, lost-, new- and re-use – applied in a synthetic manner on the characteristic of the urban fabric.

13.1. *The maintained-use*

In general, one recurring instance of *maintained-use* inside towns during the 19th century is represented by the religious buildings and ensembles (churches, monasteries, metropolitan and bishopric ensembles), as the majority of them remained and kept on being used by the town inhabitants during the 19th century. It is true that many times the churches as such (or other buildings, part of the same ensemble) were rebuilt or modernized, but they did not change in their other attributes, besides the architectural ones. Beside some particular instances that I will point out below, the churches usually represent instances of maintained-use from a functional, locational and also morphological point of view. In a similar way, the Metropolitan Ensemble in Târgoviște and the Bishopric one in Buzău are also instances of maintained-use.

There are also other instances that we can classify as maintained-use, even if the function itself goes through a process of modernization. On one hand, it is the obvious situation of those schools that keep on being accommodated by the religious ensembles in which they started functioning, or of those early hospitals founded in towns, which

maintained their function during modern times (it is the case of Filantropia Hospital in Craiova, 1811, and also of the Boldescu Hospital in Ploiești, built as early as 1831). These two functions – schools and hospitals – depict another instance of maintained-use: the new amenities are built during modern times but take after pre-modern habits, as they are still accommodated sometimes inside of monasteries or churches (the school at Obedeaneu Church in Craiova and the one at Buliga Monastery in Pitești, 1860; or the hospital at Madona Dudu Church in Craiova, in 1852). They are neither instances of new-use, nor of re-use, because they maintain a certain pre-modern pattern of localization in connection to the religious ensembles (even if they might be accommodated by more modern buildings, inside of the ensemble), not changing the relation with the town and the urban fabric.

In a similar way, we can also include the small industries that emerge inside the commercial area of towns, as this kind of urban fabric also used to accommodate productive activities in pre-modern times (workshops). Therefore, it is a maintained-use from a functional point of view (the modernization of the production process is less important for the interests of this study, as long as it does not affect the urban structure in a significant way), from a location point of view, because they keep on existing in this type of fabric, and also from a morphological point of view, as they do not alter the pre-existent urbanistic rules of the fabric, subordinating to them instead.

The commercial areas can also be considered instances of maintained-use, given that they remained in place. During the 19th century they evolved out of the ones developed during the previous period, also taking after some morphological attributes, even if the urban fabric went through both architectural modernization and some expansions into the close surroundings (which could be considered instances of re-use – see below). The market squares and the fairs often indicate as well a maintained-use, when they were kept on their pre-modern positions and as they kept on accommodating commercial activities in a traditional way. At a bigger scale, but in a similar way, a great part of the street network (of course, excluding the boulevards) also represents an instance of maintained-use. The plans that I publish within this paper depict a superimposition of the urban fabric in the last years of the 19th century or during the first ones of the 20th century (depending on the available cartographic sources) over the one the towns had at the middle of the 19th century (based either on plans dating from that period of time – the

case of Craiova –, or on an interpretation of the information provided by the representations of the towns included in the map of Wallachia from 1855-1857). In all cases, the analysis shows that towns grew little or almost not at all during this period of time, going mainly through a process of modernization and densification within the existing structure that was already in place (I will discuss below the other instances of expansions and their interpretation). The maintained streets conserve their location and function. From a morphological point of view, both the market squares and the streets represent instances of partial new-use, since they went through some urbanistic intervention (of straightening and geometrization), municipal works (pavement and other) and the fabric along them changed and modernized (but maintaining at least some of its functional and morphological attributes), but these interventions are not relevant enough (in the context of this argument) to classify them as instances of re-use.

13.2. *The lost-use*

In an obvious way, all those cases in which the urban fabric disappeared and was replaced by new functions, while the previous use left no traces in the urban fabric, are instances of lost-use. It is not possible however to accommodate in this study all the minor changes that took place in the urban fabric.

A clear situation of lost-use is represented by the princely courts with unknown location (Ploiești, Pitești, Buzău). It is an obvious lost-use of the location, as they completely disappeared, leaving no traces in the urban fabric and (at least for now) not even from an archeological point of view. From a functional point of view, the princely courts were ensembles that contained several functions: residential, administrative, religious, military, etc. Even if, obviously, these functions kept on existing in the towns, they are no longer connected during modern times, therefore the complex function of the courts becomes a lost-use as well.

Another instance of lost-use is the one of the inns in the market square in Craiova (the Hurezi Inn) and in Pitești (the Bishopric's Inn), as they were both demolished and replaced by a different kind of fabric, leaving no visible morphological trace inside the towns. Somehow similar was the situation of Buliga Monastery in Pitești and Gănescu Church in Craiova. Both of them were demolished and their properties were used to provide new amenities inside the towns: a public garden, the Administrative

Palace, the high school and also the fire department barracks in Pitești; the Court House and a new market square in Craiova. Additionally, I can mention the situation of the Metropolitan Gardens in Târgoviște, where, even if the religious ensemble was maintained as an important function inside the town of Târgoviște, its gardens were superimposed by the military ensemble. As they did not leave any physical trace in the fabric (given the fact that the area went through restructuration in order to accommodate the new function), this situation also becomes one of lost-use.

13.3. *The new-use*

This section is the one directly dedicated to modern changes in towns and to those instances in which the changes represented truly modernizing interventions, without taking after attributes of the past.

From a functional and morphological perspective, the new headquarters of the administration seem to be instances of new-use, as are the boulevards and all the other new modern amenities, but not all of them represent, in the end, complete instances of new-use because of the partial maintained-use (morphological and locational) that some of them illustrate. I will discuss these instances below, starting with the situations in which these new interventions do represent clear cases of new-use.

Boulevards represent instances of new-use from a functional point of view, as they were new modern axes of the towns; they did not respond just to the direct use of circulation, but they also represented instruments of modernization and for providing new modern images at the level of the urban fabric. In those situations in which they do not superimpose a previously existing street, they also represent a new-use from a locational point of view, as they cut through the urban fabric providing a new function in that place and establishing a new relation with the surrounding fabric. From a morphological perspective, they also are instances of new-use because of their straight axis, their wide dimensions, the use of vegetation along their axis (as simple linear plantations or as small green areas, like in Ploiești) and the use of squares along they course.

A complex instance of new-use is exhibited in Ploiești, with the railway that was built south of the settlement, therefore emerging in the opposite direction of the expansion the town exhibited during the first decades of the 19th century (direction established in pre-modern times and additionally developed during the rest of the 19th century). The railway

station was also positioned in the south, with no direct connection to any of the pre-existing streets. The railway and the station itself represent clear instances of new-use, as does the boulevard linking the town center to the station. Additionally, the industries that mostly emerged in the south part of the town – in connection to the presence of the railway here – represent instances of new-use from all points of view, as does the high school, due to its location along the boulevard. Another instance of new-use is also exhibited by the green area superimposing over the former vegetable market square, which served as starting point of the new modern axis.

Another complex situation of new-use can be found in Pitești, with the railway station also positioned in the opposite direction of the development exhibited by the town during pre-modern times, with the boulevard cutting through the fabric along the whole settlement from its north-western end to its south-eastern one. Both of them represent instances of new-use, as do all the new modern amenities that emerged along the boulevard – the public garden, the Communal Palace, the Gymnasium and the two new schools. Additionally, the building of the boulevard in this part of town triggered the densification and the development of the fabric between the main traditional axis and the hills along town. Therefore, we can also consider those modern amenities built along the pre-existing street under the hills as instances of new-use, even if they are not facing the boulevard. This is also the situation of the high school and, even more importantly, the one of the Administrative Palace built symmetrically with the public garden and therefore establishing a new modern compositional relation both with the green area and the boulevard.

We can also discuss the case of Târgoviște in a similar way, with the railway station and the boulevard itself as instances of new-use (because of the same specific reasons). Additionally, the emergence of some modern residences along the boulevard also represents a case of new-use, in terms of new modern function, location (along the boulevard – therefore starting to provide the features of residential boulevard) and morphology. The boulevards heading towards Bibescu and Mofleni Parks in Craiova and the one towards Crâng Park in Buzău also represent instances of new-use. For the ones in Craiova, we should additionally take into consideration their function as town limits (by being part of the project for the belt road). In case of the one in Buzău, the emergence of the school along it, with the green area / square in front, also represents an instance of new-use, as does the Communal Palace that was built right at the end of the axis, in the center of the town.

The public parks also represent instances of new-use, because of their function (new modern amenity), location (as they were placed outside the settlements, but in connection with them) and morphological characteristics (due to their dimensions and general landscaping composition). Bibescu Park in Craiova can be considered an exception as it exhibits an instance of re-use that I will discuss below.

In a similar way, the pavilion-based ensembles positioned at the far outskirts or outside the settlements depict instances of new-use, in terms of function (new military ensembles and modern hospitals), location and morphology. We can find this kind of military ensembles in all five towns, but probably the most interesting situation is illustrated by Craiova, which developed a military area in the south, next to Bibescu Park. Additionally, we can also identify some industries nearby, to the north. Therefore, in this case we can talk about major functional and morphological changes in the southern part of the settlement, transforming large areas.

Besides these peripheral ensembles, the pavilion-based one developed next to the Metropolitan ensemble (and superimposing its previous gardens) in Târgoviște is also worth mentioning. It emerged close to the commercial area of the settlement and it represents an instance of new-use on all the criteria. Moreover, it did not subordinate to the pre-existing morphological rules of the area, changing the relation between the urban elements.

The expansion of Buzău towards the south (and the railway station) also represents an instance of new-use, because of the modern composition of the street network and because of the fact that it emerged triggered by (and in direct connection with) the truly modern function of the railway. Additionally, the new squares (non-commercial ones) are also new-uses – the most typical one being the railway station square, seen in Buzău, but also in Craiova, Pitești, Ploiești. They represent new-uses in terms of function (as towns generally had only market squares during pre-modern times), location (as they are positioned at the edge of the towns) and morphology (see above the discussion regarding the compositional modernity of this type of urban elements).

13.4. *The re-use*

Even if churches were presented before as typical instances of maintained-use, there are also some situations in which they illustrate cases of re-use. One of them is depicted by those churches which were

initially built as court chapels (of a boyar or a princely court) or as part of a monastery, and were converted to parish churches during the 19th century. All of them maintained the religious function but lost the attribute of being part of a complex and multi-functional ensemble and, therefore, lost part of the initial functional use. Additionally, the ensemble also went through morphological changes, as some buildings were demolished or replaced. Thus, by being instances of partial lost-use from both a functional and a morphological point of view, they become situations of re-use. The church of the former Hrisoscoleu Court in Buzău (situated over the river, to the north) is an appropriate example for this, as is the church of the former Banu Monastery in Buzău and the one of the former Obedeanu Monastery in Craiova. Additionally, the situation of the two court-chapels in Târgoviște can also be mentioned, where they were kept as town churches, while the court itself completely lost its use and fell into ruins.

Another situation is illustrated by the churches emerging in commercial areas, as they included wooden shops on the plot – towards the street or the market square – during pre-modern times and which were demolished everywhere during the 19th century (for example, the case of the Sf. Gheorghe church in Pitești and of the Adormirea Maicii Domnului church in Târgoviște, both next to the market square). Because of this kind of intervention, they lost the commercial function accommodated before, therefore representing instances of partial functional lost-use. Additionally, the demolition of the shops resulted into opening up the churches towards the surroundings and, therefore, establishing a new and more modern relation between the churches and the nearby urban fabric – thus, representing a new-use from the morphological point of view.

The princely courts in Târgoviște and Craiova also illustrate instances of re-use. In the case of the former, even if the court remained in ruins until contemporaneity, at the end of the 19th century the new modern hospital of the town was built on its perimeter (right next to the remains of the first princely church). It is a new-use in terms of function, but a maintained-use in terms of location – as an important modern urban amenity overlapped the site of a major element of the pre-modern settlement. Additionally, the new building does not establish any modern relation with the surroundings from an urbanistic point of view. By prolonging some already existing characteristics of the ensemble – the ones of developing in time and in a gradual and organic way –, it represents an instance of maintained-use in terms of urban morphology. In Craiova, the old main boyar court (transformed into a princely court at the end of the 17th century) also

represents a case of re-use. The houses were rebuilt several times during the centuries and accommodated different functions during the 18th century (including sheltering foreign administration – Austrian, Ottoman), only to return to boyar property at the beginning of the 19th century. By the end of it, it started sheltering some administrative functions and then, at the beginning of the 20th century, educational ones.

All the cases in which new market squares were founded inside towns are clear instances of re-use, as they exhibit a situation of maintaining a specific function of pre-modern times in modern towns, but on new additional locations and even with some modern characteristics from a morphological point of view. It is the situation of Craiova, with the two new market squares that were built, of Buzău, with the second market square built west of the first one, and of Ploiești, with the new vegetable market square. The boyar square in Craiova (the one depicted by the plan of 1845) also represents an instance of re-use because it exhibits situations of maintained-use from a location point of view (as it kept on existing in place as a square), partial lost-use from a functional point of view (because it lost the commercial activities it used to shelter, but it kept on being an unbuilt area inside the town, that could accommodate some leisure activities), and a partial new-use from a morphological point of view (because it prolonged some attributes of the pre-existing fabric – subordinating to the pre-existing urban configuration –, but it also benefited from the new modern interventions that transformed it in a small green area with modern composition). In a similar way, the green area built over the vegetable market square in Buzău also represents a case of re-use for the same reasons.

The fairs that are commonly moved from outside the town to the inner fabric also represent instances of re-use, because they illustrate a situation of maintained function on new locations (like it happened in Târgoviște and Pitești). In a similar way, the constant repositioning of the outer fair in Craiova represents a case of re-use as well. Furthermore, the newly established “Drăgaica Fair” in Buzău (the second fair of the town, to the south) illustrates the same category – as it is an instance of maintained pre-modern function in a new location.

All the expansions of the commercial areas also represent instances of re-use, as they prolong a specific kind of fabric (both from a functional and morphological point of view), but on expanded areas. Furthermore, they maintain that kind of fabric in place, not emerging in completely new areas of the towns. In a somehow different (but related) way, the

newly-emerged commercial fabric that was triggered after the reposition of the fair inside the town in Pitești also represents an instance of re-use, because the process took place based on an already existing type of pattern – the market place (square or fair) that triggers the emergence of commercial fabric next to it or in connection to it.

As a more or less disconnected topic, the new commercial halls build inside or over a market place also indicate instances of re-use, as they were superimposed over the same main function, also maintaining the location (they did not emerge in other parts of the town), but with new-uses from a morphological point of view (and also – at least partially – from a functional point of view, as the commercial function also changed and modernized).

I will also mention a singular situation, the one depicted by Bibescu Residence gardens in Craiova. They can be considered a form of partial functional and locational re-use, as they were superimposed by the new and modern Bibescu Park. The function of the green areas used as leisure areas was maintained, even if there was an important functional change, from private to public gardens. The new park was much larger, and based on a modern Romantic style inspired configuration. It therefore represents a new-use from a morphological point of view.

Regarding the new 19th century amenities, all the cases in which they found shelter in already-existing buildings – a recurrent situation, as shown before – represent obvious instances of re-use. Furthermore, the modern headquarters that were built can also show instances of re-use. In general, it is the situation of all amenities that were built in the already urbanized fabric. It goes without saying that they illustrated a definite modernization from an architectural point of view, and some clear modern features when it comes to the visual and compositional relation established with the street and the public space in general. But, once we take into consideration other morphological attributes and the main macro-areas of the towns, subsequent arguments emerge. On one hand, as the fabric already contained some pre-existing rules and structure, and if these interventions were not accompanied (or preceded) by restructuring interventions, they had to adapt to some of the pre-existing features of the fabric (for example, the shape of the plot, that resulted from previous subdivisions, or the subordination to the pre-existing traditional street network). In this way, they exhibit only a partial morphological new-use, and not a complete one. On the other hand, they can be instances of a (partial) maintained-use from a location point of view, in those situations

in which these new representative amenities found their place in a main and representative area of the towns, enhancing it in its some of its core attributes.

This instance can be clearly observed in the case of Ploiești, with the first Communal Palace built next to the commercial area, followed by the Palace of Justice, built right next to it. The second Communal Palace follows the pattern of location, as it was built on the north side of the market square. These amenities emerged in the center of the town, within the most representative fabric of the urban settlement, therefore enhancing its centrality and representativity by providing it with a functional and architectural new modern layer. Regarding the morphological aspects, the second Communal Palace of Ploiești is one of the best examples to depict the instance of morphological re-use I was mentioning before. It was inserted in the already-configured fabric that limited the market square to the north and it occupied several adjacent plots. Even if the intervention required the joining of some plots, their outer limits remained in place and dictated the shape of the building. Furthermore, even if the building turned a wide symmetrical façade towards the square, it was only two stories high and it was attached on both sides of the plot, therefore taking after some of the pre-existing rules of the fabric and providing an image that is not that much different from the usual one in this type of fabric. I would also add the fact that the building included shops at the ground level, therefore maintaining not only a morphological relationship between the built environment and the public space specific to the commercial area, but also a mixed function, one that includes the commercial activities alongside other main functions (in general, residential; in this instance, administrative).

Târgoviște also exhibits a similar instance of re-use, with the Gymnasium and the Communal Palace built at the extremity of the commercial area (the latter superimposing the market square), enhancing its centrality and its representativity. Furthermore, it exhibits another interesting feature, as most of the other modern amenities were placed along the main axis of the town, developed along the river (the one that developed as the boyar axis inside the town, and also containing the princely court). Along this axis, the County Hospital (on the plot of the court), the Administrative Palace, the Palace of Justice, the highschool and another two schools emerged, alongside many upper-class residences that were rebuild during the 19th century, taking after modern rules of composition. Because of all these interventions, this axis not only remained an important one inside

the settlement, but it was also enhanced by gaining this new modern and representative layer. In this context, we cannot overlook the case of Craiova, where the fact that many of the new modern amenities found their place in the main area that was previously occupied by the boyar courts (or right next to it) is not coincidental, but surely another instance of re-use.

Remaining at the grater scale of the settlement, other instances of re-use can also be identified. One of them refers to some of the pre-existing suburban settlements – such as Mahalaua in Târgoviște and Simileasca in Buzău – that developed important industries during the 19th century. They maintained their role of suburban settlement, but as they accommodated these modern amenities, they developed into what we can call industrial suburbs. In a somewhat similar way, those industries that emerged along roads that followed important pre-modern directions are also instances of re-use, as they did not appear in connection to any other layer of modernization. They followed a pre-existing pattern of development – as the roads linking the towns with the territory always represented places where the settlement was susceptible to grow – but filling it with truly modern amenities of the 19th century.

When it comes to the street network, the railway boulevards of Craiova and Buzău represent instances of re-use, as they followed pre-existing streets, which were only subject to some modernizing interventions (as I discussed above).

Regarding the expansion of the towns, it must be first stated that the settlements did not exhibit major territorial growth during the 19th century, and neither major processes of densification of the pre-existing street network. Ploiești could be considered an exception, because of its clear development towards north during this period. The new resulting fabric was one with a certain degree of modernity, as it was clearly configured in a more geometric way. Besides this, this development took place along a direction of expansion that existed since pre-modern times, therefore also depicting a situation of re-use – new morphological use, but maintained-use in terms of location and function. In a similar way, the minor expansions that took place along pre-existing territorial directions or along more minor already-existing streets are also instances of re-use, as they take after a pattern of development already in place (see such situations in Ploiești, along the directions towards Târgoviște or the old one towards Târgșor; in Buzău towards Galați; some minor expansions following pre-existing streets in Târgoviște and Craiova).

Besides these situations – and excluding the new-uses I explained in the previous sub-chapter – the towns went through a process of densification and quiet modernization within their pre-existing main guidelines of the urban fabric. As the plans show, it is extremely visible when it comes to the street network and the degree to which it represented a maintained-use during the century. But it happened also at the level of property limits. Despite recurrent subdivisions or even fusions, the limits of the plots are lasting elements within the fabric, that still stand at the basis of their minor structure, even if in a partial way (as they might have been maintained only in a partial way). In the absence of restructuring interventions (not a common and recurrent situation, as the study showed), they represent strong guidelines for the development of the fabric, that also informs the built layer in its morphological attributes.

As was expected, there are important instances of new-use and lost-use, the end of the 19th century being a period of important general modernization and general changes. But alongside them, as this study repeatedly showed, we can also identify a significant number of maintained-uses and, even more important, many re-uses, that show that the modernization process was subordinated in a significant way to the major principles that came from the past, being significantly informed by them. The 19th century urban development in the analyzed Wallachian towns – although containing obvious layers of modernization – kept on unfolding on patterns of re-using the pre-existing fabric, morphology, functions, principles of development, therefore exhibiting an urbanistic becoming based mostly on the idea of adapting.

Appendix

Appendix A. The Towns in Pre-modern Times

This section contains the maps of the five towns included in this study, depicting their fabric in pre-modern times and showing their relations with the territory (landscape, rivers, commercial routes) and the location, configuration and evolution (if known) of the main urban functions analyzed above. The plans were drawn by the author, using the cartographical sources listed in the “References and Sources” list and presented briefly in the introduction.

Besides the additional information provided as text on the drawings, all the maps follow the same legend, as shown in Fig. 02.

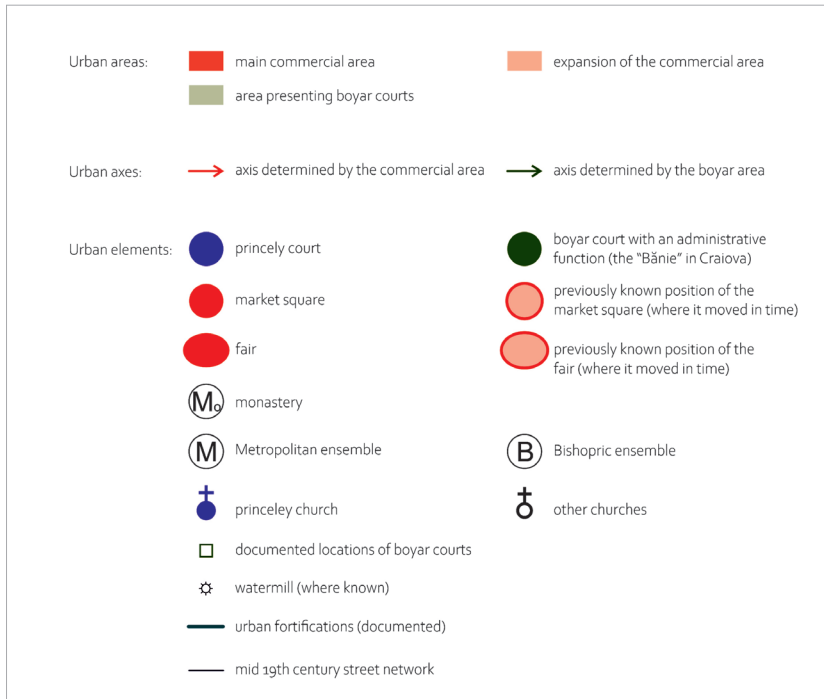


Fig. 02. The legend for the recurrent information depicted by the maps of the towns in pre-modern times (Fig. 03-07)

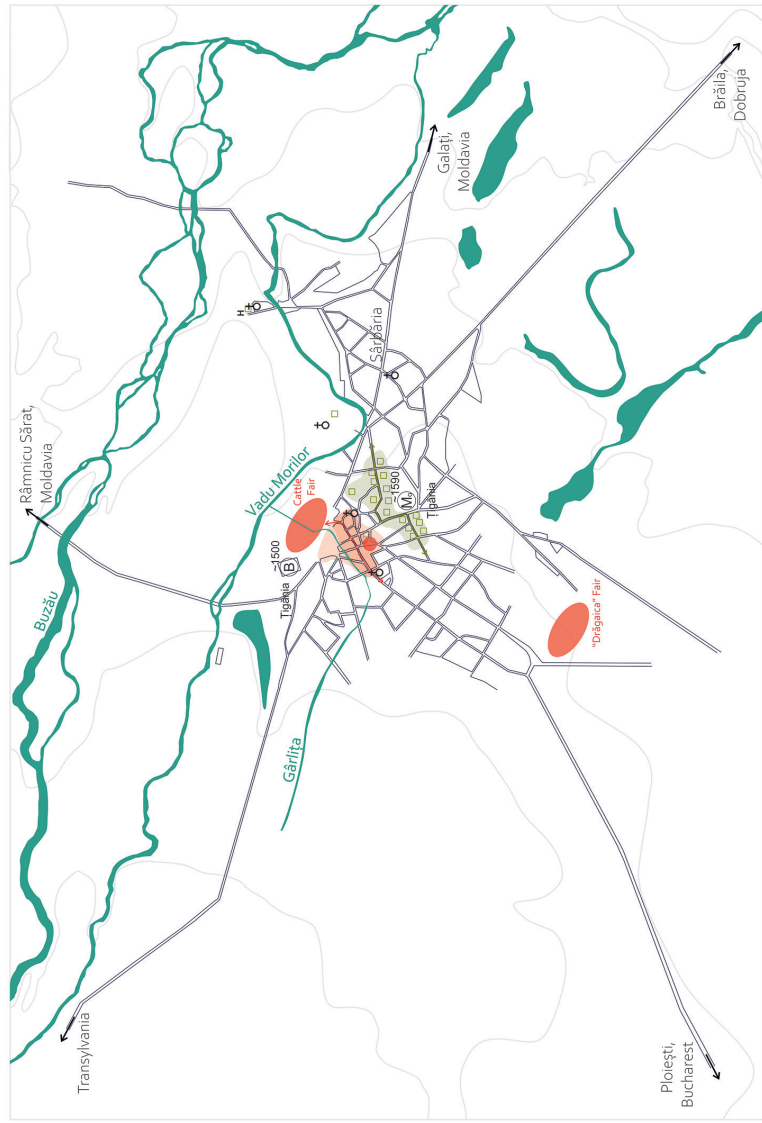


Fig. 03. The town of Buzău in pre-modern times [drawn by the author]



Fig. 04. The town of Craiova in pre-modern times [drawn by the author]

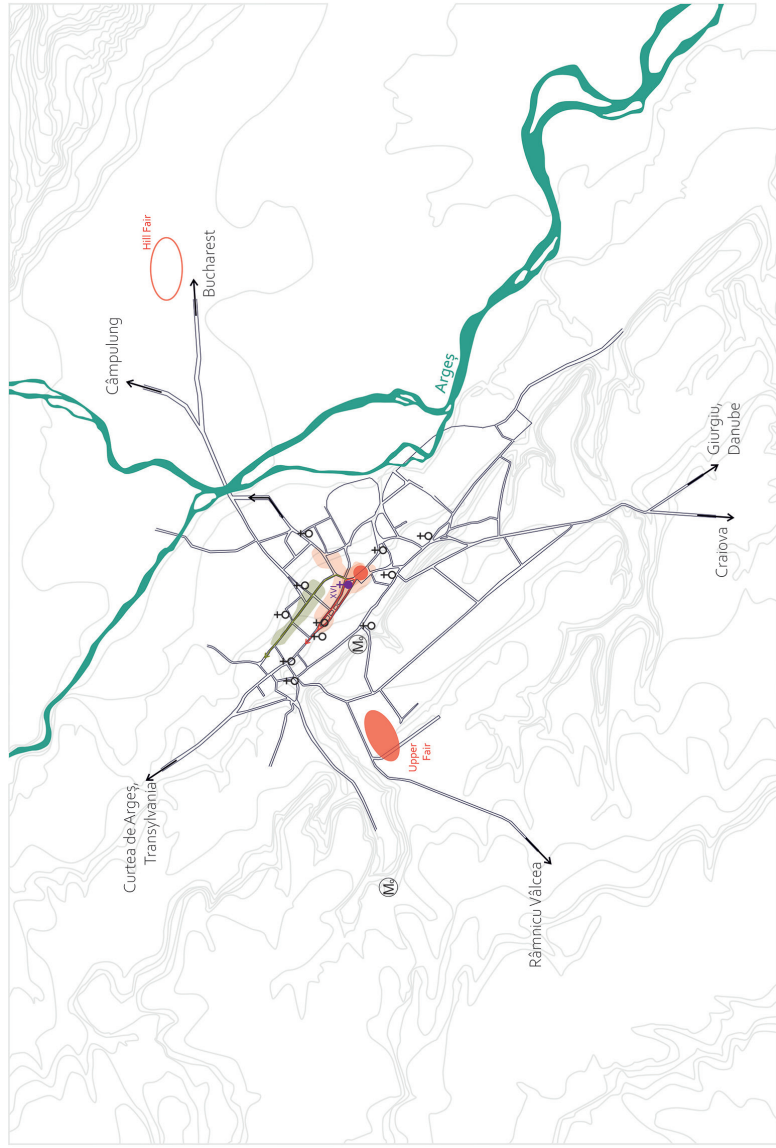


Fig. 05. The town of Pitești in pre-modern times [drawn by the author]



Fig. 06. The town of Ploiești in pre-modern times [drawn by the author]

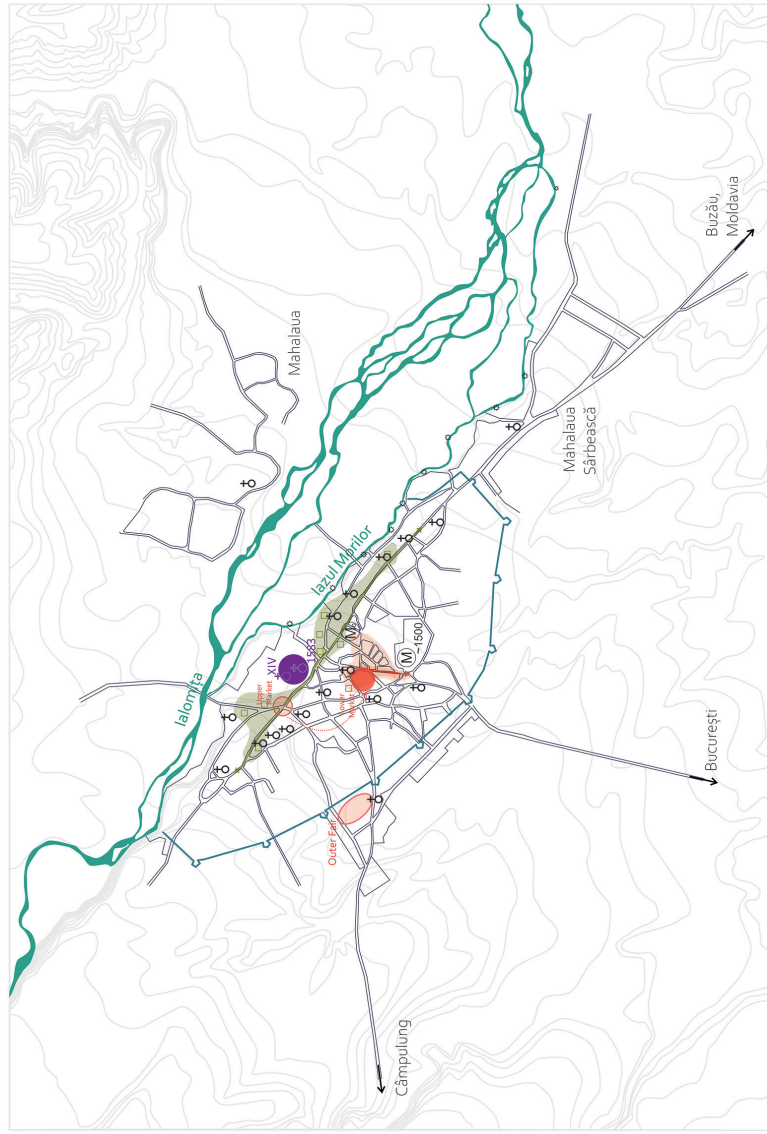


Fig. 07. The town of Târgoviște in pre-modern times [drawn by the author]

Appendix B. The Towns in Modern Times

This section contains the maps of the five towns included in this study, depicting their fabric in modern times, and showing their relation with the territory, the main pre-modern functional areas, the location of their main modern amenities (for the bigger ensembles or elements, also the configuration) and the relation with the urban fabric. The plans were drawn by the author, using the cartographical sources listed in the “References and Sources” list and presented briefly in the introduction.

Besides the additional information provided as text on the drawings, all the maps follow the same legend, as shown in Fig. 08.

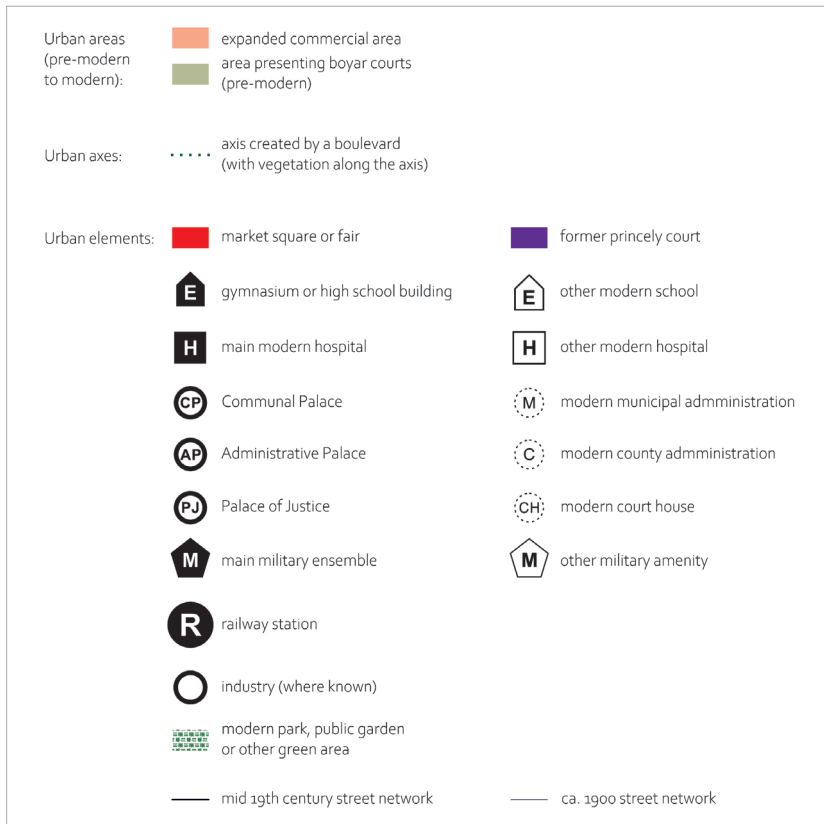


Fig. 08. The legend for the recurrent information depicted by the maps of the towns in modern times (Fig. 03-07)

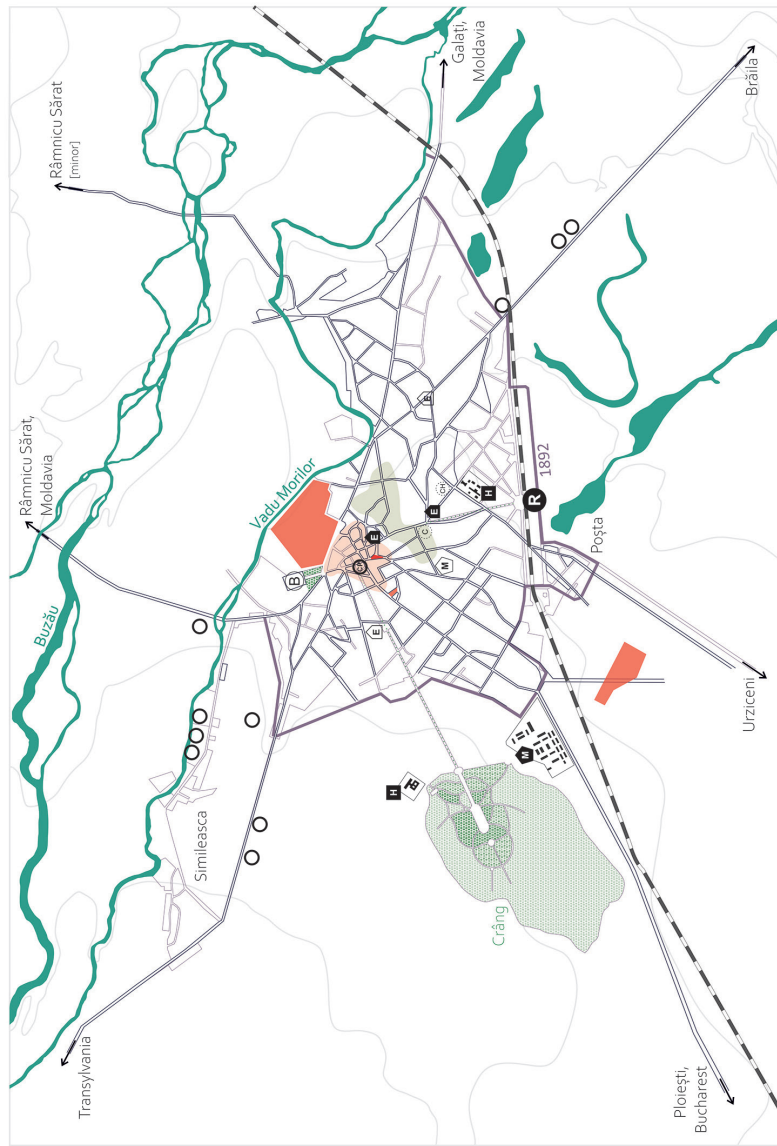


Fig. 09. The town of Buzău in modern times [drawn by the author]



Fig. 10. The town of Craiova in modern times [drawn by the author]



Fig. 11. The town of Pitești in pre-modern times [drawn by the author]

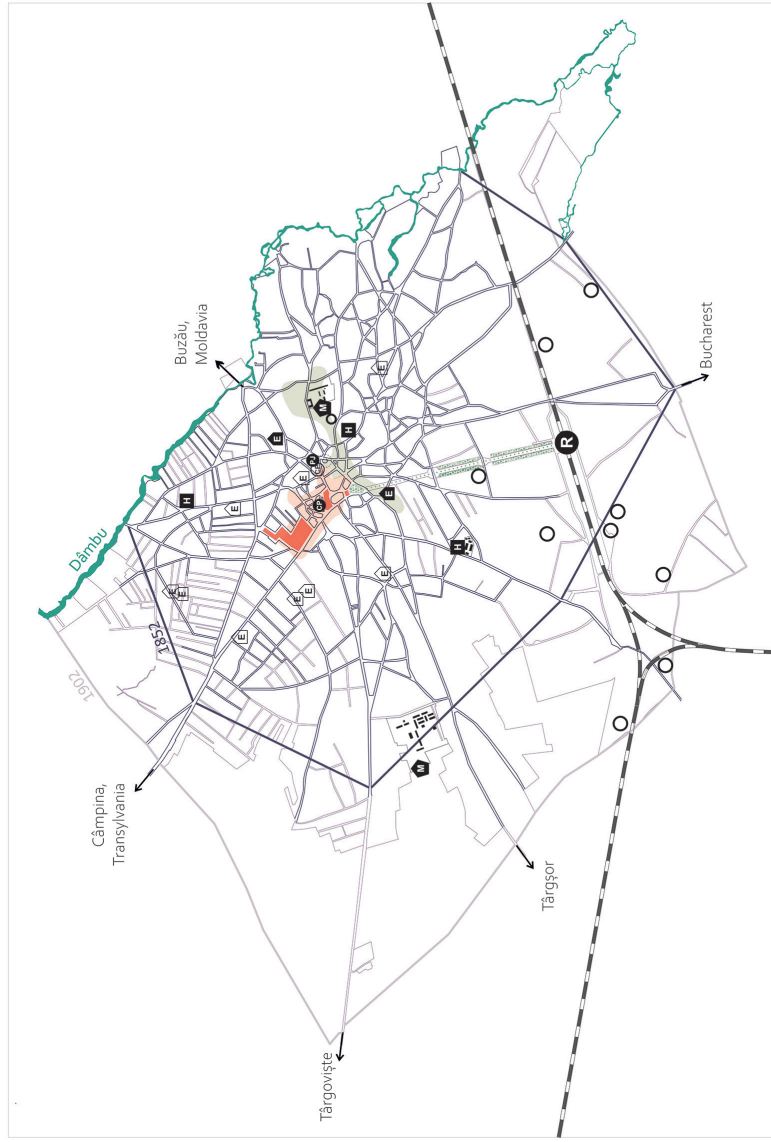


Fig. 12. The town of Ploiești in pre-modern times [drawn by the author]

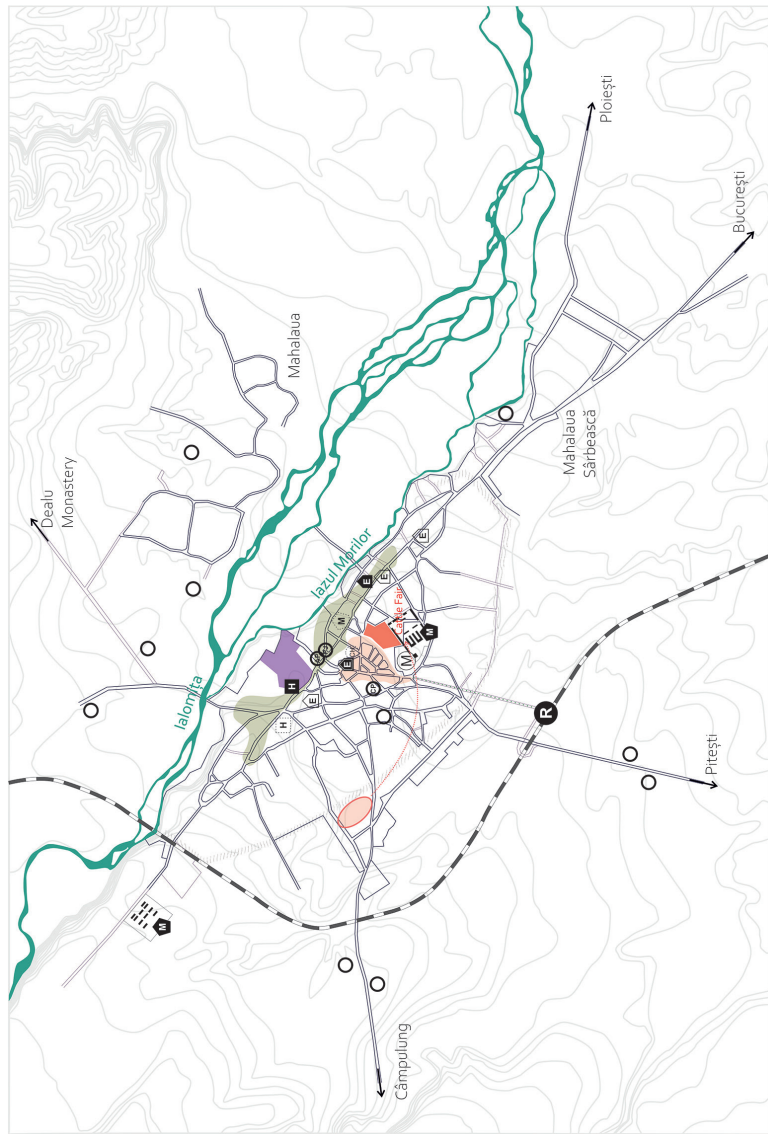


Fig. 13. The town of Târgoviște in pre-modern times [drawn by the author]

Endnotes

- ¹ Even if Moldavia represented a principality that evolved with a certain degree of independence throughout the medieval centuries (therefore representing a case similar to Wallachia), it is holding its own specificity. Therefore, researching the Moldavian towns should represent a distinctive study, focusing on their own particularities, in a consistent and comparative approach.
- ² As expected, the biggest one of them was (and still is) Bucharest, but which I had to exclude from the purpose of this project exactly due to its very complex development, making it a unique case, requiring a dedicated, distinctive research.
- ³ It is important to mention the very relevant work of hist. L. Rădvan, following the history of urban settlements in Romania in a unitary and consistent way throughout centuries of development.
- ⁴ Even so, the work of arch. T. O. Gheorghiu on premodern urban development remains important and useful. The same author published in 2017 an analysis on the development of the extra-Carpathian towns, 18th to 21st century; it focuses extensively on communist interventions, missing to provide a new comprehensive approach on the 19th and early 20th century development.
- ⁵ All in all, very few studies following one or another topic at a territorial level are available; the research by arch. T. Popescu on how the railway development influenced the evolution of the urban fabric in Romanian towns remains one of the few exceptions.
- ⁶ For some towns, such as Buzău (T. O. Gheorghiu, 2019) or Pitești (E. Greceanu, 1982), valuable monographs including analysis on the urban fabric evolution are available; for others, only works depicting the general history of the settlements (many of them, outdated) do exist.
- ⁷ There is information about the existence of some defensive lines built around Bucharest during the next centuries, but not yet localized (Gheorghiu, 2017, p. 17), and hypotheses regarding the existence of a fortification around Câmpulung in the early stages, before the 16th century (Gheorghiu, 2000, p. 114; Gheorghiu & Bica, 2015, p. 124)
- ⁸ See the archaeological reports of the campaigns from 2015-2020, published in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România*, edited by the National Heritage Institute, volumes from 2016-2021, available online at www.patrimoniu.gov.ro.
- ⁹ A comparison between the urban fabric depicted by the 1855 plan and by the 1900 one shows that some restructuring interventions did take place in that area, in order to make room for the commercial fabric.
- ¹⁰ A similar and complex situation is also exhibited by the town of Bucharest, with the fair changing position because of the expansion of the inhabited area and, therefore, triggerig the development of a long commercial axis

(a secondary one, in case of Bucharest) in that direction. I uphold no information regarding such a development in other Wallachian towns.

- 11 The sources indicate that in 1810 the old market square was still sheltering an annual fair, kept in spring (Debie, 1969, p. 84).
- 12 A complex and detailed study on the evolution of the princely and boyar courts (including a morpho-typological approach), is provided by Brătuleanu, 1997, *passim*.
- 13 A similar situation can be noticed also in Râmnicu Vâlcea, where the archaeological reports elaborated for the research in the area of Mircea cel Bătrân Park in front of the Socoteanu-Lahovary House, that was in boyar property at least since the 18th century.
- 14 The building was depicted in Theodor Aman's painting, "Hora Unirii la Craiova", 1857.
- 15 During the same period of time, Boldescu also undertook other social initiatives, as he allocated 62 plots to poor families and helped them build houses on his estates from the north part of the town (Marinică & Trestioreanu, 2016, p. 100).
- 16 Before this, in 1829, during the Russian occupation, it is known that a hospital was arranged in Ion Socolescu inn.
- 17 In 1874 the Fire Department started functioning under the authority of the Ministry of War, therefore being assimilated as a military amenity and developing its own barracks ensembles.
- 18 See some discussion about this legislative measures in connection to Bucharest in Lascu, 2011.

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