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***Georeferencing Criminality Hubs in Late 18th and 19th-century***

***Romanian Principalities and Transylvania*.**

REMARKS on MAPS

(included and not included in the poster)

The documentary framework for the hajduk fiction was created by developing the following assumptions:

*a. The context of the hajduk fiction sampled in the HaiRo corpus is the following:* a1)it is published in the second half of the 19th century, in a period when the national consciousness is reinforced by several historical events that are considered beneficial for Romanians (The First Union of the Romanian Principalities in 1859, the War of Independence in 1877, the Proclamation of the Romanian Kingdom in 1881) and for their aspiration to reunite all the Romanian historical provinces (Moldavia, Bessarabia, Wallachia, Dobrudja, Bukowina, Transylvania); a2) except for a few anonymous texts, all books/ feuilletons are published in Wallachia; a3) the distribution of authors’ birthplaces per regions is even for Moldavia and Wallachia, with a greater productivity of Wallachian novelists; however ¼ of the authors are anonymous or without references in literary dictionaries and encyclopedias (Alexandru Munte Stânceanu, Panait Popescu, Lazăr, Ștefan Stoenescu, Simeon Bălănescu, Anton Marcu);

b. *The documentary framework* is composed of 7 layers that were considered *proxies* of hajduk life: b1) crimes (Places Criminal Department of Moldova); b2) movement along the roads (Poste Stations); b3) hiding (Forests); b4) treasuring (Monetary Finds); b5) celebration of robbery/ partying/ stopovers (Pubs-Inns); b6) reactions of contemporaries - short-term attestation/ evidentiality (Foreign Travellers in Romania); b7) reactions of society - long-term attestation/ evidentiality (Places geographic dictionary);

c. *The documentary data layers* are assigned with 3 intensities/ *degrees of* *factuality*[[5]](#footnote-4) (strong, medium, low): c1) **strong factuality** (Places Criminal Department of Moldova); c2) **medium factuality** (Places geographic dictionary, Foreign Travellers in Romania); c3) **low factuality** (Pubs-Inns; Forests; Poste Stations; Monetary Finds);

d. *Buffering zones* are selected according to the following criteria: d1) toponyms most distributed and frequent in the HaiRo corpus (number of files/ texts); d2) most mentioned toponyms in each file/ text;

e. *Summed data layers* have been used, in various stages of our research, to map *the tension* between the profile/ legal status of the characters and the dynamics of hajduk life: e1) Stopovers (Poste Stations+Pubs from Places Criminal Department of Moldova+Inns); e2) Celebration of robbery (Pubs from Places Criminal Department of Moldova+Inns); e3) Subjective accounts (Hajduk novels+Foreign Travellers in Romania); e4) Hiding Places (Forests+Monetary Finds); e5) Factuality/ documentary framework (summed data points in Places Criminal Department of Moldova, Places geographic dictionary, Foreign Travellers in Romania, Pubs-Inns, Forests, Poste Stations, and Monetary Finds); e6) Intensities of low, medium and strong factuality (Places geographic dictionary+Foreign Travellers in Romania; Pubs-Inns; Forests+Poste Stations; Monetary Finds);

f. *Data* have been extracted from both textual and visual sources: f1) textual sources are the digital corpus HaiRo (47 documents counting 1,682,654 total words) and an archive of in-house scanned 20,000 pages; f2) visual sources (Russian, Austrian and Romanian Maps drawn in the first decades of the 19th century).

1. **MAPS ROMANIA (GENERAL)**

1R\_landscape.png

(INCLUDED) This is a composite historical map of the Romanian principalities (Wallachia, Moldavia) and surrounding regions like Bessarabia and Transylvania, commissioned by the Russians in 1820. The base map, which uses Cyrillic script, shows topography, settlements, and rivers. Overlaid on this are multiple layers of thematic data represented by colored points and symbols. These layers illustrate the distribution of locations from Hajduk novels, monetary finds, forest areas, travel infrastructure (roads, inns, post stations), and other historical records. Light blue hexagons with numbers indicate clusters or counts of data points in specific areas.

“base\_map\_title”: “КАРТА БЕССАРАБІИ, МОЛДАВІИ И ВАЛАХІИ”

“translation\_of\_title”: “Map of Bessarabia, Moldavia and Wallachia”

The map contains 6230 documentary data points and 525 literary data points (a sum of 6755) distributed as follows: 1. Locations from the Hai-Ro corpus [labeled as “Hajduk novels”] = 596 data points out of which 525 are scattered across the historical regions of Romania; 2. Poste stations and inns from Austrian and Russian maps of the early 19th-century [labeled as “Poste Stations”] = 267 data points; 3. Monetary finds/ Hoardings = [labeled as “Monetary Finds”] 237 data points; 4. Geographic descriptions of places related to criminality [labeled as “Places geographic dictionary”] = 27 datapoints; 5. Criminal Court Documents of late 18th and early 19th-century [labeled as “Places Criminal Department of Moldova”] = 310 data points; 6. Forest Toponyms/ Phytonims [labeled as “Forests…”] = 910 data points for Moldavia; 2971 data points for Wallachia; 478 data points for Transylvania; 872 data points for Oltenia = 5231 data points; 7. Travel accounts [labeled as “Foreign Travellers in Romania”] = 158 data points.

The distribution of literary hajduk hubs (over 10 data points) according to historical regions is the following:

1. **The Principality of Moldavia**: 3 (close to roads and to particularly attached to forests)
2. **The Principality of Wallachia**: 3 (near forests and far from roads)
3. **Dobrudja**: 1
4. **Transylvania** (not part of 19th-century Romania): 3
5. **Bessarabia** (not part of 19th-century Romania): 1

In certain areas, particularly around Bucharest (Wallahia), Roman (Moldavia) or historically significant regions (*see above*), there's a higher concentration of the phenomena being mapped: „Hajduk Novels”, forests, or data from Criminal Department (for Moldova)

When dots representing different categories on these maps overlap, it doesn't necessarily mean a direct causal relationship, but rather a spatial correlation or co-occurrence. It suggests that the phenomena represented by those overlapping dots existed in the same general geographical area during the historical period being depicted.

*Remarks taking into consideration the limitation that the Historical Region of Moldova (comprising the 19th-century Principality of Moldavia and Bessarabia, part of The Russian Empire)* has more layers of factual data than the Principality of Wallachia (“Monetary Finds”, “Places Criminal Department of Moldova”):

The 3 hubs in Moldavia are distributed in the Upper, Middle and Low lands of Moldavia and the 3 hubs in Wallachia are distributed only in the Western and Middle lands. Given the limitation of data extraction per regions, the documentary data of Moldavia is expected to be more diverse, however hajduk hubs in Wallachia are close to Forests and far from Roads (*low factuality* - hiding) and from Foreign travellers’ accounts (*medium factuality* - reactions of contemporaries - short-term attestation/ evidentiality), while hajduk hubs in Moldavia are closer to Roads and to Places geographic dictionary (*low factuality* - movement; *medium factuality* - reactions of society - long-term attestation/ evidentiality). Visual data suggests thus that hajduk hubs of Wallachia are featured as static and lowly factual (attached to forests and hiding), while hajduk hubs of Moldavia are featured as dynamic and lowly-to-medium factual.

The commitment to factuality of the Moldavian hajduk writers is reinforced by the rest of data layers that indicate: 1. the Moldavian lowland hajduk hub (South Moldavia, 79 data points) is the biggest and surrounded by Monetary finds data points (*low factuality* - treasuring); 2. the Moldavian upper land hajduk hub (North Moldavia, 14 data points) is the smallest and it is surrounded by Places Criminal Department of Moldova data points (*strong factuality* - crime); the Moldavian middle land hajduk hub (Middle Moldova, 72 data points) is approximately as big as the hajduk hub in the lowland and it is surrounded by Forests data points (*low factuality* - hiding) and Stopover data points (*low factuality* - celebration of robbery/ partying). See also map 1M\_NOVELS CRIMINAL DEPARTMENT.png

2R\_landscape geographic.png

(NOT INCLUDED) This map contains 2 data layers (Hajduk Novels and Forests) whose ground is not the historical map (commissioned by the Russians) that we used for the other visualizations. We used a relief map in order to see if exploring the correlation between Forests data points (*low factuality*) and forms of relief might be useful for nuancing the factuality value of forests. Indeed, the geographic conditions of the Moldavian Principality and Bessarabia (the Plateau of Moldavia, which is a hilly land formation, prevails over other relief forms, and the Prairie of Bugeag) might be the cause for a lesser dominant forest landscape (reflected in the forest toponyms/ phytonims data points) than in Wallachia. The map shows some cases that need more geographical insight: 1. The hajduk hub in the Southern Bessarabia (16 data points) is located in the Bugeag prairie where forests are not likely to have existed; 2. The hajduk hub in central Transylvania is located in the heart of the Plateau of Transylvania, whose forests need further documentation since the available toponymic resources for Transylvania provide unreliable forest information and only for a small area (“the valleys”); 3. The hajduk hub of Dobruja (21 data points) is located in a Danube Delta landscape for whom forests are not specific.

3R\_novels geographic dictionary.png

(NOT INCLUDED) This map contains data points from the Hajduk novels layer and from the Places geographic dictionary layer, the latter being a small geographic dataset of only 27 data points that document the toponyms related to hajduk figures according to the Great Romanian Dictionary published at the end of the 19th century. As a rule, literary data clusters are far from geographical data points (credited, in our scale of factuality, with *medium factuality*), the only exception being Middle Moldavia (clustering 72 literary data points). The rest of the geographic data points very close to Roads (marked with a red line) or mountain passages that are not yet marked in our map (see Valea Pântei, Piatra, Crucea Fetei, Momoloțul, Lacul Roșu, Rucăr) and river borders (Prut). There is also an exception in the Middle Moldova (Baloș) that must be further inquired into.

4R\_novels travellers.png

(NOT INCLUDED) This map has been created to test if data provided by the foreign travellers in Romania (layer “Foreign Travellers in Romania”) is in line with the commercial routes of the Romanian provinces: Via Valachica (Galați-Foșcani-Bacău-Roman-Cernăuți), Via Tartarica (Galați-Bârlad-Vaslui-Iași-Soroca), Via Braylan (Câmpulung-Târgoviște-Buzău-Brăila) and Turnu-Craiova-Slatina-Bucharest-Brăila.

Generally, the places mentioned in the travel accounts are close to the main roads, thus information about the places of passages and about the places where the travellers were victims of hajduk robbery should be credited as factual.

5R\_novels post stations.png

(NOT INCLUDED) This map was created to check the density of poste stations along the main commercial routes.

It is easy to notice that the inland routes such a Câmpulung-Târgoviște-Bucharest, Focșani-Bacău-Roman-Cernăuți, Bucharest-Buzău-Focșani have lesser poste stations than the border routes (eastern Moldavia and Southern Wallachia), which means that these roads have greater sequences that are not watched by the authorities. Literary data clusters are generally surrounded by “Poste stations” data, the only exceptions being 2 big hubs near Câmpina and Râmnicu Vâlcea (82 and 43 data points).

6R\_novels stopover.png

(NOT INCLUDED) This map explores the relationship between mobility and pause, between places in novels that are assumed as reporting hajduk movement and factual data about stopovers.

8R\_novels forests cluster.png

(NOT INCLUDED) This is a very strong and intuitive correlation between Hajduks and refuge and hiding places like forests. The overlap simply reinforces that forests were a common and stereotypical setting for these stories.

9R\_Romania 1b.png

(NOT INCLUDED)

10R\_Forest Novels Stopovers.png

(INCLUDED) This map shows that hajduk hubs are closer to forests than to stopover places (Poste Stations+Pubs from Places Criminal Department of Moldova+Inns). We decided to compare several low factuality sets of data in order to see whether it would make sense to nuance *the factuality intensity scale*, for the medium and low values. 11 Hajduk clusters bigger than 10 data points are scattered across the 5 historical regions of Romania: The Principality of Moldavia=3; The Principality of Wallachia=4; Dobrudja=1; Transylvania=2; Bessarabia=1. Given the scarcity of forest data in Transylvania and the geographical conditions for forestation in Dobruja (The Danube Delta) and in Southern Bessarabia (the Bugeag prairie), the following analysis will only focus on the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia: from 7 clusters there are 6 that are grouped with forests; the biggest hajduk hub in Moldavia (79 data points) is also surrounded by a stopover grouping while the biggest hajduk hub in Wallachia (82 data points) is not; instead, 2 of the small hajduk hubs in Wallachia (34 and 23 data points) are neighboured by stopover clusters. In general, the stopover clusters are isolated from the rest of the data on the map. This shows that hiding (in the forests), on the one hand, and passing through or partying after the robbery (in pubs, inns and poste stations), on the other, are 2 different strands of hajduk practices. The only exception is the border area between Wallachia and Moldavia, respectively the low Moldavia, on the axis Focșani-Tecuci-Bârlad that connects the two Moldavian roads: 1. *Via Valachica* or *Marele Drum Moldovenesc* [The Great Moldavian Road/ Route]), that connects, through Chernivtsi (Cernăuți), the lower Danube city of Galați to Galicia (Lviv); 2. *Via Tartarica* or *Drumul Tătărăsc* [The Mongol Road/ Route] that connects the lower Danube cities to Soroca.

11R\_Documentary\_factuality framework.png

(INCLUDED) This is a heatmap that compares all factuality data points (Places Criminal Department of Moldova, Places geographic dictionary, Foreign Travellers in Romania, Pubs-Inns, Forests, Poste Stations, and Monetary Finds) to literary data points (Hajduk Novels), respectively, to the hajduk criminality as it is located in the hajduk genre fiction.

The first remark is that, because of low factuality data (chiefly forests, that introduce a data bias), the factuality framework in The Principality of Wallachia is rather diffuse. However, the biggest cluster of literary data (82 data points) is very close to the most heated perimeter of the map that is formed by the cities Câmpina-Ploiești-Buzău-Râmnicu-Sărat, all of them located within a distance of 30 to 40 km. The neighbourhood of the fictional hajduk area and factual hajduk perimeter shows the novels’ tendency to factualization. The hubs in Oltenia near Râmnicu-Vâlcea and Craiova (in the Western part of the The Principality of Wallachia), also located in a region for whom hajduk Iancu Jianu and hajduk life in general have been brands since the mid nineteenth century, has no specific factuality center, so it is closer to fictionality and myth-making. Briefly, the authors of the nineteenth century novels move the Wallachian hajduk hub closer to its attested area, which is also near the capital and the new commercial routes connecting the Prahova Valley (Brașov-the customs of Predeal-Câmpina) to lower Danube cities (Brăila).

As far as Moldova is concerned, the documentary framework is given a gravity center by medium and strong factuality data, which makes possible a concentration in the perimeter Roman-Iași-Vaslui, thus very close to the nineteenth-century capital of The Principality of Moldavia (Iași) and in-between the two commercial routes: 1. *Via Valachica* or *Marele Drum Moldovenesc* [The Great Moldavian Road/ Route]), that connects, through Chernivtsi (Cernăuți), the lower Danube city of Galați to Galicia (Lviv); 2. *Via Tartarica* or *Drumul Tătărăsc* [The Mongol Road/ Route] that connects the lower Danube cities to Soroca. Only one of the largest clusters of literary data (69 data points) is close to this perimeter, which suggests, as in the case of Wallachia, the hajduk novels’ commitment to the “pleasures” of factuality (“fruits of factuality”, Lavocat 2020). We should also add that that, for the Moldavian cities, the distribution across the corpus is the following: Iași is distributed in 18 of 47 texts; Focșani in 11 of 47 texts, Galați in 10 of 47 texts; Tecuci in 7 of 47 texts; Roman in 6 of 47 texts; Bacău in 6 of 47 texts; Adjud in 4 of 47 texts; Suceava in 4 of 47 texts; Vaslui in 4 of 47 texts; Botoșani in 3 of 47 texts; Neamț and Piatra Neamț in 2 of 47 texts, Dorohoi in 2 of 47 texts.

12R\_low factualityRO.png

13R\_medium factualityRO.png

These heat maps show the distribution of factuality data across the Romanian provinces. Low factuality intensity presents as heated isles in the regions of the biggest hajduk hubs in mid Moldavia (61 data points) and Transylvania, however, they do not overlap, showing a poor correlation between literary data and low factuality framework. Medium factuality does not design as isle formations, it covers all provinces (with a heated zone in the gold mine zone, where foreign travellers report robbery) and surrounds literary data, which shows a correlation between literary hajduk spatiality and medium factuality intensity.

**B. MAPS MOLDAVIA (DETAIL)**

1M\_NOVELS CRIMINAL DEPARTMENT.png

(NOT INCLUDED) The map shows that Places Criminal Department of Moldova data points are clustered with the literary/ fictional data in the Northern and Southern Part of Moldavia. Criminal data is clustered around the capital of Moldova (Iasi), while literary data is not clustered. Literary data is clustered in the midlands of Moldova (PiatraNeamț-Roman-Pașcani), while criminal data is not clustered. The visualisation suggests that the hajduk cluster from middle Moldova (Pașcani-Piatra-Neamț-Roman) includes places that belong to the literary myth of the hajduk, rather than to the attested phenomenon of hajduk criminality. As far as the dimension of clusters is concerned, we should look into a possible positive correlation that proves a strong factuality in the hajduk novels located in South of Moldavia: the literary data cluster (Hajduk Novels) counts 79 data points and the criminal record data cluster (Places Criminal Department of Moldova) counts 105 data points.

2M\_novels coins.png

(NOT INCLUDED) The map shows that Monetary Finds data points are clustered with the literary/ fictional data in the Northern and Southern Part of Moldavia. As in the case of criminal data (see map 1M\_NOVELS CRIMINAL DEPARTMENT.png), monetary data reinforces the factuality of literary data in the upper and low lands of Moldova, while the middle land Hajduk cluster remains unattended, which thus reinforces the suggestion that this area belongs to the literary myth of the hajduk, rather than to the attested phenomenon of hajduk criminality. As far as figures are concerned, we notice that Southern Moldova literary and factual clusters are uniform, while in Northern Moldavia the small literary cluster (13 data points) is surrounded by 2 big “Monetary finds” cluster (24 and 59 data points).

Hajduks might have operated in areas that were transit routes for valuable goods or where wealthy individuals (who would be targets) resided. If hajduks are set in areas with monetary finds, these would be places where they could operate, gather information, or find targets. While not directly connected with hajduks, the monetary finds are part of the socio-economic context they operated within.

3M\_Detail principality 2.png

(NOT INCLUDED) This map is a detail on a part of the historical Moldavia (the Principality of Moldavia and Bessarabia) for which we have the largest and the most diverse set of factuality data Places Criminal Department of Moldova, Places geographic dictionary, Foreign Travellers in Romania, Pubs-Inns, Forests, Poste Stations, and Monetary Finds) that samples the 3 intensities of factuality. Except for 2 clusters - 45 data points near the North border and 44 data points near the Eastern natural border of river Prut -, the literary data (Hajduk novels layer) arrange along the 2 commercial routes of Moldova: 1. *Via Valachica* or *Marele Drum Moldovenesc* [The Great Moldavian Road/ Route]), that connects, through Chernivtsi (Cernăuți), the lower Danube city of Galați to Galicia (Lviv); 2. *Via Tartarica* or *Drumul Tătărăsc* [The Mongol Road/ Route] that connects the lower Danube cities to Soroca. It is noteworthy that literary data cluster on *Via Valachica*, showing large hajduk hubs around Galați, Adjud, Bacău, Roman, and Cernăuți. The two large bordering clusters (mentioned above), one near Suceava and the other near Iași (both of them capitals of the Principality in the 15th and, respectively, 16th centuries), probably belong to the older Mongol Road, that was abandoned after the 16th century (<https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Drumul_Moldovenesc>), thus to a legendary period when the Principality of Moldavia fought against the Tartar invasions. This is why in the buffering zones around Bacău, Roman, Adjud and Tecuci, cities that are also frequently mentioned and very distributed across texts, are mapped in 5M\_buffer\_Bacau Suceava Vaslui Slanic\_8\_7\_6.png etc.

The largest clusters of Monetary Finds data points are far from the 2 Roads, which confirms that the hiding of treasures involved avoiding highly circulated routes.



4M\_buffer\_MAINLAND Moldova.png

(INCLUDED) This map shows 4 buffers around cities located on Via Valachica and that are also very distributed across the 47 texts of the Hai-Ro corpus: Tecuci, Adjud, Bacău, Roman. These areas with dense clusters and overlapping dots (e.g., around Iași, Roman, Bacău, Focșani) have consistently appeared as significant centers of various mapped phenomena, whether these are pubs, criminal activity, literary references, or traveler routes in other visualisations. Further research should thus be conducted on the most distributed Moldavian cities of the Hai-Ro Corpus: Iași (the capital of the principality and border city with Bessarabia), Focșani (border city between Moldavia and Wallachia), Galați (border city between Moldavia and Wallachia).

The buffer zones are drawn in a radius of 30 km around the center points, with calculations for 10, 20 and 30 km. The data points included in this calculation are a sum of all factuality layers: 1. Poste stations and inns from Austrian and Russian maps of the early 19th-century [labeled as “Poste Stations”] = 267 data points; 2. Monetary finds/ Hoardings = [labeled as “Monetary Finds”] 237 data points; 3. Geographic descriptions of places related to criminality [labeled as “Places geographic dictionary”] = 27 datapoints; 4. Criminal Court Documents of late 18th and early 19th-century [labeled as “Places Criminal Department of Moldova”] = 310 data points; 5. Forest Toponyms/ Phytonims [labeled as “Forests…”] = 910 data points for Moldavia; 2971 data points for Wallachia; 478 data points for Transylvania; 872 data points for Oltenia = 5231 data points; 6. Travel accounts [labeled as “Foreign Travellers in Romania”] = 158 data points.

Data from 5M\_buffer\_Bacau Suceava Vaslui Slanic\_8\_7\_6.png, 6M\_buffer\_Roman Dorohoi Sculeni\_5.png and 8M\_buffer\_Tecuci Adjud\_4.png shows that, with a few exceptions (e.g. Roman), the factuality data is gradually distributed, from lesser data points in the first circle of 10 km to more data in the third circle of 30 km. It is interesting that, exceptions left out, in the first circle there are 6 to 11 data points (with values close to 9 data points in their urban area), the second circle counts 17 to 31 data points (with values close to 25), while in the third circle there are 34 to 62 data points (with values close to 44). The doubling and tripling of analized areas is proportional with the doubling and tripling of factual data, which shows that the documentary dataset we assembled to research the hajduk literary spatiality is balanced and reliable. The even distribution of data is also proved by the similarity of count points for buffers around cities that are further than 60 km away (Bacău-Adjud; Bacău-Tecuci; Suceava-Bacău; Suceava-Vaslui).

The case of Roman (11, 136, and 182 count of points in the 3 buffered zones) needs an in-depth analysis that also considers factuality intensities: the figures might be influenced by the concentration of forests in the area Pașcani-Roman-Iași, thus by low factuality data. In order to proceed with this analysis, we created 3 heatmaps for Moldavia which show, as expected, that the medium and strong factuality concentrate in the same area, thus forests (low factuality) are not necessarily a bias.

8M\_buffer\_Tecuci Adjud\_4.png

(NOT INCLUDED) This map show the similarity of count points around 2 cities that are located on the 2 concurrent roads of Moldavia (Via Valachica - Adjud and Via Tartarica - Tecuci) and within 40 km from the borderland city Focșani.

9M\_buffer\_bordering cities.png

(NOT INCLUDED) This map supports data for the Northern and Eastern borders of the Principality of Moldavia. The center of buffering zones are Sculeni (near Iași), Suceava and Dorohoi (in the North) and Vaslui (in the East)

10M\_low factualityMD.png

11M\_medium factualityMD.png

and

12M\_Strong factualityMD.png

(INCLUDED) These heat maps are useful to compare the distancing of literary hajduk hubs from zones of various factuality intensities in the Principality of Moldavia. The visualizations are pretty straightforward: the literary hajduk hubs in Moldavia are closer to medium and strong factuality than to low factuality.

### **Conclusions**

All maps demonstrate how physical geography (forests, roads) influenced or was intertwined with human activity (travel, crime) and cultural narratives (Hajduk novels, foreign accounts).

Taking into account the bias introduced by the dataset on forests, the documentary framework (with its three levels of factuality) indicates that literary banditry in Muntenia is linked to hiding and stopping over (forests, inns, posts) rather than criminal acts; considering the two major trade routes in Moldova (Via Valachica and Via Tartarica) and considering the distance from clusters of monetary treasures/ clusters of crime scenes, the literary hajduk life in Moldova is more likely linked to mobility and crime (highway robbery) than to stopping and hiding. Such a conclusion could also be supported by data on the origin of the authors of hajduk novels, who may or may not have known the places and events they describe: those from Muntenia (N.D. Popescu) propose a romantic type of haiduc (Iancu Jianu), linked to the forest topos; those from Moldova (Panait Macri) propose a criminal type of haiduc, more of a bandit, a type that will be further developed in “criminal novels” authored by the same novelists. The distinction between the two types of literary hajduk spatiality (and hajduk life), one more factual (Moldova) and the other less factual (Muntenia), is also supported by the correlation between the concentration of literary data on the major trade routes in the two principalities: from this perspective, the Galați-Tecuci-Adjud-Bacau-Roman connection (in Moldova) is more crowded with literary data than the connections in Wallachia between Drobeta-Craiova-Bucharest-Braila and Brașov-Câmpina-Buzău-Braila.

From the perspective of the profile of the character moving through these places, which are configured factually or less factually, it can be said that the Moldavian hajduk is “the factual Other” of the hajduk heroic archetype. This factuality specific to the Moldavian hajduk space is not accidental, given that the phenomenon is reported here even in the first decades of the 20th century (*see* hajduk Coroi). We should add that distributions of the locations across the 47 texts of the Hai-Ro corpus suggests that the analysis should be conducted by considering the movement across the great Moldavian road: Iasi-Focsani-Galați (mentioned in more than 10 of the 47 texts in the corpus); Adjud-Tecuci-Bacau-Roman (mentioned in more than 4 of the 47 texts). Border towns (Suceava, Neamț, Dorohoi) are less frequently distributed, so the hajduk phenomenon is reflected in literature as a regional, or national, rather than as a transborder criminal activity.

In short, the two literary hajduk spaces are characterized by two topoi: the hajduk forest (the hajduk’s glade) vs. highway robbery. One is closer to fiction and myth; the other is closer to facts and testimonies.

Notes for further research: Bessarabia and Transylvania are not documented enough. We have no data on forests in these regions (not even on Dobruja), so we have to give them up. For the initial stage of research profiling, mapping these regions was helpful. However, in the next stages we will only focus on the two united principalities for whom the hajduk novel is a specific aesthetic and social phenomenon. As shown by *Dicționarul Cronologic al Romanului Românesc* (2003), the evolution of the genre across a century and a half (1850-1989) decreases after the formation of Romania in 1918.

The factuality of Moldavian haiduc prose is contrary to the general tendency to consider Moldavian prose lyrical, even sentimental and idyllic, atmospheric (see Lovinescu, Calinescu - theories about Moldavian prose).

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1. Institute of Interdisciplinary Research, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași [↑](#footnote-ref-0)
2. Institute of Interdisciplinary Research, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
3. Institute of Interdisciplinary Research, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
4. Institute of Interdisciplinary Research, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
5. The scale of “factuality” (degree) is suggested by studies like Roser Saurí and James Pustejovsky, “Are you sure that this happened? Assessing the factuality degree of events in text”, in *Computational Linguistics*, 38(2):261–299, 2012. In line with Françoise Lavocat’s remarks on the *signposts of factuality* and on evidence from neuroscience that factuality is related to pleasure, we propose “factuality intensity” instead of “factuality degree”:

   „the reader is ready to sacrifice the pathic dimension of narrative tension, inherent in the introduction of plots in cinematographic or novelistic works of fiction, in order to taste the fruits of factuality”

   „Real entities are, in certain respects, more interesting than fictional creatures, because we have more information on them and because they touch our lives more closely. Admittedly, fictional entities also have a tendency to elicit an emotional investment; but those containing referential entities, as opposed to fictional scenarios, mobilize neuronal networks linked to our relationship to self and others, empathy, and emotions in general. Fiction stimulates zones associated with semantic memory, which involve more concepts, whereas non-fiction has a stronger relationship to memory in particular contexts, along with that which has been personally experienced by the subject.” (Françoise Lavocat, “Pseudofactual Narratives and Signposts of Factuality”, in Monika Fludernik and Marie-Laure Ryan, *Narrative Factuality, a Handbook*, 6, De Gruyter, pp. 577-592, 2020, DOI 10.1515/9783110486278; hal-03947969). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)